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A MOROCCAN FAQIH IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN: A TRANSLATION OF MOHAMED AL HAJWI'S *AR-RIHLA AL UROBIYA* AND A STUDY OF HIS AMBIVALENT OCCIDENTALISM

A Dissertation submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the National Doctorate Degree

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مقتضب

تتناول هذه الأطروحة ترجمة ودراسة كتاب "**الرحلة الأوروبية** " لمحمد الحاجوي، والتي وثّق فيها رحلته السفارية إلى فرنسا وزيارته السياحية لبريطانيا في صيف عام 1919. بصفته فقيهًا و موظفا مخزنيا وتاجرًا و رحالة يعتبر الحجوي شخصية مثيرة للجدل في التاريخ السياسي المغربي والفكر الإسلامي ، كما أن رحلته تعد نصًا معقدًا وذات خطابات متعددة ، مما جعلها تحتل مكانة متميزة في اللإستغراب المغربي والعربي بشكل عام. و يعد هذه العمل المرة الأولى التي تظهر فيها رحلة الحجوي مترجمة إلى اللغة الإنجليزية . و من أجل الوقوف على نظرة المؤلف وأسلوبه و كذا الأصوات المتعددة في النص الأصلي، تتبنى هذه الترجمة منهج التغريب foreignization الذي دعا إليه منظرو ما بعد الاستعمار من أمثال Bassenet، و Lefevere ، و Asad ، و Venuti. غالبًا ما يتم تبسيط الرحلة الأوروبية للحجوي من طرف النقاد على أنها مشروع إصلاحي يعتمد على فرنسا كرمز للحداثة والتقدم التكنولوجي. و لكن السفر في أوروبا المدمرة بالحرب والأزمة الاقتصادية، و نظرا للصعوبات اللغوية، يجد الحاجوي نفسه في حالة التبادل الدلالي intersemiotic situation لجاكوبسون و التي وصفها مايكل كرونين "بالضياع في عالمٍ مليءٍ بالإشارات الغريبة والمهددة." و تحاول رحلة الحجوي التعامل مع هذه الحالة من الضياع في عالم هذه الإشارات الغامِضة من خلال ممارسة أشكال معقدة من الترجمات و التمثيلات للواقع الغريب في أوروبا . كما تحاول الأطروحة تسليط الضوء على التناقضات والآراء المتضاربة في تصورات "الآخر الأوروبي" في النص الرحلي للحجوي وكيف أن ظهور "الآخر الأمريكي" يقوض ثقة الرحالة المغربي بعظمة فرنسا. و الاستنتاج الآخر الذي تخلص إليه الأطروحة بفضل استخدام مقاربة النقد المزدوج كما تتصوره نظريات ما بعد الاستعمار، هو أنه في النصف الثاني من الرحلة عند انتقاله من المهمة السفارية إلى السياحية ، يقوم الحاجوي بمراجعة جذرية لآرائه ومواقفه حول أوروبا وبإعادة الاكتشاف لهويته الثقافية و الوطنية.

الكلمات المفاتيح: الحجوي ، **الرحلة الأوروبية** ، الترجمة، الاستغراب، الذات / الآخر، الهوية، برنارد لويس، نبيل مطر، أدب الرحلة، التناقض/الازدواجية، الرحلة المغربية، نظريات ما بعد الاستعمار، المغرب، فرنسا، إنجلترا، العنصرية، أمريكا، تعدد الخطابات ، إكتشاف الهوية الثقافية.

Abstract

The present dissertation is a translation and study of Mohamed al Hajwi's *Ar-Rihla Al Urobiya*, an account of his ambassadorial journey to France and touristic visit to Britain in the summer of 1919. As a faqih, a Makhzen functionary, a merchant and a traveler, al Hajwi is a very controversial figure in the Moroccan political history and Islamic thought. His travelogue is a complex and multilayered text that occupies an important place in Moroccan and Arab Occidentalism. This is the first time it appears in an English translation. The translation is as literal as possible, adopting foreignization method advocated by postcolonial theorists, namely Bassnett, Lefevere, Asad and Venuti, with the hope of capturing the intention and style of the author and the multivocal worldviews of the source text. *The European Journey* has been routinely simplified as al Hajwi's reform project based on France as the paragon of modernity and technological progress. Travelling in a Europe ravaged by war and economic crisis and being handicapped by language, al Hajwi must have found himself in Jakobson's intersemiotic condition described by Michael Cronin as a "adrift in a world of alien, threatening signs." His narrative tries to cope with this intersemiotic situation by engaging with complex forms of translations and representations of the alien realities of Europe. The present reading highlights the ambivalence, paradoxical, and sometimes conflicting views of the Europe Otherness in the narrative, and how the emergence of the American Other undermines al Hajwi's confidence in the greatness of France. Another important argument in the dissertation is that with the implementation of the Postcolonial double critique, we become aware that in the second half of the narrative as the journey shifts from a diplomatic to a tourist one, al Hajwi's goes through a radical revision of his ideas about Europe and a rediscovery of his cultural Selfhood.

Keywords: Al Hajwi, *Ar-Rihla Al Urobiya*, translation, Occidentalism, Ambivalence, Self/ Other, Identity, Bernard Lewis, Nabil Matar, Travel Narrative, intersemiotic condition, Moroccan Rihla, Postcolonialism, Morocco, France, England, America, heterogeneity, self-discovery, agency.

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INTRODUCTION

Mohamed bin Hassan al Hajwi is a highly controversial figure in Moroccan history, politics, intellectual life, and Islamic thought. Al Hajwi died in Rabat in 1956. Almost until his death, he occupied the position of Vizier (Minister) of Justice and Islamic Education. He was buried in Fez in the Kasba of Bendabbad, outside Bab Mahrouq. It was reported that none attended his funeral and that the Quoran reciters refused to recite the Quoran during his burial. Moreover, the inhabitants avoided praying at the mosque close to his burial ground. Consequently, soon after Independence, the authorities decided to exhume his body and bury it in an anonymous grave.[1] Until recently his own works and role in the history of Morocco have suffered from a conspiracy of silence, described by Abdelilah Belkeziz, a renowned Moroccan thinker and writer, as "a political veto."[2]

A similar expression is used by historian Said Ben Said Alaoui who talks about a "political exclusion" of al Hajwi and attributes it to his support for the French Protectorate.[3] However, al Hajwi is also known for his nationalist and anti-colonial politics. It should be mentioned that about a year before the establishment of the French Protectorate, al Hajwi addressed an advisory letter to Sultan Moulay Abdelhafid, denouncing French encroachments in Morocco and the corruption and tyranny of the court officials.[4] Al Hawji advised the Sultan to intervene and crack

[1]Abdeslam Abdalkader Ben Souda, *Ithaf al Mutaali'a bi Wafayat a'alam al Qarn aThalith Ashar wa ar-Rabia,* ed. Mohammed Hijji, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar al Gharb al Islami 1996), p. 560. See, also Khayr al-Din Zirikli, *Al Alaam*, vol. 6 (Beirut: Dar al Ilm Lil Malayin, 2002), p. 96.

[2] Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Al Khitab al Islahi fi al Maghrib at-Takwin wa al Masadir 1844-1918* (Beirut: Dar al Muntakhab al Arabi Li Dirasat wa an-Nashr wa at-Tawzi'a 1997) pp. 212-214. Quoted in Hassan Ahmed al Hajwi, *Al Aql wa Naql fi al Fikr al Islahi al Maghribi, 1757-1912* (Casablanca: Al Markaz a-Thaqafi al Maghribi 2003), p. 158. See, Said Ben Said Alaoui, *Al Fikr al Islahi fi al Maghrib Mohamed Bin Hassan al Hajwi Dirasa wa Nusus* (Beirut: Dar al Madar al Islami 2007), p. 15

[3] Said Ben Said Alaoui refers especially to al Hajwi's endorsement of the pretender Ben Arafa. See, his, *Al Fikr al Islahi fi al Maghrib Mohamed Bin Hassan al Hajwi*, p. 15.

[4] Assiya Ben Addada, *Al Fikr al Islahi fi Ahda al Himaya: Mohammed bin al Hassan Al Hajwi Namudajan* (Dar al Vida: Al Markaz aThaqafi al Maghribi, 2003), p. 148.

down on corruption and reform the judicial system. Additionally, he proposes to the Sultan to introduce democratic reforms by establishing an elected assembly for consultation on important matters, appealing to his sovereign in the voice of a nationalist to please his subjects, comply with their needs and establish peace "between you and your nation, even if that incurs the discontent of Europe."[5]

No wonder, Alain Roussillon and Abdallah Saaf, the translators of *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* into French, describe the author of the travelogue, Mohamed al Hajwi, "as a paradoxical character, both emblematic and ambiguous, whose entire career has taken place at the interface between the Makhzen and the French. On the one hand, as an alim and on the other as an heir to a line of great Fassi merchants."[6] It was this intriguing personality of al Hajwi which attracted my interest to his travel narrative *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya*. Like its author, this travelogue is a complex, paradoxical and ambiguous narrative.

This dissertation project involves a translation and analysis of *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya*, al Hajwi's account of his journey to France and Britain in the summer of 1919. This is the first time this travelogue appears in an English translation. In 2001, Al-Hajwi's *Rihla* appeared in a French version under the title of *Voyage d'Europe: Le périple d'un réformiste*, translated by Alain Roussillon and Abdallah Saaf. However, this translation is far from perfect. Said al-Fadili, the editor of the Arabic version of al Hajwi's *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* (2004) explains that the French translation is based on the version published by Said Ben Said Al Alaoui in his book *Uropa fi Miraat ar-Rihla* (1995). Al Fadili observes that this edition was marred by some corruptions, which found their way into the French translation, *Voyage d'Europe*.[7] More seriously, in the French translation, Roussillon and Saaf take many liberties with the original text, making alterations and mistranslations, skipping obscure sections, and omitting words, sentences, and sometimes even whole sections or pages.[8]

I chose this topic because Morocco has a rich history of cultural exchange with the West, dating back to the Middle Ages through commerce and diplomatic relations with European countries. Despite this, the voices of Moroccan travellers in the discourse of Arab Occidentalism have been underrepresented due to a lack of translated works from the Moroccan travel narrative.

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[5] Ibid., p. 149. Translation mine.

[6] Muhammad Ibn Al Hassan Al-Hajwi, *Voyage d'Europe: Le périple d'un réformiste*, trans. Alain Roussillon and Abdallah Saaf (Beyrouth: Afrique Orient, 2001), p. 165. Translation mine.

[7] See the list of inaccuracies, Mohamed ibn al Hassan Al Hajwi, *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya: 1919*, ed. Said al Fadili (Abudabi: Dar al-Suwaydi li-l-nashr wa al-Tawzi, 2004), p. 20.

[8] Ibid, p. 19.

This thesis aims to fill a part of that gap by translating and analyzing Mohamed al Hajwi's travelogue.

It should be mentioned that there are only three full-length translations of Moroccan travel narratives in English:

First, Muhammad As-Saffar's *Rihlat As-Safar Ila Faransa*, translated by Susan Gilson Miller in her book *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of A Moroccan Scholar In France in 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (1992). This is the first ambassadorial Moroccan travel account ever to appear in English translation.[9]

The second is Ahmad ibn Qasim al Hajari's *Kitab Nasir al Din 'ala 'l-Qawm al-Kafirin*, translated as *The Supporter of Religion against the Infidels* by P. S. Van Koningsveld, Q. Al-Samarrai, and G. A. Wiegers (1997).

The third one is Ahmed al-Ghazzal's *Natijat al Ijtihad fi al Muhadana wa al Jihad*, translated by Abdulrahman al-Ruwaishan as *The Fruits of the Struggle in Diplomacy and War: Moroccan Ambassador al-Ghazzal and His Diplomatic Retinue in Eighteenth-Century Andalusia* (2017).

In addition to these three books, Nabil Matar has translated selections from Mohammed Bin Al Wahab Al Ghassani's *Rihlat Al Wazir fi Iftikak al Asir* in his book *In the Land of the Christians* (2003) and Abu Hassan Tamjruti's *Al Nafha al Miskiya fi Safara at-Turkiya*, in his book *Europe Through Arab Eyes* (2008). Moreover, Matar's book *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World: The Travels of Muhammad Ibn 'Uthman Al-Miknasi* (2015), contains translations of long excerpts from Muhammad ibn 'Uthman al-Miknasi's *Al Badr al Safir li Hidayat al Musafir Ila Fikak al Asara Min Yadi al ʿAduww al Kafir* and his book *Al Iksir fi Iftikak al Asir*.

We can also mention a short extract from Driss al Amrawi's *Tuhfat al Malik al Aziz bi Mamlakat Bariz* (1860), translated by Sadik Rddad in "Driss ben Driss Al Amraoui: Moroccan Ambassador to Europe," published in *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing*, edited by Tabish Khair (2006).

These translations demonstrate a growing interest in the Moroccan ambassadorial rihla. This interest is further illustrated in the translations in French of a number of the Moroccan travelogues to Europe: Al Amrawi's *Tuhfat al Malik al Aziz bi Mamlakat Bariz* is translated into

[9] The book was initially a PhD dissertation entitled *A Voyage to the Land of Rum: The Rihlah of the Moroccan Muhammad al-Saffar to France, December 1845-March 1846*, University of Michigan, 1976.

by Zaki M'barek under the title, *La société française sous Napoléon III* (1989), and published in a bilingual volume containing both the Arabic original and the French translation. As-Saffar's travel to France was translated by Boussif Ouasti as *Une ambassade marocaine chez Louis-Philippe: rihlah al-faqih Assafar ila Bariz* (2002). Ibn Idriss Jaaydi's *Ithaf al Akhyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar* is translated as *Des curiosités de l'Europe qui émerveillent les honnêtes gens: Rihla d'Idriss al Guaydi as- Salaoui en France, en Belgique, en Angleterre et en Italie* by Samira Sbiti (2020).[10]

What sparked my interest in al Hajwi's travelogue, *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya*, is the significant place it occupies in Moroccan and Arab travel Occidentalism. It is the first travel account about Europe written during the French occupation of Morocco. In 1919, seven years after Morocco had been colonized by France, Sultan Moulay Youssef dispatched a delegation to Paris to congratulate President Georges Benjamin Clemenceau on the victory over Germany in the First World War. So, practically *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* is the travel autobiography of the colonized into the centre of the colonizer; the movement of the native from the occupied territories into the metropolis of the empire. In this respect, the author of *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* wrote about his encounters with Europe within an altogether different historical dynamics from his predecessors. It will therefore be interesting to study how these dynamics play out in his Occidentalism.

Equally important is that al Hajwi undergoes an ambassadorial journey to France, then he travels to Britain as a tourist, and finally returns to France free from any diplomatic constraints. Furthermore, unlike the cases where the composition of the travelogue is written by request from the Sultan as was in the case of al Ghazzal,[11] al Hajwi voluntarily wrote his *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* with the aim of publishing and sharing it with his Moroccan readers. It was meant for a general readership, not the Makhzen and court officials.

Finally, the book is set in three main locations: Morocco, which is the point of departure and arrival; France, first as the destination of the diplomatic mission that the Moroccan

[10] It must be stressed that sometimes the French translations are problematic. Samira Sbiti's *Des curiosités de l'Europe qui émerveillent les honnêtes gens* unjustifiably omits the section on Jaaydi's voyage to Britain. Zaki M'barek translates Driss al Amraoui's *Tuhfat al-Malik al-Aziz bi-Mamlakat Bariz* under the title, *La société française sous Napoléon III* (1989), which completely distorts the original title.

[11] Ahmad ibn al-Mahdi Ghazzal explains that during his ambassadorial mission to Spain in 1766, Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah ordered him to write down a detailed account of his journey. See, Ahmad ibn al-Mahdi Ghazzal, *The Fruits of the Struggle in Diplomacy and War: Moroccan Ambassador al-Ghazzal and His Diplomatic Retinue in Eighteenth-Century Andalusia*, trans. Travis Landry (Lanham, Maryland: Bucknell University Press, 2017), p. 57.

delegation was tasked with and to which he later returns as a private individual, visiting Paris, then Lyon and Marseilles; and Britain (London and Manchester), which al Hajwi decides to travel to after the end of his diplomatic obligations. The experience of travelling to two different countries in Europe offered al Hajwi a unique opportunity to compare and contrast the cultural and civilizational differences between two of the continent's most influential nations and the greatest industrial and colonial powers of Europe at the time; it also granted him a multiplicity of perspectives from which Europe can be experienced and perceived. My dissertation particularly seeks to capture this cultural and discursive heterogeneity in *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya*.

Another aspect which conspicuously distinguishes al Hajwi from his predecessors of Moroccan travel writers is the range of characters he embodies, as a faqih, a Makhzen official, a functionary of the Protectorate, a merchant, and a traveller. These varied roles inform his travel writing and set him apart as a unique voice in the Moroccan travel genre. They also produce ambivalence, gaps, contradictions, and on many occasions, discursive and ideological conflicts in his travel text.

In fact, al Hajwi's various personas brought him into direct conflict with political authorities and the religious establishment during his lifetime. Travelling for trade or on Makhzani missions in North Africa and Europe was for al Hajwi an opportunity to discover both the shortcomings of his own country and the scientific and technological advancements of Europe. These experiences heavily influenced his modernist discourse and progressive ideas, which frequently challenged religious conservatism and the orthodox views of his contemporaries. His unorthodox views often put him at odds with conservative *ulama*, religious scholars. For example, his advocacy for women's education was seen as a direct challenge to the status quo and posed a threat to the religious establishment. As a result, his views brought him into conflict with both the religious and political hierarchy and made him a target for censorship.

In 1923, four years after his ambassadorial mission to Europe, al Hajwi delivered a lecture advocating for girls' education and their participation in society. Among the audience was the Grand Vizier, Mohammed al Moqri, the man who led the Moroccan diplomatic mission al Hajwi documents in *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya*. Al Moqri took offence to al Hajwi's unorthodox ideas. He interrupted him stating that "the precepts of Islam prohibit an education for girls that leads to rivalling and competing with men."[12] The humiliated al Hajwi and was unable to complete his lecture.

[12] Abd Allah al Jirari, *Nin Aalam al Fikr al Mouassir bi al Adwatayn* (Rabat: Matbaat al Umniyya, 1971), vol. 1, p. 68. Translation mine.

The conspiracy of silence against al Hajwi has continued until recently. And it was thanks to the prominent Moroccan historian, Abdellah Laroui, that the embargo against the writings of al Hajwi was lifted. In a chapter, "Muhammad al-Hajwi et l'ordre urbain," in his book *Esquisses historiques*, Laroui describes al Hajwi as an intellectual endowed with remarkable intelligence, a critical spirit, and a sociological approach to the analysis of historical events. Laroui states that

> He maintained his intellectual and even his financial independence since, like his father he continued to practice commerce. He was also, in all appearances, a person of integrity. It seems that it was his personal integrity, his independence, his critical spirit, his theological knowledge and his acquaintance with the practice of the realities of the world that allowed him to avoid the members of the Makhzen … and the professors of Al Qarawiyyen.[13]

According to Laroui, it was these Makhzen officials and Al Qarawiyyen ulama who stigmatized Al Hajwi and condemned his works to oblivion. Laroui states that although al Hajwi was full of praise for France, "he was far from being a simple instrument in the hands of the colonial administration."[14] This testimony of Laroui must certainly have helped in the rehabilitation of al Hajwi in contemporary Moroccan intellectual landscape as one of the most powerful contributors to the rise of Moroccan reformist thought.

In terms of methodology, the thesis consists of three main parts. The objective of the first part of the dissertation is to present key theories and concepts related to the translation of the travel genre as well as the issues and challenges involved in the translation of Arabic writing with a specific focus on establishing a translation vision and method that help to capture the voice and intention of the original author and reproduce as faithfully as possible the original text. Within this framework concepts of literality and foreignization, as well as Spivak's translation metaphor of "literalist surrender" will be highlighted.

The translation of *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* occupies the second part of this dissertation. This part starts with "A Note on Translation," where I will explain the translation method and the procedures used throughout the translation, then it provides the full-length translation of the

[13] Abdallah Laroui, *Esquisses historiques* (Casablanca: Centre Culturel Arabe, 1992), pp.115-116. Translation mine.

[14] Ibid., p. 115. Said al Fadili, too, cites various instances where al Hajwi criticized the French judicial system in Morocco and French injustices against Moroccans. See, "Ar-Rihla al Urobiya: Tabshir Mutahamis bimaiin al llal *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya*," pp. 191-192.

original text under the title *The European Journey*, in a bilingual format with the English translation on the left side of the corresponding Arabic source. The translation will include footnotes with references, additional explanations, and the transliterated words.

And finally, the third Part, entitled "The Ambivalence of Mohammed Al Hajwi's Occidentalism In his *Rihla The European Journey,*" is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter, "Reflections On Arab and Moroccan Occidentalism," is a discussion of the main approaches to Arab Occidentalism, focusing on the most prominent paradigms in this area: Bernard Lewis and Nabil Matar. Lewis' book, *Muslim Discovery of Europe*, reverses Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, claiming that Muslim travellers perceive the world in a binary opposition of the House of Islam and the House of War, demonstrate a sense of religious and civilizational superiority in their encounters with Christian Europe, and homogenise Europe and Europeans. According to Lewis, Muslim travellers do not consider Europe worthy of interest or a source of worthwhile knowledge. This theory has been critiqued by Edward Said as being Eurocentric, while Nabil Matar in his various publications, namely *In the Land of Christians* and *Europe through Arab Eyes* has translated and studied several travel accounts about Europe to refute Lewis' approach to Occidentalism and to demonstrate Muslim's deep curiosity about the affairs of Europe, their awareness of the diversity among the European nations and their quest for knowledge in the land of the Christians. These rich interactions and exchanges between East and West are also demonstrated in the review of the literature devoted to two very important and influential books: Ibrahim Abu-Lughod's book *Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters* (1963) and Nazik Saba Yared's *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization* (1996).

The last section of this chapter offers the context for understanding and analysing al Hajwi's *Rihla* through a detailed discussion of the categories, paradigms and an overview of the Moroccan ambassadorial *Rihla*. The second chapter entitled "Al Hajwi: A Controversial Reformist and a Pilgrim in the Land of the Christians" is a detailed biography of the complex portraits of al Hajwi as a Faqih, a Makhzan Official, and Merchant. These portraits have shaped al Hajwi's worldview; his perception and representation of Europe which the thesis argues are ambivalent and paradoxical.

The last chapter in this part, "The Ambivalence of Al Hajwi's Occidentalism: Otherness and Selfhood in *The European Journey,*" will use textual analysis and postcolonial approaches to study Al Hajwi Occidentalism, compare and contrast his attitudes toward France, the country of his diplomatic mission, with England, his touristic and commercial destination. Al Hajwi's view

of the Moroccan Self and the European Other are also studied with a double critique,[15] agency and the post-colonialism concept of writing back. Al Hajwi's *The European Journey* features the heterogeneity of the European nations: the French, the English, the Russians, the Germans, and the Swiss. Interestingly enough, al Hajwi conjures up a non-European Otherness: the Americans. The entry of the Americans and their subtle influence on the multiple hierarchies of al Hajwi's travelogue are studied in the last section of this dissertation.

Finally, it is hoped that the present translation and study of al Hajwi's *The European Journey* can make a modest contribution to the understanding of the diversity and richness of the Moroccan *rihla sifariya* and inspire further translations of and research on this genre. The dissertation also hopes to make accessible an intriguingly complex Moroccan cross-cultural travel text, Al Hajwi's *The European Journey*.

[15] The term "double critique" is associated with Moroccan philosopher and thinker Abdelkebir Khatibi. It refers to his approach of critically examining both Western and non-Western cultures, as well as the intersections and tensions between them. Khatibi explains that "The double critique consists in opposing to the Western episteme its unthought-of outside, while radicalizing the margin, not only in a *thought in Arabic*, but also in another-thought that speaks *in tongues*, listening to every word– from wherever it comes. Abdelkebir Khatibi, *Plural Maghreb: Writings on Postcolonialism*, trans. P. Burcu Yalim (Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2019), p. 38.

PART ONE

APPROACHES AND ISSUES IN THE TRANSLATION OF TRAVEL GENRE AND ARABIC WRITINGS

I. APPROACHES TO TRANSLATING TRAVEL NARRATIVE

1. TRANSLATING TRAVEL GENRE

a. Susan Bassenet: Travel Genre and Translation

Travel writing has developed out of travel outside a familiar territory into a different one and the desire of the traveller to give an account of his or her travel experience, observations, and discoveries and share their accounts with audiences. Hence travel writing is a complex form that contains a striking mixture of genres: autobiography, literature, diary, history, anthropology, and ethnography. It usually allows for the expression of multifaceted voices and occupies an ambiguous border space between fact and fiction. Therefore, critics have stressed the complex heterogeneity of the discourse of travel. In this respect, Tim Youngs defines travel writing as

> predominantly factual, first-person prose accounts of travels that have been undertaken by the author-narrator. It includes discussion of works that some may regard as genres in their own right, such as ethnographies, maritime narratives, memoirs, road and aviation literature, travel journalism and war reporting, but it distinguishes these from other types of narrative in which travel is narrated by a third party or is imagined.[1]

Thus, agreeing with the quote above, Carl Thompson explains that "travel writing encompasses a *bewildering diversity of forms, modes*, and itineraries."[2] While Loredana Polezzi insists on the generic hybridity of travel genre and says in this respect that "Travel writing is a complex genre, often defined as hybrid or heterogeneous. Just as travel crosses boundaries, cultures and

[1] Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 3.

[2] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-2.

languages, so travel writing produces texts which are marked by alterity, by distance, and by multiple allegiances, crossing fact and fiction, autobiography and description, ordinary life and extraordinary adventure.[3]"

It is particularly this complexity that makes travel writing a fascinating genre for readers and researchers. In this conjunction, in his article, "Travel as Metaphor: Unmargined Realities," Ihab Hassan describes travel writing as a genre that "blends with other modes: quest, exploration, tourism, autobiography, adventure, and blends with literature… For the literature of travel is boundless, and even grows as our world shrinks. Travel, in any case, transgresses. It oversteps time as well as space, culture as well as consciousness. Blurring boundaries, though, it recreates them."[4] Generically, then, travel literature moves through space and time, blurs geographical boundaries and frontiers, and stages complex encounters with other races and cultures. Hence, the transgressive nature of travel genre.

Another aspect of travel writing is that in many ways it is fundamentally the result of the processes of interpretation and translation of foreign otherness—culture, civilization, history, society — into the language of the self. During these processes of interpretation and translation, the author-traveller has the role of filtering and channelling his travel experience and conveying to his or her readers. Therefore, the traveller plays the double role of both translator and writer.

This interesting association between travel writing and translation is more emphatically expressed in the works of Susan Bassnett, a leading theorist of travel and translation studies. For Bassnett, travel writing is fundamentally an act of translation:

> Translators are interpreters; they bring texts written in one language to the attention of readers who may have no knowledge of that language, which means that translators are responsible for the journey a text makes as it crosses an interlingual frontier. In a similar way, travel writers are responsible for bringing a narrative about their experiences in another culture to their readers, and so both translators and travel writers inhabit a contact zone where cultures converge.[5]

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[3] Loredana Polezzi, *Translating Travel: Contemporary Italian Travel Writing in English Translation* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 1.

[4] Ihab Hassan, "Travel as Metaphor: Unmargined Realities," in *Dissent and Marginality: Essays on the Borders of Literature and Religion*, ed., Kiyoshi Tsuchiya (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), p. 164.

[5] Susan Bassnett, "Translation and Travel Writing," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing* eds., Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 550.

Bassnett's comparison between the travel writer and the translator is accurate. The traveller/writer is both the camera lens and a filter when it comes to the experience that s/he comes in contact with. Be it intentionally or otherwise, travel narratives are a selective account of real experiences. The translator is in a similar fashion, being a liaison between the travel narrative and the target reader. That is why, as mentioned earlier, translation is usually approached as the interpretation of an interpretation.

For Bassnett, the traveller and the translator are interpreters. They both share the responsibility and the goal of playing the role of a bridge between cultures and languages. Bassnett goes on to stress that "just as translators exercise a high degree of individual creativity in their rewritings, so the travel writer negotiates between cultures, bringing to a target audience his or her subjective impressions of a journey undertaken. This role is akin to that of the translator, who is, above all, a mediator between cultures, a Janus-faced being who inhabits two different worlds and whose task is to bring those worlds into contact."[6] Thus, both traveler and translator engage creatively with cultural difference and have constantly to navigate and negotiate between cultures and audiences. They are fundamentally cultural mediators who "bring those worlds into contact."

Another useful link that Bassnett establishes between translation and travel-writing is that they are both "hermeneutic activities, which involve processes of exploration, of uncovering and discovering. Both activities involve different kinds of cross-cultural contact and both attempt to render in the language of the explorers, the undiscovered, the unknown, the new and unfamiliar."[7] Because of this historical link, Bassnett argues that "that the history of travel writing is also a history of translation."[8] Equally important, while stressing this link between travel and translation, Bassnett is keen to remind us that "The hugely popular genre of travel writing has translation at its heart." [9]Agreeing with Bassnett in their introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs acknowledge the impact of translation on travel writing. "Translation studies," they affirm, "has brought another

[6] Bassnett, "Translation and Travel Writing," p. 550.

[7] Bassnett is quoted in *Travel Narratives in Translation, 1750-1830: Nationalism, Ideology, Gender*, eds. Alison Martin and Susan Pickford (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 1.

[8] Bassnett, "Translation and Travel Writing," pp. 550-551.

[9] Susan Bassnett, "When is a Translation not a Translation?" in Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), p. 38.

dimension to travel, giving thought not only to translation between languages but also to translation between cultures."[10]

Similarly, in her book on Muslim travels, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*, Roxanne L. Euben says,

> Inasmuch as the explicit link between travel and the pursuit of knowledge is itself mobile, transcending cultural and historical boundaries to evoke resonances and anxieties across language and time, travel is, in Clifford's words, an invaluable term of translation. Not only is travel a term of translation, reports of such travels are also acts of translation, practices, as Francois Hartog shows, of both "seeing and making seen" and, I would add, of hearing and making heard. Importantly, however, those who are seeing and hearing, and what it is that is seen and heard, are in constant flux. This is in part because the categories of contrast are not fixed or stable; each new encounter discloses different vectors of comparison for the traveler.[11]

Euben cites the example of the fourteenth-century Moroccan traveller, Ibn Battuta. For almost thirty years, Ibn Battuta travelled in North and sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, and Asia, as far as India and China where he came in contact with various geographic, religious, linguistic, cultural, and racial frontiers. In his travel account, the *Rihlah*, Ibn Battuta translated his complex observations to his diverse audiences. Commenting on Ibn Battuta, Euben emphasizes that "The fluidity of what is translated, by whom, and for whom is also due to the fact that travellers are not only receptacles of knowledge but agents of its dissemination."[12] It is surely a complex and multidimensional task. "Ibn Battuta both gathers and conveys knowledge to curious sultans in far-flung locales; indeed, his stature as a learned man is itself the product of travel."[13]

For Euben, the audience/reader is crucial in the travel translation practice. The reader inevitably impacts the knowledge and information the traveller collects and shares. "There is,"

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[10] Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 9.

[11] Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 41.

[12] Ibid, p. 42.

[13] Ibid.

Euben states, "a certain indeterminacy to such practices of translation over time, as the status and content of the knowledge gleaned from such encounters changes with each new generation of readers. The narrative is thus always a collaboration between at least two 'authors,' the travel writer and her reader. In this way, the act of translation is double: the traveller 'sees and makes seen' for those in his own world, but to audiences in a variety of cultural and historical locations the travels may disclose different kinds of knowledge." [14]

However, there is a major difference between the traveller and the translator when it comes to language. Bassnett notes that in travel accounts the traveller's engagement with languages is rarely foregrounded and, consequently, the travel's veracity is rarely put into question. "Indeed, one of the conventions of travel writing requires readers to suspend disbelief and to accept the veracity of conversations between the traveller and people encountered on a journey, as though such conversations always take place in the traveller's own language." The authenticity of the traveller is not put into question. Bassnett elaborates on the question of authenticity in the travel genre in her seminal essay, "When is a Translation not a Translation?" She explains,

> Authenticity, the truthful account by a traveller of what he or she sees, is presented as a fundamental element of travel writing. Readers are invited to share an experience that has actually happened. When we read a travel account, we do not expect to read a novel; rather we assume that the author will be documenting his or her experiences in another culture. But the dialogues are so often patently invented that authenticity begins to dissolve.[15]

Yet, despite the risk of authenticity being questioned, the reader resists to believe in the veracity of the narrative. Consequently, Bassnett concludes, "that one of the bases upon which travel writing rests, is the collusion of writer and reader in a notion of authenticity, that is, the reader agrees to suspend disbelief and go along with the writer's pretence."[16]

By contrast, the reader of translation keeps reminding himself that the translator is involved in a bilingual contact, and is in effect "all too anxious about the 'accuracy' and

[14] Ibid.

[15] Bassnett, "When Is a Translation Not a Translation?" p. 34.

[16] Ibid., p. 34.

'authenticity' of a translated text and seem to need reassurance that the translation is indeed 'faithful', whatever that means."[17]

b. Roman Jakobson: Authenticity and Translation As Travel

The debate surrounding the issue of authenticity in translation is taken by other theorists. Russian-American formalist and structuralist, Roman Jakobson, for instance, proposes a tripartite model which divides translation into three categories:

1. Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.
2. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.
3. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems.[18]

By ***Intralingual*** Jakobson refers to a process of paraphrasing, rewording, which takes place in the context of travel to another country, but where people speak the same language of the traveler. Jakobson affirms that in the context of intralingual translation the traveller/translator can either use "another, more or less synonymous, word or resort to a circumlocution"[19] However, he stresses that synonymy does not necessarily guarantee complete equivalence. He cites, for instance, the words *bachelor* and *celibate* to demonstrate that absolute fidelity is never possible: "every celibate is a bachelor, but not every bachelor is a celibate." He stresses, "there is ordinarily no full equivalence between code-units, while messages may serve as adequate interpretations of alien code-units or messages." In addition to that "no linguistic specimen may be interpreted by the science of language without a translation of its signs into other signs of the same system or into signs of another system", and "any comparison of two languages implies an examination of their mutual translatability; widespread practice of interlingual

[17] Bassnett, "Translation and Travel Writing," p. 550.

[18] Roman Jakobson, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation," in Lawrence Venuti, ed. *The Translation Studies Reader* (London: Routledge: 2000), p. 114.

[19] Ibid.

communication, particularly translating activities, must be kept under constant scrutiny by linguistic science."[20]

Interlingual translation is translation proper; it "involves two equivalent messages in two different codes."[21] Jakobson stresses optimistically "All cognitive experience and its classification is conveyable in any existing language. Whenever there is deficiency, terminology may be qualified and amplified by loan-words or loan-translations, neologisms or semantic shifts, and finally, by circumlocutions."[22]

However, Jakobson is aware that full fidelity in translation does not exist. He gives the example of the English word "cheese." He affirms that this word does not have an exact equivalent in Russian because in Russia cheese refers to a specific cottage cheese which is not exactly English cheese. Thus, for Jakobson, words such as bachelor and cheese are culture-bound and contain untranslatable elements. Therefore, complete equivalence and fidelity in translation is an illusion.

Similarly, Walter Benjamin in his essay, "The Task of the Translator," argues that in translation languages achieve partial representations. Benjamin gives the example of the words *Brot* ["bread" in German] and *pain* ["bread" in French]. The two words refer to the same intended object. However, "the modes of this intention are not the same" and, therefore, Benjamin argues, "the word *Brot* means something different to a German than the word *pain* to a Frenchman, that these words are not interchangeable for them."[23] Thus words have special connotations and significance in the original language which cannot be easily and fully rendered in the translated language.

Such problems in translation are summarized in Michael Cronin who describes translation in his book, *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation*, as travelling in a world of languages which is fraught with difficulty. "There are the innumerable pitfalls of translation: the potential for mistranslation; the loss of meaning; the dangers of approximation; the problematic political economy of translation in the Eurocentric appropriation of other peoples and

[20] Ibid., pp. 114-115.

[21] Ibid., p. 114.

[22] Ibid., p. 115.

[23] Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1999), p. 74.

places through ex-colonial languages; the misleading myth of transparent non-refractory translation."[24]

Elsewhere, commenting on Jakobson's concept of "Interlingual translation" Michael Cronin explains that it is "what is most often thought of as translation in travel, in which travellers find themselves in a foreign country and in a foreign language and where they have some knowledge, however limited, of the foreign language." Interlingual translation is a common aspect in travel narratives and "is often disguised by writers and critics to create the illusion of linguistic transparency." Cronin explains that interlingual travel writing demonstrates "the human desire to understand the world through language and the limits of human ability to learn, speak and understand languages."[25] His book, *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation*, offers to analyse "The necessary obstacles to language competence and the frequently troubled nature of the translation exchange in foreign-language travelling … with a view to showing the hidden epistemic benefits of interlingual travelling. The uses of lexical exoticism and the featuring of translation as intertextual presence (phrase-books/dictionaries/tourist literature) in travel accounts are also explored." [26]

Elaborating on Jakobson's concept of *Intersemiotic* Cronin states that this form of travelling occurs when the traveller has no knowledge of the language of the country he is travelling so that he finds himself "adrift in a world of alien, threatening signs."[27] Cronin clarifies that "The situation may be experienced as profoundly disabling – the traveller a mute presence in a world of foreign signs that is disorienting and threatening."[28] In such case, the traveller may resort to native interpreters or to the interpretation of visual signs and non-verbal communication.

Cronin considers Jakobson's tripartite division of travel accounts into three different translation categories, namely intralingual, interlingual and intersemiotic, to be "a useful means of interpreting the otherwise confusing continuum of the language phenomenon in travel." However, he is aware that in the actual experience of translation in travelling, these categories often overlap because "Travellers may meet fellow speakers of their language from a different

[24] Michael Cronin, *Across the Lines: Travel, Language, Translation* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2000), p. 2.

[25] Ibid., p. 3.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Michael Cronin, "Languages and Travel," in *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jennifer Speake, Volume 1 (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 695.

[28] Cronin, *Across the Lines: Travel*, p. 3.

country (intralingual), be able to communicate some ideas in the foreign language (interlingual) but, at other moments, be completely stymied and have to resort to gestures (intersemiotic)." travel experience but is"[29]

c. Strategies for Translating Travel Genre

Translation according to Bassnett is not a mechanical process of transferring a text from one language to another or replacing one word from the source language to the target language. She insists that "Translation involves far more than replacement of lexical and grammatical items between languages…Once the translator moves away from close linguistic equivalence, the problems of determining the exact nature of the level of equivalence aimed for begin to emerge."[30] For Bassnett, translation involves questions of power relations. It is fundamentally contextual, and the translator is primarily a reader. In her discussion of "Arrival 1946" , a poem by Pakistani-British writer, Moniza Alvi, Bassnett insists that a translation of this poem requires extra-textual knowledge: historical background of the poem, the geographical locations in the poem and English culture mis/represented in the poem. "The problems," is according to Bassnett, "of how to transplant a poem like this, which has as its basis the idea of cultural displacement and relies upon so much additional knowledge, test the translator both as reader and as writer."[31] Hence for Bassnett translation is a rewriting process.[32]

In a similar vein, André Lefevere stresses the role of the translator as a reader and translation as a rewriting process. He introduces the notion of refracting to explain translation as a rewriting and defines it as "the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work."[33] In his *Translation,*

[29] Ibid., p. 4.

[30] Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 32.

[31] Susan Bassnett, "Transplanting the Seed: Poetry and Translation," in Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, eds., Constructing *Cultures. Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), p. 62.

[32] Ibid., p. 74.

[33] André Lefevere, "Mother Courage's Cucumbers: Text, System and Refraction in a Theory of Literature," in *The Translation Studies Reader,* ed. Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 235.

Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame, Lefevere associates translation with rewriting:

> The same basic process of rewriting is at work in translation, historiography, anthologization, criticism, and editing. It is obviously also at work in other forms of rewriting, such as adaptations for film and television… translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, and … it is potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture, lifting that author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin.[34]

Translation, especially of literary texts involves complex processes of interpretation, explanation, and paraphrasing. Because translation is a rewriting activity, "the relationship between writer and rewriter has to be established as productive."[35]

Bassnett rejects that eighteenth-century approach to the translator as a slave who is forced to "labour on another man's plantation" and promotes the translator to the position of a writer, a creator, who has the power to shape "the source text into something other, a force that could be highly subversive."[36] Hence, Lefevere seriously and repeatedly calls for translations to be called '*rewritings*' to both valorise "the status of the translator and get away from the limitations of the term 'translation.'"[37]

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[34]Andre Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 9.

[35] Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), p. 74.

[36] Susan Bassnett, "The Meek or the Mighty: Reappraising the Role of the Translator," in *Translation, Power, Subversion*, eds. Román Alvarez and M. Carmen Africa and Vidal (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996), p. 20.

[37] Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, eds., *Constructing Cultures*, p. 29.

2. TRANSLATING TRAVEL GENRE: A POSTCOLONIAL PERSPECTIVE

a. Translation As A Colonial Practice

In her book, *Translation Studies*, Bassnett notes that with the expansion of translation to countries outside the West, America and beyond Europe, to Canada, India, China, Latin America, Africa and other countries there has been a shift in translation studies from a Eurocentric perspective to new postcolonial paradigms. The translation process was previously informed and shaped by the politics of power that have characterized the relationship between the colonized and the colonizer. To put it in the words of Bassnett, "translation was effectively used in the past as an instrument of colonial domination, a means of depriving the colonized peoples of a voice. For in the colonial model, one culture dominated and the others were subservient, hence translation reinforced that power hierarchy."[38]

Indeed, during the colonial period, translation served as a means of dominance, manipulation and appropriation. In this conjunction, using Edward Said's concept of Orientalism, Lawrence Venuti highlights three ways in which translation performs violence to the source culture. In

> 1. **Configuration to the foreign texts according to the politics of power**: the reconstitution of the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs and representations that pre-exist it in the target language, always configured in hierarchies of dominance and marginality, always determining the production, circulation, and reception of texts.
>
> 2. **Linguistic domestication**: the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text with a text that will be intelligible to the target-language reader. This difference can never be entirely removed, of course…. Whatever difference the translation conveys is now imprinted by the target-language

[38] Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, p. 4.

culture, assimilated to its positions of intelligibility, its canons and taboos, its codes and ideologies.

3. **Domesticating Otherness for imperialist domestic agenda**: The aim of translation is to bring back a cultural other as the same, the recognizable, even the familiar; and this aim always risks a wholesale domestication of the foreign text, often in highly self-conscious projects, where translation serves an imperialist appropriation of foreign cultures for domestic agendas, cultural, economic, political.[39]

The violence of translation, Venuti concludes affects both the source and the target cultures. To begin with, translation plays a powerful role in the development of other cultures' national identities, and consequently, can play a significant role in generating racial, ethnic and geographical conflicts. Additionally, translation involves "the foreign text in the maintenance or revision of literary canons in the target-language culture" such as implicating literary genre, for instance, poetry and fiction, in the "struggle for cultural dominance in the target language."[40]

Within the framework of postcolonial translation, domestication and foreignization are much debated concepts. They refer to strategies related to the degree to which a translation conforms to the culture of the language a text is being translated to. Domestication is the procedure of striving to minimize the strangeness of the translated text to achieve close conformity with this culture even at the risk of sacrificing the source text. Foreignization, on the other hand, is the strategy of preserving the cultural meanings of the source text, even if that requires subverting the conventions of the language of the target reader.

For Venuti, translation is essentially a "cultural political practice." Tarek Shamma explains this concept stating that for Venuti translation "is not only a reflection of a different culture, but is engaged in the literary and ideological conflicts of the target culture itself."[41] This is so, Venuti states, because "translation wields enormous power in the construction of national

[39] Lawrence Venuti, "Translation As Cultural Politics Regimes of Domestication in English," in *Textual Practice*, ed. Terence Hawkes, 7: 2 (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 35-36.

[40] Ibid., p. 36.

[41] Tarek Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference: Arabic Literature in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 3.

identities of foreign cultures and hence can play a role in racial and ethnic conflicts and geopolitical confrontations." Translation also deserves to be called "a cultural, political practice" in so far as it is involved in "constructing or critiquing ideology-stamped identities for foreign cultures, affirming or transgressing institutional limits in the target-language culture."[42]

In his book, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, Lawrence Venuti considers translation to be fundamentally a "cultural political practice" and insists that the domestication/foreignization dichotomy is basically an ideological one and calls upon the translator to adopt foreignization as a postcolonial ethical choice.

Domestication aims at smoothing out all traces of translation and the linguistic and cultural resonances of the source language so that the translated text reads as if it was originally written (not translated) by a native author of the target language. Fluency, transparency, and "naturalness" are prioritized and the otherness and foreignness of the source text are domesticated and rendered familiar to the target reader. Hence, Venuti associates the domestication strategy with cultural hegemony and ethnocentrism, characterizing it as "the translator's invisibility." He says about "the translator's invisibility" in his famous book *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* that it "at once enacts and masks an insidious domestication of foreign texts, rewriting them in the transparent discourse that prevails in English."[43] Because of legal and cultural constraints, Venuti states, the idea of "'faithful rendition' is defined partly by the illusion of transparency." It is "an effect of fluent discourse, of the translator's effort to insure easy readability by adhering to current usage, maintaining continuous syntax, fixing a precise meaning."[44] The conditions for the production of the translation as well as the interventions of the translator in the foreign text are simply concealed. "The more fluent the translation," insists Venuti, "the more invisible the translator, and, presumably, the more visible the writer or meaning of the foreign text." [45]

Elsewhere, Venuti declares that "By producing the illusion of transparency, a fluent translation masquerades as true semantic equivalence when it in fact inscribes the foreign text with a partial interpretation, partial to English-language values, reducing if not simply excluding the very difference that translation is called on to convey." This is the translation that is

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[42] Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), p. 33.

[43] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[44] Ibid., p. 273.

[45] Ibid., p. 1.

promoted by the publication industry. Foreignizing translation is more "likely to encounter opposition from publishers and large segments of Anglophone readers who read for immediate intelligibility".[46] Hence, fluency has become a defining quality of translation despite the violence it inflicts on the foreign text insofar that the traces of foreignness or otherness are removed and erased. Therefore, Venuti describes the translator's invisibility as being "is symptomatic of a complacency in Anglo-American relations with cultural others, a complacency that can be described—without too much exaggeration—as imperialistic abroad and xenophobic at home."[47] He calls for "demystifying the illusion of transparency," laying bare the domestication techniques involved in the fluent translation.

Interestingly, Venuti reads the translation method of domestication and foreignization within politics, ideology, history and power relations. He explains that a foreignising effect can be created by "discursive variations, experimenting with archaism, slang, literary allusion and convention."[48] Also he suggests that "Discontinuities at the level of syntax, diction, or discourse allow the translation to be read as a translation … showing where it departs from target language cultural values, domesticating a foreignizing translation by showing where it depends on them."[49]

According to Venuti, the foreign aspect in foreignizing translation does not mean a transparent foregrounding of an essence that exists within the foreign text. It occurs by a disruption of the codes that prevail in the target language. In other words, a foreignising translation happens when "the translator intentionally disrupts the linguistic and genre expectations of the target language in order to mark the otherness of the translated texts."[50] In this sense foreignization becomes for Venuti a form of resistance against cultural dominance. It

> seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation, it is highly desirable today, a strategic cultural intervention in the current state of world affairs, pitched against the hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in

[46] Ibid., p. 273.

[47] Ibid., p. 13.

[48] Ibid., p. 310.

[49] Ibid., p. 24.

[50] Kjetil Myskja, "Foreignisation and Resistance: Lawrence Venuti and His Critics," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 12: 2 (2013), pp. 1-23.

> which they engage their global others. Foreignizing translation in English can be a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism, in the interests of democratic geopolitical relations.[51]

Evidently, for Venuti, foreignizing method is meant to resist cultural dominance "seeks to restrain the ethnocentric violence of translation, and …. a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, culture narcissism and imperialism."[52]

Similarly, Douglas Robinson in his *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained,* highlights the hegemonic deployment of translation stating that "translation has always been an indispensable channel of imperial conquest and occupation. Not only must the imperial conquerors find some effective way of communicating with their new subjects; they must develop new ways of subjecting them, converting them into docile or 'cooperative' subjects." [53] Robinson goes on to propose three "sequential but overlapping roles" translation can play in Postcolonial Studies:

> 1. as a channel of colonization, parallel to and connected with education and the overt or covert control of markets and institutions;
> 2. as a lightning-rod for cultural inequalities continuing after the collapse of colonialism; and
> 3. as a channel of decolonization.[54]

Thus, language and translation can be the perfect instrument of imperialism but at the same time it can be a powerful means of resistance and the dismantling of the empire.[55] To explore the ways in which translation can be deployed as an instrument of resistance and decolonization, Robinson, discusses influential works in postcolonial translation studies, namely Eric Cheyfitz's *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from 'The Tempest' to 'Tarzan'*, T.

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[51] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 16.

[52] Fadil Elmenfi, "Venuti's Foreignization: Resistance Against the Arabic Culture," *International Journal of Comparative Literature & Translation Studies*, 2: 1 (January 2014), p. 11.

[53] Robinson, *Translation and Empire*, p. 60.

[54] Douglas Robinson, *Translation and Empire: Postcolonial Theories Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome. 1997), p. 30.

[55] Robinson, *Translation and Empire*, p. 10.

Niranjana's *Siting Translation: History, Post-structuralism and the Colonial Context*, and V. Rafael's *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion of Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*.[56]

Robinson describes Eric Cheyfitz's *The Poetics of Imperialism* as "the most ambitious and comprehensive of all the recent attempts to outline a postcolonial theory of translation."[57] In his discussion of the colonization of New World, Cheyfitz draws on a wide range of historical documents, travel narratives and literary texts, including Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Richard Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting* (1584), and Edgar Rice Burroughs' novel, *Tarzan of the Apes* (1912). In the colonial encounters "languages are organized into a hierarchy according to which the colonizer's language is somehow inherently superior (richer, more civilized, etc.) and the colonized language is thus inherently inferior."[58] He considers "translation as metaphor, as transportation, as the transfer of property."[59] Cheyfitz explains that English common law uses the term *translate* to refer to transfers of real estate. Through a process of translation unowned land was transformed into the property of the native Indians in order to translate that land into European property. Therefore translation is an activity, whereby the European conquerors imposed colonization and imperialism on the New World and an instrument of domination and domestication.

Robinson concludes about Eric Cheyfitz that he successfully "showed how the colonizer repressed the political conflicts inherent within his or her own language and then projected them outward onto the relation between languages, seeing the colonizer's language and that of the colonized as not merely different but hierarchically different and at opposite ends of the evolutionary scale."[60]

Moving to *Siting Translation*, a book by Indian cultural theorist and translator, Niranjana, Robinson describes it as a book which is concerned with colonial translation in the post-colonial context. Niranjana's book addresses the ways literary criticism and ethnography infringe on

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[56] Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from 'The Tempest' to 'Tarzan'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992); and Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian conversion of Tagalog society under early Spanish rule* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1993).

[57] Robinson, *Translation and Empire*, p. 63.

[58] Ibid., p. 64.

[59] Ibid., p. 65.

[60] Robinson, *Translation and Empire*, p. 88.

translation and questions the traditional view of cultural translation as a humanistic bridge between peoples and cultures because, for Niranjana, it is merely a means used by anthropologists and ethnographers to provide Western audiences with knowledge about "unknown" cultures and people. Therefore, Niranjana says, the "postcolonial question that these humanistic – universalizing or Eurocentric – approaches have repressed… and that literary and ethnographic students of translation problems have only recently begun to ask, is: to what extent is the humanism of Western studies of translation complicit in various colonial projects?" Another question worth asking is "Is there something in the very nature of the problems posed – and the kinds of solutions adopted – in translation studies and ethnography that lends itself, borrows from, authorizes the discourse of colonization that underwrites the project of imperialism?"[61]

Robinson recommends Niranjana for showing "how the British interpellated the Indians as inferior through their translation of Indian laws and literature into English."[62] She advocates "a transformative practice of 'retranslation', the radically new translation of Indian and other colonized peoples' texts in ways that seek to further the ongoing process of decolonization."[63] This decolonization project of retranslation is "most radically productive if it is literalist – if it remains as close as possible to the original text."[64] The cultural traces of the colonizer's presence should not be eradicated but transformed or reframed. She cautions against "nationalist/nativist assimilation of colonial myths … the suppression of difference, heterogeneity and hybridity." [65] Thus, for Niranjana a transformative practice of retranslation is a celebration of "heterogeneity rather than attempting to suppress it."[66]

> Translating, like rereading/rewriting history, involves a 'citing' or 'quoting' of words from one context to another. This means, on the one hand … that the words of colonized populations can be 'cited' or 'translated' or 'reread/rewritten' by colonizers in ways that reframe the colonized culture in the interests of colonial domination, ways that interpellate Indians for example as mystical, childish, sexual, primitive, mendacious and above all as subject to British rule. But it also means …

[61] Ibid., p. 39.

[62] Ibid., p 88.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid., p. 92.

[66] Ibid.

> that postcolonial subjects can use the same processes to decolonize their own individual and collective minds.[67]

Gabriela Saldanha and Mona Baker explain that following Walter Benjamin, Niranjana recommends "literalism as the preferred mode of retranslation, arguing that 'citing or quoting is in turn akin to *literalness* in translation. For Benjamin, this broadly means that the unit of translation is not the sentence but the word, and that the translation should 'hold back from communicating'… and instead reflect the syntax of the original'"[68] Niranjana advocates a translation strategy that can unfold the diversity of the translated indigenous people. This can be achieved by means of a "literalness which foregrounds heterogeneity in the translation through a mixture of natural and non-natural target language expressions and both familiar and foreign elements."[69] Niranjana's literalism, Gabriela Saldanha and Mona Baker further explain, is her preferred mode "for a type of interlinear, word-for-word translation which 'provides a literal rendering of the syntax', 'lovingly and in detail incorporates the original's mode of signification', and 'holds back from communicating.'"[70] Gabriela Saldanha and Mona Baker characterize Niranjana's literalism as "extreme literalism."

b. James Clifford: Translating Cultural Otherness

This chapter on travel and translation concludes with a discussion of two important works that are relevant to translation and the representation of foreign cultures and people, James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* and Talal Asad's "Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology."[71]

Clifford is an American historian of Anthropology and Professor Emeritus in the History of Consciousness Department at the University of California, Santa Cruz. His publications include *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited with

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[67] Ibid., pp. 92-93.

[68] Ibid., p. 93.

[69] Gabriela Saldanha and Mona Baker, *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (London, New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 79.

[70] Ibid., p. 203.

[71] Talal Asad, "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986), pp. 141-164.

George Marcus (1986), *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (1988), *Traveling Theories, Traveling Theorists*, edited with Vivek Dhareshwar (1989), *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (1997), *On the Edges of Anthropology* (2003), and *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty First Century* (2013). These titles exhibit his research interests in travel, translation, and cross-cultural representation.

Routes is a book that treats travel and translation in the time of globalization and transnationalism. It is considered by critics as the sequel to James Clifford's *The Predicament of Culture*. Clifford himself states in the prologue that *Routes* is a continuation of *Predicament*, especially in its endeavour to "ethnographic practice and . . . the display of art and culture in museums"[72] However, as Richard Handler points out, "although the two books overlap topically, their theoretical goals differ: we might say that whereas *Predicament* worked to deconstruct culture theory, *Routes* turns to its reconstruction."[73] In *On the Edges of Anthropology*, James Clifford describes *Routes* as a book that

> assumes this mix of location and receptivity, tracking the conjoined practices of travel and translation. It assumes that while one's geopolitical, worldly itineraries and encounters are powerfully constrained they are not ultimately determined. Location isn't a prison; it's comprised of material, but unfinished, maps and histories. In this book the ethnographic trope is replaced by a "travel" metaphor—similarly a source of insight and blindness, a translation term that needs to be cut down to size.[74]

In Clifford's transcultural theory, travel and translation are independently connected. This connectedness is highlighted by Clifford's statement that "During the course of this work, travel emerged as an increasingly complex range of experiences: practices of crossing and interaction that troubled the localism of many common assumptions about culture."[75] Travel involves

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[72] James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 8.

[73] Richard Handler, "Review of *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*," *American Ethnologist*, 25: 1, (1998), p. 4.

[74] James Clifford, *On the Edges of Anthropology: Interviews* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003), p. 29.

[75] Clifford, *Routes*, p. 3.

processes such as negotiation, circulation, and cultural borrowing. Such processes, in Clifford's view, "are never free exchanges: the work of transculturation is aligned by structural relations of dominance and resistance, by colonial, national, class, and racial hierarchies." [76]

As its title indicates, *Routes* uses the metaphor of "routes" and "roots" to try and capture Clifford's idea of reimaginig the trope of routes and roots, identity and mobility as "traveling cultures" where cultures, boundaries and identities are fluid. To put it in the words of Clifford, *Routes* asks the following questions: "Is it possible to locate oneself historically, to tell a coherent global story, when historical reality is understood to be an unfinished series of encounters? … What are the conditions for serious translation between different routes in an interconnected but not homogeneous modernity?"[77]

Clifford repeatedly stresses that "Cross-cultural translation is never entirely neutral" because it is inevitably implicated in relations of power. He writes:

> One enters the translation process from a specific location, from which one only partly escapes. In successful translation, the access to something alien—another language, culture, or code—is substantial. Something different is brought over, made available for understanding, appreciation, consumption. At the same time … the moment of failure is inevitable. An awareness of what escapes the "finished" version will always trouble the moment of success.[78]

Clifford deliberately uses the word "failure" to provoke the translation into the "critical awareness of one's position in specific relations of power and thus, potentially, reopens the hermeneutic process. Such an awareness of location emerges less from introspection than from confrontation ("You are white"; "You are a postmodernist") and from practical alliance."[79] Thus, Clifford wants the translator to be perfectly aware of his or her position vis-à-vis the translated text, the source culture and the target reader:

> Translation is thus presented as both a material condition of the transfer of texts from one culture to another, and a methodological and analytical framework which can highlight constraints and characteristics of the texts under examination (both

[76] Clifford, *On the Edges of Anthropology*, p. 34.

[77] Clifford, *Routes*, p. 13.

[78] Ibid., p. 183.

[79] Ibid.

> originals and translated versions), as well as those of the audiences they address and the literary and critical traditions they enter.[80]

Clifford rejects translations that cater for the needs and sensibilities of the target audience and reinforce the reader's cultural convictions and assumptions by translating otherness as familiar. "In the kind of translation that interests me most," affirms Clifford, "you learn a lot about peoples, cultures, and histories different from your own, enough to begin to know what you're missing."[81] Therefore it is a translation that undermines rather reinforces the target reader's cultural assumptions and convictions.

Travel and translation are for Clifford as a means for cultural comparison, learning about other people and places. They are sites of encounter, acquiring knowledge and identity transformation. What he calls the "transforming encounter."

c. Talal Asad: Cultural Translation and Politics of Power

In his writings and discussion of travel and translation, James Clifford repeatedly refers to Talal Asad's article "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology." In fact, the article was first printed in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* edited by James Clifford and George Marcus. Asad's article is a key reference in the reflection on cultural translation. Here, Talal Asad describes anthropology in terms of cultural translation: "the phrase 'the translation of cultures' ... increasingly since the 1950s has become an almost banal description of the distinctive task of social anthropology."[82] Asad explains by quoting from British social anthropologist, Edmund Leach,

> We started by emphasizing how different are "the others"—and made them not only different but remote and inferior. … "the others" remained obstinately other. But now we have come to see that the essential problem is one of translation. The linguists have shown us that all translation is difficult, and that perfect translation is

[80] Polezzi, *Translating Travel*, p. 2.

[81] Ibid., p. 39.

[82] Talal Asad, "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 141.

> usually impossible. And yet we know that for practical purposes a tolerably satisfactory translation is always possible even when the original "text" is highly abstruse. Languages are different but not so different as all that. Looked at in this way social anthropologists are engaged in establishing a methodology for the translation of cultural language.[83]

Thus, for Asad, the task of social anthropology involves "cultural translation." He writes in this respect that "the anthropologist's translation is not merely a matter of matching sentences in the abstract, but of learning to live another form of life and to speak another kind of language."[84]

Asad admits that cultural translation shares several aspects with language translation, yet it differs from it on a number of issues: "One difference between the anthropologist and the linguist in the matter of translation is perhaps this: that whereas the latter is immediately faced with a specific piece of discourse produced within the society studied, a discourse that is then textualized, the former must construct the discourse as a cultural text in terms of the meanings implicit in a range of practices." However, Asad stresses, because of the language hierarchy between the Western world and third-world, "the process of 'cultural translation' is inevitably enmeshed in conditions of powers — professional, national, international."[85]

His idea for a good translation is a translation that mains at reproducing "the structure of an alien discourse within the translator's own language." Asad explains by invoking a quote from Walter Benjamin who writes: "The language of a translation can — in fact must — let itself go, so that it gives voice to the *intention* of the original not as reproduction but as harmony, as a supplement to the language in which it expresses itself, as its own kind of *intentio*"[86] . A good translation is that which echoes the intention of the original author and of his original language. Asad clarifies more on this issue with a useful quote from Rudolf Pannwitz,

> Our translations, even the best ones, proceed from a wrong premise. They want to turn Hindi, Greek, English into German instead of turning German into Hindi, Greek, English. Our translators have a far greater reverence for the usage of their own language than for the spirit of the foreign works. . . . .The basic error of the translator

[83] Ibid., p. 142.

[84] Ibid., p. 149.

[85] Ibid., p. 163.

[86] Ibid., p. 156.

> is that he preserves the state in which his own language happens to be instead of allowing his language to be powerfully affected by the foreign tongue. Particularly when translating from a language very remote from his own he must go back to the primal elements of language itself and penetrate to the point where work, image, and tone converge. He must expand and deepen his language by means of the foreign language.[87]

Thus, like many postcolonial translation theorists Asad advocates foreignizing as a strategy and a means to address power relations in cultural translation. Asad concludes, "the process of `cultural translation' is inevitably enmeshed in conditions of powers — professional, national, international."[88]

A major concept in "The Concept of Cultural Translation" is Asad's drawing attention to the way power relations can affect translation and the linguistic transfer between different cultures. Such power relations according to Asad create what he calls "the inequality of languages."[89] Interestingly, Asad argues that the translator has no authority in the production of translation; the process of translation does not depend on the individual intention or agency of the translator. It "depends on the willingness of the translator's *language* to subject itself to this transforming power [...] I want to emphasize that the matter is largely something the translator cannot determine by individual activity ... that it is governed by institutionally defined power relations between the languages/modes of life concerned."[90]

And again in his article, "A Comment on Translation, Critique and Subversion," Talal Asad affirms that "the structures of power the colonized writer confronts are institutional, not textual."[91] To cope with the institutionalized power relations informing translation, Asad calls for a "more systematic consideration of the social preconditions and consequences of translating Western discourses."[92] Explained in the words of Tarek Shamma, "Indeed, while the individual

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[87] Ibid., p. 157.

[88] Ibid., p. 163.

[89] Ibid., p. 164.

[90] Ibid., p. 157.

[91] Talal Asad, "A Comment on Translation, Critique, and Subversion," in *Between Languages and Cultures: Translation and Cross-Cultural Texts*, ed., Anuradha Dingwaney and Carol Maier (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press), p. 330.

[92] Ibid. p. 329.

translator has no control over the social preconditions that shape the communicative act, he/she should strive to acquire a full knowledge of them before adjusting his/her translation to the relevant contextual parameters."[93]

> Translation requires a sensibility to the power relations embedded in the process. In the end both language and cultural translation require knowledge of both language and culture; one cannot do without the other. In the hands of the best practitioners of this double-form of translation, knowledge and experience of language and culture inform one another.[94]

Susan Pickford states that the translation of travel accounts "has been a prime site for ideologically motivated textual manipulation." She lists out the translation strategies whereby translators have tried to present the original travel text to their readers; these include "translators commonly engaging in practices such as abridgement and paratextual commentary to adapt the text to the prevailing ideologies of the new publishing and reading context."[95] Cutting pages to shorten the text is often practised. When faced with exotic terms for which there is no equivalent in the target language, translators have adopted foreignizing strategies such as transcription, transliteration, and Cronin's concept of "lexical exoticism." While others have used domesticating strategies which involve borrowings, translating the unknown in terms of the known. Hence, the role of the translator is a mediator between the traveller and the receiving culture. The translator intervenes in a variety of ways to reshape, the text, sometimes radically, to make it accessible to readers and influencing their reactions.

Such strategies can be best observed in Inmaculada Tamarit Vallés' critical analysis of the Spanish translation of Alexandre de *Laborde's Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne*. Vallés notes

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[93] Tarek Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 120.

[94] Mark S. Smith, *God in Translation Deities in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Biblical World*, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2010), pp. 2-3.

[95] Susan Pickford, "Travel Writing," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* Mona Baker, Gabriela Saldanha (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 609.

that the translator-editor "gave free rein to his creative talents, cutting short some passages which he found excessively long and others he considered inaccurate or even false."[96]

The translator suppressed passages and corrected or added information, "as he saw fit, order to create a book adapted to a Spanish readership, whose needs he considered as very different to those of the French." The cuts Vallés observes affected passages that the translator considered to be irrelevant or known facts but, more interestingly, which he considered to be negative or offensive towards aspects of Spanish life. One of such cases is the reference in the French original to the backwardness of the Extremadura province.

Another case is Laborde's expressions of admiration for the Moors of Spain and attribution of the decadence of Spain to their expulsion. These are omitted in the translation because, Vallés explains, "In the period when the translator was working, this view could not be openly expressed in Spain where the idea persisted that the expulsion of the Moors was a Christian victory and a liberation from what was perceived to be the yoke of Muslim *oppression*."[97]

Another example is the passage where Laborde describes the people of Valencia as

> The pleasure of revenge holds an invincible attraction for them (the people of Valencia) ... they fight with a rage that has something barbaric about it. The treachery that they employ in their vengeance at times easily leads them to murder ... murders are still frequent there; I saw six committed in Valencia in five months.[98]

This passage is simply omitted from the translation. Another significant intervention of the translator editor is to mitigate the French author's admiration for Moorish culture and his statement that the underdevelopment of Valencia Spain was the result of the expulsion of the Moors. Laborde says:

> Les Maures eurent pour elle la même prédilection, et ces derniers, auxquels on a prodigué avec injustice le nom de Barbares, connurent ce qu'elle valait, et

[96] Inmaculada Tamarit Vallés, "Translation, Rewriting, Adaptation: The Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne by Alexandre de Laborde," in *Travel Narratives in Translation, 1750-1830* (London: Routledge: 2012), p. 74.

[97] Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[98] Ibid., p. 86.

> accoururent en foule pour la peupler. Leur expulsion fut l'époque de l'abandon presque total de cette province; et depuis ce temps, elle est restée dans un état qui la rend Presque nulle pour l'Espagne.

This passage is rendered in the Spanish translation as "The Moors . . .aware of the fertility of its soil, made their home there, so that it became the most highly populated of all the Spanish provinces. Its decadence dates from the time of their expulsion. [99] Vallés comments on the translation stating that it "contains no value judgments, restricting itself to reflecting objective facts and reducing the catastrophic description of the province's situation at the time to the single word 'decadence'".[100]

Vallés gives several other examples of the intervention of the translator editor and concludes that the Spanish translation gives the French original a completely different tone. The translator assigns himself a "different role, namely that of an intermediary who gives his opinion of the text, modifies, shortens, eliminates and adds to it as he sees fit, with the excuse of serving the needs of his readers. Given that it was in the interest of the translator-editor to make the work acceptable to its target audience."[101]

Vallés concludes by invoking Andre Lefevere's argument that as a form of adaptation and rewriting the process of translation is controlled by "a range of different motivations, ideological concerns being chief among them." The process might be constrained by the literary form the translator is dealing with yet in the end the translation is "usually made to fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological currents of the time."[102]

[99] Ibid., p. 84.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid., p. 87.

[102] Ibid., p. 74.

II . POETICS AND POLITICS OF TRANSLATING ARABIC LITERATURE

In recent years the theory and practice of translating Arabic texts into English have triggered heated debates. These debates have been inspired by the discussions taking place within Orientalism Studies and Postcolonial Translation Studies and have focused on questions of translatability/untranslatability, linguistic relations of power, foreignization vs. domestication, reception by the target readership, politics of translation and "how the particularly nuanced and uneven power relationship between the Arabic-speaking and English-speaking worlds, particularly in twentieth and twenty-first-century contexts, are articulated."[103] This chapter some important debates in the translation of Arabic writings in English.

1 . TAREK SHAMMA: A CRITIQUE OF THE TRANSLATION OF ARABIC LITERATURE

a. Foreignization As Domestication

In his book, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference Arabic Literature in Nineteenth-Century England* (2009), Tarek Shamma uses Lawrence Venuti's approach to examine the translations from Arabic into English of the *Arabian Nights* in nineteenth-century England. His focus is on the translations of Edward Lane, Richard Burton, and Wilfred Blunt. Shamma's study concludes that the translation strategies of these authors had significant ideological and political implications.

Concerning William Edward Lane's 1839 translation of the *Arabian Nights,* the first English translation to be made directly from Arabic, is in Shamma's view, a translation that adheres to literalism as "a strategy which produced foreignized representations and was a means

[103] Michelle Hartman, "Dreams Deferred, Translated: Radwa Ashour and Langston Hughes: La traducción de Dreams Deferred: Radwa Ashour y Langston Hughes," *CLINA*, vol. 2: 1 (Jun 2016), p. 65.

of collecting information about prospective colonies."[104] Lane was keen to preserve as much as possible the content and style of the Arabic original by trying to reproduce idioms, grammar, and turns of phrase. Hence, his use of expressions of "stilted and artificial English" such as "And what, she asked, was that, O my father," and "he said to her, O maid, the king saith unto thee". He also uses "what could be called etymological translation, where, instead of the contemporary, immediate usage of the word, he opted for the lexicographical origin, thus giving the text much more connotation than was intended." For instance, he translates "*fi aqalli min lahda*" ("less than a second" into "in less than the twinkling of an eye." And "*ibn adam*" (a human being) into "a son of Adam."

Moreover, Lane engaged in the editing of the original by deleting sections and stories which he thought to be "comparatively uninteresting or on any account objectionable."[105] For instance, in the "Tale of El-Amjad and El-As'ad," a woman discloses her attraction to her step son. This Lane omits because the subject is disgusting to good taste. On other occasions, Lane altered the meaning of the original for propriety's sake. For instance, he translated a passage where a husband finds his wife in bed with a black slave into "he there beheld his wife sleeping in his bed, and attended by a male negro slave, who had fallen asleep by her side."

Lane also takes the liberty of abridging tales, dividing and reorganizing chapters and by so doing, Shamma comments, he has "turned it into a collection of separate tales, with the unifying thread of the frame tale receding into the distant background."[106] Another significant editorial intervention is the omission of the distinctive character of the *Arabian Nights* by eliminating Shahrazad's interventions at the beginning and end of every night, which function as a powerful control of her despotic husband.

Lane considers the *Arabian Nights* to be an encyclopaedia of Arab manners and customs and sees himself as a cultural translator and mediator whose task is to acquaint his readers with the world of Arabs. Hence he supplemented his translation with abundant lengthy "anthropological" footnotes and cross-references on the religious, political and social aspects of the people of the tales which read as self-sufficient articles in themselves with titles such as "On Fate and Destiny", "On Muslim Saints, or Devotees", "On Infancy and Education", "On Sales by Auction" "Mohammadan Religion and Law", "Arabian System of Cosmography", "On Good

[104] Tarek Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference: Arabic Literature in Nineteenth-Century England* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 5.

[105] Quoted from Lane in Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 33.

[106] Ibid., p. 35.

and Evil Omens", "On Oaths", "On Shaving the Head", "On the Passion of Love among the Arabs." "Decorations of Eastern Cities", "Description of Apartments in Arab Houses", "Marriage", etc.[107] Lane's translation deliberately foregrounds the factuality of the tales at the expense of imagination because the main objective of Lane's literal and realistic translation "was the textual 'exhibition' of another culture, displaying it in precise detail and delivering it to his countrymen in its totality."[108]

To further enhance his representation of the Orient, Lane supplements his translation with copious illustrations to visually exhibit the curious world he translates. Here, Shamma invokes Timothy Mitchell's statement in his article, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order" that the "task of cultural translators of the East was 'not just to make a picture of the East but to set up the East as a picture.'"[109] Hence, according to Shamma, Lane's realistic translation is intended to make the reader see not only "the exhibition that was the East, but the East itself being fashioned into an exhibition to be experienced by the dominant European gaze… to show the *colonial* power in action as it imposed order and meaning on the Oriental world."[110]

Shamma uses Lane's translation of the *Arabian Nights* to challenge postcolonial translation studies which advocate literalism as a strategy to preserve the alterity of the source text and foreground the foreignness of the text to present and preserve the Other culture. Shamma refers to Lawrence Venuti's call on the translator to "signal the foreignness of the foreign text and create a readership that is more open to linguistic and cultural difference"[111] and to Gayatri Spivak's recommendation in "The Politics of Translation" that "the task of the translator is to

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[107] Shamma notes that later Lane took out these bulky footnotes and published them in a book form as *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages: Studies from the Thousand and One Nights* (1883), with a recommendation that the book provides "the most complete picture in existence of Arabian society." Shamma comments that "it is not surprising that, in many cases, the text was a mere pretext for him to present what he knew about Egyptian society, even when it was irrelevant to the story in question," Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 36.

[108] Ibid., p. 44.

[109] Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order", in Nicholas Dirks, ed. *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p. 305.

[110] Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 45.

[111] Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 87.

surrender herself to the linguistic rhetoricity of the original text."[112] The other postcolonial translation theorist Shamma refers to is Tejaswini Niranjana's who attacks in her book *Siting Translation* the translations that aim at creating "coherent and transparent texts through the repression of difference, and participating thereby in the process of colonial domination"[113] and proposes literalism as a translation method that disrupts the "strategies of containment typical of colonial discourse."[114]

Shamma critiques these Postcolonial theorists of translation for their celebration of literalism, arguing that when "set against Lane's literalist translation in its colonial context, these formulations seem too theoretical and prescriptive." Despite its effort to avoid domestication and eagerness to reproduce as meticulously and authentically as possible the linguistic and cultural foreignness of the source text, "Lane's work neither disrupted the norms of the translating society, nor created a reading public more open to cultural difference, not to mention combating strategies of colonialist containment. Quite the contrary: as Lane's example demonstrates… literalist translation can actually serve imperialist agendas."[115]

Shamma singles out two ways in which literalist procedures can be complicit with colonial hegemony. First, it could be a means of collecting accurate and precise information on the native colonized to be used in conquering or maintaining dominance. This explains why colonial projects are usually accompanied by huge scale translation activities. Second, in the context of power imbalance "the exhibitionary effect that literal translation …. is far from encouraging respect for the difference of foreign cultures." Gathering information on the Other, translating Otherness, and studying it become in themselves "the symbol − indeed, the actual realization − of the power to control and subjugate."[116]

Thus, Shamma is keen to argue that the literalist translation theoretical assumptions proposed by Berman, Venuti, Spivak, and Niranjana as a tool that promotes "anti-imperialist and resistant forms of cultural representation" produce exactly the opposite effect in the case of Lane's translation of the *Arabian Nights*. "What this shows," Shamma writes,

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[112] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Politics of Translation", in Michele Barrett and Anne Phillips, eds., *Destabilizing Theory: Contemporary Feminist Debates* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), p. 187.

[113] Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 43.

[114] Niranjana, *Siting Translation*, p. 185.

[115] Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 42.

[116] Ibid.

> is that literalism per se cannot be advanced as an ideology; nor can one make assumptions about its desired effect in isolation from its political and social environment. Before making our estimate of what agendas a translation could, or should, be enlisted in, one has to be aware of the conditions that surround its production and reception. These, it is argued, are the major factors that should inform the choice of the translation strategy on the textual level. [117]

The next translation Shamma analyses is Richard Francis Burton's translation of the *Arabian Night*s published 1885-88. He argues that, unlike Lane's translation which was informed by an anthropological commitment to document and represent the Other culture and people, Burton's is "centred on the emotive, portraying the Orient as a place of mystery, moral laxity, sensual pleasures, and unbridled emotions."[118] Burton's foreignizing translation techniques emphasized the strangeness of the Arabs and the Arab culture in a way that "rather than disrupting the feelings of moral complacency and cultural superiority of its readers, it eventually corroborated these feelings. For it served to reaffirm Victorian belief systems by depicting deviations from them as bizarre and abnormal, if somehow entertaining." [119]

Burton's foreignzation took literalism very seriously and endeavoured to capture every idiosyncratic aspect of the source language, "turns of expression", rhetorical devices, imagery, and even sentence structure. For instance, he preserves word repetitions such as, "the Compassionating, the Compassionate," "a King of the Kings of the Persians" "talk answered talk", "a merchant of the merchants", "jolliest and joyousest", "Joyed with exceeding joy" "marvelled with exceeding marvel"; "to die by the illest of deaths." Shamma notes that the "frequency of such expressions in his translation almost exceeds that in Arabic: every page is peppered with such expressions." Besides repetitions, Burton's translation uses *saja'*, end rhyme, to invoke the original. For instance, "without stay or delay", "none to guide and from the way go wide", "wrath exceeding that lacked no feeding", "this heart of mine! O dame of noblest line", "whatso woman willeth the same she fulfilleth however man nilleth". Shamma comments that *saja'* in Arabic literature is meant to make "the narrative, which is intended to be recited to an

[117] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[118] Ibid., p. 5.

[119] Ibid.

audience, flow with conversational smoothness. In Burton's translation, however, *saja'* sounds artificial, tedious, and often cumbersome."[120]

Another foreinizing technique is the reproduction of the original grammatical structure of the Arabic verb-subject word order as in "It hath reached me [...] that quoth the king's son to himself"; "then came forward the Greek"; "Said Shahryar, who was much surprised by these words." And the use of archaic words and expressions: "thou" and "thy", "aught" and "naught", "ere" for "before", "ye" for "you", "anon" for "at once" and expressions such as : "Woe betide thee! What means thy weeping"; "an thou speak sooth." And for the sake of outlandishness, Burton deliberately deviates from the Arabic original by making every person kiss the ground before a king and every woman as beautiful as a 'full moon' or 'gazelle', regardless of whether this is the case in the original. This deliberate exoticising technique is manifest in the many alterations in Burton's translation such as in these examples:

Transliteration if the original	**Literal translation**	**Burton's translation**
hathihi almal'una	this damned woman"	"damned whore"
salla saifahu wa đaraba alithnaini faqatalahuma fi alfirash	"drew his sword, struck the two [his wife and her lover] and killed them in bed"	drew his scymitar [...] cutting the two in four pieces with a single blow"
'abd naiym	"sleeping slave"	"sleeping eunuch"
fara'a khadim'ala faras	"he saw a servant riding a mare	"fell in with an Eunuch riding a mare"

Shamma notes that Burton's translation systematically substitutes servant for eunuch in order to invoke and fantasize about the harem world and deviates from the original to eroticize the Orient. For instance, in one of the stories, the prince finds a young lady lying asleep "*mujallalatun bi sha'riha*." Burton translates it as "a young lady lying asleep, chemised in her hair" and supplements his translation with a footnote explaining that "Eastern women in hot weather, lie mother-nude under a sheet here represented by the hair." Clearly, according to Shamma, Burton's translation Orientalises and eroticizes the Orient, rendering it appealing to Victorian audiences and catering for their taste for exotic sexuality. To put it in the words of Shamma

[120] Ibid., p. 66.

> Burton did not hesitate to augment his translation with anything that he thought might enhance the impression of outlandishness. … Prose rhyme, repetition, stock Arabic metaphors, as well as some clichés that Burton coined … regardless of whether the source text uses them in a specific place or not. Burton was trying, as it were, to out-oriental Orientals. Naturally, his favourite embellishments were those that contributed to the exotic or sensational character of the narrative.[121]

Burton's alterations serve to perpetuate the conventional Western stereotypes about the Orient. Hence, Shamma qualifies Burton's interventions as a form of "discursive violence." He writes, "As these example show, Burton's notes combine into an overbearing metadiscourse that engulfs the source text, trying to control its signifying structure, and to adapt it to a predetermined representational framework. Yet, this process could not but leave the traces of its discursive violence."[122]

At the theoretical level, Shamma notes that "to judge by the translator's claims and the method of translation he adopted, Burton's *Arabian Nights* would seem to be a model case of what Venuti advocates in translation. Its foreignizing strategy was designed to preserve the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text. …Nevertheless, as argued above, the effect of Burton's translation, as reflected in its reception, was quite different from Venuti's postulates." [123] Shamma invokes Paul Bennett's argument that despite the fact that the procedure of foreignizing in translation "brings home to the reader more clearly the various aspects of the author's world-view, it is hard to see how this in itself challenges the reader's cultural assumptions."[124] Consequently, instead of providing an alternative form of representing the Other and disrupting the target reader's sense of cultural superiority, Burton's translation of the *Arabian Nights* serve to confirm and consolidate Western stereotypes.[125]

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[121] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[122] Ibid., p. 70.

[123] Ibid., pp. 77-78.

[124] Paul Bennett, "Lawrence Venuti: The Scandals of Translation," *The Translator,* 5: 1 (1999), p. 132. Quoted in Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference,* p. 78.

[125] Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference,* pp. 77-78. Shamma's study of Burton's translation and critique of Venuti's notion of foreignizing translation was originally published in an earlier version "The Exotic Dimension of Foreignizing Strategies: Burton's Translation of the *Arabian Nights*," published in *The Translator*, 11 (2005), pp. 51-67. Venuti responded to Shamma criticism in his

b. Domestication As Resistance

The third translation of Arabic literature Shamma discusses is by Wilfred Blunt. What Shamma likes about Blunt is his awareness of the problematics of translation and that translation is never a perfect substitute for the original text. Using the language of contemporary Postcolonial translation critics Blunt stresses that an "absolutely verbal rendering of verse in another language is nearly always a betrayal … and that is especially true when Arabic and English are in question. To translate baldly, where tongues are so different, is to outrage the original, and often to render it ridiculous."[126] For Shamma, Blunt's "criticism of literalist translation may just as well be a commentary on the strategies of Lane and Burton."

Blunt's inspirational model for the translation of the Arabian odes was Edward Fitzgerald's translation of the *Rúbaiyāt of Omar Khayyam* (1859). Shamma affirms that following Fitzgerald's translation approach the Blunts sought to capture the "spirit" and "chivalric heroism" of the original poems. Hence, "the Blunts steered away from the overly literalist practices that had focused on the surface features of the Arabic texts. While they were faithful to the original, producing a generally accurate translation… there was no attempt to mirror the grammatical or stylistic structures of the Arabic texts." [127]

Departing from foreignization of Lane and Burton, the Blunts used a domestication approach seeking "to find familiar equivalents for the cultural and linguistic features of the Arabic texts, even when this sometimes resulted in inaccuracies or anachronisms." [128] Shamma enthusiastically praises the translation of *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* as being dignified and lucid in style and its occasional use of archaism as "probably the best contemporary vehicle for chivalric romance, and one which stands in stark contrast to the stilted,

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revised edition of his *The Translator's Invisibility* (2008) in the chapter "Call to Action." Shamma comments on Venuti's response that "Instead of tackling my central argument − that the emphasis on difference in foreignizing translation may end up depicting others… as alien and bizarre, or at best exotic, and could therefore justify cultural superiority rather than defy it − Venuti centres his analysis on what he maintains is a misunderstanding of Burton's readership and his purposes," Tarek Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 81.

[126] Lady Anne and Wilfrid Blunt, *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* (London: Chiswick Press, 1903), p. xx. Quoted in Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 109.

[127] Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 110.

[128] Ibid.

faux-authentic mannerisms of Burton and Lane."[129] Blunts' translation abounds with the vocabulary of chivalrous romance such as "maiden," "noble," "lineage," "honour," "knight," "fair lady," "woo," even when they are absent from the original. Shamma comments, "The use of chivalrous expressions "reveals a conscious effort to couch the Arabic texts in the familiar terms of European chivalric romance."[130]

The Blunts are creative with their translation. Abu Zeyd's order to his servant to "Find out the story of this woman" (*ikshuf lana khabara hatħihi alĥurma*) is translated as: "read me the errand of this fair Lady." A*l'ajuz*, "the old woman" is translated as "the ancient dame", al'aṫaia *alza'ida*, "abundant gifts," as "noble gifts", *banat*, "young girls" as "damsels", and [*bu'ulatana*] "our husbands" as "our lovers. In the translation of *fashakaktu bil rumĥi al'aŝami thiabahu* (I split through his clothes with my solid spear) Blunts substitutes the mundane "clothes" / *thiabahu* with the more chivalrous word "mail-coat and armouring."

Shamma comments: "In highlighting the chivalric motifs of the Arabic originals, Blunt's aim went beyond the mere confirmation of the values of his own class. In presenting these generally unknown works to the English reader, he was trying to create a shared basis of experience that would make it easier to approach the works of a little understood culture." [131] Interestingly, Shamma considers the ultimate aim of the Blunts' translation domestication procedures is to foreground the similarities between Arabs and Europeans and thereby offer opportunities for cross-cultural, political and literary interaction between them. Equally significant is that "The Blunts' Arabic translations were almost unique in foregrounding the literary merit of the works they selected for translation."[132]

Unlike the copious and irrelevant footnotes of Lane, Blunt is more concise in his use of explanatory notes. For instance, in *The Stealing of the Mare*, when Abu Zeyd takes "his lute," Blunt explains in a footnote that the meant musical instrument in question is "The 'rebab,' or Bedouin fiddle." Thus, Shamma observes that the use of exhaustive notes was a common practice in Orientalist ethnography. The Blunts avoided this practice, confining their notes to historical explanations and the linguistic details that are unfamiliar to the target reader or to supply background information that is useful for the appreciation of Arabic literature. Besides, the notes are provided at the end of the book to allow for a smooth and interrupted reading.

[129] Ibid.

[130] Ibid., p. 107.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid., p. 108.

Interestingly also, the notes were sometimes used to draw comparisons between Orient and Occident with the intention of refuting European misconceptions. For example, Blunt explains the custom of Bedouin pirate-raids, "which supposes each tribe to be a nation at war with all other nations unless protected by a treaty" and adds that "The international law of Europe has a very similar basis." Another case is when the heroine in *The Stealing of the Mare* is about to be burnt alive. Blunt refers to similar equivalents in European literature, "implying not only that this brutality is not unique to the source environment, but also that it could be no more than a narrative device."[133] Thus, Blunt's domesticating approach stems "from the assumption of a common ground of human experience."[134]

On other occasions, Blunt deploys footnotes as counter-Orientalism interventions such as the case when a woman in *The Stealing of the Mare* recites a prayer. Blunt notes that "the passage will serve as a refutation of the foolish fancy of European writers, that Moslem women have no religion."[135]

The method adopted by Wilfred Blunt and his wife Lady Anne Blunt in *The Celebrated Romance of the Stealing of the Mare* (1892) and *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* (1903), Shamma affirms, has allowed for the assimilation of "the Arabic works to English literary and artistic standards, especially those of chivalric romance. Moreover, the translators systematically emphasized similarities between Arabic and European cultures." Highlighting the familiar between the source and target texts is by no means meant to subjugate the other culture within the politics of domestication and domination but rather to highlight "a shared ground of experience." The translators' purpose, Shamma asserts "was not ethnocentric. In fact, the familiarizing techniques they used were intended to combat stereotypes about Arab culture which depicted it as alien and, consequently, inferior, thereby serving the interests of colonial expansion and exploitation."[136]

At the theoretical level, Shamma concludes that the different techniques used by Lane, Burton, and Blunts in the translation of Arabic literature demonstrate that "domesticating or foreignzing strategies can be enlisted for very different political ends." While foreingnzing functions in the translations of Lane and Burton as a form of cultural containment and a means of exercising colonial authority and cultural hegemony and maintaining the political relations of

[133] Ibid., p. 113.

[134] Ibid., p. 115.

[135] Ibid., p. 114.

[136] Ibid., p. 6.

power, Blunt's translation procedures are intended to contest "ethnocentric stereotypes."[137] Therefore, Shamma concludes that postcolonialist translation theories should not pay attention only to the "discursive aspects of the translation," valorise "textual resistance" and ignore social and political factors, insisting that translation "can never be a purely technical activity… one has always to consider the larger framework of power relations in which intercultural and interlingual encounters take place."[138] Shamma elaborates on this larger framework by invoking Talal Asad's argument that "the structures of power the colonized writer confronts are institutional, not textual"[139] and his calls for a "more systematic consideration of the social preconditions and consequences of translating Western discourses." [140] In the case of Blunt's translation, Shamma explains that

> many extra-textual elements interfere in the reception, and final effect, if any, of the translation. It is the complexity of cultural and sociopolitical parameters in the target culture that define what counts as a resistant strategy. Indeed, while the individual translator has no control over the social preconditions that shape the communicative act, he/she should strive to acquire a full knowledge of them before adjusting his/her translation to the relevant contextual parameters. [141]

The translator needs to be aware that the translation operates within an already pre-existing framework of representation, images and expectations. This framework influences, if not determines, what constitutes an "accurate" representation in the translation of the source culture. Clearly then, Shamma insists, it would be

> obviously facile and unrealistic to propose translation techniques that are assumed to have specified functions and effects in isolation of these external factors, as if translation controls the entire process of intercultural communication….Within its broader cultural context, translation, it is argued, is an act of adjustment. Translation

[137] Ibid., p. 116.

[138] Ibid., p. 119.

[139] Talal Asad, "A Comment on Translation, Critique, and Subversion," in Anuradha Dingwaney and Carol Maier, eds. *Between Languages and Cultures: Translation and Cross-Cultural Texts* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, Athenæum, 1996), p. 330.

[140] Ibid., p. 329.

[141] Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 120.

> is always belated, preceded by past representations, and followed by elements of reception over which the translator has little or no control. Its final effect is realized only as part of, and in interaction with, other extratextual parameters. [142]

Consequently, before deciding between a foreignizing or a domesticating translation strategy, it is important for the translator to be aware of how the rendering of Otherness of the original text will be received in the culture of the target language. Shamma's recommendation for a good translation is that

> The translator has to gear his/her practice to a wide variety of textual, contextual, and intertextual factors: the history of representation between the two cultures in question and the power balance that filters communication between them, how similar or related they (and their languages) are perceived to be, current (and past) political and social forces in the target culture that may have a vested interest in circulating certain images of other peoples, predominant views of the source culture in the target culture, the intended audience of the translation, to mention only the most salient ones.[143]

To conclude, Shamma's *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference* is an extremely useful study of the issue of translating difference. It is a detailed critique of the advocacy of foreignizing translation as a strategy that is less involved in the Othering of the foreign text and could rescue the translated culture from the politics of ethnocentrism, and misrepresentation. Shamma also demonstrates how domestication might serve as an antidote to the alterity and foreigness of the translated text. Shamma's main argument is that foreignizing-domesticating translation model as such is too limited to come up with an accurate translation. The translation, Shamma insists, has to take into consideration "extratextual parameters," namely the preconceived images about the translated culture and society and the current political and social forces interested in promoting them, the linguistic and political relations of power between the source and the target cultures, and the target audience of the translation.

[142] Ibid., p. 121.

[143] Ibid., p. 122.

2 . EXOTICIZING AND HAREMIZING ARABIC AUTOBIOGRAPHY

a. Orientalising Nawal El Sadaawi's *Al Wajh al Ari lil Mar'a al Arabiyya*

In his article, "Arabic Literature Unveiled: Challenges of Translation," Peter Clark stresses that the translation and circulation of Arabic literature in the West are controlled by literary agents, editors, and publishers. They determine what texts to market and read. Clark tells about his own personal experience with publishers. He once proposed to his British publisher the translation of an anthology of short stories of the Syrian writer Abd al Salam al Ujaili. [144] The publisher wrote him this reply, "There are three things wrong about the idea. He's male. He's old. And he writes short stories. Can you find a young female novelist?"[145]

Clark uses this reply to reflect on the politics that inform the publication of Arabic literature in the West. It caters primarily for the expectations and taste of a Western readership, regardless of the literary value and reputation the author has in the context of Arabic literature. Women's literature is much more sought for in the West because of the prevalent Orientalist fantasies.

An excellent article which lays bare the politics of translation is Amal Amireh's "Framing Nawal El Sadaawi: Arab Feminism in a Transnational World." It deals with the translation and reception of Nawal El Sadaawi's book *Al Wajh al Ari lil Mar'a al Arabiyya*, translated by Sherif Hetata as *The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World*. For Amireh, "The reception history of this book illustrates… the way an Arab woman writer's text is transformed through translation, editing, and reviewing once it crosses cultural and national borders."[146] Amireh notes fundamental differences between the Arabic original and the English translation in both content and form. First, the original Arabic title is *Al-Wajh al ari lil mar'a al Arabiyya*, which translates

[144] Peter Clark's translations from Arabic include, Syrian Ulfat Idilbi's *Sabriya: Damascus Bitter Sweet* (1995) and her *Grandfather's Tale* (1999), Muhammad al Murr's *The Wink of the Mona and Other Stories from the Gulf* (1998), and *Dubai Tales* (1991), Tunisian Kamel Al-Riahi's *The Gorilla* (2009); Saudi Mohammed Hasan Alwan's *Oil Field* (2011).

[145] Peter Clark, "Arabic Literature Unveiled: Challenges of Translation," *Working Paper*. University of Durham, Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, Durham, (2000), p. 3.

[146] Amal Amireh, "Framing Nawal El Sadaawi: Arab Feminism in a Transnational World," *Signs*, 26: 1 (Autumn, 2000), pp. 219-220.

literally as the naked face of the Arab woman. In the published translation it was changed to the connotatively charged title, *The Hidden Face of Eve*. Thus, while the Arabic title stresses the baring of the face of the Arab woman as a metaphor to highlight the conditions of the Arab woman and call for changing them, the English title employs a very common Orientalist and hegemonic metaphor of the covered female Arab face. The metaphor, Amireh comments, "seems to invite the English-speaking reader to experience the book as a glimpse behind the veil." [147] Consequently the translation "confirms rather than unsettles its readers' assumptions. Moreover, the 'Arab woman' of the Arabic title disappears, giving way to Eve, which further moves the book away from history into the realm of myth." [148]

In addition to that two chapters are omitted from the English version. The first on "Woman's Work at Home" and the second "Arab Woman and Socialism." In these chapters, Amireh explains, "El Saadawi critiques capitalism's exploitation of women and argues for a socialist economic and political system." Such omissions severely undermine El Saadawi's socialist project. Significantly also is the omission of sections which "celebrate the progress Arab women have made, and that exhort them to see wars of liberation as empowering to them." [149] By way of example of such omissions, Amireh cites a quite telling passage "It is important," El Saadawi emphazises in the Arabic original, "that Arab women should not feel inferior to Western women, or think that the Arabic tradition and culture are more oppressive of women than Western culture." [150]

Another passage removed from the English translation is where El Saadawi claims that "The Arab woman was ahead of the European and American woman in resisting the patriarchal class system. The American woman did not realize till the last years of the twentieth century that the dominant language is that of Man… Some women's liberation movements in America and Europe try now to change the language. But the Arab woman did this fourteen centuries ago." [151]

Equally interesting in terms of deviation in *The Hidden Face of Eve* from the Arabic edition is the addition of chapters. Amireh points out that while in *Al-Wajh al ari lil mar'a al Arabiyya*, El Sadawi mentions female circumcision in a flashback of her childhood, in *The Hidden Face of Eve* the title of one the chapters is "Circumcision of Girls." Amireh affirms that

[147] Ibid., p. 226.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Ibid., p. 224.

[150] Ibid., pp. 224-225.

[151] Ibid., p. 225, footnote 9.

in El Saadawi's book, there is no independent chapter devoted completely to the circumcision of girls and that *The Hidden Face of Eve* has adapted the chapter "Circumcision of Girls" from another book by El Saadawi entitled *Al-Mar'a wa al-Sira' al-Nafsi*, yet even this book does not have a chapter on excision. Thus, Amireh notes that the adapted and newly entitled chapter, "Circumcision of Girls," features in a part for which the translator has invented the dramatic titled "The Mutilated Half," deliberately to evoke the much stereotyped Oriental sexual violence and gender despotism. Predictably, Amireh explains, this chapter has become very popular at American universities.

Foregrounding sexuality occurs also at the level of the contents. The English version changes the organization of the chapters as they originally appear in the Arabic version. While the chapters dealing with sexuality are placed later in the source text, the translation shifts them to the beginning of the book and deliberately undermines the first chapters where El Saadawi provides a historical background for the subjugation of Arab and Muslim women. The reorganization of the chapters in the translation shifts the blame for the degradation of the condition of Muslim women to Islam. "It is an arrangement," comments Amireh, "more suitable for a Western audience less interested in history than in satisfying an insatiable appetite for an exotic and oppressed 'other.'" [152]

This is evident even in the reviews of *The Hidden Face of Eve*. Amireh quotes a reviewer as saying "no culture as religion-dominated as Arabic culture can ever accomplish social or political equality for women.... Western feminists do have reason to think Islamic law will never grant women full recognition." Amireh comments that the review how "El Saadawi's book becomes a testament to the progress that American women have achieved in contrast to their oppressed Arab sisters, supposedly still groaning under the shackles of Islam." [153]

Evidently, by Orientalising and eroticizing the world of El Saadawi and blurring the message she wants to convey, translation distorts the political project of the Arab writer. Thus rather than allowing El Saadawi's voice to be heard and foregrounding her political militantism, the Western translation discourse frames the Arab writer "in a way that fits first-world agendas and assumptions."[154]

[152] Ibid., p. 226.

[153] Ibid., p. 227.

[154] Ibid., p. 228.

b. Haremizing Huda Shaarawi's Memoirs

Amal Amireh continues her deconstructing of the translation discourse on Arab women in her article, "Writing the Difference: Feminists' Invention of the 'Arab Woman'." The article discusses Margot Badran's *Harem Years*, the translation of *Mudakkirati* (1981), the autobiography of the famous Egyptian feminist and political nationalist, Huda Shaarawi. *Harem Years* was met with a great deal of success: it was first published in 1987 and reprinted in 1998 and in 2015, and has become popular in university curricular in America and Britain.[155]

In her study of the *Harem Years*, Amireh affirms that "Margot Badran seems motivated more by a desire to satisfy the demand of a Western marketplace for 'harem stories' than by a desire to introduce Huda Shaarawi's voice to new audiences."[156] The shortcomings of Badran's book are the result of "its failure to confront the problematic nature of her relation to her subject as a First World feminist translating an Arab woman for a Western audience."[157] In the translation, Badran assumes the role of an editor who aggressively interferes with the original text without being "aware of the political implications of her editorial interventions and the ways in which they shape Shaarawi's text."[158]

The first and most important translation aggression of Badran's editorial decisions, Amireh explains, is her replacement of the Arabic original title Shaarawi chose for her book *Mudakkirati* (*My Memoirs*) by a *Harem Years*. By inventing a highly charged title Badran aims at appealing to the Western reader; however, it is a title which denies Shaarawi agency because while the original title, *Mudakkirati* (1981), places the author "at the center of her own narrative, emphasizes her subjectivity and agency, and identifies her as the source of enunciation. Badran's title, on the other hand, identifies Shaarawi with an institution and locates the narrative in a 'harem.'" [159] Badran does not only use a word which invokes women's subjugation and sexual despotism but also provides the reader with a brief critical history of the Western fascination

[155] Kahf states that it is "frequently taught in U.S. college courses in disciplines such as history and literature, and in interdisciplinary programs such as women's studies and Middle Eastern Studies.", p. 148.

[156] Amal Amireh, "Writing the Difference: Feminists' Invention of the 'Arab Woman,'" in *Interventions: Feminist Dialogues on Third World Women's Literature*, eds. Bishnupriya Ghosh and Brinda Bose (New York; London : Garland Publishing, 1997), p. 201.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

[159]Ibid.

with the harem, which is meant to be a critique of "harem writing" but ironically actually "turns out to be an empty gesture, since Badran insists not only on imposing the word on the title but also on defining Shaarawi and the women of her class as 'harem women.' without stopping to explain whether or not these women viewed themselves in the same way." [160]

Together with this major alteration of the title, Badran distorts the original text by focusing her translation and editing primarily on Shaarawi's earlier years, explaining that this is the episode in Shaarawi's which "will appeal to anyone eager to know about life in the harem."[161] Thus, Amireh criticises Badran of Orientalising and eroticizing Sharawi's autobiography and for her eagerness to offer "a voyeuristic Western audience another 'peek' into an oriental harem, a glimpse behind the veil."[162] This is incompatible with Badran's profile in the cover of the book as a feminist who is writing "in the best tradition of feminist scholarship." [163]

While foregrounding the harem life, Badran relegates Shaarawi's public activities and her role in the national liberation struggle against British colonialism, which are central to her identity as a nationalist activist, to an epilogue. In the epilogue, instead of translating Shaarawi's narrative, Badran uses it to give a historical account where she reconstructs Shaarawi's nationalist activities. Amireh accuses Badran of undermining "Shaarawi's own voice by 'weaving' the latter's account of her nationalist activities during the revolution of 1919 into a historical narrative of her own … subvert Shaarawi's authority over her own text and show the power the editor has in deciding which part of Shaarawi's life and career is central and which is marginal."[164] Amireh concludes her article, "Writing the Difference," with a sharp critique of Badran's translation:

> One is inclined to agree with Leila Ahmad's conclusion that by erasing the Arabic history of the memoirs, Badran presents the English version as the authoritative text, herself as the sole authority on Shaarawi, and her Western audience as the only audience to be considered. Badran's access to both the First and the Third Worlds empowers her but, again, at the expense of her subject. Instead of echoing Shaarawi's voice as she hoped to do, she reinterprets the memoirs so that they meet the

[160] Ibid.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Ibid., p. 202.

[163] Ibid., p. 201.

[164] Ibid., p. 202.

> expectations of their targeted Western audience, and reinvents Shaarawi so that she fits the image Badran has of an Egyptian feminist. [165]

This is exactly Moja Kahf's conclusion in her detailed deconstructive reading of the *Harem Years* in her article "Packaging 'Huda': Sha'rawi's Memoirs in the United States Reception Environment."[166]

Kahf is aware of the representation and images of Muslim women in Western discourse. Drawing on Edward Said's *Orinetalism*, she argues in her book *Western Representations of the Muslim Woman: From Termagant to Odalisque* (1999) that the prevalent image of the Muslim woman is that of a victimized, submissive and downtrodden. She is aware of the ideological and political factors informing such images. The misrepresentation of Muslim women has lingered to the present day where the prevalent images about the Arab woman are "One is that she is a victim of gender oppression; the second portrays her as an escapee of her intrinsically oppressive culture; and the third represents her as the pawn of Arab male power."[167]

The translation of Arab women, Kahf contends in this article, "Packaging 'Huda': Sha'rawi's Memoirs in the United States Reception Environment", is not immune to the long history of Orientalist ideology and conventions. Like in the case of Amireh's article, "Writing the Difference," Kahf's case study focuses on Margot Badran's translation of Huda Shaarawi's autobiographical memoirs, *Mudakkirati*. Kafh argues that the politics of Anglo-American reception has transformed the translation of the Arabic original in a number of ways:

> Sha'rawi's engagement with Arab men in relationships that she saw as satisfying and enriching is minimized; her orientation toward Europe is exaggerated: and her command of class privilege is camouflaged. Finally, her story, which, in *Mudhakkirati*, is the story of a public figure, is recentered in *Harem Years* around private life and the 'harem.' In these ways, Sha'rawi can be accommodated within

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[165] Ibid., p. 203.

[166] Mohja Kahf, "'Packaging "Huda': Sha'rawi's Memoirs in the United States Reception Environment," in *Going Global: The Transnational Reception of Third World Women Writers,* eds., Amal Amireh and Lisa Suhair Majaj (London and New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), pp. 148-172.

[167] Mohja Kahf, "'Packaging 'Huda': Sha'rawi's Memoirs in the United States Reception Environment," in *Going Global: The Transnational Reception of Third World Women Writers,* eds. Amal Amireh and Lisa Suhair Majaj (London and New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), p. 149.

> the United States reading environment as a victim and an escapee and shielded from the negative category of pawn.[168]

In addition to that *Mudhakkirati* undergoes significant structural reorganization. The memoir contains 450 pages where Shaarawi narrates her memoirs and interpolates many reports, documents and letters she sent and received. *Harem Years* contains only 80 and summarizes chapters from the original and includes them in an epilogue.

In her article, "Writing the Difference," Amireh discusses Badran's summarizing and shifting of the chapters narrating Saharawi's nationalist and feminist activities to the epilogue. Kafh, too, is indignant at Badran's editorial interventions. In the "Preface," Badran explains that "After Part Four, Huda's [sic] account changes in tone and content. She begins to speak about how she and other women became nationalist activists and started the feminist movement. This portion of her memoirs becomes fragmentary."[169] Kahj reject such an explanation stating that "Its 'fragmentary' nature consists of the back-and-forth between direct narration and interpolated documents. The meaning of Sha'rawi's story in the Arabic version lies… in the weaving between her narration and the documents, and in the relationship between the personal story and the much more expansive political story." The transformations Badran introduced in Shaarawi's account to turn it into a harem memoir

> makes the English version a radically different reading experience from the Arabic version. The English version permits the reader to relegate Sha'rawi's writings to a harem of 'First World' creation, a ghetto where Arab women's writing is put by the United States reception process, there to languish behind the mystique of "Third World woman's difference:' Perhaps a full translation of the portion summarized in the epilogue would have counterbalanced this haremizing effect."[170]

Moreover, Badran moved the first chapter where Shaarawi deals with the death of her father and her defence of him against critics to an appendix at the end of the book, which is a betrayal of the author's purpose. Kahf considers this deliberate unfaithfulness to the original as "part of a

[168] Ibid.

[169] Huda Shaarawi, *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist, 1879-1924*, trans. Margot Badran (New York: The Feminist Press, 1987), p. 3.

[170] Kahf, "'Packaging 'Huda,'" p. 163.

pattern in which the English version minimizes the presence of male figures whom Sha'rawi describes with affection and pride."[171]

Another alteration the *Harem Years* does is to enhance the Europe element in the narrative. For instance, Badran reverses the order in which Shaarawi learned languages by mentioning first French, then Turkish and Arabic at the end. As a consequence, "The Anglophonic reader may not, however, understand that Sha'rawi's primary language of daily interaction was Egyptians Arabic, even with the multilingualism common to her class."[172] Obviously, Badran's translation eagerly accommodates the reader's expectations and cultural worldview. It is a translation that "occurs within a specific reception environment—the "First World" Anglophonic market, which is shaped by a "horizon of expectations' for writing by and about Arab and Muslim women. The process of this reception restricts the range of meaning made possible in the Arabic text." [173]

At one stage in the *Mudhakkimti,* Shaarawi shifts from her own personal life to recount her life within Egypt's national history in the early twentieth century. Here she records the social and political debates in Egypt as well as her view on influential nationalist and intellectuals figures. She does this by interspersing her story with reports, letters, and documents. All of that is simply removed from *Harem Years*.

Moreover, transfiguration in the translation includes also the omission of stories of several Arab, Turkish and African characters who feature in *Mudhakkirati*. This includes the story of Sheikha Jalsan, who visited Huda's mother on religious occasions to pray with the family; the story of Fatanat who ran from her husband to take refuge with Huda's mother, and the wiles of women peddlers. Also while *Mudhakkirati* devotes an entire page to recount the adventures of the Circassian cousin, Huriya, the latter is assigned a marginal aside in *Harem Years*. "These omissions," comments Kahf, "reduce the number of indigenous women who do not fit the victim mold."[174]

The presence of European characters, on the other hand, is foregrounded. For instance, "and almost every single mention of Mme Richard and Mme Rushdi, European friends of the family, is retained in the English version, which abridges so much else."[175] The way the translation mentions some European characters calls attention. Throughout her memoirs,

[171] Ibid., p. 153.

[172] Ibid., p. 157.

[173] Ibid., p. 148.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Ibid.

Shaarawi refers to Eugenie Le Brun, the French wife of Rushdi Basha, as "Haram Rushdi Basha." The *Harem Years* deliberately uses her European name, "which has the effect of highlighting her Europeanness rather than the fact that she was the wife of a prominent Egyptian."[176]

Moreover, *Mudhakkirati* establishes a firm friendship between Shaarawi and Mrs. Rushdi, and both original and translation record Shaarawi's statement that she was a source of inspiration for her. "I had come to rely heavily upon her good counsel," says Shaarawi, "but even after her death I felt her spirit light the way before me. When I was about to embark on something, I often paused to ask myself what she would think, and if I sensed her approval I would proceed.[177] Kafh observes that in the translation this passage, "with its emphasis on Sha'rawi's friendship with the European woman, is granted more weight in the English version than in the Arabic by its positioning. The passage closes Part Three of the English text, whereas in the Arabic text it is embedded within a chapter."[178]

Interestingly also, in *Mudhakkirati*, Shaarawi mentions how Mme Richard sought refuge in the Egyptian customs of gender segregation to escape the sexual encroachments of a European sexual predator, the boss of her husband. Surprisingly, Badran does not incorporate this incident in her translation. Another omitted story in Badran's *Harem Years* is of a Frenchwoman from a newspaper article who killed a man for slandering her virtue. Shaarawi was horrified that the woman got no sympathy from the French public.

Thus, unlike *Harem Years*, the Arabic original "does not allow the impression that the European women are all liberated while Arab women are all oppressed."[179] Shaarawi's memoirs in Arabic subversively refute Western stereotypes of Arab women and demonstrate "that women in Europe and the United States are as much in need of Arab feminists' succour as the reverse."[180] Such counter discourses are undermined in Bardan's translation. Kahf writes,

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[176] Ibid.

[177] Shaarawi, *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist, Huda Shaarawi*, trans. and ed. Margot Badran, p. 82.

[178] Ibid., p. 158.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid.

> The Anglophonic reader would naturally have an interest in knowing about the European people in Sharawi's life. But the overall effect of this pattern of excisions and inclusions is to exaggerate the European element in the English text. This effect is shaped by the readerly expectation of Arab woman as escapee. The back cover blurb from the prominent Middle East Studies scholar Hourani reinforces the idea that Sha'rawi could only have been rescued from her narrow straits as an Eastern woman through a European "window" of rescue.[181]

Kafh concludes that for political, moral and aesthetic reasons the translation of texts across cultures requires the challenge of the reader's expectations. She quotes Spivak's political argument in "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," that "The most I can say is that it is possible to read these texts ... in a politically useful way. Such an approach presupposes that a 'disinterested' reading attempts to render transparent the interests of the hegemonic readership."[182] Kahf also invokes Amireh's ethical statement that "The emphasis on difference, unfortunately, undermines the book's ability to build bridges of solidarity and understanding among women from different cultures."[183] Finally, there are aesthetic reasons for the need to challenge the expectations of the reader. These are expressed through Wolfgang Iser who says,

> ... expectations are scarcely ever fulfilled in truly literary texts. If they were, then such texts would be confined to the individualization of a given expectation, and one would inevitably ask what such an intention was supposed to achieve . . . For the more a text individualizes or confirms an expectation it has initially aroused, the more aware we become of its didactic purpose, so that at best we can only accept or reject the thesis forced upon us. More often than not, the very clarity of such texts will make us want to free ourselves from their clutches.[184]

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[181] Ibid., p. 160

[182] Gayatri Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry*, 12: 1 (1985), p. 257.

[183] Kahf, "'Packaging 'Huda,'" p. 167.

[184] Ibid.

For Kahf, Iser's argument is a call for texts to reading less smoothly and "for publishers, translators, authors, and readers to become conscious of comfortable patterns of reception of the sort that restrict Arab women's writings to the ghetto of victims, escapees, and pawns. If we are to continue discussing Huda Sha'rawi in English through the medium of *Harem Years*, it is important to be aware of the limitations put on the text by its Anglophonic reception environment."[185]

Kahf's critique of Badran's translation is meant to explain "how the politics of reception can constrain our reading of a text from an Arab woman" [186] as well make educators and teachers aware of the problems that might exist in the translated texts they adopt to teach Arabic literature or Islamic feminism.

3. TOWARDS AN APPROACH TO THE TRANSLATION OF ARABIC TEXTS INTO ENGLISH

a. Michelle Hartman: Politics and Resistance in Translation Studies

Amireh's "Framing Nawal El Saadawi" and Kahf's "Packaging 'Huda'" are very influential and widely read articles. They have been reprinted and anthologized in several publications and extensively quoted by writers and researchers of translation. They also feature in university translation curricular. Michelle Hartman, a university professor, writer and famous translator of Arabic literature,[187] considers the articles very effective for her translation classes. In her "Gender, Genre, and the (Missing) Gazelle: Arab Women Writers and the Politics of Translation," she states that the two articles inspire her students to reflect on "what a faithful

[185] Ibid., pp. 167-168.

[186] Ibid., p. 148.

[187] Her translations of Arabic fiction include Muhammad Kamil Al-Khatib's *Just Like a River* (2003); Alexandra Chreiteh's *Always Coca Cola* (2009), and *Ali and His Russian Mother* (2015); and Iman Humaydan's *Wild Mulberries* (2008) and *Other Lives* (2014).

translation means and what making something accessible to a Western audience means."[188] They also prompt them to questions "the received notions of feminism that students have, particularly the notions that center on white women."[189]

Hartman finds the change from the literal translation of the Arabic title *Mudhakkirati* to the orientalist *Harem Years* and the translation of the title of El Saadawi's book from *Al-Wajh al-ary lil-mar'a al-arabiyya*, to *The Hidden Face of Eve* to scandalous but pedagogically edifying. She calls for "a re-evaluation of translation and reception theory and practice in the Arab context."[190] For Hartman, *The Hidden Face of Eve* and *Harem Years* illustrates how translation has consistently constructed Arab women as oppressed victims who lack agency in a ruthless patriarchal society.

Like Amireh and Kahf, Hartman is interested in analyzing the scandalous consequences of domestication in the translation of Arab women writers. For her, "the tendency to make translations from Arabic to English feel accessible to readers has the effect of distorting and flattening the original texts, literary figures, and literary traditions so as to render them almost unrecognizable."[191] She affirms at the outset that

> It is almost commonplace to assert that a literary translation participates in the economy of the language, culture, and literature into which it is translated rather than the one from which it comes. In the case of Arab women writers translated into English, this participation is deeply linked to the widespread misrepresentations of Arabs and Muslims… that draw upon all-too-familiar notions of exoticism, misogyny, and oppression in order to understand them as Other.[192]

Translation is not simply a neutral technical activity. First of all, the selection of a text for translation is itself a political /ideological decision. Hartman agrees with Marilyn Booth that

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[188] Michelle Hartman, "Teaching Scandals: Gender and Translation in the Arabic Literature Classroom," in *Teaching Modern Arabic Literature in Translation*, ed., Michelle Hartman (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2018), pp. 52-53.

[189] Hartman, "Teaching Scandals," p. 53.

[190] Michelle Hartman, "Gender, Genre, and the (Missing) Gazelle: Arab Women Writers and the Politics of Translation," *Feminist Studies*, 38: 1 (Spring, 2012), p. 20.

[191] Ibid., p. 19.

[192] Ibid., p. 18.

in a reception environment shaped by negative stereotypes of Arabs the texts which are selected for translation are often those that reinforce the image of Arab woman as an oppressed victim.

Second, the process of translation itself can alter the meaning and the focus of the text. In the case of Arab women, Hartman says, translation has constructed them as submissive and lacking agency and the Arab man as ruthlessly violent. One of the cases Hartman studies is what she describes as "the translation scandal," borrowing a phrase from Venuti, is the translation of Hanan al-Shaykh's novel *Misk al-Ghazal*, translated by Catherine Cobham as *Women of Sand and Myrrh*.[193]

Hartman focuses on two aspects: the translation of the title and the rearrangement of the plot by reordering the chapters and analysing how this choice "reveals how gender and the politics of translation intersect. These translation choices change the text's message and meaning and have an impact on the work's reception in English. Moreover, all of these issues are intimately tied to questions of gender—these changes highlight women's oppression and the exotic location of the work, diminish the agency of the characters, and recast the original novel's positive ending."[194]

For Hartman, the original title, "*Misk Al-Ghazal*," is associated with Tamr's, one of the protagonists in the novel, reminiscence on her memories of her arranged marriage with an older man and her sensuality. The image of the gazelle and the musk evokes the exotic desert, with Tamr as "the beautiful gazelle hunted for its musk."[195] Furthermore, "drawing the title of the novel from the story of Tamr, which concludes the Arabic original, reinforces its uplifting ending — Tamr emerges the proud owner of her own shop, registered in her own name, and on the way to financial independence. The title underlines the only section of the book in which a woman is able to envision a life for herself without relying on men." All this vanishes from the translated title. Not only does *Women of Sand and Myrrh* bury her chapter in the middle of the novel but this change of title de-emphasizes Tamr's section and the work's ending in favor of the plural 'women.'" The novel deals with the complex ways Arab women cope with their very different situations. In the English title, women are prominently visible, yet "they are

[193] Catherine Cobham has translated other novels by Hanan al-Shaykh, namely *Beirut Blues*, *I Sweep the Sun Off Rooftops*, and *Only in London*.

[194] Hartman, "Gender, Genre, and the (Missing) Gazelle," pp. 41-42.

[195] Ibid., p. 43.

grammatically equated with one another so as to flatten both their experiences and the feminist message of the text."[196]

At the level of the plot, Suha relocates with her husband to a Gulf country, which she does not like. She is nostalgic for her homeland, Lebanon. Suha meets and befriends Nur, a wealthy local woman, and starts a sexual relationship with her. During most of her story, Suha endeavours and succeeds to leave the desert and her acquaintances there and return to Lebanon. Nur is an Arabian woman who discovers her husband to be gay. She is divorced by her second husband because he finds her too unruly and wild and engages in promiscuous relationships with men and women. Suzanne is an American woman living with her husband in the Gulf. She leaves her inattentive husband and elopes with an Arab. Eager to remain with her lover in the desert, she learns the desert dialect and traditions. Tamr in the final story is a local woman. Her mother was brought as a slave to the Gulf. Tamr, who married and divorced at an early age, is reluctant to get married again and wants to start a shop. Her brother refuses but she remains intransigent and he finally gives in and starts her business. The novel ends with her achieving financial independence by opening a hairdressing and dressmaking shop.

Hartman affirms that the reordering of the chapters and the splitting of Suha's story so that it opens and ends the plot alter radically the focus reading of the novel:

> With her story framing the English version, all of the other stories are mediated by it and Suha thereby becomes the novel's most important character. In addition, her Lebanese nationality becomes centrally important to the work… Finally, and crucially to the meaning of the novel, ending with a brief section of Suha's, rather than Tamr's story divests the novel of its feminist message of women's empowerment.[197]

Another disempowering translation move is that *Women of Sand and Myrrh* ends with Suha feeling from Arabia and returning a war-torn Lebanon. The ending in *Misk al-Ghazal*, however, focuses on Tamr, the poorest character, returning home to her country as an independent woman.

[196] Ibid., p. 44.

[197] Ibid., p. 38.

“This is a powerful message and conveys the image of a strong and determined, traditional Arab woman.”[198]

So while *Misk al-Ghazal* emphasizes the agency of an Arab woman *Women of Sand and Myrrh* emphasizes her oppression. Therefore, to save the original text from the scandalous violence of translation, Hartman suggests that “we must emphasize the theory and practice of the translations produced and advocate for an ethically grounded, contextualized process of both translation and reading. This translation praxis and reading method should be based in a theoretical understanding of cross-cultural translation issues and the particular histories and contexts of the writings of Arab women. In particular, building on feminist theory and practice, we must integrate such approaches into our reading, scholarship, and teaching while taking into account the totalizing nature of previous work on Arab women and resisting it.”[199]

Following Lawrence Venuti, Hartman promotes "foreignizing" over "domesticating" translation because “Such a translation strategy emphasizes the difference of the foreign text while disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language.”[200] She goes on to explain that “Foreignization can work as a strategy on a number of levels: from which works to choose for translation, to how to convey meaning of both large trends and specific lexical items.” Hartman cites an example from Peter Clark’s domesticating translation of an Arabic expression meaning literally “the feet of donkeys,” signifying a hopeless footballer, in one of the short stories of the Emirati Muhammad al-Murr. Clark translated the expression into fluent English as “two left feet.” Clark was criticized “for removing a vivid term that had the flavour of old Dubai. The use of the word 'donkey' in Arabic, hunar, is strong, almost explosive and certainly very insulting.” Hartman comments that Clark’s translation and the criticism he received illustrates how the translation of “one particular expression is a clear example of the tension between the desire for a fluent, ‘domesticated’ tone and for an expression that retains the unfamiliarity (to Western readers) of the original.”[201]

Foreignizing translation is for Hartman an ethical solution to the scandalous violence inflicted on the source text. It helps redress unequal cultural exchanges and “can be a form of resistance against ethnocentrism and racism, cultural narcissism and imperialism, in the interests

[198] Ibid.

[199] Ibid., p. 22.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Ibid., p. 23.

of democratic geopolitical relations."[202] Hence, Tarek Shamma's highly favourable attitude to Hartman's translation strategy:

> Hartman explores the possibility of a "resistant translation," one that subverts relations of imbalance between Arabic-speaking and English-speaking worlds… she emphasizes the necessity of bringing theoretical insights into practice, without risking cozy generalizations about resistance strategies that work for all contexts. For this purpose, Hartman uses Ashour's text as a location to work through questions about politics and resistance in translation studies.[203]

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Hartman campaigns against domestication translation technique and proposes an approach to translation "informed by feminist methods, placing an emphasis on an ethics of difference" whereby to critique and challenge Western misconceptions about Arab women. In addition to her concept of the "ethics of difference", Harman proposes "reading methods that foreground a contextualization and historicization of Arab women's creative production within, rather than against, Arabic literary traditions."[204]

b. Marilyn Booth: Translation between Orientalist Ethnographicism and Literalist Surrender

While Amireh, Kahf and Hartman have studied the translation of Arabic texts with a particular focus on the translator and the process of translation. Marilyn Booth, on the other hand, discusses the issue of how the original author compromises with the political agencies and exigencies of the west and serves an exotic marketing agenda.

Marilyn Booth is a famous British translator, scholar and Professor of Contemporary Arab World Studies at the University of Oxford. She has translated many literary works by Arab writers, especially women writers, and contributed immensely to introducing Arabic literature to the anglophone market and international readership. The works she translated include Saudi Rajaa Alsanea's *Girls of Riyadh* (2007); Omani Jokha Alharthi's *Celestial Bodies* (2016) and *Bitter Orange Tree* (2019); Egyptian Sahar Tawfiq's, *Points of the Compass* (1995); Lebanese

[202] bid., p. 22.

[203] Tarek Shamma, "Arabic Literature in Translation: Politics and Poetics," *CLINA*, 2-1: 7-11 (June 2016), p. 10.

[204] Hartman, "Gender, Genre, and the (Missing) Gazelle," p. 19.

Hoda Barakat's *Voices of the Lost* (2021) and *Disciples of Passion* (2005); Egyptian Somaya Ramadan's *Leaves of Narcissus* (2007); Egyptian Latifa al-Zayyat's *The Open Door* (2017); Lebanese Hassan Daoud's *The Penguin's Song* (2014); Egyptian Nawal el Sa'adawi's *Memoirs from the Women's Prison* (1994); Iraqi Alia Mamdouh's *The Loved Ones* (2007); and Egyptian Ibtihal Salem's *Children of the Waters* (2003). Marilyn Booth also published anthologies: *My Grandmother's Cactus: Stories by Egyptian Women* (1998) and an academic book *Classes of Ladies of Cloistered Spaces: Writing Feminist History through Biography in fin-de-siècle Egypt* (2005). She published numerous essays and studies on Arabic literary translations, the politics of the selections of the texts for translation, the translation practice, issues of authorship, and the marketing industry.

Booth stresses that translation requires intensive research into the culture of the translated text because, she explains, "translation also involves a ton of research to do it right."[205] She is keen to highlight the cultural and linguistic specificities of original text, and combat Stereotyped Images of Oriental societies, especially homogenizing and harem packaging of Muslim women. And most importantly she "tries to listen for the voice of the writer and characters—what it sounds like to her in Arabic, and what it might sound like in English."[206] Finally she says, "Often being literal — or almost literal — is the best way to do it. So I try to let the Arabic guide me. I'm also a translator who often leaves quite a lot of Arabic in the text, and I have to come up with ways of explaining that but without being heavy about it."[207]

Booth has implemented her postcolonial translation strategy in her translation of Rajaa Alsanea's *Girls of Riyadh*. But the final version published by Penguin in 2007 was profoundly domesticated. Booth published two scholarly articles to critique the author and Penguin editor for intervening with her translation: "The Muslim Woman As Celebrity Author and the Politics of Translating Arabic: Girls of Riyadh Go on the Road" and "Translator vs. Author: *Girls of Riaydh* Go to New York."

The publishers and marketing prefer works by Arab and Muslim authors "'transparent' translation that privileges sociological content over literary texture and the thickness of

[205] Quoted in Spencer Lee Lenfield, "Finding Voices Marilyn Booth translates Arabic literature for Anglophone readers," Harvard Magazine, May-June 2021, https://www.harvardmagazine.com/2021/05/montage-marilyn-booth

[206] Ibid.

[207] Marilyn Booth, "'I Try To Let the Arabic Guide Me,'" https://arablit.org/2020/06/04/ marilyn-booth-i-try-to-let-the-arabic-guide-me/

locale."[208] The publishers privilege texts that reinforce rather than challenge homogenized images of Arabs and Muslims and their cultures. In her article, "Translator vs. Author: *Girls of Riaydh* Go to New York", Booth talks about her experience with the translation of Saudi novelist Rajaa Alsanea's *Girls of Riyadh* and the revisions that her translation was subjected to by the publisher and the author. Booth states that the "revisions made by the press and author to her translation domesticate the text and mute the novel's gender politics"[209] with the aim of making the text assimilitable within the Anglophone market and readership. The result is an Orientalizing of the Other through what she calls in her essay "The Muslim Woman As Celebrity Author and the Politics of Translating Arabic," "Orientalist ethnographicism" which she defines as "a way of seeing and writing the Other that grounds authority in a written narrative of personal experience, 'capturing' a society through the I/eye; and furthermore, claiming the authority of graphing the text in a global (and globalizing) language of reception, which is today predominantly English."[210] In other words "These effects produce a work and author-figure both exotic and familiar" and transform artistic fiction and the author's creative product into an ethnographic memoir.

It is a translation which allows the Occident to peep into the hidden life, especially female life, of the Orient, a peep into the secrets of the harem. Booth quotes the publicity material on the Amazon website: "[A]n inside peek into a hidden world.... Never-ending cultural conflicts underscore the difficulties of being an educated modern female growing up in the 21st century in a culture firmly rooted to an ancient way of life."[211] Hence, Booth comments, "The veiled female face, often of the author though not always, has become a familiar visual trope advertising books in English (whether translated or not) on and from the Middle East, whether on the dust jacket or in interviews, reviews, and advertisements."[212]

In fact, within the framework of marketing and consumption, fiction and memoir "genres merge into an 'Islamic-world crossover genre' where fiction and memoir are homogenized or at least blurred (in acts of consumption if not production) to an unusual degree, and where the

[208] Marilyn Booth, "Translator v. Author (2007): Girls of Riyadh Go to New York," *Translation Studies*, 1: 2 (2008), p. 197.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Booth, "The Muslim Woman As Celebrity Author," p.151.

[211] Ibid., p. 166.

[212] Ibid., p. 158.

mining of information makes little distinction between the two."[213] She explains in an interview with Alice Guthrie:

> With that in mind, then, orientalist ethnographicism is this whole focus on tell-all memoirs, especially ones by women; it's an iconography of the veil and stripping it off – the 21st-century version of 'harem literature' and the promise of the hidden exotic. It has had an impact on what publishers want and will go for – exposé, basically. It also builds on the longstanding and unfortunate focus with regards to Arabic literature (and some other 'world literatures') on asking for sociology or for political information instead of asking for literature.[214]

Booth herself was subjected to the politics of "orientalist ethnographicism." In her translation of *Girls of Riaydh*, Booth adopted a foreignizing perspective with the aim "to produce a translation honoring this generationally distinctive voice in its rich intertextual world—a voice blending hip international cyber youth language, Arabic vernaculars, more standardized 'educated Arabic,' and a spoken hybrid Arabenglish—along with, as noted, song lyrics, contemporary poetry, and a globalized consumer shorthand represented in fashion brand names."[215]

While Booth acknowledges the right of the author of his/her text and is critical of the right or power of the "first-world" translator to speak for "postcolonial" texts yet she refuses that the role of the translator is reduced to a secondary servile role. In a letter that Marilyn Booth sent to the London *Times Literary Supplement*, she insists on "the translator's linguistic expertise and cultural sensitivity".

> Perhaps the larger scandal, though, is that for some publishers and writers, literary translators remain derivative servitors rather than creative artists, a notion fostered by a long tradition within Euro-American letters of the writer as solitary genius and translation as a mechanical exercise (and now enhanced by the "star system" of today's publishing business). That the press and author did not take my

[213] Ibid. p. 156.

[214] "Interview with Marilyn Booth," 14 February, 2013, https://www.lit-across-frontiers.org/interview-with-marilyn-booth/

[215] Booth, "The Muslim Woman As Celebrity Author," p. 170.

> professionalism seriously or listen to my warnings that their choices would yield an inferior and infelicitous result will not be a surprise to translators.[216]

Because her warnings were not taken seriously, she affirms that the "revisions made by press and author to my translation assimilated it to chick-lit generic conventions in the anglophone marketplace, muting the gender politics and situatedness of multiple kinds of Arabic that acted, in the original novel, as a critique of the Saudi system."[217]

Discussing her translation of Rajaa Alsanea's *Girls of Riyadh* Booth argues "That she (i.e. Raja' al-Sani') has been able to dismiss my reading of the text and replace it with hers challenges a frequently-adduced theme in postcolonial translation studies: the notion that the 'first-world translator' might have the power to shape the "third-world text."[218]

> between the presence of my name on the title page, its absence in the Acknowledgments, and Alsanea's invocation of me as a desultory editor of her English lies a story of text circulation and commodification that, I argue, is best understood when one considers the apparatus of publicity and public image-making along with the less visible process of actually producing the text of a translation. [219]

Marilyn Booth repeatedly states that the selection of fictional works to be translated from Arabic into English is basically motivated by political and ideological considerations rather than by the aesthetic value of the text itself. Hence, Booth explains that the *best-seller* Arab novels "eschew the myriad experimental and thematically and stylistically complex writing practices of many novelists in the Arab world today in favor of a plot-driven, chronologically straightforward realism that is the hallmark of popular fiction."[220]

In an interview with Claire Jacobson, Marilyn Booth is frustrated at the tragic situation of the publication of translation of Arabic literature:

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[216] Marilyn Booth, *Times Literary Supplement*, 27 Sept. 2007.

[217] Booth, "The Muslim Woman As Celebrity Author", p. 173.

[218] Ibid., p. 151.

[219] Ibid., p. 150.

[220] Ibid., p. 156.

> Given all that is going on in the Arab region, all the tragedy people are facing, the long tragedy the Palestinian people have endured, and the persistence of Orientalist stereotypes about "Arabs" and "Muslims"—and given the fact that publishers aren't necessarily keen to publish what we think is most important to translate—the works we choose to translate, the ways we translate them, the editing, and the choice of cover art all have political stakes.

To project a traditional society, "Markers of cosmopolitan existence—which allow participation in Saudi elite life at home and a transnational existence elsewhere—are erased in the available English version (though not entirely)."[221] Thus international literary market of Arabic literature "fetishizes foreignness, exhibiting the foreign as exotic good, it also near-neutralizes that foreignness, homogenizing it into an anglophone pop-lit lingua franca. Domesticated, the foreignness no longer threatens or even challenges in its presence. Ironically, this erasure enacts the commodification of language that the Arabic novel *Banat al-Riyadh* explores critically."

Booth notes that in *Banat al-Riyadh* the Saudi elite uses a language that combines Arabic and English in a form of lingua franca. For Booth, the juxtaposition of colloquial speech and English conjures up a Saudi cosmopolitan elite that is in constant negotiation between the local and global, and challenges, at least in the world of the novel, the prevalent image of Saudi society in Western media as being closed society. Hence, in her translation Booth "had transliterated this Arabenglish from the Arabic to convey this language politics" She says "English eruptions in the Arabic convey characters' partial, specific worldliness, which I did not want to lose. I conveyed this globalized vernacular by italicizing phrases in Arabenglish and spelling them phonetically." For instance, as her translation of the phrase "sheez soo kiyirvy (she's so curvy)."[222] Such foreinizing strategy is erased by the editor in the published version. Booth observes that "the erasure of difference in the language of the published translation mutes this commercial give-and-take by erasing the Arabenglish transactional lingo of the globalized." Booth quotes Alsanea's domestication tendency in her "Author's Note" where she says that the published translation has omitted elements that would not "make sense to the non-Arab reader."[223] Booth is unhappy. She comments that "this reshaping of the English text altered the politics I had read in the Arabic text…. Penguin's decision to give full control of the translation

[221] Ibid., p. 168.

[222] Booth, "Translator v. Author (2007)," p. 204.

[223] Booth, "The Muslim Woman As Celebrity Author", p. 169.

to Alsanea after I had submitted my very different translation yielded, in my opinion, a text stripped of its political valence, muted in its gender politics, and denied its quite distinct voice." Elsewhere, she states that "author and/or editor wanted the book to blend in with the Anglophone popular fiction market which depends on familiar, at times formulaic, and certainly repetitive structures and styles to maintain its large audience in a context governed by the dual pressures of industry and entertainment."[224]

And, invoking Venuti's concept of the "illusion of transparency," Booth says:

> The revised *Girls of Riyadh* published by Penguin prefers an easy accessibility and monolingual anglicized tone to a rendering that emphasizes its rootedness in cosmopolitan Arabic language and culture. It gives play to similarity (the Arab Sex and the City) over cultural variance, "equivalence" via smooth cliché over the more interesting bumpiness of stressing locality, over a "resistant translation" that reminds readers that this text did not originate in English. The published text offers an "assimilationist ethic that is called for in popular aesthetic—the illusion of transparency.[225]

In her critique of Alsanea, Booth also invokes Mona Baker's idea of framing as consisting of "deliberate discursive moves designed to anticipate and guide others' interpretation of and attitudes towards a set of events" to argue that "Alsanea and editors reframed the novel in English by altering my translation: they reduced the available feminist narrative that I had played up with my choices. I am not assessing "accuracy" here, but I would argue that my translation remains "closer" to the original Arabic in reproducing (not omitting) lexica, modes of address, and genres of cultural repartee." Booth concludes bitterly, "Alsanea's "renarration" (Baker's concept) of my "renarration" of her Arabic narrative suggests the power of situatedness in acts of translation."[226]

In a telling passage, Booth emphasizes that her task was to "bring the reader to the work"—to insist on an English rendering that would defamiliarize the text, draw readers into its Arabic discursive world, complicate Orientalist desires, raise questions about the extent to which it could be read easily as a transplanted Sex and the City, and obligate audiences to

[224] Ibid., p. 170.

[225] Ibid., pp. 171-172.

[226] Ibid. p. 174.

take account of its political critique." On the other hand, the main aim of Alsanea and the publisher/editor was to "bring the work to the reader" and undermine its gender politics to make it easy for the audience "to consume the familiar Otherness of this story set in Saudi Arabia."[227]

And to prepare the *Girls of Riyadh* for the market and for a comfortable consumption by the Anglophone reader, the published version of the novel "emphasizes immediate accessibility over 'surrender to the text', similarity over difference, transparent 'equivalence' over pitfalls of locality… it favors the 'high readability' of chick lit over the punning satire, local embeddedness and intertextual play important to the power and novelty of this novel in Arabic."[228]

Booth's two articles, "The Muslim Woman As Celebrity Author and the Politics of Translating Arabic: Girls of Riyadh Go on the Road" and "Translator vs. Author: *Girls of Riaydh* Go to New York" are a devastating critique of the domestication revisions the translation of the novel subjected to by the author and editor to make it conform to the expectations of the reader and the requirements of the market.

Booth is aware that translation is often implicated in what she calls "Orientalist ethnographicism," by which she means "a way of seeing and writing the Other that grounds authority in a written narrative of personal experience, 'capturing' a society through the I/eye; and furthermore, claiming the authority of graphing the text in a global (and globalizing) language of reception, which is today predominantly English."[229] Booth is equally aware of the politics and power dynamics involved in the process of translation, the expectations of the readership, the market, the historical and ideological load of the English language. In her translation she is keen to invest the Arabic text with its original agency. She tries to do this by first considering translation an artistic creative process and not merely a mechanical linguistic exercise. "For me," she insists, "translation is an intertwined aesthetic and political act."[230]

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[227] Ibid. p. 175.

[228] Booth, "Translator v. Author," p. 201.

[229] Marilyn Booth, "The Muslim Woman As Celebrity Author and the Politics of Translating Arabic," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 6: 3, Special Issue: *Marketing Muslim Women* (Fall 2010), p.151.

[230] https://www.asymptotejournal.com/interview/an-interview-with-marilyn-booth/

Another postcolonial strategy Booth adopts in her translation is Spivak's approach to translation through the concept of "literalist surrender." Spivak explains that "the translator must surrender to the text. She must solicit the text to show the limits of its language, because that rhetorical aspect will point at the silence of the absolute fraying of language that the text wards off, in its special manner… translation is the most intimate act of reading."[231] A good translator is the one who can become "the intimate reader" and "surrender herself to the linguistic rhetoricity of the original text."[232]

Following Spivak, Booth believes that "translation must also 'skew' and skid, disrupt and poke, and above all avoid what Spivak calls 'a sort of with-it translatese' in favor of 'the dynamic staging of language mimed in the revision [the translator's revision of her first, literalizing and somewhat spontaneous version] by the rules of the in-between discourse produced by a literalist surrender'"[233]. Booth states that this is exactly what she tries to achieve in her translation. "Like Spivak," Booth says, "I find 'literalist surrender'' to be the node and noeud of translation, the key and the impossible knot."[234]

[231] Gayatri C. Spivak, *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 205.

[232] Ibid., p. 211.

[233] Ibid., p. 213.

[234] Marilyn Booth, "Translator v. Author," p. 200.

III . SUSAN MILER'S TRANSLATION OF AS-SAFFAR'S TRAVEL NARRATIVE TO FRANCE: AN EXERCISE IN CULTURAL DISORIENTATION

The previous two chapters have dealt with the strategies of the translation of travel genre and the translation of Arabic texts into English. The aim was to come up with translation, concepts, approaches, and methodologies that would benefit the current project.

The first idea to emphasize, here, is that when translating travel writing, one has to be aware that it is a complex genre that mixes autobiography, history, anthropology, and literature. It contains within the narrative a plurality of voices and is itself the product of an encounter and interpretation of foreign cultures and people.

The translation of travel genre is complicated by culturally bound elements which are sometimes untranslatable. Equally important is that translation is implicated in power relations, colonial histories, and cultural and linguistic hegemony. Most postcolonial theorists, Bassnett, Clifford, Lefevere, Niranjana, Venuti and others, have advocated foreignizing as a strategy that resists cultural dominance and does justice to the alterity of the foreign text.

The other issue that postcolonial theorists of translation have warned against is the far-reaching impact of the publishing industry and readership on translation. For reasons of marketability, publishers and translators are keen to cater for the audience's cultural assumptions and expectations about Otherness. So, most postcolonial approaches to translation have suggested literalism as an anti-colonial strategy that is successful in foregrounding the foreignness of the text and preserving cultural differences. And critics, such as Talal Asad and Walter Benjamin, have stressed that translation should strive to capture the intention of the original author and reproduce his or her style. This is the recommended ethical antidote to the scandalous violence of translation.

At the practical level, I have discussed Inmaculada Tamarit Vallés' analysis of the Spanish translation of Alexandre de Laborde's *Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne*, Tarek Shamma's study of the strategies of foreignization and domestication in the Victorian translation of the *Arabian*

Nights and ancient Arabic poetry, Amireh's analytical critique of the translation Nawal El Sadaawi's *Al Wajh al Ari lil Mar'a al Arabiyya,* Kahf's deconstruction of Margot Badran's translation of Huda Shaarawi's *Mudhakkirati,* and Hartman's diagnosis of the translation of Hanan al-Shaykh's *Misk al-Ghazal* by Catherine Cobham's translation.

These analytical works are extremely helpful in drawing attention to how omissions, additions, alterations, title changes, abridgements, mistranslations, and chapter reengagements, and prioritizing some references or enhancing certain aspects at the expense of others enact the politics of power and contribute to the exoticizing, eroticizing and Orientalizing of foreign cultures and societies. Such translation procedures, as discussed by these critics, reproduce popular Orientalist tropes and illustrate the scandalous violence of translation. They are intended to translate Otherness within an Orientalist ideology into a familiar commodity, deny agency to the author and his/her characters and disorient the political project of the Arab writer.

The current chapter tries to understand and familiarize us with translation theories and the problems involved in the translation of Arabic travel texts into English by conducting a deconstructive analytical critique of Susan Miller's translation of As-Safar's *Rihla* to France. This case study will be useful to me in providing a more refined and accurate translation of Al Hajwi's travel narrative and avoiding falling into the same pitfalls.

1. INTRODUCING SUSAN MILLER'S *DISORIENTING ENCOUNTERS*

Susan Miller's translation of Mohammed As-Saffar's travel narrative to France is the first Moroccan travel account to be rendered into the English language.[235] Miller was first introduced to As-Safar by the Moroccan historian, Mohammed Al Mannuni, who mentioned to her the existence of a Moroccan nineteenth-century titleless travel account to France. Susan Miller translated the manuscript in her PhD dissertation entitled *A Voyage to the Land of Rum: The*

[235] Susan Miller is an American historian specialized in Morocco and Mediterranean history and lecturer at the University of California, Davis. Her publications include *A History of Modern Morocco: City Panoramas across Five Centuries* (Cambridge University Press, 2012) and several co-authored books such *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco* (Harvard University Press, 1999), and of *The Architecture and Memory of the Minority Quarter of the Muslim Mediterranean City* (Harvard University, 2010), and *Berbers and Others: Beyond Tribe and Nation in the Maghrib* (Indiana University Press, 2010), in addition to numerous articles on the Middle east and North Africa.

Rihlah of the Moroccan Muhammad al-Saffar to France, December 1845-March 1846, defended in 1976 at the University of Michigan.[236]

Sixteen years later, in 1992, Miller edited and published her dissertation under the title, *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France in 1845-1846*, published by California University Press. The book is divided into two parts. The first one, about 60 pages, is an extensive introduction about the historical context of the Rihla, a map demonstrating the travel route of the Moroccan envoy, the significance and historical value of the embassy, and a discussion of as-Saffar's travel narrative and his encounters with France. The second part contains the translation of the Rihla in English, together with copious explanatory footnotes.

Disorienting Encounters received positive praise from many scholars, critics, and reviewers. Additionally, Miller's book was the catalyst in the editing and publication of as-Saffar's Arabic version of the manuscript. Concerning the translation method, Susan Miller states that her translation

> is as literal as possible without sacrificing intelligibility and good sense. The entire text has been translated; the sole omission is on pages 128-35 of the manuscript, in which the expenditures listed in the French National Budget of 1846 are copied into Arabic. The rest is translated following as-Saffar's direct, narrative style, interrupted now and then by the ornamental rhyming prose technique known as *saj'*. I have tried to convey the opulent flavor of the rhymed prose, without actually reproducing the rhyme. The same is true of the poetry, often skipped in translations. I have translated all of it, in the belief that the poetry serves as a vehicle for bringing the feeling and opinions of the author into sharper focus.[237]

Miller also emphasizes her meticulous approach to the translation: "There are many foreign words in the text, which are transcribed and explained in the notes. Some of these words, particularly those of Spanish origin, were already in use in Morocco; others were new, and were

[236] It must be noted that As-Saffar's travel to France was translated into French by Boussif Ouasti, *Une ambassade marocaine chez Louis-Philippe: rihlah al-faqîh Assafâr ilâ Bârîz* (Paris: Paris- Méditerranée, 2002).

[237]Susan Gilson Miller, *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France in 1845-1846* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1992), p. xv. Henceforward all citations from this book will be given in the text between brackets.

vocalized and pointed in the text by the author, making it easier for his readers to pronounce them" (*D.E.*, p. xvi).

In 1995, Khalid Ben-Srhir, a prominent Moroccan historian who specializes in Anglo-Moroccan historical relations, published as-Saffar's Arabic original under the title *Sudfat al-liqa maa al-jadid: Rihlat al-Saffar ila Faransa, 1845-1846* (*Unexpected Encounter with Novelty: The Voyage of as-Saffar to France, 1845-1846*). This book is based on Susan Millar's English edition. In the Arabic version, Ben- Sghir recommends Miller's translation in these words "in its English version the book was obviously targeting an audience of readers, the vast majority of which Westerners. Hence in her translation of the travel narrative into English, Susan Miller did her best to translate it as literally as possible in order to be faithful to the original text."[238]

Similarly, Mohamed El Mansour, a distinguished Moroccan historian, praises the translation saying: "By editing this Rihla, Susan Miller has shown the way for our researchers in editing historical texts. In fact, what is important in this work is not only the excellent English translation but also an insightful analysis in which the anthropological approach has been of undeniable contribution."[239] Another reviewer, Julia Clancy-Smith, praises Susan Miller for her "fine and elegant translation of the Moroccan scholar Muhammad al-As-Saffar's rihla." She adds that Miller "doggedly and with meticulous care studied the single manuscript which survives in the Royal Palace archives in Rabat" and that without her efforts "Al-As-Saffar's account of his travels to France in 1845-1846 as secretary to the Moroccan ambassador Ash'ash of Tetuan might never have come to our attention."[240]

Clancy-Smith, too, enthusiastically recommends the scholarly value of the translation. "In addition to being a work of scholarship," she emphasizes, "this represents a much needed addition to the English-language literature on modern North Africa for use in courses, whether for graduates or undergraduates. It will also be of interest to those teaching world history. I assigned it to an advanced undergraduate research seminar devoted to the Maghrib and designed for history majors. It was quite successful, not in the least because Dr. Miller's preface and

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[238] Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Rihla as-Saffar ila Faransa, 1845-1846* (Bayrut: al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyah lil-Dirasat wa-al-Nashr, 2007), p. 19. Translation mine. Henceforward all citations from this book will be given in the text between brackets.

[239] Mohamed El Mansour, Review of *Disorienting Encounters*, *Hesperis Tamuda*, vol. 34 (1996), p. 210. Translation mine.

[240] Julia Clancy-Smith, "Review of Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France," *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 27: 2 (December 1993), p. 231.

introduction demonstrate what it takes to be a conscientious, competent historian. And as one student wisely remarked, "this is a good read."[241]

Another reviewer, British historian and Middle East studies specialist, Mark Sedgwick states that "Miller's very readable translation is accompanied by sixty-nine pages of introduction, aimed somewhere between the general reader and the Middle East area specialist. Together with her explanatory notes to the main text, this makes as-Saffar's work accessible to the nonspecialist reader."[242]

Indeed, Miller's translation of as-Saffar deserves much praise. It is the first English translation of a Moroccan travel narrative to Europe.[243] It is also noteworthy that Miller has worked from an original manuscript, not from an edited version, investing a lot of effort and hard work to decipher the old Moroccan script and translate it into English. Her translation conveys the essence as well as the richness of the original text. It also captures the author's style and the cultural richness of the text. In addition, the translation has meticulously preserved the quirkiness of the Arabic original.

Miller's lengthy introduction and copious footnotes provide the reader with important background information that helps historically contextualize as-Saffar's Rihla and the Moroccan diplomatic mission as well as understand many obscure references. Miller's book is the product of intensive archival research, scholarly rigour, and a translation approach that seeks to capture the meaning of the original text.

2. CRITIQUE OF MILLER'S TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

Miller's translation is undeniably a well-constructed work and a major contribution to Moroccan Occidentalism studies and the Arab Travel Narrative genre. However, a careful rereading of her translation unfolds several disturbing problems, linguistic, cultural, and ideological. Despite the many positive reviews, Miller's *Disorienting Encounters* is far from being an authentic literal rendition of the original text. In fact, it is replete with omissions,

[241] Ibid., p. 232.

[242] Mark J. Sedgwick, "Review of *Disorienting Encounters*", *Journal of World History*, 9: 2 (Fall 1998), p. 296.

[243] It must be mentioned that the first Moroccan travel account to be translated into English is Ibn Battouta's Rihla by Samuel Lee in 1829 as *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, published in London by Oriental Translation Committee.

additions, miss-translations, and distortions. Such problems can be organized into two main categories: First, minor mistakes and changes that affect the form without significantly impacting the integrity of the original text. Second, major translation changes and inaccuracies that alter the intended original meaning, the author's politics and ideological perspectives, as well as the power dynamics of the text.

To begin with, Miller uses omission freely. Rodica Dimitriu defines omission "as a strategy by means of which professional translators delete words, phrases, sentences, sometimes even more consistent parts of the source texts in order to adjust – linguistically, pragmatically, culturally, or ideologically – the translated texts for their target audiences."[244]

In her book *In Other Words* (1992), Mona Baker distinguishes between three forms of omission in translation: 1 omission in word or expression, 2 omission in idiom, 3 omission in content of information. Concerning the first form, Baker explains:

> This strategy may sound rather drastic, but in fact it does no harm to omit translating a word or expression in some contexts. If the meaning conveyed by a particular item or expression is not vital enough to the development of the text to justify distracting the reader with lengthy explanations, translators can and often do simply omit translating the word or expression in question.[245]

On the second form, omission in idiom, Baker states: "As with single words, an idiom may sometimes be omitted altogether in the target text. This may be because it has no close match in the target language, its meaning cannot be easily paraphrased or for stylistic reasons."[246] On the third form, Baker says that "The change in the information content of the message may be in the form of omitting information specified in the source text. If the target language lacks a grammatical category which exists in the source language, the information expressed by that category may have to be ignored."[247]

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[244] Rodica Dimitriu, "Omission in Translation," *Perspectives Studies in Translatology*, 12: 3 (2004), p. 165.

[245] Mona Baker, *In Other Words*: *A Coursebook on Translation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 40.

[246] Ibid., p. 77.

[247] Ibid., p. 86.

Omissions have been tolerated in translation and often used even by professional translators essentially to preserve the clarity of the intended messages,[248] to discard taboo words that can be harmful to the target reader, or "to avoid redundancy and awkwardness and this strategy is particularly applied if the source language tends to be a redundant language."[249]

In the case of Susan Miller, omissions do not seem to be explained by intention to avoid redundancy and culturally taboo words, or to ensure clarity. For instance, as-Saffar states that at the entrance of the royal palace during their visit to the king of France, the Moroccan ambassador and his retinue were invited to climb up the stairs and go into the palace. As-Saffar uses the expression:

ثم استدعونا للصعود في الدرج فصعدنا (*Rihla*, p. 214)

Miller translates this expression as "then we climbed the stairs." The invitation to do so is unjustifiably omitted. (*D.E.*, p. 175).

Miller also thinks that it is not necessary to translate words and phrases such as "**و قال الشاعر**" (and the poet said), "**ونحو ذلك**" and "**غير ذالك**" (likewise or etcetera), "**المذكور**" (aforementioned). In fact, these words can be useful for the intended meaning.

The following chart tries to highlight some of the common omissions in Miller's translation and provide an idea about the scale of her omission strategy:

Arabic original	Miller's translation	Omissions and commentary
و فيه خزانة من العود الجيد يشرق و كأنه المرءات ذات جوالق عديدة ليحفظ فيها ما يعز عليه من أمتعته و ثيابه و غيرها، و قد يكون فيه أكثر من	There is also a wardrobe made of wood that shines like a mirror and has drawers for keeping clothes or other things of value. (*D.E.*, p. 98)	• The qualifier [**الجيد**] "good/ high quality" that indicates the quality of the wood is omitted. • The qualifier [**عديدة**] "several" or "many" is omitted. • The word [**أمتعته**] "his luggage" is omitted

[248] Peter Newmark explains that "A translator with his eye on his readership is likely to under-translate, to use more general words in the interests of clarity, simplicity and sometimes brevity, which makes him 'omit' to translate words altogether." Peter Newmark, *A Textbook of Translation* (New-York: Prentice-Hall International, 1988), p. 80.

[249] Eugene A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating with Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964), p. 228.

واحدة. (*Rihla*, pp. 182-183)		• The following phrase [**و من واحدة قد يكون فيه أكثر**] "and there may be more than one" is omitted.
و أما في الأزقة و الطرقات، فإنها تستر جميع بدنها حتى كفيها تجعل لهما غلافين، و إنما تترك مكشوفا وجهها فقط. (*Rihla*, p 222.)	However, on the streets they cover their entire body and even their hands, leaving only their faces exposed. (*D.E.*, p. 183)	• The word [**الأزقة**] "alleys" is omitted. • The following sentence [**تجعل لهما غلافين**] "she covers them with a pair of gloves is omitted
و قد رأيناهم مرة صوروا الجنة بقصور و أشجار و أنهار و منظر حسن (*Rihla*, p. 186.)	Another time they depicted Paradise, with castles and trees and rivers, a lovely sight (*D.E.*, p145)	• The phrase [**قد رأيناهم**] "we saw them" is omitted
و من الغد حضّوا علينا في الحضور بتياتروهم، و لم نكن رأينا قبل ذالك و لا عرفناه و تقدم وصفه و وصف لعبه بما فيه كفاية. و أجلسونا في محل الخصوص، فبقينا نحو ساعتين ثم انصرفنا. (*Rihla*, pp. 222-223)	The next evening they urged us to attend the theater, which we had never seen before and knew nothing about. I have already described it in detail. (*D.E.*, p.184)	• This entire extract : [**وصف لعبه بما فيه كفاية. و أجلسونا في محل الخصوص، فبقينا نحو ساعتين ثم انصرفنا**] It can be translated as: the performance was sufficiently described. They seated us in the place of dignitaries and we stayed there for about two hours then left.
عليه ستور من الحرير لاكن غير مسدولة، تتدلى منه مجاديل و هدب من الذهب . (*Rihla*, p. 214)	from above hung silken draperies fringed and corded with gold. (*D.E.*, p.175)	• The phrase [**لاكن غير مسدولة**]I "but the draperies weren't drawn" is omitted.
قد أسلفنا أن دخولنا لها كان يوم الأحد الثامن و العشرين من ذي الحجة، و كان خروجنا منها يوم	We have already noted that we arrived in Paris on Sunday, the 28th day of Dhū al-Hijja, and our	• The following phrase: [**فكانت مدة إقامتنا بها خمسين يوما**] "The period of our stay was fifty days."

الاثنين تاسع عشر صفر ، فكانت مدة إقامتنا بها خمسين يوما. (*Rihla*, p. 211)	departure took place on Monday, the 19th day of Şafar. (*D.E.*, p.172)	The duration of their stay is been omitted. This information is relevant. Its omission is unjustified.
ثم بعد أن اجتمعوا في القبة المذكورة، حضر أصحاب الآلات و الموسيقي، فتصدر صف من البنات لابسات ثيابا بيضا جالسات على شواليهن بيد كل واحدة كتابها، و جلس خلفهم الرجال بيد كل واحد آلته، فأخذوا بالطرب و الغنا بلغاتهم. (*Rihla*, p. 222)	After everyone had gathered in the room, the musicians entered, and a row of young girls dressed in white seated themselves on chairs in front of the musicians, each holding a book in her hand. They began strumming and singing in their language. (*D.E.*, pp. 183-184)	• [**المذكورة**] "previously mentioned" is omitted. • [**بيد كل واحدة كتابها**]"in the hand of each one of them her own book" is omitted. • [**و جلس خلفهم الرجال**] "and the men sat behind them" is changed to "girls dressed in white seated themselves on chairs in front of the musicians" • [**بيد كل واحد آلته**]"in the hand of each one his own instrument" is omitted • [**فأخذوا بالطرب**] "they began playing music" is altered into "They began strumming" which is a term specific to string instruments, something that the author did not specify.

Sometimes translators deliberately resort to omissions when the text is difficult or obscure. As-Saffar's Rihla is clear and readable. Omissions are, therefore, unjustifiable.

In some instances, omissions might cause confusion as in this case:

كما قال أزدشير لابنه، لا تمكن الناس من نفسك، فإن أجرأ الناس على الأسد أكثرهم له معاينة. و قال الشاعر:
كما يخلق الثوب الجديد ابتذاله* * * كذا تخلق المرء العيون اللوامح

(*Rihla*, pp. 211-212)

Miller's translation reads

> As Ardashir said to his son, "Don't let people gain power over your soul; the boldest one with the lion is he who sees him the most."

Just as new clothes become threadbare through overuse,
So do searching eyes wear out the man. (*D.E.*, pp. 172-173)

The omission of **"و قال الشاعر"** "and the poet said" in the English version creates confusion about authorship. It sounds as if the second line of poetry that comes after is another saying by Ardashir or written by as-Saffar. While, in fact, these lines are from a poet called Ibn Al Muaataz.

Consider also the following extract where the meaning intended by as-Saffar is fundamentally affected:

ظهرت مدينة عظيمة ذات بناء محكم و برج عال مستحكم، و يخرج من خلالها نهر عليه قنطرة عظيمة و فيه سفينة صغيرة. و في أعلا المدينة من جبل إلى جبل قنطرة أخرى كبيرة من قناطر الحديد، و حول المدينة أشجار و نبات، فجعل الثلج ينزل عليها و نحن نرى الثلج نازلا، و هو أبيض مترادف قوي و نسمع وقعه على السقف فوقنا، بحيث من لم يكن له علم أن ذالك لعب فلا يشك أنه الثلج حقيقة. فبقي ينزل حتى صار كل شيء أبيض، و كادت أن تتغطى المدينة به، ثم فتر و جعل يسيل من فوق السطوح و يجري في الطرق (*Rihla*, p. 187)

Miller translates this passage as follows:

> a great city appeared, with solid buildings and towering fortifications. Flowing out of the city was a river crossed by a bridge, above it were mountains, and surrounding it were forests and fields. They made snow fall; we saw it piling up and heard it fall on the roof above us. Whoever did not know that this was a play would have had no doubt it was actually snow. It continued to fall until everything was covered with white. (*D.E.*, p.146).

There are several omissions in Miller's translation. As-Saffar describes two bridges, while the translation refers to only one. To avoid confusion, as-Saffar clearly states that there are two bridges using the expression **"قنطرة أخرى كبيرة من قناطرالحديد"**. Miller does not mention the bridge, nor does she qualify it as being great and made of iron. The bridge is seen as great because it is built between two mountains. Miller just says that the mountains are above the bridge.

Another unscrupulous omission in the translation is as-Saffar's reference to a small ship under the first bridge **"و فيه سفينة صغيرة".** An equally important omission in the translation is

the description of snow. As-Saffar states that the snow is falling "**نازل**". Miller changed it to "piling". As-Saffar qualifies the snow as being "**و هو أبيض مترادف قوي**" "the white snow was falling heavily and continuously." The last sentence

و كادت أن تتغطى المدينة به، ثم فتر و جعل يسيل من فوق السطوح و يجري في الطرق.

is completely omitted. It can be translated as follows: "It almost covered the city with it, then it stopped, and it started falling from the roofs and running in the streets."

Evidently, though Miller insists that her translation is as literal as possible, her numerous omissions reveal a domestication strategy deliberately meant to adapt the text to the new target audience. As such, the translation seems to cut out elements that it deems redundant or unimportant, or break the flow of the text like lengthy detailed descriptions. These are removed for the convenience of the target audience. Although such omissions do not substantially alter as-Saffar's narrative and meaning, they nevertheless undermine the idiosyncrasies of his style and his representation of French Otherness.

Another liberty that Miller takes with her translation of as-Saffar's text is word change. Word change refers to the substitution of the term in the source language with another whose meaning is slightly or radically different in the target language. For instance:

و صوروا أمواتا خرجوا من تحت الأرض، و شخصا آخر ابتلعته الأرض. (*Rihla*, p. 186)

is translated by Miller as "They also showed the dead rising from the grave, and someone swallowed up by the earth who later reappeared in Paradise." Here "الأرض" "earth" or "ground" is changed to grave.

Another example:

و صوروا بل جعلوا حقيقة سلطانا و عساكره لابسين زي الوقت الذي كان فيه ذالك الحرب، و زينوا الجواري بلباس ذالك الوقت أيضا، و أخذوا في الحرب حتى دخلوها.

(*Rihla*, p. 186)

Miller's translation: "They dressed the Sultan and his men as they were in that time, and the women too. They fought until they entered the city". (*D.E.*, pp.144-145).

و صوروا بل جعلوا حقيقة سلطانا و عساكره لابسين The sentence **زي الوقت الذي كان فيه ذالك الحرب**

can be rendered literally as "They depicted or rather made the reality of a king and his soldiers dressed in the costume of the time during which the war was taking place." We notice that Miller has changed the expression "**و صوروا بل جعلوا حقيقة سلطانا**" into "They dressed the Sultan" and changed his soldiers "**عساكره**" into "his men." The detail which contextualizes the dress in the expression **"الوقت الذي كان فيه ذالك الحرب"** is omitted. Equally important is the phrase " **و زينوا الجواري بلباس ذالك الوقت أيضا".** It can be translated as "and they adorned the young girls with the clothes of that time as well." Miller changes the verb **زين** adorn or decorate into to dress and omits as-Saffar linguistic repetition of **"بلباس ذالك الوقت أيضا"**, condensing his style into "and the women too."

As-Saffar describes the house that was assigned to the Moroccan delegation, its spaciousness, elegance, and the exquisite furniture and describes the window curtains in this way

(*Rihla*, p. 128) **و كل طاقات البيت عليها ستور من الحرير أو غيره مما يضاهيه**

Miller's translation reads, "The windows are covered with a curtain made of something like silk" (D. E. p. 89.) This is a distortion of as-Saffar's texts. He states that all the curtains were of silk or of a similar fabric that looked like silk. By insisting on silk, as-Saffar is obviously enhancing the prestige of the Moroccan delegation. Suggesting an inferior quality would undermine this sense of Moroccan prestige.

Another example is the following:

و قد رأيت السلطان بنفسه واقفا و أولاده و نساء أولاده و بناته يرقصون مع بعضهم بعضا و مع غيرهم، و هو يفرح لذالك و يضحك .

(*Rihla*, p. 224)

Miller's translation: "I even saw the Sultan himself, his daughters, his sons, and their wives all dancing together and with others. He was laughing and enjoying himself immensely." (*D.E.*, pp.185-186). Here, the translation is full of confusion. A more accurate translation of the passage is "I saw the sultan standing while his sons, the wives of his sons and his daughters were dancing with one another and with others. He took delighted in that and was laughing." In Miller's translation, the king is dancing, while in the original he is standing and watching his sons, their wives, and his daughters dance. He was enjoying himself not because he was dancing, but at

seeing them dance. The words "immensely" and "all" are added by Miller. The word order in **أولاده و نساء أولاده و بناته** is changed to "his daughters, his sons, and their wives," while for the sake of accuracy, it should be: "his sons, their wives, and his daughters."

In other cases, Miller's translation is inaccurate because of the alterations and mistranslations such as in this example:

و إذا أرادوا أن يحكوا حال فرعون مع موسى (عليه السلام)، فيصدرون البحر و يجعل يتماوج كأنه حقيقة، و ينفلق حتى ينجوا منه موسى و أصحابه و ينطبق على فرعون و قومه

(*Rihla*, p. 186) .

Miller translates this passage as: "They told the story of Pharaoh and Moses, peace be unto him, showing the sea and crocodiles just as if they were real. [The sea] split open to allow Moses and his companions to pass through, but closed upon Pharaoh and his troop." (*D.E.*, p.145.).

The expression "**و إذا أرادوا أن يحكوا حال فرعون**", "If they wished to tell the case of Pharaoh" is changed to "They told the story of Pharaoh." The phrase " **فيصدرون البحر و يجعل يتماوج كأنه حقيقة**" which can be translated as "they depict the sea and make it fluctuate as though it was real" is changed in the English version to "showing the sea and crocodiles just as if they were real." The word fluctuate was changed to crocodile for no apparent reason. And the expression **"و ينفلق حتى ينجوا منه موسى و أصحابه"** "Then it splits open until Moses and his companions are safe" is altered by Miller to "[The sea] split open to allow Moses and his companions to pass through." Miller places the sea between square brackets to give the impression of strict faithfulness to the Arabic original while throughout her translation she intentionally takes freedom with as-Saffar text as is the case in the next phrase **"فرعون و قومه"** "Pharaoh and his people," which is changed to "Pharaoh and his troop."

Here is another example worthy of analysis:

ثم أرخيت الستارة و غير التصوير، ثم رفعت فظهرت مدينة أخرى ذات بناء قديم، فيها قلع و حصون، و الناس يظهرون ماشين في أزقتها و يظهر كأن السماء فوقها مغيمة، فجعل الغيم يشتد و الظلمة تنزل حتى أظلمت. و كانت الظلمة جائية من خلف المدينة، فبمجرد وصولها لها صرصرت ريح عاتية و يسمع لها دوي و صفير، و أخذ المطر ينزل كأفواه القرب، و تكلم رعد عظيم له دوي من فوق، و نحن نسمع وقع المطر على السقف كأنه حقيقة. ثم ظهر نور في الأفق خلف المدينة كأنه الفجر قد طلع، حتى انجلى الضوء، فجعل المطر ينزل و يظهر كأنه

مار بين الجبال له خراطيم عظيمة، و كأنه يجيء إلى المدينة بحر من خلفها مما انحدر من الجبال و سال من الأودية من مياه المطر حتى كأنه يريد أن يغرق المدينة. ثم أرخيت الستارة و انتهى، و كان هذا كله في نحو ربع ساعة، و كانوا يصورون بذالك الطوفان لاكن لم يكملوه.(*Rihla*, pp.187-188)

Miller's translation:

> Another scene showed a different city, with ancient buildings and a fortress, and people in the streets. It looked as if the sky were overcast, and then the clouds increased and darkness descended, and a violent wind began to blow, rain fell in torrents, and the sound of thunder came from above. Then a light like the dawn appeared on the horizon and rose until it shone everywhere. They made it look as if the rain were falling in the mountains, and from there ran down to a sea behind the city. A river began to gush forth [out of the mountains', looking as if it would deluge the place. And then the curtain came down. All this took place within a quarter of an hour. (*D.E.*, p. 146).

The phrase "**ثم أرخيت الستارة و غير التصوير، ثم رفعت فظهرت مدينة أخرى**" is simply omitted. The rise and fall of the curtain in a theatre is an important piece of information that as-Saffar is eager to convey to his Moroccan readers who were unfamiliar with the theatre. Perhaps, Miller finds these details uninteresting to her English readers who are familiar with the theatre conventions. The Moroccan author is keen to paint a picture of a new experience to his Moroccan reader but the translator domesticates his intention for the sake of her English reader.

The phrase "**قلع و حصون**" "towers and fortresses" is reduced in Miller to the singular "a fortress." The expression **"و الناس يظهرون ماشين في أزقتها"** is translated as "and people in the streets." A more faithful translation is "and people appeared waking in its alleys." In addition to that all of the following phrases are cut out in Miller's translation:

كانت الظلمة جائية من خلف المدينة، فبمجرد وصولها لها
عظيم له دوي
و نحن نسمع وقع المطر على السقف كأنه حقيقة
و يظهر كأنه مار بين الجبال له خراطيم عظيمة

و كأنه يجيء إلى المدينة بحر
و سال من الأودية من مياه المطر
و كانوا يصورون بذالك الطوفان لاكن لم يكملوه.(*Rihla,* p.188)

The last sentence

"و كأنه يجيء إلى المدينة بحر من خلفها مما انحدر من الجبال و سال من الأودية من مياه المطر حتى كأنه يريد أن يغرق المدينة"

is translated by Miller as follows: "They made it look as if the rain were falling in the mountains, and from there ran down to a sea behind the city. A river began to gush forth [out of the mountains], looking as if it would deluge the place." The translation is full of omissions and mistranslations. As-Saffar uses a simile to compare the heavy rain to a sea gushing into the city "as if a sea was coming to the city from behind." Miller's translation mistakenly refers to the rain running into "a sea behind the city." The city in **"يغرق المدينة"** is changed to place, "behind the city". A very important piece of information that gives the context to the play is omitted. The comparison of the rain being like a sea is wrongly interpreted.

Evidently, from the above examples, we can conclude that Miller's translation is far from being faithful to the original text. Her interventions with the source text are determined by a desire to adapt the original text to the structures and cultural context of the target language.

This domestication strategy is adopted throughout Miller's translation of as-Saffar. Instead of opting for a more correct text, the translator makes changes that although not crucial in themselves, they nonetheless change many details in as-Saffar's narrative. The historical value of the text, the experience of the traveller, and his style are compromised by the translator's attempts to change the text into a western reader-friendly story.

Travel narrative is a type of literature that has literariness and aesthetic value in addition to its historical and anthropological dimensions. It is also a complex literary autobiography where the self comes into multiple encounters with an unfamiliar land and people. Therefore, a successful translation of travel writing should aim at the communication of information as well as the reconstruction and representation of the language form and style of the original work.

From a postcolonial perspective, as Vladimir Kapor affirms, translating travel literature is a form of appropriation and domestication. "Cultural appropriation and domestication are also among the privileged tropes for describing the act of translation, in the Western tradition at least. The act of translating travel writing would hence appear to amount to a double act of cultural

appropriation."[250] This applies perfectly to Susan Miller's *Disorienting Encounter*. Her omissions and changes alter the original text and undermine the voice of the author and his style.

3. DISORIENTING AS-SAFFAR'S WORLDVIEW

The inaccurate translations discussed above do not seem to be motivated by cultural or ideological considerations, yet they substantially affect the original meaning intended by the author. In other cases in Miller's version, mistranslations can be read as being culturally and ideologically driven. For instance, as-Saffar states about the monks:

و إذا أرادوا أن يحكوا حال قسيسين مثلا إذا خلوا أخذوا في اللهو و الشرب و الطرب، و إذا رأوا الناس أظهروا الخشوع و الإعراض عن رؤية النساء و نحو ذالك، فيصورون الكنيسة و سائر ما يكون فيها، و يجعلون بعضا منهم قسيسين و يلبسون زيهم و يحضرون أواني الشراب إذا خلوا، فإذا رأوا أحدا تركوا ذالك و أخفوه بسرعة و قاموا إلى الصلاة، و إذا جاءتهم امرأة تتبرك بهم فلا يلتفتون إليها.(*Rihla*, p. 186)

Miller translates this passage in this way:

> They told a story about monks carousing and drinking, but when the monks saw other people, and especially women, they showed humility and abstinence in their sight. They showed the church and everything in it and the vessels for wine. When [they] saw someone looking, they quickly hid [the wine] and returned to praying. And when a woman came to seek their blessing, they paid no attention to her. (*D.E.*, p. 145.).

Miller's translation strategies in this passage are interesting. To begin with, as-Saffar explains that the monks are portrayed in the theatre as degenerate and hypocritical. When they are alone they **"إذا خلوا أخذوا في اللهو و الشرب و الطرب"** . The monks engage in "rollicking, drinking and frolicking." Miller's translation reduces as-Saffar's catalogue of monkish dissoluteness as "carousing and drinking," using synonyms. By so doing, she mitigates as-Saffar's critical stance on the monks' hypocrisy and corruption.

[250]Vladimir Kapor, "Translating the Great Maritime Explorations: On John Reinhold Forster's Translation of Bougainville's *Voyage autour du monde*," in *Travel Narratives in Translation, 1750-1830: Nationalism, Ideology, Gender,* eds. Alison Martin and Susan Pickford (New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 93.

The second problem of the translation is the mistranslation of the original meaning in the following sentence

و إذا رأوا الناس أظهروا الخشوع و الإعراض عن رؤية النساء و نحو ذالك (*Rihla*, p. 186)

Miller wrongly translates this sentence in this way "when the monks saw other people, and especially women, they showed humility and abstinence in their sight." The meaning of as-Saffar is that "when the monks saw other people they showed piety and abstinence from seeing women and things like that." The implied carnality of the monks is concealed in Miller. In addition to that Miller translates **الخشوع** as humility instead of piety, which is more accurate and a higher degree than humility and, therefore, the use of piety enhances the monks' hypocrisy. As-Saffar uses the phrase "**و نحو ذالك**" to open other possibilities of monkish debauchery. Miller closes such possibilities by omitting "and things like that." Despite Miller's use of square brackets twice in this passage to indicate the addition and thereby imply her strict adherence to accuracy, her translation deviates from the intended meaning.

Miller's tampering with as-Saffar's morality is manifest in another passage:

بخلاف عشق النساء و الخلوة بهن، فإن ذالك إذا كان عن رضى منها لا يتعرض لهما متعرض، و لا يلزم فيه شيء عندهم. لاكن فاعلوه عندهم ساقط المروءة ناقص العرض، و خصوصا الفاعلة، فإنه لا يبالى بها، و يستنكف أهل المروءة من الكلام معها و السلام عليها و لو لغير ذالك القصد، و إن كان ذالك مباحا إذا كان برضى الجميع...هذا ما استقرت عليه عادتهم، و بالله التوفيق.(*Rihla*, p. 199)

Miller translates this passage as follows:

> By contrast, love of women and intercourse with them takes place when she is willing, and no one will raise objections to it. Nor are they obligated in any way. But going with prostitutes, and especially female ones, is considered a corruption of morality and a defect in one's honor; no one pays heed to them and people of virtue avoid speaking to them or greeting them, even for some other purpose. For if that were freely permitted, then everyone would indulge in it. .. This is how their custom has established it, and God is my witness, (*D.E.*, p. 161.).

Miller has completely missed the point of this part. First, as-Saffar uses " **عشق النساء و الخلوة بهن**", "the love of women and being in seclusion with them." Miller translates *al khulwa* as intercourse. Thus, Miller vulgarizes as-Saffar's virtuous style. This process of vulgarization continues in the sentence

لاكن فاعلوه عندهم ساقط المروءة ناقص العرض، و خصوصا الفاعلة فإنه لا يبالى بها، و يستنكف أهل المروءة من الكلام معها و السلام عليها

(*Rihla*, p. 199)

which can be translated as "But those who do it/so (*al khulwa* staying in seclusion with women) are considered by them to be lacking dignity and devoid of honor, especially the woman." Miller's translation of this sentence is completely wrong: "But going with prostitutes, and especially female ones, is considered a corruption of morality and a defect in one's honor; no one pays heed to them and people of virtue avoid speaking to them or greeting them." To begin with, as-Saffar does not refer to any intercourse with prostitutes but to illicit relations, euphemized in the restrained word of *khulwa*, between men and women in general, not necessarily prostitutes. As-Saffar makes it clear that the French moral strictures are reserved more for the woman and unambiguously refers to her using "**بها**" and "**معها**" "**عليها**". Miller, on the other hand, involves men, too in the moral condemnation. The deliberate contrast between the original text and the translation is striking.

Another mistranslation is **و إن كان ذالك مباحا إذا كان برضى الجميع.** Here, as-Saffar explains that "although fornication was permissible if consensual," those who practice it, women in particular, are looked down by society. Miller mistranslates as-Saffar's meaning by stating "For if that were freely permitted, then everyone would indulge in it." Obviously, the mistakes made by the translator impact heavily the intended meaning and reveal her gender politics.

In another context, Miller uses sensationalism. For instance, As-Saffar writes

و لا بد أن يكون هناك جواري مزينات بأحسن الزينة و أجمل اللباس، و عسكر و سلطان لابسي الدروع و البيضات و بيدهم الأسلحة من السيوف و الرماح و المكاحل و غير ذالك(*Rihla*, p. 185)

Here is Miller's translation: "There are always beautiful young courtesans (*jawārī*), gorgeously bejeweled and costumed, and a king and his men wearing armor and bearing arms such as spears, swords, or muskets." (*D.E.*, p. 144.).

Miller changes **جواري** which in this context means young girls to "beautiful young courtesans." She provides a transliteration of the word and gives it in brackets (*jawārī*) to imply accuracy, yet, mistranslates it as courtesans that is mistresses or prostitutes and adds the adjective "beautiful". Another interesting tampering with the original is the change in word order in **و عسكر و سلطان لابسي الدروع** . Miller translates it as "and a king and his men wearing armor." She mentions the king first and changes soldiers into his men. This clearly reveals Miller's intention to invest the king with more power. She also changes "spears, swords, or muskets" and as usual omits "**و غير ذالك**" "and the like."

The cultural and political contest and tensions in the power relations between the Arabic original and the English translation are visibly enacted in a series of other expressions, listed in this chart:

As-Safar original	Miller's translation	discussion and commentary
و في يوم الجمعة عاشر محرم، أضافنا وزير وزرائهم، و هو شيخ كبير السن و اسمه صلت، (*Rihla*, p. 223)	On Friday, the tenth of Muharram, we were invited to visit one of their ministers, a respected man of great age named Soult (*D.E.*, p. 184)	• The minister in As-Saffar's text is " وزير وزرائهم" i.e. "their chief minister," something like the grand vizier. Obviously, it is an honour for the Moroccans to be invited by the chief minister. Miller, however, turns him into an ordinary minister but deviates from the original and invests him with respectability.
و سمعوا بنا فامتلأت الطرق و الشوارع لرؤيتنا، حتى بلغنا إلى دار السلطان . فخصنا بالدخول على قوس لا يدخل منه إلا هو و أهله إكراما لنا. (*Rihla*, p. 214)	The [people] knew we were coming, and they thronged the streets and avenues, eager to catch sight of us. When we reached the palace, they honored us by having us pass beneath the arch reserved for the Sultan	• In the original, it was the French Sultan who honoured the Moroccan delegation to pass beneath the royal archway. In Miller the permission is made anonymous: "they honored us by having us pass beneath the arch."

	and his family (*D.E.*, p. 174)	
و الحاصل آلاتهم و غناؤهم لا يطربنا و لا يهزنا، فبقينا معهم هنيّة ثم انصرفنا عنهم و تركناهم: (*Rihla*, p. 222)	All in all, their music and singing did not arouse in us the desire to either clap or sway. We stayed there for a short time and then left the company amidst their resounding applause. (*D.E.*, p. 184)	• The Moroccan traveller is disdainful of French music and singing. This is evident in his statement "neither their musical instruments nor their singing pleased/entertained or moved us." This scornful attitude is further expressed in "**فبقينا معهم هنيّة ثم انصرفنا عنهم و تركناهم** " "we stayed with them a while, then we departed and left them." Miller changes "musical instruments" and "nor their singing pleased/entertained or moved us" to • "did not arouse in us the desire to either clap or sway." The contempt at the end is mitigated in the English text by unjustifiable addition: "left the company amidst their resounding applause." No applause is mentioned in the original.
فهيأ رئيسنا كلاما و كتبه في ورقة، و لما واجهه أخرج ورقته و سردها بالعربية ...و ذكره أيضا بما يليق به مما فيه مداراته، ... و بعد فراغه من سردها فسرها الترجمان، ثم أخرج السلطان من جيبه ورقة أيضا جوابا لذالك، .... و سردها بعجميته، ثم فسرها الترجمان بالعربية. ثم ناوله كتاب أميرنا نصر الله، فقبضه قبض تعظيم، ثم انصرفنا من عنده. (*Rihla*, p.215-216)	Our chief prepared such a speech, writing it down on a piece of paper, which he took out and read in Arabic. … He also complimented the [French] Sultan with appropriate words … After he had ended his speech and the interpreter translated it, the Sultan gave us his reply…. He spoke in his own language, and the interpreter translated it into Arabic. We then handed over the letter of our Sultan and he	• In this audience with the king of France, the head of the Moroccan delegation chief diplomat read a speech from a paper, then the king took out from his pocket a paper ثم أخرج السلطان من جيبه ورقة أيضا جوابا لذالك، • • "The sultan took out his own paper in response." • Miller omits this detail, making it look as if the king gave an impromptu oral response: "he gave us his reply," which would seem less respectful and considerate to the Moroccan envoy and their sultan. • At the conclusion of the speeches, the Moroccan ambassador handed the king the letter from the Moroccan sultan. The French king received it reverently " فقبضه قبض تعظيم" with great reverence. Miller

	took it with great feeling. After that, we left him. (*D.E.,* pp. 176-177)	uses "with great feeling," which seems less powerful than in the original. • This diplomatic encounter is an important historical event. And should have been translated more accurately.
و أيضا فلا نهتدي للذهاب لموضع وحدنا لعدم معرفتنا البلد و اللسان، فلم نكن نخرج إلا بقائد و سائق، فلنا عذر في عدم استقصاء أخبار هذه المدينة و أخبار أهلها. (*Rihla,* p. 212)	Moreover, we never ventured out by ourselves, because of our ignorance of the place and the language, but were always in the company of a guide. Therefore we should be excused for a lack of details about this city and its inhabitants. (*D.E.,* p. 173)	• In this example, Saffar states his reason for not being able to provide his reader with further details by venturing outside and seeking news about the city and its people (Paris). There are two major alterations: • First, the word ignorance is a much more severe term. And its pejorative connotations change the statement of the author to an apologetic self-conscious discourse of weakness. لعدم معرفتنا البلد و اللسان • Should have been translated to "because we don't know the place and the language. • Second, As-Saffar states that: [**فلم نكن نخرج إلا بقائد و سائق**] "that is why we never out without a driver and guide." However, the translation states that the delegation always had a guide at the ready, making his excuse for not seeking the news unjustifiable and protecting the envoy as indolent and slothful.
لما دخلنا هذه المدينة، أنزلونا بدار كانوا أعدوها لنا بالمحل المعروف عندهم بالشمزليزي المتقدم ذكره، و معنى هذه الكلمة عندهم رياض الجنة. و هو من منتزهاتهم و محال	When we arrived in Paris we were settled into a house prepared for us on the famous Champs-Elysées mentioned above, which means "garden of paradise" in their language.	• This example illustrates the clash between the author and the translator. In describing this new experience, As-Saffar says : [المعروف عندهم] a well-known/famous place to them. But the translation changes it to the famous Champs-Elysées making it a universal fact. This creates a familiarity that did not exist in As-Saffar's account. This sense of familiarity is injected further into the

فرجاتهم و تماشيهم **. فاختاروا لنا هذه الدار في هذا المحل، لأنه من أشرف محالهم.** (*Rihla*, p. 212)	It is one of their favorite places for strolling, relaxation, and amusement ….. They selected a house for us there because of its superb location. (*D.E.*, p. 173)	text. "It is one of their favourite places for strolling, relaxation… " The word favourite was added to the text. Saffar's experience is hijacked and tampered with. As-Saffar describes the place as being "**من أشرف محالهم**" which translates as "their most noble accommodation" to refer to the French's high esteem for the delegation. The translation changes this to "a superb location," altering the meaning to a geographical convenience.
و مدار لعبهم على تناشد أشعارهم و التغني بلغاتهم خصوصا المتعاشقين، فيجعلون واحدا عاشقا و أخرى معشوقته و يبرزان للميدان يتناشدان و يغنيان، و تارة تكون المعشوقة راضية عن عاشقها مقبلة عليه و تارة تبغضه و تعرض عنه. و ينشدان لكل حالة ما تقتضيه، و هم الذين يفهمون كلام بعضهم بعضا. (*Rihla*, p. 186)	The subject matter of their plays is the recitation of verses and the singing of songs in their language, especially between lovers. They make one of them the lover and the other the beloved, and the two of them come forward on the stage reciting and singing to one another. Sometimes the beloved is leased with her lover, and draws near to him; at other times she loathes him and turns away from him, all the while reciting the proper words. Those who understand what they are saying to each other take pleasure in the talking and versifying. (*D.E.*, p. 144)	• **و هم الذين يفهمون كلام بعضهم بعضا** • "it is they[the French] who understand each other's speech." Was changed to "Those who understand what they are saying to each other take pleasure in the talking and versifying." • As-Saffar is expressing a sense of alienation. He was not able to understand the content of the play since he lacks knowledge about the language. The explanation he provides was most definitely provided by a French person. The translation however changes As-Saffar's mere statement of not understanding the content of the play. it was altered to not being able to enjoy the play due to the language barrier. Thus, throughout the translation, As-Saffar seems to be well acquainted with the theatre and also interested in this romantic musical play while unable to take pleasure in the talking and versifying. • These kinds of tampering make the cultural, ideological, psychological, and political types of analyses bound to come to the wrong conclusions. The source material has been tainted with outside influences. The analysis of this translation is an analysis of an edited, novelized, and distorted version of the original.

Tarek Shamma reminds us that "One of the most important contributions of postcolonialist critics has been to demonstrate that language is not a neutral tool, that translation can never be a purely technical activity. They insist that one has always to consider the larger framework of power relations in which intercultural and interlingual encounters take place."[251] Reading *Disorienting Encounters* within this perspective, as the above examples illustrate, Miller's translation tends to deny agency to the narrator/author and diplomat as well as weaken his position in the power dynamics within his own story. In the *Rihla* events revolve around as-Saffar. He is the catalyst of the action. While in the translation as-Saffar seems to be just a witness to events happening about him, without his control.

4. REVERSING POWER RELATIONS IN THE TRANSLATION OF SAFFAR'S TRAVEL NARRATIVE

Reading Miller's translation against the Arabic original, we increasingly become aware of the dynamics of power operating in the translation process. On many occasions in the translation, the discourse of the original writer is weakened and his cultural pride is mellowed down while it seems that the French culture and pride are enhanced and celebrated. Consider, for instance, the translation of the following passage:

و الحاصل آلاتهم و غناؤهم لا يطربنا و لا يهزنا، فبقينا معهم هنيّة ثم انصرفنا عنهم و تركناهم (*Rihla*, p. 222)

Miller translates this passage as follows: "All in all, their music and singing did not arouse in us the desire to either clap or sway. We stayed there for a short time and then left the company amidst their resounding applause." (*D.E.,* p. 184.). A more accurate translation is "Neither their musical instruments nor their singing affected or moved us. We stayed there for a short while then we departed from them." We notice that "musical instruments" is changed to "music" "affected or moved/ stimulate nor stir us" is changed to "arouse in us the desire to either clap or sway." Clapping is not mentioned in As-Saffar. More significantly, the Moroccan delegation's disdain for French music and dancing "**انصرفنا عنهم و تركناهم**" **"**we departed from them and left them" is strangely altered into "left the company amidst their resounding applause." Miller adds "amidst their resounding applause" completely from her imagination. Her addition purposely counteracts the Moorish contempt for art with French refined gentility and friendliness to foreigners.

[251] Tarek Shamma, *Translation and the Manipulation of Difference*, p. 119.

Here is another interesting example:

و لما دخلنا لهذه الدار ألفيناهم قد هيئوها لنا بأحسن ما عندهم، قد قصروها علينا لا يدخلها إلا نحن و خدمنا، و ليست بوصاضة كسائر ديار النزول لمطلق الناس. و جعلوا بها من الفرش الرفيعة و لمواكن النفيسة و الثريات المضيئة و الخدم المطيعة، ما ينبئ عن عظيم منزلتنا عندهم. ... و جعلوا لنا من الخدمة نحو عشرين، كل له شغل خاص. (*Rihla*, p. 212)

When we entered the house we found that they had readied it with the very finest things for us. It was reserved for us alone, for it was not a hotel open to the public. They had installed the richest furnishings, the most priceless clocks, the brightest chandeliers, and the most willing servants to demonstrate their high esteem for us. …Twenty servants were provided to us, and each had a special duty. (*D.E.*, pp. 173-174).

In his account as-Saffar is eager to demonstrate the high esteem the French held the Moroccan diplomatic envoy as an expression of the great station of the Moroccan monarch. Miller's translation consistently downplays this national and political self-glorification. For instance, as-Saffar says that the French chose for the Moroccans the finest of houses and reserved it for them alone and **"و خدمنا"** "and our servants." "Our servants" is omitted. The French government provided the Moroccan envoy with servants to look after their needs. As-Saffar describes them as "**و الخدم المطيعة**". Miller undermines as-Saffar power politics by changing obedient servants to willing servants.

The first aspect of power relations that can be seen throughout this translation is a struggle between the original author and the translator. As can be seen from the examples above, on many occasions, Miller hijacks the author's voice, narrative, style, and sometimes even his experience.

The original Arabic text is filled with redundancy and lengthy explanations and descriptions. The author's style prioritizes description and accuracy when giving details and is often ready to sacrifice literariness and fluency in order to achieve a historically archival text. Miller does not seem to respect as-Safar's choices. The rigidity of the narrative, the redundancy of the description, and minor details and explanations that break the flow of the text are often times altered and smoothed out.

Through Miller's tampering with the details, valuable historical and cultural information are lost in the process of translation. These changes affect the value of the text as an academic research material. This translation is also bound to lead foreign readers and researchers to the wrong conclusions.

These issues do in fact invoke the following questions: What is the authority of the translator? Does the translator have the right to tamper with the text during the translation process? In the case of mistakes in the original text, does the translator have the right to "correct" them, or should they be translated as they are? Where is the line between the editing/correcting and tampering/appropriation of the text? Does the translator have the right to "enhance" the text?

Reading Miller's translation we become aware of a consistent endeavour to reverse the dynamics of power. For instance, As-Safar states:

و مع قلة مدة إقامتنا بها، فما كنا نخرج من المحل الذي كنا نازلين به إلا في بعض الأوقات حين يدعوننا له، و يعزمون علينا في الذهاب لموضع من مواضعهم أو لضيافة أو فرجة أو نحو ذالك. فكان خروجنا قليلا، و كان في ذالك حفظ لحرمتنا و بقاء أبهتنا و طلاوتنا. فكنا و الحمد لله في أعينهم عظاما، ينظرون إلينا دائما بعين الاحترام و التعظيم. (*Rihla*, p. 211)

> Not only was our visit brief but we rarely ventured out, leaving our place of residence only when invited somewhere special, such as to an evening in their hospitality, or to the theater. The reason for this was that we wished to preserve our reputation, our pride, and our dignity. Praise be to God, we were valued in their eyes and considered with respect. (*D.E.*, p. 172).

The expression **فكنا و الحمد لله في أعينهم عظاما، ينظرون إلينا دائما بعين الاحترام و التعظيم** is translated as "Praise be to God, we were valued in their eyes and considered with respect." As-Saffar uses the words **عظاما** and **التعظيم** to demonstrate to his sovereign and the Moroccan readers that the Moroccan delegation was received with glory and great honour. This greatness is reduced in Miller to "valued in their eyes and considered with respect." Thus, the translation undermines the sense of pride that the writer wants to convey and weakens his statement.

In another instance, as-Saffar refers to the invitation from the king of France in this way:

و بعد وصولنا لمحلنا، قدمت علينا من عنده بطاقات يطلب منا أن نشرفه بالقدوم إليه ليلا لنتعشى عنده. (*Rihla*, p. 216)

Miller's translation is quite interesting. "When we arrived home, we found invitations to honor them with our presence at dinner," (*D.E.*, p. 177). The change from the Arabic text to the translation is significant. As-Saffar makes it clear that "there came to us invitation cards from him [the French sultan] to honour him with our presence in the evening to dine with him." In Miller, the king as the author of the invitation is not mentioned (we found invitations) and the king as the host is replaced with "to honor them." The king is removed from the interaction.

The same politics of translation are expressed in another invitation. As-Saffar says:

و من الغد بعث لنا سلطانهم لنأتيه في عاشرة النهار، فتهيأنا لملاقاته. فلما كان من الغد بعث لنا قائد مشوره و معه جلنار آخر. و بعث إلينا بأربعة اكداش ، فقدم أكبرها يجره عشرة من الخيل ليركب فيه رئيسنا ، موشى بالحرير والديباج من ظاهره وباطنه . ثم أخر يليه يجره ثمانية من الخيل لبعض الخواص ، ثم الثالث ثم الرابع على اختلاف مراتب أصحابنا . لاكن الجميع في أحسن ما يكون، و لها مشعرة بالتعظيم و رفع المنزلة، فركب كل واحد منا كدشه و سرنا . (*Rihla*, p. 213)

> The next day, we received a summons from their Sultan to an audience at ten o'clock the following [morning], and we spent the whole day preparing for our meeting. In the morning his chief of protocol arrived, accompanied by a general and four coaches. The largest one, for our chief, was drawn by ten horses and adorned with silks and rich brocades inside and out. Following it was another drawn by eight horses for other dignitaries, and then a third and a fourth for the different ranks of our party. Each of us rode in a coach, and each coach stood out because of its magnificence. (*D.E.*, p. 174).

The phrase "**بعث لنا سلطانهم لنأتيه** " " their Sultan sent for us to go to him" was changed to "we received a summons from their Sultan to an audience." The use of the word summon, with its meaning of ordering someone to be present, instead of "send for us" implies an exercise of authority and power. The power dynamics in the translation continue in the reference to the Moroccan preparations to meet the French king. As-Saffar simply states "**فتهيأنا لملاقاته**" "so we prepared ourselves to meet him." For no reason, this is changed in Miller into "we spent the whole day preparing for our meeting." There is no such "whole day" preparations in as-Saffar. Miller's purely imagined scene of the Moorish delegation hectically preparing the whole day for the audience with the French monarch is intended to enhance the greatness of France.

The following example illustrates how As-Saffar's narrative further breaks from the diplomatic protocol by portraying an unceremonious image of the wife of the French king:

عجوز في الغبرين، و لاكن عليها من الأحجار و الجواهر و اليامنض ما لا يوجد مثله إلا هنالك،

(*Rihla* , p. 217)

The word **الغبرين** is an ambiguous term which means covered with dust and something of an ancient bygone time. It can be rendered as dusty crone. As-Saffar mockingly contrasts the age of the royal crone and the splendid jewellery she was wearing. Miller's translation somewhat

mitigates As-Saffar's unflattering portrait. It reads "Also his wife who is quite ancient; nevertheless, she was bedecked with jewelry, pearls, and diamonds, whose like you have never seen except there," (*D.E*., p. 178). The translation does not quite convey the meaning of the Arabic original.

Evidently, the Arabic and English texts demonstrate completely different, often, contradictory dynamics of power. As-Saffar, coming from a Morocco that had recently experienced military defeat in Isly, at the hands of the French, strives to maintain a discursive superiority over the victor, while Miller's translation keenly seeks to foreground and enhance French/Western political and cultural superiority. The relationship between the Arabic original and the English text, we can argue, is that of tension as each is written from a different ideological perspectives.

This pattern of the reversals of the politics of power are further manifest in the following:

حتى إذا فرغنا قمنا و قام معنا هو و جميع من حضر، و خرجنا لصالة أخرى (*Rihla*, p. 217)

> Miller's translation: When we finished, first the sultan, then the whole company, rose and went into another room…(*D.E.*, p. 178).

Interestingly, as-Saffar says "When we finished, we rose, and with us rose the sultan and the rest of the attendees, and we went to another room." This is changed in Miller to "first the sultan, then the whole company." The initiative was taken from the envoy and given to the French "sultan." Thus, we become aware that in her translation of the original text, Miller conforms as-Saffar's point of view to her imagined French courtly protocols.

We can, therefore, safely argue that viewed within postcolonial perspectives, Miller's translation strips as-Saffar's text of agency and transfers it to the French. In so doing, she subjects the original text to the politics of manipulation and control both within the context of domestication to cater to the Western reader and to conform to her imagined dynamics of power between France and Morocco in the second half of the nineteenth century, and not as as-Saffar configures it in his *Rihla*. Susan Miller's *Disorienting Encounters* fits in with Tejaswini Niranjana's explanation of the correlation between translation and colonial power when she says in *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* that "In a post-colonial context the problematic of translation becomes a significant site for raising questions of

representation, power, and historicity. Conventionally, translation depends on the Western philosophical notions of reality, representation, and knowledge."[252]

Miller's domestication strategies, omissions, additions, word changes, and mistranslations, turn her translation into an exercise in cultural and linguistic power to create an image of a subjugated Orient. Miller's translation and her book, *Disorienting Encounters*, become the "original."

I would like to conclude this chapter by re-iterating that Susan Miller's translation has a lot of merits. It does a great job of preserving most of the original. Nonetheless, the interference of Miller's voice in the narrative has created a power struggle that can be felt on multiple levels.

The first level of struggle is authorship. The book is written for the Moroccan reader. As-Saffar eagerly shares his experience and his encounter with the foreign environment, through his formulaic and detailed descriptive style. Miller, however completely, ignores these stylistic aspects in her translation. This results in erasing As-Saffar's struggles to understand and relate the Otherness and strangeness of the experience. As-Saffar in Susan Miller's *Disorienting Encounters* is no longer an explorer of the unknown. The translation renders him familiar with the sights that he describes. His transliterations of names, locations and items – while in most cases phonetically incorrect due to the French and Arabic languages' difference in phonation – are translated into a corrected English counterpart. Additionally, the descriptions and pieces of information he acquires throughout his inquiries and extensive documentation about the foreign elements and events that he encounters in his Arabic original are translated into a smooth language as id As-Saffar is stating common knowledge.

The second level of conflict permeating the translation is the difference in the targeted audiences the two versions of the book are meant for. The original book is written for a Moroccan Arab audience. Hence, the book sheds light on the new and unfamiliar aspects of the foreign journey while glossing over references and information that are considered to be common knowledge to his reader. The translation, on the other hand, is the opposite. The translator makes the foreign familiar and the familiar foreign.

While the original writer has written a formulaic text for the purpose of documenting his account and bringing this experience to his readers, the shift of the target reader from the Arab Moroccan to a wider English readership had a profound impact on the translation. The translator is concerned with a Western audience that already well-acquainted with France, making as-

[252] Niranjana, *Siting Translation*, p. 2.

Safar's experience redundant to the average western reader. Thus, the lengthy and, at times, confusing descriptions can only be seen as an impediment to the flow of the story and are either changed, shortened or outright deleted. In addition, the unique style of the original author and the formulaic nature of the Arabic language are replaced with an easier to read style.

Disorienting Encounters is a hijacked narrative and a novelised version of a historical account. The translation strips the author from his authority and style of writing. New experiences and locations are made familiar in consideration to the western reader. The way Miller familiarizes this foreign environment could be seen as an alteration in perspective from that of a traveller in a foreign land to a foreign in familiar lands.

The translation also alters the dynamics of power, especially in the case of the "sultan" and figures of authority. In addition to all that the translation further complicates the textual analysis of the text since the translator has not taken a passive stance and actively changed the text. Thus, the narrative becomes an amalgamation of two voices: one visible (the author) and the other invisible, hidden behind the claim of impartiality (the translator).

A travel narrative is an archived lived experience. It is a vessel of history and culture. The uniqueness of each writer as well as his or her destination provides unique perspectives and experiences. Moreover, travel accounts are a great source of material for the study of the encounters and relationships between different people and cultures. The translation of travel accounts, as Skopos theory advocates,[253] is a cross-cultural communication activity which needs to take into account the purpose and intention of the source author and the culture of both the source and the target readers. The translation is a process of creation rather than recreation. The translated text is bound to be different from the original. Nevertheless, I believe that translation has to be loyal to the intention, style, worldview, and the culture of the original author.

[253] See, Jeremy Munday, *et al*, "Functional theories of translation," in *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications* (London: Routledge, 2022), pp. 99-120.

PART TWO:

TRANSLATION OF MOHAMED HASSAN AL HAJWI'S *AR-RIHLA AL UROBIYA*

Note on the Translation

The present translation is based on the Al Hajwi's *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* edited by Said al-Fadili and published in Abudabi by Dar al-Suwaydi li-l-nashr wa al-Tawzi in 2004. *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* first came to light with the edited version of Said Ben Said Al Alaoui, published in his book *Uropa fi Mir'aat ar-Rihla*, Rabat, Faculty of Humanities, in 1995. However, this edition, as Said al Fadili has observed "was affected with some corruptions …including the removal of sections of various lengths and sometimes whole pages."[1]

These corruptions were reproduced in the French translation of al Hajwi's narrative by A. Roussillon's and A. Saaf's in their book, *Voyage d'Europe: le périple d'un réformiste* (2001). Not only is the translation based on a flawed edition, the translators themselves took much liberty with the Arabic original, silently omitting words and expressions and skipping obscure sections.

The present translation of *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya* aims to be as faithful to the original text as possible. It provides a translation of the original text under the title *The European Journey*, in a bilingual format, the English translation juxtaposed with the corresponding Arabic source. This is a full-length translation, including al Hajwi's footnotes, his poetry, quotes from the Qu'ran and Hadith as well as the lengthy section on doctrinal issues. All these components of al Hajwi's travelogue are deemed essential to the understanding of the author's perspectives and perceptions. No omissions, additions or alterations have been inserted into the text.

The translation has tried as much as possible to be literal and adopt a foreignizing method. Al Hajwi's style is sometimes awkward in phrasing and syntax, mixing classical Arabic and colloquial Moroccan Darija and some French words. I have endeavoured to reproduce his idiosyncratic style, including his frequent repetitions and replicate his rich linguistic variety.

I have not been able to consult the original manuscripts to check whether paragraphing in al-Fadili corresponds to the manuscript. So, when I felt it necessary I have divided the long paragraphs for more clarity. I have profited from the footnotes by al-Fadili and added more but

[1] Mohammed ibn al-Hassan Al Hajwi, *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya: 1919*, ed. Said al-Fadili (Abudabi: Dar al-Suwaydi li-l-nashr wa al-Tawzi, 2004), p. 19.

avoided burdening the reader with too many notes and references.

Quotations from the Qur'an are taken from *The Message of The Qur'an Translated and Explained* by Muḥammad Asad (Bristol: The Book Foundation, 2008), while the translation of the quotes from the Hadith, I have used *Sahih Muslim*, translated by Nasiruddin al Khattab (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2007).

In the name of God the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful. Prayers and peace be upon our lord and master Prophet Muhammad, and his family. Praise be to he who recommended travel and contemplation of the kingdoms of the earth and of the conditions of mankind in both villages and towns, those who have passed away and those still living, as a lesson to he who seeks edification. And peace and blessings be upon the noble Prophet, his family and companions who journeyed to enlighten people of the earth with the virtues of religion and thereby attained all their desires.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد وآله حمداً لمن أمر بالسير والنظر في ممالك الأرض وأحوال البشر، من بدو ومن حضر، من مضى منهم ومن حضر ليكون ذلك عبرة لمن اعتبر. والصلاة والسلام على صفوة مضر وعلى آله وصحبه الذين رحلوا لتهذيب شعوب الأرض بمحاسن الدين، فنالوا من ذلك كل وطر .

Having said that, I have journeyed to France and England in this year of 1337 Hijir, corresponding to 1919 AD, by order of Moulay Youseff,[1] may his triumph and reign be everlasting. I have decided to document what I witnessed during my travels to benefit the people of Morocco who did not travel and are not acquainted with the conditions of Europe. I did not want to swell my travel account by talking about the geographies of the country, nor of its ancient and modern history, because for each of these fields there are well-known books, thus there is no need to just copy from them. So, I have refrained from verbosity because it is rare for a chatterbox to come out unscathed. Rather, I have mostly confined myself to what I witnessed and summarized what I have observed since

أما بعد، فإني رحلت إلى فرنسا و إنكلاترا في هذه السنة 1337 ه موافقة 1919، بأمر مولوي يوسفي دام نصره وعز أمره ورأيت أن أقيّد ما شاهَدتُهُ في رحلتي هذه لإفادة أهل المغرب الذين لم يرحلوا ولم يعرفوا شيئاً من أحوال أوروبا. ولم أرد أن أضخم رحلتي هذه بالتكلم على جغرافيات البلاد وتاريخها القديم والحديث، فإن لكل من العلمين كتباً معلومة يستغنى بها عن النقل منها. وقد تجافيت عن الإكثار، فقلما سلم مهذار، بل اقتصرت في الغالب على ما شاهدت واختصرت كثيراً ما عاينت لكون غيري بسط القول في ذلك. والتوسط في التأليف من أحسن المسالك، والله المسؤول أن يحفظنا من عثرات اللسان وهفوات البيان والبنيان.

[1] Moulay Yusef ben Hassan was sultan of Morocco from 1912 to 1927.

others have largely elaborated on the subject. Moderation in composition is the best of methods. And we pray to God to preserve us from the faltering of the tongue and the blunders in expression and explanation. Also, I apologize for not being acquainted with the language of the people whose conditions I speak of. And I am certain that I have described only what I was able to witness about their conditions, and left out much of what deserves to be mentioned but is unattainable without knowledge of their language. Nevertheless, my travel narrative is not wanting in benefit, especially to our scholars who did not visit these lands, and who imagine it in a way, that, when put to the test, does not conform to reality. And it is God we ask for assistance and guidance to the straighter of paths.

ثم أعتذر بعدم معرفتي للغة القوم الذين أتكلم عن أحوالهم، وعندي يقين أني ما وصفت إلا ما ظهر لي من أحوالهم وتركت كثيراً مما ينبغي ذكره مما لا يتوصل إليه إلا بمعرفة لسانهم. ومع ذلك لا تخلو رحلتي هذه من فائدة، لا سيما لعلمائنا الذين لم يرحلوا لتلك الديار ويتصورونها بصورة لا تنطبق على الحقيقة عند الاختبار، وهو المسؤول في الإعانة والتوفيق لأقوم طريق.

At 5 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, the third of Shawwal, 1337, corresponding to July 2, 1919, an order was issued to me from His Majesty Moulay Sultan to travel to Paris to attend the two celebrations of the National Holiday of the Republic and the Victory Celebrations, which were going to take place on the same day, the coming 14th of July, in the accompany of a Moroccan delegation of the elite Moroccans, led by the Grand Vizier Mr. Haj Mohammed Al-Moqri, together with nine other members: myself, the humble servant, as the deputy of Fez, the capital of the knowledge and deputy of eastern Morocco. The other members of the delegation are: the royal chamberlain,

في الساعة 5 عشية الأربعاء ثالث شوال سنة 1337، موافق 2 يوليوز سنة 1919، صدر لي أمر جلالة مولاي السلطان بالسفر إلى باريز لحضور عيدي الجمهورية وصلح النصر اللذين سيكونان في يوم واحد، وهو 14 يوليوز الجاري، صحبة وفد مغربي من نخبة المغاربة، رئيسه الوزير الأكبر السيد الحاج محمد المقري ومعه تسعة أعضاء، العبد الحقير أحدهم بصفة كوني نائباً عن فاس عاصمة العلم وعن المغرب الشرقي، وباقي الأعضاء هم: الحاجب السلطاني الفقيه العلامة الشهير سيدي التهامي

عبابو، وزير الأملاك المخزنية السيد الحاج عمر التازي، ورئيس التشريفات الملوكية السيد الحاج عبد القادر بن غبريط، وباشا مراكش السيد الحاج التهامي المزواري الأجلاوي، وقائد الرحامنة بها السيد العبادي الرحماني، وباشا طنجة السيد الحاج عبد السلام بن عبد الصادق، وباشا العاصمة الإدارية السيد عبد الرحمن بركاش، وباشا الجديدة السيد علال قاسمي الدكالي فأجبت بالامتثال وأُمرت السفر غدَهُ فاعتذرت بكثرة الأشغال فطلبت مهلة بطريق المقول السلكي فأمهلت ليوم الجمعة. فتوجهت على بركة الله ومعونته يوم الجمعة خامس شوال ساعة 6 صباحاً على متن أتومبيل خاص إلى الرباط فمررت على مكناس، فعين الجمعة، فالقنيطرة، فسلا، فالرباط. وقد وصلته في الساعة 11.5 وأفطرت هناك، وأمرت بالسفر للدار البيضاء لمرافقة أعضاء الوفد الذين يسافرون معي عن طريق بوردو بحراً إلى فرنسا وهم: باشا الحمراء، وقائد الرحامنة، وباشا الجديدة، وباقي الوفد توجه عن طريق طنجة فإصبانيا براً إلى بوردو، وهناك تجتمع هيأة الوفد ويتوجه رسميا لى باريز مجتمعاً. فبت ليلة السبت في الدار البيضاء عند عاملها السيد عبد اللطيف التازي وكان وصولي لها في الساعة 6 عشية الجمعة.

the illustrious scholar Sidi At-Tuhami Ababu, the vizier of finance; Haj Omar Tazi; the chief of Sultanic Protocol, Mr. Haj Abdelkader Benghabrit; Pasha of Marrakesh, Mr. Thami el Mezouari El Glaoui; Caid of Rhamna, Mr. Ayyadi Rahmani; the Pasha of Tangier, Haj Abdesslam Ben Abd al-Sadiq; the Pasha of the Administrative capital, Mr Abderrahman Barghash; and the Pasha of El Jaddida, Mr. Allal Qassimi Dukkali. I complied with the order and I was instructed to set out the following day. However, I apologized by means of telephone and pleaded for extra time owing to my many occupations and was granted a postponement until Friday. Thus, with God's blessing and support, I set off by private automobile to Rabat on Friday, the fifth Shawwal, at 6 o'clock in the morning. I passed by Meknes, Ain Jamaa, Kenitra, Salé, and then Rabat, to which I arrived at 11:30 and had breakfast there. Then, I was ordered to travel to Casablanca to join the members of the delegation who were travelling with me through Bordeaux by sea to France. They were the Pasha of Marrakech, Caid of Rahamna, and the Pasha of Jadida while the rest of the delegation headed for Tangier, then by land through Spain to Bordeaux, where the members of the delegation were going to assemble and head officially to Paris. So, I spent Saturday night in Casablanca, which I reached at 6 o'clock on Friday evening, at the city Governor's house, Mr. Abdellatif Tazi.



Figure 1: Mr. Haj Mohammed Al-Moqri



Figure 2: Sidi Al-Tuhami Ababu



Figure 3: Thami el Mezouari El Glaoui



Figure 4: Haj Abdelkader Benghabrit

EMBARKING AT SEA

ركوب البحر

At 11 o'clock on Saturday, we all climbed on board the liner *Figuig*, one of the ships of the Trans-Atlantique Company, recently purchased from the British Paquebot Company. At the time of our embarkation, the Atlantic Ocean was very rough and we arrived with the greatest difficulty from the ship's tender to the ladder of the liner, which was anchored far from the artificial harbour, built in the marina since it was inaccessible for large ships such as this liner. Hence, we went through great hardships to reach the ladder. Only when reaching it, were we convinced of our safety, thank God. On settling on the deck, we invoked God's blessings for our safety and recited: "Limitless in His glory is He who has made [all] this subservient to our use - since [but for Him,] we would not have been able to attain to it.[2] In the name of God be its run and its riding at anchor. Behold, my Sustainer is indeed much forgiving, a dispenser of grace!"[3]

وفي الساعة 11 نهار السبت ركبنا جميعاً متن الباخرة فجيج، إحدى بواخر الشركة تراز أتلنتيك، اشترته الشركة المذكورة أخيراً من شركة الباكيطات النجليزية. وحين ركوبنا كان البحر الأطلانطيكي متهيجاً فوصلنا بمشقة عظيمة من قارب أطومبيلي إلى سلم الوابور الذي كان راسياً بعيداً من المرفأ الصناعي الذي أسس في المرسى المذكور لكونه لا تدخله المراكب الكبار كهذه الباخرة، ولذلك احتجنا إلى عناء شديد في الوصول لدرج السلم بوصولنا لها أيقنا بالنجاة والحمد لله. ولما استوينا على ظهره ذكرنا نعمة الله بالسلامة وقلنا "الحمد لله الذي سخر لنا هذا وما كنا له مقرنين، بسم الله مجراها ومرساها إن ربي لغفور رحيم."

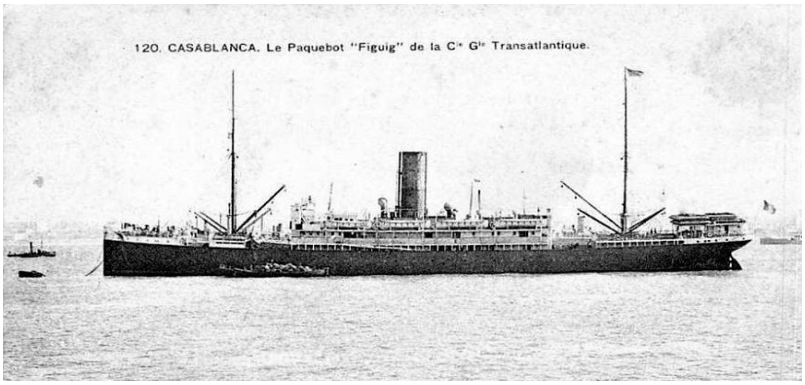


Figure 5: The Steamer *Figuig* at the Port of Casablanca

[2] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "Az-Zukhruf," verse, 13. Asad's translation.

[3] *The Qur'an*, Chapter : "Hud," verse, 41. Asad's translation.

ووودعنا في الديوانة باشا الدار البيضاء وأقبل لوداعنا من الرباط جناب المقيم فصعد المركب على ما كان من هياج البحر لكون هيجان البحر يعجبه لا يؤثر عليه بل ينشط له لممارسته إياه ، وودعنا على ضهر المركب قائلاً: إني مسرور بحضوركم في احتفال الجمهورية الفرنساوية بالنصر والصلح. وعرفنا بأسماء الأعضاء الذين سيذهبون على طريق إصبانيا، وأننا نجتمع بهم في مرسى بوردو وأنه كلف ترجمانه الخاص السيد محمد نهليل مع موسيو المير، خليفة مستشار الدولة المغربية، بلقينا في بوردو ومرافقتنا. وقدم لنا طبيباً عسكرياً برتبة قبطان، وترجماناً عسكرياً برتبة فسيان، وهو ترجمان محكمة أكادير ليكونا لنا رفيقين بحراً وفي بوردو. وأنسنا بعباراته الأنيسة الأنيقة برهة من الزمن ثم ودعنا ورجع إلى بره.

وفي الساعة 12 تحركت المركب حركة السعادة والسلامة، فلم ننشب أن غاب عنا وطننا المحبوب ودخلنا لجة المحيط، (والله من ورائهم محيط). ثم إن المركب كانت في غاية الامتلاء بالركاب بسبب

The Pasha of Casablanca bid us farewell at the customs office, and His Excellency the Resident-General[4] arrived from Rabat to wish us farewell. He climbed on board the ship despite the roughness of the sea. In fact, he enjoyed it. The stormy sea did not upset him but thrilled him because he was accustomed to it. He bid us farewell on board the ship, saying: "I am pleased that you will be attending the French Republic Celebrations of Victory and reconciliation." And he announced to us the names of the members who were going through Spain and whom we would be united with at the port of Bordeaux. He had commissioned his personal translator, Mr. Mohamed Nahlil,[5] together with Monsieur Lemaire, the vice counsellor of the Moroccan State, to meet us in Bordeaux and accompany us. He also introduced to us a military doctor of the rank of captain, a military interpreter of the rank of an officer who was the interpreter of the court of Agadir, to be our companions at sea and in Bordeaux. His elegant and refined words entertained us for a while, and then he bid us farewell and returned ashore.

At 12 o'clock, the vessel moved in a smooth and steady way and soon our beloved country disappeared from our sight and we entered the open ocean. "God encompasses them [with His knowledge and

[4] Louis Hubert Lyautey, the first French Resident-General in Morocco from 1912 to 1925.

[5] Mohamed Nahlil was an Algerian interpreter who worked with the French army in Algeria, then when Lyautey became Resident-General in Morocco, he became professor at the Institute of Higher Studies in Rabat. See Aboul-Kassem Saadallah, *Abhath wa-ara fi tarikh al-Jaza'ir*, vol. 5 (1990), p. 57.

might] without their being aware of it."[6] The ship was packed full of passengers because of the great number of people who were going from Morocco to attend the celebrations of victory and the lack of vessels owing to the war, so much so that some of our servants did not find bedding and slept on the ground.

Having departed from the marina, the vessel made steady progress toward the land of France. The sea was still in turmoil to the point that seasickness affected me harmfully, as it usually did to me during all my travels. And nothing was of any help, neither patience nor my usage of the vomit inducing tonic to rid me of the yellow bile, so much that whatever bile I threw up, seasickness brought up more. Thus, for that day and the next, I continued treating my seasickness without food or drink save what barely allayed hunger.

Yes, on the third day the bile was gone completely. I also began to recuperate and was a little relieved from dizziness and nausea. Therefore, I drank some iced-water, which somewhat appeased my heart and I ate some food but I fell victim to the cold, which surely is more tolerable than seasickness.

Although the sea was more agitated on the third day than the first, it did not affect me much. And on the second day, the sea was better than on the third, but still, I was sick, which convinced me that seasickness comes from inner humors, hence if it goes

كثرة من ذهب من المغرب لحضور الاحتفال بالنصر وقلّة المراكب المتسببة عن الحرب حتى إن بعض خدمنا لم يجد فراشاً فكان ينام على الأرض.

وبعد الخروج من المرسى، أخذت المركب سيرها حثيثاً نحو الديار الفرنساوية وكان البحر لم يزل في اضطراب فأثر ميد البحر عليّ تأثيراً مضراً على عادته معي ومع كل صفراوي ولم يفدني معه التجلد ولا ما استعملته من المقيئ لعلي أتخلص من غوائل الصفراء فكنت مهما أخرجت منها شيئاً إلا وحرك ميد البحر غيره. وبقيت أعالج داء الميد من غير طعام ولا شراب إلا ما يسد الرمق ذلك اليوم والذي بعده.

نعم، في اليوم الثالث بعد ذهاب خلط الصفراء تماماً حصل لي انتعاش ووجدت بعض الراحة من دوران الرأس وغثيان القلب، فتناولت ماء مثلجاً سكن به قلبي نوعاً وتناولت بعض الطعام ولكن أضر بي الزكام، ولهو أهون مما كنت أعالج من داء الميد.

على أن البحر كان في اليوم الثالث أشد منه في اليوم الأول، ومع ذلك لم يؤثر البحر عليّ. وفي اليوم الثاني قبله كان البحر أحسن منه في الثالث ومع ذلك كنت مريضاً، فدلني على أن مرض

[6] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "Al Buruj," verse, 20. Asad's translation.

away it does not come back even if the sea gets agitated, and if it begins, it remains even if it stays calm.

البحر هو من الأخلاط الباطنة التي مهما ذهبت ذهب ولو هاج البحر، ومهما بقيت بقي ولو سكن.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PICTURESQUE RIVER OF BORDEAUX

وصف وادي بوردو الجميل المنظر

On Tuesday, in the middle of the day, we saw what gladdened our hearts and removed gloominess. It was the sight of the land. We saw the mouth of the Bordeaux River in the Atlantic Sea. And the more the vessel slowed down its speed, the closer the beautiful sights of the land came to us. And do not assume that it appeared pretty in my eyes because of my longing for land and that it wasn't truly beautiful in reality. I confirm to you that my seasickness has gone and my mind and intellectual faculties have cleared, so, you can rely on my statement in this instance.

ولما كان يوم الثلاثاء، أواسط النهار، رأينا ما أفرج قلوبنا وأزال عنا الأكدار وهو ظهور البر. فبدا لنا مصب نهر بوردو في البحر الأطلانطيكي وصرنا كلما نقصت المركب في سيرها قربت منا مناظر البر الجميلة. ولا تظن أنها ظهرت لنا جميلة في أعيننا إذ ذاك لشوقنا للبر وأنها ليست جميلة في الواقع، بل أحقق لك أن ميد البحر ذهب عني وصفا ذهني وفكري فيمكنك أن تعتمد على قولي في هذه المرة.

In truth, I ascertain that the beach we saw is extremely beautiful, nay, there is hardly any prettier. For it is a beach that stretched long, spreading its two green wings on the seashore. Its feathers were the lush trees harmoniously rising in the sky, well arranged and of similar height. Their tops looked tiny and neat and distinguishable from each other if you look-up at the point where they meet with the horizon. If you focus your gaze down at their base, you see them intertwined and interconnected like a beautifully woven burnous, and its greenness joined with the green earth as if it was a green band on the

فأحقق ذلك أن الشاطئ الذي نراه جميل للغاية، بل لا يكاد يوجد أجمل منه، فهو شاطئ ممتد طويلاً ناشراً جناحين أخضرين على عرض البحر. ريشه أشجار الغابات اليانعة المتناغية في الجو، المنتظمة الترتيب المتقاربة في العلو، تبدو رؤوسها دقيقة متناسقة يتميز بعض عن بعض مهما صعدت النظر في ملتقاها مع السراب. فإذا صوبت النظر إلى أسفلها تراها اشتبكت واتصلت، فكأنما هي بردة من يانع نسجت، وخضرتها بالأرض الخضراء اتصلت، وكأنما هي رفرف

borders of the lively sea, between the river La Gazonne which simultaneously split both land and sea and was, white on land between two greens and at sea, white between two blues. The blues were homologous and the greens analogous and close to each other.

"He has given freedom to the two great bodies of water, so that they might meet: [yet] between them is a barrier which they may not transgress."[7]

When we approached the canal, a small boat came out of it to tow our large ship because entering the river was fraught with danger and pitfalls. Thus, the smaller one became an Imam and the bigger a follower thanks to the additional knowledge the smaller one possessed. Therefore, we learnt that leadership does not depend on seniority or largeness of the body, rather it is merited by he who has more knowledge and learning. Hence, the smaller was leading while the bigger followed behind its track, submitting to its command and never swerving from its drawn line and lucid signs -- and God blesses he who says,

Acquire knowledge, none is born learned,

And he who is brother to knowledge is not like the ignorant.

The greatest of the nation has no knowledge,

Tiny he turns if environed by scholars

Be not content with a life without it

أخضر على حاشية البحر الأهدر بين وادي الغازون الذي شق البر والبحر معاً في آن واحد فهو في البر أبيض بين أخضرين وفي البحر أبيض بين أزرقين، فالأزرقان متماثلان والأخضران متشابهان متقربان.

"مرج البحرين يلتقيان ، بينهما برزخ لا يبغيان" .

ولما دنونا من القنال خرج منه مركب صغير ليقود مركبنا الكبير، لما في دخول الوادي من الخطر ومزالق الزلل فصار الصغير إماما والكبير مأموماً لما عند ذلك الصغير من زيادة العلم. فعلمنا أن الرياسة ليست بكبر سن ولا بعظمة جثة، وإنما يستحقها من له مزيد علم ومعرفة. فتقدم الصغير وتلاه الكبير يقتفي أثره ممتثلاً أمره لا يخرج عن خطه المرسوم ورمزه المفهوم – ولله در القائل:

تعلم فليس المرء يولد عالماً

وليس أخو علم كمن هو جاهل

فإن كبير القوم لا علم عنده

صغير إذا ضمت عليه الجحافل

[7] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "Ar-Rahman," verses: 19-20. Asad's translation.

ولا ترضَ من عيش بدون ولا يكـن

نصـيبـك إرثـاً قدمـته الأوائل

مع أن اتساع مصب الوادي لا يقل عن اثني عشر كيلو متراً وطوله إلى المدينة يقدر بمائة كيلومتر. وعند دخول الوادي نقصت المركب من قوة سرعتها وسارت الهوينا وكان ذلك أجمل بنا وأشهى لنفوسنا فكنا نمتع النظر يميناً ويساراً في مناظر بلغت النهاية في الحسن والجمال الطبيعي والصناعي، بل ما رأيت أكمل ولا أجمل من هذا المنظر، إذ بعد خروجنا من البحر ودخولنا في الوادي صرنا بين ساحلين جميلين متماثلين في أن كلاً منهما ذو أشجار باسقة وأغصان متناسقة على أرض خضراء لا ترى فيها غبراء.

ننقل طرفنا من منظر ماء الوادي الذي كان هادئاً صافياً إلى أرض خضراء مكسوة بحلة النباتات الجميلة الخميلة، ومنها نصعد النظر في الشجر النابت فوقها، المجانس لونه للونها. فلون الأرض ربيعي، ولون الشجر يانع ضارب إلى السواد، ومهما بعدت الأرض عن الماء واتسعت إلا وارتفعت وعلت فعلاها الشجر، فكانت رؤوس الشجر عند منقطع النظر مطاولة للجو محاولة بلوغ السماء ذات ترصيف وتصنيف وبين تلك

And let not your share be a legacy from the ancients–[8]

The width of the mouth of the river is no less than twelve kilometres and its length to the city is estimated at a hundred kilometres. When entering the river, the ship reduced its speed, proceeding slowly, which was a good and wonderful opportunity for us to admire the scenery on the right and on the left, a scenery that achieved the pinnacle of natural and artificial beauty. In fact, I have never beheld a sight more perfect or prettier than this because after leaving the sea, we entered the river to find ourselves between two beautiful identical riversides, for each had tall trees with harmonious branches on a green ground, where you don't see any dust.

Let's shift our gaze from the sight of the calm and clear river water to the green ground coated with beautiful, lavish plants, then from it look up at the trees growing above it, whose colours are similar to it. The ground has the colour of spring and the colour of the trees is of a deep dark green colour. And as the earth gets farther from the water and widens, it elevates and gets topped with trees. On the horizon, the tree tops looked harmoniously arranged and organized while stretching high in the air attempting to reach the sky. And between those dense forests and the branches whose view dissipates sorrow and sadness and brings happiness to the grieving heart, there

[8] Lines from the poetry of Imam Shaafii.

stood gorgeous buildings and houses. They seemed like pearls or diamonds, scattered on a green dense wood or like stars shining in the night sky lit by a full moon.

There are so many green islands on the river banks, yet no international conference took place on them.[9] And my speech is but my action.[10] It is a real island surrounded by the river like a bracelet around a wrist, or a belt around a fleshy waist. And inside the water is an area with fruit-bearing and fruitless trees as if the island is a garden or a pot of flowers and grass in the middle of which is a deep water tank and at the centre of the island small grape trees organized in rows and well-equipped farming of grape cultivation in full bloom. It was enhanced by the land's fertility, the beauty of its nature, and good location; and its closeness to the river agrees with it and furnish it with freshness, the abundance of water, and the eloquence of the speaking birds, even if they were not speaking. Indeed, these islands deserve to be called the Islands of Gold, and each island is not without an elegantly shaped house and a peerless garden. Omnipotent is he who created man and granted him success in creating what renders the tongue speechless.

By God, the sight of this river enchants hearts and compels admiration; I have not seen the likes of it in any of the places I have visited in the African

الأيك، والغصون التي تذهب مناظرها بالأتراح والشجون وتجلب الأفراح للقلب المحزون أبنية أنيقة ودور بين الأغصان الوريقة منبثّة بين تلك الأحراج الغناء كلآلئ أو درر ألماس نثرت على خميلة خضراء أو نجوم تلمع في السماء في ليلة قمراء.

وكم هناك على ضفة الوادي من جزيرة خضراء لكن لم يقع فيها مؤتمر دولي ولا عهد قولي غير فعلي، ولكنها جزيرة حقيقية محاطة بالوادي إحاطة السوار بالمعصم والمنطقة بالخصر المكلثم. وفي داخل منطقة الماء منطقة من الأشجار ذات ثمار وغير ثمار حتى كأن الجزيرة حديقة أو آنية زهر وربيع في وسطه سريج ماء غريقة ووسط الجزيرة شجيرات العنب ذات صفوف منظمة وفلاحة مقومة ظهرت فيها فلاحة العنب بأكمل مظاهرها وأعانتها الأرض بخصوبتها وجمال طبيعتها وحسن موقعها ومجاورة الوادي يوافقها ويرفقها برطوبتة ووفرة المياه الدافقة وفصاحة ألسن الطير الناطقة وإن لم تكن ناطقة. وما أحق تلك الجزر أن تسمى جزر الذهب، وكل جزيرة لا تخلو من دار ظريفة الشكل وحديقة عديمة المثل فما أقدر خالق الإنسان وموفقه إلى

[9] This is a reference to the conference of Algeciras that took place in 1906 between the European Powers and Morocco. Algeciras is called in Arabic the green island.

[10] I have translated this phrase literally but I do not understand what Hajwi means.

إبداع ما يكل عن وصفه اللسان.

لعمر الله إن منظر هذا الوادي يسحر الألباب ويوجب الإعجاب، ما رأيت مثله فيما وصلت إليه من الأقطار الإفريقية. فلو ضرب لي في الشعر بنصيب ورميت في ميدانه بسهم مصيب لتركت وصف وادي الجواهر وأبي رقراق نظمت لهذا ما يزين الأطواق ويعمر الأوراق ويستحسن في الأذواق، فالمجال هنا واسع للشاعر والناثر لا كما وقع لمن وصف الواديين المذكورين. ضاق به المجال فترك المقصود من وصف المكان وخرج لوصف السكان، فمنظره هذا آخذ بالأبصار يستوقف لمشاهدته المستعجلين من السفّار فمبدأه بالنسبة للداخل، وهو منتهاه، وسيع فسيح وما دام المركب يقترب بنا من المراسي والوادي تتقارب حافتاه ويجتمع فخذاه ويضيق عرضه على امتداد طوله فكان شكله قريباً من المثلث، وإن لم يكن قائم الزوايا، وفيه من المراكب الراسية عدد كثير، كبير وصغير، شراعي وبخاري، يميناً ويساراً، من مصبه إلى المدينة وكل حافتيه تقريباً كمدينة لعمارتها بالأبنية والدور والبساتين. والجملة، فلقد أنساني جمال هذا الوادي وحسن موقعه وتعدد مناظره الجميلة كل ما تقدم من ميد البحر ومعاناة دوار الرأس وغثيان القلب وكرب الغربة وكيف لا

countries. Had I had a share in versification and could dart an accurate arrow in this field, I would have abandoned describing the river of Al Jawaher[11] and Abi Raqaq,[12] and composed to this river what would adorn garlands, fill out pages, and please tastes. There is here ample opportunities for the poet and prose writer, unlike what happened to those who described the two aforementioned rivers. The space narrowed upon him and he left out the setting intended for the description and shifted to describe the inhabitants. The sight of this one fascinates the eyes and compels hasty travellers to stop and gaze at it. It is the beginning and end for those entering it, wide and vast, and as the vessel was carrying us closer to the port the edges of the river neared each other and its thighs were drawn together and its width narrowed along the span of its length so that its form was closer to a triangle, though not with perfect angles. There is in it a great number of docked vessels, big and small, with sails and steam powered, on the right and on the left, from the river mouth till the city. Each of its banks resembles a city because of the many buildings, houses, and gardens. In conclusion, the beauty of this river, its wonderful location, as well as the diversity of its beautiful scenery made me forget all my previous seasickness, the dizziness of the head, the nausea of the heart, and the pain of exile, and why should we not forget

[11] Al Hajwi's note: The river of Al-Jawaher is the famous river of Fez.

[12] Al Hajwi's note: a river between Salé and Rabat.

ينسى الأتراح والهموم بسيط من الماء الصافي الذي لا موج فيه ولا لجة، بريء من ارتجاج عافه الذوق السليم ومجد محاط بكل ما يستحسنه الطرف ويهواه الناظر، ويتسلى برؤيته كل خاطر ، من خضرة الأرض التي تنبسط تارة وترتفع أخرى وبانبساطها وارتفاعها تعنو أغصان الشجر وترتفع ولكن البعض أقصر من البعض، متناسقة متوازية كالمصلين في المساجد الجامعة راكعين قائمين. وناهيك بهذه اللذة العظيمة الممزوجة بلذة بشارة وصولنا لمأمن البحر وأمننا من سطوات البحر الخضم وثقتنا برؤيتنا البر معاينة وثبات قدم مركبنا ودخول عامل النصب بعد تلاعب عوامل الخفض والرفع به. فلقد وجدنا من ملاذ المسرات بذلك وجداناً لا نقدر على وصفه، ولو بلغ قلمي من الطلاقة ولساني من الفصاحة ما عسى أن يصل، إذ لا سبيل لاستيفاء وصف الوجدانيات التي لم توضع لها أوضاع لغوية توفيها حقها في البيان وتكشف عما يثلج في الجنان. فلقد تهللت الوجوه واستنارت بعد العبوس، وسبحان من يتدارك عبيده بعد البوس .

وظلت أبصارنا متمتعة بتلك المناظر الباهية، وعمن سواها لاهية، مدة خمس ساعات أقصر من مرور طيف خيال أو خطور خاطر بالبال وليتها قدم له صفر أو صفران ولاكن ساعات المسرة دقائق أو ثوان، ما فيها مهلة ولا توان. وبينما نحن

at the sight of limpid calm water without waves or ripples. It is cherished by good taste and it is a splendour surrounded with all that pleases the eye, attractive and entertaining to the spectators, due to the greenness of the land that sometimes spreads flat and rises higher at times, with it spreading and rising the tree branches rise higher, but some are shorter than the others, like the worshipers standing and kneeling in mosques. Don’t overlook this great pleasure mixed with the happiness of to our arrival and safety from the assaults of the turbulent sea and our relief at the certainty of seeing land, the stabilisation of our ship and its horizontal levelling after being prey to the forces of rising and falling. The taste of happiness we experienced is undescribable, even if my pen attained a great level of fluency and my tongue of eloquence, I shall fail to come any close to conveying it. For there is no means to describing inner emotions for which no linguistic terms have been created to faithfully convey them and effectively portray the inner emotions. The faces have become jovial and brightened after gloominess. Glory to Him who relieves his servants after their distress.

And our eyes continued to cherish these splendid scenes, unmindful of anything else, for a span of five hours that felt shorter than the passing of a figment of imagination or a fleeting thought in the mind. I wish the five was preceded by a zero or two; alas the hours of joy are minutes, even seconds, without extension or delay.

كذلك إذا بعامل الجزم قد دخل على مركبنا فأحدث السكون، إذ وصلت لموقفها الأهُون وسامتت الرصيف المدعو باللغة الدارجة بالمون. ولما سامتت رصيف شركة تراز أتلنتيك وقابلت مخزنها على نهر الغارون جعلت تمشي على جنبها الهوينا، بكل حذر، حتى وصلت إلى الرصيف. وهناك نزلت السكينة على السفينة، واستوت على جودي حوض تكون به أمينة، ونصب عليها مجاز خشبي منها إلى البر.

وأول من صعد إلى المركب الجنرال بوردو، حاكم المدينة، وأركان حربه قدم للسلام على الوفد نيابة عن وزير الحربية الفرنساوية فرحب بنا غاية الترحيب وهنأنا بسلامة الوصول ومعه موسيو لومير، نائب مستشار الدولة المغربية، فعرف الجنرال بكل واحد منا هو الذي صحبنا إلى المحل الذي أعدته الدولة لنزولنا وهو فندق بايون هو الذي لا أجمل منه فيما رأينا بمدينة بوردو. ونزل الجنرال معنا من المركب إلى أن أركبنا أتومبيلات التي أعدت لنقلنا لمحل النزول. وكان وصولنا لمرسى بوردو في الساعة السابعة عشية الثلاثاء سابع شوال، ثامن يوليوز، وهنا تبدلت عن الساعة المغربية لأن ساعة فرنسا بل وإنكلترا تتقدم على ساعتنا الآن بساعة واحدة ونصف، فالساعة السابعة هنا هي بحساب المغرب الخامسة ونصف تقريباً. فنصف ساعة كان معلوماً من قديم وزيدت

And while we were in that condition, the factor of decidedness has overtaken our ship, bringing about silence. It reached its anchorage called in the language of Darija the *moun*. When it came near the mole of the Trans-Atlantic company, facing its storage house on the Garonne River, it proceeded slowly and carefully until it reached the mole. There, tranquillity fell on the ship, which moored in a secure cove and a wooden gangway was place from it to the shore.

The first to come up on board the ship were General Bordeaux, the Governor of the city, and his general staff. He greeted the delegation on behalf of the French Minister of War and welcomed us very gracefully, congratulating us on our safe arrival. He was accompanied by Monsieur Lemaire, deputy adviser to the Moroccan country. He introduced each one of us to the General. And later it was he who accompanied us to the place prepared by the state for our stay at Hotel Bayonne, the mosts beautiful of what we saw in the city of Bordeaux. The General came down with us from the ship until he saw us climbing into automobiles that were prepared to drive us to the place of our stay. Our arrival at Bordeaux was at 7 o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the seventh of Shawwal, July 8. Here the Moroccan time changed because the hours of France and even of England were ahead or our time by one hour and a half. So, seven o'clock here was in Morocco approximately five past half. The half-hour was already known from the past, and one hour was added during the

Great War, which they snatched from night time and added to day time to save electricity and other things.

ساعة في هذه الحرب العظمى اختلسوها من الليل وزادوها في النهار لقصد الاقتصاد في الضوء وغيره.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PORT OF BORDEAUX

It is one of the greatest French commercial harbours, and a point of contact by sea between France and Africa, America, and Europe. And in terms of the rate of commercial traffic, it is second after Marseilles. Its river is a natural port, which safely carries thousands of thousands of crafts from sea currents. It is a safe natural port, and it was thanks to it that Bordeaux has gained great importance among French cities. True, large ships can neither enter nor leave it except at tide rise, because the depth of the river at ebb time is not sufficient for navigation. This river is called the River of Garonne, one of the most famous rivers in the world for its size. It is more of a sea than a river, for river Dordogne flows in it and from their confluence the River Gironde is created, which forms the gulf of Bordeaux. On both of its sides, they have built great dockyards on the right and on left along about nine kilometres. And these dockyards can accommodate more than a thousand ships to moored on their side for loading and unloading without the need for tender boats, but, in fact, the goods are loaded right out of the ship to the magazines. And you see there

وصف مرسى بوردو

وهي مرسى تجارية فرنسوية من المراسي العظيمة التي هي نقطة اتصال بين فرنسا وإفريقيا وأمريكا وأوروبا بحراً، وهي من حيث كثرة الحركة التجارية في الدرجة الثانية بعد مرسيليا. ووارديها هو مرساها الطبيعي الذي حمل الألوف المؤلفة من المراكب آمنة من تيار البحر: فهي مرسى طبيعي آمن وهو الذي صيّر بوردو ذا أهمية كبرى بين المدن الفرنسوية. نعم المراكب الكبرى لا تدخله ولا تخرج منه إلا عند المد دون الجزر، لأن عمق الوادي عند الجزر غير كافٍ لسيرها على عظمه. وهذا الوادي هو المسمى وادي الغارون من الأودية الشهيرة في العالم بكبره فهو أشبه ببحر منه بوادٍ إذ يصب فيه نهر الدردون فينشأ من اجتماعهما نهر الجيروند وهو خليج بوردو، وقد صنعوا على حافتيه رصيفين عظيمين عن اليمين واليسار على طول نحو تسعة كيلو متراً. وهذه الأرصفة تتسع لأزيد من ألف

wool and hide from the Silvery Republic;[13] sugar and coffee from Brazil; cocoa of Venezuela; copper from Chile, and from the United States cotton, kerosene, and tobacco; coal from England and coal Russia; marble and oil from Italy; the minerals of Spain; oranges from Portugal; and from Morocco grain, livestock, phosphates and all the other crops; as well as crops from Senegal and from other African, European, and American countries. And the largest of what we have seen in the dock are American war equipment, the ammunition and war supplies brought in by the United States to participate with France and its allies in the Great European War, to the extent that it built its own proper docks on the shores of the river and built warehouses, making it a great port, and extended the railways, the telegraph and telephone lines and strengthened the industrial roads, through railways and other means, from Bordeaux to the battlefield so that communication from America by sea and land is very easy and orderly, as will be mentioned later.

Without taking these war shipments into account, more than three million tons of cargo are annually imported through the port of Bordeaux. In its river, there are several lighthouses that light the way for ships entering and leaving the river. The largest is the Cordouan lighthouse, 70 meters in height, and its extending lights reach 30 kilometres.

سفينة تقف حذوها للوسق والوضع دون احتياج إلى زوارق بل تخرج البضائع من المركب إلى الخزين فترى هناك أصواف وجلود الجمهورية الفضية وسكر وقهوة البرازيل، وكاكاو فينزويلا، ونحاس شيلي، وقطن الولايات المتحدة مع الكاز والتبغ، وفحم إنجلترة، وفحم روسيا، ورخام وزيت إيطاليا، ومعادن إصبانيا، وليمون البرتغال، وحبوب المغرب وحيواناته وفوسفاطه وبقية محصولاته، ومحصولات السينغال وغيره من الممالك الإفريقية والأوروبية والأمريكية. وأكبر ما رأينا فيها المعدات الحربية الأمريكية والذخائر والمؤن التي أتت بها الولايات المتحدة للاشتراك مع فرنسا وحلفائها في الحرب الأوروبية العظيمة حتى أنها صنعت أرصفتها على حافة الوادي وبنت المخازن وجعلت مرسى عظيمة خصوصية لذلك ومدت الخطوط الحديدية والتلغراف والتليفون ومهدت الطرق الصناعية، حديدية وغيرها، من بوردو إلى ساحة القتال بحيث كانت المواصلة من أمريكا بحراً وبراً في غاية السهولة والنظام، وستأتي الإشارة إليه.

ودون هذه الأمور الحربية فإن مرسى بوردو تزيد على ثلاثة ملايين طن بضائع توضع فيها كل سنة وتحمل منها. وفي واديها عدة منائر

[13] الجمهورية الفضية Silvery Republic means Argentina. Argentina is a Spanish adjective meaning made of silver or silvery.

تضيء الطريق للسفن الداخلة والخارجة من الوادي وأعظمها منارة كوردفان البالغ ارتفاعها سبعين متراً تبلغ أنوارها الممتدة مسافة ثلاثين كيلو متراً.

THE CITY OF BORDEAUX

مدينة بوردو

It is one of the greatest cities of France, known for its valuable products, its art and sciences. Its buildings are enormous, especially the churches and entertainment venues. It is inhabited by about 700 thousand people and is 578 kilometres away from Paris. It has extremely beautiful parks and its roads are so well organized and large enough to accommodate the traffic and the number of inhabitants.

هي من أعظم مدائن فرنسا ذات الصنائع النفيسة والفنون والعلوم، أبنيتها غاية في الضخامة، لا سيما الكنائس والملهى، يسكنها نحو 700 مائة ألف نسمة وهي تبعد عن باريز 578 كيلو مترا. وفيها منتزهات جميلة للغاية وطرقها في غاية الانتظام والاتساع المناسب لما فيها من الحركة وعدد السكان

HOTEL BAYONNE

فندق بايون

Hotel Bayonne is the best and most beautiful hotel in the city. Its architecture is pretty, its courtyard clean, the furniture elegant and delicate and of the most exquisite and modern workmanship. The rooms are fully equipped, and in each of our rooms, there is cold and hot water and a bathtub. And the architecture and shape are convenient for health and the kitchen is the best of kitchens. This is why it was the hotel where Moulay Abdelaziz, the former Sultan of Morocco, stayed during the war period

فندق بايون هو من أحسن وأجمل نزل في المدينة: بناؤه لطيف، وفناؤه نظيف، وأثاثه أنيق، ورياشه رقيق، من أحدث طراز وأجمله وأفخره. وبيوته كاملة المرافق، في كل بيت من بيوت نزلنا الماء البارد والحار والمِغسل وبناؤه وشكله موافق للصحة ومطبخه من أحسن المطابخ. ولذلك كان هو نزل مولاي عبد العزيز، سلطان المغرب السابق، مدة الحرب حيث كانت إقامته

when he was exiled from Morocco.

On Wednesday, the Mayor sent us automobiles. We mounted and toured through the city, which we found to be one of the best and prettiest European cities. Its streets are extremely ordered and wide enough to correspond to the greatness of the city. Its buildings are high and beautiful, consisting of five to seven stories. It is one of the oldest cities in France. It is recorded in French history that it was a great commercial centre in the second century AD. It has a great church, with a strange shape, in the manner of the world famous church of Milan. All its walls are decorated from the outside, and it has a high tower, large at the base, and becomes smaller and smaller as it rises up until it becomes extremely narrow. If you climb it you'll see the entirety of the city of Bordeaux.

We drove by the bank of the river Garonne, which divides the city from top to bottom, drawing in it a semi-circle. We admired the two great bridges on the river. They are parallel, one in iron on high arches, sixteen in number, extremely huge, under which sail small boats and above it automobiles and pedestrians, etc. It is wide enough for at least four vehicles in the middle, without counting the pedestrians on the right and on the left. This is one of the wonders of the world and the extraordinary work of human beings. It is greater than the bridge of Alexander III on river Seine in Paris because this river is much greater than

في بوردو إقصاء له عن المغرب الأقصى.

وفي يوم الأربعاء وجه لنا حكام البلدية الأتومبيلات فركبناها وطفنا في المدينة فوجدناها من أحسن المدائن الأوروبية وأجملها. شوارعها غاية في النظام والاتساع المناسبين لكبرها. وبناؤها جميل وشاهق ذو خمس طبقات إلى سبع، وهي من أقدم مدن فرنسا إذ ثبت في تاريخ فرنسا أنها كانت عظيمة التجارة في القرن الثاني للميلاد، وبها كنيسة عظيمة غريبة الشكل على نمط كنيسة ميلان الشهيرة في العالم، كل جدرانها مزخرفة من خارج وبها برج شاهق متّسع من أسفله ولا يزال كلما علا يستدق شيئاً فشيئاً إلى أن صار رقيقاً جداً، فإذا علوته رأيت جميع مدينة بوردو.

وطفنا بجانب وادي الغارون الذي شق المدينة من أعلاها إلى أسفلها، فرسم فيها ما يشبه نصف دائرة، وتفرجنا على القنطرتين العظيمتين فوقه، وهما متوازيتان، إحداهما حديدية على أقواس بناء عالية عددها ستة عشر قوساً غاية في الضخامة تسلك تحتها المراكب الصغرى وفوقها الأتومبيلات والمشاة وغيرهم. تسع أربع عجلات على الأقل في وسطها، دون ممشى المشاة يميناً ويساراً. وهذه القنطرة من عجائب الدنيا وغرائب أعمال البشر، أعظم من قنطرة إسكندر الثالث التي على وادي لاسين في باريز، لأن هذا الوادي أعظم من وادي لاسين بكثير، اللهم إلا ما كان من قنطرة

the Seine, perhaps with the exception of the bridge of Constantine in Algeria, which, to my knowledge, is greater than this. This bridge was built 30 years ago. Facing it was another iron bridge, higher than the first and less wide, on which ran the railway track. When we were in the middle of the first bridge, we saw the best of scenes, water below us, and fields of grapevines on the right and left, which attract hearts and seduce sight, and you see the river surrounded by carpets of beautiful green, decked with flowers and trees, encircled by tall trees giving extending shade and pure water, within it buildings of nice shapes, like white spots on the face of this gorgeous land, which resembles the land of Morocco in the month of March. And there is a flock of fat grazing cows, their large and very smooth bodies amidst this abundance of all types of fertile plants and pleasant weather.

On our way, we passed by American soldiers and their ammunition chests, many of which are still being shipped back to North America, such as massive guns, pulling and lifting machines, and rail lines that stretched from there to the battlefields. And it is surprising that they return everything back to their country and sold nothing, not even the furniture of their homes, which is useless to carry back; unlike the British, they sold in France many supplies and war necessities such as wool, and even horses; they have sold many and are still selling more.

Here one realizes the power of

قسمطينة في أرض الجزائر فيظهر لي أنها أعظم من هذه فيما أظن. وقد تأسست هذه القنطرة قبل اليوم بنحو ثلاثين سنة وبإزائها القنطرة الأخرى الحديدية أكثر منها ارتفاعاً وأقل اتساعاً تمر عليها السكة الحديد. ولما توسطنا القنطرة الأولى رأينا منظراً من أحسن المناظر وهو متسع من الماء أسفل منا، وجنات العنب يميناً ويساراً مما يأخذ باللب ويستهوي حاسة البصر فترى الوادي على اتساعه محفوفاً بزرابي خضراء جميلة منمقة بالأزهار والأشجار، تحفها الأشجار العالية ذات الظل الممدود والماء العذب المورود. بينها أبنية لطيفة الشكل كلها غرر في جبين هاتيك الأرض الجميلة التي وجدناها كأنها أرض المغرب في شهر مارس وهناك سرب من البقر الضليع سائمة وأجسامها ناعمة بكثرة وما حولها من أنواع النبات الخصيب والجو الرطيب.

ومررنا في طريقنا هذه على عساكر الأمريكان وخزائن ذخائرهم التي لا تزال البواخر ترد الكثير منها إلى أمريكا الشمالية من مدافع هائلة وآلات الجر والحمل والسكك الحديد الممتدة من هناك إلى مواقع القتال. ومن العجب أنهم يردون كل شيء إلى بلدهم وما باعوا شيئاً ولو من أثاث بيوتهم التي لا فائدة في ردها بخلاف النجليز، فقد باع في فرنسا كثيراً من المؤن ولوازم الحرب كالصوف بل حتى الخيل باع منها شيئا كثيراً ولا

زال يبيع.

وهناك يتصور الإنسان قوة أمريكا وما بلغت إليه الثروة والاستعداد. وكذلك رأينا شيئاً كثيراً من خزائنهم وذحائرهم في الطريق بين بوردو وباريز. ففي مدة قرن ونصف تبلغ أمة حديثة الاستقلال هذه العظمة؟ إن ذاك لشيء عجيب! وما كان استقلال هذه الدولة إلا سنة 1776 مسيحية, فهنا يتحقق العاقل مغزى قوله تعالى: إن يشأ يذهبكم ويأت بخلق جديد.

ورأينا هناك بقربهم قنطرة برية طويلة عالية شاهقة ممتدة على البر من شاطئ الوادي إلى محطة السكة الحديدية الداخلة إلى أرض فرنسا، وتلك القنطرة من أسلاك مكهربة تجري فيها جفان حديدية معلقة في عجلات صغيرة مماسة للسلك الكهربائي وقوة الكهرباء تدفع العجلات التي علقت فيها الجفان، وتلك الجفان تملأ فحماً حجرياً من المراكب البحرية وتذهب من الوادي إلى المحطة الحديد محمولة في الفضاء. فإذا سامتت المركبة المعلقة قطار السكة الحديد انكفأت فيه مسرعة فانهار ما فيها من الفحم بداخل القطار، وكل جفنة فرغت رجعت على غير طريقها بسرعة إلى المركب الحامل للفحم في الوادي فتمتلئ وتذهب ثانياً وهكذا. فهذا عمل ليس بهين، ولو أريد أن

America and the level of wealth and readiness it has reached. We have also seen a great deal of their tents and ammunition on the way from Bordeaux to Paris. In a century and a half, a newly independent nation reaches such greatness? That's something extraordinary! The independence of this country was only in 1776 AD, and here the wise understand the meaning of the verse: "If He so wills, He can do away with you and bring forth a new mankind."[14]

Not far from them, we saw a long high land bridge, extending from the bank of the river to the railway station, going into the country of France. The bridge consists of electric cables that carry iron skips hanging on small wheels running on the electric cable, propelled by the electric power which pushes the wheels on which the skips are suspended. The skips are filled with coal from the ships and travel from the river to the railway station hanging in the air. When the suspended container reaches the train wagon it quickly opens, emptying the coal s inside the wagon; and each empty container returns quickly to the ship carrying coal in the river; it is filled and it goes again, and so on. This is by no means an easy job. If they wanted to use human labour, hundreds of people will be needed to work there, but thanks to this bridge and the power of electricity, labour and money are saved and objectives are attained qucikly. And this bridge is suspended right above the

[14] *The Qur'an*, Chapter : "Al Fatir," verse, 16. Asad's translation.

pedestrian road, from the city to the river bridge, under which pedestrians and vehicles pass and nothing falls on them out of the skips nor from what is carried inside them. They have even spread under the skips a steel net, as an additional safety measure. And if you are walking there you see rows of containers moving above your head from the river to the railway station, without anyone pulling or pushing save the power of electricity, and a row of empty skips returning, while you are confident that nothing will fall from them. And the power is to God alone.

تستخدم له الأيدي لخدمت فيه المئات من الناس، لكن بواسطة هذه القنطرة وقوة الكهرباء توفرت الأعمال والأموال ووقعت السرعة في بلوغ الآمال. وهذه القنطرة محمولة على جادة الطريق المارة من المدينة إلى قنطرة الوادي وتمر تحتها المشاة والركبان فلا يسقط شيء من تلك الجفان عليهم ولا مما هو محمول فيها، بل جعلوا تحت الجفان شبكة حديد احتياطاً فوق أن يسقط شيء منها على المارة. فإذا كنت ماراً هناك ترى صفاً من الجفان الحديدية مملوءاً فحماً حجرياً ماراً فوق رأسك من الوادي إلى المحطة الحديدية. لا جار له ولا دافع إلا قوة كهرباء السلك، وصفاً فارغاً راجعاً كذلك وأنت في غاية الاطمئنان من سقوط شيء منها. وإن القوة لله وحده.

VISITING THE RULERS OF BORDEAUX, THE MUNICIPALITY, AND ITS MUSEUM

On the second day of our arrival, which was Wednesday, we visited the military general and the city governor, and from there we headed to the municipality to visit the (Sheik) Mayor of the city, but he was out of the city. His deputy stood in his place and met us with kindness and politeness, as it was in our meeting with the general, and this is a usual manner with the French. However, it becomes even gentler and more cordial with people of high positions according to their rank. Thus, you

زيارة حكام بوردو والمجلس البلدي ومتحفه

وفي اليوم الثاني من دخولنا، وهو يوم الأربعاء، زرنا الجنرال حاكم المدينة العسكري ومنه توجهنا لزيارة البلدية فزرنا شيخ المدينة، وكان غائباً عنها، فقام نائبه مقامه وقابلنا مقابلة لطف وأدب مثل مقابلة الجنرال أيضاً، وهذا خلق عمومي في الفرنساويين ولكنه يزداد لطفاً وإيناساً في أكبرهم رتبة على قدر زيادة ترقيهم. فتجد شيخ

find that the Mayor of the city is gentler and better mannered than those below him in rank. Since they elect for their highest positions only their biggest. This does not mean the biggest of bodies nor turbans etc., but rather, the biggest of heart, knowledge and manners. This man took us to the gathering place of the town council and showed us the way the members sit in their seats. I summarize to you the description of this council by saying that it is as great as the city and its extravagance, the freedom of thinking of its people and their grandeur: do not compare it to the municipality of Fez, for example.

Then he took us to the museum of the municipality near the council. It is an impressive museum of two rooms, each room is accessible through the other, and each is in the form of a large square shaped dome with a height of about twenty meters or more and a width of about half its height. Tall in construction and beautiful in decoration. As for the artefacts it holds, the majority of them are a collection of many paintings, mostly pictures of people from Spain from two hundred years ago. I noticed that their women's clothing is similar to the dress of the women of Algeria, so I understood that most of Algerian women's garments came from Andalusia. All of this was drawn by the hand by a Spanish painter who was present with us showing us all that, with the aim of portraying the Spanish taste in coloured painting, which corresponds to their land's clear weather, devoid of clouds, unlike the mostly cloudy weather of France.

المدينة مثلاً أزيد أدباً ولطفاً ممن تحته في الرتبة إذ لا يرشح للمناصب الكبار عندهم إلا الكبار وليس المراد الكبار الجثة أو العمامة أو، أو، بل الكبار قلباً وعلماً وأخلاقاً. ولقد أدخلنا هذا الرجل لمحل اجتماع المجلس البلدي وأرانا كيفية جلوس الأعضاء في مقاعدهم. وأجمع لك وصف هذا المجلس بأن نقول إنه على قدر عظمة المدينة ورفاهيتها وحرية أفكار أهلها وارتقائهم: فلا تقسه ببلدية فاس مثلاً.

ثم أدخلنا لمتحف البلدية في جوار المجلس وهو متحف مهم في بيتين أحدهما يدخل منه الآخر وكل منهما عبارة عن قبة كبيرة مربعة في استطالة طولها نحو العشرين متراً فأكثر وعرضها نحو النصف من طولها، عالية البناء جميلة الزخرفة. وأما التحف التي فيها فجلّها عبارة عن مجموعة تصاوير كثيرة غالبها صور أناس من إسبانيا كانوا قبل مائتي سنة. ورأيت لباس نسائهم يقرب من لباس نساء الجزائر، فعلمت أن غالب زي نساء الجزائر أتاها من الأندلس. وكل ذلك مرسوم بيد رسام إسبنيولي كان حاضراً معنا يرينا ذلك، والمقصود تمثيل الذوق الإسبنيولي في التصوير الملون الذي يطابق طقس أرضهم الصافية الأديم من السحاب بخلاف جو فرانسا الذي يكون مغيماً

غالباً فلا يكون فيه التصوير مماثلاً لإسبانيا. ورأينا هناك من جملة التحف جلوس ملك إسبانيا من أنفس المقاعد، مدهون بدهن صيره كأنه معدني لا خشبي وبعض أثاث بيته وصورته وصورة زوجته وقرابته. هذا في القبة الأولى. أما في القبة الثانية - وهي أعجب من الأولى - ففيها مثل ذلك الصور في عمل النسخ على طريق أهل الصين.

وبعد الزيارة رجعنا لنزلنا، فجاء الجنرال ورد الزيارة، ثم بعده رئيس البلدية وحاكم البلدة. وفي هذه الليلة قدم بقية أعضاء وفدنا عن طريق إسبانيا ونزلوا في فندق بوردو، وهو من المنازل المهمة في المدينة أكبر بناء وأضخم من النزل الذي كنا فيه ولكن من حيث حسن الشكل وظرافة الزخرفة الأول ألطف، لأنه أحدث بعده: فهو من آخر طرز هناك.

واجتمعنا بهم صبيحة الغد، وركبنا جميعاً وزرنا بعض أحياء المدينة ومتعنا النظر في بعض ضواحيها المزينة بأنواع الفلاحة الراقية، وفيها الحيوانات الراتعة وخصوصاً نوع البقر. فالبقر هنا أعظم وأضخم من بقر المغرب بكثير، ويقولون إنه من نسل بقر سويسرا الشهير في العالم، فالبقرة هنا تعدل بأربعة وأكثر من بقر المغرب لعظم جثتها وكمال جسمها وربما استعملوها في جر الأثقال

Thus, the paintings are not similar to those in Spain. Additionally, among the many antiques, we saw the throne of the King of Spain. It is the most precious of seats, painted with a paint that made it look metallic, rather than wood. We also saw some of his house furniture, his painting and the painting of his wife and his relatives. This was in the first dome. In the second dome – which is more impressive than the first – there are in it the same amount of pictures but in the Chinese style.

After the visit, we returned to our hotel. The General came to return the visit, then after him, the Mayor, then the Governor of the city. This evening, the other members of our delegation arrived via Spain and stayed at Bordeaux Hotel, one of the most important hotels in the city. It is a bigger and larger building than the hotel where we were staying. However, in terms of shape and the beauty of the decoration, the former is prettier, being newer and of the most recent architectural design.

We joined with them the morning of the next day. We all rode and visited some neighbourhoods of the city and enjoyed looking at some of its suburbs, adorned with many types of high-end agriculture, where were grazing animals, especially cows. The cows here were far bigger and larger than the cows in Morocco. They say it is a Swiss cow breed, which is famous around the world. A cow here is worth four or more Moroccan cows because of its large shape and enormous body. They may be used for pulling heavy things and mostly for

ploughing. They are excessively fat, as though they perform no tasks, and that's due to the abundance of pastures, the abundance of rain and water, good care, and the advancement of agriculture and the art of animal husbandry. During the whole duration of our stay in Bordeaux, the rain was constantly following us both drizzling or in heavy downpours. So, how can't animals be fat, bulky, and of great value even if they pulled great weight?

وفي الغالب يحرثون عليها فهي التي تجر آلة الحث والحالة هذه وهي في غاية السمن كأنها لا تعمل شيئاً من كثرة المرعى، لكثرة الأمطار والمياه وحسن المقابلة ورقي فن الفلاحة وفن تربية الحيوان، فإننا ما دمنا في بوردو والمطر يتعاهدنا رذاذاً وديمة. فكيف لا تكون الحيوانات سمينة، ضليعة، بأغلى قيمة ولو جرت الأثقال العظيمة.

THE DELEGATION HEADS TO PARIS

On Friday, 11 July, the official delegation headed for Paris, the capital of the French Republic. We embarked on the train from Bordeaux railway station at 8 o'clock in the morning and moved, with Divine Providence and blessing and peace. We passed through a beautiful land with a variety of sceneries, filled with a wide variety of buildings, people, villages, and cities. We passed through the city of Rouen which contains the palaces of the kings of France, where they used to stay to rest for hunting in the woods between Bordeaux and Paris.

From the moment of leaving Bordeaux, we have been seeing an abundance of forest trees surrounding us on the right and on the left, and between them, there were farms, cultivated lands, rivers, waters, buildings, houses, palaces, farms, villages, and hamlets, so much so that whenever you turn, right or left, you see

توجه الوفد إلى باريز

ويوم الجمعة 11 يوليوز توجه الوفد بهيئته الرسمية إلى باريز، عاصمة الجمهورية الفرانسوية. فركبنا القطار من محطة بوردو الحديدية في الساعة الثامنة صباحاً وتوجهنا، والعناية الإلهية تقدمنا بخير وسلام، فمررنا بأرض جميلة متنوعة المناظر آهلة عامرة بأنواع العمائر والسكان والقرى والمدن. فمررنا على مدينة روا التي فيها قصور ملوك فرانسا كانوا ينزلون بها للاستراحة من الصيد في تلك الغابات التي بين بوردو وباريز.

فإنا منذ خرجنا من بوردو ونحن نرى أشجار الغاب حافة بنا عن اليمين والشمال وبينها المزارع، والفلاحات، والأودية، والمياه، والمنازل، والدور، والقصور، والضياع، والقرى،

some of them, either all of them or some of them, and there is not a single inch of land which is neglected. Modern agriculture is advanced and modern machines are numerous. You don't see a village without organized routes, a forest which is not taken care of, a river without a bridge on it, nor a road that is not functional, until our arrival in Paris at nine o'clock in the evening.

At its station, we were met with some French officers, the deputy minister of war and Monsieur Beaumarchais, the secretary of the Foreign Ministry, deputy to its minister, and the interpreter of the Resident General, Monsieur Nahlil, who was charged to accompany us. They greeted us congratulating us cheerfully and pleasantly, showing us the utmost care and the finest hospitality. They offered us vehicles which we mounted and rode to the place of our stay at the Grand Hotel, which means the greatest hotel. When we entered this city, our eyes and hearts were astounded by what we saw of its mesmerizing beauty.

والدساكر; فلا تلتفت يميناً ولا يساراً إلا وترى شيئاً من ذلك إما كلاً أو بعضاً ولا ترى شبراً من أرض مهملاً. والفلاحة العصرية راقية وآلاتها العصرية كثيرة، ولا ترى قرية إلا وطرقها منظمة ولا ترى غابة إلا وهي صيّنة، ولا ترى وادياً إلا وعليه القناطر، ولا ترى طريقاً إلا وهي صالحة إلى أن وصلنا إلى باريز في الساعة التاسعة مساء.

ووجدنا في محطتها بعض الضباط الفرانسويين نائباً عن وزير الحرب والموسيو بومارشي، الكاتب بوزارة الخارجية نائباً عن وزيرها، وترجمان المقيم العام مسيو نهليل الذي كلف برفقتنا. فسلموا علينا مهنئين هاشين، باشين مظهرين أكمل اعتناء وأحسن اقتبال، وقدموا المركبات فركبنا وذهبنا إلى محل نزولنا في كران أوتيل، أي أعظم فندق، ولما دخلنا هذه المدينة أخذت الدهشة بأبصارنا وقلوبنا لما شاهدنا من جمالها الباهر.

DESCRIPTION OF PARIS

It is the capital of France, in fact, the capital of modern sciences and European literature, beautiful manners, the abundance of money, elegance and courtesy, politeness and politics. Even more, it is the model of civility, the place of politics, the pursuit of trade and profit, and the escalator of war and fighting. It is the essence of the modern city and of the European system, methodical

وصف باريز

هي عاصمة فرانسا، بل عاصمة العلوم العصرية والآداب الأوروبية، والأخلاق الجميلة، والأموال الجليلة، والظرافة واللطافة، والكياسة والسياسة. بل أنموذج الكياسة، وموقف السياسة، ومسعى التجارة والكسب، ومسعر الهيجاء

والحرب. معدن المدينة العصرية والنظامات الأوروبية، والحرية المنظمة والأخوة المحكمة والمساواة الملزمة، والاختراعات البديعة، والشوارع الوسيعة وطرق المواصلة الممهدة والمركبات التي تقرب من عدد النجوم المنجدة، والجمال الفاتن في المنازل والمساكن وما في داخل المساكن، وكل ما تقع عليه عينك فيها فهو مستحسن وبالطبع آخذ وفاتن. وبالجملة فهي حلية معاصم العواصم، وأجمل مدينة قطعت إليها أكباد الرواسم. فسبحان من جمع لها الجمال وتجلى عليها بالجمال الدنيوي الظاهر في كل شيء يراه الناظر.

فأهلها ذوو ذوق لطيف مصيب، لا يميلون في أزيائهم ولباسهم ومنازلهم داخلها وخارجها إلا لجميل فلا يقع طرفك ولا يلمح ناظرك إلا الجمال في وجوه السكان وأخلاقهم ولباسهم ودورهم وحوانيتهم ومواضع الأكل والشرب والنوم والطرق. حتى المركبات جميلة لطيفة مموّهة بأدهان متنوعة ذات ألوان تأخذ بالأبصار، مجرورة بالأفراس أو النار. بل عربات النقل نظيفة والحيوانات التي تجرها لا ترى فيها عجفاء، ولا عرجاء، ولا عوراء، ولا متسخة، ولا بشيعة بل لا ترى في الشوارع التي تمر بها شيئاً من المحمولات بشيعاً أو قبيحاً. فإذا كان بشيعاً ستروه

freedom, firm fraternity, binding equality,[15] innovative inventions, spacious streets, excellent transportation infrastructure, vehicles as numerous as the adorning stars, fascinating beauty of homes and houses and of what is inside them. And whatever your eyes are laid upon is nice and of course captivating and fascinating. As a whole, it is the crown jewel of capitals, and the most beautiful city, to which stout camels have journeyed. Glory to the one who has accumulated beauty for her and bestowed on her earthly beauty that is apparent in everything and is seen by the beholder.

Its people have a refined and unerring taste. They are inclined in their fashion and clothing, and their homes, both inside and outside, to nothing but what is beautiful. Hence, your sight perceives and your eyes behold only what is beautiful, in the faces of the inhabitants, in their manners and clothing, and in their houses, stores, restaurants, hotels, and roads. Even the vehicles are beautiful and pretty, painted in various hues of colours that baffle sight, powered by horses or fire. Even the carriages are clean and you do not see amongst the animals pulling them any gaunt, lame, blind, dirty, or ugly. Also, you don't see in the streets you pass anything ugly or unpleasant amongst the transported items, and if there was something ugly they cover it with bags for example so that your eye glimpses only beauty.

Some travellers said: The opinions

[15] Al Hajwi here composes into free verse the French motto of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité."

بأكياس مثلاً، فلا تقع عينك إلا على جميل.

قال بعض الرحالين: أجمعت آراء العالم قاطبة أنها أول مدائن الأرض زهاء وبهاء، وما رأى الناس منذ قامت الحضارة لها نظيراً في جمال شوارعها ومبانيها ومتاحفها وحاناتها ومنتزهاتها. ويدل لهذا أنها مطمع أنظار القاصدين من أوروبا، وآسيا وإفريقيا، وأمريكا. فأصحاب المدائن العظمى الراقية يأتونها للتنزه والتفرج والتقليد على مدنيتها الساحرة ينقلون عنها طرائق التمدن الحديث، ويتغنون بها في كل حديث على قبح الغربة التي أجمع أهل العقول أنها كربة تتمنى ملوك الأرض ومترفوها أن يكونوا غرباء في باريز، فهي مأوى المتنعمين والضالة المنشودة للمترفين.

غير أنها كعبة الطائفين للتهتك لا التنسك، وركن التفرج والتفسح لا التبرك، ومسرح التفنن في الأزياء الكثيرة والزخارف الوفيرة والرفه البارع والتهتك بدون وازع وترتيل آيات الملذات بالتجويد والمد والإشباع وإيقاع المثالث والمثاني والأخذ بالقلوب والأسماع.

فإذا وصلت إلى مواضع التجارة ومخازن البضائع، فهناك يبهت طرفك في نضارة المحل وزخرفته وجمال منظره ثم في منظر البضاعة وتنسيق وضعها: كل جنس مع جنسه ونوع مع نوعه، زد على هذا أن بضائع باريز هي من أحسن

of the world have unanimously agreed that it is the finest city in splendour and beauty, and ever since the beginning of civilization, people have not seen any equal in the beauty of its streets; of its buildings, museums, bars, and parks. This is confirmed by the fact that Paris attracts the covetous eyes of travellers from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. People from the greatest and most refined cities visit it to promenade, sightseeing and be inspired by its fascinating civilization. They borrow aspects of its modern urbanization and praise it in every conversation despite the ugliness of exile, which wisest minds agreed that it is a burden that the kings of the earth and extravagant people wish to be exiled in Paris. For it is the home of the affluent and the refuge of the libertines.

However, it is a Kaaba of the pilgrims who revel in hedonism rather than piety, a place for sightseeing and strolling rather than for seeking blessings, a stage for displaying stylistic fashion, abundant decorations, the utmost prosperity, debauchery without restraint, and the rhythmic recitation of the verses of pleasure, prolongation (*al mad*), satiation (*ishbaa*), duple and triple rhythm, and the enchantment of hearts and ears.

If you reach the place of business and of merchandise storages, you will be awestruck by the store's beauty and decoration, and in the sight of the goods and their patterned display: each with its corresponding kind and type. Moreover,

البضائع وأحدث المخترعات. وإذا نظرت إلى من يبيع وجدته نظيفاً، ظريفاً، ذا كسوة جميلة، ووجه بشوش، وأخلاق كريمة، وتربية حسنة وصبر وحذق فيكون ساحراً لك فتشتري منه رخيصاً أو غالياً. وهكذا إذا دخلت إلى محل الأكل والشراب، أو محل اللهو، أو محل الجد، أو محل السياسة، أو محل العلم إلا وترى الكل جميلاً مجمل الهيأة: جميل الخلق والخلق، فكل يوم يمر عليك في باريز تظن فيه أن سكانه في أعظم عيد لهم. فسبحان من تجلى عليهم بكل جمال دنيوي، فلا ترى عبوساً، بل كل من يقع عليه ناظرك تراه جذلاً ضاحكاً إلا الجو: فإنه كثيراً ما يكون هناك عبوساً أو باكياً. ولكن الأرض ضاحكة لبكائه، فشكل أرضه مخالف لشكل سمائه ولا تظهر الشمس وكمال الصحو في النهار كله بل إذا أصحت صباحاً أغيمت عشية وبالعكس غالباً.

وإنها لأول المدائن العظمى معارف وفنوناً جميلة، بل يحق لها أن تعد مدرسة للفنون الجميلة في العالم، وإنها لأعظم المدائن مدارس ومستشفيات ومتاحف ونوادي علوم، ومطابع، وقاعات صناعات، وملاهي مراسح وحانات. فهي بؤرة اللطف والرشاقة ومطمح الذوق السليم العالي والاختراع المثمر للمعالي. ولقد أعانهم على هذا وذاك اقتدار رجالهم العظماء وسعة معارفهم مع علو هممهم، وكما النظام في الأعمال والأحكام وما

Paris' merchandise is of the finest merchandise and of the most advanced inventions. And if you glance at the seller, you'll find him clean, handsome, in a pretty dress, with a smiling face, good manners and upbringing, patient and proficient, so much that you are enchanted by him and you purchase from him whether is cheap or expensive. This is also the case if you enter the place of eating and drinking, or the place of entertainment, the place of seriousness, the place of politics, or the place of knowledge, you only see everything beautiful and ornamented: pretty in appearance and comportment. Each day that you spend in Paris you think its inhabitants are in the greatest of festivities. Glory be to who has bestowed on them with every earthly beauty, so much that you do not see gloominess, on the contrary, in everything that your eyes are laid upon you see it jubilant and laughing, except the weather. It is often gloomy or crying. But the earth laughs at its sobbing. Thus the look of the earth contradicts the look of the sky. You neither see the sun nor the clear sky during the whole day. Rather, if the sky clears during the morning it usually becomes cloudy in the evening and vice versa.

It is the first of the great cities in knowledge and fine arts. In fact, it deserves to be named the school of fine arts in the world. It is the greatest city in schools, hospitals, museums, scientific clubs, printing presses, industrial halls, amusement parks, and bars. It is the locus of beauty and elegance and aspiration of well refined taste

and fruitful inventions. They were aided in achieving this thanks to the competence of their great men and expansive knowledge and high ambition, perfection in organization in both work and legislation, and the citizens' innate passion, which most have, for order in everything and being perfectionists in every task they perform. And the high aspiration for elegance and love of beauty and demonstrating perfection and a ravenous thirst for science and knowledge. And the foundation of all of this is science. For them, education is compulsory for men and women. Every child, who has attained schooling age, has to go to school and learn primary education: reading and writing, principles of arithmetic, history, geography and literature. Then, if he is rich and wanted to learn secondary education it is offered to him, and if he was poor and has no need for learning he must learn one of the crafts. Therefore, you see that both men and women share some degree of education, rich and poor. And with this amount, the whole nation has risen from the bottom where uncivilized nations are sinking, the majority of whose citizens have no knowledge of writing, literature, arithmetic, nor, nor…, like the people of the Far Maghreb, for example. And what we have said is not specific to the people of Paris, but rather to the entire of France where there is a great deal of education. In fact, in almost the entirety of Europe. In every European city or village, you see established schools and full scientific clubs and for that purpose, associations have been

فطر عليه أهلها عموماً من الشغف بالنظام في كل شيء وإتقان كل عمل يأتونه، وعلو الهمة في الترفه وحب الجمال والتظاهر بالكمال والهيام بالعلوم والمعارف. وأساس ذلك كله هو العلم، فالتعليم عندهم إجباري على الرجال والنساء فكل صبي بلغ سن التعلم لا بد أن يدخل المدرسة ويتعلم التعليم الابتدائي: القراءة والكتابة، ومبادئ الحساب، والتاريخ، والجغرافيا، والأدب. ثم من كان غنياً وأراد التعلم الثانوي تقدم إليه، ومن كان فقيراً وليس له داعية للعلم فلا بد أن يعرف صناعة من الصناعات. ولذلك ترى قدراً من العلم اشترك فيه الذكر والأنثى، والغني والفقير. بذلك القدر ارتقى مجموع الأمة من الحضيض الذي وقع فيه مجموع الأمم غير المتمدنة التي لا يعرف غالب أفرادها كتابة ولا أدباً ولا حساباً، ولا، ولا... كأهل المغرب الأقصى مثلاً. ثم هذا الذي قررنا ليس خاصاً بأهل باريز، بل عموم فرانسا يوجد فيها هذا القدر من التعلم، بل عموم أوروبا تقريباً. فكل مدينة أو قرية أوروبية ترى فيها المدارس مشيدة، ونوادي العلم عامرة وقد نظمت لذلك جمعيات في كل مدينة أو قرية زيادة عن الحكومات التي جعلت للمعارف وزارات، فهم لا يتكلون على الحكومة في كل شيء مثلنا، ولا سيما في العلم الذي هو أهم ما يهم. ولذلك سادت غيرها من القارات، إلا ما كان من أمريكا الشمالية، لكن أهل باريز أزيد علماً

وأدباً من غيرهم للطف طباعهم ولما فيهم من القابلية الزائدة عما في غيرهم. ولهذا استبحر العمران في باريز وازداد عدد سكانه وكثرت قصاده من الآفاق البعيدة.

باريز على بعد مائة وخمسة فراسخ من لندرة، وهي في عرض..... تبعد عن خط الاستواء، وأطول أيامها ست عشرة ساعة وست دقائق، وأقصرها ثمان ساعات وعشر دقائق. ومساحتها الآن تبلغ 7802 هكتاراً أبوابها 60 باباً، وتسعة أنفاق للسكة الحديد، وعدد محطاتها سبع كما في كشف المخبّا . ومحيط دائرته يبلغ 36 كيلو متراً، طولها من الشرق للغرب 12 كيلو متراً، عرضها من الشمال للجنوب 7 كيلو متر. وعدد سكانه نحو ثلاثة ملايين نسمة، وفيها نحو ثمانية آلاف حديقة وساحة لراحة السكان والنزهة العمومية. وعدد دوره ومنازله ومخازن التجارة يعد بعشرات الألوف. وفي البلد على وادي السين سبع وعشرون قنطرة، معلقة وغير معلقة، مختلفة الأشكال بين قناطر حجرية وحديدية أحسنها وأبدعها قنطرة إسكندر الثالث: بنيت على قوس واحد قريبة من دار الندوة.

organized in each city and village, in addition to the governments that have created ministries for knowledge. They do not rely on the governments in everything like us, especially concerning knowledge, which matters the most. And, therefore, it has surpassed the other nations, except North America. But the Parisians are better educated and mannered than others for their courtesy and excessive tolerance, compared to others. For this reason, urbanism has expanded in Paris, the population increased, and its visitors from distant lands have multiplied.

Paris is one hundred and five leagues from London, and its width is….[16] distant from the equator line, and its longest days are sixteen hours and six minutes, and the shortest eight hours and ten minutes. Its size now is 7802 hectares, with 60 gates, and nine railway tunnels. The number of its railway stations is seven as it is shown in *Kashf al Makhbaa*. [17] Its circumference is 36 km, its length from east to west is 12 km, and its width from north to south is 7 km. It has a population of about three million and has about eight thousand gardens and spaces for leisure for the population and public strolling. The number of buildings, houses and warehouses is counted by the tens of thousands. On the Seine river, there are twenty-seven bridges, suspended and not

[16] Here and subsequently the information is left blank in Al Hajwi's manuscript as edited by Said al Fadili.

[17] A reference to *Kashf al Mukhaba 'an Ahwal Uruba*, a travel account about Europe published by Lebanese Ahmad Fares al-Shidyaq (1804-1887) in 1881.

suspended, different in shape, some in stone while others in iron. The best of them is the bridge of Alexandre III, built on one arch near the Palace of Bourdon.

The number of lamps used to illuminate roads is 35888 or more, some electric and others gas. The number of vehicles …… and the number of police …. and the number of post offices…., telegraphs …. and telephones... The number of meters on its main street called the boulevard are is 4300. The alleys are is no less than .... and wider .... and the average …. And most of the big streets, called boulevards, have tramway tracks, and in many of the boulevards the tramway tracks are not operational, rather they use big automobiles each carries sixty people, moving continuously to transport people from one place to another, without counting the great number of small automobiles that carry one, or two, or six, or four. And there still remain some horse or mule-drawn carriages, but fewer in comparison to automobiles. Despite all that, they have built other spacious roads underground where electric automobiles go through and even trains. Each train has five wagons, some more others less. Each wagon can carry about 100 passengers. They get down to these roads by means of underground stairs that take them from one place to another. Thanks to the numerous modes of transportation and communication, Paris has reached this degree of urbanism and population.

What is said about the population of

عدد المصابيح التي تنار بها الطرق 35888 أو تزيد، بين جاز وكهرباء. وعدد العربات السيارة..... وعدد البوليس.....وعدد مراكز البوصطى والتلغراف والتليفون..... وعدد مياطر طرقه الكبرى المسماة بلفوار يزيد على 4300، وأضيق طريق فيه لا يقل عن..... وأوسعه ..... وأوسطه..... والطرق الكبرى التي تسمى بلفوار جلّها فيها سكك التراموای وكثير منها لا يعمل فيها ذلك، بل اكتفوا بأطومبيلات كبرى يحمل الواحد ستين رجلاً تسير دائما لتوصل الناس من جهة إلى جهة، دون عدد عديد من الأتومبيلات الصغرى التي تحمل الواحد، أو الاثنين، أو الستة، أو الأربعة. ولا زال هناك شيء من العربات تجره الخيل أو البغال، ولكنه قليل بالنسبة للأتومبيلات. ومع هذا كله جعلوا شوارع أخرى تحت الأرض متسعة تسير فيها عربات بالكهرباء بل قطارات، كل قطار يحتوي على خمس عربات وأكثر وأقل كل عربة تحمل ما يقرب من مائة شخص فينزلون إلى هذه الشوارع بدرج تحت الأرض يركبون فيها توصلهم من جهة إلى جهة مع كثرة طرق المواصلة وسهولة أسباب النقل والمراسلة، بها وصلت باريز إلى هذه الدرجة من العمران والسكان.

فما يقال عن بغداد إنه بلغ عدد نفوسها مليونين فأكثر، في دولة العباسيين، ليس ببعيد. لكن

Baghdad having reached two millions or more during the Abbasids era isn't impossible. However, because it did not have the means of transportation that are available now, it was only like neighbouring towns; one does not from one part to the other only when necessary and after a long time. While in Paris, communication is possible anytime between its farthest corners. In fact, you can speak to your friend wherever he is while you are on your bed by means of the telephone. That is how it is in London and other great cities.

To conclude, the streets of Paris and its roads are of the utmost cleanness and order. Nothing can excel it, nor can a person see a more beautiful country or city, nor wider, or cleaner, nor elegant, nor more perfect than its roads. And in this respect it is said: It isn't possible for anything to be more perfect than what exists, had it not been for the blackness on the walls caused by so much smoke, because of the excessive use of the fuel for heating during the intense cold winter days.

If we shift from the view of the streets to the buildings, which in fact are palaces, stores and courtyards, the mind is surprised and confounded. So, do not assume that the construction of palaces and ornamentation of buildings is restricted to kings. It is, in fact, available to the average citizen: most of the buildings in Paris are lofty palaces, among which are the unrivalled palaces of previous great monarchs, like the Louvre Castle, the Trocadéro Palace, the Palaces of Versailles, and others. They are great, of

حيث لم تكن فيها هذه المواصلة الموجودة الآن، فإنما كانت بمنزلة مدن متجاورة: لا يصل هذا عند ذاك إلا لحاجة مؤكدة، وبعد مدة. أما باريز فالمواصلة ممكنة في أي ساعة بين أبعد أطرافها، بل تكلم صاحبك في أي محل كان وأنت على فراشك بواسطة التلفون. وهكذا في لندرة وغيرها من المدائن العظيمة.

حاصله أن شوارع باريز وطرقها غاية في النظافة والنظام لا تلحق ولا يرى الإنسان في قطر أو مدينة أحسن ولا أجمل، ولا أوسع، ولا أنظف، ولا ألطف، ولا أكمل من تلك الطرق. فهنا يقال ليس في الإمكان أبدع مما كان، لولا ما تراه على جدرانها من السواد المتسبب عن كثرة الدخان، لكثرة الوقود للدفء أيام الشتاء لشدة البرد، وينزل عليه الثلج فيلزق السواد فوق جدرانها فينقص من جمال منظرها وتذهب بهجة بياضها الناصع فيصير لونها كدراً مكدراً.

فإذا انتقلنا من شوارعها إلى منظر الدور، وهي في الحقيقة قصور، ومخازنها ورحابها فهناك يدهش اللب وتحصل الحيرة. فلا تظن أن تشييد القصور وتنجيد المصانع قاصر على الملوك بل هو موجود لعموم الأمة: فغالب دور باريز هي قصور شاهقة وفيها أيضاً قصور للملوك الماضين عظيمة لا نظير لها: كقصر اللوفر، والتروكاديرو، وقصور فرساي وغيرها وغيرها، وهي شيء

impressive architecture, and unmatched in any country, hardly any counterpart to it in the rest of the world. Since others who have visited Paris have described these palaces and have vastly elaborated on them, let us suffice with this reference, for description in this context is flawed, as the *fuqaha* say on procuration: the longer it is, the shorter it becomes. In most of the streets and roads, you see similar to these buildings. Most of the lodgings for travellers, called hotels, are great palaces, but also the stores are palaces, the libraries are palaces, the ministries of Paris, and each ministry is a great palace, the town hall is a great palace, and so on and so forth. Let us describe to you the place where we are staying for you to understand the import of our meaning.

عظيم آية في البناء في كل ريع، لا يكاد يوجد لها نظير في غيرها من العالم. وحيث إن غيري ممن رحل لباريز وصف هاتيك القصور وأفاض القول فيها، فلنكتف بهذه الإشارة فإن الوصف في هذا المقام تقصير كما يقول الفقهاء في الوكالة: إذا طالت قصرت .ففي غالب الشوارع والطرق ترى أمثال تلك المصانع، فغالب فنادق المسافرين التي تسمى أوتيل هي قصور عظيمة، بل وكذلك مخازن التجارة قصور، ومكتبات الكتب قصور، ووزارات باريز كل وزارة قصر عظيم، ودائرة البلدية قصر عظيم وناهيك به وهكذا. ولنقص عليك حديث محل نزولنا، فمنه تفهم إجمال إشارتنا.

DESCRIPTION OF OUR LODGING: CALLED GRAND HOTEL

The government accommodated us in a hotel called Grand Hotel, which can be Arabized as *al nazl al adeem*. The hotel is in the Avenue of the Opera, roughly at the centre of the city, in one of the finest widest, prettiest avenues. It is a huge tall seven-storey building, like most of Paris' buildings are. Its lowest level is the ground floor, without taking into account the underground one, used for storage and is without any significance. The one on the ground floor, being in an area busy with trade and surrounded by the famous avenues from all sides, and also in a place visited by tourists

وصف نزلنا، وهو المسمى كران أوتيل

أنزلتنا الدولة في نزل اسمه كران أوتيل، وتعريبه النزل العظيم، هذا النزل هو في شارع ملهى الأوبرا، الذي هو في وسط البلد تقريباً، من أجمل الشوارع وأوسعها وأحسنها. وهو بناء ضخم عالٍ ذو سبع طبقات كما هي غالب أبنية باريز. طبقته السفلى التي هي على وجه الأرض، دعني من التي تحت الأرض فتلك مستودع لا اعتبار به، لكن التي على وجه الأرض، لما كانت في محل مقصود للتجارة تحيط به الشوارع الكبيرة الشهيرة

and traders from all the countries of the world, they made the surroundings of the hotel into shops that the owner of the hotel rents to merchants where they display samples of their goods for publicity in exchange for an expensive rent. Each shop is the size of several shops in Fez, and yet, it is just a place for *al rawamiz, wa al arrabin al mushatir*, the exhibition of goods' samples. Its cleaning is at the charge of the owner. And if he who doesn't find a shop, he hires a glass cabinet from the hotel owner, at the entrance or inside. They are not content with only that, but they even rent the columns of the hotel and its walls to write their advertisements in golden script on exquisitely gorgeous marble. The walls are decorated and have become a source of income and a profit from such advertisements.

من كل جانب. وكونها في دائرة هذا النزل الشهير في الأرض التي يقصده السواح والتجار من أقطار العالم لذلك جعلوا ما دار بالأوتيل حوانيت يكريها صاحب الأوتيل للتجار ينزلون فيها روامز بضائعهم لأجل تشهيرها بكراء ثمين. وكل حانوت يعدل اتساعها بضعة من حوانيت فاس ومع ذلك فإنما هي محل الروامز والعرابين «المشاتر » يتعهدها صاحبها بالتنظيف. ومن لم يجد حانوتا هناك جعل خزانة زجاجية واكترى موضعاً من صاحب الأوتيل وضعها فيه، في بابه أو في داخله، وما اكتفوا بذلك بل وأجروا منه سواري الأوتيل وجدرانه لكتابة الإعلانات فيه كتابة ذهبية في رخام غاية في الإتحاف: فقد تزينت الجدارات وصار لها دخل وغلة من تلك الإعلانات.



Figure 6: Postal card with the picture of Grand hotel (on the right) and the Opera House (on the left)

At the gate is a semi-circle-shaped area for vehicles to park, big enough to accommodate four vehicles. If you enter the door of the hotel, you find a shop selling newspapers and books, including the *Guide de Paris*. If you have this guide, you have full knowledge of Paris and its wonders. If you walk through the corridor of the hotel, you find a money changer who accepts from you the currency that you have brought from your country and will exchange it for you in the currency that you like. Usury cannot be avoided.[18] This shop is the hotel's cashier. It receives payment from customers and pays the salaries of the employees. On your left, you find the post office, telegraph and telephone. If you have a telegraph message or of other kinds, you would not have to leave the hotel to get it to the post office, all of that is done inside the hotel and at no additional expenses, except as an act of generosity. On the right is a large room with a number of chairs and tables for writing and paper, ink and pens. You write what you want, and there is a person tasked with that, as well as, cleaning it and providing paper for anyone who wants it at no expense. All of that is included in the rent and food. And there is a store where you be informed about the stock market prices of goods and the currency. And there is a club where politicians gather. This is how this hotel acquired its great fame that spread around the world. Then, if you reach the corridor,

ثم في بابه محل لوقوف العربات يسع أربع عربات على شكل نصف دائرة. فإذا دخلت باب النزل، وجدت حانوتاً لبيع الجرائد والكتب التي من جملتها كتاب **دليل باريز**« » . فإذا كان عندك هذا الدليل، كانت لك معرفة تامة بأحوال باريز وعجائبها. فإذا دخلت دهليز الفندق، وجدت صرافاً يقبل منك السكة التي أتيت بها من بلدك ويبدلها لك بالسكة التي تريد، ولا بد من الربا. وهذا المحل هو صندوق الفندق: يقبض الواجبات من النازلين ويدفع رواتب المستخدمين فيه. وعن يسارك تجد محل البريد والتلغراف والتلفون فإن كانت لك رسالة، برقية أو غير برقية، لم تحتج في تبليغها إلى البريد أن تخرج من الأوتيل بل كل ذلك داخل الأوتيل ومن غير زيادة، إلا على سبيل الإكرام. وعن اليمين غرفة كبيرة فيها عدد من الكراسي والموائد للكتابة والكاغد والدواة والأقلام، تكتب ما تشاء، وهناك مكلف بذلك وبتنظيفه وتقديم الكاغد لكل من يريده بدون شيء: كل ذلك داخل في أداء كراء البيت والأكل. وهناك محل تعلم منه أسوام البورصة وأثمان البضائع وأوراق الدول. وهناك نادٍ يجتمع فيه أهل

[18] He uses *riba*, usury to mean commission.

you'll first find a staircase that climbs up to the upper floor and next to it two machines that go up and down, which are called *al sanseur*. [19] They go up with the hydraulic power to all the floors. Each one has a person in charge of it. When you want to ascend or descend, you click on the bell, he instantly comes to you riding his machine, on any floor you are in. He then takes you and whoever is with you and whatever you have of travel equipment for example, and takes you up or down to where you want without charge, except the tip you willingly give him. Identical stairs and the two machines are also inside the hotel so that whoever is inside does not need to get out to the entrance nor does he who is at the entrance need to go inside, and that is because of its largeness and wide areas.

If you enter from the hotel lobby you find on your right a large hall with a coloured glass dome, in it coloured lamps in the form of the evening sky with its stars. And in that large space are tables, sofas and seats, and soft chairs to sit on, relax, converse and socialize and drink what you want to buy. And there is an area for music available every afternoon to the evening, at mealtime and after, and there are three pots in it. It looks as if you were in a Riad. Its sky is coloured glass. On the right of the interior of this hall is the dining room; it is a big spacious room that accommodates a great number of people and leads to a large lofty

السياسة. بهذا حصلت شهرة عظيمة لهذا الفندق طبقت العالم. ثم إذا وصلت دهليز الباب وجدت المدارج الأولى التي يصعد منها للطبقات العليا وبجنبها آلتان رافعتان خافضتان، يقال لهما السنسور يصعد فيهما بقوة مائية إلى سائر الطبقات وكل واحد منها عليها مكلف: مهما أردت الصعود أو الهبوط دققت الناقوس فآتاك راكبا آلته حينا، في أي طبقة كنت، فأخذك ومن معك وما معك من أدوات السفر مثلاً وأصعدك أو أنزلك إلى حيث تريد من غير شيء، إلا ما تعطيه برضاك، ومثل تلك الدرج أيضاً وتينك الآلتين بعينهما في داخل الأوتيل فلا يحتاج من كان داخله للخروج لبابه ولا من كان في الباب أن يدخل، وذلك لكبره وسعة أرجائه.

فإذا دخلت من اسطوان الأوتيل وجدت عن يمينك قاعة عظيمة عليها قبة زجاجية ملونة فيها مصابيح ملونة على شكل المساء ونجومها. وفي ذلك البراح أرائك ومتكئات ومقاعد لينة وموائد للجلوس والاستراحة والتحدث والمؤانسة وشرب ما تريد بثمنه. وهناك محل الموسيقى تكون كل عشية إلى المساء، في ساعة الأكل وبعده، وفيها محابق أشجار, نضرة كأنك في رياض. سماؤه

[19] ***al sanseur*** is al Hajwi's Arabicized word for the French word *sanseur* meaning a a lift.

dome also intended for seating the eating people. The house of eating is between two great domes, one for rest and the other reserved for diners. The dining room is between two domes, one for resting and the other for eating as well. The dome and the room can accommodate at least five hundred diners. On the day of 14 July, the number of poeple present exceded that by several folds number. They took turns on the seats in the first and second hour. In the resting area, there is another place for eating, open onto the street, and a section for beverages open to the street, which is the café I have referred to.

If you ascend to the upper floors, you find there the bedrooms numbering one thousand and two hundred rooms, with all the necessary facilities. In many of the rooms, before entering the sleeping area, there is first a guest area, and then you enter the bedroom, where you find one or two beds for sleeping, soft seats for relaxing, chairs and a writing table, a wardrobe, and a restroom, and the place of ablutions, and a place for washing the hands, the face and the head, and a bathtub to take a bath. All in all, the room is first class, as if it was a rich man's house with all the facilities, except the kitchen. And in the second class, the guest room is lacking. As for the third, the cleaning room is lacking, for example.

And in the outer hall, there are barbers. Whoever wanted to have a haircut and groom oneself doesn't need to leave the

زجاج ملون. وعن يمين الداخل لهذه القاعة بيت الأكل، وهو بيت عظيم كبير يسع العدد العديد من الناس وهو يفضي إلى قبة كبرى شامخة معدة لجلوس الآكلين أيضاً. فبيت الأكل هو بين قبتين عظيمتين، إحداهما للراحة والثانية للأكل أيضاً. وعلى الأقل إن البيت والقبة يسعان خمسمائة آكل. وقد حضر للأكل هناك، يوم 14 يوليوز، أضعاف ذلك: تناوبوا محل الجلوس في الساعة الأولى والثانية. وفي محل الاستراحة محل آخر للأكل، مفتوح إلى الشارع، ومحل آخر للمشروبات مفتوح للشارع، وهو القهوة التي تقدمت الإشارة إليها.

فإذا صعدت إلى الطبقات العليا وجدت هناك بيوت النوم التي تعد ألف ومائتي بيت كامل المرافق. ففي كثير من البيوت يوجد قاعة الانتظار أولا، قبل الدخول لمحل النوم، ثم تدخل لبيت النوم فتجد فيه سريراً أو سريرين للنوم ومقاعد للاستراحة لينة ومقاعد مائدة الكتابة وخزانة لوضع الثياب، وبيت الخلاء، ومحل الاستنجاء، ومحل غسل اليد والوجه والرأس، ومغطسا للغسل. حاصله، البيت من الدرجة الأولى كأنه دار أحد الأغنياء تام المرافق، غير المطبخ. ومن الدرجة الثانية ينقص منها قاعة الانتظار. والثالثة ينقص منها محل الغسل مثلاً.

وفي اسطوان الفندق الخارجي حلاقون. فكل

premises of the hotel. In fact, on each floor, there is a number of barbers, forty in number, who give haircuts for a fee.

The first floor of the hotel is divided into two sections: in each section are employees in a special administrative office, connected to the bedrooms by telephone lines. For, each bedroom has a telephone which communicates with the smaller offices on the upper floors and another line to communicate with the main office at the entrance of the hotel and to speak with whom you wish inside and outside of Paris while you are in bed. This is the luxury Paris has attained. When you learn this and contemplate it, you can by comparison, imagine the houses of the wealthy and high officials and political administrations and the like, then you shall realize the level of civilization in Europe. But, be it known to you that the first-class room in this hotel is paid with the price of two hundred francs including the three meals, and the second class is one hundred francs, and the third (fifty francs) for every night, no less than that – in addition to what is paid for the service which is required depending on the length of the stay, at least ten per cent of the payment.

All of the sections of the hotel are illuminated by electricity. In the room where I was staying, there were twelve electric light bulbs, some equal to a hundred candles, others to fifty. And if you see the number of light bulbs in the resting and

من شاء الحلق والتزيين غير محتاج للخروج عن دائرة الفندق، بل في كل طبقة من طبقاته عدد من الحلاقين يحلقون بأجرة ويبلغ عددهم أربعين حلاقاً.

ثم الطبقة الأولى من الفندق تقسم على قسمين: كل قسم له مكلفون في بيت إدارة خاص تربطه معه بيوت النوم خيوط تليفونية، إذ كل بيت للنوم فيه التليفون تتكلم مع الإدارات الصغرى في الطبقات العليا وخيط آخر تتكلم فيه مع الإدارة العامة في باب الأوتيل وتكلم به من تشاء داخل باريز وخارجها وأنت على فراش نومك. فهذا ما بلغت إليه الرفاهية في باريز. فإذا علمت هذا وتأملته، قس عليه دور الأغنياء والموظفين الكبار وإدارات السياسة وغيرها فتعلم مبلغ الحضارة في أوروبا. ولكن تعلم أن البيت في هذا الفندق من الدرجة الأولى يدفع في كرائه، مع ثمن الأكل في أوقات ثلاثة مائتا فرنك، ومن الثانية مائة فرنك، ومن الثالثة (وهي الدنية) خمسون فرنكاً في كل ليلة لا أقل منها - زيادة عن ما يعطى للخدمة وهي شيء لازم أيضاً على حسب مدة الجلوس، وعلى الأقل عشرة في المائة من المدفوع.

وكل محلاته تنار بالكهرباء: ففي البيت الذي كنت نازلاً فيه اثنا عشر مصباحاً كهربائية، منها ما يعادل مائة شمعة، ومنها ما يعادل خمسين. ولو

waiting area, and the places for eating, drinking and writing, you'll be baffled. They have even devoted a special workshop for electricity. Each of the rooms has running cold and hot water, on whatever floor you need it. And in each room, there is a book containing the names of the people who have subscribed to the telephone service in Paris so that when you enter your room you'll know all the houses of commerce, politics, industry etc. in Paris. Should you know the French language, you'll accomplish most of your needs whether commercial or otherwise, in the easiest manner, while you are in your bed. And this book is a huge hardcover volume, half the size of an encyclopaedia.

For you to learn about the history of civilization in Paris, this hotel was built about sixty years ago. It is not the finest there. In fact, there are others which are more elegant and superior. We have provided a detailed account of this example so that you can through it replicate the general condition of Paris and its civilization through comparison and speculation**.** And I refrained from being exhaustive about this hotel for fear of boring the reader.

On the morning of our arrival in Paris, the head of the delegation visited those that he was required to visit, like the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and War and the Mayor. And this is something I deduced, but neither heard nor seen, because the head of the delegation wasn't staying with the other

رأيت عدد المصابيح التي في محل الاستراحة والانتظار، ومحال الأكل والشرب والكتابة لقضيت العجب، حتى إنه جعل معملاً خاصاً به للكهرباء. وكل بيت من بيوته فيه الماء البارد والحار الجاري، مهما أردته من أي طبقة من الطبقات. وكل بيت فيه دفتر أسماء المشتركين في التليفون بباريز: فمهما دخلت بيتك علمت جميع دور التجارة والسياسة والصناعة وغيرها في باريز. ومهما عرفت اللغة الفرنسية إلا و توصلت إلى قضاء جل أغراضك بأيسر وسيلة، تجارة أو غيرها، وأنت على فراشك. وهذا الدفتر مجلد ضخم، كنصف القاموس.

ثم هذا الأوتيل بني منذ ما ينيف على الستين سنة لتعلم تاريخ هذه الحضارة في باريز، وليس هو أعلى ما يوجد بل هناك ما هو أرقى وأحسن. وقد فصلنا القول تفصيلاً في هذه الجزئية لتستنسخ منها أحوال عموم باريز و حضارته بحسب القياس والتنظير. وإني لم أستوعب ما في هذا الفندق استيعابا لما عسى أن يحصل للقارئ من الملل.

وفي صبيحة يوم قدومنا لباريز زار رئيس الوفد من تتعين عليه زيارته، كوزيري الخارجية والحربية، ورئيس البلدية. وهذا شيء فهمته، لا سمعته ولا رأيته، إذ لم يكن الرئيس يتنزل مع

members to inform them nor were they to ask him. This is the general etiquette among Moroccan functionaries. Aren't we in need of mutual support from each other?

الأعضاء لإخبارهم ولا هم يحرصون على سؤاله. هذه هي الآداب العمومية بين الموظفين المغاربة، وما أحقنا أن يتألف بعضنا بعضاً.

CELEBRATING VICTORY AND REPUBLIC HOLIDAYS

The celebration of the French Republic Day, which includes Victory celebrations, took place on Monday, 14 July, and here is an account of it:

We found the city clad in a pretty ornamental garment, the flags of France and of the allied countries decorating the streets, buildings, and houses, and even the bridges of the river Seine. And in the places of the celebration and the parade of the troops, tall wooden poles rose high in the sky, painted with white and gold colours and on which hung the flags and the symbols of the holiday, which were the two letters R F, derived from la République de la France, and topped with electric lamps. At the bottom of some of the previously mentioned poles, they painted the names of the great battles that occurred between the French army and the enemies, such as the Battle of the Marne, Evian, Verdun, Lille, etc. Also, they erected in the centre of the Arc de Triomphe a memorial in wooden statue for the martyrs, *shuhadaa*, of the Big World War.

The Parisians spent Monday night awake, dancing, music, and fireworks. Most of the inhabitants of the city did not sleep.

الاحتفال بعيدي النصر والجمهورية

وفي يوم الاثنين 14 يوليوز كان الاحتفال بعيد الجمهورية الفرنساوية المتضمن لعيد صلح النصر، وهاك البيان :

إننا وجدنا المدينة لابسة ثوباً من الزينة قشيباً، والأعلام الفرنساوية مع أعلام دول التحالف قد زينت بها الشوارع والدور والمنازل، حتى قناطر وادي لاسين. وجعل في محل الاحتفال ومحل مرور العساكر التي تستعرض سواري خشبية عالية في الجو، مطلية بالأبيض مذهبة وعليها الرايات وشارة العيد وهو حرفان (.R. F). مقتضبان من الجمهورية الافرانساوية وفي أعلاه مصابيح كهربائية. ورسموا على قاعدة بعض السواري السابقة أسماء المعارك الكبرى التي وقعت بين الجيش الفرنساوي والأعداء، كمعركة المارن، وإفيان، وفردان، وليل وغيرها. كما نصبوا في وسط قوس النصر تمثالاً خشبياً تذكارياً لشهداء الحرب الكبرى العالمية.

ثم إن الباريسيين باتوا ساهرين في الرقص

والطرب والقصف ليلة الاثنين، لم ينم جل من سكن باريز. ولما طلع الفجر انقطع سير التراموای والأتومبيلات من الشوارع التي سيكون الاحتفال فيها أو بقربها، ولم يبقَ إلا المشاة من الناس للتفرج، وقد اكتظت الطرق بالناس المنتظرين للفرجة. فلقد رأيت من نافذة بيتي، التي كانت تقابل ميدان الأوبرا، أن الناس ابتدؤوا يجتمعون للتفرج في باب الأوبرا عند الفجر والحالة أنهم باتوا ساهرين. فقد رأيت الرجل يتعلق في سارية المصباح الحديدية في الساعة الخامسة صباحاً وبقي هناك معلقاً مدة نحو أربع ساعات. ومنهم من جلس على درج الأوبرا الحجرية، ومنهم من جلس على السطوح في الشمس وكان اليوم شمسياً صاحياً ما رأيت مثله في الصحو والصفاء منذ دخلت باريز إلى أن ودعتها.

وبقي الناس يجتمعون إلى أن كانت الساعة السابعة صباحاً، فركبنا الأتومبيلات، في حال أن من لم يكن مدعواً رسمياً لا يجوز له الركوب إذ ذاك. ثم توجهنا إلى محل الاحتفال، عند قوس النصر، حيث أعدت هناك مقاعد الجلوس لمن كان له حيثية سياسية، والمقاعد قد صفت من قوس النصر يميناً وشمالاً على شارع الصانزليزي. وقد أنزلوا هناك عدداً كبيراً من المدافع والسلاح الذي غنمته افرانسا من ألمانيا في هذه الحرب العظمى فكانت هناك تلولاً وأكواماً أمام قوس النصر، في

At dawn, the traffic of tramways and automobiles was suspended in the streets where the celebration was taking place and the nearby areas. Only pedestrians were allowed to enjoy the spectacle. The roads were packed with people waiting for the spectacle. I saw from my room window, which was opposite the Opera Square, that people were beginning to gather at the Opera House gate at dawn, after having stayed awake. I saw a man climbing on the pole of the iron lamp at 5 am and remained there perched for about four hours. Some people sat on the stone stairs of the Opera House, and some on the top of the buildings in the sun. It was such a bright sunny day, the like of which I have never seen in brightness and clarity from the moment I entered Paris until left it.

People kept gathering until it was seven o'clock in the morning. We got in the automobiles, while those who were not officially invited were not allowed to get in at that time. Then we went to the place of celebration, at the Arc de Triomphe, where seats were prepared for those who had political credentials, and the seats were set on the right and left of L'Arc de Triomphe on the Champs- Élysées. They have brought a large number of cannons and weapons which France took as spoils from Germany till there were hills and piles of them in front of L'Arc de Triomphe, in the street of Les Champs- Élysées, and Place de la Concorde and other places.

They had prepared a seat for the President of the French Republic on the

شارع الصانزليزي وساحة كنكورد وغيرها.

وقد أعدوا لرئيس الجمهورية الفرنساوية مجلساً عن يمين الداخل لباريز من القوس على الشارع المذكور ومعه الوزراء والحجاب في مقعد متميز عن الناس مكسو بالملف الأحمر والقطيفة ويصعد إليه بدرج. وعن يمينه مجلس النواب والأعيان وقبالته، وعلى الضفة اليسرى للشارع المذكور، زوجته وبعض الموظفين الكبار. وعن يسار زوجته محل جلوسنا، وعن يسارنا وحذونا التونسيون وإزاءنا الجزائريون، وأسفلنا كثير من الجنرالات الفرنساوية التي يقرب عددهم من الثلاثين، ثم بعدنا أصحاب الحيثيات والوظائف وهكذا. وحيث التزمت أن لا أخبرك إلا بما رأيت فلنقتصر على هذا القدر.

ولما وصلنا لمحل جلوسنا، وجلس كل واحد منا في محلّه المعد له على مقاعد مغشّاة بالقطيفة، يعني (الموبر) ، أقبل رئيس الوزارة ووزير الحرب، مسيو كليمانصو، في عربة أوطومبيلية فهتف الشعب له هتافاً شديداً: فليحيى كليمانصو! ثم أقبل رئس الجمهورية في عربة ليس فيها كبير زخرفة، ولكنها من أحسن وألطف ما هناك، يجرها فرسان أحمران لم يكن هناك في المحفل مثلهما حسناً ولا ما يشبههما، وهو لابس أثواباً عادية ليس

right side of the Arc on the mentioned street, together with his ministers and chamberlains in distinguished seats from other people, covered with scarlet *mlifa*[20] and velvet, accessible by means of stairs. On his right were the members of the House of Representatives and the Upper House, and on the left side of the mentioned street were his wife and some high officials. And on the left of his wife was our sitting place, and on our left, were the Tunisians, and in front of us the Algerians, and below us many French generals, close to thirty in number, and then people who had professional status, and so on. And since I am committed to telling you only what I saw, let us restrict ourselves with this amount.

When we arrived at our seating area, and each of us sat in his designated seat, on seats wrapped with al *qatifa*, meaning corduroy, the Prime Minister and the Minister of War, Monsieur Clemenceau, came in an automobile and the populace cheered him intensely: "Long live Clemenceau!" Then came the President of the Republic in a carriage, not lavishly decorated, still it was one of the best and prettiest of carriages there, drawn by two chestnut horses unmatched in beauty in any of the horses in the celebration area. He was wearing ordinary clothes without anything special or ornamentation, or decoration. On arrival, the populace hailed "Long live Poincare!" On reaching his sitting area, he proceeded in his carriage towards L'Arc de

[20] **mlifa** is a fine cloth made of wool.

Triomphe and disappeared from my sight. So, I didn't know what he did and was told that he saluted the afore memorial statue of the victims of war. Then, he returned and dismounted from the carriage at his designated seat and stood there greeting the people, holding his hat in his hand without putting it on his head. As soon as he arrived, the procession began. It was a military parade of the allied troops, thirty thousand in number, marching under L'Arc de Triomphe, built in the manner of the Romans. The triumphant soldiers used to build an arch and march under it, which invested it with glory. Napoleon I imitated them in that and built this arch, and the custom continued until now.

First Marshal Foch came, the commander of the armies of all the allied nations, riding his horse and in his hand the marshal staff, on his left, Marshal Joffre, with his staff as well, passing under L'Arc de Triomphe. When they came close to the President of the Republic both of them saluted him with their staffs, and he motioned to them with his hat and the people chanted a loud shout: "Long Live Foch," clapping their hands until ears became deaf from loud voices which reached the level of frenzy. And as they passed by, he saluted them because they were holding their staffs in a saluting fashion and everybody was hailing Foch, then Joffre, then the Staff of War, then the French Republican Guard, and the wounded, two of them were carried on stretchers, and after them the rest of those who participated

فيها تمييز ولا بهرجة ولا زخرفة. ولما أقبل هتف له الشعب: فليحيى بوانكاريه! وعند وصوله لمحل جلوسه تقدم بعربته إلى قوس النصر وغاب عني، فلم أدرِ ما فعل، وأخبروني أنه حيّا تمثال تذكار موتى الحرب السابق ذكره. ثم رجع ونزل من العربة عند محل جلوسه فوقف عنده وهو يحيي الناس، وقبعته في يده لم يضعها على رأسه. وبفور وصوله بدأت أعمال الموكب، وهو استعراض عساكر الحلفاء وعددها نحو ثلاثين ألفا، ومرورها تحت قوس النصر بناء على عادة الرومان. إن الجنود المنتصرين كانوا يبنون لها قوساً تمر تحته فيبقى لها فخراً، فقلدهم في ذلك نابليون الأول وبنى هذا القوس فبقي العمل على ذلك إلى الآن.

فأقبل أولا المرشال فوش، قائد عموم عساكر الدول المتحالفة، راكباً جواده وبيده عصا المرشالية عن يساره المرشال جوفر كذلك مارين تحت قوس النصر. وعند مسامَتَتِهما رئيس الجمهورية حيّاه كل منهما بعصاه فحياهما مشيراً له بقبعته وهتف الشعب هتافاً شديداً: فليحيى فوش، مصفقين بالأكف حتى اصطكت الآذان من شدة الأصوات إلى أن خرج إلى حد الهوس. ومهما مرا على أحد وحياهما لأنهما مشيران بعصاهما للتحية والكل يهتف لفوش، ثم لجوفر وبعدهما أركان الحرب الفرنساوية، فالحرس الجمهوري ثم جرحى الحرب ومعهم جريحان محمولان على

نعشين، وبعدهم بقية من حضر في حرب السبعين من عسكريين ومدنيين ، ثم عساكر دول التحالف. أولهم عساكر أمريكا، فأولهم الجنرال الأمريكي، فأركان حربه، فالخيالة والمشاة مع موسيقى الأميركان والرايات الأمريكية. وكانت العساكر الأمريكية في بزة ونظام عجيب وكل ما عليهم ولديهم جديد يلمع، وكانوا أبهج العساكر مطلقاً لجدة ثيابهم وآلتهم وكل ما معهم لا يرى في ذلك إلا ما كان تلك الساعة أول استعماله. ثم النجليزيون على ذلك النسق. ثم البلجيك. ثم إيطاليا، وكان جنرالهم راكباً جواداً أحمر لم يكن له نظير في خيل الاستعراض. ثم الجابون، ورئيسهم شاب صغير السن أظنه من الأسرة المالكة، وعساكرهم أقل ممن تقدم، ثم اليونان. ثم الصرب واليوكسلاف. ثم البلونيون. ثم عساكر افرانسا على اختلاف أنواعها: من مشاة، وطبجية، وخيالة. ثم عساكر مستعمراتها.

وقد كان في الاستعراض نحو الخمسين من جنرالات افرانسا، منهم قواد الفرق المتقدمة، ومنهم أركان الحرب دون الجنرالات الذين كانوا متفرجين كما تقدمت الإشارة إليهم. وحضر أيضا الاستعراض عساكر البحرية وكل الأنواع من الطبجية والمدافع والهندسة وغيرهم. وحضر من مدافع الطنك أربعة: وهي أتومبيل مجرور بعجلات السلاسل يمشي في السهل والجبل، قريب

in War of 1870, soldiers and civilians, and then the coalition forces. The first were American soldiers, preceded by the American General, the Chief War Staff, the cavaliers and the infantry, with American music bands and American flags. In their dress and organization, the American army was magnificent, and everything that was on them or in their possession was sparkling. They were absolutely the most wonderful of armies, their uniforms and their equipment all new, used on this occasion for the first time. Then the English in a similar pattern, the Belgians, and the Italians with their General riding a chestnut unrivalled by any horse in the parade. Then the Japanese, and their leader, a young man. I think from a royal family, and their soldiers were fewer in number than the rest. Then the Greeks, the Serbs, the Yugoslavs, and the Polish soldiers. Then the different sorts of French soldiers: infantry, artillery, and cavalry. Then the soldiers of the colonies.

The parade was attended by about 50 French Generals, including the commanders of the advancing battalions, including the War Staff, not including the Generals who were among the spectators, as mentioned above. The parade was also attended by the Marine Corps and all types of artillery, guns, engineering and others. There were also four tanks, a vehicle that moves on steel chain wheels in plains and mountains, close to the shape of a tortoise, armoured with all sorts of metal and is immune to bombs, fast-moving, carrying fast, long range guns and destroys and burns. And this is among the

modern inventions that the Germans did not reach. It was invented by an English watchmaker. It was said that this was the reason for the recent defeat of the Germans.

In general, the French soldiers were more numerous than the others. All types participated in the parade, complete in number and equipment. Among those present in the parade from among the colonies were Moroccan soldiers, the cavalry wearing crimson *burnous* and mounted on white horses. They were cheered vociferously for their extraordinary courage in the battles they fought in, and they cheered General Gouraud and General Mangin, the chiefs of the Moroccan troops, such cheers almost like those for Foch, for their fame in military skills during this war.

Most of the horses that were showcased were reddish in colour, except for the Moroccan horse. All the paraders went through Paris in their uniforms, accompanied with the melodious tunes of music, marching along the famous Champs-Élysées Avenue, the Opera Avenue, to the Place de la Concorde, where Marshal Foch was waiting for them in front of the Municipal Palace, where ended their parade.

At the end of the parade, the President of the Republic got in his carriage, and the music burst out bidding him farewell, while the people cheered him. So, he returned to where he came from, to the Municipal Palace, followed by the ministers, who were headed by the Prime Minister and the Minister of War, Monsieur Clemenceau, who was fiercely cheered. When he arrived

من صورة السلحفاة مدرع كله بأنواع من المعادن لا تتأثر من القنابل، سريع الحركة، يحمل مدافع سريعة الطلق بعيدة المرمى تدمر وتحرق. وهذا من الاختراعات الحديثة التي لم يهتدِ الألمان إليها، واخترعها رجل يعمل الساعات، إنجليزي. قالوا: وهي من أسباب اندحار الألمان الأخير.

وبالجملة فإن عساكر افرانسا كانت أكثر بكثير من غيرها وقد استعرضت جميع أنواعها، وكلها تامة العَدد والعُدد. ومن جملة من حضر الاستعراض منها في جملة المستعمرات عساكر المغرب، وحضر منهم الخيالة على خيل بلق ببرانيس حمر وهتفوا لهم هتافا شديدا لما عرفوه عنهم من الشجاعة الباهظة في المعارك التي خاضوا غمارها، وهتفوا للجنرال كوروا والجنرال مانجان، قائدي عساكر المغرب، هتافاً شديداً يقرب من هتاف فوش لشهرتهما بما لهما من التدابير الحربية في هذه الحرب.

وجل الخيل التي استعرضت، لونها الحمرة، إلا ما كان من خيل المغاربة. وكل المستعرَضين (بالفتح) اخترقوا باريز في بزتهم وهيأتهم والموسيقى تصدح بأنغامها الشجية ذاهبين على شارع الصانزليزي الشهير إلى شارع الأوبرا، إلى ميدان كنكورد حيث وجدوا الماريشال فوش في انتظارهم أمام قصر البلدية. وهناك انتهى استعراضهم.

at the Municipal Palace, he found Marshal Foch and the troops of the parade waiting for him. And there, medals were hung on those who deserved them, and important speeches were given on the victory that France had gained over all her enemies and praised the soldiers and heroes, and prayed for their dead and bid them farewell. Then everyone dispersed, each heading towards their own dwelling.

It was a great day and a glorious festival, unequalled in this time. The newspapers flew with the news all over the world, and the French nation and its allies were elated and jubilant in an unspeakable way. Paris remained clad in ornamental festive garments for seven days, and the lights illuminated the city on all its sides. It was above what can be invoked by imagination. On each of the great stores, entertainment houses, or one of the palaces of Paris, you saw flags of joy, decorations and electric lights that would make you forget what you saw elsewhere until you would say: This is the end of what can be attained.

On the day after, we went to visit the cemetery of the war casualties of the soldiers of Islam and the mosque that was built near it, to pray for them. At 9 o'clock in the morning, we went and found the Tunisian delegation there. Its chief, the Sheikh of Tunis, General Khelil Bouhageb, the son of the scholar of Tunisia, the Sheikh of Malikia and the head of their Muftis, Sheikh Salem Bouhageb. The other members were the Mayor of Soussa, the

وعند تمام الاستعراض نهض رئيس الجمهورية وركب عربته، فصدحت الموسيقى بالسلام عليه وهتف له الشعب فذهب من حيث أتى إلى قصر البلدية وتبعه الوزراء وأولهم رئيس الوزارة ووزير الحرب موسيو كليمانصو فهتفوا له هتافاً شديداً. ولما وصل قصر البلدية وجد المارشال فوش وعساكر الاستعراض في انتظاره، فعلقت هناك الأوسمة لمن استحقها وألقيت الخطب المهمة المتعلقة بالنصر الذي حازته فرانسا على كل أعدائها وأثنوا على الجنود والأبطال ودعوا لموتاهم وتوادعوا. وانفض الجميع وصوب كل واحد صوب نزله.

وكان يوماً عظيماً وموسماً فخيماً بعد العهد بمثله وطارت به صحف الأنباء في جميع الدنيا، وأظهرت فيه الأمة الفرنساوية وحلفاؤها من الابتهاج والفرح فوق ما يعبر عنه. وبقيت باريز لابسة أثواب الزينة سبعة أيام والأضواء تنير المدينة بجميع أطرافها فوق ما يتصوره الوهم، وكل مخزن من مخازن التجارة العظمى أو ملهى أو قصر من قصور باريز إلا وترى فيه من علائم الأفراح بالزينة والأضواء الكهربائية ما ينسيك ما رأيت في غيره حتى تقول: هذا نهاية ما يدرك.

وفي اليوم بعده ذهبنا لزيارة مقبرة جرحى الحرب من عساكر الإسلام والمسجد الذي بني قربها للصلاة عليهم. ففي الساعة 9 نهاراً ذهبنا

learned Khatib, Mr. Abd el Jalil Zawash, the Mayor of Bizerte, Mr. Sqa, the Mayor of Sfax, Mr. Snadli. Then there was the Algerian delegation consisting of twelve members: four of the greatest of the Algerian Governors, four Governors of Constantine, and four Governors of Oran. We found there the Algerian Mufti el Mghrani, the person in charge of the cemetery, washing the deceased and praying for them, as well as the Sheikh of the village in which the cemetery was located. We also found with him the representatives of the Ministry of War and Foreign Affairs. The Sheikh of the village came forward and made a long speech written in French, in which he glorified the actions of the Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian soldiers in the war and praised their deceased and testified to their steadfastness in the war and their endurance over its hardships and commended their heroic defence of France, never witnessed before in history. The whole world vouches for it, and its enemies envy them for this. He also highly praised the Muslim princes, especially Sultan Moulay Yusuf, the Bey Sidi Mohamed Al-Nasser, and the rulers of the three territories, each stood by France in its critical time until it gained the required victory. Then, one of the French ministers came up as a deputy for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur De Peretti, and gave a speech on the same subject from a piece of paper in his hand, but unfortunately, neither our chief nor any of us had any idea about these speeches beforehand so we could have prepared a

فوجدنا هناك الوفد التونسي، رئيسه شيخ مدينة تونس الجنرال السيد خليل بوحاجب نجل علامة تونس وشيخ المالكية وباش مفتيهم الشيخ سالم بوحاجب، وأعضاؤه عامل سوسة الخطيب المصقع السيد عبد الجليل الزاوش، وعامل بنزرت السيد السقا، وعامل صفاقص السيد الصنادلي. ثم الوفد الجزائري المتركب من اثني عشر عضواً: أربعة من أغوات عمالة الجزائر، وأربعة من عمالة قسمطينة، وأربعة من أغوات عمالة وهران. ووجدنا هناك المفتي المغراني الجزائري المكلف بالمقبرة وغسل الموتى والصلاة عليهم، وشيخ القرية التي فيها المقبرة، ونواب من وزارة الحربية والخارجية. فتقدم شيخ القرية وخطب خطبة طويلة مكتوبة بالفرنساوي مجد فيها أعمال العساكر المغربية والجزائرية والتونسية في الحرب وأبَّن موتاهم وشهد لهم بالثبات في الحرب والصبر على مصائبه ونوه بدفاعهم عن افرانسا، دفاع الأبطال، مما لم يعهد مثله في التاريخ وشهد به العالم كله وحسدها على ذلك أعداؤها. وأطنب في الثناء على أمراء المسلمين، وخصوصاً السلطان مولاي يوسف والباي سيدي محمد الناصر وحكام الإيالات الثلاث وإن كان أعان افرانسا في مواقفها الحرجة حتى انتصرت الانتصار المطلوب. ثم تقدم أحد وزراء افرانسا، نائباً عن وزير الخارجية، وهو مسيو دوبليتي وألقى خطاباً في

reply, nor did we understand the speech well. And so the chief pointed to me to reply to the two speakers on his behalf, that was after a person went instead of the head of the Algerian delegation with a speech that he had prepared, with a paper in hand. And so I said: Your Excellency the Minister, Honorable Mayor, and Gentlemen! On behalf of the head of our delegation, the Grand Vizier, I extend my sincere thanks to the two speakers for the emotions they showed towards the Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian soldiers and for praising them for their Arab chivalry and the African courage they are well-known for in history. And through the actions done by these brave heroes in the defence of the French nation, from courage that the whole world recognized, they fulfilled a duty assigned to them by Sultan Moulay Youssef, and by the Bey of Tunisia, may God assist them both. They wrote in the book of history a glorious line with their abundant blood. And we must thank the French nation for her kindness in caring for her sons (awladiha), as she recognized their right and allocated this piece of land for their burial and for and ensuring that the rites of their religion regarding the washing of the dead, burial, and prayer over the dead are respected. And all this satisfies our aspiration that she will preserve in the future the rites of their children, their fathers, and their brothers who have remained after them, and fulfils our hopes that they will share in the fruits of victory with it after being burned by the fires of war, and that it will seek the advancement

المعنى أيضاً أملاه من ورقة بيده ولكن من سوء الحظ أنه لم يكن عنده رئيسنا ولا عند واحد منا علم بتلك الخطب من قبل ولا إشعار بذلك لنستعد للجواب، ولا فهمنا الخطاب جيداً. فأشار إلي الرئيس أن أجيب الخطيبين نيابة عنه ارتجالاً، وذلك بعدما أجاب من ناب عن رئيس الوفد الجزائري بخطاب كان أعده بورقة أيضاً بيده. فقلت: يا سعادة الوزير، ويا جناب المير، ويا أيها السادة الحاضرون! إني بالنيابة عن رئيس وفدنا، جناب الصدر الأعظم، أقدم خالص الشكر للخطيبين فيما أظهراه من العواطف نحو العساكر المغربية والجزائرية والتونسية وما أثنيا به عليهم من الشهامة العربة، والشجاعة الإفريقية المعهودة لهم في التاريخ. وإن ما حصل من أولئك الأبطال البواسل في الدفاع عن الوطن الفرنساوي من الشجاعة التي اعترف بها العالم أجمع قد قضوا به واجباً عليهم أمرهم به السلطان مولاي يوسف، وباي تونس، أيدهما الله. ولقد كتبوا في التاريخ سطراً مجيداً بدمائهم الغزيرة. وإن الدولة الفرنساوية يجب علينا أن نشكر فضلها على اعتنائها بأولادها (كذا) ، حيث عرفت حقهم وخصصت لهم هذه التربة لدفنهم بها وحافظت على شعائر الدين في الغسل والكفن والصلاة عليهم، وذلك مما يحقق آمالنا أنها لا تزال على ذلك في المستقبل تحافظ على شعائر أولادهم

of their countries and their interests, civilize them and strive in their education. Our hearts would have been thrilled, if God wished it, to see them return safely. However, instead of seeing them, we are here standing at their graves. To end my speech Let us pray for them with forgiveness and contentedness. After that, the head of the Tunisian delegation came forward and gave a speech of similar meaning in French that was written, and after that, Magrani came up and recited some verses eulogizing the glories of the dead. I couldn't recall the lines nor did I find purpose in recording them.

We walked through the graves, and we found a great vast cemetery that was there before the war in which a number of Frenchmen were buried. On their graves, there was marble engraved with their names and dates of their death as is their custom. And the graves of those Muslim soldiers are similar to the graves of Muslims in the Muttrah Al-Ajlah, in Fez or Bab Ajisa, without construction, except that every grave at its head has a wooden plank written on its top in Arabic only: this is the grave of the deceased .... Under it, in French was his name and his military unit and what was known from his story. Between the graves of Muslims, we found a dome of about two meters in length and a width of about the same in height. So we asked who was buried there. The Mufti said: No one was buried in it, but Monsieur Jonnart, the Governor of Algeria, ordered its construction as a memorial to them.

وآبائهم وإخوانهم الباقين بعدهم ويحقق آمالنا أيضاً أنهم يجنون معها ثمرة النصر كما أحرقتهم نيران الحرب فتسعى في ترقية بلادهم ومصالحهم، وتهذبهم وتجتهد في تعليمهم. وإن أعصابنا كانت تهتز لرؤيتهم لو قدر الله ورجعوا سالمين، وحيث لم نرهم فقد وقفنا على قبورهم. فلندعُ لهم في ختام خطابنا هذا بالمغفرة والرضوان. ثم بعد هذا تقدم رئيس الوفد التونسي وسرد خطاباً آخر في المعنى بالفرنساوي مكتوباً، وبعده أتى المغراني وتلا أبياتاً في الثناء على أولئك الأموات وتمجيدهم لم تحضرني ولا أرى فائدة في إثباتها.

وطفنا في القبور، فوجدنا مقبرة واسعة عظيمة كانت مقبرة من قبل الحرب فيها عدد من الفرنساويين مدفونين، على قبورهم الرخام المنقوش بأسمائهم وتواريخ موتهم على عادتهم. وقبور أولئك العساكر الإسلامية على نسق قبور المسلمين في مطرح الأجلة بفاس أو باب عجيسة، من غير بناء. سوى أن كل قبر عند رأسه خشبة مكتوب في رأسها بالعربة: هذا قبر المرحوم...فقط. وتحته بالفرنساوي اسمه وفرقته العسكرية وما علم من قصته. ووجدنا عند قبور المسلمين قبة طولها نحو المترين وعرضها كذلك وعلوها يقرب من ذلك، فسألنا عمن دفن فيها فقال المفتي: ولم يدفن فيها أحد وإنما المسيو جونار حاكم الجزائر أمر ببنائه تذكاراً لهم.

Then we left the cemetery and went to the Islamic mosque and found it a pretty and beautiful mosque in the shape of Islamic mosques built in wood in the middle of a garden. It has a minaret, upon which is a French flag. And on the ground under the mihrab, there is a carpet from Rabat. El Mghrani said that Sultan Moulay Youssef, may God glorify him, sent it as a gift. And the rest of the mosque is entirely covered with five Sanousi mats from the Wali of Algeria. And an antique chandelier, sent by the Resident-General in Tunisia. On the walls of the mosque are some carpets and fabrics donated by some stores in Paris, probably Lafayette. Al Sadr[21] asked Mufti el Mghrani who determined the position of the mihrab of the mosque. He answered that it was the French architect who built it, adding that it was oriented towards the polar star. I told him: "What is this star? And how was the orientation established? Was it by a knowledgeable jurisconsult who can be trusted?" He said: "I was not present." Then El Maghrani informed us that the State promised to rebuild the mosque in a better way.

Then the congregation dispersed, each to his dwelling.

ثم خرجنا من المقبرة، وذهبنا للمسجد الإسلامي فوجدناه مسجداً ظريفاً لطيفاً على هيأة المساجد الإسلامية مبنياً من خشب في وسط حديقة. له صومعة، عليها الراية الفرنساوية، وبإزاء أرض المحراب زربية رباطية قال المغراني: وجهها هدية للمسجد السلطان مولاي يوسف نصره الله. وبقية المسجد كله مفروش بخمس حصائر سنوسية من عند والي الجزائر المتقدم. وثريا قديمة، وجهها المقيم العام بتونس. وعلى جدران المسجد بعض زرابي وأثواب أهداها بعض المخازن التجارية في باريز لعله لافاييت. وقد سأل الصدر المفتي المغراني عمن حقق قبله المسجد، فقال: المهندس الفرنساوي الذي بناه. قال: وهي محققة على النجمة القطبية. فقلت له: وما هي هذه النجمة؟ وكيف كان تحقيق ذلك: هل على يد عارف عدل يوثق به؟ فقال: أنا ما حضرت. ثم أخبرنا المغراني أن الدولة وعدت بإعادة بناء المسجد بناء متيناً.

ثم تفرق الجمع وذهب كل لمحله.

[21] Reference to the Grand Vizier. The head-first minister and chief of the diplomatic mission Haj Mohammed Al-Moqri.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES

On the following day, we visited the world famous Palace of Versailles, a palace built by the one of greatest kings of France, Louise XIV, who was contemporary to Moulay Ismail, the grandfather of the royal family, may God preserve it. There was between them a great friendship that was about to lead to their becoming in-laws, as was stated by some of their historians.[22] It is said that he spent on the construction, decoration, and furniture one thousand million francs. It is now one of the important French museums. The palace, its architecture, decoration, engravings, paintings, statues, portraits of the kings of Europe, the greatness of the building, and the arrangement of the rooms, which are high domes that touch the sky and despise the stars, are alone enough to make it a great museum. However, they did not stop at that, rather, they accumulated some house items of the previously mentioned king, his wife's precious furniture, and his sleeping bed, with everything in its place as it was during his life. They added to all that by painting on the walls scenes of the wars of France and the events and the people who were involved. Thus, it was a museum within a museum or rather an important piece of their

وصف قصر فرساي

وفي اليوم بعده زرنا قصر فرساي الشهير في العالم، وهو القصر الذي بناه نخبة ملوك فرانسا لويز الرابع عشر وكان معاصراً لمولانا إسماعيل، جد الأسرة المالكة أبقاها الله. وكان بينهما وداد متين كاد يفضي للمصاهرة فيما قال بعض مؤرخيهم. ويقال إنه أنفق في بنائه وزخرفته وأثاثه ألف مليون فرنك، وهو الآن متحف من المتاحف الفرنساوية المهمة. فالقصر وكيفية بنائه وما فيه من الزخرفة، والنقوش، والتصاوير، والتماثيل، وصور ملوك أوروبا، وعظمة البناء وتنسيق البيوت التي هي قباب مشيدة تناغي الجو وتزري بنجوم السماء وهو وحده كافٍ لأن يكون متحفاً عظيماً. لكن لم يكتفوا بذلك، بل جمعوا فيه بعض أدوات بيت الملك المذكور وأثاث زوجته الثمين وفراش نومه، كل شيء في محله الذي كان فيه أيام الملك. وزادوا على ذلك بأن صوروا على جدرانه تصاوير حروب افرانسا ووقائع أيامها ورجالها

[22] Perhaps al Hajwi is referring to Eugène Plantet's book , *Moulay Ismael, Empereur du Maroc, et la princesse de Conti* (Paris : E. Jamin , 1912). The book discusses Moulay Ismail's proposal to marry Louis XIV's daughter, Princesse de Conti.

فكان متحفاً في متحف بل تاريخاً مهماً من تواريخها يحفظ أعمالها ويبين ما وصلت إليه من القوة والسطوة. فلقد رأيت في بيت صورة الأمير عبد القادر الجزائري ومعه ولده وأمه يطلب من ضابط افرنساوي، أو من نابليون الثالث، حريته التي كانت افرانسا وعدته بها عند تسليمه سلاحه إليها وكانوا سجنوه بعد ذلك في افرانسا، وقد حنت الأم رأسها لتقبل يد الضابط ماسكة إياها ومسترحمة له، وأظن أن هذه الصورة إنما هي خيالية لا حقيقية واقعية والله أعلم. وهذه الصورة أظن أنها في قصر سان جرمان. وقبالة هذه الصورة صورة دخول الفرانساوية معسكر الخليفة سيدي محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن هشام في وقعة وادي إيسلي، قرب وجدة، وهي وقعة شهيرة. ورسمت هناك صورة مظلة الخليفة أخذها جندي افرانساوي وقد أحاط الجند بقبة الخليفة المذكور وأمسكوا بعض النسوة وهن يسلمن ما عندهن من الأثاث والأسلحة. وصورة حروب أخرى وقعت بين افرانسا والنجليز والألمان وغيرهما من الدول بحيث لو استوعب طالب التاريخ جميع الغرف وتتبع ما فيها من صور تلك الحروب فلا يخرج من هذا القصر الهائل إلا وقد قرأ تاريخ افرانسا تفصيلاً وعاين جلّ وأهم وقائعه. وفي ذلك من

history that preserves and demonstrates what they had achieved in power and authority. For I have seen in a room the picture of Prince Abdul Qadir al-Jazairi and with him, his son and his mother begging a French officer, or Napoleon III, for his freedom, which France has promised him when he surrendered his weapons. They had imprisoned him afterwards in France, the mother had lowered her head to kiss the hand of an officer while pleading for his mercy, and I think that this picture is just a fantasy and not factual reality, and God knows best. This picture was in the Palace of St. Germain, near that picture is the picture of the French entering the encampment of the Caliph Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdel Rahman Ben Hisham in the battle of the Valley of Isli, near Oujda, which is a famous battle. There was the painting of the umbrella of the Caliph carried by a French soldier while the rest of the soldiers were surrounding the tent of the mentioned Caliph and seizing some women as they were handing over what they had of equipment and weapons. In addition, there were other the images of other battles that occurred between France, England and the Germans and other countries to the extent that if the history student grasped everything in all the rooms and discerned the paintings of all those wars, he would walk out of this huge palace as someone who studied the French history extensively and observed most of the major events and

battles. And in this there are obvious scientific benefits.

الفوائد العلمية ما لا يخفى.

We saw there in a private chamber the table on which the German parliamentarians signed the last peace treaty on June 28, 1919 at the St. Germain Palace. They made it a memorial and a preserved artefact. Once we left the palace, we toured in its beautiful garden, an area of square Farsakh,[23] and the many large ponds of water as though it was a lake! Moreover, they made water gush out from its fountain and it shoting upwards in a strange fashion. This is done by means of electricity. They spend the days they send water through them thirty thousand francs. In addition to that there are numerous types of beautiful trees and plants! It has a place for royal music in its circle pillars of high-quality marble. The place is in the shape of a circle with stairs where music teachers sit in the manner of a European entertainment house.

ورأينا هناك في بيت خاص المائدة التي أمضى عليها النواب الألمانيون عقد الصلح الأخير بتاريخ 28 يونيو 1919 في قصر سان جرمان جعلوها هناك تذكاراً وأثراً محفوظاً. ولما خرجنا من القصرتطوّفنا في حديقته البديعة التي تبلغ مساحتها عشرين فرسخاً، وما فيها من بركات الماء الوسيعة التي كأنها بحيرة وقد أطلقوا الماء فصار يعلو في فواراته بكيفيّات غريبة وذلك بعمل الكهرباء ينفقون في اليوم الذي يرسلون له الماء ثلاثين ألف فرنك، وما هناك من أنواع الشجر والنبات اللطيف. وفيها محل للموسيقى الملوكية بدائرته سواري من الرخام الرفيع المنوّع: والمحل على صورة دائرة بها درج يجلس عليها المعلمون الموسيقيون كهيئة ملهى أوروبي

There is in this palace extraordinary wonders what would require many papers to describe that would tire the listener and the reader. In conclusion, it is of exceptional largeness, luxuriousness, ornamentation, engraving, paintings, and fine arts, as though it is a school for these arts. In the palace, there is a church which is one of most wonderful churches. It was reserved for the King, where he used to pray on Sundays and holydays. The church was still in its original state with the chairs and everything that

وفي هذا القصر من العجائب ما يستغرق وصفه أوراقاً يملها السامع والمطالع. وحاصل القول إنه غاية في الضخامة والفخامة والزخرفة والنقش والتصوير والفنون الجميلة، فكأنه مدرسة لهذه الفنون. وفي القصر كنيسة من أعجب الكنائس كانت للملك خاصّة يصلي بها يوم الأحد وفي الأعياد، لا زالت على هيأتها بكراسيها وجميع ما

[23] Ancient method of measure approximately three miles.

used to was in it. There is also a nightclub where it is said that 100,000 francs was spent a night.

كان فيها. وفيه أيضاً ملهى يقال إنه كان ينفق عليه في الليلة مائة ألف فرنك.

DESCRIPTION OF OPERA HOUSE

وصف ملهى الأوبرا

In the evening, we were invited to attend a play at the world famous Opera House, which is close to our residence. Some members attended it and I was among them. As for the play which was enacted and its benefits, it didn't suit our taste or profit us at all because of our ignorance of the language, and it didn't agree with what was familiar to us or with our actions, so that General Mauria, the Governor of Rabat, who accompanied our delegation and was in charge of it, said me: "the spectators applaud at the end of the play, it would be appropriate for you to applaud, too." So we complied and I was applauding without understanding anything; I applauded without knowing what I appreciated, just because applauding was for them a proof of approval. I was like a hired weeper she provokes crying but didn't cry herself. Yes, this place of entertainment is the most wonderful and luxurious in the world.

وفي الليل استدعونا لحضور تمثيل رواية مهمة في ملهى الأوبرا الشهير في العالم، الذي هو بقرب منزلنا. فحضرها بعض الأعضاء وكنت من جملتهم. أما الرواية التي مثلت، وما فيها من الفوائد، فذلك شيء ليس هو ذوقنا بل لا نستفيد منه شيئاً لعدم معرفتنا بلغة أهله وعدم ملاءمته لمألوفاتنا وحركاتنا حتى إن الجنرال موريال، حاكم الرباط، الذي كان مرافقاً لوفدنا ومكلفاً بشؤونه قال لي: إن الناس يصفقون عند تمام الرواية فمن المناسب أن تصفقوا. فامتثلنا وكنت أصفق من غير أن أفهم لأي شيء صفقت ولا أدري ما استحسنت، لأن التصفيق دليل الاستحسان عندهم. فكنت كنائحة مأجورة تتفعل البكاء وليست باكية. نعم إن الملهى المذكور من أعجب ملاهي العالم وأفخمها.

We went to the area where the actors hide with their equipment, and on this occasion, they were nearly two hundred. As for the spectators, the opera theatre accommodates a huge number. The dome above the spectators is magnificent and its gates unrivalled. This is also the case for the

وقد دخلنا للمحل الذي يكون فيه الممثلون مختبئين والآلات التي تكون معهم، فكانوا في تلك الليلة ينيفون على المائتين. وأما المتفرجون، فإن الملهى يسع منهم عدداً كبيراً، والقبة التي يجلس

saloon where they retire for rest.

It is enough to glorify this opera house by mentioning the fact that it cost the state thirty million francs. Inside it and on the stairs are images of actors and playwrights. For them, it is an important science and people involved in it are famous although the play may purely be fiction, like the *Maqamat of Al Hariri*,[24] but they perform it for useful moral purposes and edification. A play can represent love, another chastity, virtue, generosity, or courage, and, therefore, the theatre has the role of refining morals for those who know the language and are acquainted with French customs and European morality.

However, the critic has the right to criticize things which conflict with high morals, such as speaking in vulgar words. A spectator may come with his brother or his son or his father. There is in it what excites the sensuality of the soul and leads it to commit immoral acts. And if it avoids such things, it would have been the best of moral schools, but "all the people knew whence to drink."[25] In any case, I believe in the import implied in it, but neither advocate it nor see any equivalent of it in Islamic law, nor in the Arab taste. People with jealousy and virtue criticize it as they criticize debauchery and extravagance, which they consider to be the

بها المتفرجون آية في بابها عز أن يكون لها نظير من نوعها، كذلك الصالون الذي يخرجون للاستراحة فيه.

ويكفيك إجلالاً في وصف هذا الملهى أنه تكلف على الدولة بثلاثين مليوناً من الإفرنك، وفي درجه وداخله صور رجال التمثيل والتأليف في فن الروايات، وهو عندهم علم مهم ولرجاله شهرة وإن كانت الرواية لا حقيقة لها ك (مقامات الحريري) ولكن يأتون بها لمقاصد مهمة أخلاقية تهذيبية. فرواية يمثلون فيها العشق، وأخرى يمثلون فيها العفة، وأخرى الفضيلة، وأخرى الكرم، وأخرى الشجاعة فيكون ذلك تكفيلاً لمحاسن الأخلاق يفهمه من يعرف اللغة ومارس العوائد الفرنساوية والأخلاق الأوروبية.

إلا أن المنتقد له أن ينتقد أموراً هناك لا تناسب الأخلاق العالية، كالتكلم بكلمات بذيئة سفيهة، والرجل هناك يحضر ومعه أخوه وولده ووالده، وفيه ما يهيج شبق النفس للخنا وارتكاب الفواحش وغيرها. فلو خلا عن هذه الأمور، لكان من أحسن المدارس التهذيبية ولكن [قد علم كل

[24] *Maqamat of Al Hariri* is a collection of 50 tales in verse and prose in the second half of the 10th century, relating the adventures of trickster called Abu Zayd of Saruj. It was translated into English as the *Assemblies of Hariri* by F. Steingass in 1898.

[25] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "Al Baqara," verse, 60. Asad's translation.

result of excessive luxury, absolute freedom, and non-adherence to the precepts of religion, especially the women. They have removed the badge of modesty and adorned themselves in a way that can be compared only to the copulation of beasts on the open roads. To this extent, they have arrived or come closerto it. They have already openly performed its initial stages. This is something that has spoilt morality and is not appreciated by tastes. It is advocated neither by customs, reason or religion. Add to this, the extravagance in luxury and exorbitance, showing off of wealth, and pride in the money which leads to its squandering. Whenever a new fashion is worn by the wife of so-and-so, the previous fashion is discarded and all the money is wasted in vain. Entertainment and dancing venues are the spaces for the exhibition of fashion and the fertilization of this malady. This is normal in spending and luxury. Each nation whose opulence increases, its spending increases too. Verily, God has created people with a purpose. In conclusion, they have excelled in everything, and have reached the pinnacle in urbanization and well-being.

The next day, the Department of Science and Knowledge presented me with the entry ticket to the Opera House Domain, which was in the second class after the first one. In it was played an important spectacle which I attended. I was given the private box of the Minister of Culture. I sat there

أناس مشربهم]. وعلى كل حال آمنت بالسر الذي فيه ولا أقول به ولا أرى وجهاً له في الشرع الإسلامي ولا في الذوق العربي وكأني بأهل الغيرة والعفة منهم منتقدون لذلك معنا كما ينتقدون كثرة التهتك والبذخ. وتلك نتيجة الرفه الزائد، والحرية المطلقة، وعدم التمسك بأهداب الدين ولا سيما النساء: فقد خلعن ربقة الحياء وتبرجن تبرجاً لا يتصور فوقه إلا سفاد الحيوانات في الطرق جهاراً. إلى هذا الحد وصلوا أو قربوا منه، ِفعلوا مقدماته جهراً. فهذا شيء أفسد الأخلاق ولا تستحسنه الأذواق، ولا يقول به طبع ولا عقل ولا شرع. زد على هذا كثرة البذخ والترف والتظاهر بالغنى، والفخر بالمال المؤدي إلى إضاعته. وكلما ظهر زي لبسته فلانة زوجة فلان إلا وترى ما قبله من الأزياء ترك وحبط عمله وذهب ماله هباء، والملاهي والمراقص هي محل استعراض الأزياء وتلقيح هذا الداء، وهذا شي طبيعي في التموّل والترف. كل أمة زاد ترفها إلا وزاد سرفها، ولله في خلقه شؤون. حاصله تفننوا في كل شيء شيء، وبلغوا النهاية في التمدن والرفاهية.

ومن الغد وجهت لي إدارة العلوم والمعارف أوراق الدخول لملهى أوبرا دومين وهو في الدرجة الثانية بعد هذا الملهى وكانت تمثل فيه رواية مهمة فحضرتها. وأعطوني بيت وزير

together with my companions, unlike in the Opera where I sat with the rest of the people, but in the first class.

This second opera house was like the first in shape and form and what was said about the first applies to the second, but it was smaller.

المعارف هناك خصوصاً فجلست فيه مع من ذهب معي، بخلاف الملهى السابق: فقد كان الجلوس مع عموم الناس، ولكن في الدرجة الأولى.

وهذا الملهى الثاني هو مماثل للأول في الشكل والهيئة. فما قيل في الأول يقال في الثاني إلا أن هذا أصغر منه.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GREAT LIBRARY IN PARIS

At my request, the Ministry of Education issued me an admission ticket to visit the worldwide famous French library, called the National Library. Thus, I went there with some members of the delegation who have fondness for books. And so we entered it and saw all sorts of amazing things. How could one not be astonished at the sight of close to three million printed books and about one hundred thousand manuscripts? They said the number is greater than that!

And this library was originally the residence of the Prime Minister of the King Louis XIV, afore-mentioned. It is of immense greatness and vastness. Don't assume when you hear the word the house of the Minister that it is like the house of Minister Ahmed ben Musa in Fez or Meknes or Marrakech. Nay, even if you put all these three houses together biside this house you wouldn't do it justice because its domes and edifices have no parallel in the three houses. Even the chairs for the readers have no

وصف خزانة الكتب الكبرى بباريز

ووجهت لي وزارة المعارف أيضاً ورقة الدخول إلى خزانة الكتب الفرنساوية الشهيرة في العالم المسماة بخزانة الأمة، وذلك بطلب مني، فذهبت إليها ومعي بعض أعضاء الوفد ممن لهم ولوع بالكتب. فدخلناها ورأينا ما يدهش من هذا النوع، ,كيف لا يدهش الإنسان إذا رأى ما ينيف على ثلاثة ملايين من الكتب المطبعية وما أناف عن مائة ألف كتاب خطية، وقالوا: إن العدد أكبر من ذلك؟!

وهذه الخزانة هي في الأصل دار للوزير الأكبر للملك لويز الرابع عشر المتقدم، وهي آية في الاتساع والضخامة. ولا يسبق إلى وهمك إذا سمعت لفظ دار الوزير أنها كدار الوزير أحمد ابن موسى في فاس أو مكناس أو مراكش، بل لو جمعت جميع هذه الديار الثلاث في مقابلتها ما

وفيتها حقها لأن القباب والصروح هنا لا يوجد لها مثيل في الدور الثلاث، بل المقاعد التي جعلت للمطالعين لا يوجد لها نظير عندنا في المغرب، وكان ابتداء تاريخ هذه المكتبة قديماً منذ ما ينيف عن ستمائة سنة، قبل بناء الدار المذكورة التي لها من العمر نحو 250 سنة.

وقد دخلنا إلى أحد البيوت التي جعلت فيها الكتب فإذا هو على خمس طبقات، كل طبقة مملوءة بالكتب من الأرض إلى السقف، ويصعد بالدرج لتناول الكتب العالية في كل طبقة. فسألت عن طول البيت فقالوا: مائة وثلاثة وثمانون متر. كان البيت على هذا الطول وما يناسبه من العرض وعلو السقف. لكن لما كان السقف شاهقاً أحدثوا داخله خمس طبقات، فتلك الطبقات شبكات حديد. فإذا كنت في السفلى ترى العليا وبالعكس، وجعلت شبكات ليدخل الضوء والهواء من كل واحدة للأخرى. وقد جعلوا الطبقة السفلى لكتب العلوم الدينية، والتي فوقها للتاريخ وهكذا.

وقد دخلنا لغرفة فقالوا: هذه فيها الكتب التي ألفها علماء أمريكا، وهي تعدل بمكتبة القرويين ومراكش معاً إلا أنها مطبعية. فقلت في نفسي: هذه أمة جاءت في الزمن الأخير ألف علماؤها هذا العدد من الكتب وما استقلت إلا منذ نحو مائة وخمسين سنة.

equivalent in Morocco. This library dates back to approximately six hundred years ago, earlier than the building of the aforementioned house which is more than 250 years old.

We entered one of the rooms where the books are kept and found it to contain five shelves, each shelf filled with books from the floor to the ceiling, and the higher books in each shelve are reached by means of a ladder. I asked about the length of the building and they answered: One hundred and eighty-three meters. The house is thus long and had a corresponding width and height of the ceiling. But, since the roof was high, they made in it five floors, and the floors have iron railings so that if you are on the lower floor you can see the upper one and vice versa. If you are at the bottom you see the upper and vice versa. They put nets for light and air to enter from each one to the other. They devoted the lowest floor for religious books, the one above for history and so on.

We entered a room that, they said, contained books written by American scholars. Their number equals both Al Quarawiyine Library and Marrakech Library combined, all printed books. I said to myself: This nation came about in the recent time and its scholars have written this amount of books, while they have achieved independence only about one hundred and fifty years.

Indeed, how great are the achievements of humans when they live in a pure atmosphere, inhaling the air of absolute

freedom and feeding on the essence of knowledge and refinement? I wonder what have Muslim scholars composed during this period?!

The languages in which the books in this library are written amount to fifty-two languages. Then we entered another room and told us: this is for the art of music. So, let you cogitate!

We requested to enter the manuscript room in the hope of seeing a book in Arabic, because all these books were in other languages, apart from a few. And so they made us wait while they opened it and we entered a room which was a collection of amazing pictures, both Chinese and Turkish. We saw books which had pictures of Ottoman kings and each king had a biography in the Turkish language containing the history of his life and his achievements. There were also other books written in Chinese script. They said the number of pictures in this library is two and a half million. We have seen several maps of the earth in general and others more specific, some of which are by Arab scholars, such as the people of Andalusia, others by Greeks and other nations. But my companions were greatly bored and tired with the great amount of what they saw and wanted to leave. So, I said to them:

Haven't you asked to see the manuscripts and we are waiting for the arrival of the person in charge of them? You do amaze me: no boredom occurred to he who composed, or wrote, printed, bound books, preserved, built, shelved, or

فما أعظم مدارك البشر إذا كان عائشاً في جو صافٍ يستنشق فيه هواء الحرية المطلق ويتغذى بلبان العلم والتهذيب. ليت شعري، ماذا ألفه علماء المسلمين في هذه المدة؟!

وإن اللغات الموجودة كتبها في هذه الخزانة تبلغ اثنين وخمسين لغة. وقد دخلنا لغرفة أخرى فقيل: هذه لعلم الموسيقى، فتأمل!

وطلبنا الدخول لبيت الكتب الخطية لعلنا نرى هناك كتاباً عربي الخط، لأن هذه الكتب كلها باللغات الأخرى، إلا قليلاً، فأمهلونا ريثما فتحت وأدخلونا لبيت فيها مجموعة تصاوير عجيبة، صينية وتركية. ورأينا كتاباً فيه صور ملوك العثمانيين وكل ملك مترجم بتاريخ حياته وأيامه مذكور هناك أعماله، وهو بالتركي. وهناك كتب أخرى بالخط الصيني. قالوا إن عدد الصور في هذه الخزانة يبلغ مليونين ونصفاً. وقد رأينا عدة خرائط للأرض عموماً ولبعض المسالك خصوصاً: منها ما هو لعلماء العرب، كأهل الأندلس، ومنها هو لليونان وغيرهم. ثم إن رفقائي ملوا كثيراً وضجروا من كثرة ما رأوا، وأرادوا الخروج فقلت لهم:

ألستم طلبتم رؤية الكتب الخطية فنحن ننتظر وصول المكلف بها؟ عجباً لكم: ما حصل ملل لمن

catalogued, nor to those who are showing us and explaining to us! Verily, there is no hope in the advancement of he who is afflicted with the malady of boredom, for boredom is our greatest calamity and one the causes of our backwardness and the progress of other nations. Verily, we are incompetent. Had you been in an entertainment place, you wouldn't have been bored.

When we entered the room of manuscripts, we saw many of them. We asked for the catalogue, and they brought one of the volumes of catalogues. And while we were looking at the index with the purpose of finding unknown Arabic books, my comrades went away saying that they were invited to have dinner with a dear friend. Thus, I stayed there searching and came across a bulky copy of the noble Quran written on gazelle skin in Koufi calligraphy without vowels or dots, apparently a copy from the early period before the insertion of vowels and dots. There was in it some damage because of decay, which was repaired. It was said that Napoleon I found it in Egypt and brought it from there. And I also discovered there an amazing ancient copy of the Quran during my fourth journey to France with the Sharefian entourage in August 1931, Rabia Athani.[26] This copy of the Quran is written on exquisitely fine paper, the length of

ألف، أو كتب، أو طبع، أو سفر، أو ادخر، أو بنى، أو رصف، أو جنس ولا لمن يرينا ويطلعنا! فلا أمل في ارتقاء من به داء الملل، فالملل آفتنا العظمى وسبب من أسباب تأخرنا وتقدم غيرنا، إنا إذا لمن العاجزين. ولو كنتم في ملهى ما مللتم.

ولما دخلنا بيت الكتب الخطية رأينا هناك كثيرة منها، وطلبت فهرستها، فأتوا بسفر من جملة أسفار الفهرس. فبينما نحن ننظر بالفهرسة لنعثر على ما فيه الغرض من الكتب العربية الغريبة وإذا بالرفاق توجهوا لحالهم ذاكرين أن الهم وعدا مع حبيب استدعاهم للإفطار وتوجهوا وبقي أنظر هناك، فعثرت على مصحف كريم عظيم الجرم مكتوب في رق الغزال بخط كوفي لا نقط فيه ولا شكل، يظهر أنه من مصاحف الصدر الأول قبل حدوث الشكل والنقط وفيه بعض البتر تلاشي الزق رفد أصلحوا الرق. قيل إن نابليون الأول عثر عليه في مصر وأتى به من هناك. ووقف على مصحف قديم عجيب هناك أيضا، وذلك في سفرتي الرابعة إلى أفرانسا صحبة الركاب الشريف في غشت سنة 1931، ربيع الثاني. هذا المصحف مكتوب في رقي راقي عجيب : طول الورقة نحو 18 سنطيم

[26] In early August 1931, Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef travelled to France to visit the International Colonial Exposition in Paris. He was accompanied by a large retinue, including Mohamed al Hajwi. This visit is discussed in Jonathan Wyrtzen's *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016), pp. 62-92.

وعرضها نحو 7. خطه كوفى قديم بدون شكل، نعم به بعض النقط ولون المداد أسود، والخط رقيق متقن، وسفره من جلد أحمر مذهب بتذهيب رفيع الصنعة، مكتوب في آخر ورقة منه ما نصه بالحرف الواحد: كتب برسم أمير المومنين خلد الله ملكه الخليفة هارون الرشيد صلى الله عليه وعلى آبائه الطاهرين في رمضان سنة اثنتين وثمانين ومائة». .

وإني أرى أن هذا أنفس أثر عربي هناك ، والصلاة على عموم الأمة جائزة استقلالا على القول الصحيح، ومنه قول الإمام الزمخشري يمدح كتاب سيبويه : (وافر)

ألا صلى الإله صلاة صدق
على عمرو بن عثمان بن قنبز
فإن كتابه لم يغن عنه
بنو قلم ولا أبناء منبر.

وإذا كان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يصلي على من أدى دريهمات زكاة واجبة عليه حيث أمره الله بقوله "وصل عليهم" ، فصلى عليهم وقال : اللهم صل على آل أبي أوفي ، كما في أصح

which is about 18 cm and its width about 7. Its script was in ancient Koufi, without vowels. It had some dots, of black ink colour, the handwriting fine and perfect, and it is binding in red leather, gilded in a fine golden finish. On its last page the following text is written verbatim: "Written by order of the Emir of the Believers, may God perpetuate his reign, the Caliph Haroun al-Rasheed, peace and blessings of God be upon him, and his righteous fathers, in Ramadaan in the year 182."

I believe that this is the most valuable of Arab relics there. Prayer be on the nation that states the truth. We recall one of the sayings of Imam al-Zamakhshari in praise of a book by Sibawayh:

May the true pray of God
Be on Amr bin Othman bin Qanbaz
His book still indespensible to
To the Banu Qalam and Banu Manbir.[27]

The Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, used to pray for the one who gave a few dirhams in obligatory zakat, since God has ordered him saying, "and pray for them."[28] So, he prayed for them saying, "Oh God, pray generously upon my father, as in the most correct *Sahih*. Shouldn't we then in the first place pray on he who authored a book which would benefit all

[27] Lines from Sibawayh.

[28] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "At Tawba," verse, 103. Asad's translation.

الصحيح، فلأن نصلي على من ألف كتابا ينتفع به عموم المسلمين من باب أولى. وقد قال الله تعالى : وهو الذي يصلي عليكم وملائكنه ليخرجكم من الظلمات إلى النور ، وقال الله تعالى : وبشر الصابرين الذين إذا أصابتهم مصيبة قالوا إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، أولئك عليهم صلوات من ربهم » (الآية)، وما بعد القرآن والسنة لقائل قول.

ثم عثرت على مجموعة فيها عدة كتب للإمام الأسيوطي ، نحو 20، في مسائل حديثية وفقهية وغيرها. فمن جملتها كتاب له في النسب الجعفري الذي ينتسب إليه ثعالبنا وتنتسب إليه العائلة الناصرية وغيرهم، وانفصل على أنهم أشراف صرحاء تحرم عليهم الزكاة لكونهما من ذرية جعفر بن أبي طالب الهاشميين فحكم لهم بحكم الأشراف. ونقل عن الحافظ ابن حجر وغيره أن تخصيص الشرف بأولاد الحسن والحسين اصطلاح أحدثه الفاطميون في المائة السادسة فقط، كما أنه انفصل على أنه لا يقال فيهم أبناء الرسول، بخلاف أولاد الحسن والحسين، وإن كانوا أولاد زينب أخت الحسين، ولكن لا يقال فيهم أولاد رسول الله، لأن نسبة أولاد البنت إنما هي لأبيهم لا لأمهم، والخصوصية وردت لأولاد فاطمة فتقتصر

Muslims. Allah says: "He it is who bestows His blessings upon you, with His angels, so that He might take you out of the depths of darkness into the light."[29] And God says "Give glad tidings unto those who are patient in adversity who, when calamity befalls them, say, 'Verily, unto God do we belong and, verily, unto Him we shall return'".[30] And there is no saying after the Koran and Sunna.

Then I came cross a collection containing several books of the Imam al-Assiuti, about 20, on matters of Hadith, Fiqh and other issues. Among them was a book on the lineage of al Jaafari, to which our Thaalib belongs as does the Nasiri family and others. The book concludes that they are pure Shurafa, forbidden to receive zakat being descendants of Jaafar bin Abi Talib Hashimin and thus they were governed by the rules applying to the Shurafa. Al-Haafiz Ibn Hajar and others reported that the allocation of honour to the children of al-Hasan and al-Husayn is a term coined by the Fatimids only in the sixth century. He also concludes that they are not referred to as the sons of the Prophet, unlike the children of al Hasan and al Husayn. Even if they are the children of Zineb, the sister of al-Husayn, they are still not referred to as the sons of the Prophet, because a lineage is to the father, not the mother. And the exception has been granted to the children of Fatima, and it is limited to her children, al Hasan and

[29] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "Al Ahzab", verse, 43. Asad's translation.

[30] *The Qur'an*, Chapter "Al Baqara," verses, 155-156. Asad's translation.

al Husayn, based on the fact that the lineage from the mother does not extend further. So he said, and it is the opinion to be relied on in the matter.

And he says in another book of his about the innovation of using *mihrabs* in mosques, saying: "The Maharib was created in the first two hundred, and, peace be upon him, did not pray on the *mihrab*, nor did Abu Bakr, Omar, Othman, or Ali. He said: As for the verse: "Whenever Zachariah visited her in the sanctuary,"[31] it was in their rulings, and there was no evidence in our jurisprudence as evidenced in some Hadeeths advising against their use, but that does not mean prohibition. And there was another book on other nice and curious subjects. However, I did not have time to peruse them. I did have the intention to return to copy some of what could be copied as the opportunity of reading there was limitless. There were many chairs, writing tables, writing materials, ink and pens. The library is open every day, mornings and afternoons, except Sundays and holidays.

And while I was looking at those works the servant said that my companions entered the house of old things from the antiquities of the ancient countries, and asked whether I wanted to join them. He returned and I went and found them and so my statement was confirmed: had you been in a place of entertainment, you would not have been bored. And I realized that contemplating curious things relieved

على محلها وهو الحسن والحسين بناء على أن الشرف من قبل الأم لا يتعدى. قال وهو القول الذي عليه المعول من قولين في المسألة.

وله هناك تأليف أخر في بدعة إحداث المحاريب بالمساجد قائلا : إن المحاريب إنما أحدثت في أول المائة الثانية ، وما صلي عليه السلام في محراب هو ولا أبو بكر ولا عمر ولا عثمان ولا على. قال : وأما قوله تعالى : وكلما دخل عليها زكرياء المحراب، فذلك كان في شرعهم ولم يكن في شرعنا بدليل ورود أحاديث تتضمن النهي عن إحدائها، لكن اليس هي تحريم؛ وقد أورد تلك الأحاديث. وهناك تأليف أخرى في مسائل لطيفة غريبة لم يسع الوقت لاستقصائها، وكنت على نية العود لأنقل بعض ما يمكن كتبه إذ عمل المطالعة هناك وسيع، به كراسي كثيرة وموائد الكتابة وموادها والحبر والأقلام. وتفتح الخزانة كل يوم عدا يوم الأحد والأعياد صباحا ومساء.

وبينما أنا أنظر في تلك المؤلفات وإذا بالخادم يقول إن الرفقاء دخلوا بيت الأمور القديمة من آثار الدول البائدة، إن شئت نظرتها معهم، ورجع

[31] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "Al Imran," verse, 37. Asad's translation.

boredom. I saw there many ancient Roman coins. They were similar to the current European coins in roundness and the perfection of their production. Its history dates back to before Islam. Yes, it is different from the currently used coins in terms of pictures of kings. The Romans used to make it protrude and stand out so that through touch its high protrusion is distinguished from the base level of the coin. That is due to the accuracy and mastery of the craft. And I was surprised by the coins of the ancient Muslims that did not follow the Roman tradition in perfecting the craft in rounding the coins, but I was not surprised about the image engraving because it is not part of our Sharia, even though some of the Muslim kings did so as protection from forgery. I saw there the coin of Abd al-Rahman al-Addakhil al-Andalusi, the first of the Umayad kings in the early third century. I also saw there, many coins from India and China and ancient medals from the middle ages. There are Chinese utensils and jewellery in various shapes from remote countries. They were so ancient that if a person had the time to record what he saw of valuable books and the remnant artefacts, he would come up with wonderful wonders that would benefit historians greatly, as for common people, it would entertain their thoughts and ease off their exertion.

I have visited several important places in this beautiful city that the pen falls short of describing. And, in fact, they were described by visitors before me. Thus, let us

فذهبت ووجدتهم فعلم صدق قولي لو كنتم في ملهى ما مللتم، وعلمت أن رؤية الأمور الغربية ذهب الملل. فنظرت هناك كثيرة من السكك القديمة الرومانية وهي مثل السكك الأوربية الموجودة الآن في تدويرها وإتقان صنعها، تاريخها قديم قبل الإسلام، نعم فيها مغايرة لما في السكك الوقتية من حيث صور الملوك، فإن الرومان كانوا يجعلونها بارزة ناتئة بحيث بلمس جرمها المرتفع عن مستوى الدينار وذلك من دقة الصنع والإتقان في العمل. وعجبت لسكة قدماء المسلمين لم تكن على تقليد سكك الرومان في إتقان الصنعة والتدوير لا في التصوير لأنه ليس من شرعنا ؛ وإن تبت أن بعض ملوك الإسلام فعله أمنة من التزوير، ورأيت هناك سكة عبد الرحمن الداخل الأندلس، أول ملوك بني أمية في أوائل القرن الثالث. ورأيت هناك كثيرة من نقود الهند والصين والأوسمة القديمة التي كانت في القرون المتوسطة. وهناك أوان صينية وحلى مختلف الأشكال، من بلدان شاسعة، | قديم بحيث لو كان للإنسان وقت يقيد ما رأي هناك من نفائس الكتب والعاديات من الآثار لأتي بغرائب الغرائب يستفيد منها المؤرخ الفوائد العظيمة، أما بسطاء الناس، فتستجم أفكارهم ويزول بذلك عناؤهم.

ولقد زرت في هذه المدينة الجميلة عدة

restrict ourselves to references and names to inspire anyone who chances to visit them. They include the Louvre Palace, the Palace of Trocadéro, and the Palace of the Elysee, which is the residence of the President of the Republic, the last one I have visited in an official visit with the members of the delegation, as well as the Ministry of War and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. We explored these three places only in the manner an official visitor sees the spot under his feet and available to his sight so that the pen is unable to describe. I also visited alone the Ministry of Knowledge and Sciences and the Palace of the House of Representatives and this is because they were on the bank of the Seine River, and also the Palace of the nobility, called Luxembourg, on the other bank. I also visited the Palace of the Municipality and many other important locations, all of which are magnificent lofty palaces that the pen is unable to encompass and describe in a short time during which we were restricted by official restraints.

مواضع مهمة يقصر القلم عن وصف ما بها، وقد وصفه الزائرون قبلي. فلنقتصر على الإشارة والأسماء | التشويق من بصل إليها أن يزورها، فمنها قصر اللوفر ، وقصر التروكاديرود، وقصر الإيليزي الذي هو مقر رئيس الجمهورية، وهذا | زرته زيارة رسمية مع أعضاء الوفد كما يأتي التنبيه عليه ، وكذلك وزارة الحربية ووزارة الخارجية، فهذه مواضع ثلاث لم نستوعبها إلا كما يستوعب الزائر الرسمي مواضع قدمه ومواقع بصره، فلم يتسع القلم في وصفها، وكذلك زرت وحدي وزارة العلوم والمعارف وقصر مجلس النواب، وهذه لأنها على ضفة نهر لاسين، وقصر الأعيان المسمي لوكسمبورغ في الضفة الأخرى، كما زرت قصر البلدية ومواضيع أخرى مهمة، وكلها نصور عظيمة فخيمة لا يستوعب القلم وصفها في وقت قصير كنا مقيدين فيها بالقيود الرسمية.

DESCRIPTION OF BOULOGNE FOREST

One of the places that I relish seeing and feasting my eyes on its beauties was the famous Boulogne Forest. It was a vast artificial forest, containing 873 hectares of mostly flat land, where roads were constructed for vehicles connecting every area of the forest. In each one of its sections

وصف غابة بولون

ومن المواضع التي كنت استلذ رؤيتها وتمتيع الطرف في محاسنها غابة بولون الشهيرة، فإنها غابة صناعية متّسعة الأرجاء فيها 873 هكتار من أرض بسيطة تقريباً خططت فيها طرق

صناعية تسير فيها العجلات منسقة لكل ناحية من نواحي الغاب. وكل قسم منها منتزه من المنتزهات التي هي أحسن ما تستلذه العين في هذه الدار الفانية: نوّعوها بأنواع الشجر الجميل المنظر الخالي عن الطعم، ,نسقوه تنسيقاً بديعاً وهذبوه وقوموا معوجه، وربوه تربية بحيث لا ترى فيه ما لا تستلذه الأنظار. وقد جلبوا إليها ترعة نهر صناعية تنساب فيها انسياب الأفعوان في أرض خضراء متهدلة الأفنان فكانت أحسن ما أنت ناظر. وفي كل وقت أتيت هذه الغابة وجدتها تسرح فيها غزلان الإنس، وترتع فيها صواحب الألبسة الجميلة والمراكب الفارهة والجمال الفاتن. والهدوء والسكون سائد على كل من هناك، وترع النهر تمرح فيها زوارق الوصال وأرضها يخيل لك أنها تجاوب حيواناتها الناطقة وغير الناطقة. وبالجملة جمعت جميع المحاسن، فلا يرى فيها إلا مفتون أو فاتن، وهي من الجهة الشرقية من باريز: إذا مررت على قوس النصر وخرجت من المدينة، دخلت فيها.

وكانت تعجبني فيها قهوتان: إحداهما في مبدئها من جهة باريز، بها من التحف واللطائف ومحل الموسيقى مع جمال المنظر ما يستحسنه كل ذي ذوق، والأخرى متوغلة في وسط الغابة على منبع من الماء يخرج من حجر هناك عالٍ له خرير. فكانت الأولى تعجبني ليلاً لما فيها من الزخرفة والأضواء بين الشجر وفوق زرابي

is a park, the best of sights that the eye cherishes in this ephemeral dwelling. It is planted with many kinds of beautiful fruitless trees, arranged in gorgeous designs. They trimmed and fixed the deficiencies and cared for them in such a way that one sees nothing but what pleases the eye. They brought to it an artificial river winding serpentinely through a verdant land and overarching branches so that it is the best of sights. Each time I came to this forest, I found human gazelles strolling and smartly-dressed people, gorgeous carriages, and seductive beauties promenading. Calmness and tranquillity prevail over everyone there, while pleasure boats revel in the river canal and you imagine that the land converses with mute and talking animals. All in all, it has gathered all that is beautiful, so you see there none but the fascinating and the fascinated. It is in the east side of Paris. If you leave the city by passing through the Arc de Triomphe, you enter it.

I liked two cafés there. One of them was located at the entrance coming from the direction of Paris. There were artefacts in it, means of entertainment, and a place for music in addition to the beauty of the scenery appreciated by anyone with refined taste. The other is deep inside the forest on a spring of purling water flowing out of high rocks. I liked the first one at night because of the decorations and lighting among the trees and above the green carpets, and the second in the afternoon when the mind is bored from the fetters and the ears from

hearing the frenzy of the transportation vehicles that sounded like thunder. Here everything vanished and I found myself in solitary excursion, tranquillity of thought and peace of mind.

الربيع، والثانية نهاراً وقت الظهيرة. فكنت أقصدهما عند ملل الفكر من القيود، والأذن من سماع هوس عربات النقل كالرعود. فكان يذهب جميع ما أجده، وأجد نفسي في نزهة وخلوة وصفاء فكر وراحة بال.

THE CONCORD SQUARE

ساحة دي كونكورد

On the road to this forest, leading to Boulogne Forest I used to pass by a square unrivalled, I think, in any other country. It is the Concord square, *Place de la Concorde*, one of the prettiest parks and one of the most beautiful streets in Paris in front of the Palace of Napoleon. And if I were to describe this square and its embellishments, many white sheets would have become black with the brilliance of its beauty. They built the square in the shape of a circle, at the centre of which is the Egyptian obelisk gifted to France by Prince Mohammed Ali, the founder of the Egyptian royal family, and was installed in 1836 during the time of Louis Philippe, who established Place de la Concord. It is seventy-two feet tall, seven feet wide at the base, and five feet at the top. It is one single piece of rock with hieroglyphic inscriptions in the ancient Egyptian language made around 1550 BC. In the square, there are trees and statues that squirt water into two basins in a strange way, and there is a flower garden that has combined the most beautiful of strange flowers. It has also a road junction from all

وناهيك بطريق هذه الغابة أني كنت أمر إلى غابة بولون على ساحة ليس لها نظير في أي بلد فيما أظن، وهي ساحة لا كنكورد (بلاس دو لا كنكورد) التي هي عبارة عن منتزه من أجمل المنتزهات وممر من أجمل الطرق في داخل باريس أمام قصر نابليون. ولو أتيت على وصف هذه الساحة وما فيها من اللطائف، لسودت ورقات بمبيض جمالها. وقد جعلوا هذه الساحة على شكل دائرة، وفي مركزها مسلة مصرية أهداها لفرانسا الأمير محمد علي، مؤسس العائلة الملوكية المصرية، ونصبت في محلها سنة 1836 في زمن لويز فيليب الذي أسس بلاس دولا كنكورد: طولها اثنان وسبعون قدماً، وعرضها من أسفل سبعة أقدام، ومن أعلى خمسة أقدام. وهي حجرة واحدة فيها كتابات باللغة المصرية القديمة صنعت حوالي سنة 1550 قبل الميلاد. وفي الساحة أشجار تقذف الماء إلى حوضين على كيفية غريبة. وهناك حديقة

the neighbourhoods of the city. It can accommodate a massive army for the vastness of its courtyard. There are in it countless lanterns for lighting at night. It has two lives. One by night and another by day; it is always illuminated.

أزهار جمعت محاسن الزهر الغريب اللطيف. وفيها مجمع الطرق من جميع أحياء المدينة وتسع جيشاً عرمرماً لسعة فنائها. وفيها من الفوانيس للإضاءة ليلاً ما يعجزك عدّه، فهي ذات عمرين: ليلى ونهاري، فهي دائماً مضيئة.

CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES

الصانزليزي

From it, I pass through Champs-Élysées, which signifies “the garden of the pure.” It is a long descent, divided into two lanes. Its length to the Arc de Triomphe extends eight hundred cubits and its width of at least one hundred and sixty. It has wooden benches and chairs all along the way. Between the two lanes a road wide enough for vehicles, carriages and passengers. It is the best avenue in Paris, and if it is the best avenue in Paris, then it is the best avenue in the world. It is surrounded by rows of trees, behind which stood palaces and ornamented buildings. The avenue starts from the mentioned square and ascends from it to the Arc de Triomphe. No doubt, the stranger forgets his family, his money, and his children if he goes from this square on this avenue to the Boulogne Forest. He is in need of nothing else to entertain him save the dirhams, which in this place should be more plentiful than in others because of the high cost of everything there more than in any other place; yet, expensiveness is tolerable. Breakfast in Boulogne Forest in

ومنها أمر على طريق الصانزليزي ومعناها (روضة الأصفياء) وهي غيضة طويلة، ذات سطرين، طولها إلى حد قوس النصر أكثر من ثمانمائة ذراع وعرضها في الأقل مائة وستون. ولها مقاعد من خشب وكراسي على طول الطريق، وبين السطرين طريق واسع لسير الحوافل و العواجل والركاب. وهو أحسن شارع في باريز، وإذا كان أحسن شارع في باريز فهو أحسن شارع في الدنيا أحاطت به صفوف من الشجر وراءها قصور وأبنية مزخرفة. فمبدأه من الساحة المتقدمة، وتصعد منه إلى قوس النصر فلا شك أن الغريب ينسى أهله وماله وولده إذا ذهب من هذه الساحة على تلك الحجة إلى غابة بولون، ولا يحتاج إلى شيء آخر يسليه سوى الدراهم التي يلزم أن تكون في هذا المحل أوفر من غيره لغلاء

the best place cost us 50 francs each, without counting the tips and the trip expenses, to and back. Nevertheless, foreigners still come to this city and spend so much money to be foreigerns in it.

OFFICIAL VISITS

On Saturday 19th of July, we performed four official visits. The first was to the military hospital close Ministry of War. It is the first military hospital to be established in Paris. This is why its architecture was of no great importance. We, indeed have seen in their city what is more impressive in architecture and ornamentation, still, its significance is historical. We found the director and staff waiting for the Moroccan, Tunisian and Algerian delegations. Entering, we found a number of what remained of the wounded Africans. I noticed that most of them were injured in the face and many of them in the lower jaw. I witnessed wonders. If someone lost the skin of his lower jaw or of his cheek, they replace it with skin they cut from his head or leg smoothly so that he doesn't feel it, and bandage the place it was removed from, then they coated his face with the skin and fasten it with stitches. It heals and his face is repaired. The surgery succeeded in some cases while in others the patients died at the beginning of the operation. Still, they severed the heads they had started the

كل شيء هنا أكثر من كل محل، ولكن لا بأس بالغالي ، فإن الإفطار في غابة بولون في أحسن محل هناك أدينا فيه خمسين افرنكاً لكل واحد دون ما يعطى للخدمة ومصارف الذهاب والإياب. ومع هذا لا زالت الغرباء تقصد هذه المدينة وتصرف المصارف الكثيرة ليكونوا غرباء بها.

الزيارات الرسمية

وفي يوم السبت 19 يوليوز، زرنا أربع زيارات رسمية. الأولى، المستشفى العسكري الذي يقرب الوزارة الحربية، وهو أول مستشفى عسكري أسس في باريز. ولهذا لم يكن بناؤه كثير الأهمية: فلقد رأينا عندهم ما هو أهم بناء وزخرفة منه، لكن أهميته من حيث التاريخ. وقد وجدنا رئيسه وموظفيه في انتظار الوفد المغربي والتونسي والجزائري. وحين دخلنا، وجدنا فيه عدداً من بقية الجرحى الإفريقيين. ولاحظت أن جلهم مصاب في الوجه وأكثرهم في الفك الأسفل فيما رأيناه منهم. ولقد شاهدت عجباً: فإن من ذهبت له جلدة فكه الأسفل وحنكه عوضوها له بجلدة يقطعونها له من رأسه أو رجله بلطف، بحيث لا يشعر بها، ويضمدون محلها ثم يلزقونها له في وجهه ويرفأونها بخياطة فتلتئم ويرقع وجهه. وقد

operation on and fixed them on wood and showed them to us thus stuck in the hope we might recognize their owners. However, we did not know anyone of them, and they were about 12 heads. This is as far as human know-how has now reached.

The Moroccan delegation was charitable to those injured by donating 1,000 francs, paid equitably by the members of the delegation since each one was eager to perform charitable deeds.

After leaving that place, we headed towards the Ministry of War to visit the Prime Minister, Monsieur Clemenceau.[32] We found him awaiting us at 11 o'clock in the morning. The Moroccan delegation went first as usual as prioritized in every visit. When we went into his office, he rose up and shook the hand of each one after learning his name and rank and he seated us welcomingly, cheerfully and jovially, because of his Good manners which appeared on his face while his eyes shone with wit, wisdom and gallantry even at his old age, since he was 77 years old. He asked us about Morocco and its conditions. We told him that it was safe and sound and in a good shape. Then he said joking with us, "Do you have a complaint about General Lyautey?" The chief of the delegation replied that there was no complaint save that he had good manners and his deeds were noble. Then, he said, "I was in Algeria and I realized that reforms needed to be

نجحت هذه العملية في بعضهم، ولكن في بعض آخر بدأوها وماتوا في أثنائها ولكن قطعوا تلك الرؤوس التي بدئت عمليتها ولم تتم وألزقوها على خشب وأرونا إياها ملزقة لعلنا نعرف أصحابها. فلم نعرف واحداً منهم، وهي نحو 12 رأساً. فهذا ما وصلت إليه مدارك البشر الآن.

وقد أحسن الوفد المغربي لأولئك الجرحى بألف فرنك، دفعها بالتساوي، إذ كل واحد منهم يسابق لأعمال الخير.

وبعد خروجنا من هناك، توجهنا لوزارة الحرب لنزور رئيس الوزارة، مسيو كليمانصو، فوجدناه في انتظارنا في الساعة 11 نهاراً. فتقدم الوفد المغربي أولاً، كما هي العادة: فإنهم قدمونا في كل زيارة. وحين دخلنا عليه في مكتبه، قام وصافح كل واحد بعد أن عرف اسمه ورتبته وأجلسنا مرحباً، هاشا باشا، لما له من الأخلاق الحميدة التي تلوح على محيّاه وعيناه تتوقدان ذكاء ونباهة وشهامة على كبر سنه: فقد بلغ 77 سنة، فسألنا عن المغرب وأحواله، فأخبرناه أنه بخير وأمان وعافية فقال مداعباً لنا: هل لكم شكاية بالجنرال ليوطي؟ فأجاب الصدر إنه لا شكاية غير أنه كريم الأخلاق، كريم الفعال. فقال: (إني كنت

[32] Georges Benjamin Clemenceau was Prime Minister of France from 1906 to 1909 and again from 1917 to 1920.

في الجزائر ورأيت أنها محتاجة لإدخال الإصلاح في نظاماتها وأشرت بذلك، وهل تلك الإصلاحات تنفذ كلها) . ثم ودعنا وانصرفنا، ثم دخل الوفد التونسي يتلوه الوفد الجزائري.

introduced in its system and I did stress that, and wonder if all these reforms have been implemented?" He bid us goodbye and we departed. Then the Tunisian delegation entered, followed by the Algerian one.

زيارة وزارة الخارجية واحتفالها بالوفدين المغربي والتونسي

وفي الساعة 12 ونصف توجهنا لوزارة الخارجية لزيارة وزيرها المشهور مسيو بيشون، وتناول طعام الإفطار عنده، فوجدناه كذلك في انتظارنا فهش وبش. وبعد أن تعرّف بكل واحد وسلم عليه وقف معنا ننتظر الطعام، على العادة الأوروبية من الوقوف قبل الطعام وبعده، وهي مصلحة بدنية وإرشاد طبي يعين على إبادة ما بقي في المعدة منه لئلا يدخل طعام على طعام. وبعد الطعام يقفون أيضاً ليعين على الهضم لأن الجلوس تتعب معه المعدة في الهضم فأحرى الاضطجاع. وفي خلل الوقوف تجاذبنا أطراف الأحاديث معه ومع زوجته ومع من حضر من الذوات والأعيان الذين يبلغون الخمسين ما بين أعضاء الوفدين المغربي والتونسي (ولم يحضر الوفد الجزائري

VISIT TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND ITS CELEBRATION OF THE MOROCCAN AND THE TUNISIAN DELEGATIONS

We headed for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at 12:30, to visit its famous minister, Monsieur Pichon,[33] and to have breakfast with him. We found him waiting for us in a cheerful and jovial manner. He greeted each one after being introduced to him and stood with us waiting for the food as was the European custom of standing before and after a meal. And this is beneficial to the body and a medical advice to help digest food in the stomach so that no food enters on food. And after the meal, they stand also to help digestion because sitting tires the stomach in digestion and more so when lying down. While standing, we had conversations with him and his wife and with dignitaries and grandees, numbering fifty, including the members of the Moroccan and Tunisian delegations. The Algerian delegation did not attend since its affairs were dealt with by the Minister of the Interior and had nothing to do with the Foreign Ministry. Dignitaries from the

[33] Stephen Jean-Marie Pichon was journalist, diplomat, and statesman. He served as minister of Foreign Affairs from 1906 to 1920.

لكون النظر في شؤونه لوزير الداخلية ولا علاقة له مع الخارجية). وقد حضر أعيان من وزراء افرانسا لهم علاقة بالوفدين، كموسيو رينو الذي كان سفيراً في المغرب وعلى يده تمت حمايته، وموسيو لابتيت الذي كان مقيماً عاماً في تونس منذ أمد قريب، وموسيو دوبليتي وغيرهم من الذوات المشهورين.

وبعد تهيئة الطعام وإعلام المكلف بالمائدة بحضوره، فرق على جميع من حضر خارطة المائدة وكل كرسي مرسوم عليه عدده، وكل واحد رسم له في خريطته محل الرئيس الذي هو رب المنزل ومحل زوجته تقابله واسم صاحب البطاقة مرقوم أمام عدد كرسيه من غير أن يرسم له اسم سواه. فعند الدخول قصد كل واحد عدد كرسيه، فوجد أمامه اسمه أيضاً موضوعاً في محله. وبدئ بتفريق الطعام على العادة، فكانت مائدة جامعة لأشراف القوم وشريف الطعام.

وبعد تناول المشتهيات وتجاذب أطراف الأحاديث الشهية، كل مع من يليه، نهض وزير الخارجية وألقى خطاباً بليغاً أثنى فيه على الإفريقيين وعساكرهم وإعانتهم افرانسا والأخذ بناصرها في أحرج المواقف. ثم رحب بالوفدين

French Ministry, that had relations with both delegations, attended, like Monsieur Regnault, who was an ambassador in Morocco and through him, the Protectorate was established,[34] and Monsieur Alapetite, who was the Resident-General in Tunisia since recently,[35] and Monsieur De Peretti and other famous dignitaries.

After the food was ready and the announcement by the person in charge of the dining table of its coming, he distributed to each of the attendees the map of the dining table with a number assigned to each chair, and on each map was marked the seat of the president, who is the owner of the house, the seat of his wife, facing him, and the name of the cardholder with the number of his seat written on it without any other name but his. So, when entering, each one went to his seat number and found his name also placed on his seat. Then they started distributing the food as was their custom, and so the table gathered the noblest of the people and the finest of food.

Having eaten the delicious meals and engaging in delicious conversations, each with the person next to him, the Minister of Foreign Affairs stood up and delivered a very eloquent speech, praising the Africans, their soldiers and their support of France and siding with it in the worst of circumstances. Then he welcomed the two delegations and bid them farewell, and he drank the toast of

[34] Eugène Regnault, France Minister in Tangier, negotiated the treaty of the Protectorate with Sultan Mulay Abd al-Hafid.

[35] Gabriel Ferdinand Alapetite was Resident-General of France in Tunisia from 1906 to 1918.

the Sultan and the Bey. Then, our Minister stood up and answered thanking him, praising his country, which received us with all due honour and more. Then his speech was followed by that of the head of the Tunisian delegation. After that, we moved to the waiting room to drink coffee, which we drank mixed with great conversations and noble humour. The President and his wife came to each of the two delegations smiling and cheerfully conversing with them until it was time to leave and we left thankful for his hospitality and socialization.

I noted that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in France had a great importance, more what I saw concerning other ministries, whether in terms of construction, decoration, grandeur and splendour or in terms of furniture and decoration. How would it not be when it is the place that is visited by ambassadors from all over the world as well as the kings who come to France. No wonder its civilization and greatness and refined taste should be exhibited here. The carpets I saw spread on the floor or covering the wall in the waiting and coffee rooms have no equal other than in the palace of Louis XIV in Versailles. I saw there a carpet that it was said seventy thousand soldiers walked on it with their boots without affecting it in the least because of the excellent quality and perfect workmanship. Its colours, mostly white, blue and yellow, which easily change, were unaffected as they were still new. They are Persian carpets, I believe.

وودعهما، وشرب نخب السلطان والباي. فنهض وزيرنا وأجابه شاكراً له، مثنياً على دولته التي قابلتنا بما يجب وفوق ما يجب. ثم تلاه في الخطابة رئيس الوفد التونسي. ثم تحولنا لمحل الانتظار لشرب القهوة، فتناولناها ممزوجة بأحاديث عالية وفكاهات سامية والرئيس وزوجته يأتي عند كل واحد من الوفدين يباششه ويحادثه إلى أن حان وقت الانصراف فانصرفنا شاكرين ضيافته وأنسه.

ولاحظت أن وزارة خارجية افرانسا محل له أهمية عظمى، أكثر من كل ما رأيت من الوزارات، سواء من جهة البناء والزخرفة والضخامة والعظمة، أو من حيث الأثاث والرياش. وكيف لا وهي الموضع الذي يزوره سفراء دول المعمور قاطبة والملوك التي تقصد افرانسا. فلا ريب أن تظهر فيه مدنيتها وعظمتها ومحاسن ذوقها. ولقد رأيت في قاعة الانتظار والقهوة زرابي مفروشة ومكسو بها الجدران، عز أن نرى لها نظيراً إلا في قصر لويز الرابع عشر في فرساي: فقد رأيت هناك زريبة ذكروا لي أنها مرت عليها سبعون ألف عسكري بسبابيطها وما أثروا فيها شيئاً، لجودة صنعها وإتقان عملها، ولا في ألوانها التي أكثرها الأبيض والأزرق والأصفر، وهي أقرب الألوان للتغيير السريع ولا زالت كأنها جديدة وهي زرابي عجمية فارسية فيما

أظن.

زيارة رئيس الجمهورية

وفي الساعة 5 عشية، توجهنا لقصر الإليزي لزيارة رئيس الجمهورية، موسيو بوانكاريه. وقد وجدنا الوفدين التونسي والجزائري سبقا الوفد المغربي ولكن كل في محل الانتظار. وبمجرد دخولنا، ذهبنا تواً لغرفة التشريفات. ولما فتحت وجدنا الرئيس المذكور واقفاً بقرب الباب. ودخل رئيس التشريفات أولاً، وعلامته سلسلة معدنية علقها في عنقه على هيئة السبحة، فقال: الوفد المغربي. ثم أذن لنا في الدخول فدخلنا، وسلمنا على الرئيس وهو قائم على قدميه واحداً بعد الآخر على ترتيب مراتب الوفد فصافح كل واحد بعد أن عرف اسمه وخطته، ورحب بالكل باسماً هاشاً. ويلوح على محيّاه البشوش لوائح البشر، والنشاط، والنباهة، والاقتدار في الإبانة، وحسن المنطق وجمال الوجه، ومكارم الأخلاق. ثم أعرب لنا عن سروره بمشاركتنا في حفلة النصر وصرح بأن المغرب كما شارك افرانسا في ضراء الحرب سيشاركها في سراء النصر، وأن مستقبل المغرب مستبقل زاهر بما في نوايا الدولة الجمهورية العظمى من الترقيات والأعمال المفيدة. وأثنى على

VISITING THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

At 5 in the evening, we headed to the Elysee Palace to visit the President of the Republic, Monsieur Poincaré. We found that the delegations of Tunisia and Algeria had preceded the Moroccan delegation, but were both in the waiting area. As soon as we entered, we immediately went to the reception room. When it was opened, we found the aforementioned president standing by the door. The chief of protocol entered first, his insignia a metal chain he wore on his neck like prayer beads. He announced, “The Moroccan delegation!” granting us permission to enter and we went in. We greeted the President, who was standing on his feet, one after the other according to the hierarchy of the delegation members. He shook the hand of each one after giving his name and rank and welcomed all in a cheerful smile. His face showed expressions of cheerfulness, enthusiasm, wisdom, eloquence, sound logic, handsome face, and good manners. Then he expressed his pleasure at our participation in the victory celebration stating that as Morocco shared in the misery of war with France, it shares France in the happiness of victory, and that Morocco would have a bright prospect, due to the intentions of the State of the Great Republic of implementing developments and useful achievements. He extolled the brave Moroccan soldiers and the assistance of the Sultan and his aides for their good

management and true friendship. The head of the delegation replied thanking him for the cordial reception and attention we were met with in the French country and congratulating him on the great victory. He then asked that France makes efforts to annex Tangier to the French dominions because it was an inseparable part of Morocco. The President responded that he couldn't give him an official reliable answer on that, but promised his goodwill to give the matter his attention. Then he turned to the Pasha of Tangier, Mr. Haj Abd al Salam bin Abd al Sadiq. He approached him and asked him about his city and its conditions. Then he bid everyone farewell while tongues exalted him with good praise for his good manners and excessive humility to the extent that one thought he wasn't the President of the Republic of a nation of forty million people and its colonies of sixty million people.

After our exit, the Tunisian delegation entered and then the Algerian one. But by then we had left so we didn't know what they asked nor what they were answered.

عساكر المغاربة البواسل ومعونة السلطان وأعوانه بحسن الإدارة وصدق المحبة. فأجابه الرئيس بالشكر التام على ما لقيناه في البلاد الفرنساوية من الحفاوة والالتفات وهنأه بالنصر العظيم وطلب أن تبذل افرانسا مجهودها في ضمن طنجة إلى المنطقة الفرنساوية، لأنها جزء من المغرب لا يتجزأ. فأجابه الرئيس بأنه لا يقدر أن يجيبه جواباً كافياً رسمياً في ذلك، ووعد خيراً في المباشرة. ثم التفت إلى باشا طنجة، السيد الحاج عبد السلام بن عبد الصادق، وتقدم إليه فسأله عن بلده وأحوالها. ثم ودع الجميع والألسنة تثني عليه الثناء الجميل وعلى أخلاقه الجميلة وتواضعه الزائد حتى يظن الظان أنه ليس رئيس جمهور أمة تعد بأربعين مليوناً ومستعمراتها بستين مليوناً. ثم بعد خروجنا دخل الوفد التونسي ، ثم الجزائري ولكن انصرفنا فلم ندر ما قالوا ولا ما أجيبوا به.

THE HOUSE OF INCARNATE IMAGES

One of the most beautiful things I saw in Paris was the House of images sculptured in wax. Upon entering, I found the ghosts of men standing on their feet, wearing military and non-military clothes, making one believe they were talking living beings. We

دار الصور المجسمة

من جملة ما رأيته في باريز دار الصور المجسمة من الشمع. ولما دخلتها، وجدت فيها أشباح رجال قائمين على أرجلهم، لابسين لملابس

found there scenes of trenches where soldiers were assaulting their enemies inside these trenches, and many other strangely terrifying scenes.

We ascended to a spacious room where they reproduced the coming darkness of the night, the moon rise and the appearance of the stars, then dawn broke and the early morning came and such other things that astound the subtle foolhardy mind. All of that operated with electricity. They also pictured their forests, trees, and houses that appeared to the viewer standing clearly and prominently. And this was by no means such as was reproduced in the animation pictures, rather, this was far more impressive. It is seen pictured in a wide space around you so that one assumed it was the work of witchcraft, not a reproduction. To conclude, Paris is the house of wonders and the congregation of marvels.

عسكرية وغير عسكرية، فما يظن الظان إلا أنهم ناطقون أحياء. وهناك وجدنا صورة بعض الخنادق الحربية والعدو قد دخلت عليه الجنود تضرب جنوده داخلها وغير ذلك من الصور المهولة العجيبة.

وصعدنا إلى غرفة متّسعة مثلوا فيها إقبال ظلام الليل وطلوع القمر وظهور النجوم، ثم يزوغ الفجر وظهور غزالة النهار وغير ذلك من الأمور التي يندهش لها ذهن الحاذق الجسور. كل ذلك بعمل الكهرباء. ومثلوا هناك غابات وأشجاراً ودوراً ومنازل يراها الرائي ماثلة شاخصة. وليس هذا من باب ما يمثل في الصور المتحركة بل هذا أعجب من ذلك يرى ممثلاً في فضاء متسع دائر بك حتى يظن الظان أنه من باب السحر لا من باب التمثيل. وبالجملة فباريز دار العجائب ومجمع الغرائب.

OUR DEPARTURE FROM PARIS TO ALSACE, LORRAINE AND THE BATTLEFIELDS

On Monday 20th of July, at 8 in the morning, the three delegations boarded the iron train heading under the wing of safety, for the town of Nancy on the Lorraine border. On our way, we passed through villages, hamlets and several railroad stations. In all these lands were trees, orchards, and plantations, similar to what

نهوضنا من باريز إلى الألزاس واللورين ومواقع الحرب

يوم الاثنين 20 يوليوز، في الساعة 8 صباحاً، ركبت الوفود الثلاث القطار الحديدي فتوجهنا على جناح السلامة قاصدين مدينة نانصي على الحدود اللورانية. ومررنا في طريقنا على قرى ودساكر ومحطات حديدية عديدة. وكل هذه

الأرض أشجار وأغراس وزروع، مثل ما تقدم الوصف في غيرها وهنا أكثر، ولكن قد أثرت الحرب في كثير من تلك الأبنية بالهدم والتخريب. فوصلنا مدينة نانصي في الساعة 2 بعد نصف النهار، ونزلنا في كران أوتيل الذي هو أمام بطحاء جميلة، وزاد جمالها ببستان عمومي جميل للغاية أمامها.

وقد تجولنا في أنحاء المدينة وأحيائها فإذا هي مدينة جميلة كبيرة محصنة غاية التحصين، ولها تحصين طبيعي بما أحاط بها من الجبال الوعرة المسالك، وهي وراء الجبل على وادي هناك وقد أثرت فيها القنابل المدفعية والهوائية تأثيراً أكثر مما رأينا في باريز بمراحل، لقرب هذه من الحدود جداً. ولكن ما حولها من الحصون منع العدو من الوصول إليها، وإن لم يمنعه من إصابة بعض أبنيتها مع اختفائها وراء الجبل وبين الأودية. وفيها حمام معدني ومنتزه في رأس الجبل يقصده السواح والمتداوون، لصفاء هوائه، وبتنا هناك.

وصف ميادين القتال وما وقع فيها

وصبيحة الثلاثاء 21 منه توجهنا على الطائر الميمون إلى التجول في ميادين القتال، بالحدادة اللورانية. فركبنا أوتومبيلات أعدت لنا

was previously described in other places, but they were more abundant here. However, the war had damaged many of those buildings with destruction and ruin. We arrived in Nancy at 2:30 in the afternoon and stayed at the Grand Hotel, which was in front of a beautiful flat land, made more beautiful by a public garden in front of it.

We toured throughout the city and its neighbourhoods. It was a big, beautiful and heavily fortified city. It had natural fortifications, being surrounded by rugged mountains. It was behind a mountain on a valley. Artillery shells and aerial bombs affected it to a great extent than we had seen in Paris, due to its proximity to the borders. However, the surrounding fortresses prevented the enemy from reaching it, although they did not prevent them from hitting some of its buildings despite being hidden behind the mountain and in the valley. There was in it a mineral spring and a park at the top of the mountain visited by tourists and those seeking healing, due to the purity of its air. We stayed there for the night.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLEFIELDS AND WHAT HAPPENED THEREIN

On the morning of Tuesday 21, we set out with auspicious signs to wander in the battlefields, on the Lorrainian border. We got into the automobiles that were prepared for us by the Ministry of Defence. Ever since leaving Nancy, we saw the earth

upturned upside down; its buildings destroyed and its natural and industrial beauty vanished. Plants were burned, the trees cut down, and the buildings demolished until we reached Verdun, whose name acquaired worldwide fame due to the bloody battles that took place between the French and German armies.

Our arrival was at 11 o'clock in the morning. We wandered through its markets, roads and monuments. It was a fortified city, hidden between mountains, on the canal, it was crossed by a river on which was a bridge. Despite being a concealed city, with strong fortifications and solid towers, most of its important buildings, houses, as well as the railway station were destroyed. The damage it suffered was far more than the damage in Nancy. Nevertheless, many houses and warehouses remained intact, while others were fractured or sagging. But the manpower was repairing some of the houses and people were returning to inhabit and live in the rest. Also, some markets started opening.

هناك من لدن الوزارة الحربية. ومنذ انفصالنا عن نانصي ونحن نرى أن الأرض قلب بطنها على ظهرها وخربت عمارتها وذهب جمالها الصناعي والطبيعي. فالنباتات حرقت، والأشجار قطعت، والأبنية هدمت إلى أن وصلنا إلى فيردان التي صار اسمها في العالم أشهر من نار على علم بما وقع فيها من المعارك الدامية بين الجيشين الفرنساوي والألماني.

وكان وصولنا إليها في الساعة 11 نهاراً، فجلنا في أسواقها وطرقها وآثارها فإذا هي مدينة حصينة بين الجبال مختفية على قنال وادي يشقها عليه قنطرة. ومع اختفاء المدينة وشدة حصانتها ومتانة أبراجها تخربت جل معالمها وديارها ومحطتها الحديدية، فأضرارها أكثر من أضرار مدينة نانصي بكثير، ولكن مع ذلك بقي كثير من الدور والمخازن سالماً وبعضها وقع فيه انشقاق وميلان. ولكن اليد العاملة هناك تصلح بعض الدور ورجع الناس للتعمير والسكنى فيما بقي. وبدأت بعض الأسواق في العمارة.

FORT DE VAUX

After wandering in it, we went out to visit the forts surrounding on the side of the border. We reached fort de Vaux and found its governor waiting for us there, its chief, General Valentin. He gave us a tour of the fort and showed us the roads leading to it

برج فردفو

وبعد التطوف فيها خرجنا منها لنزور الأبراج المحيطة بها من جهة الحدادة، فوصلنا إلى برج فيردوفوا ووجدنا هناك في انتظارنا حاكمها،

that were dug up in the mountain, concealed from sight so that a loaded automobile went on the road from Verdun until it entered the fort unseen by the enemy. And thus from Verdun to the fort were several concealment places, trenches, and roads leading to it invisible to man until reaching it.

The entire land from Nancy to the tower was almost completely destroyed and there was only see a carved path covered with thick bushes so that it was only visible to those walking in or near it, a trench, or a sentinel's post or an observation point carved into the mountain, its owners saw without being seen by anybody and so on until we reached the tower.

Before entering the fort, the previously mentioned General stood up and gave a speech, showing us the German offensive on the mentioned fort, the first, the second, and the third time. On one occasion, they took and occupied it after a fierce battle that lasted twenty-seven nights. When they entered it, they found it empty, contrary to the lies propagated in their newspapers that they took prisoners the defenders of the fort. That was so because when the fighting and combat lasted too long, the enemy managed to cut the retreating lines for the defenders of the fort, besieged them and poured heavy fire on the defenders. The rain was heavy, and when supplies and reinforcements were cut off from the defenders, who remained there for four days without tasting anything, the dead in their arms and the wounded dying soaked in water. At that time, their commander said to them: You have

الجنرال فلانطيان، فطاف بنا حول البرج وأطلعنا على الطرق المؤدية إليه المنحوتة في الجبل، الخفية عن الأبصار بحيث يمر الأتومبيل حاملاً في الطريق من فردان إلى أن يدخل البرج لا يراه العدو. وهكذا من فيردان إلى البرج عدة مكامن وخنادق وطرق مؤدية إليها لا يراه الإنسان حتى يصل إليها.

فالأرض كلها من نانصي إلى هذا البرج تقريباً كلها خربت فلا ترى إلا طريقاً منحوتاً عليه النبات ملتف لا يراه إلا من كان ماشياً فيه أو بقربه أو خندقاً، أو عسّة ، أو مرصداً منحوتاً في الجبل يرى صاحبه ولا يراه أحد وهكذا إلى أن وصلنا البرج.

وقبل أن ندخل البرج، وقف الجنرال المذكور وألقى علينا خطاباً، بين لنا فيه هجوم الألمان على البرج المذكور المرة الأولى والثانية والثالثة. ففي إحدى المرات، أخذه واحتل فيه بعد عراك شديد دام سبعاً وعشرين ليلة. ولما دخله وجده فارغاً، خلاف ما كذب في جرائده وشنع بأنه أخذ حاميته أسرى، وذلك أنه لما طال القتال والعراك تمكن العدو من قطع خط الرجعة على حامية البرج وأحاط به وصبَّ عليه ناراً حامية. وكانت الأمطار غزيرة، ولما انقطع الزاد والمدد عن الحامية التي كانت فيه أربعة أيام ما ذاقوا فيها ذواقاً، والموتى بين أيديهم والمجاريح تموت وهم

مغمورون في الماء. عند ذلك قال لهم أميرهم: قد أديتم ما يجب عليكم نحو الوطن الفرنساوي، فإن شئتم خرجتم وتركتم البرج للعدو. فخرجوا وسلموه. وعند ذلك دخل العدو، ولكن رجع الفرانسويون بعدما جمعوا قوتهم وأخرجوه منه عنوة. ثم لما هجم العدو مرة أخرى دبر له المرشال بيطان مكيدة، وكان إذ ذاك جنرالاً، رئيس الجنود هناك. فكان العدو يمهد سبيل الهجوم بمدافعه الضخمة على عادته والمدافع الفرانساوية من طرز 75 تجاوبه، ومن أطرزة أخرى وبطرياتها كثيرة. وأظنه قال سبعون بطرية. ففي كل طلقة يأمرهم الجنرال بيطان بإسكات بطرية، حتى لم تبقَ إلا بطرية واحدة تجيب العدو من البرج. فلما رأى العدو ذلك لم يبقَ له شك أن البرج انهدم وأن المدافع أفسدت. وكان رئيس جنود العدو ولي عهد الألمان فأمرهم بالزحف على البرج. فتركهم بيطان حتى ملأوا السهل والجبل، وكسيت الأرض بعساكرهم وصاروا هدفاً لمدافع الفرنسيس. فعند ذلك أصدر أمره إلى عساكره المحصنة في البرج بصب نيران المدافع عليهم، فامتثلوا وفتحت المدافع أفواهها بعدما كانت ساكتة مختفية. وأصلت تلك العساكر المنتشرة في تلك الأودية نارها الحامية فكست الأرض بجثثها

performed your service to the French nation, if you want you can leave and hand over the fort to the enemy. Thus, they left and surrendered it. Then the enemy entered, but the French returned after gathering their forces and drove the enemy out of it. Then, when the enemy attacked again, Marshal Petain[36] set up a trap for them. He was then a general and chief of the troops there. The enemy was preparing for his attack using his heavy cannons, as was his habit while the French 75 model of cannons were firing back as well as with several other types of artillery. And it seems to me he said seventy batteries. After each barrage, General Petain ordered to silence a battery, so that there remained only one battery answering back the enemy from the fort. When the enemy saw that, he was convinced that the fort was destroyed and the batteries were put out of use. The commander of the enemy soldiers was the German Crown Prince. He ordered them to advance on the fort. Petain waited for them until they had filled the plain and the mountain so that the land was covered with their soldiers and were within the reach of the French cannons. At that moment, he ordered his well-defended soldiers in the fort to pour the fire of their cannons on them. They complied and the cannons opened their mouths after they had been silent and hidden together with intense fire from the soldiers who were scattered in the valleys, so that the earth was covered with their bodies which

[36] General Philippe Petain (1856-1951) became Marshal of France at the end of World War I, during which he led the French army to victory in the Battle of Verdun.

وتركتها مرعى لنسر وطائر. وكانت هذه الوقعة من أشنع الوقائع وأقبحها على الألمان، تكبد فيها خسائر عظيمة، وثلم الجيش الألماني بثلم لا ينجبر وذهبت رجاله ضحية استبداد أميرهم الجريء الغشوم ولم يبقَ لهم بعدها مطمع في البرج. وفي المدة الثالثة هجمت عليهم الجنود الفرنساوية فزحزحتهم عن مواقفهم. هذا يلخص خطاب الجنرال، حسبما بلغنا الترجمان، وخطبه علينا ونحن على باب البرج والمطر إذ ذاك يصب علينا بغزارة.

ثم دخلنا البرج، الذي هو عبارة عن جبل منحوت هبطنا إليه بدرج كثيرة، ولما وصلناه وجدناه عجباً وأي عجب: فيه دروب ودهاليز منفتحة إلى سائر الجهات، كل فتحة تكون فيها المدافع التي تصب النار على الأعداء مما يحار العقل في تكييفها والقلم في وصفها. وفيه مساكن العساكر ومحال الأكل ومواضع خزن الذخائر والمؤن الكثيرة وأسلاك الكهرباء ممتدة إلى جميع جهاته للأضواء والتليفون. ورأينا في أرضه مطابق متعددة بأبواب حديدية، فسألنا عنها فقال لنا: إن تحت البرج برجاً آخر مثله، عيناً بعين، على عمق ثمانية عشر متراً بحيث إذا اندك البرج الأعلى بالمدافع الضخمة تدلت الحامية في المطابق إلى البرج الأسفل. وأخبرنا الجنرال أنه إذا كانت القنابل تنزل فوق البرج ظن من فيه أنه اندك فوقه

became a feeding ground for eagles and birds of prey. This was one of the worst and most brutal battles for the Germans who suffered great losses. The German army was wounded in a way that would never heal again and their men were gone victims of the tyranny of their foolhardy ignorant prince. After that, they no longer had any ambition to conquer the fort. In the third time, the French soldiers attacked them and drove them out of their positions. That summarizes the general's speech according to the information communicated to us by the interpreter. He gave his speech to us as we were in front of the door of the fort while the rain poured heavily on us.

Then we entered the fort, a sort carved into the mountain. We descended to it through several stairs, and on reaching it we found it to be a wonder of wonders. There were alleys and tunnels opening in all directions; each opening was furnished with cannons ready to pour down fire on enemies in a way that perplexed the mind in its conception and the pen in imagining and describing it. There were in it the soldiers sleeping quarters and eating areas, and many storage rooms for ammunition and provisions and electrical wires extending to all sides for lighting and the telephone. We also saw under the ground several floors with iron doors, so we inquired about it and we were told that beneath it was another similar in every detail, at a depth of eighteen meters so that, if the upper fort was razed by the huge cannons, the defenders in the upper fort would move to the lower one. The

General told us that if the bombs start falling on the fort, those who were inside thought it was collapsing over their heads, and there would be great horrors that only he who possessed an iron heart could stand steadfast when hearing them.

In conclusion, this fort is one of the great monuments and great works that testifies to the greatness and invulnerability of the State and its determination in defending the country. This fort was named after its inventor.

Then we returned to Verdun after being acquainted with the wonders of the fort. As we did on the way to the fort, on the way back, we saw the same scenes of destruction, ruins, and the turning of the earth bottom side up so much so that it was no longer fit for ploughing. In fact, no one dared furrow the earth with a plough nor move the soil with a pickaxe for fear of the explosion of the objects that were fired by the cannons and planes. On arriving in Verdun, we went into its famous fort, which was on the outskirts of the city, called Citadel of Verdun, on the same pattern as the previous fort. We found a breakfast table prepared for the three delegations with the mentioned General and his staff and inside military music. We stood until the completion of the national anthem of France, La Marseillaise, which was played to greet the delegations and welcome them. An obligatory convention and the manner was standing up with a return of the salute by placing the hand on the head whenever La Marseillaise was sung as a glorification

وتكون هناك الأهوال العظيمة التي لا يثبت لسماعها إلا من كان له قلب حديد.

وحاصل القول إن هذا البرج من الآثار العظيمة والأعمال الكبيرة التي تدل على ما للدولة من العظمة والمنعة والقيام بالدفاع عن الوطن. وقد سمي هذا البرج باسم مخترعه.

ثم رجعنا إلى فيردان، بعد استيعاب عجائب البرج المذكور. وشاهدنا في طريق رجوعنا مثل ما شاهدنا في طريق مرورنا من الهدم والتخريب وقلب الأرض بطنا على ظهر حتى لم تعد صالحة للحرث بل لا يقدر أحد أن يجري فيها سكة الحرث ولا أن ينقرها بفأس الفلاحة خوفاً من انفجار بقية المواد التي كانت المدافع والطيارات تقذفها. وعند وصولنا إلى فيردان دخلنا برجها الشهير، الذي هو بطرف المدينة المسمى (سيطادل فيردان) وهو على نسق البرج السابق. وقد وجدنا مائدة الإفطار مهيأة داخله للوفود الثلاثة مع الجنرال المذكور وأركان حربه، وبداخله الموسيقى العسكرية. ووقفنا حتى أتمت نشيد المرسلياز الوطني الذي استقبلت به الوفود ترحيباً بهم، وتلك عادة لا بدَّ منها، وهي الوقوف ووضع اليد على الرأس لإجابة سلام الموسيقى مهما أنشدت المرسيلياز تعظيماً لهذا النشيد الذي يعتبره الفرانساويون شعار الجمهورية الفرانساوية وسلامها الخاص.

of this song the French consider to be the emblem of the French Republic and its particular salute.

Breakfast was late, at one in the afternoon. After breakfast, the General rose up and he drank a toast to North Africa and its soldiers and welcomed us very warmly. The heads of delegations replied to him as was conveniently suitable his station, then we left for Metz after bidding him farwell.

وكان تناول الإفطار متأخراً إلى الساعة الأولى بعد الزوال. وبعد تمام الإفطار قام الجنرال وشرب نخب إفريقيا الشمالية وعساكرها ورحب بنا غاية الترحيب، فأجابه رؤساء الوفود بما يناسب مقامه وانصرفنا بعد الوداع معه إلى متس.

THE CITY OF METZ

مدينة متس

It is a city on the Lorrainian border, and part of Lorraine, which was in the hands of the Germans and France took it back from them. The landscape, the inhabitants, and the weather. Here the weather was colder, the land more fertile, more beautiful to the sight, more trees, and the people blonder, of more scarlet faces are redder, of clearer hues but less handsome.

When we arrived at Metz, we found it to be a beautiful European town in a low valley. It was affected by aeroplane bombs but only to a small degree. We immediately went to the house of its Military Governer, the French General de Maud'huy,[37] and on it was hosted after its absence from that city for forty-five years. And his house was the very house where was living the French Governor, prior to the German occupation. When the Germans occupied it in 1870, the

وهي مدينة على الحدود اللورانية، من ضمن اللورين التي كانت بيد الألمان واسترجعتها فرنسا من يدهم. وقد تبدلت مناظر الأرض، وأهلها، وطقسها: فالطقس هنا أبرد، والأرض أشد خصوبة وأجمل منظراً وأكثر أشجاراً، والساكنون أشد شقرة وفي الوجوه أزيد حمرة وأصفى ألواناً وأقل جمالاً.

ولما وصلنا متس وجدناها مدينة أوروبية جميلة في وادي منخفض وقد أثرت فيها قنابل الطيارات، ولكن قليلاً فقط. فذهبنا تواً إلى بيت حاكمها العسكري، الجنرال دومودوي الفرنساوي، وعليه الراية الفرنساوية خافقة بعد غروبها عن

[37] Louis Ernest de Maud'huy (1857–1921) was a French Army General in World War I, known as the father of light infantry.

destruction of the cannons had affected it; however, the Germans restored it in the French style. They did not alter it and now they had withdrawn leaving everything as it was. When we met the aforementioned general, he pronounced a very eloquent speech, welcoming us very warmly saying, "I was eager to see North Africa, but here I am meeting with the elite of its people. Praise be to God for this meeting with them. I had the occasion to lead its brave soldiers under my banner, and I found them the bravest and the most enduring of men. Believe me, they were so when defending their country against us, and then when we brought them under our wing, they became our true brothers and fought with us a sincerity and loyalty that render our enemies envious, which testifies to the purity of their sentiments towards us. Their inward intentions are like their outward actions, without deceit or treachery." The head of the delegation answered him conveniently as the circumstances required, then we headed towards the place that was prepared for our stay; the Grand Hotel not far from his house.

The following day, we toured the city and saw the edifices the Germans built before the war and have left behind them and the devastations after it. In fact, the destruction was caused by the French armies who wanted to occupy it although the Germans were the cause of the war.

The city had impressive forts and defensive towers, not visible but

تلك البلاد خمساً وأربعين سنة. وإذا بداره هي الدار التي كان يسكنها الحاكم الفرنساوي قبل الاحتلال الألماني. وعند احتلال الألمان إليها، سنة 1870، كان هدم المدافع قد أثر فيها فأصلحها الألمانيون على النسق الفرنساوي لم يغيروه وخرجوا الآن وتركوها بحالها ومحتوياتها. ولما قابلنا الجنرال المذكور فاه بخطاب بليغ ورحب بنا غاية الترحيب قائلاً: إني كنت مشوقاً لرؤية شمال إفريقيا لكني رأيت نخبة رجالها، فالحمد لله على الاجتماع بهم. وقد قدت عساكرها البواسل تحت رايتي فوجدتهم أشجع الرجال وأكثرهم صبراً: صدقوا في دفاعنا عن أرضهم (كذا) ثم لما احتضناهم صاروا لنا أخوة صادقين فقاتلوا معنا بصدق وإخلاص يحسدنا عليه أعداؤنا مما يدل على صفاء طويتهم نحونا. فسرهم كعلانيتهم، لا يشوبهم غش ولا خداع. فأجابه الرئيس بما يناسب المقام. ثم توجهنا للمحل الذي أعد لنزلنا، وهو كران أوتيل القريب لداره.

ومن الغد تجولنا في أنحاء المدينة ووقفنا على بعض ما خلفه الألمانيون من الآثار في التعمير قبل الحرب والتخريب بعده. وفي الحقيقة إن التخريب هو من الجيوش الفرنسية التي كانت تريد احتلالها ولكن بسبب حرب الألمان.

وفي المدينة حصون هائلة وأبراج دفاع

dissimulated. There were in it all sorts of many fruits and bountiful products. It is a city between two mountains, cut through by a river valley on which is an important bridge. The population in the city is low now owing to migration caused by the war.

At 8 o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, 22 July, equivalent to 21 Shawwal, the aforementioned General came to return the visit. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, he came with a group of cavalry to our place of residence. He stood at the door while the military music played until we got in the automobiles. He bid us farewell while his soldiers were lined up. We headed for Strasbourg, passing on a long road going through several villages and towns, mostly Alsatian since the borders between Lorraine and Alsace are close to the Metz. With our parting with Metz, we also parted from the devastations of war. After it, we no longer saw destroyed or crumbling houses, but only arable lands, trees, rivers, and the songs of birds. There was in it plentiful fruits and produce. It was more fertile than the French country we passed through before to the extent that even the trees planted along the roads were all fruit trees: walnuts, almonds, apricots, apples, pears, plums and peaches. And everywhere you see the fruits crushed by the wheels of vehicles. Nothing is more beautiful than the scenery of this land: all planted with vegetables, fruit trees, and grapes. There were fertile farms and grains and the industrial agriculture has developed

غير ماثلة، بل مختفية، وفيها فواكه كثيرة ونعم وفيرة. وهي مدينة بين جبلين يشقها ترعة وادي عليه قنطرة مهمة. والسكان الآن بالمدينة قليلون لما تقدم من الحرب المهاجرة.

وفي الساعة 8 صباحاً من يوم الثلاثاء 22 جوييه، موافق 21 شوال، جاء الجنرال المذكور لرد الزيارة. وفي الساعة 2 بعد نصف النهار أتى مع فرقة من عساكره الخيالة لمحل نزلنا ووقف بالباب والموسيقى العسكرية تصدح حتى ركبنا الأتومبيلات وودعنا وعساكره مصطفة. فصوبنا و صعد. وتوجهنا إلى سطرسبورغ فمررنا على طريق مطولة فيها عدة قرى ومدن، جلها ألزاسيه، لأن الحدادة بين اللورين والألزاس هي قريبة من متس. وبفراقنا لمتس فارقنا محل أضرار الحرب فلم نرَ بعدها محلاً متهدماً ولا مائلاً، وإنما هي أرض الزراعة والأشجار والثمار والأنهار وتغريد الأطيار فيها من أنواع الفواكه والخيرات شيء كثير، فهي أخصب من بلاد فرنسا التي مررنا بها من قبل حتى إن الأشجار التي يغرسونها على الطرق الصناعية كلها أشجار فواكه: من جوز، ولوز، ومشمش، وتفاح، وإجاس، وبرقوق، وخوخ. فترى الفواكه تدوسها عجلات الحوافل في كل صوب. ولا أجمل من مناظر هذه الأرض: كلها مزروعة بالخضر وأشجار الفواكه والعنب،

to the highest degree of perfection, especially when we were about two hours distant from Strasbourg. It was as if the land was a botanical garden for experimentation with vegetables, fruits and crops. The day was cold since the weather in this country was colder than in Paris, and the days of travelling were all cold and rain heavy.

وفيها المزارع الخصبة والحبوب وصناعة الفلاحة قد ارتقت فيها إلى أعلى درجات الكمال، ولا سيما عندما اقتربنا من سطرسبورغ بنحو ساعتين. فكأنما تلك الأرض بستان التجربة النباتية للخضر والفواكه والثمار. وكان النهار بارداً، إذ جو هذه البلاد أبرد من أرض باريز، وأيام السفر كانت كلها باردة والأمطار غزيرة.

CITY OF STRASBOURG

We arrived at the city of Strasbourg at 6 o'clock in the evening and stayed at Hotel Palace. The members of the delegation were divided among other hotels because of the great number of guests in the aforementioned hotel, even in others. This city is the capital of Alsace, and is considered one of the most noteworthy European cities. In it is a beautiful canal deriving from the Rhin river, on which is an important bridge. Its streets are wide and organized and it has wide places and beautiful municipal gardens.

On Wednesday, we toured the suburbs of the city, its neighbourhoods and beautiful markets full of commerce and precious goods. There is a great number of churches in the city. In the centre of one of them which is the image of a French Marshall who vanquished the Germans, Austria and Holland in an earlier war before the year

مدينة سطرسبورغ

قد وصلنا مدينة سطر سبورغ في الساعة 6 عشية، فنزلنا في فندق بّلاص. وقد تفرق الأعضاء في فنادق أخرى لكثرة الزوار في الفندق المذكور، بل وفي غيره. فهذه المدينة هي عاصمة الألزاس، معدودة من المدن الأوروبية ذات الاعتبار، فيها ترعة وادي جميلة مجلوبة من نهر الران، وعليها قنطرة مهمة، وشوارعها متسعة منتظمة، وفيها ميادين وسيعة وبساتين بلدية جميلة.

ويوم الأربعاء تجولنا في ضواحي المدينة وأنحائها وأسواقها الجميلة ذات التجارة والأبضعة النفيسة. وفي المدينة عدة كنائس مهمة، إحداها بصدرها صورة مارشال فرنساوي كان هزم الألمان والنمسا وهولاندة في حرب قديمة قبل عام

1870، وقد تركها الألمان على حالها بعد احتلالهم البلد. وبأسفل الصورة صندوق رخام به جثة مصبّرة. وهناك في خزانة قلب المرشال المذكور مصبّراً. وفي الكنيسة أيضاً قبر رخام به رجل محنط منذ ما ينيف على مائتي سنة بكسوته الإفرنجية وعليه وعلى القبر زجاجة، بحيث يرى وجه الرجل كأنه نائم. وعند رجله بنت له صغيرة كذلك.

1870, and which the Germans left it in the same condition after their occupation of the city. Underneath the image is a marble box containing an embalmed body. And in a closet is the embalmed heart of the said marshal. In the church, there is also a marble tomb with a man who has been mummified for more than two hundred years with his French clothing, and on the grave is glass, so that the face of the man is seen as though he is asleep. And close to his feet is the body of his daughter in the same condition.

منجانة سطرسبورغ

THE CLOCK OF STRASBOURG

ورأينا هناك أيضاً كنيسة كبيرة أخرى بها ساعة تعد من عجائب الدنيا من عمل يد رجل صوروا تمثاله بباب الكنيسة. ويقال إنهم قتلوه حسداً على صنعتها ومعه صورة بنته التي أعانته عليها. وما كملها هو بل كملها غيره رغماً عما حل بالمخترع من القتل.

والحق يقال إنها من العجائب، فإن الساعة المذكورة شغلت جزءاً مهما من مدخل الكنيسة وفيها محل يدل على الساعة والدقائق وفيها صورة الفلك، ويؤخذ منها مقدار ما قطعت الشمس والقمر من الفلك، فتدل على عدد أيام الشهر العربي

We also saw there another impressive church where was a clock considered to be one of the wonders of the world. The work of a man whose image was sculpted at the entrance of the church. And it is said that he was killed out of envy for his art piece. With him was the statue of his daughter who helped him make it. It wasn't him who had completed it but others did as a consequence of the killing that happened to the inventor.

In truth, it is a wonder! The clock occupies a big part of the entrance of the church. It has an area that shows the hour and minutes as well as a representation of the celestial dome to measure the distance covered by the sun and moon and indicates the number of the days of the Arab and

والعجمي بتدقيق وتحقيق حتى إن الكبس الذي يكون على رأس ثلاث أو أربع سنوات يخرج هناك مدققاً محققاً، بل وحركة الإقبال كذلك لكون مخترعها بنى ذلك على قواعد منضبطة لا تتخلف ومسائل فنية في غاية التحري والإتقان. قال المكلف بها إن لها مدة سبعين سنة ما وقع فيها زيادة ولا نقص، بل هي في غاية الضبط للأوقات والأيام ولا تحتاج إلى تعمير قوة خدمتها إلا مرة واحدة في السنة. ولها منذ وجودها مائة سنة، وفيها صورة بنت بيدها مطرقة تدق الساعات على ناقوس، وديك يصرخ. وفي أعلاها صورة المسيح واقفاً وبيده الصليب، فإذا وصلت الساعة 12 مر بين يديه الحواريون خاضعين له وهو يشير لهم بالصليب مبركاً عليهم. وبها عجائب أخرى يطول شرحها. حاصله ألقى علينا المكلف بها درساً في بيان تركيبها وعجائبها في مقابلة شيء من الدريهمات يتقاضاه. وبذلك صارت الكنيسة محل فرجة وشبكة فلوس.

ولقد أذكرتني هذه المنجانة منجانة أبي عنان بطالعة فاس وقد اندثرت ولم يبقَ إلا بعض نواقيسها. ومنجانة أبي حمو الزياني في تلمسان، وصفها يحيى. ولعل منجانة سطراسبورغ صانعها

Christain months with exact accuracy to the extent that the additional day that happens every three or four years appears exactly and precisely on it; the same for the movement of the pendulum because the inventor built it on very precise rules that never err and a great mastery of technical issues. The person in charge of the clock said that for seventy years it hasn't experienced any acceleration or delay but has been of the utmost accuracy with time and days, and moreover, it only needs to be wound up once a year. It has been there for a year. In it is the image of a girl holding a hammer in her hand and striking the hours with it on a bell, and a rooster crows. At the top of the clock is the image of Christ standing with the Cross in his hand. When the hour reaches 12, the disciples pass reverently in front of him while he motions at them with the cross to bless them. It has other marvels that would take too long to explain. The person in charge of the clock gave us a lecture on its making and marvels in exchange for a few coins. Thus, the church became a place of entertainment and a means of making money.

This clock has reminded me of the clock of Abu Inan in the Talaa in Fez. It has disappeared and only a few bells remained. Also, the clock Abu Hamo al-Zayani in Tlemcen, described by Yahya.[38] It is

[38] Yahya ibn Mohamed Ibn Khaldoun (1332 - 1379) is the brother of the famous historian Ibn Khaldoun. His most important work is *Bughyat ar-Ruwaad fi dikr al muluk min bani Abd al Wad*.

على منجانة أبي حمو، كما أن منجانة أبي حمو قلد فيها مخترعها منجانة هارون الرشيد المشهورة في التاريخ التي أهداها للملك شارلمان الفرنساوي. فقد ذكروا أنها كان يديرها الماء، وأن لها اثني عشر باباً كلما مضت ساعة يفتح باب برزت منه مطرقة ضربت على جرس عدد الساعات ثم تخرج صور اثني عشر فارساً على خيل تدور على صفحة الساعة. ولا غرابة في هذا فقد سبق المسلمون إلى اختراعات أخرى. وذكر بعض المؤرخين أن الرشيد لما وجه منجانته إلى شرلمان تعجبوا منها وظنّوا أن بداخلها جنيّاً يحركها. نعم إن منجانة أبي حمو هي أغرب من منجانة سطراسبورغ، إذ منجانة أبي حمو كانت الجارية تخرج من كل ساعة من ساعات الليل وتنشد أبياتا تناسب تلك الساعة، كما بسط ابن خلدون القول في ذلك. فينظره مبتغيه في تاريخه (بغية الرواد.)

وفي هذه المدينة ميدان واسع، فيه تمثال العالم الألماني جوتنبرج الذي اخترع المطبعة، وكانت سبباً في تقدم العلوم الإفرنجية والعربية. وهو مولود في ماينص الألمانية سنة 1400، وهناك شارع باسمه تعظيماً لشأنه. ولولا اختراعه ما وصلت العلوم إلى ما هي عليه.

possible that the clock of Strasbourg was inspired by Abu Hamo's clock, which in turn was an imitation of the clock of Haroun ar-Rachid, the historically famous clock, which he gave as a gift to the French king Charlemagne. They said that it was run by water and that it had twelve doors. Each time an hour passes a door opened and a hammer appeared striking the bell the number of hours. Then the image of twelve cavaliers on horseback turning around the surface of the clock. This is no surprise, because Muslims have preceded in many inventions. Some historians have stated that when ar-Rachid sent the clock to Charlemagne, they were astonished by it and thought that there was a genie inside that made it move. Indeed Abu Hamo's clock is was more bewildering than the clock of Strasbourg, because in the case of the clock of Abu Hamo every hour during the night a damsel (*jariya*) appeared and chanted verses appropriate to that hour, as explained by Ibn Khaldoun in his, *Baghyat ar-Ruwaad*, in case one is interested in this historical book.

In this city, there is a spacious square where there is the statue of the German scientist Gutenberg, the inventor of the printing press, the cause for the progress of Frankish and Arabic sciences. He was born in the German town of Mayence in 1400, and there is a street bearing his name in his honour. Were it not for his invention, the sciences would not have reached the level

they are in.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ALSATIANS AND THE LORRAINERS AND THEIR MORALS

The people of Alsace and Lorraine are closer in their appearance and morals to those of France. Yes, the French are more handsome and their hair darker than theirs. Yes, the complexion of these people is fairer, redder and whiter than the French, and their bodies somewhat shorter. As for ethics, the French's ethics are more beautiful. When we were in Paris, people did not gather around us, while these people considered us a curiosity and used to gather and gaze at us men, women and children. They exaggerated in that, which indicates the levity of their wits, as if God created the human being just to wear their clothes and as if Adam came out of paradise in European clothes. And this is despite the fact that they were less elegant in clothing than the French. The French paid attention to their appearance more than them, especially the women. A woman came up asking us, amazed at our dress "Are you Jews?" And another said, "Are you players in the theatre?" meaning entertainment houses, which was irritable to some members because of their stupid questions and incessant staring.

Then living expenses in these two

وصف الألزاسيين واللورانيين وأخلاقهم

أهل ألزاسيا ولورانيا قريبون في شكلهم وصورهم وأخلاقهم من افرنسا. نعم، الفرنساويون أكثر جمالاً وشعرهم أكثر سواداً عن هؤلاء. نعم، لون هؤلاء أصفى وأكثر حمرة وبياضاً من الفرنساويين، وأجسامهم أقصر شيئاً ما، أما أخلاق الفرنساويين فأجمل. ولما كنا في باريز لم يكن الناس يجتمعون علينا، أما هؤلاء فجعلونا عجباً وكانوا يجتمعون لرؤيتنا رجالاً ونساء وصبياناً وأكثروا في ذلك مما يدل على خفة أذهانهم كأن الله ما خلق بني آدم إلا ليلبسوا لباسهم وكأن آدم خرج من الجنة بلباس أوروبا، مع أنهم أقلّ حذقاً في اللباس من الفرنساويين: فالفرنساويون يتجملون أكثر منهم، ولا سيّما النساء. ولقد جاءت امرأة تسألنا متعجبة عن لباسنا: هل أنتم يهود؟ وأخرى تقول: هل أنتم تلعبون الطياطر؟ - يعني الملاهي - حتى حصل لبعض الأعضاء نوع ضجر من ثقل سؤالهم وكثرة تفرجهم.

ثم المعيشة في هاتين المقاطعتين أرخص

provinces are much cheaper than in France.

At 12 o'clock on Wednesday, we had breakfast at the house of the General Governor of the Alsace and Lorraine, Monsieur Millerand, who was the War Minister of France.[39] At the table were 40 guests, together with three delegations and some dignitaries, such as the civil governor and military governor, the famous General Gouraud, especially in Morocco, particularly in Fez where he was in command for so long.

After the meal, Monsieur Millerand gave a speech welcoming the delegations and praising the soldiers. The heads of delegations replied thanking him most sincerely. As for the head of our delegation, his answer was in Arabic and was translated instantly into Arabic. As for the heads of the Tunisian and Algerian delegations, they replied in French. After the exchange of toasts, the people dispersed. We got into the automobiles and headed towards the German borders.

من افرانسا بكثير.

وفي الساعة 12 من يوم الأربعاء المذكور كان إفطارنا عند حاكم عموم الألزاس واللورين وهو موسيو ميلران، الذي كان وزير الحرب في افرانسا. وحضر على المائدة 40 مدعواً والوفود الثلاثة وبعض الأعيان كحاكمها المدني وحاكمها العسكري، وهو الجنرال كوروا المشهور ولا سيما في المغرب وخصوصاً فاس التي طال حكمه بها.

وبعد تناول الغذاء خطب موسيو ميلران مرحباً بالوفود، مثنياً على الجنود، فأجابه رؤساء الوفود بالشكر التام. أما رئيس وفدنا فكان جوابه بالعربي وترجم حيناً، وأما رئيسا الوفدين التونسي والجزائري فأجابا بالفرنساوي. وبعد تبادل الأنخاب تفرق القوم فركبنا الأتومبيلات وذهبنا قاصدين الحدود الألمانية.

THE SARRE LAND AND THE GERMAN ALSACIAN BORDER

أرض السار و الحدادة اللمانية الألزاسية

Ever since we departed from Strasbourg until we reached the Rhine river, which is the borderline between the Alsace and Germany, we found ourselves in fields

ومنذ فارقنا سطرسبورغ ونحن في بساتين

[39] Etienne Alexandre Millerand (1859-1943) served as French Minister of War in 1912- 1915, and in 1919-1920, he was commissioner-general in Alsace-Lorraine. He was Prime Minister of France then President of France from 1920 to 1924.

filled with houses and farms as if it was one city stretching until the border. It is a distance of about half an hour in the automobile. We found on the Rhine a huge iron bridge, similar to the bridge we have described in Bordeaux. It is considered part of Alsace because the river valley is part of the Alsace country, and the limit is the bank of the river on the German side. It is considered one of the biggest and strongest bridges, with border control at its edge.

On the border road, we met a French colonel, the deputy of General Mangin, chief of the occupation army in the German land of Sarre. He welcomed us and escorted us until we entered the German port of Kiel, an important port on the previously mentioned river where large ships sailed to the corners of the earth. We saw there the tricolour flag flapping and the French soldiers keeping guard and attending to the occupation affairs and the Germans attending to their own business. In the port, the activity was great and hectic, and the ships countless.

Then we returned to Strasbourg and had dinner at General Gouraud's. It was a sumptuous banquet attended by the three delegations and some of his general staff. Before sitting down to dinner, the general gave a grandiose speech which was translated by the eloquent Monsieur Morsi, the translator in the Ministry of War, in which he expressed his special proclivity to Morocco, more particularly to Fez, considering himself one of its people. He

عامرة آهلة بالدور والضياع إلى أن وصلنا إلى وادي الرين الذي هو الحد الفاصل بين ألزاسيا وألمانيا، وكأنما هي مدينة متصلة إلى الحدود، وهي مسافة نحو نصف ساعة في الأتومبيل. ووجدنا على الرين قنطرة ضخمة حديدية على نحو ما وصفنا في قنطرة بوردو، وهي معدودة من الألزاس لأن الوادي من أرض الألزاس، والحد هو ضفة الوادي من جهة ألمانيا والقنطرة من أضخم القناطر وأوثقها. وفي طرفها عسة الحدود.

وقد لقينا في طرق الحدادة كولونيلاً افرانساوياً نائباً عن رئيس الجيش المحتل في أرض السار التي هي ألمانية وهو الجنرال مانجان فرحب بنا وتقدم معنا حتى دخلنا مرسى كيال الألمانية، وهي مرسى مهمة على النهر المذكور الذي تجري فيه السفن الكبار إلى أقطار الأرض فرأينا هناك الراية المثلثة خافقة والجنود الفرانساوية حارسة قائمة بشؤون الاحتلال، والألمانيون في أشغالهم. والأشغال هناك عظيمة مهمة ناشطة. وهناك في المرسى مراكب كثيرة.

ثم رجعنا إلى سطرسبورغ وكانت العشاء عند الجنرال كوروا، أعدها مأدبة فاخرة حضرها الوفود الثلاثة وبعض أركان حربه. وقبل الدخول للأكل ألقى الجنرال المذكور خطاباً فخيماً ترجمه الترجمان الفصيح موسيو مرسي، الترجمان في

الوزارة الحربية، أعرب فيها عن ما له من الميل الخاص للمغرب وخصوصاً فاسا التي يعد نفسه واحداً من أهلها. واعترف بما شاهده من بسالة الجنود المغربية والجزائية والتونسية الذين هم أولاد حضانة افرانسا وعدد مزاياهم في السنة الأولى، والثانية ، والثالثة، والرابعة من الحرب التي ظهرت في معركة المارن وفردن وغيرهما من المعارك العظمى حتى دفعوا العدو المهاجم عن أمهم افرانسا. وأثنى على السلطان مولاي يوسف وباي تونس وحكام الإيالات الثلاث الذين عاونوا بصدق وإخلاص زائد فائق حد ما كان يرجى منهم حتى بقيت الإيالات الثلاث صادقة متمتعة بالأمن والعافية، معينة بكل ما لديها من نفس ونفيس قائلاً: إنه لا يزال يذكر مذاكرة بينه وبين عقلاء فاس لما ذهب مقيماً عامّاً للمغرب في الوسيلة التي يحفظ بها الأمن في المغرب وأنهم أشاروا له بأمرين: الأول، بقاء القوة العسكرية الموجودة إذ ذاك من غير أن ينقص منها شيء. الثاني،عدم طول الحرب. قال: وقد بقي الأمن كما كان واختل الشرطان المذكوران فقد أخذنا بعض العساكر من المغرب وطالت الحرب وبقي الأمن مما دلنا على محبة المغاربة فينا وصدقهم معنا. وقد أجابه رؤساء الوفود كذلك بما يناسب المقام .

acknowledged the courage he witnessed in the Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian soldiers who are the foster children of France (*hum awladu hadanatu ifransa*). He also talked about their achievements in the first, second, third and fourth years of the war exhibited in the battle of the Marne, Verdun, and other great battles where they pushed back the enemy that was attacking their mother France. Additionally, he eulogized Sultan Moulay Youssef and the Bey of Tunisia, as well as the rulers of the three provinces (*iyalat*)[40] who assisted with the utmost sincerity and loyalty, as was expected of them, so that the three provinces have remained sincere and have enjoyed peace and prosperity, helping with human and any precious resources. He said that he still remembers a conversation with the scholars of Fez when he went as a Resident General of Morocco, on the means to maintain security in Morocco. They pointed out two things to him: "First, keeping the present military forces without any reduction. Second, that the war shouldn't last too long." He said: "The security has remained as it was, even when two conditions were breached. We did take some soldiers from Morocco and the war lasted longer; nevertheless, security remained, which convinced to us of the Moroccanss love and sincerity towards us." The heads of the delegation also responded to

[40] A reference to Algeria.

appropriately.

At the end of the speech, the tables were laid and we had dinner, then we exchanged the toasts, and distributed his picture to the members of the delegation and asked them to write down their names in his personal golden book as a souvenir.

وبعد الفراغ من الخطب مدت الموائد وتناولنا طعام العشاء وتبودلت الأنخاب بعده، وفرق على أعضاء الوفد صورته وطلب من أعضاء الوفد كتابة أسمائهم في دفتره المذهب الخاص به ليبقى تذكاراً عنده و تفرق القوم شاكرين.

TRAVEL TO SAINT ODILE

In the morning, we got into the automobiles and headed for the city of Balfour, on our way back to Paris. We passed fertile lands, cultivated with modern machines pulled by cows, a most beautiful sight pleasing to the eyes. Vegetables and fruits were in abundance, exceeding the imagination of a farmer who loved agriculture. This scenery lasted an hour. Then we started climbing the mountain road between great forest trees and climbed higher and higher into the mountains, passing through tree-cutting areas and woodcutting machines. We also saw various types of trees and mountainous scenery and such beautiful natural sceneries that celebrated the mind and charmed the eyes charmed until we arrived at a house called Saint Odile, at the top of the mountain. It was an establishment for monks, where was an inn selling food. They prepared lunch for us there and we ate it. The food was good, and the place had luscious, glamorous

السفر إلى سانت أوديل

وفي الصباح ركبنا الأتومبيلات وتوجهنا قاصدين مدينة بلفور، راجعين إلى باريز، فمررنا على أرض خصبة، مزروعة بآلات حديثة متقنة تجرها البقر، أحسن ما رأينا وأجمل ما اكتحلت به أعيننا. فيها من الخضر والفواكه فوق ما يتصور فكر فلاح مغرم بالفلاحة وذلك نحو ساعة. وبعدها تعلقنا في الطريق الجبلي بين أشجار الغاب العظيمة وصعدنا في الجبال صعداً صعداً، ونحن نمر بمقاطع الشجر وماكينات نشر الأخشاب. ورأينا من أنواع المناظر الشجرية والجبلية ومحاسن الطبيعة ما أسكر أذهاننا وسحر عيوننا حتى وصلنا إلى منزل يقال له سانت أوديل، في رأس جبل، وهو محل الرهبان وفيه نزل يباع فيه الطعام أعدوا لنا فيه طعام الغذاء تناولناه هناك. وكان الغذاء جيداً، والمحل ذا مناظر زاهية زاهرة

scenery, since it was on a high place overlooking the great forests connected through soaring mountains. One saw nothing but the aligned mountains covered with a variety of beautiful-looking trees.

حيث هو عالٍ مشرف على غابات عظيمة متصلة في جبال شامخة لا ترى إلا الجبال المصطفة المسكوة بأنواع من الشجر الجميل المنظر .

CONVERSATION WITH A MONK ON TURKEY'S POLITICS AND THE ISLAMIC CALIPHATE

After the meal, we wandered into the beautiful garden to rest while the drizzling rain was falling, when the chief monk, the head of the monks, came to us, requested permission to speak to us and ask some questions. I stood then standing with the head of our delegation, the Minister Mr. Haj Mohammed Mokri and the Pasha of Rabat, while Monsieur Lemaire, mentioned earlier, translated for us. He asked about matters related to Morocco until he shifted to another matter and said: "What do you think of Islam? Does Islam want to build the caliphate in the hands of the Turks in Constantinople or to move from them to the Sharif of Makka?" The Minister replied that in the majority of the Muslims whose thoughts we were familiar with, oppose the caliphate to move from the Turks to the Arabs of Makka, and none of them would appreciate it at all. The priest said: "and why not?" The minister: Because the Caliphate has continued for 600 years in Turkey, which is nearly half the age of Islam. I said

مذاكرة راهب في سياسة تركيا والخلافة الإسلامية

بعد الطعام صرنا نطوف في حديقة المحل الجميلة للاستراحة والمطر ينزل رذاذ ، وإذا بالراهب الكبير، رئيس رهبنية المحل جاء عندنا ، فاستأذن في الكلام معنا وفي إلقاء بعض الأسئلة، وكنت واقفا مع رئيس وفدنا الوزير السيد الحاج محمد المقري وباشا الرباط ، وكان بترجم علينا موسيو بير الذي تقدم الكلام عنده، فسأل عن سائل تتعلق بالمغرب إلى أن تخلص إلى مسألة أخرى فقال : ما رأيكم في الإسلام هل يريد بناء الخلافة في يد الترك بالقسطنطينية أو تخرج منهم إلى شريف مكة؟ فأجاب الوزير إن المسلمين الذين نعلم أفكارهم قاطبة لا برضون خروج الخلافة عن الترك إلى عرب مكة، ولا يروق ذلك في عين أحد قط منهم، فقال الراهب ولم ذلك؟ الوزير : لأن الخلافة مضى عليها 600 سنة وهي في التركي

to him that Muslims were not fanatical about the Arab race, and do not consider Qurashi a condition for the Caliphate to be the condition, just the condition of perfection, which is one of the fundamentals of religion, "All believers are but brethren."[41] Within the general Islamic thought, the ultimate aim is carrying out the duties and preserving the religious rites of the Two Holy Mosques, and Turkey has performed all this in the best way, and history states nothing contrary to that; besides Muslims prefer the survival of the old rather than chastise it. The monk said: "what you said is right, but the Party of Turkiya al Fatat[42] has corrupted Turkish politics by siding with Germany. I told him: The Ottomans have become aware of that and will surely correct this mistake, and shall side with the policy of the Allies. And had not Russia been on your side, Turkey would never have entered the war against you because you are its old allies and have been profitable to it in crucial times such as your assistance in the Crimean War.[43] How can you expect the Turk to fight side by side with the Russians while Russia is the sworn enemy who aspires to completely eradicate Turkey? In the same way that a Frenchman can't be expected to fight alongside a German. This is the only obstacle that

وهي نصف ماضي عمر الإسلام تقريبا. فقلت له إن المسلمين لا يتعصبون للجنسية العربية، ولا يعتبرون شرط القرشية في الخلافة إلأ شرط كمال، والذي هو من أصول الدين : إنما المومنون إخوة» ، فالمقصد عند الفكر العام الإسلامي هو القيام بحقوق الحرمين الشريفين، والمحافظة على الشعائر الدينية، وقد قامت بذلك تركيا منذ نشأتها خير قيام، ما حفظ لها التاريخ شيئا يخالف ذلك، والمسلمون يحبون بقاء القديم على بذمه ، فقال ايراهب : إن ما ذكرتموه حق، ولكن حزب تركيا الفتاة أفد سياسة تركيا بميلهم إلى ألمانيا، فقلت له : لقد عرف العثمانيون ذلك، ولا شك أنهم سيصلحون هذا الخطأ الذي وقع منهم، ويميلون لسياسة الخلفاء، على أن تركيا لولا وجود روسيا معكم ما كانت لتدخل الحرب ضدكم أبدأ، لأنكم حلفاؤها القدماء الذين نفعتموها في أوقات لا تنسى معونتكم فيها كحرب القريم ، لكن لما كانت روسيا هي العدوة اللدودة التي تريد محو تركيا كلية، فكيف يمكن طبعا أن يقاتل التركي بجنب الروسي،

[41] *The Qur'an*, Chapter "Al Hujurat," verse, 10. Asad's translation.

[42] It is called in Turkish "Jön Türkler" or "Genç Türkler," , which means The Young Turks.

[43] The Crimean War took place in 1853-1856. Russia lost the war to an alliance of the Ottoman Empire, France, Britain, and Sardinia.

prevented Turkey from entering the war on your side. The monk said: “This is no doubt, but what’s the reason why Islam refuses the caliphate to the Arabs of Hijaz?” I said to him: “Are there any people willing to be under the sovereignty of the nation who has still not completed its refinement, instead of a refined and learned nation, even if relatively.” The monk said in justice: “I marvel at your fairness and the freedom of thought. Aren’t you of the Arab race?” I said to him: “Yes, I and the chief are true Arabs, but saying the truth is our duty, and we have demonstrated to you that Islam is not a fanatic about race. And, your honour, we have answered you not according to our thought on the issue, but the thought of the Islamic world, that is the African one. We have to tell you the reality.” His excellency the Minister said to him: “Since France cares for the Muslims who are children in her embrace, and she always takes their emotions into account, she should be concerned for the preservation of the status of Turkey and not hold accountable the whole of Turkey for what the Party of Turkiya al Fatat, the ignorant of the consequences of war, committed.” The monk said: It is so. Unfortunately, however, there are with France other countries that do share its opinion on this issue.

كما لا يمكن أن يقاتل الفرنسي بجنب الألماني أبدا، فهذا هو المانع الوحيد من دخول تركيا معكم. فقال الراهب: هذا لا شك فيه، ولكن ما هو السبب الذي لأجله يأنف الإسلام من خلافة عرب الحجاز؟ فقلت له : أي شعب يرضى أن يجعل السيادة عليه لأمة لا زالت لم تستكمل التهذيب بذل أمة مهذبة عالمة، ولو نسبيا ، فأنصف الراهب قائلا : إني أتعجب من إنصافك وحرية فكرك، ألستم من جنسية العرب؟ فقلت له: بلى ، أنا والصدر من صميم العرب، ولكن قول الحق واجب علينا، وقد بينا لك أن الإسلام لا يتعصب للجنسية، لا سيما وحضرتك ما أجبناها عن فكرنا في المسألة، بل عن فكر العالم الإسلامي يعني الإفريقي، فيجب علينا أن نحدثك بالواقع، فقال له جناب الوزير : إنه بمناسبة ما لفرانسا من الرعاية المسلمين الذين هم أولاد حضنها، وهي تراعى عواطفهم دائما ، فينبغي لها أن تكون معينة لتركيا على بقاء كيانها وأن لا تواخذ عموم تركيا بما فعله حزب الفتاة الجاهل بعواقب الحرب، فقال الراهب: الأمر كذلك، ولكن، بكل أسف، إن مع افرانسا دولا أخرى ليسوا على فكرها في ذلك.

CITY OF COLMAR

At 2 o'clock, we drove from Saint Odile and slowly descended down through the mountains to the plain until we reached the town of Colmar. It is a town on a river whose water was gathered from the waters flowing from the mountains. We stopped there to rest for half an hour and toured through its neighbourhood and organised markets. It is a small town with organised roads, a nice shape, and a population of about thirty thousand.

مدينة كولمار

وفي الساعة 2 ركبنا من سانت أوديل وتدلينا من الجبال رويداً رويداً إلى السهل إلى أن وصلنا إلى مدينة كولمار، وهي مدينة على وادي تجمع ماؤه من سيول تلك الجبال فوقفنا بها ريثما استرحنا نصف ساعة وطفنا في حاراتها وأسواقها المنتظمة فإذا هي مدينة صغيرة منتظمة الطرق، ظريفة الشكل سكانها نحو ثلاثين ألفا.

CITY OF MULHOUSE

Then we left it and headed for Mulhouse, where we arrived at half past five in the evening. It was one of the most beautiful European cities, with spacious and organised streets, and nice squares. However, the war gnawed at it with its fangs. The artillery and aeroplanes have demolished, though to a limited extent, some of its suburbs. The readers of newspapers learned that General D'amade, who gained war notoriety in Casablanca and Chaouia, had occupied Mulhouse at the beginning of the war with twenty-five thousand fighters and drove the Germans from it because they were near the Alsatian border. But the Germans resumed their offensive with a huge number of troops, outnumbering them so that the fighting took place even in the

مدينة ملهوز

ثم نهضنا منها إلى ملهوز، فوصلنا في الساعة الخامسة والنصف مساء، فإذا هي من أجمل المدن الأوروبية: لها أزقة فسيحة منتظمة، وميادين لطيفة. إلا أن الحرب عضّتها بنابها: فقد خربت المدافع والطيارات بعض أطرافها، ولكن ليس بكثير. وقد علم قراء الجرائد أن الجنرال دماد صاحب الشهرة الحربية في الدار البيضاء والشاوية ، فقد احتل في أول الحرب بخمسة وعشرين ألف مقاتل في ملهوز وطرد الألمان منها لأنها واقعة قرب حدود ألزاسيا، لكن استأنف الألمان الهجوم عليها بقوات غفيرة وكاثروه حتى

streets of the city. The French defended it all they could but to no avail against bigger numbers, then vacated it. The effects of bullets were still on the walls of the city and its buildings fissured by the heavy artillery.

Then we headed to Balfour, the first in French territories. We passed by many forests, some of which were burnt by the war and where there remained buildings between the trees, and that was an amazing wonder. We also passed by many villages, most of which were slightly damaged by war. There were various kinds of farms.

وقع القتال في شوارع المدينة. ودافع الفرنساويون دفاعاً كثيراً لم يغنِ شيئاً تجاه الكثرة فأفرغوها، ولا زال أثر الرصاص في جدر المدينة وأبنتيها مصدعة بصداع المدافع الضخمة.

ثم توجهنا على بلفور، التي هي في أول أرض افرانسا، فمررنا على غابات كثيرة بعضها أحرقته الحرب وبقيت بعض المنازل التي كانت متخللة تلك الغياض، وذلك من أعجب ما يتعجب منه. ومررنا على قرى عديدة، جلها أصابته أضرار حربية ليست بكثيرة. وهناك مزارع متنوعة.

CITY OF BALFORT

Here is the description of Belford, which we reached at 8 o'clock on the evening of Friday.

We didn’t see Balfour until we were inside it, because it is in the midst of soaring mountains on the Alsatian side. They built strong forts on every mountain and multiple lines of fire, like a city hidden among mountains trees, and trenches of water. We climbed the high mountains, covered with forests souring in the sky and arrived at a narrow tortuous passage dug out of the mountain only wide enough for a cart. The passage had an iron gate, beneath which was a ditch on which there was a bridge. We crossed on the bridge and here we were in

مدينة بلفور

وإليك البيان عن وصف بلفور التي وصلناها في الساعة 8 مساء من ليلة الجمعة . إننا لم نرَ بلفور حتى كنا في داخلها، لأنها في وسط جبال شاهقة من جهة الألزاس وجعل في كل جبل حصون متينة وخطوط نار متعددة، كمدينة مخبوءة بين الجبال والأشجار وخنادق الأنهار، فصعدنا تلك الجبال الشاهقة التي هي غابات غناء في السماء وإذا بثنية في جبل منحوتة ضيقة مقدار ما يسع العربة وبها باب حديدي، ودونها خندق عليه قنطرة مررنا عليها فإذا نحن في بلفور. وتلك

القنطرة ترفع عند الحاجة، فلا يمكن الوصول للمدينة من الخندق المملوء ماء. فأحصن محل رأيته هذه المدينة التي حفّها الله بجبال شامخة نحتت أجوافها اليد الفرنساوية وملأتها بالحصون والمدافع والمؤن والذخائر والأمور الجهنمية التي لا يرى منها شيء. حتى الطاقات التي فيها المدافع يجعلون عليها النبات بحيث إن الضارب يرى ولا يُرى. وتقيم العساكر الكثيرة المدة الطويلة لا تحتاج إلى زاد، لوفرة ما تحت يدها منه. وهناك منازل واسعة وبيوت كاملة المرافق ومستكملة الراحة والرفه للجنود وضباطهم، كأنهم في دورهم لا ينقصهم شيء من أسباب الراحة مع المواصلة التامة بينهم وبين الداخلية بالطرق المخبوءة وراء الجبال المتينة.

ولا شك أن الألمان كانوا عالمين بحصانة هذه المدينة وعدم إفادة الهجوم عليها، لعدم جواز اجتيازها عقلاً أو عادة، فلذلك تركوه فيما أظن إذ لم نرَ هناك آثار الهجوم التي في فردن مثلاً، وإنما آثار الطلقات من العسس والطيارات. فحصانة بلفور طبيعية، بما أحدق بها من الجبال والوعر والأودية والخنادق الطبيعية ثم زادوها حصانة ومتانة بالحصون الصناعية التي اتخذوها في تلك الجبال وأعانتهم عليها تلك الأوعار التي صارت مدينة بلفور مخبوءة في أحشائها. بل الحدود

Belfort. The bridge could be lifted when necessary so that there was no access to the city because of the ditch filled with water. Indeed this is the most fortified place I ever saw was this city, which God blessed with towering mountains, where French hands dug moats and established forts furnished with cannons, provision, ammunition, and unseen hellish things. Even the artillery windows were covered by vegetation so that the shooters can see while unseen. A great number of soldiers reside there for long periods of time without needing provisions due to the abundance of what they have already secured. There are many spacious houses and rooms with all the needed facilities to provide comfort and entertainment for soldiers and their officers, as if they were in their own houses, not lacking any of the means of comfort, with good transportation between them and the interior by means roads concealed behind the strong mountains.

The Germans were undoubtedly aware of the fortifications of this city and the futility of attacking it because it was inconceivable to conquer it. That is why it seems to me, they gave up on it and there were no signs of attacks as were in Verdun, for example. There were just the traces of firing from sentinels and the aeroplanes. Belfort has natural fortifications, being surrounded by impassable mountains, rivers, and ditches. This is enhanced by the fortresses they established in those mountains and the harsh terrain where the

الألزاسية اللورانية كلها بهذه الصفة، لذلك اختار الألمان خرق المعاهدات والهجوم من جهة البلجيك المحايدة على خرق خطوط النار التي بالألزاس واللورين. فكان ذلك سبباً في تهييج الفكر العالمي ضدهم في المعمور، فخسروا الانتصار في هذه الحرب رغماً عن استعدادهم وقوة مخترعاتهم التي كانت سبباً في فناء عالم عظيم. وما النصر إلا من عند الله.

وأول ما دخلنا سياج المدينة رأينا أبراجاً كثيرة واستحكامات هائلة، بادية وخفية، ومررنا على برج فتحوا بابه فرأينا فيه صورة أسد مهول له جثة عظيمة، أظنها من نحاس، طوله ست مترات فأكثر وأتقنوا صنعه حتى كأنه أسد حقيقي. وقد جعلوا هذا الأسد تذكاراً للحامية الفرنساوية التي دافعت عن هذه المدينة في حرب السبعين المعلومة. فقد صبرت الحامية صبراً عظيماً ودافعت دفاعاً مجيداً، ولكن الألمان أحاطوا بها وتقدموا لباريز فما نفعها إلا أن سلمت المدينة إليهم على شرط بقاء شرف الحامية وهو خروجها بسلاحها ومعداتها إلى افرانسا. أما في هذه الحرب الأخيرة فإن التحصينات العديدة الجديدة منعت الألمان أن يفعلوا مثل ذلك، فكانت شجىً عظيماً في طريقهم.

city of Balfour is hidden inside its depths. In fact, all the Alsatian-Lorrainian borders are of this nature. That's why the Germans decided to breach the treaties and attack from the neutral Belgian side instead of breaching the lines of fire in Alsace and Lorraine. This explains the mobilization of the world's opinion against them, and thus they lost victory in this war despite their preparations and the strength of their inventions, which was the cause of the ruin of a great world. "No succour can come from any save God."[44]

The moment we entered the fence of the city, the first things we saw were numerous towers and impressive fortifications, visible and hidden. We passed by one of the towers and they opened its door, and we saw a sculpture of a dreadful lion with a gigantic body. I think it was made of copper. Its length is six meters and more. They perfected it to the point that it looked like a real lion. They created this lion in honour of the French troops who defended this city during the famous 70s war.[45] They withheld with great perseverance and defended it gloriously, but the Germans encircled it and moved to Paris so that they had no other choice than to surrender the city to them on condition of preserving the honour of the defenders by allowing them to leave with their weapons and equipment to France. In this last war, however, the many new fortifications

[44] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "Al Imran," verse, 126. Asad's translation.

[45] A reference to the 1870-1871 war between France and Germany.

prevented the Germans from repeating what they did. Thus becoming a formidable obstacle in their path.

Then we stayed at Grand Hotel, and it deserves to bear that name. It is a large and wide place, with all the commodities, of perfect decoration and luxury.

Although the city is on rugged terrain, its road is wide and organised, and, like other European cities, has squares, gardens, and public parks, as well as a great number of statues of men of war.

It was founded about 250 years ago, during the reign of Louis XIV.

ثم إننا نزلنا في كران أوتيل، ويحق أن يسمى بهذا الاسم: فإنه محل وسيع رفيع، كامل المرافق، تام الزخرفة والرفاهية.

ثم المدينة على وعرة محلها فطرقها وسيعة منتظمة، فيها ما في المدن الأوروبية من الميادين والأغراس والمنتزه العمومي، وفيها كثير من التماثيل لرجال الحرب.

وقد أسست من منذ نحو 250 سنة، على عهد لويز الرابع عشر.

RETURN TO PARIS

On Friday morning, Shawwal 26th, we boarded the train at 10 o'clock, heading for Paris, where we arrived in the evening. On the way, we passed by many towns, villages, wild forests and plantations. The war has inflicted some damage to those houses, still much less than in Verdun.

On our arrival to Paris, the delegations disbanded and each one became free to go wherever he pleased, and spend on himself day and night.

Thus, the period of our adherence to the constraints of the delegation, since our departure from Fez until now, is twenty-two days.

الأوبة إلى باريز

وفي صبيحة الجمعة 26 شوال ركبنا منها متن السكة الحديدية، في الساعة 10، وتوجهنا إلى باريز فوصلنا في العشي. ومررنا في طريقنا على عمائر وقرى وأحراج وأغراس. وقد أثرت الحرب بعض التخريب على تلك المنازل، ولكن أخف مما هو بجهة فردن بكثير.

وبوصولنا إلى باريز انحلت جمعية الوفود وأصبح، بل أمسى كل واحد حراً يذهب حيث شاء يصرف على نفسه في يومه وأمسه.

فكانت مدة تقيدنا بقيود الوفادة، من لدن الخروج من فاس إلى الآن، اثنين وعشرين يوماً.

REASON FOR TRAVELLING TO ENGLAND

When the delegation broke up each member chose to head for a destination to fulfil what he wanted, whether a medical or commercial purpose, or no other purpose save wasting money that was easily acquired and to be boastful. As for me, I decided to go to London and Manchester because of the wonders I have heard about them, to learn about commercial affairs and visit some factories and the friends of my father, peace be upon him, who had resided in Manchester for a period to trade,[1] from 1300 to 1306 of the Hegira.[2] He returned to it twice, but unlike the first time, he stayed there for shorter periods. His last visit was in 1319[3] of the Hegira, may God bless his soul.

We proceeded to acquire the travel permission, carried out certain matters, and visited some shops in Paris, until Wednesday 13, July. Then, we had to go to the English *Consulato*[4] to have our travel documents stamped. The consul inquired about my destination and the purpose of my travel and I

السفر إلى إنجلترا وسببه

إن الوفد لما انحل اختار كل من رجاله أن يذهب إلى جهة لقضاء ما تعلق له به مأرب صحي أو تجاري، أو لا مأرب سوى تبذير المال الذي أتى عفواً ليقال..أما أنا، فإني اخترت أن أذهب إلى لندرة ومنشستير، لما أسمع عنهما من العجائب، وللنظر في شؤون تجارية وزيارة بعض المعامل وأصحاب سيدي الوالد رحمه الله هناك حيث إنه أقام في منشستير للتجارة مدة من سنة 1300 إلى 1306. ثم رجع إليها مرتين، ولكن أقام مدة ليست بطويلة كالأولى، وآخر عهده بها سنة 1319 رحمه الله وقدس روحه.

وقد باشرنا التسريح ، وقضاء بعض الأغراض، ومشاهدة بعض محلات في باريز، إلى يوم الأربعاء 30 يوليوز، بعدما لزمنا أن نذهب إلى قنسلاتوا النجليز للطبع على تذاكر السفر. وقد

[1] In his autobiography, al Hajwi's son, Mohamed al Mahdi, states, "In 1919, I accompanied my father on his travels to Europe with the delegation of ministers and governors to attend the Armistice celebrations in Paris. … Then we broke from the delegation from the delegation and sailed from the port of Boulogne to England. Here, too, in London we attended Armistice celebrations. We visited some of the great cities of this country. Then we returned to France and sailed to Morocco from Marseilles." See, Mohamed Bin Al Abbas Al Kabbaj, *Al Adab al Arabi fi al Maghrib al Aqsa*, vol. 2 (Beirute: Dar al Koutub al Ilmiya, 2005), pp. 127-28.

[2] From 1882 to 1888 in the Gregorian calendar.

[3] 1901 in the Gregorian calendar.

[4] *Consulato* Al Hajwi uses the Spanish term for Consul.

answered him that my destination was London and Manchester for tourism and commerce. He received seven Francs, the stamp fees, and we set forth in peace.

Our train departed from Gare du Nord in Paris at 12, noon.

سألني القنصل عن وجهتي وقصدي من السفر. فأجبته بأني أريد لندرة ومنشستير لسياحة وتجارة. فقبض سبعة افرنك، أجرة الطبع، وتوجهنا على جناح السلامة. وكان تحرك القطار بنا من محطة الشمال بباريز في الساعة 12 نهاراً.

THE ROUTE FROM PARIS TO BOULOGNE

الطريق من باريز إلى بولون

On the way, we passed by a number of villages and farms, many of which were damaged by the war, destroyed or shattered, especially when we reached Amiens. The scale of such destruction and demolition we saw there pains hearts. But even before reaching the city, we found these scenes. Once we were one hour far from Paris, the effects of the war became manifest. And on approaching Amiens, we noticed many tranches, diggings and the earth turned inside out. We also saw many ammunition magazines and a great number of military equipment, especially those of the English since that was their warzone, though they had carried back home great quantities after the war and sold a lot to France and still remained there many military storages and soldiers.

مررنا في الطريق على جملة قرى وضياع، وكثير من ذلك أضرت الحرب به تهديماً أو تصديعاً، ولا سيما لما وصلنا أميان، فقد وجدنا بها آثار التخريب والتهديم ما يؤلم القلوب. بل وقبل وصولنا إليها وجدنا ذلك، مهما بعدنا عن باريز بنحو ساعة إلا وظهرت الآثار الحربية. ومهما قربنا من أميان رأينا كثيراً من الخنادق والحفريات وقلب الأرض ظهراً لبطن. ووجدنا مخازن الذخائر والمعدات الحربية الكثيرة، ولا سيما للإنجليز الذي كانت تلك الأرض منطقة حربه، مع أنه حمل لبلاده شيئاً كثيراً بعد الحرب وباع في افرانسا كثيراً ولم يزل له هناك كثير من الخزائن والعساكر.

REFUTATION OF A FALSEHOOD

تكذيب فرية

Many people claim that American soldiers treated the French roughly and disrespectfully since they helped them with

يقول كثير من الناس إن عساكر أميركا تظهر غلظة وفظاظة على الفرنساويين، ودالة عليهم بإعانتهم في الحرب وظهور الانتصار على يدهم

the war and victory was achieved thanks to them and their assistance. Such accusations are greatly exaggerated. Let me recount to you an anecdote that accrued to me, and although it shouldn't be generalized, it still can serve for comparison with other cases.

After my departure from Paris and each passenger settled in his seat in the iron carriage, I left my seat at lunch time and went to the restaurant. I left my prayer rag spread on my seat and my son's seat. There were sitting with us some American soldiers and an old French woman. And having returned from our meal, we found that American soldiers had occupied our seats. My son talked to them but they didn't understand him and ignored him. So he went to the train captain, who was French, and complained to him about what the Americans had done. He came up to them and talked to them but they didn't answer him. He went to an American officer and brought him to remove them from our seats. However, the officer didn't understand the train captain because of his ignorance of the French language and so he left. At that moment the captain went up to them and pointed at the prayer rag they were sitting on as proof that the seats were ours. They handed him the rag and remained seated in our seats. So he aggressively removed them from the seats. He grabbed each by his arm and pulled him away, though the body of each of them was greater than that of the captain. They left in humiliation and we took back our seats. This is proof that what people say about the Americans' abuse in the land of France is much exaggerated.

We have often seen their soldiers enjoying themselves in Paris and Bordeaux,

وبمعونتهم. ولقد بالغوا في هذا القول كثيراً. وإني أقصُّ عليك قضية وقعت لي، وإن لم يكن لها عموم، لكن يقاس عليها غيرها.

فبعد انفصالي من باريز وأخذ كل واحد من الركاب محله في العربة الحديدية خرجت من محل الجلوس إلى محل الأكل وقت الغذاء. وتركت لبدة الصلاة مفروشة في محل جلوسي ومحل جلوس ولدي. وكان بعض عساكر الأمريكان معنا جلوساً، وامرأة عجوز فرنساوية. فلما رجعنا من الأكل وجدنا عساكر أميركا جلست في محلنا. فكلمهم الولد فلم يفهموه وتجاهلوا. فذهب عند رئيس الوابور الذي هو افرانساوي وشكى له فعل الأمريكان. فجاءهما وكلمهما فلم يجيباه. فذهب عند ضابط أمريكي وأتى به ليقيم العسكريين من محلنا، فلم يفهم الضابط كلام الرئيس لجهله لغة افرانسا وذهب. فعند ذلك تقدم الرئيس وأشار للعسكريين إلى اللبدة التي تحتهما وأنها دليل على أن المحل لنا، فأعطياه إياها وبقيا جالسين في محلنا. فعند ذلك عمد إليهما وأزاحهما عن المحلين بعنف: أخذ بذراع كل واحد وأنهضه، مع أن كل واحد منهما أعظم جثة من الرئيسين، فذهبا ذليلين وجلسنا في محلنا. فهذا دليل أن ما يقوله الناس عن اعتساف عساكر الأمريكان في أرض افرانسا هو قول مبالغ فيه.

وطالما رأينا عساكرهم تمرح في باريز وبوردوا، لا تضر أحدا ولا تخرج عن النظام. نعم، ذكروا لنا أن في بوردوا بوليساً أمريكياً

لإعانة البوليس البلدي في المحافظة على الأمن العام عسى أن العسكر الأمريكي إن وقع منه خصام عادي بعضه مع بعض، أو مع غيره، فيكون البوليس الأمريكي رادعاً له وملزماً له باحترام الحقوق والآداب. والحالة أن كل يوم تسافر عساكر أمريكا لبلادها لتمام المأمورية الحربية.

ولنرجع لإتمام سفرنا فنقول: إننا رأينا في طريقنا بقرب أميان، قبلها وبعدها، خرابات كثيرة مما جنته يد الحرب الضروس على الإنسانية ويأسف له كل رقيق القلب. ولكن ما فيها أقل بكثير مما رأينا في جهات فردن. ثم الأرض مزروعة بإتقان، على نحو ما وصفنا من قبل، وبها الغابات المرتفعة الأشجار ولكن يظهر لي أنها أقل من الجهات الأخرى. وبها قرى كثيرة وعمائر متصلة وبعضها أصابه الخراب الحربي ولكن صارت الأعمال ترجع لمجراها وعمرت القرى بالسكان بعد خلائها. وهناك ثكنات للجنود عديدة ومنازل خشبية للمؤن والذخائر، في مساحة كبيرة من الأرض ممتدة مع مجرى الخط الحديدي في محال متعددة.

ثم مررنا على وادي كبير، لكن بقربه مستنقعات لانخفاض الأرض ورمليتها. وقد غرسوا أشجاراً لتجفيف تلك المستنقعات، ولكن قليلة.

harming anyone or breaking the law. Yes, we were told that in Bordeaux there were American police to assist the local police to maintain public security in case American soldiers are involved in ordinary fighting among themselves or with others, in which case the American police would deter and oblige them to respect rights and morals. And the fact is that every day American soldiers travel back home after completing their military mission.

Let’s go back to our trip and say: we saw on our way near Amiens, before and after it, unspeakable devastations inflicted by the fierce hand of war on humanity, painful to anyone with a tender heart. However, what we witnessed there was less than what we actually saw in the areas of Verdun. There the earth was well cultivated in the manner previously described and in it were forests with high trees, but they seem to me to be less than in the other regions. There were also many villages and connected buildings, some of which were hit by the war destructions. But, things were returning to normal and villages were re-inhabited by people after having been deserted. There are also numerous military barracks and wooden houses for supplies and ammunition on a vast piece of land, stretching along the railway track in many areas.

Then we passed by a large river, near which were many swamps because of the low sandy land, which they planted with trees, to dry the swamps, but there were just a few.

THE PORT OF BOULOGNE

مرسى بولون

Having come near the port of Boulogne, we perceived great buildings and massive works which attested to the greatness of the city because its port is situated between the three ports that connect France to England. And the sea distance between them is close, but the closest is the port of Calais, which is still not accessible to the general public but used for war matters that are carried back from France to England. The third port is Le Havre, the farthest of the three ports.

ولما قربنا من مرسى بولون ظهرت لنا آثار العمارة الكبرى والأعمال العظمى الدالة على أن المدينة مهمة، لأنها مرسى متوسطة إحدى المراسي الثلاث الموصلة بين أرض افرانسا وإنجلاتيرة. والمسافة في البحر بينهما قريبة من هذه المرسى ولكن أقرب منها مرسى كالي غير أنها لا زالت غير مستعملة لعامة الناس بل للأشياء الحربية التي ترجع من افرانسا إلى إنجلاتيرة. والمرسى الثالثة هي الهافر، وهي أبعد المراسي الثلاث .



Figure 7: Boulogne-Sur-Mer: Main Street

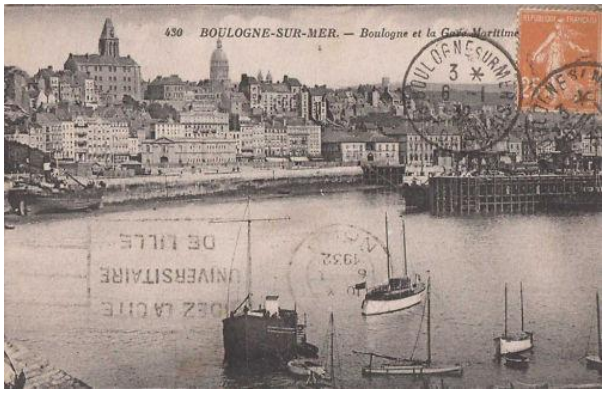


Figure 8: Port of Boulogne-Sur-Mer

In the port of Boulogne were many nice buildings and houses connected to each other, overlooking the sea, rising above it on two sides. It is situated on a river flowing in La Manche, entered by small and medium ships. It is a natural and safe port. And since it was inaccessible to the big ships, they built a

وبمرسى بولون مبانٍ كثيرة أنيقة ودور متصلة تظهر على البحر مرتفعة عنه على صفين، ومرساها على وادٍ يصب هناك في المانش تدخله المراكب الصغار والمتوسطة وهو مرسى طبيعي لها أمين. ولكن لما لم يسع المراكب الكبار، جعلوا

harbour at its border where ships are anchored, and it had a big mole into the sea with an artificial harbour for the anchorage of large ships safely from the currents of La Manche. Behind it was another bigger pier, an extremely secure and large harbour.

The river cut through the city on which were three bridges connecting the two sides of the city. One of them had twelve stony arches at the widest part of the river from the top, another one in the middle, and another at the port where the river narrowed, supported only on three arches and at it ended the smaller boats.

The train carried us to the port where we found the English vessel awaiting us and we walked just a few meters on foot. There the police took our documents, examined them, and gave us a paper which was taken from us by another police at the gate of the ship and gave us another one instead. Our embarkation was at four o'clock and we departed at twenty minutes past five.

What could be noticed here concerning the difference in morals between the English and the French is that this ship had a section reserved for women, which was the best one onboard, forbidden to men. And this was also the case with English trains. This we never observed with the French, and we only heard about it with the Ottomans. Isn't it deserving of Muslims to uphold such custom at sea as well as on land, since they have to wear the veil and cherish chastity?

And the English are well-known for their strong modesty and propriety, and for being less lewd towards their women and men, unlike other nations.

رصيفاً على حافته ترسو عليه السفن ولها مون كبير في البحر جعلوا عليه مرفأً صناعياً تأوي إليه السفن الكبار في مأمن من تيار المانش، ووراءه مون آخر أكبر منه، فهي مرسى أمين للغاية ومتسع.

ثم إن الوادي يشق المدينة ثلاثة قناطر توصل بين جهتي المدينة، من هذه لهذه: واحدة فيها نحو اثني عشر قوساً بُنيت بحجر، وذلك عند متسع الوادي من أعلاه، وأخرى في الوسط، وأخرى عند المرسى عند ضيق الوادي محمولة على ثلاثة أقواس فقط وعندها تنتهي السفن الصغار.

وقد وصل القطار بنا إلى الرصيف فوجدنا المركب النجليزي واقفا ينتظرنا، فمشينا على الأقدام بعض مترات فقط. فيها أخذ البوليس منا تذاكر ونظرها وأعطانا ورقة أخذها منا بوليس آخر بباب المركب البحري وأعطانا بدلها. وكان ركوبنا البحر في الساعة 4، وتحركنا في الساعة 5 ودقائق 20.

ومما يلاحظ هنا في الفرق بين أخلاق النجليز والإفرنسيين أن هذا المركب فيه محل خصوصي لركوب النسوة، هو أحسن محل في المركب، لا يدخله الرجال أصلاً. وكذلك يوجد هذا في السكة الحديدية النجليزية، وهذا ما رأيناه قط عند الإفرنسيين، وإنما نسمع بوجوده عند العثمانيين. وما أحق هذه العادة أن تكون عند عامة المسلمين، براً وبحراً، لما عندهم من الحجاب والحشمة.

ومن المعلوم في أخلاق النجليز شدة الحشمة والوقار، وقلة التهتك في نسائهم ورجالهم باعتبار الغالب فيهم بخلاف غيرهم.

إنجلاتيرة

ثم إن البحر كان رهواً ساكناً. ولما انفصلنا عن افرانسا بنحو دقائق 40 ظهر لنا الساحل النجليزيوجباله فصرنا بين المملكتين: ما غابت عنا هذه إلا وظهرت لنا هذه. وكانت المركب تسير سيراً حثيثاً، وكل مركب مررنا بها تركناها وراءنا إلى أن حللنا فولكسطون على الساعة الخامسة والنصف عشية وذلك بعد أن عانينا مشاق في طبع أوراق السفر على ظهر المركب. فقد عقد المكلفون بذلك مجلساً مركباً من ثلاث لجان، في كل لجنة عضوان وأمروا كل من في المركب أن يأتي إلى المجلس ليطبع أوراقه. وهناك يسأل سؤال نكير عن النقير والقطمير، كل لجنة تسأله وحدها وهم في صالون واحد: من أين أنت؟ وإلى أي مكان أردت؟ وعن قدر الجلوس الذي نويت، ومكان الازدياد وزمانه وعدد سني العمر بل أيامه، ومحل السكنى في البلد الأصلي والعدد المرقوم على الدار التي يسكنها وغير هذا من الأسئلة الباردة التي سألها قنصلهم في باريز ووقع الجواب عنها، وبعده بوليسهم في بولون، وهذه المرة الثالثة هنا. ولا زالت رابعة في لندرة، وخامسة في منشستر، وسادسة، وسابعة. ولا ينجو الإنسان من عذاب بوليس النجليز وثقل أسئلته إلى أن يفارق أرضهم .

كما قال ذلك العربي الذي بات في بلد

ENGLAND

The sea was easy and calm. And after 40 minutes of our departure from France, the English coast and its mountains appeared to us and we were between two kingdoms; as one disappeared, the other became into sight. The ship was sailing speedily, and each vessel we came across we left behind us until we reached Folkston at 5.30 in the afternoon, and that was after we endured hardships in stamping our travel papers on board the ship. The officials in charge formed an assembly composed of three committees, each consisting of two members. They summoned all who were on board to come to the assembly to have their papers stamped. And there they were asked very endless questions. Each committee asked its own questions while they were in the same room: “Where are you from?” “What is your destination?” “How long are you intending to stay?” The place and date of birth, and the age with the exact days. The home address in the original country. The house number and similar other cold questions that the Consul in Paris had asked and which were already answered, and then again by their police at Boulogne and this one here on board was the third. And there still remained a fourth in London, a fifth in Manchester, and a sixth and a seventh. Surely, one cannot escape the persecution of the English police and their tedious questions until one leaves their land.

As said the Arab who spent the night in

the city of Wassit[5] and urinated at night in one of the alleys, and was arrested by the police of Hajjaj bin Yusuf al-Thaqafi and spent the night in prison. When he was released, he came running out of the city of Wassit, saying,

واسط وبال ليلاً في أحد أزقتها، فقبض عليه شرطة الحجاج بن يوسف الثقفي وبات في السجن. فلما خرج منه هرول خارجاً من مدينة واسط وهو يقول :

When we passed the city of Wassit
We defecated and urinated fearing no punishment.

فلما تجاوزنا محلة واسط
خرئنا وبلنا لا نخاف عقابا

In brief, most of my travel days in England were regrettably wasted in going to police stations, waiting for my turn, answering questions, stamping the papers and similar things that were beneficial neither to us nor to them.

وحاصله أن أيام سفري في وجهة انجلاتيرة ضاع لي شطر من الوقت كبير يوجب الأسف: كله في الذهاب إلى محل البوليس وانتظار وجواب الأسئلة والطبع على الورق ونحو هذا مما لا فائدة فيه لنا ولا لهم.

Indeed, we concluded from all this that the English do not like foreigners to visit their country. Indeed, they want it sealed for travellers. As said one of the Greek philosophers, I believe it was Aristotle,

نعم، استفدنا من ذلك أن النجليز لا يحب زيارة غريب لبلده، بل يريد غلقها في وجه الطالبين كما قال بعض حكماء اليونان، وأظنه أرسطاليس: أبواب أثينا مفتوحة، فمن لم يقبل قوانينها فليبرحها.

"The doors of Athens are open and he who does not comply with its laws should quit it."

I saw in the English police a sort of apathy, followed by a cold smile. Verily, the French are much more tender and cheerful towards travellers than them.

ولقد رأيت من بوليس النجليز عبوساً، تظهر بعده ابتسامة باردة. وإن الفرنساويين لأرفق بالمسافر وأبش من هؤلاء بكثير.

The English ship we sailed on board was of no significance or elegance except what concerns its sailing machinery. And I did see wonders in it as it was entering the port of Folkston. The artificial port was shaped in a semi-circle and rather small. Reaching it, the ship came from behind the semi-circle and had to turn in order to get into

المركب النجليزي الذي سافرنا فيه بحراً ليس له أهمية ولا به تأنق، إلا من جهة آلات سيره. ولقد رأيت فيه عجباً عند دخول مرسى فولكسطون: فإن المرفأ الصناعي هو على شكل نصف دائرة وليس بعظيم. وحين انتهى المركب إليه جاء عن وراء نصف الدائرة فاضطر إلى أن

[5]Quoted from *Al Iqd al Fareed* (*The Unique Necklce*) by Ibn Abdu Rabbih al Andalussi, volume 3.

the port. However, it did not turn but continued onward in a straight line until it went past the port, then it moved backwards as fast as its onward velocity, keeping the same speed until it entered the port and anchored in it without reducing its speed. Thus in its backward movement, it went at full speed as in its onward pace. It did not slow down as did most ships we saw even at anchorage. All this persuaded me of the naval skills of the English for which they are famed. And what was noticeable was that in its backward motion it experienced no perturbation or leaning but its state remained the same during both the backward and onward movements.

ينعطف ليدخل فيها. لكن ما انعطف، وإنما بقي ذاهباً إلى الأمام راسماً خطاً مستقيماً حتى تجاوز المرفأ ثم رجع القهقرى مسرعاً كما كان في سيره الأمامي ولا زال يتقهقر بسرعة إلى أن وصل الرصيف ولاذ به حيناً من غير أن ينقص من حركته. فهو في تقهقره مشى على قوته المتحركة، كما كان في سيره الأمامي: فما تمهل، كما تفعل سائر السفن التي رأيناها. وكذا عند التصاقه بالرصيف. كل ذلك مما دلني على ما للإنجليز من المهارة البحرية التي طابق ما نسمع عنه. ومما يلاحظ أن المركب عند تقهقرها للوراء لم يحدث فيها اضطراب ولا ميلان، بل كانت حالتها عند تقهقرها كما كانت عند تقدمها.

FOLKSTON

It is an English sea port. Most of the city was built with bricks, neither limed nor whitened, except in some houses. The roofs were generally of zinc and the houses were in the shape of warehouses having two or three floors. The buildings were of no value compared to those in Boulogne save for some houses on the coast that appeared glamorous from afar. The trees were few but the streets were very clean. We waited there on the platform for the train for ten minutes. The moment it arrived it was packed with the waiting passengers. When we entered its narrow carriages we found a huge crowd, the women sitting while most of the men standing. I had no other choice but to use my bag as a substitute for a seat and thus we

فولكسطون

هي مرسى بحرية إنجليزية، بناؤها جلّه بالآجر غير مكلس ولا مبيض إلا قليلاً من الدور، وسقوفها إنما هي من الزنك بعامة. منازلها على هيئة مخازن البضائع، ذات طابقين وثلاثة. وليس للأبنية هنا قيمة بالنسبة إلى بولون، إلا بعض الدور على الشاطئ تظهر من بعد لها بهاء، والأشجار بها قليلة لكن الطرق نظيفة للغاية. وقد انتظرنا بها القطار على الرصيف عشر دقائق، وبفور وصولنا امتلأ بالركاب الذين كانوا في انتظاره. وحين دخلنا عرباته الضيقة وجدنا ازدحاماً كبيراً، تجلس النساء منهم على الكراسي وبقي جلّ الرجال واقفاً فما نفعني إلا حقيبتي جعلتها نائباً عن الكرسي، وكذلك بقينا إلى أن

remained until we arrived in London.

After our departure from Folkston, the train climbed above so that the entire city was below us and there appeared to us a wide valley of green land permeated with trees. Greenness is an integral aspect of the description of the land of the English, because of its cold weather. Most of the land is used as pastures for many plump lambs and other livestock. There we saw that all lambs had their tails cut off because some English scientists claim that if its tail is cut off, its strength spreads to the other parts of the body and its fatness increases. This was tested and proven true thus they all practice it so that you never see an ewe without its severed tail. Cutting then does not reduce but increases profit though the look is flawed. The coldness of their weather helped them in this matter, otherwise, the hot climate of Tunisia is better. Good lambs for Tunisians are those with big tails, contrary to the English.

وصلنا إلى لوندرة.

ثم بعد انفصالنا من فولكسطون علا بنا القطار وصارت المدينة كلها تحتنا، ثم ظهرت لنا أرض فسيحة سهلة خضراء تتخللها أشجار. ووصف الخضرة هو لازم لأرض النجليز لكثرة البرودة، وجل هذه الأرض ترعى فيها أغنام كثيرة سمينة وغيرها من السوائم. وهناك رأينا تلك الأغنام مقطوعة التابع كلها لأن بعض علماء النجليز زعم أن الغنم إذا قطع تابعها رجعت قوته لبقية بدنها ويزداد سمنها، وجرّب ذلك فصحّ فتبعوه كلهم. فلا ترى شاة إلا وهي مقطوعة الذنب: فالأقطع هنا ليس ناقص البركة، بل هو ها هنا زائد البركة وإن كان ناقص الصورة. وساعدهم على هذا برودة طقسهم وإلا فأرض تونس الحارة أصلح: الغنم عندهم ما كان عظيم الإلية عكس النجليز.

THE CITY OF LONDON

When we arrived at the London station, at about 9:30, we saw there what astounded our minds by the intense activity and heavy machinery, the luxurious condition, and the numerous railways that studded a vast ground and tired he who counted them and baffled the viewer. They were not contented just with trains powered by fire or steam, but added trains powered by electricity. And they elevated the electric cables on iron bridges lifted on iron pillars. All this proves the power of activity in England in exportation and importation, because it is an industrial

مدينة لندرة

ولما حللنا محطة لندرة، في الساعة التاسعة والنصف تقريباً، رأينا فيها ما أدهش لُبَّنا من الحركة الزائدة والآلات العظيمة، والهيئة الفخيمة، والسكك الحديدية العديدة التي رصت بها أرض فسيحة تتعب العَادَّ وتبهت الناظر. ولم يكتفوا بالقطارات التي تسير بالنار والبخار، بل زادوا قطارات تسيرها الكهرباء. وقد حملوا أسلاك الكهرباء على قناطر حديدية محمولة على سواري الحديد. كل ذلك يدل على قوة الحركة في بلاد النجليز من محمول وموضوع، لأنها بلد

country whose products are exported to all kingdoms and different continents. There is no human being who has not benefited from the products of English, and I don't believe that such a man exists. Id if he has enjoyed its products then his money has gone there.

The London station is more impressive, larger, bigger and livelier than the station of Paris. I truly find myself unable to describe it and can only affirm: it is unspeakable and can be conceived only by the eyewitness. By God, the mind is confounded in the organisation and arrangement of all that and the management of it in perfect order with no accident of collision. Glory to Allah for enabling Man to achieve what perplexes the minds.

There were still in London the expressions of the festivities they had organized on July 19th to celebrate both their National Holyday and victory and reconciliation, as France did. They invited for this occasion many delegations from their vast colonies, especially on the night of our arrival. We found that Marshal Foch, the commander of all the Allied forces, had come on a visit to London. The city was decorated with the flags of the allied countries in honour of his arrival and the arrival of his general staff and retinue. For that reason, we weren't able to find a place to stay after having roamed around in several areas of the city researching for a convenient hotel room hotel.

We were fortunate to meet with two old English women missionaries who preached the Bible, sponsored by an organization devoted to that cause. They had visited Morocco and recognized us. They came with

صناعة تذهب صنائعها إلى جميع الممالك ومختلف الأقطار. ولا يخلو إنسان لم يتمتع بصنائع النجليز، ولا أظنه يوجد، وإذا تمتع بصنائعها فقد جاءت دريهماته إليها.

ومحطة لندرة هي أعظم وأضخم وأكبر وأكثر حركة من محطة باريز، ولا أقدر أن استوعب وصفها وإنما أقول: هي فوق ما يوصف فلا يكفي في تصورها إلا العيان. ولعمري إن الأذهان تحير في ترتيب ذلك وتنظيمه وفي سير الأعمال هناك مع الانتظام التام دون وقوع الحوادث بالاصطدام، فسبحان موفق الإنسان إلى ما يحير منه الأذهان.

وقد وجدنا في لندرة بقية العيد الذي أقاموه في 19 يوليوز جامعاً لعيدهم الوطني وعيد صلح النصر، كما فعلت افرانسا، واستقدموا له وفوداً كثيرة من مستعمراتهم الواسعة وخصوصاً في تلك الليلة التي حللنا به. وجدنا المريشال فوش الذي هو قائد عموم جيوش الحلفاء قد أتى لزيارة لندرة وزينت له المدينة بأعلام الدول المتحالفة فرحاً بقدومه وقدوم أركان حربه ومعيته، ولذلك لم نجد محلاً لنزولنا بعد تطوفنا كثيراً من جهات المدينة للبحث عن بيت في أوطيل يناسبنا.

وقد قيض لنا عجوزين من عجائز النجليز السائحات للتبشير بالإنجيل ، على نفقة جمعية معلومة لذلك، وكانتا في المغرب وتعرفتا إلينا فركبتا معنا في الحافلة الأطومبيلية وذهبتا

معنا تترجمان عنا لجهلنا اللغة النجليزية وهما كذلك كانتا تطلبان مأوى مثلنا فوجدناه جميعا في نزل يسمى كوسما هوتيل، ليس بذاك ولكنه كفى الضرورة، إلا أن أصحاب الفندق ألزمونا مشقة في إعادة ما عمله القنصل النجليزي في باريس والبوليس في المركب وفي غيرها من الأسئلة الباردة وألزمونا بتقييد ذلك بخطنا وباللغة النجليزية .ولم يكن معي من يعرف شيئا من النجليزي، لكن من لطفه تعالى أن العجوزين قامتا بهذه الوظيفة وبالترجمة عنا من الفرنساوي إلى النجليزي .فكنا نتفاهم بثلاث لغات: أنا بالعربي، فيترجمها الولد إلى الفرنساوي والعجوز إلى النجليزي، وهكذا تقضى شطر من الليل ونحن واقفون على الأقدام، لم يمكنونا من دخول المرحاض إلا بعد هذا العمل، ولولا العجوزين لبتنا واقفين.

فإنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون من هذا الموقف العظيم والحساب قبل أوانه، مع أن العجوز لم تكن تعرف الفرنساوي جيداً فكانت تحصل المشقة بالطول. ولذلك أتوا برجل هندي هناك يتكلم بالعربي شيئا ما ، فهو الذي أكمل الترجمة وختم دور المسألة.

us on the bus and accompanied us to translate for us because of our ignorance of the English language. And like us, they, too, were looking for shelter, which we both found in a hotel called Cosmo Hotel.[6] It was not that good but sufficient for the circumstance. However, the hotel managers forced us to endure again the painful procedure we had already gone through with the English Consul in Paris and the police onboard the ship and elsewhere, of answering their cold questions, obliging us to write them down in our own handwriting and in English. There was none with me who knew a thing about the English language. But, thanks to God's compassion, the two old women accomplished this task and translated for us from French to English. Thus we were communicating in three languages. I spoke in Arabic, which my son translated into French and the old Englishwoman to English. And so we spent a great deal of the night standing on our feet. They refused us going to the bathroom until the task was completed. Had it not been for the old ladies we would have spent the night on our feet.

May God save us from such great predicaments and judgement before its due time. As the old woman did not know French well enough, much hardship was caused by waiting. For this reason, they brought an Indian man who speaks some Arabic and it was he who finished the translation and put an end to the matter.

[6] Cosmo Hotel was in Southampton Row.

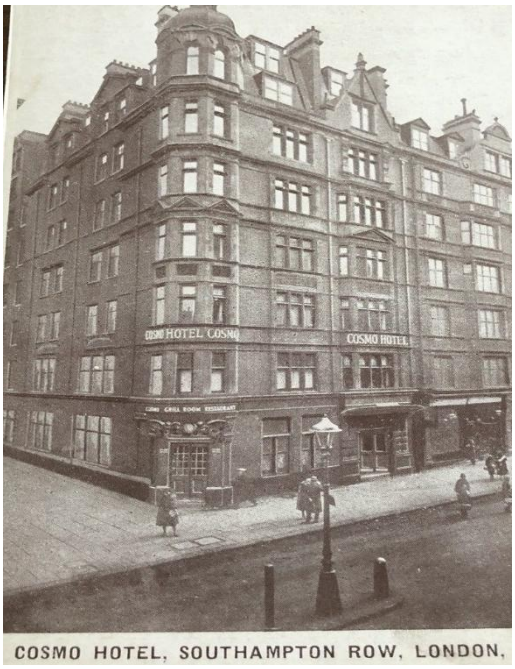


Figure 9: Cosmo Hotel where al Hajwi stayed in London

RULING ON WEARING CHRISTIAN CLOTHES IN EUROPE

حكم اللباس الإفرنجي في أوروبا

As he first stood in front of us, he looked at our Moroccan apparel and said, "Are you Jews?" We replied, "God forbids! We are Muslims." And he said, "forgive me. I was deceived by the incongruous dress, which has some irrelevant additions to the body." I said to myself that it was, for this reason, Sheikh Muhammad Abdu[7] issued a Fatwa permitting the wearing of the suit in the land of unbelievers. And whoever wears

إلا أنه لما وقف إزاءنا أول كلامه نظر إلى لباسنا المغربي وقال: هل أنتم يهود؟ فقلنا: نعوذ بالله، بل مسلمون. فقال: سامحوني، التبس علي الأمر بهذا اللباس غير المنتظم الذي فيه بعض زيادات على البدن لا فائدة فيها. فقلت في نفسي:

[7] Sheikh Muhammad Abdu (1849–1905) was an Egyptian Islamic jurist, religious scholar and liberal reformer. He is considered to be one of the founders of Islamic modernism.

clothing different from the Europeans shall be confronted with similar questions and the loss of his money. Whenever they see someone wearing clothes different from theirs they raise the price of food and indeed of all goods. If he is a merchant, his business is surely ruined. And there is no religious benefit in staying in their country in an attire unlike their own, except exposing oneself and making one's dignity a target of laughter, derision, and humiliation. Their clothing is like a weapon that swindlers wield to defraud foreigners of their money. Then it is necessary to drive away harm with whatever means. The foreigner can only be saved from them by their clothing and language. Should you be in their country, wear their clothes and learn their language to avoid their cunning. By God, wearing a suit is indeed the hardest thing for a Muslim. However, if circumstances oblige, it is permissible as stated in al-Zurqani, the commentator of Khalil,[8] when he speaks of apostasy such as wearing of the belt, *zinar*, and this is mentioned on page 130.

This question came from this Indian although we were wearing a djellaba and a hat and a dress of *mlifa*. And what if we had been wearing a mantle, *kissaa*, burnous, the turban, the robe, farajiyya, and the caftan?!

After completing his interpreting and writing the names Adam has taught, they said, none was allowed to get in before paying the accommodation price in advance, which we paid at once. Then we inquired about food and they answered that there was

لهذا أفتى الشيخ محمد عبده بلبس البرنيطة في بلد الكفر. وكل من يلبس اللباس المخالف للزي الأوروبي في أوروبا فإنما يتعرض لمثل هذه الأسئلة ولضياع دريهماته: فإنهم مهما رأوا زيّاً خلاف زيهم إلا ويزيدون عليه في ثمن الأكل، بل كل البضائع: فإن كان تاجراً، فذلك الخسران المبين في تجارته. ولا تظهر ثمرة دينية للبقاء في بلدهم بزي غير زيهم إلا إشهار الإنسان نفسه وجعل عرضه هدفاً للضحك والمسخرة والإهانة. فلباسهم كسلاح يدافع به المتلاعبون بدراهم الغرباء، ووجب دفع صائل بما أمكن، ولا يتخلص الغريب منهم إلا بلباسهم ولسانهم. فإن كنت في بلدهم فالبس لباسهم وتعلم لسانهم تأمن مكرهم. نعم، لبس البرنيطة - والله - أصعب شيء على المسلم. فإذا دعت إليها ضرورة جازت كما يؤخذ من كلام الزرقاني ، شارح خليل، عند قوله في الردة (كلبس زنار)ويأتي ذلك في عدد ص 130.

وهذا السؤال من هذا الهندي كان ونحن لابسون جلابة وشاشية وكسوة ملف. ولو أنا كنا بالكساء والبرنوس والعمة والفرجية والقفطان!؟

وبعد تمام ترجمته وكتب الأسماء التي علمها آدم قالوا: لا يدخل أحد إلا أدى واجب المبيت تسبيقاً فأديناه حيناً. وسألنا عن الأكل فقالوا: لا أكل هنا. ولكن ذهبوا بنا إلى محل آخر أبعد منه

[8] Mohammed Ibn Abd al-Baqi al-Zurqani (1645 - 1710) was an Egyptian Islamic scholar and the commentator of Mukhtasar Khalil. He issued a fatwa permitting Muslims to wear the clothes of their host countries.

none there. So, they took us to another place farther away and we ate and slept till morning. And the first thing we did in the morning was go to the police in order to answer the cold questions and stamp the papers. Only then we were granted the freedom to tour the city, thus, we toured about the city and visited its best markets and most wonderful streets, parks and palaces, such as the King's palace named Buckingham and the square opposite to it, where the previous festivities were organized and we found it still decorated. It was evident that the English celebrations and their decorations were greater than what we saw in Paris.

I wandered in London in the most important streets and places by automobile for an hour and a quarter, which was by no means short for those who want an overview of the city although it was too short compared to the greatness of London. It was a useful overview, with more detailed insights into some places that I explored at length. So, we state: in terms of the enormous number of inhabitants, hugeness, and economic and commercial activity, London is the first city in the world. The amount of exported and imported goods exceeds what can be counted or comprehended. It is the biggest city and capital in the world. It is impossible for me to describe a tenth of the tenth of it in a single trip. Its size is above one hundred and eighteen square miles. So it is five times bigger than Paris on both sides of the Thames River or Tames. The length of its streets is more than three thousand miles, decorated by one million electric and gas lamps. Its population is approximately about seven million, to which must be added those who come to it. And it is said that at midday its

فأكلنا ونمنا إلى الصباح. وأول ما عملنا صباحاً الذهاب عند البليس للجواب عن الأسئلة الباردة وطبع الأوراق. وعند ذلك أعطيت لنا حرية التطوف في المدينة فطفنا وتفرجنا على أحسن أسواقها وأعظم شوارعها ومنتزهاتها وقصورها، ومنه قصر الملك المسمّى باكنهام والميدان المقابل له الذي كان فيه الاحتفال بالعيد السابق فوجدناه لم يزل مزيناً . ويظهر أن احتفال النجليز كان بالغاً للغاية وأن الزينة عندهم أكثر مما رأيت في باريز.

وقد سحت في لندرة في أهم الشوارع والأمكنة وكانت مدة السير في الأطومبيل ساعة وربعاً وهي ليست قليلة لمن يريد نظرة إجمالية وإن كانت يسيرة بالنسبة لعظمة لندرة فهي مفيدة إفادة إجمالية مع حصول التفصيل في بعض أماكن دخلتها مستوعباً. فنقول: أهمية لندرة من حيث كثرة السكان وكبر المدينة والحركات التجارية والاقتصاد، فهي أول مدينة في العالم في ذلك والصادر والوارد منها من الأبضعة شيء فوق ما يحصى ولا يستقصى، وهي أكبر مدائن العالم وعواصم المدن، ولا يمكنني وصف عشر العشر من معشارها في سفر كامل: فمساحتها تزيد على مائة ميل وثمانية عشر ميلاً مربعاً، فمساحتها إذاً خمسة أضعاف باريز على ضفتي نهر التيمس أو التمز وطول شوارعها أكثر من ثلاثة آلاف ميل تنيرها مليون مصباح بين كهرباء وجاز. وعدد سكانها ينيف عن سبعة ملايين، زيادة عن من يفد إليها وكم من يوم يقولون إنها في نصف النهار

population is twelve million because of those who come from various regions. It is a kingdom rather that a city. Many a kingdom doesn't have such a number of people, even kingdoms don't. The people of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia – the countries under the French Protectorship – do not reach such a number.

The price of the land in its centre, called the city, is about fifty pounds per square foot. There are 216 parks, and 565 establishments for music and acting, 300 galleries and museums, 14 large train stations, the largest of which is the Waterloo Station. If you see it from a high place, you will see mountains of buildings topped by forests of chimneys, with blackened roofs and walls. And if you come to a park or street you'll see a sea of people topped by waves of wheels and vehicles, all in an absolute organization, peace, dignity and good behaviour. They abide by the law and royal orders to the highest imaginable degree.

There are in London twelve thousand policemen. If a policeman stood up and signalled with his hand to a thousand of people and or to several vehicles, everyone stood still as though they had birds on their heads. None stirred a step until he motioned to him to move. And without this order and good manners, they would have perished. In the hotel where I was staying there was a phonebook of the subscribers; it had 500 large square pages written in a very fine font. Each page was filled with names arranged alphabetically like a dictionary. Had the dictionary been printed in that format it would be equal in size. These were the names

تحوي اثني عشر مليوناً لمن يأتيها من جهات متعددة. فهذه مملكة لا مدينة، وكم من مملكة لا يكون فيها هذا العدد، بل ممالك: فأهل المغرب والجزائر وتونس لا يبلغون هذا العدد - يعني ما هو تحت الأحكام النظام الفرنسية.

ويبلغ ثمن الأرض في وسطها، الذي يقال له السيتي، نحو خمسين ليرة لكل قدم مربع. وفيها 216 ميداناً، و 565 محلاً للأنغام الموسيقية والتمثيل، ونحو 300 معرض ومتحف، وفيها 14 محطة حديدية كبيرة أكبرها محطة واترلوا، فإذا أشرفت عليها من محل عالٍ رأيت جبالاً من الأبنية تعلوها غابات من المداخن مسودات السطوح والجدر. وإذا أشرفت على ميدان أو شارع رأيت بحراً من الخلق يعلوه موج من العجلات والمركبات، والكل على نظام تام وسكنية ووقار وأدب عام: يحترمون القانون والأوامر الملو كية احتراماً فائقاً حد التصور.

وفيها من البليس اثنا عشر ألفاً: مهما وقف واحد من البليس وأشار بيده إلى ألف من الناس أو عدد من المركبات وقف الكل كأنما على رؤوسهم الطير، فلا يتقدم واحد بقدم حتى يشير إليهم بالانصراف. ولولا هذا النظام وذلك الأدب، لهلكوا. وفي الفندق الذي كنت نازلاً فيه دفتر المشتركين في التلفون، أوراقه 500، مكتوب بخط رقيق جداً. رباعي كبير كل ورقة مملوءة بالأسماء مرتب على حروف المعجم كأنه قاموس، لو طبع القاموس في ذلك الشكل كان مساوياً له. هذه أسماء

of people who had the phone in their homes, though so many homes weren't equipped with it.

Thus, if you want one of the merchants, for example, you will find in every post office or famous big hotel a phonebook with the names of traders divided into sections, each section for a type of store, a section for sugar, or tea, or cloth, and another for household antiques, etc. Therefore, if you want to find one of the commercial establishments, its greatness and fame are not enough, you must have in your hand an address showing in which part of the city it is located, and there are ten sections: Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern. And thus each section in itself is a great city, and one of the biggest cities in the world. I happened to search for one of the merchants, famous in Morocco for trading in tea, cloth, and wax but didn't know in which section he was located nor the number of his house. They brought the merchants' book, but since I did know the main type of his trade they didn't find him because many names were similar to his. So, I wasn't able to meet him or know his address.

من عنده التلفون في محله وكم من محل ليس فيه.

وإذا أردت واحداً من التجار مثلاً، فإنك تجد في كل مركز بريدي أو فندق كبير شهير دفتراً لأسماء التجار مبوباً أبواباً، كل باب لنوع من المتاجر كباب السكر، وباب الأتاي، وباب الكتان، وباب التحف المنزلية، الخ. فإذا أردت البحث عن دار من دور التجارة فلا تكفي العظمة ولا الشهرة بل لا بد أن يكون بيدك العنوان مبيناً فيه محلها في أي قسم من أقسام المدينة، وهي عشرة أقسام: الشرقي والغربي والجنوبي والشمالي. وهكذا كل قسم مدينة عظيمة من أكبر مدن العالم. وقد وقع لي أني بحثت عن أحد التجار المشهورين عندنا في المغرب بتجارة الأتاي والكتان والشمع، وحيث لم أعرف في أي قسم هو ولا عدد منزله أحضروا كناش التجار ولكن لما لم أعرف النوع الغالب عليه من أنواع المتاجر ما عرفوه لكثرة الأسماء المتقاربة معه، ولم يتيسر لقيه ولا معرفة جهته.

COMPARISON BETWEEN LONDON AND PARIS

As concerns internal and external elegance and beauty and wideness of streets and embellishment in all its types, London is far less magnificent than what we saw in Paris. If the inside streets of London, the centre of such a great activity called "city," were as wide as those in Paris streets, they

فاضلة بين لندرة وباريز

أما من حيث التأنق والجمال الذاتي والعرضي وسعة الشوارع والتحسين بجميع أنواعه، فهي أقل بكثير مما شاهدنا في باريز. بل لو كانت شوارع داخلية لندرة التي هي محل هذه الحركة العظيمة المسماة سيتي على قدر شوارع

would still be considered to be narrow because of the greater population there than in Paris. Its street should have been wider than those of Paris given the population. However, the reality is otherwise. The streets in Paris are much wider and straighter. Hence, London is so crowded that the carriages carrying us stopped in most of the roads, especially at the crossroads. Though the streets were in themselves wide, yet, were not enough for the enormous population.

The streets of London are nicely decorated. Still, I don't think that the adornment of Paris and the harmonious patterns of its beauty are to be found anywhere else. Building in London is mostly with baked bricks and there exist some buildings with stones as in Paris in hugeness, elegance and harmonious shape and precision, yet the buildings of Paris – I mean what I have seen, though I haven't been able to see the whole city—all of what I have seen are in stone and cement, well organized, well shaped in splendour, greatness and grandeur. Whereas the bulk of the buildings in London are not like that, rather they are average, with bricks and lack the greatness, grandeur, and elegance that are in Paris. Yet, there are some streets which resemble those of Paris, but the majority do not.

The buildings in London built in the style of those in Paris are identical to them in every aspect except in height. They are lower and less wide than in Paris. In London, the buildings in bricks consist of two or three stories, while the buildings in the style of Paris comprise seven stories, and some nine. Still, the stories in the London buildings are not of the thickness that reaches the height of

باريز في الاتساع لعدوها ضيقة، لكثرة السكان هناك أكثر مما في باريز، فكان يلزم أن تكون شوارعها أوسع من باريز رعياً لهذه النسبة. لكن الواقع بخلاف ذلك. فشوارع باريز أوسع بكثير وأكثر استقامة، فلذا يكثر الزحام في لندرة حتى تقف بنا العربات في جل الطرق، ولا سيما عند ملتقاها، مع أنها في أنفسها شوارع متسعة ولكن لا تكفي لكثرة السكان.

شوارع لندرة مزين مزخرف، ولكن زينة باريز وزخرفتها وتنسيقها لا أظنه يوجد في سواها. فبناء لندرة جلّه من آجر مطبوخ، ويوجد بعض البناء الحجري الذي هو كبناء باريز في الضخامة والهندام وكمال النظام والإحكام، ولكن أبنية باريز - يعني كل ما رأيت منها وإن كنت لم أحط بجميع البلد ولكن كل ما رأيته بناء حجري أو بالسيمان (البرصلانة) بناء مرصوص في غاية النظام والإحكام والأبهة والفخامة والضخامة. أما بناء لندرة فالجل ليس كذلك وإنما هو بناء متوسط بالآجر، وليست فيه الضخامة والفخامة والتأنق الذي في باريز، وإنما هناك بعض الشوارع دورها على كيفية باريز ويوجد كثير من المواضع ليس كذلك.

وبناء لندرة الذي هو على طرز باريز هو مشابه لها من كل الوجوه إلا في الارتفاع، فإنه أقل ارتفاعاً واتساعاً من باريز. فلندرة مع كون أبنيتها التي هي من الآجر على طبقتين وثلاث طبقات، والذي على نسق باريز على سبع طبقات وفيها ما هو على تسع. ومع ذلك فطبقات لندرة يجعلون لها

the ones in Paris. The same for the commercial warehouses; their gates don't reach the largeness of the warehouses in Paris so the latter is greater and more impressive.

Moreover, the Parisian buildings are almost of the same pattern in height, largeness, and splendour, except in rare cases. They are all palaces, looking like they were houses of kings gathered there. In fact, Paris looked like the house of a great king who selected for it all what attracted his passion which evolved out of a meticulous taste. Whereas buildings in London are not uniform, some high, others low, some in stones, others in bricks, some red others black. Most of the buildings were black from smoke, more than in Paris, to the extent that they started painting the facades of London's buildings in black paint the colour of coal so that one assumes fancied them built with gleaming coloured coal.

In short, the hugeness of the houses which look like palaces, the building of the houses, the decoration of the warehouses, the wideness of the streets, the arrangement of trees, and the great quantity of flowers are manifest in their best form in Paris, far more than in London. The palaces of Buckingham and St. James, the famous royal residences in the world, are each a greatly and majestically built palace, spacious in its courtyard, yet the like of them in Paris are numerous as the Louvre Palace, Napoleon Palace, and the Trocadéro palace and others. Truly, London's places are nothing in comparison to Parisian ones. See what Ahmed Faris has written on pages 334 and 335 in *Kashf al Mukhaba 'an*

سمكاً لا يبلغ في الارتفاع سمك طبقات باريز، وكذلك المخازن التجارية وأبوابها لا تبلغ في الاتساع ما تبلغه مخازن باريز- فلذلك كانت هي أفخم وأضخم.

زد على هذا أن أبنية باريز على نسق واحد تقريباً في الارتفاع والاتساع والفخامة، إلا نادراً، فهي كلها قصور كأنها دور ملوك اجتمعت هناك بل كأن باريز دار ملك عظيم اختار لها ما تعلقت شهوته الناشئة عن ذوق مصيب، أما أبنية لندرة فهي مخلوطة: هذا عالٍ وهذا نازل، هذا من حجر وهذا من آجر، وهذا أحمر وهذا أسود. وجلّ أبنيتها سوداء بالدخان أكثر من باريز حتى إنهم صاروا يدهنون ظاهر أبنية لندرة بدهن أسود كلون الفحم حتى تظن أن الدار بنيت من الفحم البرّاق اللون.

وبالجملة فضخامة الدور التي هي قصور، وتشييد المنازل، وتنميق المخازن، وضخامة البناء، وسعة الشوارع والفناء، وتنسيق الأشجار، وكثرة الأزهار ظهرت بأكمل مظاهرها في باريز أكثر من لندرة بكثير. فقصر بالكينهايم وقصر صان جيمس اللذان هما دار الملك المشهوران في الدنيا كل منهما قصر فخيم عظيم البناء وسيع الفناء ولكن أمثالهما في باريز كثير كقصر اللوفر، وقصر نابليون، وقصر التروكاديرو وغيرهما، بل هما لا يعدان شيئاً بالنسبة إليهما. وانظر ما كتبه أحمد فارس في عدد 334 وعدد 335 من)

Ahwal Uruba.[9] He greatly undermines the importance of these two palaces, which are the residence of the King of England. See what the aforementioned author has written on Paris on pages 238 and 239, to be convinced of the truth of what we have said. I have written down nothing but what I have witnessed and have gone far in cleaning my pen of exaggeration**.**

كشف المخبّا عن أحوال أوروبا فإنه حط من قدر هذين القصرين جداً، وهما دار ملك النجليز . وانظر ما كتبه المذكور عن باريز في الورقة نمرة 238 ونمرة 239 تعلم صحة ما قلناه. وما كتبت إلا ما رأيت، وبالغت في تنظيف قلمي من المبالغة.

LONDON PUBLIC SQUARES

There are many public squares in London, however, those in Paris are wider and more magnificent. I have not seen one such as the square of la Concorde in spaciousness, beauty and elegance even when compared to Trafalgar square or that of Buckingham Palace.

ميادين لندرة

ميادين لندرة كثيرة، وهي في باريز أوسع بهاء فما رأيت في لندرة مثل ميدان كونكورد في الاتساع والزخرفة والتأنيق ولو ميدان الترافلجار وميدان قصر بالكينهايم.

PUBLIC GARDENS OF LONDON

The public parks in London are numerous, especially near the aforementioned palace and on the bank of the Thames River. Still, the public gardens in Paris are prettier and have flowers since the French care for flowers and have elegant tastes. Whereas the public parks I saw in London had no flowers, just a land green with grass, and of superb greenness, and many of them were grazed by sheep, a perfect resemblance with the countryside, while the Parisian gardens were a pasture for human gazelles whose number far exceeded those in London.

منتزهاتها

منتزهات لندرة كثيرة، ولا سيّما بقرب القصر المذكور وعلى ضفة نهر التيمس، ولكن منتزهات باريز ألطف وفيها الأزهار، لما للفرنساويين من الاعتناء بالزهر وما لهم من لطافة الذوق. أما منتزهات لندرة التي وقفت عليها ما رأيت فيها أزهاراً، وإنما أراضٍ خضراء بالربيع في غاية الخضرة، وكثير منها ترتع فيها الأغنام فكان الشبه بالبادية فيها أتم ولكن بساتين

[9] Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq (1804-1887) was a Lebanes scholar, writer and journalist. His travel account about Europe entitled *Kashf al Mukhaba 'an Ahwal Uruba* was published in 1881.

باريز ترتع فيها غزلان إنسية وتوجد فيه أكثر من لندرة بكثير.

THE LONDON RIVER CALLED THAMES

The Thames River is like the River Seine in Paris. Both divide the cities into two parts, one in London, and the other in Paris. Both have bridges on them, some built with stones while others with iron. Some are for pedestrians and carriages, while others are specially for iron vehicles. The two rivers are both large but the river in London is bigger than the river of Paris, and both of them are navigable by small crafts; and I haven't seen there any bridge similar to that of Alexander III, erected on a single arch. This is one of the wonders of Paris. I think because the river of London is bigger and such a bridge is not possible there, and God is all knowing.

نهر لندرة المسمى التمز

نهر التمز، أو التيمس، هو كنهر لاسين في باريس كل مهما يشق المدينة شقين: ذاك في لندرة وهذا في باريز. ذاك عليه قناطير وهذا كذلك، منها ما هو بناء حجري ومنها ما هو حديدي. منها ما هو للمشاة والحوافل، ومنها ما هو للعربات الحديدية خاص بها. والواديان كبيران إلا أن نهر لندرة أكبر من نهر باريس وكونهما تسير فيهما السفن الصغار، ولم أرَ هناك كقنطرة إسكندر الثالث المبنية على قوس واحد فهي من عجائب باريز، أظن لأن وادي لندرة أعظم فلا يمكن فيه ذلك ، والله أعلم.

ENGLISH CLOTHES

The dress of the Londoners is akin to that of Paris, males like males and females like females. However, it is prettier in Paris and its inhabitants are smarter and more sophisticated and accomplished in that, especially the women. They have attained in Paris the pinnacle of perfection, to the extent that they are exemplary in Europe and elsewhere. If you were in Paris, you would fancy that the people are in constant festivities. You will not only see groomed men and groomed women as mentioned earlier. You would see only beautiful things in the carriages and vehicles that drive through Paris, and they themselves are

لباس النجليز

لباس أهل لندرة هو كلباس باريز: الرجال كالرجال، والنساء كالنساء. لكن باريز أجمل وأهلها أزيد حذقاً ومهارة في ذلك وإتقاناً له، ولا سيما النسوان، فقد بلغن في باريز حد النهاية حتى إنه يضرب بهن المثل في أوربا وغيرها. فإنك إذا كنت في باريز تظن أهلها في عيد دائم، فلا ترى إلا متجملاً أو متجملة كما تقدم، بل ما يمر في باريز من العربات وعربات النقل لا ترى فيها إلا

beautiful. Whereas in London, people are far behind in all that. If you see anything beautiful or adorned, you surely see contradictions of it from the ugly to the hideous either in the transported or in the means of transportation or in both.

الشيء الجميل وهي في نفسها كذلك، بخلاف لندرة فإن أهلها أقل في ذلك كله بل لا ترى هنا شيئاً جميلاً أو متجملاً حتى ترى أضداد ذلك من بشيع أو شنيع في الحامل أو المحمول أو فيهما.

TRAFFIC SYSTEM IN THE STREETS OF ENGLAND: A WARNING

نظام النجليز في السير بالشوارع: تنبيه

The system of the movement of vehicles and pedestrians in London is different from that of Paris. The Londoners walk on the left side as we do in Fez. The goer keeps to the left side of the road and the same with the comer so that no collision occurs. This is a permanent rule for always and forever, not like we have in Fez where it is just common and it happens that some pedestrians deviate from the good side which is the left then accidents occur. Thanks to God, there are no carriages in Fez otherwise many people would have perished as a consequence of their disregard of the rule of going on one side; they deviate from the rule and then get into an accident. Whereas the Parisians stick to the right side. The foreign travelling here or there must recall this rule and be careful at night so as not to have an accident and be blamed. If he is in Paris he must always use the right side to avoid colliding with someone or being castigated by someone and remain safe from danger. And if he reaches London he has to use the left side,

نظام لندرة في سير العربات والمشاة هو مخالف لنظام أهل باريز، فأهل لندرة يقصدون في سيرهم ذات اليسار، كنظامنا في فاس، فالذاهب فيها يقصد جهة يساره والآتي كذلك فلا يقع اصطدام. ولكن ذلك مطرد دائماً وأبداً، لا كما عندنا بفاس إنه غالب فقط فيشذ بعض المارة عن الجادة التي هي جهة اليسار فيقع في الاصطدام، والحمد لله على عدم وجود عربات سيارة في فاس وإلا لهلكوا كثيراً، لعدم نظام الناس في السير على جهة واحدة بل يخالفون القاعدة فيقعون في الاصطدام. أما أهل باريز فإنهم يقصدون اليمين، فينبغي للغريب الذاهب إلى هنا أو تلك أن يستحضر هذه القاعدة وليكن على بال ليلاً يقع له اصطدام أو ملام: فإذا كان في باريز فليقصد جهة اليمين دائمة، فلا يصطدم بأحد ولا يعنفه أحد ويكون آمنا على نفسه من الخطر. وإذا وصل إلى لندرة فليقصد ذات اليسار، على عكس باريز.

the opposite in Paris. So remember this while moving from one destination to another and while crossing the roads. He who forgets and is oblivious of this shall be trampled over by hooves and fall victim to heedlessness.

Because of the hustle and bustle in London, you find at every junction the municipal police standing warning people and ordering them to stop until they go one after the other. Because of the perfect rule of the police and people's total respect for them and abiding by their orders, a policeman stands at a junction without speaking, but just lifts his hands and the coming and going halts at once, not moving one step further as if he has an electric device that stops everybody. And this is more common in London than in Paris. In London where the roads part, one unavoidably has to stop and wait for a while for his turn. The policemen who supervise them are numerous. Whereas in Paris, a person does not need to stop, except in a few streets where there is great traffic and there are fewer policemen in comparison with London. Surely, had not there been policemen in London, many people would have perished because of the ferocity and rashness of the carriage drivers.

واستحضر ذلك في الانتقال من محجة لأخرى أو عند مقاطعة الطرق، فمن لم يستحضره وغفل وقع في الحوافر وذهب ضحية الغفلة.

ولكثرة الزحام والحركة في لندرة ترى في كل مقاطعة من مقاطعات الطرق البليس البلدي واقفاً ينبه الناس لذلك ويأمرهم بالوقوف حتى يذهبوا: الأول فالأول. وتمام نظام البليس وكمال طاعة الناس له واحترامهم لأوامره فإنه يقف في ملتقى الطرق ولا يتكلم وإنما يرفع يده فيقف الصادر والوارد دفعة واحدة لا يتقدم أحد بقدم حتى كأن بيده كهرباء توقف الجميع. وهذا في لندرة أكثر منه في باريز. ففي لندرة مهما افترقت الطرق إلا ويقف الإنسان برهة من الزمن لا محالة كي يجد نوبة وينتهز فرصة والبليس الذي يراقب ذلك كثير، بخلاف باريز، فلا يحتاج الإنسان للوقوف إلا في قليل من الشوارع وهي ذات الحركة الكبرى ولا يجد البليس إلا قليلاً بالنسبة إلى لندرة. ولولا البليس في لندرة، لهلك كثير من الناس لما للحوذيين من الشراسة والعجلة.

LONDON'S UNDERGROUND ROADS

In London, there are several underground roads called *Metro*, like in Paris. However, the stairways in London are narrow owing to the narrowness of the roads, which

طرق لندرة التي تحت لأرض

يوجد في لندرة طرق تحت الأرض تسمى ميطرو، مثل باريز، ولكن في لندرة مدارجها ضيقة لضيق الطرق فيقع الازدحام عند النزول أو

causes congestion when descending or ascending, more so than in Paris. In London the roads tunnels underground and even under the river. In so many areas there is an underground road used by thousands of people. Above it is a river where thousands of boats sail, and above it bridges carry thousands. They are then three roads, one above the other and all that is because of the enormous population and the huge commercial activities. Was it not for the easy means of transportation, the country would not have been populated nor would all these people have gathered in one city.

الصعود أكثر من باريز. وهذه الطرق في لندرة أنفاق تحت الأرض، بل تحت الوادي. فكم من محل فيه طريق تحت الأرض يمر فيها آلاف، وفوقها الوادي تسير فيه آلاف على الزوارق وفوقه قناطر تحمل آلافاً. فهي ثلاث طرق بعضها فوق بعض، كل ذلك لكثرة السكان وكثرة الحركة التجارية. ولولا سهولة المواصلة ما عمرت البلاد ولا اجتمع هؤلاء السكان في مدينة واحدة.

SEWAGE IN LONDON

In London, the sewage is buried under the ground in the middle of the roads for vehicles, owing to the narrow streets, instead of putting them in the pedestrian path, on the sides of the roads. That is why you usually find them repairing them, blocking the roads and compelling all vehicles and carriages to take another road, causing traffic jams.

Such scenes are hardly witnessed in Paris since the sidewalks, called *trottoirs*, are wider than in London, and it is here where they placed the sewage. So when digging it for reparation, pedestrians can walk without trouble or congestion unlike with vehicles and carriages.

Because of the wideness of the streets in Paris, called *boulevards*, there exists in some of them electric railway trains called the *tramway* for the transportation of passengers but not freight. This I didn't see in the streets I passed through in London

الماء المضاف في لندرة

الماء المضاف في لندرة يجعلونه مدفوناً في وسط طرق العجلات، لضيق الشوارع عن جعله في محل مرور المشاة التي هي جوانب الطرق، ولذلك كثيراً ما تجدهم يصلحونه فيتعذر الطريق فتضطر للرجوع إلى طريق أخرى جميع الحوافل والعجلات النقالة فيقع الزحام. وهذا لا تكاد تراه في باريز، لأن جوانب الطرق المسماة طوطوار أوسع من لندرة وفيها جعلوا الماء المضاف. ولذلك إذا حفروه للإصلاح أمكن المارة أن يمروا ولا يتضرر المشاة إذا ازدحموا بخلاف الحوافل وعجلات النقل.

ولاتساع شوارع باريز يوجد في بعضها المسمى بُلفوار السكة الحديدية الكهربائية المسماة تراموای التي تحمل المارّة دون الأثقال، وهي ما رأيتها في الطرق التي مررت بها في لندرة لعدم

because they weren't as wide as those in Paris.

Yes, they made automobiles, called *omnibus*, which carry passersby, of two decks. Whereas in Paris, this type had only one deck, yet it was larger than the one in London. There was another type of it in London powered by steam, the like of which I didn't see in Paris. It didn't look pretty and made a frenzied noise.

True, in London and, indeed, in the whole of England, the railways are greater, stronger, and better made, and care for them more than others do. Moreover, the number of people who travel daily in London is far greater than in Paris and the train stations are numerous, scattered on all sides of London, from which trains go to all the cities of England with speed and punctuality. There fourteen big railway-stations are, the biggest of which is Waterloo Station.

I have seen a large bridge at the entrance of the London train station from Folkestone on the river Thames. I have never seen the like of it in largeness. On it were six or seven railway lines. And in this station, you see railway lines above and below ground. And you see a train above trains, something that astounds the imagination and bewilders the mind. So the wise understand the meaning of Allah's saying, "God has the power to will anything, and that God encompasses all things with His knowledge."[10] If God's creatures manage to produce such works and teach it, what about the power and knowledge of the Creator to whom, surely, everything belongs. There is

اتساعها كباريز.

نعم، جعلوا الأتومبيلات السيارة المسماة أومنيبوس التي تحمل المارة ذات طبقتين، بخلاف هذا النوع في باريز فهو ذو طبقة فقط إلا أن هذا النوع في باريز أوسع منه في لندرة ويوجد نوع منها في لندرة يسير بالبخار وما رأيت مثله في باريز لأنه ليس جميل المنظر وله صوت مهوس.

نعم، في لندرة - بل في بلاد النجليز - السكك الحديدية أضخم وأوثق وأتقن، ولهم عناية بها ليست لغيرهم، والعدد الذي يسافر كل يوم بلندرة كثير أكثر من باريز، والمحطات كثيرة محدقة بلندرة من كل الجهات تذهب لسائر بلدان النجليز بكل سرعة وضبط، وعدد المحطات أربعة عشر محطة كبرى، أكبرها محطة واترلوا.

ولقد رأيت قنطرة عند مدخل القطار إلى محطة لندرة من فولكسطون على وادي التمز متسعة، ما رأيت مثلها في الاتساع، حسبت عليها ستة أو سبعة خطوط حديدية. وفي تلك المحطة ترى من الخطوط الحديدية فوق الأرض وتحتها، فترى قطاراً فوق قطارات مما يدهش البال ويحير العقل ويفهم العالم معنى قوله تعالى: [إن الله على كل شيء قدير] و [إن الله قد أحاط بكل شيء علما فإذا كان مخلوق حادث يعمل هذا ويعلمه، فكيف قدرة الخالق وعلمه والكل منه وإليه سبحانه منسوب حقيقة، لا رب غيره.

وأعجب من هذا أن كثرة القطارات

[10] *The Qur'an* , Chapter : "Talaq," Divorce, verse 12, Asad's translation.

no God but Him.

More astonishing than this is the numerous trains, the different directions they go through at high speed, perfect order, efficiency, and the composure of people, each heading to his boarding platform. On arrival at the station, you find many people standing to guide passengers to their boarding platforms and where to buy tickets. Even still more surprising than all is that you hear no megaphones nor whistling or great commotion as in the French stations. If the trains whistled here, residing near the station would be impossible and none would be able to sleep.

I was once staying in the hotel of La Gare Victoria, next to the train station and the numerous trains were coming and going each hour or minute, without hearing any whistling or roaring or groaning, but just the soft noise of the wheels. I never looked out of my room window without seeing a train coming and another leaving, and perhaps I saw several trains and all this is because of the high industrial and commercial activities in England so much that baffles the mind of he who contemplates it. England is a land of many products and the factories there more than anywhere else, except in Germany.

THE ENGLISH ARE MORE KNOWLEDGEABLE ABOUT TRADE

The English are universally famous for their knowledge about the affairs of commerce and the means of exportation and importation. They were assisted in that by their upbringing, to be honest in transactions

واختلاف جهات مرورها تراها في غاية السرعة والنظام التام والتؤدة والرزانة في السكان، كل يذهب إلى محل ركوبه. مهما وصلت المحطة وجدت كثيراً من الناس واقفين لإرشاد الركاب إلى جهات الركوب ومحل قطع الأوراق. وأعجب وأغرب من الكل أنك لا تسمع بوقاً ولا صفيراً ولا كثرة هرج، كما يوجد في محطات فرنسا، ولو كانت القطارات تصفر هنا ما أمكن السكنى بقرب المحطة ولا ينام أحد هناك.

ولقد كنت نازلاً في فندق أكار فكتوريا، ملاصقاً المحطة والقطارات الكثيرة صادرة واردة كل ساعة أو دقيقة ولا تسمع صفيراً أو زئيراً ولا شهيقاً وإنما هو دوي عجلاته الخفيف، وما حصلت مني قط التفاتة إلى المحطة من نافذة بيتي إلا رأيت قطاراً داخلاً وآخر خارجاً، وربما رأيت قطارات متعددة وكل ذلك لكثرة الحركة الصناعية والتجارية في أرض النجليز التي تدهش فكر متأملها. وبلاد النجليز كثيرة الصنائع والمعامل أكثر من غيرها، إلا ما كان من ألمانيا.

النجليز أعرف بالتجارة

النجليزيون مشهورون في العالم بمعرفة طرق التجارة وأساليب الإيراد والإصدار، وأعانهم على ذلك ما عليه تربيتهم من صدق المعاملة والقناعة بالربح القليل ليباع العدد الكثير.

and contentment with small profit so as to sell large quantities. They say: "little from many is a lot." And this is an everlasting necessary rule. Their honesty in transactions is an absolute and complete sincerity that exceeds others. This is what paved for them the way to dominate most of the world's trade. And if an Englishman names a price for you, take it or leave it and don't try to bargain with him. This is the nature of most of them, if not all, from what we have heard from those who stayed among them for a long time. Their truthfulness in their manner of speaking and lack of dishonesty in trade and politics gained them the complete trust of the world and helped their markets to expand in the countries of the world.

ويقولون: القليل في الكثير كثير، وهذه قاعدة مطردة ضرورية. فصدقهم في المعاملات الصدق التام الفائق في ذلك غيرهم هو الذي مهد لهم الاستيلاء على معظم تجارة العالم، فالنجليزي إذا سمى لك الثمن فخذ أو اترك ولا تفاتحه في المهاودة. هذا خلق الكثير منهم أو الكل فيما سمعنا ممن طال مكثه بين ظهورهم الآماد الطويلة، مع صدق لهجتهم وعدم خداعهم في التجارة لا في السياسة، فحصلت للعالم بهم ثقة تامة أعانتهم على اتساع متاجرهم مع أقطار العالم.

THE ENGLISH PASSION FOR PHYSICAL SPORT

Among the characteristics of the English is their devotion to physical sports more than other people. And I have seen them in their parks practising it morning and afternoon, together with their children and their spouses, to the extent that in most of their public gardens they do not tend to flowers but the trees and grass on which they practice physical sport.

And from what I have witnessed, the French are less concerned with sports than the English. Indeed, the French cared for flowers and forgone physical sports for intellectual sports, which cannot be a substitute.

On my return from Manchester, I stayed in Hotel Gare Victoria, which was of the same style as the Grand Hotel in Paris but

شغف النجليز بالرياضة البدينة

من أخلاق النجليز محبة الرياضة البدينة والاعتناء بها أكثر من غيرهم. وقد رأيتهم في منتزهاتهم يعانونها صباحاً ومساءً، هم وأولادهم ونساؤهم، حتى إن جلَّ منتزهاتهم لا يعتنون فيها بالأزهار وإنما هي الأشجار ونبات ربيعي يلعبون فوقه رياضة لأبدانهم. واعتناء الفرنساويين بالرياضة أقل من النجليز فيما رأيت .

نعم، الفرنساويون اعتنوا بالأزهار فاستغنوا بالرياضة الفكرية عن البدينة، وهي لا تغني.

ولقد نزلت عند أوبتي من منشستير في فندق أكار فيكتوريا، وهو على نسق كران أوطيل

couldn't rival it. Actually, they were as different as the earth and the stars; still, it resembles it in several aspects previously described. The room where I was staying overlooked both the Thames River and La Gare. I used to like a window on the top floor that was the seventh, overlooking the Thames River where was drawing a semi-circle over which were five bridges, all visible from that window. They were all parallel and near each other with an open space between them of, I guess, about 200 meters. From this window, a nice view appeared before me of the mentioned river, one of the most beautiful views of London. It is somewhat like the view of the Seine River in Paris, from the side of the Deputies' Palace,[11] where there appeared luxurious domes, lofty buildings and adjacent bridges.

في باريز وإن كان لا يلحقه بل بينهما ما بين الثرى والثريا، ولكن يشبهه في كثير من الأوصاف التي وصفنا هناك. وكان نزلي في غرفة تطل على نهر التيمس وعلى الأكار معاً، وكانت تعجبني نافذة في الطبقة العليا وهي السابعة تطل على نهر التيمس حيث رسم هناك شبه نصف دائرة عليه فيها خمسة قناطر كلها تظهر من تلك النافذة وهي متوازية متقاربة، لا فراغ بين القنطرة والقنطرة إلا نحو 200 ميطر فيما أظن فيبدو لي من هذه النافذة منظر لطيف من أجمل مناظر لندرة على الوادي المذكور، وهو أشبه شيء بوادي لاسين في باريز من جهة قصر النواب حيث تظهر هناك قباب فخيمة وأبنية عظيمة وقناطر متقاربة.

Yes, the difference is that the buildings in Paris are distant from each other, due to the wideness of the roads and parks. The buildings are nice and healthy there, whereas in London they are less spacious. In Paris, in that area, the buildings are elegant and the palaces lofty since most of what is close to that area are state buildings and the edifices of earlier monarchs. The edifices there have attained the highest degrees of elegance, magnitude and ornamentation. Here, however, the buildings are mixed between state buildings and private buildings.

نعم، الفرق هو أن أبنية باريز هناك متباعدة، لسعة الطرق والميادين، فالمحل هناك صحي جيد، أما في لندرة فأقل اتساعاً. وفي باريز في ذلك المحل الأبنية الفخيمة والقصور الشامخة، إذ جل ما بقرب ذلك المحل مباني الدولة ومصانع الملوك الأول. وقد بلغت الأبنية هناك أقصى درجات اللطف والضخامة والزخرفة، أما هنا فالبناء مختلط بين دولي وأهلي.

Yes, the bridges here are closer to each other, than the ones in Paris as mentioned. Some are for railways, others for tramways, pedestrians, vehicles and carriages. And so there is a great deal of activity far more than

نعم، القناطر هنا متقاربة أكثر من باريز كما سبق، فمنها ما هو للسكك الحديدية ومنها ما هو للترامواي والمشاة والعجلات والحوافل فهناك حركة عظيمة أكثر مما في باريز وعمارة أيضاً

[11] He means Bourbon Palace, the seat of the French Chamber of Deputies.

what is in Paris and the constructions are greater too. In the countryside, there are numerous boats which is not the case in the Seine. And among such bridges is a great bridge, similar in design to the bridge on the Sabu river in the outskirts of Fez, constructed on eight arches, all full of water and the boats pass under it because of its height.

أكثر. وفي البوادي زوارق كثيرة ليست في لاسين. ومن جملة تلك القناطر قنطرة عظيمة بالبناء تظهر أنها قديمة على نسق قنطرة وادي سبو بضواحي فاس على ثمانية أقواس، كلها مملوءة ماء والزوارق تمر تحتها لارتفاعها.

VICTORIA EMBANKMENT AND THE EGYPTIAN OBELISK IN IT

رصيف فيكتوريا والمسلة المصرية التي به

On the side of the river, they made a spacious paved embankment like a vast space. They paved it into a road of 64 meters in width, where the tramway carriages pass through. On its sides, there are two very wide roads for pedestrians. One of them is on the river bank. Wherever you go you find stairs going down to the river for boarding boats and fishing. They have maned this wide and long embankment after their famous Queen Victoria. On the river edge, I saw an Egyptian obelisk[12] on which were writings by ancient Egyptians and in front of which were two copper statues,[13] by Egyptians, I think since they bear hieroglyphic inscriptions like the ones on the obelisk. This obelisk resembles the one in Parisian in the Place de la Concorde, described earlier. The London obelisk dates back to 1500 BC, making it 3419 years old. It was offered as a gift to Mohammed Ali

وقد جعلوا على ضفة الوادي رصيفاً متسعاً جعلوه كميدان كبير ورصفوه طريقاً عرضها 64 ميطراً تسير فيها العربات الترامواي وبجانبها طريقان للمشاة متسعان جداً، واحدة منهما على شطر النهر، مهما ذهبت وجدت درجاً تهبط للنهر لركوب الزوارق والاصطياد. وسموا هذا الرصيف المتسع الطويل باسم ملكتهم الشهيرة فيكتوريا. ورأيت فيه من جهة حافة الوادي مسلة مصرية عليها كتابات قدماء المصريين وأمامها تمثالان من نحاس، أظنهما مصريين إذ عليهما حروف مصرية تشبه كتابة المسلة. وهذه المسلة تشبه مسلة باريز التي تقدم وصفها في ساحة كونكورد. وعمر مسلة لندرة منذ 1500 قبل المسيح، فهو 3419 سنة، وقد أهداها محمد علي

[12] Egyptian obelisks is also called Cleopatra's Needle.

[13] Hajwi refers to the two sphinxes. They were in bronze. They were made by English architect George John Vulliamy.

باشا للنجليز فنقلوها سنة 1877 وغرقت في الطريق وأخرجوها في السنة بعدها وفيها وضعت في محلها المذكور. وهي قطعة من حجر مربع عريض من قاعدته، ولا زال يستدق إلى رأسه، كتب عليه من جوانبه الأربع كتابات بالخط المصري القديم تشير إلى تاريخ وسبب صنعه وهي قائمة هناك كصومعة عالية تظهر من بعد. وبجانب هذا الشارع المقابل للوادي عدة بساتين بلدية جميلة، وابتداؤه من أكار فيكتوريا الذي كنت نازلاً به. وقبالة الأكار من الجهة الغربية ساحة جميلة بقرب كنيسة عظيمة هناك فيها عدة تماثيل: منها تمثال جورج الرابع ملك النجليز، وتمثال هنري المتوفى سنة 1857، وتماثيل سباع هائلة من المعدن محيطة بمسلة طويلة مخروطة الشكل على غير مثال المسلة المصرية عليها تمثال عظيم.

وهناك فسقيتان من حجر تفوران بالماء، على مثال فوارات ساحة كونكورد في باريز، ولكن شتان بين الثرى والثريا.

Basha[14] to the English. It was transported in 1877 and it sank on its way, then it was salvaged the following year and erected in the aforementioned place. It is a piece of square stone, wide at the bottom and, gradually, narrowing towards the top. On its four sides, there are ancient hieroglyphic inscriptions mentioning the time and reason for its making. It is standing there like a tall minaret that can be seen from afar.

Next to the street, adjacent to the river, there are many beautiful municipal gardens that begin from Gare Victoria, the hotel where I was staying. On the west side in front of La Gare is a nice park close to a great church,[15] which contains many sculptures, of which there are the statues of the English King, George IV and Henry who died in 1857[16] as well as the sculptures of huge lions made from metal surrounding a long conical obelisk different from the Egyptian obelisk, on which was a great statue.

And there are also two stone fountains gushing with water in the same way as the ones in Place de la Concorde in Paris. Still, the difference between them is like the difference between the earth and the stars.

تعصب النجليز

وقد وجدت هناك كثيراً من الرجال والنساء

ENGLISH BIGOTRY

I found there many men, women, and children. And while we were contemplating the statue above the obelisk to find out to

[14] Mohammed Ali Basha was the ruler of Egypt from 1805 to 1848.

[15] St. Paul's Cathedral,

[16] Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence was English soldier and administrator who helped the British Empire in the Punjab. He died in 1857 during the Indian Mutiny. A stone statue of Lawrence is in St. Paul’s Cathedral.

والصبيان. فبينما نحن ننظر في التمثال الذي فوق المسلة، لنعرف لمن هو، وإذا بهم اجتمعوا يتعجبون من لباسنا كأن الإنسان ما خرج من بطن أمه إلا باللباس الأوروبي فإذا خالفه غير صنع الله وبدل خلق الله. فما أشد تعصبهم، وما أحسن تسامح المسلمين الذي لا يعيبون على الغريب شيئا! فمنعنا ذلك من تحقيق التمثال وذهبنا لحالنا.

غريبة: وهي آلة كتابة بالكهرباء

رأيت في الفندق الذي كنت نازلاً فيه غريبة، وهي سارية خشبية ركبت عليها آلة كتابة تحركها قوة كهربائية متصلة بمركز الأخبار التلغرافية في شركة روتر تنطبع فيها جميع أخبار العالم، في أوربا وأمريكا وغيرهما. وصاحب الفندق يؤدي لشركة روتر مقداراً معلوماً على الإعلام المذكور.

وبعد فراغ آلة الكتابة من الكتب يأتي المكلف بها وينزع منها الورقة ويعلقها هناك في وسط مركز الفندق ويجعل بدلها ورقة أخرى بيضاء لتكتبها ثانياً وهكذا، وذلك ليطلع المسافرون هناك على جميع أخبار العالم التي تحدث في كل لحظة من غير أن يحتاجوا إلى الخروج وسماع الأخبار من الناس ولا إلى شراء الجريدة أو انتظار طبعها، مع ما في ذلك من العطلة وضياع الوقت. ومن ذلك علمت أن النجليز يعرفون مقدار

whom it belonged, they suddenly gathered around us astonished at our clothes as though man has come out of his mother's womb with European clothes on and if someone differs from it he has altered God's design and creation. How extreme is their intolerance and how superior is the tolerance of the Muslims who never criticize foreigners on anything! Thus we were prevented from learning about the statue and we left.

A MARVEL: AN ELECTRIC TYPING MACHINE

In the hotel where I was staying, I saw a wonderful thing. It was a wooden pole on which was placed a typing machine powered by electricity, connected to the telegraphic news centre of Reuters Company where was printed the news from all over the world, from Europe and America and elsewhere. The hotel proprietor pays the Reuters Company a sum of money for this service.

After the typing machine finishes writing, the responsible comes and takes out the typed paper and hangs it at the centre area of the hotel and places in its stead another white sheet to write on it again and so on. And that is for travellers there to be acquainted with the world's news that takes place in every instant without going out and hearing the news from people or having to buy the newspaper or waiting for it to be printed, which implies delays and waste of time. Hence, I understood that the English know the value of time which they qualify as

gold, turned it into a proverb and persevered in the protection of their gold.

A strange incident occurred to me with an English man while I was standing in front of this type-writer contemplating it working. Indeed it was something marvellous the like of which I haven't seen either in Paris or elsewhere. A Frenchman was beside me and we were conversing about how it operated when an English gentleman stood up and asked me about my country. I said to him: Morocco. Then he said, "I know Tangier I have reached it but was unable to reach Fez because of the highwaymen at that time." I understood that he was there during the uprising of Bouhmara and Raisuli.[17] And I said to him that now things have quieted down and security has prevailed and there are no more incidents. Suddenly the machine started writing that policemen in Liverpool went on strike[18] and that the number of strikers reached 929 and some warehouses were robbed and looted until the army intervened. I turned towards him and said: "Have you read what is on this paper?" He answered, "Yes." Then I said to him, "Thank God, we are on the same footing. Still, our country is safer. Plunder in our country happens only in the countryside. With you, inside the cities." And I struck him speechless.

الوقت الذي قالوا فيه إنه ذهب، وأرسلوها مثلاً وعملوا بالمحافظة على ذهبهم.

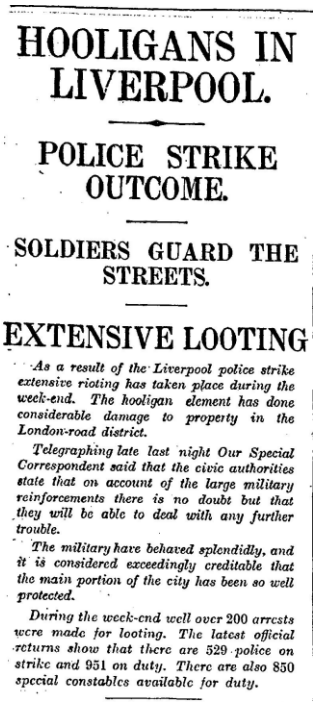
ووقعت لي غريبة مع رجل إنجليزي. وذلك أنني وقفت أمام هذه الآلة الكاتبة أتأمل في كيفيتها، وإن أمرها لعجيب ما رأيت مثله في باريز ولا غيرها، وبإزائي رجل إفرنساوي نتذاكر معه في كيفية ذلك. فوقف رجل من عيان النجليز و سألني عن بلدي، فقلت له: المغرب الأقصى. فقال: إني أعرف طنجة ووصلتها، وما قدرت أن أصل لفاس بسبب قطاع الطرق إذ ذاك. فعلمت أنه كان هناك على عهد الحوادث الحمارية والريسولية فقلت له: أما الآن فقد سكنت الأحوال ومد الأمن رواقه ولم يبقَ شيء. وإذا بالآلة كتبت أن البليس قد اعتصب في ليفربول وأن عدد المعتصبين بلغوا 929 وأن بعض المخازن التجارية وقع فيها السلب والنهب حتى تدخلت القوة العسكرية. فالتفت إليه وقلت له: هل قرأت ما في هذه الورقة؟ فقال نعم. فقلت له: الحمد لله، قد تساوينا بل بلدنا أهنأ: فالنهاب عندنا في البوادي، أما أنتم ففي داخل المدن. فأخرسته.

[17] Bouhmara and Raisouli rebelled against Sultan Moulay Abdelaziz in the early 20th century.

[18] Al Hajwi, who is not familiar with the practice of strikes, uses the term itasaba (**اعتصب**), which means gather together.



Figure 10: An arrest of looters, August 1919 in Liverpool



HOOLIGANS IN LIVERPOOL.

POLICE STRIKE OUTCOME.

SOLDIERS GUARD THE STREETS.

EXTENSIVE LOOTING

As a result of the Liverpool police strike extensive rioting has taken place during the week-end. The hooligan element has done considerable damage to property in the London-road district.

Telegraphing late last night Our Special Correspondent said that the civic authorities state that on account of the large military reinforcements there is no doubt but that they will be able to deal with any further trouble.

The military have behaved splendidly, and it is considered exceedingly creditable that the main portion of the city has been so well protected.

During the week-end well over 200 arrests were made for looting. The latest official returns show that there are 529 police on strike and 951 on duty. There are also 850 special constables available for duty.

Figure 11: Newspaper article about the looting in Liverpool

By God, this machine is the wonder of wonders, and had I seen it only in England that would have been enough. How can a man be acquainted with the world news in his hotel, without someone knocking on his door, or a sluggish courier. He knows the state of the stock market, trade, the rise and fall of the price of the merchandise, and the nations at war or peace in an instant, without being late to the events or wasting time. This is a similar example of the revelation denied by some of the Mu'tazilites,[19] and perhaps they might reach with electricity what is far stranger and more wonderful. How glorious are God's creations, and how great is his power! Glory to God, there is no God but Him!

ثم إن هذه الآلة - والله - لمن أعجب العجائب لو لم أرَ في انجلترة إلا هي لكانت كافية. كيف والرجل مطّلع على أخبار العالم وهو في نزله، من غير أن يطرقه طارق ولا أن يستبطئ رسولاً، فيعلم حال البورصة والتجارة وغلاء السلع ورخصها وحروب الأمم وسلمها كل في حينه من غير فوات إبان ولا ضياع وقت. فهذا مثال الكشف الذي أنكره بعض المعتزلة، وربما يتوصلون بالكهرباء إلى ما هو أعجب وأغرب. فما أجل صنع الله، وما أعظم قدرته سبحانه لا رب غيره!

[19] Mu'tazilites or Muʿtazila was an Islamic school that flourished in Basra and Baghdad in 8th -10th centuries, and advocated a rational understanding of religion.

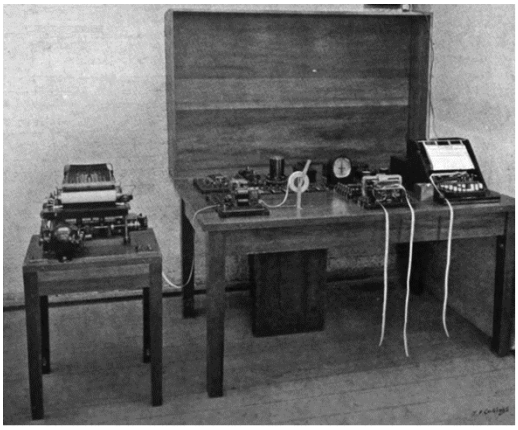


Figure 12: Typewriter and telegraph

Indeed, the wonders of Europe are numerous. They are in fact not the wonders of Europe, but the wonders of the world and the wonders of the inventions of an intelligent active human mind. And had I not committed myself to tell only what I saw, I would have told about the wonders of Europe or the world, especially in London and Paris, which are a spring of European wisdom. However, because of my short stay and ignorance of the English and French languages, may fair people accept my apology and know I have not described Paris nor London, but only a section of them, or a place I stayed in or visited, officially or unofficially, because I have heard about it, or a road I passed by as does the fleeting time and the wise man compares an image with its counterpart and only God is all-knowing.

وإن عجائب أوروبا كثيرة، وهي في الحقيقة ليست عجائب أوروبا بل عجائب العالم وغرائب اختراعات عقل البشر النبيه المتيقظ. ولولا أني التزمت أن لا أخبر إلا بما رأيت لقصصت عليكم من عجائب أوروبا أو العالم، وخصوصاً في لندرة وباريز اللذان هما ينبوع الحكمة الأوروبية. غير أني لعدم طول مقامي وعدم معرفتي بشيء من اللسان النجليزي و الفرنساوي، فليقبل المنصفون معذرتي وليعلموا أني ما وصفت باريز ولا لندرة وإنما وصفت قسماً من كل منهما وصِفَتَه أو محلاً نزلت فيه أو زرته، رسمياً أو غير رسمي، لسماعي به أو طريقاً مررت بها كما يمر الحال المرتحل والعاقل يقيس الشبيه بالنظير، والله عليم خبير.

مسجدان للمسلمين في لندرة، أحدهما للجمعة في وكين

أخذت عشية الأحد حافلة أتومبيلية وطلبت من السائق أن يذهب بي لزيارة مسجد المسلمين الهنود الذي أسمع به في لندرة. فلم يعرفه هو ولا عدة من السائقين للأتومبيلات التي كانت حاضرة في لاغار ولا البليس. ثم ذهب بي إلى دائرة البليس وسأل هناك ليدلوه عليه، فلم يعرفوه ولكن أرشدوه إلى مأكل الهنود المسلمين ليدلوه عليه. فذهبنا ولم نجد من يعرف المسجد، وبقينا نطوف في كثير من الحارات ونحن نسأل عنه ولا دليل. فلما قرب الغروب رجعنا لمحلنا، ولا طائل سوى أنا كنا جازمين بوجود مسجد في لندرة، فرجعت شاكّاً فيه. غير أن الوفد السوداني المصري حقق لنا بعض رجاله وجوده، بل وجود مسجدين أحدهما كبير للجمعة في ضواحي لندرة بمحال يقال له وكين أخبرني أنه صلى فيه الجمعة وخطيبه رجل إنجليزي خطب باللغة النجليزية وبعض الآيات عربية.

قال الراوي: إنه لما قرأها بكى، فأبكى الحاضرين بخشوعه. وإنه يوجد في لندرة كثير من النجليزيين أسلموا بإسلام أحد عظمائهم اللورد هادلي ، ما له من الاعتبار في قومه وعائلته. وإن

TWO MOSQUES IN LONDON: ONE FOR FRIDAY PRAYERS IN WOKING

On Sunday afternoon, I took a taxi and asked the driver to take me to the Muslim Indian mosque which I have heard about in London. He didn't know it nor did several of the drivers of the automobiles who were present at the station, nor did the policemen. So he drove me to the police station where he asked for directions. They didn't know but directed him to a restaurant frequented by Indian Muslims to guide him. We went there but found none who knew about the mosque. So we kept roaming in several neighbourhoods, asking about it in vain. When sunset approached we returned to our place without achieving anything save that we were dead certain of the existence of a mosque in London, and returned doubting that. However, some members of the Sudanese Egyptian delegation attested to its existence. In fact the existence of two mosques, one of them a big one for the Friday prayers in the suburbs of London in an area called Woking. One of the members informed me that he performed the Friday prayer in this mosque and that the khateeb was an Englishman who gave the sermon in English with some Qur'anic verses in Arabic.

The teller said that when the khateeb recited the verses he wept and made the congregation fall into tears with his zeal. And that in London there were many English converts to Islam, the most

prominent of whom was Lord Headley,[20] who enjoyed a high reputation among his nation and family. And that the mosque had a minaret and an ablution area, like Eastern Muslim mosques. And they visited a smaller mosque inside the city of London.

في المسجد صومعة وموضع الماء للوضوء، مثل المساجد الشرقية الإسلامية .ووقفوا على مسجد أصغر منه داخل مدينة لندرة.

TRAVEL TO MANCHESTER

My departure from London was at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, heading for Manchester. And though we were on the 31st of July, the land we passed by was all green, due to the high humidity in this country from heavy rains and the extreme cold. Though we were in this season, the rain was constantly upon us, and we were wrapped in our clothes.

Like France, this land is full of urbanization, in fact, it was greater, and its commercial activities were higher. At every train station we arrived, we saw huge amounts of different kinds of goods and merchandise.

On our journey, and the hardships of travels aren't unbeknown to you, I have rested, thank God, at having left the hotel in London, where I have spent an insufferable night. I was tormented by the thin bed and scanty bedding. God is my witness, it was the worst night I have ever spent during this entire journey. Its bedding was like a narrow, hard piece of stone covered with thorns. I rested my head on a pillow that seemed like a piece of a steep mountain. All in all, I had

السفر إلى منشيستر

كان انفصالي عن لندرة في الساعة 2 والنصف بعد الزوال، قاصداً إلى منشيستر . فمررنا في أرض كلها خضراء، مع أننا في يوم 31 يوليوز، وذلك لكثرة رطوبة هذه البلاد بالأمطار المتكاثرة والبرودة الشديدة. فكنا في هذا الفصل والمطر يتعاهدنا، ونحن متدثرون بالثياب، وهذه الأرض كثيرة العمارة مثل افرانسا، بل أزيد وحركتها في التجارة أكثر. فكل محطة وصلناها رأينا فيها من أنواع الموسوقات والموضوعات شيئاً كثيراً.

وعلى سفرنا، وتعلم تعب السفر، فقد استرحت وحمدت الله على مفارقة نزل لندرة. إذ بت فيه في ليلة نابغية يساورني فراشها وغطاؤها بضيئلة من الرقش، يراها الله شر ليلة عانيتها في سفري هذا. فراشها كأنه من شوك على حجر صلد ضيق، متوسداً وسادة كأنها قطعة من جبل ولكن في حرور. وبالجملة، بت ليالي في بوادي المغرب

[20] Lord Headley, the 5th Baron of Headley (1855–1935), converted to Islam in 1913. He performed the Hajj in 1923.

spent nights in the villages of Morocco and Algeria, and none was similar to this. Here all was gathered: an army of fleas, troops of mosquitoes, to the narrowness of place, lack of facilities and the absence of communication. And this was the night I had to pay for in advance and it costs five Moroccan rials, including a bitter morning coffee, with no sugar, in a lodging called by its owner a hotel. But freedom permits anyone to name anything in whichever name and label the ignoble with noble names. And thus torture is indeed a piece of travel.[21] I found it easier to endure the pain of the train than the agony of the bed.

والجزائر و لا كهذه: جمع فيها جيش البرغوث، إلى عسكر البعوض، إلى ضيق المجال وقلة المرافق، وعدم اللسان الموافق. هذه هي الليلة التي أديت كراء محلها قبلها، وقدره خمسة أريلة مغربية داخل فيها قهوة الصباح المرة بدون سكر في نزل سمّاه صاحبه الأوتيل. والحرية اقتضت أن يسمي من شاء ما شاء بما شاء من الأسماء التي هي شريفة على خسيس. ولهذا كان العذاب قطعة من السفر! ولقد استهونت ألم السكة الحديدية ولا ألم الفراش.

THE ENGLISH HABIT OF NOT USING NAPKINS WHILE EATING

عادة النجليز عدم الزيوف عند الأكل

In that hotel, they didn't even have napkins, and this was common in major English restaurants despite the fact that their country is the country of cloth. Some prestigious restaurants do provide paper napkins, while in France napkins are necessary in any restaurant.

Don't tell me that Moroccans don't have napkins. We shall answer you that even the poorest and most wretched among them uses one after eating. And it is necessary among Moroccans to wash their hands with soap and dry them in napkins. This is the ultimate cleanliness, and this is absent in other nations. This is why they provide each diner with a napkin. In the case of the

وليس لهم في ذلك المنزل حتى زيوف الأكل ، وهذا في غالب محلات الأكل عند النجليز مع أن بلدهم هي بلد الكتان. وفي بعض محلات لها اعتبار يجعلون زيوفاً من الكاغيط بخلاف أرض افرانسا، فلا بد من زيوف الأكل في كل محل محل.

لا تقل لي إن المغاربة ليس لهم زيوف. إنا نجيبك بأن فقيرهم وحقيرهم له زيف واحد بعد الأكل، ولا بد من المغاربة في غسل الأيدي بالصابون وتجفيفها في الزيف، وفي ذلك نهاية النظافة وذلك مفقود عند غيرهم. لذلك جعلوا لكل

[21] Al Hajwi reverses the Prophet's statement that travelling is a piece of torture.

English, this isn't so. Yes, in prestigious hotels; they imitate the manner of the French.

What I have also noticed on the road between London and Manchester is that they have two railway lines: one outbound, and the other inbound. Thus, they are safe from collisions despite the heavy traffic. Despite that, they have dug up many canals in the rivers along which bulls pull loads so that you see a bull going along the riverside pulling a boat filled with industrial and agricultural crops. This is also common in France, Alsace and Lorraine, but it is more common here and the traffic is higher.

آكل زيوفاً، أما النجليز فلا. نعم، في الأوطيلات العالية يعملون بعادة الإفرانسيس.

ومما لاحظته في الطريق، بين لندرة ومنشيستر، أنهم جعلوا السكة الحديد خطين: خط ذاهب، وخط آيب. فأمنوا من الاصطدام وذلك لكثرة الحركة. ومع هذا تجدهم فتحوا ترعاً كثيراً في الأودية تجرها ثيران تمشي بشط النهر، فترى الثور ذاهباً مع شط الترعة يجر زورقاً حاملاً المحصولات الصناعية والأرضية وذلك موجود في فرانسا والألزاس واللورين، ولكن هنا أكثر والحركة أزيد.

ABUNDANCE OF SHEEP IN ENGLAND

From what I observed on my way, is an abundance of sheep here in England; they are extremely fat because of the plentifulness of pasture, far more than in France. Yes, cows in France are bigger and had more ideal shapes than English cows. The same for pulling horses. As for horses for riding and racing, England has better ones. English horses are famous around the world, like the Arab horse, especially if it is a breed of an English and an Arab horse that is the ultimate perfection. So much so that the French evaluate what the horse has of English and Arab blood and the more he has the higher is the price. They have people who are experts in this and can evaluate the percentage of the mixture, its increase and decrease, and the price of a horse may reach thousands upon thousands of golden pounds.

ثرة الغنم في انجلاتيرة

ومما لاحظته أيضاً في طريقي هذه كثرة الغنم هنا في إنجلاتيرة وسمنها للغاية، لكثرة النبات، وذلك أكثر مما في فرانسا بكثير. نعم، البقر في افرانسا أعظم جثة وأكمل بنية من بقر النجليز وكذلك الخيل أيضاً لكن للجر، أما خيل الركوب والسباق فعند انجلترا أحسن. وخيول النجليز مشهورة في العالم، كالخيل العربية، ولا سيما إذا تناسل فرس بين عربي وإنجليزي فذلك النهاية. حتى إن الفرنساويين يزنون ما في الفرس من الدم النجليزي والعربي، وبنسبة زيادتهما فيه يتشرف ثمنه. ولهم ناس عارفون بذلك وبزنته وزيادته ونقصه، وربما بلغ الفرس الآلاف المؤلفة من الإبرة الذهبية.

The trees between London and Manchester are plentiful. In France, however, they appear bigger and taller. Also, caring for verdure in France is greater, since the weather and earth are more suitable for it than in England, yet here agriculture is highly developed.

Near Manchester, we saw many plantations of vegetables. Everyone who owns the piece of land puts fences in wood, vegetation, or wire especially along the railway line, so that no one reaches it due to the great train activity and as a precaution of high speed. This was all different from France.

On the way, we passed also by several cities and villages. For instance, the city of Rygby, where there was a famous school where English children of high social status study. Also by the city of Stackport, where there are many factories and machines. This city is close to Manchester and both are connected by the tramway. We saw the city's black scenery with the smoke rising up above it and its walls covered in a black coating. The same view when we arrived in Manchester.

الأشجار بين لندن ومنشيستر كثيرة، ولكن يظهر في افرانسا أعظم وأطول. والاعتناء بالخضرة في فرانسا أكثر أيضاً، لصلاحية الجو والأرض لذلك أكثر من إنجلاتيرة وإن كانت الزراعة هنا راقية من أرقى ما يوجد.

و بالقرب منشيستر رأينا الخضر مزروعة كثيراً، وكل من له قطعة من الأرض يجعل لها سياجاً خشبياً أو نباتياً أو سلكياً، ولا سيما عند الخط الحديدي و لا يصل أحد الخط الحديدي لكثرة الحركة وخوف الخطر لسرعته. وذلك كله بخلاف افرانسا.

مررنا في طريقنا على عمائر وقرى كثيرة. منها مدينة راغبي، بها مدرسة شهيرة يقرأ فيها الطبقة العليا من أولاد النجليز. ومنها مدينة سطاكبوط، فيها مصانع وماكينات عديدة، وهي قريبة إلمنشيستر بينهما التراموای. ولقد رأينا منظرها أسود يعلو الدخان فوقها ثم يكسو حيطانها بأردية سوداء، وكذلك لما وصلنا إلى منشيستر.

MANCHESTER

Our arrival in Manchester was at 7 o'clock in the afternoon. When we arrived we found no one who understood our language to direct us to a hotel to stay in. Children gathered around us, marvelling at our clothes and language. The policemen came and dispersed them. They, too, didn't understand our destination and no one who knew a single French word. Besides, we did

منشيستر

وكان وصولنا في الساعة 7 عشية. ولما وصلنا لم نجد أحداً يعرف اللسان يدلنا على نزل ننزله. واجتمع علينا الصبيان يتعجبون من لباسنا ولساننا، فجاء البليس وفرقهم حيناً ولم يفهم مقصدنا ولا وجودنا من يعرف الفرنساوي ولا

not have a single address of a hotel, which surely there must be many there. And this was because we didn't take the necessary precautions. Out of necessity, we should have been accompanied by an interpreter or at least the address of a hotel. But we had relied on the fact that we had sent two telegraphs to two of the many Moroccan merchants in Manchester, and we thought that if a telegraph missed, the second would reach its destination. One of the two men claimed that the telegraph didn't reach him; while the other said he thought I had telegraphed from Paris and that I wouldn't arrive before the following day. May Allah forgive them.

The problem was solved when I recalled that there was in my pocket an address of a man of my acquaintance who resided there, so I handed it to the taxi driver and he drove me to his house where I found one of the two men to whom I had telegraphed. He apologized to me, and it was necessary to accept his apology because he was one of the beloved friends of my father, may Allah have mercy on him. And I invoked the saying of the Prophet, peace be upon him, in *Sahih Muslim:* "The best act of *Birr* is for a child to uphold ties with the friends of his father,"[22] and accepting an apology is the best generosity.

When our Moroccan friends heard of my presence there they gathered around me and we spent a useful night. And they asked me important questions concerning their religious practices. The majority, thank God, are religiously devout. And I answered them

كلمة. ولم يكن معنا عنوان ولا واحد من الفنادق التي لا شك أنها متعددة هناك. وسبب هذا عدم أخذنا بالاحتياط، إذ كان الواجب أن نصحب معنا ترجماناً أو عنوان فندق على الأقل. لكنا اتكلنا على جعلنا تلغرافين لرجلين من تجار المغاربة الذين هم موجودون بكثرة في منشيستر فقلنا: إن أخطأ واحد أصاب الثاني. فأحدهما زعم أن التلغراف لم يصله، والآخر قال ظن أني عملته من باريز وأني لا أصل إلا غداً. والله يغفر لهما.

وقد انفضت المشكلة أني تذكرت بجيبي عنوان رجل أعرفه هناك فأعطيته لصاحب السيارة وذهب بي إلى داره فوجدت بها أحد الرجلين اللذين وجهت لهما التلغراف. وقد اعتذر، فما نفع إلا قبول العذر لكونه من أحباب سيدي الوالد رحمه الله فاستحضرت قوله عليه السلام في)صحيح مسلم(:)من البر أن يكرم الرجل أهل ود أبيه ولا إكرام كقبول العذر.

ولما سمع بي هناك أصحابنا المغاربة اجتمعوا علي هناك، وسمرنا سمراً مفيداً. وقد سألوني في مسائل مهمة عن أمر دينهم، إذ جلهم - والحمد لله - متدين، فأجبتهم بما حضرني في تلك

[22] *Sahih Muslim*, translated by Nasiruddin al Khattab (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2007), Chapter : 4, "The Virtue of Maintaining Ties with the Friends of One's Father and Mother, Etc.," Hadith number 2552.

with what I was able to answer at that moment.

السويعة.

DOCTRINAL ISSUES: WIPING THE ARMS IN TAYAMMUM

مسائل فقهية مسح الذراعين في التيمم

One of the issues: "Is wiping the arms in *tayammum* obligatory or not?"

And the answer is that what is obligatory is wiping the hands to the wrists. As for wiping the arms from the wrist to the elbow, it is not obligatory, rather it is a well-established Sunna because of what was proven when occasionally the Prophet, peace be upon him, left them unwiped. One of them said, he was afflicted in his legs and couldn't pour water on them, thus some people recommended *tayammum* to him, saying to him: you have to wipe the two arms. I said to him: for his fatwa ruling about *tayammum*, it was not right and the prayer performed with it is invalid and must be repeated if you can apply water on all the parts except the feet. Since you can wipe on top of the footwear if they are clean and you have been wearing them clean. You can pray with them and don't remove them since the streets here are mostly clean because they aren't passed by animals. If you are unable to wash one or several limbs does not lead to *tayammum*. You have to wipe it and wash the rest. If the footwears are unclean, remove them and wipe your feet and do your prayer. Do they not wipe on the plaster cast and socks if the leg is afflicted as in the case of being in a plaster cast? In the continuous Hadith tradition, the Prophet, peace be upon him, wiped on his shoes.

فمنها: هل مسح الذراعين واجب في التيمم أم لا ؟

والجواب أن الواجب مسح اليدين للكوعين. أما مسح الذراعين من الكوعين إلى المرفقين فليس بواجب وإنما هو سنة على المشهور، لما ثبت أنه - عليه السلام - تركهما في بعض الأحيان. فقال أحدهم: إنه كان مريضاً برجليه لا يقدر على جعل الماء بهما، فأفتاه بعض الناس بالتيمم وقال له: يجب مسح الذراعين. فقلت له: أما فتواه بالتيمم فلم تصادف صوابا، والصلاة به باطلة. يجب عليك إعادة ما صليت به إذا كنت قادراً على جعل الماء فيما عدى الرجلين، إذ يمكنك أن تمسح على النعلين إذا كانتا طاهرتين ولبستهما على طهارة وتصلي بهما ولا تنزعهما فإن الطرق هنا نظيفة غالباً إذ لا تمر فيها الدواب. والعضو الواحد أو المتعدد إذا تعذر غسله لا ينتقل به التيمم، بل يمسح عليه ويغسل غيره. وإذا كانت النعال نجسة نزعتها ومسحت على رجليك وصليت. أليس يمسح على الجبيرة والجوارب، التقاشير إذا كانت الرجل مريضة كالجبيرة؟ ومن الأحاديث المتواترة مسحه - عليه السلام - على الخفين.

As for his fatwa ruling of the invalidity of wiping the hands and the obligation of wiping both arms in *tayammum*, it is not a correct fatwa because from what I know that the general consensus is the opposite. And it is in *Matn* Ibn Aachir.

As to your statement that the European dress prevents you from wiping the two arms, I don't grant it to you because you can take off the coat do the ablution or *tayammum* and put it on again with no harm to you nor any great hardship. And they agreed with all that.

MANTLE MADE OUT OF THE WOOL OF A DEAD ANIMAL

Among their questions is whether prayer is valid when wearing a mantle made from the wool of a dead animal.

The answer: is the majority of the wool in the mantle from wool sheared from live or dead sheep? They said, the bulk of it is clean-sheared wool because it is rare that it should be otherwise. Then, I said to them: the rule is decided by the predominant, and this is the opinion of Khalil.[23] Unlike in the case of weaving. Some of them said: there is wool not from sacrificed sheep but was slaughtered by people of the Book. I said to them: as for the first matter, the most common is of the pure sheared as you have stated and, as was said, the rule is that of what is prevalent. As for the wool of people of the Book, it is like their butchery: "And the food of those who have been vouchsafed revelation aforetime is

وأما فتواه بعدم إجزاء مسح اليدين، ووجوب مسح الذراعين في التيمم، فهي فتوى غير صحيحة لما علمت أن المشهور خلافه، وهو في نظم ابن عاشر

على أن قولكم إن الكسوة الأوربية تمنعكم من مسح الذراعين لا أسلمه لكم، إذ يمكنكم إزالة السترة والتوضو أو التيمم ثم تردونها ولا ضرر عليكم ولا كبير مشقة، فاعترفوا بذلك كله.

الملف يصنع من صوف الميتة

ومنها سؤالهم عن الملف الذي يصنع من الصوف، وربما تكون صوف ميتة، هل تصح به الصلاة ؟

الجواب: هل الغالب في الصوف التي يصنع منها الملف هو الصوف المجزوزة من الغنم الحية أو المنتوفة؟ فقالوا: الغالب المجزوزة الطاهرة، وهذا ضروري وغيره نادر بالنسبة إليه. فقلت لهم: الحكم للغالب، ولهذا قال خليل: بخلاف نسجه. فقال بعضهم: وهناك صوف ما لم يذك من الغنم بل ذبحه أهل الكتاب. فقلت لهم: أما أولا فالغالب هو المجزوزة الطاهرة كما اعترفتم، وسبق أن الحكم للغالب. على أن صوف أهل الكتاب تابعة بذبيحتهم: [وطعام الذين أوتوا الكتاب

[23] Khalil ibn Ishaq al Jundi was a Mulsim jurisprudent in Maliki Islamic law who died in 1365. He composed *Mukhtasar*, known as the *Mukhtasar of Khalil*, a comprehensive treatise of the Maliki legal rules.

حل لكم]، على ما أفتى به الإمام ابن العربي المعافري، فألبسوه ولا حرج.

وقد كانت المذاكرة جرت بيني وبين أعضاء الوفد في أكل ذبيحة النصارى، ورأيت أن الضرورة تبيح لنا أكلها، زيادة عن فتوى ابن العربي بالجواز في الاختيار ولو رأيته يفتل عنق الدجاجة. فكان بعض أعضاء الوفد لا يعمل بهذه الفتوى، ولكن كان يأكل المرق والخضر المطبوخة مع اللحم. فقلت له يوماً: ما أعرفك بالفقه، تحرّم اللحم وتأكل مرقه! فصار بعد ذلك لا يأكل المرق بل يذهب لمحلات اليهود يأكل عندهم. فقلت له: أي فرق بين ذبيحة يهودي أو نصراني مع أن حكم القرآن علق على الكتابية. وإنما الفرق بين طعام اليهود والنصارى أن الثاني نظيف موافق للصحة بخلاف الأول. ومع هذا كله بقي يأكل طعام اليهود ويتورع عن طعام النصارى، والكل سواء في الحكم وإنما (لكل امرئ من دهره ما تعودا). وقد زعم هذا البعض أن ابن العربي تفرد بهذا القول، وهو قصور. فقد مشى عليه الونشريسي في) المعيار(، ورجحه الإمام الحفار قائلاً: بل أهل المذهب كلهم يقولون إن أكل طعام أهل الكتاب حلال لنا إلا ما خص من ذلك، فقف عليه.

lawful to you"[24] as in the fatwa of Imam Ibn al Arabi al Maarfi. So, wear it without apprehension.

In a conversation that had taken place between me and the members of the delegation was about eating Christian slaughtered meat. In my opinion, necessity allows us to consume it. Besides the fatwa of Ibn al Arabi giving the freedom of choice even if you see the Christian twisting the chicken's neck. One of the members of the delegation didn't adhere to this fatwa, yet used to eat the broth and vegetables cooked with the meat. I said to him one day, "what do you know about *Fiqh*? How do you prohibit meat but eat its broth!" After that, he ceased eating the broth and started going to Jewish restaurants to eat there. So I said to him, "what is the difference between the butchery of a Jew and that of a Christian since ruling in the Koran involves the two people of the Book. Rather, the difference between the food of the Jews and the Christians is that the second is clean and good for the health, unlike the first." Despite all this, he continued eating the food of the Jews and avoiding the food of the Christians, and both are the same in the religious ruling, but "everyone follows in life what he has been accustomed to."[25] Some claim that Ibn Arabi is alone in this fatwa, and that this is wrong. And this opinion is shared by al Wancharisi in the *Miyar* and is endorsed by Imam al Hafar saying "all the followers of the *madhab* (doctrine) say that consuming the food of the people of the Book is permissible for us except for what has been specified.

[24] *The Qur'an,* Chapter : " Al Maida, " Table, verse 5, Asad's translation.
[25] Al Hajwi is quoting a line from the poetry of Al Mutanabi.

That shouldn't be touched.

Rhouni undermines Ibn al Arabi's opinion with arguments that are all contestable, and we have detailed previously on this matter in another context. And in the same way that Haffar favours Ibn Arabi's opinion; Zayat accepts it and Ahmed Baba al Souadani and others adopted it, and God is all-knowing.

Another one of their questions is about cloth made from hair worn as a lining of a coat. I said to them: are you certain of its uncleanness? And they replied, No, its circumstances are unknown. I said to them: wear it and there is no sin in doing so because Shaykh Khalil said: the Prophet, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, wore garments made from hair and wool that came from the land of the unbelievers without inquiring about whether it was sheared or plucked nor whether from the hair of an animal permissible or forbidden for consumption and this is in the authoritative books of the hadith.

IS IT PERMISSIBLE TO EAT GHEE FROM OF SELLER OF PORK?

Another question is: They asked about a man selling them ghee in Manchester who also sold pork in his shop. He handed them ghee not by hand but with a special tool reserved for it and for no other uses, and then he put the ghee in a piece of paper and gave it to them, carefully avoiding that nothing got mixed. And they found no one else to sell it to them except in this manner.

The answer: If you are convinced of the absence of any mixing of the ghee with

وقد وهّن الرهوني كلام ابن العربي هذا بوجوه كلها مردودة بسطنا القول فيها في غير هذا الموضع. وكما رجح الحفار كلام ابن العربي قبله الزيات وسلمه وكفله أحمد بابا السوداني وغيره ، والله أعلم.

ومنها سؤالهم عن ثوب من الشعر يجعل تحت بطانة السترة، بينها وبين الملف، فقلت لهم: هل تحققت لديكم نجاسته؟ فقالوا لا، بل جهلت حاله. فقلت لهم: البسوا ولا حرج لقول الشيخ خليل:)بخلاف نسجه(. وقد لبس صلى الله عليه وسلم ثياب الشعر، والصوف تأتي من أرض الكفار، ولم يبحث في كونها مجزوزة أو منتوفة ولا في الشعر هل من حلال الأكل أم من حرامه وذلك في الكتب الصحاح.

بائع السمن إذا كان يبيع الخنزير هل يجوز أكله؟

ومنها: سألوا عن رجل يبيع لهم السمن في منشيستر ويبيع أيضاً في حانوته لحم الخنزير، ولكن لا يتناول السمن بيده بل بآلة مخصوصة لا يتناول بها غيره ثم يجعله في كاغد ويناولهم إياه ويتحفظ من أن يخلط به غيره. ولم يجدوا غيره يبيعهم إياه إلا على هذه الحالة.

الجواب: إذا غلب على ظنكم التحفظ من

something else that is prohibited, then nothing is wrong with that because as stated by the *fuqaha*, food isn't forbidden in case of doubt, much less in the case of delusion.

خلط السمن بشيء آخر محرم شرعاً فلا حرج، فإن الطعام لا يطرح بالشك كما نص عليه الفقهاء فضلاً عن الوهم.

YEAST FROM THE CHAFF OF BARLEY USED FOR MAKING LIQUOR

Among the questions: They inquired about yeast used in kneading their bread made from the barley chaff that the English squeeze to extract liquor. And I told them, is this chaff taken before the water turns into liquor and before the rule of alcohol applies to it or after? They said before fermentation.

So, I answered: there is no sin, consume it to your heart's content because the determining factor in this case is the state in which you have consumed the yeast. It was at the time still hallal. As for what happened to the juice after you have taken the chaff, it has its own rule. They said: after we take the barely it becomes yeast, and that's the meaning of fermentation. I told them: it is also like the flour of wheat. It ferments and becomes sour and transforms into yeast too. And this is the meaning of this substance which is fermentation, from which is derived the terms *al khamr*, alcohol, linguistically and religiously.

The *fuqaha* have stated that what isn't liquid, such as yeast, is forbidden only the amount that has an effect on the mind as for a smaller amount, like the yeast that is mixed with dough, there is no prohibition or restriction and it is pure in small and large

الخميرة من حثالة شعير يصنع منه الخمر

ومنها: سألوا عن الخميرة التي يعجنون بها خبزهم أنها من حثالة الشعير الذي يعصره النجليز ويؤخذ منه الخمر. فقلت لهم: هل تؤخذ الحثالة قبل جعل الماء خمراً وقبل انسحاب حكم الخمرية عليه أم بعده؟ فقالوا: بل قبل تخميره.

فقلت لهم: لا حرج، كلوه هنيئاً مريئاً لأن العبرة بالحالة التي تناولتم أنتم الخمير فيها وهو إذ ذاك لا زال حلالاً. أما مآل العصير بعدما أخذتم أنتم حثالته فله حكم يخصّه. فقالوا: إننا بعدما نأخذ الشعير يصير خميرة، وهو معنى التخمر. فقلت لهم: هو كدقيق الحنطة أيضاً، فإنه يتخمر ويصير حامضاً خميرة أيضاً وهذا معنى هذه المادة وهي التخمير التي أخذ منها لفظ الخمر لغة وشرعاً.

وقد نص الفقهاء أن ما ليس بمائع، كالخميرة، لا يحرم منها إلا القدر الذي يؤثر في العقل أما ما قل، كالخميرة التي تخلط مع العجين، فلا حرمة ولا حد فيها كما أنها طاهرة قليلها

quantities. And who consumes of it the amount that can affect the mind deserves to be reprimanded rather than punished.

Then I explained to them the meaning of *khamr*, which is the fluid that affects reason and causes euphoria, be it from grapes or something else, unlike Abu Hanifa who associates it with grapes and dates, and its ruling is prohibition and utmost impurity like urine, and entails punishment whether a small or and big amount. Prohibition is based on ten places in one verse, the first is: "Intoxicants, and games of chance," till the end of the verse.[26] It is associated with idols, that is idol worship, and is called an abomination because it is the work of Satan, and its ruling is to avoid it as in the expression "avoid your enemy," a more succinctly expressed that an injunction of turning aside from. The commentary of Al Halah on avoiding it because it is the cause of enmity and hostility, and this is the worst of what must be avoided. In addition to preventing one from invoking God and prayer. Interdiction takes the sense of the meaning implied in a severe warning and this is derived from God's expression, "In both, there is great evil"[27] and his statement "Verily, my Sustainer has forbidden only shameful deeds, be they open or secret."[28]

As for the impurity, it is in the same way he described swineflesh when he says, "Or swineflesh." It is foul and filthy in the

وكثيرها. ومن أكل منها القدر الذي أثر في عقله ليس عليه إلا الأدب، لا الحد.

ثم بينت لهم معنى الخمر وهو المائع الذي يغطي العقل مع نشاط وتفريح سواء كان من العنب أو من غيره، خلافا لأبي حنيفة الذي بخصه بالعنب والتمر، ومحكمة الحرمة والنجاسة المغلظة كالبول، ووجوب الحد في قليله وكثيره. فالحرمة مأخوذة من عشرة مواضع في آية واحدة وهي : وإنما الخمر والميسر إلى قوله ؟ وهي جعلها مع الأوثان، وهي الأصنام، وتسميتها بالرجس وأنها من عمل الشيطان والأمر بالاجتناب، كما نقول: اجتنب عدوك، وهو أبلغ من الأمر بالترك، وتعليق الفلاح على الاجتناب ، وما فيها من إيقاع العداء وإيقاع البغضاء، وذلك من أقبح ما يجتنبه، والصد عن ذكر الله، والصد عن الصلاة، والنهي بصيغة الاستفهام المومي به إلى التهديد الشديد ويؤخذ أيضا من قوله تعالى : فيهما إثم كبير وقوله : إنما حرم ربي الفواحش ما ظهر منها وما بطن.

وأما النجاسة فحيث عبر عنها بالرجس، وبذلك عبر عن لحم الخنزير في قوله : (أو لحم خنزير، فإنه رجس وهو نجس بإجماع. وكفى في

[26] In "Al Maida," verse 90 reads: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنَّمَا الْخَمْرُ وَالْمَيْسِرُ وَالْأَنْصَابُ وَالْأَزْلَامُ رِجْسٌ مِنْ عَمَلِ الشَّيْطَانِ فَاجْتَنِبُوهُ لَعَلَّكُمْ تُفْلِحُونَ

Asad's translation: "O you who have attained to faith! Intoxicants, and games of chance, and idolatrous practices, and the divining of the future are but a loathsome evil of Satan's doing:' shun it, then, so that you might attain to a happy state!"

[27] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: al Baqara, verse 219. Asad's translation.

[28] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: "Al Aaraf," verse 33. Asad's translation.

نجاستها عموم الأمر باجتنابها، وغاية ما يعبر عن النجس أن يجنب، ونجاسة المسكر هو قول الجمهور، إلا ما ينقل عن ربيعة من طهارته.

وأما وجوب الحد فبالنسبة، وقد أقام الحد فيها عمر فجلد ثمانين، وجلد فيها عثمان أربعين مقتدياً بفعل أبي بكر و يكبر حاصل حرمتها. ويحرم على المسلم تملكها، ويبطل تقويمها حتى لا يضمن ما تلف منها. فهذه أحكام الخمر الستة.

وقال أبو حنيفة بحلّيّة النبيذ، وهو عصير ما ليس بعنب، واعتبره كبقية الأطعمة والأشربة المباحة لكن لا يبيحه مطلقاً بل يبيح منه القدر الذي لا يسكر بالفعل كالجرعة الواحدة. فإذا زاد الشارب حتى سكر بالفعل فهو حرام ويحد عنده وذلك لأنه يفهم قوله عليه السلام(كل مسكر حرام) على أن المعنى المسكر بالفعل. وأما إذا شرب منه ما لم يسكر بالفعل فلا حرمة ما لم يكن من الخمر الوارد في القرءان وهو عصير العنب والنخيل، زاعماً أنه هو الذي يطلق عليه الخمر لغة. فإذا كان منه فقليله ككثيره، الكل حرام عنده أسكر قليله بالفعل أم لم يسكر. وقد استدل بقوله تعالى: [ومن ثمرات النخيل والأعناب تتخذون منه سكرا، فإن هذه الآية فسرت الخمر المحرم في الآية التي نزلت بعدها

unanimous opinion [of the jurists]. And it is enough to assert its impurity in the general injunction of avoiding it. And the best expression of impurity is to avoid it and this is the commonly agreed upon opinion, save what is stated by Rabiah concerning its purity.

And concerning carrying out the punishment, this is relative. Omar executed the punishment and administered 80 lashes and Othman gave 40 lashes following the example of Abu Bakr, and so its prohibition is further asserted. And it is forbidden for a Muslim to possess it. And evaluating it is invalid so that there is no guarantee for it in case of damage. These are the six provisions of Khamr.

Abu Hanifa has said of the lawfulness of *nabid*, the juice that is not from the grapevine, considering it like other permissible foods and drinks, yet he doesn't permit it completely, but just the amount that does not actually inebriate such as a single sip. And if the drinker drinks until he is actually drunk, then it his prohibited and deserves punishment as is understood from the prophet's saying "Every intoxicant is Haram."[29] That is to say what really intoxicates, while if one drinks from it a quantity that does not actually intoxicate then it is lawful as long as it is not the wine meant in the *Koran*, which is the juice of grapes and dates, claiming that what is linguistically meant by wine. If it is from this then a small amount is the same as a big one. All is unlawful for him whether a small quantity actually intoxicates or not. He supports his statement with the Almighty saying, "from the fruit of date-palms and vines: from it you

[29] *Sahih Muslim*, Hadith 5216.

في تحريمه، وهي قوله: [إنما الخمر والميسر والأنصاب...] وبحديث أنه عليه السلام مر بحائط من حيطان المدينة المنورة ورأى شجرة عنب ملفوفة على نخلة فقال عليه السلام: (الخمر من هاتين) وأشار بيده إلى النخلة والعنبة. قالوا: إن هذه الجملة تسمى حصرية عند الأصوليين، فيستفاد منها أن الخمر محصور في هاتين الشجرتين وبقوله عليه السلام (حرمت الخمر لعينها والسكر من كل شراب) . وهو استدلال ضعيف: فإن الآية ما سيقت على سبيل التفسير حتى يستدل بها وإنما هي امتنان بنعم الله تعالى. واستفادة الحصر من الحديث، إن ثبت، ليس بنص ومثل هذا التركيب قد لا يقصد منه الحصر لأن الجزء الثاني غير معروف. على أن لنا ولأصحابنا أن يجيبوا بأن الآية ليست تفسيراً للخمرة بل للسكر. فلا دليل فيها لأحد الفريقين على أنها بيان لبعض الأنواع التي يتخذ منها المسكر. والمسكر كما يكون منهما يكون من غيرهما بإجماع. وفي الصحيح نزل تحريم الخمر وهي تصنع من خمسة أشياء: العنب، والتمر، والحنطة، والشعير، والعسل. قاله عمر على منبر النبي صلى الله عليه

derive intoxicants." This chapter has explained the wine which is prohibited in the chapter that came after it concerning its prohibition, in His saying "Intoxicants, and games of chance, and idolatrous practices,"[30] as well as in a Hadith that while passing by one of the walls of Medina al Mounayara, the Prophet saw a grape tree wrapped around a palm tree, and said, peace be upon him, "*Khamr* comes from these two trees,"[31] and pointed his hand to the palm and the grapevine. They said, this sentence is called exclusive by Fundamentalists, and we conclude from it that wine is confined to these two trees. In addition to the Prophet's saying, "Khamr was forbidden in small or large amounts, as was every kind of intoxicating drink."[32] This is weak evidence. Because the verse was not invoked for the sake of interpretation, it cannot serve as evidence; it is in fact an appreciation of the blessings of the Almighty. As for the conclusion of restriction in the Hadith, if proven, is not from a text and such composition may not be intended as a restriction because the second part is unknown. Therefore we and our companions must agree that the verse is not an explanation for the wine, but for intoxication. There is no evidence for either party that it is a clarification for certain substances from which intoxication is made. And the intoxication may be from them or from others, as commonly agreed. And in the *Sahih*, the prohibition of wine is confirmed, and wine is said to be produced out of five things: grapes, dates, wheat, barley, and honey. And this is what Omar said from the

[30] *The Qur'an*, Chapter of "Al Maida," Table, verse 90. Asad's translation.
[31] *Sahid Muslim*, Hadith: 5144.
[32] *Sahih*, Darussalam, Sunnan an-Nasai 5683: Sunnan an-Nasai Book 51 Chapter 48 Hadith 1

pulpit of the Prophet, peace be upon him, in the presence of the companions and they said nothing. Thus it is a consensus through silence. Abu Dawud, Ibn Hibban and others narrated that Al-Nu'man ibn Bashir said: I heard the Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, saying: "Wine is made from grape-syrup, raisins, dried dates, wheat, barley, millet, and I forbid you from every intoxicant."[33] And this is sufficient evidence against the Hanafi, and for this reason the majority of the ummah consider their opinion to be of anomalous in this matter and its evidence weak.

As concerns liquors distilled from these substances, the rule applies to it since it is intoxicating. And some scholars have stated that its nature has been altered with fire and its essence unattainable.

وسلم، والصحابة متوافرون حاضرون فلم يذكروه فهو كإجماع سكوتي. وروى أبو داوود وابن حبان وغيرهما عن النعمان بن بشير قال: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول: إن الخمر من العصير، والزبيب، والتمر، والحنطة، والشعير، والذرة، وإني أنهاكم عن كل مسكر. وكفى بهذا دليلاً على الحنفية، ولذلك يعتبر جمهور الأمة قولهم شاذاً في هذه المسألة ومدركه ضعيفاً.

مسألة المقطر من هذه الأنواع لحكمه حكم اقر منه ما دام مسكرة. وأفتي بعض العلماء بأنه تبدلت صورته بالنار واستحالت ماهيتة.

IS COMBINING PRAYERS PERMISSIBLE FOR A NECESSITY CAUSE?

Another one of their questions: Is it permissible to combine prayers till evening, since necessity compels them in consequence of wearing the tight Ifranji[34] clothes and Ifranji shoes as well? The answer is: the combination of prayers is not permitted in any case and it is a great sin. The Prophet, peace be upon him, said, "Whoever combines two prayers without any excuse then he has committed something from the major sins,"[35] an authentic *hadith*. He also said, "The first of man's deeds for which he will be called to account on the Day of Resurrection will be

هل يجوز جمع الصلوات للضرورة؟

ومنها سؤالهم: هل يجوز جمع الصلوات إلى الليل، لأن الضرورة تلجئهم إلى ذلك لكونهم يلبسون اللباس الإفرنجي الضيق وينتعلون النعال الإفرنجية أيضاً؟ الجواب: إن جميع الصلوات لا يجوز بحال، وهو كبيرة. قال عليه السلام:)من جمع بين صلاتين فقد أتى باباً من أبواب الكبائر(، حديث صحيح. وقال عليه السلام: أول ما يسأل عنه العبد يوم القيامة الصلاة، وهو صحيح أيضاً. وقال عليه السلام فيمن فاتته صلاة العصر:)

[33] Sunan Abi Dawud 3677 : Book 27, Hadith 9 : Book 26, Hadith 3669
[34] Ifranji refers in Arabic writing to a European. The term also refers to Christain and foreigners
[35] *Jami` at-Tirmidhi* 188 : Book 2, Hadith 40: Vol. 1, Book 2, Hadith 188.

فكأنما وتر أهله وماله(. فلا يجوز لكم تأخير الصلاة عن وقتها المطلوب، ولا رخصة في ذلك في الدين. وأما اعتذاركم بأمر الكسوة فلا يعجزكم إزالة السترة والنعل عند الوضوء مرة أو مرتين في اليوم ولا إضاعة دقائق أو دقيقتين من الزمان في تحصيل فرض أو فرضين، بل النعل يمكنكم المسح عليه بشرطه من غير إزالة كما سبق. فربما تذهب لكم ساعات في محادثة من لا تحب محادثته. ولا تفوت، كيف بكم إخواني إن الله أوجب عليكم أن تقبلوا عليه بقلبكم وجوارحكم خمس مرات في اليوم والليلة تقفون بين يديه تعبدونه لاستحقاقه العبادة لأنه ربكم الذي خلقكم وخلق لكم ما في السموات وما في الأرض وتشكرونه أن غذاكم بنعمه. خلقكم في أحسن تقويم، وصوركم فاحسن صوركم وأكمل أعضاءكم وحواسكم وجعل لكم السمع والأبصار والأفئدة وركب فيكم عقولاً لتقبلوا عليه بها في كل وقت من الأوقات الخمسة فها أنتم تريدون اختصارها وجمعها في وقت واحد. أليس هذا من الجفاء العظيم: يقبل عليكم فتدبرون عنه؟! فإذا صيرتم الأوقات الخمسة وقتاً واحداً لمشقة قريبة غير معتبرة شرعاً، فكأنكم تصلون وقتا واحداً وذلك مخالف للحكمة التي أرادها في تفريق الصلاة عن الأوقات. فلهذا كان تأخير الصلاة من

Salat," also an authentic *hadith*.[36] The Prophet said also about he who misses the Asr prayer "is as though he was deprived of his family and property."[37] Therefore, it is not permissible for you to delay prayer from its prescribed time and there is no licence for that in the religion. As for your excuse about clothes, nothing prevents you from removing the clothes and shoes once or twice in a day at ablution, and it only takes a minute or two to fulfil an ordinance or two, and you might even rub over the shoes on the condition that you don't take them off as previously discussed. Perhaps you might waste many hours in a conversation with someone you are averse to converse with. So how is it, brethren, that Allah has requested you to seek him with your hearts and all your senses five times a day and night and stand between His hands to worship Him because He deserves to be worshipped since He is your God who created you and created for you what is in the sky and earth, and be thankful to Him for bestowing his bounties upon you. He has created you in the best form, and shaped you in the best of shapes. He completed your organs and your senses, and endowed you with hearing and seeing, and hearts and furnished you with brains in order to come to Him each of these five times while you are trying to reduce and combine them into one time. Isn't it a great negligence? He comes to you and you avert Him! If you turn the five times into one because of a little hardship of no consequence in the *Sharia* is as though you pray one time, and this is contrary to the purpose He intended in separating prayers

[36] At- Tirmidhi, *Riyad as-Salihin*, 1081: Book 8, Hadith 91.
[37] *Sahih Muslim*, 626c, Book 5, Hadith 253: Book 4, Hadith 1308.

into different times. For this reason, delaying prayer is one of the great sins.

الكبائر.

THE WISDOM OF DIVIDING PRAYER INTO FIVE TIMES AND THE INTERPRETATION OF AL FATIHA

The Glorious Almighty's aim in separating prayers into different times is to meet him, praise be to the Lord, with our bodies and our hearts five times a day and leave the worldly life behind us. For this reason, we begin the prayer by saying: Allah is the greatest, for He is greater than this earthly world that occupies our hearts greater than anything which diverts us from Him. We thank Him for the blessings of creating us and providing for us by saying: Praise be to Allah, Lord of both worlds, and the world is what he made, praise to Him, the merciful on us, merciful to our weaknesses and lavished on us the light of existence, provision, mind, awareness, faith and inspired us for wisdom and goodness.

The merciful, who forgives us our disobedience, comes to us even during our ignorant aversion. The King of Judgement Day, the day of resurrection and reward. The Almighty reminds us in Al Fatiha, which is repeated seventeen times during the day and night, of the Judgement Day and its trepidations of judgement and the reward of the good and of the evil doer so that we shun what is forbidden and hurry towards obedience.

Oh brothers! He who recalls seventeen times a day the Judgment Day and the reward

الحكمة في تفريق الصلوات على الأوقات الخمسة وتفسير الفاتحة

مراد الحق سبحانه وتعالى من تفريق الصلوات على الأوقات أن نواجهه، سبحانه، بأبداننا وقلوبنا خمس مرات في اليوم والليلة ونترك الدنيا وراءنا. ولذلك نفتح الصلاة بقولنا: الله أكبر، فهو أكبر من الدنيا التي ملأت قلوبنا وأكبر من كل شيء يلهينا عنه. وأن نحمده على نعمتي الإيجاد والإمداد بقولنا: الحمد لله رب العالمين، والعالم هو ما سواه سبحانه. الرحمان بنا، حيث رحم ضعفنا فأفاض علينا نور الوجود، والإمداد، والعقد، والإدراك، والإيمان، والإلهام للرشد والخير.

الرحيم، المتجاوز عنا إذا عصينا، المقبل علينا ونحن في غفلاتنا معرضون. ملك يوم الدين، وهو يوم الجزاء والقيامة. قد ذكرنا سبحانه في الفاتحة، التي تكرر سبع عشرة مرة في اليوم والليلة، بيوم القيامة وأهواله من مناقشة الحساب ومجازاة المحسن والمسيء لننزجر عن المحرمات ونسرع إلى الطاعات.

فيا أيها الإخوان! إن من تذكر في اليوم

with plentifulness or torture shall certainly be deterred. He shall not lie, or deceive and cheat, or swear, or drink wine, fornicate or commit sin. Rather, he would embrace obedience and the most noble of morals and seize the chance to perform all kinds of good deeds. For this reason, he says: "we worship you and worship none but you, a worship free of ostentation or pride. And thus he is sincere. And it is you we seek for help. For there is no assistance nor reliance on anyone other than you. So that he puts his trust in Allah and becomes assured in his heart, peaceful in his soul, and with free conscience, having resigned his fate to his Lord and led a contented life. This is the straight path, the path of those who were blessed with it; and these are the true Muslims, not the others who have incurred God's anger and gone astray.

Oh my brothers, this is the purpose of prayer, then why should a person postpone it knowing it has all the blessings, and that by postponing it all these blessings are lost. Allah says: "Be ever mindful of prayers."[38] No excuse is accepted for delaying it. Can't you see that anyone that lacks water or cannot withstand it, is not forgiven for delaying prayer but should perform *taymmam* and pray without having to wash or do the ablution. Allah reduced *taymmum* for us to only wiping the face and hands because the ablution – meant to glorify God – involves cleaning by washing the hands, mouth, nose, face, legs and wiping the head and ears. As for *tayammum*, its purpose is showing respect

والليلة سبع عشرة مرة في يوم الحساب والجزاء بالنعيم أو العذاب لا محالة ينزجر، فلا يكذب، ولا يخدع، ولا يغش، ولا يحلف، ولا يشرب خمراً، ولا يزني، ولا يفعل محرماً بل يقبل على الطاعات ويتصف بمكارم الأخلاق ويغتنم وجوه الخيرات. فلذلك يقول: إياك نعبد، ولا نعبد سواك عبادة لا رياء فيها ولا سمعة فيكون مخلصاً. وإياك نستعين، فلا استعانة ولا تعلق بسواك، فيكون متوكلاً مطمئن القلب ساكن النفس مرتاح الضمير مفوضاً أمره لمولاه عائشاً عيشة راضية. وتلك الصراط المستقيم، صراط من أنعم عليهم، وهم المسلمون الحقيقيون لا غيرهم ممن حل عليهم غضب الرب وضلوا.

فيا إخواني! إن كان هذا هو المقصد من الصلاة، فكيف يؤخرها الإنسان وجماع الخير فيها وبتأخيرها تفوت تلك المقاصد كلها والله يقول: [حافظوا على الصلوات] ولا يقبل منكم عذراً في تأخيرها. ألا ترى أن من فقد الماء أو لم يقدر عليه، لم يقبل منه التأخير بل يتيمم ويصلي ولا يحتاج إلى غسل أو وضوء بل قد اختصر الله لنا التيمم فيقتصر الإنسان على مسح الوجه واليدين لأن الوضوء المقصود منه، مع التعظيم، النظافة بغسل اليدين والفم والأنف والوجه والرجلين

[38] *The Qur'an*, Chapter: Al Baqara, verse 238. Asad's translation.

in Godly presence by interring the realm of *mushahada*, contemplation, and is thus limited to rubbing three body parts. No excuse is accepted for the postponement of prayer except in the case of the impairment of one's senses or discernment. Hence, if he does not find a mosque, he can pray even in a Church. The prophet, peace be upon him, said "the earth has been made for me clean and a place of worship."[39] If prayer time comes it must be performed. If he is not able to stand, he sits and if he can't, he lays down. And if he is unable, he performs it with gestures. The main purpose is the presence of the heart with Allah, communing with Him, and submission to Him.

However, I realized that the preaching had no effect on these people for the time of the Maghreb prayer came but none of them prayed with me although I did inform them of the arrival of the prayer time twice to motivate them. Thus all the impediments they invoked as excuses prove to be null. Alas, where are the hearts that are edified by preaching? My regret for having wasted preaching was similar to my regret at the loss of their religion about which they will be questioned.

ومسح الرأس والأذنين. أما التيمم، فلما كان القصد منه هو إظهار احترام الحضرة الإلهية بالدخول لميدان المشاهدة اقتصر فيه على مسح ثلاثة أعضاء. ولا يقبل في تأخير الصلاة عذر إلا لمن أغمي على عقله وسلب الإدراك فقط وذلك إن لم يجد المسجد صلّى، ولو في كنيسة. قال عليه السلام:) جعلت الأرض لي مسجدا وطهورا(. فأي ما أحد أدركته الصلاة فليصلِّ. فمن لم يقدر على القيام جلس، ومن لم يقدر على الجلوس اضطجع، فإن لم يقدر فبإيماء: إذ المقصود الأهم حضور القلب مع الله ومناجاة الرب والخضوع إليه.

غير أني رأيت هذه المواعظ لم تؤثر في القوم، فقد حضر وقت المغرب وما صلّى معي أحد منهم مع أني أعلمتهم بحضور الوقت أولاً، وثانياً لعلهم يفعلون وكل الموانع التي يدعونها أعذاراً منتفية إذ ذاك. ولكن أين القلوب التي تؤثر فيها المواعظ! فكان أسفي على ضياع وعظي كأسفي على ضياع دينهم وهم عنه سائلون.

IS THE ISHAA PRAYER CANCELLED FOR THE PEOPLE

البلد إذ انعدم فيها الشفق هل تسقط صلاة العشاء عن أهلها

[39] *Sahih Muslim*, 523a, Book 5, Hadith 7.

OF A COUNTRY WHERE THERE IS NO TWILIGHT?

Another of their inquiries is that Manchester does not have the twilight, *shafaq*, in some nights of the year, to the point that they can read newspapers in the middle of the night without a lamp and that the night is very short while the daytime is very long so that they fast for twenty-two hours in some years. During my stay there, the time of Maghreb prayer was at 10 o'clock because this city was located at the latitude of 53 and some minutes and the sun doesn't disappear until midnight. Their daytime is longer than the daytime in France and their night is shorter because Paris is located at only 95:49 latitude. They asked me that since the twilight does not occur were they required to do Ishaa prayer or not?

The answer: be it known to you first that by twilight is the redness which remains in the sky after sunset, not the white light which remains after the redness is gone is not taken into consideration, contrary to the opinion of Abu Hanifa. Concerning the country where the redness does not disappear, the late *fuqaha* are hesitant whether the Ishaa prayer is cancelled since its requirement depends on a reason, which is the time of the disappearance of the twilight and whether this reason is absent or not. The correct answer, if Allah wills it, is that the Ishaa prayer is not cancelled if the twilight did not disappear, rather they pray it after dawn as the Prophet, peace be upon him, said to Dhaman ibn Thalabah, in the *Sahih*, "Allah has enjoined upon them five Salat during the

ومنها سؤالهم أن منشيستر لا يوجد لها شفق في بعض ليالي السنة، حتى أنهم يقرؤون الجرائد في نصف الليل من غير مصباح ويكون الليل قصيراً جداً والنهار طويلاً جداً من 22 ساعة يصومونها كلها في بعض السنين. وفي وقت وجودي هناك كانت المغرب على الساعة العاشرة، لأن عرض البلد 53 وبعض دقائق، ولا يغيب الآن عندهم الشفق إلا نصف الليل. ونهارهم أطول من نهار فرنسا وليلهم أقصر: فإن عرض باريز 49:95 فقط. فسألوني: إذا لم يغب الشفق هل يصلون العشاء أم لا؟

الجواب: اعلموا أولا أن الشفق المراد به الحمرة التي تبقى في السماء بعد غروب الشمس، لا البياض الذي يبقى بعد غروب الحمرة فلا عبرة به، خلافاً لأبي حنيفة، ثم البلد التي لم تغب فيها الحمرة تردد فيها المتأخرون من الفقهاء هل تسقط عنهم العشاء لأن وجوبها متعلق بالسبب، وهو الوقت الذي هو غيبوبة الشفق، وحيث انعدم المسبب الذي هو الوجوب أم لا، والصواب ، إن شاء الله ، أن صلاة العشاء لا تسقط إذا لم يغب الشفق ، بل يصلونها بعد طلوع الفجر لقوله عليه السلام لضمام بن ثعلبة، كما في)الصحيح(:)إن الله أوجب عليك خمس صلوات في اليوم والليلة(. وهو كغيره من عموم الأمة في هذا الخطاب.

day and night."[40] This is similar to the Israa hadith, "Allah has enjoined on the ummah five prayers and he said they are five and they are fifty," the Hadith.[41] Thus, it is mandatory to do all the five prayers to get out of the stigma of avoiding prayer. And in Muslim, in Abi Dawud, Ibn Majah, and at-Tirmdy from the al Nawas bin Samaan on the hadith of al Ddajal: "We asked: How long will he remain on the earth ? He replied : Forty days, one like a year, one like a month, one like a week, and the rest of his days like yours. We asked, Messenger of Allah, will one day's prayer suffice us in this day which will be like a year? He replied: No, you must make an estimate of its extent."[42] At-Tirmidy said it is "a strange, good and authoritative *hadith*." He said in *Majmaa Bihar al Anwar* his saying, "but you have to estimate it. That is estimate for it an estimate of one of your normal daiys and pray in it the prayers of each day in relation to the hours."[43]

Then, the time which exists hasn't vanished, but it exists because it is the duration or the motion of the cosmos, *al falak*, and this exists wherever a Muslim happens to be. While the absence of the twilight is indicative of time, and not time itself. The statement that time has vanished is a gross error. Is it conceivable that those who dwell in the North Pole where the daytime is six months and the night is six months, is he exempted from prayer and prays only five prayers in the entire year because of the absence of daybreak and sunset, and its

وكذلك حديث الإسراء)إن الله فرض على الأمة خمس صلوات فقال هي خمس وهي خمسون...( )الحديث(. فلا بد من الإتيان الخمس كلها ل يخرج من عهده ترك الصلاة. وفي مسلم وأبي داود وابن ماجه والترمذي من حديث النواس بن سمعان في حديث الدجال:) قلنا: يا رسول الله وما لبثه في الأرض؟ فقال أربعين يوماً يوم كسنة، ويوم كشهر، ويوم كجمعة وسائر أيامه كأيامكم. قلنا، يا رسول الله: أرأيت اليوم الذي كالسنة، أتكفينا فيه صلاة يوم؟ فقال: لا ولكن اقدروا له(. قال الترمذي)حديث غريب حسن صحيح(. قال في) مجمع بحار الأنوار (: قوله: "ولكن اقدروا له، أي اقدروا له قدر كل يوم من أيامكم المعهودة وصلوا فيه صلاة كل يوم بقدر ساعاته".

ثم الوقت الذي هو بيّن لم ينعدم بل هو موجود لأنه المدة أو حركة الفلك، وهي موجودة في أي محل كان المسلم، أما غيبوبة الشفق فهو علامة على الوقت وليس هو الوقت نفسه. فالقول بأن الوقت قد انعدم غلط محض. ألا ترى من كان ساكناً في القطب الشمالي الذي يكون النهار فيه ستة أشهر والليل ستة أشهر هل تسقط عليه الصلاة ولا يصلون إلا خمس صلوات في السنة كلها، لعدم طلوع الفجر وغروب الشمس، فيبقى

[40] Al-Bukhari and Muslim, *Riyad as-Salihin*, 1208: Book 8, Hadith 218.
[41] I haven't been able to find this hadith.
[42] *Sunan Abi Dawud*, 4321 Book 39, Hadith 31: Book 38, Hadith 4307.
[43] *Majmaa Bihar al Anwar fi Gharaibi at-Tanzeel a Lataifi al Akhbar* by Muḥammad Tahir Fattani, a famous 16th -century Indian hadith scholar.

people remain negligent of God during this entire period?

No, and evidently, no! Rather they have to estimate the time and pray and make 24 hours between day and night since the purpose for the prescription of prayer is to turn to the Lord and thank him for all his blessings, as was mentioned. And this destiny is common to all countries. The same applies here in Manchester. They take precaution and delay the Ishaa prayer until dawn because its validity extends until dawn and this is the most privileged opinion, and God knows best. And I have been informed that Shihab Eddine al Marjani al Qazzani has devoted a publication to this issue, but I haven't read it.

And on several occasions during this journey I was asked whether it was permissible to wear the hat, *al barneeta*, and the Ifranji dress or not.

And I used to answer that the Ifranji dress was not particular to unbelievers only so that it deserved to be asked about but it is worn by the Turks, some *Al Ajam*,[44] the people of Egypt, people of Tunisian, and people of Algeria. Therefore, there is no sense to the statement that wearing it is apostasy or forbidden in the land of Islam and let alone in the land of the Christians. Bennani says in *Hawashi Az-Zarkani* on the saying of Khalil on the "fastening the girdle," quoting the text: "what is meant by it is the dress of the unbelievers that is specific to them." As concerns the hat, this is special for them, no Muslim should wear it in the land of Islam, while wearing it is permissible in Paris or London, for instance, following the opinion

أهلها في غفلة عن الله هذه المدة كلها؟

كلا ثم كلا، بل يقدرون الأوقات ويصلون ويجعلون ما بين اليوم والليل أربعة وعشرين ساعة، إذ طلب الصلاة حكمة وهي التوجه إلى المولى وشكره على أنعامه كما سبق. وهذا القدر قد اشترك فيه أهل الأقطار كلها. كذلك هنا يحتاطون ويؤخرون العشاء حتى يطلع الفجر، لأن ضروريها يمتد إلى طلوعه كما هو القول المختار والله أعلم. وقد بلغني أن شهاب الدين المرجاني القازاني أفرد هذه المسألة بتأليف لم أقف عليه.

وسئلت كثيراً في هذه الرحلة: هل يجوز لبس البرنيطة واللباس الإفرنجي أم لا؟

فكنت أجيب بأن اللباس الإفرنجي ليس خاصّاً بالكفار حتى يسأل عنه بل يلبسه الأتراك، وبعض العجم وأهل مصر وأهل تونس وأهل الجزائر، فلا معنى لقول بأن لباسه ردة أو حرام في بلد الإسلام فأحرى بلاد النصارى بقول بناني في »حواشي الزرقاني« لدى قول خليل)وشد زنار(ما نصه:)المراد به ملبوس الكفار الخاص بهم(. أما البرنيطة، فهي خاصّة بهم لا يلبسها مسلم في بلاد الإسلام، فلا يجوز لباسها في بلاد الإسلام أما في باريز أو لندرة مثلاً فيجوز لبسها لقول الزرقاني:)وقيد قول خليل وشد زنار أيضاً بما إذا

[44] ***Al Ajam*** refers to non Arabs, more often to mean Persians.

Az-Zarkani “Khalil’s opinion on wearing the girdle is linked to question whether wearing it was done in the land of Islam.” It was understood that it is totally permissible in the land of unbelievers, whether out of necessity or no necessity. Bennani states, “if it was out of necessity such as a captive with them who is forced to use their clothes, it isn’t forbidden for him, nor is it an apostasy.” This was also stated by Ibn Marzouk and accepted by Al Rhouni.

Besides, doing it in their country is undoubtedly a necessity for a man owing to their extreme fanaticism for their clothes, unlike us who never harm anyone for dressing the way they wished. The condition for permissibility, however, is that it should not be for the love of that dress nor for any affection for its people, otherwise it would be an apostasy. See Bennani, and God knows best.

DESCRIPTION OF MANCHESTER

On the first of August, I was in Manchester. I took a vehicle and toured the city’s neighbourhoods. It was a big and very great city, with magnificent buildings, streets, and houses. An aspect of its beauty is that the majority of the houses have a garden beside it where there are trees and flowers. In addition to that, the government has created in the city many public parks. Truly, it has more parks than any other city. In terms of industry, it is the first, unrivalled by any other city, and the majority of human beings wear its cotton textile. There is no nation which has not

فعله في بلد الإسلام(بلفظه وسلموه فمفهومه الجواز في بلد الكفر مطلقاً كان لضرورة أم لا، وسلموه. قال بناني:)وأما إن كان ذلك لضرورة، كأسير عندهم يضطر لاستعمال ثيابهم، فلا حرمة عليه فضلاً عن الردة(- قاله ابن مرزوق وسلمه الرهوني.

ثم إن فعله في بلدهم لا شك في اضطرار الإنسان إليه لتعصبهم الشديد في لباسهم بخلافنا نحن الذين لا نعرض لأحد ولو لبس وكيفما لبس. ويشترط في الجواز أن لا يلبسه محبة في ذلك الزي ولا ميلاً لأهله وإلا كان ردة)انظر بناني، والله أعلم .

وصف منشستر

وفي يوم فاتح غشت أصبحت في منشستر فأخذت مركبة وطفت في أحياء المدينة، وإذا هي مدينة كبيرة مهمة جداً جميلة البناء والشوارع والمساكن. ومن جمالها أن غالب دورها لها بستان بجانبه فيه شجيرات وأزهار، ومع ذلك أكثرت الحكومة فيها من المنتزهات العمومية فهي أكثر البلاد منتزهات. وهي في الدرجة الأولى باعتبار الصناعة لا تدركها أي مدينة سواها وغالب بني آدم يكسى منسوجاتها القطنية، فلا تكاد توجد نسمة

benefitted from its products and the city's inhabitants have benefitted from their money. Its markets and streets are highly organised and its warehouses are filled with merchandise. There are many factories in it. As a result, it is a destination for merchants from all over the world. In fact, merchants from Fez, Egypt, the Levant, and other countries have settled in the city.

إلا وتمتعت بذلك وتمتع منها أهل هذه المدينة بالنقود. أسواقها وشوارعها منظمة للغاية، ومخازنها منضدة بالبضاعة وبها فبارك عديدة، لذلك يقصدها التجار من شاسع الأقطار. بل توطن بها تجار من فاس ومصر والشام وغيرها.

I passed by a post office, went inside and found it to be very impressive. I was informed that the office deals only with national correspondences. As for the international ones, there was another office, no less impressive than this one.

مررت على مركز البريد ودخلته فوجدته مهماً جداً، وأخبرت أنه للمكاتب الأهلية فقط، أما المراسلات الأجنبية، فلها مركز آخر لا يقل عنه في الأهمية.

I visited the School of Arts, near which was a military hospital, next to which was a public hospital and a dentistry school, and not far from it an evening-school for the completion of industrial courses.

وزرت مدرسة الفنون الكلية وبقربها مستشفى عسكري وبعده مستشفى أهلي ومدرسة الأسنان وبقرب ذلك مدرسة ليلية لتكميل الدروس الصناعية.

I went to the Town Hall, an extremely important building where was a police station. We stood there for a good while, wasting my time stamping my travel documents so much that I said to the interpreter: "Had not the reason for the expulsion of Adam from paradise been explained in the *Koran*, I would have said that he escaped from the coldness of the questions of the English police." In Manchester, there were a thousand policemen.

ودخلت دار البلدية، وهي مهمة للغاية، وبها مركز البليس. وقد وقفنا برهة من الزمن أضاعوا لي فيها كثيراً من الأشغال للطبع على أوراق السفر حتى قلت للترجمان: لولا أن سبب خروج آدم من الجنة بيّنه القرآن لقلت إنه هرب من برودة أسئلة بوليس إنجليزي، ويوجد من البليس في منشستر ألف رجل.

Inside the Town Hall were many statues of great Englishmen, such as the statue of the English scientist who invented phenol, used in pharmaceutics.[45] And in

وفي داخل دار البلدية عدة تماثيل لرجال مهمين من النجليز: منها تمثال عالم إنجليزي اخترع الفنيك المعلوم في فن الأدوية. وقبالة دار

[45] It was Sir Joseph Lister (1827–1912).

front of the Town Hall, was the statue of the grandfather of the reigning monarch, Queen Victoria's husband, who was native of Germany.[46] The statue was in the middle of a decorated dome. I was told that they wanted to demolish it at the beginning of the war out of anger at the German's actions. However, they reconsidered their decision and realized it would hurt the feelings of the royal family.

البلدية تمثال جد الملك الحالي زوج الملكة فيكتوريا، وهو ألماني الأصل، والتمثال في وسط قبّة مزخرفة. وحكي لي أنهم أرادوا هدمه في أول الحرب تغيظاً من أفعال الألمان، لكن راجعوا بصيرتهم وعلموا أن ذلك يجرح عواطف العائلة المالكة.

THE INTOLERANCE OF THE ENGLISH

Undoubtedly, this is an aspect of the bigotry they stigmatize Moslems with, which is minor. I happen to have seen in a church in Strasbourg in the Alsace, the statue of a French Marshal. They have not altered from it anything up till now. Furthermore, the German statues, erected there, were kept by the French as they had found them.

In Manchester, I visited some important commercial establishments. In this city, there are several banks, located on a special street. One of the trading houses I have visited is that of Wright,[47] famous for metal utensils and housing furniture as well as the famous trading houses of some of our Moroccan brothers. Like, for instance, the trading house of the virtuous, well-mannered, and expert, Mr. Ahmed Benjelun. Few can be equal to

تعصب النجليز

ولا شك أن هذا من التعصب الذي يعيبون على المسلمين أقل منه. وقد تقدم أني رأيت في كنيسة سطرسبورج في الألزاس تمثال المرشال الفرنساوي، ما غيروا فيه شيئاً إلى الآن، كما أن التماثيل الألمانية المنصوبة هناك أبقاها الفرنسيون كما وجدوها.

زرت في منشيستر بعض دور التجارة المهمة، وفي منشيستر البنوك العديدة الموجودة في شارع خاص بها. ومن الدور التي زرتها دار التاجر الرايط المشهورة بالأواني المعدنية من الأثاث والخُرثي، ودور بعض إخواننا المغاربة الذين لهم شهرة كهناك: كدار الفاضل الأديب الخبير الذي قل أن يوجد له في فنه نظير السيد

[46] Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha (1819 -1861) was the husband of Queen Victoria. The Town Hall Square is also called Albert Square.

[47] Richard Wright of Manchester manufactured silverware and tea utensils for the Moroccan market in the early 20th century. His name is printed in Arabic and Latin script on the teapots and trays imported into Morocco from Manchester.

أحمد بن جلونه، فإن الرجل على جانب عظيم من اللطف والأدب والصدق في المعاملة والجد والحمية الدينية والوطنية وهو ملجأ سائر المغاربة لطول مكثه هناك مدة تنيف على الثلاثين سنة، ورُبي هناك صغيراً وتضلع من لغة القوم وعرف أساليب الحقوق والسياسة وهو أقدم رجل مغربي هناك يأخذ بمجامع قلبك، مهما لقيته، لمكارم أخلاقه وحسن أدبه وهو أفضل رجل لقيته هناك. أما بقية المغاربة الذين وجدوا هناك إنما هم نواب عن إخوانهم القدماء كانوا هناك وربحوا في الحرب الأرباح الكثيرة وبارحوا تلك الديار إلى أوطانهم وما بقي إلا من كان عندهم من الخدمة معمرين الفضاء.

غربية وتنبيه

سألت في منشيستر عن رجل كنت أسمع عنه كثيراً في الجرائد المصرية، وهو المسمى عبد الله كويلهام، فإنه كان يزعم أنه أسلم ودخل في الدين الحنيف مختاراً له على سائر الأديان وأنه قام بواجب الدعوة يدعو إخوان النجليز للإسلام. فقال لي السيد أحمد بن جلون المذكور وغيره: إن الرجل قد تظاهر بذلك مدة طويلة وكان يطبع جريدة يشهر فيها أعماله يوجه بها للآفاق فتقاطرت عليه الإعانات من أقطار الإسلام،

him in his art. He man is endowed with great kindness, good manners, fairness in dealings as well as diligence and religious and patriotic devotion. He is the haven for all the Moroccans due to his long stay there of over thirty years. He was brought up there from an early age and he mastered the language of the country and gained knowledge of the ways of rights and politics. Also, he is the earliest Moroccan to have arrived there. If you meet him you are bound to like him wholeheartedly because of his noble nature and gracious manners, and he is the best person I have met there. As for the rest of the Moroccans who are found there, they are representatives of their brethren who came before them and who made immense profits during the war, and returned back to their country. Only those who were in their service stayed in their place.

STRANGE AND ALARMING

In Manchester, I asked about someone I heard of a great deal about him in the Egyptian newspapers. He was called Abdullah Quilliam. The man claims he had converted to Islam, choosing it over all other religions, and that he performs his duty of preaching and calling his English brethren to Islam. The aforesaid Mr Ahmed Benjelun and others told me that Abdullah professed Islam for a long period and used to print a newspaper where he announced his activities and sent it all over the world and lavish donations were showered upon him from all the land of Islam, especially

from Africa and India. He beguiled them by claiming that he was building a mosque in Liverpool and 500 people converted to Islam at his hands.

The narrator said: I have seen with my own eyes the son of the King of Afghanistan presenting Quilliam with a pouch full of gold during his visit to England. He said: Quilliam told me that it was 1500 pounds for the building of the mosque. He said: later it was discovered that there was no mosque and that the place he bought was in his name as his own house, and not a mosque. So his deceit was revealed. He played his trick and swindled Moslems out of their money with lies that had no truth. He committed a crime in a testimony of the divorce of a woman as he was a lawyer by profession. When he saw the government was resolved to arrest him, he escaped to Astana where he professes his Christianity, with no relation to Islam and he took possession of all what he had embezzled in the name of spreading Islam and building the mosque.

I was told several stories of his thefts. One of these is that some Sudanese pilgrims were diverted from their destination by the captain of the ship and taken to America. They left it for England and went to the aforementioned Quilliam asking for assistance. He wrote to the merchants of Manchester who collected a donation for them which Quilliam wanted to take hold of for himself and leave the wretched pilgrims in their helplessness. However, the said Benjelun, insisted on giving them the donation hand to hand. You see how Muslims are greatly deceived

وخصوصاً من أرض الزنوج والهند، وأطمعهم أنه يبني مسجداً في بلد سكناه في ليفربول وأنه أسلم على يده 500 نفس.

قال الراوي: وقد رأيت بعيني نجل ملك الأفغان سلم إليه صرة ذهب حين جاء البلاد النجليزية. قال: وأخبرني كويلهام المذكور أنها ألف وخمسمائة جنيه لبناء المسجد. قال: ثم إنه تبين أن لا مسجد وأن المحل الذي اشتراه جعله باسمه على أنه داره، ليس بمسجد، وتبين خداعه وأنه لعبة لعبها فأخذ بها أموال المسلمين بباطل من القول لا حقيقة له. وقد ارتكب جناية في شهادة بطلاق امرأة، حيث إن صنعته كان محامياً. ولما رأى عزم الحكومة على القبض عليه فر إلى الأستانة وهو هناك الآن مظهراً لنصرانيته لا علاقة له مع الإسلام واستأثر بما نهب باسم نشر الدعوة وبناء المسجد.

وحكى لي عن اختلاسه حكايات: منها حجاج انقطعوا من السودان وذهب بهم صاحب مركب إلى أمريكا، ولما رجعوا منها إلى بلاد النجليز ذهبوا عند كويلهام المذكور ليأخذ بيدهم فكتب إلى تجار منشيستر فجمعوا لهم إعانة أراد كويلهام أن يستأثر بذلك ويترك الحجاج المساكين في انقطاعهم، ولكن ابن جلون المذكور أبى إلا دفع الإعانة يداً بيد. فانظر إلى حال المسلمين ينخدعون للكذابين كثيراً، لحسن ظنهم وصفاء

by liars. Because of their good intention and good-naturedness, they assume that all people are like them. How often I have seen Moroccans and Algerians being duped by brotherhood people who gain money from them in the name of Sheikhdom. And where is Sheikhdom? They are only liars and the Sheikhdom is as innocent of their lies as the wolf is from the son of a she-ass. If Muslims were not deceived by lairs, there would have been no revolution in the land of Islam nor would Abu Himara or Abu Imama or Abu Hasira or any other charlatans have been successful. This is my advice to my Moslem brothers.

I left Manchester on Saturday the second of August at 2:10. The rain was heavy during the days I was there and the weather was very cold, like in the month of March in Morocco. I was, however, informed that before my arrival the heat was intense. The weather there is very prone to change and hurtful to careless people and those unaccustomed to it.

ENGLISH SUMMER HOLIDAY

It was the beginning of the summer holidays when I left Manchester. During these holidays, people stop every work and go on excursions to coastal cities. The commercial and industrial activities stop. This is common every year. The wages of all the workers are kept although they are not working. They derive great delight and much enthusiasm from the hot weather which they lack almost the whole year. This is a common practice in the whole of

طويتهم، فيظنون كل الناس مثلهم. وكم رأيت من انخداع المغاربة والجزائريين لأصحاب الطرق فيربحون منهم أموالاً باسم المشيخة، وأين هي المشيخة، وإنما هم كذابون والمشيخة تتبرأ منهم براءة الذيب من ولد الأتان. ولولا انخداع المسلمين بالكذابين ما كانت ثورة في بلاد الإسلام. ولا نجح قط أبو حمارة ولا أبو عمامة ولا أبو حصيرة، ولا أحد من الدجالين. فهذه نصيحتي لإخواني المسلمين.

فارقت منشيستر في الساعة 2.10 يوم السبت 2 غشت وكانت الأمطار غزيرة في أيام حلولي فيها والبرد كان شديداً مثل أيام مارس عندما في المغرب لكن أخبروني أن قبل وصولي كان الحر شديداً، فالهواء هناك شديد التقلب مضر بمن فرط ولم يكن معتاداً له.

عطلة النجليز الصيفية

وفي يوم نهوضي منها كانت عندهم العطلة الصيفية، يعطلون فيها جميع الأعمال ويخرجون لمدن السواحل يجعلون هناك نزهة وتقف فيها حركة التجارة والصناعة وذلك معروف عندهم كل سنة. والعملة كلهم تبقى لهم أجورهم معطلون لها ويكون لهم فرح عظيم ونشاط كبير بالحرارة التي يفقدونها جلّ أيام السنة، وهذا شيء عمومي في بلاد النجليز كلها.

England.

Leaving Manchester, I returned to London, passing through Stockport, Crewe, Stafford and Birmingham, a city renowned in the world for its iron and coal minerals as well as its numerous factories that have surpassed others. It sells factories to different countries and coal and iron to many European countries as well as in Asia and Africa. From Birmingham, I went to Rugby and then to Northampton, Euston, Waterford, and then to London. I arrived there at 6:45. I spent there two nights in Victoria Station hotel, which I have already described.

On Monday morning at 7 o'clock, I travelled from London to Folkestone. When I left Victoria Station, in the middle of the city, the train continued at high speed for a quarter of an hour through attached buildings of houses and stores. We sometimes went above them and they appeared below us and we gazed at the people going out of their houses in the morning like ants. At other times, it carried us underground and all was in the same city. After a quarter of an hour, we reached the countryside, which, had it been in Morocco, we would have considered it the best of cities because of the many buildings and houses. However, they weren't attached. They were on a beautifully green land where there was no dust or dryness until our arrival in Folkestone, which has already been described. From this city, we travelled to Paris on the same day, which

بعد مفارقتي منشيستر كان رجوعي إلى لندرة عن طريق ستوكطبوط إلى كريوا، إلى ستوفرود إلى برمنكامالتي لها الشهرة المعلومة في العالم بمعادنها الحديدية ومعادن الفحم الحجري ومعاملها الكثيرة التي فاقت غيرها والتي تبيع المعامل للآفاق كثيرة وتبيع الفحم والحديد للكثير من الأقطار الأوروبية والإفريقية والأسيوية. ومن برمنكام إلى ركبي على نورتمافتون، إلى يشتون، إلى واتفورد، إلى لندرة. وكان حلولي في لندرة الساعة 6.45: أقمت فيها ليلتين ونزلت في فندق في محطة فكتوريا، وتقدم لنا وصفه.

وفي يوم الاثنين، في الساعة 7 صباحاً، سافرت من لندرة إلى فولكسطون، وعند انفصالنا من محطة فيكتوريا التي هي طبعاً بأطراف البلد بقينا نسير مسرعين ربع ساعة في القطار بين الأبنية المتصلة من دور ومخازن ونحن تارة نعلو فوقها، فتظهر تحتنا ونحن نتفرج في السكان خارجين صباحاً من منازلهم كالنمل، وتارة تذهب بنا تحت الأرض وكلها مدينة واحدة. ثم بعد ربع ساعة خرجنا إلى البادية التي لو كانت في المغرب لعددناها خير حاضرة، لكثرة الأبنية والمنازل، غير أنها ليست متصلة، وهي في أرض جميلة خضراء لا ترى فيها غبراء ولا شهباء إلى أن وصلنا إلى فولكسطون وتقدم لنا وصفها.

ومنها ركبنا في يومنا إلى باريز، فوصلنا في الساعة 5 عشية، ونزلنا في فندق الرويل هوتيل.

we reached at 5 o’clock and got a room in Royal Hotel.



Figure 13: Victoria Train Station

اجتماعي بأعيان السودان المصري

لما ركبت البحر من فلولكسطون على بولون، وجدت في الباخرة وفد السودان المصري الذي استقدمه النجليز لحضور احتفال عيد النصر لمثل مأموريتنا. وبمجرد أن وقع بصرهم علي رغبوا في الاجتماع بي، ورغبت أنا كذلك. وقد اجتمعت بهم وتذاكرت معهم فوجدتهم سادة السودان ومن نخبة رجاله وأعيانه. وها أنا أذكر لك أسماء من دعي رسمياً للاحتفال، مع بيان وظائفهم.

1-الشيخ سيدي أبو القاسم أحمد هاشم، شيخ علماء

MY MEETING WITH THE DIGNITARIES OF THE EGYPTIAN SUDAN

When I took the ship sailing from Folkestone to Boulogne, I found on board the members of a Sudanese Egyptian delegation who were invited by the English to attend the celebration of Victory Day as was our mission. The moment their eyes fell on me, they wanted to meet me and so did I. I met with them and we conversed. I found they were dignitaries of Sudan and the elite of their men and nobility. Here, let me mention to you the names and occupations of the ones who were officially invited to the celebration:

السودان المصري: عليه جلالة العلم والوقار وهيبة المكانة والاعتبار. عالم كبير وشاعر شهير .

-2أخوه الشيخ سيدي الطيب أحمد هاشم، شيخ المفتين: كذلك مشارك له في صفاته.

-3سيدي إسماعيل الأزهري، قاضي دار فور كذلك.

-4سيدي علي المرغاني، شيخ الطريقة المرغانية وشريف من أعاظم السودان ونقيب الأشراف.

-5الشريف سيدي يوسف الهندي، شيخ طريقة

-6سيدي عبد الرحمن بن الإمام محمد أحمد المهدي الذي كان أمير السودان: له احترام واعتبار.

-7الشيخ إبراهيم فرحة، شيخ قبيلة جعليين.

-8الشيخ علي التوم، ناظر قبيلة كبابيش عرب الجهة الغربية.

-9الشيخ عوض الكريم أبو السن شيخ قبيلة الشكرية.

-10الشيخ إبراهيم موسى، ناظر قبيلة الهدنداوة عرب الجهة الشرقية.

فهؤلاء رسميون، ومعهم بعض أعيان غير رسميين من الفضلاء: منهم الشيخ جعفر أحمد شرفي التاجر بأم درمان، والده أحد وزراء المهدي. ومنهم الشيخ حسن شريف، ابن بنت المهدي وغيرهم.

فلما دخلت البيت الذي كانوا فيه قاموا إلي، على

1. Sheikh Sidi Abu al Qassim Ahmed Hashim, the sheikh of the ulama of the Sudan Egyptian. There was an aura of knowledge and reverence about him, of his station and position. He was a great scholar and a renowned poet.

2. His brother, Sheikh Sidi al Tayeb Ahmed Hashim, the chief of the muftis. He shares the same aspects with his brother.

3. Sidi Ismail al Azhari, the judge of Darfour.

4. Sidi Ali al Marghani, Sheikh of the Marghania Tatiqa and a noble among the greatest people of Sudan, also the head of the nobility in Sudan.

5. Al Sherif Sidi Youssef al Hindi, sheikh of a Tariqa

6. Sidi Abd al Rahman Ibn al Imam Mohamed Ahmed al Mahdi. He was the Emir of Sudan, much respected and highly considered.

7. Sheikh Ibrahim Farha, the chief of Ja'alyne's tribe.

8. Sheikh Ali al Tum, the chief of Khabibish's tribe, the Arabs of the Western region.

9. Sheikh Awad al Karim Abu al Sinn, the Sheikh al Shukria's tribe.

10. Sheikh Ibrahim Mussa, leader of al Hudndawa's tribe, the Arabs of the Eastern region.

Those are the official members and there were with them other dignitaries not officially invited such as Sheikh Jaafar Ahmed Sharafi, a trader in Omdurman. His father was one of al Mahdi's ministers. And Sheikh Hassan Sheriff, the son of al Mahdi's daughter, and others.

When I entered the cabin they were staying in, they came up to me, courteous and smiling as is the manner of the Egyptians welcoming me with pure eloquence and amiable faces and good hearts and seated me among them like a brother among his brothers. They felt a great delight in my company, a feeling I shared too. They were remarkably good-mannered, educated and eloquent like Egyptians and Tunisians. Good manners, welcoming and perfect nobleness. Grace on their faces, pure eloquence on their tongues these are the manifestation of wisdom and good education. As soon as the assembly was settled, they asked me about their Moroccan brothers and the conditions of Muslims. I told them that everything was going well and that the country was in progress ever since the French occupation. There was peace, welfare and safety from the disasters of war that plagued others and caused bloodshed in the fringes of kingdoms. They thanked God for that and informed me of the same conditions in their country. They, then, asked me: Did you provide soldiers to fight in the war? I said: Yes, but none went forcefully nor officially. Whoever wanted went voluntarily. They said: as for us, not a single Sudanese went. Then they also asked me about the policy of France and whether it respected our mosques. I said yes. France is known for that, being the most tolerant country in that aspect because it is not intolerant to religions. It leaves freedom to the people. We have noticed that France cares for our mosques and maintains them much more than before. It preserved also al *Ahbas* and organised its administration and is still seriously dedicated to that.

عادة المصريين، وهشوا وبشوا بفصاحة لسان وطلاقة وجه وثبات جنان وأجلسوني معهم كأخٍ مع إخوانه وحصل لهم فرح عظيم الاجتماع بي مثل ما حصل لي بهم وهم في لطف لقائهم وحسن سلامهم كالمصريين والتونسيين: أدب لائق وترحيب وإجلال فائق، يلوح على سماهم الخير وعلى لسانهم الفصاحة والأدب اللذان هما نتيجة العلم والتربية الحسنة. وبمجرد استقرار المجلس سألوني عن إخوانهم المغاربة وأحوال المسلمين، فأخبرتهم بحسن الأحوال وتقدم البلاد منذ احتلال فرانسا في مدارج الأمن والعافية والسلامة من مصايب الحرب التي عضت غيرنا فأدمت أطراف الممالك. فحمدوا الله على ذلك وأخبروني بمثله عن أحوال بلادهم وسألوني: هل أعطيتم عسكراً للمحاربة؟ فقلت: نعم، لكن لم يذهب أحد لا جبراً ورسمياً وإنما من شاء تطوعاً. فقالوا: أما نحن فما ذهب من السودان أحد. وسألوني عن مصارفة فرانسا معنا وهل تحترم مساجدنا. فقلت: نعم، إن افرانسا معلوم ذلك منها طبعاً فهي أكبر الدول مسامحة في ذلك لعدم تعصبها للأديان، بل تترك الحرية العامة لأهلها. وما رأينا منها إلا اعتناء بمساجدنا وصيانة لها أكثر مما كانت، وصانت الأحباس ونظمت إدارتها ولا زالت سائرة في ذلك سيراً حثيثاً.

ولما رأيت التفات بعضهم لبعض علمت أنه

بلغهم خلاف ذلك، فأكدت لهم الخبر وقلت: إني أكلمكم بكل حرية في هذا الأمر، فإني الآن لست في افرانسا ولا في المغرب بل في مركب إنجليزي في بحر المانش، ولست موظفاً أخاف على وظيف ولا حضر هنا من أراقبه مثلاً. وما كان معنا إلا الترجمان النجليزي المكلف بوفدهم فقلت لهم: إني أحقق لكم ذلك. واستخبرتهم عن أحوال قطرهم وأحوال إخواننا السوادنيين فطلبوا مني أن أعرف أهل المغرب بأحوالهم بإيضاح، فإنه بلغهم أن المغاربة يعتقدون أنهم زنوج سودانيون متوحشون، والحال أن السواد الأعظم من أهل السودان المصري عرب صرحاء فيهم كثير من بيوتات الشرف والمجد ولا زال نسبهم محفوظاً إلى الآن ينقل قعدده خلفهم عن سلفهم، لم يدخلهم تغيير ولا هجنة ولسانهم عربي لا يعرفون الزنجية إلا قليل منهم. والزنوج الأصليون هم سكان الصحاري والجبال السحيقة ويعرف الزنجية من يجاورهم من قبائل العرب. وقالوا: حتى عوائدنا كعوائد العرب العرباء قبل البعثة في مجتمعاتهم واحتفالاتهم وولائهم وجل أحوالهم إلا ما كان من أهل المدن الذين دخل بعضهم رفاهية التمدن اليسير.

وقد رأيت لباس هؤلاء السادة كلباس علماء

When I saw them glancing at one another, I understood that they had been informed otherwise. So, I confirmed the idea and said: I am speaking to you with total freedom on this matter, for I am now neither in Morocco nor in France but on an English ship sailing in the in the English Channel.[48] I am not an employee worrying about losing a job and there is no one present here I have to be cautious of. There was with us just the English interpreter who was in charge of their delegation. I said to them that I affirm that matter. Then I asked them about their country and our Sudanese brothers, and they requested me to inform the Moroccans about their conditions as clearly as possible. For they have been informed that Moroccans believe they are savage Sudanese negroes. While in fact the majority of the population in Egyptian Sudan are pure Arabs, many of whom from noble and glorious families, and their origins still preserved until now from one generation to another. It did not change nor was their pure language corrupted. Only a few of them know the Negro language. The native Negro people are the inhabitants of the desert and remote mountains. Only their neighbours from the Arab tribes know the Negro language. They said that their customs are like those of the authentic Arab tribes even before the Prophet's mission, also their celebrations, allegiance and most of their affairs, except for people who live in the cities and indulged in the easy prosperity of urbanity.

I noticed that the clothes of these

[48] Al Hajwi uses the Manche sea

مصر والحرمين تقريباً: بالجبة الطويلة الضيقة الكمين طويلة الأكمام وبالعمائم. فبعضهم يجعلها فوق قلنسوة عزف مزوقة، كما يفعل علماء الحرمين، وبعضهم فوق قلنسوة كتان والكل إسلام، ولا توجد الوثنية إلا في شواهق الجبال وشاسع الصحاري، وعلى مذهب مالك بن أنس: سنيون أشعريون لهم ولوع بالطرق والأوراد الشاذلية وغيرها. فيهم علماء وشعراء وكتاب وفطاحل رجال في العلم والسياسة. ثم قال لي بعضهم: إن العرب دخلوا السودان المصري في القرن السادس الهجري من ثلاث جهات، وهو التاريخ الذي دخلوا فيه إلى إفريقيا، دخلوه من جهة مصر والحبشة وفزان في أرض طرابلس الغرب في زمن الفاطميين أمراء مصر. أما من كان دخل في زمن عمرو بن العاص، حوالي سنة 20، فكانوا جنداً فاتحين قليلين وما وصلوا إلى ضفاف النيل وكانوا يسمون (الفنك) بالكاف المعقودة.

سؤال وفد السودان عن أحوال المغرب من حيث العلوم العصرية

سألني بعضهم: هل فتحت مدارس في المغرب لتلقي العلوم الوقتية المتعين على عموم

gentlemen are very much like the clothes of the Egyptian scholars and those of *al Haramayn*, the two Holy Mosques, a long *Jubba*, with long sleeves narrow at the wrists and turbans. Some wrap it around a decorated cap as do the scholars of *al Haramayn*, while others wear a piece of cloth on the cap, and all of this is Islamic. Idolatry exists only in the remotest of mountains and inaccessible deserts. The Sudanese follow the doctrine of Malik ibn Anas. They are Ash'ari Sunni, and have great devotion Sufi brotherhoods and Shadhili litanies and others. Among them are scholars, poets, writers and great men of science and politics. Then some of them told me: the Arabs came to Sudan from three directions in the sixth century of the Hijri calendar, which is the same time they entered Africa from Egypt. They entered from Egypt and Ethiopia and Fezzan in the land of Western Tripoli during the period of the Fatimids rulers of Egypt. As for those who penetrated the country during the reign of Amru Bin al A'as, in about the year 20, they were just a few conquerors who never reached the shores of the Nile. They were called 'Al Founk.

THE QUERY OF THE SUDANESE DELEGATION ON THE CONDITION MODERN SCIENCES IN MOROCCO

Some of them asked me: Have schools

been opened in Morocco for the teaching of contemporary sciences which the Muslim umma is required to acquire and earnestly pursue and without which Islam is lost. I informed them that I was the first one to be appointed to the highest position at the Ministry of Education and that I spared no efforts in my public lectures and on many occasions as well as during my lectures about hadith and *tafsir* and others and also in my books, until there has been an increasing interest in these sciences. However, almost the majority of people still shun these sciences and have no interest in them, despite the fact that protecting country spares no effort in opening schools and attracting people to them by the wise scholars of the nation that understood the importance of the matter. It has established many schools in all of our cities. They are increasing and prospering and would have increased more had it not for the previous war. We are optimistic about our success and of reaching the intended goal.

They said, the Sudanese have realized the importance of modern sciences and people pursue it and that above sixty schools have been built. In Khartoum, the capital of their country, they have a university that combines modern sciences and Arabic together. Judges, notaries, and teachers of Arabic sciences graduate from it as well as engineers, interpreters, and high-level functionaries. The majority of the teachers who are currently at schools are Sudanese and very few Egyptians. We do not need to bring teachers of modern sciences from abroad. In fact, we have

الأمة الإسلامية طلبها، وهي ضالة الإسلام المنشودة وبدونها لا يرجى خير للإسلام؟ فأخبرتهم بأني أول من تولى مندوب الصدر الأعظم في وزارة المعارف وأني بذلت مجهوداً كبيراً بالخطب على العموم في كثير من المناسبات وفي دروسي الحديثية والتفسيرية وغيرها وفي تواليفي حتى حصل الإقبال في الجملة على هذه العموم. ولكن أغلب الأمة، تقريباً، لا زال نافراً منها لم يقع عليها الإقبال المطلوب مع أن الدولة الحامية تبالغ مجهودها في فتح المدارس وتشويق الناس إليها بواسطة عقلاء الأمة الذين فهموا أهمية المسألة وفتحت عندنا في كل المدن عدة مدارس ولا زالت تنمو وتزيد لولا الحرب الماضية لكان أكثر. وأملنا عظيم في النجاح وبلوغ المرام.

فقالوا: إن السودانيين قد أدركوا أهمية العلوم العصرية وأقبل عليها جمهور الأمة وقد فتحت عندهم ما ينيف عن الستين مدرسة. وعندهم في الخرطوم، الذي هو عاصمة البلاد، مدرسة كلية جامعة للعلوم العصرية والعربية معاً فيتخرج منها القضاة والعدول والمدرسون في العلوم العربية وغيرها، ويتخرج منها المهندسون والتراجمة والموظفون في الوظائف العالية. وجلّ المعلمين في المدارس هم الآن من السودانيين وقليل من المصريين، لا نحتاج إلى جلب المدرسين للعلوم العصرية من جهات أجنبية، بل عندنا مديرون ومفتشون للمدارس، بل للمعارف من نفس

السودانيين أكفاء لما هم فيه.

نعم، عندنا مدرسون من النجليزيين يعلمون لغتهم، وفي التعليم الانتهائي للعلوم الرياضية والطبيعية، وكل العلوم تتلقى عندهم بالعربية: رياضية وطبيعية، واللغة النجليزية لها دروس مخصوصة. وقد تجنبوا في مدارسهم الطبيعيات العقلية التي تمس العقائد: إذ ليست لها أهمية كبرى في الترقي الحاضر، إذ مداره على العمل لما يخشون من فساد اعتقاد الأولاد ولعدم وجود كتب لها منقحة من كل ما يفسد عقائد المتعلمين، وحين توجد الكتب المنقحة يصير تدريسها عندهم. قال: فالتلاميذ كلهم يتخرجون من المدارس متدينين معتقدين. وهم مجدون أن يفتحوا مدرسة طبية ومدارس أخرى لما لأهل القطر من الإقبال على العلم، وعندهم مطابع لطبع الكتب والجرائد ولهم أربعة جرائد عربية: (رائد السودان)، (حضارة السودان) ، (السودان)، والرابعة - وهي الرسمية - (غازيت سودان) ، تطبع باللغتين العربية والنجليزية وتكون فيها ميزانية مالية السودان كل سنة مبينة مفصلة.

وعندهم في إدارات البلاد نظام خاص يقرب من نظام مصر: فعندهم قلم التشريع، الذي هو كمجلس شورى القوانين بمصر أعضاؤه ثمانية: منهم خمسة إنجليزيون وثلاثة مسلمون، أحدهم رئيس العدلية الإسلامية وهو قاضي القضاة، فلا يصدر أي قانون أو ضابط في القطر إلا بموافقتهم عليه. وكذلك في الجنايات لهم مجلس أعلى.

school directors and inspectors. We have native Sudanese who are highly competent in their fields.

And yes, we have English teachers who teach their language while the terminal studies of mathematics and natural sciences and all the sciences are in Arabic. As for English, it has special classes. And they avoid in their schools the teaching of the science of logic that affects one's beliefs since it has no significance in the development of civilization based on practice and they fear that such science will corrupt the beliefs of their children and also because there are no books for these sciences that are cleaned of what corrupts the faith of the students. When such cleaned books are available they will start teaching these sciences. He said, in fact, all the students who graduate from schools are good believers and religiously pious. The Sudanese are diligent about establishing a medical school and other schools due to the interest of the people of this nation in knowledge. They have also printing houses for printing books and newspapers. They have four Arabic newspapers: *Ra'id al Sudan*, *Hadaaratu Al Sudan*, *Al Sudan*, and the fourth one is an official one called *Gazette al Sudan*, printed in both Arabic and English. Each year it publishes a detailed report on the budget of Sudan.

Their special administrative system in the country is like that of Egypt. They have a Legislation body, like the Legislative Assembly in Egypt assembly, consisting of eight members. Five of them are English and three Muslims, one of them is the head of the judiciary and the chief of judges. No

القانون الذي يتمشون عليه في السودان هو القانون الهندي، لكنه هذّب وأصلحت فيه مواد لتوافق مصلحة البلاد. وفي كل البلاد لهم مجالس بلدية حرة تمام الحرية.

قالوا: وأرضهم في غاية الخصب تنبت فيها الحبوب وكثير من الثمار. وعندهم الأمطار غزيرة زيادة عن النيل الذي يخترق أرضهم، وفي الغالب لا يحتاجون إلى سقيه لكثير الأمطار التي تكون عندهم صيفاً وخريفاً.

وتوجد عندهم معادن، والسكك الحديدية مخترقة البلاد طولاً وعرضاً. قالوا: وعندنا في أم درمان، التي هي قسم من الخرطوم، معهد ديني عظيم مثل القرويين عندكم والأزهر في مصر، فتلقى فيه العلوم الدينية وإنها عندهم في تقدم وازدياد. ويوجد عندهم مدرسون كثيرون وتلاميذ عديدون كما توجد معاهد أخرى في بقية المدن، ولهم رواتب كافية يتقاضونها تكفيهم.

والأحكام الشرعية راجعة للقضاة، والتجارية لمجلس التجارة والجنايات لمجلس الجنايات كما في مصر. وسألتهم عن الكتب التي يدرسونها في المسجد الأعظم بأم درمان وفي غيره، فذكروا (المختصر) وشروحه، و (الألفية) و(تلخيص القزويني) و(جمع الجوامع) وغير ذلك من التآليف مثل ما في القرويين. فسر كل منا بما سمع من صاحبه فقلت لهم: سبحان الله، إن الأفكار النجليزية مشابهة للأفكار الفرنساوية: الكل يبحث

law or rule is issued in the country without their approval. The same applies to criminal law, they have a Supreme Council.

The law that they apply in Sudan is the Indian law. However, it was refined and reformed to suit the interest of the nation. And all over the country, they have independent municipalities enjoying total freedom.

They said that their land is very fertile where grains and many fruits grow. They have heavy rain in addition to the Nile river that goes through their country. In most cases, they usually don't need irrigation due to the abundance of rain they have in summer and autumn.

They have minerals and railroads cut across the whole country. They said that in Omdurman, which is a part of Khartoum, we have an important religious institute, similar to Qarawiyyen in your country and al Azhar in Egypt, where religious sciences are taught. It is in constant progress and growth. They also have a lot of teachers and numerous students and there are other institutions in the rest of the cities. They earn decent salaries.

As in Egypt, religious laws are assigned to the judges; commercial laws to the Chambre of Commerce; and criminal affairs to the penal court. I asked them about books they teach in Great Mosque in Omdurman and in others. They mentioned *Al Mukhtasar* and its different explanatory commentaries, *Al Alfiya, Talkhis Al Qazwini,* and *Jami' Jawami'* and other books like the ones found in al Qarawiyyen. And both of us were delighted

عن المحافظة على الأمن والارتقاء وانتشار العلم والتقدم لا يتعرضون لدين أحد ولا يؤذون إلا من يريد إقلاق الراحة وشبوب نار الفتن أو عصيان القانون. لا غرض لهم فيما سوى ذلك. وإن المغرب على مثل الحال التي أخبرتم بها.

ثم إن الوقت كان ضيقاً لم يمكننا أن نزيد في المذاكرة، إذ مدة ركوبنا من فولكسطون إلى بولون كلها كانت نحو ساعة ونصف قضيناها في هذه المذاكرة التي كانت أشهى للنفس من الراحة للعليل ومن إغفاء الساهر في الليل الطويل. وما شعرنا إلا والمركب واقف ببولون، ولما نزلناها وانتقلنا للسكة الحديدية افترقنا وقد ذهبوا إلى باريز، ومنه إلى مارسيليا لركوب البحر إلى مصر، ثم منه إلى بلادهم. أصحبهم الله السلامة وإيانا جميعاً.

ثم لما وصلت باريز، أقمت هناك يومين لقضاء بعض المآرب وتوجهت إلى مارسيليا، فكان نهوضي من باريز صبيحة الأربعاء، الساعة 7.

وداع باريز

وداعاً لك يا باريز، رغماً عنا والقلوب أودعناها وأسفنا لفراقها أسف محب فارق حبيبه. فارقناها،

with what we heard from each other. I then told them, praise be to God, English ideas are similar to those of the French. They are both devoted to preserving peace and progress, and the propagation of knowledge and development, without interfering with anyone's religion and harming only those who cause disturbances or chaos by disobeying the law. They have no other purpose save that and that the situation in Morocco was as I have described it.

The time was short and didn't allow us to continue with our conversation since the duration of the voyage from our embarkation in Folkestone to Boulogne was about an hour and a half, which was entirely spent in this conversation, more appealing to the soul than healing is to the sick or a drowse is to someone staying awake during a long the night. We have not been aware until the ship had docked in Boulogne. We went to the railway station where we separated. They went to Paris and from there to Marseilles to embark for Egypt, then from there to their country. May the safety of Allah accompany them and us all.

When I arrived in Paris, I stayed there for two days to fulfil some chores then headed for Marseilles. My departure from Paris was on Wednesday morning at 7 o'clock.

FAREWELL TO PARIS!

Farewell to you, oh, Paris! With aching hearts we said goodbye to it and grieve to

وأي طبع لطيف يقوى على فراقها. بارحناها، وأي أحد يحب الجمال يقول بمبارحتها بعدما اجتمعت الألسن على مدحها والقلوب على حبها.

أودعـــكـــم وأودعـــكـــم جـــنـــانـــي

وأنـــثـــر أدمـــعـــاً مـــثـــل الـجـمان

فلو نعطى الخيار لما افترقنا ولكن لا خيار مع الزمان.

وقد خرج معنا واديها، لاسين، يودعنا منساباً معنا انسياب الأفعى في بسيط رصع من ياقوت أخضر وعليه أغصان باسقة عليها أطيار ناطقة وأغراس متناسقة بينها مياه متدفقة. وكان الجو معتدلاً مائلاً للبرودة، فقطعنا نصف النهار كأننا في جنة نعيم والقطار يسير رملاً وخبباً، ولهيب الأسى ما خبا، وقلوبنا تذوب لفراق باريز ووادیه وحاضريه وباديه.

ولما كانت الساعة 12 ونصف، دخلنا في نفق جبل عظيم مشى فيه القطار بمهل فقطعه في عشر دقائق، وهناك ودعنا البرودة، بل والاعتدال، وانتقلنا للجهة الجنوبية من أرض افرانسا التي هي أكثر حرارة من الجهة الشمالية فوجدنا السماء مصحية والجو صافياً جافاً، وبرزت الغزالة في أثوابها الذهبية. ففي أول الأمر تلقيناها بغاية الفرح، كما يتلقى المبرود كانون الوقود، وكنا نستحسن منظرها متعرضين لأشعتها، فما كان إلا كلمح البصر أو أقرب حتى مللناها وسئمنا وقودها، بل ثقل علينا شعاعها واستقذرنا لعابها

leave it such as a lover leaving his beloved. We departed from it but how can a soft-hearted heart endure such separation. We left it and how can a lover of beauty quit it after all tongue united in her praise and hearts in loving her.

I bid you farewell and confide my heart to you

And sprinkle tears like pearls.

Had I the choice we wouldn’t have parted

Alas, there is no choice with destiny.

The Seine river accompanied us, bidding us farewell and gliding with us like a snake in a landscape decked with green sapphires, on which are stretching branches topped with singing birds and harmonious plants between them flowing water. The weather was mild, a little chilly. We spent half a day as if we were in a garden of bliss while the train went at a high speed and the flame of sorrow is never quenched and our hearts melted for leaving Paris, her river, her towns and her villages.

By 12 o’clock, we entered into a tunnel in a great mountain where the train slowed down, crossing it in ten minutes. There we left the cold and even the mild weather because we were moving into the southern region of France where it was hotter than in the north. The sky was bright and the weather clear and dry and the gazelle appeared in her golden raiment. At first, we met her with extreme joy as a cold person in front of a stove. We delighted in her sight and exposed ourselves to her rays. However, in a twinkling of an eye or nearly so, we

were bored and tired of her fire, nay its rays were heavy as the sun was very hot. We took off our light clothes after the heavier clothes and sweat poured down from our forefronts and our hearts burnt. Glory be to the unalterable Lord.

We passed on our way by many villages, fields, farms, trees, forests and abundant water. But the landscape in these regions was similar to that in Morocco, for the temperature was nearly alike. We began to see the dried harvested wheat, the ripened fruits ripe and grass-hopers flying ragingly.

وألقينا علينا من الثياب الشعار بعد الدثار وجعلت الجباه تتقطر عرقاً والقلوب تتقطر حرقاً، فسبحان من لا يتغير.

وقد مررنا في طريقنا هذه بعدة قرى ومزارع وحقول وأشجار وغابات ومياه غزيرة. إلا أن مناظر هذه الجهة قريبة من مناظر المغرب لتقارب درجة الحرارة، إذ صرنا نرى الزرع المحصود يابساً والثمار ظاهرة النضج، والجنادب ذات ثج وعج.

THE CITY OF LYON AND THE ISLAMIC HERITAGE IN IT

At 5:30 in the afternoon, we arrived in the city of Lyon, one of the French cities famous for its silk factories. It is a great city built on the bank of a great river upon which were several bridges. We saw three, went over one of them, and another bridge close to it was suspended by iron cables without foundations built under it in the mountains or arches. And I have previously in my *rihla* to Tunisia, the previous year, described one of such bridges which I saw in Constantine. And I saw from afar another bridge on stone arches, far from the station, and another with seven arches and others. In sum, I saw seven bridges.

In this city, there is great commercial activity. This is manifest in a large number of connecting roads to the extent that at the stations there is a tramway. They are not content with only steam trains, but have added the metro road there in the station

مدينة ليون وآثار الإسلام فيها

وفي الساعة الخامسة والنصف عشية، وصلنا إلى مدينة ليون، إحدى المدن الفرنساوية الشهيرة بمعامل الحرير، وهي مدينة عظيمة مبنية على ضفة وادي كبير عليه عدة قناطر ظهرت منها ثلاثة وواحدة مررنا عليها، وأخرى قربها محمولة على حبال الحديد من غير بناء تحت الجبال ولا أقواس. وتقدم لنا في رحلة تونس، في السنة الماضية، وصف واحدة من هذا النوع رأيتها في قسمطينة. ورأيت عن بعد قنطرة أخرى على أقواس حجرية، بعيدة من المحطة، وأخرى ذات سبعة أقواس وغيرها حاصله سبع قناطر رأيتها.

وفي البلد حركة تجارية عظمى، يدل على ذلك كثرة طرق المواصلة فيها حتى إنه يوجد في محطتها التراموای حيث لم يكتفوا بقطارات البخار بل زادوا طريق الميطرو الموجود هناك في

underground powered with electricity as well, which is similar to what I have described in Paris and London. Here, the metro has its stations within the railway station so that when the passenger gets off the steam station he descends the stairs to the metro underground and heads to any destination he wishes in the city. That is besides the automobiles and the carriages. And in the river boats that go carrying loads and come carrying loads. All of which attests to the greatness of commerce in this city.

Then the railway station is one of the most important stations with a great glass dome above it. Like in other cities, there are in Lyon gorgeous palaces and magnificent buildings of seven stories or less, such as the Town Hall and others. Let's not dwell on that. There are in it the greatest silk factories that export their fabric to distant countries. It has a similar the status of Manchester in London, which exports linen to many countries but silk is incomparable to linen nor is David's weaving like that of the spider.[49]

BUILDING WITH ADOBE IN LYON IS PROBABLY AN ISLAMIC HERITAGE

What impressed me in Lyon, and to which I have given particular attention is the existence of the building with adobe which is common in Morocco. Some of it exists in Lyon, more so in its suburbs, as if their buildings are the buildings of Marrakech and

المحطة تحت أرض بالكهرباء أيضا مثل ما تقدم وصفه في باريز ولندن. وهي هنا لها محطات في المحطة الحديدية، مهما نزل الإنسان من السكة البخارية نزل إليها في درج وركب تحت الأرض وذهب لأي جهة شاء من جهات المدينة. هذا زيادة عما هناك من الأتومبيلات السيارة والحوافل ذات الحوافر. وفي الوادي زوارق تذهب حاملة وترجع حاملة، كل ذلك يدلك على عظمة التجارة بهذه المدينة.

ثم المحطة الحديدية من المحطات المهمة، عليها قبة زجاجية عظيمة. وفي لمدينة ما في أمثالها من القصور الفخيمة والدور المنمقة ذات سبع طبقات وأقل، كدار البلدية وغيرها، فلا نطيل بذلك. وفيها مناسج الحرير الكبرى التي تبعث بمنسوجها إلى الأقطار البعيدة، فهي منزلة منشيستر في لندن التي تورد الكتان إلى كثير من البلدان، ولكن ليس الحرير كالكتان وليس نسج داوود كالعنكبوت.

بناء الطابيا في ليون، لعله من آثار الإسلام

وما عجبت منه في ليون، والتفت إليه بنوع خاص وجود بناء الطابيا المعروف عندنا في المغرب فإنه يوجد شيء منه في ليون. وفي ضواحيها كثير، كأن أبنيتها بناء مراكش ووجدة. وما رأيت ذلك في بلاد افرانسا وإنجلترة إلا بهذه

[49] A reference to the story of David in the *Old Testament*. King Saul sent his soldiers to kill him. David ran away and hid in a cave. A spider saved him by spinning a web across the entrance of the cave.

Oujda. I have never seen the like of it anywhere else in France or England. It is just in this city, suburbs and in villages. I am more inclined to surmise that these are remnants of the Arabs who conquered these regions during the reign of the Marwanides and the Amirides in al Andalus. This form of construction might have remained from their work.

Moreover, the inhabitants of the southern regions have a great deal of Arab and Spanish blood as is evidenced in their complexions and hair colour. The inhabitants of the southern regions of France have darker hair and their complexion is tawnier than people of the north. The hair of the people of the north tends to be blond. And there is in the eyes of the people of the south some blackness that does not exist in the people of the north. Additionally, the northern regions are colder than the south, and the look of the inhabitants indicates their closeness to the look of the Moroccan Arabs.

MARSEILLES

We arrived in Marseille at 1:30 in the evening of Thursday and we stayed at Hotel de Geneve, facing the Stock Market from the seaside. It looks ancient in its architecture. The staff is Swiss and their service is terrible. As a matter of fact, the people of Marseille are generally less gentlemanly than the people of Paris and, if you wish, you may say inferior in their manners to the French because of their strong mixture with foreigners.

Marseille is the greatest French commercial port. And you may say, it is the

المدينة وضواحيها وفي بواديها. والغالب على ظني أن ذلك من بقايا العرب الذين دخلوا هذه النواحي وفتحوها على عهد الدولة المروانية والعامرية في الأندلس. ولعل هذا الشكل في البناء بقي من عملهم.

كما أن سكان هذه الجهة الجنوبية يوجد فيهم كثير من النسل العربي والإسباني، ويظهر ذلك في ألوانهم وشعورهم. فأهل الجهة الجنوبية من افرانسا شعرهم أسود ولونهم أشد حمرة من أهل الشمال. وشعور أهل الشمال تميل للشقرة. وفي عيون أهل الجنوب سواد لا يوجد في أهل الشمال. وأيضاً جهة الشمال أبرد من الجنوب، لكن أشكال السكان تدل على قربهم من الشكل العربي المغربي.

مرسيليا

وصلنا إلى مرسيليا في الساعة الواحدة والنصف من ليلة الخميس ونزلت في فندق جنيف، قبالة البورصة من جهة البحر، وهو نزل بعيد من حيث البناء لكن خدمته سويسريون معاملتهم غير حسنة. على أن أهل مرسيليا، عموماً، أخلاقهم دون أخلاق أهل باريس وإن شئت فقل: دون أخلاق الفرنساويين لاختلاطهم بالغرباء كثيراً.

مرسيليا أول مرسى تجارية فرانساوية، وإن شئت فقل: هي أعظم مرسى تجاري على البحر

greatest commercial port on the Mediterranean Sea and the first French city in terms of commercial activity. It is also the linking point between France and its African colonies, which are the most important colonies, especially Tunisia and Algeria and some Moroccan ports. It is the second largest city in France in terms of urbanization and population.

Its port is an extremely safe bay. In the centre of the city is an old port, two thousand, five hundred and thirty years old because Marseilles is one of the oldest French cities. It is a square bay which extended inland, so that it is surrounded by land from three sides, except for a narrow opening from which boats enter. And it is surrounded by houses and warehouses. This bay is inaccessible to the big steamers, and is entered by fishing boats and sailing ships. From this bay, they have created some small gulfs in the form of rivers for boats and for fishing.

الأبيض المتوسط وأول مدينة فرنسوية في حركة التجارة وهي نقطة المواصلة بين فرانسا ومستعمراتها الإفريقية، التي هي أهم مستعمراتها، خصوصاً تونس والجزائر وبعض مراسي المغرب. وهي ثاني مدينة فرانساوية في العمارة وكثرة السكان.

مرساها خليج أمين للغاية. ففي وسط البلد مرسى قديم تاريخه ألفان وخمسمائة وثلاثون سنة، لأن مرسيليا من أقدم المدن الفرنسوية. وهو خليج مربع دخل من البحر في أول البلد، يحيط به البر من جهاته الثلاث، إلا منفذ ضيق تدخل منه المراكب وتحيط به الديار والمخازن. هذا الخليج الآن لا تدخله المراكب الكبار البخارية، لكن تدخله مراكب الصيد والشراعية. وقد مدوا من هذا الخليج بعض خلجان صغرى على هيأة الأودية للزوارق ويصطادون منها الحوت.



Figure 14: Hôtel de Genève, Marseille

قنطرة بحرية متحركة

من أعجب ما يرى في مرسيليا هذه القنطرة الغريبة الصنع، وذلك أنه عند منفذ الخليج الكبير السابق من جهة البحر جعلوا قنطرة معلقة في أسلاك معدنية غليظة، وتلك الأسلاك مربوطة في قنطرة حديدية عالية علقت فيها عجلات ربطت فيها الأسلاك التي علقت فيها القنطرة المتحركة. ثم إن القنطرة الحديدية العليا محمولة على ساريتين حديديتين هائلتين، واحدة مرتكزة على ضفة الخليج اليمنى والأخرى على الضفة اليسرى، ثم العجلات الملاصقة للقنطرة العليا التي علقت فيها الأسلاك تماس سلكاً مكهرباً، فإذا أرادوا تحريك القنطرة السفلى المعلقة ضغطوا على العجلات بآلة هي بيد رجل في الضفة اليمنى وآخر في اليسرى، ذاهبة آيبة بقوة كهرباء الأسلاك وهي من أغرب ما يرى. ركبنا فيها بأجر زهيد، خمس سنتمات لكل راكب، ومعنا أتومبيلان وكاروا حاملة الأثقال. وقد اندهشت من ثقل ما كان محمولاً فيها، مع كونها معلقة في الجو إلى علو شاهق، وإنما جعلوها متحركة لئلا تعوق المراكب عن المرور من المنفذ إلى داخل الخليج أو خارجه.

وفي مرسيليا مرفأ صناعي أعظم من هذا وأوسع، يسع الميئين من المراكب ووراءه مرفأ آخر أوسع منه. فلقد ركبت في بابور)عبده(، من كمبانية باكي. فلما أقلع بنا من المرفأ الداخلي كانت المدة في قطعه المرفأ الأول والثاني خمسين دقيقة،

A MOBILE MARITIME BRIDGE

One of the most wonderful sights in Marseilles is this strangely built bridge in that at the entrance of the big bay from the seaside, they built a bridge suspended by thick iron cables fastened to a high iron bridge furnished with wheels to which were fastened the cables that were attached to the moving bridge. The upper iron bridge is mounted on two huge iron pillars. One on the right bank of the gulf, the other on the left. The wheels that are connected to the upper bridge where the wires are connected are touching electric wires. So that if they wanted to move the hanging lower bridge they push on the wheel with a device in the hand of a man on the right bank and another one in the hand of a second man on the left bank so that it goes and comes with the electric power of the wires. Verily, it is one of the strangest things ever seen. We rode in it for a small fee, five cents per passenger, and with us two automobiles and a carriage carrying a heavy load. I was astonished at the weight of what was transported on it, being suspended in the air at a high altitude. It was made mobile so as not to impede the movement of vessels going to the bay or coming out of it through the opening.

In Marseilles, there is a larger and wider industrial harbour than the former. It can accommodate two hundred vessels, and behind is an even bigger harbour. I have boarded the ship *Abda*, from the Paquet Company. When it took off with us from the inner harbour, it took it fifty minutes to go

from the first to the second port, but that was with half of its steam power. This harbour is really one of the biggest and greatest harbours. It has many huge warehouses worthy of the country and diligent work is still in progress to finish the outer harbour that is behind the inner one.

At the end of the inner harbour is an iron bridge of the most astonishing things, since, the inner harbour which is in the shape of a bay like a huge reservoir surrounded by a quay in concrete built sturdily and impeccably to protect the bay from the sea currents. They have left only one small opening that boats enter from. It is so narrow and it can accommodate just two great ships: one entering and the other leaving. They made a supporting pillar built very sturdily in the middle of the water and attached to it a long iron bridge that spans the whole exit's length supported by that pillar. So, if a vessel is entering or exiting, they turn the bridge with an iron machine in its centre, and it turns easily. Then after the boat passes the bridge is restored to its place and people can cross it from the bank of the quay to the other. When it is put in position the quay stretches from side to side so that there is no access to the bay for ships until the bridge is moved to open the way. When the bridge is attached to the quay, it draws a line from east to west. If the man in charge wants, it starts to move away from the line that it has drawn, and then it draws a line from the south to the north.

After leaving the harbour, at five in the evening, we moved away from the land of Europe and we reunited with our beloved homeland with chests filled with longing,

لكن بنصف قوته البخارية. وإن هذا المرفأ لمن أعظم وأضخم المرافئ عليه مخازن عظيمة مما يلي البلد، ولا زالت الخدمة جادة في إتمام عمل المرفأ الخارجي الذي هو وراء الداخلي.

وعند انتهاء المرفأ الداخلي قنطرة حديدية من أعجب ما يستغرب وذلك أن المرفأ الداخلي، الذي هو عبارة عن خليج على هيأة صهريج عظيم محاط برصيف مبني من حجر وسيمان، في غاية الإحكام والإتقان لأنه يدافع تيار البحر عن الخليج. وما أبقوا لهذا الخليج إلا منفذاً واحداً تدخل منه المراكب لكنه ضيق فلا يسع إلا مركبين عظيمين: واحد ذاهباً وآخر آيباً، فجعلوا في وسط هذا المنفذ دكة مبنية بناء متيناً في وسط الماء وركبوا عليها قنطرة حديد طويلة على قدر المنفذ مرتكزة على تلك الدكة. فإذا كانت مركب داخلة أو خارجة أداروا القنطرة بآلة حديد متركزة في وسطها فوق الدكة فدارت بكل سهولة. وبعد مرور المركب ترجع القنطرة لمحلها يمر عليها الناس من ضفة هذا الرصيف إلى ذاك. وعند تركيبها يتصل الرصيف فلا يبقى للخليج منفذ ولا يمر مركب إلا بعد تحريك القنطرة لفتح الطريق. فالقنطرة إذا ركبت على الرصيف رسمت خطاً من الشرق إلى الغرب، فإذا أدارها المكلف بها صارت تتباعد عن الخط الذي كانت راسمة له، ثم رسمت له خطاً من الجنوب إلى الشمال.

ثم بانفصالنا عن المرفأ، في الساعة الخامسة عشية، انفصلنا عن أرض أوروبا واستقبلنا الوطن العزيز بصدور ملأها الشوق

and hearts homesick like the longing of the baby for his mother and the young man to the best of mankind, peace be upon him.[50] We received it with smiling and cheerful faces and hearts filled with the hope of seeing and reuniting with the family. If our yearnings were to be represented in the concrete world, they could only be depicted as wings flying us to our families, for we have had enough of alienation and the gold in our pockets gone in very expensive expenses because, except bread, everything was costly. The European warehouses were empty of goods, and so we didn't find what to buy for trading either in France or England. Only some of the trading houses gave us their word to send us some of the goods in about six months. I have spent a lot of what I took with me for commerce on the travel expenses and the rest I brought back, as for trade I only bought a little that neither fattens nor enriches. The worst part is that the prices increased more than they were during the war for many goods, although the world was expecting the opposite. Therefore, there was a decrease in the goods following the signature of the truce.

وقلوب حنت إليه حنين الرضيع إلى أمه والجذع على خير البشر عليه السلام. استقبلناه بوجوه باسمة مستبشرة وأفئدة ملؤها الأمل بجمع الشمل ومشاهدة الأهل. فلو مثلت أشواقنا في العالم الحسي لما مثلت إلا بأجنحة تطير بنا إلى أهلنا، لسآمتنا من الاغتراب وذهاب ذهب الجيوب في المصارف الباهظة لغلاء كل شيء، إلا الخبز، وفراغ المخازن الأوروبية من البضائع فما وجدنا ما نشتري للتجارة لا في فرانسا ولا في انجلاتيرة. وإنما بعض الديار قاولتنا بتوجيه شيء من البضاعة بعد ستة أشهر ونحوها. وصرفت كثيراً مما صحبته معي للتجارة في مصارف السفر والباقي رددته، وما اشتريت للتجارة إلا قليلاً لا يسمن ولا يغني والأسوام زادت عما كانت عليه في الحرب في كثير من الأشياء، مع أن العالم كان يظن خلاف ذلك. ولذلك كانت البضاعة وقع فيها نزول عظيم عند إمضاء شروط الهدنة.

The crisis of commerce is due to many reasons the most important of which in the current time is workers' strikes and the adoption of the Bolshevik ideas by the lower class of workers and their demands for the equality in profit between the workers and the factory owners otherwise they get together and go on strikes causing a rise in costs of living so the factory owners comply to their demands and increase their salaries and reduce their working hours. Still, the

ولفقدان المتاجر أسباب أهمها في هذا الوقت اعتصاب العملة وسريان الأفكار البولشفكية للطبقة السفلى من العامة، يريدون مساواة العملة مع أصحاب المعامل في الأرباح فيعتصبون ويمتنعون عن العمل: يدعون غلاء المعيشة فيلبّي أصحاب المعامل طلبهم ويزيدونهم في الأجور وينقصون من ساعات العمل. لكن أصحاب المعامل يزيدون

[50] He means Prophet Mohamed.

factory owners add what they have given the workers as salary increases in the prices of the goods, resulting in an outrageous increase in prices and I have no idea where this is going to lead, save chaos disguised as strikes. Every day, a group of workers go on strike. In fact, on the day of our arrival in Paris, the restaurant and café workers went on strike so we didn't find anyone to serve us food in the hotel where we were staying except the owner of the restaurant and his secretary. And on the day of our arrival in Strasbourg, we found tramways workers on strike. When the government placed a military detachment in their place, the protesters attacked the French lieutenant and killed him and wounded two others. This is what the strikers do. They attack anyone who works in their stead and prevent him from doing so, saying that if he doesn't join them they will kill him. In England, coal miners went on a strike, and they affected their country, France and other countries because of the shortage of coal, and since coal is what turns the gears of factories manufacturing came to a stop. Then the police who are the rule enforcers in England went on strike, as has already been mentioned.

Thus every day, a new group goes on strike, and all of this is the result of the Great War that has undermined the foundations of urbanization, peace and prosperity. May the benevolence of God relieve the world of its sufferings. Amen! First, the war planted Bolshevik ideas, and then it consumed the gold and silver money that was in the coffers of fighting parties and transferred them to the coffers of the neutral countries and there remained only papers-money, and the price

ما زادوه للعملة على أثمان البضائع، فيتفاحش ارتفاعها ولا أدري إلى ماذا تصير إليه هذه الأحوال وإنما هي فوضى تحت ستار الاعتصاب. وكل يوم تعتصب طائفة من العمال: فيوم وصولنا لباريز اعتصب عملة المطاعم والقهاوي، فلم نجد في محل نزلنا من يناولنا الطعام إلا رب المطعم وكتابه. ويوم وصولنا سطرسبورج، وجدنا اعتصاب أصحاب التراموات. ولما جعلت الحكومة محلهم ضابط الجيش الفرانسوي، هجم المعتصبون على يوطناهم وقتلوه وجرحوا اثنين. وهكذا عمل المعتصبين: يهجمون على من يقوم بالعمل بدلهم فيمنعونه بالقول، فإذا لم يساعدهم قتلوه. وفي إنجلترة اعتصب أصحاب مناجم للفحم الحجري، فأثروا على بلدهم وعلى فرانسا وغيرها بسبب انقطاع الفحم وفقدت الصنائع لأن الفحم به حركة دواليب المعامل. ثم اعتصب البليس الذي هو ناظم إنجلترة، وتقدمت الإشارة إليه.

وهكذا كل يوم تعتصب طائفة، وكل هذا من آثار مصائب الحرب الهائلة التي قوضت أركان العمارة والتمدن والسلم والهناء، خفف الله عن العالم آلامها بمنّه، آمين. وذلك أن الحرب زرعت أفكار البولشفكيين أولاً، ثم أتت على النقود الذهبية والفضية التي كانت في صناديق مالية المتحاربين فنقلتها مصارف الحرب إلى صناديق المتحايدين ولم يبقَ إلا الأوراق، وغلت أثمان الفضة والذهب.

of silver and gold has gone up. And in fact, it didn't rise because that's the value of goods in the entire world, but instead, it was the value of the papers that has fallen because of the disappearance of what was guaranteeing the value of the currency from the banks. For instance, the Algerian bank printed a number of paper currency during the period of peace with the permission of the state and an amount of gold of similar value being deposited as a guarantee under the supervision of the state.

When the war broke out, the laws of war allowed the state to take people's money in banks and the like, causing its decrease, to buy what it needed from abroad, since the neutral countries at the time accepted only gold. So that the guarantee of the paper money has gone because that paper money was a loan incurred by the bank that signed it by its director guaranteed with gold. While before the war, people were trading with paper as if they did with gold because whenever you take it to the bank that issued it you receive instantly its value in gold or silver. After the war, its value isn't paid and it is never the same outside the country. Foreign countries only accept it with caution, although in France, for example, it has remained as it was. No one reduces or adds to its value and transactions are generally done with it and rarely with other alternatives. If the man takes the paper money he had received in France of the value of one hundred francs and went to Spain or Switzerland to buy linen, a mantle, or sugar, they consider the value of the hundred francs to be worth only sixty so that price of the goods France needed to import from abroad and others necessities increased. And this is the biggest reason for the high cost of living.

والغالب أنها في الحقيقة ما غلت، لأنها هي قيم الأشياء في العالم قاطبة، وإنما الأوراق نزلت بسبب ذهاب ما كان في البنك ضماناً لها من النقود. مثلاً، البنك الجزائري طبع عدداً من الأوراق إبان السلم بإذن من الدولة وأنزل قدرها من الذهب ضماناً لها تحت مراقبة الدولة،

فلما وقعت الحرب أباحت قوانين الحرب للدولة أن تأخذ كل ما بيد الناس من النقود في البنوك وغيرها فقلّت واشترت بها الضروريات من الخارج، لأن المتحايدين إذ ذاك لا يقبلون إلا الذهب، فذهبت ضمانة الأوراق إذ كانت تلك الأوراق ديناً حالاً على البنك الذي وضع خط يده عليها هو كاتبه الأول مضموناً بالذهب. فأما قبل الحرب، فكان الناس يتصارفون بها كما يتصارفون بالذهب، لأنك مهما ذهبت بها عند البنك التي هي باسمه إلا ودفع لك القيمة حيناً ذهباً أو فضة. أما بعد الحرب فإنه لا يدفع قيمة فلم تبقَ كما كانت في الخارج فصار الدول الأجنبية لا يقبلونها إلا بحيطة وإن كانت في فرانسا مثلاً بقيت كما كانت، لا يطلب فيها أحد نقصاً ولا زيادة، لكن المعاملة بها عامّة ولا يوجد غيرها إلا نادراً. فإذا أخذ الإنسان الورق الذي قبضه في فرانسا بمائة فرنك وذهب إلى إسبانيا أو سويسرا ليشتري كتاناً أو ملفاً أو سكراً اعتبروا المائة فرنك بستين فقط، فعظمت قيم المواد التي تحتاج فرانسا إلى جلبها من خارج وتبعها غيرها بالضرورة. فهذا السبب

الأعظم في غلاء المعيشة.

ولما غلت المعيشة على ملاك الدور والمخازن زادوا في الأكرية بنسبة ما زيد في المعيشة بالضرورة. إن الذي كان يقبض ألف فرنك في الشهر كراء يعول بها عياله لم تبقَ كافية له إلا إذا زاد ستمائة مثلاً، وهكذا سائر الأشياء، ولا زالت كل يوم ترتفع. وفي الحقيقة كل هذه المصائب من الحرب ومن فكرة المصارفة بالأوراق فإنها حيلة استنزفت ثروة الأمة وجعلتها بيد الدولة والبنوك وأرباب الأموال.

لكم مع طول الأيام، لما تتوفر الأموال بيد الدولة من الضرائب بالضرورة، ترد للبنوك ما اقترضت منها فترجع الثقة للأوراق كما كانت، شيئاً فشيئاً - هذه الأزمة التي تركناها وراءنا في أوروبا، وخصوصاً في بلد المتحاربين، نعم، مصيبة ألمانيا في هذا الباب أعظم وذلك أن المارك الألماني تركناه يساوي ستة وثلاثين سنتيماً فرنسوياً والمارك هو فرنك وربع. فمالية ألمانيا أكثر من غيرها بكثير، ومن هذه النسبة تعلم مقدار النصر الذي حصلت عليه فرانسا.

ولقد كنت أتذاكر يوماً مع الوزير السيد الحاج عمر التازي في هذه المسألة فأخبرني بثمن المارك فتعجبت من خبره حتى تحقق ذلك عندي وأخبرني أنه اشترى منه عدداً بذلك الثمن وقال لي: كل ما تريد منه موجود وزاد نزوله بعد ذلك. وفي هذا

When the cost of living rose for the proprietors of stores and houses they increased the rent price, which inevitably further increased the living costs. For a person, for instance, who used to earn a thousand francs a month to spend on his family the amount becomes no longer sufficient unless he increases it by another six hundred for example. And this is true for everything and it keeps becoming more expensive every day. In fact, all these calamities are because of the war and the idea of trading with paper money. It is a trick that has drained the wealth of the nation and placed it in the hands of the state, banks and capitalists.

With the passage of time when money is eventually available to the state from taxes, it will return to the banks what it borrowed from them. Thus gradually confidence in the papers is going to be restored as it was in the past. And this crisis that we have left behind in Europe affected especially the warring countries, and, indeed, it has been more disastrous for Germany to the extent that we left the German Mark at the value of 36 French cents while it was previously one franc and a quarter. The effect on the economy of Germany is greater than on other countries. And from this, you learn the extent of the victory France achieved.

One day, I was discussing this issue with the minister, Mr. Hajj Omar Tazi, and he told me of the value of the Mark. I was astounded by the information until I discovered the truth of it. He also told me that he bought some marks at that price and said to me, “any amount of it you want is

الشهر ديسانبر، الموافق لربيع الأول، بلغت قيمته إحدى وعشرين سنتيماً. فإذا اعتبرته بالنسبة إلى السكة الأمريكانية التي هي أعلى من الفرنك الفرانساوي بكثير - بنحو ثلاثة أضعاف - صار المارك الألماني عندهم ثمنه كثمن أوراق لعب الصبيان ليس له إلا قيمة الورق والطبع والتزويق فقط تقريباً. وأحط منه أوراق الروسيا، فإنها تساوي الآن في فرانسا خمسة سانتيمات أو ستة فتكون في أمريكا بنحو سانتيمين، فلا أدري كيف هي المعيشة الآن في روسيا وكيف هي أحوالها مع أن الفتنة لم تزل فيها والحرب قائمة على ساق: كل يوم تهرم ثم ترجع إلى شبابها. ولله در عمرو ابن معد يكرب:

الحـــرب أول مـــا تـــكـــون فـــتـــنة
تسـعـى بـزيـنـتـهـا لـكـــل جـــهـــول

حتى إذا اشتعلت وشب ضرامها
ولـت عـجـوزاً غـير ذات حـلـــيل.

available. And in this month of December, corresponding to Rabia al Awwal, its value reached twenty-one cents. If, compared to the American currency, whose value is much higher than the French Franc – about three times – the value of the German mark then becomes of the same value as children's play paper-cards, nearly no more than the value of the paper, the printing and the decoration. And even lower than that of the Russian paper. Its value in France is five or six cents and becomes two cents in America. And I wonder how is life in Russia now and how are conditions over there, knowing that the country is still in turmoil and the war is still going on. Every day it ages, then returns to its youth. May God bless Amr Ibn Maad:

At first the war is a seduction,
That allures with her charms every ignorant
And when it flares up and its fire is ablaze
It turns into a hag who has no consort.

وبعد انفصالنا من ساحل مرسيليا، في الساعة السادسة، انتشر في البحر ضباب كثيف حال دون رؤية ما في البحر وهالنا الأمر حيث أوقدت المراكب الأضواء ونفخت الأبواق خوفاً من اصطدامها مع مركب أخرى وحصل في الوهم شيء من الأفكار المضادة للسلامة فتعوذنا بالله والتجأنا إليه. وقال بعض الركاب: لا تخف من الاصطدام، فالمراكب التي تصطدم بنا أغرقتها الحرب والحركة في البحر قليلة فلا خوف من

After our departure from the shores of Marseilles, at six o'clock, a thick fog spread in the sea preventing sight of what was at the sea. We were filled with fright and the vessels lit up their lights and blew the horns for fear of colliding with another ship as imaginary ideas of unsafety came into our minds and we prayed to God and sought refuge in him. Some passengers said, Don't be afraid of accidents. The ships that could collide with us have been sunk by war and

the traffic at the sea is low. Therefore, there is no fear of collisions. And at seven o'clock the fog cleared and the illusions faded away and safety was restored, praise be to God.

The sea was still and in perfect calmness, and we, like it, were in utmost comfort and reassurance until we arrived near Gibraltar where we saw a wonderful sight, the meeting of the Mediterranean with the Ocean. The flow of the Ocean was higher than the Mediterranean, like a stair at the sea along a line close to the coast of Gibraltar. The sea was high and we were able to feel it with the calm of the sea until till the end.

الاصطدام. وفي الساعة السابعة انجلى ذلك وانقشعت الأوهام وحصل الأمن والحمد لله.

وكان البحر رهواً في غاية السكون، ونحن معه في غاية الراحة والاطمئنان إلى أن وصلنا إلى قرب جبل طارق فرأينا عجباً، وهو ملتقى البحر الأبيض مع المحيط، فإن تيار المحيط أعلى من الأبيض كأنها درجة في البحر على امتداده قرب ساحل جبل طارق. حتى إن البحر لما علاه حصل لنا إحساس بذلك مع سكون البحر إلى النهاية.

TANGIER

We reached Tangier at nine in the morning on Monday 18, August. I found at the harbour some brethren waiting for me, especially the *faqih*, and the *katib*, of the dynasty of ministers and unrivalled in leadership, Sidi Mohamed al Arabi al

طنجة

وقد وصلنا إلى طنجة في الساعة التاسعة صباح يوم الاثنين 18 أوطِ ووجدت في المرفأ بعض الأحبة منتظراً، خصوصاً الفقيه الكاتب سلالة الوزارة وغير المضان الصدارة، سيدي محمد العربي الصنهاجي خليفة النائب بطنجة

والمستشار السياسي بها ونائب المخزن في شركة الريجي ومعه كاتبه الفقيه الأديب السيد أبو بكر عواد، فأكرم بل بالغ وتجاوز الحد المطلوب في الضيافة وحسن المقابلة - جزاه الله خيراً - آمين.

ولقد زرت معاهد طنجة العلمية والدينية واستوعبت أحوالها، وكنت قبله قد ترددت إليها سبع مرات وهذه الثامنة. وآخر عهدي بها سنة 1330، فرأيتها قد تأخرت كثيراً عن كل تلك المرات التي ترددت إليها.

عرفت حركة تجارتها سقوطاً عظيماً ووقف سير نموها، فإني كنت أعهد بها حركة تجارية أكثر من كل المراسي المغربية إلا ما كان من الدار البيضاء. وكنت أعهد بها البناء متزايداً وكل يوم تشيد القصور وتنجز الدور وتزداد العمارة

Sanhaji,[51] the deputy of the *naib* of Tangier, the political adviser in the city and the representative of the state in Reiji company. He was accompanied by his secretary the learned faqih Mr Abu Bakr Awaad. He received us with excessive hospitality and exemplary welcome. May God reward him. Amen.

I visited the scientific and religious institutions of Tangier and I understood their conditions. And I had previously visited the city seven times, and this was the eighth. And my last visit was in 1330 and I noticed how it was declining from all the previous times I had visited it.

Its commerce underwent a great drop and its growth stagnated. For I remember that its commercial activities used to be greater than all the ports of Morocco, except that of Casablanca. And I used to find increasing constructions. Every day palaces were built and houses erected and

[51] Mr al Arabi al Sanhaji is a gifted man who occupied important positions. He enjoys a high consideration and is loved by the elite and the public for his generous qualities, especially his good moral qualities and excessive humility. His father was the grand vizier of the Revered Prince Moulay El Hassan, and was famous for his knowledge, poetry, literature, and for his virtue, good manners, and noble qualities, which qualified him to attain the aforementioned position, the highest in Morocco. He remained in prominence until his death, may God have mercy on him, in the year 1309. In that year, his son, the aforementioned Mr. al Arabi, was appointed secretary in the Great Ministry, and previously he was a clerk to his father. He remained in that position until the year 1321, when he was promoted Minister of the Calipha Moulay Hafid in Marrakesh. And when the latter became king, he promoted him to his Minister of Justice. And when he moved to Fez, he left him as a vizier with his brother and successor, Moulay Bou Bkar, then he returned to prominence in 1327, then rose to the status of a second katib after the proclamation of the French protectorate in 1330. Then he was promoted deputy Minister of Justice in the year 1332, then to the position which he now occupies in Tangier, may God protect him and grant him success. He is 47 years old. He was born in 1290, may God prolong his life and bless his soul. Al Hajwi's note.

urbanization increased and commerce increased. Now nothing of that has remained. Rather it went backwards in all economic and urban affairs, so much that the cleanliness that I was used to seeing has disappeared. In fact, you find garbage the moment you leave your house. Now it is the lowest of Moroccan cities in cleanliness.

I happened to converse with French political chargé *d'affaires* in the city who asked me: How did you find Tangier? I told him that and he admitted it. But I hope for it a more prosperous future and this is the aim of this new *chargé d'affaires*, especially as concerns education. He intends to establish a school for Muslim children and recruit teachers in the Great Mosque and similar.

He asked me about the way that would suit the ideas of the Muslims and their religion on this issue. I said to him: It is obligatory that the school must be free of rational philosophy that contradicts the beliefs of Muslims. In fact, the first things to be taught in Muslim schools are the precepts of Islamic religious worship to protect their children from unbelief and then ethical values of religious worship such as cleanliness, good relationships, and the purity of the soul. These are the sole reasons that would attract Muslims to educate their children. As for the teaching, the Great Mosque in the city is not without scholars and they are available. I know them by name and others from their relatives. It all depends on the salary and supervision to avoid laziness. He was content with all what I said because it agreed with his ideas, which appear to be very favourable towards Muslims. May God reward him.

وتنمو التجارة فما بقي الآن بها ولا شيء من ذلك. بل تأخرت في كل الشؤون الاقتصادية والعمرانية، حتى إن النظافة التي كنت أعهد بها لم يبقَ منها شيء، بل القاذورات تجدها مهما خرجت من منزلك. فهي أحط المدن المغربية نظافة الآن.

ولقد تذاكرت مع المعتمد السياسي الفرنساوي بها فسألني: كيف رأيت طنجة؟ فأخبرته بهذا فاعترف به. ولكن نرجو أن يكون لها مستقبل زاهر، فإن همة هذا المعتمد الجديد متوجهة كذلك وخصوصاً فيما يرجع للتعليم فإن في نيته إنشاء مدرسة لأولاد المسلمين وترتيب مدرسين بالجامع الكبير وغير ذلك.

وقد سألني عن الكيفية التي تناسب أفكار المسلمين وديانتهم في ذلك فقلت له: لا بدَّ أن المدرسة تكون تعاليمها خالية من الفلسفة العقلية التي تناقض عقائد المسلمين، بل أول ما يدرس في مدارس المسلمين في أحكام العبادة الدينية الإسلامية ليأمنوا على أولادهم من الكفر، ثم آداب دينهم في أحكام العبادة التي من جملة ما يستفاد منها النظافة وحسن العشرة ونزاهة النفس. فهذا هو السبب الوحيد الذي يجذب المسلمين لتعليم أولادهم. أما فيما يرجع للتدريس، فالمسجد الأعظم في المدينة لا يخلو من أهل العلم وهم موجودون: أعرفهم بأسمائهم وبعضهم بأعيانهم. وإنما الأمر المتوقف عليه هو الراتب والمراقبة خوف الكسل. فاستحسن ذلك كله ووافق أفكاره التي يظهر منها أنها حسنة جداً نحو المسلمين، جزاه الله خيراً.

وبعد مكثي بطنجة خمسة أيام وأربع ليالٍ

نهضت منها إلى الدار البيضاء يوم 22 أوط عشية، فوصلت إليها في صبيحة اليوم بعده على ظهر المركب (جبل درسة) وهو مركب صغير قذر لم يوافقني المبيت فيه تلك الليلة وأتعبتني روائحه الكريهة وعدم وجود أسباب الراحة في محل النوم وغيره. والحمد لله على قصر المسافة، ولو طالت لهلكت.

وبعد حلولي بالدار البيضاء استرحت ليلة من عناء البحر وتوجهت إلى الدار البيضاء لمقابلة الجلالة اليوسفيّة - أدام الله نصرها وأبّد عزها وفخرها - فقابلت جلالته يوم الجمعة قبيل الصلاة وعلى محيّاه الكريم البشر فسألني عما رأيت في رحلتي، فأخبرته على وجه الاختصار بما يناسب وتزودت منه صالح الدعاء.

وانصرفت لمسقط رأسي ومحل أنسي، فاس المحوطة بالله من كل باس، فوصلتها يوم الأحد بعده بخير وسلام ووجدت الأهل كذلك كما تركتهم. وعظمت النعمة بالاجتماع بهم. والحمد لله على نعمته التي بها تتم الصالحات.

وهناك ألقيت عصا التسيار وقر القرار.

تمت الرحلة.

After staying in Tangier for five days and four nights, I left it for Casablanca on the afternoon of 22nd August. I arrived there in the morning of the following on board *Jabal Darasa*, a small dirty ship that did not suit me for spending the night. Its awful smells bothered me, besides the lack of the means of comfort in the bedroom and elsewhere. Thank God for the short distance, had it been longer I would have perished.

Having arrived in Casablanca, I rested for a night from the sufferings of the sea then went to Casablanca to meet with His Yussufian Majesty. May God maintain his victory and preserve his glory and prestige. I met His Majesty on Friday, a little before prayer. With cheerful benevolence on his face, he asked me about what I saw during my journey and I informed him in a brief manner of what was appropriate and received from him the best of prayers.

Then I headed for my native city and the place of my enjoyment, Fez, protected by God from all harm. I arrived there the following Sunday safe and sound and found my family there as I had left them and thanked God for the blessing of being united with them. Thank God for his benedictions through which good deeds are done.

And there I have thrown away the travelling staff and settled down.

The end of the Rihla.

PART THREE:

THE AMBIVALENCE OF MOHAMMED AL HAJWI'S OCCIDENTALISM IN HIS RIHLA *THE EUROPEAN JOURNEY*

I: REFLECTIONS ON ARAB AND MOROCCAN OCCIDENTALISM

1. Occidentalism: Theoretical Reflections

a. Occidentalism in Bernard Lewis

Bernard Lewis' *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (1982) is one of the rare books that try to theorize Muslim views of Europe. Using a historical framework for the encounter between the Islamic World and Europe, Lewis argues that while Europeans have produced an enormous amount of information on the Islamic World and have developed a "curiosity to study and appreciate the cultures of alien and even hostile societies,"[1] Muslim scholars and travellers, on the other hand, show little interest in or curiosity about the West and have produced little knowledge on the Europeans. Lewis draws on diverse Arab, Turkish, and Persian travel writings to condemn Muslims for failing to see and value European culture and civilization.

Lewis attributes the paucity of Muslim writings on and knowledge of the West to Muslims' disregard and disdain of the West and the sense of Islamic cultural superiority. Muslims are reluctant to discover or know the West. For Lewis, Muslims view the world through the prism of religion and within the binary dichotomy of the Muslim believers and the Christian infidels. "In the Muslim world view," Lewis states, "the basic division of mankind is into the House of Islam (*Dar al-Islam*) and the House of War (*Dar al-Harb*)."[2] In his view, Muslims are hindered in their intellectual encounter with the West by their sense of religious and cultural superiority developed in the Middle Ages. Lewis says in *Islam and the West* that "Europeans at one time or another have studied virtually all the languages and all the histories of Asia. Asia did not study Europe. They did not even study each other, unless the way for such study was prepared by either conquest or conversion or both."[3] Against this Westerners'

[1] Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York: Norton, 1982), p. 75.

[2] Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 60.

[3] Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 123.

genuine interest in foreign nations and cultures, there was

> no equivalents among Arabs and Turks, who in general showed the same lack of interest as in medieval times. There is evidence that Ottoman officials and officers were from time to time concerned with developments beyond the frontiers, but such concern is rarely reflected in scholarship or letters. There was no attempt to learn non-Islamic languages, and when a knowledge of European languages or conditions was required, Muslim rulers were content to rely on their non-Muslim subjects or on refugees and other Europeans in their service.[4]

So, despite the geographical proximity between the land of Islam and the land of Christendom, Lewis declares, an iron curtain separated these worlds and hindered any kind of cultural, intellectual, or commercial exchanges.

> One might have expected some knowledge of Western European affairs to percolate into the Muslim world through direct relations, for, after all, the two civilizations were in immediate contact all the way across the Mediterranean world from Spain through Italy to the Levant. But in fact the medieval iron curtain-if one may use the expression-between Islam and Christendom seems to have kept cultural exchanges at a minimum, and greatly restricted even commercial and diplomatic intercourse.[5]

The iron curtain is, according to Lewis, the product of the Islamic House of Islam and House of War dichotomy. One of its manifestations is that when foreigners from Europe travel long journeys to visit Muslim lands for trade tourism or diplomatic purposes, the local inhabitants did not show the slightest curiosity in knowing more about these strangers, the land they came from or the purpose of their visit. Lewis writes:

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[4] Ibid., p 15.

[5] Bernard Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1957), p. 411.

> In the Muslim, and particularly the Arab, lands, the cities offered an infinite variety of types, enriched by returning travellers, visitors, slaves, and merchants coming from the far lands of Asia, Africa, and even Europe. The appearance of men with outlandish costumes and unfamiliar features aroused no curiosity in the great metropolises of the Middle East, where such were commonplace.[6]

In contrast to this indifference, whenever Muslim merchants and ambassadors visit European countries, they become the centre of huge attention and tremendous curiosity. Crowds in great numbers gather along the streets to get a glimpse of these exotic visitors. For instance, Lewis refers to Louis as saying that when the Ottoman envoy, Mehmed Efendi, visited Paris in March 1721, he "was an object of great interest and curiosity whenever he went. While he was travelling to Paris along the canals, crowds gathered on the banks to look at him. Some of the curious fell in the water, some were even shot by the guards."[7]

Therefore, Lewis concludes, "There was nothing to resemble the extraordinary curiosity exhibited by the inhabitants of the monochrome capitals of Europe at the spectacle of Moroccan, Ottoman, Persian, and other exotic visitors in their midst."[8] Muslims "have left a few notes and fragments which constitute almost the whole of the Muslim travel literature in Europe."[9] This is so because "The Muslim world, proud and confident of its superiority, and possessing its own internal lines of communication by land and sea, could afford to despise the barbarous and impoverished infidel in the cold and miserable lands of the north."[10]

Another aspect Lewis stresses about Muslims' perception of Europeans is that Muslim view Christian Europe monolithically, as one entity, regardless of the ethnic, linguistic, political, religious, commercial, and cultural differences between the different European nations, their plurality, and historical complexities. During the Crusades, "The Muslim chroniclers have a good deal to say about the military and

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[6] Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 299.

[7] Ibid., p. 114.

[8] Ibid., p. 299.

[9] Bernard Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 210.

[10] Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe," (1957), p. 411.

political activities of the Crusaders in the East; they show, however, remarkably little interest in the internal affairs of the Crusading states, still less in the differences between the various national contingents, and none at all in their countries of origin. … For most Muslim chroniclers they were all Frankish infidels who came from the northern lands of barbarism, and the sooner they went back there the better. Frankish rulers and leaders are rarely mentioned by name, but are designated by some loose and vague title or description."[11]

In addition to that, *Muslim Discovery of Europe* considers Islamic scholarship to be biased against Christian Europe and generally disdainful of the West. Lewis quotes this passage from Al-Qazwini who says, "You shall see none more filthy than they. They are a people of perfidy and mean character. They do not cleanse or bathe themselves more than once or twice a year, and then in cold water, and they do not wash their garments from the time they put them on until they fall to pieces."[12]

Actually, what fascinated Muslim travellers to Europe and captivated their curiosity and interest was the marvellous and the strange. The Muslim culture that produced *the Arabian Nights* had "great appetite for wonders and marvels," Lewis says.[13] And one of such wonders to have intriguingly attracted their attention is the Christians' shaving of their beards. "They shave their beards," Lewis quotes Al-Qazwini, "and after shaving, they sprout only a revolting stubble. One of them was asked as to the shaving of the beard, and he said, 'Hair is a superfluity. You remove it from your private parts, so why should we leave it on our faces?'"[14]

On another occasion, it was an English ship that caught the attention of Ottoman historian, Selaniki Mustafa Efendi. On the arrival of an English ambassador in Istanbul, he says that "A ship as strange as this has never entered the port of Istanbul. It crossed 3,700 miles of sea and carried 83 guns besides other weapons. The outward form of the firearms was in the shape of a swine. It was a wonder of the age worthy to be recorded."[15]

Lewis is surprised that "The great debate of the Crusades, so significant in Western history, stirred hardly a ripple of curiosity in the lands of Islam. Even the rapid

[11] Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 148.

[12] Ibid., p. 280.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., p. 161.

growth of commercial and diplomatic relations with Europe after the Crusades seems to have evoked no desire to penetrate the secrets of the other side."[16]

The basic argument in *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* is that Muslims evinced little curiosity in European history, geography, philosophy, science, literature, society, or religious and political institutions. Muslims never tried to learn European languages or acquire knowledge about cultures. For them this knowledge is a useless and futile endeavour; it is impious, even a sinful pursuit. Lewis writes in this context, "The question of travel for study did not arise, since clearly there was nothing to be learnt from the benighted infidels of the outer wilderness."[17] Such attitudes, Lewis claims, emanate from Muslim "belief in its own self-sufficiency and superiority as the one repository of the true faith and—which for Muslims meant the same thing—of the civilized way of life."[18]

The Muslim Discovery of Europe repeatedly claims that there is "a complete lack of interest and curiosity among Muslim scholars about what went on beyond the Muslim frontiers in Europe."[19] For Muslims, "Christian Europe had little or nothing to offer, but rather flattered Muslim pride with the spectacle of a culture that was visibly and palpably inferior."[20] So Lewis' title of "Muslim Discovery of Europe" is ironical and deliberately misleading, for it is meant to imply that Muslims never really discovered or were interested in discovering Europe. Curiosity and interest in other cultures and civilizations, for Lewis, is an exclusively European phenomenon.

It was only in the Nineteenth century when Muslim countries became politically weak and powerless against the military threat of Europe that they started seriously to be interested in the social, political, cultural, and commercial affairs of Europe. Such interest, according to Lewis, emanates not from a genuine quest for knowledge, but from a desire to discover the secret of European power. It was a need to "obtain good intelligence about the countries from which this perceived threat was coming."[21] And again in his article, "Muslim Perceptions of the West," Lewis states that "the threat of domination made Muslim rulers aware, for the first time, of the need to undertake a

[16] Ibid., p. 151.

[17] Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans*, p. 132.

[18] Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 301.

[19] Ibid., p. 142.

[20] Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe," p. 415.

[21] Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 119.

serious study of the languages and ways of Europe and to learn something of its science, its technology and above all its politics and its warfare."[22]

Lewis's theory of Occidentalism is an Orientalism in reverse. This is the gist of Edward Said's critic of Bernard Lewis. He states in his book, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays,*

> Lewis has been busy responding to my argument, insisting that the western quest for knowledge about other societies is unique, that it is motivated by pure curiosity, and that in contrast Muslims *neither were able nor interested* in acquiring knowledge about Europe, as *if* knowledge about Europe was the only acceptable criterion for truth knowledge.[23]

Indeed, reading *Muslims Discovery of Europe* feels that Lewis is reversing Said's theory on Western perception of the Orient onto Muslim views of the Occident. Muslims consider the West to be radically different and culturally inferior. The Muslims dehumanize and homogenize European Otherness. Hence, Said affirms that Lewis's work "purports to be liberal objective scholarship but is in reality very close to being propaganda against his subject material."[24]

b. Nabil Matar: Muslim Curiosity About Europe

A more implicit refutation of Bernard Lewis is the work of Nabil Matar, especially, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (2003) and *Europe through Arab Eyes* (2008). For Matar Muslim travelers, envoys, ambassadors, traders, and clerics were highly inquisitive about the Lands of the Christians and made consorted efforts to gather information and document their observations with accuracy, producing insightful descriptions of Europeans during the

[22] Bernard Lewis, "Muslim Perceptions of the West," *Comparative Civilizations Review*, 13: 13 (1985), p. 3.

[23] Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 204.

[24] Ibid., p. 316.

early modern period.[25]

In *Europe through Arab Eyes*, Matar makes a distinction between "popular" and "elite" accounts of the European Other. The popular sources are mainly the accounts of male and female Muslim captives in Europe or on European ships, including both letters written and transcribed oral testimony by captives. The elite sources include the accounts of ambassadors and royal scribes as well as vivid *taqayid* (reports on recent historical events) and other sources.

Nabil Matar's scholarly works undercut Bernard Lewis' thesis of Occidentalism. In his introduction to *In the Land of the Christians*, Matar starts by criticizing Bernard Lewis's works. Lewis' claimed in his *Islam and the West* that Arabs "showed the same lack of interest as in medieval times" while his "The Muslim Discovery of Europe" accuse Muslims of a total lack of "curiosity" toward Europeans.[26] Later on, Matar proves the opposite through his argument. For him, there was "no sudden discovery of Europe among the Arabs", and information about the lands and peoples of Christendom was available, based on translation, research, and travel. In the early modern period, Arabs of various interests (Merchants, envoys, ambassadors, clergymen…) journeyed to different Western countries, and from Mashriq to Maghreb, Muslim and Christian Arabs read about, translated, and wrote about the world around them, which shows that there was curiosity in their travel. The very concept of "Europe" did not exist among Christian and Muslim Arabs, but there was curiosity concerning the Ruum (Byzantines and other Europeans), the Ifranj (Franks), and the Ajam (Spaniards).

> The travellers, envoys, ambassadors, traders, and clerics were eager to ask questions about *bilad al-nasara* (Lands of the Christians) and to record their answers—and then turn their impressions into documents. They all wrote with precision and perspicacity, producing the most detailed and empirically based information about the way in which non-Europeans viewed Europeans in the early modern period. No other

[25] Nabil Matar, *In the Land of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. xxii.

[26] Echoing Lewis Khalid Ziyadah contends that "there was nothing to suggest that Muslims exerted any effort to build a good knowledge about the Europeans." See Khalid Ziyadah, *Tatawwur al- Nazra al-Islamiyah ila Urubba* (Beirut: Maʿhad al- Inmaʾal-ʿArabi, 1983), p. 17.

> non-Christian people—neither the American Indians nor the sub-Saharan Africans nor the Asiatics—left behind as extensive a description of the Europeans and of the *bilad al-nasara*, both in the European as well as the American continents, as did the Arabic writers.[27]

Matar goes back to the earlier historical accounts written by Arab travellers. He mentions the Ottomans who had a great historical interest in travel and cartography. His book mentions many Muslim travellers who were eager to ask questions and record answers with precision and perspicacity about the lands of Europe, producing the most detailed descriptions and complex information about this land and its peoples.

These travellers had to ask and learn relying on their mastery of European languages or on translators, then wrote down their observations, and evaluations, without fantasizing; they were prone to learn and correct the old misconceptions. In the first half of the book, Matar provides a presentation and analysis of the primary sources that are translated in the second part. He adopts a micro-historical approach to his sources to portray the diversity of Muslim experiences in and perception of Europe, explaining that "Microhistory can uncover evidence to challenge the prevalent theories about early modern Arabic and Islamic ignorance about Christendom."[28] He makes a distinction between "popular" and "elite" accounts of the European other. The popular sources are mainly the accounts of male and female Muslim captives in Europe or on European ships, including both letters written and transcribed oral testimonies. Whereas the elite sources include the accounts of ambassadors and royal scribes as well as vivid Taqayid (reports on recent historical events) and other sources.

The sources in Matar's book are a challenge to Lewis' concept of the iron curtain. They attest to a dynamic cultural, economic, and political exchanges between Europe and the Muslim world during the early modern period. In these popular and elite sources, we see how Muslim captives, redemptionists, merchants, ambassadors and travellers from the Middle East and North Africa engaged with Europe and documented their observations and knowledge about its peoples and societies to their communities and compatriots at home. If fewer Muslims travelled to Europe than the

[27] Ibid.

[28] Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-172* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 19.

Europeans who travelled in Muslim lands, this Matar attributes the fact that Muslim travellers did not have access to Christian ships and it was often difficult for Muslim ships to have access to the ports and cities of Europe.

Matar presents translations from twenty different Arabic texts that are about the issue, and many of these texts illustrate the early modern Mediterranean world from a religious and cultural perspective. In this sense, his work is a contribution to early modern Mediterranean studies, denying the division between East and West in this field of study.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW OF MUSLIM OCCIDENTALISM

a. Abu-Lughod's *Arab Rediscovery of Europe*

The first book I want to review here is Ibrahim Abu-Lughod's influential book: *Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters* (1963).[29] The book intelligently analyses various Arab encounters with Europe from Napoleon's conquest of Egypt in 1798 to 1870. Abu-Lughod highlights the various encounters and impressions of Arab travellers with the many aspects of European political and social organization as well as the educational system and urban structure. The detailed accounts of these aspects reveal a deep-seated curiosity and interest on the part of Arab travellers in Europe as a fascinating civilization worthy emulate.

One of the Arab travellers he discusses is Rifaa al-*Tahtawi.* He visited France in 1826-1831 as an Imam of the Egyptian delegation to Paris and recorded his travels in his Rihla entitled *Takhlis Al-Ibriz Fi Talkhis* Bariz, published in 1834. For Abu-Lughod, al-Tahtawi was not only influenced by his encounter with Europe, but he also tried to pass on such influence onto his community. Concerning the educational system of France for Abu-Lughod, al-Tahtawi was the first Muslim to provide a detailed and specific account of the French higher educational system.[30] Abu-Lughod explains that

[29] The book was originally a PhD dissertation of the same title, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe, 1800-1870,* Princeton University, 1957.

[30] See, Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters* (London: Saqi, 2011), pp. 118-120.

al-Tahtawi believed in the need to familiarize his countrymen with the French advanced educational system. He also dwells on the importance of the education of women:

> European women have *written profound books*. 'Among them [educated women] are some who translate books from one language to another. . . . The themes and compositions of some of these women are taken as *models according* to which others design their works. From this, one knows that the proverb "Man's beauty is his brain, while woman's beauty is her tongue" is not a *fitting description* for this country.[31]

In contrast to al-Tahtawi's far-reaching admiration for Europe, Abu-Lughod cites the Lebanese journalist and writer Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq[32] who visited France and England in 1850 and wrote about his trip in *Al sa'q ala as'Saq fi Mahuwa al-Faryaq: Aw Ayyam wa Shuhur wa A'wam fi 'Ajam al-'Arab wa al-A'jam*, published in Paris in 1854. Al-Shidyaq is impressed by what he saw in France and England. Concerning his impressions of England, he says that he was impressed order in this country. He writes that the English have:

> Good administration and organization in the *conduct of their affairs as* well as punctuality in the performance of duties. For everything there is a special time … This quality of good administration appears clearly among their rulers, masters and administrators. The responsible statesmen among them, if they wish to undertake an important project, approach it with meticulous care and correctness so that no fundamental changes will be necessitated in the laws and so that there will be no major disturbance to the people.[33]

The book cites the cases of both Rifaa al-Tahtawi in his book *Takhlis al-Ibriz fi*

[31] Ibid., p. 124.

[32] It is interesting to note that he was a catholic who converted to Protestantism, naturalized British and later converted to Islam. He is considered Arab novelist with his novel leg over leg (1855) and he is considered to be one of the founding fathers of modern Arabic literature. See, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Faris_Shidyaq and Muhammad al-HadT MatwT, Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, 1801-1887: hayatuhu wa-atharuhu wa-drd 'uhu fi 'l-nahdah al- 'arabiyyah al- hadithah

[33] Abu-Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe*, p.114.

Talkhis Bariz (1834) and Ahmad Zaki Pasha in *Al-Dunya fi Baris* in (1900), who as travellers to France was not only influenced by the experience of encountering another culture as individuals but they eagerly sought to spread the influence in their communities and encourage the translation European books into Arabic.

"In general," Abu-Lughod affirms, "the writers approached the West with open minds, and found much to admire and to imitate."[34] For him, Arab encounters with Europe and the travel such encounters engendered have played a crucial role in promoting the project of nineteenth-century reform and powerfully contributed to the emergence of Islamic modernist thought. According to Abu-Lughod the Arab travellers to Europe in the nineteenth century had developed a deep respect for the multifaceted achievements of western society; they admired Europe especially

> for having evolved a sound political system. The principles of European ideology singled out for particular commendation by the Arab writers were: constitutionalism, especially with reference to limitations on the absolute power of the executive branch; freedom, both of the individual and of association; and justice. These were considered the underlying causes of Europe's political and social "health."

The other significant area of admiration is the European educational system, social organization, and spirit of free inquiry. The Arab travellers considered them "as important prerequisites to western accomplishment." [35]

For Abu-Lughod travelling to and writing about Europe helped Arabs to discover the peoples, societies, and institutions of Europe. The term discovery of Europe is a fundamental concept in Abu-Lughod's project of Arab Occidentalism. His book is based on his doctoral dissertation of the same title *Arab Rediscovery of Europe, 1800-1870,* defended at Princeton University in 1957, the same year Lewis published his article, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe." Abu-Lughod's dissertation is a powerful refutation of Lewis' theory of Arab Occidentalism.

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[34] Abu-Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe, 1800-1870,* PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1957, p. 3.

[35] Abu-Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe*, p.157.

b. Nazik Yared's *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*

The second influential study of Arab travellers' encounters with and perception of Europe is *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*, written in Arabic by Nazik Saba Yared's and translated by Sumayya Damluji Shahbandar, published in London by Saqi Books in 1996. Adopting a comparative approach, the book describes a range of Arab travellers' views of the various aspects of Europe, namely political thought, economic thought, social and ethical thought, attitudes toward Western culture (Arts, theatre, literature, journalism, etc.), scientific thought, and the relationship between science and religion. Yared pays particular attention to how changes in European-Middle Eastern relations have affected Arabs' perception of Europe and to "the contradictions arising from an attempt to balance appreciation of Europe with the imperative to establish the value of Arab culture."[36] Yared also discusses the impact of religion on Arab ideas of Europe. She maintains that the influence of religion weakened over time so that subsequent Muslim travellers, such as Taha Husayn, tended to be more secular than their predecessors and "unabashedly embraced liberal views on freedom typical of the French Revolution."[37] In terms of their outlook on society, the Arab travellers invoked the binary opposition defining the West and the East as irreducibly distinct, yet between which there is increasing exchange.

Yared's *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization* is divided into chapters each focuses on a specific aspect: political thought, economic thought, social and ethical thought, attitudes to Western culture, scientific thought, science and religion. These themes are treated according to three historical periods: 1826-1882, 1882-1918 and 1918-1938. In the first period, Yared examines the writings of Rifaa al-Tahtawi, Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi, Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, and Francis Marrash. The second period includes: Muhammad Amin Fikri, Ahmad Zaki, Muhammad Ibrahim al-Muwaylihi, Muhammad Farid, Jurji Zaydan, and Mu-hammad Kurd Ali. And the third discusses Amir Shakib, Arslan, Amin al-Rihani, Taha Husayn, and Kurd Ali. As David Commins puts, Yared concludes that the

> Members of the first generation did not feel threatened, so they harbored a hopeful view of blending the two cultures. Egyptians in the second generation, who had

[36] David Commins, "Review of *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Nov., 1999), p. 675.

[37] Ibid.

> experienced European rule, harbored critical views of Europe, while Syrians blamed Ottoman misrule for the problems in their societies. In the third era, Egyptians were more likely to admire Europe as Egypt moved toward independence, while Syrian writers shifted to deeper mistrust when France and Great Britain dominated the Arab East.[38]

The book's main argument is that travelling abroad has allowed the introduction of knowledge about Europe to the Arab world and promoted reformist ideas.

***Science and Technology**

European scientific technology and inventions captured the attention of Arab travellers. They believed that they were the chief source of the strength of Europe and the basis of its education, economy, and political thought. Travelling through the cities of Europe in France, Italy, Holland and Britain, they became convinced that the advancement of knowledge was the foundation of social refinement and democracy.

And explaining scientific progress, they attribute it to the freedom of thought and a methodology based on rational thinking. "Most important of all," writes Yared about al-Tahtawi, Khayr al-Din, al-Shidyaq and Marrash that "the four men understood that what had led Europe to embark on this scientific path was the concept that knowledge was relative and not absolute, thus encouraging scientists to question the notions of their predecessors."[39]

Al-Tahtawi and Khayr al-Din encouraged Arabs to learn sciences from the West because the progress of science was the result of mutual influences between several civilizations and because the west itself was influenced by the Arab civilization and Islamic scientific achievements. Al Rihani says, "we were the teachers of these [European] nations, we built their present felicity—their civilization."[40]

This need for Western Sciences for the East to achieve technological progress is expressed in Arab travel accounts in the interest in scientific institutions. Yared states that

> Fikri, Zaki, Farid, Zaydan and Kurd `Ali described the universities, scientific academies, museums and libraries they had seen in the West. Sometimes they

[38] Ibid.

[39] Nazik Saba Yarid, *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization* (London: Saqi Books, 1996), p. 60.

[40] Ibid., p. 190.

mentioned institutions that their predecessors had failed to notice, such as academies of fine art, and schools for the blind and deaf.[41]

Other Arab travellers, however, were sceptical, sometimes hostile to the adoption of Western sciences. Al-Muwaylihi, for instance, insisted that "progress would come through treasuring the Arabs' religious and ethical heritage as much as by adopting Western science." Al Muwaylihi mentions the technological invention he had seen in Paris Exhibition during his visit to France then mentions the collapse of a bridge and goes on to describe with goring details the deaths and injured and the chaos that ensued as if, Yared comments, Al Muwaylihi is "warning against the dangerous effect of industrialization and the potential destructive consequences of technology."[42] Similarly, reacting against European technology, Zaki dwells on the horrors of military technology and inventions and the "annihilating and crushing weapons."[43]

The conservative al-Muwaylihi felt that the sciences of the West were detrimental to Eastern identity and strongly advocated the preservation of the religious and moral heritage of the East to safeguard one's identity. "Al-Muwaylihi branded Western science with the materialism and moral corruption that, for him, characterized all Western civilization." He illustrates his argument by stating that "science students in the West paid high fees whereas education at al-Azhar was free… that diplomas in the West could be bought and sold, and that Western education was therefore based on lies and cheating, with material gain its only goal."[44]

Susan Miller succinctly summarized Arab perception of Europe as analysed in Yared's *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization* that "From al-Tahtawi's unbridled enthusiasm through al-Muwaylihi's sulphurous animosity to Taha Husayn's pronouncement that Egyptians were in fact Europeans in disguise, we see that for these authors, Europe was the omnipresent 'Other' against which one took a continuous measure of one's self."[45]

*** Journalism**

The newspaper was a new concept to Arab travellers. In order to familiarize their readers

[41] Ibid., p. 121.

[42] Ibid., p. 125.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid., pp. 124-125.

[45] Susan Gilson Miller, "Review of *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30: 2 (May, 1998), p. 318.

with this form of public communication, al-Tahtawi gives a description of the paper illustrating its content and function. He also borrowed the word journal from French. All the travellers were fascinated with the freedom of the press, and the role it played in disseminating culture in European countries, exchanging ideas on progress and paving the way for a better understanding between nations. But what was most impressive for both al-Shidyaq and Khayr-din was the important role journalism played as a tool of oppositional activism: newspaper criticizes the government's failure, creates political awareness, and promotes justice. Shadyaq, though sceptical about absolute press freedom, is convinced of the positive role of the press. His and other Arab travellers' positive attitudes to the European newspaper culture, helped in the emergence of journalism in the Arab world.

In fact, many travellers of the later period were affiliated with newspapers. Zaydan was the founder of *Al Hilal* and Kurd Ali was the owner of *Al Muktabas*. Many articles in newspapers were authored by Arab travellers. Their writing was in general critical of both Arab regimes and Europe. According to Zaydan, Arab countries have failed to understand that freedom of speech cannot reach the European standard merely by imitation. Farid, on the other hand, pointed out that although Europe understood freedom of speech, it denied it to the colonized people such as in Algeria where the press was under the French strict control. The Arab travellers seem to believe that the freedom of the press in Europe does not necessarily bring a positive impact in the Arab world.

***Arts and Theatre:**

On the question of art, Yared observes that there is a noticeable distinction between Muslim and Christian Arab travellers' attitudes and perceptions. For instance, while Marrash gives a detailed description of French murals and ornaments in Parisian palaces and comments on sculptures in Louvre, al-Tahtawi and Khayr Al Din seemed uninterested in painting and sculptures. Many of the Arab travellers tried to explain the lack of painting and sculpture in Arab cultures in terms of the traditional Islamic disapproval of representational arts. For instance, Zaki says, "the art reflect the spirit of a people much as their literature or material culture does."[46] In his view, Europeans are devoted to art because art contributes to the development of a nation as much as science and politics. Muwayhili and Farid argue, on the contrary, that European devotion to art comes from moral decadence, which in itself is a form of cultural backwardness

[46] Yared, *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*, p. 111.

and a condemnation of art as a whole.

Al-Shidyaq is interested in music and does not share the common traditional notion that music is unethical or sensual. He appreciates art from an aesthetic rather than a moralistic point of view. He only focused on vocal music and neglected instrumental music. Al-Shydyaq devotes a whole chapter in his book *Al-Wasita* to explaining European music and comparing it to Oriental music.

The theatre is discussed by al-Tahtawi and al-Shidyaq. Al-Tahtawi describes the stage, the gestures, and the costumes. He is quoted as saying that "people learn remarkable lessons when they watch a play because they see all actions, both good and bad, praiseworthy and reprehensive."[47] Al-Shidyaq, on the other hand, classifies plays into genres, distinguishes between tragedy and comedy, discusses the actors' actions in relation to speech, and offers a critical analysis of the themes. Moreover, he compares between the western theatre and the Arab pre-Islamic poetry that was recited in the market to imply that ancient Arab culture had some sort of form of dramatic performance. Al-Shidyaq believes that the theatre can promote virtue, yet he is equally suspicious that it can lead to immorality and adultery.

In the subsequent period, the theatre continued to fascinate and appal Arab travellers. Many considered it to be a means of teaching morals and virtue, or, like in the case of Kurd Ali, a means of entertainment, while al-Muwayhidi condemns the theatre for being incompatible with the teaching of Islam and calls for it to be banned altogether. Fikri, on the other hand, is against the idea of Muslim women acting on stage. He suggested, on the other hand, that it was possible for none Muslim women to perform plays since they are not bound by religion.

3. THE MOROCCAN AMBASSADORIAL RIHLA

a. Travelling to and writing about the land of the Rum

In his book, *Al Masadir al'Arabiyya li Tar'ikh al Maghrib*, prominent Moroccan historian, Mohamed al Manuni, distinguishes between three categories of Moroccan

[47] Ibid., p. 56.

Rihla literature between the 16th and the 18th centuries. First, *Rihla* when the traveller goes on a journey within the land of Morocco. Second, *Rihla hijaziyya*, which refers the pilgrimage trip to the Hijaz. Third, the *Rihla sifariyya*, the result of an ambassadorial mission to a foreign countries.[48]

The Moroccan diplomatic rihla to Europe started in the early 17th century and continued into the first half of the 20th century with at least fourteen written travel accounts as illustrated in this list:

Ahmed Bin Qassim al Hajari's *Kitab Nasir Al Din Ala Al Qawn Al Kafirin* (1611–1613)

Mohammed Bin Al Wahab Al Ghassani's *Rihlat Al Wazir fi Iftikak Al Asir* (1690–1691)

Ahmed al-Ghazzal's *Natijat al Ijitihad fi al-Muhadana wa al Jihad* (1766)

Mohamed ibn Uthman al-Miknasi's *Al-Iksir Fi Iftikāk Al-Asir* (1779–1780) and *Al-Badr Al-Safir Li Hidayat Al-Musafir Ila Fikak Al-Asara Min Yad Al-ʿAduww Al-Kafi*r (1781–1783)

Abu Al Abbas Ahmed al Kardoudi's *Al-Tuhfa al-Sunniya Lil'Hadra al-Hassaniya Fil'Mamlaka al-Isbanyoliya* (1844)

Mohamed As-Saffar's *Rihlat As-Safar Ila Faransa* (1845-1846)

Driss al Amraoui's *Tuhfat al-Malik al-Aziz bi-Mamlakat Bariz* (1860)

Mohamed al Fassi's *Al-Rihla al-lbriziyya ila al-Diyaral- Injliziyya* (1860)

Ibn Idriss Jaaydi's *Ithaf al-Akhyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar* (1876)

Hassan bin Mohamed al Ghassal's *Al Rihla at-Tatwijiya ila Asimat al Bilad al Inghliziya* (1902)

Abdellah al Fassi's *Hadiqatu aT-ataaris fi wasf dakhamat baris* (1909)

Hassan al Hajwi's *Al Rihla al Urobiya* (1919)

Mohamed Bin Abdeslam Sayah's *Usbuu fi baris* (1922)

According to Ian Richard Netton in his book, *Seek Knowledge Thought and Travel in the House of Islam* there might be overlapping intentions in the same rihla. He calls this the "pilgrim paradigm." He says "I maintained that this paradigm comprised a series of four searches: for the shrine and/or its circumambient religious geography; for knowledge; for recognition and/or power; and for the satisfaction of a basic wanderlust."[49] The two types of rihla literature implied here are the *rihla talab al*

[48]Mohamed al Manuni, *Al Masadir al'Arabiyya li Tar'ikh al Maghrib* (Rabat: Mohammad V University, 1983), pp. 186-92,

[49] Ian Richard Netton, *Seek Knowledge Thought and Travel in the House of Islam* (Routledge,

ilm, travel in the pursuit of knowledge, and the *rihla siyahiyya*, for tourism purposes.

Moroccan travellers often refer to the purpose of their diplomatic mission and the reason for documenting their journey and observations. Ghazzal, for instance, explains that Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah sent him in 1766 to Spain to the court of Carlos III to ransom captives and establish a peace treaty and that the Sultan ordered him to write down a travel account of his journey. He says "I had been ordered by the lordly presence, may God make him supreme, namely, to record what I heard, saw, apprehended, and learned on this fortunate expedition; to narrate all that I witnessed of the cities and villages; and to make sense of all that I observed during my stay and journey."[50]

Besides the role of establishing political and economic treaties and other tasks *rihla sifariya* were one of the main sources of the sultan and the royal entourage to be acquire information with the counties they were dealing with. "There is no doubt that travel reports were useful to the sultan in the second half of the 19th century for they provided him with information about Europe he desperately needed to know." [51]

Ambassador Ahmed al Kardoudi, on the other hand, explains that he started recording an account of his ambassadorial mission to Spain in 1844 out of his own accord. It was during his visit to Spain, he contacted the royal chamberlain in Fez asking for the Sultan's permission to proceed with the recording of his travel narrative. "Our brother and chamberlain of our Master," says Al Kardoudi, "we have started recording the rihla to emulate the previous ambassadors of Muslim monarchs. We are not sure whether the Sharifian sovereign consents to the recording. When the first piece reaches you, we would like you to present it to our glorious Master and have his

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Year: 1995), p. 127.

[50] Ahmad ibn al-Mahdi Ghazzal, *The Fruits of the Struggle in Diplomacy and War: Moroccan Ambassador al-Ghazzal and His Diplomatic Retinue in Eighteenth-Century Andalusia*, trans. Travis Landry (Lanham, Maryland: Bucknell University Press, 2017) p. 57.

[51] Abdul Salam Heimer, "The Other's Image in Maghrebi Travel Writings," in *Imagining the Arab Other: How Arabs and Non-Arabs View Each Other*, ed., Tahar Labib (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), p.195.

opinion about it so as to act accordingly."[52] The Sultan answered "he did well, he did well, let him proceed with his work."[53]

In the case of Jaaydi, he explains that when historian Ahmed Nasiri learnt the news of his journey to France, Belgium, Italy, and England he eagerly asked him to record his observations. "He suggested to me to write a travel account …where I gather every strange news, and what we see in those countries of every curious matter, and other things that are unfamiliar to the mind, so that it becomes an entertaining companion."[54] A similar suggestion to record his travels was made to Jaaydi by Abdelkader Rounam, treasurer of the port of Tangier, and Nasiri wrote to him earnestly reminding him to keep up his promise. Jaaydi then

> I was convinced that I had to help, and there is no escape from recording what I saw… Then I embarked on this work, asking God to help me attain the objective and obtain hope, and I set about recording what I witnessed … in a comprehensive document of every extraordinary thing, whether near or far, small or big and I have I called *it Ithaf al-Akhyar bi Ghraraib al Akhbar, Entertaining the Best of Men with the Strangest of News*.[55]

After returning to Morocco and completing his rihla, Jaaydi presented the manuscript to Nasiri and other Moroccan scholars. Nasiri was enthusiastic about it and praised Jaaydi "a Faqih, the astrologer, the comptroller … his rihla contains every wonder and curiosity; he revealed the inventions of the Europeans and their strange tricks."**[56]** Another scholar, Abdallah al Jirari Rbati says about Jaaydi, "he travelled to Europe and wrote a rich narrative in eight books." Similar

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[52] Abu Al Abbas Ahmed al Kardoudi's *Al-Tuhfa al-Sunniya Lil'Hadra al-Hassaniya Fil'Mamlaka al-Isbanyoliya*, ed. Abdelwahab Ben Mansour (Rabat: Manshourat Al Matbaa al Malakiya, 1963), p. 13, footnote 13.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibn Idriss Jaaydi, *Ithaf al-Akhyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar: Rihla ila Faransa, Beljica, Injlaterra, Italya, 1876*, ed. Azz al Arab Maaninou (Abu Dhabi: Dar as- Soueidi, 2004), p. 102.

[55] Ibid., p. 103.

[56] Iz al Arab Maaninu, " Wasf Sanai al Faranj wa Hiyalihm al Ajiba li Jaaydi" in *Al Rahala al Arab wa al Muslimun: Iktishaf al Akhar, al Maghrib Muntalaqan wa Mawilan* (Rabat: Wizarat a-Thaqafa, 2003), pp. 93-94.

comments were made by other contemporary scholars.[57] This is indicative of another paradigm in the composition of the Moroccan *rihla sifariya*: for the diversion and edification of the intellectual elite.

A different paradigm is in Al Hajwi's *Ar-Rihla Al Urobiya*. Al Hawji visited France as a member of a diplomatic mission, and then England as a tourist. He decided to pen down his travelogue on his own accord motivated by a desire to learn about Europe and share his knowledge with Moroccans in general. Al Hajwi explains, "I have decided to document my observations during my trip to benefit the people of Morocco who did not travel and are not acquainted with the conditions of Europe."[58] His ultimate aim is the inform and entertainment of a wider public, to give a chance to his compatriots who could not travel to experience foreign countries through his narrative.

Moroccan theorists of rihla have singled out two main purposes of the rihla sifiriya. First, fulfilling a diplomatic mission commissioned by the Moroccan sovereign to negotiate political or commercial treaties, secure a loan, or ransom captives. Second, to discover Europe, its commercial organizations and regulations, political institutions, geography, technological innovations, and military power. *Rihla sifiriya,* is then both a diplomatic mission and a journey of discovery.[59] The knowledge gathered during the journey is useful for the Sultan in his subsequent negotiations and transactions with Europe as well as an inspiration for reform. Hence, on many occasions, the sovereign asks the envoy to document their observations in a report.

The structure of the rihla sifariya follows a paradigmatic pattern. It begins with the Royal Commission and the copious eulogies on the sovereign, then departure and sea voyage, description of the European ship, seasickness and rough seas, arrival and journey by train, description of the hotel or place of residence, audience with the monarch, visits to various attractions following a conventional diplomatic itinerary (museums, zoo, weapon factory, parliament, palaces, parks, printing press etc); and the journey ends with the return.

[57] Ibid, p. 54.

[58] Mohamed ben Al Hassan Al Hajwi, *Ar Rihla al Ouroupia, 1919* (Abu Dhabi: Dar as-Soueidi, 2003), p. 31. Translation mine.

[59] Jamal Heimar, "Tasawurat Maghribiat lil Madaniat al Urubiya min khilal al Rihlat al Sifariyya," in *Adab al Rihlat wa Atawasul al Hadarii* (Meknes: University Moulay Ismail, 1993), pp. 335-348.

b. Bernard Lewis on Moroccan Discovery of Europe

Although Bernard Lewis denies Muslim travellers' curiosity in the affairs of Europe, he makes an exception for Moroccan ones. He admits that their

> reports are often interesting, though in Morocco as in Turkey the writing of such embassy letters seems to have become a literary genre, with an accepted sequence of themes, places, and events. Nevertheless, the reader of the Moroccan and Ottoman Embassy reports of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cannot but be struck by the superior quality of Moroccan reporting on Europe. The Moroccan envoys show an interest in European affairs extending beyond the surface movements of personalities and events. They seek and obtain often good information about political and religious as well as commercial and military affairs, not only in the countries to which they are sent but in other European countries too; not only of immediate and current events, but sometimes extending back into the history of the previous century.[60]

Unlike Ottoman visitors, Moroccan travel writers offer serious accounts of the affairs of the countries they visit and their observations extend beyond the places they visit or the people they encounter into their history within larger perspectives.

For instance, Al Ghassani who travelled in Spain in 1690-1691, offers a detailed account on the papacy and Christianity in his *Rihlat al-Wazir fi Iftikak al-Asir* (*The Journey of the Minister to Ransom the captive*). Lewis states that

> He has a great deal to say, not only about the pope but the organization of the papacy, the role of the cardinals, and even the manner in which a new pope is elected. … Ghassani goes on to discuss such matters as the Inquisition, the persecution of Jews, the history of the Reformation, and the subsequent religious conflicts in Christendom. He even has something to say about the Reformation in England, which he attributes to the marital problems of King Henry VIII, a point of view no doubt gathered from his Spanish hosts. He discourses at some length on

[60] Lewis, *Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 118.

> Catholicism as practiced in Spain, speaking of nuns and monks and of the Catholic practice of confession and the evils to which it can give rise.[61]

Al Ghassani gives an account on the economic condition of Spain and on the Spanish conquest of Latin America and its economic effects on the Spaniards:

> The Spaniards still own many provinces and vast territories in the Indies, and what they bring from them every year makes them rich. By the conquest and exploitation of the Indian lands and the great riches they draw from them, the Spanish nation today possesses the greatest wealth and the largest income of all the Christians. But the love of luxury and of the comforts of civilization have overcome them, and you will rarely find one of this nation who engages in trade or travels abroad for commerce as do the other Christian nations such as the Dutch, the English, the French, the Genoese and their like. Similarly, the handicrafts practiced by the lower classes and common people are despised by this nation, which regards itself as superior to the other Christian nations. Most of those who practise these crafts in Spain are Frenchmen, and this is because their own country offers them only a poor livelihood; they flock to Spain to look for work and make money.

Lewis comments that Al Ghassani's economic historical explanations "show some perspicacity, and an echo of Ibn Khaldun's social philosophy."[62]

Al Ghassani's description of the musical instruments in Spain. He talks of the harp, the guitar, and the organ the sounds they produce, and where they are commonly played, at church, the home or during celebrations.

The attention of Ahmed Al Ghazzal, a Moroccan ambassador to Spain in 1766, for the redemption of Moroccan slaves, was attracted by bullfighting. Lewis quotes his description in his rihla *Natidjat al-iditihad fi l-muhadana wa l-djihad*,

> It is one of their customs that in the middle of May they choose strong, brave bulls and bring them to this plaza which they adorn with all kinds of silk and brocades. They sit on balconies overlooking the plaza and release the bulls one

[61] Lewis, *Muslim Discovery of Europe*, pp. 180-181.

[62] Ibid., p. 197.

> by one into the middle of the plaza. Then whoever claims courage and wishes to display it enters the plaza on horseback to fight the bull with his sword. Some die and some kill the bull. The king has a set place at the plaza. He attends accompanied by his wife and all his suite. The people, of all kinds, are at the windows, the rent for which, on that day or during a festival, is as much as for a whole year.

Lewis also records Al Ghazzal's disapproval of bullfighting "When we were asked about it we replied perforce, out of courtesy, that we had liked their games, but we really believed the exact opposite, for the torture of animals is not permitted either by the law of God or by the law of nature."[63] Lewis also records the Moroccan ambassador's offence at the profanation of Muslim remains such as the use of a stone with sacred Arabic inscriptions as a paving block in the mosque of Cordova.[64] Al Ghazzal was equally shocked by the moral liberality of the Spanish women

> Their dwellings have windows overlooking the street, where the women sit all the time, greeting the passersby. Their husbands treat them with the greatest courtesy. The women are very much addicted to conversation and conviviality with men other than their husbands, in company or in private. They are not restrained from going wherever they think fit. It often happens that a Christian returns to his home and finds his wife or his daughter or his sister in the company of another Christian, a stranger, drinking together and leaning against one another. He is delighted with this and, according to what I am told, he esteems it as a favor from the Christian who is in the company of his wife.[65]

At a dance given in honour of the members of the Moroccan mission, Al Ghazzal was appalled at the manner men and women danced together, the grooming of the women and their shameless clothes. Lewis records that after returning to their lodgings the Moroccans "prayed to God to save us from the wretched state of these infidels who are devoid of manly jealousy and

[63] Ibid., p. 274.

[64] Ibid., p. 181.

[65] Ibid., p. 288.

are sunk in unbelief and we implored the Almighty not to hold us accountable for our offense in conversing with them as the circumstances required."[66]

Another thing that Lewis keeps referring to is the Moroccan travellers' emphasis on the Arab blood in the inhabitants of Andalusia, their cryptic Islamic identity, curses against the Christians, lamenting the loss of Spain to Christendom and prayers to return it to the land of Islam. Lewis refers to another Moroccan late eighteenth-century ambassador to Spain1779, Mohamed Ibn Uthman Al Miknasi, as uttering at each mention of a place he travels through with the prayer formula "may God restore it to Islam."[67]

Thus, although Lewis stresses the fact that Moroccan travel writers to Europe display a keen interest in the various affairs of the countries they visited he nonetheless single out only two *rihla* for discussion Al Ghassani and Al Ghazzal, the two have been to Spain to ransom captives, highlights only the passages where they vent their shock or resentment to aspects of Europe. Hence, Lewis tries to undermine their views and attitudes such as accompanying his admittance of Moroccan exceptionalism with negative comments such as "The whole institution seems to arouse his special ire, and every mention of the pope is followed by insults and curses." "Visiting Spain in 1690, this was apparently all the Wazir discovered about Spanish music."

Lewis also tries to explain this Moroccan curiosity. He does not attribute it to a genuine intellectual interest in foreign countries and societies but to the sense of threat they felt from the European powers. Because of the loss of the Iberian Peninsula to Christendom and the continuation of the alarming expansion into the North African mainland "It was, therefore, natural that the Moroccans should seek and obtain good intelligence about the countries from which this perceived threat was coming."[68] Ironically, all the examples Lewis cites, such as dancing women, musical instruments, bullfighting, and profane use of Muslim remains, have nothing to do with discovering the secret of the technological power of Europe and military might.

c. Translating Otherness in the Language of the Other

Travelling is often associated with translation. The traveller visits foreign lands and translates the unknown signs of the foreign culture into a familiar language. For Susan Bassnett,

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., p. 182.

[68] Ibid., pp. 118-119.

the traveller and the translator are interpreters. Travelling involves crossing borders and interpreting cultural differences. Bassnett stresses that "just as translators exercise a high degree of individual creativity in their rewritings, so the travel writer negotiates between cultures, bringing to a target audience his or her subjective impressions of a journey undertaken. This role is akin to that of the translator, who is, above all, a mediator between cultures."[69] Thus, both traveller and translator engage creatively with cultural differences and have constantly to navigate and negotiate between cultures and audiences.

Roman Jakobson proposes a tripartite model of translation in the context of travel. *Intralingual* refers to a process of translation which takes place in the context of travel to another country but where the traveller knows the language of the host country. *Interlingual* translation takes place between different languages; it "involves two equivalent messages in two different codes."[70] The third concept is *intersemiotic* translation. It occurs when the traveller has no knowledge of the language of the host country he is travelling in. Michael Cronin observes that

> A fundamental feature of travel experiences down through the centuries is that the foreign culture is experienced through a foreign language. Given the crucial role language plays in the mediation of everyday experience, the traveller's knowledge of and strategies for dealing with the foreign language will have a significant influence on the representation of the other culture, people, and place.[71]

Abderrahmane El Moudden argues that *al rihla hijaziyya* and *sifariyya* had two elements in common. "By accomplishing *rihla*, Moroccan travellers shared experiences with various components of the *umma*. At the same time, they were able to understand their difference through experiencing numerous comparisons."[72] Euben too emphasizes the edifying role of the Muslim *rihla*, its pedagogical purpose "to seek in other places and nations knowledge which is useful at home, where 'useful knowledge' includes not only practical information but also

[69] Bassnett, "Translation and Travel Writing," p. 550.

[70] Ibid., p. 114.

[71] Michael Cronin, "Languages and Travel," in *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jennifer Speake, Volume 1 (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 694.

[72] Abderrahmane El Moudden, "The Ambivalence of Rihla: Community Integration and Self-definition in Moroccan Travel Accounts, 1300-1800?" in *Muslim Travelers, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, eds. D. F. Eickelman and J. Piscatori (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 145.

wonder at what is new and different."[73] This pedagogical purpose of travelling is emphasized by Mohammed as-Saffar. He states in his *rihla sifariyya* to France,

> It is wise for those who go far from home to record everything they see and hear, since they may find some knowledge and value in it. There is no better way of obtaining useful information than by mixing with people. According to a wise saying of the Ancients: the eye never tires from seeing, nor the ear from hearing. Therefore, I decided with the help of God to blacken these pages with what I saw and heard during this voyage, be it clear or obscure.[74]

Interestingly, cross-cultural mobility becomes a *rihla talab al ilm*, seeking knowledge beyond the frontiers of Dar al Islam. Obviously, such knowledge would be secular in nature.

Moroccan diplomatic travellers to Europe were placed in an intersemiotic situation. The ultimate purpose of travelling in foreign lands in *rihla sifariyya* is to negotiate and establish political and commercial treaties. But the mission entailed an encounter with a world full of strange languages, enigmatic cultural symbols and mysterious visual signs. To put it in the words of Michael Cronin, the Moroccan ambassadors must have found themselves "adrift in a world of alien, threatening signs."[75] The intersemiotic context must have seemed to them to be "profoundly disabling – the traveller a mute presence in a world of foreign signs that is disorienting and threatening."[76] Faced with this situation, Moroccan travellers relied during their journeys on interpreters who deciphered and interpreted for them the perplexing foreign realities and the complex visual signs of the host country into a familiar language. To document their complex travel experience, their observations, and the knowledge they managed to gather in a travel account for the entertainment and enlightenment of their diverse audiences at home they had to engage with various forms of translations.

The encounter with and writing about such foreign countries and cultures necessitated a vocabulary to describe alien realities. One of such vocabulary was the transliteration foreign

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[73]Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 97.

[74] Miller, Susan Gilson, ed. and trans. *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France in 1845-1846: The Voyage of Muhammad as-Saffar* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 77.

[75] Cronin, "Languages and Travel," p. 695.

[76] Cronin, *Across the Lines: Travel*, p. 3.

words and their incorporation into their Arabic texts. For instance, travelling in France in the mid nineteenth century on a diplomatic mission, Mohamed As-Saffar says about the city of Lyon

مدينة اليون بفتح الهمزة و سكون اللام و ضم الياء التحتية و هي مدينة كبيرة من حواضر بلاد فرانسا، ... يدخلها نهران أحدهما يسمى الرون و هو المتقدم ذكره، و الآخر يسمى لاصون، و يلتقيان بداخلها فيصير نهرا واحدا عظيما يشقها إلى انتهائها. و معنى الرون في لسانهم الرجل و لاصون المرأة، فكأنه التقى رجل بامرأة و تزوج بها .[77]

As-Saffar transliterates the name of the city of Lyon in Arabic and provides the phonetic transcription of the term so that it is pronounced correctly as if this is of great importance. Then he explains to his audience that Lyon is one of the biggest cities in France and that two rivers, one called Rhône **الرون** and the Saône **لاصون**, meet inside the city and become one big river. Interestingly, the Moroccan traveller goes on to clarify to his Moroccan audience that Rhône means in their language a man (**معنى الرون في لسانهم الرجل**) and Saône means a woman and goes on to compare the convergence of the two rivers metaphorically to the marriage between a man and a woman.

The processes of translation and transmission of information continues. As-Saffar writes that in Lyon

بها جلنار العسكر و كبير البلد الذى يسمونهم بلسانهم البريفي كما تقدم في مرسيليا. و بها كثير من ديار الصنائع التي يسمونها الفبريكات حتى أن جل حيطانها سود من دخان ديار الصنائع، و غالب من يخدم في هذه الصنائع بهذه المدينة و غيرها النساء، فعلين العمدة في ذالك. (*Rihla*, p. 153)

In this short passage, As-Saffar is involved in multiple forms of translation. He uses the French word *général*, which he corrupts in Arabic as **جلنار** *jilnar*, and explains that he is the greatest person in the city. The Moroccan traveller transliterates another French **البريفي** *l'prifi*, *le prefét*, and introduces it using a common expression in Moroccan travel narratives when using foreign words: "**يسمونهم بلسانهم**" "they are called in their tongue/language." He adds that in this

[77] Khalid Bensghir, *Rihla as-Saffar ila Faransa, 1845-1846* (Bayrut: al-Mu'assasah al-'Arabiyah lil-Dirasat wa-al-Nashr, 2007), p. 152. Henceforward all citations from this book will be given in the text between brackets.

city there are several "**الصنائع ديار**", which can be translated as "houses of manufactures," and provides the French name of these houses in Arabic transliteration " **و بها كثير من ديار الصنائع التي يسمونها الفبريكات** " "there are in it numerous houses of manufactures which they call *al fabricat*". As-Saffar Arabizes the plural of the French word *fabriques* (factories) into *al fabricat*.

The translation moves from linguistic translation to sociological and cultural translation when As-Saffar explains that women are the main workforce in these factories and that they are much depended on:

و غالب من يخدم في هذه الصنائع بهذه المدينة و غيرها النساء، فعلين العمدة في ذالك.

As-Saffar's seeming casual reference to women workers and their importance as a labour force is an implicit critique of the status of women in his own society.[78]

A similar form of multiple translations is observed in other Moroccan ambassadorial travel narratives. In Mohamed al Fassi, the envoy of Sultan Mohammed IV to the court of Queen Victoria in 1860, describes London in this way:

وهذه المدينة من المدائن العظام ، ما رايت اعظم منها ولا احظى ، حتى تكرر على اسماعنا ان طولها ستة ايام ، وعرضها كذلك ، وبها سلطانة الجنس النجليزي وغالب بنائها بالحجر المنحوت، ويبطنون الحيطان من داخل بالخشب، ويجعلون عليه كاغيدا مموها، ويفرشون الأرض ببسط و زرابي جيدة، وكان نزولنا بمحل يسمى عندهم بالبسطة ويسمى ايضا بالهطيل وهو محل معد لنزول الباشدورات والاكابر، في ارضه بسط من بابه الى منتهاه، وهو مشتمل على صالات متعددة .[79]

This passage can be translated as follows:

> This city was among the greatest cities. I have never seen one greater. We were told that its length is six days, and the same for its breath. In it is the seat of the Sultana of the English people. Most of its buildings are made from carved stones. The walls inside the houses are panelled with wood and covered with painted paper. They

[78] On as-Saffar's perception of French women, see Malika Najib, *Al-Maraa fi ar-Rahalat as-Safaria al-Maghrebia khilal Al-Qarnayn 18 wa 19* (Abu Dhabi: Dar as-Soueidi, 2014) and Nidal Chebback, *European Women through the Eyes of Moroccan Travelers*, PhD dissertation, University Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah, Fez, 2019.

[79] Abu al Jamal Taher Al Fassi, *Ar-Rihla al-Ibriziya li ad-Diyar al Injliziya, 1860*, ed. Mohammed el-Fassi (Fez: Mohammed V University Press, 1967), p. 10. Translation mine. Henceforward all citations from this book will be given in the text between brackets.

spread the ground with rugs and good carpets. Our residence was in a place called by them the *Posta*, also called the hotel, which is a place intended for the residence of ambassadors and grandees. The floor is carpeted from the gate to its end and it contains many rooms.

In his description of London, al Fassi uses a combination of languages and contains many loanwords. Classical Arabic, Moroccan colloquial Arabic (darija) **كاغيدا** which means paper, French **صالات** Arabicized plural of French *salle*, Spanish: **البسطة** *posta* and **الباشدورات** the Arabicized plural form of *embajador*, and English: hotel, which he transliterates using an English pronunciation **الهطيل**.[80] The passage is a perfect illustration of how the Moroccan traveller struggles to discover and understand the unfamiliar realities of a foreign city, and translated his experience through language and literature for an audience that is eager to know about remote countries.

Al Fassi is often critiqued as a fanatical faqih who condemns Western modernism and technological materialism. His translation efforts, however, reveal a genuine interest in the technological achievements of the host country and in the transmission of practical information. For instance, he represents the ship saying,

وهذا المركب - بابور -عظيم ، يسمي – ببابور فركطة – لعظمه ، وهو لدولة - النكليز - واسمه بلغتهم فركط مل بمن ومعناه بالعربية ، الصاعقة (*Ar-Rihla al-Ibriziya*, p. 4).

This vessel, *babur* (steamer), is great and called *babur* frigate because of its greatness and it belongs to the country of England and it is called in their language frigate mail boat, which means in Arabic thunderbolt.

The use of the phrases "it is called in their language" and "which means in Arabic" unfolds a Moroccan traveller earnestly engaged in an active process of translation between two worlds. Being confident in his linguistic mediation skill, al Fassi assumes authorship for the translation. He describes the role of a ship crew who is "called by them the warden" " **وهذا يسمى عندهم بالوردن**" and explains **"أعني الحارس"** "I mean the guard." Al Fassi becomes the translator himself.

[80] The Arabic transliteration of hotel in French is **أوتيل** in Moroccan travel narratives.

At the zoo, al Fassi sees strange animals.

رأيت حيوانا عظيما على هيئة الزرافة يسمى عندهم باللين له أحد عشر قرنا صاعدة في الجو مثل الشجرة، وحيوانا آخر على هيئة الغزال له اولاد صغار يدخلن في غلاف لازق ببطنها فإذا مرت دخلن في ذلك المحل ولا يظهرن. (*Rihla al Ibriziya*, p. 22)

> I saw a big animal in the shape of a giraffe, called by them eland.[81] It had eleven horns raising in the air like a tree, and another animal in the shape of a gazelle. It has young babies who enter a pouch in its belly, if you walk by they hide inside and do not appear.

Here, al Fassi describes strangely unfamiliar animals by comparison with the familiar. He first compares the eland with the giraffe and its horns to the branches of a tree. For the second animal, al Fassi likens it to a gazelle and explains how its babies hide inside its belly pouch at the sight of humans. He is obviously talking about the kangaroo but, unlike in the case of the eland, he does not record its name. Al Fassi uses familiar references to describe unfamiliar and unknown things. To provide a full account of his observations, he willingly involves himself in processes of interpretation, comparison and explanation to produce knowledge and convey it to his Moroccan compatriots. He further explains that each of the animals has a wooden plate mentioning its origin and other information.

A similar effort to translate the foreign is observed in as-Saffar when he tries to describe the unfamiliar fruits he saw in the botanical garden in Paris.

فمما رأينا عندهم في تلك البيوت، ... ثمرة يسمونها أنانا تجلب من بلاد ميريكة، و هي قدر الليمة الكبيرة في رأسها ورقات، و هي مدرجة كجوزة الصنوبر، و لهم بها اعتناء تباع الواحدة منها بخمسة ريال و أكثر، و يقطعونها قطعا قطعا و يأكلونها بالسكر و ربما طبخوها، و مذاقها حلو في حموضة فلذالك يدرون عليها السكر. (*Rihla*, p.182)

> Among the plants we saw here … a fruit called (**أنانا** *anana*) the pineapple, which they get from the land of America. It is the size of a large orange with leaves coming out of its head, but graduated like the cone of a pine tree. They adore it even though a single one costs five *riyals* or more. They cut it up into small pieces and eat it with sugar, and sometimes they cook it. Its taste is both sweet and sour at once, and for

[81] He was probably referring to the moose.

that reason they pass sugar with it.[82]

To translate an unfamiliar fruit to his Moroccan compatriots, as-Saffar resorts to comparison with a familiar fruit, the lemon, adding that the **أنانا** *anana* fruit is imported from America. He mentions its price in Moroccan currency and provides copious information on the manner of cooking and consuming it. All these pieces of information have been certainly acquired by as-Saffar from the interpreter of the Moroccan diplomatic delegation.

Evidently, the Moroccan traveller-writer unfolds as a keen inquisitor and investigator. His account attests to his curiosity and interest and concerted efforts to obtain information from the interpreter and other sources. He is a good observer of the curious aspects he encounters in the strange places he visits. He patiently records what he observes and supplements his observations with detailed additional explanations.

What astonished as-Saffar in France and attracted much of his attention is the gazette. He says:

و لأهل باريز كغيرهم من سائر الفرنسيس بل و سائر الروم، تشوق لما يتجدد من الأخبار و يحدث من الوقائع في سائر الأقطار، فاتخذوا لذالك الكوازيط، و هي ورقات يكتب فيها كل ما وصل إليهم علمه من الحوادث و الوقائع في بلدهم أو غيرها من البلدان النائية أو القريبة. و بيان كيفيتها أن صاحب دار الكازيطة، يتخذ أقواما يرسلهم لالتقاط الأخبار من كل ما يسمعونه أو يرونه في ذالك اليوم من المهمات و الحوادث و الوقائع و النوادر، و غير ذالك مما يحسن الإخبار به. و من جملة محال التقاطهم للأخبار، القمرتان الكبيرة و الصغيرة اللتان يجتمعون فيها لتدبير قوانينهم . فإذا اجتمع أهل القمرة و أخذوا في الخوض في نوازلهم و وقائعهم، جلس أصحاب الكوازيط في ناحية يكتبون كلما تكلم به فيها. فكل ما وقع الكلام عليه فيها و انبرم من الأحكام يصبح غدا في الكوازيط، و يشهر لسائر الناس (*Rihla*, p.190)

> The people of Paris, like all the French—indeed, like all of Rum—are eager to know the latest news and events that are taking place in other parts. For this purpose they have the gazette. These are papers in which they write all the news that has reached them that day about events in their own country and in other lands both near and far. This is the way it is done. The owner of a newspaper dispatches his people to collect everything they see or hear in the way of important events or unusual happenings.

[82] Miller, *Disorienting Encounters*, p. 141.

> Among the places where they collect the news arc the two Chambers, the Great and the Small, where they come together to make their laws. When the members of the Chamber meet to deliberate, the men of the gazette sit nearby and write down everything that is said, for all debating and ratifying of laws is matter for the gazette and is known to everyone.[83]

Describing a phenomenon that was thoroughly alien to him as-Saffar uses an Arabic transliteration of the original French gazette (**الكازيطة)** and defines its meaning as **"**papers in which they write all the news that has reached them that day about events in their own country and in other lands." Then he explains how the gazette works. The owner of the printing house of the gazette "**صاحب دار الكازيطة**" dispatches reporters to various places and countries to collect important or unusual events.

The reporters, As-Saffar further observes, are mostly active in reporting on the activities of the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies. Not finding the terms to describe these Chambers, another alien phenomenon, as-Saffar calls them "**القمرتان الكبيرة و الصغيرة**". The term "**القمرة**," Khalid Ben Srhir explains, is originally from the Spanish term *camara* and refers to the room reserved for the passengers on board a ship.[84] As-Saffar has borrowed the Spanish word *camara* because of the resemblance between the semicircular shape of the Chamber of Deputies and a large public room on a ship.

As-Saffar has certainly gathered his copious information of the gazette from the interpreter. In his discussions of the gazette, and as is often the case in his rihla, as-Saffar departs from mere wonder and bewilderment to a serious endeavour to acquaint his Moroccan readers with aspects of French modernity, means of public information, and various institutions. Abdelfattah Kilito rightly observes that "when it comes to institutions and inventions unknown to Moroccans, such as trains, theatre, telegraph, printing, newspapers, the two chambers, there can be no comparison. In such cases, as-Saffar assumes a pedagogical tone as he explains those innovations in detail, often starting with the phrase, 'You should know that.'"[85]

Moroccan travellers were interested not only in strange things or curious inventions and

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[83] Ibid., p. 150.

[84] Ibid., p. 145.

[85] Abdelfattah Kilito, *Thou Shalt Not Speak My Language*, trans. Wail S. Hassan (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2008), p. 59.

practices but also in cultural issues such as the French form of expressing gratitude and festivities. As-Saffar says that the French say "**مرسي**", merci, and explains that the expression means "**كثرخيرك**", literally, may God increase your wealth, or my God reward you. Elsewhere, As-Saffar describes festivities in France, especially the special annual occasion which they call the carnival "**يسمونه الكرنوال**" and goes on to explain that it is a three days celebrations during which the French enjoy themselves and wear disguises. And like many Moroccan travellers, As-Saffar does not fail to talk about theatrical venues:

و قد رأينا مرة موضعا عندهم يسمونه الديوراما، دخلناه نهارا فصعدنا في درج مظلمة حتى انتهينا إلى أعلاه، و هو مظلم إلا أن فيه بعض الضوء من كوة هنالك، و هو على شكل التياتروا.

(*Rihla*, p.187)

> One time we went to a place there called Diorama. We entered during the day, and went up to a flight of stairs to find ourselves in total darkness, except for a light let in through a tiny window. The room was shaped like a theater.[86]

In Moroccan ambassadorial travel narratives, we encounter many forms of translating foreign realities into Arabic. Literal transliteration is very common when the traveller is confronted with technical or culture-specific terms for which equivalents in Arabic are unavailable as in the examples in this chart:

كنابس	Spanish: canapés	Al Ghassal
بنيوس	Spanish: bagnios	Al Ghassal
الكميدور	Spanish: comedor	Al Ghassal
قنسلاتوا	Spanish: consulato	As-Saffar
فبريكة	Spanish: fábrica	Al Ghassal
بزيطة	Spanish: visita	Al Ghassal
بشادور	Spanish: embajador	Al Ghassal
البوصطى	Spanish: posta	As-Saffar
الديوراما	French: diorama	As-Saffar
طل أكراف	telegraph	Amrawi and Al Fassi

[86] Miller, *Disorienting Encounters*, p. 145.

السنسور	French: ascenseur	As-Saffar
الأوتيل	French: hôtel	As-Saffar
المرشال	French: Maréchale	As-Saffar
موسيو	French: Monsieur	As-Saffar
الأوبرا	French: opéra	As-Saffar
بولفار	boulevard	As-Saffar
البوليس	English: police	Al Ghassal
إسيطيشين	English: station	Al Ghassal
طيطر	English: theatre	Al Ghassal
الوردن	English: warden	Al Fassi
باكبط	English: packetbot	
الدكس	English: docks	Al Ghassal
سطوار	English: store	Al Ghassal
روبيل	English: ruby	Al Ghassal
طرخة	Spanish: tarjeta	Al Ghassal

This list is only an illustration and not meant to be exhaustive. Yet, though short it reflects the extent of the contact the Moroccan travellers with the language of the Other. The Moroccan traveller is keen to be seen as a translator who faithfully and accurately describes the foreign world in his own language as well as in the vocabulary of the foreign countries he visited. They observe with interest and listen carefully to the explanations given to them by their interpreters and guides. Travelling becomes translation, a process of deciphering the complex signs and symbols of the new world. In Moroccan diplomatic travel narrative we consistently find expressions of cross cultural translation.

That is the case for Moroccan travellers. In their quest to introduce otherness to their people. And their effort to relay their Cross-cultural encounters with the Other, Moroccan travellers take the role of translators. They often introduce the foreign environment by using foreign words that they learn and accompany them with context, explanations, and examples. The loanwords are usually followed with explanations. For instance, al Ghassal mentions **إسيطيشين**, a transliteration of the English word "station" and provides the definition of the term: "I mean the parking place of trains." Al Ghassal uses "**بزيطة**", *visita*, and states that the word "is an expression among them for returning a visit."

The degree of their success varies. They may make mistakes in writing these foreign words in Arabic or misunderstand their meaning but that in itself shows their struggle to decipher the complicated signs and realities of their foreign environment and translate them into a language that can be understood at home. The travellers do not consider their experience of travel and

cross-cultural encounters as personal journeys. They are recorded for the benefit of the collective. Thus, the Rihla shifts from being a personal journal to a record for public usage. Though these loanwords are transliterated in Arabic script, they remain visibly foreign, conspicuously charged with the cultural and civilizational Otherness of *Dar al Harb*. The Moroccan traveller is by no means bothered by the alterity embedded within the fabric of the words.

The second form of translation that the Moroccan travellers to Europe engage in is the adoption of Arabicized loanwords.[87] The European terms are subjected to a process of phonological and morphological adaptations and assimilated into the lexicon of the Moroccan rihla sifariyya. The following chart records some of these Arabicized loanwords:

الكنبية	Corruption of compagnie
مترات	Arabicized plural form of French mètre
للأتومبيلات	Arabicized plural form of French automobile
البزيطة	Corruption of the Spanish visita
بابورات	From Vapour/Steamers
أسبيطارات (أسبيطار)	Arabicized plural form of the Spanish hospital
المون	Corruption of the French môle
البنكة	Banque
الجرنالات	Arabicized plural form of the French journal
كوازيطهم	
الشنيالية	Corruption of champagne
الفابريكات	Arabicized plural form of the French fabrique
نمرة	Corruption of the French numéro

[87] Jamal B. S. al-Qinai defines Arabicization as "a process whereby foreign words are incorporated into the language with phonological or morphological modifications so as to be congruent with Arabic phonological and morphological paradigms." "Morphophonemics of Loanwords in Arabic," *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 30:2 (Fall 2000), pp. 1-2.

The Arabicized loanwords indicate that Arabic is able to accommodate and incorporate foreign words. Nazik Yared notes that Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq refused to incorporate foreign words in his travel narrative *Leg Over Leg* on nationalist grounds.[88] Whereas Moroccan travellers felt that borrowing foreign words posed no threat to the sacredness of Arabic or to the Moroccan/Islamic cultural identity, nor did they even feel the need to justify such borrowing terms from foreign languages and incorporating them in their texts.

Most of the Moroccan travellers to Europe were explicitly or implicitly advocates of reform at home through the imitation of or inspiration by the European models. Their adoption of foreign terminology seems to indicate that reform is already discursively performed in their travel texts. Moroccan travellers have effectively contributed to the development of the Arabic lexicon by borrowing from Western terminology. Linguistic borrowing in ambassadorial travel narratives can in themselves be read as a modernization of language.

In other cases, however, the travellers preferred to coin new phrases and expressions to describe unfamiliar phenomena. In his *Ithaf al Akhyar bi Ghara'ib al Akhbar*, Idriss al Jaaydi, for instance, calls the zoo "**جنان الوحوش**", *jnan al wuhush*, which translates as "the garden of the beasts." While al Ghasssal uses the expression "**بستان الوحوش**". As-Saffar refers to the factory using the expression "**دار الصنائع**", *dar al sanaai'i*, "the house of manufactures" and " **دار الإصطنبا**" *dar al istanba* to mean the printing press. Interestingly, as-Saffar combines Arabic and Spanish terms. Bin Uthman al Maknassi uses "**دارالرقاص**", *dar al raqass*, to describe the post office in Spain. Moroccan historian, Abdelhadi Tazi, explains that raqass is an old term that refers to messenger or courier in Morocco.[89] It is interesting how al Maknassi resorts to an ancient Moroccan word to express a modern Spanish phenomenon. Idriss al Jaaydi uses " **دار الفرجة**", *dar al furja*, the house of spectacle for the theatre and "**دارالسلاح**", *dar slah*, the house of weapons for the weapon museum and the expression "**للقهوة مواضع**", *mawadia al qahwa*, places for coffee, for cafés. As-Saffar and al Hajwi use the term "**تصاوير**", *tasawir*, pictures for paintings. And most of the travellers use the phrase "**بابورالبر**", babur al bar, land steamer to refer to the train. The phrase borrows the term "**بابور**", from the Spanish vapour meaning steam, a term commonly used by Moroccan travellers to refer to a steamer and combines it with "**البر**" land. So that *babur al bar* becomes in English a land steamer since trains too used steam.

[88] Yared, *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization*, p. 115.

[89] Abdalhadi Tazz, *Al Tarikh al Diblumasi lil Maghrib: Min Aqdam al Usur ila al Yawm* , vol. 2 (Mohammdia: Fdala, 1986), pp. 230-233.

Another commonly used expression in Moroccan travel writings, in Jaaydi and Ghassal for instance, is the expression "**وزير الأمور البرانية**", *wazir al umur al barrniya*, to refer to the minister of foreign affairs. The phrase uses a Moroccan colloquial term "**البرانية**", meaning outside so that the phrase translates as "the minister of the outside affairs."

Bernard Lewis has emphasized the "espionage" aspect of Muslim travelling and writing about Europe. The traveller is keen to collect information on Europe to discover the secret of its power. The processes of translation reveal a different aspect. Moroccan travellers are engaged in cross cultural missions and introduce the foreign world to their compatriots whether it is a strange fruit or an extraordinary animal, a curious technological invention, entertainment venues or a greeting expression of "merci."

The traveller is committed to searching for information and knowledge and translating the foreign into a familiar language for the edification of their uniformed compatriots rather than gathering secret information for the benefit of the Makhzen. The wide variety of material and cultural items that travellers choose to translate and explain are not related to power dynamics and political espionage. This is further evidence against the claims of any premeditated agenda held by the diplomatic travel accounts. Their translation efforts are meant to promote communication rather than conflict between two different worlds. As-Safar advocates translation as a means for cultural dialogue between nations, stressing that "thanks to translation relationships become tighter, interests and rights are strengthened, and misunderstandings and ambiguities disappear."[90] The encounter with Europe is cordial rather than conflictual and confrontational. Muslim travellers, as Ibrahim Abu-Lughod emphasises, "approached the West with open minds, and found much to admire and to imitate."[91]

d. Discourse of reform and modernization in the Moroccan Rihala Sifariyya

Upon dispatching his envoys to Europe the Moroccan rulers commissioned them

[90] Quoted in Assiya Ben Addada, "Al Maraa fi Khitab al Faqih al Hajwi al Islahi," in Muḥammad Manuni, Mutanawwa'at Muḥammad Ḥajji (Beirut: Dar al Gharb al Islami, 1998), p. 482. Ben Addada adds that Al Hajwi calls for a dialogue between Moroccan and Western scholars on non religious topics.

[91] Abu-Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe, 1800-1870,* PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1957, p. 3.

to document their observations in reports that they had to submit to them on arrival. On the one hand, ambassadors as official representatives of the Sultan had to maintain a superior stance regarding the land of infidels, on the other hand, they could not avoid being baffled by the technological superiority of Europe and its sophisticated civilization. Al Maknassi is interested in the postal system in Spain. He writes,

> Every city in Spain has a post office so that whoever wants to send a letter to another city writes and seals it, and then takes it to the post office, in each of which there are officials and agents who collect and arrange the letters in accordance with their destinations. After they sort the letters, they hand them over to the courier, who delivers them to the post offices in the designated cities. People know the day of his arrival and go there and assemble in the post office: if they have a letter, they pay a certain amount of money and take it.[92]

The Moroccan traveller observes that in addition to the service the postal system renders the people it is a source of substantial revenues for the royal treasury. His detailed description is an implicit call for the implementation of the postal system in Morocco.

Writing in the early twentieth century, Hassan Ghassal is fascinated by the means of transportation and the infrastructure in London. "It is one of the amazing things to see," in the English capital, he says. "They have dug under some parts of this river a roadway travelled by trains under the water and above it, the naval ships pass and above the river, there is a bridge on which vehicles, people and animals moved, and above all that there is a bridge on which the trains run so that the number of the used roads is four as I was informed." Then he describes with great amazement the train station

> where the rails are stretched on the ground like streams branching out into every direction and the outbound and incoming trains by day and night in such a manner that one does not travel in one not even for an hour without many trains pass by him back and forth most of it packed with passengers

[92] Nabil Matar, *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World*: *The Travels of Mohammed Ibn Uthman al-Miknasi* (New York: Routledge, 2015), pp. 52-53.

and goods and so on. The mind is baffled how no crash happens between them from one of them accidentally riding in the way of the other.

Al Ghassal was equally impressed by the gun factory. "It was huge, very wide in length and width and divided into four sections." It included four sections: the first for moulding and casting canon; the second for casting bombs; the third for making cartridges, and the fourth for carpentry such as making carts and the like. The Moroccan traveller was astonished at "the machines that get inside the canon and carve it neatly as though it was wood so that you see peels of iron coming out of its mouth like sawdust" and at by other machines that takes pieces of wood at one end and turn them into a carriage at the other end."[93]

Al Kardoudi was travelling in Spain in the mid-nineteenth century, at a time when the military power of Morocco was greatly weakened and when Spain was increasingly becoming powerful and threatening. Al Kardoudi obviously was aware of Spain's military and recorded several of its manifestations. However, he tries to mitigate it, even denying it, "And what of that [Spanish military might] compared to our [warfare] style, which only a traitor of his religion disdains and doubts, for you see our Arabian horses when they are taken out of their places and … lined up in rows and fill the land, on them knights unrivalled in chivalry. Truly, the party of God is the victorious."[94]

Al Kardoudi invokes a romantic Chivalrous past and a religious discourse. Still, deep down he is convinced that the West was strong not only because of its military power but more so because of its institutions and devotion to law, discipline and order. For instance, Kardoudi states that following the death of the king of Spain Alfonso XII the Moroccan delegation feared chaos and civil war as often happened following the death of a monarch in Morocco but the political situation remains stable and "nothing happened of what we had thought. In fact the situation remained the same as it had been during the life of their Sultan. No one challenged anything… they are loyal to him

[93] Hassan bin Mohamed al Ghassal, *Al Rihla at-Tatwijiya ila Asimat al Bilad al Inghliziya* ed. Abderrahim Moueddin (Abu Dhabi by Dar Souwadi Li Tibaa wa Annashr, 2003), p. 58. Translation mine.

[94] Abi al Abbas ben Mohamed Al Kardoudi, *At-Tuhfa as-Sunniya lil Hadra al- Hasania bi al-Mamlaka al-Isbanolia*, ed. Abdelwahhab Bin Mansour (Rabat: al-Matba'a al- Malakia, 1963), p. 92.

as long as it is the ministers who are in charge matters and the king has but to sign."[95]

Writing about France in the same period al Kardoudi was visiting Spain, As-Safar describes with great interest the system of government based on ministries and delegation of power and responsibilities:

> Another of their rules is that [all] revenues are handed over to the Minister of the Treasury, that is to say, the administrator (*amin*) of their state treasury. Then each Minister is given what he needs to meet his expenses. The reason for this is that they saw that the Sultan alone could not take on the whole task of governing his flock. Therefore, they have relieved him of carrying the entire burden by appointing a number of people called "Ministers" and assigning each a special duty, while supervising them closely. [96]

As-Safar explains that the French government consists of nine Ministers and goes on to give the function of each of the nine ministers and how he receives and spends his budget. Although as-Saffar stresses that the budget has to be approved by the king and that in their laws his person is respected, he implicitly states that his powers are by no means absolute.

As-Saffar goes on to dwell on the importance of collecting news and the significance of the newspaper in the political and commercial life of France. Also on the right of journalists to report on politicians without censorship or fear of persecution. He says

> Among the many laws which their Sultan Louis XVIII has made for them and they are obliged to follow is that no person in France is prohibited from expressing his opinion or from writing it and printing it, on condition that he does not violate the law. If he does, it is erased. One of the reasons they were so hostile to their King Charles X, who preceded the present king, and a cause for their overthrow of his rule, is that he proclaimed a ban on anyone expressing ideas, or writing them, or printing them in the newspapers, unless one of the men of state had read it [first]. Therefore nothing appeared except what he wanted to appear. In the newspapers they write rejoinders to the men of the two Chambers about the laws they are making. If

[95] Ibid., p. 44.

[96] Miller, *Disorienting Encounters*, pp. 213-214.

> their Sultan demands gifts from the notables or goes against the law in any way, they write about that too, saying that he is a tyrant and in the wrong. He cannot confront them or cause them harm.[97]

Encounter with the Other in As-Saffar, an aspect that is common in most Moroccan diplomatic travel narratives in Europe, develops into a reform project. As-Safar implicitly would like to see in Morocco an authority that denounces injustice and oppression.

Al Amrawi praises the regulations and laws of the French army, saying that "as for their rule in controlling it, they have decided on a ruling for each crime that inevitably applies to its perpetrator, and thus have prevented promotion by through bribery or intercession … and they did not give a free hand to those in charge to maltreat soldiers with beating and injustice."[98] Al Amrawi also refers to the absence of corruption and the availability of opportunities so that "All aspire to promotions which they try to deserve by the seriousness of their work. One of them told me that he hoped to become a general and could reach this rank by his dedication, his work and his sacrifices by facing the most extreme dangers."[99] Military discipline is highly respected and any breach or misconduct is severely punished. Al Amrawi concludes that discipline and ambition are the basis of all progress.[100]

One of the marvels that powerfully attracted the attention of Amrawi was the printing press. "This machine that they used for printing," he says, "is very beneficial in all matters and helps increase the number of books and sciences."[101] He concludes by wishing that the Sultan would be persuaded "to complete the merits of our Morocco with such a printing press, so that it would count among his good deeds."[102]

And like other Moroccan travelers, a-Saffar attributes the power of France and its technological advancement to order, good governance, discipline, justice, and fairness. "They have no special strength in their bodies that others do not have; perhaps they are even weaker than others. But they have a concern for organization and an aptitude for

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[97] Ibid., p. 152.

[98] Driss ben Mohammed Al Amrawi, *Tuhfat al-Malik al-Aziz bi Mamlakat Bariz* , ed. Zaki Mubarak (Tangier: Muassasat at-Taghlif wa an-Nashr, 1989), p. 105.

[99] Ibid., p. 119.

[100] Ibid., pp. 117-124.

[101] Al Amrawi, *Tuhfat al-Malik al-Aziz*, p. 79.

[102] Al Amrawi, *Tuhfat al-Malik al-Aziz*, pp. 79-80.

putting everything in its places. They construct all things on the firmest basis possible, and anticipate things before they happen. Only he who witnessed all this [with his own eyes] would accept the truth."[103]

Al Fassi as a faqih is horrified by the industrial achievements of Britain, yet he cannot help but admire such achievements. He attributes them to law and order." Verily those English people … use astonishing things, especially if one sees them for the first time; perhaps he will go insane…. How they have contrived to manage their worldly life until that attained from it what they wanted and have used for that laws and regulations, and crave from whatever brings them closer to it."[104]

At the cannon factory, al Fassi saw an amazing cannon "We saw there the great pestles (guns); they said that the weight of each was one thousand quintals, its cannonball in it weighs thirty quintals, and the gun-powder which they put inside it is four quintals and what comes out at is seventy pounds, and its range is 5400 cubit. We found these numbers written on it, and we were astonished that it reached that distance."[105] He comments that the English "first sought to comprehend the theoretical concepts, and they strove to attain them so that they became necessities for them; and they continue to discover with their mind many things and invented the steamer *babur* and others."[106]

Ibn Driss Al Amrawi describes several inventions and dwells particularly on the telegraph office in Paris, giving a lengthy description and working of the telegraph system, how the letters were written according to the beats of the telegraph needle, how the wires carried over land on wooden posts and submerged with heavy barrels deep under the sea, and interestingly compares the period between sending and receiving a message to no more than the time needed for someone to speak using a translator and that communicating "between a place ten days distances or more seems like speaking behind a wall."[107]

He was utterly spellbound, "the more you contemplated it," he says, "the more unable you are to find the words to describe it adequately. Many who have observed it don't know how to describe it and consider it a matter of magic." However, the Moroccan traveller does not see the telegraph system as a manifestation of Europe's genius and technological advancement. He considers this invention to be the ultimate herald and "evidence that their affairs have reached

[103]Miller, *Disorienting Encounters* , p. 121.

[104] Al Fass, *Al Rihla al Ibriziyya ila al Diyyar al Injliziyya*, p. 19.

[105] Ibid., p. 28.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Al Amrawi, *Tuhfat al-Malik al-Aziz bi-Mamlakat Bariz*, p. 84.

their objective and exceeded their end, and that presently, dissolution will follow, and there will be reversal and decay."[108]

Interestingly, what Al Amrawi hints at without saying in his account of the telegraph system is that the members of the Moroccan delegation in Paris visited the telegraph office to communicate with the Moroccan diplomatic delegation which was in London about the news of the plague in Fez. This we learn in al Fassi's account *Al Rihla al Ibriziyya ila al Diyyar al Injliziyya*. He explains that the Moroccan delegation went to the telegraph office, which he calls "**محل السلك**" and describes as the place of receiving and emitting messages because the Moroccan diplomatic delegation that was in Paris heard the news of the presence of plague in Fez and its nearby regions and wanted to check the truth of that news. A ten in the morning the London delegation went to a telegraph office in the centre of London. After a few minutes, "the wire started moving and the man in charge in the office in London began receiving the letters and this is what he gathered from that: that your friends came there to the telegraph office there and were sent a telegraph informing them of our presence, inquiring about their conditions, then they answered and asked us about what we knew about the news, which is that there was something but God has relieved them of it. They answered us that their anxiety was alleviated and we thanked God for that. They too thanked the Almighty." [109]

Al Fassi comments that they communicated with each other quickly although the distance between London and Paris was 500 miles. He also describes the telegraph office as impressively big, at the centre of which a machine that is beyond description and where many people, male and female, worked to ensure communication with as far places as Istanbul, Madrid, India and Egypt and many other countries.

Critics have often described Al Fassi as a Salafist faqih who is hostile to the West and Western technology. Ahmed Idrissi Alami, for instance, says that Al Fassi continually interprets the industrial "advancements and technological phenomena in a more critical light, one that often positions Moroccan culture, and more importantly, Muslim practice, as superior to that of their European hosts." [110] Elsewhere, Alami argues that al Fassi considers the inventions that use steam (vapour) "as an instance of the dark side that he associates with materialistic achievements

[108] Ibid., p. 86.

[109] Al Fassi, *Ar-Rihla al Ibriziyya*, p. 36.

[110] Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013), p. 48.

that strengthen the worldly and corrupt the soul."[111] Al Fassi's description of the telegraph system, and, indeed of many other inventions, invokes a travel writer who is fascinated, rather than repelled, by European technological achievements. Al Fassi used the telegraph system to communicate with the Moroccan delegation in Paris and exchange information on the plague in Morocco. He is aware of the benefits and practical use of modern European technology. Hence, he concludes his account on the telegraph system by bursting out into verse,

> God has given me a long life,
> Until I saw the wonders in this country. [112]

We can conclude from this discussion that the Moroccan travel discourse on Europe in *rihla sifariya* is by no means straightforward and monolithic, nor is the West a homogeneous entity. The representation of Europe unfolds as complex and contradictory. Having entered an alien world and encountered cultural differences, Moroccan Islamic identity is unsettled even while striving to evoke a unified and coherent national and religious self.

[111] Ibid., p. 51.

[112] Al Fassi, *Ar-Rihla al Ibriziyya*, p. 37.

II. AL HAJWI: A CONTROVERSIAL REFORMIST AND A PILGRIM IN THE LAND OF THE CHRISTIANS

1. AL HAJWI: A CONTROVERSIAL REFORMIST AND PARADOXICAL PILGRIM

Mohammed Bin Al Hassan Al Hajwi Thaalibi was born in Fez in 1874 and died in 1956, the year Morocco gained independence. Four aspects have shaped his personality and worldview: the faqih, the Makhzan official, the merchant, and the traveller. In all these portraits, Al Hajwi unfolds as a controversial figure situated between Salafi fundamentalism and liberal modernism, a loyal royalist but an enthusiast of Resident-General Lyautey and French Protectorship.

Equally significant is that Al Hajwi lived during two important phases in Moroccan history: the pre-colonial and colonial periods. During his lifetime he was contemporary to six Moroccan Sultans: Moulay Hassan, Moulay Abdelaziz, Moulay Abdelhafid, Moulay Yussel, the pretender Ibn Arafat, and Mohamed V.

a. Faqih Al Hajw: A Modernist Salafist

As a child, Al Hajwi learned much about Islam from his own father then he studied at the Qarawiyyen University, where he was tutored by renowned scholars such as Mohammed Bin Thami Wazzani, Mohammed Bin Abdesslam Ghennoun, Ahmed Bin Al Khayat, and other. After graduation, he became a teacher in the same institution for two years.

As a faqih Al Hajwi was among the leading Fassi *ulama* and a prolific author of several books and articles on jurisprudence, biography, Sufism, literature, history, and travel. His publications include *Al Fikr Sami fi Tarikh al Fiqh al Islami*, *Al Fikra al Islahi Fi al Maghreb al Muasir*, and *Anidam fi Al Islam*. He was a progressist and enlightened faqih who insistently and indefatigably advocated the reformation of reforms by means of a combination of the scripture and reason, the Islamic tradition and European civilization.

An important aspect of Al Hajwi's view and *Ijtihad* in religion is his call to open up to Europe, especially to France, and to take their every pillar of strength as a model to strive for. His travel to France has filled him with admiration for French urbanization, order, justice,

education, technology, and economy. On his idea of the relationship between Morocco and France, he says:

> It is in our best interest to put our hands together and to be friendly with them and be in their ranks and unite with them so that Morocco can rise from its abyss to a level fitting of its glorious history and standing among the nations. However, this opening up does not mean complete assimilation of the culture of the west, but rather, the Moroccan Muslim identity that is deeply rooted in the depth of history should be maintained.[1]

He does not consider loyalty to France or its imitation to have a negative effect on the Islamic identity of Morocco because he considers France to be tolerant towards Islam and to people's religious practices and beliefs. He says explaining to a Sudanese envoy that France "leaves freedom to the people. We have noticed that France cares for our mosques and maintains them much more than before. It preserved also al *Ahbas* and organised its administration and is still seriously dedicated to that." (p. 267)

Moreover, in his religious reform project, Al Hajwi insists on science and reason. He stresses that there is no contradiction between religion and reason or between faith and modernity. Like Jamal al Din al Afghani and Mohammed Abdu, Al Hajwi is convinced that Islam is compatible with modern rationalism. Al Hajwi is a Salafist who is deeply critical of religious traditionalism and blind dogmatic conservatism. He adopts a critical thinking method to engage with the fiqh and reflect on the condition of Moroccan society and the current political events. In his book, *Al Fikr Sami* (*Noble Knowledge*), Al Hajwi explains what he means by the renewal of fiqh. "It is done by returning fiqh to its 'youth', by diagnosing the disease and prescribing medicine, and in this way we can understand what has gone into it all these centuries, then we talk about traditional customs, which is the main cause of its aging, then ijtihad, which is the source of life."[2]

Furthermore, he advocates educational reform, learning European languages, and the teaching of trade.[3] As a reformist religious scholar and jurist, Al Hajwi gave a fatwa permitting

[1] Assiya Ben Addada, *Al Fikr al Islahi fi Ahda al Himaya: Mohammed bin al Hassan Al Hajwi Namudajan* (Dar al Vida: Al Markaz aThaqafi al Maghribi, 2003), p. 241.

[2]Mohamed al Hajwi, *Al Fikr Sami fi Tarikh al Fiqh al Islami*, *Al Fikra al Islahi Fi al Maghreb al Muasir*, and *Anidam fi Al Islam* (Beirut: Dar al Kutub al Ilmiya, 1995), vol. 2, p. 149.

[3] See Said Ben Said al Alaoui, *Al Ijtihad wa Tahdith* (Beirut: Manshurat Markaz Dirasat al Aalam

the use of insurance. He explains:

> It is like a subscription philanthropic association to assist the afflicted in an organized and committed way, you take from a hundred thousand people to compensate an afflicted man, for instance... and in any case it is a current practice because of the widespread of commerce, agriculture and industry on land and by sea…. Without insurance no important company will survive, nor factory, nor ships.[4]

Clearly, Al Hajwi's proposal relies on the concept of the *Maqasid* (purpose or intent) *Maslaha* (welfare or public interest) as a fundamental methodology for the renewal of the Islamic law and legislation. Within the framework of the *Maqasid* and *Maslaha* the *Shariah*'s ultimate purpose is understood as being to preserve the social order of the community and ensure the well-being of the human being. His contemporary traditional religious scholars must have been scandalized by this fatwa. Addressing such scholars, Al Hajwi says: "the present day has witnessed new unprecedented inventions, to which new transactions have been created, religious scholars therefore should not be rigid in their judgments."[5]

One of the most controversial religious opinions of Al Hajwi was his advocation for the education of girls. This was considered revolutionary and gained him many enemies. He bases his argument on Islamic sources which call for gender equality and he invokes European sources by giving the example of France where "education is for both males and females."[6]

Al Hawji believes that progress and modernization depended on education and knowledge and that girls should also have the right to be educated. He was committed to these ideas and tirelessly lectured and wrote on the subject. He gave a lecture entitled "Al Muhadara Arribatiya fi Islah Taalim al Fatayat bi Diyyar al Maghribiya" (Rabat lecture on the education of girls in Morocco), published in 1923 in Tunisia and another lecture in 1934 entitled "Taalim al Fatat la Sufur al Maraa." He insists that "It is necessary to educate and refine them in a way that befits our religion, adorns the future of our children, and makes them useful members of our social organization. It is indispensable for us to help them in raising future generations." He suggests

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al Islami, 1992), part 3.

[4] Hassan Ahamed Al Hajwi, *Al Aql wa Naql fi al Fikr al Islahi al Maghribi, 1757-1912* (Casablanca: Al Markaz a-Thaqafi al Maghribi 2003), p. 214.

[5] Ibid., p. 214.

[6] Mohammed ibn al-Hassan al Hajwi, *Taaleem al Fataat la Sufur al Maraa*, ed. Mohamed Ben Azzouz (Casablanca: Markaz Thurat Thaqafi al Arabi, 2004), p. 58.

that women should be educated in the management of the household, health practices, and learning the Quran, arithmetic, geography, and Arabic history.[7]



Figure 15: Mohamed Bin Al Hassan Al Hajwi Thaalibi

These ideas were seen to be a menace to the entire social structure. Opposition and criticism were strong. In 1923, for instance, Al Hajwi was giving a lecture entitled "Taalim al Fatat wa Mushrakatuha fi al Hayat" (The education of the girl and her participation in life) in the presence of the prime minister Mohammed al Moqri and religious scholars such as Shaikh Boushaib Dukkali and Shaikh Abdelhay al Kattani. In the middle of the lecture al Moqri, who was the chief of the Moroccan ambassadorial mission to Paris in which Al Hajwi was a member, stood up and interrupted him saying, "The Islamic religion does not promote the education of girls to the extent that she competes with men in life." And turning to Shaikh Boushaib Dukkali,

[7] Al Hajwi, *Al Fikr al Saami*, vol. 4, p. 202.

the prime minister asked, "What do you say about that professor? Is it permissible or not?" Dukkali insisted that "the precepts of Islam prohibit an education for girls that leads to rivalling and competing with men." The humiliated Al Hajwi sat down without finishing his lecture.[8]

Abd Allah Al Jirari who reported this incident comments that "Moroccan thought at the time was against the idea. The opinion of the Vizier Moqri was not odd or his alone but was the general opinion of the majority of Moroccans…Professor Al Hajwi hastened forward with the idea…and advocated it without taking into consideration the Moroccan society which opposed it from the beginning."[9]



Figure 16: Letter to al Hajwi from the Grand Vizir, Mohamed Al Moqri (the head of the Moroccan delegation to France) concerning education in Morocco, 2 August 1921

Evidently, Al Hawji was ahead of his time in proposing enlightened ideas but the opposition from traditional scholars and politicians was fierce and unrelenting. Obviously, because of his progressist religious views, Al Hajwi had many opponents and critics. He was by no means deterred. In 1935, Al Hajwi published an article in *Majalat al Maghrib* entitled "Taalim al Banat" (The Education of Girls). Here, Al Hajwi, as the Minister of Education, insists that Islam promotes the education of women and he refers to Muslim women who fought jihad alongside men, nursed the wounded, recited the Quran and the Hadith, taught Arabic, and

[8] Abd Allah al Jirari, *Nin Aalam al Fikr al Mouassir bi al Adwatyn* (Rabat: Matbaat al Umniyya, 1971), vol. 1, p. 68.

[9] Abd Allah al Jirari, *Nin Aalam al Fikr al Mouassir*, vol. 1, p. 68.

composed poetry. Al Hajwi proudly states that in 1923, there were at school only 125 female students, and in eight years the number of female students reached three thousand, it multiplied twenty-five times. Interestingly, the editor of the *Majalat al Maghrib* introduces Al Hajwi as a man who contributed immensely to reform in Morocco. Al Hajwi the editor states, "was at the forefront on thinkers who since the beginning of the Protectorate have advocated the education of women and their liberation from certain practices that are harmful to them and to their society. He spared no effort to achieve that and gave lectures and wrote articles and took every opportunity to promote his idea without being discouraged by the opposition or criticism he often met with."[10] Al Hajwi was not deterred. He sent one of his daughters to study in a French school in Rabat.[11]

Thanks to his various travels to Europe and encounters with European civilization Al Hajwi understood the impact of the education of women on progress, modernization and the whole society. In Europe, he has observed that

> education is compulsory for men and women. Every child, who has attained schooling age, has to go to school and learn primary education: reading and writing, principles of arithmetic, history, geography and literature. ... Therefore, you see that both men and women share some degree of education, rich and poor. And with this amount, the whole nation has risen from the bottom where uncivilized nations are sinking. (p. 128)

He explicitly singles "the people of the Far Maghreb" as one of the uncivilized nations where most people are illiterate. His critique is a clear call for the adoption of many aspects of European modernity, regardless of whether his call would anger the royal entourage.

b. Si Al Hajwi: A Makhzan Official in the Service of the Sultan and the French Protectorate

Al Hajwi began his career as a teacher at the Qarawiyyen University but also occupied several state positions. In 1900, he was an accountant of the Makhzan in Meknes, then, two years

[10] *Majalat al Maghrib*, September-August (1935), p. 2.

[11] Ibrahim Aarab, " Al Fikr al Islahi asalafi bil Maghrib li fatrati al himaya wa qadiyat al maraa 1912-1956," *Majalat Amal*, 5: 13-14 (1998), pp. 113-114.

later, Moulay Abdel Aziz (1894-1908) appointed him Chamberlain at the Moroccan Algerian borders. His success in this office, and the increase in the customs revenues, led to his promotion as the chief of the Moroccan forces in Oujda. This position allowed him to realize the level of corruption of officials and military personnel. He discovered, for instance, that there were great numbers of "fictitious" soldiers who received salary payments without working or who did not exist at all.[12]

Al Hajwi worked hard to eliminate these phantom soldiers and crack down on corruption in the army, which saved a considerable of money for the state treasury but exposed him to vicious conspiracies and even threats. He says in this respect that his detractors "spread rumours against me that I refused to distribute victuals to starve the army and to take hold of it myself."[13] Because of these persecutions, Al Hajwi resigned from his position and returned to Fez in 1906 at a time when the Moroccan delegation was preparing to attend Algeciras Conference. He was asked to join the delegation but excused himself due to his illness and lack of knowledge of foreign languages. Thirteen years later, in 1919, he is appointed by Moulay Yusuf ibn Hassan (1882-1927) to join the delegation which was travelling to Paris to represent Morocco in the Victory Celebrations.

Afterwards, he occupied the position of Delegate of Culture, *mandub al maarif*, from 1912 to 1914. He left this position to work as a member of the high educational commission. The position allowed him to become acquainted with the lamentable situation of education in Morocco. Then in 1920, he was again appointed Delegate of Culture and occupied this position until 1939. In 1944, Mohamed V appointed him Minister of Justice, and he remained in this position until 1955, one year before his death.

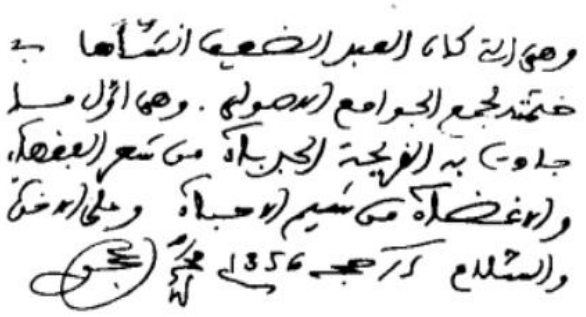


Figure 17: Letter from al Hajwi to Sheikh Abdelhafid al Fassi

[12] Ben Addada, *Al Fikr al Islahi fi Ahda al Himaya*, pp. 72-73.

[13] Ibid., p. 73.

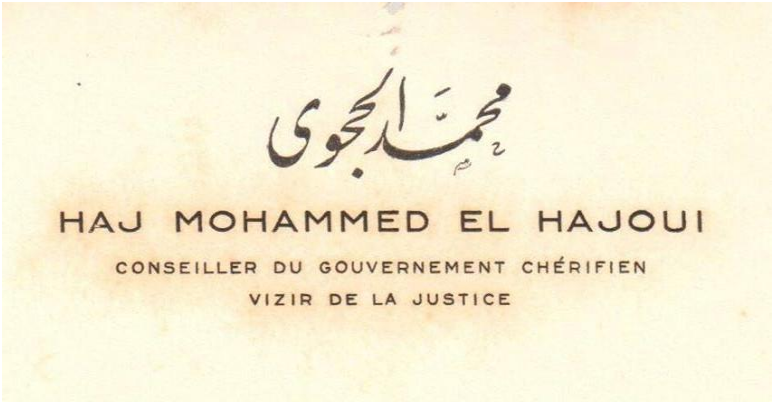


Figure 18: Mohamed Al Hajwi's Professional Card

The positions Al Hajwi occupied allowed him to understand more about the situation of Morocco before and after the protectorate, of the government institutions and the corruption of high officials. In 1911, al Hajwi addressed two advisory letters to Moulay Abdelhafid. In one of them, he explains how Morocco lost many territories to the French and attributed that to the absence of law and justice in Morocco, the corruption of officials and their oppression of the helpless people, embezzlement of public money, ignorance and lack of schools. Morocco, he says to the King, has become a victim to "the striking hands which concludes deals that are detrimental to financial rights and independence, and huge loans are made in the name of the nation, while the nation is ignorant of that and its opinion not consulted." [14]

Al Hawji advised the Sultan to take matters into his hand and to check directly on the conditions of his people. He recommended him to implement reforms in the judicial system, combat corruption, refrain from worldly pleasures, and preside over the assemblies of judges, governors, and accountants and urging them to be just in their dealing with the people in terms of justice, rights and taxes. Addressing the Sultan, Al Hajwi says:

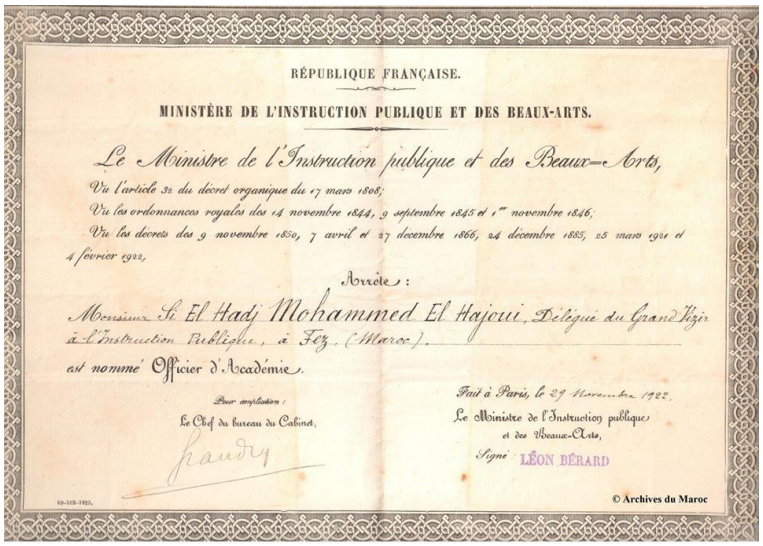
> Gather your subject and form out of them an elected assembly and consult with them in their matters. I assure you out of the love for your grandfather … that pleasing your nation and complying with its needs, and establishing peace with it and removing misunderstanding between you and your nation, even if that incurs the

[14] Ibid., p. 148.

discontent of Europe.[15]

He concludes his advisory epistle by urging Moulay Abdelhafid "To raise up like a valiant lion and perform for the sake of his nation what God has bid him." [16] Al Hajwi appears a nationalist who cares for his sovereignty and the concerns of his nation. His council to the king reveals his espousal of democratic values and an educational role in politics.

However, after the Protectorate al Hajwi's position changes radically. He begins to believe that it is in the interest of Morocco to accept the French protectorate and benefit from France. He says advising Moroccans about France that "It is definitely in our interest to put our hand in her hand and befriend her, and to be united with her so that Morocco rises from its stagnation to the level worthy of its historical glory and its position among nations."[17]



RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

MINISTÈRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE ET DES BEAUX-ARTS.

Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts,

Vu l'article 32 du décret organique du 17 mars 1808;

Vu les ordonnances royales des 14 novembre 1844, 9 septembre 1845 et 1er novembre 1846;

Vu les décrets des 9 novembre 1870, 7 avril et 27 décembre 1866, 24 décembre 1885, 25 mars 1921 et 4 février 1922,

Arrête :

Monsieur Si El Hadj Mohammed El Hajoui, Délégué du Grand Vizir à l'Instruction Publique, à Fez (Maroc),

est nommé Officier d'Académie.

Pour ampliation :
Le Chef du bureau du Cabinet,

Fait à Paris, le 29 Novembre 1922.
Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts,
Signé LÉON BÉRARD

© Archives du Maroc

Figure 19: Al Hajwi Awarded the title of Officier d'Académie.

Al Hajwi considers France to be the pinnacle of modernity and civilization, development, progress and religious tolerance. He is aware that Britain too shares these values and aspects but France is superior in elegance and refinement. He describes Paris as "the capital of modern sciences and European literature, beautiful manners, the abundance of money, elegance and courtesy, politeness and politics. Even more, it is the model of civility, the place of politics, the

[15] Ibid., p. 149.

[16] Ibid., p. 148.

[17] Quoted in Abdeljalih Baddu, *Al Salafiya wa al Islah* (Tangier: Slayki Ikhwan, 2007), p. 325.

pursuit of trade and profit." (p. 124). He is fascinated by spacious streets, the transportation infrastructure, and the beauty of the buildings. "And whatever your eyes are laid upon is nice and of course captivating and fascinating. As a whole, it is the crown jewel of capitals, and the most beautiful city." Al Hajwi also emphasizes Paris as a city of knowledge and fine arts and the "locus of beauty and elegance and aspiration of well refined taste and fruitful inventions." France has achieved this thanks to French men of knowledge, science, their passion for technological innovation, creativity, hard work and They were aided in achieving this thanks to the "and the citizens' innate passion… for order in everything and being perfectionists in every task they perform. And the high aspiration for elegance and love of beauty and demonstrating perfection and a ravenous thirst for science and knowledge." (p. 128)

c. Tajar Al Hajwi: The Merchant and the Dreamer

Al Hajwi was born and raised in a trading family. Even during his time as a teacher at the Quaraouiyine Al Hajwi used to practice trade. He says: "In 1317 hegira, I conducted some business outside the teaching hours, as a practice."[18] An advice from one of his professors and mentors, Ben Aboud Al Maknassi, to him was: "Never leave trade for the sake of knowledge, nor leave knowledge for the sake of trade."[19] The advice has impacted al Hajwi tremendously.

Al Hajwi's father was a businessman who conducted commercial relations within Morocco and abroad. Hajwi says about his father that he repeatedly travelled to England, especially to Manchester where he resided for many years. Hajwi inherited an important business from his father and established commercial contacts with Marseilles, Italy, and Britain, which he visited in 1919, explaining, "I decided to go to London and Manchester, because of the wonders that I have heard about them, and to learn about commercial affairs and visit some factories." (p. 201)

In one of his contracts with Marseille's merchants, we read: "On 12 Shawal, 1326 Hegira / 6 November, 1908, we established a partnership with a trading house of Marseilles involving sixty thousand francs, half for them and a half for us and the profit three shares: one for them and two for us, as a payment for our trade work in Oujda in sugar, spices, and the like of the goods

[18] Ben Addada, *Al Fikr al Islahi fi Ahda al Himaya*, p. 81.

[19] Ibid.

from Marseilles."[20] Trade, as Assiya Be Adada says, taught Al Hajwi to be organized, attentive to details, adept, precise, and resourceful and to record every commercial activity in a register. All these skills would shape also his competencies as a traveller.

For him, the backwardness of the Islamic World is the result of its ignorance of commerce. In a lecture entitled "Mustaqbal Tijaratu al Maghariba" (The Future of the Trade of Moroccans), delivered at Fez Town Hall, Al Hajwi answers the question "Why have Europeans advanced while Muslims remained backward." He answers that it is "Because European know the science of trade while Muslims are ignorant of it." Trade, he emphasizes, "Is the life of a nation, we cannot imagine at the present day the progress of a nation which does not practice trade." He explains that because Morocco has become an open market and foreign merchants got the right to conduct trade in the country, Moroccan merchants have to change their trade practices or they will perish. He affirms "The trade of today and tomorrow is far more different than the trade of yesterday. In the past your country was closed to livelihood seekers and rivals to you in markets. In the past trade was under your control without competition."[21]

He explains that their European rivals invest great sums of money, establish connections with banks and big trading houses in Europe and America and establish trading posts in ports for storage and in rural areas to sell their goods. The merchant of today has to change the traditional ways, get rid of bad imitation, and ominous stagnation."[22]

To get involved in modern business, he suggests, Moroccan merchants should put their capitals together and establish companies and encourage others to become shareholders in their companies, if they wanted to survive and be involved in great projects such as railway constructions, and the establishment of banks or great factories.

Thus, al Hajwi suggests travelling as means of learning about the modern ways of conducting business, stating that "One of the conditions of modern business… is that the merchant has to find the factory that produces the European goods, to be acquainted with it and communicate with it directly. Also one should find out about the factories that are newly created. And this is usually impossible without travelling to Europe and America, and a mastery of foreign languages."

Moreover, al Hajwi affirms that, "in the same way that knowledge increases with

[20] Ben Addada, *Al Fikr al Islahi fi Ahda al Himaya*, p. 82.

[21] Al Hajwi, "Mustaqbal Tijaratu al Maghariba", in Said Bin Said al Alaoui, Al Ijtihad wa at-Ttahdith : Dirasa fi Usul al Fikr as-Salafi fi al Maghrib (Casablanca; Matbaa an-Najah al Jadida, 2001), p. 152.

[22] Ibid.

travelling, so does trade. In fact trade needs travelling even more strongly to learn more about the world of trade and changes in its methods, and to meet and get in contact with its people who are connoisseurs in it. And he who saw is not like he who heard."[23]

For Al Hajwi, travelling to Europe and America allows Moroccan traders to learn about new factories, new products, to learn about the stock market, advertising, read about business in newspapers, and learn about new techniques in trade. All these methods and ideas, al Hajwi has learnt about during his travels to Europe.

Travelling abroad requires learning a foreign language. "Should you know the French language, you'll accomplish most of your needs whether commercial or otherwise, in the easiest manner." (p. 138) In his *Rihla*, Al Hajwi repeatedly records incidents of misunderstanding that occurred because of the language. For instance, on the train when Al Hajwi and his son left their seats for lunch and when they returned they found them occupied by American soldiers or when they wanted to find a room in Cosmo Hotel in London and had problems communicating with the hotel manager and filling in the hotel registration form in their own hand. Al Hajwi encountered similar problems when he arrived in Manchester. "When we arrived we found no one who understood our language to direct us to a hotel to stay in. Children gathered around us, marvelling at our clothes and language. The policemen came and dispersed them. They, too, didn't understand our destination and no one who knew a single French word." (p. 239) In addition to that, throughout the *Rihla*, al Hajwi apologizes for not recording what his ignorance of a foreign language did not allow him to understand. He is full of praise of Ahmed Benjelun, a Moroccan merchant in Manchester, not only because of his generosity and good manners but also because "he mastered the language of the country and gained knowledge of the ways of rights and politics." (p. 260)

Another important lesson which al Hajwi learnt from his travels is that trade and business are not only a matter of practice and experience but also subjects that should be taught and studied. He writes, "the majority of the rules of trade cannot be truly attained without studying the sciences of business. …Europe and America, which are the markets of modern trade and its centre, have established special business schools, though each of their universities has a department of trade, agriculture and industry." [24]

Al Hajwi establishes a strong link between commerce and development and progress. According to al Hajwi, commerce develops with science, technical innovation, and the means of transportation and it thrives with political stability, and democracy. He says "Indeed, how great

[23] Ibid., p. 156.

[24] Ibid., p. 158.

are the achievements of humans when they live in a pure atmosphere, inhaling the air of absolute freedom and feeding on the essence of knowledge and refinement? I wonder what have Muslim scholars composed during this period?!" (p. 157)

He also calls for a break from the traditional way of conducting business. He is keen to introduce Moroccans to new trading techniques. For instance, he explains that in the post office and famous big hotels, there is a phonebook with the names and addresses of traders divided according to the goods they sell, which makes it easy for customers to find them.

Interestingly also, Al Hajwi talks about trade ethics. Honesty, he observes, is crucial in business transactions. On English people, he says that "Their honesty in transactions is an absolute and complete sincerity that exceeds others. This made them successful businessmen and paved the way for them to dominate most of the world's trade. He advises that contentment with small profit helps sell large quantities and therefore increase the profit. His motto, which he learnt during his travels in Europe is "little from many is a lot." This motto which he learnt in Britain he incorporates in his lecture on trade in Morocco: "One of the rules the contemporary traders abide by is to be satisfied with a little profit. Experience has shown that a little profit with the circulation of the capital three or four times a year is better than a lot of profit with one or two circulations."[25]

And since he learnt it during his travel, he insists that travelling is necessary for trade: "Trade in the present time is strongly in need of travelling to be acquainted with the conditions of the world of commerce and the new practices as well as to meet with trade practitioners." [26]

d. Al Hajwi: A Pilgrim in Quest of *Ilm* in Christian Lands

Because of his status as a Makhzen official, Al Hajwi travelled extensively in North Africa and Europe. He says in this context "I have resided in Meknes for a little more than two years, then in Oujda for about three years, then about a year in Marrakesh, then thirty years in Rabat…I visited cities in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia to Sfaqes, and I met and got acquainted with prominent men from the two countries, and discussed with them…and I visited Europe as is detailed in my travels writings."[27] Al Hajwi often documented his travel observations in his

[25] Hassan Ahamed Al Hajwi, *Al Aql wa Naql fi al Fikr al Islahi al Maghribi*, p. 211.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Abdalfattah Bougharda, *Tarajim li Sittat min Fuqaha al Aalam al Islami fi al Qarn ar-Rabia*

journal for the benefit of the reader. His travel accounts include:

1. *Arrihla al Andalusia al Fishiya*
2. *Hadith al Uns an Tunis: Mulakhas Rahalati at-Talath li Tunis aam, 36,39,40*.
3. *Musamarat az-Zzair bi Mushahadaat al Zazayr*
4. *Arrihla al Hijaziya al Misriyya*
5. He also wrote an abridged version of Ibn Uthman Am Miknass's travel to Spain and Malta, entitled *Unsu as-Sair fi Ikhtissar al Badr as-Safir li Hidayat al Mussafir ila Fikak al Asra min Yadi al Addouw al Kafir*.
6. *Rihal al Uropiya*

Travelling outside Morocco has allowed Al Hajwi to discover about other countries' people, cultures, civilizations, lifestyles, and technological advancements. He establishes a vital link between travelling and progress. Travels allow Al Hajwi to make comparisons and develop his reform agenda He attributes decadence to failure to travel. "The ignorance of Morocco with the conditions of others, and its satisfaction with the old … has left it at the rear of other countries."[28] Al Hajwi adheres to the genre of the rihla for *talab al ilm*. And interestingly, *ilm*, knowledge, is to be found in the land of the infidel.

Significantly, in Al Hajwi's worldview, seeking secular knowledge in the land of Christians has surpassed the significance of the quest for spiritual knowledge in the pilgrimage mobility to the sacred places. Undertaking a journey for mundane purposes rather than spiritual must have seemed blasphemous to Al Hajwi's contemporaries.

Al Hajwi's travels to Europe have helped him discover some of the aspects of European power and shaped his reformist identity and ideology. In the field of business, his travels to Europe taught him that "One of the rules of commerce is the announcement and advertising of the store in newspapers and the goods it sells because it is a means of attracting customers and the success of the store. The merchant has to spend on that annually. The Europeans and Americans have excelled in that so much that they have placed on main streets and special places on the pavements moving pictures with game and strange things, which make people stop to watch and there comes written with electricity after the pictures advertisements "Go to such or such store, you'll find there such and such goods."[29]

Ashar wa Atharahuma al Fiqhiyq (Halab: Maktab al Matbouaat al Islamiyya, 1997), p. 137.

[28] Ben Addada, *Al Fikr al Islahi fi Ahda al Himaya*, pp. 84-85.

[29] Al Hajwi, "Mustaqbal Tijaratu al Maghariba", p. 158.

He does not elaborate much on this but, he tells his audience, that "we have elaborated much on this subject in our European travel account." Indeed in the European rihla, Al Hajwi is impressed with the advertisements he witnessed in the hotel where he was staying. He says that the ground floor of the hotel consisted of shops that

> the owner of the hotel rents to merchants where they display samples of their goods for publicity in exchange for an expensive rent. .. And if he who doesn't find a shop, he hires a glass cabinet from the hotel owner, at the entrance or inside. They are not content with only that, but they even rent the columns of the hotel and its walls to write their advertisements in golden script on exquisitely gorgeous marble. The walls are decorated and have become a source of income and a profit from such advertisements. (p. 133)

Interestingly, *al Rihla al Uropiya*, where the above passage is quoted, was initially a lecture that Al Hajwi gave in front of an audience. The editor of the Al Hajwi's European *rihla*, Said Al Fadili, has noted that the manuscript contains many revisions added subsequently and even footnotes dating as far as 1943.[30] This means that Al Hajwi took the genre of travel writing as a serious form for the dissemination of geographical and intellectual knowledge and for this reason he was keen to make his work public and in the best shape possible.

This biography has highlighted four important aspects in the making of the character of Al-Hajwi and the shaping of his worldview: the faqih, the merchant, the Makhzan official, and the traveller. These combined aspects inform Al Hajwi's description of France and England and his representation of the self in his European Rihla. Al Hajwi's Occidentalism is ambiguous, and ambivalent, expressing both critique and admiration as well as an uncompromising criticism of his home culture and identity.

2. TRAVELING AND WRITING

a. Rihla Sifariya, Rihla Siyahiya, and Other Pilgrimage Routes

Following the victory of France and its allies in World War I, the Sultan of Morocco,

[30] Muhammad ibn al Hassan al Hajwi, *Al-rihlat al Urubiya:1919*, ed. Said al-Faḍili (Abudabi: Dar al-Suwaydi li-l-nashr wa al-tawzi: 2004), pp. 18-19.

Moulay Youssef, decided to send a delegation to Paris to congratulate the President of France, Georges Benjamin Clemenceau, and attend the victory celebrations. Moulay Youssef appointed Haj Mohammed Al-Moqri, the Grand Vizier, as leader of the delegation. The other members who attended this special event were

1. Hassan al Hajwi, "as the deputy of Fez, the capital of the knowledge and of eastern Morocco."
2. Al-Tuhami Ababu, the Royal Chamberlain
3. Haj Omar Tazi, the Vizier of Finance
4. Haj Abdelkader Benghabrit, the Chief of Sultanic Protocol
5. Thami el Mezouari El Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakesh
6. Ayyadi Rahmani, Caid of Rhamna
7. Haj Abdesslam Ben Abd al-Sadiq, Pasha of Tangier
8. Abderrahman Barghash, the Pasha of Rabat
9. Allal Qassimi Dukkali, Pasha of el Jaddida.

On 4 July, 1919, this impressive envoy sailed on board the Trans-Atlantique company's liner *Figuig* for Boudreaux. Then, the envoy headed by train to Paris on 11 July. The Moroccans visited Strasbourg, and many other towns and military sites, and then returned to Paris on 25 July. With this, the Moroccan diplomatic mission was completed. Free from the diplomatic constraints, al Hajwi decided to start his own journey to England in the company of his son.

Al Hajwi's *rihla* is inscribed within the category of the *rihla sifariyya*. At the outset of his *rihla*, Al Hajwi explains the ambassadorial mission, stating "I have journeyed to France and England in this year of 1337 Hijir, corresponding to 1919 AD, by order of Moulay Youseff, may his triumph and reign be everlasting." (p. 100) Al Hajwi again stresses the diplomatic aspect of his journey,

> At 5 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, the third of Shawwal, 1337, corresponding to July 2, 1919, an order was issued to me from His Majesty Moulay Sultan to travel to Paris to attend the two celebrations of the National Holiday of the Republic and the Victory Celebrations, which were going to take place on the same day, the coming 14th of July, in the accompany of a Moroccan delegation of the elite Moroccans, led by the Grand Vizier Mr. Haj Mohammed Al-Moqri, together with nine other members. (p. 101)

Like in the conventional ambassadorial travel accounts, Al Hajwi highlights the official aspect of his travel to Europe. However, it is interesting to note that in both statements Al Hajwi makes an almost casual reference to his sovereign. His account lacks the lengthy eulogies and elaborate prayers on the Moroccan ruler, very common in Moroccan ambassadorial travel accounts. Another noteworthy aspect is the purpose of al Hajwi's rihla to France.

Conventionally, Moroccan ambassadors were sent to European courts to accomplish crucial missions. Al Maknassi's travel to Spain, for instance, was to negotiate with King Carlos III the ransoming of Muslim captives. As-Saffar's visit to France in 1845 was to negotiate a peace treaty with France and stop France's incursions in the Eastern borders of Morocco. Mohamed al Fassi, the author of *Al Rihla al Ibriziya li al Diyar al Ingliziya*, was sent to the court of Queen Victoria in 1860 to ask for a loan and settle the indemnity imposed by Spain to evacuate the city of Tetuan and to complain against Spain's encroachments in the country. Idriss al Amrawi visited the French king, Napoleon III, for the same purpose.

The mission of Al Hajwi and his companions, on the other hand, did not have any of such glorious tasks. It was a protocol visit to congratulate the President of France on behalf of the Sultan of Morocco on the victory against Germany in the First World War. After the accomplishment of his diplomatic mission to France, Al Hajwi travelled to Britain. "I decided to go to London and Manchester," he explains in justification of his journey, "because of the wonders that I have heard about them, and to learn about commercial affairs and visit some factories and the friends of my father, peace be upon him, who had resided in Manchester." (p. 201)

Interestingly, al Hajwi gives several reasons for travelling to Britain. Certainly, London, like Paris, had a worldwide fame as one of the greatest cities in the world. As a tourist, Al Hajwi's curiosity was sparked by various stories he had heard from his father and other Fassi merchants who resided in Manchester. In addition, the reputation of England as a land of commerce and industry was another important reason for his decision since Al Hajwi considers commerce and trade to be vital components for the greatness or weakness of a nation and a for the success or failure of a country. In any case, being free from diplomatic constraints and religious commitments, al Hajwi is able to travel where he wants and document what he pleases. He can escape from his clerical persona and dissociate himself from his Makhzen personality. Hence, the scarce references to the Moroccan sovereign. His interlocutor is the reader, the general Moroccan. Al Hajwi neither eulogizes the sultan nor glorifies Islam in the manner of the conventional Moroccan travellers who wrote under the shadow of the authority of the sultan as

an implied reader.

Al Hajwi's journey to France and England began on 4 July, 1919 and ended with his arrival in Tangier on 24 August. It lasted for one month and twenty days. It is easy to trace his itinerary because Al Hajwi has recorded almost all the cities he visited or passed by and provided the date and exact time.

In fact, he is obsessed with time. For instance, he records the royal order commissioning him to travel to Paris in this way "At 5 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, the third of Shawwal, 1337, corresponding to July 2, 1919, an order was issued to me from His Majesty Moulay Sultan to travel to Paris to attend the two celebrations of the National Holiday of the Republic and the Victory Celebrations." What is interesting about Al Hajwi is that he records the date in a mixture of the Muslim Calendar (of the Hegira), and the Christian Calendar, which was not a common practice in Moroccan travel narratives.

b. Reasons for Writing

On many occasions, Moroccan monarchs instructed their ambassadorial envoys to Europe to document their travel accounts. This rule, however, does not apply to Al Hajwi. This is evident right from the beginning of his narrative. It is free from the copious, elaborate and lengthy eulogies to the Sultan as is the case in al Ghassal's *Al Rihla at-Tatwijiya ila Asimat al Bilad al Inghliziya* and Al Kadoudi's *At-Tuhfa as-Suniya lil Hadra al Hassaniya Bil Mamlaka al Isbanawiyya*. Therefore, in the composition of *The European Journey*, Al Hajwi was free from the royal censorship that informs ambassadorial travel accounts.

Writing a travel account was a private choice and was motivated by a didactic purpose, desire to fulfil a divine obligation, as implied in his prayer "Praise be to he who recommended travel and contemplation of the kingdoms of the earth and of the conditions of mankind in both villages and towns, those who have passed away and those still living, as a lesson to he who seeks edification." (p. 100) Of course, a quest for knowledge can be performed even in the land of the Christians. "My travel narrative," Al Hajwi confidently states, "is not wanting in benefit (*faida*), especially to our scholars who did not visit these lands, and who imagine it in a way, that, when put to the test, does not conform to reality (*haqiqa*)." (p. 101)

Al Hawji undertakes his journey in pursuit of knowledge, wisdom and edification both spiritual and secular. Evidently, his *rihla* subscribes to another category of rihla, the rihla of

talab al Ilm, a quest for knowledge. Interestingly, Daniel Newman comments that Arab travellers "were attracted by the Europe of new technologies and sciences, of wondrous novelties epitomised by France, or, more precisely, by Paris, which became a metaphor for the shrine in the *rihlat Hijaziyya*."[31] Acquiring and spreading knowledge, Al Hajwi stresses, is one of the crucial reasons for writing his Rihla. He explains, "I have decided to document what I witnessed during my travels to benefit the people of Morocco who did not travel and are not acquainted with the conditions of Europe." (p. 100)

It is evident that al Hajwi composed his rihla with the intention of having it published. Said Al Fadili states that immediately after his return from Europe, al Hajwi visited the office of *Saada* newspaper in Rabat and told the publisher of his intention to complete his travel journey and submit the manuscript for publication.[32] His initial intention of publishing his travel account serially in the *Saada* newspaper provides an added evidence that he was hoping for a wider circulation for his book.

It is interesting to note that Al Hajwi was eager to see his rihla reach wider audiences. In a public lecture in Fez entitled "The Future of Moroccan Commerce," Al Hajwi draws from his experience in Europe and his observations to conclude that one of the recommendations for the promotion of Moroccan commerce is advertisement. It was in the Grand Hotel in Paris that Al Hajwi learnt about the techniques and practices of advertisements and how the owner of the hotel used to rent to merchants stalls or glass cabinets or even the columns and walls of the hotel for the advertisement of their goods. [33]

Another piece of evidence that Al Hajwi was keen to popularize his rihla is the revisions and additions he implemented in the original manuscript. "From time to time," Said al Fadili writes in his Introduction to Al Hajwi's rihla, "the author used to revise and refine his rihla, adding or striking what he thought fit, which explains the many side notes in different inks."[34] This indicates that Al Hajwi thought it important to publish his travel account and communicate his message to a wider readership.

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[31] Daniel Newman, "Myths and Signs of Alienation Between 19th-Century Rihlat and Europe," in *Sensibilities of the Islamic Mediterranean : Self-Expression in a Muslim Culture from Post-Classical Times to the Present Day*, ed. Robin Ostle (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2008, 2008), p. 91.

[32] See, *Saada* newspaper, 30, 1919. Said al Fadili, "Introduction," *Al rihla al Urubiya*, p. 18.

[33] See, Hassan Ahamed Al Hajwi, *Al Aql wa Naql fi al Fikr al Islahi al Maghribi*, pp. 210-216.

[34] Said al Fadili, "Introduction," *Al rihla al Urubiya*, p. 19.



Figure 20: The First page from the Manuscript of *Ar-Rihla al Urobiya*

Within this spirit of education and edification, al Hajwi constantly interacts with his reader. The reader is, indeed, an important aspect of al Hajwi's travel narrative, a key element of his writing. Thus, during all his narrative, al Hajwi keeps using the pronoun "you" when he is explaining and from time to time he directly addresses the reader making an active relationship between the writer and the reader. Hence, we find expressions addressed to his reader such as:

> "Let us tell you about the place where we are staying, you'll understand the meaning of what we were saying"
>
> "I will recount to you a matter that accrued to me"
>
> "And should you be in their country wear their clothes and learn their language to avoid their cunning"
>
> "I confirm to you that my seasickness has gone and my mind and intellectual faculties have cleared, so, you can rely on my statement this time"

> "Don't tell me that Moroccans don't have napkin, because I'll answer you that even the poorest and wretched among them possesses one."

The quoted sentences demonstrate the deep involvement of the author of the *rihla* with his readers. It is a close relationship maintained by a constant dialogue. Alain Roussillon and Abdallah Saaf, "It is undoubtedly one of the very first travel Moroccan accounts to have been written for publication, as is clearly apparent in its very composition and in the many addresses to the reader which are not simply for stylistic effects."[35]

Most of the preceding Moroccan travel writers who recorded European modernity and technological advancements, such as As-Saffar, al Kardoudi, and al Amrawi, were all hoping to persuade the Moroccan ruler of implementing reforms and benefitting from European technological innovations. Whereas, al Hajwi addresses his narrative directly to the Moroccan reader. His reform is basically a nationalistic project. He writes for the reader. The Sultan, the initiator of the diplomatic mission, is completely written out of the narrative. After introducing the Sultan in the beginning of the travel account, no mention is made to him in the entire text until a brief encounter at the end. Al Hajwi states, "Having arrived in Casablanca, I rested for a night from the sufferings of the sea then …. I met His Majesty on Friday, a little before prayer. With cheerful benevolence on his face, he asked me about what I saw during my journey and I informed him in a brief manner of what was appropriate and received from him the best of prayers." (p. 288)

Heimer observes that the reports on Europe commissioned by the Moroccan sultan were not necessarily factual:

> Description in these reports was not innocent or neutral or void of intentions or aims. It was biased, oriented and directed, and depended on the perspective of the mystic religious man and on the needs and interests of the government. This explains the great interest in war techniques, in the sources of income of the modern European country and in political institutions such as the parliament and the government.[36]

The case is obviously different with al Hajwi. Writing an account of his

[35] Al-Hajwi, *Voyage d'Europe*, p. 165.

[36] Abdul Salam Heimer, "The Other's Image in Maghrebi Travel Writings," in *Imagining the Arab Other: How Arabs and Non-Arabs View Each Other*, ed., Tahar Labib (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008), p.195.

European travels was his own choice, rather than by royal commission. Al Hajwi briefly and selectively gave to the Moroccan Sultan an account of his rihla. The main text, composed without constraints or under instructions, is reserved for the readers, his countrymen. It is not the royal institution but the nation that is concerned with Al Hajwi's reform project.

3. NARRATIVE TECHNIQUES IN AL HAJWI'S RIHLA

a. Author Reader Interactive Relationship

As discussed in the previous section al Hajwi travel discourse fosters an interactive relationship with his reader. It is a pedagogical relationship that provides the style and narrative structure of his travel rihla. For instance, he introduces the reader to the Grand Hotel of Paris, which he transliterates and then Arabizes as *al nazl al adeem* for the understanding of the reader, provides its exact location, and then he addresses the reader:

> For you to learn about the history of civilization in Paris, this hotel was built about sixty years ago. .. We have provided a detailed account on this issue so that you can replicate from it the general conditions of Paris and its civilization through comparison and speculation**.** And I refrained from being exhaustive about this hotel for fear of boring the reader. (p. 137)

Al Hajwi makes the reader part of his travel text. He tries to build an intimate relation with him, gain his trust, and turn him into a witness. So, while the implied reader in Moroccan ambassadorial accounts are usually the king, the state officials, and sometimes the religious jurists, who haunt the Moroccan travel discourse and inherently exercise a censoring eye, in Al Hajwi the author's mission is not to report to his sovereign or to his entourage, but to inform and reform his readers, the Moroccan society. The king, state officials, and fuqaha are deliberately excluded from his narrative and from his readership.

He talks of Grand Hotel where the Moroccan delegation resided and guides the reader through the various sections of the hotel, giving him a visually guided tour:

> If you enter the door of the hotel, you find a shop selling newspapers and books, including the *Guide of Paris*. If you have this guide, you have full knowledge of Paris and its wonders. If you walk through the corridor of the hotel, you find a money changer who accepts from you the currency that you have brought from your country and will exchange it for you in the currency that you like… On your left, you find the post office, telegraph and telephone. If you have a telegraph message or of other kinds, you would not have to leave the hotel to get it to the post office... .. Then, if you reach the corridor, you'll find the first a staircase that climbs up to the upper floor and next to it two machines that go up and down, which are called *ascenseur*. .. When you want to ascend or descend, you click on the bell (pp. 134-135)

The passage is an active and vivid visual tour in the interior of the Grand Hotel. The reader becomes an integral part of the narrative and an inside witness of the greatness of Paris. He is not simply a silent interlocutor. Al Hajwi tries to involve him, introduces him to the *Guide of Paris* and French words such as *ascenseur,* which he transliterates for him in Arabic script and defines its meaning for him. He takes him inside one of the one thousand and two hundred bedrooms:

> If you ascend to the upper floors, you find there the bedrooms numbering one thousand and two hundred rooms, with all the necessary facilities. In many of the rooms, before entering the sleeping area, there is first a guest area, and then you enter the bedroom, where you find one or two beds for sleeping, soft seats for relaxing, chairs and a writing table, a wardrobe, and a restroom, and the place of ablutions, and a place for washing the hands, the face and the head, and a bathtub to take a bath. (p. 136)

The passage showcases the exotic and practical marvels of the Grand Hotel. The hotel bedroom is a microcosm of French civilization, a concrete apogee of the accomplishments of French modernism. After he was exposed to the interior of the room, Al Hajwi expects his Moroccan reader to be an active participant. He tells him, "When you learn this and contemplate it, you can, by comparison, imagine the houses of the wealthy and high officials and political administrations and the like, then you shall realize the level of civilization in Europe." Addressing the reader, Al Hajwi further states that "we have provided a detailed account of this example so that you can replicate from it on the general condition of Paris and its civilization through comparison and speculation (**القياس والتنظير**)" (p. 138).

Evidently, al Hajwi is keen to share his experience, his observations and the information he

acquired during his travels with their countrymen. He is eager to convince his Moroccan readers of the technological advancement of France and prepare him for his reformist ideas and modernist agenda. Al Hajwi involves him in the text as a producer rather than simply as an observer or consumer of meaning, a reader of the signs of European advancement and progress. Al Hajwi's reform project is a mutual responsibility between author and the reader.

b. Meticulousness, Eye Witness Fidelity, and Conciseness

Edward Said observes in *Orientalism* that European travellers in the Orient write about the countries they visit and their society and culture with authority and anthropological expertise. This is the case for instance in Edith Wharton. She gives statistics and details on all aspects of Morocco, historical, social, political, economic, with total scientific confidence and a sense of having understood the Moroccan reality, despite her short stay in the country and total ignorance of the language. Al Hajwi, on the contrary, is humbly aware of his limitations as a tourist and a traveller. This is manifested in his repeated apology to his readers for not knowing French and English nor of having a comprehensive view of the cities he has visited. He says in this respect,

> However, because of my short stay and ignorance of the English and French languages, may fair people accept my apology and know I have not described Paris nor London, but only a section of them, or a place I stayed in or visited, officially or unofficially, because I have heard about it, or a road I passed by as does the fleeting time and the wise man compares an image with its counterpart and only God is all-knowing. (p. 236)

Throughout his narrative, Al Hajwi repeatedly reminds his readers that he documents only what he has actually seen and witnessed with his own eyes. For instance, during the victory celebration that the Moroccan delegation attended in Paris, he reports upon the arrival of the President of France but frankly admits to the reader that the President was concealed from sight and he could only learn about his action through other sources. Al Hajwi says about this: "On reaching his sitting area, he proceeded in his carriage towards L'Arc de Triomphe and disappeared from my sight. So, I didn't know what he did and was told that he saluted the afore memorial statue of the victims of war" (pp. 141-142)

In addition to that, when describing the arrangement of the seats for the delegations invited for the celebration he gives the few details that were available to him explaining "since I am

committed to telling you only what I saw, let us restrict ourselves with this amount." (p. 141) Furthermore, besides this visual limitation, Al Hajwi admits that he did not include much information because of his linguistic handicap, which has profoundly impacted his travel experience and, consequently, his representation of the host countries. He writes, "I apologize for not being acquainted with the language of the people whose conditions I speak of. And I am certain that I have described only what I was able to witness about their conditions, and left out much of what deserves to be mentioned but is unattainable without knowledge of their language." (p. 101)

Therefore, Al Hajwi reminds his reader that his narrative is not a historical account but rather a subjective narrative of his own travel and tourism experience that was limited in time and space and hindered by his linguistic limitations. Despite the fact that he does not speak foreign languages, Al Hajwi goes out in the streets, interacts with people, observing their behaviour and describing their activities. However, Al Hajwi insists that his account is informative and didactic, emphasizing that "my narrative is not wanting in usefulness, especially to our scholars who did not visit these lands, and who imagine it in a way, which, when put to the test, does not conform to reality." (p. 101)

What he lacks in language, Al Hajwi makes up in acute observation and obsession with details. Al Hajwi records almost each and everything that he deems interesting: the places he visited, events he witnessed, culture, traditions and customs, technologies, people he met, etc. This is one of the predominant aspects of Al Hajwi's writing. He does not only limit himself to what he observes and hears but, as it is very apparent from the precise information throughout the narrative, he continually asks questions in his unending quest for knowledge. This can be understood through the following quote "At 11 o'clock on Saturday, we all climbed on board the liner *Figuig*, one of the ships of the Trans-Atlantique Company, recently purchased from the British Paquebot Company." (p. 104)

Al Hajwi's obsession with details is also manifest in recording time. He carefully specifies not only the date but also the precise hour of the events and of his actions:

At 6 o'clock on Friday evening

At 7 o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the seventh of Shawwal, July 8

At 8 o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, 22 July, equivalent to 21 Shawwal

And after 40 minutes of our departure from France

By 12 o'clock, we entered into a tunnel in a great mountain where the train slowed down, crossing it in ten minutes

Our embarkation was at four o'clock and we departed at twenty minutes past five.

As a trader, a faqih and Makhzen official, and a traveller al Hajwi learnt to value time, organization, and precision and the importance of recording and documenting things. He describes places and gives distances and measurements with precise figures. This implies that the author of *The European Journey* was keeping a diary where he daily recorded his travel experience and observations.

And about the port of Bordeaux, he writes,

> It is one of the greatest French commercial harbours, and a point of contact by sea between France and Africa, America, and Europe. And in terms of the rate of commercial traffic, it is second after Marseilles. Its river is a natural port, which safely carries thousands of thousands of crafts from sea currents. It is a safe natural port, and it was thanks to it that Bordeaux has gained great importance among French cities. True, large ships can neither enter nor leave it except at tide rise, because the depth of the river at ebb time is not sufficient for navigation. (p. 114)

Having described Bordeaux geographically, Al Hajwi proceeds to describe the city, providing copious information relating to demography and civilization. "Its buildings are enormous, especially the churches and entertainment venues. It is inhabited by about 700 thousand people and is 578 kilometres away from Paris. It has extremely beautiful parks and its roads so well organized and wide enough to accommodate the traffic and the number of inhabitants." (p. 116)

Talking about Paris Al Hajwi, after giving a geographical account of the city, proceeds to talk about the different aspects of this city:

> The number of lamps used to illuminate roads is 35888 or more, some electric and others gas. The number of vehicles …… and the number of police …. and the number of post offices…., telegraphs …. and telephones... The number of meters on its main street called the boulevard are is 4300. The alleys are is no less than .... and wider .... and the average …. And most of the big streets, called boulevards, have tramway tracks, and in many of the boulevards the tramway tracks are not operational, rather they use big automobiles each carries sixty people, moving continuously to transport people from one place to another, without counting the great number of small automobiles that carry one, or two, or six, or four. (p. 130)

This is perhaps the best passage to illustrate Al Hajwi's intense thirst for knowledge. The blanks in the quote unfold his method. He compiles a catalogue of the items he wants to gather and communicate to his reader, leaving a blank space for it in the manuscript then searches for the desired information and fills in the blank. Not having reached the relevant information or statistics, as in the quote, the blank remains in the manuscript. They also demonstrate his quest for knowledge, and scholarly attitude. The fact that, he did not delete those sections only shows Al Hajwi's honesty and highlights his quality of a good researcher, since he did not fill them with estimated numbers, rather, he patiently waited to acquire the appropriate information. Thus, his rihla is *par excellence rihla talab al ilm*, a pilgrimage from the Dar al Islam in pursuit of knowledge in the land of the Christians.

Like the author of a tourist guide, al Hajwi gives minute details about what he sees and information on the cities, ports which he acquired either from books or by asking. For example, he provides the following description of the commerce in the Port of Bordeaux and the goods that are imported through this port: "wool and hide from the Argentinean Republic; sugar and coffee from Brazil; cocoa of Venezuela; copper of Chile, and from the United States cotton, kerosene, and tobacco; coal from England and coal Russia; marble and oil from Italy; the minerals of Spain; oranges from Portugal; and from Morocco grain, livestock, phosphates and all the other crops; as well as crops from the Senegal and from other African, European, and American countries." (p. 115)

On arriving in Paris, Al Hajwi gives geographical details on the city

> Paris is one hundred and five leagues from London, and its width is…. distant from the equator, and its longest days are sixteen hours and six minutes, and the shortest eight hours and ten minutes. Its size now is 7802 hectares, with 60 doors, nine railway tunnels, the number of its railway station is seven …Its circumference is of 36 km, and its length from east to west is 12 km, and its width from north to south is 7 km. (p. 129)

Clearly, al Hajwi writes in the fashion of a geographer, but without assuming the confidence and sense of authority and superiority that is found in Orientalist geographers.

Having provided detailed geographical information, he moves to talk about people and buildings. "It has a population of about three million, and has about eight thousand gardens and spaces for the leisure of the population and for public strolling. And the number buildings,

houses and warehouses is counted by the tens of thousands. In the country on the river Seine twenty-seven bridges, suspended and not suspended, different in shape, some in stone while others in iron." (pp. 129-130)

Similarly, when he arrives in London, al Hajwi provides a detailed representation of the city with statistics that he took care to gather:

> Its size is above one hundred and eighteen square miles. So it is five times bigger than Paris on both sides of the Thames River or Tames. The length of its streets is more than three thousand miles, decorated by one million electric and gas lamps. Its population is approximately about seven million, to which must be added those who come to it. And it is said that at midday its population is twelve million because of those who come from various regions. …The price of the land in its centre, called the city, is about fifty pounds per square foot. There are 216 parks, and 565 establishments for music and acting, 300 galleries and museums, 14 large train stations, the largest of which is the Waterloo Station. … There are in London twelve thousand policemen. (pp. 215-216.)

Al Hajwi refrains from stuffing his book with unnecessary information about Europe. On other occasions, Al Hajwi refers to other travel narratives to account for his concise method of representation. He gives a short description of some sites, buildings, etc. which he has seen explaining that there is no to dwell on them because they have been exhausted by other travellers. He says in this connection:

> I did not want to swell my travel account by talking about the geographies of the country, nor of its ancient and modern history, because for each of these fields there are well-known books, thus there is no need to just copy from them. So, I have refrained from verbosity because it is rare for a chatterbox to come out unscathed. Rather, I have mostly confined myself to what I witnessed and summarized what I have observed since others have largely elaborated on the subject. Moderation in composition is the best of methods. (pp. 100-101)

For Al Hajwi "Moderation in composition is the best of methods." Al Hajwi's is well read in the field of the Rihla literature and is well acquainted with the techniques of the Arabic travel narrative genre narratives. For instance, he mentions Ahmed Fariss Shadyaq's travel account

Kashf Al Makhbaa when comparing between palaces in Paris and London but instead of quoting from *Kashf* he contents himself with providing his reader with precise pages numbers, telling him "You can refer to pages number 334 and 335 in *Kashf al Mukhaba 'an Ahwal Uruba* by Ahmed Farisse…. See what the aforementioned author has written on Paris on pages 238 and 239, to be convinced of the truth of what we have said." (p. 220)

c. Comparison and Contrast

Because al Hajwi is engaged in a cross-cultural interpretation and representation of Europe, one of the narrative techniques he adopts in his *rihla* is comparison and contrast. For example, when describing a bridge in Bordeaux, he says, "It is greater than the bridge of Alexander III on river Seine in Paris because this river is much greater than the Seine, perhaps with the exception of the bridge of Constantine in Algeria, which, to my knowledge, is greater than this." (pp. 117-118) And while talking of green landscape in Bordeaux, he compares it to "carpets of beautiful green… which resemble that of Morocco in the month of March." (p. 118)

So, al Hajwi's Occidentalism uses the technique of comparison and contrast as a procedure to give the reader a better understanding of the described elements and to provide him with a means of putting these foreign elements up to scale against other familiar elements to further clarify the intended image. For this purpose, al Hajwi uses expressions such as

"the wise man compares an image with its counterpart," (p. 234)

"Let me recount to you an anecdote that accrued to me, and although it shouldn't be generalized, it still can serve for comparison with other cases." (p. 203)

"When you learn this and contemplate it, you can, by comparison, imagine the houses of the wealthy and high officials and political administrations and the likes, then you shall realize the level of civilization in Europe." (p. 137)

During his journey, al Hajwi is confronted with the unknown and the foreign, which prompts him to constantly seek aspects of his familiar homeland and the Islamic world to bring home to the reader, through comparisons, the realities of a complex world far remote from him both geographically and conceptually. When al Hajwi discusses the various means of transportation he witnessed in Paris, he conjures up Baghdad in its glorious days, saying

> What is said about the population of Baghdad having reached two millions or more during the Abbasids era isn't impossible. However, because it did not have the means of transportation that are available now, it was only like neighbouring towns; one does not from one part to the other only when necessary and after a long time. While in Paris, communication is possible anytime between its farthest corners. In fact, you can speak to your friend wherever he is while you are on your bed by means of the telephone. That is how it is in London and other great cities. (pp. 130-131)

In another instance, after describing the grandeur of the National Library in Paris, al Hajwi addresses the Moroccan reader,

> And this library was originally the residence of the Prime Minister of the King Louis XIV, afore-mentioned. It is of immense greatness and vastness. Don't assume when you hear the word the house of the Minister that it is like the house of Minister Ahmed ben Musa in Fez or Meknes or Marrakech. Nay, even if you put all these three houses together biside this house you wouldn't do it justice because its domes and edifices have no parallel in the three houses. Even the chairs for the readers have no equivalent in Morocco. (p. 156)

Elsewhere, he talks of the countryside in England and says that "had it been in Morocco, we would have considered it the best of cities because of the many buildings and houses." (p. 263)

In his discussion of the dialectic comparison between the Self and the Other in Tahtawi's travel account Hassan Hanafi in his "The Dialectics of the Ego and the Other: A Study of Tahtawi's Takhlis Al Ebriz," argues that the Egyptian traveller projects a superior self. In al Hajwi, however, as demonstrated in the above quotes, while they are meant to help the reader understand the unspeakable world of Otherness, they at the same time, with a sense of mockery, remind him of how modest and inferior his own world is when contrasted to the far advanced achievements Otherness.

Contrary to the first part of the journey that takes place in France, when the narrative focuses on England, the comparison and contrast are basically between France and England, the two greatest nations of Europe and the epitomes of its power, development, and modernisation. Comparing the streets in London and Paris, al Hajwi says:

> London is far less magnificent than what we saw in Paris. If the inside streets of

> London, the centre of such a great activity called "city," were as wide as those in Paris streets, they would still be considered to be narrow because of the greater population there than in Paris. Its street should have been wider than those of Paris given the population. However, the reality is otherwise. The streets in Paris are much wider and straighter. Hence, London is so crowded that the carriages carrying us stopped in most of the roads, especially at the crossroads. Though the streets were in themselves wide, yet, were not enough for the enormous population. The streets of London are nicely decorated. Still, I don't think that the adornment of Paris and the harmonious patterns of its beauty are to be found anywhere else. (p. 218)

He also compares the kinds of constructions in both cities, observing that

> Building in London is mostly with baked bricks and there exist some buildings with stones as in Paris in hugeness, elegance and harmonious shape and precision, yet the buildings of Paris – I mean what I have seen, though I haven't been able to see the whole city—all of what I have seen are in stone and cement, well organized, well shaped in splendour, greatness and grandeur. Whereas the bulk of the buildings in London are not like that, rather they are average, with bricks and lack the greatness, grandeur, and elegance that are in Paris. Yet, there are some streets which resemble those of Paris, but the majority do not. (p. 218).

Then he discusses gardens in Paris and London and concludes that "The public parks in London are numerous, especially near the aforementioned palace and on the bank of the Thames River. Still, the public gardens in Paris are prettier and have flowers since the French care for flowers and have elegant tastes." (p. 220)

Evidently, France comes out in these comparisons as far superior to England in beauty, elegance and refinement. Nevertheless, on other occasions, as evidenced in the following quotes, al Hajwi acknowledges the superiority of Britain. The English have more canals than the French used for transportation "you see a bull going along the canal bank pulling a boat filled with industrial and agricultural crops. This is common in France, Alsace and Lorraine, but it is more common here and the traffic is higher." (pp. 237-238) Business thrives more in England. "Like France, this land is full of urbanization, in fact, it was greater, and its commercial activities were higher." (p. 236) and the train stations in London are "more impressive, larger, bigger and livelier than the station of Paris … in the organisation and arrangement of all that and the

management of it in perfect order." (p. 211) Besides, there are more running trains in England which is confirmed by the higher industrial and commercial activities in the country and the train stations are less noisy and "there is no noise of megaphones nor whistling or the great commotion as in the French stations." (p. 226)

So, if France surpasses Britain in matters of modern urbanism, beauty of the landscape, and elegance and refined taste of its people, Britain exceeds it in population, trade, business manners, railway transportation, and industry.

To better situate his reader and create an image of the alien Other, al Hajwi uses the Familiar Self as a measuring tool. Hence, the great number of comparisons between Morocco and France in the first half of the travel text. However, after gaining some understanding of French otherness, al Hajwi started using this newly understood Other as a tool to differentiate and understand the multiplicity and the difference of Otherness. And so Paris, Alsas, Lorrien, London, Manchester etc… are all not treated as one other. On the contrary, through his comparisons, they are separated and distinguished into multiple yet distinct Others.[37]

d. The Sacred, the Secular and Poetic Style

In his narrative to Europe, *Nasir Al Din Ala Al Qawn Al Kafirin*, Ahmed Bin Qassim al Hajari sees Europe as the land of infidels.[38] The attitude to Europe as the House of War also pervades Moroccan redemptionist travel accounts to Spain such as Al Ghassani's *Rihlat Al Wazir fi Iftikak Al Asir*, al Maknasi's *Al-Badr Al-Safir Li Hidayat Al-Musafir Ila Fikak Al-Asara Min Yad Al-ʿAduww Al-Kafi*r and al Ghazzal's *Natidjat Al-Iditihad Fi L-Muhadana Wa L-Djihad.* These travel narratives invoke Europeans with hostile labels such as "disbelievers," "infidels," "the enemies of God," "worshipers of the Cross," and "the people of the Trinity." When visiting a mosque that was converted into a church al Maknassi says in his rihla to Spain to ransom Moroccan slaves, "The infidels, God destroy them, had built fifty-six rooms."[39] He also curses

[37]The view held by some critics that al Hajwi was biased towards France is obviously groundless. It is a paradoxical preference as Alain Roussillon calls it. Alain Roussillon, "La Division Coloniale Du Monde à L'épreuve du Voyage: Deux Marocains à Paris en 1845 Et 1919," *Genèses*, 35 (June 1999), pp. 55-56.

[38] See Lahoucine Aammari, "Discursive and Cultural Encounters in Ahmad bin Qasim Al-Hajari's Ambassadorial Travel Narrative, Kitab Nasir Adin ala alqawm al-kafirin," *Athens Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 4: 1 (January 2018), pp. 47-67.

[39] Matar, *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World*, p. 84.

the Spaniards when he sees how much they are about their navy. "They also built huge storage areas for the masts," he says, "each had a gate, and so they unloaded the masts into the water and dragged them with ropes into the nearest storage. So much do they care for their navy, God destroy them."[40]

Such attitudes have lingered in the nineteenth century in al Fassi's *Ar-Rihla al Ibriziyya ila ad-Diyar al Ingliziya* (1860). He describes how the English grow fruits out of season in a glasshouse by using a machine that pumps warm water into the roots of trees and concludes the English are obsessed with worldly matters and forsaken the hereafter world and are unredeemable in "their obstinacy in their unbelief, may God destroyed them, Amen!"[41] Al Fassi rejects European modernity and attributes English ingenuity and technological inventions to the dark forces of the infidel's mind. "They perceive through the dark part the dark things which pushed them to penetrate deeply into their disbelief."[42] Abdul Salam Heimer comments in his article, "The Other's Image in Maghrebi Travel Writings," that writers such as al Fassi "often resorted to justification to overcome feelings of inferiority, handicap and defeat."[43]

Al Hajwi does not view Europe through the prism of religion nor does he use religion to condemn European values and behaviours. He is free from the cultural and religious tensions and hostile attitudes to Europe that pervade some 17th- and 18th- century Moroccan travel texts or the dichotomy of fascination and fear in the 19th century accounts of al Kardoudi, al Fassi, and al Amrawi. Al Hajwi considers the greatness of European civilization and their extraordinary inventions to be the product of the dedication to learning and sciences and their seriousness and hard work. The greatness of European civilization is for him the manifestation of God's omnipotence and his generosity to his creators. He quotes verses from the Quran to illustrate the greatness of the human mind. For instance, he says that Europeans "might reach with electricity what is far stranger and more wonderful. How glorious are God's creations, and how great is his power! Glory to God, there is no God but Him!" (p. 233)

In his travel narrative to Europe entitled *Tuhfat*, Jaaydi is disgusted with Moroccan travellers to Europe who expresses their fascination with the host country, stating that he "dissociates himself from the common people who roam in the land of the Rum (Christians) and

[40] Ibid., p. 80.

[41] Tahar al Fassi, *Ar-Rihla al Ibriziyya ila ad-Diyar al Ingliziya* (1860), ed. Mohammed al Fassi (Fez: Matbaat Jaamiat Mohammed V, 1967), pp.33-34.

[42] al Fassi's *Ar-Rihla al Ibriziyya ila ad-Diyar al Ingliziya*, p. 28.

[43] Abdul Salam Heimer, "The Other's Image in Maghrebi Travel Writings," p.195.

speak with admiration about their conditions, praising their laws and are proud of that."[44] Jaaydi prays to God for protection from such behaviour. He would be seriously offended by Al Hajwi's rihla and his praise for French modernity. In fact, al Hajwi too is depressed with conservative *ulama* and intellectuals who blindly disapprove of Western modernity and warn against borrowing anything from it.

Though he travels as a secular and liberal traveller, Al Hajwi occasionally steps into his religious identity and displays his religious knowledge when, for instance, he is asked by the Moroccan merchants residing in Manchester about fatwa concerning the religious issues they faced in diaspora. Al Hajwi lists out all the questions

Wiping the Arms in Tayammum
Mantle Made out of the Wool of a Dead Animal
Is It Permissible to Eat Ghee From of Seller of Pork?
Yeast from the Chaff of Barley Used for Making Liquor
Is Combining Prayers Permissible for A Necessity Cause?
Is the Ishaa Prayer Cancelled for the People of a Country Where There Is No Twilight?

In his Manchester fatwas, over more than ten pages, Al Hajwi displays his rigorous exegetical technique. He quotes from the Koran, the Hadith, and invokes the prominent Hadith interpreters such as Muslim, ABi Daoud, Ibn Majaa, Tirmidi, Ibn Marzouk, Rhouni and others. He quotes from their works and gives the different opinions of the exegetes. He explains the literal and metaphorical meaning of words, comments on the semantic, stylistic and rhetorical devices. In his fatwa he uses reason and revelation and *ijtihad*.

He allows the wearing of clothes from wool slaughtered by Christians, the eating of their meat when necessary, learning their language, travelling in their countries for tourism, trade or in pursuit of knowledge, and even wearing their clothes. It is this which gained him the qualification of the enlightened faqih or the enlightened Salafist.[45] Said Bin Said Al Alaoui states that "The reading of al Hajwi puts us before a curious image, exciting and even rare when we realize it, it is the image of a faqih-merchant which exit side by side with the enlightened Salafist, and the liberal who clings to Salafist thought."[46]

[44] Jaaydi, *Ithaf al-Akhyar bi Ghraraib al Akhbar*, p. 104.

[45] See Zoubair Mahdad, *Al Faqif al Mutanawir: Al Hajwi Al thaalibi* (Rabat: Dar Al Maghribiya al Arabiya, 2018).

[46] Said Bin Said Al Alaoui, *Al Ijtihad wa al Tahdit: Dirasat fi Usul al Fikr al Salafi fi al Maghrib*

His religious identity as a faqih confers authority on his travel account and serves to boost his reformist agenda as well as legitimize his call for coexistence with Europe and establish a civilizational dialogue with Christianity and the West. Al Hajwi is the first case to openly advocates the adoption of Western modernity, technological innovations, laws, and civilizational values. Hence, Abdellah Laroui characterizes him as a "liberal moderate reformist."[47]

In his *The European Journey*, Faqih Al Hajwi mentions that Islam gained many converts in Britain and that in London there were two mosques and that in one of them Friday prayers were performed and that the Khateeb of this mosque "was an Englishman who gave the sermon in English with some Qur'anic verses in Arabic." (p. 235) Al Hajwi has learnt that "when the khateeb recited the verses he wept and made the congregation fall into tears with his zeal." (p. 235) A prominent British convert, Al Hajwi informs his reader, was Lord Headley, a man who "enjoyed a high reputation among his nation and family." (p. 235)

What is indeed very interestingly is that Al Hajwi does not conform to the stereotypical image of Muslim travellers as described by Lewis who celebrates with religious pride the spread of Islam in Christian lands. Al Hajwi objectively reports on the matter without turning it into a means of glorifying his religious identity.

Al Fassi travelled as a faqih. His religious status limited his sight, crippled his pen and shortened the length of his rihla. Whereas al Hajwi dissociates himself from his identity of a faqih. His narrative reveals that he is completely conscious of his role as a travel writer, a cross cultural educator, and a liberal intellectual. This furnishes him with the freedom to voice his opinions and occasionally to burst out into poetic descriptions as in the case of his representation of natural scenery at the arrival of Bordeaux:

> the beach we saw is extremely beautiful, nay, there is hardly any prettier. For it is a beach that stretched long, spreading its two green wings on the seashore. Its feathers were the lush trees harmoniously rising in the sky, well arranged and of similar height. Their tops looked tiny and neat and distinguishable from each other if you look-up at the point where they meet with the horizon. If you focus your gaze down at their base, you see them intertwined and interconnected like a beautifully woven burnous, and its greenness joined with the green earth as if it was a green band on the borders of the lively sea. (pp. 107-108)

(Casablanca: Annajah al Jadida, 2001), p. 69.

[47] Laroui, *Esquisses Historiques*, p. 116.

These are the first spellbound natural scenes he sets eyes upon reaching the French land. Al Hajwi dissociates himself from his religious garb and the constraints of his official position as a makhzen and his diplomatic role and allows himself to self-consciously depart from recording objectively what he sees as poetic expressions.

On leaving Paris, his literary creativity and poetic style are greatly enhanced. "Farewell to you, oh, Paris!" writes al Hajwi in a passage where his prose turns into free verse. "With aching hearts we said goodbye to it and grieve to leave it such as a lover leaving his beloved. We departed from it but how can a soft heart endure such separation. We left it and how can a lover of beauty quit it after all tongue united in her praise and hearts in loving her." (p. 273) Then, as though prose is unable to contain the emotions of a lover pining for his beloved, the Moroccan traveller shifts to the verse form:

> I bid you farewell and confide my heart to you
> And sprinkle tears like pearls.
> Had I the choice we wouldn't have parted,
> Alas there is no choice with destiny. (p. 273)

Then, he returns to a lyrical prose when describing the train leaving Paris. "The Seine river accompanied us, bidding us farewell and gliding with us like a snake in a landscape decked with green sapphires, on which are stretching branches topped with singing birds and harmonious plants between them flowing water." (p. 273) Such poetic style grants al Hajwi's rihla a conspicuously literary aspect, a degree of literariness. In addition to its historical and autobiographical merits, *The European Journey* is *par excellence* a literary cross-cultural travel narrative.

III. THE AMBIVALENCE OF AL HAJWI'S OCCIDENTALISM: OTHERNESS AND SELFHOOD IN THE EUROPEAN JOURNEY

1. FRANCE THROUGH THE EYES OF AL HAJWI

a. Encounters with the Wonders of the Natural Landscape

The previous chapter concluded with al Hajwi's painful separation from Paris with the aching heart of a lover parting away from his beloved. This is indeed the first time in Moroccan ambassadorial travelogues where a Moroccan traveller voices such sentimental devotion and attachment to a foreign country. Abderrahman ben Abd-es-Saddik, the Moroccan ambassador to London in 1902, is reported to have said to a journalist upon leaving Britain back to his home country, "England is a great country, but I am glad to be going back to civilization again."[1]

The pain experienced by al Hajwi at leaving France is as powerful as his joy at landing in Bordeaux. The first thing that attracted his eyes was the beautiful natural landscape of the sea, river, trees and green lands. He dwells on the description of the natural scenery at great length and with great relish, talking of

> the green ground coated with beautiful, lavish plants, then from it look up at the trees growing above it, whose colours are similar to it. The ground has the colour of spring and the colour of the trees is of a deep dark green colour. And as the earth gets farther from the water and widens, it elevates and gets topped with trees. On the horizon, the tree tops looked harmoniously arranged and organized while stretching high in the air attempting to reach the sky. And between those dense forests and the branches whose view dissipates sorrow and sadness and brings happiness to the grieving heart, there stood gorgeous buildings and houses. They seemed like pearls or diamonds, scattered on a green dense wood or like stars shining in the night sky lit by a full moon. (pp. 109-110)

[1] *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 28 June, 1902.

This detailed description of nature, the trees, the green grass, the houses that looked like diamonds and pearls, and the lyrical description of the Moroccan traveller conflicts sharply with Bernard Lewis' argument that Arab travellers to Europe were interested in diagnosing the secret of European power for political reasons. Obviously, al Hajwi has no other motives in recording this scene save the visual pleasure to the eyes and the happiness it brings to the grieving heart. Al Hajwi is keen to entertain his readers. Interestingly, Said Ben Said Al Alaoui comments that al Hajwi's fascination with the natural beauty of the landscape, gardens and rivers, water and plants, as well as his extensive descriptions of them, is not something that a religious scholar should be concerned with.[2]

Al Hajwi defends the truth of his description against any accusation of exaggeration. "Do not assume" he addresses the sceptical reader, "that it appeared pretty in my eyes because of my longing for land and that it wasn't truly beautiful in reality. I confirm to you that my seasickness has gone and my mind and intellectual faculties have cleared, so, you can rely on my statement in this instance" (p. 107)

The landscape and natural scenery were a subject of continuous admiration. On the train from Bordeaux to Paris, the spellbound Moroccan traveller saw

> an abundance of forest trees surrounding us on the right and on the left, and between them, there were farms, cultivated lands, rivers, waters, buildings, houses, palaces, farms, villages, and hamlets, so much so that whenever you turn, right or left, you see some of them, either all of them or some of them, and there is not a single inch of land which is neglected. Modern agriculture is advanced and modern machines are numerous. You don't see a village without organized routes, a forest which is not taken care of, a river without a bridge on it, nor a road that is not functional, until our arrival in Paris. (p. 123-124)

The passage shows the symbiotic relationship between nature, culture, and modernity. The abundance of pristine forests, the cultivated farms, and rivers coexisting harmoniously with buildings, houses, palaces, villages, and hamlets. The agriculture is modern and uses advanced machines. The roads connect villages and the rivers are easily crossed thanks to bridges.

[2] Said Ben Said Al Alaoui, *Uropa fi Miraat ar-Rihla: Surat al Akhar fi ar-Rihla al Maghribiya al Muasira* (Rabat: Faculty of Humanities in 1995), pp.71-85.

During his sojourn in Paris, al Hajwi's best pastime was to promenade in Boulogne Forest. "One of the places that I relish seeing and feasting my eyes on its beauties," he says, "was the famous Boulogne Forest."

> It is planted with many kinds of beautiful fruitless trees, arranged in gorgeous designs. They trimmed and fixed the deficiencies and cared for them in such a way that one sees nothing but what pleases the eye. They brought to it an artificial river winding serpentinely through a verdant land and overarching branches so that it is the best of sights. (p. 164)

Having given a detailed delineation of the forest al Hajwi affirms that it is "the best of sights that the eye cherishes in this ephemeral dwelling." The other form of beauty that attracted the sight and attention of the Moroccan visitor is female beauty. "Each time I came to this forest," the Moroccan faqih confesses, unable to conceal his enchantment with the Parisian beauties, "I found human gazelles strolling and smartly-dressed people, gorgeous carriages, and seductive beauties promenading." Al Hajwi goes on to paint in glowing terms a serene and tranquil scenery:

> Calmness and tranquillity prevail over everyone there, while pleasure boats revel in the river canal and you imagine that the land converses with mute and talking animals. All in all, it has gathered all that is beautiful, so you see there none but the fascinating and the fascinated. (p. 164)

And as if he seriously expects his Moroccan reader to come and visit the place, share his exuberant experience, and feat his eyes on the beauty of nature and the glamorous Parisian women , al Hajwi earnestly gives him precise direction on how to reach it. "It is in the east side of Paris. If you leave the city by passing through the Arc de Triomphe, you enter it." (pp. 164-165)

As though already Europeanized and adopted French manner, al Hajwi used to frequent the forest. There were two cafés where he used to drink his coffee like a Parisian bourgeois gentleman in evenings and afternoons.

> I liked two cafés there. One of them was located at the entrance coming from the direction of Paris. There were artefacts in it, means of entertainment, and a place for music in addition to the beauty of the scenery appreciated by anyone with refined

> taste. The other is deep inside the forest on a spring of purling water flowing out of high rocks. (p. 165)

He enjoyed going to the first café at night because he liked "the decorations and lighting among the trees and above the green carpets" and the second café in the afternoons "when the mind is bored from the fetters and the ears from hearing the frenzy of the transportation vehicles that sounded like thunder." In this romantic retreat, al Hajwi declares, "everything vanished and I found myself in solitary excursion, tranquillity of thought and peace of mind."

b. Urbanization: Paris the Crown Jewel of Capitals

In addition to his deep fascination with nature, Al Hajwi is interested in the various urban aspects of France: people, buildings, streets, hotels, means of transportation, etc. For him, the French are the paragon of elegance and taste. He remarks in his description of Paris that its people have "a refined and unerring taste." Moreover, they cherish in "their homes both inside and outside, nothing but what is beautiful." So that the Moroccan traveller affirms addressing the reader, "your sight perceives and your eyes behold only what is beautiful, in the faces of the inhabitants, in their manners and clothing, and in their houses, stores, restaurants, hotels, and roads." (p. 125)

On many occasions during his narrative, Al Hajwi praises France's beauty and elegance. He emphasizes strongly on its cleanliness, orderliness, elegance, and beauty and sees Paris as the perfect city, interestingly, and ironically indeed, despite "the weather. It is often gloomy or crying."(p. 127) and "the blackness on the walls caused by so much smoke, because of the excessive use of the fuel for heating during the intense cold winter days." (p. 131)

Al Hajwi's inside view of the greatness of France takes place in his description of the French hotels. In Bordeaux, he stayed in Hotel de Bayonne,

> the best and most beautiful hotel in the city. Its architecture is pretty, its courtyard clean, the furniture elegant and delicate and of the most exquisite and modern workmanship. The rooms are fully equipped, and in each of our rooms, there is cold and hot water and a bathtub. And the architecture and shape are convenient for health and the kitchen is the best of kitchens. (p. 116)

In Paris, Al Hajwi is impressed with the grandeur, elegance, and luxury of the Grand Hotel, presenting it as a microcosm of French modernity and sophisticated urbanism. He writes:

> If you enter from the hotel lobby you find on your right a large hall with a coloured glass dome, in it coloured lamps in the form of the evening sky with its stars. And in that large space are tables, sofas and seats, and soft chairs to sit on, relax, converse and socialize and drink what you want to buy. And there is an area for music available every afternoon to the evening, at mealtime and after, and there are three pots in it. It looks as if you were in a Riad. (p. 135)

The eye of the traveller is delighted with the combination of colours, architectural design, and plants in the hotel. He is equally fascinated with the splendid hotel lighting:

> All of the sections of the hotel are illuminated by electricity. In the room where I was staying, there were twelve electric light bulbs, some equal to a hundred candles, others to fifty. And if you see the number of light bulbs in the resting and waiting area, and the places for eating, drinking and writing, you'll be baffled. They have even devoted a special workshop for electricity. Each of the rooms has running cold and hot water, on whatever floor you need it. (p. 137)

Al Hajwi devotes a lengthy description of this hotel, giving details about every aspect of the hotel, the rooms, the restaurant, the lift, the shops, the lobby, staircases, and even the history of the hotel. The hotel is not simply a place where to spend the night but also of commercial activities, advertisements, exhibition of goods, and currency exchange. The hotel is the perfect epitome that French modernity and civilization have reached. Unable to represent Paris in its detailed complexity and diversity, as Alain Roussillon argues, al Hajwi focuses on the Grand Hotel "as a sort of microcosm of Parisian life."[3]

Another aspect of urban France which especially amazed the Moroccan traveller is transportation. The Moroccan visitor is amazed at how quickly and smoothly people move about the vast city of Paris thanks to the efficiency and the numerous means of transportation. Thus, he explains to his reader that

[3] Alain Roussillon, "La Division Coloniale Du Monde à L'épreuve du Voyage: Deux Marocains à Paris en 1845 Et 1919," *Genèses*, 35 (June 1999), p. 53. See also Mohamed Said Zakri, *Tajaliyaat al Hadatha al Urobiya wa Tawiluha fi al Nusus al Mubakkira li Rahaleen al Maghariba ila al Gharb: Rihlat Mohamed al Hajawi al Thaalibi Namudajan* (Oujda: N.P., 2016), p. 58.

> most of the big streets, called boulevards, have tramway tracks, and in many of the boulevards the tramway tracks are not operational, rather they use big automobiles each carries sixty people, moving continuously to transport people from one place to another, without counting the great number of small automobiles that carry one, or two, or six, or four. And there still remain some horse or mule-drawn carriages, but fewer in comparison to automobiles. Despite all that, they have built other spacious roads underground where electric automobiles go through and even trains. Each train has five wagons, some more others less. Each wagon can carry about 100 passengers. They get down to these roads by means of underground stairs that take them from one place to another. (p. 130)

Al Hajwi comes to the conclusion that the numerous modes of transportation and the accessibility of these means are the major reasons why "Paris has reached this degree of urbanism and population."

Because Al Hajwi considers the pursuit of knowledge to be one of the primary purposes for travelling, he particularly wished to visit the National Library of Paris and a special invitation was granted him as well the rest of the Moroccan delegation by the French Minister of Education. Al Hajwi gladly reports:

> Thus, I went there with some members of the delegation who have fondness for books. And so we entered it and saw all sorts of amazing things. How could one not be astonished at the sight of close to three million printed books and about one hundred thousand manuscripts? They said the number is greater than that! (p. 156)

Expectedly, Al Hajwi was greatly impressed by the hugeness and grandeur of the building, the countless number of books, and the various languages in which they are written. The opportunity of visiting the library prompted him to reflect with self sarcasm and mockery on Muslim comparatively smaller contribution to knowledge, wondering "what have Muslim scholars composed during this period?!" (p. 157)

For Al Hajwi, in addition to knowledge, business plays a key role in a country's success or failure. Commerce constitutes big part of al Hajwi personality and also, in his views commerce. Thus, in his travel narrative, he documents numerous observations about how trade is conducted. In what concerns commerce in Paris, al Hajwi announces,

> If you reach the place of business and of merchandise storages, you will be awestruck by the store's beauty and decoration, and in the sight of the goods and their patterned display: each with its corresponding kind and type. Moreover, Paris' merchandise is of the finest merchandise and of the most advanced inventions. And if you glance at the seller, you'll find him clean, handsome, in a pretty dress, with a smiling face, good manners and upbringing, patient and proficient, so much that you are enchanted by him and you purchase from him whether is cheap or expensive. (pp. 126-127)

Al Hajwi especially admires the way merchants use to their advantage the aesthetic beauty, decoration, and organization of their shops. He also recognizes that the sellers have good manners, patience, smiling faces "so much that you are enchanted by him and you purchase from him whether is cheap or expensive." (p. 127)

In addition to that he is astonished by the ingenuity of merchandize advertisement. While describing the Grand Hotel he was staying at in Paris, he mentions the shops, surrounding the hotel that are rented to merchants so they can "display samples of their goods for publicity in exchange for an expensive rent. Each shop is the size of several shops in Fez, and yet, it is just a place for the exhibition of goods' samples." (p. 133) He even continues in amazement that "They are not content with only that, but they even rent the columns of the hotel and its walls to write their advertisements in golden script on exquisitely gorgeous marble. The walls are decorated and have become a source of income and a profit from such advertisements." (p. 133)

Al Hajwi eulogizes on Paris, describing it as "the capital of France, in fact the capital of modern sciences and European literature, beautiful manners, the abundance of money, elegance and courtesy, politeness and politics." (p. 124) He also calls it

> the essence of the modern city and of the European system, methodical freedom, firm fraternity, obligatory equality, innovative inventions, spacious streets, excellent transportation infrastructure, vehicles as numerous as the adorning stars, fascinating beauty of homes and houses and of what is inside them. And whatever your eyes are laid upon is nice and of course captivating and fascinating. As a whole, it is the crown jewel of capitals, and the most beautiful city, to which stout camels have journeyed. Glory to the one who has accumulated beauty for her and bestowed on her earthly beauty that is apparent in everything and is seen by the beholder. (pp. 124-125)

Al Hajwi exalts Paris as the paragon of civilization, beauty and modernity. The French capital possesses all the splendours, glories, and luxuries to be called the "crown jewel of capitals, and the most beautiful city": refined and unerring taste, meticulous care for fashion and clothing, beautifully decorated houses, and an obsessive devotion to beauty "in the faces of the inhabitants, in their manners and clothing, and in their houses, stores, restaurants, hotels, and roads. Even the vehicles are beautiful and pretty, painted in various hues of colours that baffle sight." Travelling through Paris "you don't see in the streets you pass anything ugly or unpleasant" and "your eye glimpses only beauty." No other Moroccan traveller ever showered so much praise on a European city as al Hajwi did for Paris.

Being aware that many readers would object to his lavish and unrestrained praise on Paris, Al Hajwi invokes the authoritative opinion of other travellers who state that "the opinions of the world have unanimously agreed that it is the finest city in splendour and beauty, and ever since the beginning of civilization, people have not seen any equal in the beauty of its streets; of its buildings, museums, bars, and parks." Moreover, he attempts to persuade the sceptical reader by referring to that fact the French capital "attracts the covetous eyes of travellers from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. People from the greatest and most refined cities visit it to promenade, sightseeing and be inspired by its fascinating civilization."

This is the ultimate pedagogical message al Hajwi was leading to. Paris is a destination not only for sightseeing, entertainment, shopping, excursions and leisure. It is to be admired and cherished as a source for artistic and civilizational inspiration and guidance for all humanity. This is how al Hajwi's reformist agenda unfolds. He goes on to explain that travellers from all over the world come to Paris and "borrow aspects of its modern urbanization and praise it in every conversation despite the ugliness of exile, which wisest minds agreed that it is a burden that the kings of the earth and extravagant people wish to be exiled in Paris." (p. 126)

c. Science and Technological Inventions

The Grand Hotel where Al Hajwi was staying in Paris is equipped with two lifts that "two machines that go up and down, which are called ascenseur. They go up with the hydraulic power to all the floors. Each one has a person in charge of it. When you want to ascend or descend, you click on the bell, he instantly comes to you riding his machine, on any floor you are in. He then takes … s you up or down to where you want without charge" (p. 135)

Another marvel in the same hotel is the telephone in each room which allowed guests "speak with whom you wish inside and outside of Paris while you are in bed." (p. 137) For Al Hajwi this epitomizes "luxury Paris has attained" and "the level of civilization in Europe."

Another scientific marvel, he saw in Bordeaux, is the carrying of coal from the port to the train station in suspended iron skips, powered by electricity:

> we saw … electric cables that carry iron skips hanging on small wheels running on the electric cable, propelled by the electric power which pushes the wheels on which the skips are suspended. The skips are filled with coal from the ships and travel from the river to the railway station hanging in the air. When the suspended container reaches the train wagon it quickly opens, emptying the coal s inside the wagon; and each empty container returns quickly to the ship carrying coal in the river; it is filled and it goes again, and so on … And this bridge is suspended right above the pedestrian road, from the city to the river bridge, under which pedestrians and vehicles pass and nothing falls on them out of the skips nor from what is carried inside them. (pp.119-120)

Al Hajwi praises the power of God "And the power is of God alone" (p. 120) and comments that "This is by no means an easy work. If they wanted to use human labour, hundreds of people will be needed to work there, but thanks to this bridge and the power of electricity, labour and money are saved and speed is done in the attainment of money." (p. 119)

A few years earlier the religious scholars of Fez issued a fatwa warning against dealing with Europeans, blaming them for the backwardness of Morocco. Foreigners, they affirm "are the cause of our worries, our underdevelopment, our chaos, our internal conflicts, our loss of independence and our destruction. What good did they bring us? What sciences did they teach us? What did we gain from these sciences?"[4] As a liberal religious scholar, Al Hajwi never blames Moroccan backwardness on the foreign Other but on the corruption of state officials, the internal chaos caused by Bouhmara as well as from the refusal of Moroccans to imitate Europe, especially France. In his travel narrative he does not speak about the Europeans in terms of the dichotomy of Christians and Muslims nor does he ever refer to the French in terms of colonial hegemony.

He describes with astonishment and fascination France's industrial progress, and scientific discoveries, in an attempt to persuade Moroccans to follow their example. Because he believes in

[4] Quoted in Abdul Salam Heimer, "The Other's Image in Maghrebi Travel Writings," p. 200.

progress and sciences Al Hajwi has devoted a great space of his travel narrative to technological inventions. And in his view all these can be achieved only with education, dedication, and hard work. He writes:

> And the foundation of all of this is science. For them, education is compulsory for men and women. Every child, who has attained schooling age, has to go to school and learn primary education: reading and writing, principles of arithmetic, history, geography and literature. [...]Therefore, you see that both men and women share some degree of education, rich and poor. (p. 128)

Because of this great interest in education "In every European city or village, you see established schools and full scientific clubs and for that purpose, associations have been organized in each city and village, in addition to the governments that have created ministries for knowledge." (p. 128) Elsewhere, he says about Paris, "It is the first of the great cities in knowledge and fine arts. In fact, it deserves to be named the school of fine arts in the world. It is the greatest city in schools, hospitals, museums, scientific clubs, printing presses, industrial halls, amusement parks, and bars. It is the locus of beauty and elegance and aspiration of well refined taste and fruitful inventions." (p. 127) And the secret of this, Al Hajwi explains,

> the competence of their great men and expansive knowledge and high ambition, perfection in organization in both work and legislation, and the citizens' innate passion, which most have, for order in everything and being perfectionists in every task they perform. And the high aspiration for elegance and love of beauty and demonstrating perfection and a ravenous thirst for science and knowledge. (p. 128)

Al Hajwi often defines his journey as a search for knowledge, an opportunity to learn about technology in Europe, become acquainted with new ways of conducting business and meeting scholars to benefit from their science. Hence upon his return to his home land he gave a lecture to Moroccan merchants and incited them to travel abroad to acquire new business knowledge on commercial techniques from, European Other in order to improve their trade and be able to compete with foreign traders who were beginning to be established in their cities.

For Al Hajwi, the true reason for European development and progress is order, organization, discipline, and, above all, education. He admits the superiority of the European Other without bias or prejudice nor any kind of religious resentment or condemnation. In fact, without a sense of inferiority, he celebrates European progress, advancement, development and

modernization as an unavoidable historical reality which Moroccans should try to emulate if they want to extract themselves from their backwardness and underdevelopment. Learning from the European Other, *The European Journe*y seems to stress, is a blessing, refusing the Other will be disastrous on the country.

2. BRITAIN IN AL HAJWI'S OCCIDENTALISM

a. Why Adam Quit Paradise and Judgement Day in a London Hotel

It is important to recall that al Hajwi visited France as part of the Moroccan official delegation then he travelled to England as a private person who "was received in an atmosphere of warm hospitality and luxury, whereas in Britain he was no more than a tourist and a visitor, who had to find his own way and was not protected by any official status."[5]

The first difficulties al Hajwi encountered as an ordinary tourist took place in France, in Boulogne while applying for a passport to travel to England. He was resentful of the way the English police treated him. This first encounter introduced al Hajwi to what he considers to be English xenophobia; this will haunt him throughout his journey and influence his impressions of England. Here is account on stamping his travel papers on board the ship:

> And there they were asked very endless questions. Each committee asked its own questions while they were in the same room: "Where are you from?" "What is your destination?" "How long are you intending to stay?" The place and date of birth, and the age with the exact days. The home address in the original country. The house number and similar other cold questions that the Consul in Paris had asked and which were already answered, and then again by their police at Boulogne and this one here on board was the third. And there still remained a fourth in London, a fifth in Manchester, and a sixth and a seventh. (p. 207)

[5] Richard Van Leeuwen, "The Experience of Travel a Moroccan Scholar's Journey to Europe in 1919," in *Islam and Globalization: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Agostinio Cilardo (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), p. 422.

He is so exasperated that he remarks: “one cannot escape the persecution of the English police and their tedious questions until one leaves their land.” (p. 207) Al Hajwi portrays the British as being hostile to foreigners. They are by nature unwelcoming to foreigners. For example, he declares:

> In brief, most of my travel days in England were regrettably wasted in going to police stations, waiting for my turn, answering questions, stamping the papers and similar things that were beneficial neither to us nor to them. (p. 208)

Having a bad experience with the English travel policy and the many persecutions of the police that he considers worthless for both parties, stamping papers was a real ordeal.

Once in London Al Hajwi again had to “go to the police in order to answer the cold questions and stamp the papers. Only then we were granted the freedom to tour the city” (p. 215) The same bureaucratic ordeal awaits Al Hajwi at the police station in Manchester. He remained waiting for a long time and they “wasted my time in stamping my travel documents.” He was so exasperated that he said to the interpreter, “Had not the reason for the expulsion of Adam from paradise been explained in the *Koran*, I would have said that he escaped from the coldness of the questions of the English police.” (p. 258)

Therefore, he comes to the conclusion that truly “the English do not like foreigners to visit their country. Indeed, they want it sealed for travellers. As said one of the Greek philosophers, I believe it was Aristotle, The doors of Athens are open and he who does not comply with its laws should quit it.” (p. 208) That is why, when he compares the between France and England police officers, he says: “I noticed from the English police a sort of apathy, followed by a cold smile; while the French police are more cordial and cheerful towards travellers.”

Certainty from the above quotes, it is apparent that the attribution of coldness to the English culture and the hatred of strangers was a conclusion that was build up in Al Hajwi’s mind along with the journey as he was continually obliged undergo the same procedure.

Like a splenetic traveller, al Hajwi sets out upon his journey from France to Britain full of resentment and prejudice against the English. His first day in London only added to his mortifications. Because of the celebrations in the capital it was hard and painful finding a hotel and when he finally did after arduous search, the procedure for getting a room proved to be a hellish experience. He records this incident with a great deal of revulsion that the owner of the hotel “forced us to endure again the painful procedure we had already gone through with the English Consul in Paris and the police onboard the ship and elsewhere.” (p. 212) Even more, they were obliged to write down the information in English and in their own handwriting, while

also denying them access to the bathroom until they ended their assigned task. Since "There was none with me who knew a thing about the English language," the Moroccans were compelled to spend most of the night filling in documents. Experiences such as these made al Hajwi form a bad impression about England. He says in his helplessness and frustration invoking God in this situation, "May God save us from such great predicaments and judgement before its due time." (p. 212)

In addition to that al Hajwi complains about the night he spent in this hotel as being the worst night he ever spent in his life. He explains that he "had spent nights in the villages of Morocco and Algeria, but none similar to this." While describing his night in a London hotel, al Hajwi writes in a language, which is common in Orientalist representation of alien cultures:

> thank God, at having left the hotel in London, where I have spent an insufferable night. I was tormented by the thin bed and scanty bedding. God is my witness, it was the worst night I have ever spent during this entire journey. Its bedding was like a narrow, hard piece of stone covered with thorns. I rested my head on a pillow that seemed like a piece of a steep mountain … Here all was gathered: an army of fleas, troops of mosquitoes, to the narrowness of place, lack of facilities and the absence of communication. And this was the night I had to pay for in advance and it costs five Moroccan rials, including a bitter morning coffee, with no sugar (p. 236)

The hotel was in London yet the night he spent there was worse than any night he had spent in the villages of Morocco or Algeria. Mockingly, al Hajwi questions how the owner can name such a place a Hotel. Then, he proceeds to say, in a sarcastic manner: "But freedom permits anyone to name anything in whichever name and label the ignoble with noble names." (pp. 236-237)

Al Hajwi's travel predicaments continued in England. He heard about an Indian mosque and decided to visit it. He took a taxi and asked the driver to take him to the mosque.

> He didn't know it nor did several of the drivers of the automobiles who were present at the station, nor did the policemen. So he drove me to the police station where he asked for directions. They didn't know but directed him to a restaurant frequented by Indian Muslims to guide him. We went there but found none who knew about the mosque. So we kept roaming in several neighbourhoods, asking about it in vain. When sunset approached we returned to our place without achieving anything save

> that we were dead certain of the existence of a mosque in London, and returned doubting that. (pp. 234-235)

In the alien and hostile world of London, al Hajwi's search for the mosque is like a quest for an anchor, a familiar cultural reference in an utterly unfamiliar world of undecipherable signs to give sense to his journey and mitigate his sense of estrangement. But neither the policemen, nor the taxi drivers or even the Muslim Indians helped him locate the sacred house of God in the British metropolitan. At sunset, and after driving through many neighbourhoods and asking about the mosque, the exhausted Moroccan traveller finally gave up the search and returned home filled with uncertainties whether such a mosque ever existed at all. The failure to find the mosque denied the foreign traveller cultural self-assertion and further alienated an already estranged self.

While in France, al Hajwi was constantly confronting enigmatic cultural signs and the bewildering aspects of modernity and a sense of estrangement and alienation. Nevertheless, because of the French language which his son spoke and his diplomatic status, it was easier for him to cope. Also it was not difficult for him to connect with familiar symbols and signifiers. Richard V. Leeuwen argues in "The Experience of Travel a Moroccan Scholar's Journey to Europe in 1919,"

> Throughout his account, al-Hajwi systematically directs his attention to familiar elements in his environment, such as his contacts with the other North-African delegations, the Moroccan soldiers in the ceremonies, visits to the French governors of Morocco, etcetera. The opportunities for this are amply provided by the French hosts, who arrange visits and meetings. An excursion is organized, for instance, to the North- African cemetery near Paris, where al-Hajwi inspects the site where the first Parisian mosque is to be constructed and remarks that the *minbar* is in the wrong direction.[6]

Whereas in England al Hajwi is made to feel a stranger, a culturally unwelcome Other. He is made to experience the anxiety of his Otherness, unable to escape his own alterity and difference. Britain is a world filled with intriguing and uncanny images, ambiguous, enigmatic, and confusing signifiers. The Moroccan tourist must have found himself in the intersemiotic

[6] Ibid., p. 425.

condition Michael Cronin describes as "adrift in a world of alien, threatening signs."[7] This threat took place in London as well as in Manchester.[8]

Al Hajwi encountered more travel problems in Manchester where he wanted to visit Moroccan merchants, "the friends of my father… who had resided in Manchester for a period to trade", another quest for familiar cultural reference. Al Hajwi and his son arrived by train in the afternoon and expected the Moroccans would meet them at the station. Unfortunately none came to receive them. Without any knowledge of English, they were disappointed and helpless. Adding to their desperation and anxiety, their Oriental clothes attracted the curiosity of children who gathered around them. A policeman eventually dispersed the curious children but the foreign visitors did not know where to go. Al Hajwi reflects on his dilemma and his failure to take precautionary measures:

> Out of necessity, we should have been accompanied by an interpreter or at least the address of a hotel. But we had relied on the fact that we had sent two telegraphs to two of the many Moroccan merchants in Manchester, and we thought that if a telegraph missed, the second would reach its destination. One of the two men claimed that the telegraph didn't reach him; while the other said he thought I had telegraphed from Paris and that I wouldn't arrive before the following day. (pp. 239-240)

At last, the problem was solved miraculously when al Hajwi found in his pocket an address of a Moroccan who resided in Manchester.

Again in Manchester, the Moroccan tourist had to go to the police station to perform the unending ritual of having his papers stamped. "We stood there," he writes, "for a good while, wasting my time stamping my travel documents so much that I said to the interpreter: 'Had not the reason for the expulsion of Adam from paradise been explained in the Koran, I would have said that he escaped from the coldness of the questions of the English police.'" (p. 258)

[7] Cronin, "Languages and Travel," p. 695.

[8] It should be mentioned that occasionally in France al Hajwi experienced enigmatic signs and was subjected to the ethnic gaze. At the cemetery of the North African soldiers who died in World War I, a French official gave a speech. Al Hajwi states, "unfortunately, neither our chief nor any of us had any idea about these speeches beforehand so we could have prepared a reply, nor did we understand the speech well." (p. 146)

b. Aversion to Muslim Clothes

While visiting France, Al Hajwi never mentions being treated as an alien stranger. In England, however, he is seen as radically other because of his foreign clothes. Upon arrival in his hotel in London, a British Indian who was called to translate for him was surprised at his clothes and mistook him for a Jew then he qualified al Hajwi's apparel as being "unorganised" and that it contained useless additions.

On arrival at the train station in Manchester, children gathered around Al Hajwi and his son, "marvelling at our clothes and language." They couldn't move until the police dispersed the curious children.

On another occasion, during a visit to the Egyptian obelisk in Queen Victoria embankment, al Hajwi again became the object of curious onlooker. Describing the incident in a section entitled "English Bigotry," he announces,

> I found there many men, women, and children. And while we were contemplating the statue above the obelisk to find out to whom it belonged, they suddenly gathered around us astonished at our clothes as though man has come out of his mother's womb with European clothes on and if someone differs from it he has altered God's design and creation. How extreme is their intolerance and how superior is the tolerance of the Muslims who never criticize foreigners on anything! Thus we were prevented from learning about the statue and we left. (p. 231)

So, again, al Hajwi is irritated during his travel in England that a crowd of people gathered around him as he was contemplating the statue. Reflecting on this incident, he exclaims, "How extreme is their intolerance!" Al Hajwi concludes that Muslim culture is far more tolerant and welcoming to foreigners and insists that Muslims "never criticize foreigners on anything!"

As a faqih al Hajwi shows his tolerance to in the issue of clothes. In addition to the fatwa in this passage, he gives another fatwa related to the subject. In Manchester he was asked by Moroccan merchants residing there whether a Muslim is allowed to prayer dressed in clothes made of the wool of a sheep that was slaughtered by Christians not according to Islamic law. The Moroccan faqih ruled that it was valid because they are, *ahl al kitab*, People of the Book. Interestingly, al Hajwi takes the opportunity of discussing clothes to comment on eating the food of Christians. In a somewhat funny tone, he cites this anecdote that happened between him and a member of the Moroccan diplomatic delegation about eating Christian slaughtered meat. For al Hajwi necessity allows Muslims to consume it even in the case of Christian twisting the

chicken's neck. But this member of the delegation agree with this fatwa. He used to dismiss the meat and eat the broth and vegetables cooked with the meat. Al Hajwi said to him

> "What do you know about Fiqh? How do you prohibit meat but eat its broth!" After that, he ceased eating the broth and started going to Jewish restaurants to eat there. So I said to him, "what is the difference between the butchery of a Jew and that of a Christian since ruling in the Koran involves the two people of the Book. Rather, the difference between the food of the Jews and the Christians is that the second is clean and good for the health, unlike the first." Despite all this, he continued eating the food of the Jews and avoiding the food of the Christians, and both are the same in the religious ruling, (p. 243)

Al Hajwi, as described by Laroui, is a liberal modernist even as related to him religious status as a faqih. He is a reformist who disapproves of fanaticism in religion. He unequivocally states this position in one of his books:

> The truth has disappeared in the clouds of imitation and sectarian fanaticism, especially in the branches of transactions on interests that are appropriate for a past time and do not agree with the present time, and its provisions are valid for certain contexts and not others and for an environment and not another without taking consideration the innovations and inventions that have been created in our era, and the emergence of transactions that didn't exist in ancient times.[9]

The passage encapsulates al Hajwi's modernist reformist vision. He strongly rejects narrow conservatism in opinions and the blind imitation of traditional cultural heritage and insists that Muslim scholars should take into consideration in their religious opinion the context, environments the new inventions and the new related transactions they have created.

As a conclusion, it is obvious that al Hajwi had suffered considerably in the lands of England. Thus, his negative views are not the outcome from any bias against England and favouritism to France, rather it is the outcome of the negative experiences that he had to endure (police questioning, intolerance to strangers, etc) contrary to his time in France. Although it

[9] Anas al Sanhaji, "Al Waey bi al Daat wa Taumathul al Akhir fi al Rihlat al Maghribiya al Muasira: Rihlat Mohamed al Hajwi Namudajan," in *Tajarib Istghrabiya: al Gharb fi Miraat al Rahala al Arab wal Muslimin*, ed. Mahmud Haydar (Najaf: Al Markaz al Islami li Dirasat al Istratijiya, 2019), pp. 221-222. Originally in al Hajwi's *tajdid eulum aldiyn, matbaeat althaqafati*.

should be noted that the two parts of his journey were of different circumstances: in France he was a member of a diplomatic delegation and therefore enjoyed constant care from his host country and while he didn't know French he was provided with an interpreter, moreover, most of the movements of the delegation were planned out without any unpredictable unpleasantness. While in England he was a mere tourist with no understanding of the language nor an interpreter. He was faces with hardships through his travel and had not favour from the country.

c. Fascination with British Technology and Commerce

Despite his constant critique of Britain, al Hajwi's views of the Other in relation to England are filled with criticism. Still, he does not conceal his admiration for English advanced technology, commercial competence, and the modesty of English women.

His first encounter with English technology takes place onboard the ship that he embarked on from France to for Folkston. The ship was fast so that "each vessel we came across we left behind us till we reached Folkston." Also it was capable of sophisticated manoeuvres. As the ship got near the port it did not turn

> but continued onward in a straight line until it went past the port, then it moved backwards as fast as its onward velocity, keeping the same speed until it entered the port and anchored in it without reducing its speed. Thus in its backward movement, it went at full speed as in its onward pace. It did not slow down as did most ships we saw even at anchorage. (p. 209)

In is quite obvious from his way of describing the ship's capabilities and also the skills of its captain that Al Hajwi was fascinated by English naval abilities. He then continues that "All this persuaded me of the naval skills of the English that they were famed for. And what we noticed was that in its backward movement it experienced no perturbation nor did it heel but its state remained the same in both backward and onward movement."

Equally fascinating for Al Hajwi is English railway train system:

> in the whole of England, the railways are greater, stronger, and better made, and they care for them more than others do. … There fourteen big railway-stations are, the biggest of which is Waterloo Station. I have seen a large bridge at the entrance of the London train station from Folkestone on the river Thames. I have never seen the like of it in largeness. On it were six or seven railway lines. And in this station, you see

> railway lines above and below ground. And you see a train above trains, something that astounds the imagination and bewilders the mind. (225)

The Moroccan tourist was so baffled and fascinated that he invoked the power of God, "This sight clarifies what is meant by Allah's saying: "God has the power to will anything, and that God encompasses all things with His knowledge." If God's creatures manage to produce such works and teach it, what about the power and knowledge of the Creator to whom, surely, everything belongs. There is no God but Him." (pp. 225-226)

While contemplating the London train station the awestruck al Hajwi admits to his reader for the first time in his narrative that what he sees is unspeakable and beyond the power of description. He writes:

> The London station is more impressive, larger, bigger and livelier than the station of Paris. I truly find myself unable to describe it and can only affirm: it is unspeakable and can be conceived only by the eyewitness. By God, the mind is confounded in the organisation and arrangement of all that and the management of it in perfect order with no accident of collision. Glory to Allah for enabling Man to achieve what perplexes the minds. (p. 211)

The industrial marvels and wonderful technological invention of Europe are thus interpreted within the Islamic world view of the Almighty's benevolence and favours to his creation.

Elsewhere he even interprets inventions within a universal framework "Indeed, the wonders of Europe are numerous. They are in fact not the wonders of Europe, but the wonders of the world and the wonders of the inventions of an intelligent active human mind." (p. 234) "Thus, there is no essential hindrance that would prevent Morocco from acquiring the same level of sophistication."[10]

In a section entitled "A Moment of Astonishment and Reacquiring Awareness,"[11] Ben Said Alaoui explains that astonishment is a recurrent aspect in the writings of Moroccan historians in the late of nineteenth and the beginning of twentieth centuries. This certainly applies to al Hajwi who is in the above quote confounded with the level of progress that Britain has reached.

Al Hajwi praises the speed of the trains, the punctuality in departures and arrivals, and the orderliness and efficiency in the management of the railway system. He comments with

[10] Leeuwen, "The Experience of Travel: A Moroccan Scholar's Journey to Europe in 1919," p. 429.

[11] Said Ben Said Al Alaoui, *Uropa fi Miraat ar-Rihla: Surat al Akhar fi ar-Rihla al Maghribiya al Muasira*, pp.71-85.

admiration that there were "many people standing to guide passengers to their boarding platforms and where to buy tickets." (p. 226) He is still more amazed by the fact that despite all the activity in the station, and trains going in and out throughout the day, there is "no megaphones nor whistling or great commotion as in the French stations. If the trains whistled here, residing near the station would be impossible and none would be able to sleep." (p. 266)

After observing the continuous flow of trains, al Hajwi says that "all this is because of the high industrial and commercial activities in England so much that baffles the mind of he who contemplates it. England is a land of many products and the factories there more than anywhere else, except in Germany" (p. 226).

Thanks to the powerful industry and the advanced and efficient means of transportation, England is one of the biggest manufacturing countries so much that, al Hajwi observes, "There is no human being who has not benefited from the products of English, and I don't believe that such a man exists. And if he has enjoyed its products then his money has gone there." (p. 211) He is equally impressed with law, order and discipline.

> If a policeman stood up and signalled with his hand to a thousand of people and or to several vehicles, everyone stood still as though they had birds on their heads. None stirred a step until he motioned to him to move. And without this order and good manners, they would have perished. (p.221)

So, like As-Saffar, al Kardoudi, and al Amrawi, al Hajwi admires order and discipline in Europe and Europeans' respect of law. Without this violence and lawlessness would take place.

As an accomplished merchant, al Hajwi has a favourable opinion about the English business skills and ethics. In a section dedicated exclusively for English mastery of trade, he states that "their knowledge about the ways of commerce and the means of exporting and importing" and also the "honesty in transactions and their satisfaction with small revenues to sell large quantities" are the reasons for their advancement which "helped them to expand their markets in the countries of the world."

> The English are universally famous for their knowledge about the affairs of commerce and the means of exportation and importation. They were assisted in that by their upbringing, to be honest in transactions and contentment with small profit so as to sell large quantities. They say: "little from many is a lot." And this is an everlasting necessary rule. Their honesty in transactions is an absolute and complete

> sincerity that exceeds others. This is what paved for them the way to dominate most of the world's trade. (p. 227)

The trade ethics of the English, especially fixing a fair price without the possibility of bargain, and their truthfulness and refrain from cheating al Hajwi has learnt "from those who stayed among them for a long period of time," obviously a reference to the Moroccan traders in Manchester. From trade al Hajiw is going to generalize about the English in a way he never did with the French. He asserts that "Their truthfulness in their manner of speaking and lack of dishonesty in trade and politics gained them the complete trust of the world and helped their markets to expand in the countries of the world. (p. 227)

In addition to that al Hajwi is fascinated with English technical advancement and the great interest in world news. All these aspects are conveyed in his description of the electric telegraph typing-machine he saw in the hotel he was staying in. This machine was

> powered by electricity, connected to the telegraphic news centre of Reuters Company where was printed the news from all over the world, from Europe and America and elsewhere. The hotel proprietor pays the Reuters Company a sum of money for this service. After the typing machine finishes writing, the responsible comes and takes out the typed paper and hangs it at the centre area of the hotel and places in its stead another white sheet to write on it again and so on. And that is for travellers there to be acquainted with the world's news that takes place in every instant without going out and hearing the news from people or having to buy the newspaper or waiting for it to be printed, which implies delays and waste of time. (pp. 231-232)

So even from one's hotel room one can "be acquainted with the world news in his hotel, without someone knocking on his door, or a sluggish courier. He knows the state of the stock market, trade, the rise and fall of the price of the merchandise, and the nations at war or peace in an instant, nations at war or peace." (p. 233) The fact that the hotel owner had equipped his hotel with such an expensive machine convinced al Hajwi of the extreme significance the English give a great importance to time. He affirms that "the English know the value of time which they qualify as gold, turned it into a proverb and persevered in the protection of their gold." (p. 232)

Al Hawji is so amazed by this invention that he says: "by God, this machine is the wonder of wonders" and that had he seen only this typing machine in his stay in England that would have been enough for him. And in a joking tone he writes that the machine is so incredible that it

would be “denied by some of the Mu'tazilites.” He invokes the Almighty “How glorious are God’s creations, and how great is his power! Glory to God, there is no God but Him!” (p. 233)

3. THE SELF IN THE IMAGE OF THE OTHER

a. Admonishing the Self

In his Rihla, al Hajwi describes aspects of European landscape and modernity which he thought would entertain and edify his audience. His primary goal is to introduce reforms in Morocco by exposing Moroccans to the technological and urban advancements of Europe.

His reform project involves also a critique of the flaws of his own fellow citizens and men of power in his country, including members of his delegation. Early in the narrative he reports that the head of the Moroccan delegation, Haj Mohammed Al-Moqri, keeps activities secretive and does not inform the delegation:

> On the morning of our arrival in Paris, the head of the delegation visited those that he was required to visit, like the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and War and the Mayor. And this is something I deduced, but neither heard nor seen, because the head of the delegation wasn't staying with the other members to inform them nor were they to ask him. (p. 138)

The mere fact that he mentions this incident shows his disapproval of the head of the delegation. It is most probable that al Hajwi mentions this incident to his Moroccan readers to inform them of some of the inner workings of the delegation, And to put into question the movements of the head of the delegation. Then, al Hajwi informs his reader that in fact secrecy is a common practice, saying that: "is the general etiquette among Moroccan functionaries. Aren't we in need of mutual support from each other?" (p. 139)

As al Hajwi and some members of the delegation were touring the National Library of Paris al Hajwi writes

> my companions were greatly bored and tired with the great amount of what they saw and wanted to leave. So, I said to them: Haven't you asked to see the manuscripts and we are waiting for the arrival of the person in charge of them? You do amaze me: no boredom occurred to he who composed, or wrote, printed, bound books, preserved, built, shelved, or catalogued, nor to those who are showing us and explaining to us! (p. 158)

Being a writer himself, al Hajwi knows the priceless opportunity of witnessing this great library. Thus, he furiously castigates them for their indifference in the face of such a marvellous sight. In exasperation he directly confronts them saying that "If you were in a place of entertainment, you would not been bored."

From this incident al Hajwi moves to criticize Moroccans who give in easily to boredom. "There is no hope in the advancement," declares al Hajwi, "for he who is afflicted with the malady of boredom, for boredom is our greatest calamity and one the causes of our backwardness and the progress of other nations." (p. 158)

Al Hajwi attributes the great intellectual this achievement of the West as expressed in the huge amount of publications to freedom and democracy. He declares,

> Indeed, how great are the achievements of humans when they live in a pure atmosphere, inhaling the air of absolute freedom and feeding on the essence of knowledge and refinement? I wonder what have Muslim scholars composed during this period?! (p. 157)

In a strong self critique and interrogation of Arabo-Islamic intellectual history al Hajwi writes, "I wonder what have Muslim scholars composed during in this period?!" Obviously, al Hajwi is not blinded by the sense of religious and national superiority observed in travel writers such as Al Fassi. He invokes the American Other to highlight the decline of the Self. This is essential in al Hajwi Occidentalism and his reformist agenda. The visit to the library is an occasion for al Hajwi to voice his politics reaffirming his theory that intellectual productivity can only thrive in a peaceful and free environment. "Indeed," he writes in an explicit critique of the persecution of free thinking in Morocco and the Islamic world,[12] "how great are the achievements of humans if they live in a quiet atmosphere, inhaling in it the air of absolute freedom and feeding on the essence of knowledge and refinement." (p. 157)

At the completion of the diplomatic mission, al Hajwi notes that each member of the delegation went on a destination, some for medical or commercial purposes but others for "no other purpose save wasting money that was easily acquired and to be boastful." (p. 201) His attack on this category of frivolous and irresponsible people is obvious.

[12] It is useful to mention that when in 1923, Al Hajwi was giving a lecture entitled "Taalim al fatat wa mushrakatuha fi al hayat" to promote the schooling of girls, the Prime Minister, Mohammed al Moqri, humiliated him by publically stopping him and protesting that what he was saying was against the teachings of Islam. Al Jirari, *Nin Aalam al Fikr al Mouassir bi al Adwatyn*, vol. 1, pp. 20-68.

Al Hajwi's critique of the political system, controlled by corrupt officials, takes the form of a naval metaphorical anecdote. He remarks,

> When we approached the canal, a small boat came out of it to tow our large ship because entering the river was fraught with danger and pitfalls. Thus, the smaller one became an Imam and the bigger a follower thanks to the additional knowledge the smaller one possessed. Therefore, we learnt that leadership does not depend on seniority or largeness of the body, rather it is merited by he who has more knowledge and learning. (p. 108)[13]

He concludes "Hence, the smaller was leading while the bigger followed behind its track, submitting to its command and never swerving from its drawn line and lucid signs." (p. 108)

Al Hajwi is impressed by Europeans' respect for law and order and does not hesitate to criticize his fellow citizens for their disregard for law and order. He observes that in the city of Fez "people do not sometimes respect order. Consequently, accidents between people happen. Thanks to God, there are no vehicles in Fez otherwise people would have been destroyed because they don't respect the rules and are consequently involved in accidents."

In the light of the quote, al Hajwi implies technology alone is not enough for a civilization. People do not respect rules in Fez and thus al Hajwi deems that vehicles, that he considers one of western civilizations greatest invention, in the context of Morocco they would be not only counterproductive but a source of death and destruction.

b. Morocco Positive

While talking of civilization and refinement in Britain as aspect that shocked the Moroccan visitor in the hotel restaurant in London is that they did not napkins while eating. "In the hotel," al Hajwi writes in surprise, "they didn't even have napkins, and this was common in major English restaurants despite the fact that their country is the country of cloth. Some prestigious restaurants do provide paper napkins, while in France napkins are necessary in any restaurant."

[13] Al Hajwi takes another opportunity to critique the corrupt way of assigning official positions in Morocco when visiting the Mayer of Bordeaux. He remarks that the higher someone is in position the gentler and kinder he is so that "you find that the Mayor of the city is gentler and better mannered than those below him in rank." And attribute this to fairness in appointments as "they elect for their highest positions only their biggest. This does not mean the biggest of bodies nor turbans etc., but rather, the biggest of heart, knowledge and manners." (p. 121)

(p. 237) What shocked al Hajwi more is that though England was the world's greatest manufacturer of cloth; the English did not use napkins while eating. He seizes this opportunity to compare British hygiene with his own country. Addressing and implied foreign reader he says with evident pride:

> Don't tell me that Moroccans don't have napkins. We shall answer you that even the poorest and most wretched among them uses one after eating. And it is necessary among Moroccans to wash their hands with soap and dry them in napkins. This is the ultimate cleanliness, and this is absent in other nations. This is why they provide each diner with a napkin. In the case of the English, this isn't so. Yes, in prestigious hotels; they imitate the manner of the French. (pp. 237-238)

What is significant here is that while Al Hajwi continually critiques his country for backwardness, corruption, and the neglect of law and order, he boastfully argues the superiority of his country in the domain of hygiene. Being treated as an unwelcome stranger, al Hajwi avenges himself by foregrounding the cultural superiority of his home culture and inferiorizing Britain. Moroccans, too, have a civilization.

In his hotel in London, a very interesting confrontational encounter takes place between al Hajwi and an English gentleman. Here is al Hajwi's account on it

> A strange incident occurred to me with an English man while I was standing in front of this type-writer contemplating it working. Indeed it was something marvellous the like of which I haven't seen either in Paris or elsewhere. A Frenchman was beside me and we were conversing about how it operated when an English gentleman stood up and asked me about my country. I said to him: Morocco. Then he said, "I know Tangier I have reached it but was unable to reach Fez because of the highwaymen at that time." I understood that he was there during the uprising of Bouhmara and Raisuli. (p. 232)

Moved by patriotism al Hajwi explains that such lawlessness took place during the uprisings of the rebel Bouhmara and Raisuli and that now calm and security had been restored. Al Hajwi's patriotism, however, does not end here. As he was conversing with the Englishman the Reuter news machine started printing news that following the strikes of policemen in Liverpool people looted stores. Al Hajwi turned towards him and said: "Have you read what is on this paper?" He answered: "Yes." Then al Hajwi remarked to him: "Thank God, we are on the same footing.

Still, our country is safer. Plunder in our country happens only in the countryside. With you, inside the cities." Al Hajwi writes with a sense of triumph "And I struck him speechless." (p. 232)

This confrontation between the Self and the Other in the *Rihla European Journey*[14] has awakened the national consciousness and identity awareness of the Moroccan traveller so that his journey in Europe is also a voyage into the self, of self-rediscovery,[15] a disillusionment with Europe and a revaluation and appreciation of the traveller's own identity and cultural heritage. To put is in the words of Abdenabbi Dakir, witnessing the progress of the Other and the wretchedness of the Self "the authority of civilizational belonging prompts the traveller, consciously or unconsciously, invoke the aspects of the culture of the self in exile, and transform it into an expedience of narcissistic nostalgia."[16]

4. CRITIQUE OF EUROPE

a. Paris: Kaaba of Hedonism

Throughout his *rihla*, al Hajwi has an unwavering fascination and a profound admiration towards France. However, he occasionally levels bitter criticism against France and resentment towards its civilization in a way that seems to undermine the basis of his positive views and preferences for this country.

For many travellers, France and more precisely, Paris, excites the admiration of every visitor and enchants the sight of every beholder. Al Hajwi is no exception. Still while he praises it on many occasions during the narrative, be it for the beauty of its nature and buildings, means of transportations, for highly valued manners, comportment, or for giving ultimate importance to trade, science and learning, the Moroccan visitor still criticizes in strong terms French morality and its incompatibility with his culture and Islamic precepts. What is significant is how he

[14] Nonetheless something remains enigmatic and incomprehensible in this encounter is how al Hajwi could overcome his linguistic limitations to both read the printed news and how he conversed with the English gentleman?

[15] Zakri describes al Hajwi's *rihla* as a journey of self rediscovery. See, *Tajaliyaat al Hadatha al Urobiya wa Tawiluha fi al Nusus al Mubakkira li Rahaleen al Maghariba ila al Gharb*, p. 64.

[16] Quoted in Zakri, *Tajaliyaat al Hadatha al Urobiya wa Tawiluha fi al Nusus al Mubakkira li Rahaleen al Maghariba ila al Gharb*, p. 69. Translation mine.

strategically organizes his attack. First, he begins by glorifying the opera house and the extravagant money spent on its building, then he discusses the importance of the theatre in the French culture being

> an important science and people involved in it are famous although the play may purely be fiction, like the *Maqamat of Al Hariri,* but they perform it for useful moral purposes and edification. A play can represent love, another chastity, virtue, generosity, or courage, and, therefore, the theatre has the role of refining morals for those who know the language and are acquainted with French customs and European morality. (p. 153)

After citing many positive elements about art and the theatre and the costs incurred by the state to build the opera, he launches an uncompromising attack on the moral decadence of the French dramatic performance:

> However, the critic has the right to criticize things which conflict with high morals, such as speaking in vulgar words. A spectator may come with his brother or his son or his father. There is in it what excites the sensuality of the soul and leads it to commit immoral acts. And if it avoids such things, it would have been the best of moral schools, (p. 154)

Interestingly, al Hajwi in this passage invokes the sacred language of Islam to describe the sinfulness of the French. This image conflicts sharply with al Hajwi's general positive view of France, which unfolds al Hajwi's ambivalent attitudes. And for the first al Hajwi evaluates the theatre, a fundament aspect of French urban life and modernity, against his own cultural identity and background and rejects it as having no "equivalent of it in Islamic law, nor in the Arab taste." On top of this, he continues to critics the extravagance life style of Parisians

> the extravagance in luxury and exorbitance, showing off of wealth, and pride in the money which leads to its squandering. Whenever a new fashion is worn by the wife of so-and-so, the previous fashion is discarded and all the money is wasted in vain. Entertainment and dancing venues are the spaces for the exhibition of fashion and the fertilization of this malady. This is normal in spending and luxury. Each nation whose opulence increases, its spending increases too. Verily, God has created people with a purpose. (pp. 154-155)

In the passage al Hajwi diagnoses the moral maladies (sins) that opulence and luxury create, the extravagance, exorbitance, wealth, vanity, obsession with fashion and self-display. Al Hajwi observes that "Each nation whose opulence increases, its spending increases too" and that the French "have excelled in everything, and have reached the pinnacle in urbanization and well-being." What is perhaps alluded to here is reaching the pinnacle of civilization brings with it the seeds of decadence and the fall.

The moral fall that accompanies modernity and civilizational apogee are discursively implied in *The European Journey*. In fact his attack is not restricted to the theatre alone. The theatre unfolds is in his travel discourse a symbol of France. In one instance, immediately after mentioning that Paris is visited by "People from the greatest and most refined cities visit it to promenade, sightseeing and be inspired by its fascinating civilization. They borrow aspects of its modern urbanization and praise it in every conversation," (p. 126) he adds that Paris is a

> Kaaba of the pilgrims who revel in hedonism rather than piety, a place for sightseeing and strolling rather than for seeking blessings, a stage for displaying stylistic fashion, abundant decorations, the utmost prosperity, debauchery without restraint, and the rhythmic recitation of the verses of pleasure, prolongation (al mad), satiation (ishbaa), duple and triple rhythm, and the enchantment of hearts and ears. (p. 126)

Paris "is the home of the affluent and refuge of the libertines." It is the capital of hedonism and libertinism. The theatre and other frivolous venues of entertainments are the sites for the propagation of immorality and the dissoluteness of women in France. This is why, affirms al Hajwi,

> People with jealousy and virtue criticize it as they criticize debauchery and extravagance, which they consider to be the result of excessive luxury, absolute freedom, and non-adherence to the precepts of religion, especially the women. They have removed the badge of modesty and adorned themselves in a way that can be compared only to the copulation of beasts on the open roads. To this extent, they have arrived or come closer to it. They have already openly performed its initial stages. This is something that has spoilt morality and is not appreciated by tastes. It is advocated neither by customs, reason or religion. (p. 154)

Al Hajwi categorically rejects the immorality of theatre especially that the performance might be indecent to watch by family members. Hence, Richard Van Leeuwen rightly argues that "It seems that for al Hajwi the theatre represents the quintessence of all European vices."[17]

With regard the attitude to women, al Hajwi seems to voice the views of other Moroccan travellers. Al Amrawi, for instance, states in his *Tuhfat al Malik al Aziz bi Mamlakat Bariz*:

> French women go out unveiled and plunge in the world of sin and prostitution, and nobody can prevent them from doing whatever they wish. Men's obedience to women and the latter's liberty is so well known that they say: 'Paris is the paradise of women and the hell of horses.' The wife is sovereign at home; her husband obeys her. …. We learnt that the majority of women give in to vile immoral deeds, and that jealousy is very rare among men. A wife can take the hand of another man in the presence of her husband who wouldn't react or show any sense of irritation. He would even ask his neighbour or his friend to accompany her to a recreational area or a show if he is busy. Husbands don't question the behaviour of their wives even when they hear rumours about their misdemeanour.[18]

Though al Hajwi echoes the views on Christian women expressed by his predecessors, he by no means generalizes on European women. In fact he has a positive view of Spanish and English women. In his *The European Journey*, al Hajwi praises English manners of modesty towards women. Al Hajwi especially admires in the English is fascinated with is the decency and the modesty of the English people.[19] When he embarked on an English ship on the way to travel to Britain she was amazed by the fact that the ship spaced was gendered man were not allowed in the space that was exclusive to women. He noticed:

> concerning the difference in morals between the English and the French is that this ship had a section reserved for women, which was the best one onboard, forbidden to men. And this was also the case with English trains. This we never observed with the French, and we only heard about it with the Ottomans. Isn't it deserving of Muslims

[17] Leeuwen, "The Experience of Travel a Moroccan Scholar's Journey to Europe in 1919," p. 428.

[18] Sadik Rddad, "Driss ben Driss Al-Amraoui: Moroccan Ambassador to Europe," ed. Tabish Khair, *Other Routes: 1500 Years of African and Asian Travel Writing* (Oxford: Signal, 2006), p. 354.

[19] Al Hajwi seems to echo Shadyaq's positive portrayal of English women in his travel narrative to Britain. A Hajwi makes references to al Shidyaq's travel narrative to Britain, *Kashf al Mukhaba 'an Ahwal Uruba*.

> to uphold such custom at sea as well as on land, since they have to wear the veil and cherish chastity? And the English are well-known for their strong modesty and propriety, and for being less lewd towards their women and men, unlike other nations. (p. 206)

Not only does he compare between English and French decency and modesty but he also ends up saying that these English good morals should be a model to be followed by the Muslim nation. This is one of the instances where we can see the reformist side of al Hajwi where he tries to find the good side of the foreign cultures that he comes in contact with during his travel and see how they should be implemented in his own context.

Al Hajwi goes on to comment that "the English are well-known for their strong modesty and decency, and for being less abusive towards their women and men, unlike other nations." (p. 206)

Similarly in his travel narrative to Spain entitled *The Andalusian Journey,* al Hajwi asserts that Spanish women have

> virtue and are less frivolous, and not dissolute nor do they dress nakedly, and you won't see them revealing the skin of their bosoms, the back or the thighs and the like. Most of them reveal just the face and hands, and perhaps a little of the bosom, and most of them wear on their heads above their hats something raised that resemble in its height what Moroccan women used to wear called *al huntoze*… most certainly an ancient Islamic custom.[20]

To conclude this section, al Hajwi's Occidentalism in relation to France is based on his own personal observations. He compliments many aspects of their civilization, like the great interest in aesthetic beauty and their good manners and displays constant admiration and amazement at their technological development: means of transportation and communication. He also praises them for giving great importance to commerce and education. Nonetheless, his narrative is not void from criticism as he said "However, the critic has the right to criticize things which conflict with high morals" Al Hajwi disapproves of the extravagant hedonistic lifestyle that he witnessed in Paris as well as the depravity of French women.[21] His views of

[20] Manuscript, Rabat National Library, number 115 ح.

[21] Al Hajwi's attack on French women is also strongly expressed in his book on the promotion of schooling for Moroccan women entitled *Taaleem al Fataat la Sufur al Maraa,* pp. 75-76 and 88-89.

Europe developed and were constantly being refashioned as his journey progressed and according to various encounters.

b. European Bigotry and Treachery against Muslims

Because of his exotic clothes the Moroccan visitor at the hotel in London was confused for a Jew and wherever he went he was the object of the curiosity of the passerby who stood to gaze at him and his strange clothes. In fact a similar incident occurred in France. In the Alsace-Lorraine while visiting the fortifications a group of men, women and children gathered around the Moroccan delegation, gazing at their exotic clothes with brazen curiosity. A woman went up to them and asked whether they were Jews and another said, "Are you players in the theatre?" The Moroccan, al Hajwi writes were irritated by "their stupid questions and incessant staring."

Al Hajwi presents what happened in the Alsace-Lorraine as a separate incident. "When we were in Paris," he asserts, "people did not gather around us, while these people considered us a curiosity and used to gather and gaze at us men, women and children." He goes on to remark that the onlookers were less elegantly dressed than the Parisians and attributed their insolent behaviour to "the levity of their wits." (p. 188)

Nonetheless, in the rihla it is discursively interpreted within broader cross cultural terms. The incident in discursively connected with other contexts. The fact that the Moroccans were mistaken for Jews occurred in London too. And al Hajwi's statement that Europeans expect foreigners to dress like them "as if God created the human being just to wear their clothes and as if Adam came out of paradise in European clothes." (p. 189) This quote reminds us of a similar statement he made in Manchester when he said to the interpreter "Had not the reason for the expulsion of Adam from paradise been explained in the Koran, I would have said that he escaped from the coldness of the questions of the English police." (p. 258)

Hence, because of the hostile attitude prevailing in Europe regarding Muslim clothes, al Hajwi reflects on the issue in the section "Ruling on Wearing Christian Clothes in Europe" as applicable to Europe in general:

> for this reason, Sheikh Muhammad Abdu issued a Fatwa permitting the wearing of the suit in the land of unbelievers. And whoever wears clothing different from the Europeans shall be confronted with similar questions and the loss of his money. Whenever they see someone wearing clothes different from theirs they raise the price of food and indeed of all goods. If he is a merchant, his business is surely ruined.

> And there is no religious benefit in staying in their country in an attire unlike their own, except exposing oneself and making one's dignity a target of laughter, derision, and humiliation. (pp. 213-214)

In contrast to European fanatical values and xenophobia, al Hajwi foregrounds his own tolerance and adaptability to foreign environment. His religious ruling is that Muslim travellers in Europe are allowed to wear the European clothes. Thus, against the cultural intolerance of the Europeans, the Moroccan faqih is prepared to make religious compromises, reinterpret religion for the necessary convenience of the Muslim traveller:

> Their clothing is like a weapon that swindlers wield to defraud foreigners of their money. Then it is necessary to drive away harm with whatever means. The foreigner can only be saved from them by their clothing and language. Should you be in their country, wear their clothes and learn their language to avoid their cunning. By God, wearing a suit is indeed the hardest thing for a Muslim. However, if circumstances oblige, it is permissible as stated in al-Zurqani, the commentator of Khalil,[22] when he speaks of apostasy such as wearing of the belt, *zinar*, and this is mentioned on page 130. (p. 214)

Al Hajwi meticulously cites religious authorities and even the relevant page number for the reader who wants to check. So, though al Hajwi is aware that the Europeans are not a monolithic entity, and that there is a huge diversity among them, ethnic, cultural, political, and socio-economic; however, they are monolithic when dealing with Muslims. Hence, his advice and fatwa recommendation for Muslims to learn their language and wear their clothes, try to look familiar to them to escape their cunning.

Al Hajwi concretizes the treachery and duplicity of the English in the figure of Abdullah Quilliam. Al Hajwi had read a great deal about him in the Egyptian newspapers. He converted to Islam and was preaching Islam in England and was running a newspaper to promote his new faith. He received lavish donations from all the land of Islam, especially from Africa and India, especially when he claimed that he was building a mosque in Liverpool and 500 English people converted to Islam at his hands. During his visit to England the son of the King of Afghanistan offered Quilliam gold and money for the building of the mosque. It was discovered the English

[22] Mohammed Ibn Abd al-Baqi al-Zurqani (1645-1710) was an Egyptian Islamic scholar and the commentator of Mukhtasar Khalil. He issued a fatwa permitting Muslims to wear the clothes of their host countries.

convert took the money for himself. “So his deceit was revealed. He played his trick and swindled Moslems out of their money with lies that had no truth.” He fled the country with the swindled money. Al Hajwi says he was told several stories of his thefts and swindling of Muslims.

c. The Crisis of Europe

Throughout *The European Journey*, Europe is consistently represented as a great industrial and civilizational power. This image, however, is subverted with equally consistent contradictions. On leaving France, al Hajwi bursts into nostalgic about his homeland:

> we reunited with our beloved homeland with chests filled with longing, and hearts homesick like the longing of the baby for his mother and the young man to the best of mankind, peace be upon him. We received it with smiling and cheerful faces and hearts filled with the hope of seeing and reuniting with the family. (p. 280)

During the journey homeward, the Moroccan traveller reflects on home, exile, and the realities of Europe. “If our yearnings were to be represented in the concrete world, they could only be depicted as wings flying us to our families, for we have had enough of alienation and the gold in our pockets gone in very expensive expenses because, except bread, everything was costly.” (p. 280)

With deep disillusionment al Hajwi depicts another altogether different Europe: “the warehouses were empty of goods, and so we didn’t find what to buy for trading either in France or England.” His mercantile expedition has failed. “I have spent a lot of what I took with me for commerce on the travel expenses and the rest I brought back, as for trade I only bought a little that neither fattens nor enriches.” (p. 280) That is because goods were becoming scare and prices rocketed decrease following the end of the war.

Al Hajwi attributes this to the spread of the Bolshevik ideas and their embrace by workers. They organized strikes demanding increase their salaries, reduction in working hours and sharing in the profit the factory owners were making. The horrified al Hajwi says,

> I have no idea where this is going to lead, save chaos disguised as strikes. Every day, a group of workers go on strike (اعتصاب/المعتصبون). In fact, on the day of our arrival in Paris, the restaurant and café workers went on strike so we didn’t find

> anyone to serve us food in the hotel where we were staying except the owner of the restaurant and his secretary. And on the day of our arrival in Strasbourg, we found tramways workers on strike. When the government placed a military detachment in their place, the protesters attacked the French lieutenant and killed him and wounded two others. This is what the strikers do. They attack anyone who works in their stead and prevent him from doing so, saying that if he doesn't join them they will kill him. In England, coal miners went on a strike, and they affected their country, France and other countries because of the shortage of coal, and since coal is what turns the gears of factories manufacturing came to a stop. Then the police who are the rule enforcers in England went on strike, as has already been mentioned. (pp. 281-282)

It is important to note that the Moroccan traveller gives this alarming catalogue about Europe at the conclusion of his voyage and on the way back home. The portrait of Europe in the passage conflicts subversively with the glamorous celebratory images al Hajwi was paining during his travels in France and England. He even inserts in this catalogue of problems the police strikes in Liverpool and the looting and vandalism they caused, he mentioned in his episode on England.

So, interestingly in the end of his travel journey and his travel text, Europe emerges in al Hajwi's narrative as bleak, poor, and vulnerable Europe. "Thus every day, a new group goes on strike, and all of this is the result of the Great War that has undermined the foundations of urbanization, peace and prosperity. May the benevolence of God relieve the world of its sufferings. Amen! First, the war planted Bolshevik ideas, and then it consumed the gold and silver money that was in the coffers of fighting parties and transferred them to the coffers of the neutral countries and there remained only papers-money, and the price of silver and gold has gone up." Al Hajwi comes out of his self-deception and goes on to explain in a lengthy passage how the war caused great financial crisis in Europe.

> When the cost of living rose for the proprietors of stores and houses they increased the rent price, which inevitably further increased the living costs. For a person, for instance, who used to earn a thousand francs a month to spend on his family the amount becomes no longer sufficient unless he increases it by another six hundred for example. And this is true for everything and it keeps becoming more expensive every day. In fact, all these calamities are because of the war and the idea of trading with paper money. It is a trick that has drained the wealth of the nation and placed it in the hands of the state, banks and capitalists. (p. 283)

With relief al Hajwi refers to the "crisis we have left behind in Europe." He is evidently joyful to have left the war-torn and financially crippled Europe. He vividly captures this crisis in a poetic metaphor:

> At first the war is a seduction,
> That allures with her charms every ignorant
> And when it flares up and its fire is ablaze
> It turns into a hag who has no consort. (p. 285)

The Moroccan traveller who visited Europe and witnessed its conditions following the Great War satirizes the European war, modernity and industry.

To go back to the passage on the strikes, one wonders why al Hajwi refrained from mentioning the striking staff at the Grand Hotel while he was staying there and why he concealed the bloody strikes of the tramway workers he himself witnessed in Strasbourg, which degenerated into bloody confrontations between the workers and the army and the killing of a French lieutenant. The reader realizes that in order to design a coherent reform project built on the idea of France as the model and its celebration as the epitome of modernity, civilization, technological achievement, and law and order, al Hajwi's narrative was engaged in a systematic process of concealing and repression. Al Hajwi was deliberately involved in a process of censorship against anything that would undermine his enthusiasm for France and his highly favourable image of France because this image was the cornerstone of his reform project to save his own nation from backwardness and decadence. Now, having been in Europe and having witnessed the disastrous consequences of the war, understood the inherent flaws of the capitalist system, experienced the collapse of the European economy and suffered his own trade failure, and exposed to the explicit and implicit xenophobia against Muslims, al Hajwi of the end of the journey and the conclusion of the narrative finally decides to confess and reveal the flaws of Europe that his narrative so much endeavoured to conceal from the reader's eyes. He recovers his agency by revealing what he has been concealing throughout his *European Journey*.

d. The Fall Europe and the Rise of the Power of America

Al Hajwi travelled in France and Britain free of the Islamic worldview in many Moroccan *rihla sufariyya* of the House of the Believers and the House of the Unbelievers. He

never uses the label Christian to categorize the Europeans nor does he engage in any religious polemical debate or confrontation with them. He endures the exasperating treatments of the British police and the curious stares of the passersby and communicates his irritation to his reader alone. The first ethnic and cross cultural confrontation that occurred to the Moroccan traveller during his entire journey in Europe is the misunderstanding with two American soldiers.

Al Hajwi recounts the incident as a funny anecdote in a chapter entitled "Reputation of a Falsehood." On his way from Paris to Boulogne al Hajwi shared a train compartment with American soldiers. At lunch time he and his son left their seats and went to the restaurant car, leaving their praying rags spread on their seats. When they returned they found their seats occupied by two American soldiers. His son tried to communicate with them in French but they didn't understand him. They ignored him and remained seated. So, he went to the French train captain and complained to him about what happened. The captain "came up to them and talked to them but they didn't answer him. He went to an American officer and brought him to remove them from our seats. However, the officer didn't understand the train captain because of his ignorance of the French language." (p. 203) After this communication breakdown the train captain resorted to force. "He aggressively removed them from the seats. He grabbed each by his arm and pulled him away, though the body of each of them was greater than that of the captain. They left in humiliation and we took back our seats." (p. 203)

For Al Hajwi the moral significance of citing this anecdote is to prove the baseless rumour that the American soldiers committed abuse in the land of France. This passage illustrates how fair and just the French are with the Moroccans although they are aliens in their lands. The train captain did everything he could to restore seats to two Muslim Moroccan passengers. He did not ignore the request of the two religiously and culturally alien travellers. He behaved in this situation the same way he would have behaved had it been a request from a French citizen. Even by the rather violent means of grabbing and pulling the American soldiers who fought with them in the war and helped defeat their enemy: Germany.

However, the anecdote is much more compellingly meaningful in another respect. What is important about *The European Journey* is the fact that it is one of the rare, probably the first Moroccan travel narrative to mention America and its rise in power on the international stage. Despite the situational superiority of the French train captain and the humiliating submissiveness of the two robust bodied American soldiers and relinquishing of the seats to the two Oriental dressed Moroccans, their presence in the train, in France and in al Hajwi's *rihla sifariyya* all herald the emergence of a new great power far superior to old Europe.

While discussing the presence of America in al Hajwi's travel narrative, it must be stressed that his encounter with this new nation begins very early in the narrative, immediately

after the delegation sets foot on French lands in the port of Bordeaux. Here, al Hajwi quickly notices that out of all the largest amount of the items that were transported "in the dock are American war equipment, the ammunition and war supplies brought in by the United States to participate with France and its allies in the Great European War." (p. 115) This huge scale military equipment at the port was definitely a surprise to the delegation. The traveller continues to inform his reader that the military strength of America was not restricted to war equipment alone. In fact he states that to aid in the war, the Americans have also invested enormously in the infrastructure in France by building ports and supply routes to the battlefield as well as in the communication system. In this respect, al Hajwi writes that America

> built its own proper docks on the shores of the river and built warehouses, making it a great port, and extended the railways, the telegraph and telephone lines and strengthened the industrial roads, through railways and other means, from Bordeaux to the battlefield so that communication from America by sea and land is very easy and orderly, as will be mentioned later. (p. 115)

In the same vein, the traveller was astonished to learn that after the end of the war the Americans were at the time transporting their military equipment back to their own country. All the way from Bordeaux to Paris, while one the train, al Hajwi keeps noticing "American soldiers and their ammunition chests, many of which are still being shipped back to North America, such as massive guns." (p. 118) He was also puzzled when he saw that they were also taking back their logistics equipment such as

> pulling and lifting machines, and rail lines that stretched from there to the battlefields. And it is surprising that they return everything back to their country and sold nothing, not even the furniture of their homes, which is useless to carry back; unlike the British, they sold in France many supplies and war necessities such as wool, and even horses; they have sold many and are still selling more. (p. 118)

For al Hajwi, the shipping of war equipment back to America is a confirmation of the power of this rising nation especially after al Hajwi compares it to the British who had sold in France many supplies and war necessities such as wool, and horses and "are still selling more." (p. 118)

The display of American power becomes publicly visible during Victory Day. During the celebrations the soldiers of France and her allies marched in processions in Paris. Among the

participants it was the American army that attracted the attention and admiration of the Moroccan visitor. Al Hajwi recounts:

> American soldiers, preceded by the American General, the Chief War Staff, the cavaliers and the infantry, with American music bands and American flags. In their dress and organization, the American army was magnificent, and everything that was on them or in their possession was sparkling. They were absolutely the most wonderful of armies, their uniforms and their equipment all new, used on this occasion for the first time. (p. 143)

Al Hajwi describes the American army as the most magnificent of all the armies that marched on that day. His use of adjectives such as magnificent, most wonderful, sparkling demonstrate the Moroccan traveller's enchantment with the Americans.

Knowing that Morocco was colonized by France at the time and that the delegation's goal was primarily to celebrate the victory of France and its allies over Germany, it is indeed ironical that it is the American military power which keeps getting exhibited more prominently in the background of al Hajwi's journey. And although he does not actually point it out each time he encounters them he writes that he has "seen a great deal of their tents and ammunition on the way from Bordeaux to Paris." This is where the traveller realizes "the power of America and the level of wealth and readiness it has reached." (pp. 118-119)

Al Hajwi is able to detect the beginning of a major shift in power around the world. After the decline of Muslim nations that led Morocco and many other countries to precarious stations and all the major European powers at the time lost a great amount of resources and human lives during World War I, a new nation was quickly rising into the limelight as a global power. "In a century and a half," the baffled al Hajwi writes, "a newly independent nation reaches such greatness." This is something extraordinary, he stresses. "The independence of this country was only in 1776 AD." This contrast of decline and growth prompts al Hajwi to evoke the following Koranic verse, "If He so wills, He can do away with you and bring forth a new mankind."[23] This implies for al Hajwi that the great era of Europe was coming to an end and was getting replaced by a new emerging nation.

Evidently, what started as a casual encounter with America at the port of Bordeaux and on the train to Paris develops into an implicit but consistent pattern in al Hajwi's rihla. Another powerful encounter with the greatness and power of America takes place at the National Library in Paris. Al Hajwi writes,

[23] Kora, Chapter : "Al Fatir," verse, 16. Asad's translation.

> We entered a room that, they said, contained books written by American scholars. Their number equals both Al Quarawine Library and Marrakech Library combined, all printed books. I said to myself: This nation came about in the recent time and its scholars have written this amount of books, while they have achieved independence only about one hundred and fifty years. (p. 157)

After witnessing the great military might of the United States, al Hajwi comes in contact with another side of America's power. Having learnt about the huge number of American books available in the National Library, the Moroccan traveller cannot help but express his amazement considering it was a young nation at the time.

And to foster a favourable attitude by the reader towards the Americans, al Hajwi goes at length to try and refute the rumour of American soldier's misconduct against the French following the victory against Germany. After learning that "many people claim that American soldiers treated the French roughly and disrespectfully since they helped them with the war and victory was achieved thanks to them and their assistance," al Hajwi informs his reader that from his personal experience "Such accusations are greatly exaggerated." Although he cautiously admits "it shouldn't be generalized." He recounts his encounter with American soldiers so that it "can serve for comparison with other cases." And goes on to declare,

> We have often seen their soldiers enjoying themselves in Paris and Bordeaux, harming anyone or breaking the law. Yes, we were told that in Bordeaux there were American police to assist the local police to maintain public security in case American soldiers are involved in ordinary fighting among themselves or with others, in which case the American police would deter and oblige them to respect rights and morals. And the fact is that every day American soldiers travel back home after completing their military mission. (p. 204)

Al Hajwi meant his *European Journey* to be a record of his travels to France and England, while the primary purpose of the ambassadorial mission was to celebrate the victory of France and its allies in the First World War. However, from time to time, America, a nation outside the European boarders, keeps resurfacing in the background of his account. The Americans "helped them with the war and victory was achieved thanks to them and their assistance." During the Victory celebrations al Hajwi announces that "They were absolutely the most wonderful of armies." In addition, while praising the French education system, he asserts

that it “has surpassed the other nations” and adds “except North America.” Through the small pieces of information about America, al Hajwi seems to have started consciously to realize the coming change in the world where Europe would no longer remain the centre. This seems to upset and subvert his entire reform project based on the French model of modernity and civilization. As mentioned in the previous section, al Hajwi returned back to his country completely disillusioned with Europe. He expresses his postcolonial agency in his *European Journey* by suggesting an alternative route, a new nation and a different civilization outside the colonial hegemony of France, a trajectory that disorients the very history and civilizational ideals of Europe.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation is a translation of Mohamed al Hajwi's travel account, *The European Journey* and a study of the configuration of Occidentalism in this travelogue. The first part of the dissertation has provided a theoretical framework for this current translation project. The theories of translating travel genre, complex relationship between translation and colonial histories and ideologies, postcolonial approaches to translation, as well as the issues and challenges in the translation of Arabic texts into English have been discussed. When translating travel writing, one has to be aware, as many critics have stressed, that this genre is fundamentally the product of an encounter with foreign cultures and people.

Hence, the first aspect emphasised in this part is the correlation between travel and translating. Travelling is a process of translating and interpreting cultural differences into the language of the traveller for his or her own audience. According to Bassnett, the traveller and the translator are essentially interpreters, cultural mediators who bring different worlds into contact.

The second important aspect is that the travel genre is hybrid, incorporating within itself a mixture of discourses from autobiography, history, anthropology, and literature. Consequently, travel narrative is described as a genre where multifaceted voices get expressed.

The third aspect, the translation of travel accounts, as many theorists have argued, is complicated by a number of things. For Jakobson, complete equivalence and fidelity in translation is an illusion, while Benjamin insists that the transfer of meaning from one language to another can only achieve a partial representation of the original. This is the case with the translation of cultural bound elements that are usually untranslatable due to their unique connotation in the source language and might not have an equivalent in the target language. The transfer of cultural meaning can pose a serious challenge and usually involves compromising or sacrificing some of the original meaning. Coping with cultural bound expressions, critics have emphasised that the translator is required to have a careful understanding of the cultural context and values of both the source and target cultures and figure out the best possible way of cope with these expressions, either by an equivalent expression in the target language, explanations in footnotes, or, if necessary, by cultural substitution.

The issue, however, is not merely linguistic or cultural. It is ideological. For many

theoreticians, translation involves questions of power relations. Using Edward Said's approach to Orientalism, theorists such as Lawrence Venuti and James Clifford see translation as a reconfiguration of the foreign texts within power relations. It re-interprets Otherness and the cultural difference of the foreign text by means of a linguistic domestication which is familiar and intelligible to the target reader. In this respect, translation might be implicated in the imperialist project of appropriation and dominance over foreign cultures and perform what Venuti refers to as violence against the source text and the foreign culture.

To understand how translation might be an act of violence within imperialist relations of power and hegemony the dissertation has discussed Vallés' analysis of the politics of power in the Spanish translation of Alexandre de Laborde's *Itinéraire Descriptif de l'Espagne*. Her analysis demonstrates how omissions, additions and alterations in the Spanish translation are meant to confiscate the original author's admiration for the Moorish heritage and enhance the superiority of the translator's culture. The intervention of the translator/editor has adapted the translated version to the expectations and cultural assumptions of the Spanish readership. To avoid such biased translation, Venuti calls on translation practitioners to be aware of the domestication techniques involved in a fluent translation and proposes foreignizing strategies for countering cultural dominance. Other theorists call for a postcolonial approach to translation. Niranjana advocates a literalist translation as close as possible to the original text, a retranslation that foregrounds hybridity and heterogeneity, while André Lefevere insists on the role of the translator as a reader, describing translation as a rewriting process which aims at influencing the way the original text should be read by the target audience. Clifford rejects the translation methods that reinforce the reader's cultural convictions and domesticates otherness. For him, like travel, translation is a means for cultural comparison as well as a site for cultural encounter and identity transformation. In the case of Talal Asad, invoking Walter Benjamin, a good translation is that which captures the intention of the original author and the idiosyncrasies of his original language. The power relations in the English language, the act of translation, the publication industry and circulation as well as the expectations of the target reader need to be understood because they have a substantial impact on the translation.

The second chapter has explored the poetics and politics of the translation of Arabic texts into English. The debate surrounding the translation of Arabic texts has been inspired by Postcolonial Translation Studies and centred on questions of translatability/untranslatability, linguistic relations of power, foreignization vs. domestication, reception by the target readership, and politics of translation. In his study of the different translations of the *Arabian Nights*, Tarek Shamma makes us aware that foreignization might be implicated in the distortion of the culture of the source text. For

instance, although Lane's translation deploys literalism and foreignization strategies and endeavours to reproduce as much as possible the original Arabic style, nevertheless, passages are omitted in the translation, altered, or abridged when they seem improper to the moral sensibilities of the target audience. Shamma concludes that Lane's translation problematizes the postcolonial approaches to translation that advocate foreignization as an anti-colonial strategy for reproducing the foreignness of the original text and preserving cultural difference. This also applies to the foreignizing method adopted by Burton in his English version of the *Arabian Night*s since its intended effect was to amplify the mysterious strangeness of the Arabs and their culture in a way that foreignizing strategy turns into the Orientalizing and exoticising of the Orient.

While in the case of Blunt's translation of the Arabic odes, Shamma argues that domestication is used as a form of resistance, because it seeks to capture the "spirit" and "chivalric heroism" of the original poems without a literal reproduction of the original style. By finding familiar equivalents in the European chivalric romance for the chivalrous expressions of the original, domestication creates opportunities for literary and cross-cultural interaction between Arabs and Europeans, and helps Arabic literary works to be assimilated into English literary. Interestingly, Shamma suggests that foreignizing can become a form of colonial dominance and cultural hegemony, while domestication might contests ethnocentric stereotypes.

The rest of the second chapter is devoted to the analytical critique of the translation of Arab woman writers: Sadaawi's *Al Wajh al Ari lil Mar'a al Arabiyya*, Shaarawi's *Mudhakkirati*, and al-Shaykh's *Misk al-Ghazal*. In the case of Sadaawi's *The Hidden Face of Eve*, Amireh records several deviations from the Arabic original in form and content: exoticizing of the Arab woman in the title, omitting of chapters that contradict Western readers' ideas about Oriental women, and reorganising chapters with the intent of exaggerating the sexuality or oppression of the Arab woman. According to Amireh, the translation's Orientalising and eroticizing of the world of Saadawi, distorts the political project of the Arab writer. Similar distortions occur in Badran's translation of *Mudakkirati*. Altering the title to *Harem Years* strips Shaarawi of agency and commodifies her autobiography to appeal to the erotic fantasies of the Western reader. And as is the case with Saadawi, the translation rearranges, shortens, summarises, and omits passages and chapters to "haremize" Shaarawi's book in a process where the political views and agency of the author are undermined.

Moja Kahf provides further analysis of Badran's translation, arguing that it projects Shaarawi within the popular Orientalist tropes of the Muslim woman as a victim and an escapee and enhances the European elements in the narrative. For Kahf, Badran's translation illustrates how the politics of reception constrains the translation and reading of Arabic texts. Echoing many critics and theorists

of translation, she insists that a good translation has to challenge rather than cater for the political and moral expectations of the reader.

Moving from autobiography to fiction, Hartman discusses "the translation scandal" in Catherine Cobham's translation of al-Shaykh's *Misk al-Ghazal* as *Women of Sand and Myrrh*. Hartman argues that the changes made to the translated version of the novel, including the alteration of the title and rearrangement of chapters, significantly modify the meaning of the original Arabic version. These changes place more emphasis on women's oppression and diminish the agency of the characters. Hartman asserts that this undermines the novel's discourse of female empowerment, and describes the novel as a prime example of the "scandalous violence of translation." As an ethical antidote to this scandalous violence, like Venuti, Hartman advocates foreignizing over domesticating, arguing that this strategy preserves the alterity of the foreign text while upsetting the cultural values inherent in the target language. This strategy is qualified by Venuti and Harman as "resistant translation."

With Marilyn Booth the influence of the publishing market on the translation and the role played by the target reader's worldview take another form where it is the original author who deliberately yields to the political and aesthetic exigencies of the Anglophone market and readership. Booth adopted a foreignizing perspective in her translation of Alsanea's *Girls of Riyadh* to subvert Western stereotypes of Muslim women and emphasise the cultural and linguistic specificities of the original novel. She tried to achieve this within a postcolonial consciousness that is sensitive to the internal voices within the Arabic narrative and to Spivak's translation concept of "literalist surrender." However, domestication revisions by the publisher and author resulted in a monolingual and anglicised version of the novel that silenced the gender and language politics in the original work. The domestication revisions created a world that was exotic and familiar, erasing markers of cosmopolitanism and overlooking Booth' "Arabenglish" transliterations. Booth argues that these revisions undermined her foreignizing strategy and perpetuated Western stereotypes of Saudi society.

The last chapter of the first part is a practical one. It tries to use the knowledge gathered in this the previous sections to analyse Susan Miller's translation of As-Saffar's *Rihla* in her book *Disorienting Encounters*. This book is a major contribution in the field of Moroccan travel writing. It is the first Moroccan ambassadorial travel account to be translated into English. In addition, the very informative introduction that Miller provides in the beginning of her book offers substantial insight into the historical context of As-Saffar's *Rihla* to Paris in the first half of the nineteenth century. Inspired by postcolonial translation studies and using textual analysis, this section compares the English translation with the original Arabic version to highlight the power

struggle of authorship between the two versions and, on a deeper level, the impact of the translation on the cultural, political, and ideological aspects of the text. The study reveals several unsettling issues that question the faithfulness of the translation to the original work, exposing the translator's numerous errors, namely omissions, additions, and distortions. Some can be considered to be minor errors that have little impact on the meaning of the original version while others deliberately affect the text's power dynamics, the Moroccan author's configuration of selfhood and otherness and foreground the translator's disorienting politics.

These theoretical discussions have been helpful to my approach in the translation of al Hajwi's *The European Journey* in the second part of my dissertation. The entire text has been translated, including al Hajwi's footnotes, his poetry, quotes from the Koran and Hadith and the lengthy section on doctrinal issues because they are important to the understanding of his intention and worldview. No omissions, additions or alterations have been intentionally imposed on the text. The translation has tried as best as possible to be literal and adopt a foreignizing method. Al Hajwi's style is sometimes awkward in phrasing and syntax, mixing classical Arabic and colloquial Moroccan Darija and some French words. I have tried as much as possible to retain his idiosyncratic style, including his frequent repetitions and capture his rich linguistic variety.[1]

The third part is a close analysis of the configuration of Occidentalism in the *European Journey*. The first chapter, "Reflections on Arab and Moroccan Occidentalism" discusses the two influential theorists of Arab Occidentalism, Bernard Lewis and Nabil Matar. In his book *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, Lewis argues that Muslim travellers show little interest and curiosity about the affairs of Europe, European culture and civilization and are reluctant to discover more about the West. According to Lewis, the failure of Muslim travellers to explore and seek knowledge from Christian Europe is explained by their disdain towards it and their conviction of Islamic cultural and religious superiority. They often view the world through the lens of religion and within a binary dichotomy of Muslim believers and Christian infidels. Lewis's main argument is that being engrossed in their sense of economic, technological and intellectual superiority the Muslim world "could afford to despise the barbarous and impoverished infidel in the cold and miserable lands of the north."[2] In addition to that, Lewis asserts that Muslims consider the West to be radically different and culturally inferior, and view Christian Europe monolithically regardless of the ethnic, linguistic, political, religious, commercial, and cultural differences among the different European nations.

[1] For more details on the translation method, see Note on Translation.

[2] Lewis, "The Muslim Discovery of Europe," (1957), p. 411.

What mostly interested and fascinated Muslim travellers to Europe was the marvellous and the strange. Such as the Christians' shaving of their beards or a ship in the shape of a swine. European history, geography, philosophy, science, literature, society, art, languages, religious and political institutions are not worthy of the curiosity Muslim travellers. Interest in other cultures and civilizations, for Lewis, is an exclusively European phenomenon.[3]

Like Lewis, Nabil Matar is interested in Muslim encounters with Europe during the early modern period. His conclusions, however, differ radically from those of Lewis. Matar's approach to Arab Occidentalism in his books, *In the Lands of the Christians*, *Europe through Arab Eyes*, and *An Arab Ambassador in the Mediterranean World* demonstrate that the Arab travellers to Europe, envoys, ambassadors, merchants, captives, and religious scholars had a deep curiosity about the affairs of Europe. They sought answers to their inquiries through various aspects of European civilizations and societies and carefully documented their observations, impressions and experiences, resulting in detailed and profoundly accurate accounts and insightful travelogues.

The writings of Matar on Europe provide valuable insights into the rich cultural, economic, and political interactions and exchanges between Europe and the Muslim world. Through his translations of Arabic texts, many of which by Moroccan travellers, Matar offers a nuanced perspective on complex and diverse encounters between Europe and the Arab world and highlights the dynamic exchange of cultures and ideas between the two worlds. His contribution to Arab Occidentalism is a sharp critique of Lewis' concept of Muslim Occidentalism.

After introducing two completely opposite theoretical approaches to Arab Occidentalism, the dissertation proceeds to review two prominent studies of Arab travel literature that focus on Europe. The first is Abu-Lughod's book *Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters*. As the subtitle makes it clear, Abu-Lughod's argument is that the relationship between Arabs and Europe was not simply one of conflict and domination, but also was characterised by a process of mutual discovery and cultural exchange. Focusing on the nineteenth century, Abu-Lughod highlights the experiences and observations of Arab travellers in Europe, including the examination of European political and social organisation, the educational system, and urban structure. Arab travel accounts reveal a deep-seated curiosity and interest in European civilization and a desire to emulate many of its aspects as the case of al-Tahtawi who gave the first detailed account of French higher education, the importance of educating women and their active participation in society and

[3] Lewis' approach to Arab Occidentalism has been critiqued by several postcolonial critics. Edward Said has characterized it as Eurocentric, arguing that Lewis' perspective implies that Western societies' quest for knowledge about other cultures is unique and motivated by pure curiosity, while characterizing Muslims as disinterested or incapable of acquiring knowledge about Europe.

the economy. Similarly, Lebanese journalist al-Shidyaq was impressed by the administration and organisation in France and England, while Ahmad Zaki dwelt on the achievements of France with the goal of introducing some aspects of European culture to his community and encouraging the translation of European books into Arabic.

Abu-Lughod argues that these travellers have approached the West open-mindedly and developed a deep respect and admiration for the multifaceted achievements of Western society, including the political system, political parties, parliament, constitutionalism, freedom, and justice. Their encounters with Europe played a crucial role in promoting the 19th-century reform movements in the Arab world and contributed to the development of Islamic modernist thought.

Abu-Lughod's corpus of analysis consists of travel accounts between 1798 to 1870. His argument is elaborated and extended to the early twentieth century in Nazik Yared's *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization* that covers the period from 1826 to 1938. Adopting a comparative approach, the book describes a range of Arab travellers' views of the various aspects of European civilization, including political institution, economic system, society, transportation and communication, religion, science and technology, arts and literature, journalism, and education. An important conclusion in Yared is that Arab views of Europe changed over time. The influence of religion in Arab views of Europe diminished with subsequent Muslim travellers who overtime became more secular and liberal and embraced more openly Western the ideals. Members of the first generation such as Rifaa al-Tahtawi and Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, did not see Europe as a threat and believed in a cross cultural exchanges between East and West. On the other hand, travellers belonging to the second generation that experienced European colonialism, including Ahmad Zaki, Muhammad al-Muwaylihi, and Kurd Ali, have entertained critical and occasionally confrontational attitudes towards Europe. Thus while al-Tahtawi encouraged Arabs to learn European sciences, al-Muwaylihi warned against the adoption of Western sciences. In his travel account, he refers to the failures of European technology such as the collapse of a bridge and the casualties that ensued or the destructive effect of industrialization in warfare. For him progress should be achieved by returning to the Islamic cultural heritage, preserving the religious and moral heritage of the East, and safeguarding one's identity. During the third phase, Egyptian travellers Shakib Arsalan and Taha Husayn adopted a positive outlook towards Europe. They were willing to draw upon European ideals and technology in order to effect political, economic, and social reforms within their own societies. A key point emphasised in Yared's *Arab Travellers and Western Civilization* is the Arabs' curiosity and consciousness about European affairs, and their diverse modes of engagement with them.

The last section has provided the categorization of the Moroccan travelogue according to al Manuni's typology of the *Rihla*: *Rihla hijaziyya* and *Rihla sifariyya*. The intentions and conventions of these genres, critics have argued, often overlap so that an ambassadorial travel might incorporate elements of *rihla talab al ilm*, travel for the pursuit of knowledge, or of *rihla siyahiyya*, for tourism purposes. This genre overlapping has been important in the understanding of al Hajwi's *European Journey*. It has also been emphasised that the Moroccan ambassadorial travelogues have been written for a variety of reasons and audiences. They, sometimes, were commissioned by Moroccan monarchs (al Ghazzal's *Natijat al Ijitihad*), solicited by peers and dignitaries for edification and entertainment (Jaaydi's *Ithaf al Akhyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar*), or composed by the initiative of traveller himself (al Hajwi's *European Journey*). The target audience varies from the royal court, to scholars or to the wider general readership. This diverse audience has engendered a discursive variety in the Moroccan travel narratives and a multiplicity of perspectives and attitudes in the representation and perception of Europe.

The section "Translating Otherness in the Language of the Other" has tried to show how Moroccan travellers to Europe found themselves in Jackoson's intersemiotic situation and tried linguistically to cope with the translation and depiction of the alien foreign realities they have encountered through the use of familiar concepts and a familiar language and engage with various forms of translations such as the incorporation of loanwords into their Arabic texts with a transliteration and definition, the use of Moroccan Arabic Darija, or the coinage of expressions to describe totally unfamiliar phenomenon such as Ghassal who calls the London zoo *bustan al wuhush*, the garden of beasts or al Jaaydi who uses the expression *dar al furja*, the house of spectacle, to refer to the theatre.

The translation efforts made by Moroccan travellers to Europe reveal a genuine interest in discovering the affairs of Europe and sharing their acquired knowledge with their compatriots at home. Evidently, Moroccan travel accounts showcase the traveller-writer as a keen inquisitor and investigator whose travelogue serves as a testament to his insatiable curiosity and unwavering interest in obtaining information from the interpreter and whatever available sources. Furthermore, the traveller's dedication to the pursuit of knowledge is evident, as they make concerted efforts to comprehend and convert unfamiliar European concepts into a language familiar to the Moroccan readership, who is eager to acquire knowledge about Europe.

The wide variety of material and cultural items the travellers choose to translate and explain are not related to power dynamics and political espionage, as Lewis claims. This is further evidence against the claims of any premeditated agenda held by the diplomatic travel accounts. Their

translation efforts are meant to promote communication rather than conflict between two different worlds. They certainly approached Europe with curiosity and open mindedness, and discovered many things to admire and record in their accounts.

Within this context, the section "Discourse of Reform and Modernization in the Moroccan Rihala Sifariyya" focuses on the items that the travellers admired during their journey, like al Maknassi who was fascinated by the postal system in Spain. Al Maknassi explains its many benefits for people and the substantial revenues for the royal treasury. Ghassal is enchanted by the transportation system and infrastructure in London and is bewildered that despite the heavy traffic there were no collusion of the trains. Observing the trains, ships, cars and carts, Moroccan travellers admired the rational faculties of the human mind and the observance of the law of order, perfect organisation, and good management in the lands they visited. As-Safar, on the other hand, provides details on the French system of government based on ministries and the delegation of power and responsibilities, a system where the king reigned but did not rule and a country where journalism was a means for the dissemination of information as well as for the criticism of political corruption. Al Amrawi, too, praises justice and the rule of law, equal opportunities, and discipline in the military. He concludes that discipline and ambition are the basis for progress. Implicitly, al Amrawi would like to see the same ideals in Morocco. When it comes to the printing press, however, al Amrawi is more explicit. He wishes the Sultan to introduce this technological wonder in his country.

The encounter with the Other and discovery of the useful aspects of European civilization developed into a reform project in al Maknassi, as-Saffar, al Amrawi, and al Ghassal. They attribute the power of Europe and its technological advancement to order, good governance, discipline, justice, and fairness. Even al Fassi, who is often criticised for his conservative scepticism and hostile attitudes towards English industrial inventions, expressed gratitude to God for granting him a long life to witness the wonders of modern European technology.

Some critics have described the Moroccan *rihla* as the same text with different titles.[4] Such homogenising is a failure to understand the complexity of the Moroccan travel text. The Moroccan *rihla* is discursively multi-layered and ideologically complex, with plural and contradictory voices and positions. The immense variety of translation activities in *rihla sifariyya* establishes Moroccan travellers to Europe as active agents of cross-cultural encounter and exchange, rather than Makhzani spies sent to gather intelligence on Europe, as Lewis contends. The *rihla sifariyya* contributed

[4] Souhila Ahmed Serir and Mohammed Derradj, "Al Rihlat al Sifariat al Maghribiat wa Dawruha fi Ithra' al Majal al Ilmi wa al Adabi Khilal al Qarn al Taasi Ashar," *The Arabic Journal of Human and Social Sciences*, 10: 4 (2018), p. 82.

immensely to the transfer of cultural values and social practices.

Having provided a framework for the understanding of Arab and Moroccan Occidentalism, the next chapter, entitled "Al Hajwi: A Controversial Reformist and a Pilgrim in the Land of the Christians," focuses on al Hajwi's biography, his journey to Europe and his style. First, a discussion of his biography as a faqih, a Makhzan official, a merchant, and a traveller. These aspects of his life portray al Hajwi as a controversial figure who is situated between Salafi fundamentalism and liberal modernism, a loyal royalist but an enthusiast about French Protectorship, and a faqih who advocates revolutionary trade practices.

A graduate of al Qarawiyyen University, al Hajwi was one of the leading Fassi religious scholars, a very a prolific author, and public lecturer. Unlike most of his contemporaries, al Hajwi was a progressivist who calls for religious reforms through a combination of the scripture and science because, for him, there is no contradiction between religion and reason or between faith and modern rationalism. Also, he believes that there is no harm for the Islamic tradition to borrow some aspects of European civilization, especially from France, which he considered to be the ideal model to follow. Al Hajwi is a Salafist who adopts a critical thinking method to critique religious traditionalism and dogmatism and urges for the renewal of the fiqh. He explicitly encourages the learning of European languages and indefatigably campaigns for the education of women with the conviction that progress and modernization depended on education and knowledge and that girls should also have the right to be educated. Ideas such as these were considered revolutionary at the time and gained him many enemies.

As a Makhzan official, al Hajwi occupied many positions: a teacher at the Qarawiyyen University, an accountant of the Makhzan in Meknes, Chamberlain at the Moroccan Algerian borders, chief of the armed forces in Oujda, Delegate of Culture, then Minister of Justice, a position he occupied until his death. The positions al Hajwi occupied allowed him to gain a deep insight into the situation of Morocco, the government institutions, and the corruption and tyranny of high officials, the absence of law and justice in many regions, the embezzlement of public money, and ignorance and lack of schools. This is why he addressed a letter to the Sultan Moulay Abdelhafid as nationalist advising him to introduce democratic reforms and to not cede ground to the colonial forces. After the Protectorate, al Hajwi's attitudes to France changed. He started to consider France as a model of modernity and civilization, development, progress and religious tolerance, refinement, knowledge and fine arts and he became convinced that it was in the best interest of Morocco to accept the Protectorate, because it was an opportunity to emulate and learn from what he considered the greatest nation of that time.

In his portrait as a merchant, emphasis was placed on his vision for modernising trade through

inspiration from European practices. Al Hajwi grew up in a Fassi family with a background of a strong trading heritage. His father was a businessman who conducted commercial relations with Britain, France, and Italy. No wonder, al Hajwi believes that travelling is essential for anyone who seeks to modernise his trading practices. It is an opportunity to meet with experts in the field and gain firsthand knowledge of new methods and ideas. He also recommends the learning of foreign languages because he believed they were very useful for the progress of commerce. Thus, travelling has played a significant role in the development of al Hajwi's personality, his reformist ideas, and search for al *Ilm* in the land of the Christians.

Seeking and sharing knowledge is a crucial concept in al Hajwi's *European Journey*. He recommends his travel narrative for its edification benefit (*faida*), especially for scholars who were not able to visit foreign countries and to provide an objective image of Europe for Moroccan scholars who have an established fictional image and entertain misconceptions that did not correspond to reality. In a subtle way the *European Journey* is an attack on the fanaticism and dogmatism of the conservative ulama. Al Hawji is also keen to share the knowledge he acquired with his Moroccan readership. Hence al Hajwi's actively addresses his reader and sometimes tries to anticipate his questions and reactions, making the reader part of his travel narrative. The dissertation has argued that al Hajwi's *rihla* and the reform project it imbedded are addressed directly to the Moroccan reader. It is the nation not the Makhzen who is really targeted with Al Hajwi's reform project and the knowledge he gathered from his travels.

This interactive relationship with his reader provides the style and narrative structure to the *European Journey*. Al Hajwi makes the reader part of his travel text with the aim of involving him visually in the foreign world he describes. Hence many passages in the *rihla* have the form of an active and vivid visual tour of the interior of the ship, the train, Grand Hotel, the library, or the park. The reader is not a silent interlocutor but is called upon to creatively imagine the exotic marvels of Europe. Within this framework of conjuring up the strange realities of Europe, al Hajwi records with minute details and accuracy what he sees and deems interesting to his reader such as the places he visited, the events he witnessed, the technological marvels he saw, and the people he met. However, al Hajwi does not confining himself to documenting what he perceives within vicinity of his surroundings, but in fact, he continually inquires and seeks further information and knowledge which he provides in the form of statistics about the number of street lamps, parks and warehouses in Paris, the number of bridges on the river Seine, the merchandise imported into the Port of Bordeaux from overseas, the distance from Paris to London, the number of the railway tunnels, railway stations and policemen in London.

It must be stressed, however, that though occasionally al Hajwi writes in the fashion of an anthropologist, he never assumes the self-confidence and authority of the Orientalist anthropologists criticised by Edward Said. Al Hajwi does not hide his linguistic handicap from the reader nor does he pretend to have authority over the world he describes. Throughout his travel autobiography, he repeatedly apologises to his readers for not speaking French and English and for having only limited access to places he has visited. Thus, the author of *The European Journey* is keen to remind his reader that his narrative is a subjective account of his own travel and tourism experience rather than a perfect rendition of Europe; it was limited in time and space and hindered by linguistic limitations.

The last chapter "Ambiguous Occidentalism: Otherness and Selfhood in al Hajwi's *European Journey*" is a close analysis of al Hajwi's travel narrative. In fact, al Hajwi was travelling in the company of the most powerful representatives of the Moroccan Makhzen, the Grand Vizier and chief of the delegation, the Royal Chamberlain, the Vizier of Finance, the Chief of Sultanic Protocol, and other powerful people. In *The European Journey* al Hajwi does not miss any opportunity to mock and criticise this group of the elite Moroccan Makhzen. One of them refuses to eat Christian slaughtered meat yet eats the broth where it is cooked, at the library they were disinterested and bored, the chief of the delegation engages in activities without informing the other members, and after the conclusion of the mission some members of the delegation remained travelling in Europe for "no other purpose save wasting money that was easily acquired and to be boastful." (p. 201). Through this microcosm picture, al Hajwi offers a sarcastic critique of the Moroccan Makhzen.

For al Hajwi, progress cannot happen with lazy people who are "afflicted with the malady of boredom, for boredom is our greatest calamity and one of the causes of our backwardness and the progress of other nations." (p. 158). He also stresses that progress and great intellectual achievements are possible only with freedom and democracy, when people "live in a pure atmosphere, inhaling the air of absolute freedom and feeding on the essence of knowledge and refinement" (p. 157). The reason for backwardness in the Islamic world, according to al Hajwi, is attributed to despotic regimes and the persecution of free thinking.

Al Hajwi consistently critiques the Self, Morocco and the Islamic world; however, and this is one of the fundamental conclusions in the present dissertation, in the process of his journey al Hajwi becomes increasingly critical of Europe. In fact, his critique develops into a postcolonial agency. This becomes apparent in his surprise at the lack of napkins in the hotel restaurant in London, despite the fact, he ironically remarks, that Britain is the country of textile manufacturing. The Moroccan visitor seizes the occasion to praise the hygienic practices in his own country. "Don't

tell me that Moroccans don't have napkins. We shall answer you that even the poorest and most wretched among them uses one after eating. And it is necessary among Moroccans to wash their hands with soap and dry them in napkins. This is the ultimate cleanliness, and this is absent in other nations" (pp. 237-238). Clearly, al Hajwi highlights the uniqueness of his country's cultural values, which he believes to be absent in other nations.

This patriotic consciousness and postcolonial writing back occur more powerfully in the confrontational encounter between the Moroccan traveller and an English man. The latter refers to the difficulties of travelling inside Morocco due to the prevalence of highwaymen. Al Hajwi first explains that the events occurred during the rebellious uprisings of Bouhmara and Raisulu and that security had been restored. The Moroccan visitor then challenges the English man by referring to the looting and vandalism that followed the police strikes in Liverpool. Al Hajwi triumphantly tells him, "Thank God, we are on the same footing. Still, our country is safer. Plunder in our country happens only in the countryside. With you, inside the cities." With a postcolonial sense of triumph, al Hajwi declares, "I struck him speechless" (p. 232). The confrontational encounter between the Self and the Other in *The European Journey* has catalysed in the Moroccan traveller's national consciousness and identity awareness, transforming his journey into a quest for self-discovery, disillusionment with Europe, and a re-evaluation and appreciation of his own cultural heritage and identity.

In the course of his journey, al Hajwi becomes increasingly aware of xenophobia against Muslims. While visiting the Egyptian obelisk in London, the Moroccan tourist found himself the subject of the curious stares from passersby, who kept gazing at his foreign Islamic clothes, "as though," al Hajwi comments, "man has come out of his mother's womb with European clothes on and if someone differs from it he has altered God's design and creation." He realises "how extreme is their intolerance and how superior is the tolerance of the Muslims who never criticise foreigners on anything!" (p. 231)

Al Hajwi's account of his experience in Britain is replete with moments of xenophobic curiosity and tropes of racism, leading some critics to believe that he intended his negative attitudes to apply exclusively to Britain. In fact, the first incident of xenophobic curiosity to occur in *The European Journey* took place in Alsace-Lorraine, in France. A crowd surrounded the Moroccans, staring at their exotic clothes with insolent curiosity. A woman even approached them and inquired if they were Jews[5] while another asked if they were theatrical performers. The Moroccans were exasperated by "their stupid questions and incessant staring." Al Hajwi remarked that the onlookers

[5] In the London hotel, too, the Moroccans are associated with Jews because of their clothes.

were dressed in a less refined manner than the Parisians and that their impudent conduct was the expression of "the levity of their wits." (p. 188)

My argument is that this incident should be discursively interpreted within broader cross cultural terms of European anti-Islamic sentiment. Al Hajwi's statement that Europeans expected foreigners to dress like them "as if God created the human being just to wear their clothes and as if Adam came out of paradise in European clothes" (p. 189), used in the context of Alsace-Lorraine, reminds us of a similar statement the Moroccan traveller made in London when he said that one was expected to wear European clothes "as though man has come out of his mother's womb with European clothes on and if someone differs from it he has altered God's design and creation" (p. 231).

Obviously, al Hajwi's fatwa legalising Muslims to wear European clothes (as a *taqiya*)[6] when travelling in Europe is the product of the prevailing anti-Muslim attitudes in Europe. "Whenever they see someone wearing clothes different from theirs they raise the price of food and indeed of all goods. If he is a merchant, his business is surely ruined. And there is no religious benefit in staying in their country in an attire unlike their own, except exposing oneself and making one's dignity a target of laughter, derision, and humiliation." (pp. 213-214) This statement is certainly meant to apply not simply to Britain, but to Europe in general, including France. This is clear in the Moroccan faqih's warning statement, "Their clothing is like a weapon that swindlers wield to defraud foreigners of their money. Then it is necessary to drive away harm with whatever means. The foreigner can only be saved from them by their clothing and language. Should you be in their country, wear their clothes and learn their language to avoid their cunning." (p. 214)

In fact, al Hajwi's perception of Europe goes through significant shifts as his journey progresses to its end. The traveller develops an increasingly discerning attitude towards Europe and at the same time, an increasingly celebratory attitude towards his own identity. On many occasions in *The European Journey*, al Hajwi extols the beauty and elegance of France, underscoring strongly its cleanliness, orderliness, elegance, and beauty and views Paris as the epitome of perfection. And, as critics such as Richard Van Leeuwm[7] have routinely stated, al Hajwi's unfavourable views of England and his partiality towards France can be traced back to both his diplomatic standing in France and his personal experience as a tourist in England. Actually, al Hajwi's representation of

[6] *Taqiya* is a concept in Islam that allows Muslims to conceal their religious identity or beliefs in situations where they may face harm or persecution.

[7] See, Richard Van Leeuwm, "The Experience of Travel a Moroccan Scholar's Journey to Europe in 1919."

France will be profoundly revised in the course of his journey.

After enduring arduous travels to England, he returns to France in the capacity of a private tourist, divested of his diplomatic position. Surprisingly, al Hajwi devotes only one sentence to his return to Paris and two days visit to the city that had fascinated him. “When I arrived in Paris, I stayed there for two days to fulfil some chores then headed for Marseilles” (p. 273). On the way he is smitten by the heat. During his visit in Lyon he is interested in the Islamic heritage and its influence on the inhabitants and the architecture. In Marseilles, as is the case in London, he talks about the awful service of the Swiss staff at Hotel de Genève and goes on to generalise that because of their mixture with foreigners the inhabitants of Marseille were inferior in manners to the people of Paris.

Another important conclusion is al Hajwi’s portrayal of the American Other. What is important about *The European Journey* is the fact that it is one of the rare, probably the first Moroccan travel narrative to mention America and its rise in power on the international stage. Actually, al Hajwi becomes aware of America as new great power far superior to old Europe early in the narrative. On arrival in Bordeaux, al Hajwi immediately observed a significant presence of American war equipment among the items transported in the dock. The extent of American military support for France went beyond just the provision of war equipment, as the country had also invested heavily in the construction of ports, supply routes, and communication systems in France to aid in the war effort.

In addition to that, while travelling by train, al Hajwi keeps seeing American soldiers, their ammunition, and massive guns. And during the Victory Day celebrations, the Moroccan traveller is impressed more with American soldiers, their magnificent dress, organisation, and equipment. He is astounded at how a newly independent nation could reach such greatness. He reiterates the same fascination at the Paris National Library when he discovers the enormous amount of books written by American scholars.

Al Hajwi meant his *The European Journey* to be a celebration of the greatness of France, with the conviction that it offers the ideal model for modernity, technological progress and refinement. Paradoxically, the spotlight has been attracted by another nation, far greater than France: America. This nation receives brief references; yet, its consistent emergence in the travelogue upsets and subverts al Hajwi’s entire reform project and his representation of France.

Al Hajwi returns back to his country completely disillusioned with France and Europe in general. He expresses his postcolonial agency in his *European Journey* by laying bare the flaws of a Europe financially weak and ravaged by war. America seems to suggest an alternative route, as well as a trajectory that disorients the very history and civilizational ideals of Europe.

On leaving Paris for Marseilles to board a ship for Morocco, al Hajwi is full of yearnings to be “reunited with our beloved homeland with chests filled with longing, and hearts homesick like the longing of the baby for his mother”. (p. 280) After expressing his fervent praise for his homeland and his profound longing to reunite with it, al Hajwi launches a sharp criticism of Europe. Deeply disappointed and disillusioned, he depicts at the end of his travelogue an altogether different Europe, where there was scarcity of goods and high prices due to the spread of Bolshevik ideas and worker strikes. This bleak picture conflicts with the glamorous image that al Hajwi had initially painted of Europe, and it is only after experiencing Europe's flaws and failures that he decided to reveal them in his narrative. Al Hajwi had previously remained silent about the strikes he witnessed in Paris and Strasbourg in order to maintain his favourable image of France. This censorship was necessary to design a coherent reform project built on the idea of France as the model of modernity, civilization, technological achievement, and law and order.

In conclusion, the Moroccan traveller was initially fascinated by the European model as a solution for reform in his own country. Although he did acknowledge some drawbacks of European civilization, such as the promiscuity of French women, the indecency of theatre, and the intolerance of the English, he generally praised its strength in military, commerce, prosperity, and education. However, in the narrative's final pages, it becomes obvious to the reader that the traveller covertly concealed several negative aspects that he witnessed during his journey in order to avoid tarnishing his reformist agenda. It was only on when he was on board as ship sailing back to Morocco and getting ever so close to his homeland that he burst into a long and severe critique on Europe, and finally admits the disastrous consequences of war, the strikes that were happening in France and England, and the crisis caused by the lack of goods and rising prices, and he concludes by describing how all of these events stumped his goal of acquiring some merchandise do business in Morocco. Evidently, the representation of Europe in Mohamed al Hajwi’s *The European Journey* is complex and his Occidentalism is highly ambivalent.

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