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The Representation of British Modernity by Moroccan Travelers in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

**A Dissertation Submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements for
the National Doctorate Degree**

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مقتضب

تهدف هذه الأطروحة إلى دراسة تمثيل الحادثة من طرف أربعة رحالة مغاربة وهم محمد العطار بن عبد الرحمان الفاسي، دريس الجعايدي، محمد الغسال، ومحمد بن الحسن الحجوي في أربع رحلات سفارية تحت العناوين التالية: الرحلة الابريزية إلى الديار الإنجليزية، اتحاف الأخيار بغرائب الأخبار، الرحلة التتويجية إلى العاصمة الأنجليزية، و الرحلة الأوروبية. كما تحاول هذه الدراسة إظهار وجهات النظر المختلفة لهؤلاء الرحالة حول مفهوم الحادثة ومظاهرها في بريطانيا خلال أواخر القرن التاسع عشر وأوائل القرن العشرين

بالنظر إلى الفترة التاريخية الحرجة التي كان يعيشها المغرب كالهزيمتين المتتاليتين (ايسلي و تطوان) و التوسع الأوروبي، أبدى الرحالة المغاربة اهتمامًا كبيرًا بالقضايا الاجتماعية والاقتصادية والفنية وكذا العسكرية. و أبانت كتاباتهم أيضا على أن الهدف من وراء رحلاتهم هي الرغبة الجامحة في التعلم و اكتشاف الأسباب وراء التطور و الحادثة التي وصل إليها العالم الأوروبي و على وجه الخصوص بريطانيا. بطريقة أخرى، كانوا يريدون جوابا للسؤال التالي: لماذا أوروبا أكثر تقدما و تحديثا؟

فعلى عكس نصوص الرحلات السفارية للمستشرقين التي تميل معظمها إلى إرساء صور نمطية و مسيئة للآخر، فنصوص الرحالة المغاربة أظهرت بعضا من الحيادية و الموضوعية في دراسة الآخر المختلف. إضافة إلى ذلك، لم يكشف اللقاء الثقافي بين المغاربة و الانجليز أي نوع من الكراهية اتجاه الآخر. على العكس من ذلك، كشف المغاربة من خلال كتاباتهم إعجابا كبيرا من حيث التكنولوجيا الجديدة و طريقة الحياة الحديثة في بريطانيا. لهذا تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى الدعوة لإعادة التفكير في مواقف المستشرقين السائدة والتي ترمي إلى تشويه سمعة الآخر بصفة عامة، و ذلك بتوظيف نظرية الاستغراب عوض الاستشراق كخطاب مضاد. كما يتم استخدام تحليل نصي دقيق لفك الخلفية الدينية و الثقافية و التاريخية للرحالة من أجل النظر عن كثب في كيفية تمثيل كل رحالة على حدى للحادثة في بريطانيا. وهكذا، تبحث هذه الأطروحة في كيفية تأثير الخلفية الدينية أو العلمانية للرحالة على تصورهم للحادثة المرتبطة تحديدا بالتقدم والتطور في شتى المجالات

الكلمات المفتاح:

الرحلات السفارية، الرحالة المغاربة، التمثيل ، الحادثة ، أواخر القرن التاسع عشر ، أوائل القرن العشرين

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an attempt to demonstrate the different perspectives of four Moroccan travelers – El Fassi, El Ghassal, Jaadi, and El Hajoui- towards modernity in Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in four ambassadorial travel narratives. Unlike the Orientalist travel narratives, the Moroccan travelers in their ambassadorial travel narratives, chosen for this thesis, show that their representation of modernity in Britain was not intertwined with stereotypical images that most of the Orientalist travelers tend to inculcate in their narratives. The cultural encounter did not also reveal any kind of hatred towards the different Other. On the contrary, a great admiration on the part of the Moroccans was shown for the new technologies and modern way of life in Britain. Given the critical historical period, European expansion and two successive military defeats of Morocco, the Moroccan travelers demonstrated an interest in social, economic, artistic, and military issues. Their travel accounts reveal the fact that they have the urge to learn and discover why the West is more developed and modernized. The present thesis aims at rethinking the mainstream Orientalist positions which aim at defaming the Other using Occidentalism as a counter discourse. And since the travel narratives dealt with could be seen as historical documents, this research also tries to show that history could be written and rewritten from different perspectives. A close textual analysis and a historical method are used to decipher the cultural, religious and historical background of the traveler in particular and the travel in general. This is mainly because the representation of every traveler is the outcome of his background. Thus, the purpose of this research is to look closely at how these travelers perceived, negotiated, and defined modernity depending on their secular or religious background. It is about investigating the relationship between Moroccans, modernity, and Europe. In other words, this dissertation investigates how the religious or secular background of the travelers affects their conceptualization of modernity which is related to progress and development.

Key Words: Ambassadorial Travel Narratives, El Fassi, El Ghassal, Jaadi, El Hajoui, Representation, Modernity, Occidentalism, Late Nineteenth Century, Early Twentieth Century.

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Introduction

This dissertation is an attempt to examine the representation of modernity in Britain in the writings of four Moroccan travelers- Mohamed Attaher Ben AbdRahman El Fassi, Driss Jaadi, Mohamed El Ghassal, and Mohamed Ben El Hassan El Hajoui. Their ambassadorial travel narratives are respectively the following: *Al Rihla al Ibriziyaila Diyar al Injaliziya* (1860), *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bigharaib al Akhbar* (1876), *Rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injaliziya* (1902), and *Al Rihla al Urupiya* (1919).

Because Western travel narratives have been considered as the mainstream, as well as talking about the classical relations with ex- colonial countries (France and Spain), now it is high time to grant Arab travel narratives, and especially the Moroccan ones to Europe and precisely to Britain the opportunity to get a critical attention on the part of academic scholars. Though, for instance, Ibn Battouta and Ibn Hawqal were given their due, the ones chosen for this thesis and many others also need to be given much attention. The travel narratives selected for this research could be considered among the important historical and cultural documents that need to be discussed and studied to know more about the cultural, diplomatic, and historical relations between Morocco and Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These travel narratives were relegated to the margin and I believe that they need to be discovered and translated so that more readers can have access to these documents. The readership at that time was limited to the rulers who used to send these travelers to several countries for different reasons, now it is necessary to make them accessible to different types of readers; either scholars or/and laymen. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to historicize these ambassadorial travel narratives, analyze them, and show their importance in maintaining a historical and a cultural heritage.

Travel narratives play a crucial historical role in communicating between the present and the past¹ because of the encounters that are mentioned in them. They are not only a literary genre, but they are also historical sources, especially those used in the present thesis as they are considered to be ambassadorial travel narratives.

¹Hussein Mohammed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majliss al Watani li Takafa w al Founoune w al Adab, 1989), p. 9.

Therefore, they tend to represent pivotal historical documents that are very important for both sides- Morocco and Britain in general and for historians and/or scholars in particular. Thus, I argue that it is very critical to look at the past to better understand the current international relations.

The importance of these travel narratives also lies in the fact that the travelers were not merely traveling for touristic reasons for example. These Moroccan travelers were sent for ambassadorial missions; their writings have a diplomatic and a historical dimension. Their narratives give ample details about the historical relationship between Morocco and Britain during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They also foster the concept of diplomacy in Morocco. The stance of these travelers also allows us to figure out how much accessibility they have reached within the framework they were sent for. And consequently, their accounts would be different from other travelers' narratives taking into consideration the background of the travelers, the historical era and the reason(s) behind their travel.

Going back into history and trying to bring some travel narratives back to the present seem to be of a great help to the new generation to know more about their past and how those travelers used to know about other people's culture, religion, traditions and beliefs. They are part of our history, and therefore the coming generation should be aware of the existence of these historical documents that should not be put to oblivion. History is very important; it is not fixed and could be written from different perspectives and through different tools like travel narratives. Consequently, I argue that through reading and examining these travel narratives, many stereotypes about Arabs in general and Moroccans in particular could be demystified. Bernard Lewis, in his book *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (1982), describes Arabs as not being curious enough to travel and discover Christian lands and meet new people. This dissertation aims at rethinking this Orientalist position. Arabs and Moroccans were curious enough to travel, discover and know more about different cultures and societies. The fact of not having enough documents to prove their travels does not mean that they never travelled. They did and their narratives should just be exhumed.

This study aims at investigating these four ambassadorial travel narratives which span the period between 1860 to 1919 to see how these Moroccan travelers-

sent for ambassadorial missions- represent what Mary Louise Pratt calls “auto-ethnographic expression” or “autoethnography”², and negotiate modernity in Britain through their encounters with the British people and society. In other words, this dissertation is meant to analyze the “autoethnographic expression” -Mary Louise Pratt talked about it when dealing with travel writing- in these Moroccan travel narratives. This is because the travelers who could be considered as both “writers and ethnographers” do not practice ethnography only on the people that they have encountered but they do auto-ethnography on themselves too indirectly. That is to say, they talk about themselves through what they are not for instance, especially that “the East and West are thus defined by the convergence of the geographical and the historical, the natural and the moral.”³ Thus, establishing a binary opposition is part of the auto-ethnographic expression.

As Susan Millers argues “these accounts were a kind of critical moment that tested a literate Moroccan’s beliefs, sensibilities and bearings.”⁴ Stated differently, their accounts are the outcome of a cultural encounter which is considered by Tarik Sabry as “a spatio-temporal phenomenon”⁵. Time and space and other dynamics of the encounters played a crucial role in the formation of these narratives which are about the self and the word. More than that, the thesis tackles the encounters that took place between Morocco and Britain during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century because this period of time was momentous not only in Morocco but in world history. More specifically, according to Ibrahim Abu-Lughod “the history of the Arab world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is essentially the history of transformation. A culture predominantly Muslim in orientation, belief, and commitment was being changed, suddenly and gradually, eagerly yet resisting, into a

²Autoethnography refers to “instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer’s own terms.” In Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge,1992), p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 56.

⁴Susan Gilson Miller ed., *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France* (California: University of California, 1992), p. 4.

⁵Tarik Sabry, *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World: on Media, the Modern, and the Everyday* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 10.

secular and westernized one.”⁶ It was also a very critical moment in the history of travel narratives because “it is a period of what James Moriss calls ‘high imperialism’”⁷. Morocco went through many defeats and Europe was invading the world. Furthermore, the present dissertation comes as continuity to what has been done by many scholars among which, Nabil Matar and Mohamed Laamiri. These scholars have dealt with the topic from a different perspective and periods of time.

Through the encounters that took place between those Moroccan travelers and the British people, it seems that the Moroccans showed a great interest in social, economic, artistic, and military issues. Unlike some Orientalists, who consider the Orient as “a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences”⁸, and who used to travel to the East in order to satisfy their fantasies and meet up some of their stereotypical expectations concerning the harem, for example, and the lascivious and savage Moors, the Moroccans in these narratives show that behind their travel there is (a) different aim(s) which is (are) to learn and discover why the West is more developed and modernized. Since Morocco was facing difficulties in coping with the power of Europe especially in terms of the military field, Moroccan sultans opted for sending their ambassadors to Europe in order to unveil the reasons behind the progress that the West has reached. They wanted to know what is wrong with their country and how they can fix the gap taking place between them and the European countries. This progress is referred to in this thesis as modernity. This is because at that time Europe attained power, development and progress in various fields. Matter of fact, the perception of the Moroccans towards this concept differed greatly.

In *Les Origines Sociales et Culturelles du Nationalisme Marocain (1830-1912)*, Laroui distinguishes between the secular and the religious traveler to Europe, thus via this research, I investigate how these travelers negotiate modernity through these two different perspectives. However, a third perspective is also recurrent when it comes to the negotiation of these Moroccan travelers of modernity. An in-between or

⁶Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, *The Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 18.

⁷Sara Mills, *Discourse of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 1.

⁸Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 1.

ambivalent position is also plausible while considering the representation of modernity by some Moroccan travelers. In other words, some travelers could be considered as both secular and religious. As a matter of fact, the purpose of this research is to look closely at how the Moroccan travelers perceived modernity in Britain. To put it differently, I am not interested in examining only what these travelers saw in Europe, but also how they did so, and how they wrote about it. Therefore, the perception of these Moroccan travelers would obviously reveal their cultural, historical and religious background and help us understand their representation and negotiation of modernity. Their accounts would indicate what kind of travelers they are. So, this thesis is also about categorizing the four Moroccan travelers depending on the positions they take towards modernity in Britain, which ranges from complete rejection to complete acceptance.

This thesis also explores the difference between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century Moroccan travel narratives in terms of time and space relations. It analyzes the shift happening between the two different periods of time. Contrary to what Edward said believes in concerning temporality, I argue that there is no fixity in time, and that the nineteenth century travel narratives are different from those of the twentieth century. This is taking into consideration the historical, economic and social circumstances. In other words, this thesis examines the flow of discourse concerning modernity. It looks at whether or not the historical events changed or affected the perception of the travelers.

“While Western discourse concerning ‘the Orient’ in whatever shape or form has been the object of much academic scrutiny which is often traced back to Edward Said’s Orientalism, much less attention has been paid to the manners in which not the East, but the West is perceived and constructed.”⁹ This thesis deals with these travel narratives using -what Hassan Hanafi calls- “occidentatlism”¹⁰ as an approach. This is because these travel narratives are a counter discourse which represents the West from the East’s point of view. Moreover, according to Fernando Coronil, Occidentalism is

⁹Retrieved <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/bitstream/handle/1887/13800/01.pdf?sequence=7> (14/11/2015)

¹⁰Hassan Hanafi, *Moqadima fi I’lm al Istighrab* (Adar al Faniya Linachr wa Tawzii’, 1991).

The study of how ‘Others’ represent the Occident” in an interesting enterprise in itself that many help counter the west’s dominance of publicly circulating images of difference [...]the core of occidentalism lies within the practices of representation that: ‘(1) separate the world’s components into bounded units; (2) disaggregate their relational histories; (3) turn difference into hierarchy; (4) naturalise these representations; and thus (5) intervene, however unwittingly, in the reproduction of existing asymmetrical power relations.’ ¹¹

In other words, Occidentalism could be regarded as a postcolonial approach used in this thesis to examine the representations of Britain via the writings of these Moroccan travelers. It produces a counter discourse which allows the Oriental intellectuals to write back and represent the Others and themselves by themselves. This dissertation also deconstructs the mistaken conception that Occidentalism is simply the opposite of Orientalism.

The main reason for traveling in Islam was seeking knowledge and spirituality, however, with the nineteenth century a remarkable change in the objectives and dimensions of travels and travelers was witnessed.¹² The travelers had diversified roles like ethnographers, adventurers, diplomats, traders, explorers, etc. Yet, what this research tends to focus on are travel narratives written within an ambassadorial framework. Nevertheless, surprisingly, though these travelers are accompanying diplomats/ ambassadors who have some political and diplomatic objectives, ethnography and ethnographical descriptions were implemented in their writings. At a certain moment, they seem to forget about the diplomatic mission behind their travel.

Loshimi Naidoo defines ethnography as the following,

Ethnography, emerging from anthropology, and adopted by sociologists, is a qualitative methodology that lends itself to the study of the beliefs, social interactions, and behaviours of small societies, involving

¹¹Fernando Coronil, “Beyond Occidentalism: Toward Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories” *Cultural Anthropology* (Blackwell Publishing, 1996), Vol. 11 N°1, p. 56.

¹²Said Bensaïd Alaoui, *Urupa fi Miraet Arrihla: Surat al Akhar fi AdabArrihla al Maghribiya al Mouassir* (Casablanca: Matbaat Annajah Al Jadida, 1995), p. 15.

participation and observation over a period of time, and the interpretation of the data collected.¹³

Observation was a main capital in the writings of these travelers since they opted for ethnography in their accounts. This is clearly perceived since they depicted almost everything they saw and could remember from their travel, especially that most of these travelers were asked by the sultans to report on their travel. Thus, the travelers had to observe, take notes and when they are back home, they write about their journey.

Observation can be interpreted in two different ways. It shows that the traveler mentions his personal experience, and from a cultural studies perspective, it could represent power over what the traveler observes. In addition to that, in the analysis of the travel narratives, not only the representation of modernity of the traveler is taken into consideration, but his ethnographical journey is also highlighted. That is to say, the journey which is about the exploration of the place visited, and which consists of paying attention to the traveler's movement across space and time, is part and parcel of the representation process of the traveler. It is inasmuch as about the description of the departure, the adventure and the return. More than that, tackling the gazing experience of the traveler is very important. This is because it summarizes what the traveler sees, watches, witnesses and then writes about in his story. More than that, the encounter which makes the traveler compare his home culture and country with the target culture and country is also central to this research.

This dissertation aims at answering a set of questions, such as:

- Do the Moroccan travelers have a modernist, a religious or an ambivalent background?
- How did the encounter with the British people- who have a different culture, religion, and military system- affect their writings?
- How did these Moroccan travelers represent modernity and how did they engage with it?
- How do they differ from each other in their attitudes to modernity?

¹³Loshimi Naidoon, "Ethnography: An Introduction to Definition and Method" (University of Western Sydney, NSW, Australia, 2015). Retrieved on https://www.researchgate.net/publication/221927953_Ethnography_An_Introduction_to_Definition_and_Method (03/02/2019).

In order to achieve the objectives of the study stated above, a qualitative content analysis shall be used. Stated differently, to be able to answer the research questions, a close textual analysis of the four travel narratives, already mentioned before, is adopted. Thus, textual analysis is

the method communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message. 1. The purpose of textual analysis is to describe the content, structure, and functions of the messages contained in texts. 2. The important considerations in textual analysis include selecting the types of texts to be studied, acquiring appropriate texts, and determining which particular approach to employ in analyzing them.¹⁴

A qualitative content analysis is opted for in this study because in qualitative content analysis, “researchers are more interested in the meanings associated with messages than with the number of times message variables occur.”¹⁵ Consequently, content analysis fits best in this dissertation because it deals with recorded messages/ text (travel narratives), that need to be read closely, analysed and interpreted to examine the travelers’ representation. In addition to that, the analysis also follows the purpose of textual analysis. It is about describing the content, structure and functions of the message contained in texts. Moreover, a qualitative content analysis is not enough because it necessitates the use of an adequate approach. In such a way, postcolonialism or postcolonial theory is applied. Occidentalism which is a postcolonial approach is the main approach used in this thesis. Hence, reading the texts very closely, trying to go between the lines, and using Occidentalism in order to understand the perspectives of the travelers/ writers of the accounts could be achieved only through having a comprehensive theoretical framework that is applicable to the texts. Furthermore, the choice of the four travel narratives was determined by the fact that they are the only ones that I could have access to.

¹⁴Lawrence R. Frey, Carl H. Botan, Gary L. Kreps, *Investigating Communication: An Introduction to Research Methods* (2nd ed.) (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1999). Retrieved from https://mason.gmu.edu/~afinn/html/teaching/courses/f03_comm250/fbk_chapters/09.pdf

¹⁵Ibid.

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first part focuses on the historical and theoretical background of the thesis. It is divided into two chapters. The first one deals with travel literature and the Moroccan British relations. Its first section addresses travel literature as a diversified genre. It explains the idea that travel literature is a powerful means of knowledge production. It also aims at introducing Arab travel literature with a focus on ambassadorial accounts. It is about accentuating some theoretical and historical insights concerning travel literature. These theoretical insights facilitate the understanding of the paradigm of travel narratives. They are mainly about the historical, cultural and social dimensions of travel literature. More than that, the first section emphasizes the role(s) of the traveler and the techniques used while narrating the journey of the travel account. The second section covers a short and accurate review of Moroccan travel literature to Europe. It mentions the previous Moroccan travelers that were sent to Europe for different purposes depending on the historical period of time they were sent in. The third section addresses the historical relationship between Morocco and Britain since the very beginning of their diplomatic relations. This section also highlights the ambassadorial travels that took place from the thirteenth century onwards. It documents the partnership and friendship that characterized the historical relation between the two countries.

The second chapter of the first part addresses the theoretical framework of this dissertation. The first section covers the postcolonial approaches used in this research. As a matter of fact, the focus is mainly on Orientalism and Occidentalism. These two approaches are indispensable for the analysis of travel narratives. Orientalism that is established by Edward Said as part of the postcolonial theorization is essential to understand the emergence of Occidentalism as a counter discourse to the former. It is explained and discussed to differentiate between the two distinct discourses. Hanafi's Occidentalism in addition to many other theorists comes as a result of Orientalism, in the sense that Occidentalists tried to answer back the Orientalists by producing a different discursive structure and framework. The aim behind Occidentalism is to balance between the unequal existing relationship between the East and the West.

The second section explores the issues of modernity and representation in travel accounts. It provides a theoretical framework for the analysis of the representation of

modernity of the Moroccan ambassadorial travel narratives. Given the complexity of both representation and modernity, this section tries to dismantle these two concepts through defining and conceptualizing them in order to facilitate their complex nature. Stuart Hall, Edward Said, Sara Mills, Mary Louise Pratt, Abdellah Laroui, Henry Lefebvre, Tarik Sabry and Michael Foucault's theoretical insights are employed to bring to the fore the complexity of representation and modernity in travel narratives. This is mainly because "postcolonial reconsideration of representation, presupposes the return of the subject and the relocation of agency."¹⁶

When it comes to the perception of modernity, it is noted that the Moroccans had different stances towards this project, that Moroccan sultans were willing to implement in their country. The intellectuals who are behind institutionalizing this transformation were divided into two categories. There were those who advocated the implementation of modernity and others who opposed it. Matter of fact, this research aims at deciphering these two categories of travelers. Nevertheless, Fathi el-Shihibi argues that there is a third trend which is ambivalent, and which stands in between the two stances. There are even scholars, who talked about the schizophrenic attitude that the Moroccan travelers had towards modernity in Britain. They had both a desire to acquire the same progress and development that Britain reached, but at the same time they were afraid of its implications on the Moroccan context. They were particularly afraid of its consequences on their religion. So, that is why they always had some religious reservations.

The travel narratives are organized chronologically. Consequently, the second part deals with the late nineteenth century Moroccan travel narratives and the third one covers the early twentieth century Moroccan travel narratives.

The second part addresses the travel accounts of both El Fassi and Jaadi. The first chapter tackles *Al Rihla AL Ibriziyaila Diyar al Injliziya* (1860). It provides a general background about both the traveler and the travel. The traveler's background is very essential when it comes to his representation of modernity. Matter of fact, the first section focuses on both the traveler and the historical context of the travel. This is

¹⁶Sadik Rddad, "Agency Relocated: Hybridity and Resistance in some British Travel Accounts on Morocco". In *Studies in Travel Writing*. Number 3, 1999. The British Council, p. 113.

because the historical context is always important in the contextualization of the travel. The second section deals with the representation of modernity by El Fassi. It looks at how this traveler negotiates modernity and the stance that he takes in relation to modernity.

The second chapter examines Jaadi's travel account entitled *Ithaf al Akhiyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar* (1876). First of all, it deals with the traveler's background and the travel's historical context. The contextualization of the ambassadorial travel is significant before its analysis. This is because a text cannot be dealt with without referring to the author, his background, and the historical period of time when it was written. These background information are useful in the analysis of the representation of modernity by Jaadi. Second, it addresses the way Jaadi represents modernity. It also deals with the structure of the travel and the whole journey of Jaadi in Britain.

The last part is dedicated to the early twentieth century. It covers two chapters about the travel narratives of El Ghassal and El Hajoui. It deals with El Ghassal's travel narrative entitled *Rihla Tatwijiyya ila 'ssimat al Bilad al Injaliziya* (1902) and El Hajoui's *Al rihla al Urupiya* (1919). They both follow the same structure in the sense that each chapter starts with the traveler's background and then the historical context. After that, the analysis of the travel account which focuses mainly on the representation of modernity comes latter.

I- Travel Literature and the Moroccan-British Historical Relations

1- Introducing Arab Travel Literature and Moroccan Ambassadorial Accounts

This section deals with the mechanisms of Muslim and Arab travel literature. It focuses on defining the apparatus of travel literature and especially ambassadorial travel accounts in the Arab-Muslim world in general and in Morocco in particular. An attempt is made to introduce, historicize, and categorize travel literature with the aim to assimilate the paradigms of writing ambassadorial travel narratives/reports¹⁷. Achieving this aim will play a key in understanding and analyzing the narration process of the travel narratives written by the Moroccan travelers who went to Britain during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In other words, this section presents the historical, religious, social, cultural and anthropological dimensions and characteristics of travel literature. A point of departure involves a discussion of two flourishing periods regarding the history of Arab and Muslim travels.

The first one lasted for 6 centuries -from the 9th century to the 15th century and it started from the Islamic conquests. Most of the travelers at that time did not write and document their journeys. The second period of time goes back to the 19th century. It was very influential and had an impact on the Arab-Muslim thought. It started with the Modern Arab renaissance.¹⁸

Hussein Mohamed Fahim historicizes and categorizes Muslim and Arab travel literature into two different periods. While the first one spans the period from the 9th century to the 15th century, the second period starts from the 19th century onward. Arab travel literature flourished at that time, especially during the first epoch because “the Islamic state was in its heyday. In the tenth century, the era of the birth of the Islamic empire,

¹⁷Travel narratives, travel accounts, travel reports and *Rihla* are going to be used interchangeably in this thesis.

¹⁸Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al Watani Litakafawa al Founoune wa al Adab, 1989), p. 105-106. (My Translation).

Arabic and Persian travel literature was circulating the globe.”¹⁹ This shows that travel literature thrives more during periods of civilizational prosperity. For Fahim, these two-time spans are the two main prosperous periods of time for travel narratives in the Arab world; however, he asserts that this does not mean that between these two periods of time, Arab and Muslim travelers did not cross borders. They obviously did but their writings were not disseminated because the printing machines at that time were not predominant in the Arab world.²⁰ Omran Doaa further states that “the genre of travel literature flourishes in the times of civilization and deteriorates in the times of cultural stupor. Arabic travel literature is no exception; for it was flourishing in the heyday of the Islamic Empire and started deteriorating with the fall of al-Andalus.”²¹

These two historical periods of time were characterized by having two different destinations. That is, during the first period, most of the travels took place within the Islamic world in efforts to fulfill religious, educational or administrative purposes. However, the second period of time witnessed travels to Europe for several reasons that are discussed later on.²² It is worth mentioning that writing about these two different journeys was done distinctively. For instance, Ahmed Idrissi Alami declares that

Throughout most of the Middle Ages, Muslim travelers wrote about their visits, observations and impressions of other cultures in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, cultures with which they share many religious and sociocultural affinities. In contrast, travel and sojourning in the non-Muslim West was typically, as recorded in numerous texts and

¹⁹Omran Doaa, *Occidental Encounters: Early Nineteenth-century Egyptian Travelers to Europe* (New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Albuquerque, 2012), PhD Dissertation, p. 15. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fil_etds/93

²⁰Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al Watani Litakafawa al Founoun wa al Adab, 1989), p. 105-106.

²¹Omran Doaa, *Occidental Encounters: Early Nineteenth-century Egyptian Travelers to Europe* (New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Albuquerque, 2012), PhD Dissertation, p. 14. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fil_etds/93

²²Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al Watani Litakafawa al Founoun wa al Adab, 1989), p. 105-106. (My Translation).

documents, undertaken with reticence, apprehension and cultural insecurity.²³

The implication is that the Muslims' way of recording their journeys to the countries with which they have things in common (like religion) differs from their way of writing about the non-Muslim West. This is going to be discussed in details later on because this dissertation discusses travel narratives written by Muslim Moroccans about the non-Muslim British World. Thus, the current investigation initially examines whether or not the Moroccan Travelers displayed their reticence, apprehension and cultural insecurity in their travel accounts.

In the Arab and Muslim heritage, "travel literature is one of the most common literary genres in the Islamic logic. This is because it is believed that life is the small travel through which the believer prepares himself for the big one."²⁴ In Abdelmajid El Kaddouri's words, "travel has a religious dimension, [...] in the Islamic philosophy or thinking, travel is related to the pilgrimage or science and knowledge".²⁵ Such insights suggest that traveling for religious purposes or traveling itself plays a crucial role in the life of any Muslim from the religious perspective. Religious purposes might refer to doing pilgrimage and seeking science or knowledge. The fact that travel is part of the Muslim life journey indicates that travel literature is deeply rooted in the Arab-Islamic logic and philosophy.

Given travel literature involves a religious dimension justifies why Eickelman and James Piscatori foster the idea that

Rihla was particularly linked with the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, the fifth pillar of Islam. The travel was so long and risky that it was worthwhile for the literate to make written records of it which serve as useful guides for future pilgrims²⁶

²³Ahmed Idrissi Alami, "Contesting French Aesthetics of Space and Nature Enjoyment in Moroccan Travel Writing in the 19th Century", in ARTL@S Bulletin, Vol. II, Issue I (Spring 2013), p. 16.

²⁴Abdelmajid El kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut* Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 7 (My translation)

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, Ed., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013), p. 69.

The direct relation between travel and pilgrimage – the fifth pillar of Islam – justifies why the authors connected travel writing to religion. The pilgrims’ risky journeys on their way to Mecca, Medina and other “holy sites of Islam”²⁷ accounts for producing records or accounts that document their travel adventures/experiences.²⁸ The advantage of writing records is observed in serving/informing other potential pilgrims and fulfilling a “religious duty to the nation”²⁹. This is why the literate or scholars – “who were the most prolific writers of all travelers”³⁰ – felt the need for recording their journeys by linking travel to education.³¹ Simply put, the travel accounts were the combination of both the stages of their religious journey and the accumulation of their cultural and scientific learning.

Such a type of travel narratives is labeled under the “pilgrimage accounts”³² or “Rhila Hijaziya”³³ because pilgrims used to travel to *Hijaz*.³⁴ Miller, in her book *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar*, explains that the fact of sharing the pilgrims’ experience with others includes several components among which,

the invocations to God, the stages of journey, the dangers passed, the achievement of the distant goal. [These] were recognized points in a formalized narrative structure. Reaching the Holy places was the emotional high point in which all events in the journey were subsumed; its attainment gave form and purpose to the voyage and rendered it meaningful in a way that a simple chronological account could not. In time, the genre of the *rihla* expanded to include accounts of journeys for

²⁷Jerrey Bentley, “Travel narratives: Travel accounts in World History” (University of Hawaii). <http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/unpacking/travelguide.pdf>.

²⁸Chawki Dayf, *Al Rahalat* (Cairo: Dar el Maarif, 1987), p. 9.

²⁹Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 43.

³⁰Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 383.

³¹Ibid.

³²Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 52.

³³Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, ed., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013), p. 70.

³⁴A region next to Saudi Arabia.

other purposes, such as study or diplomacy, but the most perfect model for travel and its narration remained the pilgrimage to the holy places of the Hijaz.³⁵

Pilgrims' accounts were characterized by being purely related to the religious experience that the pilgrim goes through. It was about narrating the adventure that pilgrims undertake. Muslims' dangerous trips were the main reason for writing about their journeys, whose purpose is to offer guidance to other future pilgrims. Such accounts took forms of sacred stories in which the pilgrims invoke God, describe the stages of their journey and show the attainment of their objectives, including arriving in Mecca and performing Hajj. Although other purposes for their travel involved studies or diplomacy, Miller emphasizes the idea that pilgrimage accounts remain the perfect model for travel narratives. This is also attested by Muhammad al Manuni who stated that "travels to the Hijaz were certainly the most important type of Moroccan movement abroad prior to modern times."³⁶ One reason for highlighting the importance of travels to the Hijaz for Muslims in general and Moroccans in particular is that pilgrimage remains an important pillar in Islam, has a significant religious dimension, and inculcates/reinforces the Muslim religious identity.

A good example to mention, when it comes to Moroccan travelers, is the fourteenth century traveler, Ibn Battouta³⁷ (1304-1377) ³⁸ who received the title of the greatest Muslim travelers ever,³⁹ and thus remains "one of the best-known Muslim travelers" in history. The year 1324 witnessed the start of his journey from Tangier to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, but he ended up travelling to several places until he reached China. Ibn Battouta's journey of travels lasted for more than 29 years. Upon returning from his travels, he narrated his travel experiences, including personal observations and adventures. His travel accounts were more likely written to

³⁵Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 52.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibn Battuta's full name is "AbouAbdellah Mohammed ben Mohammed Al Ouati al Tanji. In Chawki Dayf, *Al Rahalat* (Cairo: Dar el Maarif, 1987), p. 90.

³⁸Jerry Bentley, "Travel Narratives: Travel and Travel accounts in World History" (University of Hawai'i). <http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/unpacking/travelguide.pdf>

³⁹Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al Watani Litakafa wa al Founoune wa al Adab, 1989), p. 25. (My Translation).

Mohammed ben Jazi al Kalbi under the commission of Sultan Abi Annan al Merrini, the ruler of Morocco at that time.⁴⁰

Additionally, Ibn Battuta is a well-known Moroccan Muslim traveler who travelled not only within his country but trespassed Morocco to reach the Muslim world, Asia and Europe. He wrote many accounts about all the places he visited and this “led him to become the only known person of his time to have visited the lands of every Muslim ruler.”⁴¹ He “ began his travels with the hajj but then went on to visit central Asia, India, China, Sub-Saharan Africa, and parts of Mediterranean Europe before returning finally to his home in Morocco”⁴² and precisely in Tangier.⁴³

However, his accounts were not given their due until the 19th century when historians realized that he produced incomparable records and perspectives about the 14th century Islamic world from West Africa to Europe, India and beyond.⁴⁴ Hence, unlike what Bernard Lewis claims regarding the curiosity of the Arabs toward the west or the other, Ahmed Idrissi Alami argues that “the crossing of boundaries was of central concern for Moroccan travelers who adapted writing conventions traditionally associated with pilgrimage narratives and *Rihla* accounts to their writing about their visits to Western/ non- Muslim territories.”⁴⁵ This shows that Muslims or Arab travelers were not lacking curiosity to travel, discover and then write about their journeys, but their narratives were not recognized and given the attention that they deserve. Given these narratives were relegated to the margin accounts for retrieving some of the travelers and their travel narratives from oblivion in this study.

A glance back to the etymological roots of travel in the Indo-European tradition shows that the word is related to experience. Therefore, travel is strongly associated

⁴⁰Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al WataniLitakafawa al Founounewa al Adab, 1989), p. 25.

⁴¹Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. xiii.

⁴²Jerry Bentley, “Travel Narratives: Travel and Travel Accounts in World History” (University of Hawai’i). <http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/unpacking/travelguide.pdf>

⁴³Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 384.

⁴⁴Jerry Bentley, “Travel Narratives: Travel and Travel accounts in World History” (University of Hawai’i). <http://chnm.gmu.edu/worldhistorysources/unpacking/travelguide.pdf>

⁴⁵Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 91.

with experience, inasmuch as they both connote “a passage through a frame of action.”⁴⁶ And, travel is a passage through a frame of action. Such a grounded relation between the two concepts raises the question of what kind of experiences does the traveler go through in his journey? To answer this question, in ‘The Journey and Its Narratives’, Todorov

argues that the evolution of travel writing is best understood through the dialectic relationship between internal and external journeys. At different times in history, travel writing has either focused on the emotional and personal transformations experienced by the author, or on the author’s physical movement across space.⁴⁷

In a travel account, the traveler takes into consideration two major levels, particularly his internal/external experiences or both of them. Stated differently, “travel literature is [...] synchronically motivated by a negotiation of exteriority and interiority on the itineraries of travel.”⁴⁸ On the one hand, concerning the external experience, which is mainly about the description of “the hardships and traumas of travel”⁴⁹, it is more likely mentioned in the account so that the traveler gives some credibility to his narrative and differentiates himself from the armchair traveler.⁵⁰ On the other hand, since “travel” signals both a metaphor for and a practice of journeying, in Nietzsche’s words, to ‘the other shore’, to worlds less familiar, and in terms of which a traveler may well come to understand his or her own more deeply and fully”⁵¹, the internal experience refers to the fact that the traveler become more of a “profoundly self-reflexive”⁵² author. In the words of Hussein Mohamed Fahim, “travel literature is not only about discovering the others’ cultures, traditions and ways of life, but it is a self-

⁴⁶Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 21.

⁴⁷Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 44.

⁴⁸Oana Cogeanu, “What Makes Travel Literature?”, *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*, Vol 2, Issue 6, June 2014, p. 350.

⁴⁹Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. xii.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 10.

⁵²Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 69.

reflection on the traveler's own culture, tradition and ways of life.”⁵³ This means that the internal experience focuses on the personal transformation of the traveler in terms of his perception to the world and to his own homeland. He both discovers and shares the culture and traditions of his homeland and the target country. At the same time, he starts questioning what he used to take for granted once he comes into contact with other different places and people.

Being self-reflexive -in Mary Louise Pratt's terms- is to use “‘autoethnography’ or ‘autoethnographic expressions’”⁵⁴ while the traveler is self-representing himself. It is a journey about “self-discovery.”⁵⁵ This also means that “as a human activity, travel has always implied a moving object and by the same way a moving consciousness.”⁵⁶ In the same regard, Mohamed Laamiri believes that travel is not only a movement in space, but it is “a state of mind, a psychological state of being, a disposition, a means to achieve prosperity, satisfaction, and a way to respond to a given necessity.”⁵⁷ The traveling experience is not only a spatial one, but it is also a psychological journey that the traveler undergoes. Casey Blaton also believes that travel is not only a literary journey, but it is also a psychological and symbolic one.⁵⁸

Travel could be seen as a journey which is linked to the person life as a “‘microlife’ with a bright beginning, a middle, and an end ... marked by rituals that thrust us irreversibly down life's path.”⁵⁹ These rituals are about the traveler beginning his journey by leaving his home country and then ending it by returning back to it.⁶⁰ In

⁵³Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al Watani Litakafa wa al Founoun wa al Adab, 1989), p. 21.

⁵⁴I will deal with this term in depth later when talking about representation because it is related to self-representation. Autoethnography refers to “instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms.” In Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 7.

⁵⁵Alison Blunt, “Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa” (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994), p. 21.

⁵⁶Mohamed Laamiri, “Otherness and Cross-Cultural Encounters in Anglo-Moroccan Travel Accounts”. In *Voyages et Altérité*, Abderrahim Benhadda- Khalid Chegraoui (Université Mohammed V-Agdal Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines- Rabat) Colloques et Séminaires, N°148. p. 8.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸Casey Blaton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 3.

⁵⁹Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 50.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

other words, “travel is bounded by points of departure and destination but in an arbitrary, retrospective way defined by perceptions of ‘home’ that can themselves arise only with critical distance.”⁶¹ Therefore, traveling is about experiencing space⁶² and being distant from home. In this regard, Fussel

notices the “tripartite” structure of the travel account in which the protagonist, like a romantic hero, leaves the familiar and wanders into the unknown. First, the setting out, the disjunction from the familiar. Second, the trials of initiation and adventure. Third, the hero’s return and reintegration into society.⁶³

As just mentioned, the travel is structured into these three paradigms that Fussel refers to as “tripartite”. Casey Blaton talks about “an Ancient pattern: departure, adventure, return”.⁶⁴

The first stage, departure is when the traveler – who is according to Fussel – is like a romantic hero and leaves the familiar to go for an adventure in a different or unfamiliar space. This stage involves moving from an ordinary place (i.e., home) to an extraordinary place where the traveler can experience the hardship of the travel, particularly fear of sailing and dying away from home. The departure stage unravels the logistic dimension of the travel (e.g., how he is moving from one place to another and what are the means of transportation used in the journey) alongside its effects on the traveler. The traveler is portrayed as a hero because in this part he is the main character – the protagonist of the account as long as most of the travel revolves around the traveler’s movements and observations.

Spatial movement makes of travel part of “geographical literature”⁶⁵ because it depicts the “geographical mobility”⁶⁶ of the traveler. This is due to the nature of the

⁶¹Alison Blunt, “Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa” (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994), p. 17.

⁶²The word space should not be taken for granted because “for de Certeau, ‘space’ is never ontologically given. It is discursively mapped and corporeally practiced. [...] it is not a space until it is practiced by people’s active occupation, their movements through and around it.” In James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 54.

⁶³Miller, Gilson Miller. (trans.& Ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 50.

⁶⁴Casey Blaton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 2.

travel and to the interest that the traveler shows in relation to geography and territories. Furthermore, Crang argues that travel

has been at the heart of geography. In its earliest origins geography was the stuff of travellers' tales; mixing accounts of varying degrees of heroism and veracity, it long functioned to tell people 'back here' what was going on 'over there'.”⁶⁷

This reveals the fact that since the traveler produces information about different places and geographies, it has been categorized under the geographical literature. The traveler is portrayed as a hero who is discovering new geographical spaces and then writing tales about them later on to tell people about what he saw over there. In Mohamed Laamiri's words, “travel is an experience lived away from home in a foreign territory which serves as the spacio-narratological frame for the experience when it goes on paper and becomes text.”⁶⁸ Moreover, according to Mike Crang, travel is defined as a “a spatial practice”⁶⁹ because “travel is an encounter which ‘occurs between people and between people and space.’”⁷⁰ More than that, Casey Blanton argues that “travel writing like other writings of place—nature writing or the war memoir, has long felt its prerogative to be the representation of place, to fix in our minds the contours and colors of a particular region of the globe.”⁷¹ Mohamed Laamiri also stresses the idea that when the traveler is far away from home, he is absent from home but present there- in the country visited. Thus, “travel is a cut off period of life that the traveler

⁶⁵Abd El Rahim Al Mouden, *Adabiyat al Rihla* (Casablanca: Dar al Takafa, 1996), p. 12. (My translation).

⁶⁶Ahmed Idrissi Alami, “Contesting French Aesthetics of Space and Nature Enjoyment in Moroccan Travel Writing in the 19th Century”, in *ARTL@S Bulletin*, Vol.II, Issue I (Spring 2013), p. 16.

⁶⁷Mike Crang, “Travel/ Tourism”, in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, ed., David Sibley et Al. (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 34.

⁶⁸Mohamed Laamiri, “Otherness and Cross-Cultural Encounters in Anglo-Moroccan Travel Accounts”. In *Voyages et Altérité*, Abderrahim Benhadda- Khalid Chegraoui (Université Mohammed V-Agdal Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines- Rabat), Colloques et Séminaires N148, p. 7.

⁶⁹Mike Crang, “Travel/ Tourism”, in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, ed., David Sibley et Al. (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 34.

⁷⁰Mohamed Laamiri, “Otherness and Cross-Cultural Encounters in Anglo-Moroccan Travel Accounts”. In *Voyages et Altérité*. Abderrahim Benhadda- Khalid Chegraoui (Université Mohammed V-Agdal Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines- Rabat), Colloques et Séminaires N148, p. 7.

⁷¹Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 106-107.

spends away from home. [...] the traveler is an outsider but his outsideness is both a privilege and a handicap.”⁷² To sum up, the first stage is mainly about the external journey of the traveler since it deals with the spacial movement.

Second, the traveler’s journey, which is about arriving to the other country, trying to “understand that world which is other to us”⁷³ and living “differently” there for a certain period of time, is most of the time described by the traveler to reveal about his first hand adventure to the other shore.⁷⁴ In this regard, travel could be “seen as an attempt to engage with the unknown and the different, to expose oneself to other ways of life and cultures.”⁷⁵ In this part of the travel account, the traveler gives the details of his journey in terms of his contact with the place visited. In other words, this section represents the body of the travel narrative, in which the traveler highlights the differences between the two cultures and societies. It is the main section where the traveler talks about his encounters and his journey as a whole. Matter of fact, according to Tarik Sabry, “travel constitutes the act of cultural encounter par excellence.”⁷⁶ He extends his point by asserting that the encounters are also seen as “cultural phenomena par excellence, and culture is nothing other than an amalgamation of different encounters and the dynamics they produce. [...] Encountering is a spatio-temporal phenomenon – in that it takes place in time and space.”⁷⁷ This means that once the traveler reaches his destination, he starts his cultural encounter which is a spatio-temporal phenomenon. That is to say, the encountering takes place at a certain time and in a certain place or space about certain people who are culturally, religiously, and historically different. Tarik Sabry adds that

⁷²Mohamed Laamiri, “Otherness and Cross-Cultural Encounters in Anglo-Moroccan Travel Accounts”, In *Voyages et Altérité*, Abderrahim Benhadda- Khalid Chegraoui (Université Mohammed V-Agdal Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines- Rabat), Colloques et Séminaires N148, p. 9.

⁷³Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 2.

⁷⁴ Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 50.

⁷⁵Mike Crang, “Travel/ Tourism”, in *Cultural Geography: A critical Dictionary of key concepts*, Ed. David Sibley et Al. (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 34.

⁷⁶Tarik Sabry, *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World: on Media, the Modern, and the Everyday* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 9.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 10.

Cultural encountering coexists in a three-dimensional temporality: a) the time of the encounter (i.e., when the encounter takes place in real time: e.g., a rock concert broadcast live from London across the world), b) the cultural time of the encountered (what is meant here is the cultural temporality or the time of the culture that is being encountered) and c) we have the cultural time of those who do the encountering. [...] The interrelation of the three different cultural temporalities produces different and intricate narratives about *self* and the world⁷⁸

This quote illustrates the dimensional temporality of the cultural encountering. It highlights the three different cultural times in which the encounter takes place and which should be taken into consideration while analyzing travel narratives dealing with cultural encounters. This is to differentiate between the cultural background of the place encountered and the people doing the encounter. Consequently, travel narratives could be considered as “a literary genre that deals with the representation/representation of the people and places. Travel narration is a mode of cultural representation through which the foreign people/place gains its significance.”⁷⁹

Mary Louise Pratt chose the term “contact zone” to label the place where the encounters take place⁸⁰. It is a “space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations”.⁸¹ In other words, the contact zone⁸² is about the place of interaction and intersection between people coming from two completely different geographical and historical backgrounds. And since the contact zone is a place of interaction, it is believed not to be “a neutral space but [it is rather] a space charged with conflict, both actual and

⁷⁸Tarik Sabry, *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World: on Media, the Modern, and the Everyday* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 10-11.

⁷⁹“Travel Narratives as Textual Evidences of Cultural Documentation”, pp. 13-14. https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/5364/8/08_chapter%201.pdf

⁸⁰Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 6.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Contact zones could also be defined as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination-like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.” In Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 4.

potential.”⁸³ During the colonial encounters, the contact used to stress “copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often with radically asymmetrical relations of power.”⁸⁴ In addition to that, “for, as Edward Said, in his *Orientalism* points out, there is an intrinsic power relationship in the writing of accounts of other cultures.”⁸⁵ In the coming sections, the contact zone and the cultural encountering are going to be discussed in more details and especially during the analysis of the travel narratives. This is to examine the power relations between the traveler and the travelee within the contact zone. More than that, “all demonstrate that narrating travel is a complicated act of representation that compels critical inquiry about discourse, experience, and the limits of cross-cultural understanding.”⁸⁶ Subsequently, the second stage is about the internal journey that the traveler experiences.

Finally, the third element is the return of the traveler which

is also fraught with difficulties. Stepping back into the familiar, the traveler is caught in emotion ambivalence. Coming home not only means rejoicing mixed loved ones; it also means returning to the constraints of normal life and leaving behind the magic of the journey.⁸⁷

Travel accounts –most of the time – include the return experience where the traveler notes his mixed emotions about leaving a mysterious place and coming back to his normal life. The return could be seen as a notable part of the adventure because it leads the traveler to experience a kind of ambivalence⁸⁸. For Bhabha, “a critical

⁸³Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing within British Studies”, In Susan Bassnett, *The Fifth Warwick Seminar and Conference on British Cultural Studies 7- 13 December 1997*. p. 6.

⁸⁴James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 192.

⁸⁵Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing within British Studies”, In Susan Bassnett, *The Fifth Warwick Seminar and Conference on British Cultural Studies 7- 13 December 1997*. p. 4.

⁸⁶Stacy Burton, *Travel Narrative and the Ends of Modernity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 5.

⁸⁷Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 50.

⁸⁸“A term first developed in psychoanalysis to describe a continual fluctuation between wanting one thing and wanting its opposite. It also refers to a simultaneous attraction toward and repulsion from an object, person or action (Young 1995: 161). Adapted into colonial discourse theory by Homi Bhabha, it describes the complex mix of attraction and repulsion that characterizes the relationship between colonizer and colonized.” In Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin,

component of these displacing spaces is ambivalence – the avoidance of completeness or closure, and the notion of a thing (or space) holding its opposite within it.”⁸⁹ Such ambivalence takes place when the traveler feels the need to go back home, but at the same time he might feel a certain identification with the place he visited – this place in which he stopped by does not remain unfamiliar as in the very beginning. Consequently, Susan Bassnett claims that “travel implies a departure from one place and a return to the same place enriched with ‘the booty of knowledge’[...] Travellers, then, experience things that will change their lives and alter their relationship with their own culture.”⁹⁰

As the traveler goes through an experience where he discovers a different place and meets different people, his return would obviously change his way of looking at his original country and its culture. “Travel thus involves the familiarization or domestication of the unfamiliar at the same time as the defamiliarization of the familiar or domestic. Travel seems potentially liberating because of the opportunities for transgression and questioning of ideas formulated at home.”⁹¹ Traveling widens the perspectives of the traveler because it opens his eyes on many different issues and makes him question what he used to take for granted in his home country. Blunt adds that “home is constructed in an arbitrary, retrospective way while the traveler is away, and, by necessity, ‘home’ changes on the traveler’s return.”⁹² This means that the traveler starts doubting even the notion of home. Finally, the last element, the return, combines both the external and internal journeys because the travel deals with his coming back (spacial movement) and the personal transformations that happen to him (ambivalence).

Postcolonial Studies: The Key Concept Second Edition (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 10.

⁸⁹Katharyne Mitchell, “Hybridity”, in *Cultural Geography: A critical Dictionary of key concepts*, ed., David Sibley et Al. (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 189.

⁹⁰Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing within British Studies”, In Susan Bassnett, *The Fifth Warwick Seminar and Conference on British Cultural Studies 7- 13 December 1997*, p. 7.

⁹¹Alison Blunt, “Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa”, (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994), p. 17.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 114.

After dealing with the tripartite structure of travel, it is essential to tackle the tools or techniques - like “observation” and “description”⁹³- used by the traveler to recount and write about his journey. Matter of fact, to report on those experiences or journeys of the travel, travelers rely on personal observation. For instance,

The primary techniques by which Ibn Battuta attempts to establish himself as a trustworthy purveyor and translator of knowledge is direct observation (*iyan*), expressed variously and repeatedly in the text as “I witnessed,” “I myself saw,” and “I was present” as a preface particularly to stories about places, peoples, and events his audience would not have known.⁹⁴

In other words, from an anthropological point of view, travelers “establish their credibility by reference to the authority of autopsy—here in the Greek sense of the word, meaning ‘seeing first-hand’, and in Arabic ‘*iyan*’ (direct observation).”⁹⁵ That is to say, the direct or personal observation is very essential to the credibility of the traveler. The first-hand pieces of information observed by the traveler are clearly manifested when the author uses expressions like “I witnessed,” “I myself saw,” and “I was present” to accentuate his “authority-given personal experience.”⁹⁶ This is what Pratt calls “the rhetoric of presence”.⁹⁷ Moreover,

Oftentimes, the authorial presence becomes explicit in a textual justification of the travel and writing pursuits. “Why travel, why write?” is a question that the travel writer addresses through the text and in the text. This self-justification of the author is so inherently specific to travel writing.⁹⁸

⁹³Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 27.

⁹⁴Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 74.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁹⁶James Clifford, “Partial Truths”, In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, (Ed.) James Clifford and George Marcus, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 32.

⁹⁷Casey Blanton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 109.

⁹⁸Oana Cogeanu, “What Makes Travel Literature?”, *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*, Vol 2, Issue 6, June 2014, p. 349.

That is to say, in addition to the former expressions used by the travel, this latter attempts to back up his authorial presence by justifying his travel and his writings. The self-justification seems to reinforce the importance of his journey and his presence at that place.

Mary Louise Pratt, in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, stresses the fact that “travelers are chiefly present as a kind of collective moving eye on which the sights/ sites register.”⁹⁹ This means that the eye here is intertwined with the “I” of the traveler used in the previous expressions. Moreover, “the notion of personal observation, or *iyān*, meant learning without mediation, it is considered the purest form of knowing by the classical traveler.”¹⁰⁰ That is to say, through observation, the traveler does not need an intermediary while reporting or documenting his journey. “The traveller/writer acts as a mediator between the readers who decode the new messages without losing the credibility.”¹⁰¹ The traveler becomes an “established narrator/subject, an active ‘I’ that uses all of his or her senses to absorb and assimilate the surrounding data and make sense of it during the act of writing. In this way, the use of the ‘eye’ and the ‘I’ becomes mutually dependent in travel writing.”¹⁰²

Besides, though the personal observation seems to be a prerogative for the traveler, it might as well be pejorative in the sense that objectivity is questioned. This is due to the fact that travel literature is “characterized by the shift from objectivity to subjectivity.”¹⁰³ Thus, Sara Mills argues that “writing is constrained by a variety of factors; that is, texts are produced in situations where there are numerous textual, economic, social, political, historical and personal forces at work which impinges on

⁹⁹Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 59.

¹⁰⁰Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 57.

¹⁰¹“Travel Narratives as Textual Evidences of Cultural Documentation”, p. 18. https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/5364/8/08_chapter%201.pdf

¹⁰²Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 40.

¹⁰³Oana Cogeanu, “What Makes Travel Literature?”, *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*, Vol 2, Issue 6, June 2014, p. 350.

the writing process. Texts are therefore heterogeneous entities.”¹⁰⁴ The personal forces or constraints in this case refer to the act of observing while maintaining a personal stance. In Alison Blunt’s words, “both travel and travel writing are hermeneutic processes whereby the “eye/I’ of the traveler/ travel writer constructs spatial and textual difference.”¹⁰⁵

One of the writing styles that travel writers use out of observation is description. In addition to the fact that travel writing is a literary genre, it “is also related to ethnography”¹⁰⁶ which, according to Hussein Mohammed Fahim, is “a descriptive study of life styles, traditions, customs, values, tools, arts, and popular heritage of a certain society during a certain period of time.”¹⁰⁷ James Clifford also asserts that “ethnography is, from beginning to end, enmeshed in writing. This writing includes, minimally, a translation of experience into textual form.”¹⁰⁸ The description is not only about the journey of the traveler; but it is also about the encounters that take place with the people, their traditions, customs and ways of life. Moreover, Todorov points out that

Travel writing is important primarily because it facilitates encounters with people different from ourselves and displays ‘a certain tension (or a certain balance) between the observing subject and observed object. This is what, in its way, the term travel narrative designates: narrative, that is, personal narration and not objective description; but also travel, and therefore a framework of circumstances exterior to the subject’.¹⁰⁹

The description used in travel narratives is not objective because the narration is a personal one and is put/framed within certain exterior circumstances. This is – according to Foucault- clearly seen “in the range of their structure, tropes, language

¹⁰⁴Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 68.

¹⁰⁵Alison Blunt, “Travel, Gender, and Imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa”, (New York: The Guilford Press, 1994), pp. 20-21.

¹⁰⁶Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al Watani li Takafa wa al Founoune wa al Adab, 1989), p. 49.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 25.

¹⁰⁹Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 40.

choice, tense, statements, events, narrative figure and so on.”¹¹⁰ In addition to that, both observation and description make up the narratives or “stories”¹¹¹ of the travel account, which are about the encounters that happen between the “observing subject” and the “observed object”. The observing subject refers to the traveler, whereas the observed object could be referred to as the people encountered in the travel and who are observed by the traveler. The other way around is also plausible but within most of the European travel narratives, the first order is the most appropriate because the European traveler is more likely considered as the hero of his account and therefore, he is portrayed as the only observing subject. However, this dissertation deals with non-European – Moroccan – travelers who also perceive themselves as a heroes. The use of “subject” and “object” brings about the power relations which take place in the contact zone. “The one becomes the object of the other’s study, and in consequence placed in a passive role. Said views this difference as disturbing because it implies an inequality in the relationship between the observer and the observed.”¹¹² Stated differently, it creates unequal binaries. This is due to the fact that

The blind authority with which an observer situates himself among others and then commits to narrative the characteristics of that place and its people can create what Mary Louise Pratt calls "othering." The people to be othered are homogenized into a collective "they," which is distilled even further into an iconic "he." [...] The portrait of manners and customs is a normalizing discourse, whose work is to codify difference, to fix the Other in a timeless present where all "his" actions and reactions are repetitions of "his" normal habits.¹¹³

In the contact zone, Mary Louise Pratt confirms the power relations which exist in travel writings by emphasizing the fact that “subjects are constituted in and by their

¹¹⁰Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 69.

¹¹¹Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 43.

¹¹²Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing within British Studies”, In Susan Bassnett, *The Fifth Warwick Seminar and Conference on British Cultural Studies 7- 13 December 1997*, p. 6.

¹¹³Casey Blaton, *Travel Writing: The Self and the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 106-107.

relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and ‘travelees’ ”.¹¹⁴ At this stage of power relations, the traveler moves from observation to “surveillance”¹¹⁵ through which he tries to manipulate and dominate what he observes; however, power is not always in the hand of the colonizer or the traveler but the travelee could also return the gaze and therefore “the observer becomes the observed.”¹¹⁶ This shows that travel is “an interactive and negotiated practice between traveler and travellee.”¹¹⁷ All in all, travel accounts do not contain objective description for the simple reason that accounts deal with a personal experience. Narration, in this regard, could be treated as the process through which the traveler reveals his personal vision and authority. Furthermore, along with observation and description, the narration of the journey also includes many other components like comparison.

The narration of what is observed entails a kind of comparison. This is because travel writing has “an analytical and comparative dimension.”¹¹⁸ For instance, in both pilgrimage and ambassadorial accounts, Moroccan travelers used to share their experience “with various components of the *umma*. At the same time, they were able to understand their difference through experiencing numerous comparisons”.¹¹⁹ This comparison is established because – as mentioned earlier – the traveler becomes self-

¹¹⁴Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 7.

¹¹⁵“In his discussion of the relation between power and surveillance, Foucault alludes to the Panopticon, the eighteenth-century design for a prison divided into cells, all of which could be observed from the single vantage point central tower (in our case a central eye/ I: the traveler-narrator).” In Sadik Rddad, “Agency Relocated: Hybridity and Resistance in Some British Travel Accounts on Morocco”, In *Studies in Travel Writing*, The British Council, Number 3, 1999. p. 115. In addition to that, He (Foucault) notes that what “guarantees control in the Panopticon is the analytical arrangement of space ... the power exercised over [the prisoners]... depends on spatial configuration rather than on the use of force ... the observer remains invisible to those who are the objects of surveillance.” In David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993) p. 16.

¹¹⁶Homi Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse Source”, October, Vol. 28, Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis (Spring, 1984), p. 129. Retrieved from <http://www.marginalutility.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/12/01.-Bhabha.pdf>

¹¹⁷Sadik Rddad, “Agency Relocated: Hybridity and Resistance in Some British Travel Accounts on Morocco”, In *Studies in Travel Writing*. The British Council. Number 3, 1999, p. 114.

¹¹⁸Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al Watani li Takafa wa al Founoune wa al Adab, 1989), p. 49.

¹¹⁹Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013), p. 70.

reflexive once he reaches the other shore. The comparison also occurs as a result of the differences existing between the traveler's country, culture, traditions, background and the country visited and its people.

Fussell states that, "travel writing is an 'implicit quest for anomaly', as if the travel writer were searching for something strange to describe. [...] One of the striking features in all of the descriptions of other countries is that objects are presented only in terms of their difference [...]. And this difference is portrayed as 'strange'".¹²⁰ So, once the traveler arrives to the other side, he meets "with the strange, the bizarre and the unexpected. The novelty of the subject is the source of its difficulty as well as its fascination."¹²¹ This fascination is more likely translated into a comparison established between the traveler's home and the country visited. The comparison causes or involves the creation of a duality. According to Speake, this duality is "a binary opposition between home and elsewhere."¹²² Thus, travel "becomes a metaphor for and a practice of the pursuit of knowledge about others and oneself by way of literal and imaginative contrasts with seemingly alien lands, peoples, and institutions."¹²³ Additionally, writing about the places visited consists of writing about both this place and the place left by the traveler in contrast to what he observes. This means that "all travel writing exists in a dialectical relationship between two distinct places—that designated by the writer and perhaps also by readers as "home," and that designated as the cultural other."¹²⁴ This dichotomy or binary opposition is well grounded by Mary Louise Pratt. She believes that the contact zone is dialectic in the sense that the European writings are about producing texts about Europe in relation to the "rest of the world."¹²⁵ That is to say, most of the time, travel accounts deal with two entities

¹²⁰Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 86.

¹²¹Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.). *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 51.

¹²²Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia. Vol 1, A to F* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. xi.

¹²³Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 15.

¹²⁴Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia. Vol 1, A to F* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. xi.

¹²⁵Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 5.

opposing each other. They also portray “difference, a moment of descriptive paralysis, speechlessness, a moment of wonder beyond words. After this moment of wonder, the other is captured into the travellers' descriptive system: difference becomes domesticated into this linguistic order.”¹²⁶

According to Roxanne Euben, these comparisons –as previously mentioned– “entail acts of translation that simultaneously make sense of and distort the unfamiliar, the *Rihla* is an instance ‘when the subdued counterpoint between the external and internal worlds becomes sufficiently audible for us to listen in’.”¹²⁷ In other words, comparison involves translation “between what is unfamiliar and familiar, such journeys make possible not only greater awareness of other worlds but also a perspective of critical distance from home and the often unexamined commitments and attachments home entails.”¹²⁸ Susan Bassnett asserts that the travel writer

acts as a kind of translator, reading the signs he encounters on his journey and endeavouring to translate them for his target reader. Indeed, it is helpful to think of travel writing as closely linked to translation, for a similar relationship obtains in that there are two distinct poles: the culture of the writer and the culture that is depicted, and only the writer has access to both. The reader has to take on trust the version presented because only the traveler has first-hand experience of what is being described, just as the translator alone has first-hand knowledge of the source language.¹²⁹

This translation could be understood as a kind of narration through which the traveler translates or recounts what he experiences and sees into his own words. In addition to that, James Clifford defines travel as “an invaluable term of translation”¹³⁰, he adds that “reports of such travels are also *acts* of translation, practices, as Francois Hartog

¹²⁶Joanne P Sharp, “Writing Travel/ Travelling Writing: Roland Barthes Detours the Orient”, *Environment and Planning: Society and Space* 2002, Volume 20, p. 162.

¹²⁷Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 88.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹²⁹Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing within British Studies”, In Susan Bassnett, *The Fifth Warwick Seminar and Conference on British Cultural Studies* 7- 13 December 1997. pp. 4-5.

¹³⁰Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 41.

shows, of both ‘seeing and making seen’ and, [he] would add, of hearing and making heard.”¹³¹ He reports everything he sees to his readers. He is the one in charge of making the unknown known and the unfamiliar familiar through description. In this respect, “the act of translation is double: the traveler ‘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.”¹³² Stated differently, the traveler tries to see and translate what he sees into words, but the readers might have different interpretations for what he says. He becomes the eyes of the readers. However, the process of writing or translating is “complicated by the action of multiple subjectivities and political constraints beyond the control of the writer.”¹³³ Nevertheless, he cannot meet the expectations of all his readers. This holds true in case of cultural and historical difference and diversity.

Hence, the traveler is considered as a translator, in that like the translator,

the travel writer shapes material in such a way that readers may have access to whatever situations and places, known or unknown, are being described. Sometimes travel-writing conventions lead writers to favor an ethnographical or anthropological stance, at other times travel writers are indistinguishable from novelists or writers of memoirs, but always the object of their gaze is a culture different from their own.¹³⁴

In this quote, the traveler is considered as a translator for several reasons. The translation here signifies mediation, as the traveler plays the role of a mediator between his readers and the place visited and the people encountered. “Tony Thwaites talks about the role of mediation in many accounts, in *Introducing Culture and Media Studies*: ‘Mediation occurs when one party acts between two others, bringing them

¹³¹Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 41.

¹³²*Ibid.*, p.42.

¹³³James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 25.

¹³⁴Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia Vol 1, A to F* (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. xi.

into a recognizable relationship.’ Mediation creates the identity of a foreign place through the representations of a culture.”¹³⁵

Furthermore, the act of writing a travel narrative grants the traveler a variety of tropes among which he can choose. He might go for the ethnographical, anthropological or the literary one. In other words, at times the traveler could be an ethnographer or an anthropologist¹³⁶, but at other times, he can play the role of a novelist. He might even combine all of them in his writing. However, whatever the stance he is taking, he focuses on the cultural differences as a subject of his gaze and production of knowledge. More than that, travelers “are not only receptacles of knowledge but agents of its dissemination.”¹³⁷ They do not only receive knowledge, but they also produce it. Vincent Crapanzano argues that the traveler who is also an

ethnographer is caught in a second paradox. He has to make sense of the foreign. Like Benjamin's translator, he aims at a solution to the problem of foreignness, and like the translator (a point missed by Benjamin) he must also communicate the very foreignness that his interpretations (the translator's translations) deny, at least in their claim to universality. He must render the foreign familiar and preserve its very foreignness at one and the same time. The translator accomplishes this through style, the ethnographer through the coupling of a presentation that asserts the foreign and an interpretation that makes it all familiar.¹³⁸

Travelers are not passive agents that only obtain ready-made information and translate them into words and narratives, but they are active agents that contribute to the production of knowledge and its dissemination through their first-hand experience.

¹³⁵“Travel Narratives as Textual Evidences of Cultural Documentation”, p. 19. https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/5364/8/08_chapter%201.pdf

¹³⁶James Clifford states that “before the late nineteenth century the ethnographer and the anthropologist, the describer-translator of custom and the builder of general theories about humanity, were distinct.” That is to say, an ethnographer is someone who describes and translates the customs of the place visited whereas the anthropologist is the one generating theories about humanity. Thus, the travelers studied in this dissertation could be dealt with as ethnographers rather than anthropologists. In James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1988. p. 28.

¹³⁷Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search Of knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 42.

¹³⁸Vincent Crapanzano, “Herms’ Dilemma: The Masking of Subversion in Ethnographic description”, In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed., James Clifford and George Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 52.

This means that the knowledge they produce goes through several practices before it is ready to be spread and read.¹³⁹

Narration, description, comparison, and translation are the means used by the traveler to write about his journey. Since the traveler does “cultural representation”¹⁴⁰, he uses some “representational practices that arrange human experience into narrative accounts, and in particular, what such practices disclose about the ways in which these travelers make sense of themselves and the worlds through which they move.”¹⁴¹ That is to say, the travel accounts could be seen as portfolio of literary and anthropological representational practices. Thus, travelers try to represent what they see through the practices mentioned above. These practices, according to Mary Gergen, “are themselves embedded in traditions of storytelling, dramatic performance, literature and the like [that] have generated a range of culturally shared forms of emplotment, or narrative forms.”¹⁴² Travel literature adopts some tropes which are similar to many other literary genres. That is why, Dale Eickelman and James Piscayori asserts that

Rihla texts are usually encyclopedic in character. Among other fields, they cover the religious, sciences, history, biographies, and literature. Moreover, for modern scholars, they are a kind of documentary treasure, full of material of geographical, ethnographic, and even technological interest.¹⁴³

Therefore, travel narratives or *Rihla* texts– as it is referred to in the quote – utmost tend to have the characteristics of an encyclopedia. They are rich in terms of the content because of the materials and documents they include. They might embrace different fields, like religion, science, history, geography, anthropology, to cite but a few. Matter of fact, there exist several kinds of travelers depending on the mission or

¹³⁹Vincent Crapanzano, “Herms’ Dilemma: The Masking of Subversion in Ethnographic description”, In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed., James Clifford and George Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 51.

¹⁴⁰James Clifford, “Partial Truths”, In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed., James Clifford and George Marcus, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 4.

¹⁴¹Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 9.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*,

¹⁴³Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, ed., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013), p. 74.

aim behind their travel. For instance, travel accounts that cover the religious field are written by pilgrims, merchants write about their trade and commerce journeys, scientists cover science and the scientific field, captives and pirates write about their captivity and piracy experience, colonizers produce colonialist narratives and ambassadors write reports about their diplomatic or ambassadorial missions.¹⁴⁴ And, in some cases, the traveler might have more than just one profile. Hence, William H. Sherman stresses the fact that

It should be clear by now that early modern travel writing was so varied that it may not even be appropriate to describe it as a single genre. The style and tone of texts could vary widely and their organization always seemed prone to reproduce the haphazard nature of the travels they described¹⁴⁵

This quote again highlights the complexity of travel literature. Consequently, a travel narrative is “a literary genre that would allow an admixture of personal experience and cultural observation, historical storytelling, and a political call to arms.”¹⁴⁶ Travel writing is a complex field because it could not be dealt with as a single genre; it should be approached as both a multidisciplinary and an interdisciplinary discipline or field. That is to say, while studying a travel account, it should be looked at from different perspectives. This is because “narrating travel is a complicated act of representation that compels critical inquiry about discourse, experience, and the limits of cross-cultural understanding.”¹⁴⁷ Travel writing is so varied and complex that in order to dismantle the interwoven discursive practices, one should deconstruct¹⁴⁸ the style, tone

¹⁴⁴Peter Hulme & Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 31.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁴⁶Stacy Burton, *Travel Narrative and the Ends of Modernity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 1.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹⁴⁸Deconstruct here refers to Deconstruction. “this concept is associated with the work of Derrida and his ‘undoing’ of the binaries of western philosophy as well as its extension into the fields of literature (for example, De Man) and postcolonial theory (for example, Spivak). To deconstruct is to take apart, to undo, in order to seek out and display the assumptions of a text. In particular, deconstruction involves the dismantling of hierarchical binary conceptions such as man/ woman [...] Deconstruction seeks to expose spots of texts, the unacknowledged assumptions upon which they operate. [...] deconstruction highlights the tension between what a text means to say and what it is constrained to mean.” In Chris Barker, *The Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004), p. 47.

and organization of the text in addition to other tropes. A pilgrimage account, for example, might include devices related to religious, scientific (knowledge), and commercial fields. Thus, the final narrative might be a combination or different separate types of writing like diaries, letters, reports, etc.

Because “the medieval traveler was not, however, an aloof traveler, detached from the matter of his depictions [,] he was often involved in the situation described, and the *rihla* text must also be seen as an autobiography.”¹⁴⁹ According to Eickelman and Piscatori, a travel account could also be regarded as an autobiography because it deals with the traveler’s own experience which is part of his own personal life. He cannot detach himself from the narration since he is part and parcel of the journey. Moreover, “travel writing also comes close to autobiography. [...] For Kinglake, the task is to balance one’s personal impressions and feelings with the responsibility of the writer to give what he calls some “true ideas” of the country through which one passes.”¹⁵⁰

In the present section, the use of the traveler is referred to as a “he” or “him” and not as a “she” or “her” because the majority of the travel accounts and especially Arab travel narratives are written by men, however, the fact that travelers are always men should not be taken for granted. It is rather to be questioned and rethought about. In her book *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge*, Gillian Rose

argues that the academic discipline of geography has always been dominated by men. In this respect, it mirrors the history of travel, for this too has been predominantly a man’s activity. The voyages of discovery, the mapmaking and surveying that were the objectives of so many journeys, were almost all undertaken by men alone.”¹⁵¹

Rose, in this quote, claims that travel literature as a discipline which covers geography is a male dominated field. She discusses the fact that throughout the history of travel

¹⁴⁹Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, ed., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013), p. 74.

¹⁵⁰Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing within British Studies”, In Susan Bassnett, *The Fifth Warwick Seminar and Conference on British Cultural Studies 7- 13 December 1997*, p. 8.

¹⁵¹Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. xiv.

literature -with all its sub-genres and discipline-, it was mainly man dominated. All that has something to do with discovery and mapmaking was experienced by men only. In this respect, Clifford asserts that “‘good travel’ (heroic, educational, scientific, adventurous, ennobling) is something men (should do). Women are impeded from serious travel. Some of them go to distance places, but largely as companions or as ‘exceptions’ figures.”¹⁵² More than that, and in the same regard, Susan Bassnett asserts that

Male writers for the most part appear, at least from the way in which their texts are presented, to have had publication in mind from the outset. This difference reflects the difference in social terms between men and women in the nineteenth century, with men occupying a far more public role and women only assuming a public role in particular circumstances.¹⁵³

Travel writing is seen as a gendered literary genre which is constructed as appropriate to man alone. Therefore, travel literature could be approached from a gender perspective. Nevertheless, this does not mean that female travelers do not exist, they do but they are relegated to the margins and their narratives need to be exhumed. For instance, in the Arab Muslim world,

Although many women travelers visited Egypt on their way to Mecca, often residing there at length while working as catechists and writers—for example, Umal- Yemen Bint-Mohalla (traveled 1226), Fatima Bint-’Aiash al-Baghdadiyah [d. 1314], and Sit-al-WozaraaBint-’Omar Al Damashqiah (1226–1316)—their literature is lost.¹⁵⁴

These female travelers and others are not known for many reasons. First of all, it is taken for granted that travel narratives could be written only by men. It is thought to be a male dominated activity. Second, another reason could be the fact that their literature is lost and no one could retrieve it.

¹⁵²James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 31.

¹⁵³Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing and Gender” In *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed., Hulme, Peter and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 232.

¹⁵⁴Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, Vol 1, A to F (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 383.

After addressing travel narratives from different perspectives, and after talking about travel literature in general, the following paragraphs would be about a particular type, which is ambassadorial travel narratives especially in Morocco- as they are the core of this dissertation.

To start with, in North Africa and especially in Morocco, travel literature (*Rihla*)¹⁵⁵ flourished “from the sixteenth century onwards.”¹⁵⁶ Muhammad al Manuni who is “a leading Moroccan archivist, divides *Rihla* into three: 1- *Rihla* within Morocco [...] 2- *Rihla hijjaziya*, travel to Hijaz. [...] 3- *Rihla sifarriyya*, including embassies and missions.”¹⁵⁷ This means that travel literature is deeply rooted in the Moroccan tradition. Moroccan travelers reached three different layers in terms of their travelling journeys. They travelled within Moroccan cities and their regions, then they traveled to the Hijaz mainly for religious purposes- and at that time they started writing about their journeys outside Morocco and sometimes they only produced oral reports-, after that Moroccan travelers started reaching foreign – more precisely European - countries. In this division, there is a well-organized chronology which tells us a lot about the history of travel literature in Morocco. Several historical and societal circumstances are behind this chronology.

So, when it comes to ambassadorial travel narratives, it is worth mentioning that diplomacy and trade issues and interests have existed since ancient times, and they resulted in ambassadorial missions between countries’ rulers to discuss several matters either political or commercial. Thus, back into history, “the earliest recorded diplomatic missions took place when the kings of Babylonia, Assyria, and Egypt sent envoys to negotiate with other rulers”.¹⁵⁸ In addition to that,

Ambassadorial travels have got formal and official dimensions, this is because it is the state that is supervising them and it is the state that is ordering them depending on some conditions and circumstances between

¹⁵⁵In the Arab-islamic terminology, travel writing is referred to as “*Rihla*”. This is why, in many instances, *rihla* and travel writing might be used interchangeably.

¹⁵⁶Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, ed., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013), p. 70.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.*,

¹⁵⁸Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (New York: Routledge, 2013), p. 339.

the countries and it is also out of its desire for dialogue and negotiation to find solutions to the multiple issues and problems related to these countries, and the most important ones are the following: commercial exchanges, the occupation of parts of the country, truce and peace conventions, ending acts of piracy, decoding captives.¹⁵⁹

Stated differently, ambassadorial travel narratives are about formal and official missions to another country. Mohammed Maarouf al Defali also advocates Magaman's idea that these narratives aim at solving problems and documenting a part or parts of the relationships between the countries involved.¹⁶⁰ Simply put, ambassadorial travel narratives are

Travel accounts produced for official purposes, the letters and reports from government officials, ambassadors, trade delegates, military figures. [...] These accounts were written for a specific purpose, that of transmitting useful information to the home culture, and contain a great deal of detail [...] It is obvious that this kind of text is target focused.¹⁶¹

Besides, Moroccan ambassadorial travel writings particularly also come "in the form of embassy reports and travel documents that record moments in an ongoing dialogue between Europe and the Mediterranean Muslim world that had begun in the early modern age and was framed within a context of political negotiation."¹⁶²

Ambassadors are sent under the request of their rulers in order to solve various problems such as the ones mentioned in the previous quote. The narratives, therefore, are about the negotiations taking place between the two countries. The author of the account does not only include these negotiations, but he is also supposed to report on any "observed phenomena" and suggests his "views implicitly, through oblique

¹⁵⁹Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, Vol. N°72 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), pp. 349-350. (My Translation).

¹⁶⁰Mohammed Maarouf al Defali, "Mouchahadat El Kerdoudi bayna al Siyaq wa al Tarikh", In *Ispaniya bi 'oyoun al Rahaline al Maghariba*, Chouaib Halifi, (Casablanca: Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Ben Msik, 2011), p. 91.

¹⁶¹Susan Bassnett, "Travel Writing within British Studies", In Susan Bassnett, *The Fifth Warwick Seminar and Conference on British Cultural Studies 7- 13 December 1997*, p. 4.

¹⁶²Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 35.

discursive strategies of displacement.”¹⁶³ That is to say, he would comment on what he sees taking into consideration his background. He would also make comparisons and go through the same process of narration as the one that has been mentioned earlier. More than that,

The *sifariyya* accounts are also relevant to developing a conscious sense of difference. In some cases, the diplomatic and somewhat secular goal of travel was clearly perceived and expressed, and the sensitivity of differences, and especially political ones, may have been stronger and clearer in these texts than in the *Hijazziya* ones. However, this distinction should not be overdrawn.¹⁶⁴

During the fifteenth century, Europe was making some great strides in what concerns diplomacy. This later was considered as one of most important indexes of a modern nation. Thus, diplomacy was empowering Europe by allowing it to impose, for instance, some political and economic initiatives or rhythms in the Islamic world. This is because the Islamic countries, including Morocco were “proceeding through some shy attempts” in terms of diplomacy and ambassadorial missions.¹⁶⁵ However, thanks to the proximity of Morocco to Europe, its diplomacy got developed. In addition to the proximity,

The long history of contact between its central governments and other western courts were major factors in the development of a second type of writing known as ambassadorial travel literature. Accounts in this category are either records of an emissary’s impressions of a country and events observed during his trip or special reports by special secretaries or envoys who accompanied the official embassy.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 70.

¹⁶⁴Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, ed., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013), p. 70.

¹⁶⁵AbdelMajid Kaddouri, *Al Tarikh wa al Diplomassiya: Qadaya al Mostalahwa al Manhaj* (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Aadabwa al O’lom al Insaniya, 2003), p. 7.

¹⁶⁶Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 30.

Ahmed Idrissi Alami stresses the idea that ambassadorial travel literature is the second type of travel writing in Morocco. More than that, the ambassadorial accounts are not written or recorded only by ambassadors, but they could be written by either special secretaries or envoys and what they record includes the impressions they get from that country and whatever they observe. Additionally, this type of writing started during the Saadian dynasty and precisely with Tamkroti's account to Istanbul- Turkey.¹⁶⁷ Then, Manuni states that "from the seventeenth century onward, Morocco sent missions to Christian European governments, including France, Spain and Britain, as well as to Muslim rulers."¹⁶⁸ Italy and Belgium are also some other ambassadorial destinations.¹⁶⁹

Now the question which rises is the following: what were the main criteria of this kind of traveler? First of all, an ambassador is someone who is sent for an official mission by a diplomatic institution. Second, ambassadors "are ministers sent by rulers to foreign countries in order to accomplish some goals according to some documents and what the public laws allow them".¹⁷⁰ At that time, an ambassador or envoy – according to Roches, is a man who combines all the advantages of an imposing exterior, an intelligent spirit, a noble origin, and an elevated rank in his government".¹⁷¹ Ambassadors participated in the service of the Makhzen.¹⁷² They arrived to the rank of embassy after their hard work and occupying various positions

¹⁶⁷Mohammed Maarouf al Defali, "Mouchahadat el Kerdoudi bayna al Siyaq wa al Tarikh", In *Ispaniya bi 'oyoun al Rahaline al Maghariba*, Chouaib Halifi, (Casablanca: Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Ben Msik, 2011), p. 89.

¹⁶⁸Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, ed., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Routledge, 2013), p. 70.

¹⁶⁹Mohammed Maarouf al Defali, "Mouchahadat el Kerdoudi bayna al Siyaq wa al Tarikh", In *Ispaniya bi 'oyoun al rahaline al maghariba*, Chouaib Halifi, (Casablanca: Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences Ben Msik, 2011), p. 91.

¹⁷⁰Abdelmajid kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*. Vol N°13. (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 8.

¹⁷¹Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France 1845- 1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (California: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 13-15-16.

¹⁷²Makhzen means "literally storehouse (of money)- the name for the pre-colonial Moroccan government" in C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*. (New York University Press, 2000), p. xxxi. Also "The Sultan had assistants in his capital, ministers and trustees. He also had workers, deputies, and agents throughout the country, and from the person of the Sultan, and from the presence of these servants, the human structure of the state, or what is called in the history of Morocco, the Makhzan." In Mostapha El Chabi, *Al Noukhba al Makhzaniya fi Matla' al Qarn al Tasii' A'achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 22. (My translation).

starting from a normal Katib to the Basha or a Qaid or minister or writer of the Sultan and based on the confidence they enjoy among the rulers and their ability to get things assigned to them done. The choice is not done haphazardly but based upon the traveler's background and experiences. It is also about putting the right person in the right place. They are the ones who contribute to the conclusion of treaties and negotiations with the countries and openness to the outside world.¹⁷³ This means that not anyone could go as an ambassador; there were many criteria upon which he was selected and sent. Furthermore, ambassadors "were helped with their duties by members of the mission -that they headed- which consists of several individuals and the writer of the embassy and some servants"¹⁷⁴ Finally, something to add concerning the characteristics of ambassadorial travel accounts is gifts. "Gifts are common features of ambassadorial travels [...] and this is to facilitate their missions and to better their stay."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: ManchouratQouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 347.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., p. 350.

¹⁷⁵Ibid., p. 351.

2- A review of Moroccan Travel Literature to Europe

After dealing with the characteristics of travel literature in general and ambassadorial travel writing in particular, this section provides a critical review of the Moroccan travel literature to Europe. It aims at demonstrating how Moroccan travelers used to write about Europe and to figure out the ebb and flow relationship between Morocco and Europe.

Most of the scholars who have dealt with travel narratives and especially Moroccan travelers to Europe argue that there is a scarcity of documents or research about this subject. Only little attention has been given to this subject matter. This is due to several reasons, among which the fact that the travel narratives are written in Arabic. The following brief and accurate literature review attempts to demonstrate and support this argument.

Stated differently, this section is about the trajectories of some Moroccan travelers to different parts of Europe starting from the seventeenth century until the twentieth century. The choice of this era is due to the fact that the literature about Moroccan travel narratives focuses on this date onwards. However, this does not mean that before this period of time Moroccan travelers did not reach Europe either for commerce, treaties, or any other reasons. Ibn Jubayr (1145-1217), Ibn Khaldoun (1332-1406), and Ibn Battouta are samples of some well-known travelers and writers in this regard. More than that, “the oldest Moroccan ambassadorial report dates back to 208 AH, and it was written by the ambassador Yahya al Ghazal al Andaloussi, who was sent to Normand and Constantinople by the Amaouit khalifa Abd Al Rahman.”¹⁷⁶ Many other Moroccan travelers reached diverse destinations as it is going to be shown in this section.

Travel literature flourished more in Morocco during the sixteenth century, and since then

Morocco had acquired a reputation as one of the powerful corsair countries in the region and was constantly engaged in warfare and military conflicts with most of the European powers. Travel literature of

¹⁷⁶Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*. (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: ManchouratQouliyat al Adabwa al Uloom al Inssaniya, 2014), p.344. (My translation).

that period, like al-Miknasi's, still reflected a certain self-confidence and pride that would disappear from travel literature written in the nineteenth century after Morocco witnessed a series of military defeats.¹⁷⁷

Accordingly, during the sixteenth century, Morocco was known for being powerful when it comes to corsairs. This was reflected in travel literature which was concerned with this issue especially after Morocco's victory over Portugal in the war of the Three kings in 1578.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, things will change due to several reasons among which military defeats. In this regard, Nabil Matar argues that "although warfare often dominated these contacts, there were various venues of interaction that were not confrontational, especially after frontiers stabilized and trade, diplomatic exchange, commerce, and political alliance flourished."¹⁷⁹ That is to say, the encounters between Morocco and Europe have been fluctuating over time. At times, the relationship was stable; at others, conflicts were reigning over it. This is due to several historical and political circumstances.

"Starting from the seventeenth century, Morocco developed a tradition of sending representatives and ambassadors to European nations."¹⁸⁰ European nations refer more likely to "France, Spain, and Britain."¹⁸¹ In addition to ambassadorial missions, the early seventeenth century was known for trade relations. For example, "an important commodity that motivated Muslims to travel to Europe or to the Europeans- held presidios in North Africa was tobacco". In this respect, Abdelmajid Kaddouri, in his book *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922 : Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, deals with Moroccan ambassadorial travel narratives which span the period from 1610 till 1922. Throughout his book, he tends to investigate how Moroccan ambassadors/travelers –who went to Europe for various diplomatic missions represent

¹⁷⁷Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 31.

¹⁷⁸Abdelmajid Kaddouri, "Images de l'Europe dans un genre d'écriture Marocaine : La Rihla » in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie : Revue des Sciences Humaines*, Vol. 44, N°157-158, p. 126.

¹⁷⁹Nabil Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (Columbia University Press: New York, 2009), p. 4.

¹⁸⁰Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 35.

¹⁸¹*Ibid.*, p. 41.

Europe- “the foreign, uncommon and unknown other.”¹⁸² More than that, he deals with how these Moroccans moved from being proud Moroccan travelers of their religious, cultural and historical heritage to ones who are astonished by the power of Europe especially after the colonization of Morocco by France. That is to say, the flow of discourse of these travelers in terms of self-representation differs throughout this period of time.¹⁸³ Hence, Kaddouri starts with Abou Al Kasem Al Hajari 1610 and ends up with Abd Sallam Al Sayeh 1922.

Abou Al Kasem Al Hajari, “known as Bejarino”¹⁸⁴, went to France and the UK to defend the Moriscos who were expelled from Spain.¹⁸⁵ He also went to Holland¹⁸⁶ and Spain¹⁸⁷. In his writings and particularly in his narrative entitled: *Nasser din a’la lqawm alkafrine*, the reader can feel a pride of his Arab-Islamic civilization and religious belonging.¹⁸⁸ From the title, one can notice the attitude of this traveler towards the Europeans/ Westerners who are depicted as non-believers. And therefore, the dichotomy of superiority and inferiority is raised between the Muslims (believers) and Christians (non-believers). These dichotomies between the self and the other are thus based upon religion.¹⁸⁹ Another expression that he uses to refer to Europeans or Christians is “*al-nasara*”, as it is written in the Qur’an. Moreover, al Hajari was the not the only one to use such expressions to name the different other. “Both the Arab Muslim and Christian writers used this term to refer to European Christians, thereby situating the ‘foreign’ European Christians within the accessible context of the

¹⁸²Abdelmajid kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa’y bi Tafawut*. Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 7.

¹⁸³Ibid., p.11.

¹⁸⁴Abdelmajid Kaddouri, “Images de l’Europe dans un genre d’écriture Marocaine : La Rihla » in Les Cahiers de Tunisie : Revue des Sciences Hhumaines, Vol. 44, N°157-158, p. 126.

¹⁸⁵He also went through the same experience since he himself was a Morisco who was expelled from Andalusia to Morocco. In Abdelmajid Kaddouri, “Images de l’Europe dans un genre d’écriture Marocaine : La Rihla » in Les Cahiers de Tunisie : Revue des Sciences Hhumaines, Vol. 44, N°157-158, p. 127.

¹⁸⁶Abdelmajid kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa’y bi Tafawut*, p. 13.

¹⁸⁷Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*. (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: ManchouratQouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 389.

¹⁸⁸Abdelmajid kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa’y bi Tafawut*, p. 18.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 19.

Qur'anic worldview.”¹⁹⁰ Thus, the religious background was clearly demonstrated into the way most travelers used to write about the “Other” Christian European. In the same regard, Mohammed Magaman, in his book *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)* stresses the fact that religious fanaticism was prevailing during the seventeenth century.

More than that, Al Hajari's travel was divided into two axes:

The first one was about the political task assigned to him, and which is to draw the attention of the European world to the plight of the expelled Andalusians. The second one covers the religious debates which inspired him to choose the title of his journey *Nasser din a'laqawmalkafirine*, which is a summary of his travel '*al Chihabilaliqaae al ahbab*'.¹⁹¹

The quote reveals that the traveler had two goals behind his travel; one is political, and it is about -what was already mentioned- drawing attention to the problem of the expelled Andalusians and the other one is religious since it deals with religious debates.

The Moroccan traveler El Hajari also travelled to France, Spain and Holland under the order of the prince Zidane (1618-1603) to retrieve what was stolen from the Moors –who were in Spain- by the French. His travel narrative was a recording of debates and dialogues which took place between him, the Christians and Jews scholars and which were mainly about religious matters. That is to say, his travel narrative was about providing images and scenes from the debates and confrontations which took place between him and the European “Other”. He used to often end up the debate in his favor. “He justifies his victory over them by the fact that has a prior knowledge about the Torah and the Bible.”¹⁹² El Hajari devoted a special section in his book – entitled “*Nasser El Din A'la el Qawm el Kafirine*”- to talk about his great admiration about the Turks and their powerful state at that time. That is because they used to play a crucial role in preserving “the house of Islam”.

¹⁹⁰Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (Routledge: New York and London, 2003), p. xxx.

¹⁹¹Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 390. (My translation)

¹⁹²Ibid., p. 389.

The Ottoman Empire used to cherish an important role in the Mediterranean. That is why El Hajari considered the Turks as the only power confronting the Europeans. They were representing a threat to Europe during the 17th century.¹⁹³ More than that, El Hajari in his travel narrative dealt with the suffering of the Moriscos because he witnessed how these Muslims were expelled after refusing to convert into Christianity. Spain was afraid of the large number of Muslims in Andalucia who did not accept to convert.¹⁹⁴ During the seventeenth century, Matar claims that in addition to the diplomatic or ambassadorial missions, a cultural/ civilizational goal was behind the travel of several Moroccans. It was about showing off the cultural Islamic identity and discovering the other's culture. This could be seen as an indirect aim behind the travel of most of the Moroccan travels at that time. They had this consciousness about the superiority of their religious identity.¹⁹⁵ This consciousness affected the way Moroccan travelers dealt with the Europeans in the sense that El Hajari, for instance "did not go into detail about the European landscapes and cities as much as he delved into people's minds, challenging their ideological and doctrinal errors."¹⁹⁶

In his book, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, Nabil Matar also deals with Qasim¹⁹⁷ (Abou El kassem Al Hajari) and states that,

Between 1611 and 1613, Qasim traveled to France and Holland. He fell in love with a French woman, dined with princes and scholars, hobnobbed with the nobility, engaged in disputations and debates, and conducted delicate negotiations about a possible Dutch-Moroccan alliance against Spain.¹⁹⁸

The idea of meeting princes and engaging in debates with religious scholars was very recurrent about al Hajari. It shows that he was very skillful at conducting negotiations

¹⁹³Abdelmajid El kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13. (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 41.

¹⁹⁴Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁹⁶Nabil Matar, *In the lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. xxxv.

¹⁹⁷This is how Nabil Matar spells Kasem. It is spelled differently from one author to another.

¹⁹⁸Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*, p. xvi.

and making alliances, and all the scholars who worked on him agree upon the same idea. This means that this traveler was a good one in terms of establishing mutual relations between him- as a representative of Morocco- and the countries he visited. Falling in love with a French woman means going beyond what Qasim was sent for to France. It is about trespassing or overcoming the cultural and religious differences that could exist between Morocco and France. This is also part of outcomes of the cultural encounters that take place between the traveler and the people he meets on the other side of the world.

Still in the seventeenth century, in his book *al Rahalat al Maghribiya XII- XVIII century*, that focuses only on travelers traveling to France and Spain during the 17th and 18th centuries, Mohammed Magaman uncovers the travel of al Hajj Mohammed Tamim- the ruler of Tetouan and the *pacha* of salé- to Paris in 1681 and then in 1685. He met Louis XIV and the negotiations between Temim and the minister Colbert led to conclude a trade treaty in 29 january 1682. The aim of the travel was also to maintain truce and conciliation.¹⁹⁹ Though the second travel (1685) was not successful since Louis XIV refused to meet al Haj Mohamed Temim,²⁰⁰ “the Moroccan ambassador Mohammad Temim and seven of his retinue visited France and discovered the social, artistic, and intellectual innovation of the country.”²⁰¹ And since Matar advocates the fact that Muslim travelers in general and Moroccans in particular were curious about discovering and meeting the different other, he maintains the idea that the Frenchmen who accompanied the envoy noticed the curiosity of these travelers especially in terms of science and art.²⁰²

Nabil Matar addresses another Moroccan traveler to Europe during the seventeenth century. He talks about the journey of Mohammad bin Abd al-Wahab al-Ghassani (al-Andalusi al-Fasi) to Spain in 1690-1691.

[The] king, Mulay Ismail (r. 1672–1772), sent him to negotiate with the Spanish monarch Carlos II for the release of Moroccan captives and the

¹⁹⁹Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: ManchouratQouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 390.

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 392.

²⁰¹Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. xxi.

²⁰²Ibid., p. xxii.

return of Arabic manuscripts that had been seized from Muslim libraries in the Andalus. In writing *Rihlat al-wazeer fee iftikak al-aseer* [The Journey of the Ambassador for the Release of the Captive], al-Ghassani presented the first Arabic description of Spain after the expulsion of the Muslims and the Moriscos. It was a moving account in which al-Ghassani cataloged Muslim history there while closely documenting the social, religious, and administrative characteristics of Spanish life and culture.²⁰³

The issue of the Arab history in Spain and captivity were very recurrent at that period of time. Releasing captives and retrieving Arabic manuscripts that were taken from Muslim libraries were among the missions that ambassadors were sent for. Al Ghassani, for instance, is one of the Moroccan ambassadors, who was sent for such an objective because these negotiations were important for Mulay Ismail. Moreover, travelers could not miss the opportunity to describe Spain and document its social, religious and administrative characteristics. In his narrative, al-Ghassani

noted the Muslim features of Spain while observing the Christian development and changes. He was sad about the loss of the Muslim past, [...], but he was also curious about Spain's geography and people, and impressed by city designs, cleanliness, and social decorum.²⁰⁴

This quote shows that the observation and description made by the traveler entail the fact that while visiting Spain, most of the Muslim travelers used to bemoan about what happened to the Muslims in Andalusia. However, though they were very sad about the loss of the Muslim part, they were also interested in discovering the development and changes taking place in Spain. They were curious to know more about the city designs, geography and people. Nabil Matar highlights the idea that the traveler's journey to Spain was "a window on the rest of the European affairs."²⁰⁵

From another perspective, according to Abd el Hadi Tazi, "al Ghassani did not only focus on exchanging captives and retrieving the documents and manuscripts from

²⁰³Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (Routledge: New York, 2013), p. 485.

²⁰⁴Ibid.

²⁰⁵Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. xxxii.

Spain, he also attempted to ask for the liberalization of some Moroccan territories.”²⁰⁶ So, since his ambassadorial journey took place in 1690, after the victory of the Moroccan army over the Spanish one in Laraach and the fall of the Spanish garrison between dead and captive, Laarach was freed. These events were empowering Morocco and therefore its travelers or ambassadors. ²⁰⁷Additionally, Maganam argues that Al Ghassani “was known for his tact and political wisdom and his ability to analyze the political situation.”²⁰⁸ Being tactful and wise politically made of Al Ghassani a successful Moroccan ambassador. Yet, he was seen as “the most hostile of all the travelers who wrote about *bilad al nasara*. His hostility should always be seen, however, in the light of the expulsion of his coreligionists from the Andalus.”²⁰⁹ To put it differently, the traveler’s hostility towards the Christians is an outcome of the sadness he felt regarding the Muslim past in Spain. He could be considered as a religiously fanatic traveler.

In the late 17th century, precisely in 1699, Abd Rahman ben Aicha embarked on an unsuccessful ambassadorial travel, whose writer/ editor is Mohamed al Triki. The traveler aimed at freeing prisoners and concluding treaties between Morocco and France. The ambassador who was accompanied by 18 persons reoffered the same project as al Haj Tamim but because Ben Aicha was aware of its weaknesses, he tried to present a counter-proposal. Unfortunately, even with the modifications of Ben Aicha, the project was not accepted, and he had to go back to his country.²¹⁰ But at the personal level, his travel was a real success. Ben Aicha was able to establish “lasting friendship with members of the French court trading companies and fell in love.”²¹¹ He was also able

To forgo difference in favor of deep amity and *mahaba* (love/ affection)
[....] Despite the religious chasm between the Christians and the

²⁰⁶Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 399.

²⁰⁷Ibid., p. 396.

²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 397.

²⁰⁹Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century*. (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. xxxiii.

²¹⁰Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 392-393.

²¹¹Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. xviii.

Muslims, there was for Aisha the possibility, at least of acceptance of, and possibly deep engagement with his French associates.²¹²

In this respect, Ben Aisha proved to be a good example of peaceful ambassadors to Europe. Even though he was not successful in his ambassadorial mission, he seemed to be accepting and tolerant towards the French people. That is why at a personal level, he was successful. Meanwhile, and still under Moulay Ismail reign, Magaman asserts that other ambassadorial travels were taking place in Spain and Britain. Travels and travel accounts were mainly about captives and prisoners. Thus, Magaman in his book *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)* affirms that the aims behind most of the travels- at that period- are almost similar and this is mainly shown in the titles of their travel narratives.²¹³

During the 18th century, Morocco was going through some hard moments like civil wars; therefore, Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah opted for a policy which is more open to the outside world. He was looking for peace and Friendship. Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah was wise enough to try to find solutions to all the problems encountered; as a way out, he tried to establish good relations with Europe, and this was achieved through animating and activating relations and contracting treaties. So, he prioritized commerce and was concerned with foreign trades and Christian traders. Even in case of indecent or unacceptable behaviors from the part of traders, these traders used to cherish the protection and care of the ruler/ king. Commerce was used by the king because he was trying to find ways through which he can create new bases for cooperation with Europe.²¹⁴ However, this policy made Morocco dependent on Europe and did not solve Morocco's problems. Matter of fact, since this strategy did not work well, the king decided to send more ambassadors to Europe in order to negotiate some issues.²¹⁵ This is to help modernize the military forces or army. He focused on reorganizing el Makhzan's device on the basis of an authority that is based on consultation and negotiation rather than violence and oppression with either foreign

²¹²Nabil Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. xxxiv.

²¹³Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), pp. 394-395.

²¹⁴Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*. Vol N°13. (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 48.

²¹⁵Ibid., p. 24-26.

or local authorities.²¹⁶ This demonstrates that “during the Alaouite dynasty, both Sultan al Mawla Ismail and his nephew sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah were known for their openness to the outside world and keeping track on international events closely.”²¹⁷

This strategy was not successful and instead of reaching peace and reconciliation, Morocco- which used to be powerful-, knew many confrontations and tensions in its relationship with Europe. This is because the 18th century was known for piracy. Piracy was a “permissible war” which created Christian-Muslim confrontations. These confrontations were taking place because piracy was an essential resource for the countries, and it was also an extension to other deeper confrontations; military and civilizational ones- between the “self” and the “Other”. Therefore, two prominent missions and figures prevailed in several books. These travelers are al – Ghazal and Ibn Othmane.²¹⁸

Said Bensaid Alaoui covers the field of Moroccan travel narratives from a wide perspective. In his book *Urupa fi Miraet Arrihla, Surat al Akhar fi AdabArrihla al Maghribiya al Mouassir*, he investigates the perception of Europe through both Arabs –in general- and Moroccans’ eyes in particular. He follows the same path as the previous scholars in demonstrating the plurality and diversity of perspectives of travelers to Europe. Then, he argues that “the encounters between the Moroccan travelers and Europeans went through three different stages: a moment of power and self-confidence (18th century), a moment of defeat and discovery (19th century), a moment of surprise, recovery and awareness (20th century).”²¹⁹ Furthermore, he categorizes ten Moroccan travel narratives into these three categories taking into account their historical, military, and socio-economic contexts.

In the first era, Alami shows how the Moroccans during the 18th century- a period known for captivity- were in a strong position. This strong position was mainly

²¹⁶Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 48.

²¹⁷Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 346.

²¹⁸Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 52.

²¹⁹Said Bensaid Alami, *Urupa fi Miraet Arrihla, Surat al Akhar fi Adab Arrihla al Maghribiya al Mouassir* (Casablanca: Matbaat Annajah Al Jadida, 1995), p. 27. (My translation).

held because of the religious background of the Moroccan travelers. Being a Muslim was a sign of religious superiority. More than that, Morocco was playing a crucial role in the intermediary between Spain and Algeria. However, this moment did not last for so long. After that, the second era starts when Morocco faced two successive defeats in the battle of Isly 1844 and the battle of Tetouan in 1860. In other words, in the mid-nineteenth century, Morocco realized that the Mediterranean Sea was separating two completely different worlds not only in terms of geography, but also in terms of power in all its forms. Thus, there was a shift from captivity travel narratives to ambassadorial ones that seek to reveal and discover the secrets behind the development of Europe.²²⁰ Alami illustrates the third era through Mohammed El Hajoui's travel narratives – *al Rihla al Urrupia* (The European Journey) which occurred in the 20th century. All in all, according to Alami, every travel narrative is a personalized account because it reveals the personal experience of the traveler. Besides, through Alaoui's book, one might easily detect the change of discourse used in the Moroccan travel narratives from the 18th century to the 20th century.²²¹

Abdelmajid Kaddouri – in his previously mentioned book- deals mainly with two ambassadors: Ahmed Ben Almehdi Al Ghazal and Mohamed Ibn Othmane Al Meknassi who travelled to Europe during the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. The author has chosen these two ambassadors because the first one's ambassadorial mission was controversial, whereas the second traveler proved to be professional in terms of diplomacy.

El Ghazal²²², according to Nabil Matar, is not only a Moroccan traveler, but also an ambassador who was appointed and sent by Moulay Mohammed Ben Abdellah to Spain in order “to negotiate the release of Muslim captives held in Spain.”²²³ This is

²²⁰Said Bensaid Alami, *Urupa fi Miraet Arrihla, Surat al Akhar fi AdabArrihla al Maghribiya al Mouassir* (Casablanca: Matbaat Annajah Al Jadida, 1995), p. 27.

²²¹Ibid., p. 28.

²²²Born in Meknes to a father who was court scribe during the rule of Mulay Ismail (r. 1672–1727). He went there during Carlos III reign to free captives for eight months.

²²³Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia. Vol 1, A to F* (Routledge: New York, 2013), p. 486.

because Moroccan kings were known for their interest in releasing captives either Moroccans or belonging to any other Muslim country.²²⁴ Al Ghazal said that

I was ordered by his highness [Mulay Mohammad bin Abdallah] may the heavens elevate him, to write down during this auspicious journey all that I heard, saw, noted and learned; and to describe the cities and villages and everything I witnessed during my stay and travels. With these words, the Moroccan ambassador Ahmad bin Mahdi al-Ghazal opened his account of his journey to Spain from May to August 1766. The title of the account is *Natijat al-ijtihad fi al-Muhadana w-al jihad* [The Result of Perseverance in Truce-Making and Holy War].²²⁵

This shows that the king wanted this ambassador not only to negotiate the release of the captives, but also to report on everything Al Ghazal saw, heard and came across. The sultan was eager to know more about Spain. This is why he wrote a travel account to narrate his journey in Spain. Al Ghazal also mentions that he did not rely on existing stories or travel accounts written before him, but he preferred to provide the sultan with his own experience concerning whatever he witnessed in Spain.²²⁶ This is part and parcel of the characteristics of any travel narrative. Travelers always prefer to mention their first-hand experience through direct observation and description. This is to give credibility to what they write.

According to al-Ghazal,

Spain was wealthier, more innovative, and more developed than his native Morocco: there were political establishments and military industry, art and revelry, song, dance, and bullfights [...] al-Ghazal's account is important because it shows Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century through the eyes of a cultural stranger who described what Spaniards and other Europeans took for granted.²²⁷

²²⁴Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)* (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 358.

²²⁵Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia. Vol 1, A to F* (Routledge: New York, 2013), p.486.

²²⁶*Ibid.*, p.487.

²²⁷*Ibid.*

His ambassadorial journey was successful only at the beginning, but then a diplomatic mistake changed the whole pathway he was going through. A mistake in the formulation of a treaty of negotiation- which allowed the Spanish to distort it and make it in their favor- changed the way the king used to deal with him. That is to say, his success was only temporary because of the mistake he made. This is why, his journey was controversial.

Al Meknassi, on the other hand was more successful and was sent by the Moroccan ruler to save and correct El Ghazal's mistake. Matter of fact, he wrote a travel narrative entitled: "*al Ikssir fi fikak al assir*". He served "three Moroccan kings: Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah (1757-1790), Al Mawla Yazid (1790-1792), and Al Mawla Soulaymane (1792-1882)"²²⁸. This ambassador was very successful that he could be considered as "the founder of the Moroccan diplomacy". This is because he was very skillful in diplomatic matters.²²⁹

El Meknassi's successful embassy to Spain pushed the king to appoint him as a minister and a head of the delegation which visited Sicili and Malta later on in 1781 to ransom some Muslim captives. Consequently, he narrated his journey in a travel narrative entitled "*al Badr al Saffir Lihidayat Al moussafir Ila Fikak al Assra min Yadi al a'douwi al Kafir*". Right after his ambassadorial travel to Sicili and Malta, the king sent him for another one in Istanbul. This latter lasted for three years from 1785 to 1788. During this mission, he tried to negotiate the Moroccan – Algerian relations with the Ottomans. Even after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah, El Meknassi continued to serve his country during the reign of Mulay El Yazid by working on the Moroccan-Spanish relations.²³⁰ He also went to Napoli which was one of the Spanish properties and which was ruled by a Spanish prince Ferdinando IV.²³¹

He was appointed again as the responsible for all matters relating to foreign affairs and became the direct official responsible for all the consuls in Morocco. He

²²⁸Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*. Vol N°13. (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adabwa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 27.

²²⁹Ibid.

²³⁰Ibid., p. 28.

²³¹Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al Maghribiya (XVII– XVIII Century)*, (Vol. N°72) (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 2014), p. 412.

died out of the plague in 1799. And it was such a loss for Morocco and even his friends outside of Morocco. Keddouri stressed the idea that

Ibn Othmane El Meknassi used to believe in openness because he knew that the safety of Morocco resides in negotiations, networking and getting to know the other. This is because he predicted the changes taking place in Europe and believed in the fact that the growth of this continent might be at the expense of Morocco if Moroccans do not get aware of the dimensions of this change and if they do not work on containing it.²³²

This demonstrates that El Meknassi was clever and wise enough to anticipate the changes occurring in Europe during the early nineteenth century. He knew that Morocco should go under some changes too so as to follow up with what is happening in Europe. He realized that Europe is trying to manipulate Morocco and the neighboring countries in order to get empowered. It was starting to take over through colonialism. However, Ibn Othman's wishes did not find an echo within the Moroccan Makhzen since this latter opted for closeness.²³³

These ambassadors went to Europe so as to reconcile problems related mainly to piracy, however their accounts are full of some personal attitudes toward Europe. They tackle the Islamic monuments in Europe with sorrow and regret. They always recall the past of the Muslims and Islam with the rejection of the cultural and religious "other". Thus, they remained trapped in invoking the Moroccan Islamic model in everything objected in their way. Matter of fact, according to El Kerdoudi

The Moroccan ambassadors' writings were charged with prejudices based on differentiation and persuasion methods and expressed in different ways about the existence of a civilizational opposition. Yet, the two civilizations created other ways for dialogue and negotiation to overcome the tensions. And the sultan used to send the ambassadors to

²³²Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 29. (My translation).

²³³Ibid.

Europe only to look for tools of cooperation and mutual understanding.²³⁴

Unlike El-Ghazal, Ibn Othmane was able to draw the political map of Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century. This is because he had a great experience in terms of the diplomatic field. He came with insightful observations on the subject, and in his speech, he used to focus on the protocol reception ceremony, which was prepared by the European nobles to the Moroccan delegation.²³⁵ He also focused on the realities of the Mediterranean. In his travel narrative, he gives multiple information and details concerning the basin especially when it comes to piracy.²³⁶

Both Al Ghazal and Ibn Othmane talked about the first signs of the emergence of industry in Europe during the 18th century. They talked about the Spanish industrial institutions, like the marble, mirrors, silk and tobacco industry. Ibn Othmane was also astonished by their seriousness in work. He talked about the arms industry with a special concentration on interventions. In the same line of argument, Al Amrawi was also aware of the differences existing between Morocco and Europe and he recognized the fact that Europe was exceeding Morocco. For instance, when he mentioned the printing machine in Paris, he expressed regret for not having a similar printing machine in Morocco.²³⁷

Since comparison is one of the main characteristics of travel writing, the Moroccan ambassadors cited expressive comparisons between the “self” and the “other” in various fields. El Ghazal in his writing talks about the development of agriculture in Spain and he used the term “engineer” to refer to the peasants. Ibn Othmane presented different features from Spain and agriculture remains the dominant phenomenon in his writing about Spain. He noted a variety of aspects of the agricultural activity with a particular focus on the technical aspects like the watering system.²³⁸

²³⁴Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 55.

²³⁵Ibid., p. 59.

²³⁶Ibid., p. 60.

²³⁷Ibid., pp. 83-84.

²³⁸Ibid., pp. 79-80.

Morocco knew a crisis of governance once Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdellah died because of the competition of the princes over the throne. This competition weakened Morocco especially that it coincided with the European competition for control over North Africa region. European countries started inventing various reasons and excuses to intervene. This way France intervened in Algeria under the pretext of fighting against piracy in 1830.²³⁹ While for Morocco, “only the diplomatic support of Great Britain during the nineteenth century prevented it from sharing the same fate of Algeria [...]. As a result, Morocco was able to retain its old system intact until well into the century.”²⁴⁰ Thanks to the support of Great Britain, Morocco remained intact for a while. Great Britain did not prevent Morocco from the French colonialism, but it at least delayed it.

Spain was not so different from France and tried to exploit the defeat of Morocco in Isly's battle to take over the Canary Islands in 1848, and this is to exert a growing pressure on Morocco. This and so many other historical events –like the defeat of Morocco in the battle of Tetouan in 1859- pushed Morocco and its ruler at that time to send more ambassadors to Europe to understand why this was happening. Consequently, many ambassadorial missions started taking place like those of Al Amrawi, El Jaadi, and El Kerdoudi. Matter of fact, thanks to the wisdom and maneuver methods of the king Hassan I, who fostered the idea of sending ambassadors to Europe to discover the position of the emerging European forces, the occupation of Morocco was postponed.²⁴¹

By the nineteenth century, Moroccan travel accounts began assuming greater historical and political significance, as writers displayed an awareness of the fundamental shifts in power between Europe and North

²³⁹Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 31.

²⁴⁰Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912*. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago, 1976), p. xii.

²⁴¹Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 33.

African after Algeria became a French colony and the Ottoman Empire slowly lost political and economic influence in the region.”²⁴²

The colonization of Algeria was a warning to the neighboring countries in North Africa including Morocco. Hence, Moroccans became aware of the fact that Europe is going through a thorough change and shift in terms of power. It was gaining its power via many technological, political, economic and historical reasons. During this period of time, not only Moroccan travelers used to travel to Europe to look for the secret behind Europe’s revolutionary development, but Europeans also used to travel towards Morocco and the nearby countries. Travel narratives “proliferated exponentially in the nineteenth century.”²⁴³

Kaddouri discussed how the nineteenth century Moroccan travel narratives about Europe uncover the European interest towards Morocco, which ended up by imposing the protectorate over it. That happened because Morocco was declining.²⁴⁴ The increasing European pressures led the rulers to send several ambassadors and travelers to different countries at different period of time. Kaddouri dealt with three official embassies. The first one was by El Amrawi in 1860, the second one by El Jaadi in 1875, and the third one insured by El Kerdoudi in 1885.²⁴⁵ In addition to that, Susan Miller in her translated work *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The voyage of Muhammed As-saffar*, tackles only the travel of Muhammed As-saffar to France between 1845 and 1846. Whereas, Ahmed Idrissi Alami, in his *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the politics of CrossCultural Encounters in Pre-colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing*, addresses three travel narratives. He worked on Al Saffar’s *Rihlat Al-Saffar ila Faransa* (1845-1846), then Al Amrawi’s *Tuhfat al-Malik al-Aziz bi MamlakatBariz*

²⁴²Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing*. (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 35.

²⁴³Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search Of knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 92.

²⁴⁴Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *SoufaraeMaghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa’y bi Tafawut*. Vol N°13. (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 10.

²⁴⁵Ibid., p.61.

(1860) and Al Fasi's *al Rihla Al Ibriziyaila Diyyar al-Injliziya* (1860).²⁴⁶ "Both al Amrani and al-Fasi served as envoys sent along their missions at the behest of Sultan Mohammed IV (reign 1859-1873) during the Moroccan-Spanish war, which ended in the defeat of Moroccan forces and the loss of Tetouan in 1860".²⁴⁷

Es-saffar's travel (journey) and travel narrative to France were under the request of the Sultan Mulay Abd Ar-Rahman in 1846. The sultan sent him because he wanted to "discover the secret behind the French power". He wanted to unveil everything about the French people and society. Accordingly,

The sultan wanted to know how they have achieved mastery over nature, how they lead their daily lives, educate their children, treat their women and servants, what is the status of their learning, how they amuse themselves, what do they eat and in short what is the condition of their civilization and how does it differ from ours.²⁴⁸

That is to say, the king was very curious to know about what is happening on the other shore in all fields. This is why he asked As-saffar to provide him with a detailed account concerning what he saw there. Muhammed As-saffar "had the aptitude for opening a window on a world remote from his own and transmitting what he saw to others."²⁴⁹ The traveler- As-Saffar himself "showed a lively curiosity and took detailed notes. He tasted the food, the luxury, the strangeness of European life, and marveled at its variety."²⁵⁰ Furthermore, and as it is already mentioned, the knowledge produced by the traveler tells us not only about the place visited but also about the traveler himself. This is because according to Ahmed Idrissi Alami, "the reading of the voyage deepens our knowledge of the man."²⁵¹

Al Amrawi was impressed and fascinated by France, its parliamentary system and public affairs. The traveler was also delighted by the character and personality of

²⁴⁶Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2013), p. 36.

²⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁴⁸Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammed AS-saffar* (California: University of California Press, 1992), p. 3.

²⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 48.

Napolean. Al Amrawi “described him as been so witty.”²⁵² Al Amrawi was aware of the differences existing between his country and Europe. For example, when talking about the printing machine, he used to express some kind of regret for not having a similar machine in Morocco. He also showed a great admiration of the development taking place in France. However,

While al-Amrawi served as a court official and a type of minister for the sultan, and thus was more invested in supporting the leader’s political and financial goals and aims, Al-Fasi had fewer political aspirations and was the most religiously conservative of the three. After his journey to England, al-Fasi quit the royal court service and became increasingly involved in religious life as a respected faqih, an expert in Islamic jurisprudence, in the city of Fès.²⁵³

In the case of Al-Fasi, Alami stresses that “his observations are further complicated by the challenging task of employing adequate corresponding terms linguistically and conceptually to transmit and make accessible to his readers the strange and foreign experience.”²⁵⁴ That is to say, Al- Fasi was very careful while trying to narrate his journey to England. In addition to that, the technological advancement was not that important for him in the sense that he used to think that they only “strengthen the worldly and corrupt the soul.”²⁵⁵ He prioritizes the spiritual and the religious to the materialistic world. Therefore, his depiction of the country he visited was affected by this religious perspective.

The contribution of the writer El Jaadi is also an important one. He showed a great interest mainly to the European industry. This is due to his scientific spectrum and his openness to the outside world. He is among the leading scientists in mathematics and astronomy. He has learned that through his father and some other scientists who were sent by the sultan Hassan I to Europe for educational purposes. His father was fond of studying mathematics and engineering. There is no doubt that

²⁵²Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa’y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 63.

²⁵³Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2013), p. 37.

²⁵⁴Ibid.

²⁵⁵Ibid., p. 51.

the scientific training of Jaaidi has a relationship with having an enormous number of illustrations and scientific data and tables in his book. He used to take notes of all that he thought was in the benefit of Morocco because he knew Hassan I would as well be interested in the industrial field. Yet, according to Kaddouri, Jaaidi did not give much importance to the English industry,²⁵⁶ he rather focused on the greatness of Belgium. This is why he wrote about his journey to Belgium in 60 pages, whereas the one to England took him only 40 pages.²⁵⁷

To sum it up, according to Kaddouri,

The ambassadors made us feel our Moroccan cultural, personal, economic, and political retreat. If Abou al Kassim al Hajari opted for the peer to peer discussions during the 17th century- showing pride over the Islamic character/ profile, El Kerdoudi opted for obscurantism and rejected dialogue. Whereas, Abd Salam al Sayeh adopted the principle of tolerance and co-existence with the French protectorate in 1992.²⁵⁸

Since El kaddouri dealt with both travelers to Morocco and from Morocco to Europe, he concludes by saying that by comparing between the Moroccan travel narratives and European ones to Morocco, one realizes that there are considerable differences between the two both in terms of content and discourse. The European traveler focuses more on adventure and exotic settings, where Morocco and Moroccans are dealt with in an exaggerated way. Through his writings, the European travel tries to look down at the Islamic civilization in the sense that he distorts its features; whereas the Moroccan travelers do not dare to falsify the image of Europe. It is rather presented in a positive way.²⁵⁹

The Moroccan ambassadors were fascinated by the buildings, the bridges over the rivers, the roads' security and comfort, the means of transportation and so on.²⁶⁰ This is part of the difference between the two shores of the Mediterranean. This was seen as part of the power and development which Europe used to work on. Thus, in

²⁵⁶ Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 86.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p.88.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p.114.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., p.114.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., pp.72-73.

addition to the technological, industrial and economic advancements, the military field was also one of the major themes that the travelers dealt with in their travel narratives. This is because most of the travelers who were sent after any military defeat, tried to figure out how these Europeans were able to win the battles by their military forces. For instance, As-Saffar paid a crucial attention to the military organization.

The fact that historical sources dwelled extensively on the Moroccan army's lack of discipline as a major cause of their defeat surfaces obliquely in the author's observations about French discipline and preparedness, as expressed by al-Saffar when he visits a French warship.²⁶¹

Matter of fact, the traveler was sent in order to look at how the Moroccan army can become as strong as the French one. He fosters the idea that discipline is decisive. It is among the reasons behind the power of the French military forces. However, Alami stresses that, "comtemporary historiography records the complex negotiations that sultans went through with Ulama²⁶² in trying to legitimize military innovations that are of European provenance and undertake expanded trade relations and enter in transactions with Europe."²⁶³ Therefore, many travelers used to start their travel account with some justifications to the audiences in order to provide some religious arguments which legitimize their travel to Europe.

During the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Moroccans were aware about the danger which awaits them from the changes taking place in Europe. This latter started gaining power and was already in control of many places around the world. The pressures put on Morocco obliged Mulay Abd El Hafid to sign the treaty of Fes- in 30th March 1912- and accept the French Protectorate. Consequently, the Moroccan diplomacy has been affected by these events, so the travels that were narrated by some ambassadors came to reflect the new realities. They were about

²⁶¹Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2013), p. 58.

²⁶²Religious scholars.

²⁶³Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2013), p. 40.

investigating the reasons behind the power of Europe and its development in different fields.²⁶⁴

In his book *Mutual Othering*, Ahmed Idrissi Alami examines the encounters between Europeans and Moroccans through travel narratives written by Moroccans, British and French travelers. He looks at modernity from different perspectives, in the sense that he does not take the European modernity for granted. He contests its production within a subaltern context. He provides a comprehensive comparative study of nine travel narratives during the late nineteenth century. Thus, his work is an insightful one when talking about the relationship between Islam, modernity and Europe. Since he is concerned with the late 19th century, he focuses on three accounts by Moroccans, through which he examines their religious background, which obviously affects their conceptualization of Modernity in Europe. Alami highlights the background of these travelers, who belong to the elite, because their religious and intellectual status affects the way they engage with modernity. Briefly, *Mutual Othering* is a very rich source which tackles modernity, Islam, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccan and European Travel Writing.

Throughout this review, one comes to realize that the views and perspectives of the travelers to Europe varied in terms of description, narration and interest. Their background influences their writings in the sense that it is easy for the reader to decipher their attitudes towards Europe and Europeans. The religious scholars were obviously dealing with Europe from a religious stance. In addition to that, what I find interesting is the fact that the travelers provided us with different versions of Europe. In other words, the Moroccan travelers did not offer one homogeneous picture of Europe. The knowledge they produced was heterogeneous. Moreover, most of the scholars focused on studying travel narratives that were written about either France or Spain and rarely Britain. Matter of fact, the choice of working on Moroccan travel narratives to Britain was not random because it came as a result of scarcity of studies done on travel narratives to Britain. Moreover, modernity has not been tackled- as far as my knowledge is concerned- in the studies of most of the scholars except from

²⁶⁴ Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al Waa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 38.

Ahmed Idrissi Alami who addressed this issue in his work, but he did not cover the same travel narratives chosen for this study.

3- The Historic-Political Relationship between Morocco and Britain

“In *Tristes Tropiques*, Lévi-Strauss notes that travel means dislocation in three dimensions: time, space, social relations.”²⁶⁵ Matter of fact, studying travel only as a movement from one space to another is not enough to well understand the mechanisms of travel writing. To better grasp a wider view about the travel writings of the Moroccan accounts, not only the spatial process through which the travelers go should be covered, but a special attention should also be addressed to the social and historic-political relations²⁶⁶ between the countries involved in any travel narrative. Simply put,

How one culture is related or represented by another depends also on their mutual relations in the sense of ‘rapports’. The quality of these relations in both senses of the world is shaped, obviously, by a great many factors: political, economic, ideological, and historical.²⁶⁷

Thus, investigating travel narratives by Moroccan travelers to Britain necessitates the fact of looking at the historical relations between Morocco and Britain. Historicism is very essential in this regard. By historicism, Dipesh Chakrabarty refers to “the theory that social and cultural phenomenon are historically determined and that each epoch in history has its own values that are not directly applicable to other epochs.”²⁶⁸ Consequently, this chapter deals with the Moroccan-British relations starting from their first contact until the early twentieth century. To begin with,

During the Middle Ages, Britain and Morocco were on the periphery of the then known world. Because of the lack of navigational knowledge and instruments, and men’s superstitious fear of the unknown, the great

²⁶⁵Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (California: University of California Press, 1992), p. 61.

²⁶⁶By the historic-political relations, I mean the “time” which Lévi-Strauss talks about; that is the period of time when the travel narratives took place with all the historical, social and economic circumstances.

²⁶⁷Marie Paule Ha, “Relations of Cultures: A Review of Ali Behdad’s *Belated Travelers*, Xiaomei Chen’s *Occidentalism*, and Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson’s *De-Scribing Empire*, *Post-Colonialism and Textuality*”, in *Research in African Literatures*, (Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 154.

²⁶⁸Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Princializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 2007), p. 22.

western ocean which lapped the shores of both countries kept them apart, instead of bringing them together, as it later was to do.²⁶⁹

This means that out of lack of navigational knowledge and instruments, and fear of the unknown, both Morocco and Britain stayed on the periphery for a certain period of time. However, though Morocco and Britain are not very close geographically and do not share a lot in terms of religion and economy, according to Roger, their first contact dates back to the 13th century, under the reign of Mohammed el Nasir who is the fourth Almohad ruler (1199-1213).²⁷⁰ Starting from that period of time, “there were periods of tension but there were much of the time long periods of mutual respect, friendship, alliances and cooperation.”²⁷¹ This shows that the relationship between Moroccan and Britain was always floating between ebb and flow, but in overall, “Britain has been a political and an economic partner for Morocco since the 16th century and for the whole of the 19th century it was the first ally and partner during a key period of the country’s history.”²⁷² Thus, I shall address how Britain used to be a partner and an ally for Morocco and simultaneously how several circumstances influenced the writings of the Moroccan travelers to Britain later on in the analytical part of this thesis.

“In the year 1213, the King of England, John Lackland, sent an Embassy to the Marrakech court of the Almohad ruler Muhammad En-Nassir (1199-1213). It was headed by Knight Thomas Hardington and Knight Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, accompanied by the catholic cleric Master Robert of London. This audience granted by the Muslim ruler of the most powerful Empire West of the Mediterranean, is being recognised as a *premiere* in the history of diplomatic relations of England with other nations, and notably Muslim ones. To illustrate this statement, the diplomatic relations between

²⁶⁹PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 1.

²⁷⁰Mohammed Laamiri, *Moroccan British Relations: A Brief Survey*. Retrieved on: www.mbs.ma/.../Moroccan%20British%20Relations%20A%20Survey%2.

²⁷¹Mohammed Laamiri, “British Moroccan Relations: The Story of a Cultural Encounter. Moroccan-Anglo-Saxon Shared Historical Memory Morocco” In *Anglo-Saxon Writings: Between Historical Relations and Cultural Otherness*, (2015), p. 29.

²⁷²*Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

England and France were established in 1315, more than one hundred years after the 1213 diplomatic connection between Morocco and England.”²⁷³

In Roger’s words, during the thirteenth century, and precisely in 1213, the king of England–John– sought the help of the Moroccan empire because he was threatened by the invasion of the French king Philip Augustus. He sent three envoys– led by Thomas Hardington, Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, and Robert of London– to Mohamed el Nasir – the Fourth Almohad ruler– seeking aid from the latter because Morocco at that time was very powerful.²⁷⁴ “Morocco was –in spite of recurrent internal popular strife and political instability, a recognized strong country whose alliance and commercial partnership were sought by many European countries despite cultural and religious prejudices.”²⁷⁵ This strength made it hard for the messengers to succeed in their mission. The envoys were not successful in their mission because these three messengers brought a letter from their king to Mohammed El Nasir saying that if ever “The Great King”– the Moroccan one– accepts to help the King of England– John would “voluntarily give up to him himself and his kingdom, and if he pleased would hold it a tributary from him; and that he would also abandon the Christian faith, which he considered false, and would faithfully adhere to the law of Mohamet”²⁷⁶. In this regard, the Moroccan king refused to collaborate with the king of England on the basis of not standing still to his faith.

The fact that king John was ready to convert and offer his country to a “stranger” was seen negatively by Mohammed El Nasir. And even though one of the messengers– Thomas– tried to convince El Nasir by telling him about all the prerogatives of England when it comes to people, nature, geography, etc, the Moroccan king replied in a very strict and decisive way by saying that “that king is of

²⁷³Mohammed Belmahi, “The First Diplomatic contact between the Kingdom of Morocco and the United Kingdom in the Year 1213: Its Genesis and Impact”. In Mohamed Laamiri & Driss Ouauicha, eds., *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations: Selected Essays from the proceedings of the 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference*, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), p. 26.

²⁷⁴PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), pp. 1-2.

²⁷⁵Mohammed Laamiri, “British Moroccan Relations: The Story of a Cultural Encounter. Moroccan-Anglo-Saxon Shared Historical Memory Morocco” in *Anglo-Saxon Writings: Between Historical Relations and Cultural Otherness*, (2015). p. 29.

²⁷⁶PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office). p. 2.

no consideration, but is a petty king, senseless and growing old, and I care nothing about him. He is unworthy of any alliance with me”²⁷⁷. This harsh rejection shows the power of the Moroccan king because he stood still in front of such an offer. He could have accepted to conquer the English land/ territories, but he refused to do so because he believed that since the king is very weak (religiously)²⁷⁸, it is not worthy to accept his offer. The English King was also “decided by his subjects as a tyrant and unworthy successor of his more respected and dignified brother, King Richard Lion-heart.”²⁷⁹ Therefore, the first contact with Britain was a failure –especially on the part of England- and this affected the relationship between Morocco and Britain for a while – about three and a half centuries²⁸⁰. Matter of fact, in terms of travel writings, there was scarcity of literature which deals with Moroccan ambassadorial narratives towards Britain at that time.

It is until the 16th century that both countries reconnected through some “commercial exchanges, though limited in scale, [which] became the most effective means of strengthening links between Morocco and England.”²⁸¹ Therefore,

It was in 1551 AD, during the reign of one of the first Saadians, that contact was established with English traders, and a relationship began between Morocco and England which was thenceforth to continue almost without interruption to modern times”²⁸²

²⁷⁷PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 3.

²⁷⁸“The religious legitimacy of the king was also questioned by Pope Innocent III.” In Mohammed Belmahi, “The First Diplomatic Contact between the Kingdom of Morocco and the United Kingdom in the Year 1213: Its Genesis and Impact”. In Mohamed Laamiri & Driss Ouahoucha, eds., *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations: Selected Essays from the proceedings of the 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference*, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), p. 27.

²⁷⁹Mohammed Belmahi, “The First Diplomatic Contact between the Kingdom of Morocco and the United Kingdom in the Year 1213: Its Genesis and Impact”. In Mohamed Laamiri&DrissOuahoucha (Eds), *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations: Selected Essays from the proceedings of the 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference*, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), p. 26.

²⁸⁰PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 5.

²⁸¹Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 13.

²⁸²PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 7.

In other words, thanks to trade and commercial transactions which took place between the two countries, the Anglo- Moroccan relations took another direction. Trade played a crucial role in helping the two countries to come together again. Moreover, commercial relations expanded so quickly that it resulted in “a great deal of correspondence between the Sa’adi sultan ‘Abd al-Malik (1515-1578) and Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603)²⁸³ on the subject of trade.”²⁸⁴ Therefore, the trade “inaugurated between England and Morocco proved highly profitable and successful, since each country was able to supply the other with goods very much in demand.”²⁸⁵ In addition to that, “in 1551, the first English expedition to Morocco led by Thomas Wyndham, the desire to obtain sugar and salt, led to the establishment of the first English company for trade in Morocco in 1567 and the thing that annoyed Portugal.”²⁸⁶

This win-win relationship made of the sixteenth century Moroccan-British relation a good and stable one. “The English themselves recognize that trade relations with Morocco in the 16th century led to three important outcomes:

- 1 Industrial prosperity at home
2. Economic independence
- 3 Strengthening the naval fleet”²⁸⁷

To illustrate this, in 1573, The Lord Mayor “expressed the view that the English trade with Morocco was so important, particularly for English cloth exports, that if a prohibition had to be enforced, it would be better to stop Englishmen from trading with Portugal, rather than Morocco.”²⁸⁸ Morocco was still very powerful and had a

²⁸³“Queen Elizabeth I received a petition from a Muslim in London who wanted to join her navy and fight against the Spaniards. Elizabeth was building strong commercial and diplomatic ties with the Ottoman and Moroccan Empires- So strong that she was the first monarch to welcome Muslim ambassadors to England and to receive them with all due pomp and ceremony in her royal palaces.” In Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 1

²⁸⁴Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 13.

²⁸⁵PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 8.

²⁸⁶Mohamed Abou Talib, “Mawaqif Britanya min Maghrib al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar”, In *Al Islah wa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 295.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 296.

²⁸⁸PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 10.

leading position in terms of commercial exchanges to Britain. This allowed it to be preferred to Portugal. Another reason behind this preference is that at that era,

the conflict between Elizabethan England and Catholic Spain, [...] compelled British merchants to seek alternative markets and seaports in the Mediterranean as well as the Indian Ocean.[...] A new world order of commercial rivalry, diplomatic intrigue, military alliances, and religious reconfigurations was emerging, bringing British ships and travelers into Tangier, Alexandria, Mocha, and Hormuz. At the same time, North African, Ottoman, and Persian emissaries came to London, where they wandered about, visited cathedrals and centers of learning, observed social and industrial changes, and variously charmed and mystified the locals”²⁸⁹

According to Nabil Matar, religion played a crucial role in uniting the Moroccan Muslim ruler and the British Protestant queen.²⁹⁰ This latter’s religion allowed her to deal with the Muslims but not with the Catholics out of fear to the Catholic Philip.²⁹¹ So, “as England and Morocco found a common enemy in Spain and as English merchants discovered Moroccan sugar and saltpetre, it seemed increasingly as if England might become the senior partner in the new diplomatic relationship.”²⁹² Finding a shared enemy enhanced the exchanges of Morocco and Britain not only in terms of trade but also in terms of diplomatic and military transactions. There was a mutual curiosity raised from both sides. Both Moroccans and British used to travel to the other country in order to discover and learn more about each other.

In 1578, the defeat of Portugal at the battle of the Three Kings during the reign of Philip II (1527-1598) affected the Moroccan-British relations positively. “Both Elizabeth and Don Antonio realized that the support of the newly enthroned Moroccan

²⁸⁹Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 13.

²⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁹²George Joffé, “Shadows of a Distant Past? Diplomatic Engagement between Britain and Morocco”, In Mohamed Laamiri & Driss Ouauicha, eds., *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations*, Selected Essays from the proceedings of The 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), p. 174.

ruler would prove crucial for confronting Spain- a support that al-Mansur was not unwilling to extend. Promptly, the Moroccan ruler called for expanding trade and establishing diplomatic cooperation with England.”²⁹³ This good relationship resulted in the creation of ‘the Barbary Company’ in 1585 for twelve years.²⁹⁴ It was created to reinforce the trade between Morocco and England.²⁹⁵ This happened under the reign of Ahmed el Mansour (1578-1603) –who succeeded Abd El Malik who perished in El Ksar El Kbir battle- and the Queen Elizabeth.²⁹⁶ More than that, “the amicable relationship thus established between the two monarchs was reflected in a decree issued by Ahmed el Mansour on 2 Rabia II, 996 (1 March 1588) which granted him special favour and protection to English merchants.”²⁹⁷ In addition to that, the economic and political relations were strengthened thanks to some diplomatic missions that were taking place between the two countries.

After the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, Ahmed el Mansur sent a Moroccan ambassador- Merzouk Rais- for some proposals which aim at establishing an Anglo-Moroccan alliance against Spain.²⁹⁸ England’s victory “prompted al-Mansur for the first time to view Elizabeth as a viable military and diplomatic ally. He now recognized the role she could play in his plans for the re-conquest of Spain and in Euro-Moroccan cooperation.”²⁹⁹ By his plans, he means the fact of liberating al-Andalus. In 1600, the king “El Mansour sent another envoy, Abd el Wahed el Anuri, to England to treat for an alliance against Spain.”³⁰⁰ However, the decline of the affairs of the Barbary Company would be clearly noticed “towards the end of Elizabeth’s

²⁹³Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 52.

²⁹⁴Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 13.

²⁹⁵Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and the Englishmen in the Age of discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. x.

²⁹⁶PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p.13.

²⁹⁷*Ibid.*, p.14.

²⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p.17.

²⁹⁹Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 52.

³⁰⁰PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 19.

reign.”³⁰¹ This decline is also due to the fact that “Queen Elizabeth died in March 1603, and Ahmed el Mansour in August of the same year. With their passing, one era in Anglo-Moroccan relations had ended, and a new, and quite different one, was about to begin.”³⁰²

The death of Ahmed el Mansour was followed by a civil war between his sons who wanted to take over their father’s reign. Moulay Zidan was very successful in replacing his father –after several “complicated manoeuvres”. Moulay Zidan, “whose forces had been strengthened by two hundred English mercenaries under a Captain John Giffard, was now supreme and reigned till his death in 1627”³⁰³, seemed to still be able to keep that good relationship between the two countries. So, during the seventeenth century, which is known for captivity, James I (1603- 1625) sent a diplomatic envoy to Moulay Zidan (1603-1625) in 1610 in order to ask for the release of English captives incarcerated in Morocco. “Captivity became a crisis that would persistently preoccupy Christian and Muslim leaders and religious organizations, not to mention merchants, ships’ captains, sailors, families of captives, clergymen, and jurists.”³⁰⁴ Consequently, “the redemption of the Englishmen in captivity in Morocco for a long time dominated Anglo-Moroccan relations.”³⁰⁵ In this concern, most of the time the British kings used to supply Morocco with provisions and arms as a kind of ransom to release captives.³⁰⁶ As a result, the good relationship between the two countries would fade away or at least get affected by the captivity problem. James I died and his son took over. His son Charles I worked on keeping track of the same path as his father.³⁰⁷ But in overall and to speak about the relationship between the two countries in the 17th and 18th century, Mohammed Laamiri argues that

³⁰¹PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 15.

³⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁰³*Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁰⁴Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 126.

³⁰⁵PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 24.

³⁰⁶Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 14.

³⁰⁷PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 25.

The 17th and 18th centuries knew an increasing interest in Barbary as a cultural subject and as a commercial partner and a potential threat to European maritime activities. With the development of the British imperial projects, Morocco became a recommended commercial, diplomatic, tourist and exotic destination for many British citizens. In addition to its attraction as a market for English cloth, Morocco was a potential provider of gold and sugar and mostly a handy supplier of provisions to Gibraltar”³⁰⁸

Though Morocco and Britain were suffering from captivity, and Morocco was considered as a threat not only to Britain but several other European countries, it was still seen as a commercial partner. This latter was also a favorite destination for British traders, diplomats and tourists. It used to supply Gibraltar with provisions and provide Britain with gold and sugar. More than that, in order to “reinforce the peace and friendship between the two countries, Muhammed Al Sheikh Al Asghar sent one of his *kaidas* an ambassador – Jaudar Ben Abdala in 1637 in order to free captives reciprocally without ransoms. The ambassador

made a very good impression in London, and very soon after his reception by the king, in November 1637 an account of him and his mission was published in London under the title : *The Arrival and Intertainments of the Ambassador AlKaidJaudar Ben Abdella, with his Associate Mr. Robert Blake, from the High and Mighty Prince Mulley Mahomed Sheque, Emperor of Morocco, King of Fesse and Suss...*³⁰⁹

This shows that the ambassador sent for this diplomatic mission was a good representative of Morocco and he was a gifted one because he was able to conclude a Peace and Trade Agreement with the king Charles on 20th September 1637. The agreement was ratified on 8th May 1638.³¹⁰ Jaudar was described as a “man of more respect, or higher account and estimation the Emperour (his master) could not have

³⁰⁸Mohammed Laamiri, “Moroccan British Relations: A Brief Survey”, Retrieved from www.mbs.ma/.../Moroccan%20British%20Relations%20A%20Survey%2.

³⁰⁹PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 34.

³¹⁰Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 14.

sent”.³¹¹ Matar argues that “Jaudar and other visitors sometimes stayed longer than their hosts wanted- they wandered in the city, mingling with the populace, eating, drinking, and observing.”³¹² This means that in addition to their ambassadorial missions, ambassadors -on a personal level- used to enjoy discovering the country. They were too curious to mingle with the British and look at their culture through observation and mingling. The Moroccan sultan, again, sent another ambassador Kaid Mohammed Ben Askar on December 1638 in order to complain “about the illegal trading at Agadir” and King Charles sent back a “conciliatory” letter with Blake and Mohammed ben Askar in spring 1639.³¹³

Since the seventeenth century was known for corsairs, most of the diplomatic and ambassadorial missions to England and from Morocco and vice versa were about this issue. They mainly dealt with the New Salé corsairs and the ships coming from England. Matters of fact, many treaties were signed in this regard. In 1657, a treaty was signed so as

ships of either part were to have unimpeded access to ports of the other for trade and provisioning or any other purpose. Secondly, ships of the one of the party were not to hinder or molest ships of the other on the High Seas. Thirdly, neither party was to make captives of the subjects of the other; and finally, Englishmen residing in the territories under the authority of the *marabout* should be free to practice their religion without hindrance.³¹⁴

This treaty is a very important one because it tackles the commercial, maritime and religious activities of both sides. It aims at allowing both sides to have access to ports, forbidding the molestation of ships, retaining captives, and freeing the English from religious hindrances. In other words, this treaty which is inclusive of many

³¹¹Mohamed Laamiri, “The Cross Cultural Discourse in British Moroccan Relations”, In Mohamed Laamiri & Driss Ouauicha, eds., *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations: Selected Essays from the Proceedings of the 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference*, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), p. 81.

³¹²Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 19.

³¹³PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 37.

³¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 40.

conventions stabilized the Anglo-Moroccan relationship for a while but soon it was disrupted by “the ending of the Saadian dynasty and its replacement by the Filali line of Shereefian Sultans”.³¹⁵

In the mid- seventeenth century, and specifically in 1640, Portugal got its independence from Spain and the Duke of Braganza was appointed as the king of the Portuguese. In this respect,

The Spaniards tried to retain the Portuguese overseas territories, and in North Africa they managed to retain Ceuta, Mazagan and Tangier, revolted against the Spaniards and declared their allegiance to John IV. It was until 1643, however, that the Portuguese in Tangier managed to get rid of the Spaniards, [...] the Spaniards blockaded it from the sea, and the Moroccans attacked it from the landward side, so that provisioning the town and maintaining its independence became a more and more costly and hazardous business. It was therefore, probably without much regret that John IV handed Tangier over to Charles II as part of the dowry of the Princess Catherine of Braganza, whom Charles had contracted to marry in May 1661.³¹⁶

The importance of Tangier with its location on the southern shore of the Western approach to the straits of Gibraltar became evident to England. At that time, al Khadr Ghaylan was trying to extend his influence over the region from Qsar al-Kabir, when the marriage took place in 1661 between Catherine Braganza of Portugal and king Charles II. Therefore, the Portuguese port of Tangier was given to the English and they entered it on 30th January 1662. ³¹⁷Mohammed Abou Talib declares that “in 1662, the Portuguese gave the city of Tangier, which they used to colonize, as a gift to the British King Charles II on the occasion of his marriage to the Portuguese Princess Catherine Braganza.”³¹⁸Matter of fact, “the acquisition of Tangier as part of Charles

³¹⁵PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 40.

³¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 42.

³¹⁷Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 14.

³¹⁸Mohamed Abou Talib, “Mawaqif Britanya min Maghrib al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar”, In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ou’loum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 296.

II's marriage settlement in 1662 stimulated considerable interest in the region and its Moorish legacy. Tangier now served as a meeting place for Britons, Moors, Turks, and European allies of Britain."³¹⁹ However, the occupation of Tangier was costly for the English. Therefore, many letters of truce were exchanged especially in 1663.³²⁰ Ghaylan blocked Tangier and tried to conclude a bilateral agreement with the English in April 1666 because of Moulay Rachid al Alaoui's expedition northwards. But, Ghaylan will lose his power in front of Moulay Rachid's forces, though the English tried to help him, he was defeated by the Alawites in Asilah in 1668 and he was forced to flee to Algeria.³²¹

Following the death of Sultan Mawlay Rachid in 1672, Ghaylan returned to Morocco and entered negotiations with the new governor of Tangier. Yet, despite his new alliance with the English, he was unable to put together a force sufficient to counter Sultan Mulay Ismail (1672-1727). "Once this latter had extended his control over the whole Morocco, the English were convinced that the Alawites were in a strong position and began to think seriously about strengthening ties with the sultan."³²² The English realized that it was unwise to underestimate Morocco and the Moroccans.³²³ On the Moroccan side, the sultan sent a diplomatic mission by Muhammed Ben Haddu al-Attar to England who came back with a draft Peace and Trade Treaty on 23 March 1682.³²⁴ In this vein,

the ambassador and his retinue made a deep impression on the London Society of the day, not only because of the exotic nature of their Moroccan dress, but also because of the natural dignity and courtesy which they invariably showed in public. John Evelyn commented

³¹⁹Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 144.

³²⁰PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 45.

³²¹Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 15.

³²²*Ibid.*

³²³PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 54.

³²⁴Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 15.

favourably on their behavior at a banquet in their honour by the French mistress of Charles II.³²⁵

The ambassador was not successful in the drafting of the peace and trade treaty, but he was able to impress the British people not only by his dress but also by his behaviors. Laamiri states that “the ambassador and his retinue made a deep impression on the London society of the day, not only because of the exotic nature of their Moroccan dress, but also because of the natural dignity and courtesy which they invariably showed in public.”³²⁶ However, on the Moroccan part, the sultan refused to ratify the treaty because of the continuing English pressure in Tangier and the increasing complexity of captivity. This led the English to take the decision of abandoning Tangier and destroying its fortifications. And by 5 November 1683, the town was completely evacuated and withdrawn.³²⁷ Moulay Ismail was satisfied with the decision taken by the English that he released some English and Portuguese captives.³²⁸ Furthermore, on the one hand, most of the diplomatic contacts and negotiations were about the ways of “redeeming the captives in Morocco.”³²⁹ On the other hand, during 1699, relations between William III and Moulay Ismail deteriorated over Ceuta matters.³³⁰

During the eighteenth century, and precisely during
the reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714), Britain seized the
opportunity of the war of the Spanish succession to add the rock
of Gibraltar to its possessions with the help of the Moroccans.
This was a sign of a new direction in British policy based on close

³²⁵PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 57.

³²⁶Mohamed Laamiri, “The Cross Cultural Discourse in British Moroccan Relations”, In Mohamed Laamiri & DrissOuaouicha, eds., *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations: Selected Essays from the proceedings of The 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference*, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), p. 82.

³²⁷PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 61.

³²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 63.

³²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

³³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 68.

relations with Morocco- a policy which was to last for 200 years until 1904.³³¹

That is to say, starting from the possession of Gibraltar, the Moroccan British relations took another stance. “In 1704, Britain was able to occupy Gibraltar, and since that date has been fighting every European attempt aimed at controlling Tangier, which has become its only supplier for food items and others.”³³² Thus, more diplomatic missions, demand for cooperation, and treaties were established. For instance, in March 1706, Ahmed Ben Ahmed Cardenas was sent as an envoy of Moulay Ismail to London with thirteen people in order to negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship, and to redeem some English and French captives. In addition to that, Moulay Ismail asked for the help of Queen Anne in order to take Ceuta from the Spaniards.³³³ Nevertheless, while this Moroccan ambassador was doing these negotiations, some privateers captured some English ships. Matter of fact, Queen Anne declined his offer of alliance for both what happened to the English ships and for the problems this ambassador had with his servants. “Queen Anne promised however that when Charles III was firmly established on his throne, she would exert all her influence to promote good Spanish-Moroccan relations.”³³⁴

Despite the failure of this diplomatic mission headed by Cardenas, the sultan still intended to keep contact with England and sent another ambassador in 1710. The envoy was led by Bentura de Zari- “an Armenian from Morocco.”³³⁵ However, this latter had the same fate as the previous ambassador in the sense that while the negotiations were taking place, English ships were taken by privateers. The ruler could not prevent the seizure of ships and captives in Barbary- at Laarach in 1711. De Zari

³³¹Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 16.

³³²Mohamed Abou Talib, “Mawaqif Britanya min Maghrib al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar”, In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ou’loum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 297.

³³³PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), pp. 74-75.

³³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 77.

³³⁵Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 182.

was again put in a very embarrassing situation with the Queen.³³⁶ “Bentura had become a victim of historical circumstances. The British captives were not released, and the ship left with the spotted deer but without Bentura.”³³⁷

On 7th July 1714, “the Qaid Ahmed Ben Ali Ben Abdellah concluded a peace and Trade treaty in Tetouan on behalf of Mawlay Ismail.”³³⁸ This treaty was followed by a captive crisis between 1716 and 1721.³³⁹ However,

The diplomatic relationship between two countries was strengthened when in November 1723 Abd el Kader Perez was sent to England on a mission from the Sultan King George I, and was followed by another envoy, Mohammed ben Ali Abgali, in 1725. Abgali arrived at Deal on 10 August 1725 after a voyage from Gibraltar which had lasted twenty-six days, [...]. Though he stayed in England for almost one year, and did not return to Morocco till July 1726, there is little record of his negotiations. He seems to have been entrusted with the purchase of gunpowder for Moulay Ismail; and he also requested just treatment for the Moroccan Jews who lived and traded in Gibraltar.³⁴⁰

These two ambassadorial journeys by Abd el Kader Perez and Mohammed ben Ali Abgali were successful in the sense that they stressed the willingness of maintaining “a friendly relationship” with England. Nevertheless, unfortunately many ambassadors just like Abgali did not leave any written record of their journey to England or any other foreign country. “On Shawwal 1135 (28 July 1723), MulayIsma’il of Morocco wrote to King George I praising the ‘ingliz’ – the English – as ‘afdalajnas al nasara’ – ‘the best of Christians’”³⁴¹

³³⁶PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 78.

³³⁷Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 185.

³³⁸Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 16.

³³⁹Ibid.

³⁴⁰PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 87.

³⁴¹Gerald Mclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558-1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 19.

Moulay Ismail died in March 1727 and Morocco fell into turmoil. The king's sons strive for the throne and this caused the death of Moulay Ahmed ad Dahbi and then Abd el Malek III simultaneously after ruling only for a short period of time. This allowed Abdellah V, Moulay Ismail's third son- to take over and stay a sultan until 1757.³⁴² These problems over power had direct consequences on the Anglo-Moroccan relations. So, in the mid-18th century, the relations between the two sides were tense with occasional confrontation. This was provoked by some British merchants supplying various kinds of weapons to one of the brothers of sultan Mulay Abdellah al Mustadi- a rebel in Asilah.³⁴³

At that time, "the army had once again deposed Moulay Abdellah and nominated a son of Moulay Ismail, named Mohammed ben Arbiya, as Sultan".³⁴⁴ In 1754, Sidi Mohammed declared war on England because he was frustrated by the fact that an English warship seized a French one in Safi.³⁴⁵ The sultan, then, captured two British ships in January and sent a warning to George II menacing him of the consequences that might result in maintain contact with al-Mustadi.³⁴⁶ However, right after, a British consul was sent to Morocco in 1755 to sign a Peace Treaty. This did not stop the prince from sending an envoy- Abd el Krim Benzacor to England, with a letter to King George II complaining about the conduct of the governor of Gibraltar concerning Trade in Azila.³⁴⁷ But after that, relations started running smoothly and "the new sultan Sidi Mohammed was forced to change his attitude towards the British so he extended the treaty for an additional year until 1759 and agreed to provision Gibraltar."³⁴⁸

³⁴²PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 88.

³⁴³Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 16.

³⁴⁴PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 92.

³⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p.96.

³⁴⁶Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 16.

³⁴⁷PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 97.

³⁴⁸Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 17.

Purchasing arms, ammunition and many other commodities kept the sultan sending many ambassadors to England. For instance, in 1762, “the sultan dispatched el Hadj Abd el Kadir Hodié (or Adiel) in HMS Bienfaisant as his ambassador to England, principally to purchase arms, ammunition and naval stores”³⁴⁹. In 1766, the sultan decided to send another ambassador – El Hadj Elarby Mistery, who was the governor of Old Salé and admiral of the sultan’s fleet, and he was accompanied by El Hadj Mohammed al Saidi and two other Moroccans.³⁵⁰ Ambassadorial missions were not only about diplomatic or political issues, but they were also about commercial matters. Moreover, in 1772, Sidi Mohammed sent again another envoy in order to deliver a letter to King George about the Spaniard who offered Morocco a kind of bride so as to stop trade with England, but the sultan refused. The Moroccan ruler at that time sent a Moroccan Jew named Jacob Benider, who not only delivered this message, but also tried to purchase some armaments and England Cannon.³⁵¹ Furthermore,

Only a few days later another ambassador from the sultan arrived in London, in the person of Sidi Taher Fenish, who had landed from HHS at Spithead on 20 December 1773. The function of the new envoy was to present as a gift from the Sultan to king George III two leopards and ten horses, which had been sent from Gibraltar in another vessel. With these animals the sultan also sent a number of ancient cannons which he wished to be re-cast in English gun-foundries.³⁵²

Ambassadorial travels are also about sending and receiving gifts. This ambassadorial trip illustrates the exchange of gifts between Morocco and Britain. They are part of the diplomatic practices and protocols, as it is mentioned by Mohammed Magaman. Thus, the Anglo-Moroccan relations were not free of the exchange of gifts between the two countries.

In April 1790, Sidi Mohammed died and was succeeded by Moulay Yazid- Sidi Mohammed’s son from an Irishwoman.

³⁴⁹PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 104.

³⁵⁰Ibid., p. 106.

³⁵¹Ibid., pp. 109-110.

³⁵²Ibid., pp. 111-112.

The new Sultan was friendly towards the British, and showed this on his accession by granting four audiences to consul-General Matra, and by reducing the export duty on cattle exported to the Gibraltar Garrison. In a letter to King George III dated 16 Shaban 1204 (27 April 1790) he confirmed the existing Treaty of Peace and Friendship and Commerce, and asked the king to send an ambassador to consolidate the friendly relations between Britain and Morocco.³⁵³

This shows that “during the Napoleonic wars (1792-1814) relations between Morocco and England were characterized by a clear shift towards Britain.”³⁵⁴ Even though Moulay al Yazid (1790-1792) ruled only for a short period of time, “he showed goodwill towards Britain and attempted to gain its support for a blockade of Ceuta, though this did not materialize. And in 1791, an agreement was signed between Mawlay al Yazid and Britain.”³⁵⁵ This happened a year before he was succeeded by his brother Moulay Sulaiman in 1792. Furthermore, in the early part of 1799, plague spread in Morocco and this affected the relationship with England. Communication between the two countries and especially between Gibraltar and Morocco decreased. Consequently, it is only after the plague diminished in 1800 that many negotiations over commerce took place.

The negotiations made by the sultan were about the export of provisions which were conditioned by the issue of Ceuta. The sultan in 1807 made a very luring offer that is about lowering the rate of duty over the export of provisions of all kinds, if ever the British could take Ceuta and then restore it to Morocco. This offer which includes allowing other articles like wax and hides was specifically to Britain.³⁵⁶ However, though the offer was not accepted, the sultan wished to maintain a good relationship with England and allowed the export of cattle and other provisions to Gibraltar.³⁵⁷ Thus, from the beginning of the 19th century, Khalid ben-Sghir argues that “relations

³⁵³PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 124.

³⁵⁴Khalid Ben-Sghir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 17.

³⁵⁵*Ibid.*

³⁵⁶PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 130.

³⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 131.

between Morocco and Britain remained stable, with the latter's maritime supremacy enabling it to protect its commercial relations with Moroccan ports until the end of the 1814 without any real competition from other European countries."³⁵⁸ In other words,

In the 19th century, a remarkably close British-Moroccan relationship developed under two successive British Consuls-General, Edward Drummond-Hay (1829-45) and his son Sir John Drummond Hay (1845-86). The strong political influence of British ambassadors on Moroccan foreign policy was well established and the personality of John Drummond Hay marked Moroccan political life for almost half a century. Though the country was finally colonized by the French, historians consider that until 1904 Morocco was part of the informal Empire of Great Britain."³⁵⁹

Stated differently, George Joffé states that

By the early nineteenth century, the British consul-general, Edmund Drummond Hay, in 1829, had begun the era of prolonged British engagement in Morocco's domestic affairs that was to last up to the end of the Victorian century. He was succeeded in 1845 by his son, John Drummond Hay who retired in 1886; Morocco had by this time also been cemented into British strategic concerns over control of the Mediterranean as part of its security concerns over the Straits of Gibraltar and its access to the Indian Raj. Yet all this was to suddenly change in 1904, with Britain apparently retiring from the strategic scene and handing over such concerns to its ancestral enemy, France.³⁶⁰

The close relationship between Britain and Morocco in the nineteenth century was reached after a "low ebb" under the mandate of the Consul General Douglas. So,

³⁵⁸Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 17.

³⁵⁹Mohamed Laamiri, "British Moroccan Relations: The Story of a Cultural Encounter". In *Morocco in the Anglo-Saxon Writings: Between Historical Relations and Cultural Otherness*. Publications of the High Commission for former members of resistance movement and the liberation army, p. 31.

³⁶⁰George Joffé, "Shadows of a Distant Past? Diplomatic Engagement between Britain and Morocco", In Mohamed Laamiri & Driss Ouauicha, eds., *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations: Selected Essays from the proceedings of the 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference*, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), pp. 174-175.

“under his successors, the Drummond Hays, father and son, the traditional friendship was however, happily to be restored; and British influence at the Sultan’s Court was to be, for a considerable time, paramount.”³⁶¹ That is to say, Roger also stresses the idea that both Edward and John Drummond Hays had a strong political influence on the Moroccan ruler. The appointment of the Hays was not done haphazardly but it was well planned for. They were the right people for the right place to serve Britain’s interests. They were qualified enough for this mission which is about empowering the political and economic system of Britain.

One year after the appointment of Edward Hay, in 1829, France invaded Algeria and this resulted in making France “the dominant military force in North Africa, eclipsing Britain’s share of trade with Morocco by about 1860”.³⁶² Consequently, Hay was pushed to pay more attention to trade matters in order to reestablish the same old relationship with Morocco. More than that, in addition to trade, piracy was another problem impeding the Anglo-Moroccan relations. Edward Hay was appointed in Tangier to deal with diverse issues, so for instance, he had to deal with the problem of “the Riffian attacks on British ships.”³⁶³ Employing Jews as British consular agents was another issue which the Moroccan king finds himself complaining about to Hay because Jews agents used to mistreat the Moroccan Muslims.³⁶⁴

The sense of belonging to the same geographical region and sharing the same religion pushed the Moroccan king Moulay Abdelrahman to help the Algerians and especially Amir Abdel Kader. This Moroccan support disturbed the Franco-Moroccan relations and made the British government feel anxious about a potential threat to the Moroccan territory. The relationship with Spain was not also a very good one at that moment, and “in the early part of 1844 Moulay Abderrahman feared that the Spaniards were about to declare war on Morocco. [...] Hay was subsequently instructed to

³⁶¹PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 139.

³⁶²Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, Vol 1, A to F (Routledge: New York, 2013), p. 813.

³⁶³Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 19.

³⁶⁴PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), pp. 142-143-146.

inform Moulay Abderrahman that the British Government would be ready to mediate between Spain and Morocco to settle any difficulties which might have arisen.”³⁶⁵ Matter of fact, Hay played the role of an intermediary between Morocco and Spain.

John Drummond Hay³⁶⁶ was appointed as the new Consul-General in 1845 right after his father’s sickness and death. He “was to stay in Morocco until 1886.”³⁶⁷ He became “the trusted adviser of successive Sultans and brought Britain and Morocco closer together in friendship than they had ever been before”.³⁶⁸ This friendship could be clearly manifested when Queen Victoria accepted to transport Moulay Abderhaman’s sons to the pilgrimage via a ship of the Royal Navy.³⁶⁹

The acts of piracy were multiple in the history of the Anglo-Moroccan relations that they were always the ones hindering the long good relations between the two countries. Piracy was not the only annoying issue, “the frequent changes in the tariff of Moroccan import and export duties, and the grant of trading monopolies by the Sultan to individuals”³⁷⁰ are also behind the economic problems between Morocco and Britain. However, to keep up the friendship between the countries, the Sultan “issued orders in March 1854 for the abrogation of monopolies and excessive import duties”³⁷¹ In addition to that, in 1856, “Hay did not hesitate to go in person to the Qal’iya tribe, win the trust and friendship of some Rif notables and obtain guarantees that they would stop attacking European, and particularly British, ships.”³⁷² After several negotiations, two treaties were signed in Tangier. Therefore, Mohamed Abou Talib

³⁶⁵PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 149.

³⁶⁶“John Drummond Hay, a man who passionately pursued his profession and his insistence in negotiations, influenced his European colleagues and Moroccan officials alike to be said to have been the strongest man after the King of Morocco and Sharif Al Wazzani. He met with the Diplomatic Corps Secretariat, leading a number of initiatives and meetings, He has been representing a number of countries such as Holland and Denmark. This man is said to have made Moroccan- British friendship more powerful than ever before.” In Mohamed Abou Talib, “Mawaqif Britanya min Maghrib al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar”, In *Al Islah wa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al u’lum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 299.

³⁶⁷Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 22.

³⁶⁸PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 152.

³⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 157.

³⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 162.

³⁷¹*Ibid.*, p. 163.

³⁷²Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 23.

believes that “the most important work done by Drummond Hay in the exercise of his diplomatic mission is the conclusion of the 1856 agreement, which is a victory for him first and then for his country second.”³⁷³ Matter of fact, “the first was a General Treaty of thirty-eight articles, and the second a Convention of Commerce and Navigation of fifteen articles.”³⁷⁴

In 1858 Spanish-Moroccan relations gradually grew worse. This was partly due to the incessant friction over Ceuta and Mellila and the smaller Spanish possessions off the Moroccan coast, such as the Penon de Vélez; and partly because the Moroccans had refused to pay compensation for a Spanish vessel captured by the Riffians in 1856.”³⁷⁵

In this regard, Hay tried to again play the role of the intermediary in order to adjust the Moroccan and Spanish relations. The reconciliations of Hay were not very successful and “in August 1859 the Spanish-Moroccan crisis worsened.”³⁷⁶ In addition to Ceuta and Mellila, the problem of captives was also among the major problems facing Morocco and Spain, so “John Drummond Hay directly involved in the measures to achieve their release relying on his close relationships with influential figures in Rifian tribal circles”³⁷⁷ Meanwhile, the sultan Moulay Abdelrahman died on 6 September 1859.³⁷⁸ More than that, Britain tried to use several diplomatic negotiations in order to avoid violent confrontations between Morocco and Spain but also in order to protect the British subjects in Morocco.³⁷⁹ An agreement about the borders of Mellila was concluded by Madrid, London and Tangier on 24 August 1859 but unfortunately tensions between Morocco and Spain rose to the point that “on February 1860 a Spanish army under Marshal O’Donnell defeated a Moroccan force outside Tetuan,

³⁷³Mohamed Abou Talib, “Mawaqif Britanya min Maghrib al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar”, In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al U’lum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 301.

³⁷⁴PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p.165.

³⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 168.

³⁷⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷⁷Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 68.

³⁷⁸ PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*, p. 169.

³⁷⁹Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, p. 76.

and later captured the town.”³⁸⁰ The town was occupied after fighting for three months.³⁸¹

Britain played an important role in negotiating some peace terms between the two countries. On 25 March 1860, truce was signed followed by a peace treaty on 26 April. However, “the Treaty contained harsh conditions, which included the expansion of the boundaries of Spanish fortifications in Morocco and the payment of 20,000,000 riyals in reparations.”³⁸² Because the king Mawlay al-’Abbas wanted to stop the war, he accepted the Spanish conditions without checking and making sure that he had the sum of money agreed upon. Later, he will discover that the treasury does not contain enough money to pay. Consequently, sending an envoy- Said Mohammed ben Shamee accompanied by Hadj el Agee- to Britain in order to ask for a loan was necessary if ever the Moroccan king had to stop the threat of Spain that is about renewing the fighting.³⁸³ Unfortunately, “the attempt failed for a number of reasons, the most important being that London financiers insisted on loan guarantees from the British Government, which refused, suggesting instead that the Sultan tax its subjects to collect the money.”³⁸⁴ Refusing to grant a loan to Morocco did not stop Hay from playing a crucial role in alleviating the intense relationship between Morocco and Spain

In this regard, to solve this problem and following Hay’s advice, the sultan sent his brother Moulay Abbas to Madrid in order to negotiate with the Spaniards about the evacuation of Tetuan. This led Moulay Abbas to sign a convention on 30 October 1861 “by which the Spanish Government formally undertook to evacuate Tetuan on receipt of three million dollars.”³⁸⁵ The help of Hay should not be seen only as an innocent act of kindness to Morocco but it could be perceived as part of keeping Tetuan free in order to save its Mediterranean interests.³⁸⁶ This shows that starting

³⁸⁰PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*, p. 170.

³⁸¹Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, p. 94.

³⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁸³*Ibid.*

³⁸⁴*Ibid.*

³⁸⁵PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*, pp. 172-173.

³⁸⁶Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, p. 97.

from the nineteenth century, Morocco suffered from imperialism project, which went through three different stages: the first one is concerning the military forces. It is about the defeats of Isly and Tetouan which pushed Morocco to lose self-confidence. The second stage is concerned with commerce. The 1865 Moroccan British convention about trade weakened the Moroccan commercial transactions and the whole commerce sector. The third is about the financial sector. In this regard, Morocco was forced to enter the loan series.³⁸⁷

At this certain historical period, after the Tetuan crisis- that is a weak moment in Morocco's history, Hay

had on several occasions pointed out to [...] the need for reform, particularly in the administration of Morocco, which was weakened by corruption on a large scale. [...] on 6 May 1862 Hay wrote to the Sultan congratulating him on the recovery of Tetuan, and expressing the hope that he would now have the leisure and the opportunity to introduce various urgent reforms. To help the sultan Hay enclosed a memorandum which contained various suggestions for the improvement of the Moroccan economy.”³⁸⁸

After recovering Tetuan, Hay realized that Morocco needed reforms in case it wanted to regain its position. Urgent reforms were primordial, in the sense that, Morocco's weakness would lead to disappointing and unwanted results if ever the reforms were not implemented.

Regardless of Hay's continuous advice to the sultan Mohammed IV concerning the reforms, “Morocco was destined to remain in a state of political and economic weakness; and that proved a standing invitation to outside interference or aggression”³⁸⁹ because the Moroccan king did not take into account Hay's advice. Morocco did not go through any reforms even after “Mohammed IV died on 11

³⁸⁷Ibrahim Boutaleb, “Istikhlassat ‘Amah ‘an Mafhoum al Islah fi al qarn al Tassi’ ‘Achar”, In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Ada bwa al Ou’loum al Inssaniya, 1983), pp. 418-419.

³⁸⁸PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 173.

³⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 176.

September 1875, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Moulay Hassan,³⁹⁰ who also “intended to be as a firm friend of Hay, and of Britain, as his father had been.”³⁹¹ Sir John Drummond Hay was very insistent and continued advising the new sultan about the need for reforms “if Morocco was to survive as an independent country.”³⁹² In other words,

As soon as Hay knew about the situation in Morocco, he made one proposal after the other concerning the reform of the state. In an interview with Hassan I in April 1875, he did not hesitate to dare and say to the king that the Moroccan administration was the most corrupt administration in the world. Following the interview, a telephone line was placed in the palace itself, in the presence of an English expert presented for this purpose. And the reform project presented included the following fields:

- 1- Trade and Finance
- 2- Protection System
- 3- Army
- 4- Administration
- 5- Prisons
- 6- Transportation
- [...]

Concerning the army, he suggested the following:

- a- Good selection of elements and determining their number
- b- Training of executives in Europe
- c- Reliance on Europeans
- d- Acquisition of modern weapons³⁹³

Matter of fact, Moulay Hassan acknowledged the necessity of these reforms though the country's situation was not in favor of any reform since many parts of it

³⁹⁰PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*, p. 181.

³⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 182.

³⁹²PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 183.

³⁹³Mohamed Abou Talib, “Mawaqif Britanya min Maghrib al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar”, In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ou’loum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 300.

were revolting against the authority of the ruler. He was also convinced that reforms should take place to change Morocco's military, social, and economic deterioration. In this regard, Khalid Ben Sghir argues that "the concept of reform embraces a wide range of interrelated meanings."³⁹⁴ For him, reforms in Morocco during the second half of the nineteenth century should be dealt with from two different perspectives. The first one is about looking at reforms "from the inside, from the perspective of Morocco as a Muslim country". The second one is about dealing with them "from the outside, from a purely European perspective." In the same regard, Ibrahim Boutaleb asserts that

There are two levels of reform [...] There is a first level, which is the level of imitation of the Western world and the European societies in some of its techniques in a primitive and blind way, and there is a second level which came after this stage, the level of radical reform or the level of rethinking our identity as Muslims and as Arabs and as a civilization that contributed to the course of human civilization.³⁹⁵

Mohamed Abou Talib also dealt with these two different directions when it comes to reforms. He argues that

The first reform is linked to the growing imperialist pressure exerted by powerful European countries on several vulnerable countries, including Morocco. This reform took the form of an illusion, and sometimes a caricature because it came at the urging of foreign parties whose real purpose was to influence Morocco to control and enslave it. It was not a reform, but it was taken from Morocco's need for development and renewal as a pretext for achieving some greed. The second is the reform of a number of proposals made by the good-will of the Moroccans [...] but they [...] were partial and superficial because they left the infrastructure as they were and only referred to patches in limited patches of what is apparent [...] and did not indicate the superficiality and vanity

³⁹⁴Khalid Ben-Sghir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 206.

³⁹⁵Ibrahim Boutaleb, "Istikhllassat 'Amah 'an Mafhoum al Islah fi al qarn al Tassi' 'Achar", In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa' al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi' A'achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al U'lum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 415.

that it had no effective impact and that the problems of Morocco at the end of the nineteenth century worsened for what it was at the beginning.³⁹⁶

In other words, the first kind of reforms were proposed by European powers in order to serve their own goals. Khalid Ben-Sghir argues that they were suggested by European countries mainly France and Britain and which were practical and noticeable. The second ones were reforms which were proposed by the Moroccan authorities-*Makhzen* which were described as “superficial”.³⁹⁷ This is because “all the reform attempts made by some Moroccan jurists have not been more than mere ink on paper, ghosts without any body, smoke in which the wind plays.”³⁹⁸

In addition to that, the process of reforms could also be divided into two stages: the first one runs from 1856 to 1880 and it was Britain that was behind anticipating them or suggesting them to Morocco. The second reforms cover the period between 1880 until 1904 and at that moment Britain invited other countries like France, Spain and Germany to put some pressures on Morocco in this concern.³⁹⁹ Consequently, in terms of the military field,

The zealous young sultan [opted] for sending Moroccans to various foreign countries, with a view to their learning the arts and sciences and returning to spread their knowledge in their native land. As part of this program, he sent some of his subjects to Britain to be instructed in seamanship and navigation, and others to learn the art of shipbuilding; for Moulay Hassan hoped to re-establish a Moroccan mercantile marine, and a navy.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁶Mohamed Zniber, “Hal Hounalika Massadir Dakhiliya lil Islah?” In *Al Islah wa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ou’loun al Inssaniya, 1983), pp. 327- 328.

³⁹⁷Khalid Ben-Sghir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 206.

³⁹⁸Jerman Iyach, “Imkaniyat al Islah w Assbab al Fachal fi al Maghrib” In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ou’loun al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 362.

³⁹⁹Khalid Ben-Sghir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon. 2005), p. 206.

⁴⁰⁰PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 190.

Aware of his country's military weakness, the Moroccan ruler decided to send Moroccans students, artillerymen or soldiers to different European countries with the focus on Britain to benefit from military trainings that would help better the Moroccan military system. In 1875, he decided to send some Moroccan students to Britain to learn about weapons and engineering as part of the military reforms. Soldiers were also sent for some military training in Gibraltar in 1876 and the training covered even medicine in the military field.⁴⁰¹ Huge numbers of soldiers used to be sent in order to learn about the art of war until they show that they can apply what they learned once they are back to Morocco. Furthermore, importing weapons from Britain, "obtaining British trainers and engineers, and finally strengthening and repairing the fortifications of the coastal cities"⁴⁰² were also primordial for the Moroccan sultan.

Meanwhile, in terms of diplomatic relations, and in order to thank Queen Victoria for keeping a close relationship with Morocco, Moulay Hassan sent an ambassador- Hadj Mohammed Zebdi- to London on July 1876. The envoy, however, was not only about reaffirming the good Moroccan-British relations, but it was also aiming at limiting and restricting the British protection.⁴⁰³ After the French occupied Algeria in 1830 and the trade relations increased between Morocco and Europe, the Moroccan Jews position was strengthened at different layers. Matter of fact, "the British Government was particularly interested in this vital group in Moroccan society and appointed itself as the protector of the Jews of Morocco and the defender of their rights as a means to further extend their influence in Morocco."⁴⁰⁴ In other words, during the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain implemented this policy as a way to penetrate Morocco more and be more influential especially that Morocco was in a very weak phase. Protection could be seen as part of Britain's imperialist strategies. It could also be considered as a weakening factor enhancing the decline of

⁴⁰¹PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 186.

⁴⁰²Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 248.

⁴⁰³PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 188.

⁴⁰⁴Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, p. 158.

Morocco.⁴⁰⁵ Hence, in 1880, the main problems or issues dealt with by John Drummond Hay and Moulay Hassan are “the questions of irregular protection, the urgent necessity of administrative reforms, improvement of trade, treatment of Moroccan Jews, and a number of other matters”⁴⁰⁶

The economic reforms were also approached by Hay. This is because commerce was very important for Britain. It was “the cornerstone of and the basic motivation for Britain’s interests in Morocco in the second half of the nineteenth century”⁴⁰⁷. So, Britain was always trying to make Morocco adhere to the articles in the 1856 Treaty which are related to

commercial affairs and transactions between Morocco and Britain. Out of these concerns came Britain’s call to the Makhzan to further liberalize commerce with Europe and to eradicate some of the commercial practices that the Makhzan had practised before 1856, and also the call to boost agriculture, exploit minerals, introduce some basic industries and equip the ports.⁴⁰⁸

These reforms, which include liberalizing commerce with Europe, boosting agriculture, exploiting minerals, introducing some basic industries and equipping ports, indicate that Hay in the name of Britain was aiming at serving his country first then Morocco. Hay before his retirement in 1886 was very insisting on these reforms and so many others because of “his strong desire to enable British merchants to continue to maintain their financial superiority over Moroccan merchants, including *tujjar al-Sultan*.”⁴⁰⁹

Reform proposals were also related “to transport and communications, like roads, bridges, railways and the telegraph. Others relate to the extraction of minerals,

⁴⁰⁵Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, p. 151.

⁴⁰⁶PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 192.

⁴⁰⁷Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 207.

⁴⁰⁸PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 207.

⁴⁰⁹Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 211.

and the improvement of the infrastructure and equipment of the ports.”⁴¹⁰ This is because developing commerce goes hand in hand with developing means of transport and communication. Building roads, railways, and bridges, equipping ports and establishing a telegraph were of vital importance to the commercial activities between Morocco and Britain.⁴¹¹ More than that, reform proposals concerning the standardization of weights and measures in the ports are also among the reforms that Britain was proposing to implement in ports so as to ensure a unification of units of measures. So, many weighting machines were installed in the Moroccan ports.⁴¹² The provision of warehouses and accommodation for foreign merchants were part of the reforms realized since the Moroccan British commercial transactions were increasing. Thus, merchants needed housing for both themselves and their goods.⁴¹³

In addition to the economic reforms, several administrative ones were proposed by Britain. This is because “up until the reigns of Mawlay Sulayman and Mawlay ‘Abd al-Rahman, the Makhzan’s apparatus remained simple in terms of its organization, its personnel and its functions.”⁴¹⁴ The Moroccan administrative structure were considered as traditional and do not fit the British standards. Thus,

in the calls for reform in the area of administration that were submitted by Britain to Morocco up until 1886, it is possible to distinguish between: (a) calls for reform of the administration of the ports; (b) calls for reform of the local government system; and (c) calls for reform of the upper echelons of the Makhzan apparatus.⁴¹⁵

Change in the administrative apparatus aimed mainly at diminishing corruption, bribery and ensuring justice and security.⁴¹⁶ Drummond Hay in this regard maintained several proposals which aim at eliminating bribery, favoritism and clientship between

⁴¹⁰Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 216.

⁴¹¹*Ibid.*,

⁴¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

⁴¹³*Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁴¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁴¹⁵*Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 240.

the officials of the Makhzen.⁴¹⁷ However, “although between 1863 and 1886 Drummond Hay adopted a discourse of reform, it was to serve the goal of bringing Morocco to serve European interests in general and British interests in particular.”⁴¹⁸

The British influential reforms over Morocco declined immensely after the retirement of Drummond Hay in 1886. “The most important cause of the decline of British prestige in Morocco, according to Ridgeway, was however the power of France, who could always impose her will on the sultan by the threat of occupying some territory prized by the latter.”⁴¹⁹ After the death of Moulay Hassan who was succeeded by Moulay Abdelaziz and the death of Queen Victoria that was succeeded by Edward VII, Britain established some close relationship with France, and this is

in order to retain its colonial possessions and so as to be in a strong position in a probable confrontation with Germany. This British–French rapprochement led to the Entente Cordiale, which was concluded on 8 April 1904. By virtue of Articles 2 and 7 of this agreement, Britain ceded to France the right to act as she saw fit in Morocco, thus confirming that she had finally ceased to support Morocco and breaking with a tradition that had characterized Moroccan–British relations during the long years of their joint history.⁴²⁰

By 1905 Morocco was deeply in debt to several European countries who had met its requests for loans [...] famine and civil war which lead to the abdication of Sultan Moulay Abdelzaiz and the proclamation of his brother Moulay Hafid induced a second crisis. Moreover, “by the summer of 1907, Morocco had reached a point of no return in its struggle to maintain self-rule.”⁴²¹ Accordingly, with the agreement of the European powers, and following the signature of the treaty of Fez by Sultan Moulay Hafid on 30 January 1912, France established a protectorate over the greater part of Morocco, while Spain took over smaller areas in the North and South of the country.

⁴¹⁷Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, p. 246.

⁴¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁴¹⁹PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*, p. 227.

⁴²⁰Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, p. 281.

⁴²¹Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 76.

These protectorates lasted for nearly half a century until Morocco finally regained full independence under the late king Mohammed V in 1956.”⁴²²

This section focused on the long historical relationship between Morocco and Britain because it is believed to provide a necessary historical background to the thesis. Moving from one historical period into another gives a glance over the development of the relationship between the two countries. It shows how the changes that were happening influenced the diplomatic, political and economic relations. It also fosters the idea that Britain tried hard to maintain a good relationship with Morocco in order to serve its interest. It has also tried to protect its British citizens in Morocco from any potential war especially between Morocco and Spain. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, Britain could not keep the same influence on Morocco and could not stay a faithful partner since it ceded the place to France to continue its imperialism. Finally, after the historical background, a theoretical framework to the thesis is also needed. This is what the next chapter is about.

⁴²²PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 239.

II- Theorizing Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Modernity in Travel Narratives

1- Orientalism and Occidentalism in Travel narratives

This section is addressing the discursive frameworks and structures of travel narratives written by the European travelers about the Easterners/Arabs and the other way around. It looks at how Europeans write about the Arabs and how Arabs write about the Europeans within a certain structure. A binary opposition in terms of discourses emerges while analyzing the encounters between the West and the East. Thus, discussing *Orientalism* and *Occidentalism* in relation to travel narratives is the main aim behind this section. In other words, this thesis will investigate how “the form of the Other is fluid”.⁴²³ It will deal with the dualities which emerge in the contact zone and how they change depending on the person writing from a certain geographical and discursive position.

Orientalism, according to Edward Said, who is a very influential figure in postcolonial studies, is a “style of thought based upon an epistemological and ontological distinction made between the 'Orient' and (most of the time) the 'Occident'”.⁴²⁴ It is also “a field of study based on a geographical, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic unit called the orient.”⁴²⁵ This means that Orientalism is a doctrine which is based upon distinguishing between the orient and the occident in terms of geography, culture, history, and language, to name but a few. This relationship is characterized by being “a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony”⁴²⁶, through which the oriental is extremely subservient to the occidental. This discriminatory and inequitable relationship where domination, power and hegemony prevail is due to several reasons among which colonial expansion and ideology. This latter resulted from a geopolitical interest in the orient.⁴²⁷ Thus,

⁴²³James G. Carrier, “Occidentalism: The World Turned Upside-Down”, in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 19, No.2 (May, 1992), p. 197.

⁴²⁴Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 2.

⁴²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴²⁷Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (Routledge: New York, 2013), p. 888.

Orientalism could also be defined as “a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.”⁴²⁸ A western style reveals the fact that Orientalism is a West-made discourse through which the orient is not only approached and studied but also dominated, restructured and controlled. More than that,

Orientalism is never far from what Denys Hay has called the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying “us” Europeans as against all “those” non-Europeans, and indeed it can be argued that the major component in European culture is precisely what made that culture hegemonic both in and outside Europe: the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures. There is in addition the hegemony of European ideas about the Orient, themselves reiterating European superiority over Oriental backwardness.⁴²⁹

This quote shows that Orientalism is a European idea or construction which aims at dividing the world into two separate and different units. These units are the superior Europeans “us” and the inferior non-Europeans “them”. Edward Said adds that “the orient was almost a European invention, and had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences.”⁴³⁰ That is to say, Europe aimed at creating a stereotypical and imaginary picture of the non-European “other” and space. The European space is perceived as a place of civilization, whereas the non-European space is a place of romance and exotic landscapes. Therefore,

Orientalist descriptions are produced by means of the juxtaposition of two opposed, essentialized entities, the West and (for lack of better terms) the Other or the Alien. Each is understood in reified, essentialist terms, and each is defined by its difference from the other element of the opposed pair.⁴³¹

This process is called othering. And in this regard, Said implies that

⁴²⁸Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 3.

⁴²⁹*Ibid.*, p.7.

⁴³⁰*Ibid.*, p.1.

⁴³¹James G. Carrier, “Occidentalism: The World Turned Upside-Down”, in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 19, No.2 (May, 1992), p. 196.

‘Othering’ is an inbuilt psychological mechanism which is simply part of human nature. Every nation attempts to construct other nations with which it is in conflict as the Other, but for Lévi-Strauss, the concept of the Other is something which comes to the fore especially at certain historical moments, particularly in colonial expansion. In periods of imperialism, Othering is one of the ways in which the conquering nation organizes thoughts and actions towards the colonized nation, but each colonial context develops a specific range of colonialist discourses dependent on the type and length of colonial relation.⁴³²

Stated differently, Said looks at “Othering” from a psychological perspective, in the sense that he believes that “Othering” is a normal apparatus which is part of human nature. However, he has also shown that this ‘Othering’ process is essential for Europe to regard European behavior as the norm and hence to assert itself as a superior race.”⁴³³ Lévi-Strauss, in his turn, argues that Othering comes as a result of certain historical events. Colonialism and imperialism are some of the main forces which create Othering. This latter is also seen as a discursive construction which legitimizes the colonial expansion. Thus, Othering is both a psychological device and a historical one.

Additionally, the orientalist, who is “anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient--and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist--either in its specific or its general aspects”⁴³⁴, is claimed to be the one responsible for inserting certain hegemonic discourses in order to control, reconstruct and undermine the Orient’s culture and history. This hegemony which Gramsci defines as “cultural forms of dominance”⁴³⁵ helps in maintaining this power relationship, which implies a binary opposition dividing the two entities into a backward and uncivilized non-European versus an enlightened and superior European. Therefore, the creation of the image of the oriental “other” is achieved through the western hegemonic power and ideologies. That is why, “Hanafi traces the origins of

⁴³²Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 88.

⁴³³*Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴³⁴Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 3.

⁴³⁵*Ibid.*, p.7.

Orientalism back to such negative Western ideologies as imperialism, racism, nazism, fascism, hegemony and European supremacy.”⁴³⁶ All these ideologies influence in a way or another the perception of the Europeans towards the non-Europeans.

In the same respect, Said argues that there are four dogmas he believes Orientalism is based on.⁴³⁷ The first dogma implies the fact that a binary opposition exists between the East and the West. Europe is defined in juxtaposition to the Orient. The binary opposition is the outcome of Othering. Second, abstractions about the Orient are mere representations and prejudiced tropes. They are not drawn from the oriental realities, but they are rather from imagined and constructed stereotypes. The third one is about the orient being eternal, uniform, unchanging and unqualified of defining itself.⁴³⁸ The orient is seen as ahistorical and stagnant, whereas the oriental is unable to both define and represent itself. Consequently, the West grants itself the right to represent the Orient. And, finally, the orient is something to be either feared or to be controlled.⁴³⁹ This control was mainly done through the so called “civilizing mission”. Since the Orient was considered as backward and uncivilized, the Europeans claimed civilization and therefore legitimized their presence in the Orient by imposing their “civilizing missions”. Consequently, in his book *Arab Representation of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction*, Rasheed El-Enany argues that “to justify the war against the other and the importance of subjugating him, it was necessary to demonize him, or at least to dismiss him as a sub-human species.”⁴⁴⁰ To have control over the Orient, the Occident had to demonize and treat the Orientals as sub-human species. Hence, these four dogmas approximately summarize the main pillars of Said’s orientalism.

Orientalism is also seen as a “kind of colonial think-tank,”⁴⁴¹ because in his book *Orientalism*, Said emphasizes the idea that the orient was (is) not defined as

⁴³⁶YudianWhyundi, “Arab Responses to Hassan Hanafi’s Muqaddima fi ilm al-Istighrab”, In *The Muslim World*, Volume 93. April 2003 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University), p. 235.

⁴³⁷Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 300.

⁴³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

⁴³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

⁴⁴⁰Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 2.

⁴⁴¹YudianWhyundi, “Arab Responses to Hassan Hanafi’s Muqaddima fi ilm al-Istighrab”, In *The Muslim World*, Volume 93. April 2003. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University), p. 235.

only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience.⁴⁴²

This means that geography is not the only parameter through which the orient is defined. Both its geographical proximity and interest made the Orient one of Europe's oldest, greatest and richest colonies. In this regard, considering the rhetoric of appropriation as one of the tropes that serves as a channel to colonialism, David Spurr argues that the westerners with their industrial and technological progress, legitimized their exploitation of the African lands and gave themselves the right to control and claim to "civilize" their people whom they categorize as alien "Others".⁴⁴³ So, in terms of postcolonial geographical work, the colonial power resulted in the combination of spatial expansion and production of colonial texts containing contrasting images, ideas, and experiences within the Orient, which is defined by what Europe is not.⁴⁴⁴ Simultaneously, Cromer states that "the oriental generally acts, speaks, and thinks in a manner exactly opposite to the European."⁴⁴⁵ A binary opposition is therefore created in terms of the two entities.

This binary opposition is the outcome of several ideologies. Thus, AzmsadiqJalal emphasizes the idea that Orientalism is a set of ideologies and institutions which make of orientalism

a complex and growing phenomenon deriving from the overall historical trend of modern European expansion and involving: a whole set of progressively expanding institutions, a created and cumulative body of theory and practice, a suitable ideological superstructure with an apparatus of complicated assumptions, beliefs, images, literary

⁴⁴²Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), pp. 1-2.

⁴⁴³David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Duke University Press, 1993), p. 28.

⁴⁴⁴Alison Blunt, "Colonialism/ Postcolonialism", in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, ed., David Sibley et Al. (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 177.

⁴⁴⁵Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 39.

productions, and rationalisations (not to mention the underlying foundation of commercial, economic and strategic vital interests).⁴⁴⁶

This quote connotes that the Orient “is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture.”⁴⁴⁷ It is also part of Europe’s history, and especially its colonial experience. It is a whole established institution which works within an apparatus of several assumptions, beliefs, and literary productions. Many theories and practices have been developed within this ideological structure.

In addition to that, Orientalism is a complex phenomenon which could not be dealt with only from one perspective, but it implies and involves multiple mechanisms through which it can be approached. This is because

orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it a representative and expressive of some nefarious “western” imperialist plot to hold down the “Oriental” world. It is rather a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts; it is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction [orient vs occident] but also of a whole series of “interests” which, by such means as scholarly discovery.⁴⁴⁸

Orientalism is not only about imperialism or colonial power and expansion which have political and cultural objectives, nor is it about the texts produced in this regard, and which aim at denigrating the orient and its culture, but it is rather a distribution of both a geographical and political awareness transformed into texts carrying aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical and philological dimensions. This means that this is not to only distinguish between the orient and the occident in terms of geography per se, but it is also to demonstrate the various implicit and explicit interests of the West. Orientalism should be understood as the combination of all the elements mentioned previously and in this quote.

⁴⁴⁶Azm Sadiq Jalal, “Orientalism and Orientalism in reverse”, Retrieved from <http://www.europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article20360> (05/08/2017).

⁴⁴⁷Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 2.

⁴⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p.12.

Edward Said adds that Orientalism is a discourse that is

shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canon of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what “we do and what “they” cannot do as or understand as “we” do).⁴⁴⁹

In other words, many discursive structures are dominating the power relations existing between the East and West encounters. Power, in terms of the political, intellectual, moral, and cultural framework, shapes the discursive formation of texts.

Additionally, discourse could be one major component of the cumulative body of theories and practices of Orientalism. This is because understanding the discursive structures of Orientalism paves the way for a better understanding of how the Europeans produced “the Orient”,

Foucault’s work, uses the term discourse to refer to all texts, literary and non-literary, which are written about the Orient, because, for him, they have a similar intent, and a similar effect. He says about the discourse he terms ‘Orientalism’, i.e., works written by westerners about the Orient.⁴⁵⁰

Sara Mills illustrates the concept of discourse in relation to the works written by Westerners about the Orient, be they literary and /or non-literary works. That is to say, the notion of discourse is very important while dealing with colonial texts or writings. In the same vein, different definitions have been developed in the field of discourse theory and Sara Mills argues that Michel Foucault himself has many. Thus, “discourse is used to mean: firstly, all language and the system of rules whereby utterances/texts are produced; secondly, all texts and utterances produced by those rules, regardless of their literary or factual status; thirdly, groupings of texts/utterances.”⁴⁵¹ Therefore, discourse is linked to language, how texts are produced, and the gathering of all texts

⁴⁴⁹Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 12.

⁴⁵⁰Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 8.

⁴⁵¹*Ibid.*

and utterances. Stated differently, discourse is mainly related to the linguistic apparatus of texts produced within a certain context.

Orientalism is considered as a discourse because many authors/ orientalists have some “shared characteristics” in terms of their literary productions. Consequently, it is very important to look at “style, figures of speech, setting, narrative devices, historical and social circumstances of colonial texts.”⁴⁵² However, textual and linguistic matters are not the only tools to investigate literally and non-literally texts, historical and social circumstances are also vital in the understanding, analysis and deconstruction of texts. More than that, building on Homi Bhabha’s approach of ambivalence, the colonial text has proven to be full of gaps and paradoxes. So, in addition to the above-mentioned components, gaps and paradoxes are also to be considered because colonial texts are full of gaps and paradoxes. Consequently, this reinforces the fact that Orientalism is manifested in textual features which can be traced in a wide variety of texts.”⁴⁵³

Since Orientalism is a representation of the Orient by Europeans,⁴⁵⁴

Travel literature played an extremely important role in the production of consciousness and the making of ideology in connection with the expansionist enterprise. Of particular interest is its role in producing what is now fashionably called alterity, the process by which certain peoples and places get constituted as an Other positioned in varying ways with respect to a normative European self, and made know able only, or almost only, through those positioning”⁴⁵⁵

European travel literature or other literary genres like the novel which are about representing the Orient seemed to produce stories of “fearless endeavour in a world populated by savage races, dangerous pirates, and related manifestations of the ‘Other’ to be encountered on voyages towards dark and unexplored continents.”⁴⁵⁶ Through narratives or literary works, Orientalists used to produce falsified pictures about the

⁴⁵²Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 21.

⁴⁵³Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (Routledge: London & New York, 1991), p. 48.

⁴⁵⁴Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 1.

⁴⁵⁵Mary Louise Pratt, *Travel Narrative and Imperialist Vision*, p. 200.

⁴⁵⁶Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (Routledge: New York, 2013), p. xii.

“Other”. They intended to portray the other as a fearful “other” that represents what the “Self” is not. The European Self used to manipulate language and narratives for its sake; that is positioning itself in a superior position. Thus, writing becomes a discursive means through which the author conveys ideological patterns and assumptions. More than that, according to Roxanne Euben,

Travel writing by Europeans in particular has come to be regarded as a window onto the production of knowledge and, more specifically, onto the mutually constitutive images of colonizer and colonized. These efforts are vital interventions into the operations of power, particularly in a postcolonial world in which such operations establish distinctions between center and periphery and constitute their relationship hierarchically”⁴⁵⁷

Euben emphasizes the idea that travel narratives provide us with critical reflections on the Self and the Other; the center and the periphery. These reflections are claimed to be particularly the production of Europeans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, in her work “Can the Subaltern Speak” argues that the European Self is always portrayed as the producer of knowledge about the Eastern Other. This latter is seen as incapable of producing knowledge, and therefore it needs someone to produce knowledge about it. Moreover, this knowledge is constructed in terms of a binary opposition between the colonizer Self and the colonized Other. These binary oppositions are the outcome of power relations between the colonizer and the colonized in a postcolonial context. This hierarchical relationship is based upon the will to dominate the Other via some powerful structures.

After dealing with discourse and power, knowledge seems to be a very influential component since it complements what has been tackled. Said, who is a disciple of Foucault makes use of this latter’s theory of knowledge and power when dealing with the encounters between the East and the West. In this respect, Foucault states that ‘there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same

⁴⁵⁷Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 2.

time power relations.”⁴⁵⁸ That is to say, knowledge and power are interrelated in the sense that one cannot speak of power without mentioning knowledge. Knowledge is power according to Foucault. Said asserts that “knowledge means rising above immediacy [...] to have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for “us” to deny autonomy to “it” –the oriental country—since we know it and it exists, in a sense, as we know it.”⁴⁵⁹ Therefore, by producing knowledge about the orient, the West seems to dominate it and have control over it. This field of knowledge includes history, anthropology, literature, philosophy and art to name but a few.

With the increase interest in travel writing, in her book *Discourse of Difference: An analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism*, Sara Mills argues that travel narratives or travel literature play a crucial role in the production of consciousness and the making of ideology in connection with the expansionist enterprise. She also states that in addition to the work of Edward Said, in the field of postcolonialism and especially Orientalism, many other scholars like Mary Louis Pratt, Peter Hulme, Homi Bhabha, Rana Kabbani and Gayatri Spivak have been dealing with the same subject matter. So, for them,

along with more clearly ‘literary’ texts, travel writing is essentially an instrument within colonial expansion and served to reinforce colonial rule once in place. These critics study travel texts using the kind of careful analysis of tropes and structures which would normally be undertaken on ‘literary’ texts. It was not until the advent of colonial discourse as a legitimate field of research in the 1970s that travel writing began to be considered worthy of academic study.⁴⁶⁰

Travel writing, which has become a worthy academic field of research till 1970s, is among the tools used by orientalists in order to “produce knowledge about others and

⁴⁵⁸Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the Prison* (Michigan University, 1979), p. 27.

⁴⁵⁹Edward Said, *Orientalism*, p. 32.

⁴⁶⁰Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (Routledge: London & New York, 1991). p. 2.

themselves comparatively.”⁴⁶¹ It is a literary genre which serves and reinforces the colonial and imperial agendas. It is a way of disseminating distorted pictures about not only the Orient but the Occident as well.

In addition to that, when dealing with Orientalism, it is worth mentioning that Orientalism should sometimes be used in the plural “Orientalisms” since there is no one single and homogeneous Orientalism. This is because “to speak of Orientalism is to speak mainly, although not exclusively, of a British and French cultural enterprise.”⁴⁶² In other words, it is a western enterprise established and experienced by Britain, France and then later the United States.⁴⁶³ Furthermore,

Orientalism is not a coherent and closed system of ideas and representations. [...] Therefore, to understand the importance of orientalism to Western culture and its heterogeneous effects on Middle Eastern societies, it is necessary to understand the various works of orientalist scholars, travelers, artists, and writers in their historical contexts.⁴⁶⁴

Orientalism as a system of ideas and representations has been changing over time. Historical events have been influential in the representational formation of knowledge concerning the Orient. Matter of fact, Orientalism should not be looked at as a homogeneous discourse. It is rather a heterogeneous one.

Orientalism is about providing a critical reading to colonial texts and representations; however, Said’s *Orientalism* has been criticized for

ignoring in his study the self-representations of the colonized, and focusing on the imposition of colonial power but not the resistance to it, thereby promoting a static model of colonial relations in which “colonial power and discourse is possessed entirely by the coloniser’ and therefore there is no room for negotiation or change⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶¹Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search Of knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 8.

⁴⁶²Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p. 4.

⁴⁶³*Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁴Jennifer Speake, ed., *Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. Vol 1, A to F (Routledge: New York, 2013, p. 888.

⁴⁶⁵Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 2.

It has also been criticized for not being a complete study because it does not include an alternative to this discipline. Nevertheless, “with all the density and complexity of the aspects of Orientalist discourse Said illuminates in his text, what he chooses to leave us with in the end is the question: ‘but in conclusion, what of some alternative to Orientalism?’”⁴⁶⁶ In other words, though Said did not provide an alternative, he initiated the debate over a potential alternative for the “coercive structures of knowledge that he is describing”⁴⁶⁷ in his book *Orientalism*. Thus, many questions rise in this concern, like: is there an alternative to orientalism? Can Occidentalism be considered as an alternative and counter discourse to Orientalism? Consequently, the following paragraphs try to address this issue and answer these questions. And before answering these questions, it is worth mentioning that Occidentalism was coined “largely due to the seminal influence of Edward Said's Orientalism that the discussion and use of the term Occidentalism gradually, from the 1990s on, gained currency in academic circles.”⁴⁶⁸ More than that, both Occidentalism and Orientalism “are the dual offspring of a problem that, says Said, has dogged Western scholars since the ancient Greeks: making sense of the difference between Them and Us.”⁴⁶⁹ Thus, this duality is the basis of these two terms. It is about the negotiations between Them vs Us.

Colonialism which has been a significant historical event influenced not only the writings of Westerners, but it also triggered the Orient to answer back and resist to the powerful and discursive assumptions about it. Simply put, “the political and military colonization of the Islamic countries was a factor in moving the wheel of occidentalism and pushing it forward”⁴⁷⁰ Matter of fact, “Occidentalism is a discipline constituted in Third World countries in order to complete the process of decolonization. Military, economic and political decolonization would be incomplete

⁴⁶⁶Claire Conceison, *Significant Other: Staging the American in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), p. 40.

⁴⁶⁷Joanne P. Sharp, “Writing Travel/ Travelling Writing: Roland Barthes deatours the Orient”, In *Environment and Planing: Society and Space* 2002, Volume 20, pp. 158-159.

⁴⁶⁸Yahya Murad, “Ifird'at al-Mustashriqin” In Jamil Ahmed Nutkani, *Introduction to Occidentalism* (Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-`ilmiyah, 2004), p. 22.

⁴⁶⁹James G. Carrier, “Occidentalism: The World Turned Upside-Down”, in *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 19, No.2 (May, 1992), p. 203.

⁴⁷⁰Abdellah al Charef, *Al Istighrab fi al Maghrib al- Akssa: Dawahirouh wa Qadayah* (Tetouan: Matbaa't Tetouan, 2017), p. 7.

without scientific and cultural decolonization.”⁴⁷¹ This means that after colonialism, countries attempted to gain their independence in terms of the military, economic and political terms but the scientific and cultural decolonization was also important to fully achieve their objectives. The scientific and cultural aspects could be related to Occidentalism as a discipline which serves as an instrument to fight back against the western hegemonic discourses through the production of knowledge.

Said has also been criticized for not presenting the subjugated people-the Orientals- as active agents able to resist and answer back.

Said’s basic thesis is that western writers, especially since the eighteenth century, have constructed the Orient as the Other, and have, in doing so, attempted to contain and make powerless the inhabitants of colonised countries by fixing them in an object position, and hence retaining the subject, powerful position for westerners. 472

Therefore, critics argue that Said himself “ignores the process of resistance they have generated in response to [the western] domination.”⁴⁷³ Rasheed El-Enanyas it was already mentioned fosters this idea by claiming that Edward Said was criticized for “ignoring in his study the self-representations of the colonized, and focusing on the imposition of colonial power but not resistance.”⁴⁷⁴ This reveals the fact that Said implies that power and representations are only at the hands of the colonizer. The colonized have been silenced instead of been given the space through which they can voice out their response to the western discursive production of knowledge. Nevertheless, the Orient Other was not as passive and silent as it has been portrayed. This is mainly because silence itself could be seen as a kind of resistance. So,

this is an issue that has proved central to some of the most important debates in postcolonial theory. Spivak (1988) warns of the inability of the voice of the subaltern ever to be heard because of these `coercive

⁴⁷¹“From Orientalism to Occidentalism”, p. 1. Retrieved from <http://www.ispionline.it/it/documents/From%20Orientalism%20to%20Occidentalism.pdf>

⁴⁷²Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 48.

⁴⁷³Fred Halliday, “ ‘Orientalism’ and Its Critics”, In *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 20, No.2 (1993), pp. 148-149.

⁴⁷⁴Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 2.

structures' of power/knowledge that frame representation. Bhabha (1993), however, sees the seeds of resistance within dominant representational structures. For him, there is no inside/outside to negotiate and so he avoids Said's dilemma. Bhabha shows the ubiquitous possibility of resistant meanings in the enunciation of metropolitan texts in the performances and readings other meanings can be made.⁴⁷⁵

The Orientals are portrayed as subalterns that could not speak and therefore could not be heard. However, Bhabha stresses the fact that a close reading of texts reveals the resistance of the silenced other. More than that, another form of resistance to the stereotypes of the Occident about the Orient could be Occidentalism. In this respect, “the “unrepresented” can represent themselves— and furthermore, that they do so through a seductive manipulation of Western Orientalism and its unexplored discursive Other, Occidentalism, which alternately exploits and circumvents the fallacious East-West binary that use of these discourses typically establishes.”⁴⁷⁶ Occidentalism is another form of resistance to the coercive structures of power and knowledge produced by the Occident. Matter of fact,

If Orientalist texts attempted throughout to subordinate, Occidental texts viewed the relationship between the East and the West as one of equality (despite the East's temporarily lagging behind) and of potential cultural exchange. [...] Occidental texts do not attempt to silence the Other or to depict him in a cartoonish manner. It is through engaging with him in dialogue they can view him in a more human light, much more than what one witnesses in Orientalist writings where the Other was always silent, exotic and thus to a great extent less human.⁴⁷⁷

This means that Occidentalism is about answering back but in a way that is not coercive. It is only about adjusting the power relations and the image of the Orient that

⁴⁷⁵Joanne P Sharp, “Writing Travel/ Travelling Writing: Roland Barthes deatours the Orient”, In *Environment and Planinng: Society and Space* 2002, Volume 20, pp. 158-159.

⁴⁷⁶Claire Conceison, *Significant Other: Staging the American in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), p. 40.

⁴⁷⁷Omran Doaa, *Occidental Encounters: Early Nineteenth-century Egyptian Travelers to Europe* (New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Albuquerque, 2012), p. 32. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fll_etds/93

the West has been trying to tarnish and demonize. Consequently, “Occidentalism and Orientalism are oppositional in geographic terms, but not when it comes to forming scholarly academic opinions.”⁴⁷⁸

Hassan Hanafi, in his famous book *Muqaddimah fi 'ilm al-Istighrab* (*Introduction to the science of Occidentalism*), argues that Occidentalism is a form of resistance, but before being so, Sadik Azm states that it has “the purpose of systematically studying and scientifically understanding the West, pretty much the way the West had studied us through its science of *istishraq* (orientalism).”⁴⁷⁹ So, it is a study of the occident before being any kind of discursive production of knowledge. In addition to that, Occidentalism

is an investigation of images of Western cultural identity. It is the discourse among Orientals about the West. In another word we can say that Occidentalism as a field of study is an oriental reaction of Orientalism and the Western mind. Therefore we may define Occidentalism and Occidentalism according to Edward W. Said's definition of Orientalist and Orientalism as Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Occident and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, philologist or a religious scholar either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Occidentalism, and what he or she does is Occidentalism.⁴⁸⁰

This quote is inclusive of many points which define both Occidentalism and Occidentalists. Occidentalism is a discourse about the way the Orient represents the Occident/ the West. It is also a field of study which aims at providing a reaction to Orientalism and the Western thoughts. Thus, Xiaomei Chen argues that Occidentalism could be considered as a “counter-discourse”⁴⁸¹ to Orientalism. Additionally, an

⁴⁷⁸Omran Doaa, *Occidental Encounters: Early Nineteenth-century Egyptian Travelers to Europe* (New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Albuquerque, 2012), p. 73. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fll_etds/93

⁴⁷⁹Sadik J. Al Azm, “Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Islamism”, In *Comparative Studies of South of Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol 30, No.1, (Duke University Press, 2010).

⁴⁸⁰Jamil Ahmed Nutkani, “Introduction to Occidentalism”, p. 28, Retrieved from <http://iri.aiou.edu.pk/indexing/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Introduction-to-Occidentalism.pdf>

⁴⁸¹Claire Conceison, *Significant Other: Staging the American in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), p. 47.

Occidentalism is anyone interested in doing research and/ or writing about the Occident. Occidentalism is also “the field concerned with studying the works written by Arabs, Iranians, Chinese, Japanese and Indians who travelled to the Occident.”⁴⁸² This definition and especially the one related to the Occidentalism might give us the impression that Occidentalism is just the reverse of Orientalism. However, this is not true in the sense that “opposing this notion of "Occidentalism" to "Orientalism" runs the risk of creating the illusion that the terms can be equalized and reversed, as if the complicity of power and knowledge entailed in Orientalism could be countered by an inversion.”⁴⁸³ More than that, “a simple reversal would be possible only in the context of symmetrical relations between "Self" and "Other".”⁴⁸⁴ That is to say, the relationship between the “self” and the “other” should be redefined in a symmetrical way. Matter of fact,

peoples in the Ancient World, China, India, Persia, Babylonia, Egypt, were studying subjects. [...] and Europeans at the time were objects of study. The role changed in modern times when Europeans became the studying subject and the Muslim world became an object of study. The end of Orientalism and the beginning of Occidentalism means exchanging roles for a third time in the subject object relationship between the Self and the Other.”⁴⁸⁵

This shows that the power relation between the “self” and the “Other” is not always the same. The Other is fluid. It is not stable in the sense that it is historically shaped and reshaped. This quote also emphasizes the idea that power is not always in the hand of the Occident. “Occidentalism as a science proves that the non-European consciousness which has been accused by the European consciousness as being ahistorical is on the contrary able to study the European consciousness in history.”⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸²Omran Doaa, *Occidental Encounters: Early Nineteenth-century Egyptian Travelers to Europe* (New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Albuquerque, 2012), p. 9. https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fll_etds/93

⁴⁸³Fernando Coronil, *Beyond Occidentalism: Towards Nonimperial Geohistorical Categories*. Cultural Anthropology, Vol.11, No.1 (Feb., 1996), p.56.

⁴⁸⁴Ibid.

⁴⁸⁵“From Orientalism to Occidentalism”, p. 1. Retrieved from <http://www.ispionline.it/it/documents/From%20Orientalism%20to%20Occidentalism.pdf>

⁴⁸⁶Hassan Hanafi, *Moqadima fi i'lm al Ichthraq*, (Cairo: Al Dar al Faniyyah, 1991), p. 50.

So, the civilized European or Westerner is not the only one producing knowledge about the Oriental. This latter could also produce knowledge about the Occident by traveling there, studying it and writing about it. This is seen as a kind of historical process which is reproduced over time. In other words, “Occidentalism has the virtue of providing a more polyphonic history of cultural relations.”⁴⁸⁷ YudianWhyundi argues that in general, “Hanafi sees European awareness as being the outcome of a historical process.”⁴⁸⁸ Besides, according to him, one way of challenging the binaries is to look at things from below and not from above, so that the superior now might be the inferior then and the other way around.⁴⁸⁹

Occidentalism is -just like Orientalism- a study of representation of the “Other”.⁴⁹⁰ Consequently, Aziz al-Azneah argues that

the representation of the cultural and religious Other had not been exclusive to the Modern Europeans on whom Said chiefly focused.[...] Representations of other peoples, he explained, are not exclusive to the Western mediation of the Orient, but are inherent in any approach that one society develops about another.[...] For al -Azneah, representation of other peoples was not necessarily part of a colonial (as said had argued) but of a human discourse. All societies, Occidentals as well as Oriental, European as well as Arabs, essentialize the other through a system of dichotomization and representation.⁴⁹¹

Al Azneah, in this quote, indicates that representation is not exclusive to the Europeans or Occidentals. It is a human discourse by which each society represents the different Other. He also goes against what Said argues in relation to the colonial discourse in the western representations, since he believes that the representations about the other do

⁴⁸⁷Marie Paule Ha, “Relations of Cultures: A Review of Ali Behdad’s *Belated Travelers*, Xiaomei Chen’s *Occidentalism*, and Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson’s *De-Scribing Empire*, *Post-Colonialism and Textuality*”, In *Research in African Literatures*, (Indiana University Press, 1997), p. 163.

⁴⁸⁸YudianWhyundi, “Arab Responses to Hassan Hanafi’s *Muqaddima fi ilm al-Istighrab*”, In *The Muslim World*, Volume 93. April 2003, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University), p. 237.

⁴⁸⁹Hassan Hanafi, *Moqadima fi i’lm al Ichthirah* (Al Dar al Faniyyah: Cairo, 1991), p. 50.

⁴⁹⁰Claire Conceison, *Significant Other: Staging the American in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), Retrieved from <http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/books/conceison-chap2.pdf>

⁴⁹¹Nabil Matar, “The Question of Occidentalism in EarlyModern Morocco”, In *Postcolonial Moves Medieval through Modern*, Patricia Clare Ingham & Michelle R. Warren, ed., (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 153.

not necessarily have a colonial dimension or stance. The creation of binary oppositions is also seen as a “natural” phenomenon. Thus, Occidentalism could be defined as

as a style of representation that produces polarised and hierarchical concepts about the West and its Others. To Coronil, the core of occidentalism lies within the practices of representation that: ‘(1) separate the world’s components into bounded units; (2) disaggregate their relational histories; (3) turn difference into hierarchy; (4) naturalise these representations; and thus (5) intervene, however unwittingly, in the reproduction of existing asymmetrical power relations.’⁴⁹²

This shows that Occidentalism is about representing dualities- the Self and the Other- in a hierarchical way. It is about separating the world into different units, separate their histories, establish a hierarchy based on difference, naturalize the representations but then equalize the unequal relationship between the two units. This is why, “it is a misperception that if the West (the Occident) has studied [and represented] the East (the Orient) in a bigoted way, then the East will definitely study [and represent] the West in the same way.”⁴⁹³ So, the representations of the other is not necessarily the same in the sense that “Arab intellectuals have displayed a very rational and appreciative attitude towards Western culture despite the colonialism of modern times and older clashes.”⁴⁹⁴ Raseed El-Enany adds that “if Orientalism, according to Edward Said, provided the conceptual framework, the intellectual justification for the appropriation of the Orient through colonialism, the representations of the West [...] by contrast, seem to suggest in, my view a different story; one not of appropriation but of *emulation*.”⁴⁹⁵ In other words, if the representations of the Orientalists seemed to justify the usurpation of the Orient, the Occidentalists tended to counterfeit and somehow imitate the Occident in order to reach a certain balance and sameness. And again, in different words, “if Orientalism was about the denigration, and subjugation of

⁴⁹²Claudia Brunner, “Discourse, Occidentalism, Intersectionality: Approaching Knowledge on Suicide Bombing”, in *Political perspectives* (2007), Vol 1 (1), pp. 5-6.

⁴⁹³Jamil Ahmed Nutkani, “Introduction to Occidentalism”, Retrieved from <http://iri.aiou.edu.pk/indexing/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Introduction-to-Occidentalism.pdf>

⁴⁹⁴Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 2.

⁴⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 7.

the Oriental Other, much of Occidentalism has been about the idealization of the Western Other, the desire to become the Other, or at least to become like the Other.”⁴⁹⁶

However, in their book entitled *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies*, Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit define Occidentalism as

a specific kind of discourse (followed by violent actions) emanating from the Arab and Muslim worlds whose main purpose is to denigrate, denounce, and condemn the West in every conceivable way. In their more sophisticated version, these discourses consciously model themselves on what is supposed to be the orientalist original and mean to retaliate by paying back the West and its orientalism in kind.⁴⁹⁷

This definition looks at Occidentalism as a similar discourse as Orientalism, which aims at denigrating, denouncing and condemning the West. It even stresses the fact that Occidentalism is a discourse which answers back orientalism in almost the same tropes. This is why sometimes Occidentalism is “understood as ‘the West in the eyes of its enemies’.”⁴⁹⁸ However, many scholars and critics disagree and proclaim that Occidentalism is not the same as Orientalism in terms of its discursive structures. It might be that “Occidentalism” revolves around concepts of reversal of Orientalism, employing Said’s text as their axis.[but] Occidentalism can exist and develop only in relation to its preexisting coefficient, Orientalism, regardless of the chronology of its manifestations.”⁴⁹⁹ Occidentalism could also be considered as a “post-Orientalist discourse”⁵⁰⁰, but it is not orientalism reversed. Claire Conceison argues that “Occidentalism should look very different from a mere mirror image of Orientalism.”⁵⁰¹ According to Abdellah al Charef,

The task of this new science is to restore the culture of the West to its natural borders, after it spread outside its borders during the colonial tide,

⁴⁹⁶Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 1.

⁴⁹⁷Sadik J. Al Azm, “Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Islamism”, In *Comparative Studies of South of Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol 30, No.1. 2010, Duke University Press, p. 7.

⁴⁹⁸Claudia Brunner, “Discourse, Occidentalism, Intersectionality: Approaching Knowledge on Suicide Bombing”, in *Political perspectives* (2007), Vol 1 (1), p. 5.

⁴⁹⁹Claire Conceison, *Significant Other: Staging the American in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), pp. 41-42.

⁵⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵⁰¹*Ibid.*, p. 56.

through the West's domination of the media and its domination of news agencies, major publishing houses, and scientific research centers; And public intelligence. Its mission is to eliminate the myth of the global culture that the West is united in and which makes it synonymous with its own culture, which every people must adopt to move from tradition to modernity⁵⁰²

Though according to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), “the term Occidentalism dates back as early as the early nineteenth century and it is to be compared with its French equivalent Occidentalisme which is defined as a “tendency to favor Western values over those of the East”. ”⁵⁰³ This quote shows that the aim of Occidentalism is to “eliminate European centrality”⁵⁰⁴ and deal with the Orient and the Occident on an equal basis. Thus, Occidentalism is about bringing the power relations into a state of balance. It is also about redefining the borders and decentralizing the West. It does not also aim at demonizing and destroying the “self” and its culture.⁵⁰⁵

Contrary to Orientalism which is subjective and bias in the sense that it has certain ideologies which reveal the European superiority, Occidentalism –according to Hassan Hanafi- is more likely neutral because it does not aim at controlling and hegemonizing the Occident and the Occidentals. It just aims at liberating the Orient and Orientals from being othered and linked to many stereotypes and prejudices. Furthermore, Hanafi thinks that Occidentalism is the opposite of orientalism in the sense that it aims at bringing the center and the periphery to an equal level, where there is no superior Self and inferior Other. The aim of Occidentalism is to shin away the binaries and eliminate Eurocentrism or eurocentricity.⁵⁰⁶

Hassan Hanafi in his *Introduction to the Science of Occidentalism*, focuses on history while analyzing and investigating Occidentalism- as a field of research. He

⁵⁰² Abdellah al Charef, *Al Istighrab fi al Maghrib al- Akssa: Dawahirouh wa Qadayah* Tetouan: Matbaa't Tetouan, 2017), p. 21.

⁵⁰³ Omran Doaa, *Occidental Encounters: Early Nineteenth-century Egyptian Travelers to Europe* (New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Albuquerque, 2012), p. 8. Retrieved from https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fil_etds/93

⁵⁰⁴ Abdellah al Charef, *Al Istighrab fi al Maghrib al- Akssa: Dawahirouh wa Qadayah* Tetouan: Matbaa't Tetouan, 2017), p. 21.

⁵⁰⁵ Hassan Hanafi, *Moqadima fi i'lm al Ichtihrag* (Cairo: Al Dar al Faniyyah, 1991), p. 31.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 36.

related Orientalism to European expansionism and colonialism; whereas Occidentalism-for him- is seen as a counter discourse, a counter attack; it is a reaction to fight back Orientalism. For Hanafi, Orientalism has many forms of knowledge production among which anthropology and cultural sociology whereas Occidentalism did not develop in the same way because Orientalism started in the 17th century while Occidentalism emerged during the late 20th century. However, this does not mean that Occidentalism did not exist before the 20th century. It was not institutionalized then but for instance travel narratives about the Occident during the 17th, 18th and 20th century were embodied with Occidentalism. Possibly travel writers were not aware about that but their writings could have been carrying some structures of Occidentalism.⁵⁰⁷

In relation to writing history, Hanafi affirms that Occidentalism aims at rewriting history from a different perspective, a perspective that is more objective, neutral and fair to world history.⁵⁰⁸ Writing history especially during the 18th and 19th century used to be in favor of the Europeans. Europe used to be portrayed as the center of everything and the center of the world for its civilization and victories. Therefore, one of the objectives of Occidentalism is to position Europe in its right place; and not as a superior entity around which everything revolves.⁵⁰⁹ Moreover, “Occidentalism is the conceptual and historical space in which a particular narrative of the subject and a particular narrative of history have been constituted”⁵¹⁰

In the same respect, YudianWhyundi, in his article “Arab Responses to Hassan Hanafi’s *Muqaddima fi ilm al-Istighrab*” argues that

Hanafi asserts that while Orientalism is a creation of the center, Occidentalism is one of the periphery, [...]. Much in the same way that the West perceives itself as “Self” and the Orient as “Other,” the Orient will come to regard itself as “Self” and the West as “Other.” The relation must be at the same inter-subjective level. At the same time, Occidentalism seeks to reverse the tendency in Orientalism to caricature the Orient while reinforcing its own positive self-image, a tendency that

⁵⁰⁷Hassan Hanafi, *Moqadima fi i’lm al ichtichraq* (Cairo: Al Dar al Faniyyah, 1991), p. 30.

⁵⁰⁸Ibid., p. 40.

⁵⁰⁹Ibid., p. 42.

⁵¹⁰Couze Venn, *Occidentalism: Modernity and Subjectivity* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), p. 2.

can be seen in such dichotomous images in the West as Blacks vis-à-vis Whites, Oriental despotism vis-à-vis Western democracy, primitive vis-à-vis logical mentality, savagery vis-à-vis civilization, [...] to name only a few.⁵¹¹

So, in addition to the fact that representation is not only a western exclusivity, Hanafi affirms that Occidentalism is a counter discourse that is created by the occident to decentralize the orientalist discourse. Consequently, the center and the periphery have been redefined. The quote discusses the fact that Occidentalism is not the reverse of orientalism, but it seeks to reverse the roles created by the Europeans or Occidentals. As a result, Occidentalism aims at destroying the dichotomous images made up by the West in relation to the Orient. It also attempts to reinforce a positive image of Orientals.

This dialectic of the East/ west binary, which has been addressed by Edward Said in his *Orientalism* (1979) and “Orientalism Reconsidered” (1986), was not challenged in the sense that it has always been dealt with as a western construction which reinforces the superiority of the West and the inferiority of the East. However, in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said tried to interrogate the Western nation and culture which have been considered as the center.⁵¹² The question of the “self” and the “other” was present in different forms of knowledge productions. And they were clearly unveiled in travel narratives. This is because travel literature is “an occasion to invert and thus expand the questions that have governed such inquiries, transforming analyses of the various Others produced by Western travel writing into an exploration of the features of travel, translation, and theory from multiple directions.”⁵¹³ So,

the *rihl* thus provides an opportunity to see the ways in which critical reflection as well as narrowness of vision is borne of encounters with multiple Others, where otherness is defined not just against the West but

⁵¹¹YudianWhyundi, “Arab Responses to Hassan Hanafi’s Muqaddima fi ilm al-Istighrab”, In *The Muslim World*, Volume 93. April 2003, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University), p. 236.

⁵¹²Claire Conceison, *Significant Other: Staging the American in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), p. 59.

⁵¹³Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 86.

also by regional, racial, ethnic, linguistic, sexual, and other differences somewhat closer to home.”⁵¹⁴

The *rihla* or travel narratives are about demonstrating the vision of the writer of the encounters between the Self and the Other. They are also meant to define otherness not only in terms of differences but similarities as well.

While discussing Orientalism, Occidentalism and travel narratives, it is worth noting that Bernard Lewis, in his book *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, states that Europeans sought not only knowledge outside their comfort zone. They even desired to satisfy their “intellectual curiosity” about the Muslim and Arab lands. They tried to reach out of their borders in order to learn Arabic, and know more about the Muslims politics, culture, economics, commerce and diplomacy. By asserting this, Bernard Lewis directly implies the fact that Muslims were lacking curiosity or desire for knowledge. He alleges that Muslims did not show interest in learning about the West’s language, culture, literature, etc. For him, they were narrow-minded and self-sufficient. They were more likely interested in proving their religious superiority and were not interested in other civilizations. However, these claims were evidently rejected by many scholars; for instance, Tarif Khalidi believes that “Muslims from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries demonstrated an ‘astonishing curiosity’ about European geography and societies, although their wonder and admiration was often admixed with hatred and fear.”⁵¹⁵ There has been a substantial literature about Muslim mobility towards Europe in which travel accounts by Muslim and Arab travelers proved Bernard Lewis wrong. This is because most of them revealed their concern about European matters and especially in terms of practical sciences. Nabil Matar is another scholar whose work has been denouncing Bernard Lewis’ claims. He has translated many Arab travel writings about Europe in which travelers show an immense curiosity about Europe. These travelers proved to have

a desire to record, measure, and evaluate their observations, and at times an ability to differentiate among rather than essentialize the peoples of *bilad al-nasara* (“lands of the Christians”). Ironically given Lewis’s

⁵¹⁴Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 14.

⁵¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 33.

claims, Matar suggests that it was often Christian antipathy to “Mahumetans” that deterred or constrained the mobility of Muslims who wished to travel to Europe, ranging from English seamen unwilling to transport “infidels” on their ships to the fear of violence regularly unleashed by Christians against Muslims.⁵¹⁶

Nabil Matar explains the constraints that prevented the Arabs from crossing the borders and reaching Europe or the Western World. So, though Muslims were curious enough to discover, evaluate and record their observations of the other world, the infidels used to refuse or allow the Muslims in their ships.

To conclude, Occidentalism is a different discursive framework through which non-Westerners can approach the West. It does not aim at producing the same tropes and stereotypical images about the Other. It rather intends to create a balance between the binary oppositions created by the Orientalists. It is also a form of resistance towards the Westerners’ knowledge production which seeks to represent the Oriental Other as inferior. Occidentalism aspires to redefine the Self and the Other, the center and the periphery, while keeping a neutral stance.

⁵¹⁶Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 33.

2- Representation of Modernity in Travel Accounts

In any travel narrative, the role of the traveler is very important because “one cannot study an object of knowledge (the travelogue or travel account) without examining the subjects who produce that knowledge (travel writers).”⁵¹⁷ Examining the knowledge produced by the travel writer necessitates understanding the fact that the production of this knowledge- a whole process of narrating the travel account- is a kind of representation of what the traveler observes and describes. Thus, before addressing the issue of modernity, I shall begin with the concept of ‘representation’⁵¹⁸, to understand how the Moroccan travelers represent modernity in their accounts. Representation was defined by several scholars like Sara Mills, Edward Said and Henry Lefebvre, but I opt for the one used by Stuart Hall because it is clearly articulated and discussed. The notion of representation is also important because according to Foucault, travel narratives are “representational practices rather than scientific accounts.”⁵¹⁹ They are also about cultural representations as it is already mentioned.

For Stuart Hall representation “is the production of meaning through language.”⁵²⁰ Hall uses the definition of *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* which provides two meanings for the concept. The first one comes as follows:

To represent something is to describe or depict it, to call it up in the mind by description or portrayal or imagination; to place a likeness of it before

⁵¹⁷Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 69.

⁵¹⁸“Representation, to rephrase Raymond Williams’ famous observation on ‘culture’, is certainly one of the most complex words in the human sciences. It is used in nearly every social field: art, culture, politics, science, law. [...] Any discussion of the notion of representation is bound to be partial and incomplete [...] It is even often seen as summarising the whole process of knowledge production.” In Ola Soderstrom, “Representation”, in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, ed., David Sibley et Al. (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), p. 11.

⁵¹⁹Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 68.

⁵²⁰Stuart Hall, “The Work of Representation”, in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed., Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), p. 16.

us in our mind or in the senses; as, for example, in the sentence, 'This picture represents the murder of Abel by Cain.'⁵²¹

This description fits well in the area of travel narratives. This is because travel accounts- as has been defined earlier- are about the traveler being able to observe and then describe or depict the journey he has been through into a narrative. In other words, the traveler describes what he sees through sentences- language- which needs to be read critically. The second one, "to represent also means to symbolize, stand for, to be a specimen of, or to substitute for; as in the sentence. 'In Christianity, the cross represents the suffering and crucifixion of Christ.'⁵²² That is to say, representation might also be about providing symbolic meanings.

Representation "is never a simple literary event: reading, writing and interpretation are political acts that involve complex power relations between readers, writers and the social worlds they inhabit."⁵²³ This means that representation is not a simple gathering of what the traveler describes and takes notes of. It is more than that, in the sense that "travel writing is connected to the world it documents in a more complex way than simple correspondence, it is necessary to examine the forces and structures that shape the text/reality relationship."⁵²⁴ It is a process which involves the writer, the reader and the social world around them. The quote, therefore, fosters the idea that the text and reality should be questioned because there are many structures and forces which intervene in the construction of texts. In his article "Representing the Colonized: Anthropology's Interlocutors", Edward Said states that

In the age of Nietzsche, Marx, and Freud, representation has thus had to contend not only with the consciousness of linguistic forms and conventions, but also with the pressures of such transpersonal, transhuman, and transcultural forces as class, the unconscious, gender, race, and structure. [...] . To represent someone or even something has now become an endeavor as complex and as problematic as an

⁵²¹Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation", in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed., Stuart Hall (London: Sage,1997), p. 16.

⁵²²Ibid.

⁵²³Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 11.

⁵²⁴Ibid.

asymptote, with consequences for certainty and decidability as fraught with difficulties as can be imagined.⁵²⁵

Stated differently, according to Stuart Hall representation “is a complex business and, especially when dealing with ‘difference’, it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilizes fears and anxieties in the viewer, at deeper level than we can explain in a simple, common-sense way.”⁵²⁶

In travel writing, the writer is the traveler, the reader is the ruler and/ or the court sending the ambassador to any given country and the social world could refer to the background of the traveler and the social institutions which shaped his personality, character, and attitudes. This means that representation is not objective since the writer takes into consideration different transpersonal and transcultural components in his act of representation. Additionally, Stuart Hall believes that representation “functions less like the model of a one-way transmitter and more like the model of a dialogue -it is, as they say, dialogic.”⁵²⁷

In *Representation: Cultural Representations and signifying Practices*, Stuart Hall argues that

Representation means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to other people. [...] Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things. But this is a far from simple or straightforward process.⁵²⁸

Stated differently, Hall asserts that language is the utensil which is used to represent the world. It is a complex process which produces meaning and interchanges it among the members of a certain culture and society. The representation is also maintained either through language, signs or images. Furthermore,

⁵²⁵Edward Said, “Representing the Colonized: Anthropology’s Interlocutors”, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Winter, 1989), pp. 205-225” (The University of Chicago Press), p. 206.

⁵²⁶Stuart Hall, “The Work of Representation”, in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed., Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), p. 226.

⁵²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 15.

Representation can only be properly analysed in relation to the actual concrete forms which meaning assumes, in the concrete practices of signifying: '-reading' and interpretation; and these require analysis of the actual signs, symbols, figures, images, narratives, words and sounds -the material forms -in which symbolic meaning is circulated⁵²⁹

In this respect, to comprehend modernity in the Moroccan travelers' perspective, signs, and symbols inscribed in their narratives should be taken into consideration. It is about reading and interpreting the meaning they would like to circulate concerning that concept for instance. Hall adds that there are "three different accounts or theories: the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist approaches to representation."⁵³⁰ The first approach "reflective" is about how the language reflects the meaning which already exists. The second approach "intentional" is about the intentions or the personal meaning of the writer or the author; whereas the third approach which is the "constructionist" is about how meaning is made up "in" and "through language."⁵³¹ Moreover, this approach has

two major variants or models of the constructionist approach -the semiotic approach, greatly influenced by the great Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, and the discursive approach, associated with the French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault.⁵³²

This means that the constructionist approach – and which Hall emphasizes- is constituted by two components which are semiotics and discourse. They are part and partial of the representation process. On the one hand and at the linguistic level, language is seen as signs and symbols which necessitates the use of semiotics or semiology to decode the meaning of those signs and symbols. On the other hand, this language is also related to Michal Foucault's notion of discourse. This latter is not easy to define but,

⁵²⁹Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation", in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed., Stuart Hall. (London: Sage, 1997), p. 9.

⁵³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵³¹*Ibid.*

⁵³²*Ibid.*

It is most easily understood as a set of images, vocabularies and material conditions that expresses prevailing truth claims about the world and positions subjects and objects accordingly. As the work of Michel Foucault makes clear, discourses attach all texts, utterances and representations to the social, political, cultural and economic forces that give rise to their production, circulation and value ⁵³³

Significantly, travel narratives are discursive literary productions that are reflecting representations which are influenced by social, political, cultural and economic forces. They are discursive in the sense that they provide a set of images about the place visited and the people encountered. Sara Mills asserts that the “real” world is just a construction that is made up through representation. She adds that during the colonial and postcolonial period “what the writer ‘knows’ and ‘sees’ is determined through large-scale discursive constructs.”⁵³⁴ She also asserts that in travel writing, the traveler is not necessarily uttering the truth in his narrative because “it is the result of a configuration of discursive structures with which the author negotiates.”⁵³⁵ Therefore, texts are, as Edward Said claims, not innocent because they are embedded with discursive practices which are ascribed by the writer.

Mary Louise Pratt claims that the traveler relies on observation to represent what he sees. Thus, this representation is achieved through an observation which uses an “inner eye.”⁵³⁶ This eye/I⁵³⁷ which processes the act of observing into an action of translation is significant in the representation process.⁵³⁸ This is because this inner eye could be referred to as discourse in Foucault’s terms. A discourse/ inner eye is a personal stance which produces meaning through translation. Thus, “travel writing is a

⁵³³Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 12.

⁵³⁴Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women’s Travel Writing and Colonialism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 9-10.

⁵³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵³⁶Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 60.

⁵³⁷The “I” here refers to the personal pronoun used by the traveler.

⁵³⁸By translation I do not mean necessarily and only translation of words, but also ideas, cultures, and all other components of modernity.

discourse that is premised upon objective representation of another reality, even though that representation cannot but be subjective.”⁵³⁹ So, in this respect,

Representation through translation at least initially organizes the unfamiliar by way of linguistic strategies and devices derived from the world of the translator, techniques by which what is foreign is charted, decoded, and domesticated for an audience at a cultural or historical remove.⁵⁴⁰

This is applicable in the context of the Moroccan travel narratives because Moroccan travelers try to describe – in a sense translate what they see into their narratives for the Moroccan audience which has a different cultural and historical heritage. This translation happens not only at the linguistic level, but it covers a wider perspective. The traveler who is also a “cultural translator”⁵⁴¹ tries to “give meaning to things through language” and “make sense of the world of people, objects and events”⁵⁴² by referring to his own language (background). So, the representation happens from the perspective of the traveler and depending on his background.

Abd El Rahim Mouden believes that it is challenging for the traveler to describe or represent an unfamiliar space while keeping in mind his familiar space. The traveler’s background is always reflected in his representation though it might be unconsciously done.⁵⁴³ That is why, according to Roxanne Euben, travel narratives encompass some

Representational practices that arrange human experience into narrative accounts, and in particular, what such practices disclose about the ways

⁵³⁹Susan Bassnett, “Travel Writing within British Studies” In Susan Bassnett, *The Fifth Warwick Seminar and Conference on British Cultural Studies* 7- 13 December 1997. p. 7.

⁵⁴⁰Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 42.

⁵⁴¹Talal Asad, “The concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology”, In James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Retrieved from http://ptbr.cordel.wikia.com/wiki/VI_ASAD,_Talal._1986._The_Concept_of_Cultural_Translation_in_British_Social_Anthropology.

⁵⁴²Stuart Hall, “The Work of Representation”, in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed., Stuart Hall, (London: Sage, 1997), p. 16.

⁵⁴³Abd El Rahim Moumen, *Adabiyat Al Rihla* (Casablanca: Dar al Takafah, 1996), p. 7.

in which these travelers make sense of themselves and the worlds through which they move.⁵⁴⁴

Travel narratives, representation and translation go hand in hand in the sense that travel narratives are about some representational practices like translation. It is about the traveler translating his experience into words and images taking into consideration his background.

Some discursive practices in representation might lead to misrepresentation. According to Ibn Battouta, the “techniques of representation provide the terms in which the narrative’s practices of translation operate: they organize and delimit what he sees and how he sees it.”⁵⁴⁵ Indeed representation in travel narratives involves a certain organization and delimitation in addition to a personal perspective which shapes ‘how’ the traveler sees things. As a result, the traveler’s negotiation of what he records might be translated into a misrepresentation. This is again “as Barthes would no doubt argue, all representations can be analysed and critiqued for their exclusions and constructions.”⁵⁴⁶

Modernity’s definition differs from one field into another, for instance,

Asking an anthropologist today about what he means by the word modernity, he would not certainly think about Durkheim, the contemporary of Picasso, but rather decolonization which is a belated phenomenon. A sociologist will refer to the computing revolution. The rhythm of change is not only different from one society to another, from one period to another, but also from one domain of human activity to another: art can experience upheavals more often than science, literature more than society, economy more than family, etc., and vice versa”⁵⁴⁷

Consequently, addressing or defining modernity is a challenging task. AbdellahLaaroui, in both his books *Islam et Modernité* and *Islamisme, modernisme, libéralisme*, argues that there is no precise definition for the word. First, the notion of

⁵⁴⁴Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 9.

⁵⁴⁵Ibid., p. 83.

⁵⁴⁶Joanne P. Sharp, “Writing Travel/ Travelling Writing: Rolland Barthes deatours the Orient”, In *Environment and Planinng: Society and Space* 2002, Volume 20, p. 165.

⁵⁴⁷Abdellah Laroui, *Islam et Modernité* (Casablanca : Centre Culturel Arabe, 2001), p. 69. (My translation).

modernity is not definite because its meaning changes depending on the domain of human activity dealt with. Second, the notion of modernity is not fixed and delineated for the simple reason that it changes from one era into another and from one society to another. Accordingly, Laroui stresses the idea that modernity is a historical process that societies discover through the succession of events. This is what Dipesh Chakrabarty refers to as a “historical transition.”⁵⁴⁸ And since every society has got its own history and specificity, modernity in its turn differs from one society to another.⁵⁴⁹ Couze Venn argues that modernity “remains an indeterminate process, since improvement is neither guaranteed nor automatic; it is a task that must be renewed every generation.”⁵⁵⁰ Hence, time and space are important paradigms in defining modernity. More than that, Stuart Hall alleges that modernity is the outcome of “the condensation of a number of different processes and histories.”⁵⁵¹ Jean Commaroff and John Comaroff also stress the same point and points out to the fact that modernity “is profoundly ideological and profoundly historical.”⁵⁵²

In the same vein, Laroui asserts that

At each epoch a consensus emerges on a model country. For a period of time, it was France, then England, came the turn of Germany, then that of America; today, we live in the shadow of Japan which, we are told, already know the XXI century. [...] Scarcely a decade ago, a modern country was the one whose sky was smoky by the burning of coal and the manufacture of steel; today these large disused factories are the domain of industrial archeology.⁵⁵³

This quote emphasizes the fact that history plays a crucial role in defining modernity. A modern country is never the same over time. That is why there are “many

⁵⁴⁸Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Princializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 2007), p. 17.

⁵⁴⁹Abdallah Laroui, *Ismlisme, modernisme, Liberalisme* (Casablanca : Centre Culturel Arabe, 1997), p. 23.

⁵⁵⁰Couze Venn, *Occidentalism: Modernity and Subjectivity* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), p. 10.

⁵⁵¹Stuart Hall, Bran Gieben, eds., *Formations of Modernity* (The Open University, 1992), p. 17.

⁵⁵²Jean Commaroff & John Comaroff, eds., *Modernity and its Malcontents: Rituals and Power in Postcolonial Africa*, (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. xi.

⁵⁵³Abdellah Laroui, *Islam et Modernité* (Casablanca: Centre Culturel Arabe, 2001), p. 69. (My translation).

modernities”⁵⁵⁴ or “multiple modernities.”⁵⁵⁵ In other words, when discussing modernity, it should not be referred to as one singular concept, but it should rather be talked about as plural-modernities. So, “the conceptualization of multiple modernities or alternative modernities emerged to capture the variable ways in which modernity unfolds across time and space.”⁵⁵⁶ In the same respect, Laroui stresses that “modernity, as a set of traits that distinguishes a society, can only be grasped as a process that is always unequal and always incomplete.”⁵⁵⁷ That is to say, modernity is just like identity; it is always in the process of becoming. It is never finished or completed because the act of modernization is always developing, transforming and happening. It is also relative and plural. This shows that each society with all its components, characteristics and particularities define and shape modernity differently. Therefore, modernity in Britain might not be the same modernity in France, Spain, Italy or Morocco. Modernity is also “transitory” and could be perceived “as a set of operations”⁵⁵⁸ experienced by a group of people or a certain society. Furthermore, modernity keeps changing, and Ben Singer holds the same view as Laroui in this case since he states that “modernity is ostensibly a temporal concept: it demarcates the period coming after the premodern era.”⁵⁵⁹ Ahmed Idrissi Alami adds that modernity is “a temporary specific span of human history”.⁵⁶⁰

History, temporality, and time are very essential factors in defining modernity. Furthermore, if Ben Singer refers to modernity as a period of time coming after the premodern era, then Giddens deals with modernity as a

‘post-traditional order’, where fixed frozen metaphysics give way to a fast changing, ‘detraditionalising’ and ‘runaway world’. The modern

⁵⁵⁴Jean Commaroff & John Comaroff, eds., *Modernity and its Malcontents: Rituals and Power in Postcolonial Africa*, (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. xi.

⁵⁵⁵Armando Salvatore, “Tradition and Modernity within Islamic Civilization and the West” in *Islam and Modernity: Key Issues and Debates*, Muhammad Khalid Masud, Armando Salvatore and Martin van Bruinessen, eds., (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 8.

⁵⁵⁶Christopher A. Furlow, *Islam, Science, and Modernity: From Northern Virginia to Kuala Lumpur* (University of Florida, 2005), (Dissertation) p. 31.

⁵⁵⁷Abdellah Laroui, *Islam et Modernité* (Casablanca : Centre Culturel Arabe, 2001), p. 69. (My translation).

⁵⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 70. (My translation).

⁵⁵⁹Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 5.

⁵⁶⁰*Ibid.*

world, he argues, is a place where ‘not only is the *pace* of social change much faster than any prior system, so also is its *scope*, and the *profoundness* with which it affects pre-existing social practices and modes of behaviour’.⁵⁶¹

Giddens’s use of post-traditional order signifies that modernity cannot be discussed without referring to tradition.⁵⁶² This latter could be considered as a temporal succession to modernity. Rasheed El-Enany believes that modernity is about modifying tradition.⁵⁶³ Hence, modernity is also about changing pre-existing social practices and modes of behavior.

In his book *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World: on Media, the Modern, and the Everyday*, Tarik Sabry argues that modernity is considered as a philosophical concept and paradigm which goes back to Enlightenment.⁵⁶⁴ It covers an entire set of ideas and events including:

individuality, ‘the coming into history’ of subjects whose fate had hitherto been decided by despotic and theocratic institutions; secularisation, scientific endeavour, reason, man’s domination over nature and its resources, freedom of opinion, the coming of the state and the role of intellectuals, not to mention the specialisation of fields of knowledge and the energy attributed to capitalism as a mode of production and a determinant of a new set of socio- cultural relations.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶¹Tarik Sabry, *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World: on Media, the Modern, and the Everyday* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 17.

⁵⁶²See Armando Salvatore, “Tradition and Modernity within Islamic Civilization and the West” in *Islam and Modernity: Key Issues and Debates*, Muhammad Khalid Masud, Armando Salvatore and Martin van Bruinessen, eds., (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 5. He states that “Tradition should not be understood as nonreflexive, primordial culture but, more dynamically, as the ensemble of practices and arguments that secure the social bond and provide cohesiveness to human communities of varying scale. We need to disentangle the notion of tradition from its lopsided identification with all manifestations of socio-economic stagnation and blind dependence on unquestioned authority. In this sense, tradition is not the opposite of modernity intended as the manifestation of human autonomy and creativity.”

⁵⁶³Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 5.

⁵⁶⁴Tarik Sabry, *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World: on Media, the Modern, and the Everyday* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), pp. 12-13.

⁵⁶⁵*Ibid.*

So, in addition to history, philosophy is another perspective from which modernity could be approached. It is about individuality, secularization, reason, man's domination over nature, freedom of opinion, etc. According to Tarik Sabry, modernity is a philosophical concept which aims at questioning and changing a "previous" set of socio-cultural structures. It is about achieving a certain development in different fields. In the same line of argument, Henry Lefebvre considers modernity as "a reflective process, a more-or-less advanced attempt at critique and autocritique, a bid for knowledge."⁵⁶⁶ It is about being "self-conscious or reflexive."⁵⁶⁷ That is why Sabry refers to reason and scientific endeavor. This because it aims at making the individual question everything that was taken for granted and try to ameliorate it. Frederic Jameson suggests that "the trope of modernity is always in one way or another a rewriting, a powerful displacement of previous narrative paradigms."⁵⁶⁸

For Laroui, modernity "does not mean anything other than what groups of people want through time and space to generalize an event sequence that took place at a certain time and in a certain place."⁵⁶⁹ Asad Talal argues that "modernity is a *project*- or rather, a series of interlinked projects- that certain people in power seek to achieve. The project aims at institutionalizing a number of (sometimes conflicting, often evolving) principles."⁵⁷⁰ In other words, first of all, modernity is most of the time imposed by a group of people in power who, according to Laroui, are "the intelligentsia."⁵⁷¹ They are the ones who decide over the change happening in their societies. They are the leaders and decision makers concerning the social and historical progress. Second, these people are behind the "social vector of change"⁵⁷² in a certain place and time. In this concern, Laroui proclaims that in every society there are

⁵⁶⁶Henry Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity Twelve Preludes September 1959-May 1961*. p. 1. Retrieved from thecharnelhouse.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Henri-Lefebvre-Introduction-to-Modernity-Twelve-Preludes-September-1959-May-1961.pdf

⁵⁶⁷Fredric Jameson, *A singular Modernity: Essay on the ontology of the Present* (London, New York: Verso, 2002), p. 17.

⁵⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵⁶⁹Abdallah Laroui, *Ismalisme, Modernisme, Liberalisme* (Casablanca : Centre Culturel Arabe, 1997), p. 25. (My Translation).

⁵⁷⁰Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 13.

⁵⁷¹Abdallah Laroui, *Ismalisme, Modernisme, Liberalisme* (Casablanca : Centre Culturel Arabe, 1997), p. 25. (My Translation).

⁵⁷²*Ibid.*, (My Translation).

modernists (those who accelerate the movement) and traditionalists (those who try to stop modernity).⁵⁷³ This is part of self identifying with this movement or historical process.

It is assumed that modernity, modernization, modernism, Westernisation, Westernism, and postmodernity “describe multiple processes beginning with the explorations, colonialism, industrialization and capitalism first experienced in Western Europe before being transferred to the Americas and subsequently to the colonies.”⁵⁷⁴ Accordingly, Christopher Furlow demonstrates that

there is a general consensus that modernity has expanded from its European origins to the rest of the world via colonialism, Westernization, and globalization. Second, most scholars argue that modernity needs pluralizing and relativizing. Modernity does not appear in identical form everywhere it exists, nor does it unfold in an identical manner contrary to many advocates of the modernization theory of development in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.⁵⁷⁵

So, this emphasizes the fact that “the term ‘modern’ and ‘modernity’ occupy a central position within the discourse of Eurocentrism, which represents Europe as a central axis around which the rest of the world is supposed to revolve”.⁵⁷⁶ Anthony Giddens also believes that modernity is about institutional transformations which originated in the West.⁵⁷⁷ In this regard, Sibylle Fischer argues that the claim that modernity is purely European is only one strategy of establishing the European supremacy.⁵⁷⁸ Subsequently, colonialism, westernization, globalization and historicism seem to be among the main reasons behind the spread of modernity by Europeans. In this regard,

⁵⁷³ Abdallah Laroui, *Ismalisme, Modernisme, Liberalisme* (Casablanca: Centre Culturel Arabe, 1997), pp. 23-24.

⁵⁷⁴ Iftikhar H. Malik, *Islam and modernity: Muslims in Europe and the United States* (London: Pluto Press, 2004), pp. 6-7.

⁵⁷⁵ Christopher A. Furlow, *Islam, Science, and Modernity: From Northern Virginia to Kuala Lumpur* (University of Florida, 2005), (Dissertation), p. 31.

⁵⁷⁶ Modernity, Retrieved from <http://geog.uoregon.edu/amarcus/geog620/Readings/DoHG-modernity.pdf>

⁵⁷⁷ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Polity Press, 1991), p. 174.

⁵⁷⁸ Sibylle Fischer, *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*, (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 22.

Historicism enabled European domination of the world in the nineteenth century. Crudely, one might say that it was one important form that the ideology of progress or ‘development’ took from the nineteenth century on. Historicism is what made modernity or capitalism look not simply global but rather as something that became global over time, by originating in one place (Europe) and then spreading outside it. This ‘first in Europe, then elsewhere’ structure of global historical time was historicist; different non-Western nationalisms would later produce local versions of the same narrative, replacing ‘Europe’ by some locally constructed center.⁵⁷⁹

In this quote, modernity is linked to progress. It is alleged to have started from the nineteenth century and in Europe. It supposes that it happened first in Europe and then elsewhere. It is “as somebody’s way of saying ‘not yet’ to someone else.”⁵⁸⁰ It is, therefore, Europe saying not yet to Non-Europeans. Furthermore, while differentiating between modernity in Europe and modernity elsewhere, Laroui declares that there are differences in the way modernity emerged in these two different geographical locations. He asserts that in Europe,

modernity emerged with historians like Jules Michelet or Jacob Burchardt, then economists, and then men of letters/ scholars. Whereas in the third world countries, the beginning was psychological, literary and then the socio economic elements were discovered only slowly and with some difficulties.”⁵⁸¹

Modernity in Europe started as a historical process and then it became an economic matter dealt with by scholars. In the third world countries, modernity was a psychological issue in the sense that people belonging to the third world started being psychologically aware of this process. Then it became a socio-economic concern that was approached with some perplexity.

Still trying to define modernity, Furlow mentions that

⁵⁷⁹ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 2007), p. 7.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵⁸¹ Abdallah Laroui, *Islamisme, Modernisme, Liberalisme* (Casablanca : Centre Culturel Arabe, 1997), p. 23.

Gaonkar (2001) identifies two strands of modernity in classic social theory derived from studies of the West: (1) societal modernization and (2) cultural modernity. Societal modernization involves both social and cognitive transformations. The social transformations include ‘the emergence and institutionalization of market-driven industrial economies, bureaucratically administered states, modes of popular government, rule of law, mass media, and increased mobility, literacy, and urbanization’ (Gaonkar 2001:2). The cognitive transformations include ‘the growth of scientific consciousness, the development of a secular outlook, the doctrine of progress, the primacy of instrumental rationality, the fact-value split, individualistic understandings of the self, contractualist understandings of society, and so on’.⁵⁸²

These two strands are “associated with the rise of capitalism in the West.”⁵⁸³ According to Max Weber, societal modernization is made up of two binary processes. The first one is “change” and the second one is “routinization”. These two dual processes are what Gaonkar referred to- in the quote- as social and cognitive. Social modernization happens at two layers. To clearly explain that, Weber argues that society is always in the process of changing. And, this flux of change is inevitable; therefore, its implementation goes through a certain routinization, which might be consciously or unconsciously achieved. Moreover, this routinization or standardization is also done via a “particular type of rationalization—purposive-instrumental rationality or means/end rationality. The rationalization of society resulted in many material improvements.”⁵⁸⁴ So, this is about the cognitive side, and how the combination of both the social and cognitive can lead to a social modernization. This latter is exemplified in many transformations or improvements in “institutionalization of market-driven industrial economies, bureaucratically administered states, modes of popular government, rule of law, mass media, and increased mobility, literacy, and

⁵⁸²Christopher A. Furlow, *Islam, Science, and Modernity: From Northern Virginia to Kuala Lumpur* (University of Florida, 2005), (Dissertation) pp. 29-30.

⁵⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 30.

urbanization.”⁵⁸⁵ That is to say, this change reaches a wide range of domains. However, Weber “viewed purposive-instrumental rationality as value-neutral and thus argued that this type of rationality could not confer meaning on the world. The result is that, for Weber, society ends not in the utopia envisioned by Enlightenment philosophers but in an “iron cage” of bureaucracy.”⁵⁸⁶

On the other hand, cultural modernity opposes the societal modernization “primarily in the aesthetic realm of literature and art beginning in the late eighteenth century and expanded via the popular media, entertainment, commercial arts, and advertising.”⁵⁸⁷ Hence, according to Christopher Furlow, both social modernization and cultural modernity “are concerned with the making and remaking of individual and communal subjectivities, and have a Janus-faced characteristic of being viewed as good or bad depending on one’s orientation. In other words, modernity could be viewed positively as it can be judged to be negative depending on one’s orientation and background. Consequently, this is primarily what part of my dissertation deals with. It is about looking at how Moroccan travelers look at modernity taking into consideration their backgrounds and affiliations.

Modernity and especially social modernization or societal transformation is believed to be “the result of both *endogenous* and *exogenous* elements and that it is the dialectical relationship between the two that determines the act of transformation (in fact modernness itself) and not one or the other.”⁵⁸⁸ In this quote, Sabry accentuates the fact that modernity is the bottom line of both intrinsic (internal) and extrinsic (external) constituents. It confirms what Gaonkar argued before in terms of the social and cognitive transformation. And along these lines, El-Enany vindicates that in Europe,

modernity evolved from within, as a natural process; intellectual, scientific, social, industrial etc; what opposition it met in the course of its development and until it ousted older modes of existence was internal

⁵⁸⁵Christopher A. Furlow, *Islam, Science, and Modernity: From Northern Virginia to Kuala Lumpur* (University of Florida, 2005), (Dissertation) p. 30.

⁵⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁵⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁸⁸Tarik Sabry, *Cultural Encounters in the Arab World: on Media, the Modern, and the Everyday* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 14.

one, and therefore also natural, but modernity in the Arab World has been for the most part and from the outset a transplantation, a foreign organ implanted in a body that need it badly but could not help but try to reject it.⁵⁸⁹

This means that El- Enany assumes that Modernity in Europe was an internal procedure, whereas in the Arab world, it is considered to be external. In Europe, modernity is presumed to be a natural process which emerged as a result of a certain development and removal of some old modes of existence; whereas in the Arab world, modernity was brought from outside. That is why it is previously talked about as a psychological process. It is the psychological awareness of the Arab World of the need to implement modernity which made of it an external element to borrow and implement. It was transplanted as a foreign organ which was not fully accepted by the body. This transplantation created a polysemy concerning whether or not to adopt this modernity brought from Europe.

Furthermore, “the Muslim concept of “progress” emerged and spread not from one place but from the intersection of multiple places in Europe as well as the Middle East.”⁵⁹⁰ El Enany also advances the argument that modernity started in Europe and then elsewhere. However, Hanafi “interprets progress as the essence of human awareness and historical movement, a process that human beings realize through their free reason and will-based ijtiḥād.”⁵⁹¹ Matter of fact, progress is not always due to external factors, though in the Arab world, it is thought to be extrinsic more than intrinsic.

To illustrate the idea that modernity has expanded via three main external elements: colonialism, Westernization, and globalization, Khalid Zekri affirms this idea by claiming that

The colonial conquests of the French Empire in the Maghreb gave rise to travel relations which largely contributed to informing Morocco and its

⁵⁸⁹Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 7-8.

⁵⁹⁰Nile Green, “Spacetime and the Muslim Journey West: Industrial Communications in the Making of the Muslim World”, In *American Historical Review*, April 2013, p. 413.

⁵⁹¹YudianWhyundi, “Arab Responses to Hassan Hanafi’s *Muqaddima fi ilm al-Istighrab*”, In *The Muslim World*, Volume 93. April 2003 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University), p. 239.

elites about the educational, military, scientific, industrial and cultural foundations of European modernity⁵⁹²

That is to say, the European modernity reached the Maghreb in general and Morocco, in particular, through colonialism. I believe that this does not mean that Morocco or any other North African country were stagnant, and no change was taking place- if we take into consideration the definition of modernity as being change and development- but the French colonial conquest helped in implementing its own norms of modernity. It was seen as a model at that time since Europe in general used to hold a powerful position. Modernity, in this regard, could be defined as “a particular constellation of power, knowledge and social practices.”⁵⁹³ However, colonialism is not the only way through which the Moroccan society underwent the modernization process.

According to Laaroui, the king Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah is the real constructor of modern Morocco.⁵⁹⁴ Then, the question which rises here is what is a modern Morocco? The other question could be what is the reason behind seeking modernity?

In Morocco, modernity, before being a literary phenomenon, has first been motivated by the desire to understand why the Arab-Islamic world was behind the Western world. For the Moroccan travelers who were sent to Europe by their sultans, modernization was first associated to military order and to technical and industrial discoveries. Such a discovery has generated a double consciousness which characterizes the period of the fight for independence: close link to tradition on the one hand and strong temptation towards modernity on the other.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹²Khalid Zekri, « Aux Sources de la Modernité Marocaine », Itinéraire, 2009-3 | 2009, p. 44. (My translation).

⁵⁹³Modernity, Retrieved from <http://geog.uoregon.edu/amarcus/geog620/Readings/DoHG-modernity.pdf> (13/05/2017)

⁵⁹⁴Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al wa'y bi Tafawut*, Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 25.

⁵⁹⁵Khalid Zekri, « Aux sources de la modernité marocaine », Itinéraire, 2009-3 | 2009, p. 43.

In other words, not only Morocco but the Arab world in general was asking this question: “what went wrong?”⁵⁹⁶ So, the reason behind hankering after modernity is the feeling that the Arab-Islamic world is lagging behind. Bernard Lewis asserts that

For a long time, people in the Islamic world, especially but not exclusively in the Middle East, have been asking this question. The content and formulation of the question, provoked primarily by their encounter with the West, vary greatly according to the circumstances, extent, and duration of that encounter and the events that first made them conscious, by comparison, that all was not well in their own society.⁵⁹⁷

Both quotes illustrate the fact that the Arab world in general and Morocco in particular started asking this question once they came into contact with the West. Once the contact was established either through colonialism or travel, the Moroccans- for example- started questioning the difference existing between the two worlds. Matter of fact, the encounters made the Moroccans- in particular- attempt to discover the secret behind the European modernity.

In the same vein and stated differently, Couze Venn says,

I would begin with the argument that modernity derived its appeal from and was instituted on the promise of a solution to questions that are rather more archaic and fundamental than the objectives of the progress of reason and the advancement of society on the basis of rational calculation and planning. These questions concern the existential realities which all cultures have faced in their own way, to do with finitude, and lack and loss, and the peculiar, indeed uncanny, ungrounded character of our beingness or dwelling in the world.⁵⁹⁸

Thus, “for Arab intellectuals, this was a period of introspection, of trying to understand what went wrong.”⁵⁹⁹ For instance, while Europe was flourishing and living a new

⁵⁹⁶Bernard Lewis, *What went wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 3.

⁵⁹⁷Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸Couze Venn, *Occidentalism: Modernity and Subjectivity* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2000), p. 5.

⁵⁹⁹Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 6.

demographic and economic start, Morocco was going through many stumbling blocks, natural disasters and miserable conditions like Years of drought, famine and epidemics (1776-1778-1779-1782). Hence,

Morocco, like other Arab countries, has been exposed to the effects of European superiority that began to invade the world since the 18th century. Morocco, by virtue of its European position, was one of the most exposed Arab countries, particularly the European Union. Thus, Morocco found itself forced to cope with the direct effects of European modernity and was compelled to respond to various forms of European military superiority.⁶⁰⁰

Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah adopted an opening-up policy-, to Europe in order to discover the reason (s) behind such differences.⁶⁰¹ Hence, these differences initiated or created a kind of binary opposition; a developed Europe and a less developed Arab-Islamic world in general and Morocco in particular. Matter of fact, to attain modernity and make of Morocco a modern nation, sultans or rulers used to send travelers to Europe to discover the reason or reasons behind this existing difference between the two worlds. Travel in general and especially at that time is believed to emphasize these differences. This is because as it is previously mentioned, “travel creates boundaries and distinctions, even as travelers believe that they are transcending them. In the hope of creating new horizons, travelers set off from home, encounter "others" and return with a sharpened awareness of difference and similarity.”⁶⁰² Additionally, this quote addresses how travel highlights not only the differences that might exist between the home country of the traveler and the visited country but also the similarities.

In one of the chapters, in *The Journey to the Other Shore*, Roxanne Euben called this journey of traveling to the other shore of the Mediterranean for instance in the case of Morocco, a “travel in search of practical wisdom”.⁶⁰³ In other words,

⁶⁰⁰Mohammed Sabila, “Takdim”, In Abd el Salam al Haymer, *Al Noukhba al Maghribiya w Ichkaliyat al Tahdith* (Al dar al bayda: Matba’at al Najah al Jadidah, 2001), p. 5.

⁶⁰¹Abdelmajid Kaddouri, *Soufarae Maghariba fi Urupa 1610-1922: Fi al wa’y bi Tafawut*. Vol N°13 (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ulum al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 25.

⁶⁰²Dale F. Eickelman ed., James Piscatori, *Muslim Traveler: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Immigration*, p. 5.

⁶⁰³Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 90.

“travelling is a means of seeking knowledge. Seeking knowledge [is] if not the main purpose of sailing to Europe and the West.”⁶⁰⁴ This is exactly what Moroccan travelers were trying to do. They were seeking knowledge. They wanted to discover and understand modernity- that could be defined as practical wisdom-and which –for the Moroccan kings- is related to military order and to technical and industrial discoveries. However, a double consciousness was created because there are some Moroccans who were calling for tradition, others believed in the need for the European modernity. Therefore, Ahmed Idrissi Alami alleges that,

Modernity is not just seen in analyses of geographic landscape, urban spatial organization, and the engineering of metropolitan terrain, but also in interpretations of ideological and cultural differences. Travel from the royal cities and palaces of morocco to the capitals of Europe foregrounds not only physical displacement but more importantly shifts in ideological perspectives.⁶⁰⁵

These interpretations of ideological and cultural differences are behind the representation process of modernity. Thus, there was a whole political and religious debate about modernity, modernization and the travel to Europe. Consequently, “the negotiation between the need for reform and the potential subversiveness of advocating certain modes of European social and economic life at home generates a discourse on modernization that occupies an unstable ground.”⁶⁰⁶ The Arab world in general and Morocco in particular were both horrified and fascinated by the European modernity. They were horrified because of the change it might imply in their lives, but also fascinated by the accomplishments it attained. So, the Arab intellectuals went through a whole negotiation process since they faced a dilemma “from the early days of the encounter with the West [so for them] Europe was at once the malady and the

⁶⁰⁴Omran Doaa, *Occidental Encounters: Early Nineteenth-century Egyptian Travelers to Europe* (New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Albuquerque, 2012), p. 35, Retrieved from https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/fl_etds/93

⁶⁰⁵Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 6.

⁶⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p.47.

remedy.”⁶⁰⁷ Consequently, “modernity is not only a process, it is an ideology and a social movement which is consciously analyzed and criticized by traditionalist who tend to stop it and it is extended and accelerated by modernists.”⁶⁰⁸ The “process of modernity in India, as elsewhere, has been characterized not only by contrariety and contention but by ambiguity and ambivalence.”⁶⁰⁹ That is to say, just like Morocco, there were people supporting modernity, others were rejecting it, and others were in between.

In his book *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West*, Fathi El-Shihibi argues that “the Arab/ Muslim intellectuals’ reaction to the superior West, particularly on how to recreate and rethink the interactions between, the two identities, took three different yet interwoven directions.”⁶¹⁰ So, unlike Khalid Zekri, who claims that a double consciousness was created face to the gap between the modernized Europe and less modernized Morocco, Fathi el-Shihibi believes that there is a triple consciousness. Zekri states that

The Moroccan elite has thus divided itself into two tendencies in the face of European empires: a tendency that considers Europe as a space likely to participate in the evolution of Morocco and another conservative who puts the process of modernization in the category of impiety and heresy. The common thread between these two trends revolves around the paradigm between Dar Al-Kufr, Dar Al-Harb (Land of Heresy or Land of War) and Dar Al-Islam (Land of Islam).”⁶¹¹

Zekri demonstrates that the Moroccan elites were divided into two tendencies. One preferred to be more open to Europe since they believed that acquiring modernity from European countries could help in the evolution of Morocco. The other category opposed the previous view and preferred to be conservative in the sense that the

⁶⁰⁷Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 3.

⁶⁰⁸Abdallah Laroui, *Ismaélisme, Modernisme, Liberalisme* (Casablanca: Centre Culturel Arabe, 1997), pp. 23-24.

⁶⁰⁹Saurabh Dube, ed., *Enchantments of Modernity: Empire, Nation, Globalization* (New Delhi, New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2009), p. 14.

⁶¹⁰Fathi El Shihibi, *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West* (Germany: Amazon distribution, 2010), p. viii.

⁶¹¹Khalid Zekri, « Aux sources de la modernité marocaine », *Itinéraire*, 2009-3 | 2009, p. 46. (My translation).

process of modernization was seen as a kind of impiety and heresy. This perspective relies on the religious background and dualities which are about differentiating between the house of war and the house of peace. Stated differently,

The Moroccan elite was an area of fierce rivalry:

- The attraction of tradition, the refusal to follow a foreigner, the rejection of the use of technological innovations and the new ways of life, and the call for a return to the cultural stock of the nation [...]
- And another attraction that senses the lesson of the age and the force of external alert and the seriousness of the challenge, and calls for the need for renewal and military and administrative reform, financial and economic and political means to respond to the imposition of European excellence challenges.⁶¹²

Sabila confirms what Zekri stated in the sense that he also asserts that there are two streams. The first one rejects the new European technological innovations and calls for the return to the old tradition of the country. The second stream calls for the openness to the modernized world to renew the military, administrative, financial and economic fields.

On the other hand, el-Shihibi stresses three main directions. “The first direction which is still popular among both secularists and Islamists, was a selective process by means of which the Arab/ Muslim cultures adopts from European culture, particularly those elements that complement and conform to the Arab-Islamic values and traditions.”⁶¹³ This perspective or direction could be seen as a moderate version. This is because it is inclusive of both the Arab-Islamic values and traditions and the European culture. It is about being selective and deciding over what to take and what to leave. Rasheed el Enany argues that “there has been consensus that Western civilization is a sine qua no for progress, but there has also been fear for identity, for tradition, for the corruption of what the self-perceived as a higher morality, a certain

⁶¹²Mohammed Sabila, “Takdim”, In Abd el Salam al Haymer, *Al Noukhba al Maghribiya w Ichkaliyat al Tahdith* (Al dar al baydae: Matba’at al Najah al Jadidah, 2001), p. 7.

⁶¹³Fathi El Shihibi, *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West*, p. viii.

spirituality of which the West is bereft.”⁶¹⁴ Stated differently, modernity to this category means adding to the Arab-Islamic’s heritage what it misses in terms of the “European’s ingenuity and their advances in science and technology [...] their justice and system of government”⁶¹⁵ only. In Modern times,

The Arab travelers started opening to the western countries, those countries that were described by RifaatTahtaoui (1873-1801) as the country of unbelievers, that is far from us and which is completely different. However, Arabs were in need of traveling to the other part of the world so that they can discover the reasons behind the west supremacy and excellence⁶¹⁶

In this respect, El-shihibi gives us the example of Muhammad Abduh who “called for the adoption of Western innovations to the Islamic traditions. Abduh’s views would later lay the foundation for the manifesto of Islamic modernism as opposed to Islamic fundamentalism.”⁶¹⁷ This trend tends to negotiate the European modernity and adjust it to the Islamic world. They dealt with the European modernity “with permanent religious reservation”⁶¹⁸ In the 20th century, Mohammed Allal Al-Fassi (1910-1974) endorses “the positions of reformism of the Muslim East and attempted a synthesis between the return to an Islamic identity and the opening to modernity with a constant readjustment according to the principles of Islam”⁶¹⁹ In this case, ambivalence was also dominating the representation of modernity in Europe. The representation of the Arab intellectuals “of the West evince a sense of dichotomy, of ambivalence, of simultaneous attraction and repulsion towards their object, and towards modernity in

⁶¹⁴Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 8.

⁶¹⁵Fathi El Shihibi, *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West*, p. ix.

⁶¹⁶Hussein Mohamed Fahim, *Adab al Rahalat* (Kuweit: al Majlis Al Watani Li Takafa wa al Founoune wa al Adab, 1989), p. 100. (My Translation)

⁶¹⁷Fathi El Shihibi, *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West*, 2010, p. x.

⁶¹⁸Abd El Rahim Al Mouden, *Al Rihla fi al Adab al Maghribi: al Nass, al Nawe’, al Siyaq* (Al dar al baydaa’: Ifriqiya al Charq, 2006), p. 153.

⁶¹⁹ Khalid Zekri, « Aux sources de la modernité marocaine », *Itinéraire*, 2009-3 | 2009, pp. 46-47. (My translation).

so much as it is a Western thing.”⁶²⁰ Ambivalence has been one of the characteristics of this category or direction.

“The second direction in the interaction between the Arab-Islamic and Western worlds was one of complete rejection of anything western and a complete return to Islam as a religion, a culture, and a social, economic, and political system.”⁶²¹ This view is directed more towards going back into the Arab-Islamic heritage and neglecting the European modernity. They even completely reject it in the sense that they believed that modernity exists within Islam as a religion inclusive of a culture, a social, economic and political system. This is mainly because, it is believed that,

The highest and purest form of journey is to the sources of Islam, to the holiest shrines of the faith. A journey to the west, on the other hand, is an inversion: it is a voyage to the unholy and the impure. In the west, the Muslim traveler was subjected to the rules and temptations of a society that was at its core corrupt. There, it was a trial to carry out the duties of the faith, there too, the threat of pollution was omnipresent.”⁶²²

Traveling to the west was considered as a threat to the Islamic values and traditions. This is why some religious scholars believed that Muslim travelers should refrain from going to the west. They could not admit the western superiority in terms of modernity. So, in the case of the Moroccan religious scholars,

When they ascertain the country's inability to keep pace with European growth, they tried to find the motives behind their development and considered it superior only physically. And because of that two trends emerged: the direction of scholars rejecting the European model on the grounds that it was based on exceeding the religious and spiritual

⁶²⁰Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge. 2006), pp. 7-8.

⁶²¹Fathi El Shihibi, *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West*, p. xii.

⁶²²Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (California: University of California Press), p. 52.

dimension accredited to do soon the distortion of the true monotheistic religions.⁶²³

That is to say, Europe was portrayed as a threat to the religious side of Moroccans. They also considered their superiority only on the side of the physical world. So, these religious scholars tried to create a certain balance or even show some kind of superiority in terms of the spiritual and religious by renouncing the material world and proving the importance of the Islamic values and traditions. They felt the “need to recover the lost values”.⁶²⁴ They also used to criticize modernity and attempted to modify its definition via redefining their own reading of “cultural and religious traditions through a process of comparison, explanation, and engagement with European culture.”⁶²⁵ This is could be explained by the fact that

the comparative historian Marshall Hodgson suggested that at the dawn of the modern era Islam was the most vital civilization in the world and that it held a hegemonic potential over East and West [...] at exactly the time of inception the modern era Islamdom reached the zenith, not only of its political power, but also of its cultural creativity.⁶²⁶

In addition to that, in the case of Morocco, it was not that easy to call for a reform that is inspired by the Western society. This is especially because not only Morocco but the Arab-Islamic world is “governed by popularized versions of Islam, which often warns against the influence of the ‘infidels cultures’ associated with dar – al kufr.”⁶²⁷ Alami stresses that “contemporary historiography records the complex negotiations that sultans went through with Ulama in trying to legitimize military innovations that are of European provenance and undertake expanded trade relations

⁶²³Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 90.

⁶²⁴Abdellah Laroui, *Islam et Modernité* (Casablanca: Centre Culturel Arabe, 2001), p. 65. (My translation).

⁶²⁵Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 6.

⁶²⁶Armando Salvatore, “Tradition and Modernity within Islamic Civilization and the West”. In Muhammad Khalid et al., eds., *Islam and Modernity: Key Issues and Debates* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 3.

⁶²⁷Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 40.

and enter in transactions with Europe.”⁶²⁸ That is why, in some cases, Moroccan travelers tried to provide their readers with “justifications” for their travel to Europe. This is to legitimize their travel and travel writing and this was also done in order to shine away any religious conflict.⁶²⁹ Therefore, the way these travelers would write/narrate their journey would illustrate the fact that travelers take into consideration their audience. Their audience – the reader- is another author which imposes a certain way of writing.

“The third direction, which was the cause of controversy and friction with the two directions mentioned above, was the call for complete Westernization.”⁶³⁰ This trend takes the completely opposite direction of the previous one, in the sense that it calls for openness to the west and containment of its modernity as a whole. This direction idealizes the western model and takes its modernity for granted. The advocate of this direction believed that modernity exists only on the other shore. They were fascinated and blurred away with what Europe has achieved in terms of technological, cultural and economic advancements. Therefore, they assumed that if Morocco wants to regain its powerful position and undergo certain reforms then it must follow the European sample. In this respect, Khalid Zekri asserts that

The trend of propaganda in favor of European modernity is perhaps the most extreme illustration of Al-Hajoui Al-Thaâlibi, another Moroccan diplomat. This one even supported the French Empire in its colonial enterprise in Morocco and its children played an important role in the government of BenArafa. Al-Hajoui Al-Thaâlibi narrated his 1919 trip to Europe in a narrative entitled *Al-Rihla al-Awrubbiya* (The European Journey) in which the moderate liberalism of the traveler reveals the Moroccan sway between the need for reforms and the difficulty of accomplishing them.⁶³¹

⁶²⁸Ahmed IdrissiAlami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 40.

⁶²⁹Ibid., p. 41.

⁶³⁰Fathi El Shihibi, *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West*, p. xiii.

⁶³¹Khalid Zekri, « Aux sources de la modernité marocaine », *Itinéraire*, 2009-3 | 2009, p. 46. (My translation).

A matter of fact, this extreme idolization of the European modernity led some of the travelers to venture, appropriate and even adopt a western stance concerning modernity and reforms. In the case of Al-Hajoui Al-Thaâlibi, Zekri insert that he even encouraged the colonial mission of France because he maybe thought it was the only way out for Moroccans to embrace a new era where Moroccans would look like Europeans in their progress. Al Hajoui called,

For a measured opening, but sometimes goes as far as collaboration with the colonizer. He published another book, *The Order in Islam*, in which he insists on the need for permanent renewal [...] What he wrote seems to be common sense, but to read it closely, it shows that it reproduces the colonialist discourse according to which European expansionism aims to help the indigenous people to embark on the path of progress”⁶³²

This means that he was advocating and legitimizing the act of colonialism. Al Hajoui is not the only traveler to Europe who was calling for the dismissal – in a way or another- of the Arab-Islamic heritage. Discussing the four travel narratives chosen for this dissertation might make us come across other adherents to this direction which is about calling for a complete westernization of the Moroccan society.

All these three directions show the attitudes of the travelers toward Europe and its modernity. Ahmed Alami asserts that

The attitudes they express range from extreme theological dismissal of western culture and its accomplishments based on perceived incompatibility with Islam (al-Fasi), to the more nuanced reconfigurations that hold a potential for dialogue between the two entities as exemplified by some arguments we have seen forwarded in the works al-saffar and al-Amrawi.⁶³³

The attitudes of these travelers seem to be more interesting in terms of the analysis of the conceptualization of modernity, in the sense that it reveals the diversity of perspectives of the travelers/ ambassadors/ writers living in one society and sharing

⁶³²Khalid Zekri, « Aux sources de la modernité marocaine », *Itinéraire*, 2009-3 | 2009, p. 46. (My translation).

⁶³³Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing* (New York: University of New York Press, 2013), p. 63.

many values and traditions. This diversity makes of the traveler a heterogeneous entity rather than a homogeneous one. Simultaneously, Europe and modernity are not homogenized. They are represented in a heterogeneous way. However, these attitudes are not only either extreme theological dismissal of western culture and modernity, or extreme adoption of the westernized modernity, but there exist an in between attitude which mitigates the two extremes. “The in- between spaces of these cross- cultural encounters could, therefore, be regarded as sites where the discourse and ideology of modernity intersect.”⁶³⁴ Modernity as a social construction was contested with Islam as a religious doctrine. This contrast was taking place at this layer for the simple reason that

In intellectual and religious matters, religious intellectuals (*faqih*s) constituted a network of cross-cutting Morocco’s social and economic fragmentation. This elite of religious intellectuals also constituted an important link between Morocco and the rest of the Muslim world. Since they were among the ones who were likely to have travelled outside their local areas or regions, in their own localities they were the ones possessing a concrete idea of what the *umma* was like and able to convey the idea to others.⁶³⁵

This shows that religion is implicated in both intellectual and religious fields of the Moroccan scholar. Thus, in terms of the traveler, and especially during the nineteenth and twentieth century, the debates concerning Islam and modernity emerged again in the Arab-Islamic world. Consequently, there were three kinds of travelers, if ever we would like to categorize them. There is the “Muslim secularists, Islamic modernists, and traditionalist ulama.”⁶³⁶ To sum it up, Furlow maintains that,

The Muslim secularists sought to relegate Islam to an individual, moral level while advocating the imitation of Western scientific, technological, and political models. The traditionalist ulama, in contrast, sought to

⁶³⁴Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing*, p.6.

⁶³⁵Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, eds., *Muslim Travelers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, p. 72.

⁶³⁶Christopher A. Furlow, *Islam, Science, and Modernity: From Northern Virginia to Kuala Lumpur*, p. 8.

retreat from the West by returning to an Islamic society based on the model of the early Islamic community at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. In between the extremes of the secularists and the traditionalists were the Islamic modernists.⁶³⁷

In other words, there exists a secular traveler, a religious one and a third one who is in between. This latter could be referred to as “Islamic modernist.”⁶³⁸ This later is in the third space. ‘Third space is a purposefully tentative and flexible term that attempts to capture what is actually a constantly shifting and changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meaning.’⁶³⁹

⁶³⁷Christopher A. Furlow, *Islam, Science, and Modernity: From Northern Virginia to Kuala Lumpur*, p. 8.

⁶³⁸*Ibid.*

⁶³⁹Edward W. Soja, *Third Space: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real – And – Imagined Places* (Blackwell Publishing, 1996), p. 2.

I- Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyyar al Injliziya (1860)

1- El Fassi's Background and the Travel's Context

According to Mohammed El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziyaila Diyyar al Injliziya* (1860) is considered among the first travels to Europe which narrates the encounters between Morocco and Europe.⁶⁴⁰ The author of the travel is Abou al Jamal Mohammed El Taher ben Abd Al Rahman Ben Mohammed al Reda ben Mohammed ben al Taher ben Youssef abiA'ssriya ben Ali ben Abi al Mahassen Youssef al Fassi. He was born in Fes in 1830 and he died in 1868. El Fassi lived under the reign of both Moulay Abd Al Rahman and his son Sidi Mohammed ben Abderahman.⁶⁴¹ He studied in Fes and once he finished his studies, he was appointed by the royal palace as a writer of the sultan, or in other words, he was regarded as the writer of the makhzen.⁶⁴² He is also considered as a considerable scholar because he used to lecture in Al Qarouaine University.⁶⁴³ He belongs to the Makhzen- the ruling authority/power and that is why he was among those sent for this ambassadorial journey. As it is mentioned earlier, not anyone could be sent as an envoy; the choice was not done haphazardly, but the ambassador or the emissary should combine many criteria to be allowed to join the Moroccan delegation to any European country. For instance, the person should have participated in the service of the Makhzen and have an elevated rank in the government and El Fassi met these criteria. More than that, he was in his thirties when he traveled to England. El Fassi is only the writer of the travel narrative, whereas the ambassadors of this ambassadorial travel were El Haj Abd al Rahman al A'aji and Mohammed Chaami.

⁶⁴⁰Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 1.

⁶⁴¹Ibid.

⁶⁴²See Abd el Salam al Haymer, *Al Noukhba al Maghribiya w Ichkaliyat al Tahdith* (Al dar al baydae: Matba'at al najah al jadidah, 2001), pp. 10-11. "The dissolution of the elite into two streams: one supports the modernization that convinced the sultans (Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman and Hassan I ...) of its historical necessity as a condition to maintain the independence and build a strong national state [...] And we have followed the debate between these two perspectives, which we called the first "the perspective of the writer of the Makhzen" [...] and we called the second as 'the perspective of the writer of the non Makhzen'."

⁶⁴³Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 1.

Briefly, the travel's writer has moved from a very calm city in Morocco- Fez- to a completely different city where the aspects of the modern city were emerging. The narrative is a description of all that its narrator sees since he boarded the steamer which took him from Tangier until he came back to the Moroccan capital. The travel lasted for 70 days in 1860s summer.⁶⁴⁴ Though this narrative is an ambassadorial account, El Fassi argues that the writer did not focus on the missions and the negotiations which happened between the envoy and the British government. El Fassi states that the traveler was interested in the aspects of the modern city in England. He was also surprised by what he saw there. He was fascinated by everything that is not familiar to him.

For El Fassi, this travel is very important – though it was not given its due most probably due to the fact that its writer died at an early age- because at that time when the king sent his envoys to Queen Victoria, England used to support Morocco in its problems with Spain during the war of Tetouan.⁶⁴⁵ So, the historical period of time when this ambassadorial mission took place was very critical for Morocco. This is why it is seen as a momentous travel narrative. Moreover, tackling the historical moment is very essential because “to understand anything- it has to be seen both as a unity and in its historical development—and the other is the very idea of the political.”⁶⁴⁶

According to Said Bensaid Alami, the encounters between the Moroccan travelers and the Europeans went through three different stages. This ambassadorial travel, which took place in 1860, belongs to the second stage which is during the 19th century. This latter was known as a moment of defeat and discovery. Morocco at that time faced two consecutive defeats in the Battle of Isly in 1844 and the battle of Tetouan in 1860. Therefore, the sultan wanted to discover the reasons behind the strength and power of the Europeans by sending ambassadorial missions to different places in Europe. For example, simultaneously, with this travel, and under the reign of

⁶⁴⁴Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p.

⁶⁴⁵Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p.

⁶⁴⁶Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Princializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University, 2007), p. 6.

Sidi Mohammed Ben Abd Rahman⁶⁴⁷, another ambassadorial travel was taking place to France. This travel was written by Idriss ben Mohammed ben Idriss el Amraroui who went to France in the fourth of July 1860. The travel narrative was entitled “*Touhfat al Malik al Azziz bi Mamlakat Bariz.*”⁶⁴⁸ This shows that the focus was not only on Britain or France or Spain but Europe in general. A good point could be made here when it comes to the perception of the Moroccan king to Europe. Apparently, Europe is not homogenized in the Moroccan king’s eyes. Europe is looked at from a heterogeneous perspective in the sense that sending an envoy only to one European country was not enough to provide the sultan with a thorough answer to his rising questions after the defeats. This is opposing the Orientalists vision of the Orient which is about considering the Orient as one similar unit. Heterogeneity, in this respect, is very important in the Moroccan case. It takes into consideration the differences in terms of many aspects of these countries. Thus, the representation of Europe is not going to be monolithic. It is not also essentializing.

When it comes to the historical context of the travel, the relationship between Morocco and Britain during the nineteenth century was stable and it was a close relationship thanks to the British Consul general, Edward Drummond Hay (1829-45) and his son John Drummond Hay (1845-86). While the relationship between Morocco and Britain was steady, Algeria was invaded by the French in 1830.⁶⁴⁹ This pushed Moulay Abd el Rahman, who was ruling over Morocco at that time, to sympathize with the Algerians since they share the same religion and belong to the same geographical region. The Moroccan king played the role of the “protector of the Muslims”⁶⁵⁰ and this troubled the Franco- Moroccan relations. The Moroccan king received some warnings from the French concerning the Algerian *amir*, in the sense that if ever the Moroccans do not stop supporting him with horses, money and arms, France would invade Morocco. The British government at that time was afraid about the potential menace to the Moroccan territory. And eventually in 1843,

⁶⁴⁷“Abd al-Rahman, sultan: reigned 1822-1859; modernizer and reformer.” In Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. xxiii.

⁶⁴⁸Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p.

⁶⁴⁹Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 12.

⁶⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 13.

the French began building a fort close to the holy shrine of lallaMaghnia near Oujda [...] Abd al-Rahman felt compelled to mobilize his troops and to declare holy war, bringing popular feeling to a fever pitch. British consul Drummond Hay reported in April 1844, ‘the whole population of Morocco is in a state of great ferment’⁶⁵¹

Because the Moroccans could not prevent themselves from helping their Algerian neighbors, the French felt the need to threaten Morocco. This was achieved through building a fort and declaring war on the Moroccan Eastern gate- mainly Oujda. The Moroccan population could not tolerate what was happening to their territory, and thus engaged in the battle though they were not that ready in terms of military forces. Consequently, the battle which took place near the Isly River was a disastrous defeat for the Moroccan army and state especially that “the French army occupied Oujda”⁶⁵² right after. The British could not stay crossed arms, they intervened quickly so that France does not manipulate this defeat and cut off a part of the Moroccan territory. Two agreements were signed. The first one -in Tangier in 10th September 1844- was about determining the fate of Abd el Kader and the second one –took place in LallaMaghniya in 18th March 1845- was about drawing the borders between Morocco and Algeria so that France would not trespass those borders. However, the Moroccan-Algerian borders’ problem was suspended though the Moroccan king tried so hard to solve this problem with the assistance of the British.⁶⁵³ The support of Britain in such circumstances reinforced the Moroccan British relations at that period of time. Britain was treated differently in the sense that it was considered as a partner and good friend of the Moroccan nation.

This defeat urged the sultan to both try to renew the army and follow the modern Turkish model⁶⁵⁴ and send “the *pasha* (governor) of Tetuan, ‘Abd al-Qadir Asha’ash, as ambassador to Paris to negotiate border issues and to have a first-hand

⁶⁵¹Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 18.

⁶⁵²C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (Washington Square, New York: New York University press, 2000), p. 48.

⁶⁵³Abdellah Laroui, *Moujmal Tarikh al Maghrib* (Casablanca: Al Markaz al Takafi al Arabi, 2009), pp. 559-560.

⁶⁵⁴Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib*, Part 1 (Beirut: Matbaa’t Al Moutawassit, Tabaa’ Taniya, 1985), p. 76.

look at the situation of his rivals”⁶⁵⁵ in late 1845. His account was recorded by Muhammadd al-Saffar and it lasted for fifty days, in which the ambassador and his envoy were trying to figure out the differences between the two countries at multiple layers and in different fields. Sending an emissary to France at that time was very telling because the sultan could not tolerate, comprehend and accept the Isly’s defeat. He wanted to understand why the Moroccans were defeated and how they can overcome future potential similar dilemmas. He was wondering ‘what went wrong?’ and tried to find an answer to this question.

Meanwhile, in 1845, after the death of Edward Hay, John Drummond Hay took over his father and continued to fuel the good relationship between Morocco and Britain though the multiple acts of piracy and the changes in tariffs of Moroccan imports used to impede the relationship for a while sometimes.

In terms of the Moroccan relationship with the other European countries, Sussan Miller argues that “the period 1848 to 1865 saw pertinent manifestations of a growing competition among Britain, Spain, and France for influence in Morocco, as each looked to that country as a fertile ground for realizing its overseas ambitions.”⁶⁵⁶ That period of time was called by the historians as “the quest for ‘informal’ empire.”⁶⁵⁷ Morocco was at the heart of an international competition.⁶⁵⁸ According to El Menouni, there were mainly four European countries that competed against Morocco, and which are Spain (due to the historical relationship), Britain (for economic and military purposes), France (for the colonial expansion especially after Tunisia and Algeria) and Germany (it had a purely commercial objective).⁶⁵⁹ Thus, the European states used to test the vulnerability of Morocco and they were informally establishing an empire over the North Africa region in general and Morocco in particular. This puts in question the good relationship between Morocco and Britain. It also raises several questions concerning whether or not Britain was treating Morocco in that way only for its own

⁶⁵⁵Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 21.

⁶⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁸Mohamed El Menouni, *MadahirYakadat al Maghrib*, Part 1 (Beirut: Matbaa’t Al Moutawassit, Tabaa’ Taniya, 1985), p. 41.

⁶⁵⁹*Ibid.*

benefits or it was really trying to help it because of the good early historical relationship between the two countries.

In 1858, tension started growing between Morocco and Spain. Problems about Ceuta and Melilla started rising and “the war was initiated when Anjera tribesmen from the periphery of the Jebala Mountains raided the Spanish garrison at Ceuta, provoking a thunderous response.”⁶⁶⁰ The fact that the Moroccans refused to pay the compensation for the captured Spanish ship worsened the situation though Hay tried to reconcile between the two countries especially that he has a close relationship with some prominent Riffian figures. However, the “Spanish government was determined on war.”⁶⁶¹ The negotiations were not that successful because Spain insisted on declaring the war against Morocco.

The Tetuan war coincided with the death of Moulay Abderahman on 6 September 1859.⁶⁶² The new king, who succeeded Moulay Abderahman, his son, sidi Mohamed could not stop the war. So, the Spanish government was successful in choosing the right moment to ignite the war against Morocco.⁶⁶³ Moreover, “having tightened its fortitude and guaranteed the neutrality of France and England, the Government of Madrid brought together fifty thousand warriors from various European countries [...] and appointed to this army the general O’Donnell.”⁶⁶⁴ Consequently, the unbalance in terms of the military forces led again to the defeat of the Moroccan army on February 1860. This latter was not as powerful as the Spanish one. Matter of fact, Tetuan was captured after fighting for three months.

Again, though the British government declared neutrality, it played a crucial role in arranging and negotiating some peace treaties. From the very beginning, Britain tried to have some diplomatic negotiations in order to abstain from violent confrontations between the two countries -Morocco and Spain- for the sake of protecting the British subjects residing in Morocco. As a result, and after many

⁶⁶⁰Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, New York, 2013), p. 24.

⁶⁶¹C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York University Press, 2000), p. 65.

⁶⁶²PG Roger, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Common Wealth Office), p. 169.

⁶⁶³AbdellahLaroui, *Moujmal Tarikh al Maghrib* (Casablanca: Al Markaz al Takafi al Arabi, 2009), p. 560.

⁶⁶⁴Ibid.

negotiations on both sides, Britain succeeded in convincing the Spanish to leave.⁶⁶⁵ Yet, the price for doing so cost an arm and a leg for the Moroccan sultan. To withdraw Tetuan, “Spain demanded a huge indemnity of twenty million duros, about 4 Million in 1861 U.S. dollars, an amount far greater than the balance of the Moroccan treasury.”⁶⁶⁶ Hence, since the sultan wanted to stop the war so badly, he accepted to pay the indemnity without paying attention to whether or not his treasury contains enough money. Consequently, realizing that the treasury cannot afford the amount of money required, the Moroccan king sought the help of Britain once again. The Moroccan king sent Said Mohammed ben Shamee and Hadj el Agee to Britain to ask for a loan which is going to help Morocco overcome this issue and stop Spain from starting the fight once again. Britain refused to grant Morocco that huge amount of money but thanks to Hay’s interference, Britain accepted to guarantee Morocco a reasonable sum of money and suggested to the king taxing his subjects to collect the remaining money needed.

Now, in addition to the military pressure, a financial one emerged since Morocco is indebted to Britain. Thus, Tetuan war

exhausted the financial reserves of the state, inhibiting its capacity to pay for much needed reforms and driving the makhzan more deeply into debt. Moreover, with this defeat, the door to Europe swung open wider. The effects of financial drain took on various forms in the coming years. [...] It was a landmark moment; for the first time, Morocco borrowed funds from abroad to meet its debt obligations, signaling a new stage in its dependency on the west.⁶⁶⁷

Morocco was in a very weak position. It was one of the weakest moments in Morocco’s history where it was undergoing a military, economic, political and psychological turmoil. The military defeats and the financial and political unrest resulted in a terrible psychological state of mind for both the king and his population in the sense that they started becoming self-reflexive. That is to say, the Moroccan king started looking for solutions to the problems that he was going through. His

⁶⁶⁵C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York University Press, 2000), p. 65.

⁶⁶⁶Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 25.

⁶⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 25- 26.

country's stability was endangered, and he needed to figure out a way out for all these turmoils that are weakening his country. This quote also emphasizes the fact that since the Moroccan state became bankrupt and dependent on the Europeans, reforms⁶⁶⁸ were needed to change Morocco's situation.

The British representative Drummond Hay was the one behind suggesting to the Sultan Mohammed IV many reforms. Hay believed that implementing reforms was the only way out for Morocco to remain an independent state. However, the implementation of these reforms was not successful. First, the British policy was contradictory in the sense that it was trying to serve the makhzan, but at the same time it was disempowering it. Second, in terms of the military reforms, though a new regular army was created, it did not serve the goal for which it was made up. This is because instead of fighting for the independence of the country, the army was fighting only locally since it was trying to suppress the local revolutions. So, the military forces were not able to maintain or embrace the policy of the reform.⁶⁶⁹ Third, reforms created two opposing directions in terms of perspectives. "Reform created a cadre of 'modernizers', or 'new men' committed to change, but their numbers were very small and their influence limited."⁶⁷⁰ That is to say, two trends appeared; the first one called for reforms which are seen as a kind of modernization to the country but the number of people who opted for reform was small and limited. The second trend preferred to abstain from these reforms. Matter of fact, the whole country was going through some fluctuating moments which pushed the sultan- who is "the chief agent of reform"⁶⁷¹ to take the decision of sending many ambassadors and envoys to different European countries. This could also be considered as one way of facilitating the reforms adopted by the Moroccan king. This is because

Unlike European states who watched over their foreign interests through resident consuls, most Muslim states in premodern times, including

⁶⁶⁸Susan Gilson Miller argues that "the reform period in Morocco was not a series of abortive attempts to 'catch up' that ended in failure, but rather a selective adaptation to innovations and ideas aimed at stabilizing and maintaining the 'Alawite dynasty in power.'" In Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 29.

⁶⁶⁹Abdellah Laroui, *Moujmal Tarikh al Maghrib* (Casablanca: Al Markaz al Takafi al Arabi, 2009), p. 566.

⁶⁷⁰Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 29.

⁶⁷¹Ibid.

Morocco, had no corps of 'professional' diplomats and no permanent embassies abroad. Negotiations were usually carried out by special envoys chosen by the ruler: they performed their duties, and returned home as soon as the mission was completed.⁶⁷²

This shows that, on one hand and in terms of diplomacy, the European states were adopting developed and long-term strategies which enabled them to maintain order and control over the countries where they had their resident consuls. On the other hand, the fact of sending Moroccan ambassadors or diplomats only when needed to perform a duty and return back home was not enough to ensure good diplomatic relations between the countries. Yet, sending temporary diplomats or ambassadors could be considered as the first step towards establishing professional diplomacy later on in Morocco. Additionally, sending special envoys chosen by the ruler was also strategic because it was one of the tools used to discover Europe and the secrets behind its power.

The ambassadorial travel narrative -*Al Rihla al Ibriziya Ila Diyar al Injliziya*- that is put under scrutiny in this dissertation illustrates how the historical events mentioned earlier triggered the sultan to send an emissary to Britain. Therefore, to widen the perspectives about why the Moroccan traveler wrote this account once he came back from Britain, a close analysis of the travel narrative is needed.

To start with, travel is an experience which includes an internal and an external journey. On the one hand, the internal journey -as it is referred to before- consists of the personal transformation of the traveler which implies the fact of becoming self-reflexive. Travel as a cultural and geographical experience influences the traveler at different levels. This is because "travel to distant places is a magical and transforming life event."⁶⁷³ It is a psychological experience where the traveler starts questioning everything he sees. This is going to be illustrated more in the next section, which is concerned with the representation of modernity by El Fassi. On the other hand, the external journey is about the physical movement of the traveler across space and time

⁶⁷²Susan Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The Voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (California: University of California Press, 1992), p. 12.

⁶⁷³Ibid., p. 49.

especially that “travel helps define time for us, by composing life into segments marked by rituals of leaving and returning.”⁶⁷⁴ Most of the time, it is about the hardships faced by the traveler in his travel. In this part of the journey, the traveler who is considered as the hero of the travel makes sure to talk about his experience from the departure to the return to give some credibility to his text and to speak about his own personal experience. This is, in Fussell’s words, called the tripartite structure of the travel. It includes the setting out, the adventure and the return.

Before dealing with the tripartite structure of El Fassi’s travel, it is worth mentioning that Miller argues that in pilgrimage accounts, travelers begin with the invocations of God, then they mention the stages of the journey, the dangers passed and the achievements of distant goals; to my surprise this ambassadorial travel narrative also follows the same pattern. Just like Es-saffar’s travel where “the *rihla* begins with a *khutba* or ‘invocation to God’, in which the author asks for His blessings on the enterprise, mentions his patrons, and states the main themes of the work”⁶⁷⁵, this account’s traveler- El Fassi also started by invoking the blessing of God and thanking him for his blessings. He also praises the Moroccan king- Sidi Mohammed ben Abd el Rahman- whom he thinks is defending the *Umma* and Islam as a whole. He also mentions how happy and elated he is to be chosen for this ambassadorial mission because as far as El Fassi is concerned, this travel journey is going to serve the Muslim community.

The introduction could be considered as a traditional one in the sense that the traveler imitates the way other travelers used to start their travel accounts and especially the pilgrimage travel accounts. In other words, this introduction could be seen as a conventional one in the Moroccan travel literature. It is also loaded with a religious jargon since it starts with invoking God. This is clearly perceived when the traveler starts his narrative with “In the name of God, the merciful and Compassionate, God bless our Prophet Muhammad and his Companions and grant them salvation.”⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁴Susan Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar* (California: University of California Press, 1992), p. 49.

⁶⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p.73.

⁶⁷⁶Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p.1.

Consequently, from the very beginning, it is noticeable that the travel/ journey has got a religious dimension for the traveler. This is one of the reasons why El Fassi was pleased to be a member of the envoy to Britain. He assumes that his mission is going to be beneficial to his nation and the Muslim nations in general because he is traveling not only to a European country but a Christian one. So, the religious dichotomy is created from the introduction.

In this introduction, El Fassi mentions the fact that the Moroccan sultan sent two emissaries to Europe, one to France and the other one to Britain. This latter was under two ambassadors: Abd Rahman el Aji and Mohammed el Chami. He then explains his role in this embassy by claiming that he went with them in case they need him to write about whatever they think is necessary for them.⁶⁷⁷ El Fassi keeps stressing the fact that this is done for the sake of the Muslim community- the *Umma* because the traveler believes that it is a religious duty to the nation. He thinks that by going there and writing an account of their journey, they will serve their king- as he is a religious leader- and their nation because they have just survived from a defeat that was disastrous. So, El Fassi would like to provide his nation with a useful narrative that could help not only Morocco, but the Muslim nation in overcoming the religiously different Other. He ends up his introduction with prayers to the king which aim at applauding and complimenting the king for such an initiative, which aims at helping the Muslims fight against the Christians. El Fassi says: “May God almighty help our commander of the faithful destroy the tyrants and defeat the immoral. May he support, help and guide him to the good and goodness of the world.”⁶⁷⁸ Therefore, this quote reveals the dichotomy established by the traveler when it comes to the difference existing between the two countries in terms of religion and morals. The prayers are also part of the religious profile of the traveler.

El Fassistarts his setting out by stating that they have left Fez towards their destination- starting by Tangier on the 2nd of July 1860. Right after, he points out to the fact that they have reached Tangier safely. He adds “May God preserved it as the

⁶⁷⁷ Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p.2.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

House of Islam, by the sanctity of his Prophet peace be upon him”.⁶⁷⁹ This shows the pride that the traveler has in relation to his religious belief and background. This statement could also demonstrate the fear that El Fassi has from the European invasion that was taking place at that time. Thus, all he could do as a religious scholar is pray for the city to remain a Muslim territory. The travel within Morocco- which is from Fez to Tangier - was not talked about in details, but the traveler just mentioned that they have started their journey from Fez to Tangier to hit the road towards Europe as Tangier is the closest city/door to Europe. As the Moroccan envoy used to represent the Moroccan elites, the traveler portrays them as heroes that are going for a serious and exceptional mission. Therefore, El Fassidescribes how happy the people of the city were once the envoy arrived to show the status and privilege that they enjoyed. They were well treated by Tangier’s official.

Since description is among the tropes that the traveler opts for in his narratives, El Fassi did not hesitate to describe whatever he sees; in the sense that he started by describing the place where they were received and how they were treated. For instance, he said that the place where they stopped by “contains a beautiful and fruitful garden, with running water, and long shadow.”⁶⁸⁰ Moreover, both the French and the British consul were there- in Tangier. They were among the people who received the Moroccan delegation before leaving for Britain. The presence of these consuls reveals the European presence in Morocco. It unfolds the rivalry that was taking place between France and Britain because both countries needed to have representatives in Morocco to protect its citizens in Morocco and to play the role of diplomats when it comes to the political fields. They seem to be the ones who facilitate the diplomatic missions between the two countries. Hence, unlike the orientalist who portray the Orientals as backward, violent and uncivilized, the Moroccan traveler depicts his first encounter with the representatives of the British and French Other in a positive way. He claims that they were very nice and happy to receive the Moroccan delegation, and each consul accommodated the envoy which is going to visit his country. El Fassi also mentions that they have stayed there for three days. This could be seen as part of the

⁶⁷⁹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860*(Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 2.

⁶⁸⁰Ibid., p. 3.

diplomatic protocols that every envoy has to follow before heading to the European country.

After staying three days in Tangier, the Moroccan traveler to Britain would start describing the adventure to the other shore through the sea. In this part, the traveler is dealing with the physical and spatial movement. In this phase, he tackles the movement from the familiar to the unfamiliar. It is about –as it is already mentioned– moving from Fez as a calm and traditional city to a modern European one. Stated differently, it is about leaving the land of Islam to the land of Christianity. El Fassi emphasizes the religious differences by praising Tangier as the land of Islam and Muslims and praying that it will remain so. To understand why the traveler was praying for Tangier to stay a Muslim city, one should go back to history where the North was taken by the Spanish. This also shows that the traveler is sad about what once happened to Andalucía and in a sense afraid of what could happen to the Muslim countries if they cannot overcome what was happening to them at that time. The Muslims and especially the Moroccans were experiencing a psychological and a military defeat. This put them in a powerless position. Thus, a religious binary opposition is so far always created in this regard.

In addition to that, since travel accounts are about the spatial experience where the traveler undergoes his travel through the sea, the traveler also talks about experiencing one of the hardships of the travel which is riding the sea. That is to say, the traveler describes the logistic dimension of the travel which is about describing the road to his destination via the ship in the sea.

El Fassi asserts that they took the road on Thursday 14 July. While doing so, some ceremonial protocols took place. El Fassi states that “while we were riding in the sea, the Muslims took out 19 cannons with the intention of joy. When we got out of the vehicle and boarded it, the Christians did the same thing and they took us to a good room ...”⁶⁸¹ The way El Fassi describes his setting out/ departure accentuates the fact that the traveler refers to himself as a hero, however, in this travel El Fassi uses the plural personal pronoun in the sense that he says “we” instead of “I”; this could be

⁶⁸¹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p.3.

interpreted as being part of the collective society to which he belongs especially that he is traveling with a group of people. Furthermore, by using “we”, El Fassi is also referring to the whole members of the ambassadorial mission. He does not give credit only to himself.

More than that, what is remarkable is that the traveler refers to the Moroccans as Muslims. This is to highlight their religious identity. Thus, given the religious background of El Fassi, he talks about the Moroccans as being Muslims. That is to say, he identifies them with the Muslims rather than their national identity. Additionally, the traveler emphasizes the importance of this ambassadorial mission by describing the way that the Moroccans said good bye to them. “They bid farewell in a very prestigious way.” This is because they are represented as heroes leaving their countries seeking victory for Morocco and the Muslim nation. The British who are referred to as “Christians” behaved in the same way to show the friendship that existed between Morocco and Britain at that time. But what is striking here is that so far, El Fassi always refers to the British as Christians which means that the British for him are the religiously different Other. The religious perspective is always present and clearly uttered by El Fassi. Till now, the othering process is based upon distinguishing between the Moroccan Muslims and The British Christians.

As it is earlier cited, according to Mary Louise Pratt, the traveler is a “moving eye”. This is clearly pictured by El Fassi. Once he boarded the ship, he started describing it and describing how they were welcomed in. He narrated almost everything related to where they stayed in the board; including the rooms where they are going to sleep, the dining room, the tables, the chairs, couches, etc. What is noteworthy in his description of the places is the way El Fassi refers to the bathroom. For him, it is the “house for ablutions, *dar al wodo*”⁶⁸². This shows that the translation process goes through what has been talked about in the theoretical part. The traveler translates what he sees and comes across taking into consideration his background. The religious background again is noticeable because for El Fassi the

⁶⁸²Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 4.

bathroom is mainly for doing ablutions. He could not relate it to anything else apart from ablution. This instance of translation has a religious connotation.

El Fassi continues his description and talks about the picture of La Jaconda, which he thought was that of their Queen. He goes on and describes the windows and how big the ship is. Again, unlike the Orientalists, the Moroccan traveler does not belittle the British and their boat. He assumes that they are a great country. He also mentions the name of the boat which is “Frigate mail Boat.”⁶⁸³ El Fassi also gives a detailed description of the boat and how it works and several other measurements details. This is maybe because he thinks that this is important and could be of help to the Moroccan king. The boat, for him, is also part of the modernized Europe. It represents development and progress in terms of the maritime means of transportations.

Given the religious background of El Fassi, when he talks about the captain of the ship, he says: “and even if this captain is not a believer, we were astonished by his kindness, good manners, and thoughtfulness. He was very nice to the point that we wished he was a Muslim.”⁶⁸⁴ In terms of religion, El Fassi is creating a binary opposition, which maintains the idea that a Muslim is a good person whereas a non-Muslim (non-believer) is supposed to be a bad person. So, for El Fassi, the captain was very nice to the point that he wished he could convert into Islam, since -according to ElFassi- only Muslims are believed to have such values. These religious dichotomies create a certain superiority and inferiority stance in the sense that a Muslim is highly valued and positively portrayed. Once again, contrary to the way the Orientalists represent the Other, the Moroccan traveler is not following the same pattern in the sense that el Fassi is representing the British captain as he really is without distorting his picture. Yet, because el Fassi believes that his religion is the right one, he wished this captain could belong to the same religion considering that he is behaving like a Muslim. This also could show that El Fassi wants him to belong to the Muslim community because he thinks that Islam needs people like him. This might strengthen Muslims and Islam.

⁶⁸³Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 4.

⁶⁸⁴Ibid., p. 5.

After describing the first big ship that El Fassi rode, the Moroccan envoy took another ship which again the traveler describes carefully in addition to how they were welcomed in it. Describing the ceremonials of the welcoming is also an interesting part, where the traveler relates the happiness of the people who received them to the greatness of the Moroccan king. In other words, El Fassi emphasizes the fact that even though Morocco and the Moroccans were going through some difficult conditions, which resulted in their weakness after the war defeats, the British did not take that into consideration and treated them well. This is to display the good relationship that Britain and Morocco used to cherish and try to maintain at that time. The Moroccan king was still respected and not looked down at. The way that El Fassi also talks about the British demonstrates that he did not feel that the British are denigrating the Moroccans or that they are dealing with them from a superior position. They were portrayed as equals. This passage stresses the aim behind Occidentalism, which is about portraying the orient and the occident as equals.

In the boat, what stroke El Fassi and got his attention was the barometer. For the Moroccan traveler, this weather gauge is very strange. This is why it lured his attention. It is new and weird for him given its function. He, therefore, attempted to explain what it does and how the machine works. El Fassi also tried to define it in relation to what is known or usual in his country. He gave the example of the clock. This is because the barometer is just like the clock in terms of its form. It is round and contains copper, glass, mercury and a pointer. The difference between the clock and the barometer is that the first one is meant to measure time, the second or the latter aims at measuring the weather and the atmospheric pressure. El Fassi adds that it tells whether it is hot or cold. The traveler displays further information concerning the barometer and says “if the weather changes from the sun to the cloud, for example, the mercury changes as well, attracting the weights and moves on the drawing of winter or the bright or cloudy.”⁶⁸⁵ El Fassi tries to recount everything related to how the barometer works. He provides a detailed description of this machine.

⁶⁸⁵Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 6.

More than that, El Fassi was fascinated and intrigued by how this little machine can predict the weather. He said “that each time it says that it is going to rain, it rains. If again, it declares that it is going to be sunny, the sun shows up.”⁶⁸⁶ Since the traveler has got a religious background, his explanations of how the barometer works are rather related to religion than to science. El Fassi believes that it is God who is behind this invention. He does not associate what they have invented to their intelligence or ability to develop such scientific machine, but he rather associates it with God’s guidance, power and wiliness.

El fassi, then, moves on to talk about how people working in that ship use machines to administer whatever they are responsible for. They execute their tasks through the use of machines. El Fassi was interested in the technological development which Britain has attained to the point that whenever he comes across any technological device, he does not miss the opportunity to include it in his narrative. The mechanisation in Britain is something new for El Fassi. This is why he focused on that part where the workers in this boat perform their duties using machines.⁶⁸⁷

The Moroccan traveler was also captured by how organized and clean the British were. He cited some of their responsibilities like “polishing weapons, guns and bombs. They clean what needs to be cleaned. And most of them are knowledgeable enough concerning arithmetic, astrology and repairing things.”⁶⁸⁸ In addition to these military responsibilities and scientific related interest and knowledge of these British, music is also believed to be an essential part of what distinguishes this journey. One of their habits is playing music after sunset. They play different instruments ranging from drums to trampets.⁶⁸⁹ El Fassi did not miss the chance to share his point of view concerning what he observed and experienced. Thus, he favorably comments on the music played by the musicians on board.⁶⁹⁰ Enjoying the music played by the British reveals the fact that El Fassi was not an extremist. Though, he is religious, he was not against music.

⁶⁸⁶Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 6.

⁶⁸⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸⁸Ibid., (my translation).

⁶⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 6-7.

⁶⁹⁰Ibid., p. 7.

El Fassi includes anything – he assumes is interesting and stimulating- in his travel account. He describes how the British sleep- he mentions some of their sleeping habits- and how they eat. This is briefly done to give us an idea about the differences existing between the British and the Moroccans in different domains of life and ways of living.

After spending some time navigating the sea, the traveler realizes that he has reached one of Britain's port- Port Smouth. And he, therefore, thanks God for making the trip a safe one. Basically, in travel narratives, travelers are always afraid of dying in the sea, far from home, matter of fact, once they arrived safely, El fassi, who is a religious traveler, could not forget to thank God for protecting the people in the ship from the frenzy of the sea and its fury. He then mentions that the travel took six days in the sea. And, in the seventh day, they arrived to the port.⁶⁹¹ Once in the port, he reports on how the Moroccan envoy was welcomed by the British at the entrance. El Fassi asserts that “when we wanted to get off, we saw them put wood and poles and put on a green silk fabric at the entry of the marina for fear that we might get wet by water and to facilitate our ride from the boat to the marina.”⁶⁹²

Once El Fassi and his compatriots went down from the sea (the ship) to the mainland through Port Smouth, the Moroccan traveler describes it as being one of the greatest British ports. He narrates the welcoming ceremonials of the British, which rely on cannons, a large number of soldiers and music. Many officials were waiting for the Moroccan envoy. El Fassi mentions that the commander of the navy and the country's notables were happily and willingly receiving the Moroccans. They also brought someone who can speak Arabic with the Moroccan delegation.⁶⁹³ This is to show that the Moroccans were well treated. They were honored and not dealt with as inferior Others. A horse-drawn cart was waiting for them to take them from the port to the place where they will take the train again to head to London. While taking the road, El fassi could not restrain from noticing and reporting on whatever he sees in his way. He, for example, talks about coming across many small cities or villages, gardens

⁶⁹¹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 7.

⁶⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶⁹³*Ibid.*

and factories. He also specifies the distance between Port Smouth and London by stating that it is 160 miles.⁶⁹⁴ To clarify this number, El Fassi uses his own country's unit of measurement to explain more those 160 miles and makes it easy for the reader- the king- to know about the exact distance. This is part of the translation issue or process that travelers use in their narratives. It is about trying to explain things by referring to similar items in the traveler's country. Consequently, the traveler plays the role of a translator in his travel narrative.

Right after, El Fassi starts his journey in land and especially in London which is his final destination. This part is going to be dealt with in details in the next section that is about the representation of modernity by El Fassi. Till now, the traveler was just reporting on the departure stage of his travel and his arrival to Britain. Nevertheless, the aspects of the modern life could be depicted even from the British boat. Moreover, since the arrival and the adventure shall be discussed and closely analyzed in the coming section, the return will be briefly talked about in here.

The return which is the last part of the travel and which is about the spatial movement is dealt with shortly. It does not contain several details. El Fassi's focus was mainly on the stores around the port and what they contain like weapons, food and the army's uniforms.⁶⁹⁵ What also lured the attention of El Fassi when they rode off the boats in the port is that they found many children reading. He said that these children stay on the boat for educational purposes and they see their families only thrice a year. They eat, sleep and do everything on the boat. It is like a moving school. This demonstrates the fact that education is very important in the British society. It is among the main pillars behind the modernity that they have reached. In addition to that, he mentions how many ships the British own. He inserts that they have got 201 000 ships.⁶⁹⁶ And, this shows the military power of Britain.

El Fassi moves on to mention the fact that on Wednesday August 1860, they left the Port of Smoth at 10 O'clock. He described port Smouth again but briefly. They then took a boat and many ceremonial protocols took place before leaving the country.

⁶⁹⁴Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 9.

⁶⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 38-39.

⁶⁹⁶Ibid., p. 39.

As mentioned earlier, most of the time the traveler feels ambivalent while leaving and returning back to his country. In this case, El Fassi did not feel ambivalent concerning the place he left because he shows that he is very eager to be back to his country. He started praising the Moroccan nation and praying that it stays safe.⁶⁹⁷ He is lurking to be back to his city Fez. He devoted a whole paragraph and some verses of poetry to the Moroccan king in which he invokes his good deeds. He also prays for him and asks God to protect him and the people working for him, ranging from ministers and officers to soldiers. He states that the coming back took them 7 days to reach Tangier. Once there, they were welcomed by three Spanish boats. They saluted them in the same way they did when they were leaving. The traveler remains as the hero till the end of the travel in the sense that the way the Moroccan envoy was received was spectacular with music and firing canons. The sultan was waiting for them and received them in a very prestigious way. They stayed in Tangier for five days before heading towards Fez on the sixth day. On Monday 18th August they took the road to Fez and they arrived on Saturday.⁶⁹⁸

All in all, this chapter was meant to provide a historical and contextual framework to the travel narrative. It dealt with the historical period of time when the travel took place. It also focused on the background of the traveler. Matter of fact, the introduction of the travel narrative was analysed in this section to show the religious background of El Fassi.

⁶⁹⁷Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 40.

⁶⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 41.

2- El Fassi's Representation and Negotiation of Modernity

This chapter addresses the representation of modernity in El Fassi's travel account taking into consideration the Orientalism and Occidentalism binaries. It deals with how the traveler describes and translates what he observes while talking about his personal experience to Britain. Thus, briefly, this section attempts to analyze how the traveler negotiates modernity through his thorough description of the places visited and the people encountered in the contact zone.

Once the traveler arrives to his destination, he continues describing and narrating his journey by mentioning every detail related to the Moroccan envoy's journey. This part is, according to Fussel, "the trials of initiation and adventure". It is the body of the travel because in this part the traveler tries to cover the whole cultural encountering. It is about discovering the contact zone and establishing relations with the unfamiliar world.

The arrival of the traveler to London is considered as his arrival to his last destination, which is going to be the place of exploration and discovery. The real adventure starts right after the Moroccan ambassadorial envoy landed in London, which is the capital of the British kingdom. This is the place where the cultural encountering is mainly going to happen. El Fassi begins with stating that they entered what he called the "great city"⁶⁹⁹ at 6 p.m and it was on Wednesday 20th June.⁷⁰⁰ The use of the word great shows the appreciation and fascination of El Fassi by the city.

To introduce the city, El Fassi shows his admiration and states that "I have never seen a greatest city like this one. We heard that its length and width is equivalent to approximately six days each. It has a Queen and it is built with carved stones."⁷⁰¹ From the very beginning, the Moroccan traveler tends to cover as much information about the new place visited as possible. He covers the surface or size of the city, its political system, and its architecture. It is a big and exceptional city which is ruled by a

⁶⁹⁹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p.10.

⁷⁰⁰Ibid.

⁷⁰¹Ibid.

Queen⁷⁰² and which is magnificently built. Inserting these pieces of information reveals the fact that El Fassi is interested in highlighting how big the city is, who is ruling over the country, and the architecture and design of the city. These elements seem to be the unfamiliar and weird every traveler looks for in his narrative. The political system in Britain is similar to that of Morocco- which is the monarchy- but the difference resides in the fact that it is a woman who is governing the country. That is why, among the first issues that El Fassiraises once he starts talking about Britain is that it is a Queen who is holding power and sovereignty over the country. Another detail which attracted the attention of El Fassi is the different architecture and the way the city is built and especially the walls.⁷⁰³ So far, the fascination of El Fassi by the British city is obvious.

The traveler moves on to report on the residency place of the Moroccan envoy. It seems that the Moroccan society at that time was not yet used to hotels. This is why El Fassi refers to this building through the use of foreign words mainly the Spanish “Posta” and the French expression “Hotel”.⁷⁰⁴ He could not translate this word into his own language. El Fassi adds that this place –the hotel- is mainly reserved for ambassadors and notables. A detailed description of the place is provided by the traveler. He asserts that it contains “many rooms, a patio, a luxurious furniture, chandeliers, gold and silver vessels and countless other items.”⁷⁰⁵ These details again captured the attention of the Moroccan traveler because it reveals the luxurious life style of Britain.

Once installed, a representative of the Queen came to pick up the Moroccan emissary from the hotel. While on the road, El Fassi describes all that his eyes could see. According to El Fassi, “the houses in London are almost all similar and they are distinguished by numbers on their doors. The city is also full of landscapes and

⁷⁰²The Queen Victoria is “one of the greatest kings of Europe in the nineteenth century. She ruled for over 64 years from 1837 to her death in 1901. She was born in 1819,” in Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 11.

⁷⁰³Ibid., p.10.

⁷⁰⁴Ibid.

⁷⁰⁵Ibid.

gardens.”⁷⁰⁶Organizing houses and maintaining the same architecture are appreciated by El Fassi. A minute description is once again provided by the traveler when it comes to plants and green spaces. El Fassi says that “they do not protect the gardens with walls.”⁷⁰⁷ This implies the fact that the Moroccan traveler is comparing between the gardens in his country and the ones in the country visited. For instance, instead of walls, the British use canes of iron which makes of their gardens open to the public. Thus, comparison pops up sometimes unconsciously when the traveler is reporting on his experience

Additionally, El Fassi speaks about horses; he asserts the following: “people of this country have got weird and polite horses. They do not make any noises once they meet though they could be running and neighing but because they are well trained, they act in a very uncommon way”.⁷⁰⁸This is to show that even animals are tamed and respect a certain order. At the end of this paragraph, El Fassi tries to explain these “anomalies” by the fact that it is God who is behind all of this. He is the one who offered them these luxurious spaces and well-trained animals. As it is clear by now, El Fassi intertwines everything with God’s power and willingness.⁷⁰⁹This is the explanation he gives for everything that bewilders him.

The Moroccan embassy moved to another hotel, where they stayed for one night before meeting Queen Victoria. They were well received and welcomed by the British minister. On Friday, this latter came to ask about them and ask them about their experience in the sea. After that, he inquired about the book that the Moroccan king sent to the Queen via the Moroccan emissary. The Moroccans refused to deliver that book to the minister and said that they are normally the ones who should hand it to the Queen by themselves. The minister kindly accepted their refusal and promised to come back the next day at 2.⁷¹⁰This is part of the ambassadorial mission. It seems that the whole embassy is about delivering that book to Queen Victoria. The minister kept his

⁷⁰⁶Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), pp. 10-11.

⁷⁰⁷Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁰⁸Ibid.

⁷⁰⁹Ibid.

⁷¹⁰Ibid.

promise and come the next day at that same exact time. This mean that the Queen also wanted to meet the Moroccan envoy. This latter was received at her house.

On their way to the British Queen, El Fassi was continuously describing everything that he finds strange. As soon as the Moroccan delegation entered the Queen's room, El Fassi asserts that she stood up and came down from her chair smilingly to salute the Moroccan delegation members. This shows that the Moroccans were well treated and welcomed by the Queen herself. They were not Othered and looked down at since the Queen come down from her chair and happily greeted them. She was accompanied by many officials (leader of advice, ministers, generals, ...), her husband, and her daughters.⁷¹¹ The Queen was positively portrayed. El Fassi described her as being a good person who showed love, kindness and happiness to the Moroccan emissary, which is sent under the request of the Moroccan king.⁷¹²

A discussion was created by the Queen in which she asked about the Moroccan king and whether or not the travelers had some seasickness, etc. After that, the Moroccan delegation handed her the book sent to her by the Moroccan king.⁷¹³ It seems that this mission of delivering the book to the Queen is one of the major aims behind sending the envoy. The book apparently is about the problems that were taking place between Morocco and other European countries. It might also be about some other negotiations between the two rulers. Nevertheless, the travel narrative does not unveil the content of the book. It was kept confidential.

The way that Queen Victoria took that book was also described. El Fassi asserts that "she caught it carefully and nicely".⁷¹⁴ According to El Fassi, she also held it between her hands as a way of honoring the sender who is the Moroccan king.⁷¹⁵ The traveler is making sure that he is recording everything that might be interesting to the Moroccan king. For instance, the encounter between the queen and the Moroccan delegation is an important scene for the Moroccan king because the way that Queen Victoria received the Moroccan delegation and the book might be of great interest to

⁷¹¹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 12.

⁷¹²Ibid.

⁷¹³Ibid.

⁷¹⁴Ibid.

⁷¹⁵Ibid.

the king. This is part of the diplomatic and strategic relationship between Morocco and Britain. It says a lot about the perception of the British Queen vis a vis the Moroccan king, his country and people. In addition to that, El Fassi asserts that not only the Queen was nice and treated them kindly but the whole population treated them likewise because he believes that the citizens follow their leader.⁷¹⁶ The first mission was successfully accomplished and once again, the Moroccan traveler could not miss describing his way back to the hotel. According to El Fassi, the Queen's house is believed to be "one of the wonders."⁷¹⁷ This is because it is furnished with rugs, and it has many statues and a garden filled with animals like the stork, the eagle, and the peacock.⁷¹⁸

The Moroccan delegation was then invited for a reception dinner by the Queen. Basically, the Queen celebrates that night every year and by coincidence this year the Moroccan envoy was there, and therefore, she insisted that they attend that celebration. Once there, the traveler was amazed by what he saw. The Moroccan members of the envoy met different people and especially the officials and notables of the country with their wives, servants and guards. El Fassi describes how the place of the meeting or dinner was ornated. It is full of gold and silver chandeliers and some gold plated chairs. This illustrates the luxurious life style of Britain. It is even compared to paradise. El Fassi commented on what he saw by saying that "the worldly life is the prison of the believer and the unbeliever's paradise".⁷¹⁹ The Moroccan traveler reveals again his religious background and perception to justify what the British people have attained. A dichotomy is established in terms of religion. So, the traveler differentiates between the believer (Moroccan-Muslim) and the unbeliever (British-Christian). Mather of fact, though El Fassi emphasizes and shows his admiration for the British life style, he could not get rid of his religious superiority standpoint. He believes that this is not going to be eternal. The fact that the British -who are referred to as unbelievers- enjoy a better life is just temporary. It will not last because they are not

⁷¹⁶Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 12.

⁷¹⁷Ibid.

⁷¹⁸Ibid.

⁷¹⁹Ibid., p. 13.

Muslims. Therefore, El Fassi does not denigrate the British supremacy when it comes to order, food, prestige, furniture, houses, means of transportation, but he does so only when it comes to religion. After that, at the end of the dinner reception, the Queen left-followed by her servants and some other officials who are mentioned as infidels. Here, again, El Fassi does not identify the British in terms of their national identity, but he rather focuses on their religious affiliation.⁷²⁰

After the dinner reception and few days later, the Moroccan delegation was again invited to see the new city army. This army has just been created after some discussions that took place between France and Britain. They decided to establish an army for the city which is composed of 120 000 soldiers. El Fassidescribes how these military forces look like in terms of the uniforms they wore and the weapons they hold. This is part of showing the military forces of the British. It is about displaying the military power that Britain cherishes. After witnessing that, the Moroccan envoy went out and headed towards the center of the city, where the traveler again describes what he thinks is strange and interesting, like a statue he came across -which is that of the well-known General Wellington. The road and streets are also depicted. They are characterized by being wide. “They contain sidewalks, and the middle is for cars and horses”.⁷²¹ This shows order and organization maintained in the British streets.

Another military demonstration took place and the Moroccan envoy was once again invited to attend it. Many ceremonials protocol took place before the Queen come in to attend the military parade as well. El Fassi mentions that Queen Victoria came in a carriage with her husband and daughters. She settled down next to the Moroccan ambassadorial emissary.⁷²² El Fassi adds, “the Queen turned around and noticed that we were behind, so she ordered some soldiers to bring us closer to her. They come and escorted us through rows until we got next to her.”⁷²³ She saluted the Moroccan delegation by nodding to them. She was also from time to time asking them if they were tired because they were standing for almost two hours. This emphasizes

⁷²⁰Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 13.

⁷²¹Ibid., p. 14.

⁷²²Ibid., p. 15.

⁷²³Ibid.

the good impressions that El Fassi had concerning the Queen which are about her being very nice and caring. El Fassi also wanted to stress the fact that the Moroccans were well treated. They were privileged and considered as an important delegation. From another perspective, the Queen was trying to make sure that the Moroccan delegation is watching what she wants them to watch. The Queen Victoria was demonstrating the power of her military forces. Indirectly, she insinuates that the British nation is a powerful one in terms of its military armies. The military parade was not innocently displayed in front of the Moroccan delegation for the simple reason that the historical moment imposed this kind of behaviors from the part of the British. At that time, which means- during the nineteenth century, high imperialism and the European expansion was at its highest level, consequently, Europeans countries needed to demonstrate how powerful they are to threaten weak and potential colonies.

The order and style of those army forces were described as being weird and strange.⁷²⁴ The Moroccan traveler was astonished by this new army. El Fassi then tried to compare between the old and new one. He said that the difference takes place in terms of music and the instruments used to play it. The uniforms are also different in reference to colors. Different types of soldiers wear different colors- the uniforms are blue, red, green, or white and black. A detailed description again about how the soldiers perform their parade in front of the Queen was reported by El Fassi.⁷²⁵ He adds that there are two types of armies; those who walk and the cavalries.⁷²⁶ They wear different colors and put different hats and arms. The organization that the military parade demonstrated is unprecedented for El Fassi. He was bewildered by how the fact that there are different types of armies. They are different in terms of uniforms; their colors and arms hold. Moreover, as soon as the soldiers finished their demonstration, the Queen left the podium or the platform it was standing over. But before leaving,

a cannon was fired and everyone removed his hats and they issued huge voices and those who were sitting stood up. All this signaled that they

⁷²⁴Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p.15.

⁷²⁵Ibid.

⁷²⁶Ibid.

were joyfully bidding farewell for their Queen. The voices showed that they also prayed for her. The Queen went away and we went on our way too.⁷²⁷

This shows some of the cultural aspects of the British people. Removing their hats is a sign of happiness and respect for their Queen. This is among the differences that El Fassi notices when it comes to such manifestations.

After describing the parade from the beginning till the end, the traveler ends up his description with an unexpected sentence. El Fassi curses the Christian British and says, “and Allah will destroy the unbelievers and give us victory over them, amen.”⁷²⁸ This illustrates what has been said before. The Queen Victoria was successful in indirectly transmitting a certain message about her military power. The Moroccan traveler was able to decipher that hidden idea and understand that the British are powerful enough to destroy any other country -especially the Arab countries which are in a weak position. El Fassi’s reaction to what he observed and described reveals the fact that he was threatened. This is why he took refuge in God/ religion. Praying for the Muslims to defeat and predominate the Christians or unbelievers is the only way – for El Fassi- to feel powerful or regain power. The religious refuge is reappearing every time the Moroccan traveler fears the British or recognizes how powerful Britain is. These instances show how power relations and the dualities of superior and inferior are always in the process of being redefined.

The military field occupies a huge part of the travel account because once again and after few days, the Queen invited the Moroccan delegation to come and attend the parade of the old army outside of the city.⁷²⁹ Once they arrived to the place destined for this parade, they found the Queen Victoria waiting for them on a horse. She saluted them warmly and sat next to them. The troops started their demonstrations and again El Fassi described those armies in almost the same way as the previous one. That is to say, the traveler focused on the clothing or uniforms, the music and the number of soldiers. He also talks about how every 1000 soldiers are followed by a certain number

⁷²⁷Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 17.

⁷²⁸Ibid.

⁷²⁹Ibid.

of cannons or guns. These guns are dragged by good horses. They are followed by carts which are supposed to be used as a means of transportation for injured and killed people.⁷³⁰

After the military parade, the Queen ordered the soldiers to demonstrate one of their war maneuvers in the presence of the Moroccan delegation.⁷³¹ El Fassi wrote a precise and minute description of the maneuver. It is about the music used and how they fight each other. The demonstration shows how the military forces should operate in a war. It is about the use of the latest guns and weapons. Many techniques used by the British soldiers thrilled the Moroccan traveler. The traveler was obviously fascinated by the demonstrations that he could not at a certain moment describe everything he saw. It was out of his control to mention everything.⁷³²

What the traveler observed was bewildering and -at the same time- alarming to the point that El Fassi said “and in fact, they – May God destroy them- use things that surprise a lot and it bewilders especially those who suddenly look at them. It might even distort their reasoning.”⁷³³ In other words, El Fassi confirms the fact that what the British soldiers performed in front of them astonished them in an incredible way, but again the traveler wish they could be destroyed mainly because he felt menaced. These dualities are repeated several times by now. The way El Fassi represents these British armies reveal an ambivalent depiction. The Moroccan traveler acknowledges the military power of the British but could not accept it. The religious framework always appears either to explain the British/ Christian military development and power or to religiously defame the religiously different Other.

El Fassi then starts questioning how they were able to advance and develop their worldly life through some laws and regulations.⁷³⁴ He could not believe that they have reached this incredible change and change just by themselves or by making use of science and knowledge. Even though El Fassi appreciates what he sees, he could not tolerate the fact that the British are militarily superior. He right after makes use of one

⁷³⁰Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 17.

⁷³¹Ibid., p. 18.

⁷³²Ibid., p. 19.

⁷³³Ibid.

⁷³⁴Ibid.

of the prophet's hadiths to back up his argument, which is about attacking the British military supremacy. The hadith says that "if life equals the wing of a mosquito, God would not have watered an infidel a drop of water."⁷³⁵ El Fassi is trying to imply that the worldly life is not very important and it is not everlasting, this is why the infidels or Christians are having better life conditions. The Moroccan traveler then ends up by praying for Islam and asking God to protect it and save it from any danger.⁷³⁶

In the same regard, that is the military field, El Fassi adds that these soldiers or military forces are paid about ten million (10 000 000) Ryal⁷³⁷ per year. In addition to that, he emphasizes that the number of the inland army is 300 000.⁷³⁸ These details seem to be of importance to the Moroccan traveler. Mentioning them could serve the Moroccan king in the sense that this could give him an idea about how much money the British government spends on its military forces and how many people are working in the army.

After the military parade and after gathering the maximum information about the military field, the Moroccan delegation was taken to a place outside of the city- to the countryside. This latter is also pictured as being well equipped. The Moroccans were well received. They have prepared appropriate food for them like fish, grills, and fruits.⁷³⁹ They stayed in a house for a while to take some rest before they headed somewhere else with Queen Victoria.⁷⁴⁰ This demonstrates that the British respect the religion of the Moroccan envoy. They took into consideration their religious restrictions when it comes to food and they have prepared special food for them.

The Queen took them to a garden in the city where not anyone could enter- a private one. "One needs the permission of the Queen to have access to that large garden which is actually a zoo". It contains many kinds of animals: land and sea

⁷³⁵Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 19.

⁷³⁶Ibid.

⁷³⁷Ryal is a Spanish currency that was also used by the Moroccans at that time. In Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 20.

⁷³⁸Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 20.

⁷³⁹Ibid.

⁷⁴⁰Ibid., p. 21.

animals. The types of animals this zoo include vary, and they are described by the Moroccan traveler as being very eccentric. “They even puzzle the mind”.⁷⁴¹ There are many kinds of birds but what El Fassi focuses on is the fact that in front of every animal’s cage there is a piece of wood in which is mentioned its origins and many other information. For instance, some were brought from the United States, while some others were brought from many other distant places.⁷⁴²

The zoo also accommodates animals like elephants, lions, camels, tigers, frogs, turtles, giraffes, hippopotamus, bees, snakes, kangaroos, etc... In addition to these animals, there are others that are introduced to the traveler for the first time. That is why he tries to describe them in a way that they could seem similar to some known animals in Morocco. El Fassi attempted to make it easy for the Moroccan king to decipher and recognize the weird animals that he was referring to.⁷⁴³ Nevertheless, at the end, the Moroccan traveler confesses the fact that he could not recognize all the animals and he could not talk about them all and name them. He then ends up his paragraph by “God knows best”.⁷⁴⁴ Thus, El Fassi was astonished by the fact that these kind of places -zoo- exist. The fact of gathering several animals in one place and categorizing them seemed very weird to the Moroccan traveler. More than that, he was even surprised by the huge number of several kind of animals- that he could not identify. This demonstrates that Britain is not concerned only with machines, architecture, and arms, but it is also keen on collecting various animals from different places.

Now the traveler moves from the zoo and the animals’ sphere into the weapons factories. After several days, the Moroccan ambassadorial emissary was taken to some weapon factories. To talk about these, the Moroccan traveler used some foreign words to refer to the weapons manufactured in these factories. This means that the weapons used are very developed and the Moroccans do not yet use these kinds of arms. That is why he was using some Spanish words to refer to the bombs and bullets and other

⁷⁴¹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 21.

⁷⁴²Ibid.

⁷⁴³Ibid., p. 22.

⁷⁴⁴Ibid., p. 23.

weapons or materials used to create guns. El Fassi also describes the factory, how big it is and the materials— that are used both for weapons and ships like wood and iron- it contains.⁷⁴⁵ The return to the military field is ubiquitous. Every time the traveler finds himself compelled to discuss the modern aspects of the military field which are omnipresent in the British society.

In the same regard, El Fassi pays a close attention to the machines used. He states that there are different machines which are used to serve different tasks. He writes further that these machines are used to make things easy for people working in these factories. It helps the employers in charge of hard tasks and who need to use force in facilitating their tasks. In this factory, the Moroccan traveler describes how men working in there put iron pieces into a big oven to get a certain shape and then once they take it out of it, they mold it in their own way.⁷⁴⁶ A very detailed description about that process is provided by the traveler. Three pages were dedicated to this process. In these pages, El Fassi explains and describes every little detail about what the people working in the factory do. For instance, he mentions the tools used for creating bullet shells.⁷⁴⁷ More than that, to show that the Moroccan delegation was very interested in how these factories work, they, for example, assert that they were standing for almost fifteen minutes to see how bullets are fabricated. This means that even though it is tiring to stand up there to watch what was happening, the Moroccan delegation could not miss the opportunity to discover all the secrets behind the progress that Britain is making. El Fassi was also interested in providing details about the number of people working there, which is almost 6000 persons, and their wages per day.⁷⁴⁸ All these pieces of information seem to be of great importance to the Moroccan delegation. When it comes to the military field, the Moroccans tend to offer ample explanations about whatever they believe is going to help their country overcome the current situation. So far, the huge attention devoted to the military field shows how considerable this field is for the Moroccan envoy.

⁷⁴⁵Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 23.

⁷⁴⁶Ibid., p. 24.

⁷⁴⁷Ibid., p. 26.

⁷⁴⁸Ibid.

At the end of the description provided concerning their visits to the factories of weapons, the Moroccan traveler once again refers to God. He inserts that “all of this is thanks to God and it belongs to him”. El Fassi adds, “we seek refuge in Allah from their evils and the evils of others and may God make their hands around their throats, Amen.”⁷⁴⁹ So, the Moroccan traveler, after discovering the power of the British in terms of the military field, started praying God to protect the Muslims in general and the Moroccans in particular from any evil that might come from the part of Christians/Europeans in general and the British in particular. More than that, El Fassi claims that whatever they have reached is also thanks to their ability to use their minds. He gave the example of constructing a ship.⁷⁵⁰ The perception of the Moroccan vis à vis what he observes in Britain is dominated by a religious background which makes him try to understand everything in relation to religion. However, in this last quote, El Fassi seems to be fair and neutral in the sense that he confesses the fact that they use their minds- intelligence and hard work- to achieve what they have achieved. For the first time, El Fassi confesses and admits that hard work and knowledge are the reasons behind the modernity and progress that Britain achieved.

After the weapons factories, the traveler narrates the tale behind the discovery of the steam power.⁷⁵¹ El Fassi recounts the story of a little boy who discovered the steam power while playing with a piece of paper. A man who was watching this boy was, therefore, able to elicit and formulate how a boat could work using steam power.⁷⁵² Nevertheless, the traveler describes this man as having “an unjust mind”.

⁷⁵³This is because for El Fassi,

the mind is divided into two categories: the unjust/dark and the enlightened. They use the unjust one in their unjust issues. And this increases their infidelity incursion. On the other hand, the enlightened mind is used by the believer to be aware of moral issues such as faith in God and his angels and messengers and almost all that makes the person

⁷⁴⁹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 28.

⁷⁵⁰Ibid.

⁷⁵¹Ibid.

⁷⁵²Ibid.

⁷⁵³Ibid.

achieve God's satisfaction. And this is why in this regard, God described them in many koranic verses as having some signs of lacking reason, reflection/ thought, and jurisprudence.⁷⁵⁴

This quote illustrates how El Fassi is creating a binary opposition between him and the Moroccans with him in particular and the Muslims in general and the British people/ the Christians. The British are referred to as having unjust minds that are employed in doing unjust things. Their behaviors –according to El Fassi- just make them more immersed in their religiously different affiliation. Being a Christian or an infidel for the Moroccan traveler is considered to be a sin. On the other hand, the enlightened mind belongs to the Muslims. They are the ones who believe in God, his angels and the messenger. Therefore, this dichotomy is based on religion. Matter of fact, the inferiority and superiority stances are redefined and challenged by El Fassi. He inserts that Muslims are believed to be superior because they have an enlightened mind whereas the infidels are inferior because they have an unjust mind.

The Moroccan traveler moves on then to describe some other cases where the British fabricate saddles or pack saddles. He narrates how they use the saw and other machines to work on these kinds of items.⁷⁵⁵ After that, the Moroccan delegation went to a public exhibition outside the city. They entered a house that is built by crystals.⁷⁵⁶ “It also has got some images, statues, shapes, people and images of animals which are puzzling.”⁷⁵⁷ The traveler was bewildered by what he saw inside this exhibition like the statues of people.⁷⁵⁸ Every time, the use of machines in different fields lures the attention of the traveler. More than that, public exhibitions- that should be paid for before the entrance- are another institution that El Fassi gets introduced to in Britain. He finds that puzzling because he is not used to that in his country.

Inside this exhibition, El Fassi describes some palaces belonging to different regions. For instance, El Fassi said that there are palaces which belong to France, Egypt, Andalucia, etc. For him, this is clear from the way that they are built. Every

⁷⁵⁴Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 28.

⁷⁵⁵Ibid., p. 29.

⁷⁵⁶Ibid.

⁷⁵⁷Ibid.

⁷⁵⁸Ibid., p. 30.

palace is designed according to the architecture used in the country of origin. The Moroccan traveler pauses or focused mainly on the palace which takes the shape of a mosque built in Morocco. He writes further that in the walls of that mosque, there were some Arabic expressions written. Even on the floor, there were some other expressions like “there is no victor but Allah.”⁷⁵⁹ However, the traveler was mad at the fact that it was written on the floor and kept there. He asked one of those in charge about this issue and he said that the government is not happy about it too and that they did not like the fact that people walk over it. Then the traveler was told that one of the pictures used in that palace was taken from Andalucia. Consequently, El Fassi got furious and felt nostalgic about the glorious history of Andalucia. He started praying that it will become the house of peace. He also cursed the infidels and prayed that their race would disappear. And finally, he mentioned that this place contains many weird items that could not be counted and limited.⁷⁶⁰ From this, one comes to realize that the religious background is deeply rooted in the Moroccan traveler’s consciousness. This background emerges every now and then. This is due to the fact that El Fassi feels that Islam and the Muslim community are threatened.

After the exhibition, the traveler moved on to describe some trainings in shooting. In this place, they use new rifles instead of the old ones. The artillery shooting training is again minutely described by El Fassi. He mentioned the process through which the people who are getting the training go through. This is to give the Moroccan king a wide picture about the shooting training procedures.⁷⁶¹ He adds that, for instance, when the shooter is a good one; he gets rewarded for shooting the place desired. This is to encourage those who are undergoing the training to do well. This demonstrates that the British valorize the human resources and use different methods to encourage the British to develop many skills.

⁷⁵⁹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 30.

⁷⁶⁰Ibid.

⁷⁶¹Ibid., p. 31.

From the shooting's training, the Moroccan ambassadorial delegation was taken to the Arms Museum.⁷⁶² It was full of pictures which have something to do with arms. For example, it exhibits pictures of people holding weapons while riding horses. The pictures give an idea about how their cavalries fight. El Fassi adds that the museum was full of old arms. The walls are also all ornated with arms and weapons. The arms exhibited in there do not belong to Britain only, but there are others which belong to different nations and regions. For instance, there are arms which were spoils taken from the French. The museum is also decorated with a picture of their Queen. Upstairs, there is a shelf where many crowns are displayed. These crowns are well ornated with gemstones like the sapphire.⁷⁶³ El Fassi adds that there are some gemstones that are as big as a chicken's egg. This shows the richness of the British. It is also part of the powerful aspect of the British society. The traveler states further that, in the museum, there are many people who are responsible for keeping it clean and neat. They are also well paid.⁷⁶⁴ This reveals the fact that such museums are well preserved by the British. They devote large sums of money to take care of their historical and cultural heritage which empowers them over other nations.

Thanks to the Queen's permission, the Moroccan emissary was able to visit the Plants Exhibition. It is a place where Christians are gathered every year. They bring their harvest and crops and gather in the garden.⁷⁶⁵ The traveler enjoyed being there because he could compare between what he found there and Morocco. In other words, El Fassi found some similarities and differences between this plant exhibition and Moroccan gardens and plants and trees. El Fassi highlights the role of the Queen in encouraging good farmers. Queen Victoria pays well those who bring good fruits and plants in order to create a competition between the peasants.⁷⁶⁶ This is not the first time where the traveler talks about the issue of encouraging people to do their job properly. In other words, the British are aware about the fact that human resources are very

⁷⁶² Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 32.

⁷⁶³ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 33.

important for the development of any field. So, they work on their motivation to make them boost their efforts.

El Fassi was very surprised by the tools used by these farmers to make their fruits grow quickly. He talks about some domes, which are fabricated to create a certain environment for trees and plants. This is, for the Moroccan traveler, a very strange strategy used in agriculture. Normally, in Morocco plants and trees grow naturally. Whereas here, El Fassi witnessed a different method by which plants are supposed to ripe very quickly. This is accomplished through the use of closed rooms.⁷⁶⁷ In Britain, not only the military field is developed, but agriculture as well is advanced. The Moroccan traveler could not hide his astonishment from what he saw there in this regard. However, at the end of his description, he reiterates the same perception or comments concerning the development that Britain has reached. He believes that the infidels are occupied by the worldly life, but they are inattentive and incautious about the hereafter.⁷⁶⁸ That is why again according to El Fassi, this “life is the prison of the believer and the paradise of the unbeliever”.⁷⁶⁹ This is the only way El Fassi legitimizes why the British are making progress in different fields. El Fassi believes that the development they are achieving makes them obstinate and rigid. In addition to that, he thinks that since they will be deprived of paradise later on, God gave them this life in the form of a garden which is close to the Mediterranean. Here, the Moroccan traveler does not refer only to Britain but to Europe in General. Finally, El Fassi sums up his description of the garden by noting that he noticed that they do not have dates, bananas and sugar cane. And he explains that by the fact that it is the weather which does not allow these plants to grow especially that the weather is very cold in London and it is always raining.⁷⁷⁰

After agriculture, the Moroccan delegation had access to the British banking system. They took them to see how money is produced. To begin with, El Fassi noticed that there was a dark room full of pieces of gold and silver. The Moroccan

⁷⁶⁷Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 33.

⁷⁶⁸Ibid., p. 34.

⁷⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁷⁰Ibid.

traveler asserts that “those pieces are very heavy and cannot be hold by one man”.⁷⁷¹ He also described how they print the banknotes.⁷⁷² El Fassi states that in order to show their power, the British had to create banks. Power signs are always followed by the Moroccan traveler cursing the British for what they have attained. This again emphasizes the fact that El Fassi could not stand the idea that they are powerful and have a strong military, agricultural and financial field. The bank contains a store where they use a machine to check some gold pieces. The machine is used to examine the quality of the gold.⁷⁷³ Matter of fact, the bank system is another aspect of the powerful modern life of Britain.

Another factory was visited by the Moroccan ambassadorial delegation. It is that of glass. It is a place where cups and other utensils are made up. The traveler describes this factory as having a large oven where the glass is manufactured.⁷⁷⁴ The factory produces glass cups, pottery, chandeliers, lamps and prestigious utensils. They are all designed to be sold.⁷⁷⁵

After the bank and the glass factory, the Moroccan embassy was taken to the telegraph office. El Fassithen explains what the role of this office is. This is mainly because Morocco at that time seemed not to have one. So, the traveler had to elaborate on its function for the king. El Fassi said that the telegraph is supposed to send and receive news. And, the reason behind going there is that the Moroccan embassy which was went to France sent a message to the Moroccans in Britain to figure out whether or not the news they heard about Fez was true or not. They said that Fez is suffering from cholera and they wanted to check this information. The Moroccan delegation in France asked the French to send a telegraph to the Moroccan emissary in Britain, but the Moroccans did not only talk about this in their messages, but they exchanged many other pieces of information. In addition to that, El Fassi mentioned how much time it

⁷⁷¹Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 34.

⁷⁷²Ibid.

⁷⁷³Ibid., p. 35.

⁷⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁷⁵Ibid., p. 36.

takes to receive the messages from one country to another.⁷⁷⁶ The telegraph, which is a strange machine for El Fassi, is also found in Istanbul, India, Madrid, and Egypt.⁷⁷⁷ This is among the technological advancements that bewildered not only El Fassi, but the whole Moroccan commission.

Among the wonders that the Moroccan delegation came across in Britain is the Bridge of London. It is a huge long and curved building. It has got some stores where they buy and sell goods. El Fassi adds that

above that place, there is a great river, like the sea, where the great boats pass by, that place is bit dark so it needs to be lighted up during the day, and this bridge cannot be described because of its incredible length and the quality of its construction.⁷⁷⁸

This bridge again shows the greatness of London and Britain in general. It stresses the architecture and infrastructure employed in Britain.

El Fassi mentions at the end that whatever they have seen has been suggested by the British Queen who repeatedly asked them to do so. This goes hand in hand with their king's aspirations. The main aim behind visiting all those places is to satisfy the desire of the Commander of the Faithful. He is the one who sent this embassy to Britain to serve the Moroccan country. At last, El Fassi narrates the return and how they moved from London to Port Smouth and then to Tangier and Fez. This part has been dealt with in more details earlier.

After this descriptive analysis of the travel narrative, I will now move to a close and brief textual analysis which summarizes the representation of modernity by El Fassi. Thus, to start with, the fact of writing this travel narrative is significantly important for several reasons. First of all, it could be considered as a valuable historical document. That is to say, it is a document which illustrates the Moroccan British relations at a certain period of time. This nineteenth century is a decisive period for the Moroccan side. And, the travel happened right after the defeat of Morocco in Tetouan War in 1859. Consequently, it is enriching for the Moroccan historiography

⁷⁷⁶Mohamed Taher El Fassi, *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyar al Injaliziya 1860* (Fes: Jamiat Mohamed Al Khamiss, 1967), p. 36.

⁷⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷⁷⁸*Ibid.*

because it is a narrative written from the perspective of a Moroccan. Second, this travel account proves the fact that non-Westerners can also produce knowledge. Writing about the Other is not exclusively for Westerners or Europeans. Thus, this traveler narrative could be seen as a counter discourse to those orientalists who claim that the Orientals cannot represent themselves and they need someone to represent them. El Fassi's account is one of those narratives that provide some representational practices or accounts about the Other. By traveling to Europe and then writing about this experience, the traveler is trying to demystify Bernard Lewis's claim that Arabs were not curious enough about other places and nations. Muslims and Moroccans traveled to different places and wrote about their experiences; their documents just need to be exhumed.

In addition to that, such travel narratives could be dealt with from different perspectives. They are not scientific accounts but rather representational ones which reflect upon the experience of the traveler to the other shore. It also provides a critical reflection on the encounters between the Moroccans and the British.

From the very beginning of the travel narrative, El Fassi was trying to create a binary opposition between him and the British encountered in the contact zone. This binary opposition is mainly formulated around religion. This is prominent mainly when the traveler refers to himself and the Moroccans with him as Muslims whereas the British are portrayed as Christians. Thus, the religious identification is omnipresent, and it is behind the dichotomy established by El Fassi. This latter was always attempting to challenge and reverse the power relations established between the Moroccans as Muslims and the British as Christians. Whenever El Fassi used to come across an anomaly, he used to refer to religion. An anomaly here refers to whatever was new and strange for the Moroccan traveler and the whole Moroccan delegation. Whenever El Fassi realizes that the British are more developed and modernized, he tries to use his religious discourse to explain why they have reached such a position. For him, it is God who is behind their modern life. He granted the Christians this luxurious life style only because it is not eternal. They will live in this "paradise" only temporarily, but then they are going to hell. This explanation alleviates the pain that E Fassi feels towards the modernity that Britain reached. He could not

accept the fact that Muslims are in a weak situation, whereas the Christians are powerful. They are powerful in almost all the fields of life. So, the Self and the Other have been negotiated in the sense that the British try to Other the Moroccans because they believe that they are superior and developed whereas the Moroccans are inferior and in a weak position in terms of military forces for instance. However, this othering process is mutual because for El Fassi, the British are the religiously inferior Other.

Since Occidentalism is about creating a balance in terms of the binary opposition created by Orientalists, El Fassi was establishing this balance every time he felt that the British are strong in a certain field. The fact that the British are portrayed as being powerful in terms of the economic, social and military fields did not mean that they could not be inferior religiously speaking. This is how El Fassi was trying to create a balance in terms of the relationship between him – as a representative of the Moroccans- and the British. El Fassi was also redefining the existing relationship between Europeans or Westerners and non-Westerners. He was also reinforcing a positive self-image about the Moroccans in general and the Muslims in particular. This was clearly manifested when El Fassi was referring to the Moroccan and Muslim heritage especially when it comes to architecture.

As previously mentioned, according to Henry Lefebvre, modernity is a reflective process. It is also a more or less advanced attempt at critique and auto critique. It is about lurking for knowledge. This means that the fact of reflecting upon the Moroccan war defeat and thinking of ways to overcome it could be considered as part of the modernization process. The fact that the Moroccan king sought some “practical wisdom” through traveling to Europe emphasizes that modernity starts from the point of criticizing one’s societal situations and reacting towards it. The Moroccan king was able to come to the conclusion that his country needs to know about why the Europeans were powerful at that time. He consequently realized that one way of getting to know the answer is sending embassies that are going to report on what is happening on the other shore.

Seeking modernity from Europe concretizes what Rasheed El Enany argued before. He believes that modernity in Europe emanated from within, whereas in the Arab world, it was just a transplantation. This also goes hand in hand with Tarik’s

Sabry argument. He states that social modernization, which is a societal transformation, is the result of both endogenous and exogenous elements. The exogenous element could be the historical transformation that Morocco and the European world were undergoing. It is about the Moroccan defeat and the high imperialism era. Subsequently, this led to the exogenous or extrinsic reason behind lurking after modernity which is becoming reflexive upon what was happening. The king was the symbol for this revolutionary thinking. This is because Laroui believes that modernity is imposed by the intelligentsia. They are the ones who decide over the change happening in their societies. Thus, the Moroccan king, his ambassadors and writers could be seen as the ones behind the social vector of change. They are the ones trying to impose the implementation of modernity because they are the leaders, decision makers and active participants in the Moroccan society.

Modernity according to El Fassi could be defined as order, organization, knowledge/ science, technological, military, and agricultural advancement. This is because from the very beginning of the travel, El Fassi was fascinated by the order maintained in the boat by the soldiers. He was astonished by how every member of these soldiers were specialized in something. He could not believe that they have knowledge about arithmetic, astrology and they can repair things inside the boat using machines. The Moroccan traveler was also bewildered by London. He could not hide his amazement by the organization of the city. For him, it is the greatest city. The use of this superlative is very telling. More than that, the use of machines in different fields was also abnormal for El Fassi, who is coming from a very traditional background. For instance, the use of the barometer, the steam power and the telegraph shows the technological growth of the British. When it comes to the military field, El Fassi was puzzled by the development that they have reached in terms of the artillery. The arms and guns they use are new and very developed for El Fassi. More than that, the soldiers are well-trained, and they follow a certain order. There are also many categories, and one can differentiate between them through the different uniforms and colors that they are wearing. The weapon factory is another mesmerizing place for El Fassi. The detailed descriptions he provided in this regard reveal his enchantment. The banking system and the agriculture are two other fields that lured the attention of the

Moroccan traveler. This is also because they are part of the modern life of the British society. In addition to these institutions, El Fassi focused on a very important issue which could also be considered as an essential part of the modern life in Britain. It is the development of the human resources. At several instances, El Fassi remarked that the employers are encouraged to work hard and be more productive. Many awards are given to people who are hardworking and dedicated to their jobs. Matter of fact, this strategy is among the tools used by the British to stimulate the employers. Thus, Britain does not invest only on the material side of the modern life, but the human capital is also significantly considerable. Education is another field, which El Fassi covers at the end of his travel narrative. By this, El Fassi seems to have included all the fields, which have been modernized.

To conclude, it seems to be hard to categorize El Fassi under one of the three main categories that Fathi talked about when it comes to the perception and attitudes of Arabs to modernity. Therefore, I would consider him as part of both the “traditionalist Ulama” and “Islamic modernists”. This is because he sometimes adopts a moderate representation of modernity in Britain. He does confirm and confess the development, order, and progress in different fields, but at the same time he tries to denigrate this progress by claiming that is not eternal. It is only a temporary one. He also highlights the importance of religion every time he comes into contact with instances that show the European superiority in terms of the material world. This ambivalent perspective makes of him an ambivalent traveler who is both advocating the British modernity and defaming it because it is achieved by Christians who are religiously different from the Muslim traveler- El Fassi. This latter did not completely reject the European modernity, but he could not get rid of his pride in terms of his Arab-Islamic values. Thus, modernity for El Fassi is both a malady and remedy.

II- *Ithaf al Akhiyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar* (1876)

1- Jaadi's Background and the travel's context

This section is about the background of the second traveler to Britain. It deals with the profile of Jaadi. It also focuses on the historical context within which the travel took place. This is because it is very essential to look at the historical dimension of the travel. Thus, this section provides a contextual framework to the travel narrative- *Ithaf al Akhiyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar*- written by Jaadi in 1876. This travel narrative took place within a somehow similar historical frame of the previous travel account, which is the era of the “defeat and discovery” (19th century).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Morocco was going through some military, social, and economic deterioration and consequently the implementation of reforms was no more an option, but it rather became a necessity and an obligation. The Moroccan kings (Mohammed IV and Hassan I) also became very sensitive to this issue and realized that embracing reforms was very essential for their country to move on and trespass failure. Stated differently, when

Sultan Abd al-Rahman died suddenly on the eve of the Tetouan war in 1859, bringing his son Muhammad IV (reigned 1859-1873) to the throne. [...] his determination to set a new course for Morocco after the disgraces of Isly and Tetuan led him to firmly embrace a policy of reform.⁷⁷⁹

Embracing the policy of reforms was not only an intrinsic personal decision, Drummond Hay who is the representative of Britain emphasized that in every occasion. And, he finally succeeded in convincing Mohammed IV and later on Moulay Hassan to undergo some reforms in multiple fields. The Moroccan kings were ready for these reforms and showed their interest in implementing them; however, they were not very successful because the “Moroccan society was still largely rural, agrarian,

⁷⁷⁹Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: University Press, 2013), p. 28.

conservative, deeply traditional, and wary of rapid transformation.”⁷⁸⁰ Morocco was not ready for such reforms because of various inner and outer instabilities.

As it is previously mentioned in the historical part, Khalid ben Srrhir argues that reforms took two forms: ones were proposed by the Makhzan and others by the European countries. The reforms suggested by the Makhzan were thought to be superficial, whereas the ones proposed by the European countries were practical and noticeable. Nevertheless, some members of the Makhzan rejected the idea of reforms because they believed that it would weaken the moral values of the Moroccan country. They also inserted that “the population is brutal and rejects all that is unfamiliar.”⁷⁸¹ More than that, it is assumed that the reforms which the European countries suggested served mainly their agendas’ first and then Morocco. The European interference by then became perceptible. Its apparent influence shows that Morocco was no more independent in solving its own issues. The intrusion of the European countries was unavoidable.

According to Jamal Haymer, the intrinsic reforms came as a result of an emerging awareness of the interior disorder.⁷⁸² Ali Oumlil also believes that the endogenous reforms started from the awareness of “an internal disorder that hit the society.”⁷⁸³ Haymer asserts that “the two Moroccan defeats were the main inner motivations for auto critic and then reforms.”⁷⁸⁴ Morocco at that time adopted a “revisionist thinking,”⁷⁸⁵ and focused “more on the ideas of resiliency, of cautious yet strategic thinking, and on the selective appropriation of new technologies that helped

⁷⁸⁰Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 28.

⁷⁸¹Abd el Rahman el Mouden, “Ba’ad Almawaqif al Maghribiya min Al Moustahdatath al Tiqniya al Gharbiya fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar”, In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar* (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Ada bwa al Ou’loun al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 371.

⁷⁸²Jamal Haymer, *Al Baa’tat al Taalimiya fi a’ahd al Sultan Mawlay al Hassan*, Volume 62, November 2015, Manchourat al Zaman, p. 19.

⁷⁸³Ali Oumlil, « Ma Houwa Al Islah’ bi Mafhoum Islami », In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Ada bwa al Ou’loun al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 24.

⁷⁸⁴Jamal Haymer, *Al Baa’tat al Taalimiya fi a’ahd al Sultan Mawlay al Hassan*, Volume 62, November 2015, Manchourat al Zaman, p. 22.

⁷⁸⁵Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 28.

the Sharifian state to follow an independent course long after neighboring Algeria (1830) and Tunisia (1881) had fallen to the imperial sword.”⁷⁸⁶

The Moroccan kings employed auto critic and realized that reforms are the only alternative to ameliorate the Moroccan conditions and situation. They started rethinking everything they used to take for granted. The colonized Algeria and the two wars caused the emergence of three resurgence movements.⁷⁸⁷ Yet, they were not very successful because reforms were not fully accepted by the Moroccan elites. There were two trends in this concern, as it is previously mentioned. This is one of the stumbling blocks that slowed down the process of reforms. Susan Miller explains that,

Just as in the Ottoman Empire, the reform movement had to break the back of the old order and make way for new styles of absolutism that would inflict an all-too-familiar pain on the population. In Morocco, reform created a cadre of ‘modernizers’, or ‘new men’ committed to change, but their numbers were very small and their influence limited”⁷⁸⁸

This quote emphasizes the idea that the Moroccan population was divided into two. There were those who supported reforms and were considered as modernizers and others who opposed this reform policy. Because reforms imply breaking down the old order and establishing a new one, it was not an easy task for the traditionalists to accept this change easily. Therefore, the ones who encouraged reforms and who are headed by the king represented the minority. This minority

started planning and working to overcome the deteriorating conditions and trying to keep the danger away. It also worked on organizing the army, reforming and renovating it, organizing the administration and the government, introducing some industries, especially the military ones. It also tried to activate and develop the scientific movement and sending

⁷⁸⁶Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 29.

⁷⁸⁷Mohamed El Menouni, *MadahirYakadat al Maghrib, Part 1* (Beirut: Matbaa’t Al Moutawassit, Tabaa’ Taniya, 1985), p. 22.

⁷⁸⁸Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 29.

missions abroad ... etc. This clearly shows that they chose renewal on the European way and European thinking.”⁷⁸⁹

Unluckily, the reforms implemented by the Makhzan were not also successful because this latter had to fight at different layers. Only a minority was supporting the reforms movement.

Additionally, and in the same regard, there are two stages for the reforms which were taking place. The first stage runs from 1856 to 1880 and the second one is the period from 1880 to 1904. In the first one, Britain was the one anticipating these reforms, but during the second period, it called or invited some other countries like France, Spain and Germany to encourage or put some pressures on Morocco to go for the reforms. The collaboration of the different European countries facilitated the implementation of their suggested reforms.

“When Sidi Mohammed died in 1873, his son Moulay Hassan continued to build up the army.”⁷⁹⁰ PG Rogers claims that Moulay Hassan I, who is a “reformer and consolidator, [and who] reigned 1873- 1894,”⁷⁹¹ was very eager about starting reforms especially in terms of the military field. According to Mostapha el Chabi,

The real innovator of the organization of the Makhzen was Moulay Hassan. He was very careful in ensuring more effectiveness to monitor the government action by establishing new ministries, which resulted in the creation of the Ministry of War and the Ministry of Primate Affairs and the Secretariat of Trustees, which served as the Ministry of Finance, and he at the same time worked on strengthening the ministries that existed before. The same thing happened to the ministries that previously existed.⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁹Ahmed el Omari, “Nadariyat al Tahdith w al MouwajahaI’nd Ali al Soussi al Semlali min Khilalktabih: I’yanat al Istia’na fi hokm al Tawdif w al mao’ona”, In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa’ al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi’ A’achar*, (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ou’loum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 92.

⁷⁹⁰C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 73.

⁷⁹¹ Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. xxv.

⁷⁹²Mostapha El Chabi, *Al Noukhba al Makhzaniya fi matla’ al qarn al Tasi’ A’achar* (Rabat: Manchourat koliyat al Adab wa al O’olom al Inssaniya, 1995), p. 25.

Hassan I seemed to be a real reformer; in the sense that, he tried to be very effective in organizing many institutions and modifying the government's structure. He was able to establish many ministries to cope up with the European advancement in this regard. But he devoted a special attention to the military field firstly by establishing the ministry of war. More than that, he took care of the army himself. He used to attend the trainings and help in the organization of the army.⁷⁹³ "Moulay Hassan bought most of his weapons from Britain and France. [...] He also converted his father's powder factory into a cartridge factory, supervised by a Belgian, and built a rifle factory- the Makina in Fez- to make copies of Martini-Henry rifles under Italian supervision."⁷⁹⁴ He also bought many boats and ships from different European countries like France and Italy and then distributed them on many ports of Morocco.⁷⁹⁵ However, unfortunately, both Sidi Mohammed and Moulay Hassan started the reforms "in which they spent useless money, not only because they had to abandon it only a little later, but because the Europeans provided them with weapons that were no longer used in Europe, they were unable to protect the country against new European weapons."⁷⁹⁶

In addition to that, Hassan I sent many Moroccans to different countries in order to learn about various fields, gather information and come back with a huge scope of knowledge about art, science and shipbuilding. He did not send only ambassadorial missions, but he also sent student missions to benefit from trainings and studies. In 1875, he decided to send some Moroccan students to Britain to learn about weapons and engineering as part of the military reforms. "Moulay Hassan sent students to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich."⁷⁹⁷ Some soldiers were also sent for some military training in Gibraltar in 1876. This is because they precisely had to learn about the art of war. Additionally, "since it was cheaper to bring the trainers to Morocco, in

⁷⁹³Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1* (Beirut: Matbaa't Al Moutawassit, Tabaa' Taniya, 1985), p. 84.

⁷⁹⁴C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 73.

⁷⁹⁵Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1* (Beirut: Matbaa't Al Moutawassit, Tabaa' Taniya, 1985), pp. 87-88.

⁷⁹⁶JermanIyach, "Imkaniyat al Islah w Assbab al Fachal fi al Maghrib", In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa' al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi' A'achar* (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ou'loum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 356.

⁷⁹⁷C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 74.

1876 the sultan hired a Briton, Sir Harry Maclean.”⁷⁹⁸ Some French and Spanish trainers were also brought to train Moroccan soldiers.⁷⁹⁹

The French government insisted that the Sultan accept a French military mission to train the artillery. Jules Erckman, its chief instructor, became a keen rival of Maclean’s. Both men represented the interests of their government. [...] the German government insisted that it too should have a role, and in 1877 it was given responsibility for the coastal artillery.⁸⁰⁰

This quote unveils the fact that Morocco was vulnerable in what concerns the military field. The successive defeats in the Isly and Tetouan wars caused a frustrating military weakness. And therefore, the military field was among the priorities of the Moroccan kings. The international competition is also very clear in this regard, because all the European countries wanted to be involved in the military reforms. They all had representatives in Morocco to show their power. This is an indirect way of threatening the Moroccan country and anticipating a European expansion on the Moroccan territories. Matter of fact,

Despite the European stand-off, Sidi Mohammed IV and his successor Moulay Hassan knew that they would remain independent only if they were strong. They wanted to modernize the army, for which they needed money, so they were prepared to listen to Drummond-Hay’s advice when they thought it was helpful- or when they had no choice.⁸⁰¹

Modernizing the army, as the quote reveals, was the first step towards a strong military force. So, again the “shock of military defeat meant that the makhzan turned first to military reform, and this remained the core of modernization plans for the rest of the nineteenth century.”⁸⁰² Consequently,

By 1869 the *nizam* army numbered 3000 infantry and artillery was growing too. [...] The army was beginning to become Moroccan rather than factional. The sultan bought British shoulder arms and artillery, but

⁷⁹⁸C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 74.

⁷⁹⁹Mohamed El Menouni, *MadahirYakadat al Maghrib, Part 1* (Beirut: Matbaa’t Al Moutawassit, Tabaa’ Taniya, 1985), p. 84.

⁸⁰⁰C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 74.

⁸⁰¹Ibid., p. 71.

⁸⁰²Ibid., p. 72.

also set up a gunpowder factory in Marrakesh, a first step in creating an industrial base for the army. He turned to the British to train it. In 1870 the first group of students was sent to Gibraltar.⁸⁰³

As it was already mentioned, not all the Moroccans supported the modernization of the army. There were supporters and opponents of the process. Therefore, the king used to try to legitimize what he was doing by implicating religious scholars; for instance,

ten important '*Ulama* were asked to give fatwas declaring whether it was licit to adopt European weapons, tactics and methods of training the troops. [...] One of them, Muhammed al-Mahdi bin Suda, wrote that gunpowder, which was unknown to the prophet, had been a praiseworthy innovation because it had allowed Muslims to extend their rule. Logically, when the *Dar al-Islam* was in danger, other innovations were permitted.⁸⁰⁴

This permission allowed the king and his supporters to adopt the reform without interruption. The trainings and weapons were portrayed as an urgent need that will help the Moroccans-Muslims- to fight back the Europeans who were considered as a danger to the house of Islam.

To afford the trainings and all the other logistical items, Morocco needed to borrow money from the European countries and especially Britain given its good relationship with Morocco. Thus, Drummond Hay helped the Moroccan Makhzen to obtain the money needed. Nonetheless, the "military reform that was intended to strengthen the Moroccan state against external aggression led to increased European involvement and heavier debt."⁸⁰⁵ This led Morocco and other countries to fall deeply in debt with European countries and therefore become dependent on it.

The period from 1860 to 1900 knew an increasingly economic deterioration.⁸⁰⁶ This is due to several reasons among which the money spent on the Moroccan soldiers to equip them with training and weapons, the debt that Morocco had to pay for Spain

⁸⁰³C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 73.

⁸⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁸⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁸⁰⁶Mohamed El Menouni, *MadahirYakadat al Maghrib, Part 1* (Beirut: Matbaa't Al Moutawassit, Tabaa' Taniya, 1985), p. 40.

and the monetary instability. When it comes to the Spanish debt, it is important to highlight the fact that

When the Spanish evacuated Tetuan in May 1862, they left three legacies. The first was the hatred of the Spaniards. In Tetuan the Spanish had destroyed houses, desecrated graveyards, converted one mosque into a church and another into a hospital. [...] The second was a debt of 100 million pesetas. The indemnity to the Spanish government was to be repaid in two parts, half of it over a long term from the product of half the customs dues, and the other half at once. To do that, the makhzen had to take out a foreign loan. [...] The third legacy was economic. [...] All over the Middle East and North Africa local economies fell under the control of European bankers and traders, became suppliers of raw materials (cotton in Egypt, silk in Lebanon) and consumers of manufactured goods.⁸⁰⁷

The first legacy was a cultural and civilizational one. It created hatred towards the Spanish for what they did in Morocco, like destroying houses and converting mosques into churches. The second legacy was the huge amount of money that Morocco had to repay for Spain. The Moroccan conditions did not allow the Moroccan government to easily pay the indemnity. It was very complicated for Morocco to do so since its treasury was empty. This pushed Morocco to become dependent and under the control of the European countries which supplied Morocco with the money needed. Supplying the European countries with raw material as an exchange for money was one way of resolving this problem since cash was not available to pay back the loans.

Still in the economic and monetary sphere, Drummond Hay played an influential role in stressing the need for the economic reforms. This is mainly because trade was essential for Britain. This latter was always making sure that Morocco is fulfilling the articles in the 1856 Treaty which focuses on the commercial transactions between the two countries. The treaty aims at liberalizing trade with Europe, boosting agriculture, exploiting minerals, introducing some industries and equipping ports. This is because Morocco was a complementary market for Europe in periods of crisis. Its

⁸⁰⁷C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, pp. 68-69.

growth was not regular since it depended on the international conditions and contexts.⁸⁰⁸

When it comes to the maritime commerce, Morocco was powerful and used to have some customs legislations. Matter of fact, the Europeans could not tolerate and accept that. So, “the European countries were mobilized to force Morocco to conclude trade treaties to consolidate the rules of foreign control over the Moroccan trade.”⁸⁰⁹ Their objective was attained through concluding three treaties. The first one was with England in 1856; the second one with Spain after Tetouan’s war in 1861; and the third was with France in 1863.⁸¹⁰ These treaties affected the Moroccan – Europeans relations in terms of power relations. The treaties were in favor of the Europeans countries since they fostered the Consular Protection⁸¹¹ in Morocco. This affected the financial department of Morocco.

During the 1860s – 1870s,

three principles governed British policy towards Morocco during these twenty years: that Moroccan markets should be open to commerce; that no other European state should control the southern shore of the Strait of Gibraltar; and, above all, that no money should be spent from the British Treasury to secure these aims.⁸¹²

These reforms which are in favor of the European countries aimed at keeping a financial superiority over the Moroccan merchants.⁸¹³ In other words, “the purpose of the Europeans was to be able to help the progress of their commerce, to facilitate the export of their own manufactured goods and the importation of primary products

⁸⁰⁸Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876 (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2006), p. 27.

⁸⁰⁹Ibid.

⁸¹⁰Ibid.

⁸¹¹ See Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 43. “Began in the eighteenth century as a means of stimulating commerce by releasing foreigners from the jurisdiction of Moroccan law, including taxes, the granting of ‘protection’, or what we might call ‘diplomatic immunity’, metastasized in the nineteenth century into a corrupt and abusive practice that embraced hundreds of people and undermined the authority of the Makhzen.”

⁸¹²C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p.71.

⁸¹³PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office), p. 207.

which they needed, and finally to protect their merchants and the people of their country.”⁸¹⁴

Though Morocco was suffering in terms of the economic field, at a certain point and thanks to some practical reforms, foreign commerce and trade in particular knew some noticeable change. So, due to the efforts of the European countries in this subject matter and due to the development of the means of transportation, the Moroccan foreign commerce knew some unprecedented growth.⁸¹⁵ That period witnessed a growth in terms of commercial transactions with Europe. This latter needed wool, leather, grains or cereals and several other raw materials.⁸¹⁶ In addition to that, many well-known Moroccan families were installed in different parts of Europe. For instance, Bennani were in Manchester, Bennis in Liverpool, Guessouss in London, Kebbaj in Hamburg, Bouhlal in Genoa, and Lahlou in Marseille. More than that, Morocco participated in various international exhibitions. Moroccan traders were present in “Paris Second Exposition” in 1867, Paris Third Exposition in 1878, and Paris Fourth Exposition in 1889.⁸¹⁷ This was beneficial for both Morocco and Europe because Moroccan traders were able to display their products in a European sphere. The products are loaded with cultural dimension, but at the same time, European countries benefited from the import of products that they did not have. However, this development did not allow Morocco to advance and become very strong in the face of the European superiority.

The money instability was another issue that the Moroccan government had to face in terms of the economic field. Susan Miller argues that,

Establishing the financial stability of the state was clearly the necessary foundation of any successful program of reform. Yet despite evidence of a thriving trade with the outside world and growing revenues flowing into the coffers of the state- the heavy cost of Spain indemnity

⁸¹⁴C. R. Pennel, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 69.

⁸¹⁵Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1*, p. 109.

⁸¹⁶Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 26.

⁸¹⁷Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1*, pp. 111-112.

notwithstanding- Morocco found itself in the midst of a monetary crisis by mid- century.⁸¹⁸

This monetary crisis is related to the previous causes and to the fact that while the European currency was increasingly growing, a noticeable decline was taking place for the Moroccan currency. Afa Omar asserts that

the monetary crisis is the result of multiple and complex factors, with which the currency has been shattered by the payment of compensation and debt and trade balance deficit, and the practice of smuggling and forgery, and did not find all attempts to reform because there are conditions are not available for these attempts.⁸¹⁹

This problem had some

dire consequences for Moroccan peasants, for whom every decline in the value of bronze coins meant an increase in their cost of living. Sultan Muhammad attempted to stabilize the currency by issuing a new silver coin called the *Muhammadi dirham* and fixing its exchange rate relative to bronze coins. [...] but this measure worked only for a short time and soon this coin also disappeared from circulation. Later sultans followed a similar strategy, issuing new coins with new names, readjusting the rates of exchange to cover the rate of inflation, and imposing new taxes, so that the long-term damage to makhzen finances was contained and revenues remained more or less constant.⁸²⁰

This issue emerged during the era of Mohammed IV and continued till the reign of Hassan I. Establishing new coins solved the problem only partially and temporarily. All the attempts of the Moroccan kings to solve this problem seemed not to be successful. This is especially because during the reign of Hassan I, for instance, he tried to create a currency which equals the French money.⁸²¹ The Moroccan currency's value was higher than the French one for the simple reason that the French did not

⁸¹⁸Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 32.

⁸¹⁹Afa Omar, "Mouchkilat al NouqoudwaMouhawlat al Islah fi Maghrib al Qarn al Ttaasii' a'achar". In *Al Islahwa al Moujtamaa' al Maghribi fi al Qarn al Tassi' A'achar* (Rabat: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa al Ou'loum al Inssaniya, 1983), p. 88.

⁸²⁰Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 32-33.

⁸²¹Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1*, p. 115.

implement what was agreed upon and created a currency which is even superior to the French one. This problem led to a real crisis and affected the traders mainly. In addition to that, though the Moroccan government did not accept the currency made for it at first, it found itself obliged by the French to use it. So, instead of achieving a certain progress, regression was inescapable.⁸²² In this regard, Miller assumes that, “perhaps the most devastating effect of the ongoing monetary crisis was a psychological one; in the popular mind, currency troubles were somehow linked to the more general problem of foreign intrusion into the local economy.”⁸²³

The economic crisis did not have only a psychological effect on the Moroccan population, but it also influenced the local economy through the foreign penetration in the economic issues of Morocco. El Menouni argues that the European interference took different forms among which the problem of the protection which consists of giving privileges to foreign citizens and depriving the Moroccans of these prerogatives.⁸²⁴ It is -as it is mentioned earlier- one of the outcomes of the treaties concluded with Morocco.

After the French occupied Algeria in 1830 and the trade relations increased between Morocco and Europe, and the Moroccan Jews position was strengthened at different layers. This happened thanks to the European interference. Jewish associations in Europe established the “General Israeli Union” to help the Jews in all over the world and Morocco was of no exception.⁸²⁵ Matter of fact, “the British Government was particularly interested in this vital group in Moroccan society and appointed itself as the protector of the Jews of Morocco and the defender of their rights as a means to further extend their influence in Morocco.”⁸²⁶ There was even an “English Jewish Association” which was meant to play the role of the protector of the Jews.⁸²⁷

In other words, during the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain implemented this policy as a way to penetrate Morocco more and be more influential

⁸²²Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1*, p. 116-118.

⁸²³Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 33.

⁸²⁴Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1*, p. 56.

⁸²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁸²⁶Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), p. 158.

⁸²⁷Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1*, p. 59.

especially that Morocco was in a very weak phase. Though at the beginning the protection was not a huge danger for Morocco, El Menouni claims that it became disastrous after the war of Tetouan.⁸²⁸ Protection could be seen as part of Britain's imperialist strategies. It could also be considered as a weakening factor enhancing the decline of Morocco.⁸²⁹ This is because protection was not only concerned with foreigners, but Moroccans also benefitted from this individual protection. "A significant number of Moroccans became foreign nationals living in the country, but not subject to its laws and legitimacy."⁸³⁰In addition to that, Miller argues that

Many protégés were *tujjar*, or merchants, because of their key role as intermediaries, but other natives were also accorded protection and refused to pay taxes for less obvious reasons: chiefs of zawiyas, ministers of state, the unofficial native escort of J. H. Drummond Hay, [...] The practice grew despite the warnings of the ulama that protection was tantamount to 'wallowing in the mud of the infidel'. Certain European agents even had the audacity to put patents of protection up for sale, and some Moroccans reportedly bought multiple titles of protection, just to be on the safe side. While the aim of the reform movement was to open a new era in state-societal relations founded on order and rationality, the practice of protection proposed a different option riddled by corruption and special privileges.⁸³¹

This problem worried the Moroccan government. Hence, in 1880, the main problems or issues dealt with by John Drummond Hay and Moulay Hassan are "the questions of irregular protection, the urgent necessity of administrative reforms, improvement of trade, treatment of Moroccan Jews, and a number of other matters."⁸³²

⁸²⁸Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1*, p. 56.

⁸²⁹Khalid Ben-Srhir, *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond Hay, 1845-1886*, p. 151.

⁸³⁰Abdellah Laroui, *Moujmal Tarikh al Maghrib* (Casablanca: Al Markaz al Takafi al Arabi, 2009), p. 563.

⁸³¹Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 43.

⁸³²PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*, p. 192.

The Protection⁸³³ became the stumbling block in front of any attempt for reforms. This explains why the Moroccan sultan Hassan I was trying to find solutions to this problem by enhancing the Moroccan diplomacy towards Europe.⁸³⁴ So, in terms of the diplomatic relations, from 1845 to 1876, the Moroccan Makhzen sent four ambassadorial missions. The first was led by al Haj Abd el Kader Achaa'ch to France, the second one was led by al Haj AbdelRahman al Aji and Mohamed Taher was its writer and the ambassadorial mission was sent to Britain. The third was led by Mohamed Abd el Krim al Charki in 1866. He was accompanied with Mohammed Ben Said Slaoui. The fourth envoy was led by Mohammed Zebdi al Rebaty who was accompanied by Driss Jaadi as a writer.⁸³⁵ The following picture illustrates the members of the fourth ambassadorial envoy.



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Figure 1. A picture of Jaadi and the other members of the Moroccan ambassadorial commission who went to Britain in 1876.

⁸³³See Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 47. "Protection was a safe means of extending French political influence inside Morocco without risking a confrontation with the other Great Powers."

⁸³⁴Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 27.

⁸³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁸³⁶The picture is taken from Mostapha El Chabi, *Al Noukhba al Makhzaniya fi matla' al qarn al Tasi' A'achar* (Rabat: Manchourat koliyat al Adab wa al O'olom al inssaniya, 1995), p. 86.

The fourth ambassadorial mission went to France, Belgium, England and Italy. They could not reach Spain which tried to impede the travel of Zebdi and his companions to Europe.⁸³⁷ Spain tried to hinder this travel “by carrying out military maneuvers in Northern Morocco in order to provoke the Moroccan Makhzen and to intimidate it from doing what is opposing the Spanish interests.”⁸³⁸ This pushed the French and British Ministry of Exterior to ask -through their ambassadors- the Spanish government about the military maneuvers. The Italian ambassador in Britain told Lord Derby – who is a British minister- that Spain will send some Generals to Morocco simply because they have nothing to do in Spain. They will be there just to fill in their spare time. Therefore, the Zebdi’s embassy was sent to Britain in order to understand what was happening.⁸³⁹ El Zebdi was also interested in knowing more about the point of view of the French, Italian and British governments.

Moulay Hassan sent a Moroccan ambassador to London on July 1876. The envoy, however, was not only about reaffirming the good Moroccan-British relations but it was also aiming at limiting and restricting the British protection.⁸⁴⁰ In the same regard, when the Moroccan embassy was there in London, the English Jewish Association” sent a book with some demands concerning the Jews in Morocco.⁸⁴¹ El Menouni states that “the main aim behind the embassy of El Haj Mohamed El Zebidi el Rbati to the four countries: France, Belgium, Britain, and Italy- that was sent by the Sultan right after he was alleged- is to solve the issue of the consular protection.”⁸⁴²

After providing the historical context of the ambassadorial travel narrative- *Tuhfat al Akhiyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar*-, I shall move to talk about the travel narrative and its writer. It is an ambassadorial travel narrative written by Idriss Jaadi who accompanied the ambassador al Haj Mohamed El Zebidi el Rbati to Europe in 1876. Jaadi’s travel narrative is among the biggest and longest travels produced. It took place

⁸³⁷Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 28.

⁸³⁸*Ibid.*

⁸³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁸⁴⁰PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900*, p. 188.

⁸⁴¹Mohamed El Menouni, *Madahir Yakadat al Maghrib, Part 1*, p. 59.

⁸⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 57.

during the reign of Hassan I. And it consists of 176 pages.⁸⁴³ His narrative includes six parts, an introduction and a conclusion.⁸⁴⁴

Driss Jaadi Slaoui belongs to the Charifiyan family. He used to settle in Tetouan where his grandfather's sheikh Abou Hassan Ali Ben Massoud Jaadi tomb exists. During the reign of Sidi Mohammed ben Abdellah, his grandsons cherished some very important positions in the Makhzen. For example, Abd el Salam Ben Khiyat Ben Ali Jaadi was appointed as a Caid in Fez to solve problems and complaints, Mohamed Jaadi was also a Caid in the city of Sefrou and Abd el Kader Ben el Khiyat Jaadi was Katib Diwan (writer of the Makhzan) in Salé.⁸⁴⁵

The writer of the travel narrative is Sidi Ben Driss ben Mohammed Ben Driss ben Abdelkader Ben el Khiyat ben Abdellah ben el Wali Saleh Sidi Ali ben Massoud. He was born in Salé since his father Abd el Kader Jaadi was the first one to settle in Salé. He also died in the same city.⁸⁴⁶ The historian El Nassiri states that "at that time, Salé was then glorious with Islamic and Arab sciences and it had a large group of scientists, teachers, professors and readers who were reliable in checking the arts and studying the fundamentals of science."⁸⁴⁷ That is why, Jaadi himself "left an important library of books of jurisprudence and literature, as well as many books in astronomy, timing, astrology and a set of monitoring and measurement tools."⁸⁴⁸ He lived in a very culturally rich city. Thus, he was very passionate about knowledge and science. He was more likely interested in studying the new sciences like mathematics and astronomy.⁸⁴⁹ He excelled in this latter.

El Zebdi's embassy went to Europe in the 1876's summer via a military boat named Cassard. The embassy went to France, Belgium, England and Italy after it failed to go just to France in 1875.⁸⁵⁰ Hassan I appointed Mohammed Zebidi el Rbati, who is considered as an expert when it comes to the problems that Morocco encountered during the 19th century, as an ambassador to France. His embassy came

⁸⁴³Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 12.

⁸⁴⁴Ibid., p. 14.

⁸⁴⁵Ibid., p. 16.

⁸⁴⁶Ibid., p. 20.

⁸⁴⁷Ibid.

⁸⁴⁸Ibid., p. 25.

⁸⁴⁹Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁵⁰Ibid., p. 29.

as a response to the visit of the French ambassador Tissot to Fez in 1873.”⁸⁵¹ However, some circumstances stopped him from moving there in that year and it is only the following year that he was able to travel there. This might be because of the internal problems Morocco faced at that time, but also because of the international circumstances.⁸⁵² Thus, the travel was postponed from April 1875 to June 1876. And this time the travel took place not only to France but France, Belgium, England and Italy.⁸⁵³

The sultan sent a letter to Al Haj Mohammed Ben Said Slaoui informing him about the embassy that he is sending led by Zebdi and therefore asking him to choose a writer for the envoy who should be from Salé.⁸⁵⁴ After some negotiations with some Notables from Rabat, Jaadi was the one chosen for this mission.⁸⁵⁵

In April 1875, Drummond Hay met the Moroccan sultan in Fez and suggested that he goes for some reforms concerning the Moroccan administration.⁸⁵⁶ Hay argued that it is among the most corrupted one in the world. He also asked the sultan to send 200 soldiers to Gibraltar. And most probably, Hay was the one to suggest that the sultan sends Zebdi to Britain. He also suggested to send his son Robert as a translator.⁸⁵⁷

The representative of Belgium in Tangier -Dalwan also asked the Moroccan king to send some students mission to learn and be trained about the modern weapons and to visit some weapon and military factories. He also expressed the desire of the Belgium government to renew the old love and strengthen trade relations with Morocco.⁸⁵⁸

The Moroccan sultan Hassan I received the Italian ambassador Stefano Scovasso⁸⁵⁹ who brought the picture of his king with him as a gift to the Moroccan sultan. He also requested that the Zebdi’s embassy passes by his

⁸⁵¹Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 30.

⁸⁵²Ibid., p. 31.

⁸⁵³Ibid., p. 32.

⁸⁵⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵⁵Ibid.

⁸⁵⁶Ibid., p. 33.

⁸⁵⁷Ibid.

⁸⁵⁸Ibid.

⁸⁵⁹Ibid.

country.⁸⁶⁰ Consequently, the Moroccan king decided to send one ambassadorial mission to not only to France but diversified the destinations. Sultan Hassan I tried to “take advantage of the international competition for the independence of his country and to remove the issue of consular protection from its narrow framework to the field of study and regulation, in order to internationalize the Moroccan cause and to benefit from the contradictions that prevailed among the European powers for his favor”.⁸⁶¹

Jaadi stated that when he was appointed as the writer of the travel, he never thought about recording the travel journey and writing it down. It was the historian Ahmed Nassiri who suggested that he writes about everything he experienced while travelling. Hence, Jaadi agreed to do so.⁸⁶² He did not write about his journey from Salé to Tangier until he was reminded by the director of the port of Tangier Abdelkader Ghenam. Once he was in Europe, he started writing and he mentioned that he received some encouragement concerning what he was doing even from the part of the Europeans because he used to always hold a pen and a paper. He also used to ask many questions for the translators.⁸⁶³ Basically, it is the sultan who asks the ambassador and his writer to write about their journey to Europe, but in this case the king did not do so. So, Jaadi did not receive any royal orders. That is why maybe the travel was not given its due.⁸⁶⁴

Aaz al Maghreb Manino argues that the style of Jaadi in writing reflects his intellectual and scientific level. His training in arithmetic and engineering made him prominent among the Moroccan ambassadorial mission.⁸⁶⁵ His methodology in writing differs from that of blogging which was well known among the intellectuals. He stayed away from digressing and using other authors' texts. His style is very accurate in describing events.⁸⁶⁶

The travel starts with an introduction where the traveler again follows the same strategy as the other Moroccan travelers where he implements a religious discourse. The religious introduction is about thanking God for granting the Muslims Islam as

⁸⁶⁰ Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 34.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid.

⁸⁶² Ibid., p. 35.

⁸⁶³ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 37.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid.

their religion. He also praises the Muslims by claiming that they are “the best nation brought out to people, those who recommend good and forbid evil. They also seek goodness between people.”⁸⁶⁷ Jaadi seems to be very proud of his belonging to Muslim community. The religious pride is obvious and clearly stated from the introduction of the travel narrative. He then cites some prayers for the prophet and his companions. This is part of showing and highlighting the religious background of the traveler.

Jaadi states that his full name is Driss Ben Mohammed Ben Driss Ben Abdelkader Jaadi El Hassani.⁸⁶⁸ Then he moves on to talk about the king Hassan I. He praises him and congratulates him for ruling over and taking his father’s throne. He also mentions that the Europeans (who are referred to as *Rum*⁸⁶⁹) came to both express their condolence for the death of his father and to congratulate the Moroccan king for inheriting his father’s chair or throne. This is to renew the covenants and treaties which could be beneficial both for Morocco and the European countries.⁸⁷⁰ He received the French ambassador in 1873, the British ambassador in 1875, and the Spanish, Portuguese, and German ambassadors and many others.

Since the Moroccan king received these ambassadors, he also felt the need to send some Moroccan ambassadors to the European countries whose ambassadors have visited Moulay Hassan. This is part of the ambassadorial and diplomatic protocols which aim at thanking the envoys and their rulers for sending them and to reward them for their good conducts and behaviors with him. They went there also because these ambassadors asked the Moroccan king to send some of his ambassadors. They also requested their visited as it is already mentioned.

Jaadi then talks about the person who was chosen for this travel as an ambassador. This later is Taher ZebdiRbati. He just states that he belongs to the Sherifian family and prefers not to talk so much about him out of fear that he misses something about him. Out of respect for this ambassador, Jaadi keeps Zebdi’s biography very short. He also praises him and discusses how Jaadi was chosen for this travel. He claims that Zebdi asked for a good writer, so El Haj Mohammed Bensaid

⁸⁶⁷Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 97. (My Translation).

⁸⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁸⁶⁹Driss Jaadi does not refer to the Europeans as Christian but they are rather referred to as *Rum*.

⁸⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 99.

was the one to suggest Jaadi. He thinks that he was the right person for this mission or position.⁸⁷¹ This is part of the fact that the traveler is always described as a hero. So Jaadi wanted to stress the fact that he was chosen because he deserves to be among this envoy. He is putting himself forward and, in a sense, praising his worth and qualifications. Though at first, he refused the offer, he ended up accepting it after being convinced by Mohammed Bensaid. Out of modesty, Jaadi thought that he is not eligible for this mission, but Bensaid insisted that he goes for this travel.

Maanouni inserts that Jaadi met the ambassador and this later expressed how happy he is to be accompanied by Jaadi. And asked him to get ready for the travel. Another companion for the Moroccan ambassador Zebdi is a great scholar called Benasser Ghanem.⁸⁷²

Ahmed Nassiri was the one to suggest to Jaadi to note down every single detail about the travel and especially everything that is weird. “Jaadi promised that he will write whatever he thinks is strange and which could be beneficial.”⁸⁷³ Jaadi also mentions that Benasser Ghanem reminded him of writing down whatever he sees during his travel. The traveler also declares that he wrote down what he thought is beneficial and left what he thought is not that important.⁸⁷⁴ So, here he confirms the selectivity of what he narrates. Jaadi just like many other travel writers are selective in their writing.

The choice of the title *Ithaf al Akhiyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar*, which could be translated as the following “presenting the highly ranked people with weird news”, is so much telling in the sense that Jaadi from the very beginning states that he is more likely concerned with weird, strange, and unfamiliar things.⁸⁷⁵

The introduction includes the people who accompanied the ambassador. It is about mentioning some members of the Moroccan envoy. Moreover, Jaadi states the cities that they crossed in Europe to reach their destination and then mentions the

⁸⁷¹Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, pp. 100-101.

⁸⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁸⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁸⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁸⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 104.

duration of their stay in each city. This is in addition to a description of how the travel took place both in land and sea.⁸⁷⁶

Jaadi began writing about his journey starting from Tangier though normally the travel started from Rabat because the ambassador came from there.⁸⁷⁷ They took the road on the 1st of May 1876. After talking about the ambassador, he moved on to talk about himself. The traveler mentions the fact that he prayed before traveling. He also recited some prayers: the ones which any traveler is supposed to recite before leaving home. This shows the religious character/ profile of the traveler. He adds that he learned this from his teacher (a religious scholar – Cheikh Sidi Mohamed Debbagh el Fassi). He states that he learned this prayer from this Cheikh when they were getting ready for the pilgrimage. He believes that the person who pronounces this prayer does not encounter anything bad. Only good things happen to him.⁸⁷⁸ The fact that the traveler pays much attention to these religious details shows that his religiosity is very high; in the sense that it displays his religious background. Therefore, the introduction of this travel could also be considered as a traditional one. This is because it starts by invoking God and thanking him for his blessings, etc.

On their way to tangier, the envoy passed by the shrine of Moulay Bouselham. “They visisted it the way it should be” as Jaadi put it. This means that they went there seeking the blessing of this “*wali*”. They also got some rest before heading to Laarach.⁸⁷⁹ Jaadi measures the time when they arrived to Laarach by the *aa’sr* prayer. He said that they arrived there shortly before the *aa’sr* prayers.⁸⁸⁰ This again reveals the level of religiousity that Jaadi holds. The timing for him is measured in relation to the time of the prayer. The envoy was well received by the authorities of the city and they were provided with a place where to spend the night. By arriving to Laarach, Jaadi concludes his introduction of the travel narrative.

So far, this section dealt with the historical context of the travel, the background of the traveler and the introduction of the travel. The introduction is mainly about the

⁸⁷⁶Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 103.

⁸⁷⁷*Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁸⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁸⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁸⁸⁰*Ibid.*

choice of the traveler to be the writer of this travel. It is also about the setting out or the departure of the traveler and the other members of the envoy from Morocco to their destination. It is chiefly about the first step into their journey, which is about leaving Salé for Tangier. More than that, the introduction also includes the reason behind the travel.

2- Jaadi's Representation and Negotiation of Modernity

After the introduction, Jaadi starts the first part of his narrative by mentioning that the ambassador –Zebdi- arrived to Tangier on the 24th of May 1876 and he was well received by the Pacha⁸⁸¹ of the city.⁸⁸² As it is already mentioned in the theoretical part, an ambassador is not chosen haphazardly. Matter of fact, through the way Zebdi was received shows that he used to cherish a very prominent position. His social, cultural, scientific, and religious background seems to be very prestigious. Thus, he was well received and well treated by the Pacha and his soldiers. A remarkable point that Jaadi refers to when talking about the army or soldiers is the use of the new army. This explains that some reforms in terms of the military forces were already taking place. After the war of Tetouan, a new army was established.

In tangier, the Moroccan envoy met the French ambassador. This latter was waiting for them and he received them with joy and delight. Right after that, the traveler starts describing the place where they were received. It is a big room with the view on Gibraltar. The French ambassador said that this would be the place where they would stay for the four coming days. Jaadi claims that it is a very high place and adds that “it is very raised; may God raise his power and status”.⁸⁸³ This demonstrates that the Moroccan envoy was considered as an important one. It was valued and therefore was granted such a place. This reflects the way Jaadi looks at himself and his companions. The Moroccans were not looking down at themselves though they were going through the defeat and discovery period. Another point to make here is that Jaadi does not have any hostility or rancor towards the French. Since they were given that good place, Jaadi prays for the French ambassador hoping that his position will be raised by God.⁸⁸⁴ So far, contrary to what some scholars think when it comes to Occidentalism, the Moroccan traveler does not show any kind of hatred towards the French. That is to say, till now Jaadi writes in a neutral way about the Europeans and mainly the French in this case.

⁸⁸¹Pacha Jilali Benhem al Boukhari al Meknassi. In Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 108.

⁸⁸²Ibid., p. 107.

⁸⁸³Ibid., p. 110.

⁸⁸⁴Ibid., p. 110.

After describing their entrance to Tangier and the way they were received and the people they met there, Jaadi covers the way they rode the boat.⁸⁸⁵ This is part of the departure of the emissary from the familiar to the unfamiliar. Jaadi starts by giving some information about the French military boat which they rode. He states that it is a French one called Cassard.⁸⁸⁶ It arrived on a Saturday afternoon on 27th May. Once the boat got there, the French ambassador Charles Joseph Tissot, who was accompanied by his translator Jules Monge, showed up.⁸⁸⁷ This is to inform the Moroccan commission about the fact that they are responsible for their departure from the Moroccan port. The ambassador asserted that the military boat now is at their disposal and they can depart whenever they want.⁸⁸⁸ So, though the boat arrived on the 27th of May, the Moroccan envoy took the road until Wednesday 31st of May at 11. This is because the Moroccans had to prepare some chores.⁸⁸⁹

Since exchanging gifts is part of the travel literature protocols, the Moroccan king sent some horses as a gift to the European nations.⁸⁹⁰ There were also some boxes, but their content was not revealed. This is because it is part of the diplomatic mission which most the travelers do not focus on in their travels. They tend to sometimes keep this kind of details as secrets between the countries involved.

Now that everything is settled on board, the ship is ready to head from Tangiers toward Marseille. Once in the port, the notables of the city were standing there to bid farewell to the Moroccan envoy. The description provided by Jaadi shows that this mission is a valuable one, so the Moroccan notables were demonstrating the magnitude of this travel by the way that they received and bid farewell to the emissary. Some foreigners were also present because at that time not only Moroccans were residing in Tangier. The departure seems to be like a show given its importance for the Moroccans. The army, the *Pacha* (El Jilali el Boukhari el Meknassi), the royal deputy (Bergach) and many other distinguished people were present.⁸⁹¹ This reveals the heroic

⁸⁸⁵Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 113.

⁸⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁸⁷Ibid., p. 114.

⁸⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁸⁹Ibid., p. 115.

⁸⁹⁰Ibid.

⁸⁹¹Ibid., p. 116.

departure of the Moroccan envoy. They were on a national mission and they therefore were treated as national heroes.

The religious background of the Moroccan members of the envoy is very clearly stated in the sense that few moments before the steamer took off, they started reciting some prayers like saying “I ride it in the name of God ... the most Merciful.”⁸⁹² More than that, Jaadi mentions that among the people who rode the boat some Moroccan cooks, who brought with them all the ingredients needed for cooking.⁸⁹³ This means that given the religious differences between Moroccan and the other European countries, the Moroccan envoy could not but make sure that the food that they will eat is religiously acceptable.

In the tripartite of the travel, the departure contains the spatial movement and the hardship of the travel which includes describing the sea and the movement of the boat, thus Jaadi mentions this briefly when he describes the sea as being very calm. He also claims that the embarkation process was done smoothly like “a falcon that came out of a glove.”⁸⁹⁴

Once in the boat, Jaadi was paying a close attention to the Moroccan ambassador and said that hopefully this latter did not feel dizzy in the boat. Thanks to God, he survived and was safe.⁸⁹⁵ The religious background is omnipresent throughout the travel, in the sense, that Jaadi does not miss the opportunity to show the religiosity of the Moroccan members of the envoy. For instance, he states that though the movement of the boat have caused some dizziness for some people on it, the Moroccans did not stop praying on time.⁸⁹⁶ The boat was also steady, and the sea was quiet and peaceful. Though a particular area was known for being turbulent and agitated, the Moroccans did not encounter any agitations since the sea was in a very calm state. This, according to Jaadi, is due to God’s power.⁸⁹⁷ And fortunately, the sea stayed steady all the way through till they arrived to Marseille on the 4th of July 1876.

⁸⁹²Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 118.

⁸⁹³Ibid., p. 119.

⁸⁹⁴Ibid., p. 118.

⁸⁹⁵Ibid., p. 120.

⁸⁹⁶Ibid.,

⁸⁹⁷Ibid.,

To conclude, the first part was a summary of what happened in the boat from Tangier's port to Marseille's port and which lasted for four days.

The second part of the travel narrative deals with Marseille and Paris. Once the Moroccan ambassadorial envoy arrived, seventeen guns were shot.⁸⁹⁸ The notables⁸⁹⁹ of Marseille came to receive them.⁹⁰⁰ They were wearing some prestigious clothes and holding arms. Jaadi asserts that the notables were happy to receive the Moroccan delegation. Once this latter stepped in land, they found two types of armies waiting for them. Music was also played by another type of the armies. A noticeable amount of buildings lured the attention of Jaadi. He remarks that they have many facilities and well-established buildings. He inserts that these buildings are unlimited and could not be counted since each one has many floors.⁹⁰¹ This demonstrates that the infrastructure and architecture of Europe is different and advanced than those of Morocco. Matter of fact, Jaadi was surprised to see these huge buildings, which are part of the modernization process that Europe was going through.

In the fourth part of the travel narrative, the Moroccan envoy reached Britain.⁹⁰² They took a Belgian boat and arrived on the 13th of July to Dover city. Once in Dover, they met the son of the British ambassador in Tangier, who is the consul of Essaouira. This latter played the role of the translator in this journey. Many other notables joined the boat before moving to the next city, like Parker, who is a General of the army, and Brule, who is the Captain of the port.⁹⁰³ Jaadi mentions that these notables were all happy to receive the Moroccan delegation. The traveler claims that they were behaving in a friendly way because they wanted to glorify the Moroccan king. They were then taken to a coffee shop where they were served food and coffee.⁹⁰⁴ The description of the first encounter between the Moroccans and the British could be seen as a reflection

⁸⁹⁸Driss Jaadi, *Tuhfat al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 123.

⁸⁹⁹The notables of the city include the president of the government, his assistant, the army's general, and the country's translator.

⁹⁰⁰Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 123.

⁹⁰¹Ibid.

⁹⁰²Ibid., p. 271.

⁹⁰³Ibid., p. 272.

⁹⁰⁴Ibid.

of the Moroccan British relations at that time. Britain used to consolidate Morocco in terms of reforms. Therefore, it used to play the role of a guide towards the construction of a better Morocco. More than that, another reading of this instance could be the fact that Jaadi is trying to create a certain balance between the East and the West. That is to say, the Moroccans were not treated as inferior human beings coming from an inferior background- though Moroccans were coming from a different society.

The Moroccan delegation was again taken to London by a different means of transportation. They moved from the boat into the train. Jaadi was amazed by how big and fast it is. He stated that it contains sofas and it is well ornated. The train for Jaadi is new because Morocco was not introduced to railways yet. Therefore, this is part of the modern life in Britain. The diverse means of transportation could be considered as one of the inventions which amazed the Moroccan traveler. That is why he provided detailed descriptions of both the boat and now the train.

Once on the train, Jaadi noticed that a huge number of soldiers were there. Their outfit seemed to be different from that of the Moroccans. Thus, Jaadi wrote a minute description of the clothing dress of these soldiers. This is mainly because the army and the military field appear to interest the Moroccan traveler given the difficult historical period of time that Morocco was going through. The fact that Morocco went through two main military defeats creates the impression that Jaadi, just like many other travelers before and after him, pay a close attention to this field in order to know what is wrong with their army.

The travel from Dover to London took them two hours and few minutes. This kind of information fosters the personal experience of the traveler because it gives him some credibility. Knowing about the distance between these two cities is also part of the geographical perspective of travel literature. Moreover, the fact of spending two hours shows that the train was very quick. Jaadi says that “it run very fast and did not stop”.⁹⁰⁵ This seems to impress the Moroccan traveler.

Before arriving to London, the Moroccan envoy passed by an immense bridge.⁹⁰⁶ It is Albert Bridge. This bridge reveals the huge infrastructure of Britain. It

⁹⁰⁵Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 273.

⁹⁰⁶Ibid.

denotes that at that time, the British society was able to build such a strong infrastructure which facilitates the movement between cities. This is again new and bewildering for Jaadi because compared to Morocco, its infrastructure was still weak and inadequate.

Once arrived, the Moroccan ambassadorial commission was taken to a hotel “All Alexandra” in Poadilly Hyde Park Corner.⁹⁰⁷ On their arrival, Jaadi tried to compare between hotels in Paris and this one. The comparison aimed at figuring out the differences and similarities between the two European cities. The traveler asserts that both hotels are similar in terms of decoration, furniture and utensils. They are almost the same in terms of space devoted to every room, but the rooms in Paris are wider than those in London. The comparison is entailed only between London and Paris because Morocco by that time did not have any hotels. Going to hotels is not part of the Moroccan culture. However, it is part of the modern life in Europe.

On Friday 14th of July, the day of the arrival of the Moroccan envoy, the Moroccans and the translator were taken to watch a rugby match.⁹⁰⁸ Jaadi could not name the game since it is not popular in the Moroccan society. He only stated that players used to play with a ball in a field.⁹⁰⁹ The stadium was full of both men and women. This is weird for Jaadi. He is not used to such a game and to the fact that both men and women attend these events. This is not familiar in the Moroccan context. On the other hand, watching this kind of games is part of the entertainment culture in Britain. The modern life style in Britain is very diversified that Jaadi sometimes stays overwhelmed by what he encounters. Matter of fact, Jaadi could not skip mentioning going there to watch the game. He then moved on to talk about the visit of some notables of the city on two successive days (the 15th and 16th of July). This is to welcome them into Britain.⁹¹⁰

The journey of the Moroccan delegation to Britain consists of visiting different places. Among these places, an experimental artificial field.⁹¹¹ On their way to this field, Jaadi states that they were accompanied by the translator. This is probably to

⁹⁰⁷Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 273.

⁹⁰⁸Ibid.

⁹⁰⁹Ibid., pp. 273-274.

⁹¹⁰Ibid., p. 274.

⁹¹¹Ibid., p. 275.

facilitate the cultural encounter of the Moroccans and the British in the contact zone. More than that, before arriving to the field, Jaadi could not veil his admiration for the streets of London. He argues that they are clean and full of gardens ornated with colorful flowers.⁹¹² Jaadi and the Moroccan delegation were taken to the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew. This latter is an immense garden full of different plants and flowers. In his description of the flowers, he asserts that they are on the same level of height and that they are put together in a very meticulous and artistic way. Yet, what surprised Jaadi more is the fact that they use these flowers to write words. He noticed that many letters were formulated by flowers of different colors.⁹¹³ Thus, Jaadi was bewildered by the huge and large fields of flowers which look like “long carpets.”⁹¹⁴ He adds that “the viewer does not get tired of this good view.”⁹¹⁵ This artistic dimension of the garden appeared to mesmerize Jaadi. Then, Jaadi moves on to talk about the experimental artificial field which is within the Royal Botanic garden. It is a huge room of glass full of flowers and trees where many experiments take place in order to improve and select the finest plants and plantings. Jaadi also noticed that the watering system is a weird and different one, in the sense that there are many tubes that are responsible for watering every single flower. This is presumably what is called now drop by drop. More than that, the temperature of water used for watering changes from a season into another. Consequently, these new technologies and strategies of taking care of flowers and plants left Jaadi stupefied. What is interesting in this part is that Jaadi tried to identify these flowers by comparing them to those of Morocco. This is supposedly to incite the Moroccan farmers, once back home, to appropriate and implement these new methods of planting and gardening. In addition, Jaadi states that these places are seen as an entertainment spaces for people. They come there to enjoy the beauty of the flowers.⁹¹⁶ Britain seemed to be pioneering this field. Its modernization reached the agricultural field too by using multiple new techniques regarding watering and gardening in general.

⁹¹²Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 274.

⁹¹³Ibid., p. 275.

⁹¹⁴Ibid.

⁹¹⁵Ibid.

⁹¹⁶Ibid., p. 276.

On a Monday afternoon- 16th of July-, the translator took the Moroccan delegation to a visit of a prison in London.⁹¹⁷ Given the reforms that Drummond Hay started in Morocco, this visit fosters one of the reforms that Hay suggested on the king concerning the prisons in Morocco. The demand of this reform came as a result of the protest of some Jewish groups to Hay. Thus, the reform consists of improving Moroccan prison conditions throughameliorating the prisoners' nourishment and cleanliness of their cells. It also calls for not handcuffing prisoners.⁹¹⁸ Matter of fact, the Moroccan commission was taken to the British prison so as to have an idea about the infrastructure of the prison and how prisoners are treated. The description of Jaadi tackles firstly the rooms of the prisoners. He states that there were many rooms facing each other. The rooms are small and contain multiple beds and they are lighted up.⁹¹⁹ Secondly, they moved on to the kitchen where the prisoners' food is cooked. It is a large room where, according to Jaadi, "delicious meals" are prepared. He even mentioned the diversified menu that they serve to the prisoners. This is part of the minute description of Jaadi of everything he sees, and thinks is going to be beneficial. It also shows the difference between the Moroccan and British prisons. More than that, the prisoners in Britain seem to enjoy and benefit from having access to various activities. They have a large room devoted to music and prayers. "They are granted an hour every day for entertainment".⁹²⁰ The prison is divided into many floors for different kind of prisoners. Jaadi also consecrated a long description about how prisoners are punished within the prison. He gave the examples of punishments for prisoners who fight or steal inside the prison.⁹²¹ The description of the punishment of those who steal is very violent. The way Jaadi depicts the punishments attests that they are bloody and not humane. Furthermore, when Jaadi was about to leave, he noticed that even children enter the prison for futile reasons.⁹²²

Though this visit was done in the hope that the Moroccan king could take the example of the British prison into consideration for a better and modern Moroccan

⁹¹⁷Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 276.

⁹¹⁸PG Rogers, *A History of Anglo-Moroccan Relations to 1900* (London: Foreign and Commonwealth Office). p. 240.

⁹¹⁹Ibid., p. 277.

⁹²⁰Ibid.

⁹²¹Ibid.

⁹²²Ibid., p. 278.

prison environment, the part of punishments shows that the British modern model is not perfect. The modernization of prisons did not mean that they got rid of all the old methods of penalizing prisoners. Handcuffing prisoners and beating them with whips reveal the fact that the Moroccan and British prisons are almost the same. The torture that their prisoners endure is the proof that they just claim to have better prison conditions, whereas in reality they do not. A clear contradiction in terms of discourse could be depicted from the description of Jaadi. It is only a psychological superiority that the British feel towards their institutions. Matter of fact, from an occidentalist point of view, Jaadi is consciously or unconsciously trying to fight back against the western hegemony which claims power, domination and modernity. These contradictions in the text promote sameness, though not a total one, between Morocco and Britain in terms of prisons.

On the 18th of July, the Moroccan delegation was invited by Edward VII, the Queen's son- who is the prince of Wales-, to one of his gardens.⁹²³ Many other notables (ministers and ambassadors from different countries) were also invited. Once arrived, Jaadi noticed that many people were there. Some of them were standing and others were sitting while having conversations with each other. Some tents were mounted and used for displaying and selling food and drinks. Whoever feels the need to eat or drink anything can serve himself by himself. Musicians were also present. Jaadi describes how they compose music. He also talks about the role of every musician and the music instrument that they use. After that, the prince came to salute the Moroccan delegation and he was accompanied by three of his brothers: Alfred, Arthur, Leopold, and his nephew.⁹²⁴ Jaadi then notes down their outfits which is that of the marine. They were studying sea science by then, but Jaadi asserts that they get introduced to all other sciences so that they can be polyvalent. They get trained in all domains.⁹²⁵ Jaadi states that "they roam the country east and west by land and sea, so they gain an increase in their minds as has been said."⁹²⁶ This quote emphasizes the importance of education, science, and knowledge. They are encouraged to look for

⁹²³ Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 278.

⁹²⁴ Ibid., p. 279.

⁹²⁵ Ibid.

⁹²⁶ Ibid.

knowledge everywhere. This is to be knowledgeable enough about all fields. This seems to be among the factors behind the modernity that Britain reached. They have developed all the domain thanks to science.

After saying goodbye to the prince and heading towards the door to leave the place, Jaadi noticed that they had a valet service.⁹²⁷ This is a new culture for Jaadi. This is why he decided to include the description of the process of valets. Jaadi states that they use this service in order to avoid congestion.⁹²⁸ This service is part of the order and organization that the British try to maintain in different fields. They try to organize people in a way that keeps everything under control. Jaadi adds that the road is divided into two; the right side is for those who are entering the garden, and the left side is for those who are going out of it. He also mentions that both males and females were present, and they were about 6000 people.⁹²⁹

On the 19th of July, the Moroccan emissary had to meet the minister of foreign affairs, Edward Stanley Derby.⁹³⁰ They were invited to meet him at his house. Once arrived, they were well received. Jaadi inserts that they had some discussions with the help of the translator.⁹³¹ However, Jaadi did not reveal the topic of the discussion. This is apparently due to that fact that they were dealing with political and diplomatic issues that concern the two countries. This part is left mysterious given its privacy and confidentiality. But the topic could be guessed from the reason behind this whole travel, which is the consular protection. Matter of fact, the British minister and the Moroccan ambassador seems to have been dealing with the problem of the protection which was weakening the Moroccan government and strengthening the European countries.

The Moroccan embassy was also invited by the wife of the minister of foreign affairs in India.⁹³² Jaadi describes how they were received by her and her husband. He inserts that “she and her husband were very happy with our arrival.”⁹³³ The traveler

⁹²⁷Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 280.

⁹²⁸Ibid.

⁹²⁹Ibid.

⁹³⁰Ibid.

⁹³¹Ibid., p. 281.

⁹³²Ibid.

⁹³³Ibid.

reports on the clothes of people who were also invited. The focus was mainly on women who were wearing very luxurious clothes and jewelries.⁹³⁴ In his description, Jaadi could not hide his admiration of these women who are, according to him, modest and chaste. Jaadi was amazed by their behaviors towards the men present in there. They were behaving in a very decent way.⁹³⁵ The good conduct of people that Jaadi meet always impresses the Moroccan traveler.

On Friday 21st of July, the Moroccan delegation was taken to Madame Tussaud's Museum.⁹³⁶ It is referred to by Jaadi as the house of pictures of human beings. This is because it contains photos of kings, ministers and previous rulers, and portrait statues made of wax. Jaadi was astonished by the statues of these personalities who were wearing clothes and jewelries. Their heads were bare, and their hair is parted. The traveler states that they were perfectly done to the point that he sometimes could not differentiate between the statues and real people.⁹³⁷ He adds "these statues are not only representing people who are standing in their places, but they also portray them while they are doing something".⁹³⁸ That is to say, the statues depict people in a certain action framework. Jaadi gives examples "of a man sitting on a chair and turning his head right and left, another women in a sickness moment,"⁹³⁹ another statues demonstrates the way Napoleon died, many others in the chamber of horrors which are about the crimes and tools used for that, etc...⁹⁴⁰

The following day, they were taken to a different place. It is Westminster, where there is Buckingham palace, the parliament, and the municipality.⁹⁴¹ Jaadi was more interested in describing the architecture of this place. He also talks about the materials used in the buildings and the furniture.⁹⁴² One of the pieces of furniture which lured the attention of Jaadi was the coronation chair, which was decorated with

⁹³⁴Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 281.

⁹³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁹³⁶*Ibid.*

⁹³⁷*Ibid.*

⁹³⁸*Ibid.*

⁹³⁹*Ibid.*

⁹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁹⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁹⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 284.

diamonds.⁹⁴³ This place -Westminster Abbey or the Cemetery of the Great- was very special for Jaadi. It is located in the Parliament Square, where the kings of England have been crowned since the eleventh century. It is also a place where many kings like Henry VII and Queen Elizabeth I and a number of other great British politicians, writers and scientists and many other scholars such as Shakespeare and Darwin were buried.⁹⁴⁴ Thus, this place represents a momentous historical heritage for Britain.

On Monday 24th of July, the Moroccan delegation was invited to visit a theater⁹⁴⁵ which is described by Jaadi as a great palace.⁹⁴⁶ It is a place where people come to watch performances at night. The traveler then gives a detailed description of the place with some measures. The theater contains many rooms one on top of the other. The Queen comes from time to time there since it is unique in London. Jaadi states that one day, they counted the people who come to attend a performance and figured out that about 12 000 and 13 000 were there. This means that it is a huge building. Jaadi then moves on to talk about its infrastructure and cleanliness.⁹⁴⁷ This shows that the British society invests a huge amount of money when it comes to the artistic and entertainment field. Having a theater is part of the modern life in Britain, therefore, Jaadi seems to have been bewildered by this huge cultural space.

On the 25th of August, the Moroccans were taken to the British museum.⁹⁴⁸ This museum displays archival items, in addition to pictures of warriors riding their horses. It also has machine wars, swords, saddles, rifles and guns. Another room gathers the gifts that the Indians used to give to the son of the Queen. Once received, the Queen displays them in this museum so that they become open to the public. More than that, another room accommodates very impressive and precious antiques.⁹⁴⁹ The aim behind taking the Moroccan delegation to this museum is to show the legacy that Britain congregates from its Indian colony. This is part of its powerful status. Jaadi adds,

⁹⁴³ Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 284.

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁵ It is the Theater Royal Drury Lane, in Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 284.

⁹⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 285.

⁹⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid.

then we entered other domes where we found several rifles of the new specimen, [...] they are lined up on a row between wooden tables. They said that these stores include one hundred and twenty thousand and ten thousand swords. There are also other pistols and knives hanging in the walls and in the ceiling in an incredibly weird way.⁹⁵⁰

This huge number of arms that this room encompasses is a sign of the military power of Britain.⁹⁵¹ The order and organization of these rooms that are full of arms kept Jaadi bewildered.

On Wednesday 26th of July, the Moroccan ambassador received a book from the minister of foreign affairs via the translator. The book is an invitation from the Queen to the Moroccan ambassador and the whole members of the envoy to meet in one of the islands where she was with her sick son.⁹⁵² They were asked to come on the following day. Jaadi asserts that they were privileged to be invited by the Queen. This is because when the Queen is out of the town, she does not receive anyone. He says that many ambassadors coming from different other countries were there waiting for her because she did not ask to meet them; whereas the Moroccans were treated differently.⁹⁵³ This demonstrates that the meeting with the Moroccan delegation was very important given the historical context.

The Moroccan delegation was then taken to visit the bank- the Bank of England.⁹⁵⁴ Jaadi describes it as follows, “it is a great house, like a city with houses, roads, iron doors and arches, out of fear of fire fuel.”⁹⁵⁵ Because of the monetary crisis that was taking place in Morocco, Jaadi showed an immense interest of the bank and how it works. He provides a detailed description of the workers in the bank and how they deal with money.⁹⁵⁶ What stresses this interest is the fact that Jaadi and the whole Moroccan envoy used to ask questions about things that they want to know. For instance, they wondered about how many people work in there.⁹⁵⁷ the Moroccan

⁹⁵⁰Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 286.

⁹⁵¹Ibid.

⁹⁵²Ibid.

⁹⁵³Ibid.

⁹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 287.

⁹⁵⁵Ibid.

⁹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 288.

⁹⁵⁷Ibid.

delegation was also introduced to the machines used for printing cash and banknotes.⁹⁵⁸ A very minute depiction of the whole process is written down by the traveler. This is because at that time Morocco used to ask France for example to produce its cash. So, probably Jaadi is taking note of the process in the hope that one day Morocco would be able to produce its own cash money. More than that, the fact of using machines emphasized the development that Britain reached in different fields. The industrialization employed in almost all the domains reveal the progress that Britain went through. Matter of fact, the Moroccans are trying to learn from Britain, wishing they could implement that in their country. In addition to that, Jaadi was impressed by the hardwork of the employees -who are still young- in the bank. He claims that “they do not stop working, and once they finish a task, they start another one”.⁹⁵⁹ The Moroccans were taken to different rooms that serve different purposes. Among those rooms, one where the British store the counterfeited money. They then told them the story of some French who forged some cash. But fortunately, the British were able to detect who did it and was punished for that.⁹⁶⁰ Jaadi, then talks about how minute the British are when it comes to the fabrication of money. They moved to another room specialized in the production of coins. In there, Jaadi mentions that they have some special measures (especially the weight) that they must respect when it comes to coins, otherwise they have to make them up again.⁹⁶¹ At the end, the bank is a tremendous institution in Britain. The building itself is immense in the sense that Jaadi could not visit every single part of it. He claims at the end that they “we were limited to seeing only those places.”⁹⁶² This means that there were many other places that they could not see.

After finishing their visit to the bank, the Moroccans went back home and found a servant from the minister of foreign affairs waiting for them to inform them about the fact that the Queen is waiting for them.⁹⁶³ So, on Thursday 27th of July, the Moroccan delegation took the road to the Queen’s island. They rode both land and sea

⁹⁵⁸Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, pp. 288- 289.

⁹⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁹⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁹⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁹⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁹⁶³*Ibid.*

means of transportation to arrive to their destination. The trip took them five hours and a half to arrive to Isle of Wight.⁹⁶⁴ When they reached the island, a cart was waiting for them to transport them to her house- Osborne House.⁹⁶⁵ The envoy passed by many rooms and domes before arriving to the dome of the Queen. They were accompanied by the Minister of foreign affairs and the translator.⁹⁶⁶ Once the encounter took place, the Moroccan ambassador delivered his speech and “gave the Queen the Moroccan king’s book enrobed in a white silk scarf rum made.”⁹⁶⁷ The book is mainly about the relationship between Moroccan and Britain. It aims at consolidating and thanking the Queen for maintaining the “good” relationship between the two countries. This is part of the ambassadorial mission that the Moroccan embassy was sent for. Yet, it was not dealt with in details. Jaadi just mentions that after receiving the book, the Queen was very happy. She kept smiling while welcoming them. She also asked about the king and displayed her kindness and joy during the meeting.⁹⁶⁸ Therefore, Jaadi was pleased by this encounter since they were well treated by the Queen.

The Moroccan envoy was also invited to visit the Crystal Palace.⁹⁶⁹ Jaadi was impressed by the place and its architecture. He writes down a detailed description of the Palace and the materials used in its construction. He was amazed by the trees and a basin full of water surrounding the Palace.⁹⁷⁰ They were then taken to another floor whose dome’s roof is made out of Crystal. The room is filled with waxed statues of human beings just like in the previous Museum.⁹⁷¹ These pictures were very weird for Jaadi, matter of fact, he insists on describing some of these portrays, especially those who seem to be interesting for him. In the same palace, the Moroccans were taken to a room where some cinematic pictures were displayed. Jaadi stayed perplexed by what he saw. Once they entered and closed the door, the room became dark and pictures started moving thanks to some machines.⁹⁷² This is again part of the modern different

⁹⁶⁴Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 291.

⁹⁶⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶⁶Ibid.

⁹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 292.

⁹⁶⁸Ibid.

⁹⁶⁹Ibid.

⁹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 293.

⁹⁷¹Ibid.

⁹⁷²Ibid., p. 295.

life in Britain. The appearance of these cinematic instruments shows the progress achieved by Britain at that time in cinema.

They moved on to another place similar to the one of Cordoba's mosque.⁹⁷³ The similarity between this place and the mosque is in terms of architecture. Jaadi provides a thorough description of the place. Then at a certain a moment, he compares between the mosaic used there and the one used in Fes. He believes that the colors of Fes' Mosaic are better than the ones used in there. He also talks about the doors and the walls in which gypsum is used to write some Arabic expressions.⁹⁷⁴ The mosque is claimed to be respected by the citizens. They are not allowed to get in. Only Muslims can.⁹⁷⁵ Thus, religious tolerance seems to be applicable in the British society.

Jaadi moves on to describe a man who was trying to dive under water.⁹⁷⁶ He produces a minute description of everything he saw. This it to talk about the first attempts to dive underwater using compressed air devices connected to a hose on the surface of the water. Jaadi and the other members of the envoy stayed overwhelmed by what they observed. What is more impressive is the fact that the scuba diver wrote down in a tablet some expressions to welcome the Moroccan delegation. Thanks to the translator, the Moroccans could decipher what he wrote.⁹⁷⁷ This instance divulges the progress that Britain is making when it comes to diving deep down in the sea. Diving under water, according to Jaadi, did not seem to be an easy activity to experience, but the British apparently were trying to develop gadgets that can facilitate this kind of activities. Jaadi adds that the British use scuba diving "to catch pearls and corals from the bottom of the sea."⁹⁷⁸

The Moroccans were then taken to another room full of aquariums.⁹⁷⁹ These later seem to be big and each one is reserved for a special kind of fish. Among these fish, Jaadi mentions the crabs and octopus. In this regard, Jaadi describes the aquariums and how they take care of the fish inside them.⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷³Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 295.

⁹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁹⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p. 298.

⁹⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁹⁸⁰*Ibid.*

After that, they went to an amphitheater special for circus games.⁹⁸¹ Again, a detailed description of the building is written down by the traveler who seemed to be bewildered by that edifice. He specifies the number of floors it has and describes the materials used in the construction of domes and walls. For instance, Jaadi declares that the dome is made of crystal.⁹⁸² He moves on to describe the spectacles that they watched in this amphitheater. Unexpectedly, Jaadi notices that three Moroccan men were among the men performing these shows. The Moroccan traveler thinks that these men might probably belong to Sidi Ahmed Oumoussa's sons.⁹⁸³ This shows that some of the Moroccans who used to go to Britain at that time used to work in the entertainment field. Once Jaadi talks about the performance of these Moroccans, he inserts that "a man came from them and jumped a great leap in the air and turned twice in the air and then came down standing; therefore, all the spectators clapped their hands to display their appreciation over his job."⁹⁸⁴ Jaadi is, in this case, trying to demonstrate that these Moroccans are active members in the British society. They participate in entertaining the British. They are also admired for what they do. More than that, this passage illustrates the interest that Britain dedicated to the entertainment industry. It can bring people from different countries- Morocco as a case in point- just to be able to procure its citizens with good entertaining shows. Moreover, part of the performances exhibited in that circus was the elephant show.⁹⁸⁵ Jaadi showed his surprise from the way these big elephants were tamed and trained to participate in this show. He could not believe that elephants can understand the language of their trainers and follow whatever they ask them to do. For instance, they were asked to dance and play on the stage.⁹⁸⁶ Just like elephants, dogs were also trained to perform shows.⁹⁸⁷ Thus, Jaadi appears to have appreciated the shows because he wrote very detailed descriptions of all the performances. Additionally, among the places visited by the

⁹⁸¹Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 299.

⁹⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁹⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 301.

⁹⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁹⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 302.

Moroccan delegation was London Hyde Park where a horse competition was taking place.⁹⁸⁸

On Monday 31st of July, the Moroccan envoy headed to Windsor city after having the permission of the Queen. They precisely went to Windsor castle.⁹⁸⁹ Jaadi once again was amazed by the architecture and the furniture of the place. He admired the huge libraries that this castle possesses.⁹⁹⁰ Some astrological equipment and machines were also part of the items that the rooms of the castle contain.⁹⁹¹ This shows the interest that Britain pays to science and architecture. It seems that the architecture of the castle took away Jaadi's breath, in the sense that he devoted many pages only for a scrupulous description of the castle of Windsor in terms of its window, doors, status, floors, roofs and decoration in general. He, likewise, described the Mausoleum of Prince Albert that is within the garden of the castle.⁹⁹²

On the 1st of August, the Moroccan delegation was taken to the Royal Woolwich Arsenal.⁹⁹³ This arsenal is an important naval base during the days of Henry VIII, containing the Royal House of Industry. It has many factories responsible for making cannons and weapons in general.⁹⁹⁴ Given the historical events that Morocco went through when it comes to wars, the concern that Moroccans show towards the military field is immense. Consequently, when Jaadi and the other members of the envoy went to this Arsenal, they stayed bewildered by the large number of machines and equipment stock in that military base.⁹⁹⁵

The first facilities which attracted the attention of Jaadi were the ones used during wars. He mentions with details all the machineries used to measure valleys and take care of wounded and sick soldiers during wars.⁹⁹⁶ He writes down a detailed description of the people working in the factory and how machines work. He states

⁹⁸⁸Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 303.

⁹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 305.

⁹⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹⁹¹Ibid.

⁹⁹²Ibid., p. 307.

⁹⁹³Ibid., p. 308.

⁹⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 309.

⁹⁹⁶Ibid.

that the factory is also in charge of fabricating wheels.⁹⁹⁷ These are the second facilities that lured the attention of Jaadi. He gave a particular attention to making wheels, this is mainly because it seems that he was interested in the mean of transportation that the British used at that time. Morocco did not used to have the same means of transportation, like cars and carts. Matter of fact, Jaadi wished to learn about the techniques used in making at least the wheels of these means of transport so that one day Moroccan can replace animals by carts and cars.

After visiting this arsenal, the Moroccans were taken to a nearby house which belongs to some military leaders. They were well received and were served “some sweets, seasonal fruits, and coffee.”⁹⁹⁸ A while later, they went out and headed towards a storage. This latter is used to stock a naval missile entitled Torpedo and it is called after its inventor Whitehead Torpedo.⁹⁹⁹ Jaadi then describes one of the tricks used by the British to sink boats into the sea in war time. He declares that

It is said that the missile is sent in the sea when fighting with some other races to the boat which they want to destroy. They throw it using an engineering work. So, it goes in the water, directly to the concerned boat which it does not miss. And when it confronted it, its head enters in it and ignites that gunpowder.¹⁰⁰⁰

Jaadi confirms that this way the destruction of the boat and those inside it is guaranteed. It is argued to be one of the most powerful weapons that the British invented. It is also claimed that British were the pioneers when it comes to this missile. He inserts that “it was said that this is from the inventions of the sages of the English that no one had previously made and that it does not exist in other races/places.”¹⁰⁰¹ This reveals the fact that the British were very powerful in the military field. They were using many developed tools and machines in the military field. They were even pioneering since they were able to be the first ones to fabricate this missile.

⁹⁹⁷ Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 310.

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 311.

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 312.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ibid.

Thereafter, the Moroccan embassy was taken to another storage where they produce bullets, especially the light ones.¹⁰⁰² Jaadi writes a thorough description of the place visited and the tools used in the production of the bullets. He also gives some precise details about the process of making bullets. He adds that the factory is huge and full of workers to the point that you cannot differentiate between men and women. The factory contains almost six thousand employees.¹⁰⁰³ This implies the fact that Britain invests a lot in the military field. Six thousand employees is a large number of people working in this industry. More than that, Britain does not differentiate between men and women in the work sphere, in the sense that both men and women are treated equally and work hard hand in hand in the military field.

Right after, the Moroccans were invited to visit the bombs' factory.¹⁰⁰⁴ Jaadi once again could not miss the opportunity to describe the whole process of making bombs. He minutely describes how the people working in the factory use the machines to fabricate bombs. He mentions all the steps that a bomb passes by to become a final product that could be used in guns.¹⁰⁰⁵

Jaadi moves on to talk about the artillery, which is a large caliber guns used in wars.¹⁰⁰⁶ He starts by talking about the workers involved in this specialty. Then he shifts to the process of fabricating the artilleries. He deals with them in a very detailed way.¹⁰⁰⁷ This is mainly because Jaadi believes that this is one of the most efficient weapons at that time. Matter of fact, he wanted to dismantle all the steps that the production of this weapon goes through with the wish that Morocco will be able to produce the same gunneries. Finally, before leaving Britain to France in order to go to Italy, some Jewish traders sent the Moroccan ambassador -Zebdi- a letter in which they complain about the way the Jews are treated in Azemmour. They also complain about the thigh neighborhoods reserved for the Jews in Essaouira. The letter -in general- recommends taking care of the Jews.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰²Driss Jaadi, *Ithaf al Akhiyar Bi Gharaib al Akhbar* 1876, p. 312.

¹⁰⁰³Ibid., p. 313.

¹⁰⁰⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁵Ibid., p. 314.

¹⁰⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁸Ibid., p. 316.

To conclude, this travel narrative is among the longest ambassadorial narratives. This is because the traveler did not travel only to one destination. He visited different European countries among which Britain. Thus, to summarize, since Tarik Sabry defines modernity as a concept which is about scientific endeavor, reason, man's domination over nature and its resources and the specialization of fields of knowledge, Jaadi himself relates modernity in Britain to the same implications of this definition. The Moroccan traveler was successful in demonstrating the scientific endeavor that the British have in many fields. For instance, Jaadi was bewildered by many scientific inventions and especially the military ones like the artillery, bullets and bombs.

The specialization of fields of knowledge is another aspect of the modern life, which Jaadi paid a close attention to. Therefore, he tackled different fields in his travel narrative, like agriculture, entertainment, architecture, infrastructure, the banking system, etc. For agriculture, he was amazed by the experimental artificial fields which use new methods and technologies when it comes to watering plants at that time. In addition to that, it is a place where they develop the quality of the plants. It plays the role of a lab. This means that the British made huge strides in the agricultural field. Concerning architecture and the British infrastructure, he admired the way the hotels, the prison, the museums, Windsor castle, and the bridge were constructed. The way streets are organized also amazed Jaadi. In terms of the entertainment field, Jaadi was bewildered by the interest that the British show towards the circus, the theater and sport. The circus is a place for acrobatic shows done by both humans and animals. The theater is an enormous architectural and cultural space. Rugby is the sport which Jaadi could not refer to in his language. It is a new sport for him. Thus, entertainment cherishes a vital role in the modern life of Britain. This shows that the British went beyond their focus on science and knowledge. The banking system is another field which attracted the attention of Jaadi. He was interested in the money-making process. This is because Morocco were suffering from a terrible monetary crisis. They are also developed in this field given the machines and procedure they use. More than that, scuba diving is another new field for Jaadi. It is the first time that he was introduced to this marine activity. Thus, Britain was very advanced both in land and sea.

As far as the military domain is concerned, Jaadi was astonished by the progress that Britain attained in this regard. Jaadi did his best to cover all that he saw when it comes to the soldiers, machines used in the construction of weapons and many weaponry equipment like the missile. Because Morocco experienced two military defeats, he could not miss the chance to discover why the Europeans were more powerful and were able to win over the Moroccans. He realized that they were able to gain victory because they were using some very developed arms. They have many arm factories specialized in different types of weapons. Matter of fact, since Morocco was very weak in this regard and Jaadi was trying to report on these machines and techniques with the hope that one day Morocco could also follow the same path. More than that, aquariums and astrology were also other aspects of the modern and developed life in Britain.

Now, to categorize Jaadi, depending on his representation of modernity in Britain, it could be argued that he belongs to the Islamic modernists. Given his religious background, Jaadi was very selective in his adoption from the European modernity. He takes into consideration his Arab-Islamic values and background, but he could not neglect and hide his admiration of the process that Britain attained in different fields. He always shows his pride of his belonging to the Muslim community. Thus, even though Jaadi admired the European modernity, he could not forget about his religious identity. He also did not reject the use of technological innovations.

I- *Al Rihla al Tatwijiya ila Assimat al Bilad al Injliziya (1902)*

1- El Ghassal's Background and the Travel's Context

After Jaadi's travel to different European countries, which took place in 1876, many ambassadorial envoys were sent to serve other several geopolitical, social and economic purposes. This is because, according to Susan Miller,

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the state and its activities became entangled in a web of relations in which internal and external policies could no longer be separated. Morocco's engagement with the outside world was now an established fact, and the necessity to build a cadre of professionals who could deal with Europeans was imperative. Moroccan embassies had never been stationed permanently in European capitals, but now the number of special envoys sent abroad to negotiate such as trade, frontiers, and the purchase of equipment increased dramatically.¹⁰⁰⁹

Embassies used to play a crucial role in maintaining contact between the Moroccan sultans and the European powers. More importantly, these Moroccan embassies were becoming more professional in the sense that they had diplomatic dimensions and used to follow a certain protocol. However, contrary to the European embassies, the Moroccan ones used to stay in the European territories only for a temporary period of time. This is mainly due to the power relations which used to exist between the two separate worlds. Nonetheless, even those transitory journeys managed to benefit the Moroccan side. It was an outlet for the Moroccan society to solve or at least try to figure out some of its both internal and external problems and simultaneously have an idea about what is going on on the other side of the shore.

Among the major concerns of the Moroccan sultans were trade, the frontiers, the military equipment and the protection. The main aim behind the previous travel was the issue of the consular protection which was prevailing in Morocco and which caused many fractions and social dislocation in the Moroccan society. The problem could not have been solved by Jaadi's travel especially that the protection or "the

¹⁰⁰⁹Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 42.

status of protégé in Morocco originated with the Franco-Moroccan commercial treaty of 1767.”¹⁰¹⁰ It also

began in the eighteenth century as a means of stimulating commerce by releasing foreigners from the jurisdiction of Moroccan law, including taxes, the granting of ‘protection’, or what we might call ‘diplomatic immunity’, metastasized in the nineteenth century into a corrupt and abusive practice that embraced hundreds of people and undermined the authority of the Makhzen.”¹⁰¹¹

This is to say that the protection issue persisted throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century and resulted in the weakening of Morocco and involvement with Europeans. The entanglement with Europeans partly means the enforcement of implementing reforms¹⁰¹² by the European countries especially Britain. Stated differently and to talk about both the protection and reforms, Susan Miller argues that “the topic of protection continued to trouble the Makhzen throughout the reform era. It was a preoccupation of Sultan Hassan, who internationalized the question and tossed it into the hopper of topics that stirred up Great Power rivalries.”¹⁰¹³

The sultan Hassan internationalized the question of the protection by calling for an international conference. However, this latter did not serve the objective it aimed to achieve. So,

The Treaty of Madrid (signed in July 3, 1880) was negotiated in part to limit the practice, but instead of reducing foreign interference, the makhzan was forced to make even more concessions that further limited its sovereignty, such as granting foreigners the right to own land in the countryside, something that Great Britain in particular had been pushing for all along.¹⁰¹⁴

¹⁰¹⁰Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912* (The University of Chicago: Chicago and London, 1976), p. 25.

¹⁰¹¹Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 43.

¹⁰¹² “the reform period, roughly embracing the years 1860 to 1912, should be seen as a complex, contentious, and extended period of interaction among various internal and external actors from which Morocco’s leadership emerged far more familiar with the ways the modern world.” In Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰¹³ Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 46.

¹⁰¹⁴Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 47.

The Treaty of Madrid failed to serve the Moroccan cause. Instead of fighting or at least restricting the protection which stimulated the foreign interference, the Moroccan state was coerced to concede to the foreign powers. Morocco was weakened by the fact that European powers were offering protection to their European citizens living in Morocco and even worse Moroccans were also able to profit from it. Moroccans started taking advantage of the consular protection. And Pennell argues that they “began to be naturalized as foreign subjects.”¹⁰¹⁵ This allowed the European countries to control the supremacy of the country. The rich Moroccans were trying to protect their wealth and were depriving the Moroccan government from the taxes they were supposed to pay. Meanwhile, foreigners started having the right to possess lands in the countryside. Owning lands is a strong symbol for domination and hegemony. It fostered and materialized the idea of protection and strongly confirmed the foreign interference in the Moroccan lands. Furthermore, it is true that Great Britain in particular was the one pushing for protection, but France, Italy and Spain used to also have a large number of protégés.¹⁰¹⁶

Moroccan Muslims were not the only ones benefitting from protection; Jews also took advantage of that.

Jews, who once had acted as the sultan’s merchants, now found greater benefits by working for Europeans. Protection soothed the anxiety that their property might be expropriated, exempted them from the poll-tax to which only Jews were subject, and removed them from Moroccan jurisdiction in criminal cases, where they were not treated equally.¹⁰¹⁷

This quote shows that protection was a huge problem that could not be solved easily especially that a large number of people were benefiting from it. More than that, these protégés were abusing the protection. “Drummond-Hay and other European consuls repeatedly complained of the abuses that a small minority of very wealthy Jews made of protection.”¹⁰¹⁸ This urged the Moroccan country to begin thinking about the implementation of the second part of reforms which started in 1880 and lasted till 1904

¹⁰¹⁵C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 81.

¹⁰¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁰¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁰¹⁸C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 85.

and which were advanced by the European countries and particularly Britain. This latter's policy tends to be contradictory according to Abdellah Laroui. This is because "on the one hand, it is defending the authority of the Makhzen and on the other hand, it is demanding reforms that inevitably lead to – given the existing conditions- emptying that authority of all content."¹⁰¹⁹

In the same regard, Edmund Burke states that

The question was, however, never resolved, and Mawlay al-Hasan was tempted to call another international conference to deal with the subject by 1887. In general, the British, with their minister at Tangier, Sir John Drummond Hay, tended to take the lead in the movement for the reform of protection, but by the time that Drummond Hay departed in 1886 little real progress had been made toward removing the major abuses. The chief result of the conferences on protection, especially of the Madrid Convention, was to confirm the status quo while at the same time beginning the internationalization of the Moroccan Question.¹⁰²⁰

The Treaty of Madrid was not successful in lowering the rate of protection in Morocco for many reasons, among which the fact that "consuls and merchants only insisted on those articles that were advantageous to them and ignored the limitations. Instead of limiting foreign privileges, the Madrid conference extended them."¹⁰²¹ In addition to that, the "protégé status tended to become hereditary and to be extended to all of a protégé's family, including his retainers. Many of the less scrupulous European merchants did not hesitate to sell patents of protection to the highest bidder."¹⁰²² Matter of fact, the king Moulay al-Hasan opted for another conference in 1887 to internationalize the issue.

Internationalizing the problem did not mean finding a solution but it rather meant that many other European countries had the right to intervene in Morocco's internal and external problems. Their intervention implied the fact that they were able

¹⁰¹⁹ Abdellah Laroui, *Moujmal Tarikh al Maghrib* (Casablanca: Al Markaz al Takafi al Arabi, 2009), p. 566. (My translation).

¹⁰²⁰ Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912* (The University of Chicago: Chicago and London, 1976), p. 27.

¹⁰²¹ C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 86.

¹⁰²² Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912*, p. 26.

to decide “the fate of Morocco and Moulay Hassan could no longer take any serious diplomatic initiative.”¹⁰²³ Internationalizing the Moroccan issue was the only way out to force Morocco to adhere to the European powers. Thus, the total independence of Morocco was to be questioned because “Morocco started losing its prestige. It has become a symbol of a historical entity and it no longer means a system of ordering, that is heard and obeyed”¹⁰²⁴. More than that, even if Britain with its minister John Drummond Hay tried to lead the reforms concerning the protection, it did not succeed. This is especially after the departure of Hay, who used to play a crucial role in influencing the Moroccan king. He ended up his long journey in Morocco with a failure because he “could not convince the Makhzen using different means to renew the 1856’s treaty and review its terms.”¹⁰²⁵ Finally, Laamiri asserts that

After Drummond Hay’s departure in 1886, Morocco’s relations with England lost part of their vigour as the imperial interests of Britain made Morocco and North Africa less important especially after the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912. However, we can say that up to 1912 British-Moroccan relations were always vigorously dynamic and were never characterized by indifference or lack of concern.¹⁰²⁶

In other words, once Drummond hay left, “Morocco’s relationship with England became entangled in the colonial rivalries between European powers.”¹⁰²⁷ This is clearly shown when the next consul arrived to Morocco. He could not manage to keep the same smoothness in the relationship between Morocco and Britain. That is

¹⁰²³C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 87.

¹⁰²⁴Abdellah Laroui, *Moujmal Tarikh al Maghrib* (Casablanca: Al Markaz al Takafi al Arabi. 2009), p. 566. (My translation).

¹⁰²⁵Khalid Ben Sghir, *Britaniya wa Ichkaliyat al Islah’ fi al Maghrib 1886- 1904*, (Jamiaa’t Mohamed al Khamis Agdal: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab w al u’loum al Inssaniya, 2011), p. 27. (My translation).

¹⁰²⁶Mohamed Laamiri, “The Cross Cultural Discourse in British Moroccan Relations”, In Mohamed Laamiri & Driss Ouaouicha, eds., *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations: Selected Essays from the proceedings of The 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference*, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), p. 72.

¹⁰²⁷Mohamed Laamiri & Driss Ouaouicha, eds., *Eight Hundred Years of Moroccan British Diplomatic Relations: Selected Essays from the proceedings of the 800th Anniversary of Moroccan-British Relations Conference*, (Moroccan British Society, 2015), p. 18.

especially because Britain was no more the only European country to interfere in Morocco's reforms. Many other colonial rivalries showed up.

After Hay came William Kirby Green in 1886's summer. He dealt with some simple bilateral issues and could not approach the Moroccan king on many important issues like renewing the 1856 Treaty. His abrupt death in 1891 did not allow him to negotiate over many other important matters.¹⁰²⁸

William Kirby Green was followed by Sir Charles Euan Smith. He became the British minister in Tangier and stayed from March 1891 until January 1893. Smith played a momentous role in taking over Zanzibar and thought he could duplicate the same thing for Morocco through demanding reforms and privileges. When Smith arrived and settled in Tangier, he

concluded that there are four fundamental issues arranged by degree of importance which must be brought to the attention of the Sultan: First, radical changes in trade relations between Morocco and Britain; Secondly, to amend the consular protection system based in Morocco with a more effective and less harmful regime; Thirdly, the settlement and improvement of the relationship between the Northwest Africa Company in Tarfaya and the Sultan; Fourth, consider the issue of slavery in Morocco.¹⁰²⁹

Commercial relations between Morocco and Britain, the consular protection, the Northwest Africa Company in Tarfaya and slavery were the predominant issues that Smith wanted to deal with. Nevertheless, Moulay Hassan repudiated most of his commands and did not grant them much importance.¹⁰³⁰ For instance, "British envoy Charles Euan-Smith was kept waiting for weeks in the sizzling summer heat of Fez in 1892 in the hope of negotiating a new commercial treaty with the Makhzen."¹⁰³¹ Consequently, "when Mawlay al-Hassan rejected his demands and received support

¹⁰²⁸Khalid Ben Sghir, *Britaniya wa Ichkaliyat al Islah' fi al Maghrib 1886- 1904* (Jamiaa't Mohamed al Khamis Agdal: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab w al u'loum al Inssaniya, 2011), p. 28.

¹⁰²⁹Ibid., pp.40-42.

¹⁰³⁰Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912*, p. 28.

¹⁰³¹Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 50.

from France¹⁰³², Smith was forced to retire in constructed for Great Britain was badly damaged in the process.”¹⁰³³ The Moroccan king suspected the reforms that the British consul was calling for and preferred not to opt for them or at least some of them. This happened particularly because any kind of reform was the outcome of the coalition of the French, Spanish, Italian and German government.

Even though the Moroccan sultan rejected most of the prepositions by Smith.

After the departure of Euan Smith from Fez to Tangier on July 15, 1892, Al-Hassan hastened to write to Queen Victoria to assure her of his desire to maintain the same traditional kind of relations between the two countries and complain to her about the behavior of her ambassador during his official mission.”¹⁰³⁴

This shows that the Moroccan king still wanted to preserve the good relationship with Britain though Smith was not able to keep the same pleasant impact as Drummond Hay did. Some of his behaviors outraged both the Moroccan king and the Moroccans.

After the internationalization of the Moroccan issue, all the previously mentioned European powers had the right to meddle in Morocco’s affairs. They were also competing and hankering after the Moroccan prerogatives. They were trying to serve their countries. But as an overall, when it comes to the reform movement that they were trying to implement, Susan Gilson Miller argues that

It did not halt the aggressive tendencies of Europe, nor did it increase the capacity of the state to block European interventions. The results of the reform movement were hardly uniform. [...] it appears the changes introduced never penetrated deep enough to alter the fundamental

¹⁰³²The French support means that when France knew about Smith’s mission to Fes, France sent a minister Aubigny so as to submit his credentials and start influencing the Makhzen instead of the British one. In Khalid Ben Sghir, *Britaniya wa Ichkaliyat al Islah’ fi al Maghrib 1886- 1904* (Jamiaa’t Mohamed al Khamis Agdal: Manchourat Qouliyat al Adab wa u’loum al Inssaniya, 2011), p. 50.

¹⁰³³Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912*, p. 28.

¹⁰³⁴Khalid Ben Sghir, *Britaniya wa Ichkaliyat al Islah’ fi al Maghrib 1886-1904*, p. 100. (My translation).

structures of the state, nor did they extend far enough outward into public sphere to change popular attitudes.¹⁰³⁵

The reforms were not fully taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the Moroccans could not stop the European penetration and they did not make changes in terms of the state's structures. This is mainly because the attitudes toward reforms were not homogeneous. It was very hard to change the Moroccans' and especially the Ulama's perspectives concerning the European's call for reform. The religious scholars "remained indifferent or openly hostile to innovation, making concessions only when coerced."¹⁰³⁶ Moreover, reforms were not successful because it is believed that "the end of the nineteenth century in Morocco was a time of increased tension between state and society."¹⁰³⁷

In addition to the external problems, Morocco suffered from some other internal ones as well. For instance, "the Melilla border issue was raised again in 1893 and was about to create a second Moroccan Spanish war but Britain tried to intervene to solve the crisis that could have happened between Morocco and Spain."¹⁰³⁸ So, though the Moroccan-British relationship was no more the same, Britain did not hesitate to intervene again and help refrain Spain from waging a second war on Morocco. And, since Morocco lost again, it had to "pay large indemnity."¹⁰³⁹

"Moulay Hassan died on campaign in the summer of 1894."¹⁰⁴⁰ His death meant the "end of the old order"¹⁰⁴¹. Susan Miller mentions that

Typically, the peripatetic Hassan I met his death while on the march. His mahalla had left Marakkech and was passing through a remote region near Tadla in July 1894, when the sultan succumbed to the illness that had debilitated him during his last years. Because the army was still in enemy territory, his chamberlain Ba Ahmad kept the earth a secret, ordering ministers who accompanied the mahalla not to reveal the news.

¹⁰³⁵Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 52.

¹⁰³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁰³⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰³⁸Khalid Ben Sghir, *Britaniyawalchkaliyat al Islah ' fi al Maghrib 1886-1904*, p. 20.

¹⁰³⁹Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912*, p. xx.

¹⁰⁴⁰C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 108.

¹⁰⁴¹*Ibid.*

[...] The camp was wrapped in silence as Ba Ahmad plotted his next moves.¹⁰⁴²

The death of the sultan was kept a secret so as not to engender serious internal problems. Meanwhile Ba Ahmad did not wish to reveal the king's death because he was plotting for his next steps. So, after the death of Moulay Hassan, Ba Ahmad gained hegemony "over the reins of the country; Britain and its representatives Satow and Nicolson were silenced by the issue of reforms amidst a wave of despair that was overshadowed by tribal unrest in the country during the transition of power to the Azizi"¹⁰⁴³ This latter is "Abd al Aziz, the youngest son of Hassan I, is indirectly designated as heir to the end of his father's reign, instead of his older brother Mhammad who was not particularly pious."¹⁰⁴⁴

After dealing with the historical context of the travel, it is time to move to talk about the traveler. Al Hassan Ben Mohammed El Ghassal was born in Tangier and died in Marrakech.¹⁰⁴⁵ During the 19th and 20th century, El Ghassal and his family had the highest political rank, and this is because they belong to the Makhzen- the ruling authority/power. Since the reign of Sultan Moulay Abd El Aziz, till the twenties of the 20th century, El Ghassal was able to play a crucial role in terms of diplomacy.¹⁰⁴⁶ El Ghassal had a very rich experience in terms of diplomacy and "carried out his political or diplomatic activity as a delegate or an envoy of the ruling authority – the Makhzen- or sometimes as a secretary of ambassadors. And the most important stations in his diplomatic life are as follow:"¹⁰⁴⁷ El Ghassal

- a- Attended the delegates' conference in Casablanca in order to find a solution to the rising European demands.
- b- Represented the Store Authority at the inauguration or coronation of Edward VII of England in 1320/1902 AD.

¹⁰⁴²Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁴³Khalid Ben Sghir, *Britaniya wa Ichkaliyat al Islah' fi al Maghrib 1886-1904*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁴⁴Abdellah Laroui, *Les Origines Sociales et Culturelles du Nationalisme Marocain (1830-1912)* (Casablanca : Centre Culturel Arabe, 2009), p. 78.

¹⁰⁴⁵Hassan El Ghassal, *Al Rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 13.

¹⁰⁴⁶Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁰⁴⁷Ibid., p. 12.

- c- Accompanied the Ambassador Haji Abdul Rahman Abdul Sadiq, one year after the previous embassy, heading to Gibraltar to meet with the British monarch Edward VII during his visit to this British strategic colony.
- d- Appointed within the delegation of Tangier selected by Sultan Moulay Abdel Aziz in the Senate to meet with the French Ambassador and discuss his proposed program to complete certain modernization reforms for clear objectives.
- e- In the era of Moulay Hafiz, who was appointed after Moulay Abdelaziz, he will be appointed to the Compensation Commission in 1907 as a writer after the famous Casablanca uprising.
- f- Worked in many administrative positions, and then was connected to central events in which he contributed in one way or another, and through his representation of the warehouse authority through the delegations or the specialized committees. For example, we mention:
 - a. Committee for the study of border issues Morocco – Algeria
 - b. Committee for the review of the debts of foreigners "House Prosecution"
 - c. Committee on Disputes between Moroccans and Foreign Veterans¹⁰⁴⁸

Since not anyone could have been sent for ambassadorial and diplomatic missions, El Ghassal seems to be worthy of the missions he has been assigned. The diverse positions he occupied allowed him to gain a certain privilege for his selection especially that “the choice is not done haphazardly but based upon their experience. It is also about putting the right person in the right place”.¹⁰⁴⁹ Thus, he could be identified with what Mohammed Magaman calls “educated elites”.¹⁰⁵⁰ Consequently, it is important to look at the profile of the traveler before analyzing the travel narrative itself. This is because it will affect the way he would negotiate, investigate and

¹⁰⁴⁸Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 12-13.

¹⁰⁴⁹Mohammed Magaman, *Al Rahalat Al maghribiya (XVII – XVIII Century)*, p. 347.

¹⁰⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 396.

represent modernity. Additionally, El Ghassal was not the ambassador of this ambassadorial mission but he was rather its writer.

“In *Tristes Tropiques*, Lévi-Strauss notes that travel means dislocation in three dimensions: time, space, social relations.”¹⁰⁵¹ Matter of fact, studying travel only as a movement from one space to another is not enough to well understand the mechanisms of travel writing. To better grasp a wider view about the travel writings of the Moroccan account, not only the spatial process through which the travelers go should be covered, but a special attention should also be addressed to the social and historic-political relations circumstances of the country. In other words, mentioning the fact that the late 19th and early 20th century was a critical period of time in the history of Morocco clarifies the reasons behind sending envoys to Europe and especially to Britain in this case. In this regard, Said BensaidAlaoui argues that the encounters between the Moroccan travelers and Europeans went through three different stages: “a moment of power and self-confidence (18th century), a moment of defeat and discovery (19th century), and a moment of surprise and Recovery Awareness (20th century).”¹⁰⁵² As a result, in the mid-nineteenth century, Morocco realized that the Mediterranean Sea was separating two completely different worlds not only in terms of geography but also in terms of power in all its forms. And, the twentieth century was a period of surprise from what was happening in the world and a recovery awareness.¹⁰⁵³

In the same respect, El Ghassal was sent -under the demand of the sultan al Mawla Abd El Aziz- to Britain in order to participate and witness the coronation of the English king Edward VI. His journey started in 21 June 1902 from Tangier and he was back in 6th July.¹⁰⁵⁴ Moreover, according to Abd El Rahim Mouden, El-Ghassal manuscript is divided into the following sections:

- 1- The purpose of the trip with a brief definition of the official delegation of the trip from the ambassador and writer and secretary

¹⁰⁵¹Susan Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁵²Said Bensaid Alami, *Urupa fi Miraet Arrihla, Surat al Akhar fi AdabArrihla al Maghribiya al Mouassir*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁵³Ibid.

¹⁰⁵⁴Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 24.

- 2- Riding the sea and its circumstances "without forgetting to describe the ship and its components and the general line that it took before reaching England
- 3- Access to the land of the English and the good say in various aspects of economic, social, political, entertainment and militarism
- 4- Return to Morocco and reach Tangier after passing through Gibraltar¹⁰⁵⁵

This shows that El Ghassal's account included both his external and internal journey to Britain. In other words, El Ghassal followed what Fussel calls "the 'tripartite' structure of the travel account in which the traveler/ protagonist, like a romantic hero, leaves the familiar and wanders into the unknown. First, the setting out, the disjunction from the familiar. Second, the trials of initiation and adventure. Third, the hero's return and reintegration into society."¹⁰⁵⁶ This structure, therefore, is more likely related to the traveler's external journey which is about describing the hardship of the travel and the movement into space apart from the third stage which is about discovering the British economic, social, political, entertainment and military field.

Subsequently, in his travel account, El Ghassal starts his account by mentioning the itinerary of the travel, then he moves on to the travel text. This latter has a traditional and conventional beginning which is about first invoking God, then mentioning the ruler's blessings. This part has got a religious dimension in the sense that the traveler uses some religious jargon like "In the name of God the Most Gracious the Most Merciful. May God bless our master Muhammad and his family and companions" in order to show his religious background. After that, he moves on to state the aim behind his travel. El Ghassal asserts that he was chosen for the embassy to go and attend the coronation of King Edward VII. El Ghassal accompanied the Moroccan ambassador Abd Rahman ben Abd el Sadek.¹⁰⁵⁷

¹⁰⁵⁵ Abd al Rahim Mouden, Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 24.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Miller Gilson Miller, (trans. & ed.), *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of Moroccan Scholar in France 1845-1846. The voyage of Muhammad As-Saffar*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 38.

El Ghassal starts his travel account by describing his movement from Tangier to London passing by several stations and riding different means of transportation. This is part of mentioning the departure phase, which gives credibility to the traveler. It shows that the account is based on the first hand experience of the traveler.

2- El Ghassal's Representation of Modernity:

This chapter is about the representation of El Ghassal's of modernity through a close reading of his travel narrative. Matter of fact, as it is already mentioned, in one of the chapters, in *The Journey to the Other Shore*, Roxanne Euben called the journey of traveling to the other shore of the Mediterranean for instance in the case of Morocco, a "travel in search of practical wisdom".¹⁰⁵⁸ Most of the Moroccan travelers to Europe were trying to look for practical wisdom. They wanted to discover and understand modernity which –for the Moroccan kings- is related to the military order and to the technical and industrial discoveries. More than that, "at the turn of the twentieth century, it appears that there was a shared sense that Britain was on top of the world having been first to industrialise and therefore being modern and progressive."¹⁰⁵⁹ Consequently, once El Ghassal arrived to his destination, he took note of every single detail he came across related to different fields. He was interested in discovering why the British were cherishing a certain modernity that is associated precisely with the military order and the technical and industrial discoveries. In other words, El Ghassal illustrated his account by several instances of description related to the military, agricultural, commercial, social, political, architectural and industrial fields. That is to say, he was selective in his choice of the themes to tackle in his account. This selection has a direct relation with representation of modernity. Furthermore, the way El Ghassal represents modernity shows that he was self-reflexive in the sense that he was able to focus on the things that Morocco was in need of to achieve modernity.

El Ghassal's travel begins with stating the date of his departure which is the 21st of June 1902. He then mentions the boat -The English warship 'Royal Sovereign'- that took the Moroccan delegation to Gibraltar. Once inside the ship, the Moroccans were well received by its president and some captains. El Ghassal claims that "as soon as we got in the boat, we were officially well received by the boat's president and captains.

¹⁰⁵⁸Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*, p. 90.

¹⁰⁵⁹Atsuko Ichijo, " 'Europe' and Modernity in the British Context", in *Europe, Nations and Modernity: Identities and Modernities in Europe*, Atsuko Ichijo, ed., (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 209.

The encounter was proper and adequate to the Moroccan delegation”.¹⁰⁶⁰ The first encounter seems to be a good one because the Moroccans were not underestimated or badly treated even though its situation was desperate. Moreover, since gifts are part and partial of travel literature, El Ghassal asserts that the Moroccan ambassador offered the captain of the boat “a high-end knife with a golden pallor and his successor with a dagger”.¹⁰⁶¹

After two and half hours, they arrived to Gibraltar and met the king’s representative Abd Salam Bouziyan, the *khalifa* of the country’s ruler and the commander of the port.¹⁰⁶² El Ghassal reports how they were received and mentions that they fired guns as a sign of welcoming the Moroccan delegation. El Ghassal describes the ceremony of their welcome by stating that

We walked among the ranks of regular armed forces carrying weapons while performing the salutations ceremony. The music was cracked with English melodies and rhythms. Meanwhile, and in our way, the roads and the whole ramparts and windows were crowded with men and women who were declared happy until we arrived at the House of Consuls.¹⁰⁶³

This shows that the Moroccans were well received by the British officials. The British population also demonstrated that they were very eager to see the Moroccans. The fact of standing in road and windows reveals the fact that the Moroccans were not the only ones interested in discovering and meeting the British people. This shows that the gaze is mutual and taking place from both sides. Both the self and the other want to discover the different Other. This scene is also part of how the traveler usually depicts himself when he arrives to his destination. Most of the time, he is seen as a hero. This time, the whole Moroccan committee is portrayed as being very important and attractive to the British population because they look different.

The following day, the British again received the Moroccan delegation and they exchanged gifts. The traveler mentions that many people were surprised by the fact that Sir George White who is the ruler of the place paid a visit to the Moroccan

¹⁰⁶⁰Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A’ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 38. (My translation).

¹⁰⁶¹Ibid., (My translation).

¹⁰⁶²Ibid., pp. 38-39. (My translation).

¹⁰⁶³Ibid., p. 39. (My translation).

ambassador.¹⁰⁶⁴ This again exhibits the fact that Moroccans are treated differently from others and they are somehow special. This is given the historical relationship that used to exist between Morocco and Britain. After spending that day, the Moroccans had to leave and El Ghassal claims that the British officials were “ready for our farewell, they performed a farewell ceremony following the usual protocol and we were installed in a small boat that will get us to the larger boat.”¹⁰⁶⁵

Once in the boat, El Ghassal starts describing the boat in a very detailed way. He says

The boat is a good one. It is spacious in terms of both length and width. It is extremely clean and perfectly made. It has the weight of eight thousand tons and was established in the year of sixty - nine Christian. And it has several first-class houses- as it is called-with clean beds, followed by several other houses that they call the second rank. It also has got a big room containing many sofas made of silk and ... it is called the living room.¹⁰⁶⁶

This detailed description reveals how much El Ghassal is interested in reporting everything he sees even if he has not reached Britain yet. However, the aspects of modernization start from their boat which is completely new to the Moroccan traveler and the Moroccan delegation in general. It is part of describing everything that is weird and new to the Moroccans. What is worth mentioning here is the fact that most of the workers in this boat are from India. They are almost 100 people and they are most likely Muslim Indians.¹⁰⁶⁷ This shows how the British are making use of their colonized people. They are bringing them to serve them. More than that, El Ghassal declares that the boat belongs to a group of traders who own one of the most famous transportation company at that time- Peninsular. He adds that they have more than 70 boats similar to the one that the Moroccan delegation rode.¹⁰⁶⁸ This huge number demonstrates how powerful the British people are in terms of the maritime forces. He

¹⁰⁶⁴Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 40.

¹⁰⁶⁵Ibid., (My translation).

¹⁰⁶⁶Ibid., (My translation).

¹⁰⁶⁷Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁰⁶⁸Ibid.

goes on to talk about the regulations of eating, drinking, and sitting in the British boat. Therefore, he warns anyone taking that boat to pay attention to their eating, drinking and sitting habits.¹⁰⁶⁹ The cultural differences are among the issues that lures the attraction of every traveler and El Ghassal is no exception.

At 4:00 am, El Ghassal announces that the boat took off very quickly and at a very high speed- 17 miles per an hour.¹⁰⁷⁰ This high speed illustrates the technological advancements of the British in terms of the maritime forces. On Tuesday, they passed by Portugal and El Ghassal says that it seems to be a nice country full of mountains and buildings.¹⁰⁷¹ On Wednesday, they reached Biscaye's sea which is known for its frequent turbulence and frenzy.¹⁰⁷² On Thursday morning, he inserts that

We passed on a lighthouse built on a small room in the middle of the sea and on top of it a light designed to drive the boats at night and they told us that the number of lighthouses on England's shores is about two hundreds. This is in order to protect them from passing boats at night and to provide them with maintenance from marine pests.¹⁰⁷³

Till now, El Ghassal is still dealing with the external journey of his travel. He is describing the physical movement across space and the hardship of his travel. Matter of fact, he has just moved from the ordinary into the extraordinary which had started to show up from taking the British means of transportation. El Ghassal is also doing geographical literature in the sense that he is discovering new territories in his way to Britain and therefore his travel is put within a certain spacio- narratological frame like all the previously mentioned travelers. More than that, the fact of having lighthouses at the shore of the British sea reveals the fact that Britain is alarmed to any maritime attack. They are ready and equipped with all the tools needed to protect themselves. This is given the historical circumstances, which is the European competition and alliances towards colonies.

¹⁰⁶⁹Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 41.

¹⁰⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁰⁷¹Ibid.

¹⁰⁷²Ibid.

¹⁰⁷³Ibid.

At 10 am, they arrived to the first British port, which is called Plymouth.¹⁰⁷⁴ It is a military port where they found many commercial and military boats. Meanwhile, El Ghassal refers to the Moroccan ports which are smaller than the British one. He also talks about the green landscape that is similar to the Moroccan one during spring. This shows that in travel literature, the traveler cannot stop thinking about his home country. So, he would involve a comparison between the country visited and his own to find out both similarities and differences. This is in order to understand why the differences exist and how to overcome them. Moreover, once they laid down in the port, Captain Moseley came wearing his official uniform to welcome them on behalf of an admiral.¹⁰⁷⁵

Since Britain at that time was celebrating the coronation of Edward VI, many representatives and ambassadors from different countries were coming to participate in this event. Matter of fact, the boat was full of people belonging to different nations. El Ghassal asserts that

the boat was containing some English passengers, some of the kings of India, a clown with their captains, and the ambassador of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. In the afternoon, they wore their official clothes depending on their country's uniform. And part of the costume of the people of India is men wearing women's jewelry, like fine jewel and precious stones. And among the kings of India, there is a woman who is a Muslim Queen over some of the Islands of India. She was wearing a mask on her face. All those people mentioned came to attend the coronation ceremony. Among what the aforementioned boat laid down in the port was one hundred boxes filled with gold between pieces and coins multiplied in the Island of Australia. In each box, there is almost five thousand livres. Every Friday, a boat is placed on this marina and

¹⁰⁷⁴Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 42.

¹⁰⁷⁵Ibid.

the amount mentioned therein is put down and sometimes it is more than that.¹⁰⁷⁶

This passage attests the fact that the coronation of the British king Edward VI was a limelight event, which gathered several important people from different corners of the world. What is remarkable in this quote is that El Ghassal provides us with detailed information about how every representative of a country got ready for the coronation. The outfit which is part of the cultural aspect of every culture is also dealt with by El Ghassal to differentiate between the different cultural beings on the boat. Another reason for tackling the clothes or official traditional clothes and wearing of India is that it seems very weird for El Ghassal for men to wear jewelries. Matter of fact, all that is strange attracts the attention of the traveler and he feels the need to report on it. But what is more interesting in this passage is that most of the passengers have the same religious background. There are Muslim Indians, Afghans and Moroccans. This shows that the choice of the passengers of this boat was mainly done in purpose. The people riding this boat belong to the same category. They have the same religious identity. More than that, the fact that the boat has both Indian servants and kings reveal the colonial relationship which used to exist between the countries (India and Britain). Additionally, the fact of having a Muslim woman Queen challenges and deconstructs all the stereotypes constructed concerning Arab and Muslim women. Being a Muslim Queen reveals the fact that Islam is not a religion which oppresses women. This latter could cherish a very prestigious political rank in the society. Unlike the orientalist who depict the Muslim women as being obedient and used only as a sexual object, El Ghassal dismisses this stereotype by portraying a Muslim woman as a political leader. The boxes of gold also unveil the fact that Britain at that time and its allies like Australia were exploiting the colonies and were benefiting from their raw material and precious minerals.

Port Plymouth was not the final destination of the Moroccan delegation. They went right after to the port of London. El Ghassal again could not miss the opportunity to describe the port in a very minute way. He mentions the kind of boat which are

¹⁰⁷⁶Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 42.

standing in the port. According to him, there are two types: the commercial and the military ones.¹⁰⁷⁷ The number of these kind of boats is stated to be unlimited. There are many boats coming in and going out of the port, that is why El Ghassal and the Moroccan delegation took some time to land in. Therefore, the city could be described as a vibrant one since its port is very active and huge. Because of the traffic existing in the port, they reached the mole after walking for one hour.¹⁰⁷⁸

Once in land, the Moroccan delegation took the train which transported them to the house where they should stay, and which is located in James Square. Here again El Ghassal argues that the neighborhood chosen for the Moroccan delegation belongs to the elite which is different from the neighborhood where lay people live. This is to demonstrate that the Moroccans were treated in a way that does not make of them any inferior. Matter of fact, El Ghassal is differentiating between the two social classes and how different is where they live. He said that the elites live in very calm places. They have big houses with multiple floors and most of the time they have a basement which is dedicated to cooking and other tasks.¹⁰⁷⁹ Whereas the other social class lives next to shops and big stores. It is noisy and not as prestigious as the first place.

The city is full of large gardens and every neighborhood has got its own.¹⁰⁸⁰ The city is known for a big river which trespasses it; it is the Thames.¹⁰⁸¹ El Ghassal then describes the infrastructure of London which is different from the one in Morocco. He claims that the river is huge that many large boats travel within it. It also contains bridges which some of them are made of wood and others are made of other materials. He goes on talking about Albert Bridge which stands with no columns.¹⁰⁸² All this developed infrastructure and architecture fascinated El Ghassal who stated that the bridge is among the “weirdest thing you can ever see”.¹⁰⁸³ Under this river, a train railway is constructed and used as another in land means of transportation. In this passage, the traveler tries to gather as much information about what he sees as

¹⁰⁷⁷Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 43.

¹⁰⁷⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁹Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁰⁸⁰Ibid.

¹⁰⁸¹Ibid.

¹⁰⁸²Ibid.

¹⁰⁸³Ibid., (My translation).

possible. That is why in his description, he provides the reader with some details which show how much El Ghassal wants to know and discover how things work in there. He talks about water pipes and gives some detailed measures concerning another river “the New River” which crosses the roads used next to the bridges.¹⁰⁸⁴ El Ghassal was also interested in revealing the cost of such infrastructure and the duration it took to be established. The focus was more likely on how that river was exploited to serve many places and who are the people who were involved in its infrastructure. The infrastructure is important for the Moroccan traveler because it is among the aspects of the modern life in Britain.

El Ghassal continues talking about the infrastructure of the city, other institutions and commercial activities to give a wider image about London and to illustrate his first impression about the city. He inserts that

the greatest place in London is the center of the Grand Trade Center and which is a large road full of houses, stores and shops. It includes the State Bank or the Central Bank, the house of the ruler and the police office. [...] The place is crowded and noisy because of the cars, it even baffles the mind and tires the sight. And in some areas of the Tames River, there is a pillar stone called the [...] is one piece of the wonders of the world – I did not check its length- and a large amount of money was spent on bringing it from Alexandria. On the edge of this city, there are gas and electric lamps they are countless and make the night seem like the day.¹⁰⁸⁵

This passage stresses the fields of interest of El Ghassal. He was again amazed by the commercial aspect of the city and all the other institutions which exist in London. Using expressions like ‘the greatest place’, ‘baffles the mind and tires the sight’, ‘one piece of the wonders of the world’ proves the fact that El Ghassal was mesmerized by what he saw in this British city. He obviously enjoyed discovering and describing whatever he saw in there. What gives his description some kind of credibility is the fact of mentioning that he could not check the length of the pillar stone. Stated

¹⁰⁸⁴Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 44.

¹⁰⁸⁵Ibid., p. 45. (My translation).

differently, the Moroccan traveler could have put a random number just to claim that he knows but stating that he could not verify its length indicates that he is truthful to his readers. What is intriguing in this passage is the fact that Britain spent a huge amount of money in order to bring that stone pillar to its territory. This is a significant point in the sense that power relations and inferiority and superiority stance should be questioned. The modernity that Britain has reached is also to be questioned in the sense that the periphery or the uncivilized world is contributing to the construction of the center. More than that, it shows that even if Britain was reaching a certain modernity and development in different domains, it was in need of this Egyptian piece to complement its design and infrastructure. The presence of this expensive Egyptian artifact demonstrates that modernity in Britain relied on external actors. The contribution and the choice of Egypt is meaningful due to two reasons. The first one is because the Egyptian civilization is a very ancient and rich one. The second one depends on the geographical location which has also something to do with the colonial empire and expansion of Britain. Thus, Britain is exploiting other “supposedly less modernized country” for its own sake. This point contradicts what has been said earlier when it comes to modernity in Europe. It is claimed that modernity in Europe relied on interior factors to attain modernity. This example demonstrates that even Europe was dependent on other exterior actors.

Part of the security and military power established in London is having police offices in every corner of the street that ensure police shifts.¹⁰⁸⁶ Furthermore, El Ghassal describes their uniforms and differentiates between the policemen who wear official uniforms and pistols and the other ones which are unknown and in disguise. This is part of how the British maintain order and control over the security of the city.

The means of transportation are also part of what El Ghassal deals with in his travel narrative. The vehicles in this town are numerous. And on every vehicle, they put a number.¹⁰⁸⁷ This is again part of maintaining order. El Ghassal adds that there are four types of the means of transportation,

¹⁰⁸⁶Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p.45.

¹⁰⁸⁷Ibid.

The first one is the usual type that is ridden by horse. It is the one which is the mostly used. The second uses the gas force. The third and the fourth make use of the electric force, but this latter- which is the fourth one- needs to catch an iron rod from it to the electric wires extended by the roads and the more it is extended the more it flows with it. This is restricted to long roads where the line is straight. The passenger should be cautious enough to write down the number of the means of transportation he is taking in his copybook once he is installed so that if ever something bad happened to him, he could report that to the police station. This way the passenger will find the number and it will be easy for the police to recognize the owner of the cart.¹⁰⁸⁸

This quote emphasizes the diversity existing in London in terms of the means of transportation. It shows that there is a large choice when it comes to the vehicles used. The first ones are the conventional means which employ animals; mainly horses. Maybe the traveler is referring to carts. The second ones which use Gas could be the cars. The third which use electricity are trains. The last type which El Ghassal was referring to is the tramway. Again, this denotes that Britain at that time was developing in diverse fields. Having tramways attracted the attention of the Moroccan traveler because they work in a different way. They only move in straight lines and they use electric wires. More than that, and still part of the order and security that is referred to in El Ghassal's narrative, once the passengers start their ride they are supposed to record the number of the means of transportation that they are taking so that if ever an accident or anything alike happened, the passenger could file a claim to the police office. This means that the rights of the citizens are prioritized, and they are dealt with in a very minute way. After that, El Ghassal mentions the protocol for sitting in the previously mentioned means of transportation.

Another issue which lured the attention of El Ghassal is the use of a "weird" machine that is dragged or pulled by horses like a wheel that is employed for

¹⁰⁸⁸Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 46.

extinguishing the fire quickly.¹⁰⁸⁹ One more machine which El Ghassal could not miss to talk about is the lift. He inserts that they do use this kind of machine because they have many floors.

More than that, the Moroccan traveler also paid attention to the commercial services available in this city. For instance, when you buy some purchases from any shop you can ask them to deliver whatever you have bought to your house. You only need to give them your name and address.¹⁰⁹⁰

London -according to El Ghassal- is known for its tremendous activities in terms of commerce.¹⁰⁹¹ This is due to several reasons among which the fact that its population reaches almost six million. That is why the streets, gardens and markets are always full of people. El Ghassal states that this large number of people could be more likely noticed in train stations.¹⁰⁹² The trains never stop, and they are either crowded with passengers or goods. The number of the trains is immense that El Ghassal was surprised and astonished by the fact that they do not crash. For him, it is unbelievable to have this meticulous order. El Ghassal mentions that this is because every train knows direction and follow certain rails. Matter of fact, they do not cross each other's path.¹⁰⁹³ This obviously needs a whole engineering system.

After this, he moves on to talk about the weather of the city. El Ghassal states that during winter, it is always too cloudy and foggy. He also adds that "the rain does not leave it and it is sometime hot, but it does not exceed only one day to be followed by clouds and rain and cold again."¹⁰⁹⁴ This is -according to El Ghassal- due to God's willingness.

On the following day, the Moroccan delegation was taken to the king's palace- St Jame's Palace in order to see the soldiers in charge of guarding the palace.¹⁰⁹⁵ This is very important for the Moroccan delegation because it might interest their king. Protecting the palace especially for the Moroccan king would be of great importance

¹⁰⁸⁹Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 46.

¹⁰⁹⁰Ibid.

¹⁰⁹¹Ibid.

¹⁰⁹²Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁰⁹³Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁵Ibid.

particularly that Morocco went through many interior turmoils. More than that, visiting the palace's soldiers means that the British wanted to show and show off their order when it comes to the military and security system.

The Moroccan delegation were also taken to the zoo.¹⁰⁹⁶ Since Morocco probably did not have a Zoo, El Ghassal referred to it as “a garden for monsters brought from different parts of the world”.¹⁰⁹⁷ It is “a very large garden with trees, water, coffee shops, and a variety of wild and marine animals and different types of birds.”¹⁰⁹⁸ El Ghassal then goes on to describe all the weird animals that he came across in the zoo like the caribou, an old turtle, the zebra and some huge snakes.¹⁰⁹⁹ He also tries to talk about these animals by making comparisons with animals that are known to him. This is to make it easy for the reader to conceptualize the animals that he is talking about. he adds that he could not cover all the animals he saw because he could not count them and describe them.¹¹⁰⁰ After that he insert such an expression which shows his religious background: “May God bless the best creator”.¹¹⁰¹ What impressed the Moroccan traveler is the fact that every animal is treated depending on its specie. They try to provide these animals with similar environment to their origins. That is to say, “if an animal is prone to living in a cold living conditions, they make sure the temperature is adequate to keep them alive and the same thing goes for animals who are supposed to live in a hot weather”.¹¹⁰² This again needs a whole science. It also shows the knowledge that the British have concerning this field, and which makes them keep order over everything.

Till now El Ghassal is still talking about all the events which took place before his official mission. He is also describing anything that he comes across and which he thinks might be interesting for the Moroccan king. After that came the time when the Moroccan embassy will be asked to get ready in order to meet the British king. But before that, El Ghassal talks about the fact that visitors should have cards in which the

¹⁰⁹⁶Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 47.

¹⁰⁹⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 47-48.

¹⁰⁹⁹Ibid., p. 48.

¹¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹¹⁰²Ibid.

name of the visitors and their country of origin is mentioned.¹¹⁰³ This is again part of the order and organization that the British society tries to maintain in different fields and occasions. Two cars and two drivers -wearing very official clothes- were granted to the Moroccan delegation to drive them to the dinner place.¹¹⁰⁴ Additionally, El Ghassal notes that the Moroccan delegation were provided with some official documents telling them about how to enter the coronation place. The documents also include the picture of the dinner table. This is to know beforehand where the ambassador should sit.¹¹⁰⁵

The Moroccan envoy first met the minister of foreign affairs Lord Lansdowne.¹¹⁰⁶ They met in the house/ ministry of foreign affairs. El Ghassal claims that they were well received and that the minister asked about the Moroccan king as part of the protocol of the diplomatic relations between the two countries.¹¹⁰⁷ This ministry is closely linked to the building of the ministry of colonies.¹¹⁰⁸ Given the historical period of time, which knew an increasing interest in colonies, Britain consecrated a whole ministry to manage its colonial expansion and colonial territories. A whole institution is devoted only to colonial affairs. El Ghassal describes this ministry as being “the greatest building in London”.¹¹⁰⁹ This is because

It is all built of stones engraved in a very nice shape [...] Each one of them is limited to the work of the people of the colonies. On the walls of this area, statues and pictures of marble are inscribed on the uniforms of the people of that colonies in order to distinguish their works from others.¹¹¹⁰

The ministry of colonies is an institution which shows that colonialism has been institutionalized by the European powers. The ministry also symbolizes the fact that everything is well planned for when it comes to colonialism. It could be considered as

¹¹⁰³Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 49.

¹¹⁰⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 50.

¹¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹¹⁰Ibid.

an institution which also legitimizes the colonial expansion of Britain. Moreover, the architecture of the building is also significant, in the sense that it shows that Britain is very proud of its colonies. Having statues and pictures of the people colonized could be seen as trophies that illustrate the colonial expansion of Britain in different countries.

On Wednesday, “the Moroccan delegation headed towards the King’s palace to pay him a visit”.¹¹¹¹ At the entrance, a book is placed at the palace’s door for the visitors- notables and distinguished people- to sign their names. This remains in the archive for the king to check the people who visited him once he feels better.¹¹¹² More than that, the British people come every day to the palace to check the king’s health condition.¹¹¹³ Furthermore, “the king’s doctors make four announcements a day concerning the king’s medical situation. And this gets disseminated in the whole country.”¹¹¹⁴ This demonstrates the national profile of the British. They care about their king and his health situation.

After visiting the king, El Ghassal moves on -without giving much details about this visit- to talk about the Royal stable.¹¹¹⁵ The stable “is very large and spacious. It is very clean and perfectly organized. It has one hundred and twenty horses in four different types.”¹¹¹⁶ The difference between these four kinds of horses is the color; they have four different colors. They also serve different purposes. “There are ones designed to drag the Sultan king’s carts to official ceremonies, others are prepared for competitions, and others are intended for hunting.”¹¹¹⁷ This shows the diversity in terms of use of the horses in the Royal stable. This latter also includes places for keeping arms that are ornated with gold and silver. It also has got a spot reserved for

¹¹¹¹Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A’ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 50.

¹¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹¹⁷Ibid.

royal cars that seem to be very expensive.¹¹¹⁸ Briefly, the royal stable shows the richness of the British royal palace.

El Ghasaal carries on his detailed description and narration of his journey by moving to talk about how they reached the military barracks. They took the train to a very known storehouse first. This latter is a large and well-constructed store. “It is used as a market for selling precious goods and exotic antiques, it is also surrounded by a garden with trees and water and places to sit and drink coffee and similar drinks.”¹¹¹⁹

Once in the military barracks, El Ghassal again shows his interest in the military field by continuing his precise description of the military tools, uniforms and soldiers. The Moroccan travel asserts the following when it comes to what he saw in the military barrack:

It contains a fragment of the military and the tactical artillery from all the British colonies among which the Muslims and others. And each group is wearing the uniforms of their homeland, including the bare-headed [...] and some others are barefoot because they cannot walk while they are wearing shoes. This is because they are used to this. They are accustomed to walking barefoot. Their colors are different, including black and red ones.¹¹²⁰

This quote illustrates both the diversity of the British military forces and the exploitation of the colonies. The British are manipulating the colonizers and using them as part of their military forces. This is intriguing in the sense that those soldiers could represent a powerful revolutionary system from within.

The Moroccan delegation was again taken to a place called Madame Toussand's.¹¹²¹ This place gathers pictures and waxed statues of kings, ministers, and famous people belonging to the British country and others.¹¹²² El Ghassal states that “it was very impressive to see the image of a very tall German man, twice as tall as a

¹¹¹⁸Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 51.

¹¹¹⁹Ibid.

¹¹²⁰Ibid.

¹¹²¹Ibid., p. 52.

¹¹²²Ibid.

normal man, we also saw the image of another man, very short, about an arm.”¹¹²³ This museum is very awkward for the Moroccan delegation because they are not used to such museums in which distinguished people are designed and their statues are waxed. More than that, the Moroccan traveler adds that not only notables are portrayed but even laymen’s statues are made. El Ghassal mentions that

In the ground floor, there are statues of men and women who were fined for crimes they committed. Some of them are beheaded and some of them are prepared to kill, and some of them are lying on the ground dead. And there are statues from the Indian wars and other that need long explanation.¹¹²⁴

Madame Toussand is cultural space which bewildered the Moroccan delegation. Order is maintained even in the artistic and cultural field in the sense that before entering this museum, visitors are supposed to buy a booklet in which the statues displayed are well documented. In other words, the booklet introduces the people represented in the waxed statues. It also provides the visitors with short biographies of the people exposed. The statues are also numbered.¹¹²⁵

The cultural and artistic field is given its due within the British society. This is clearly shown in the places visited by the Moroccan embassy. From Madame Toussand, El Ghassal moves on to another artistic place that is concerned with entertainment. In the same day, they visited “the theater”. It is called “Place of West Minister”.¹¹²⁶ It is rather a circus because of the description that El Ghassal provides concerning the spectacles exhibited. He mentions that

This is an entertainment place where we saw the wonders of the players that cannot be explained, among that how some Japanese boys played. We saw a boy of six-years old rise in the air and another boy lying on his back trying to catch him and raise him whenever he came down from the air in a way that he does not fall down out of his feet. There are also other types of performances and games that perplex the mind and tire the

¹¹²³Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 52.

¹¹²⁴Ibid., (My translation).

¹¹²⁵Ibid.

¹¹²⁶Ibid.

sight. The rule in the theater is that the person who wants to enter it will need to buy a ticket including all kinds of play for that night.¹¹²⁷

This description reveals again how astonished El Ghassal was in relation to the performances of the Japanese boys in the circus/ theater. What is thought-provoking here is the fact that it is not the British who are doing such performances. The shows are animated by Japanese little boys.

From the entertainment field, El Ghassal goes to talk about governance and the political field in Britain. He inserts that

On Friday, we went to the official Social Bureau called “the House of Deputies of the Nation” (the British Parliament) who are responsible over the interests of the population. This means that the deputy of each state shall be present as a representative agent to defend its interests and preclude damages. And it is a very large house meticulously built. The last time it has been rebuilt after being burnt is about fifty years [...] And the dignitaries who gather there are nearly seven hundred. And it has several images of the oldest dazzling politicians that are made up of some well-polished marble [...] and this council is composed of two groups¹¹²⁸

The description provided by El Ghassal concerning the British Parliament demonstrates that the political field has reached a certain progress in terms of order, political wisdom and architecture. This is clearly delineated when the Moroccan traveler mentions that the parliament is a place where deputies are supposed to protect the interests of the population. The representatives have a great responsibility towards the citizens in the sense that they have to avoid any kind of damages. More than that, the building seems to be a very big one since it can hold almost seven hundred dignitaries. In addition to that, the building is a very old one. It has been established for the first time “one thousand years”¹¹²⁹ ago. Yet, since it has been burned, it was rebuilt fifty years ago. This makes evident the fact that the British political system is a

¹¹²⁷Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), pp. 52-53. (My translation).

¹¹²⁸Ibid., p. 53. (My translation).

¹¹²⁹Ibid.

very old one. It has been institutionalized many years ago. That is why, talking about reaching a political wisdom in terms of the parliamentary system is plausible in the case of Britain. Additionally, El Ghassal dwells very deeply on how it works and how it does have two groups which are responsible for different tasks. The Moroccan traveler also talks about how negotiations which take place in there. He mentions the ministers who are supposed to attend the council depending on the issue or subject matter dealt with.¹¹³⁰ More than that, when it comes to the two groups that El Ghassal refers to; the first one is close to the government, whereas the second one is called the Liberal Party.¹¹³¹ El Ghassal seems to be very interested in this field, matter of fact, he writes down a very detailed description of how discussions and negotiations occur in the British parliament. The order maintained in terms of the setting is also meaningful because people are not sitting in the same way. El Ghassal inserts that

In the middle of this Council, a high place in the form of the pulpit is issued to the President of the Council. This latter sits there wearing his white hat that is distinguishing him from the others. Moreover, in front of him, there are some writers who are responsible of writing what they receive from the mouths of preachers in a very impressive speed. After that, the president stands up and then gives a speech in which he mentions the disagreement between the two groups ...¹¹³²

This minute description fosters the idea that El Ghassal is interested in the way the British parliament functions. He seems not to miss any detail in terms of the task of the people attending the parliamentary session. This is to give the reader of the travel narrative, who is at that time the Moroccan sultan, an idea about how the parliament is run by the British representatives and dignitaries.

After this political overview about the governance of the British parliament, El Ghassal gives a brief illustration concerning what surrounds the parliament.¹¹³³ The Moroccan traveler asserts that “next to this office, there are luxurious shops which are intended for eating, drinking and cheering the soul. These latter are overlooking the

¹¹³⁰Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 53.

¹¹³¹Ibid.

¹¹³²Ibid., (My translation).

¹¹³³Ibid., p.54.

Thames River and they are located near the House of the President of the Council mentioned before.”¹¹³⁴ That is to say, El Ghassal indirectly stresses the fact that the British society is different from the Moroccan one in the sense that Britain manages the public sphere in a way that allows its people to consume food outside of their houses. Hanging out in cafes and restaurants is a culture that is alien to the Moroccan one. However, El Ghassal seems to like it since he thinks that “it is entertaining, and it cheers the soul.”

On Saturday, “the Moroccan delegation headed towards the Ports Mouth on the railway track for two hours and a half.”¹¹³⁵ On their way, El Ghassal again starts describing whatever he sees in his way. He adds that the port is a military one. And since El Ghassal is concerned with the military field. He writes a very minute description of this military port. He inserts that it is

A warship port with strong fortresses and several arsenals [...] where the warships are established. Many machineries are placed there. It makes the person wonder. And once we arrived, we were received by an officer from the maritime army officers who was commissioned by the admiral.

So, he got us a cart which took us to the mole.¹¹³⁶

El Ghassal cannot hide his particular admiration and interest in the military field because he reports every single detail when it comes to the army. This is also clearly seen when he uses expressions like “There were more than two hundred ships, and this marina had several wooden battleships from the old work, and they were still very well maintained to teach the learners.”¹¹³⁷

On the same day, the Moroccan envoy was taken to the theater called “Empire”¹¹³⁸. They were again astonished by the wonders that they have seen. The theater is a huge place since El Ghassal mentions that it contains almost three thousand spectators.¹¹³⁹

¹¹³⁴Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 54. (My translation).

¹¹³⁵Ibid.

¹¹³⁶Ibid., (My translation).

¹¹³⁷Ibid.

¹¹³⁸Ibid.

¹¹³⁹Ibid.

On Monday, the Moroccan were taken to another city- Windosors- where the palace of the king exists. “He lives there only in some precise seasons.”¹¹⁴⁰ Then El Ghassal starts describing this tremendous place that is perfectly and meticulously built.¹¹⁴¹ It seems to be a very extravagant palace since its walls are

decorated with different types of gold and silver and all its doors are also carved and ornated with gold and silver. It contains some beautiful furniture, precious utensils, [...] with Turkish and Indian carpets, and Chinese antique pottery items, which are indescribable. Among what we have seen, a dresser that is antique and it is well done which is worth about forty-five thousand Sterling Pound and several large domes, including square shape and rectangular, all the walls are clad with brocade handmade types that are incredibly beautiful.¹¹⁴²

This description of the palace shows the richness of Britain at that time. Moreover, the description is very long and thorough in the sense that El Ghassal gives a detailed report about the architecture, the decoration and the setting of the meeting room of the king with his ministers. These details are again important for El Ghassal because the Moroccan king could be inspired from the British palace model. In other words, the Moroccan traveler always dwells on the issues that he thinks might be interesting to the Moroccan sultan or Morocco in general.

In addition to that, El Ghassal adds that

some places of this palace have been devoted to some types of precious antiques and ammunition and valuable artifacts such as weapons and spears and images of statues of some of the previous kings, which contains the diagnosis of what happened between them and some other wars countries [...] Windows overlooking the gardens in which there is water flowing from the marble fountain.¹¹⁴³

This is to say that the palace is an immense place that consists of several corners and rooms and spaces dedicated to different issues. It also has got some notable items

¹¹⁴⁰Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 54.

¹¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 55.

¹¹⁴²Ibid., (My translation).

¹¹⁴³Ibid., (My translation).

which illustrate the legacy and ammunition that Britain is trying to construct based on the wars that it went through. For instance, the weapons are to be found almost everywhere. This is what makes Britain feel powerful. The way El Ghassal writes down about Britain so far reveals how much he is impressed by this society. This is clearly denoted when he says,

This palace is one of the greatest palaces in the diameters of the world. Near to it, there is a garden with a lot of trees where a large number of deer, cattle of the beast and rabbits which are like ants wander, all this is limited to the king's hunting sometimes. And in that forest, there are houses of those charged with guarding and inspecting it.¹¹⁴⁴

The king is cherishing an immense palace that serves not only the political and military field, but it also contains places that are designed to entertain the king such as hunting. This demonstrates or stresses the fact that entertainment is part and partial of the British culture.

After dealing with the king's palace, the Moroccan delegation was once again taken to a different place. This latter is

The Exhibition of the Colonial Army. It includes horsemen, soldiers and [...] that are ranked in lines in a very large space, each race of individual is set alone in a row wearing the uniform of their country which distinguishes them from the others. Then came the wife of the Sultan in her car and her son the Crown Prince behind her riding on his horse and the rest of the royal family, including the brother of the Sultan, who is highly ranked over all the military.¹¹⁴⁵

In this passage, El Ghassal shows, on the one hand, his willingness to discover the exhibition of the colonial army which has something to do with the military field. On the other hand, it is Britain that is trying to display its power in terms of the military or army. It is not any kind army, but it is precisely the colonial one. That is to say, Britain is well equipped when it comes to the colonial enterprise. Order is once again maintained through organizing the different types of the armies in rows that are

¹¹⁴⁴Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p.56. (My translation).

¹¹⁴⁵Ibid., (My translation).

separate from each other. The uniforms of every country are also meaningful because through the uniform, they can distinguish between the armies. This organization is part of the progress and modernity that Britain reached at that time. Additionally, the exhibition is one way of portraying the powerful position that Britain as a European power used to enjoy. Additionally, the presence of women in such occasions is also significant in the sense that it demonstrates that women are also involved in the military and political life of the country. They are active members especially that they belong to the royal family. This also gives an idea about how women are treated in the European region. They have access to the public sphere/spaces which is different from the Arab context in general and Morocco in particular.

El Ghassalin particular and the Moroccan delegation in general were not the only ones to reveal their appreciation of the exhibition. El Ghassal inserts that “the great gathering of the public and others were present there for the purpose of watching the exhibition and everyone was raising his voice with praise and good conduct.”¹¹⁴⁶ El Ghassal here describes how the people who attended the exhibition were behaving and showing their emotions during the demonstrations. He states that they were happy and overwhelmed by what they saw, but they were also standing still in their places. That is to say, order is kept within the large number of people present in the exhibition.

After that, El Ghassal starts describing in detail again the course of action of the exhibition. He mentions how the queen referred to as “sultana” was moving first and then she was followed by her son riding his horse¹¹⁴⁷, etc... all this procedure was accompanied by musical notes revealing the English melodies.¹¹⁴⁸ This is to promote and foster the British national identity. More than that, El Ghassal tried to precise the number of the armies exhibited. He states that they were almost about “twenty-five hundred groups”¹¹⁴⁹, which is a huge number.

¹¹⁴⁶Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 56. (My translation).

¹¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁹Ibid.

In this exhibition, the Crown Prince received fifteen soldiers who participated in the War of Transvaal¹¹⁵⁰. After the victory of the British military forces in this war, the Crown prince had to recompensate the soldiers who actively involved in this war. Matter of fact, to celebrate this victory and reward the most courageous and dedicated soldier, one of the armies was called out and given an award which is being highly ranked among the cavalries.¹¹⁵¹ That is to say, he was promoted into a higher rank by being granted a medal. This is one way of encouraging the other soldiers to be more involved and patriot. Moreover, many other soldiers were dealt with in the same way. Their efforts were recognized and awarded. And the whole procession was described in detail by the Moroccan traveler who could differentiate between two types of soldiers who were awarded differently.¹¹⁵²

The Moroccan delegation took the train towards a canon factory¹¹⁵³. El Ghassal describes this latter as the following:

It is tremendously vast in terms of both length and width and it is divided into four sections; The first and the largest one is designed to empty the cannon and keep its maintenance. And the second one if for emptying the gunpowder and mixing its component, and the third one is intended to empty the lead and the fourth one is for the carpentry as the establishment of guns' vehicles and carts and things like that.¹¹⁵⁴

The canon factory is another military space where El Ghassal shows his admiration for what he saw. His minute description reveals his interest in the military domain. The canon factory is an important place because the Moroccans at that time were in need of modern arms. That is why El Ghassal could not hide his concern for the artillery. He wanted to know more and therefore he took note of every single detail. The Moroccan

¹¹⁵⁰“South African War, also called Boer War, Second Boer War, or Anglo-Boer War; to Afrikaners, also called Second War of Independence, war fought from October 11, 1899, to May 31, 1902, between Great Britain and the two Boer (Afrikaner) republics—the South African Republic(Transvaal) and the Orange Free State—resulting in British victory”, Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/event/South-African-War>. (08/04/2019).

¹¹⁵¹Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 56.

¹¹⁵²Ibid., p.57.

¹¹⁵³Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁴Ibid., (My translation)

traveler was again immensely bewildered by the progress that the British attained in terms of the military field. Matter of fact, his description inscribes detailed numbers and measures concerning the factory and its component. The factory accommodated many types of cannons. They are of different size; there are big and small ones.¹¹⁵⁵ More than that, El Ghassal was also amazed by the space allotted to such activities. He states that “to move from one section into another, they used to ride a cart because the distance between one section and another is huge”.¹¹⁵⁶ El Ghassal also witnessed how a cannon is fabricated and describes all the steps that it goes through before it is ready to use.¹¹⁵⁷

El Ghassal always uses expressions that show how surprised he is when he comes across things that he has never seen before, for instance after watching what happens in the cannon factory, he states that, “it’s a wonder all the wonder of the machines that enter the cavity of the cannon to make it sophisticated even from the inside”¹¹⁵⁸, etc. He was surprised by how those machines work in order to make of the cannon. The descriptions mentioned before are only concerned with the first section of the factory which is mainly intended for the maintenance and clearing of the cannons.

The second section which is about the iron balls used in the cannons, and the third and fourth sections are dealt with separately and thoroughly by El Ghassal. This is because it is essential for him to provide the Moroccan king with these details when it comes to the military field. He talks about the machines, the employees working in there (twenty-five thousand employees)¹¹⁵⁹ and many other details in relation to the process of fabricating the tools used in terms of the artillery. He also deals with, for example, the number of iron balls produced which reach two million a day.¹¹⁶⁰ During his description of these sections, he could not veil his astonishment from what he saw. For instance, he would use expressions like: “weird machines”, “it bewilders the mind

¹¹⁵⁵Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 57.

¹¹⁵⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 58.

¹¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁰Ibid.

and tires the sight.”¹¹⁶¹ The last expression is not the first time used in his travel narrative. He used it several times to express his amazement.

On that same day, the Moroccan delegation and many other delegations - ambassadors and notables, their wives and daughters- were invited for a dinner by the British Minister of foreign affairs.¹¹⁶² El Ghassal describes the dresses of these women and their jewelries. This is part of what attracts the attention of the Moroccan traveler. This also shows that the people invited belong to the elites and rich people because of the precious gemstones their wives and daughters were wearing.¹¹⁶³ El Ghassal devotes many lines to describe the crown and dresses of the ladies attending the dinner. Then he moves on to briefly talk about how they were welcomed by the British Minister.

The Moroccan delegation was also invited to visit “The Indian Army Exhibition of the Cavalries and soldiers”¹¹⁶⁴ which according to El Ghassal is similar to the previous exhibition of the colonial army. I think that the British created a whole Indian army exhibition only because of the historical colonial relationship between the two countries.

On a Thursday, the Moroccan envoy headed towards the house of the King’s son- the Crown Prince.¹¹⁶⁵ The prince’s brother was also present in this meeting where they both well received the Moroccan delegation and they asked about the Moroccan king. The discussion took place between the princes and the Moroccan ambassador who is the official representative of the Moroccan country. The Moroccan ambassador delivered a speech that was translated to the prince. After that “the ambassador handled the book that contains the speech to the prince using his both hands as part of the protocol and respect to the British prince.”¹¹⁶⁶ Then El Ghassal describes the book that was carved and well ornated with silk threads.¹¹⁶⁷ The book was also enveloped in a silk handkerchief. Since the travel narrative is about the coronation of king Edward

¹¹⁶¹Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A’ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 58.

¹¹⁶²Ibid.

¹¹⁶³Ibid., p. 59.

¹¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁷Ibid.

VI, the speech that the Moroccan ambassador delivered was about congratulating him for the coronation on behalf of the Moroccan king. Nevertheless, even if the travel narrative was mainly about this diplomatic mission, El Ghassal talked about this mission very briefly. Additionally, El Ghassal mentions that they have spent half an hour and then he meticulously described the protocol that should be followed in the presence of the king and his prince.

On the following day, the Moroccan delegation seems to have accomplished its diplomatic mission and now it is going back to its native country. Matter of fact, the last part of the travel narrative is about the coming back. It describes the spatial movement of the Moroccan envoy. It is about all the means of transportation that they rode and the stations and ports that they stopped at. The Moroccan travelers finished his travel narrative with the last part of the tripartite of travel accounts in the sense that the traveler mentions the difficulties encountered at the sea and how they reached back home safely. Matter of fact, El Ghassal provides a detailed account concerning the weather encountered at the sea and how they survived from a terrible weather condition in the middle of the sea¹¹⁶⁸ like heroes coming back from an official diplomatic mission. And as the Moroccan traveler seems to be a religious person, he always relates the fact that they were saved to God's power. He claims that they started reciting some prayers and after that they were able to endure the foggy weather thanks to God. Thus, the last few pages of El Ghassal's travel narratives are dedicated to stating the fact that whatever happened to them is due to God's "greatness and remarkable ability."¹¹⁶⁹

On the 6th of July, the Moroccan delegation arrived to Gibraltar.¹¹⁷⁰ Once there, they were asked whether or not they wanted to stop by so that the governor can start the celebration of their arrival. The Moroccan delegation thanked the governor and preferred to go directly to Tangier.¹¹⁷¹ El Ghassal notes down the fact that they arrived

¹¹⁶⁸Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 60.

¹¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 61.

¹¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹¹⁷¹Ibid.

fine and well and again starts thanking God for that.¹¹⁷² Then he ends up by saying that whatever he wrote is all he could record from his travel.¹¹⁷³ What is worth noting is the fact that El Ghassal states that this ambassadorial narratives should be taken into consideration in the future because it helps the reader have an idea about what is happening on the other side of the shore.¹¹⁷⁴ As previously mentioned, this is part of the pilgrimage travel narratives which used to serve other pilgrims during their journeys to the pilgrimage. El Ghassal seems to have the same objective from his travel narrative. He wants to serve the Muslims in general and the Moroccans in particular, given the historical moment which is known for colonialism.

The travel narrative, in its last paragraphs also include El Ghassal's thanking expressions to the Moroccan king- Abd el Aziz- for allowing him to participate in this ambassadorial travel. He states that he is among the best Moroccan kings and ends up by reciting some prayers for him.¹¹⁷⁵

In this respect El Ghassal related modernity to several fields like the military field. Though El Ghassal was sent within an ambassadorial mission- which is about attending the coronation of the king-, he could not detach himself from serving his country in the sense that he was aware about the fact that the military field was a priority in his journey. From the very beginning, el Ghassal paid meticulous attention to the military ships and boats while trespassing Gibraltar in their way to England. His description shows his admiration of what he is experiencing. He provided us with a detailed description of how big and fast the boats is and how it is arranged and organized into several rooms serving different purposes. El Ghassal also emphasized how important it is to have order within the military forces. For instance, he describes the way the police officers were dressed and how they behaved within a precise protocol to provide citizens with security. The travel narrative is full of instances where El Ghassal demonstrated his eagerness to know more about how the military system which could be an inspiration for the Moroccan king.

¹¹⁷²Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 61.

¹¹⁷³Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 61-62.

The very advanced infrastructure also lured the attention of El Ghassal, he was fascinated by the gardens, roads and means of transportation. Al Ghassal inserts that “in this town there are several very large gardens, but each neighborhood has its own small garden. The city is penetrated by the great and famous river Thames. Many large ships pass by and it has several bridges some made of wood and other of Iron-which have no pillars.”¹¹⁷⁶ He was also interested by the commercial field in the sense that he mentions how London was known for its “intensity of movements in trade.”¹¹⁷⁷ The elevator in buildings was also another fascination in el Ghassal’s account. Briefly, entertainment, architecture, health care, the banking system and industrial development were also part of the interest of El Ghassal. Modernity according to him is inclusive of all these fields.

El Ghassal’s travel narrative showed that the traveler had several objectives behind his travel. Attending the coronation of the British king seemed to be a secondary mission in his account since it was not given its due. Most of the time, El Ghassal was observing and describing the power of the British society at different layers. He also could not hide his admiration for the British modernity. This demonstrates the fact that El Ghassal was very wise in terms of his journey to the other shore. This is because he was able to mitigate two perspectives in his representation of modernity. He was neither completely fascinated by the west, nor completely refusing its development. He also did not implicate his religious extremism like many other travelers before him did. He tried to stay neutral and depict whatever he sees with a vigilant/ neutral eye.

¹¹⁷⁶Hassan El Ghassal, *Al rihla Tatwijiya ila A'ssimat al Bilad al Injliziya 1902* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2003), p. 44. (My translation).

¹¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 45. (My translation).

II- Al Rihla al Urupiya (1919)

1- El Hajoui's background and the travel's context

After addressing the three Moroccan travelers in the previous sections, this one deals with the last traveler; it is about El Hajoui's travel. Yet, before talking about El Hajoui, an accurate historical context for the travel is imposed. In 1903, Establishment of Compagnie marocaine. Comite du Maroc created by French colonial interests.

1904 Anglo-French entente makes possible French colonial offensive.

- Major foreign loan taken up by French banking consortium headed by Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas.
- Moroccan government decides to, resist French reform program, fires all European advisors in its employ.

1905 French obtain reversal of firings, present reform program to sultan at Fez.

Landing of German Kaiser at Tangier. Moroccan opposition to French reforms ¹¹⁷⁸

stiffens, resulting in downfall of French foreign minister Delcasse,' convoking of international conference at Algeciras.

1906 Algeciras conference decides u-upon internationalization of Moroccan question, pursuit of reforms under French auspices.

In 1907 Serious economic difficulties throughout Morocco.

- Killing of Dr. Mauchamps, French medical missionary, at Marrakech. This provokes French military occupation of Oudjda and surrounding region.
- Attacks on Europeans at Casablanca in July lead to dispatch of Franco-Spanish expeditionary force to restore order.
- Popular resistance to French forces soon evolves into jihad, lasts for six months.
- 'Abd al-Hafiz is proclaimed sultan at Marrakech, opposes his brother' Abd al' Aziz in a civil war which lasts a year.

("the Act of Algeciras appalled many Moroccans who concluded that the only solution was to overthrow the sultan. The Obvious replacement was Moulay Abdelhafid, the Sultan's brother, who was *khalifa* of Marrakesh. [...] Above all he had good credentials both as a scholar and an opponent of the Europeans. [...] He

¹¹⁷⁸Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912* (The University of Chicago: Chicago and London, 1976), p. xx.

would make an excellent Sultan. Moulay Abdelhafid was too prudent to act quickly. He preferred to prepare the ground, and he spent 1906 building up alliances with local leaders. He even joined a *tariqa*, the Rimayya, noted for its dislike of Christians. But events carried him towards revolution, whether he was ready or not.”¹¹⁷⁹

1908 'Abd al- Hafiz proclaimed sultan by 'ulama of Fez, after popular insurrection calls for deposition of ' Abd al-' Aziz.

- In August, ' Aziz is defeated in battle, and the civil war comes to an end.
- French troops continue to occupy Oudjda and Chaouia provinces.
- 1908-1912. Reign of Sultan' Abd Hafiz Initially identified with a program of jihad, 'Abd al-Hafiz is compelled to accept the Algeciras convention and eventually French financial and military aid. By 1911 he acquiesces in French occupation of Fez. The protectorate follows in 1912.

1909 France and Great Britain recognize' Abd al- Hafiz after latter agrees to renounce.¹¹⁸⁰ “program of jihad, take out another major loan.

- Outbreak of fighting between Spanish forces and tribesmen near Mellila.

1910 Military reform program under Turkish instructors squelched by French protest.

- French reform schemes approved; major new loan agreement signed.

1911 Rebellion of tribes around Fez leads to French military intervention, occupation of Fez and the interior.

- Agadir incident. German opposition to French policies results in Franco-German treaty resolving major differences.
- Spanish intervention at Larache.

1912 Treaty of Fez leads to French protectorate over Morocco.

- Spanish assert authority in northern zone.
- Mutiny and rebellion at Fez severely shakes French control in April.
- General Lyautey is named resident general of French protectorate.
- Rebellion of tribes around Fez in May put down only with difficulty.
- Abd al-Hafiz abdicates in favor of his brother Yusuf.

¹¹⁷⁹C.R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York University Press, 2000), p. 134.

¹¹⁸⁰Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912* (The University of Chicago: Chicago and London, 1976), p. xxi.

- Marrakech is captured by EI Hiba, leader of a jihad with major backing in southern Morocco.
- French recapture Marrakech, as EI Hiba flees. French authority is quickly established in the south.¹¹⁸¹

“In April 1904, at the time of the Entente Cordial, London and Paris settled outstanding overseas problems in Newfoundland, Siam, Gambia, Madagascar and, above all, Egypt and Morocco, or to obstruct free trade, they recognized that Egypt was primarily a British and Morocco a French one. [...] Realising it had been left behind, the Spanish government signed an agreement on much worse terms than it would have got in 1902. Now when Morocco was divided, it would only receive the sands of Tarfaya in the far south and a tiny, rocky northern zone between Melilla and the mouth of the Ouerrha river”¹¹⁸²“after the Entente Cordiale was announced, the rumour spread among the tribes that ‘England has sold Morocco to France.’”¹¹⁸³

“The effects were soon seen. In September 1903 Colonel Louis-Hubert-Goncalves Lyautey took over as French army commander in Ain Sefra just over the Algerian frontier.” ¹¹⁸⁴ “In October Lyautey decided to occupy the Moroccan settlement of Béchar, a base for attacks on French forces. After a storm. After a storm of protest in the French press, and Moroccan complaints to the Quai d’Orsay, Lyautey withdrew his troops but it was clear that they would be back.”¹¹⁸⁵

“The French government forced the Banque de Paris et des Pays bas consortium and Schneider and Company to organize a joint loan for Morocco. [...] In June 1904 a new loan of 62.5 million francs was agreed, guaranteed by holding back 65% of Moroccan customs receipts for the next thirty-five years; [...] French officials now had the same sort of relationship with the Moroccan administration as the British had in Egypt, a veiled protectorate.”¹¹⁸⁶

“in January 1905 a French Mission led by Saint- René-Taillandier arrived in Fez to present this plan to a horrified sultan. Moulay Abdelaziz and Gharnit turned to

¹¹⁸¹Edmund Burke, *Prelude to Protectorate in Morocco: Precolonial Protest and Resistance, 1960-1912*. (The University of Chicago: Chicago and London, 1976). p. xxii.

¹¹⁸²C.R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History* (New York University Press, 2000), p. 125.

¹¹⁸³Ibid., p. 129.

¹¹⁸⁴Ibid., p.130.

¹¹⁸⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁸⁶Ibid.

the ‘ulama for support.”¹¹⁸⁷ “They replied that foreigners were the root of the country’s troubles and that the European advisors in the army should be dismissed.”¹¹⁸⁸ “In Germany, the government was so perturbed by the Entente Cordiale that it decided to undermine it.”¹¹⁸⁹

1906 “the conference began in the small southern Spanish port of Algeciras on 14 January 1906. On 7 April the final act of Algeciras was agreed by the eleven European delegations, the US delegation and the Moroccans. The 123 articles were supposed to ensure ‘order, peace, and prosperity’ in Morocco, and to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the sultan’s dominions; no European country would predominate. The reality was quite different.”¹¹⁹⁰

“The priority, as ever, was given to opening Moroccan markets. Foreigners received yet more rights to own property; export taxes on agricultural goods were reduced; and import duties would be set by an international commission with a majority of European members. [...] A Moroccan High Commissioner would attend the meetings of the board, but he would not be allowed to interfere. All employees would be citizens of the states that contributed the capital, which meant French control, since three quarters of the capital was French.”¹¹⁹¹ “One objective of the Act of Algeciras was to open Moroccan economy to European participation”¹¹⁹²

“Trade actually shrank in 1906/7 because of a brief recession in Europe and very poor harvests in Morocco. When in 1908 it started to grow again, the balance stayed firmly in the red. It was now that the French share of external trade overtook the British, making up more than 50% of the total, with about 30% of it coming across the Algerian frontier.”¹¹⁹³

“As Moulay Abdelaziz’s Makhzen collapsed, Ahmad El Raisuni, the bandit sharif of the Jebala, kidnapped Kaid Maclean. [...] the sultan had lost control. When he sent a new pasha to Marrakesh, the Rehamna, the main tribe of the Haouz, rose in

¹¹⁸⁷C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 130.

¹¹⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹¹⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹⁹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

¹¹⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹¹⁹³C. R. Pennell, *Morocco since 1830: A History*, p. 133.

revolt and demanded that Moulay Abdelhafid claim the sultanate. In August the Chaouia tribes around Casablanca sent him a letter to the same effect. Finally, Moulay Abdelhafid hesitated no longer. Encouraged by his mother, he announced on 16 August 1907 that he would accept the Sultanate if offered it and Si Madani El Glaoui at once proclaimed him.”¹¹⁹⁴

“On 3 or 4 January, they approved a *bay’a* proclaiming Moulay Abdelhafid.”¹¹⁹⁵ The *bay’a* had some compromises: “the French government demanded that first he should promise to honour all Moroccan debts, accept the Act of Algeciras and all existing treaties, and write a letter to be read in every mosque in Morocco calling an end to jihad. The British and the German governments got the last demand toned down, and on 7 December Moulay Abdelhafid agreed. On 5 January 1909 He was recognized by the diplomatic corps as sultan.”¹¹⁹⁶

“1904, April 8 French- British agreement giving France a free hand in Morocco 1906, January 7- April 6: Algeciras Conference places conditions on Moroccan independence 1907, August 7-12, bombardment of Casablanca by the French 1907, August 16: Sultan Abd al hafiz proclaimed in Marrakech 1908, January 4: Bay’a of Sultan Abd al-hafiz at Fez 1909, May 4: Death of Shaykh Muhammad b. al-Kabir al Kattani 1911, November 4: Franco-German treaty; Germany concedes Morocco to France 1912, March 30: Treaty of Fez, French Protectorate begins 1912, April 27: Lyautey is named Résident Général of the protectorate 1912, August 13: Proclamation of Sultan Yusuf” ¹¹⁹⁷

“ABD AL-HAFIZ: reigned 1908-1912, signed Treaty of protectorate with France; 1912.”¹¹⁹⁸ “1912, November 27: French-Spanish treaty institutes Spanish control in the North 1914, November 13: Middle Atlas Berbers defeat French at battle of el-Herri 1921-1925: Rif war and declaration of the “Ripublik” of the Rif”¹¹⁹⁹

El Hajoui is considered as the Moroccan Tahtaoui. This is because he was among those calling for reforms. Unfortunately, he did not master the French

¹¹⁹⁴Ibid., p. 136.

¹¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 138.

¹¹⁹⁶Ibid., p. 140.

¹¹⁹⁷Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. xv.

¹¹⁹⁸Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco*, p. xxiii.

¹¹⁹⁹Ibid., p. xvi.

language, therefore, he could not publish his travel narrative at that time and did not get its due.¹²⁰⁰ In addition to that, the political path of El Hajoui and his loyalty to the French colonizer, in addition to the fact that some of his sons used to play front line roles in Ibn Aarfa's government put him and his production at oblivion.¹²⁰¹ He was a member of an ambassadorial delegation headed by the minister Hajj Mohammed al-Maqri, who was sent by Sultan Youssef ben al-Hassan, to France in 1919 in order to participate in the French National Day, which took place simultaneously with the celebration of their victory in the First World War.¹²⁰² This comes within the framework of Lyautey's policy, which is characterized by the tendency of inviting some delegations from the elites of Moroccans to France at the expense of the French state to demonstrate its greatness.¹²⁰³

After spending twenty-two days in France, El Hajoui travels to Britain.¹²⁰⁴ He states that after finishing the ambassadorial mission, every member of the Moroccan delegation decided to go somewhere for different reasons, either for some health care purposes or commercial ones.¹²⁰⁵ For El Hajoui, he chose to go to London and Manchester in order to discover by himself what he has heard about it. He inserts that he heard many weird and strange things about that country, so he wanted to find out by himself. Another reason for choosing London and Manchester is "to look at some commercial issues, visit some factories and my father's friends- God bless him, this is because he lived in Manchester for a while for some commercial purposes."¹²⁰⁶ The journey lasted for one month and twenty days: from the 4th of July 1919 to 24th of August.¹²⁰⁷ "It was a kind of lecture which the author developed after 4 months from his return to Morocco. This means that this travel account was written in December 1919."¹²⁰⁸ More than that, Said Ben Said Al Alaoui published a version of this travel

¹²⁰⁰He was calling for reforms and he was loyal to the French colonizer

¹²⁰¹Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2004), p. 11.

¹²⁰²Ibid.

¹²⁰³Ibid., pp. 16-17.

¹²⁰⁴Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 109.

¹²⁰⁵Ibid.

¹²⁰⁶Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2004), pp. 109-110.

¹²⁰⁷Ibid., p. 17.

¹²⁰⁸Ibid., p. 18.

narrative in his book “Oropa fi mir’at al rihla”. “It was also translated into French by Alan Roussion and AbdellahSaaif.”¹²⁰⁹

El Hajoui was born in 1874. He has two books: “al fikr al sami fi tarikh al fikh al ismali” and “mokhtassar al aarwaalwotka.” He has created a wealth of literature in various fields ranging from jurisprudence, interpretation, history, education and to trips. He has about 100 works”¹²¹⁰ for instance, in the field of travel narratives, he produced: “Hadith al onsaa’nTunous”, “al rihla al Andalusia al fichiya”, “al rihla al hijaziya al missriya” , and “al rihla al oropiya” ”¹²¹¹

He had a life rich of experiences since he used to work in commerce, agriculture and travels. He also worked in teaching and authoring. He held several positions, among which the following:

- “Secretary of Diwana in Oujda in 1902.
- Deputy Sultan in the borders of Morocco with Algeria.
- Member of the Supreme Council of Education.
- Delegate of knowledge (Minister of Education/culture) in 1912 1914-1921 1939.
- Chairman of the Sharia Council.
- Minister of Justice.”¹²¹²

These political and religious positions allowed him to be an active member and participant of the Moroccan political life/ politics in his era and enabled him to crack the ambitious modernization project in an attempt to answer the question of Renaissance. This latter is “a project that combines the call to science and faith in it and between accepting the usefulness of the West and the door of diligence to justify it.”¹²¹³

When reading his works, critiques assume that El Hajoui gives “the image of the merchant Faqih, which is located alongside the enlightened Salafist and liberal clinging to Salafi thought. He is also closer to liberalism for several reasons like addressing the question of renaissance by following the west as a model and an

¹²⁰⁹Ibid., p. 19.

¹²¹⁰Ibid., p. 15.

¹²¹¹Ibid., p. 16.

¹²¹²“*Al Rihla al Urupiya*: Mohammed Ben Al Hassan El Hajoui El Taalabi”, Retrived from <http://www.almasalik.com/locationPassage.do?locationId=31135&languageId=ar&passageId=13836>

¹²¹³Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919* (Beirut: Al Mouassassa al Arabiya li Dirassat wa Nashr, 2004), p. 12.

example. He wrote a book entitled “ al nidam fi al Islam” to prove that there are several examples of systems in the Arab Islamic history but he doesn’t thinks that the solution is among these systems so he called for adopting the principle of a renewed order/system in the life of societies in the sense that he believes that the conditions of nations are not stabilized; it is continuously obliged to renew itself. In the sense that it is affected by the surrounding circumstantial changes and affect them. He believed in constant change depending on time and circumstances, but his only condition is not to touch constants.”¹²¹⁴

He also always thinks that one way of reaching that change is through science. He called for Ijtihad and by ijtiḥad he means being open to the Western culture and civilization. It also means questioning the traditional ways of doing things. El Hajoui called for borrowing from the west whatever is beneficial. He insisted on considering the modern sciences and encouraged learning languages and translation and establishing technical schools and linking science to experiments and experience.¹²¹⁵ In addition to his previous economic view of his age and his call for industrialization from the field and from his scientific experience and knowledge. In terms of his relationship with the sultans Abd al Aziz and Abd el Hafid, it is argued that he used to have a positive attitude towards the first one since the first king- Sultan Abd el Aziz- used to push for the plan of modernization. He believed in modernity and he was open to the West, whereas the second king- sultan Abd el Hafid- neglected the scientific matters, he did not build even a religious school for children to learn language and the Quran, nor did he build a military school to protect himself and his throne. He opted for this choice because for him science is related only to religion.¹²¹⁶

Since El Hajoui used to support colonialism, when he died in 1956 in Rabat - but was buried in Fez-, no one attended his funeral. Given his political position, the Sultan called for his isolation. The king also refused many of his requests, thus, he sought refuge in the President of the French Republic by sending him a protest.

The travel narrative starts by stating the itinerary of the travel which began from Fes, then Meknes, Kénitra, sale, Rabat, Casablanca, Bordeaux, Roux, Paris, Nancy,

¹²¹⁴Ibid., p. 13.

¹²¹⁵Ibid., p. 14.

¹²¹⁶Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 14.

Fernand, Metz, Strasbourg, Kolmar city, Melos, Belfour, coming back to Paris, [...], London, Manchester, etc...¹²¹⁷ After the itinerary comes the text or the narrative where the traveler starts by thanking God for “ordering to walk and consider many other different kingdoms of the earth and the human condition.”¹²¹⁸ The beginning of the travel account is a very conventional one in the sense that most of the travel narratives start by invoking God and thanking him for allowing him to travel and discover different parts of the world. Prayers are also recited and directed to the prophet (pbuh). This introduction is conventional in almost all the Moroccan and Muslim travel narratives. Given their religious background, invoking God is very important for them.

From the very beginning, El Hajoui states that the objective behind writing this travel narrative is “to benefit the Moroccans who could not travel to Europe and see what is happening there”.¹²¹⁹ He also claims that he did not want to talk about the geography of the country because there are many books which deal with that. He was rather interested in describing whatever he comes across and which he thought is important and new. He adds that he was very selective and he was moderate in what he wrote, in the sense that he did not write just for the sake of writing.¹²²⁰ At the very beginning of his travel narrative, El Hajoui apologizes for not being able to speak the language of the countries visited.¹²²¹ That is why, his description relies only on what he could understand, observe and analyze. He prays that “God keep us from the pitfalls of the tongue and the statement lapses.”¹²²² This shows that El Hajoui is a religious person who is afraid of reporting lies or pitfalls. He is trying to foster his credibility by arguing that he wrote down only what he saw. He did not rely on others’ accounts to produce a very long travel narrative. This also demonstrates the fact that El Hajoui is trying to prove his first-hand experience.

After this religiously conventional introduction of the Arabs travel narratives, El Hajoui states that on the 2nd of July 1919, the King issued an order to El Hajoui to travel to Paris in order to attend the French National Day which coincided with the

¹²¹⁷Ibid., pp. 27-28.

¹²¹⁸Ibid., p. 31.

¹²¹⁹Ibid.

¹²²⁰Ibid.

¹²²¹Ibid., p. 32.

¹²²²Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 32.

celebration of their triumph in the First World War on the 14th of July. El Hajoui accompanied a Moroccan delegation that is considered as the Elite.¹²²³ This Moroccan delegation includes

the president that is the prime minister or the ambassador Al Haj Mohammed El Mokri in addition to nine other members including El Hajoui who was the delegate of Fes- the capital of science- and Eastern Morocco. The other members are: The Royal delegate and well known scholar Sidi Touhami A'ababou, the Minister of the Makhzen Treasury Mr. el Hhaj Omar Tazi, the Head of the Royal Protocol Mr. El Haj Abd El Kader Ibn Ghebrit, The Pasha of Marrakech Mr. El Haj El Touhami El Mezwar El Aglaoui, Commander/ Qaid of Rehamna Mr. El I'yadi El Rhamni, the Pasha of Tangier Mr. El Haj Abd El Salam Ibn Sadek, the Pasha of the administrative capital Mr. Abd Rahman Berguach, and the Pasha of El Jadida Mr. Allal Qasimi El Doukali.¹²²⁴

The names listed and their positions within the Moroccan government shows that they belong to the Elite since they have some very important positions in terms of both the political and religious field. Matter of fact, El Hajoui could not refuse this order although he states that he was busy.¹²²⁵ He also did not refuse because from the beginning he stated that he feels that this travel has a religious dimension.; he wants to serve the other Moroccans and Muslims who could not reach Europe. Just like it is mentioned in the theoretical part, pilgrims used to feel responsible for writing accounts about their experiences to alarm other potential pilgrims about any dangers or to advise them about any important issue. Consequently, El Hajoui assumes the same responsibility. Given the historical period of time, he wanted to discover Europe (especially France and Britain) and make it known for the others.

The Moroccan delegation met in Casablanca the night before their departure.¹²²⁶ On Saturday, their journey would begin. They rode the boat called Figuig- which is named after one of the Moroccan cities next to Oujda. This boat is among the boats of

¹²²³Ibid.

¹²²⁴Ibid., pp. 32-33.

¹²²⁵Ibid., p. 33.

¹²²⁶Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 34.

Transatlantique company that was bought from a British boat company.¹²²⁷ Thus, the boat that the Moroccan delegation rode is British-made. Right after giving these details about the boat that they have taken, El Hajoui starts talking about the hardship of the sea which is part of the three tripartite of any travel narrative. The Moroccan traveler inserts that the Atlantic sea was very rough, so they arrived to Tangier with great difficulty.¹²²⁸ Again, the religious discourse is very obvious when El Hajoui mentions a koranic verse and argues that they were safe thanks to God.¹²²⁹

Since travelers are always portrayed as heroes, El Hajoui argues that the Pacha of Casablanca and Marshal Lyautey came from Rabat to say good bye to them.¹²³⁰ Since the Moroccan delegation is a prominent one -belonging to the Elite and because they are going to France, the presence of Lyautey is very significant. Matter of fact, when they were about to leave, Lyautey said: "I am pleased that you are going to be present at the celebration of the French Republic with victory and reconciliation."¹²³¹ Lyautey shows his happiness because he is proud of the win which the French accomplished. It is part of displaying the power of France. This occasion also aims at frightening the Moroccans from France as being a very powerful European country.

The Moroccan delegation was also introduced to the people who are going through Spain and he explained that they are going to meet them again and gather in Bordeaux. This shows that many ambassadorial missions were taking place at that time. Lyautey also appointed his own personal translator Mr. Mohammed Nehlil and Mr. Lemaire to welcome and accompany the Moroccan envoy once they arrive to Bordeaux. In addition to these two people, they were also granted a doctor and another translator in the boat. This is to ensure that their journey in the sea goes smoothly.¹²³²

After one hour, the boat moved towards its destination.¹²³³ El Hajoui alleges that they very soon entered the other shore of the Mediterranean and they could no

¹²²⁷Ibid.

¹²²⁸Ibid.

¹²²⁹Ibid.

¹²³⁰Ibid., p. 35.

¹²³¹Ibid.

¹²³²Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 35.

¹²³³Ibid.

more see “their beloved country”. The national pride and identity is revealed in this expression by El Hajoui. Then, another koranic verse is used to back up the fact that God is the one protecting and saving them while they are in the sea. More than that, the boat was full of people going from Morocco to attend that ceremony to the point that one of their maids used to sleep on the floor because they do not have enough beds for everyone.¹²³⁴

As describing the hardship of the travel is part and partial of the travel literature, El Hajoui declares that he was seasick, and he could not get rid of that feeling even though he tried to overcome it by using different strategies. Because the sea was very rough, the traveler underwent some bad mal de mer. They spent three days in the sea; the traveler states that he did not eat nor drink during those days because of the nausea and headache he was suffering from.¹²³⁵ This is again to illustrate the spatial movement of the traveler from one place into another. Till now the Moroccan traveler is still dealing with the external journey of the travel, which is moving about the home country into the visited country.

After three days in the sea, the Moroccan delegation arrived to Bordeaux. From then, the traveler starts describing everything that he comes across and thinks is very weird and important. In other words, El Hajoui is moving in land and therefore his description is going to be about anything that he sees starting from the river of Bordeaux.¹²³⁶ This is also applicable to when he arrives to Britain. The departure and arrival to the destination of the traveler seems to be of great importance to the traveler and his readers.

¹²³⁴Ibid., pp. 35-36.

¹²³⁵Ibid., p. 36.

¹²³⁶Ibid.

2- El Hajoui's Representation of Modernity

El Hajoui, who went to both France and Britain, could not hide his impression of the development that France reached in different fields. He could not hide his admiration of the progress that France accomplished in terms of ports, commercial transactions, military equipment, roads, communication tools like telephones and telegrams, art, science, hotels, architecture, infrastructure, means of transportation, agriculture, politics, entertainment, education, health care, order and organization. Thus, after dealing with France, El Hajoui moved on to talk about his journey in Britain.

Surprisingly, it is the first time that a traveler mentions the fact the process through which he went in order to have the permission to enter Britain. Thus, El Hajoui inserts that he had to go to the British Consulate in order to get the authorization to enter the country and stay there for some time.¹²³⁷ Once his travel tickets were stamped, El Hajoui heads towards his destination. And as part of the travel narrative tripartite, the traveler starts with his departure and describes his spatial movement. He begins by talking about the road from Paris to Boulogne. He inserts that the war's effects are visible on the landscapes. The Moroccan traveler notes down the following description when it comes to what he saw in the road,

We found the effects of vandalism and destruction, which hurts the hearts [...] no matter how far away we got from Paris -about an hour- but the effects of war are very apparent. The closest we got to Amiens, the more we found many stores of munitions and [...] war equipment and provisions, especially those belonging to the British, which was their war zone, although they carried a lot to their country after the war and sold in France a lot, they still have many stores and soldiers.¹²³⁸

This passage deals with the consequences of the war on the regions of France. It also fosters the power of Britain. This latter has been militarily powerful; matter of fact, it had many stores for munitions and arms.

¹²³⁷Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 110.

¹²³⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

Once arrived to the Port of Boulogne, El Hajoui starts again describing the place. He claims that from afar the city seems to be is an “important” one because it contains some big buildings. Moreover, the port is among the two other ports -Calais and Havre- relating France and Britain.¹²³⁹ These ports are more likely used for military purposes given the historical era which was known for wars and political conflicts. Moreover, the infrastructure is very important in every travel narrative. Most of the travelers pay attention to this industry because it displays the interior structure of the country. More than that, the traveler’s country seems not to have the same infrastructure. Consequently, a comparison is always established indirectly.

What is interesting in El Hajoui’s travel who traveled both to France and Britain is that he tries to make a comparison between the two countries in different aspects of life. For instance, the Moroccan traveler talks about how different riding some means of transport -the train, the boat, etc- is in the two countries. He inserts that women are offered a special place in the train- the best one. They are favoring women in all kind of means of transportation. They also sit separately from men which is not the case in France.¹²⁴⁰ This shows that the two countries are different ones. They have different cultural values and principles. It is true that both of them are European countries, but they have many differences. Matter of fact, unlike the orientalist who try to portray the Arab countries as being homogeneous, El Hajoui stresses the fact that the European countries are heterogenous. More than that, the fact of separating men and women reveals how conservative the British society is. This makes El Hajoui compare between this latter and the Muslim society. He said that only ottomans and Muslims are known for this behavior because part of their ethics is chastity and decency.¹²⁴¹ Surprisingly, this kind of behaviors is also adopted in the British society.

The Moroccan traveler states that in his way to England, the sea was calm and after forty minutes, the traveler started witnessing “the English Coast and its mountains”.¹²⁴² He then describes how slow the boat was until they reached

¹²³⁹Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 113.

¹²⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹²⁴¹*Ibid.*

¹²⁴²*Ibid.*

Folkestone, which is a British military port.¹²⁴³ El Hajoui again describes part of the hardship that he encountered in his travel once he arrived to his destination and especially when he had to stamp his travel documents. There were three committees in charge of checking the passengers coming to Britain. In this regard, El Hajoui talks about the policies adopted by the British police. El Hajoui states that it is the third time that he had to answer a lot of similar questions in different check points. This is part of the security that they try to ensure. He inserts that “one cannot escape the torment of the British police and their heavy questions until you leave their land.”¹²⁴⁴ He adds

I lost a great deal of my time in the days of my journey in my destination-Britain, in the police station waiting for my turn, answering questions, stamping on the papers and doing many other similar things that are worthless, and it is regrettable”.¹²⁴⁵

El Hajoui complains in this passage concerning the procedures of entering the British country. It is a tiring process that- according to the Moroccan traveler- wasted most of his time in his journey to Britain. More than that, El Hajouiseems to have come to the conclusion that the British do not like foreigners to visit their country, that is why they are making the entrance very hard. ¹²⁴⁶ Furthermore, El Hajoui again established a comparison between the French policemen and the British ones. He claims that these latter “are always frowning and their smiles are cold ones”.¹²⁴⁷ On the other hand, the French policemen are nice and jovial to the travelers.¹²⁴⁸ The French were happy mainly because they were celebrating their win the war. Their victory was most probably the reason behind theu jovial faces.

When it comes to the boat, El Hajoui said that the British boat is a very normal one apart from the machines used in its ports and which highlights the British marine skills. The maritime skills that El Hajoui talks about have been illustrated through the way the boat was installed in the Folkstone port that is in a semi-circle format. He claims that it is not easy to park the boat on the wharf, but because the British were

¹²⁴³Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 114.

¹²⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹²⁴⁵*Ibid.*

¹²⁴⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁴⁷*Ibid.*

¹²⁴⁸*Ibid.*

known for their marine skills, they could handle it easily thanks to the very developed machines that they own. Matter of fact, El Hajoui was amazed by the development that they have reached in this field. He alleges that what he saw matches what he heard about this country so far.¹²⁴⁹ In other words, the reality met the expectations that the Moroccan traveler used to have about Britain.

El Hajoui also briefly describes the port of Folkstone. He states that “it is a British military port”.¹²⁵⁰ He describes how it is built and mentions the materials used for its building. He pays attention to the fact that it does not contain many trees, but the streets are very clean. The traveler waited for the train for about ten minutes and then when it arrived it instantly became full of the people who were waiting for it. Moreover, what again attracted the attention of El Hajoui is the fact that women were sitting whereas men were standing up.¹²⁵¹ This shows how much the British society respects women. They are the ones allowed to sit whereas most of the men did not find a place where to sit. El Hajoui in this case used his suitcase as a chair.¹²⁵² This instance is repeated because that is how the public means of transportation in Britain are used by men and women.

El Hajoui claims that greenness is part of the landscape in Britain. This is due to its cold weather.¹²⁵³ Moreover, on his way to London, El Hajoui notices that most of their lands are used as grazing lands. Their sheep are described by the Moroccan traveler as being fat. They also do cut off their tails. Here El Hajoui is referring to a special kind of sheep. It is the Southdown sheep. Then he gives some explanations for cutting off the tails. El Hajoui is dealing with agriculture in this passage but concisely. Again, what is noticeable is that the Moroccan is reporting only things that are different from his homeland and which are weird. Thus, unconsciously he is comparing between his home country and the country visited.

Once in London, El Hajoui inserts that

We saw what astonishes our mind of the excess traffic, the great machines, the magnificent structure, the railways [...] and they are not

¹²⁴⁹ Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 116.

¹²⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁵¹ Ibid.

¹²⁵² Ibid.

¹²⁵³ Ibid., p. 117.

satisfied with the trains running with fire and steam, but they added trains operating by electricity [...] All this indicates the strength of the movement in the English countries [...] This is because it is an industrial country which exports all its manufacturing to all kingdoms and different countries ¹²⁵⁴

This quote illustrates the astonishment of El Hajoui from what he saw in London. He was bewildered by the development and modernity that the country has reached. He is amazed by the machines, railways and trains used in this city. He inserts that Britain is an industrial country that is monopolizing the world by its manufacturing and industrial products.

El Hajoui, then, moves on to make a comparison between London and Paris in terms of train stations. He asserts that

London's station is the greatest, the largest, the biggest, and the most active than the station of Paris, and I cannot describe it properly, but I say: it is above what is described, only those who see it could imagine it. The mind gets confused by its order and organization and in the course of business there with full regularity, without the occurrence of accidents by collision.¹²⁵⁵

El Hajoui distinguishes between train station in Paris and in London. He argues that this latter's station is the best. He even could not describe what he saw properly. This means that he was completely astonished by the development that train stations in Britain achieved. For him, what he saw is unbelievable. The order and organization could be seen as part of the modernity that the traveler is referring to. The fact of not having trains colliding with each other demonstrates the fact that there are some engineering strategies established to keep order. This scientific and infrastructural progress is still lacking in Morocco and many other Arab countries at that time. Matter of fact, El Hajoui was surprised by everything he saw in this regard. Furthermore, relying on his religious background, El Hajoui relates this progress to God because he

¹²⁵⁴ Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 117.

¹²⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 117-118.

believes that he is the one who helps the human being to construct these bewildering items.¹²⁵⁶

On the 19th of July, Britain was also celebrating the same feast as France. They also had a national Day and they were commemorating victory. They also brought many envoys from their wide colonies.¹²⁵⁷ Matter of fact, El Hajoui found their streets decorated with flags of allied countries.¹²⁵⁸ Consequently, it was very hard for El Hajoui to find an available hotel.

After being allowed to visit the city freely, El Hajoui states that

We visited the best of its streets, parks and palaces, including the Palace of the King named Buckingham and the field opposite to it, which was used for the celebration of the previous National Day, and we found it still decorated. Its decoration shows that the celebration of the British was great, and that their adornment has been more than what I saw in Paris.¹²⁵⁹

The traveler here is praising London and distinguishing between it and Paris in terms of celebrations and decoration. He believes that London is better than Paris. More than that El Hajoui thinks that London is a very important city when it comes to its population (almost seven million), geographical space (“London is among the biggest cities in the world [...] It is “five times Paris.”), economic and commercial flows (“the products exported and imported could not be counted”).¹²⁶⁰ Then El Hajoui talks about the city center and all its constituents. He cites that it has “565 centers of music and acting, about 300 exhibitions and museums, it has 14 large railway stations.”¹²⁶¹

El Hajoui was amazed by the order maintained in London. He inserts that “everything is under a total order, serenity solemnity and politeness. They respect the law and the royal orders in an unbelievable way.”¹²⁶² Order is mentioned several times by the traveler. This demonstrates the fact that El Hajoui was bewildered by the way

¹²⁵⁶Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 118.

¹²⁵⁷Ibid.

¹²⁵⁸Ibid.

¹²⁵⁹Ibid., p. 121.

¹²⁶⁰Ibid.

¹²⁶¹Ibid.,

¹²⁶²Ibid., p. 122.

everything was put in order by the British. This is mainly part of the modernity that they have achieved.

Since the military field is one of the interests of El Hajoui – just like many other prior travelers- he tries to get as much information as possible in this field. Matter of fact, he states that there are “twelve thousand” policemen in the city.¹²⁶³ They are the symbol of order in the city. They are the ones responsible for organizing a large number of cars just through some hand gestures. He claims that the drivers are obedient, and they respect the orders given by the policemen. Thus, order is very important in the British society. Citizens also respect the rules and abide by the signs of the policemen in order to avoid accidents.¹²⁶⁴ In another instance, El Hajoui shows that the English riding system in London attracted his attention because it is different than the one in Paris.¹²⁶⁵ Pedestrians have also different rules.¹²⁶⁶ In this regard, El Hajoui does not compare only between France and Britain, but he also referred to Fez. And in this case, he thanked God for not having cars in Fez because many accidents would have taken place out of the lack of order.¹²⁶⁷ He also states that “people do not respect the rules.”¹²⁶⁸ This differentiates between the European powers and Morocco. Order is among the criteria which makes of these European countries modern. El Hajoui also mentions the fact that policemen play a crucial role in organizing the roads. The policemen are respected, and their orders are followed by the drivers. This is part of preventing accidents to happen.

Order and organization are sustained in almost all the fields. Another example could be that of trade. El Hajoui was astonished by the fact that traders have an organized book for all the merchants of the city. The merchants are also organized in terms of the kind of trade they are establishing. For instance, El Hajoui gives the example of tea and clothes.¹²⁶⁹

¹²⁶³Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 122.

¹²⁶⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹²⁶⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁶⁷*Ibid.*

¹²⁶⁸*Ibid.*

¹²⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 122.

After that, El Hajoui moves on to compare between London and Paris.¹²⁷⁰ When it comes to the streets, the Moroccan traveler claims that the streets of London are smaller than those of Paris. This is clearly noticed because of the number of the population. London's streets are always very crowded, matter of fact, traffic jam is always on its highest. That is why, El Hajoui states that cars stop for so long in the roads.¹²⁷¹

According to El Hajoui, in some cases France seems to be better than Britain. Though streets are clean in London, but France's street are cleaner. In terms of the architecture, the traveler argues that Paris remains better than London in many ways. The buildings are more prestigious in Paris. Though the buildings are somehow similar, when it comes to the width and height, Paris' buildings are higher and wider than those of London.¹²⁷² The buildings in Paris resembles the kings' palaces. El Hajoui claims that "Paris is like the house of a great king".¹²⁷³ The buildings in Paris are also different from those in London because the formers are all on a single scale, whereas the latter are on different scales. The symmetry in architecture is therefore not that respected in London as much as it is in Paris. The paintings are also different in the sense that both black and red color were used in their buildings. However, because they use chimneys a lot, their walls are most of the time black; therefore, they opted for black so as not to differentiate between whether or not they are soiled with smokes of chimneys.¹²⁷⁴ The exception is seen only on the British king's palaces.

The Moroccan traveler moves on to talk about a different means of transportations that the Moroccans did not have at that time which is the London underground.¹²⁷⁵ El Hajoui was astonished from the fact that the British have underground tunnels which are situated under rivers and which serve as roads for passengers. In addition to that, the rivers are also used by boats. This is due to the large number of the population and the frequent commercial traffic.¹²⁷⁶ This shows how

¹²⁷⁰Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 123.

¹²⁷¹*Ibid.*

¹²⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹²⁷³*Ibid.*

¹²⁷⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. 127.

¹²⁷⁶*Ibid.*

active the city is and how space is exploited by the British. This demonstrates that they have been able to develop modern strategies and techniques that helped them manage the space in a wise way. El Hajoui also talks about the sidewalks used by the pedestrians. He could not refer to the sidewalk by using an Arabic word, but he rather used a French one because this expression does not exist in the Moroccan. More than that, a comparison is also established between Paris and London when dealing with whatever the traveler notices. Moreover, and on the same line of argument, El Hajoui describes another means of transportation which is the tramway. He inserts that “in London [...] the railways are bigger, tighter and more proficient.”¹²⁷⁷ More than that, he adds the following: “you see a train over trains, which surprises and baffles the educated mind and makes it understand the meaning of the Almighty: God is capable of everything and that God has surrounded everything with its knowledge.”¹²⁷⁸ Using Koranic verses illustrate the unbelievable or weird things that El Hajoui came across. This shows the religious background of the traveler since he relies on religious explanations.

Still talking about the trains and tramways and their stations, El Hajoui claims that these means of transportations move at a very high speed, yet they do not make any noise. He inserts that “and the most strange and weird of all is that you do not hear a loudspeaker nor a siren and there is not as much perturbation as there is in the stations of France.”¹²⁷⁹ Everything happens quietly and neatly. More than that, El Hajoui always related the traffic in the city to the fact that this latter is a commercial and industrial city.¹²⁸⁰

El Hajoui asserts that the British are known for trade. He argues that,

The British are famous in the world by their knowledge about the methods of trade and the styles of import and export and what helped them in that is the fact that they were raised on the sincerity of treatment and the conviction of little profit to sell a large number.”¹²⁸¹

¹²⁷⁷ Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 128.

¹²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

¹²⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹²⁸¹ Ibid., p. 130.

The British, according to El Hajoui, are knowledgeable enough about commerce. They know much about export and import and what helps them more in gaining more profit is their honesty and contentedness with little profit. This little profit makes them sell a huge number of products. Therefore, this a strategy that El Hajoui thinks is very interesting when it comes to commercial operations. More than that, he assumes that their honesty and sincerity is what made them take over trade in the world.¹²⁸² In addition to that, they are known for their fixed prices.¹²⁸³ Unlike in Morocco where you have to negotiate the price, in London the prices are entrenched.

El Hajoui, in one of his paragraphs in the travel narrative, disgraced the British for being intolerant.¹²⁸⁴ He mentioned that since the Moroccans were wearing different clothes, they were looked down at. They were very surprised and found their dresses abnormal and weird. Matter of fact, since the British gathered around the Moroccans and started gazing at them in a very strange way, the Moroccan traveler conceived this act as being offensive and intolerant. Consequently, El Hajoui compares between the British and the Muslims. He claims that “there is nothing better than the tolerance of the Muslims who do not offend the stranger.”¹²⁸⁵

The typing machine is among the machines that attracted the attention of El Hajoui in his hotel. In addition to the telegraph that is used to get the news from all over the world.¹²⁸⁶ Matter of fact, the traveler describes how the typing machine works and how it is used by the responsible over this machine. This typing machine plays a crucial role in informing the resident of the hotel about the latest news. It almost replaced newspapers in the sense that people no more wait for the news to be printed in the newspaper and then distributed.¹²⁸⁷ Moreover, El Hajoui states that this machine does not exist in Paris, “ it is a weird machine that I have never seen a similar one in Paris or elsewhere”.¹²⁸⁸ Later on, he would also state that it is among the weirdest thing ever in Britain.¹²⁸⁹ He could not believe the way this machine works.; he was

¹²⁸²Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 130.

¹²⁸³Ibid.

¹²⁸⁴Ibid., p. 133.

¹²⁸⁵Ibid.

¹²⁸⁶Ibid.

¹²⁸⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸⁸Ibid., p. 134.

¹²⁸⁹Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 134.

amazed by the fact that you can stay in your place and receive the news of the world. It is unbelievable how the person can get to know about everything (commerce, wars around the world, etc ...).¹²⁹⁰ In the same vein, El Hajoui claims that “the wonders of Europe are tremendous, but in reality, it is not the wonders of Europe but the wonders of science.”¹²⁹¹ This quote illustrates the fact that Europe in general and Britain in particular had reached scientific progress in different fields. Science is very important in the development of any country, consequently, El Hajoui was bewildered by the scientific development that both Paris and London have attained. That is why, he described them as being “the fountains of the European wisdom.”¹²⁹²

While trying to discover the typing machine very closely, an incidence happened between El Hajoui and a British person.¹²⁹³ This latter inserted that he had been in Morocco before and had particularly visited Tangier, but he could not reach Fez because he was afraid of bandits. El Hajoui instantly realized that he was talking about the era where Morocco had some internal conflicts. El Hajoui mentioned the era of BouHmara and Rissouni as being two eras where accidents and turbulence were taking place.¹²⁹⁴ El Hajoui found this humiliating and to answer him back, he said that now things are stable and tried to prove that this does not happen only in Morocco. The typing machine printed some news which demonstrate that at that time in Liverpool, a strike was taking place by the policemen.¹²⁹⁵ He adds, “the number of strikers attained 929, some of the commercial stores were looted and stolen until the military force intervened”¹²⁹⁶ this shows that these kind of disorder and conflicts happen everywhere not primarily in countries like Morocco.

After London, El Hajoui moved to his second destination in Britain that is Manchester.¹²⁹⁷ Before talking about anything in relation to this city, he describes his spatial movement and the hardships of traveling from London to Manchester. This is

¹²⁹⁰Ibid.

¹²⁹¹Ibid., p. 135.

¹²⁹²Ibid., p. 135.

¹²⁹³Ibid., p. 134.

¹²⁹⁴Ibid.

¹²⁹⁵Ibid.

¹²⁹⁶Ibid.

¹²⁹⁷Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 136.

to give credibility to his account and to show that he has a heroic role in the travel narrative.

The first habit which attracted the attention of El Hajoui is the fact that they use napkins while eating. The Moroccan traveler was surprised to notice that in their restaurants they do not use napkins even though their country produces cotton or flax.¹²⁹⁸ A comparison between the country visited and the home country is again established. He alleges that even the poorest family in Morocco has got napkins. This is part of being clean.¹²⁹⁹ Modernity is achieved even in terms of their cultural eating habits.

In his travel account, El Hajoui pays attention to many fields among which agriculture, industry and education. He writes down,

We passed through many towns and villages, including the city of Rygby, where there is a famous school where British children of the upper class study, and the city of Stockport which contains many factories and machines that are close to Manchester.¹³⁰⁰

Among the problems that El Hajoui faced in his travel is the language problem. When they arrived to Manchester, it was very hard for them to communicate with the British.¹³⁰¹ So, in the contact zone, both the language and the clothes highlighted the difference existing between the visited and the visiting people. To illustrate this, El Hajoui states that once they arrived, “some boys surrounded us and wondered about our clothes and our tongues. The police came and dispersed them.”¹³⁰²

Right after this, El Hajoui tried to find his father’s friends. He met them and during their gathering, they started asking him some jurisprudential questions. Here the traveler played the role of a religious scholar- a Fquih. However, El Hajoui was disappointed by the level of religiosity of these Moroccan Muslims who are living in Manchester. He came to realize that though they have shown some interest in the

¹²⁹⁸Ibid., p. 137.

¹²⁹⁹Ibid., p. 138.

¹³⁰⁰Ibid., p. 139.

¹³⁰¹Ibid.

¹³⁰²Ibid.

religious field. They were not able to demonstrate that they are going to take into consideration what El Hajoui preached on them.¹³⁰³ He inserts the following:

But I realized that these sermons did not affect the people, the Maghreb prayer time came but no one prayed with me though I informed them about it [...] But where are the hearts that get affected by the sermons! It was my regret for the loss of my preaching was similar to my regret for their loss of religion and they were asking about it.¹³⁰⁴

This shows that these Moroccans started losing their religious beliefs and practices in the sense that sermons or preaching are no more affecting their behaviors. El Hajoui felt frustrated in this regard.

On the first of August, El Hajoui took a car and started visiting the neighborhoods of the city.¹³⁰⁵ The Moroccan traveler describes the city as the following:

Is a very important big city, beautiful in terms of construction, streets and housing. Part of its beauty is that most of its houses have a garden which contains trees and flowers. And yet the government increased its public parks. It is among the countries which have a lot of parks. And it is in the first degree because no other city maintains the industry; And most of the sons of Adam wear its cotton fabrics [...] markets and streets are very organized and stores are full with a goods and it had many factories. That is why it is the destination of traders from a wide range of countries.

There are even traders from Fez, Egypt and Syria that settled there.¹³⁰⁶

This reveals the fact that El Hajoui admired this city for different reasons. According to him, Manchester is a big, organized and beautiful city. It includes many parks and gardens. It is mainly an industrial city. Matter of fact, its citizens do not need to import cotton clothes. They only wear local fabrics. The industrial side of the city makes of it the first one. It also has many factories and that is why a huge number of traders like to settle in this city.

¹³⁰³Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, pp. 140-150.

¹³⁰⁴Ibid., p. 150.

¹³⁰⁵Ibid., p. 153.

¹³⁰⁶Ibid., p. 154.

El Hajoui also visited the post office, which he thinks is very important.¹³⁰⁷ He then went to “the school of art, which is close to the military hospital. [...] This is close to a night school to supplement industrial lessons.”¹³⁰⁸ The municipal is another institution that attracted the attention of El Hajoui.¹³⁰⁹ He claims that it has an important role and within the municipal, there is a police station. The Moroccan traveler had to go there to get his travel documents stamped. He then complained about the time spent there because he missed doing many other things.¹³¹⁰ The British give immense importance to science, matter fact, they were putting various statues of famous people among which a British scientist who discovered the Phenol that is used in the medical field.¹³¹¹

El Hajoui’s stay in Manchester came to an end and he returned to London. This time he passed by Stockport, Crewe, Stafford, and then Birmingham.¹³¹² This latter is “world widely known for its iron minerals and coal minerals, and its many factories that surpassed others [...] and sells coal and iron to many countries of Europe, Africa and Asia.”¹³¹³

As it is previously mentioned, in one of the chapters, in *The Journey to the Other Shore*, Roxanne Euben called this journey of traveling to the other shore of the Mediterranean for instance in the case of Morocco, a “travel in search of practical wisdom”.¹³¹⁴ This is exactly what El Hajoui was trying to do. He wanted to discover and understand modernity- that could be defined as practical wisdom-which –for the Moroccan kings- is related to military order and to technical and industrial discoveries. Matter of fact, once El Hajoui arrived to his destination, he took note of every single detail he came across related to different fields. He was interested in discovering why the French and British were cherishing a certain modernity that is associated precisely to the military order and to the technical and industrial discoveries. In other words, El

¹³⁰⁷Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya* 1919, p. 154.

¹³⁰⁸Ibid.

¹³⁰⁹Ibid.

¹³¹⁰Ibid.

¹³¹¹Ibid.

¹³¹²Ibid., p. 157.

¹³¹³Ibid.

¹³¹⁴ Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*, p. 90.

Hajoui illustrated his account by several instances of description related to the military, agricultural, commercial, social, political, architectural and industrial fields. That is to say, he was selective in his choice of the themes to tackle in his account. This selection has a direct relation with his own representation of modernity. Furthermore, the way el Hajoui represents modernity shows that he was self-reflexive in the sense that he was able to focus on the things that Morocco was in need of to achieve modernity. In this respect El Hajoui related modernity to several fields but he focused more on education, agriculture, architecture and some industries. El Hajoui was mesmerized by the French buildings and architecture. Once in Bordeaux, the Moroccan traveler asserts that this city is “One of the greatest cities of France, with its precious works, arts and sciences, its buildings are very large especially churches and nightclubs [...] It is 578KM far away from Paris, and it contains some very beautiful parks and roads in a very regular and wide range.”¹³¹⁵ The description that el Hajoui provides concerning the hotel where they stayed shows that it was very prestigious in terms of its architecture and infrastructure. El Hajoui was also impressed by the means of transportation used like the trains and tramways. He makes sure to include a very detailed description of how these trains and tramways work and look like.¹³¹⁶

After spending few days in Bordeaux, the Moroccan delegation moved to Paris. This latter was again described in a very magnificent way. The first thing which attracted the attention of El Hajoui was agriculture. He was lured by the huge number of trees, farms, rivers, and cows. These latter are huge and they are according to El Hajoui better than the ones in Morocco. He described the French agriculture as being a modern one since farmers use machines in their agricultural activities. The Moroccan traveler was also charmed by the fact that villages are well organized and forests are protected. He described the French agriculture as being a refined one.

To summarize the perception of El Hajoui concerning France and precisely Paris, the traveler mentions that

Paris is not only the capital of France but it is also the capital of modern science and European literature and ethics and money and elegance and

¹³¹⁵Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui, *Al Rihla al Urupiya 1919*, p. 43-44.

¹³¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 46.

kindness and politeness and politics, but the model of politeness, the cradle of the modern city and European systems and freedom of organization and equality and inventions wonderful Wide streets and beautiful homes and residences

This quote is inclusive of all the elements which make of Paris and France in general one of the favorite places for the Moroccan traveler. He is idolizing this city in terms of its architecture, and infrastructure.

Al-Hajoui was impressed by the system of organization in every field in Europe- that is both France and England- as he was fascinated by the importance that was given to education and science.

In terms of institutions, El Hajoui was impressed by the fact that the government created many ministries of education. This is to show how important education and schooling is for the French people. This is also to insight the Moroccans to follow the same path as France in terms of Education. El Hajoui was a reformist and he was encouraging the Moroccan government to establish some reforms in this regard. He stressed this reform when he came back to Morocco given the authority he was cherishing. However, a double consciousness was created because there are Moroccans who were calling for tradition, others believed in the need for the European Modernity. Therefore, Ahmed Idrissi Alami alleges that,

Modernity is not just seen in analyses of geographic landscape, urban spatial organization, and the engineering of metropolitan terrain, but also in interpretations of ideological and cultural differences. Travel from the royal cities and palaces of Morocco to the capitals of Europe foregrounds not only physical displacement but more importantly shifts in ideological perspectives.¹³¹⁷

These interpretations of ideological and cultural differences are behind the representation process of modernity, but before representation, there was a whole political and religious debate about modernity, modernization and the travel to Europe. Consequently, “the negotiation between the need for reform and the potential

¹³¹⁷ Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing*, p. 6.

subversiveness of advocating certain modes of European social and economic life at home generates a discourse on modernization that occupies an unstable ground.”¹³¹⁸ The Arab world in general and Morocco or Moroccans in particular were both horrified and fascinated by the European modernity. They were horrified because of the change it might imply in their lives but also fascinated by the accomplishment it attained. So, the Arab intellectuals went through a whole negotiation process since they faced a dilemma “from the early days of the encounter with the West [so for them] Europe was at once the malady and the remedy.”¹³¹⁹

In his book *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West*, Fathi El-Shihibi argues that “the Arab/ Muslim intellectuals’ reaction to the superior West, particularly on how to recreate and rethink the interactions between, the two identities, took three different yet interwoven directions.”¹³²⁰ So, unlike Khalid Zekri, who claims that a double consciousness was created face to the gap between the modernized Europe and less modernize Morocco, Fathi el-Shihibi believes that there is a triple consciousness. “The first direction which is still popular among both secularists and Islamists, was a selective process by means of which the Arab/ Muslim cultures adopts from European culture, particularly those elements that complement and conform to the Arab-Islamic values and traditions.”¹³²¹ “The second direction in the interaction between the Arab-Islamic and Western worlds was one of complete rejection of anything western and a complete return to Islam as a religion, a culture, and a social, economic, and political system.”¹³²² This view is directed more towards going back into the Arab-Islamic heritage and neglecting the European modernity. “The third direction, which was the cause of controversy and friction with the two directions mentioned above, was the call for complete Westernization.”¹³²³ This trend takes the completely opposite direction of the previous one, in the sense that it calls for openness to the west and containment of its modernity as a whole. This direction idealizes the western model

¹³¹⁸Ahmed Idrissi Alami, *Mutual Othering: Islam, Modernity, and the Politics of Cross-Cultural Encounters in Pre-Colonial Moroccans and European Travel Writing*, p. 47.

¹³¹⁹Rasheed El-Enany, *Arab Representations of the Occident: East-West Encounters in Arabic Fiction*, p. 3.

¹³²⁰Fathi El Shihibi, *Arab, Muslim Travelers and the West*, p. viii.

¹³²¹Ibid., p. viii.

¹³²²Ibid., p. xii.

¹³²³Ibid., p. xiii.

and takes its modernity for granted. The advocate of this direction believed that modernity exists only on the other shore. They were fascinated and blurred away with what Europe has achieved in terms of technological, cultural and economic advancements. Therefore, they assumed that if Morocco wants to regain its powerful position and undergo certain reforms then it must follow the European sample. In this respect, Khalid Zekri asserts that

The trend of propaganda in favor of European modernity is perhaps the most extreme illustration of Al-Hajoui Al-Thaâlibi, another Moroccan diplomat. This one even supported the French Empire in its colonial enterprise in Morocco and its children played an important role in the government of BenArafa. Al-Hajoui Al-Thaâlibi narrated his 1919 trip to Europe in a narrative entitled *Al-Rihla al-Awrubbiya* (The European Journey) in which the moderate liberalism of the traveler reveals the Moroccan sway between the need for reforms and The difficulty of accomplishing them.¹³²⁴

A matter of fact, this extreme idolization of the European modernity led some of the travelers to venture, appropriate and even adopt a western stance concerning modernity and reforms. In the case of Al-Hajoui Al-Thaâlibi, Zekri insert that he even encouraged the colonial mission of France because he maybe thought it was the only way out for Moroccans to embrace a new era where Moroccans would look like Europeans in their progress. Al Hajoui called,

For a measured opening, but sometimes goes as far as collaboration with the colonizer. He published another book, *The Order in Islam*, in which he insists on the need for permanent renewal [...] What he wrote seems to be common sense, but to read it closely, it shows that it reproduces the colonialist discourse according to which European expansionism aims to help the indigenous people to embark on the path of progress”¹³²⁵

¹³²⁴Khalid Zekri, « Aux sources de la modernité marocaine », *Itinéraire*, 2009-3 | 2009, p. 46. (My translation).

¹³²⁵*Ibid.*

This means that he was advocating and legitimizing the act of colonialism. Al Hajoui is not the only traveler to Europe who was calling for the dismissal – in a way or another- of the Arab-Islamic heritage. More than that, El Hajoui's travel narrative showed that the traveler had several objectives behind his travel. Attending the celebration of victory and the republic day seemed to be a secondary mission in his account since it was not given its due. Most of the time, El Hajoui was observing and describing the power of the French and British society at different layers. His extreme admiration of the modern life in both France and Britain could make him under the category of a Muslim secularist.

Conclusion

This study examined four ambassadorial travel narratives that are not given their due in the field of travel narratives. It tried to look at them from a wider and different perspective to provide a better understanding of the representation of modernity by the Moroccan travelers. Given the complexity of travel literature, representation and modernity, an interdisciplinary approach has been used to approach the ambassadorial travel narratives. What has been remarked is that the representation of modernity is far from being unified; it is varied and heterogenous. More than that, it was evident that the representation of the travelers was based upon the fact that they could be categorized under three main categories: Islamic modernists, traditionalist Ulama and Muslim secularists. Their religious background played a crucial role in their writings.

The thesis starts by focusing on defining the apparatus of travel literature and especially ambassadorial travel accounts in the Arab-Muslim world in general and in Morocco in particular, in order to facilitate the analysis of the Moroccan ambassadorial travel narratives. In other words, knowing about the paradigms of writing ambassadorial travel narratives gives a certain theoretical framework that clarifies the practical side of the analysis of the ambassadorial travel accounts. This is particularly because travel literature is a multidisciplinary field which has got historical, religious, social, cultural and anthropological dimensions. Travel literature is an encyclopedic genre which needs to be examined taking into consideration different aspects. Consequently, the theoretical part concerning travel literature elaborates on how travel accounts contain various details which should be known and studied for a wider grasp of the subject matter.

Travel accounts combine both the phases of the journey of the traveler and the accumulation of the cultural and scientific learning. It is about the experience that the traveler goes through both in time and space. That is why, writing a travel narrative mitigates both an external and an internal experience. The first one is about the spatial movement of the traveler across time and space. It deals with the hardship that the traveler encounters in his journey. This is part of giving credibility to the travel narrative. When the traveler states that he traveled to a certain place and starts

recording and recounting his story, he shows that there is no intermediary between him and the reader. This gives him a first-hand experience. The second experience emphasizes the learning process of the traveler. It stresses the process through which the traveler discovers the other society and culture, that he comes across. However, it is not only about the other culture and society, but the traveler also endures a psychological journey which makes of himself reflexive, once confronted with a different Other. Being self-reflexive is, therefore, one aspect of the interiority of the traveler's journey. Matter of fact, many emotional and personal transformations take place.

Traveling across space means undergoing an experience which goes through three steps. The first one is the departure. It is about leaving one's familiar place to an unfamiliar place. The traveler at this stage only describes the hardship encountered while moving from his country into another one. It is also psychological because the traveler feels like a super hero while going for a mission. He, therefore, focuses on his inner self and portrays himself as the main character of the travel. The second step covers the arrival to the new place- the contact zone- and the discovery of the Other. It is about describing the adventure that the traveler experiences. Consequently, the traveler unconsciously starts narrating his cultural encounter with the Other using auto-ethnography. This part of the journey is an internal one because the traveler becomes self-reflexive. The third and the last stage is the return. It is again about the spacial movement from the unfamiliar, which is no more very unfamiliar, to the familiar, which also becomes somehow unfamiliar. The return home is not only an external experience that is about riding the boat back home, but it is also internal because the traveler on his way back starts to question everything that he used to take for granted before his travel. This tripartite of the travel is very important because it helps understand the structure of the travel narrative.

This thesis also discusses the tools and techniques that travelers use in their travel narratives. This is to facilitate the textual analysis of the texts which relies on assessing the way the travelers write about their journey. Observation is the first technique which the traveler practices once on his travel. Observation is about seeing things directly. The traveler makes use of observation to stress his first-hand

experience. It shows that it is the traveler himself who witnessed what he recounts. He does not need any mediator to transmit his message. Consequently, in most travel narratives, travelers use expressions like “I witnessed, I saw, I was present there, ...”. These expressions give some authority to the traveler’s text. The personal pronoun “I”, used in these expressions and in the whole travel narrative, is most often intertwined with the “eye” of the traveler. They go hand in hand in the sense that the observation depends on his eyes.

Description is another tool used by the traveler to give details about what he observes. He describes what he observes as a way of transmitting his experience. Description is part of the ethnographical dimension of travel narratives. Thus, the traveler makes use of description because it is essential in his narration of the account. So, in addition to that, description goes hand in hand with narration, which is used in the writing process of the travel. Observation without description and narration would not allow the traveler to have a narrative. Matter of fact, since travel narratives are a literary genre, travelers make use of these tools to produce a piece of narrative. Furthermore, these mechanisms result in the fact that the traveler becomes self-reflexive and starts comparing and examining the differences existing between his country and the country visited. Comparison is, then, established by the traveler as a consequence of coming across different abnormal features of the Other. The weird and the unfamiliar is what intrigue the traveler to make comparisons. Thus, difference is referred to as everything and anything that is bizarre for the traveler. Consequently, a binary opposition is created as a result of the comparison between two different worlds. To talk about the differences encountered by the traveler, this latter opts for translation. The traveler translates what he sees into words so as the reader can become familiar with the unfamiliar. Therefore, comparison entails translation from what is unknown to the known. Narration and description are the devices used in the translation process. To conclude, observation, description, narration, comparison and translation are all essential strategies used by the traveler in his travel narrative. They are a mixture of practices that have literary, anthropological and ethnographical dimensions. In other words, travel literature is a complex field of study, which needs to be studied from different perspectives.

After dealing with travel narratives in general, a close attention should now be endowed to ambassadorial travel narratives. Travel in Morocco, according to Manuni, could be divided into three categories: travels within Morocco, travel to the pilgrimage (Rihlahijjaziya, travel to Hijaz) and ambassadorial travel narratives(Rihlasifarriyya). This latter is about rulers sending embassies to different countries for diplomatic, political or commercial missions. They are about formal and official missions which aim at solving problems. Sometimes, travel accounts could be reports, letters or narratives. The ambassadorial envoy is composed of the ambassador, the author of the travel narrative and many other members like special secretaries. That is to say, the writer of the travel is not always the ambassador himself. The writer is responsible for documenting the travel with the negotiations taking place and description of any observed phenomena. The ambassador on the other hand, is the one responsible for the negotiations between the countries involved. More than that, the choice of the embassy members is not done randomly; it is based upon several criteria among which the experience and the background of the people chosen. Belonging to the Makhzen is also among the criteria which supports the candidacy of the envoy.

Some scholars allege that not many researches have been done concerning the Moroccan ambassadorial travel narratives to Europe. They were relegated to the margin mainly because they are written in Arabic. However, some other scholars were interested in studying some travel narratives, like Mohammed Magaman, Ahmed IdrissiAlami, Abdelmajid El Kaddouri, Nabil Matar, and Said BensaidAlami. They dealt with different eras and different themes in travel narratives. For instance, during the sixteenth century, the prevailing theme was the corsairs. But starting from the seventeenth century, Moroccan rulers started opting for diplomatic missions and therefore ambassadorial travel narratives flourished. What is interesting concerning the different travel narrative produced starting from the eighteenth century until the twentieth century is that Said BensaidAlami was able to categorize the travel narratives depending on the historical period of time. He believes that the attitudes of the Moroccan travelers to Europe differed greatly from one century to another. He states that the three different stages are the following: the 18th century was considered as a moment of power and self-confidence, whereas the 19th century was a moment of

defeat and discovery. The last stage which covers the 20th century was believed to be a moment of surprise, recovery and awareness. More than that, in addition to piracy and captivity which were behind many ambassadorial travel narratives, the need to know why Europe was excelling in different fields, pushed the Moroccan rulers to send many ambassadorial envoys. The several defeats of Morocco and the expansion of European powers urged the curiosity of the Moroccan kings. They realized that the only way to discover why Europe is taking the lead is to send ambassadorial envoys to Europe and ask the envoys to write reports about anything that could be of any help to the Moroccan miserable situation. Consequently, some of the previously mentioned scholars dealt with various travelers who went to Europe for the sake of alleviating the terrible conditions that Morocco was suffering from.

Investigating the social and historic-political relations between Morocco and Britain is very essential because it widens the perspective of the analysis of the travel narrative. The historical background shapes the vision and writings of the travelers. It affects in a way or another the attitudes of the envoy towards the country visited. This is because every historical epoch has its own characteristics. Yet, in the case of Morocco, Britain has been an economic and political partner from the sixteenth century until the nineteenth century. During the 16th century, Morocco was a privileged commercial ally to Britain. It was even preferred to Portugal for religious reasons. This mutual relationship is going to be extended thanks to many diplomatic and military exchanges.

During the 17th century, a period which is known for corsairs and captivity, most of the transactions that were taking place between the two countries were a series of negotiations to release captives. More than that, both in the 17th and 18th centuries, Morocco was considered as a potential danger for Britain and many other European countries given its maritime strength. However, it was an important market/commercial partner to Britain. After the possession of Gibraltar, Morocco was the one supplying it with provisions. In addition to that, given some conflicts taking place at that time (mainly captivity and some other interior problems), many negotiations, conventions, and treaties were concluded to tranquilize the Moroccan-British relations. Several diplomatic missions used to take place between the two countries in order not

only to solve the problems but also to deepen the commercial relations. Until the 19th century, Britain was successful in keeping good relations with Morocco. This is because Britain was trying to protect its commercial transactions with Morocco. Both Edward Drummond-Hay and his son Sir John Drummond Hay were wise enough in keeping the two kingdoms close. The British consuls-general were able to maintain the informal empire of Britain. They had some strong political influence on Moroccan sultans. Thus, they were behind the implementation of several reforms that were in favor of Britain. Starting from the mid-19th century, Britain used to play an intermediary role between Morocco and other European countries. It tried several times to temper the colonial process. Nevertheless, the consular protection resulted in the weakening of the political and economic fields in Morocco. This led to its colonization by France during the early 20th century- 1912.

The theoretical framework of the present dissertation revolves around the use of Occidentalism as a postcolonial approach to the topic. Dealing with travel narratives written by Moroccan travelers necessitates the use of Occidentalism. This latter implies the fact that non-Westerners are also able to produce knowledge about the Westerners. It is a counter discourse which aims at establishing a balance between the Westerners and non-Westerners. These latter are claimed to be passive and unable to answer back the misrepresentation of the West. Yet, this thesis proves that non-Europeans are also able to write back and differently. By differently, I mean that mainstream Western travel narratives tend to produce stereotypical images about the Orient, the Moroccan travel narratives do not follow the same path. This is because the Occidentalist discourse is different from the Orientalist one, in the sense that Occidentalism depicts the Europeans in a neutral way. Occidentalism does not duplicate the same tropes used in Orientalism. It is not about distorting the Other's image. It is more likely about portraying the Other as he is. No exaggeration is detected while reading the Moroccan travel narratives. To better grasp the meaning and dimensions of Occidentalism, a comparison between orientalism and Occidentalism was introduced to differentiate between the two different discursive structures. In addition to that, since the thesis uses a close textual analysis, Occidentalism could be seen as a practical tool to deconstruct the representation of

modernity in Britain by Moroccan travelers. It also investigates the othering process and how the encounter between the Self and the Other could be represented from a non-Westerner perspective.

Since travel narratives are about cultural representations, it seemed inevitable not to talk about the notion of representation. Thus, after dealing with Orientalism and Occidentalism, representation is another essential component of this thesis. This is because this latter deals with the representation of modernity in Britain by Moroccan travelers. Therefore, representation is a complex concept through which meaning is constructed. It is a process which involves not only the linguistic dimension of the text, but it also focuses on the transpersonal and transcultural features of the person who is representing someone or something. This thesis focuses on the constructionist approach, which Hall discusses when defining representation. He argues that this approach accentuates both semiotics and discourse. This approach also suits the analysis of the travel narratives which are discursive literary texts. Finally, representation is translation. In travel narratives, the traveler represents what he sees and goes through via his translation of his experience into words.

Defining modernity, which is another keyword in this thesis, was not an easy task. This is because this concept takes different shapes. It is a flexible concept which changes depending on the field of human activity and the historical period of time. It also changes from one society into another. Matter of fact, Abdellah Laroui believes that it is a historical process that societies become aware of through a series of events. It is also a philosophical concept in the sense that it questions previous (traditional) socio-cultural structures. The questioning part makes of it a reflexive process which aims at changing different structures. More than that, it is a project imposed by a group of people who are in control of the development of a certain society. Laroui refer to them as being the intelligentsia. However, since modernity could be considered as a procedure, an ideology and a social movement, there are those who support it and others who oppose it and reject it. Laroui talks about modernists and traditionalists. Finally, in this dissertation, modernity was related to progress and development in all the domains of human activities.

Modernity or the modernization process is believed to be the outcome of either *endogenous* and/or *exogenous* factors. El- Enany assumes that modernity in Europe was an intrinsic process. It is a natural one which came as a result of the accumulation and succession of several internal events. On the other hand, he believes that modernity in the Arab world was an extrinsic process. It was a transplantation. Its implementation relied on the outside world. In other words, in the Arab world, modernity was borrowed precisely from Europe. Colonialism, westernization, and globalization have been considered as the main factors responsible for this exterior influence. More than that, because Europe used to cherish a powerful and superior position, it was seen as the model. However, not everyone agreed upon the idea that Europe's modernity is an example to follow.

Not only Morocco, but many other Arab countries wanted to understand why Europe is more developed and modernized. They knew that they were lagging behind and needed to figure out what was wrong with them. Thus, many envoys were sent to find answers for such questions. More than that, given the historical period of time, Moroccans related modernity to the military order and technical and technological industries. However, as it is already mentioned, when it comes to modernity, there are those who oppose it and others who support it. This was also the case in Morocco. Moroccans were divided into two; those who encouraged the implementation of the principles of modernity in Europe, and those traditionalists who preferred to stick to their traditions. This means that a polysemy was created. Fathi el-Shihibi argued that there was a triple consciousness. There are those who were for the European modernity, others were against and a third stance opted for the in-between position. That is to say, there were those who were ambivalent and stood in the middle. They both feared the European modernity but at the same time were fascinated by it. Therefore, El-Shihibi assumes that there exist three directions. These three directions according to Furlow could be put under three categories: the Muslim secularists (they call for the implementation of the European modernity and the relegation of Islam to a personal level), the traditionalist ulama (they call for the return to an Islamic society), and the Islamic modernists (they opted for an ambivalent stance which aims at mitigating both the Islamic values and the European modernity).

After dealing with modernity and the three main positions that the intelligentsia can take, I moved on to the practical part which is about the analysis of the four travel narratives. The analysis relies on the historical and theoretical framework previously dealt with. The first travel narrative covered is *Al Rihla al Ibriziya ila Diyyar al Injliziya* (1860) that is written by Mohammed El Fassi. It is among the first travel accounts which documents the first encounters between Morocco and Europe. The historical period of time when the travel took place, the late nineteenth century- 1960, is significant because it represents a pivotal era for Morocco. It was known as a moment of defeat and discovery. Morocco was defeated twice in the Battle of Isly in 1844 and the battle of Tetouan in 1860. Thus, Morocco started wondering why this happened and wanted to discover why Europe was becoming powerful.

When it comes to the Moroccan British relations at that time, it is assumed to be a stable relationship. This is because since Morocco was going through some problems with Spain and France, Britain used to lay the role of an intermediary to calm down the tensions. Thus, the relationship between Morocco and Britain at that time was running smoothly. They were considered as partners and allies. This was mainly achieved thanks to the British consul general Edward Drummond Hay and his son John Drummond Hay. They were always trying to figure out ways to help the Moroccan king keep his Moroccan territory safe. Morocco went through both military, economic, and political pressures. Britain, on the other hand, was always trying to alleviate those pressures by finding solutions to every problem. However, these problems weakened the Moroccan state and resulted in his dependence on Europe. A rivalry over Morocco was taking place. Spain, France, Britain and Germany had multiple interests in Morocco; some are military others are political and economic. Matter of fact, initiating reforms and sending ambassadorial envoys were needed to overcome this situation.

Al Rihla al Ibriziya Ila Diyar al Injliziya is among the travel narratives which illustrates the importance of sending ambassadors to Europe and precisely to Britain. From the very beginning of the travel, El Fassi seems to display his religious background. He emphasized the fact that this journey has a religious dimension and it is beneficial for the Muslim *Umma*. This is because it will help the Moroccans/

Muslims figure out why they were defeated by the Europeans/ Christians. El Fassi proves to have a very strong religious background. He always relates what he sees to his background. He also has a superior stance when it comes to Islam.

Once El Fassi starts his journey, he does not stop mentioning every single detail about his experience. He begins by riding the boats and narrating his external travel experience, that is about the spatial movement from the familiar to the unfamiliar. His fascination with Europe's power starts from the boat. The use of machines inside the ships bewildered him. He was surprised by the use of the barometer which is a new gadget for him. However, given the religious background of the traveler, that is evident from the very beginning, he related the technological development to religion. He claims that it is God who is behind all this progress that Europe had reached.

When it comes to the cultural encountering, El Fassi met some British people on the ships and once contact was established, El Fassi seems to have a positive attitude towards the different Other. Even though he refers to the British as being Christians or non-believers, he does not undermine them. He, for instance, described a captain as being very kind and behaving as Muslims. Thus, the first contact on the boat is opposing the orientalist discourse which aims at distorting the image of the Other. Organization and cleanness were among the noticeable remarks made by El Fassi.

Once arrived to London, the contact zone where the encountering took place, El Fassi could not hide his admiration for the city. He described it as being the greatest. Among the places which attracted the attention of the traveler and which is new for him is the existence of hotels. The hotel is something new for the Moroccan traveler, he, therefore, could not find a translation for this word in Arabic. He rather used other languages to refer to it.

Part of the ambassadorial mission was talked about very briefly in the travel accounts. El Fassi only mentions an instance when a British minister came to pick up the book sent by the Moroccan king to their queen. However, the Moroccan envoy refused to give it to him and asked to deliver it to the Queen by themselves. What is worth mentioning is that no further details were displayed by the traveler concerning that book. It is a mysterious book that the Moroccan envoy had to transfer to the Queen.

The British are appreciated for their order, organization, architecture, means of transportation, military forces, arithmetic, astrology, music, banking system, factories of glass and arms, the telegraph office, but they are not accepted for their religious difference. Thus, the othering happens only in terms of religion. Whenever, El Fassi feels threatened especially after witnessing several military parades, he starts praying for Muslims. He is afraid of their military forces which could destroy the weak Arab world/ Muslims. Moroccans, for instance, are not well equipped to face such European military powers. El Fassi was interested in reporting anything and everything about the military forces. He addressed their uniforms, colors used, arms hold, number of soldiers, types of soldiers, and how much they get paid, etc. The description of the military parades of the old and new army in addition to the arms factories and the materials used to fabricate guns demonstrate the interest of the Moroccan envoy in the military field. The artillery shooting training and arms museum are also places which bewildered the Moroccan traveler. They reveal that Britain is very powerful when it comes to the military domain.

Modernity, in Britain, is not only about achieving progress in terms of the military forces, technological devices, the use of machines and the development of new techniques in agriculture, but it is also about maintaining cultural and historical heritage. Plants, animals and music are also given their due in the British society. Modernity could be described as been a comprehensive and inclusive project which aims at development all the fields of life. It encompasses multiple areas and employs different tools and techniques. For instance, encouraging people to work hard and effectively seems to be among the reasons behind the progress that Britain has achieved. Paying the employers very well or rewarding them for perfecting their job motivates the British to work more and more. Thus, modernity is attained through the development of both human resources and raw materials. What is striking concerning the attitudes of El Fassi when it comes to any progress or development that he comes across is that he relates it to religion. He believes that what the British has reached in only temporary. What matters more for El Fassi is the religious side. He also inserts that their progress is reached thanks to God.

At the end, El Fassi talks about education and its importance in the British society. He notices that on their way back, there were many children studying in a boat. The boat was used as a place where students study, sleep and eat. The activity that students were practicing while El Fassi was passing by is reading. This is to foster the idea that reading is essential, and it is among the skills that are meant to be developed by British schools. Thus, it seems that having a low rate of illiteracy is among the criteria for a modern society. It is the reason behind having a very developed society in different fields.

The second travel narrative, which is covered in this dissertation- is *Ithaf al Akhiyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar* that is written by Jaadi in 1876. It belongs to the same historical period of time as the previous travel account. The nineteenth century which was known for the defeats of Morocco in Isly and Tetouan, pushed the Moroccan kings -Mohammed IV and Hassan I- who came after sultan Abd Rahman to start implementing reforms which were mainly suggested by Britain. It seemed that this was the only way out for Morocco to overcome its miserable situation. However, their implementation was not an easy task. This is due to several reasons. The first one is because Morocco was not ready for reforms. It was suffering from some inner problems that impeded their execution. Second, the Moroccans were divided into two; some were supporting the reforms and thought that they could help Morocco move forwards, whereas others opposed these reforms because they are proposed by Europeans. They believed that they are going to weaken Morocco more. Yet, reforms were not suggested only by the European powers, some intrinsic factors also urged the Moroccans to opt for reforms.

Moroccans became aware of the disorder taking place and started looking for urgent solutions. Reforms could be one of them. Thus, Hassan I was the real reformer and modernizer. He was the one who chose to reform many institutions and administrations. He was more likely interested in the military field and created a ministry of war. He also sent many envoys to European countries in order to learn about several fields. He intended to send them so as to bring as much information possible to be able to overcome the current Moroccan situation. He sent both ambassadorial missions and student missions to study and benefit from trainings

mainly about weapons and engineering. Hassan I even hired British, Spanish and French trainers to train Moroccan soldiers. Unfortunately, the trainings' cost was very expensive for Morocco. The king had to borrow money from Britain to afford the trainings. This led Morocco to the European dependence. This dependence weakened Morocco and facilitated the penetration of the European powers. This was the case for all the other reforms which were taking place. They were only serving the interests of the European countries.

In addition to the economic crisis which Morocco experienced and especially the monetary crisis, the country faced another disastrous problem which is the consular protection. This latter is about privileging the foreign citizens and depriving Moroccans of some rights. It is part of the interference of European powers in Morocco which aimed at undermining Morocco. What is striking about the protection is that even Moroccans- especially traders- were able to benefit from it. This is to escape from paying taxes. Reforms were then hard to achieve and implement because of the issue of the protection. Consequently, the Moroccan sultan felt the need to send an ambassadorial mission to Europe in order to try to solve this problem.

The Moroccan king Hassan I sent El Haj Mohamed El Zebidi el Rbati to four countries: France, Belgium, Britain, and Italy. He was accompanied by DrissJaadi, who is the writer of the following ambassadorial travel narrative: *Tuhfat al Akhiyar bi Gharaib al Akhbar*(1876). Jaadi belongs to the Makhzan. He is also considered as a scholar since he left many books about jurisprudence, literature, astronomy, timing, astrology, and a set of monitoring and measurement tools.

What is interesting about the travel is that the Moroccan ambassador visited all these European countries because their representatives sent an invitation to the Moroccan king in which they asked him to send an envoy to their countries. So, it is under their requests that the Moroccan envoy went to France, Belgium, Britain and Italy.

The religious profile of the traveler is shown from the opening of the travel narrative. The same conventional introduction is also used by Jaadi. He thanks God for granting Muslims Islam and shows his pride of belonging to this religion. Thus, the religious identity is clearly started from the outset. He also stresses the religiosity of

the whole members of the Moroccan envoy. He keeps giving examples which confirms their religious profile.

After visiting France, and Belgium, Jaadi arrives to Britain. Once in Britain, the aspects of the modern life for Jaadi started from the different means of transportation that Britain has got. He was amazed by the diversity and speed of these latter. For instance, was introduced to the railways for the first time in London. More than that, the modern military field in Britain seems to dominate the interest of Jaadi. He always pays a critical attention to anything that is related to this field. For example, the Moroccans were taken to the Royal Woolwich Arsenal which is a military base. This latter contains many factories for producing huge war's equipment and machines. He was surprised by the fact that in these military factories both men and women work together. There is no difference between the two sexes. They are treated equally.

Modernity in Britain is manifested in different fields. For instance, their infrastructure is very developed. They have a Bridge, and their streets are very clean and well organized. The architecture was also of interest to Jaadi. He was amazed by how different and well done it is. The architecture of the Crystal palace was impressive for the Moroccan traveler. Entertainment is another field which Britain focuses on. They provide their citizens with multiple spaces where they can go. Jaadi gave the example of the huge stadium where a weird – for Jaadi– sport was played. It is the rugby. He could not even name it because he is new for him. The Moroccan delegation was also taken to a theater. It is a place for entertainment but what attracted Jaadi's attention more is its architecture. The museum of Madame Tussaud is also among the places that Jaadi visited and enjoyed. He was again astonished by the fact that they were creating identical statues of well-known people using wax. Entertainment is very essential for the British. Jaadi was then taken to an amphitheater special for circus games. Surprisingly, three Moroccans were participating in the performances of the acrobat shows. Moroccans were active members in the entertainment field in Britain. More than that, tamed elephants and dogs also lured the attention of Jaadi. He could not believe what he saw. Moreover, Madame Tussaud is not the only Museum that the Moroccan delegation was taken to. The British museum is another interesting cultural and historical place for Jaadi. This latter includes

weapons and arms from Indian colonies. It shows the powerful military field of Britain. The cinematic progress that Britain was making is another part of the modern life in Britain.

In terms of agriculture, Jaadi was taken to an experimental artificial field, which is a huge room made of glass and full of plants. It is where many experiments take place. This is to better the quality of plants; the watering system is very developed. The place is also seen as an entertainment space for the British. They come to enjoy the beauty of the flowers and plants. The banking system is another field which demonstrates the modern aspect of life in Britain. It is an important institution in the British society. It was also important for the Moroccans because of the monetary problem that they were going through. Scuba diving is a completely new and weird field for Jaadi. He was astonished by the man who was diving underwater. This shows that modernity did not reach only the in-land fields, but they also attained the marine fields. Jaadi was introduced for the first time to the tools and techniques used in this domain. And he could not miss the opportunity to talk about this too.

The prison is another institution which Moroccan had to reconsider. Among the reforms suggested on the Moroccan king is taking care of prisons. This is because they were miserable. Matter of fact, the Moroccan delegation was taken to a British prison to set a model for the Moroccans. However, a contradiction could be clearly noticed when Jaadi talks about punishments in the British prisons. They deal with prisoners in almost the same way as they do in Morocco.

Finally, the ambassadorial mission was not clearly revealed in several instances. For example, when the Moroccan delegation met the minister of foreign affairs, the topic of their discussion was not unveiled. It was kept confidential. However, it was more likely about the protection problem.

The third travel narrative is entitled *Al Rihla al Tatwijiyya ila Assimat al Bilad al Injliziya (1902)* by El Ghassal. Until the early twentieth century, the problem of the protection was not solved yet. Hassan I opted for the internalization of the problem of the Protection so as to find solutions and solve the problem. Nevertheless, it even worsened it because it weakened the Moroccan society. The weakening of the Moroccan society was the outcome of the penetration and interference of the European

countries especially France, Britain and Spain. More than that, this interference was strengthened more by imposing reforms. These reforms were part of the second part which started in 1880 and lasted till 1904. However, the reforms were not successful. This is especially with the departure of Drummond Hay. Unfortunately, his departure ended up with a failure because Hay could not renew an important treaty- 1856 Treaty. Thus, the Moroccan-British relationship was slightly affected, especially with the arrival of a new consul general. This later could not keep the same smoothness between the two countries. More than that, the historical era implied on Britain the fact of conceding to France the opportunity to intervene more in the Moroccan society. Furthermore, the fact that Morocco was suffering from some internal problems worsened its situation.

The traveler, who is Al Hassan Ben Mohammed El Ghassal, used to occupy a highest political rank. Just like the other previous travelers, El Ghassal belongs to the Makhzan as well. He used to have a substantial experience in diplomacy. His political and diplomatic profile is a very rich one. He had some very important positions within the Makhzan. Thus, his choice was not done randomly. He meets all the criteria that are looked for in a writer of an ambassadorial travel account.

The reason behind sending El Ghassal, under the demand of the sultan al Mawla Abd El Aziz- to Britain, is to participate and witness the coronation of the English king Edward VI. Once in Britain, and in one of the boats that the Moroccan embassy was riding, El Ghassal noticed that they were not the only delegation invited for this occasion. Many other communities were called to participate in this event. This is because it is a momentous ceremony for Britain.

According to El Ghassal, London, which is a big city, is divided into two different neighborhoods. The Moroccans were hosted in a prestigious neighborhood. This is to show that they occupy an important status even though they were going through a miserable situation. This is due to the good relationship that both Britain and Moroccan were trying to maintain even though the historical circumstances changed. El Ghassal then moves on to talk about the infrastructure of London and the various means of transportation used in the city. The infrastructure and architecture used in the bridges in London bewildered the Moroccan traveler. They were considered as the

weirdest thing that El Ghassal saw. This is because these bridges stand on top of some gigantic rivers which are used by boats. London is also a city known for trade. El Ghassal describes how its streets are full of stores that promote several commercial activities. It also contains different institutions among which the bank. As previously mentioned, the bank is part of the aspects of modernity in Europe in general and in Britain in particular.

Having police officers in the streets is part of the strategies that Britain uses to ensure the security of the city and its citizens. In London, order is maintained in everything. For instance, El Ghassal gives the example of the cars and vehicles which circulate in the city. They all have a number which differentiates between one and another. London has got a variety of means of transportation. El Ghassal mentions four. Carts which use horses, cars which use gas, trains which use electricity, and tramways which use other types of wires. Thus, the Moroccan traveler was astonished by the different means of transportation that the British could use. This is part of the progress that they have reached. Another detail concerning the means of transportation was regarding trains. The Moroccan traveler was surprised by the order maintained by the huge number of trains that the city has. They are well organized to the point that they never crash. This organization could not be achieved haphazardly. It seems that a whole engineering system was behind this progress.

The lift is another weird innovation which attracted the attention of El Ghassal. Given the architecture of the houses that the British have, they use the lift because they have many floors in their buildings. More than that, trade in Britain is not only about selling goods, but it is also about providing the customers with services. Thus, the delivery service is among the strange and interesting services that El Ghassal mentions in his account.

When it comes to the military field, which is the most interesting field in all the Moroccan travel narratives, El Ghassal starts by talking about the soldiers of the king's palace. They are the ones responsible for the king's security and his palace. This is important for the Moroccan king because of the interior conflicts that he was suffering from. Matter of fact, he might duplicate the same security system as the British one. The military barrack is the second military space that the Moroccan envoy visited. El

Ghassal describes the military machines that it contains, the soldiers and their uniforms.

The zoo is among the places that El Ghassal visited and admired. He was impressed by the different animals installed in that place. He also appreciated the fact that they were treated differently depending on their species. They are also diversified since there are some species which are brought from other various countries. This is part of the cultural and entertaining field that the British try to develop. The king's stable is another place where animals are well treated. They are organized under different categories because they have different races and colors. As far as entertainment is concerned, El Ghassal narrates his visit to the Madame Tussaud's museum. It is a very extraordinary cultural space for the Moroccans. They never visited such a museum before. Having waxed statues of well-known personalities is new for the Moroccan delegation. This shows that the British society does only foster only the military field, for instance, but the entertainment industry is also given its due. Another entertainment space described by El Ghassal in his account is the circus or what he refers to as a theater. This place is devoted to performances and shows which foster the artistic field. The military port, the exhibition of the colonial army, the Indian Army Exhibition of the Cavalries and soldiers and a canon factory are among the places visited by the Moroccan delegation in order to discover more about the progress made by the British in terms of the military field.

Among the institutions which attracted the attention of the Moroccan traveler is the ministry of colonies. It is a weird institution for El Ghassal. But since the early twenties was known for colonialism and European expansion, it seemed very natural to have such an institution. It is a ministry which legitimizes the acts of the colonizer.

Governance and the political system are another developed field in Britain. The British have a parliament where the citizens' issues are discussed, and their problems are solved. A detailed description of the architecture and history of the parliament is provided. El Ghassal also gives a minute description of how the representatives and dignitaries run the parliament and make negotiations. This might be helpful to the Moroccan king because it could be taken as an example in terms of governance. It is an institution which serves the citizens and helps the political leaders maintain order

within the society. Finally, El Ghassal is a moderate traveler. He did not reject the British modernity because he was fascinated by the progress that they have made. His representation shows the fact that he is supporting the renewal of all the fields dealt with in his account. He was extremely bewildered by what Britain has achieved in terms of its modern aspects of life. However, the religious profile of the profile kept appearing from time to time in his narrative.

The last and fourth travel narrative is *Al Rihla al Urupia* written by Mohammed Hassan El Hajoui in 1919. El Hajoui narrates his journey to two different destinations. He went to France and then to Britain. The reason behind his visit to France is participating in the French National Day. This day occurred simultaneously with the celebration of their victory in the First World War. On the other hand, El Hajoui visited Britain for some personal reasons. He wanted to pay a visit to some of his father's friends, to discover the country as a whole and to look at some commercial issues.

Unlike the previous Moroccan travelers, El Hajoui seems to be very open to the western modernization. Though he was a religious person, his writings and orientations show that he was in favor of extreme idealization of Europe he was supporting the call for a complete Westernization. He was even accused of promoting and reinforcing the French colonialism.

The maritime field is the first field which attracted the attention of El Hajoui. Their ports and boats show their development in this field. They were well equipped with machines that are the outcome of the progress they accomplished. The infrastructure is another interesting field for El Hajoui. For instance, he was impressed by the clean streets of the city. More than that, when the Moroccan traveler rode a train, he was surprised by the fact that only women are sitting in their seats, whereas almost all men were standing out of respect to women; these latter are prioritized. This is among the differences that El Hajoui realized when comparing between the British and French societies. They have different cultural aspects in this regard.

Agriculture is dealt with by El Hajoui but very briefly. He mentions that their lands are mainly used as grazing lands. Then, the traveler starts describing their sheep

and indirectly comparing between the Moroccan and British ones. They seem to have huge differences.

In London, El Hajoui was astonished by the modernity that Britain achieved in several domains. The Moroccan traveler inserts that it is better than France in the sense that London is a very vital city when it comes to its population (almost seven million), geographical space (“London is among the biggest cities in the world [...] It is “five times Paris.”), economic and commercial flows (“the products exported and imported could not be counted. El Hajoui was also stupified by the order and organization maintained in the streets of London. Order is maintained in different fields. For instance, driving in London is administered by policemen who control the circulation of cars.

Finally, even though El Hajoui seems to have a religious background, he did not call for a complete rejection of the European modernity. In some cases, El Hajoui tries to explain the modern aspect of Britain by using religious explanations, yet, his attitudes towards Britain is very secularist. He was fascinated and blurred away with Europe to the point that he was idealizing it. Thus, he could be considered as a Muslim secularist. He advocates the use of the modern aspects in the Moroccan context to ensure the development of the Moroccan society.

To compare and contrast the four travel narratives, I can state that the travel narratives have many features in common. They are only very few differences. These differences are mainly concerned with the mission for which the Moroccan embassy is sent for. The historical period of time and consequently the historical events also differ. Other than that, they all start in the same way (in pilgrimage accounts, travelers begin with the invocations of God, then they mention the stages of the journey, the dangers passed and the achievements of distant goals; to my surprise this ambassadorial travel narrative also follows the same pattern) they do not focus on the ambassadorial mission. It is most of the time kept confidential. They follow the same path: An introduction, the departure which is about the spatial movement of the Moroccan delegation, the arrival and which consists of being welcomed by the British then hosted in a hotel. The journey begins right after taking some rest from their journey in the sea. The cultural encounter is then dealt with in the second stage of the

travel. It is in this part where the Moroccan travelers try to represent Britain and its aspects of modernity. After achieving the ambassadorial mission, the travelers take their ways back and describe their return to their home country. They dealt with the same fields. They covered almost the same aspects of the modern life in Britain like the infrastructure, architecture, agriculture, the military field, entertainment, the banking system, trade, etc.

More than that, if the prevalent character of European writing is stereotypical images about the different Other, the Moroccan travelers seemed to have presented positive images of Europe. Even though the European travelers are known for drawing black scenes and portraits about Morocco and Moroccans, criticizing and distorting the profile of the Islamic civilization, and producing imaginary ideas about the Orient in general, Moroccans did not follow the same discursive path. They opted for a rather neutral counter discourse which aims at balancing the power relations.

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