The Rise of Modern Urbanity (tamaddun) in the Arab World
Education, Journalism, and Enlightenment

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Abstract

It has been commonplace among Arab scholars to look at the relationship with the West, since Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt, as being a continuous struggle against Western hegemony and colonial interests. This dominating trend has obliterated the fact that in the nineteenth century many Arab intellectuals, as well as the majority of the general public, embraced the West with open arms despite the colonial agenda. In their enthusiastic engagement with the new ideas of the French Revolution and the European Enlightenment, Western hegemony and colonial interests were issues of minor concern. The Arab community’s relentless drive for scientific advancement and new forms of urban living overshadowed all else in their proactive interactions with the West.

Starting from this positive view of the engagement with the West, this study focuses on the emergence of the so-called “new urbanity” (al-tamaddun al-jadīd) in the Arab world. It aims to show how this tamaddun, which was seen as a universal, cross-cultural and inter-civilizational trend, was driven by new modes of education (the schools and universities), and promoted by new forms of mass media (the journals and newspapers). Education and journalism, the study argues, present the clearest evidence of the uninhibited, positive, and constructive interactions with Europe, clearly demonstrating how Arab intellectuals and the wider public wholeheartedly adopted and promoted Western thinking and modes of living.

The concept of al-tamaddun al-jadīd had a wide scope. It encompassed both the material and cultural aspects of new urban living, including everything from the design of a spoon to the design of a city. This study focuses on “architecture” that was conceived as an integral part of the new science of engineering, which dramatically changed the face of the traditional city and had a significant impact on modern ways of life. It attempts to trace the emergence of the modern schools of architecture through the establishment of Muhandis Khāna. It shows how – under the banner of al-tamaddun al-jadīd – the institutionalisation of professional architectural education undermined traditional crafts, changed the social status of the architect, brought about new building practices, and introduced new architectural and urban forms. The study shows how the intellectual and scientific dynamism of the West found its way into the Arab world, how the Arabs strove so eagerly to catch up with
the developments in modern science and technology, how Arab women contributed to the development of a new sense of *tamaddun*, and how embracing all aspects of modern urbanity resulted in one of the most promising episodes in modern Arab history.
## Table of Contents

Abstract
Table of Contents
Thesis Declaration
Acknowledgements
Illustrations
Note to the Reader

**Introduction: Aims and Method**
1. Background: The Need for Change 13
2. Aims and Significance 16
3. Method and Sources 17
4. Literature Review 20
5. Limitations and Contributions 25
6. Thesis Layout 25

**Chapter 1  New Urbanity (al-Tamaddun al-Jadīd)**
1. The Concept of New Urbanity 30
2. The Urban Conditions Prior to New Urbanity 32
3. *Al-Manāfiʻ* and *al-Tanẓīmā*: Models for New Urbanity 36
4. Muhammad ‘Abduh: Islam and Tamaddun 41
5. New Urbanity: Religion vs Secularism 47

**Chapter 2  Muhandis Khāna: Institutionalising Professional Education**
1. A New Educational Model 54
2. Muhandis Khāna: Professional Training of Engineers and Architects 64
3. Traditional and Modern Arts and Science 70
4. The Crisis of Modern Terminologies 74
5. Learned Societies and New Urbanity 82
Chapter 3  Journalism: A New Mode of Communication

1. Modern Printing and the Rise of Arab Journalism 89
2. Arabic Newspapers, Journals, and Periodicals 95
3. Women, Journalism, and New Urbanity 100
4. Enlightened Men, Liberated Women 105

Conclusion 112

Appendencies

1. A list of nineteenth-century Arabic journals and newspapers 114
2. A list of nineteenth-century books translated by Arab intellectuals in the fields of general engineering, architecture, and mechanics 138

Bibliography 144
THESIS DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and, where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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Last but not least, I would like to express my fondest gratitude to my family and friends for believing in me and knowing I could succeed in this endeavour.
NOTE TO THE READER

1- If the name of an Arabic author appears in a particular form in an English publication, then that form is used. Otherwise, all the Arabic names have been presented with diacritics in order to be consistent throughout the presentation.

2- All dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar unless otherwise stated; and if a date according to the Islamic calendar (hijrī) is given, the Gregorian equivalent is also provided.

3- All translations from original Arabic sources are mine unless otherwise stated, in which cases references are given in footnotes.
ILLUSTRATIONS

Introduction

Figure 0.1. Images of the front pages of *al-Hilāl* journal (*majalla*) and *al-Muqtaṭaf* newspaper (*jarīda*), which were two of the most esteemed Arabic periodicals in the nineteenth century. (Source: American Library, 2014, front cover).

Figure 0.2. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, well-to-do Egyptian, Lebanese and Syrian women would often have their studio portraits taken in the latest western fashions in Europe. From Left: Faṭima Aḥmad, Cairo 1905; Sannā Mardam Bey and Karīma Rashīd Bāshā, Syria 1910; A member of the Sursock family, Paris 1880; Nada Humsī, at Juan les Pins, France 1932. (Source: http://the-polyglot.blogspot.com.au/2010/12/cross-cultural-dressing-history-lesson.html).

Figure 0.3. Sultan Abdulaziz’s visit to Napoleon III in the Elysée Palace, Paris, 1867 (Source: Çelik, 1992, 34).

Chapter 1

Figure 1.1. Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt. (Source: Hathaway, 2009, 176).

Figure 1.2. The Cafe de la Paix and the Boulevard des Capucines, Paris in the 1880s. (Source: http://www.Pinterest.com/Dancingshapes/paris-19th-century/).

Figure 1.3. Al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873), who had accompanied an educational mission to France, soon starred when he re-joined al-Azhar University in 1817. He supported Muḥammad ʻAlī in his reforms in education. (Source: Najjār, 1966, front cover).

Figure 1.4. Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī (1820-1890) an Ottoman politician, who was born to a Circassian family. (Source: al-Tūnisī, 2012, front cover).

Figure 1.5. Al-Sheikh Muḥammad ʻAbduh (1849-1905). (Source: ʻImāra, 1993, 288).

Figure 1.6. Newspaper, *al-ʻUrwa al-Wuthqā* issue 4, April 1884. (Source: American Library, 2014, front cover).

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1. Interior of a traditional School in Cairo painted by John Frederick. (Source: Weeks, 2014, 47).

Figure 2.2. The main courtyard in Al-Azhar mosque, where the students congregate, highlighting the mosque’s educational function. (Source: Abou seif, 1993, 37).

Figure 2.3. The main courtyard of al-Azhar mosque, students at al-Azhar was learning in what was called *ḥalqa*, which means, students around a professor. There were many of *halqas* in mosque. (Source: http://www.ottomanarchives.info).
Figure 2.4. This manuscript is certificate *ijāza* granted to the Ottoman calligrapher Muḥammad Ḥilmī Afandī in 1219 AH / 1804-5 CE by four master calligraphers: Yāzījī-zāda, Ismāʿīl al-Zuhdī Kātib al-Sarāy al-Sulṭānī, Muḥammad Ḥasīb, and ‘Alī al-Waṣfī. (Source: http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W674/description.html).

Figure 2.5. The first meeting of the Institute of Egypt, in the former house of Ḥasan Kāchif in Cairo. (Source: Russell, 2013, 34).

Figure 2.6. Muḥammad ‘Alī ruled Egypt in 1805 to 1849. (Source: al-Dīhī, 2009, 11).

Figure 2.7. Egyptian ‘Alī Mubārak (1923-1983), was an education minister during the second half of the nineteenth century. He is considered one of the most important reformers of Egypt in the nineteenth century. (Source: Durrī, 1894, front cover).

Figure 2.8. The Entrance to the Citadel of Cairo, Egypt, was painted by Scottish artist and painter David Roberts (1796-1864). The Citadel used by Muḥammad ‘Alī as a place to establish school of engendering *Muhandis Khāna* in 1816. It is now a preserved historic site, with mosques and museums. (Source: http://www.mobilytrip.com/guide/egypt/cairo/cairo-citadel, 530024/).

Figure 2.9. Muḥammad Afandī ‘Ārif’s four-part architectural book *Khulāṣat al-Afkār fī Fann al-Mī’mār* (*The Summary of Thoughts on the Architect’s Art*). (Source: ‘Ārif, 1887, front cover).

Figure 2.10. The École des Beaux-Arts is one of a number of influential art schools in France. It is now located on the left bank, across the Seine from the Louvre, in Paris. (Source: Broadbent, 1995, 23).

Figure 2.11. The famous architect Sinan (1489-1588) painted on the tomb of Sultan Suleiman I. (Source: Kemal, 2000, 450).

Figure 2.12. The French physician, scholar Antoine Clot-Bey (1793-1868) founder of modern medicine in Egypt. (Source: al-Shayyāl, 1951, 17).

Figure 2.13. The first French-Arabic dictionary was compiled by an Egyptian Copt named Ellious Bocthor in 1828. (Source: Bocthor, 1828, front cover).

Figure 2.14. This is part of the book *History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth*, which was translated into Arabic by Arabic scholar Khalīfa Ibn Maḥmūd. The title of the book in Arabic is *Itḥāf al-Mulūk al-Alībā’ bi-Taqaddum al-Jamʿiyāt fī Ūrūbbā* (Source: al-Shayyāl, 1951, 221).

Figure 2.15. *Dā’irat al-Maʿārif* (Encyclopaedia) and the author Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Source: al-Bustānī, 1883, front cover).

Figure 2.16. The American Doctor Cornelius Van Dyck (1818-1895). (Source: Bārūdī, 1900, introduction).
Chapter 3

Figure 3.1. Canon of Medicine by Avicenna (Ibn Sina) published in Rome, 1593. (Source: Library of the American University in Beirut, 2014, front cover).

Figure 3.2. Book of Psalms by Aleppo printing press in 1706. (Source: Qaddūra, 2010, 337).

Figure 3.3. Celestial spheres from Katib Çelebi’s book Jihannuma, published by Müteferrika Press. (Source: Çelebi, 1732, 27).

Figure 3.4. Ahmed III (1673-1736), the sultan of the Tulip Period by the painter Levni. (Source: Levni, Topkapi Palace Museum in Istanbul, 2015).

Figure 3.5. A compass. Müteferrika’s edition of Tuhfat al-Kibār. (Source: Çelebi, 1729, 71).

Figure 3.6. World map. Müteferrika’s edition of Tuhfat al-Kibār (Source: Çelebi, 1729, 24).

Figure 3.7. The first Italian-Arabic dictionary was compiled by a Syrian priest named Fr. Raphael and published in Cairo, at 1822. (Source: Raḍwān, 1953, 284).

Figure 3.8. A Description d el’Egypte (Description of Egypt) was a series of publications, which offered a comprehensive scientific description of ancient and modern Egypt. (Source: Paris, Description d el’Egypte, 1809, front cover).

Figure 3.9. Extract from the journal al-Waqā‘i‘ al- Masriyya published by Būlāq Press (Source: Raḍwān, 1953, 310).

Figure 3.10. In 1860, Fāris al-Shidyāq established al-Jawā‘ib newspaper. Al-Jawā‘ib became one of the most successful newspapers of the time. (Source: al-Shidyāq, 1882, 1147).

Figure 3.11. Al-Fatāṭ is the first journal established by women in the Arab world. (Source: Nawfal, 1892, front cover).
Introduction

Aims and Method
Introduction: Aims and Method

Background: The Need for Change

In the early nineteenth century, Ḥasan al-ʻAṭṭār (1766-1835), one of the eminent sheikhs at al-Azhar, “who adores hearing about wondrous news and reading about strange traditions,”1 pointed to the need of the Arabic countries for a change: “we have to change the conditions of our countries and gain new knowledge.”2 His contemporary scholar and intellectual, Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804-1887), also noted the necessity of change in the Arab world:

I feel so sad of the lack of Western urbanization in the Islamic countries... especially when I think about the achievements the West has in all kinds of knowledge, mastering the crafts in all fields and disseminating the interests and the benefits, so the Arab countries need to change by following that Western progress.3

The famous Egyptian Historian, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (1753-1825), who came from a traditional family and witnessed the French occupation of Egypt,4 seemed fascinated with the new Western ideas and accepted the change they introduced. He wrote: “The painter Rigo [1770 -1815] depicted humans so life-like that the body almost looked alive. He even painted sheikhs, each one individually in a circle, and drew other dignitaries.”5 He also described, without embarrassment, the image of the Prophet Muḥammad as was shown in European books.6 He appreciated the work of the artists, showing that what was forbidden in Islamic thinking had gradually become familiar within the Arab community. Al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873) was another Egyptian intellectual who realized the indispensability of changing the conditions of

6 Ibid, 3: 57.
his country. In his view, these changes should start in the public realm, or what he called *al-manāfi’ al-ʻumūmiyya*, which meant that everyone, the public, the scientists, and the governors have to work in the public interest in order to change the community. ⁷ For many Arab intellectuals the need for change became an urgent necessity. The Arab thinkers had mixed emotions regarding change, oscillating between fascination and admiration of Western progress and concerns of its impact. Arab liberal thinkers were fully aware of the need for change, and showed serious desire to change their societies and catch up with Western developments.

Arab intellectuals wanted to bring about change, so they accepted European development in all aspects of life, especially in education and journalism. Historian Timothy Mitchell mentioned that the drivers of change were keen on creating a new educational system similar to those of Europe. These changes started by establishing modern schools in the major capitals of the Arab world, which helped to create a new generation who later led the society to achieve progress. The rulers in Cairo and Damascus received help from the West to modernize their countries, and Western experts helped them manage the new systems aimed at catching up with Western progress. ⁸ This modernization included, among many things, the introduction of the printing press and the publication of newspapers and periodicals, (Fig. 0.1), which presented the news about these aspects of new life to the wider community.

![Figure 0.1](image)

**Figure 0.1.** Images of the front pages of *al-Hilāl* journal (*majalla*) and *al-Muqtaṭaf* newspaper (*jarīda*), which were two of the most esteemed Arabic periodicals in the nineteenth century. (Source: American Library, 2014, front cover).

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Education and journalism were the instruments that directed the changes towards the ideals of the new modern life style in the nineteenth century. That change was reflected in adopting Western dress, food and social practices, as well as Western architectural style in houses, palaces, and public buildings. Even mosques became westernised in their forms and construction. The increasing exposure to the complex elements of modern urbanity also resulted in a great demand for new concepts and terminologies, and thus a range of new intellectual tools emerged and changed the features and orientations of traditional Arab thinking. Information and instructions were to become something useful to change many aspects of life.

The visual impact of the West became pervasive, in paintings and photographs, impacting on identity and beliefs. Images and statues, which were forbidden in Islamic culture, had become common in the palaces, publications, money and postage stamps. Change even extended to the army’s uniform and then spread to common people, prompting almost everyone to change their dress. (Fig. 0.2) When people change their clothing style and adopt the style of dress of another community, it becomes clear that they have embraced another culture.

Figure 0.2. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, well-to-do Egyptian, Lebanese and Syrian women would often have their studio portraits taken in the latest western fashions in Europe. From Left: Faṭima ʿAḥmad, Cairo 1905; Samīlīa Mardam Bey and Karīma Rashīd Bashā, Syria 1910; A member of the Sursock family, Paris 1880; Nada Ḥumsī, at Juan les Pins, France 1932. (Source: http://the-polyglot.blogspot.com.au/2010/12/cross-cultural-dressing-history-lesson.html).

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9 Ibid, 63.
10 Ibid, 69.
Aims and Significance
The main aim of this study is to examine, in a new light, the emergence of the concept and discourse of *al-tamaddun al-jadīd*, “new urbanity,” in the Arab world as result of new modes of interactions with Europe during the nineteenth century. The intent is to show how this concept provided a unique space where positive interactions with the new ideas of the European Enlightenment took place. In this space the Arabic world was able to reform its educational systems, establish a large number of journals and newspapers, and adopt the modern approaches to the sciences and the arts. The study argues that educational reform and journalism were the most powerful instruments of change in the drive towards new urbanity or *al-tamaddun al-jadīd*.

The significance of the study lies in the new theoretical framework within which the modern reform movements will be discussed. It has been commonplace among Arab scholars to look at the relationship between the Arab world and the West, since Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt, as being a continuous struggle with Western hegemony and colonial interests. (Fig. 0.3) In his most influential book, *Orientalism*, Edward Said provided the foundations and theoretical tools for this prevalent mode of thinking. It has also been common among Western scholars to portray the Arab world as being confronted by the “challenges” Western modernity has posed and continues to pose for the Islamic tradition.

Figure 0.3. Sultan Abdulaziz’s visit to Napoleon III in the Elysée Palace, Paris, 1867 (Source: Çelik, 1992, 34).

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It is not the intent of this study to discuss or discredit this perspective, as there is great value in this body of scholarship. However, I contend that this dominating trend has obfuscated the fact that in the nineteenth century many Arab intellectuals, as well as the majority of the general public, embraced the West—despite its colonial agenda—with open arms. The Arab community’s relentless drive for scientific advancement and new forms of urban living eclipsed all else in their active interactions with the West.

One of the aims of this study is to shift the focus from the negative aspects of this interaction to the positive ones. Starting from this positive view, this study focuses on the emergence of the so-called “new urbanity” (al-tamaddun al-Jadīd), as an outcome of the Arab-European interactions. Inspired by the European Enlightenment, modern urbanity first emerged through a new model of education followed by the Arab popular press, which led in turn to wholesale changes in traditional Arab societies in general, and gender relations in particular.

Method and Sources

The study follows a conventional approach to historical research that is based on a critical examination and analysis of textual and visual material. The approach is defined by a positive outlook towards the Arabic people’s encounter with the West, which can be found in several books written and published during the nineteenth century. This study analyses the concept of tamaddun and how it was reflected in the transformation of Arabic cities. These changes resulted in an overall modern outlook shaped primarily by a new model of education, a new mode of communication (namely journalism), and finally with the participation of women in the public sphere.

To understand the progressive reforms of education which began to take shape during the early nineteenth century, the chronicles of historian ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabarī were used. Al-Jabarī’s chronicles describe the activities of the French campaign and provide evidence of their advancement and civility.\(^\text{13}\)

Whenever he witnessed their advanced technology (especially when he visited their scientific institutions) his writing expressed how impressed he was. He also described the positive reforms that occurred after the French campaign. He chronicled the reforms of the educational system and the development of the first school of engineering and architecture, *Muhandis Khāna*. A number of travel accounts written by nineteenth century Arab scholars who travelled to Western countries were also used. Scholars such as Rifā‘a al-Ṭaḥtāwī, Khayr al-Dīn Tūnisī, and Muḥammad ‘Abduh described the new urbanity by highlighting the latest inventions, scientific discoveries, and progressive aspects of Western society. Their writings evangelised these modern developments, suggesting ways in which they could be applied in the Arab world.

To understand the inception phase of Arabic journalism, this study relies on the first generation of Arab intellectuals who lived through the nineteenth century and wrote about what they had seen first-hand in the Arabic newspapers. Al-Fīkunt Fīlīb Dī Tarrāzh compiled four volumes listing all the known journals, newspapers, and periodicals that were published during the nineteenth century. This work was undertaken in 1889 and published in 1913, and is the most complete source of this particular information because it was produced so near the historical period it covers. Also, newspapers and magazines (or facsimiles thereof) were used in this study to see how this new media contributed to the introduction of *tamaddun* to the general public. Newspaper and magazine articles written by Arabic intellectuals described the popular practices of people in Western cities, such as Paris, London, and Malta. These articles played a crucial role in spreading this information and making *tamaddun* familiar among the general population. Journalism became an ideal vocation for educated women to pursue, and it became a strong vehicle for informed expression and public influence.

Studying the Arabic journalism of the nineteenth century led to the discovery of some prominent female journalists. The writings of these women led to a wider and deeper understanding of the women’s liberation movement at that time. Contemporary scholars often ignore the books and articles written by women during the nineteenth century. This study shows how the writings of these women reveal

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that they played an important role in empowering other women to contribute more to their communities. Some of these women wrote and published their books independently; others worked alongside men in newspapers. The more ambitious women expanded their sphere of influence abroad; representing their countries at international conferences, and establishing literary societies and salons such as ‘Ā’isha Taymūr, Hind Nawfal and Mayy Ziyāda.\(^\text{14}\)

The abovementioned sources are complemented by a set of secondary sources written by historians in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. These historians based their information on some of the primary and secondary sources used in this study. The secondary sources written by historians, such as Ibrahim Abu-Lughod and Albert Hourani, provide ample information about nineteenth century Arabic scholars, such as Rifā‘a al-Ṭahṭāwī, Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī, and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq.\(^\text{15}\) These sources shed some light on tamaddun in general and the shift from a traditional to modern educational system in particular. Several other secondary sources were used specifically to further understand the shift from traditional to modern education.\(^\text{16}\) This thesis focuses on other secondary sources, such as Ibrāhīm ‘Abduh and Ami Ayalon to help complete the account of the newspapers and magazine that emerged in the nineteenth century.\(^\text{17}\) A few studies that discuss the role of the women who established newspapers, periodicals, and published books during the nineteenth century have recently been published by Hoda El-Sadda, Samar Karāmī and Hind Abū al-Sha’t.\(^\text{18}\) These studies show how female writers brought women’s attention to the necessity of tamaddun, the importance of having a good education, and being active members of their community. This thesis uses these studies to form a complete picture of the role of intellectual women writers, and how they contributed to the new urbanity in the nineteenth century.


\(^{16}\) There is an important resource The Rise of Colleges by George Makdisi. This book contains information about the traditional form of education. It writes about the history of Islamic education, and describes Islamic schools and the lessons which focused on the memorization of Qur’anic verses.


Literature Review

Primary Sources

This study relies on primary sources from the nineteenth century which are divided into three categories. The first category is conventional traditional literature written by Arab intellectuals. The second category is theoretical studies written by the Arab intellectuals who dealt directly with the notion of tamaddun. The third category consists of newspapers, magazines and periodicals of the nineteenth century, which promoted tamaddun and facilitated the emergence of readers in the community, who were interested in this new concept.

Regarding the first category, this study examines conventional literature written by scholars of the nineteenth century. Al-Jabartī witnessed the Arab interaction with Europe at that time. In his book ‘Ajāʾib al-Āthār he described the various aspects of tamaddun, after his interaction with scientists of the French campaign. Al-Jabartī’s book is important to this thesis because it sheds light upon the transformations that happened at that time, especially educational reform, the first school of engineering, and women’s liberation. He gave a first-hand account, from a Muslim’s perspective, of the various power struggles prior to and during Muḥammad Alī’s governorship, and the early years of Muḥammad Alī’s reign. A different view-point is gained from the book Ḥamlat Būnābart ilā al-Sharq by Niqūlā al-Turk, who provides a Christian perspective on the Arab-European interaction at that time. These chronicles are a vast source of information about Arabic society. They give details about the roles of the Muslim scholar-officials and their interaction with the political authorities; the activities of merchants, shopkeepers, peasants, and tribespeople; the status of women and non-Muslims; and popular reaction to warfare, plagues, natural disasters, food shortages, and price increases. Both writers tried to be impartial when they wrote their chronicles, but sometimes their own personal biases crept into their reports. A careful analysis of these chronicles reveals two things they had in common: a generally positive attitude towards Western science and technology, and an enthusiasm towards changes introduced by adopting Western ideas. Also, in the first category, al-Khiṭṭat al-Tawfīqiyya (20 volumes) by ‘Alī Mubārak was used when researching education and urban development in the nineteenth-century Arab world. In his 20 volume epic,

19 See Niqūlā al-Turk, Ḥamlat Būnābart ilā al-Sharq (Lebanon: Jarrūs Bris, 1993).
Mubārak covers extensive ground. After living in France for three years in the mid-nineteenth century, he returned to Egypt with nothing but praise for the Western educational system. Mubārak is an important source for this study for three main reasons: he was a student who studied the new curriculum at the first School of engineering and architecture; he became the first Minister of Education; and, as an engineer, he introduced European designs into the urban planning of Arabic cities.

Regarding the second category, this study examines the evolution of the concept of *tamaddun* as described by Rifā‘a al-Ṭahṭāwī in his books *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz*, *Manāḥij al-Albāb* and *al-Murshid al-Amīn*. Al-Ṭahṭāwī’s significance lies in the fact he was the first Arabic sheikh from al-Azhar to write about the cultural life of Paris. He discussed the concept of *tamaddun* which became the cornerstone of modern Arab liberal thinking.20 Al-Ṭahṭāwī’s books presented his observations of the manners and customs of the modern French, and praised the concept of new urbanity. Al-Ṭahṭāwī is an important source for this study because he is among the first scholars to introduce the concept of *tamaddun* into the Arab world; he recognised the two dimensions of *tamaddun* (cultural and material); and he introduced a way by which *tamaddun* could be achieved, namely *al-manāfī‘al-‘umūmiyya* (public benefits).

A contemporary of al-Ṭahṭāwī was Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī. He viewed *tamaddun* through political eyes and added a systemic structure to its organisation, which he called *al-tanzīmāt al-dunyawiyya* (management of worldly affairs). Al-Tūnisī was a politician who had a sophisticated upbringing and was therefore not easily impressed by modern ideas. By contrast, al-Ṭahṭāwī was an Azhar sheik that came from a poor family and had traditional religious sensibilities. Comparing these two writers highlights the difference between the political and religious attitudes towards the emerging *tamaddun*. The theoretical writings of scholar and religious reformer Muḥammad ‘Abduh helped this study to look at the relation between Arabs and West in a positive light. Most scholars examine his books from a religious perspective; however, much useful information can be gained by examining the educational, scientific, cultural, and political aspects of his writings. His thoughts about women’s issues are also enlightening. ‘Abduh’s books are important because he held great influence as a Mufti and a reformer during the nineteenth century. He

endeavoured to find a way to guide Islamic communities in their engagements with the challenges of *tamaddun*. Faraḥ Anṭūn’s book *Falsafat Ibn Rushd* provides a counterbalance to ‘Abduh’s thoughts. Anṭūn described the secular aspects of new urbanity, and explained the reasons why some modern reformers argued for a separation of state and religion. In addition, there are many Arab scholars who enriched this study by their writings, such as ʿAlḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq, Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Shiblī Shumayyil, Yaʾqūb Ṣarrūf, Jirjī Zaydān and others. They expanded the scope of the concept of *tamaddun* and provided a clear view of how the Arabs perceived the West.

Regarding the third category, this study examines the emergence of Arab journalism as an outcome of the Arab-European interactions, and its promotion of Western thinking and new urbanity in the Arab world. This study examines articles about *tamaddun*, such as “al-Jarāʾid al-ʿArabiyya fī al-ʿAlam,” “Ikhṭilāf al-Qawānīn bi-Ikhtilāf Āḥwāl al-Umām,” and “Uslūbnā fī al-Taʾrīb,” which published in newspapers and periodicals of the nineteenth century, such as *Rawḍat al-Madāris* (1870), *al-Jīnān* (1870), *al-Jawāʾib* (1881), and *al-Muqtaṭaf* (1876) and *al-Hilāl* (1892). It analyses how Eastern intellectuals had to clarify, invent, or formulate their own Eastern identity, by changing the main debate from old urbanity to new urbanity. These newspapers and magazines helped this study to examine the relationship between the emergence of journalism and the growth of *tamaddun*.

This study focuses specifically on the numerous articles that reported on the developments occurring in the West, which influenced the shape and direction of *tamaddun* in the East. There were articles about new schools being established by Western missionaries; articles describing the technological, artistic and architectural developments that were displayed at international exhibitions and expositions; articles announcing new scientific discoveries; and articles which encouraged women to engage in their community and to contribute their ideas and opinions to journals. All these sources are used to set up a new framework within which an image of a constructive encounter between Arabs and Europeans is portrayed.

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21 For more on this point, see Faraḥ Anṭūn, *Ibn Rushd wa Falsafatuh maʿa Niṣūs al-Munāẓara bayna Muḥammad ʿAbduh wa Faraḥ Anṭūn* (Beirute: Dār al-Fārābī, 1988).
22 For more on this point, see Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, Chapter 4, 7.
23 See “Appendix A” for a list of Arabic journals published all over the world in the nineteenth century.
Secondary Sources

This study is based on works by two well-respected authors: Ibrahim Abu-Lughod and Albert Hourani. Abu-Lughod’s book, *The Arab Rediscovery of Europe*, describes the scientific missions of Arab scholars to Europe, and their subsequent thoughts and activities upon their return. The focus of this book is limited to scientific and educational missions only, so its usefulness to this study only applies to those topics.  

The second book, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1789-1939*, by historian Hourani, is about how the Arab world responded to the political and social changes that occurred in Europe during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hourani’s book has a much wider scope than Abu-Lughod’s book. Hourani focuses on two generations of thinkers who lived during the nineteenth century, and shows how their ideas evolved and diverged over time. His book clearly shows how different one generation of thinkers was to the previous generation. Also, Hourani describes how these thinkers tried to implement Western ideas in the Arab world. Both books provided positive views of the Arab’s acceptance and interaction with the Western world. Although both books cover a vast amount of topics concerning the emergence of *tamaddun* during the nineteenth century, some important topics such as urbanism, architecture, education, journalism, and women’s issues are lacking. It was therefore necessary to refer to other secondary sources, which focused more on these lacking elements.

Regarding urbanism, architecture, and education, the book *Damascus: Ottoman Modernity and Urban Transformation (1808-1918)* by Stefan Weber provide details about the transformation of traditional schools to modern schools. This text also examines how the new urbanity in Damascus took on its own particular character in modern society, architecture, and urban planning. Weber goes into great detail about the transformations of urban life in the nineteenth century; however, he only focuses on Damascus. In regard to the development of the nature of Arabic cities in the nineteenth century and earlier, this study uses André Raymond’s *Arab cities in the Ottoman Period* as a key source. He provides an informative perspective on the evolution of organisation, social life, and urban

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planning, and construction of Arab cities during the Ottoman rule. Ibrāhīm ʻAbduh and Ami Ayalon described how the printing press expanded the number of books available to the general public, and how they expanded the schools’ curriculum by publishing many new text books for students to learn from. They go on to explain how the printing press became an iconic symbol of tamaddun and an important tool for its progress. The printing press made it possible for newspapers to flourish, echoing the same phenomenon that occurred in the West one hundred years earlier. This study benefitted from the work of these two authors by using their list of all known Arabic journals as a resource.

Luwīs ‘Awaḍ in his two volumes of Tārīkh al-Fikr al-Miṣrī al-Ḥadīth examines the social and political issues, which led to the emergence of tamaddun in the nineteenth-century Arab world. He gives a historical account of the French campaign, and the subsequent governorship and reforms of Muḥammad ʻAlī. Awaḍ writes about the lives and achievements of the scholars’ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabarī, Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī, and Aḥmad Fāris al-Šidyāq; especially how their efforts contributed to the development of tamaddun. He shone a positive light on the Western influence, which was affecting the Arab world, and revealed seldom-explored social and political issues, which paved the way for the modern urbanity in Egypt. Yawmiyyāt Shāmiyya by Samer Akkach complements the information provided by Awaḍ by detailing similar social issues and intellectual contributions that were occurring before and during the early nineteenth century in Damascus. In his book, Akkach examines the social change, increased freedom in the public sphere, in thinking and religion, and in the drive towards social justice. He focuses on the widening presence of women in public with limited restrictions. Both Awaḍ and Akkach write about the emergence of women in the public sphere, but they write from a male perspective and do not go into great detail. Hoda El-Sadda goes into substantial detail about nineteenth century Arab women’s issues in her book ʻĀ’isha Taymūr. Unlike the majority of books which deal with this subject, this book takes the spotlight away from the dominant male personalities and shines it upon a number of females who were active in the women’s movement during that time.

28 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 330-337
29 Ibid, 335-337. See also Ayalon, The Press, 22-25.
Limitations and Contributions
This study does not dwell on political reforms, the negative effect that colonial power had on Arab people, or broad religious reform, other than those concerning women’s issues and education. These aspects of the nineteenth-century change in the Arab world have been covered in numerous studies. The main contributions of this study lie in bringing together fresh insights about educational reforms, women’s liberation, institutionalisation of professional training of engineers and architects, and the journalism’s role in promoting change and disseminating new ideas, in order to show how they formed the foundation of modernization in the Arab world under the banner of *al-tamaddun al-jadīd*.

Thesis Layout
This study is presented in three chapters’ concerned with urbanity, education, and journalism. These three chapters show the infiltration of the European Enlightenment ideas into the Arab world throughout the nineteenth-century.

The first Chapter on urbanity shows how the Arab thinkers embraced the influence of the West, adopting Western ideas for the benefit of Arabic society. This part starts by explaining and defining the concept of *tamaddun* in order to clarify the ways in which the term is used in the context of this study. It describes the urban conditions prior to the advent of modern urbanity by examining both the material and cultural aspects of Arabic cities. It also discusses the catalysts which fuelled the desire for new urbanity, namely the French campaign and Muḥammad ’Alī. The chapter examines two models for *al-tamaddun al-jadīd*: “public benefits” (*al-manāfiʻ al-ʻumūmiyya*) which was introduced by Rifā‘a al-Ṭahṭāwī, and “management of worldly affairs,” (*al-tanẓīmāt al-dunyawiyya*) introduced by Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī. It goes on to examine how sheikh Muḥammad ʻAbduh attempted to bridge the perceived gap between Islam and modern urbanity and to reconcile the debate between religion and secularism.

The second Chapter on education focuses on how educational reforms launched a new sense of civility by graduating a new breed of modern Arab thinkers who were equipped with the knowledge, understanding, and desire for innovative changes, like the ones occurring in the West. Educational reform was the catalyst for all other reforms that took place during the nineteenth century. A milestone in these educational reforms was the transformation of architecture from a craft to a
legitimate academic pursuit and profession. This part goes on to discuss how modern scholars had to redefine antiquated words and create new words to produce suitable terminologies for completely new Western concepts and technologies. In addition, the chapter shows how learned societies were established during the nineteenth century, and how they contributed to the development and dissemination of new knowledge; especially in the fields of science and the arts.

The nineteenth century saw the birth of journalism as a potent new form of communication. Chapter three on journalism shows the emergence of Arab journalism as an outcome of Arab-European interaction. It shows how journals, newspapers and periodicals helped to promote Western thinking, modern urbanity, and new ideas which led to cultural changes in the nineteenth-century Arab world.
Chapter 1

New Urbanity (*al-Tamaddun al-Jadīd*)
Chapter 1  New Urbanity (al-Tamaddun al-Jadīd)

When the French campaign marched into Egypt in 1798, the French brought with them more than just occupying military forces. (Fig. 1.1) They brought advanced science and technology, liberal ideas, and sophisticated cultural attitudes. Egyptian historian al-Jabarti visited the French campaign’s scientific complex, and he was obviously very impressed by the modern wonders he witnessed. When one reads in his book, Tarājim al-Akhbār, the descriptions of the things he saw, one senses the difficulties he encountered in finding appropriate words to describe the complicated and completely new instruments and tools displayed before him.32

Figure 1.1. Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt. (Source: Hathaway, 2009, 176).

Historian Niqūlā al-Turk (1763-1828) described in his book, Ḥamlat Būnābart ilā al-Sharg, that prior to the modern state of the nineteenth century, the people of Paris were restless and demanded change. They demonstrated against the French King, the princes and nobles, and demanded a new organisation with modern systems.33 This political and social upheaval led to the French Revolution (1789-1799). By the early nineteenth century, the need for European urbanization spread into Arab lands.

After expelling the French in 1801, the Arabs were curious about Europe and sent many scientific missions to investigate the developments that were happening there. In 1826, one of the first important Arab intellectuals to explore Europe, Muḥammad Maẓhar Bāshā (1809-1873), set off on a scientific mission to France. After his return, he successfully planned the irrigation canals in Egypt, and then

33 Niqūlā al-Turk, Hamlat Būnābart ilā al-Sharg (Lebanon: Jarrūs Bris, 1993), 89.
became a Minister for Public Works. When he was in Paris, Mazhar was rewarded with a gift for his eloquent description of a French urban scape (which he spoke in fluent French):

When I got to Marseille, I saw a view which I never ever saw before. The beauty of the buildings with towering height, the paved streets were wide and straight, and then I heard strange noises. When I turned around I found horse drawn wagons. For me it was the first time I saw and heard something like this. All day you can find those wagons going back and forth. I was also so impressed when I saw women in the streets, squares, and parks without covering; they were walking freely in their beautiful dresses, which are forbidden in our tradition and culture. When I saw Paris, I was impressed with the view of people having picnics in the orchards. I visited great halls which had beautiful pictures by famous painters.

Mazhar’s eloquently stated observations highlighted a distinct difference between French society and Arabic culture, a difference which could be seen and explained but not easily labelled or defined. (Fig. 1.2) The newness of French cities and the sophistication of its inhabitants were caused by a phenomenon which would soon be called tamaddun, referring to a new form of civility, sophistication, and urbanity.

Figure 1.2. The Cafe de la Paix and the Boulevard des Capucines, Paris in the 1880s. (Source: http://www.Pinterest.com/Dancingshapes/paris-19th-century/).

The Concept of New Urbanity

In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century there was no Arabic word in use to capture the modern urban developments which were taking place in Europe. These developments included all aspects of urban life. Pioneering thinker Ahmad Fāris al-Shidyāq suggested that the word tamaddun would be a suitable term to capture the complexity of this phenomenon. He explained that tamaddun derived from the word madīna (city) which in turn derived from the word madana (civilize). He stated that the concept of tamaddun, which can be translated as “urbanity,” “satisfies all human physical and mental needs.” He added that whatever the origin, in European languages, the synonym of tamaddun is “city.” Thus the concept of tamaddun refers to all the material and cultural characteristics of city or urban dwellers, including “politeness, diplomacy, and expertise.” The opposite characteristics of tamaddun, as described by al-Shidyāq, are “barbarism, disorder, and chaos.” This is often referred to as tawāḥhus (primitiveness and savagery). Even though tamaddun describes politeness, diplomacy, and expertise, al-Shidyāq admits that its meaning is still rather vague and unclear. Arabic dictionaries refer to tamaddun as a process of urbanisation, of the Bedouin for example (tamaddun al-badw), that is, to the Bedouins changing from a nomadic lifestyle to a settled, urban life. Arabic dictionaries explain that the word tamaddun derived from madina, which translates literally into “city” or “town.” Tamaddun of people also means their “progress, advancement, and civilization.” Because tamaddun was such a new word discussed mainly within intellectual circles, nineteenth century scholars used other words, such as taqaddum (advancement) and taraqqī (progress), to convey the meaning of tamaddun. Some Arab intellectuals emphasised the material side of tamaddun as experienced in Western cities. Al-Shidyāq, for example, saw al-tamaddun in the

37 Ibid, 1:3.
38 Ibid, 1:3.
39 Madina is the root word for similar terms such as Madaniyya (civilisation or urbanisation) and Madani (civil or urban). For more on this point, see Muhammad Abdul Jabbar, Perspectives of Civilization (Kuala Lumpur: The University of Malaya Press, 1985), 28. See also Milton Cowan, Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Beirut: Librairie Du Liban & London: MacDonald and Evans Ltd, 1974), 899.
40 Words with similar meanings existed prior to the nineteenth century, for example: Fourteenth-century urban sociologist Ibn Khaldūn, in his book An Introduction to History, used the word ‘umrān (which translates into “construction,” “prosperity,” or “inhabitedness”) when he explained that the prosperity of a nation can be judged by observing the lifestyle of the people, and measuring the degree of ‘umrān associated with their society. For more on this point, see Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh Ibn Khaldūn fī Ayyām al-‘Arab wa-l-‘Ajam (Cairo: Maṭbaʻat al-Nahḍa, 1936).
engineering marvels of modern cities. He described the many bridges on the River Thames and other London landmarks: “This River has several bridges, the first of which is next to Landara (London), the bridge which is called London Bridge. Built of stone and steel, and incorporating five arches, it has a towering stone statue of King William IV made of exquisite marble.”

Other intellectuals emphasised the cultural and social dimensions of *tamaddun*, such as civility, personal freedom, social justice, political democracy, and religious coexistence. Al-Bustānī, for example, focused on the new concepts of *waṭan*, “home,” *ūma*, “nation,” and *huriyya*, “freedom,” as expressions of *tamaddun*.

It soon became clear that *tamaddun* has two distinct dimensions. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was one of the first Arab thinkers to recognise the French distinction of the cultural and material aspects of their new urbanity. He explained that the material dimension encompasses everything from the design of a spoon to the design of a city. It includes aspects such as industry, modes of transportation, architecture, built environments, and new methods of construction. The cultural dimension comprises noble human aspects, such as good moral character, religious etiquette, justice, equality, freedom, politeness, diplomacy, expertise, and all the principles that define good moral behaviour in a society.

The concept of *tamaddun* was associated with significant changes in three key areas: education, mass media (journalism), and gender. These three areas became the essence of *tamaddun*. In terms of education, Ya’qūb Ṣarrūf (1852-1927) emphasized the importance of education and freedom in scientific enquiry, stating that, “new education and science expand people’s minds and activate labour.” This freedom is vital for achieving *tamaddun*. Most scholars agreed that the general population would be more educated if they read newspapers. Jirjī Zaydān expressed his strong conviction that a city’s level of *tamaddun* can be deduced by the number of newspapers it produces: the more newspapers it has, the higher the level of *tamaddun* it entertains. He remarked that the West has been urbanised since its first

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44 Ya’qūb Ṣarrūf, *Sīr al-Najāḥ* (Cairo: Maṭbaʻat al-Muqṭaṭaf, 1922), 301.
newspapers were established a hundred years ago (during the eighteenth century) and the Arab world is just beginning to be urbanised as its first printing presses are producing their first newspapers. In the West, journalism was a fertile field in which women worked alongside men. However, before this could be possible in the Arab world, women would need to be granted greater freedom and higher status in society. Al-Bustānī observed that the woman is the supreme head of the household. She takes care of the entire family and home. She is an essential element in achieving progress and advancement.

Tamaddun was a key word which described the unprecedented technical and social progress that was taking place in Europe and spreading into the Arab world. It started with educating a new generation of people who would be well prepared for the changes ahead. Many of these people went on to become engineers and journalists, who instigated professional change and informed the general public about the changes that were occurring all around them. The newspapers, journals, and periodicals helped to make their readers aware of the problems of their old living conditions and the urgent need for progress and urban development.

The Urban Conditions Prior to New Urbanity

Engineer ʽAlī Mubārak (1823-1893) estimated that there were about 1290 streets in the main city of Cairo, 133 of these were substantial thoroughfares, and the rest were small meandering pathways. The narrow city streets, which ranged from 75cm to 4.5m wide, were designed to accommodate passage for animals, not wagons. The arrangement of these streets was the main reason that the cities were in such disarray. The stone seats erected in front of shops made these streets even narrower. Ironically, during the many uprisings in Arab cities, the narrow streets prevented the Ottoman army from transporting their canons to quell the dissidents.

In 1814, Muḥammad ʽAli’s daughter’s wedding procession included 91 carriages.

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46 For more on this point, see Fu‘ād Afrām al-Bustānī, al-Mu‘allim Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Ta‘līm al-Nisā’ (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Ādāb al-Sharqiyya, 1950).
47 Humphre Ernest Bowman, Middle-East Window (London: Longmans, 1956), 22.
50 André Raymond, Arab Cities, 161.
which were meant to showcase the best works of the city’s master craftsmen. However, the narrow streets would not allow the procession to pass. So, two days before the wedding, Muḥammad Alī’s police started to remove all the stone seating from the front of the shops. After this inconvenient event, Muḥammad ʿAlī decided to establish new roads; his advisors suggested that they be wide enough to allow two camels to pass unhindered. Arabic scholars, who were so used to the shambolic conditions of their own cities, journeyed through Europe and were impressed by the new urbanity of the cities they visited. They described in their writings the new features of the European cities and the social spaces allocated for the people who live there. Al-Ṭahtāwī was among the first scholars to describe his impressions of the new urbanity. He published his impression about urban life in Paris in a famous book *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz*. This was in the period of 1826 to 1831. He wrote: “Paris is the best constructed city in Europe and one of the finest cities of the Franks … The French nation is the greatest of all the Frankish nations, especially in the fields of science, the arts, literature, and architecture.”

Al-Ṭahtāwī was astonished by what he observed of the architecture, the layout of the streets, the beauty of the parks, and the innovative new forms of transport. Al-Ṭahtāwī was most impressed by the modern transportation in Paris (horse-drawn carriages), considering the fact that Arab cities offered little in the way of “public transportation.” Gaspard, who was one of the scientific scholars in the French campaign in Egypt, described the transportation in the Arab world of that time: there are a thousand donkeys—most of these donkeys are employed by people to get from one place to another; the rest are utilised for the transportation of goods. People can rent these donkeys in stations located near the entrances, main streets, and shops of major cities. Al-Ṭahtāwī’s observed other innovations. He noted that houses and streets were designed in a way so that water could run down the buildings and make its way to canals. During cold weather the French people warmed themselves by fireplaces inside their houses, hotels, factories, and shops. Al-Tahtāwī expressed admiration of the French architectural designs and the ornate

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32 Al-Jabarti, ʿAjīb al-Āthār, 1: 108.
33 Mubārak, al-Khiṭaṭ, 3: 830.
craftsmanship of the buildings. Although, he did comment that the quality of the building materials used in Paris was not as good as the materials used back in his city. He gave elaborate descriptions of the walls, floors and ceilings of the Parisian houses, as well as the furniture inside.57

Al-Shidyāq was also impressed by what he saw in Europe. He wrote about the city streets and the division of the roads, citing the French words “boulevard,” and “Champs-Elysées,” to indicate wide streets.58 At the same time, and in contrast to the orderly modern layouts of cities, Orientalist Torres Balbás laughed about the case of the streets in Arab countries: one street named “Twelve Turns,” so named because of its many corners. The government’s long neglect of the streets resulted in the accumulation of dirt, and sometimes the collapse of many houses.59 The irregularity of the streets and the abundance of cul-de-sacs led to some attempts to improve the urban planning, especially when the case became unbearable. In 1757, the government of Damascus ordered all houses, which were more than 20 years old, to be renovated.60 Then in 1759, the people were ordered to render their houses, inns, and shops.61 Gustave Von Grunebaum stated that the main reason for the inconsistencies in urban planning was the absence of a governing body administrating the development of these cities. There were no building codes, regulations, or guidelines for developers to follow.62

Other modern developments that fascinated Arab scholars with the new urbanity were the scientific and academic institutions, libraries, colleges and schools. Scholars noted how advanced the curriculums in European educational institutions were compared to the traditional syllabi offered in Arabic cities. Al-Bustāni lamented that European education was flourishing whilst Arab education was not. The Arabic people had achieved progress in the past. This achievement occurred when educational and intellectual life was at its peak. Later they neglected the importance of learning, and this reflected poorly on the Arab community.63 Al-

57 Al-Ṭahtāwī, Takhliṣ al-Ibrīz, 80-81.
58 Al-Shidyāq, al-Wāsiṭa, 296.
Bustāni realized the importance of education and scientific progress (*taqaddum*) of Western urbanity. For this reason, he strove to transfer knowledge from European languages into Arabic. In 1876, he began to publish the first Arabic encyclopaedia, *Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif*, which included all the fields of science, medicine and engineering.\(^{64}\) Al-Shidyāq understood that the development of Arab countries depended on the expansion of libraries through the acquisition of texts and printing them out for people to read. He was disappointed when he realized that Western libraries were devoid of any Arabic books. Al-Shidyāq described the library in Malta where he lived:

In Malta, anyone who wants to read a book from the library goes there and takes possession of it; he can even take the book home. There are 33,000 volumes, but none of them are written in Arabic. There are also a number of shops with various books. In Europe, the books are inexpensive. Obviously, this encourages people to gain knowledge and self-instruction.\(^{65}\)

In regard to education, it was clear that European women had access to schools and universities. This was not the case in Arabic countries. Thus, it became necessary to consider making education available to Arab women. Al-Tahtāwī was a strong advocate for the education of Arab women:

Girls should be educated equally with boys. They should be educated in reading, writing and arithmetic. They need an education to develop some intellect and to obtain knowledge so that they can formulate an opinion and take part in debates with men. This might make them look prestigious when they are liberated from the emptiness of life in the *harem*. Education also helps women to be engaged in work, when necessary, according to their abilities and capabilities.\(^{66}\)

Arab intellectuals recognised that an awareness of *tamaddun* needs to be spread among the people through periodicals, journals, and newspapers. These sources of

\(^{64}\) Ibid, 99-102.
information, so prevalent in the West, are yet to be exploited in the Arab world. When al-Ṭḥāwī described the European houses, he was especially interested in the study room (a place of work and reading) where a visitor could find, besides books, the latest journals and newspapers presented to guests on equal footing with the home owners. Arab scholars understood that knowledge was no longer the exclusive domain of the educated elite; it had become available to all members of the community. Printed media became the new means of exchanging knowledge and ideas. Scholar Frānṣīs Marrāsh (1836-1873) stated:

If we want to be educated, we have to learn to read. If we want to learn to read, we need books. Today, knowledge is no longer confined to the pages of books which are rare and hard to obtain. Vast amounts of knowledge and information can be gained from newspapers which are available everywhere. Newspapers pave the road ahead for the people. People can now learn about every corner of the globe in the comfort of their own homes.

Arab intellectuals introduced the concept of tamaddun to the Arab audience by raising awareness of the need for a modern educational system, and for this to be made available both to men and women. They also called for the education of the general public through newspapers, journals, and periodicals. This resulted in a new reality dawning on the Arab world and led to a new understanding of the dimensions of urbanity and to drastic transformations in urban life. These transformations resulted in the emergence of the new way of modern life, which helped Arab capitals to transform from being medieval cities to becoming modern, cosmopolitan metropolises.

Al-Manāfiʿ and al-Tanẓīmāt: Models for New Urbanity

In the nineteenth century, two approaches or models were introduced and shaped the Arabs’ understanding of al-tamaddun al-jādiḍ, one was based on the concept of “public benefits” (al-manāfiʿ al-ʿumūmiyya), the other was based on the concept of the “management of worldly affairs,” (al-tanẓīmāt al-dunyawiyya). Al-Ṭḥāwī

67 Al-Ṭḥāwī, Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz, 120-121.
championed the approach of “public benefits,” (al-manāfi’ al-‘umūmiyya), which was a new idea in the Arab world. He coined the term to reflect the meaning of the French word “industrie” (industry):

Public benefits (al-manāfi’ al-‘umūmiyya) express the French word “industrie,” which means progress in dexterity and skill. It also means to transform natural resources, created by God, into useful materials for humans.  

Al-Ţahṭāwī recognised that the material dimension of tamaddun is “the progress in public benefits (al-manāfi’ al-‘umūmiyya), such as agriculture, industry, and trade, which contribute to the development of modern urbanity.” He explained al-manāfi’ al-‘umūmiyya by stating that people living in towns and cities benefit from organised administration of public assets, which provide convenience for everyone. Public benefits require justice, civil order, and a prosperous economy. Rifā’a al-Ţahṭāwī was a great figure of the nineteenth century who lived from 1801 to 1873. (Fig. 1.3) He was raised by an impoverished family living in Ţahṭā in Upper Egypt. Despite their poverty, his family took the business of rearing and educating him very seriously and managed to finance his education in al-Azhar.

Figure 1.3. Al-Ţahṭāwī (1801-1873), who had accompanied an educational mission to France, soon starred when he re-joined al-Azhar University in 1817. He supported Muḥammad ‘Alī in his reforms in education. (Source: Najjār, 1966, front cover).

69 Al-Ţahṭāwī, Manāḥij al-Albāb, 128.  
70 Ibid, 6.  
Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was a precocious liberal thinker who developed many of his innovative ideas when he served as an imam of a student mission in France (1826-1831).\textsuperscript{72} Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, sheikh of al-Azhar, was fully aware of the sensitivity of borrowing ideas from the West. He preferred to pull apart the concept of tamaddun and have the Arab community discuss its various aspects, thus allowing them to become familiar with the idea. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī stressed that the idea of \textit{al-manāfiʻ al-ʻumūmiyya} is a vital ingredient of tamaddun. Firstly it would improve agriculture,

> When the agriculture of an area is expansive and thriving, its cities attain tamaddun along with the inevitable prosperity it brings. Insufficient agricultural productivity impairs a city’s ability to achieve tamaddun.\textsuperscript{73}

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī stated that a thriving agriculture is not enough to achieve tamaddun. Agriculture must work alongside industry. He showed how agriculture and industry can be combined synergistically by using wool and cotton as an example: “wool or cotton can be spun into yarn which, in turn, can be made into clothes. These clothes can be sold for money, and the money can be used to buy other commodities.”\textsuperscript{74} Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī showed that “public benefits,” can be achieved through business acumen and productive activities. In his opinion, a country’s wealth and riches can be used to improve the situation of its people.\textsuperscript{75} Some personal benefits may have to be sacrificed in order to achieve greater rewards for the entire nation.\textsuperscript{76} Industry employs the labour of numerous people who contribute their own specialised skills to produce goods or provide services that have a value in particular markets. The profits from selling these goods or services remunerate the contributing labour force. The public benefits from the resources which get traded for money which, in turn, gets exchanged for other products and services. The marriage of agriculture, industry, and trade will lead to the growth and prosperity of the national economy—a hallmark of tamaddun.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{72} Hourani, \textit{Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age}, 91.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid, 127.
\textsuperscript{74} Ibid, 128.
\textsuperscript{75} Roxanne L. Euben, \textit{Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travellers in Search of Knowledge} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 234.
\textsuperscript{76} Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, \textit{Manāhij al-Albāb}, 8.
\textsuperscript{77} For more on this point, see Charles More, \textit{Understanding the Industrial Revolution} (London: Great Britain, 2000).
Khayr al-Din al-Tūnisī championed another approach to the tamaddun, which he called as the “management of worldly affairs” (al-tanẓīmāt al-dunyawiyya). (Fig. 1.4) Historian Abu-Lughod explained al-Tūnisī’s idea: “management of worldly affairs” consists of two principles, reform and organization (iḥšād and tanẓīm).\(^78\)

Figure 1.4. Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī (1820-1890) an Ottoman politician, who was born to a Circassian family. (Source: al-Tūnisī, 2012, front cover).

Al-Tūnisī suggested how tamaddun could be used by the Islamic state: “we may undertake reforms by selecting the aspects of Western urbanity which best suit our unique Islamic community as long as they harmonise with sharia law.”\(^79\) After that, “management of worldly affairs” could be used to organise the state administration and progress further.\(^80\)

Al-Tūnisī, who lived from 1820 to 1890, was raised by an affluent family headed by the leader (Bey) of Tunisia. He received a military education and progressed through all the ranks until he was awarded the highest rank achievable. Al-Tūnisī learned about the latest military tactics from a French military trainer. His interaction with this trainer enabled him to become fluent in the French language. Al-Tūnisī’s command of the French language made him eligible to join numerous official missions to France. After these missions he wrote his famous book Aqwam al-Masālik fī Ma‘rifat al-Mamālik (The Best Roads to Knowing the [European]

\(^78\) Abu–Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe*, 84.
\(^80\) Ibid, 88.
Kingdoms). According to historian Leon Carl Brown, who translated al-Tūnisī’s book (The Best Roads), al-tanzīmāt al-dunyawiyya means reformation and administration of political justice and social security to enable fair trade and free commerce “by smoothing the roads to wealth, and by extracting treasures of the Earth with knowledge of agriculture and commerce.” Al-Tūnisī wrote:

Europeans became advanced in science and industry through management of worldly affairs which was based on political justice. It facilitated the attainment of wealth through the extraction of treasures from the earth by agriculture and trade.

Al-Tūnisī discussed the superiority of the Western economic system and provided a practical guide for improving the economy and politics in Arab countries. He understood that tamaddun could be achieved through “a spirit of freedom and justice. Freedom and justice would allow science, industry, and government to flourish.” He believed that people should be allowed to vote for those members of parliament (majlis al-wukalā’) who would most strongly fight for their rights. Through his book, al-Tūnisī suggested launching three phases to attain tamaddun in the Arab world. Phase one would employ scholars and researchers to assess the scientific, economic, industrial, and political benefits gained by European urban development. They would then proceed to identify those aspects which would be most useful and prosperous to the Islamic community.

The second phase would focus on convincing traditional Islamic people to set aside their notion that because tamaddun comes from the West, it is somehow un-Islamic and therefore not permissible. The citizens would need to be encouraged to seriously consider, with an open mind, the positive benefits which tamaddun has to offer. The third phase would implement the principles of “management of worldly affairs” to unite the people as a nation without affecting their religious beliefs. He explains:

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81 Ibid, 31-33.
82 Ibid, 81.
83 Ibid, 17.
84 Ibid, 261.
85 Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 118.
86 Ibid, 52.
European urbanity is like a strong stream flowing along its path. A nation should follow the stream if it wants to survive. If it stops in the middle or, worse yet, tries to swim against the stream, a nation could drown.  

Al-Tūnisī stated that Europeans learned to follow the stream by being organised. In his opinion, it is necessary for the Islamic community to adopt “management of worldly affairs” if they want to keep up with the progress that is happening around them.

Muḥammad ʻAbduh: Islam and Tamaddun
Distinguished nineteenth-century scholar and reformer, Muḥammad ʻAbduh, was an important figure in the articulation and development of al-tamaddun al-jadīd. (Fig. 1.5) Initially he looked at Western urbanity as a whole, and considered the many ways in which it manifested itself. In particular he focussed on issues related to education and religious reform.

Figure 1.5. Al-Sheikh Muḥammad ʻAbduh (1849-1905). (Source: Ḥimāra, 1993, 288).

87 Ibid, 50.
88 Ibid, 78-79.
89 The West paid particular attention to what Muḥammad ʻAbduh did with their Western concepts of new urbanity. Their observations were published in books such as Modernism in Egypt, in 1933, by Charles Adams; Modern Trends in Islam, in 1947, by the Hamilton Gibb; and Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, in 1962, by Albert Hourani. Each of these books credit ʻAbduh as being the link between the Islamic community and European urbanity.
ʻAbduh wanted to adopt the ideals of Western modernity but within an Islamic framework: he wanted to give *al-tamaddun al-jadīd* an Islamic identity. He examined Islam’s religious principles to determine how they could be used to justify *tamaddun*. In order to attain *tamaddun*, and for it to be accepted by the people, he thought, a flexible approach must be taken with established traditions. For example, ʻAbduh observed that statues of revered historical figures were visibly conspicuous features of modern Western art and architecture. He was well aware that Islamic laws forbid the making of any kind of statues. He stated that the prohibition of statues was introduced by the Prophet during a time when Pagan idolatry was rampant among people in Arabia. Pagans worshipped statues of various animals as well as a pantheon of Greek and Egyptian Gods and Goddesses, and this distanced people from the one true God. Since then, however, Paganism had declined and devout Muslims were completely dedicated to God. Creating statues within the sphere of modernity or *al-tamaddun al-jadīd* is a legitimate form of artistic expression throughout most of the civilised world, and as such has nothing to do with Pagan idols. Accordingly, there was no longer a legitimate reason for this restriction to still be enforced.\(^90\) Lifting this restriction would help to broaden the curriculum of both artistic and architectural studies and expand the means of expression of the new generation of professional artists and architects. To reinforce his case, ʻAbduh brought people’s attention to how previous traditions were abandoned in the past. He reminded people of how slavery was abolished because of changing circumstances and opinions. During the Prophet’s lifetime many families owned slaves, and this was an accepted fact of life. As nations around the world fought fierce battles to liberate slaves, governments created laws which emancipated them and ensured their freedom. Consequently, societies adapted to the new paradigm.\(^91\)

Having determined a clear vision of *tamaddun*, ʻAbduh formulated a plan to achieve it. His first goal was to reform the education system so that it reflected the modern curriculum of the West. This reform was essential because it would change the mindset and upgrade the skills of the next generation of students so that they would be more prepared for the coming urban life. ʻAbduh stated: “The only way to


achieve intellectual reform is through education, and education must be reformed at al-Azhar." At the time, al-Azhar was dominated by traditional religious thinking, and ‘Abduh wanted to change that. A famous sheikh once asked ‘Abduh: “why do you want to change the al-Azhar? You studied here and the students will learn what you learned.” ‘Abduh replied: “that is why I am worried.” The sheikh said: “what you learned at the al-Azhar has made you the advanced intellectual that you are now.” ‘Abduh answered: “I have become the advanced intellectual you see before you after spending ten years cleaning my mind of the nonsense which I absorbed from al-Azhar.”

‘Abduh was able to influence the Governor of Egypt to establish a new constitution for al-Azhar. He also became a member of a new board that introduced new curricula, raised the salaries of teachers, and introduced health services for all students. These reforms reflected the features and benefits of universities in the modern West. People needed a modern education if they were to be prepared for tamaddun. The reforms that occurred at al-Azhar gradually spread throughout the rest of the education system. Traditional schools which focussed exclusively on Islamic studies began to teach modern science, mathematics, and languages.

Contemporary scholar and author Muḥammad ‘Imāra has studied and written extensively about the life and works of Muhammad ‘Abduh. ‘Imāra opines that ‘Abduh was naive by thinking that education was the main catalyst for change. He contends that reformers and revolutionaries should work together to fight against all obstacles that stand in the way of progress and development. It seems that ‘Abduh had the right idea. He knew that change cannot be implemented by force, because it will be resisted and eventually rejected. ‘Abduh wrote about America and how its citizens have been educated to understand the political system. They understand how their vote can elect leaders and parliamentarians, and how polls influence these politicians, and referendums direct their decisions and actions. He used Afghanistan as a counterexample. If political freedom was suddenly introduced to that nation, the people would be inclined to abuse their new rights and resort to mob mentality and

93 Ibid, 55-56.
95 Ibid, 184.
strong-arm tactics, thus perverting their new political system.\textsuperscript{97} It seems that ‘Imāra failed to understand that revolutions undertaken by armed, uneducated, angry men have proven, time and time again, to be a recipe for disaster, which leads to the tragic loss of innocent lives.

In his search for effective ways to introduce \textit{tamaddun}, ‘Abduh asked if Muslims should study other religions beside the Islamic religion, and whether they should study the history of civilisation, and foreign developed countries to discover the secrets of their success.\textsuperscript{98} He insisted that, because advanced science, administration, and education is responsible for the strength and wealth of developed nations, the only way for the Arab world to progress is to promote these things. ‘Abduh felt very strongly about the importance of openness and receptivity towards the other in his educational reform:

I am wondering why the pioneering Muslim journalists wrote so much about politics in their newspapers, and so little about education; when education is the foundation of all knowledge—political and otherwise… Mr Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [‘Abduh’s former teacher and mentor] is a highly qualified man. If he applied his abilities to education he could help Islam attain great benefits. When we were in Paris together, they offered us a respite from politics by providing us with a place to live, far away from the prying eyes of the government. There, we could have taught students whatever we wanted… And after ten years we could have had a number of educated followers reaching out and spreading our proposed reforms far and wide. But Jamāl al-Dīn discouraged this idea… Unfortunately for Muslims, everyone capable of doing something useful is doing something else.\textsuperscript{99}

‘Abduh wanted to make education available to all people. In the West, women living in the main cities enjoyed higher social status in their community as a direct result of their access to education. ‘Abduh advocated for education to be available to all women so that they could contribute more to their communities and consequently enjoy higher social status. This was to be a vital element of \textit{tamaddun}, in his view.

\textsuperscript{97} Ibid, 298-299. 
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid, 841. 
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid, 807.
He emphasised that educated women would be more able to serve their families and to contribute greatly to the progress of the nation.

ʻAbduh said: “A nation is based on families. Women are the foundation of good families, and good families contribute to great nations.”

ʻAbduh placed much emphasis upon women’s issues, because he was aware that the family unit is held together by women. By demanding more access to education for girls, introducing new restrictions to divorce laws, and trying to abolish polygamy, he paved the way for stronger family morality based on modern principles. He had this to say about the indifference he perceived in those who could help the cause of women:

Princess Nāzlı’s could do great things if she applied herself to the issue of raising girls. She is surrounded by plenty of princesses who just spend their money frivolously on themselves. If she advised these princesses [and other wealthy women] to establish schools for girls, and invited teachers from Istanbul and Syria, the princesses would listen and together they would achieve something worthwhile. If they do not see immediate results now they can rest assured that they have sown viable seeds for future generations.

To help liberate women ʻAbduh called for *ijtihād* (diligence in religion). He advocated among scholars for the need to re-examine the Quran in the light of modern times. He wanted to reinterpret the text and find ways within its guiding principles to improve women’s circumstances. “Every generation faces new problems and the Islamic texts should hold the solutions to these problems.”

He stipulated one condition for *ijtihād*: to use “logic and reason to understand the essence of the texts.”

Journalism was flourishing in the modernising West. It kept people informed about current affairs, new discoveries and modern attitudes that prevailed throughout their society. ʻAbduh realised that people throughout the Arab world needed to be informed about what was happening around them so he was determined to

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100 Ibid, 172.
101 Ibid, 264.
102 ʻImāra, al-Imām Muḥammad ʻAbduh, 243.
disseminate his ideas in newspaper articles. Together with his mentor Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī, he established the famous newspaper *al-‘Urwa al-Wuthqā*. (Fig. 1.6)

![Figure 1.6. Newspaper, *al-‘Urwa al-Wuthqā* issue 4, April 1884. (Source: American Library, 2014, front cover).](image)

The newspaper focused on political and socio-religious issues. His articles were written to raise awareness of the way common people were being oppressed. ʻAbduh said that, for twenty centuries, ruthless tyrants forced the people to submit to their authority by keeping the people ignorant and unaware of their rights. In a fair and just society, people should be able to influence their leaders and must hold them accountable for their decisions and actions. ʻAbduh strongly believed that, within the conditions of *al-tamaddun al-jadīd*, everyone is equal, and there must be an effective harmony between religion and state, which is anchored in openness and inclusivity. This is clearly evident when, in 1881, ʻAbduh formulated the constitution for the Nation Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*). The fifth bylaw of the constitution stated:

The Nation Party is a political party; not a religious party. It combines people from various religions, with different ideologies and doctrines, including Muslims, Christians, and Jews. Everyone who ploughs the fields, speaks the language of this land, and belongs to this nation is a brother, regardless of their beliefs. Their political and legal rights are equal.

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As a reminder to hypocritical religious scholars and leaders, he added: “This statement applies especially to the sheiks of al-Azhar who know that the real law of Islam refuses hatred and considers all people equal.”\textsuperscript{106} He wanted people to recognise the difference between an Islamic state in the conventional sense and the state required under \textit{al-tamaddun al-jadid}. A conventional Islamic state would be limited to one philosophical and religious outlook, whereas the state of \textit{tamaddun} encompasses a plurality of philosophies and religions in which Islam is but a part. He refused to accept that one person can be in charge of both religious and secular authority: “We have to recognise the difference between religious and state authority. Having one leader responsible for both authorities may have been appropriate in the past, but now, if we want to live in a modern society, we must find another solution.”\textsuperscript{107} Authority in an Islamic community is held by “wise and benevolent men, regardless of their status in society.”\textsuperscript{108} These men guide and advise believers in religious and personal matters, but they are not usually qualified to participate in the affairs of state.

By looking at Muhammad ‘Abduh’s understanding of \textit{tamaddun} through educational and socio-religious reform, we can see how important his liberal convictions and visionary aspirations were to the development of the modern Arab world. Using the Western model of new urbanity, he forged a \textit{tamaddun} with a uniquely Islamic identity, which broadened the education of all people, increased the social status of women, and enlightened the population through journalism. Nearly all his efforts to create a state of \textit{tamaddun} were strongly opposed by traditionalists, who dogmatically resisted anything and everything that resembled foreign influence. It must be remembered that ‘Abduh found a way to bridge the gap between religious and civil ideals by introducing \textit{ijtihād}, and demonstrating how logic and reasoning could be used to reconcile traditional and modern values.

\textbf{New Urbanity: Religion vs Secularism}

Modernity or new urbanity took on a secular form in the West. Separating religion from state affairs made it possible for authorities to govern without being influenced by religious influences. This was the most pragmatic way to get on with the business

\begin{footnotesize}
\footnotesuperscript{106} Al-ʻAqqād, \textit{ʻAbqarī al-Islāh}, 185-186.
\footnotesuperscript{107} Muḥammad ‘Abduh, \textit{al-Islām wa-l-Nasrāniyya maʻa al-ʻIlm wa-l-Madaniyya} (Cairo: Maṭbaʻat ʻĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1938), 75-76.
\footnotesuperscript{108} Ibid, 79.
\end{footnotesize}
of day-to-day affairs without getting bogged down by doctrinal concerns, traditions, and superstitions. In ‘Abduh’s perspective, it would be difficult to implement secular principles in an Islamic culture. Secular laws, secular education, and secular life in general are the main features of the new Western cities. How could they be incorporated within Islamic cities?

How can civil authority overcome religious authority? Religious authority comes from God and it governs the heart. Separating civil authority from God’s authority would only work if the body and soul operated separately.\(^{109}\)

‘Abduh believed that the body and soul are united so the separation of civil and religious authority would be impossible in principle. To find a practical solution to this dilemma, however, ‘Abduh identified civil principles within the roots of the Islamic religion. In his position as a Mufti, ‘Abduh participated in a debate against Farah Anṭūn (1874-1922), a secular intellectual, who advocated strongly for the secular character of tamaddun.\(^{110}\) This debate allowed them to clearly state their cases in a civilised and peaceful forum.

Farah Anṭūn believed that social progress required the separation of civil and religious authority (\textit{al-malakiyya wa-l-dīniyya}).\(^{111}\) Muḥammad ‘Abduh believed that social progress could only be achieved by returning to the roots of Islam. Anṭūn presented his views which espoused the separation of state and religion in the Arabic newspaper, \textit{al-Jami’ā}. He stated that religion contradicts science, impedes progress, and denies justice. Anṭūn also wrote that many problems can be avoided by separating science and religion.

Science and philosophy have triumphed in Europe’s greatest success. This victory is facilitated by the separation of civil and religious authority. In Europe civil authority covers all issues of people life. This is the reason for the rise of Europe.\(^{112}\)

\(^{109}\) Anṭūn, \textit{Ibn Rushd wa Falsafatuh}, 233.
\(^{111}\) Anṭūn, \textit{Ibn Rushd wa Falsafatuh}, 233.
\(^{112}\) Ibid, 242.
Anṭūn stated that science should address matters of the physical world, and religion should address spiritual matters. His views were strongly opposed by traditional Islamists who believed that religion dictates everything in life. Also, he pointed out that the essence of all religions is the same: the incontestably divine control of the world. The doctrinal and traditional differences are elaborations brought about by human nature, culture, and historical perspective. Hourani analysed Anṭūn’s statement and summarised his position in five main points. Firstly, the government should not discriminate against any religion. Secondly, people should treat each other equally regardless of their religion. No one should use their religion to persecute others. Thirdly, religious authority should not intervene in worldly issues; religions and interfaith doctrines exist to prepare the individual for the afterlife. Fourthly, a country dominated by religious authority is weak. National strength can only be gained by a separation between civil and religious authority. Lastly, a state based on religion is unstable: “it is like a structure made of air.” Like most secular thinkers, Anṭūn insisted that progress could only be attained by abandoning religion. After all, Western progress was attained by separating civil and religious authority (religious reforms existed only to help that progress). Accordingly, the call to rebuild the state on the basis of religion is contrary to logic, reason, and historical evidence. He stated: “Historically, the main factors responsible for the progress of a modern country have always been national unity, national loyalty and modern science, not religion.” ʻAbduh wrote an antagonistic response which triggered an ongoing debate. He refused to remove religion from the government. In his opinion, Islam is suitable as an approach to life in “every time and every place.” He believed that Islam did not contradict science, or impede progress. Nor did it deny justice which, in fact, is the root of Islamic faith. He asserted that Islam fosters freedom, justice, science, and work; stating that Islam provides counsel, grants statehood, encourages its followers to seek knowledge, and calls for philanthropy.

Tamaddun seems to have marched to the beat of its own drum. It did not become a secular phenomenon as it did in the West. Neither did it become a wholly

113 Ibid, 250. See also, Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 305.
114 Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 307.
116 Anṭūn, Ibn Rushd, 9-10.
117 ʻAbduh, al-Islām wa-l-Nasrāniyya, 9.
118 Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 308-309.
religious utopia as some Islamic traditionalists had hoped it would become. The resulting societies that emerged from the urbanising process retained their religious identity and gained some of the freedoms and benefits that were enjoyed by a secular society.
Chapter 2

*Muhandis Khāna*: Institutionalising Professional Education
Aḥmad Bāshā Nishanjī, who ruled Egypt from 1748 to 1751, was known to have an interest in science and mathematics. Once he held a meeting with the religious leaders and scholars of al-Azhar, including ʻAbd Allāh Shabrāwī (d. 1758), Sālim Nafrāwī (d. 1754), and Sulaymān al-Manṣūrī (d. 1755-6), to ask whether any of al-Azhar scholars might have the same interests. He spoke with them about their knowledge and education, particularly about their skills in mathematics. The three al-Azhar leading scholars replied that they knew little about mathematics, and what they did know was learnt only in their homes. They knew only enough to help them with sorting out issues of religious obligations (frā’id). Aḥmad Bāshā was disappointed with the situation which reflected the low educational level in the Arab countries at that period.119

Knowledge and science in the Ottoman era were limited only to useful knowledge from the conservative standpoint of religion. The leading sheikhs at that time had the authority to direct all knowledge and education in the Arab world. They emphasised the scientific applications relating only to the religious rites and to the provisions of religious law. (Fig. 2.1)

Figure 2.1. Interior of a traditional School in Cairo painted by John Frederick. (Source: Weeks, 2014, 47).

The science of astronomy was confined to knowing the prayer times of the day, and mathematics to calculate religious obligations. Most of the sciences at that time were used solely for religious purposes.\textsuperscript{120} This was clearly outlined in the writings of sheikh Aḥmad al-Damanhūrī (d. 1778), who was the head of al-Azhar. (Fig. 2.2)

\textbf{Figure 2.2.} The main courtyard in Al-Azhar mosque, where the students congregate, highlighting the mosque’s educational function. (Source: Abouseif, 1993, 37).

Al-Damanhūrī wrote an extensive record of his studies, listing his teachers (sheikhs), how he received his education, who taught there using traditional books and methods, the works he studied, the books and treatises he wrote, and finally the \textit{ijāzāt} (sing. \textit{ijāza}, certificate or license) he obtained. The list reveals that he studied the expected religious and linguistic sciences, as well as logic, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and natural science. These were taught by using traditional methods under religious authority. In his manuscript, al-Damanhūrī gave a background about the situation of science at that time and how students received their knowledge to obtained \textit{ijāza}. When a student completes his study with a particular sheikh, he would be granted an \textit{ijāza}, certifying that he had completed the study of specific courses and that he was qualified to teach them. \textit{Ijāza} was given by an individual teacher, who could personally attest to that student’s knowledge.\textsuperscript{121}

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\textsuperscript{120} Nelly Hanna, “‘Abd Allah al-Shubrawi,” in Joseph E. Lowry and Devin J. Stewart (eds.), \textit{Essays in Arabic Literary Bibliography, 1350-1850} (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 376-385.
\end{flushleft}
This was how al-Damanhūrī as well as most learned people received their education towards the end of the eighteenth century. Al-Damanhūrī assumed the headship of al-Azhar from 1768 to 1778. His rise from rural village life to head al-Azhar, one of the most important educational institutions in the Arab world, shows the little emphasis placed on the natural science. The main books taught at that time, in fields such as language, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine belonged mostly to the mode of thought of medieval Islam. Thus, many aspects of contemporary science were unknown to senior scholars in the eighteenth century.

Religious knowledge and traditional sciences dominated education in the Arab world until the late eighteenth century. Religious scholars (‘ulamā’) played an important role in the affairs of the state and the people. They formed a distinct social class which prevented any renewal or evolution of any intellectuals’ prospects because of fear of losing their powerful position in society. Later on, some sheikhs were given important roles in education, which followed European style. Gradually, the sheikhs came to realize the importance of European progress in science, and that there were other important non-religious sciences, especially mathematics, engineering, and natural sciences, which should be learned and taught. This awareness helped local government to introduce a change.

A New Educational Model
Educational reform was among the most important innovations in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This educational reform included, to the highest level, improvements in literacy and numeracy, some foreign language instruction, and considerable scientific and technical education. The education reform in Europe did not differentiate in gender or class. Across Western governments, Europe decreed that all children, boys and girls, must go to school to a certain age, which was gradually raised. For instance, in nineteenth century the French government mandated that schooling should be compulsory for all boys and girls between the ages of six and thirteen, and improved education for the sons and daughters of the working class and peasantry. It also expanded educational opportunities in science,

medicine, and engineering for women. This was reflected in an increase of the percentage of readers in Europe.\textsuperscript{123}

By contrast, the situation of education in the Arab world was exclusive. There were only the major mosques in the main cities, and some schools attached to them, in addition to Qur’anic schools in cities and villages. Study in the main mosque focused mainly on religious and Qur’anic sciences, as well as the Arabic language.\textsuperscript{124} (Fig. 2.3)

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image}
\caption{The main courtyard of al-Azhar mosque, students at al-Azhar was learning in what was called \textit{halqa}, which means, students around a professor. There were many of \textit{halqas} in mosque. (Source: http://www.ottomanarchives.info).}
\end{figure}

Education in the Islamic world before the nineteenth century was quite informal and tied to a notion of benefit, which was interpreted in a narrow religious sense. Mosques were used as a meeting place where people could gather around a learned scholar to be educated, read books, and gain knowledge.\textsuperscript{125} Almost all of the greatest scholars of Islam learned in such a traditional way and also taught their students in this way. All four founders of the Muslim schools of law, imams \textit{Abu Hani\textsuperscript{a}a, M\textit{\textsuperscript{a}lik, Shafi\textsuperscript{\textit{i}}, and Ibn \textit{Hanbal}, gained their immense knowledge by sitting in gatherings

\textsuperscript{124} \textquotesingle{}Ali Mubarak, \textit{al-Khi\textsuperscript{\textit{a}}t\textsuperscript{\textit{a}} al-Taw\textsuperscript{\textit{f}}aqiya} (Cairo: al-Ma\textsuperscript{\textit{\textsuperscript{a}}}b\textsuperscript{\textit{a}}a al-Am\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{a}}riyya, 1888), 4: 13-14, 25-26.
\textsuperscript{125} The institution of learning in a mosque was called a \textit{halqa}, which means, students around a professor. There were many of \textit{halqas} in mosque. Professor could hold position in several \textit{halqas} in the mosque. The size of \textit{halqa} varied according to the subject taught, and also impacted by the reputation of a given professor.
with other scholars to learn Islamic law. Schools were usually attached to a large mosque. Tuition at these schools started in seminars and councils, *halqa*, for private lessons every Friday.

Public education was through mosques and affiliated schools and teaching was mainly under religious authority. However, the study was free of all charges to the students. The school provided lodging, especially for students who came from a long distance. Nor was any length of time set on the student for studying; sometimes the course of study lasted 12 or 14 years. An example of the traditional teaching institutions is al-Azhar mosques in Cairo, which was founded during the reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Azīz bi-llāh (955-996). His minister, Ya‘qūb Ibn Kilis, used al-Azhar Mosque as an educational institution in 988. Also, the Umayyad mosque in Damascus was a centre of learning. Later, numerous schools were established across the Muslim world.

Historian Timothy Mitchell described the problems faced in traditional education as being caused by the chaos and lack of order. Teachers give lessons

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129 Al-Azhar Mosque was built in the Fatimid era in 972. It was the official mosque of the Fatimid state and a centre for its religious vision. This was the first architecture designed by the Fatimid leaders. Al-Azhar was not considered at that time as an educational institution or a university. Judge Abu al-Ḥassan ‘Ali bin al-Nu‘man started to teach there in 975 during the al-Mu‘izz era. He took the names of attendees, and then considered that meeting of scientists at that date as the first episode of teaching in al-Azhar Mosque. For more on this point, see Ahmad ibn ‘Alī Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭibā‘a al-Miṣrīyya, 1853) 2: 69.
130 Caliph al-Aziz appointed a group of scholars to offer their educational classes at al-Azhar after Friday prayers. In the later Ayyūbid period, al-Azhar had lost its religious niche that it had in the Fatimid period. However, al-Azhar remained as an educational institution. When the Mamluks replaced the Ayyūbids in the rule of Egypt in 1250 al-Azhar was restored as a major Islamic educational centre in the Muslim world. That time was considered the golden age of al-Azhar in terms of scientific production, leadership and influence of religions. From this time on with al-Azhar Mosque being used for education and not only as mosque, it often referred to just as al-Azhar. During the reign of Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars of Mamluks, al-Azhar became a real edifice to Muslim, and the place of Islamic Studies and Arabic language teaching. Maqrīzī noted that Cairo had more than 70 schools. All worldly, religious sciences and philosophies, alongside Arabic language were taught at al-Azhar. However, there is no consensus among historians on when al-Azhar became a pre-eminent educational institution. Some sources argue that this change took place under the Mamluk military state, while others say it occurred in the early Ottoman period. However in that era the educational body was not only at Al-Azhar. Mamluks also opened a number of other schools and al-Azhar became one of the multiple study centres. The golden age of al-Azhar and all educational institutions in the Arab countries ended when Ottoman ruled the Arab world in 1517. The Ottomans imposed Turkish language as the official language in all schools and institutions, resulting in the reduction of educational schools. In this period, the education at al-Azhar became limited to religious sciences and science of jurisprudence and some explanation of Arabic science. For more on this point, see Su‘ād Māhir Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr wa Awliyā‘ūhā al-Salihūn* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-ʿĀlī li-l-Shu‘ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1971) 1: 167-168.
while sitting at the pillars of the mosque, without taking care about students’ progress throughout the lessons. “The method was one of argumentation and dispute, not lecturing.” The schools were focusing on the two basic subjects: Jurisprudence according to one of the four official schools, and the principles of faith. Additionally, they were taught some of the material of the prophetic tradition, grammar, language, and literature. In the final stage, they were taught some advanced mathematics and natural sciences, which were not considered essential learning. The French Marshal (General) Lyautey described the process of teaching and training in Arabic schools as follows: “learning as a process that moved from text to text as we saw with the learning of al-Azhar, one reading resting upon another like the building of a pre-modern city.” Qualifying depended mainly on the development of memory. Remembering facts was a constant feature of medieval education in Islam. The system for students in school was to complete their study to get the certificate of authority, *ijāza*. (Fig. 2.4)

![Figure 2.4](http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W674/description.html)

**Figure 2.4.** This manuscript is certificate *ijāza* granted to the Ottoman calligrapher Muḥammad Ḥilmī Afandī in 1219 AH / 1804-5 CE by four master calligraphers: Yāzījī-zāda, Ismāʿīl al-Zuhdī Kātib al-Sarāy al-Sulṭānī, Muḥammad Ḥasīb, and ‘Alī al-Waṣfī. (Source: [http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W674/description.html](http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W674/description.html)).

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133 Ibid, 178.
134 When students obtained their *ijāza*, they acceded to become teachers. In each subject, there was a professor who oversaw the other teachers, and students were eager to remain with their professors until he died. Each student wished to reach the same rank of their professor. Students could get a certificate in one subject, allowing them to be a teacher in that subject, while still a student in another subject. The student had the freedom to choose the material of study, a professor, and attendance. For more on this point, see Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 21-22.
The low level of education in the Ottoman provinces was a result of the Ottoman reforms being concentrated in the capital Istanbul. Historian Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, in his book *Science, Technology and Learning in the Ottoman Empire*, mentioned that the Ottomans started their educational reforms in the late eighteenth century. They began by opening new schools of engineering, wherein they taught modern arithmetic, geometry, and geography. Technical education started with the establishment of the Naval Engineering College (*Mühendishane-i Bahrî-i Hümâyün*) in 1773, followed by the Infantry Engineering College (*Mühendishane-i Berrî-i Hümâyün*) in 1795.\(^{135}\) In the Arab provinces, and especially in Egypt, educational reforms came after Napoleon’s campaign in Egypt from 1798 to 1801. The French brought libraries, scientific instruments, and many scholars, including architects. Historian al-Jabartī described the French progress in science, particularly the establishing of the French scientific complex in Egypt, which was a small organisation modelled after European institutions.\(^{136}\) (Fig. 2.5)

![Image](image-url)

**Figure 2.5.** The first meeting of the Institute of Egypt, in the former house of Hasân Kâchif in Cairo. (Source: Russell, 2013, 34).

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\(^{136}\) Al-Jabartī, *ʻAjā′ib al-Āthār*, 3: 348-351.
After the French campaign of Egypt, the Ottomans dispatched troops from Rumelia in 1801 (the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire) to restore authority. The troops were under the command of Muḥammad ʿAlī, (Fig. 2.6) a military commander born in Kavalla, a sea port in Macedonian, in the area now known as Greece, which was under the Ottoman rule at that time. His parents were Albanian; he knew some Turkish, but not Arabic.

Figure 2.6. Muḥammad ʿAlī ruled Egypt in 1805 to 1849. (Source: al-Dīhī, 2009, 11).

Muḥammad ʿAlī not only defeated the French, but his interest in new sciences rose, which led to changes in the course of the Egyptian, Syrian, and Arab history. After the departure of the French, they left a power vacuum in Egypt. During this period of anarchy, Muḥammad ʿAlī used his Albanian authority to gain prestige and power for himself. In 1805, the government of the Ottoman Empire officially recognized him as Bāshā and wāli (governor) of Egypt and the Ottoman sultan became Egypt’s titular sovereign until 1914. Muḥammad ʿAlī was characterized as quick witted, intelligent and having great personal charm and insatiable ambition. His reign was later periodised and canonized in Egyptian academia.\(^{138}\)

\(^{138}\) Ibid, 20-21.
When Muḥammad ʿAlī took the reign of Egypt in 1805, he showed great interest in modern sciences. He initiated educational reforms, which resulted in rapidly intellectual and scientific developments. His goal was to establish an effective, European-style state education beginning early and focussing on science. A brilliance of success at different levels makes him and his efforts remembered in history. Even though Muḥammad ʿAlī himself had not received any school education, he urged Egyptians to seek knowledge and to educate themselves through reading and writing. Muḥammad Alī sent selected groups of bright scholars on educational missions to Europe. These scholars, after exposure to the new developments and urban life in the West, returned to lead educational reforms. They transferred to the Arab readers what they observed in Europe, emphasizing the state of decline of Arab urbanity in contrast with the development and progress of Europe.

Buṭrus al-Bustāni, one of the leading Arab intellectuals, observed that the decline of the Arab world, in relation to Europe, could be explained by a corresponding decline in the quality of Arab education. Arab progress was achieved when the educational and intellectual life was at its peak, and when it followed the model of the West. But the Arabs later neglected reading and learning, which was reflected on the educational state of the Arab community. Fāris al-Shidyāq, another leading Arab intellectual, also noted this reversal of progress in educational development. In early nineteenth century, he visited Europe and described the development of education there.

As a result of the interaction with Europe, education became an urgent matter. Acceptance of new educational models began with the private schools that taught modern science. The awareness of the necessity of modern education resulted in establishing schools following the European style. Muḥammad ʿAlī undertook several radical measures throughout his long rule, and made several reforms at different levels. He sought many European experts, first from Italy and afterwards from France, to teach in and run the new schools. He also sent young scholars to France to gain knowledge from the foreign experts, and to take the responsibilities of modernization of Egypt upon their return. The most important schools of this
period were the schools of Engineering, Medicine, and Agriculture, as well as the Language Academy. In addition, several specialised agricultural schools were established, and five engineering colleges. Graduates of the early missions to Europe took over the management and teaching of the new schools of engineering. These schools used French experts to organise the college according to the French college model. The skills of al-Ṭahṭāwī, who had accompanied an educational mission to France, soon manifested when he re-joined al-Azhar University in 1817.

Muḥammad ʿAlī believed that the best way for the country to achieve development would be through adopting Western sciences in the military and agriculture fields of study. Thus he enabled experts and translators in various fields to work together at various educational institutions. A number of military academies were established, including the General Staff Academy (Arkān Ḥarb) in 1825, Infantry Academy (Madrasat al-Mushāt) in 1834, and Cavalry Academy (Madrasat al-Fursān) in 1830. In addition to these schools, a number of specialised institutions of Agricultural practice were established, as well as those Engineering, Metallurgy, and Chemistry. Between 1836 and 1841, schools were becoming better at being connected to each other, and the educational system became more organised. At the same time, many students returned from academic missions from Europe to participate in organising education in the state. One of the educational reforms was from 1841 to the end of Muḥammad ʿAlī’s reign in 1849.

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143 The School's establishment can be traced to the efforts of the French doctor Antoine Clot, who had been hired to serve as a doctor in the army. The School of Pharmacology was added in 1830, then the School of Obstetrics in 1831, and later the School of Veterinary Medicine. Within a short time, the School had graduated 420 doctors and pharmacists. For more on this point, see al-Dīhī, Muḥammad ʿAlī, 95-96.

144 In 1809, Italy was the first destination for state academic missions followed by France, during this period; Italian language was the first language to be included in school curricula. Many of the experts at these schools were foreigners. For more on this point, see al-Dīhī, Muḥammad ʿAlī.

145 During Muḥammad ʿAlī’s reign, education developed in several stages. The first stage, 1811 to 1836, saw the establishment of 67 schools in different fields. The main focus of those schools was military under the authority of the Department of the Military. For more on this point, see Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Tārīkh al-Tarjama wa-l-Ḥaraka al-Thaqāfiyya fī ʿAṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1951).

146 Al-Ṭahṭāwī was deeply influenced by Sheikh al-ʿAttar. Al-Ṭahṭāwī graduated in 1823, and immediately worked as a teacher in al-Azhar for two years. Upon his return to Egypt, al-Ṭahṭāwī worked as a translator in the Medicine School for two years. In 1833, he moved to Artillery School where he worked as a translator of Engineering and Military Sciences. There, he took the first step towards his dream of establishing an Egyptian university patterned on the Eastern Languages' School in Cairo. Al-Ṭahṭāwī set up the Schools of History and Geography in 1833, and recommended the establishment of the al-Alsun, a school of languages, in 1835 for teaching the East and West cultures.

147 Al-Shayyāl, Tārīkh al-Tarjama, 29.

148 Rāfiʿ, ʿAṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī, 440-441.

149 Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 69.
Specifically, in 1843, the first civilian school in an English Lancaster style was established: it had eight or ten pupils in each class, and in perfect discipline, so that the student was receiving instruction, or was directly involved in participating in the trade.¹⁵⁰

To intensify exchange with Europe, the Egyptian government established a school in Paris from 1844 to 1849. This was organised by the French Ministry of War, and followed the doctrines of that body.¹⁵¹ A period of political stability followed the setting up of the schools, and the Egyptian Armed Forces were downsized. Muḥammad ‘Alī reconsidered the education system policies. A committee was formed to examine the educational system in this era of political and economic stability. New guidelines were established. The number of first-level schools, dedicated to military learning, was reduced to one school in Cairo and four in the provinces. The second level of specialised schools remained stable, although their student body decreased as the government’s need for employees became less.¹⁵²

Although the two schools in Cairo and Paris had closed in 1849, they were the cause of modern Arab education which began in 1860. This led to creating the format and determining the subjects to be taught in every school, who would teach them, the books to be used, the timetable of instruction, and the schedule of its examinations. In addition, it was decided to devise a new system of educational organization, named Dīwān al-Madāris. The task of Dīwān al-Madāris was to set guidelines for every stage of education. The first stage of education was for only three years, and was set up to provide two principal achievements: educate the people in the community and prepare students for the next stage of learning. The second stage of education was to prepare specialised students for educational institutions to become employees in government agencies. During this time, there were two of these schools, one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria. Their curriculum was over four years. These specialised institutions aimed to produce professional groups in various fields, such as medicine, agriculture, engineering, administration, and translation.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Timothy Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 69.
¹⁵¹ Ibid, 72.
¹⁵² Muḥammad ‘Alī established a school to produce people capable of organizing and supervising the work of government agencies and to work at all levels of administration. When students completed their theoretical studies, they then moved on to practical training in administration, and then were appointed to government departments, offices and military brigades. Also during this era, Muḥammad ‘Alī established the printing press as a means to spread knowledge. This will be outlined later in this study. For more on this point, see Ḥāmid, Tārīkh Jami‘at al-Qāhira, 16-17.
All of these developments and reforms in education started with Muḥammad ʿAlī establishing the first school of engineering named *Muhandis Khāna* in 1816, followed by the establishment of the School of Medicine at Abū Zaʿbal in 1827.  

ʿAlī Mubārak (Fig. 2.7) was one of the most influential reformers of the traditional educational system and responsible for the creation and modernization of a unified system of education in the Arab world following the French models. Mubārak was born in Birnbal, a village of Egypt, and then attended a government preparatory school before becoming a student in the first school of engineering, *Muhandis Khāna*. He graduated from *Muhandis Khāna* and was chosen by the Egyptian government to be a member of a student mission sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī to France in 1844 because of his success and excellence.

Figure 2.7. Egyptian ʿAlī Mubārak (1823-1893), was an education minister during the second half of the nineteenth century. He is considered one of the most important reformers of Egypt in nineteenth century. (Source: Durrī, 1894, front cover).

Mubārak studied in Paris for two years and was appointed to serve at a school for artillery officers and military engineers. In 1850, he became a director of the entire educational system in Egypt. This marked the beginning of his rich career of public

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154 The school’s establishment can be traced to the efforts of the French doctor Antoine Clot, who had been hired to serve as a doctor in the army. For more on this point, see al-Dīhī, *Muhammad ʿAlī*, 95-96.

service which included the ministries of education, public works, and railways. Also, he was critical of the state of planning and architecture in Egypt, and did not hide his desire to copy French models and to adopt European ideas.¹⁵⁶

*Muhandis Khāna: Professional Training of Engineers and Architects*

Historian al-Jabarṭī, who witnessed the growing Western influence in Egypt, described the event that led to the setting up of the first school of Engineering, *Muhandis Khāna*, in 1816. (Fig. 2.8)

![Figure 2.8. The Entrance to the Citadel of Cairo, Egypt, was painted by Scottish artist and Painter David Roberts (1796-1864). The Citadel used by Muḥammad ʿAlī as a place to establish school of engendering *Muhandis Khāna* in 1816. It is now a preserved historic site, with mosques and museums. (Source: http://www.mobilytrip.com/guide/egypt/cairo/cairo-citadel,530024/).](image)

Then architecture was considered as one of the core disciplines of engineering. He referred to a certain designer and inventor, Hussein Çelebi ‘Ajwa, whose creative work prompted governor Muḥammad ʿAlī to establish the school. One of Çelebi’s inventions was an improved and more efficient technique to sift the rice crop. He included a model of his design when seeking the governor’s support to build the new device.¹⁵⁷ According to al-Jabarṭī, Muḥammad ʿAlī ordered the construction of a

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¹⁵⁶ Mohamed Awad, “Reviving the Role of the Master Builder, or Moalem, in Architectural Education,” in A. Salama, W. O’Reilly, K. Noschis (eds.), *Architectural Education Today, Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Switzerland: Lausanne, 2002), 77-84.

school in the castle courtyard (Qalaʿat Salāḥ ad-Dīn). A bureaucrat called Ḥasan Afandī, also known as Darwīsh al-Mūṣilī, was appointed director of and teacher in Muhandis Khāna. On the 12th of September 1820, a presidential decree was issued by Muhammad ʿAlī to allocate a suitable place in the castle for teaching and to assign one of the good scholars to give students lessons in Engineering and Italian language, and then on the 16th of September 1820, al-Khawāja Qusṭī, a foreigner, was employed to teach engineering and Italian language to the students.

The name of the school comes from the word muhandis, which means “engineer” and “architect” in Arabic. The school instructed local residents and the soldiers of the government in the rules of arithmetic and geometry. The Damascene scholar Al-Qāsimī (1866-1914), in his well-known dictionary of crafts Qāmūs al-Šīnāʾīt al-Shāmiyya (Dictionary of Damascene Industries), describes the muhandis as “one who has mastered the art of engineering.” The master of this craft enjoyed a prosperous life, he wrote. Also, the Arabic term muhandis comes from handasa, literally ‘engineering,’ from which comes muhandis. Muhandis has long been the Arabic name for architect, and architecture is still a specialisation of engineering in most Arab Universities today. This shows the ambiguous professional identity of the architect to this very day, as al-Qāsimī defined the work of muhandis as being “the working of maps for roads, bridges, buildings, and rivers, and the like.”

Ḥasan Afandī, the first director of Muhandis Khāna, was assisted in teaching by the Rūḥ al-Dīn Afandī, and some other foreigners. This group taught arithmetic (ḥisāb), geometry (handasa) and science of ingredients (ʿilm al-maqādīr), measurements (ʿilm al-qiyyāsāt), elevations (ʿilm al-irtifāʿāt) and extraction of unknowns (istikhrāj al-majhūl), and the government brought machines for engineering, surveying, and astronomy to this school from England and other

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158 The Saladin Citadel of Cairo is a medieval Islamic fortification in Cairo, Egypt. The location, on Mokattam hill near the center of Cairo, was once famous for its fresh breeze and grand views of the city. It is now a preserved historic site, with mosques and museums. The Citadel is sometimes referred to as Muhammad ʿAlī Citadel, because it contains the Mosque of Muhammad ʿAlī, which was built between 1828 and 1848, perched on the summit of the citadel. For more on this point, see André Raymond, Arab Cities in the Ottoman Period (Cairo: Paris: Dār al-Fikr, 2002), 85-86.
159 Al-Ṭahṭāwī, Manāhij al-Albāb, 399.
160 Al-Jabartī, ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār, 4: 205.
161 Jamāl al-Dīn’s father, Muhammad Saʿīd al-Qāsimī (1843-1900), started the text and wrote the first part that ended by his death. After his death, his son, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī, asked his brother-in-law, Khalīl al-ʿAzm (1870-1926) to complete the dictionary, which he did, writing its second and most substantial part.
European countries. This school had an enrolment of 80 students. The government
gave a donkey to each student to facilitate attending their studies at the castle. The
students also had a monthly stipend and clothing allowance. Students met with
teachers every day from morning to afternoon and then returned to their homes.
Sometimes they also surveyed tracts of land.\textsuperscript{162}

In 1827, Muḥammad ʿAlī decided to transfer the school to Būlāq. Some
historians argued that the reason behind this transfer was the battle of Nafārīn against
France and England on the coast of Greece in 1827. Muḥammad ʿAlī lost the battle,
and consequently realized the significance of the European technological
advancement. Development in the West was clearly reflected in education, and this
was not yet matched in the teaching systems in the Arab World, especially at the
level of organization of curriculum and recruiting foreign professors.\textsuperscript{163} The School
of Engineering founded at the castle did not achieve the aspirations of Muḥammad
ʿAlī. After losing the Nafārīn battle, he realised that his country needed more
sophisticated engineering, especially after the split between theory and practice in
the West. In addition, curricula of the first schools were still very primitive. There
was a modest attempt in the organization of schools, yet the objectives to teach a
group of Mamlūks’ sons and some Egyptian children remained.\textsuperscript{164}

The second \textit{Muhandis Khāna} was modelled on the French system. Under the
auspices of the French ministry, which provided scientific education using French
school books, foreign professors were employed to work in those schools. In 1834,
\textit{Muhandis Khāna} opened as a regular school of engineering in Būlāq, and Arrtīn
Afandī, a previous graduate, became its director, followed by a graduate of the
missions to Europe, Yūsuf Hākkīan Afandī.

ʿAlī Mubārak reflected in his autobiographical notes that, until 1835, the
educational curricula in schools were completely contrary to his ideology. “I found
the schools contrary to what I thought—a lack of care in education, and a neglect of
lessons and homework. The schools concentrate on Military subjects in the morning
and in the afternoon, students are exposed to insults, humiliation, and beatings, and
no one pays any attention to the students’ food.”\textsuperscript{165} The government did not care
about general education; they were interested only in educating the students about

\textsuperscript{162} Al-Jabartī, \textit{ʿAjāʿib al-Āthār}, 4: 397.
\textsuperscript{163} Awad, “Reviving the Role of the Master Builder,” 79.
\textsuperscript{164} Mubārak, \textit{al-Khiṭaṭ}, 9: 41.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid, 9: 45.
infantry tactics and military strategy. The supervisors of the students had beaten, verbally abused, and humiliated them. He found the new subjects of geometry and mathematics very difficult and confusing, indicating that the teachers did not explain engineering in a simple way due to the use of unknown Western terminologies. Later, all instructions were translated into Arabic. According to ʽAlī Mubārak, the changing of curricula gained momentum late in 1836, especially when Ibrāhīm Beik Ra‘fat became a teacher of engineering. His first lesson was to explain the meaning of the terms used in Engineering in a clear and concise way. He explained these using geometric terms, naming shapes and their parts and angles. It seems that previous professors were not able to explain the Western terminology to students.

From 1838 to 1840 Yūsuf Lāmbir was the director of Muhandis Khāna. ʽAlī Mubārak followed him as director. ʽAlī Mubārak noted that, until early 1839, there were no printed books in the School. This meant that the students were forced to record all of what the teachers told them. Sometimes, students could not follow everything from the professors, and they missed much of the content. Late in 1839, the school started to develop its own curricula, and printed the text books they needed. They established rules for the school, such as the duration of engineering degree, which was set as five years. The curriculum for engineering education, which Mubārak himself learned, was also set to include: the sciences of mechanics (‘ilm al-mīkānīk), dynamics (‘ilm al-dīnāmīk), machinery installation (tarkīb al-ālāt), algebra (al-jabr), calculus (hisāb al-tafāḍul wa-l-takāmul), astronomy (‘ilm al-falak), hydraulics (‘ilm al-sawā’il al-mutaharrūka), topography (al-ṭūbūghrāfiyā), chemistry (al-kīmyā’), minerals (‘ilm al-ma‘ādin), geology (jiyūlūjīyā), calculation of machines (hisābal-ālāt), descriptive geometry (handasa waṣfiyya), stone cutting (qat‘ al-ḥijāra), woodcutting (qat‘ al-akhshāb), shade and perspective (al-zill wal-manzūr) and cosmography (al-kuzmografiya). Later, Muḥammad ʽAlī dispensed with the foreign teachers and appointed Egyptian teachers in their stead.

According to ʽAlī Mubārak, many important engineers graduated from this school, such as Thāqib Bāshā, who participated later in the establishment of Mahmūdiyya Canal, and Aḥmad Afandī Azhārī, who studied first in al-Azhar then engineering at Muhandis Khāna, where he also learned the Italian language. Italian

\[\text{166 Ibid, 11.}\]
\[\text{167 Ibid, 11.}\]
\[\text{168 Ibid, 11.}\]
was the language of teaching in the school by the orders of Muḥammad ʿAlī.\textsuperscript{169}

There were many other distinguished professors who also served Egypt and took over administrative positions in \textit{Muhandis Khāna}, such as Amīn Sāmī Bāshā, a graduate of the College in al-Azhar, who was later appointed director of the school. Al-Khwājā Bassām al-Twaïdarī was also appointed as a director and teacher for advanced Mathematics and Engineering in both Arabic and Italian. Also, Bayūmī Afandī was another professor who managed the school for a long time. Bayūmī studied in France, and had excellent experience in natural science.\textsuperscript{170}

After a period of instability, \textit{Muhandis Khāna} closed in 1854, but was re-opened four years later at two separate places. A School for Irrigation Engineering opened at \textit{al-Qanāṭir al-Khayriyya}, while a School of Architecture opened at the castle. After this separation, the schools returned to one school for teaching Architecture and Irrigation in 1866. Subsequently, they were separated again into two. Architecture became a five-year course, beginning with a preparatory year and specialization in the last two years of the study. ʿAlī Mubārak played an instrumental role in the development of curriculum in \textit{Muhandis Khāna}. In 1868, he was awarded the position of director of the government education, which is equal to Minister of Education at this time. ʿAlī Mubārak wanted to establish an environment where students were inspired to be a part of the Arab community and to encourage students to pursue education by using modern technology. He used his experience to identify situations that needed to be addressed. One of his views was to increase the availability of textbooks to students. ʿAlī Mubārak set out to improve the welfare of students by providing their food, clothing, and instruction environment. He combined a number of private high schools, at place called Darb Gamamiz Saray, and created a large school, where each school could use the laboratory with which it was equipped for chemistry and physics. In 1870, a great auditorium was added to incorporate lectures in different branches of knowledge. In 1872, he created the Departments of Surveying, Drafting, and Design in \textit{Muhandis Khāna}.\textsuperscript{171} This led to a window of opportunity to establish an Egyptian university, as this achieved a scientific exchange among professors and between professors and students.

\textsuperscript{169} Al-Ṭahṭāwī, \textit{Manāhij al-Albāb}, 399.
\textsuperscript{170} Rāfiʿ, \textit{ʿAsr Muḥammad ʿAlī}, 400.
\textsuperscript{171} Awad, “Reviving the Role of the Master Builder,” 79.
A large number of engineers graduated from Muhandis Khāna, such as Maḥmūd Bāshā al-Falakī, Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān, Āḥmad Fāyyd and others who later served the country well. One of the most important engineers of the early nineteenth century, Muḥammad Bayūmī, worked on translating Western Engineering books into Arabic. These translated books later became textbooks at Muhandis Khāna. He wrote a collection of books on algebra (1840), descriptive geometry (1846), and trigonometry (1847). Another famous engineer, Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān, also taught in the School of Engineering and authored books in descriptive geometry in 1845 and 1852.\(^\text{172}\)

In the various phases of Muhandis Khāna, architecture was formally taught by various local and European experts, one of whom was a teacher named Muḥammad Afandī ‘Ārif. ‘Ārif wrote a four-part book for teaching purposes, titled Khulāṣat al-Afkār fī Fann al-Mi‘mār (The Summary of Thoughts on the Architect’s Art). (Fig. 2.9)

Figure 2.9. Muḥammad Afandī ‘Ārif’s four-part architectural book Khulāṣat al-Afkār fī Fann al-Mi‘mār (The Summary of Thoughts on the Architect’s Art). (Source: ‘Ārif, 1887, front cover).

\(^{172}\) Mubārak, al-Khiṭat, 9: 41-42.
It was the first Arabic book specifically written on architecture, marking the start of formal architecture and design education in the Arabic world. The four parts were published in two volumes, the first in 1897 and the second in 1898. The publication took place more than ten years after the approval of the text for teaching by Muhandis Khāna’s Academic Committee in 1887. A growing awareness of the difference between general engineering and architecture, eventually led to their teaching being separated into different curriculum.

To sum up the life of Muhandis Khāna, Muḥammad ʿAlī first opened the School of Engineering in the castle in 1816, and then in 1834 he transferred it to Būlaq. Both were closed in 1854, reopened in 1858, only to be closed again in 1861. In the short life after the second opening, architecture was taught at the second site. In 1866, a new school was founded, also in Cairo, to teach irrigation and architecture. This developed in various phases until the founding of the Faculty of Engineering in 1905 and the demise of the earlier schools.

Traditional and Modern Arts and Science

The development of architecture as separate professional education started in Europe in the seventeenth century. The French government undertook, for the first time, to foster architecture as one of the fine arts by supporting schools for the education of artists. Formerly, the arts had shared with other trades those educational facilities provided by the corporations or guilds under the system of apprenticeships which were carried on in the workshops or homes of the master craftsmen themselves. Some accounts of schools or studios can be found in Italy in the Renaissance, but they were private institutions catering mostly for painters. With the Renaissance came a separation between the fine arts and the crafts. It is still a controversial question whether this gain in the artists’ self-esteem and social standing was also a gain for art in general.

France invented academic architectural education with the École des Beaux Arts. The École des Beaux Arts (Fig. 2.10) was established in 1648 by the powerful

173 See Muḥammad Afandī ‘Ātif, Khulāṣat al-Aṣkār fī Fann al-Mī’mār (Cairo: Būlāq, 1315h).
177 Munck, The Enlightenment, 51-52.
Cardinal Mazarin in order to train exceptional students in life drawing, painting, sculpture, engraving and architecture. Fine art instruction had long been a tradition in Europe, ever since the Middle Ages when master painters passed their artistic knowledge onto apprentices. The French architectural field was structured very differently from the other European architecture fields, due to the existence of the École and the Académie des Beaux Arts. Basic construction was still partly in the hands of the craftsmen, but many architects had some sort of tertiary education, and the elite went to the École.

Figure 2.10. The École des Beaux-Arts is one of a number of influential art schools in France. It is now located on the left bank, across the Seine from the Louvre, in Paris. (Source: Broadbent, 1995, 23).

The study of architecture developed a tendency to follow the ideals of the court and the aristocracy, rather than to express the national tradition, and tended to change the architect into a professional master. The École des Beaux Arts was considered revolutionary in its time for imitating the courses and training offered by the great Italian academies like the Florentine Academy of Art of Design (Accademia

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dell’Arte del Disegno, later renamed Accademia di Belle Arti Firenze), and the Academy of St Luke in Rome (Accademia di San Luca). The first class in the school was given in public on the 1st of February 1648 by painter Charles Le Brun (1619-1690). The curriculum of the school was divided into the Academy of Painting and Sculpture and the Academy of Architecture. Both schools promoted conservative classical arts and architectural design based on the antique canons formulated in ancient Greece and Rome.

This European model of modern education in architecture was adopted by the Arabs and became a curriculum for Muhandis Khāna in Egypt in the nineteenth century. Whereas before the nineteenth century the traditional professional training occurred within the practice of the profession or crafts to be learnt, and was not separated out as a formal education. Within the practice of the craft, as Mitchell wrote, “learning was not a relationship that separated practitioners into two distinct groups, student and teachers. The relationship of teacher and student could be found between almost any two or more members of the occupation or trade group.” In addition, “present at almost every point in the practice of a craft, learning did not require overt acts of organisation, but found its sequence in the logic of the practices themselves.” Architecture was not the front-runner of subject taught compared to the rest of the traditional science. Until the end of the eighteenth century, the only way to learn to be an architect was through going to a building site; there were no schools of architecture. In the nineteenth century it was difficult to recognize the architectural theory as separate from the practice; it was integrated with the oral culture of the Ottoman era. In addition, the architectural history and theory was rarely formalized in scholarly writing during the Ottoman era, nor was it formalized elsewhere in the world. This did not mean the deficiency of written material on architecture, but meant a lack of literature on architecture theory. There are archival documents from that era that describe the process of building construction, but very few on how the buildings were designed.

180 Ibid, 13.
182 Mitchell, Colonising Egypt, 85.
183 Ibid, 85.
Constructions were overseen by master craftsmen. It was not easy for a boy to achieve master status (sheikh al-ṣan’a) in the craft, as this needed many stages to reach the highest level. Later, craftsmen in the construction field had an additional advanced qualification which made them capable of being what is now called an engineer or architect. (Fig. 2.11) The level of architect in the Ottoman period often meant holding a high military rank. The most valued qualifications in architecture before the nineteenth century was proficiency in the science of geometry, the architects were a kind of craftsman in construction work and were trained on the job, working their way up through the ranks. In spite of skills in geometry being highly prized all the documents before the nineteenth century refer to the architect as a “builder.” 185 To achieve the level of architect, known as a builder in traditional learning, there were many steps to progress through, from being a young boy to becoming a master craftsman.

Figure 2.11. The famous architect Sinan (1489-1588) painted on the tomb of Sultan Suleiman I. (Source: Kemal, 2000, 450).

Arab crafts (ṣan’a) have existed since ancient times in many types of arts that varied in style and artistic tastes, and are now known all over the world. Some skills are in the arts of drilling in all types of metals, in decorative forms, and adorning them with semi-precious stones and coloured glass. Craftsmen also excelled in woodwork,

185 Ibid, 78-79.
creating different kinds of furniture for the royal palaces, and which were often inlaid with gold and adorned with semi-precious stones. Architects fall into this same genre. Their impact has been felt and seen in all buildings and constructions, temples, cemeteries, and royal palaces, for thousands of years, even before they were called architects. Museums around the world are filled with various products of those ingenious artisans.\footnote{Qāsim ʻAbduh Qāsim, ʻAṣr Salāṭin al-Mamālīk (Cairo: Dār al-Maʻārif, 1979), 151.}

The Arabic word ṣanʿa means “craftsmanship” and corresponds to the Latin *Ars*, “art,” and the Greek *techne*, “craftsmanship” and “art,” of which *tekton* means an “artisan” and “woodworker” or “carpenter.” The *Dictionary of Damascene Industries* (*Qāmūs al-Ṣīnāʿī al-Shāmiyya*) is an exclusive source for the technical and social aspects of production in Ottoman Damascus in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This dictionary’s entries for 437 crafts and industries provide a glimpse of what happened to the local industries in the nineteenth century. The book uses the names of local professional artisans, clarifies what those artisans did, describes the landscape of work and manufacturing, and includes observations about the changing culture of professional training at the end of the century.\footnote{Leila Hudson, *Transforming Damascus* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008), 4.} Thus the European model of modern education in architecture was adopted by the education authority in Egypt in the nineteenth century, providing the curriculum for *Muhandis Khāna*, and the institutional structure of the professional training for modern engineers and architects.

**The Crisis of Modern Terminologies**

In his book *Azmat al-Muṣṭalaḥ*, scholar Moḥammad al-Sawaie explained how foreign professors found their job in the newly founded Arab schools difficult, as they were forced to use the standard scientific text books they relied on in Europe. Students were unfamiliar with the scientific terms used in these books, and the professors, in their turn, had to devote much of their energy to finding the most appropriate Arabic words which would express these terms accurately. Al-Sawaie described the cumbersome process used to prepare scientific lectures. Firstly, the professor prepared the written material in the French language. Secondly, the translator, who assisted the professor, translated the material from French or Italian into Arabic. The professor assisted in the translation to make sure that the material...
was properly understood by the translator. It was during the translation process that new technical and scientific terms were introduced into Arabic. Thirdly, the editor checked and corrected the translation, and, if necessary, adjusted the new scientific and technical terms. Fourthly, the language corrector, who was a traditional scholar from al-Azhar, revised the work of the editor in order to verify the Arabic language, method, and linguistic construction.\(^{188}\)

Al-Sawaie was not the only one to recognise this problem. Historian Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl also wrote extensively about this linguistic conundrum. Al-Shayyāl noted that Arabic scientific progress had stalled since the time when the Ottoman Empire suspended scientific activity. It regained momentum in the early nineteenth century.\(^{189}\) Muṣṭafā Shihābī, who was elected director of the Arab Academy of Damascus (al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī fī Dimashq) between 1959 to 1968, believed that the Ottoman’s policy of “Turkifying” the language of Arab countries (except Egypt) was the main reason that progress stalled. Egypt was exempt from enforced Turkish language due to the efforts of Muḥammad ‘Alī.\(^{190}\) Shayyāl believed that, if the Arab people wanted to resume their scientific progress, and not to be left behind, they had to emulate the advancement occurring in the West.\(^{191}\) Intellectual historian Samer Akkach succinctly stated that “In its rather sudden openness to the great influx of European ideas in arts and sciences in the nineteenth century, the Arab world faced serious deficiencies in technical terminology.”\(^{192}\) The most obvious solution to this dilemma was to send Arabic scholars to Europe. There they would learn about the advanced science that was sweeping the continent and bring that knowledge back to the Arab world. Arab scholars returned from their European missions eager to write about and implement the ideas they had learned; but, they still faced the same linguistic problem. How were they to translate these ideas into Arabic? Were there suitable words that could describe these things or did new words have to be invented?

The scholars returned with many Western scientific books. During the process of translating these books into the Arabic language, subjects such as

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\(^{188}\) Mohammad Sawaie, Azmat al-Muṣṭalāḥ al-‘Arabī fī-l-Qarn al-Tāsi‘ ‘Ashar (Damascus: Institut Francais de Damas, 1999), 81-83.

\(^{189}\) Al-Shayyāl, Tārīkh al-Tarjama, 188.


\(^{191}\) Al-Shayyāl, Tārīkh al-Tarjama, 188.

\(^{192}\) Akkach, “Modernity and Design in the Arab World,” 71.
engineering and natural sciences made Arab scholars acutely aware that they were dealing with sciences which were clearly different from religious science. 193 These scholars saw that Western science had much to offer. They proceeded to carefully choose the best Arabic terms that most accurately conveyed the meaning of the new Western terms they encountered. The new terminology developed by these scholars bridged the gap between the old and new science, and refreshed the language. 194 But the rapid development of science outpaced the slow development of terminology. The problem was that there were only a small number of translators, and they had a broad knowledge of the various subjects they were translating. Scientific advancements were relentlessly forging ahead whilst the translators did their best to keep up. When Muḥammad ʿAlī opened the first Engineering school in 1816, the subjects were taught in French and Italian, but the students only understood Arabic. No one seemed to complain about this situation. When Muḥammad ʿAlī tried to repeat his assumed “success” by opening the first School of Medicine in 1827, however, he received very strong opposition. 195 French scholar Clot-Bey, (Fig. 2.12) the eventual Head of the School of Medicine, suggested that the education in all scientific fields should be translated into Arabic by translators who had wide knowledge in languages.

Figure 2.12. The French physician, scholar Antoine Clot-Bey (1793-1868) founder of modern medicine in Egypt. (Source: al-Shayyāl, 1951, 17).

194 Mohammad Sawaie, Azmat al-Mustālaḥ al-ʿArabi fī-l-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ ʿAshar (Damascus: Institut Francais de Damas, 1999), 78.
But that was not enough to educate people, so gradually Clot-Bey established the school of French language in order to facilitate communication between students and their teachers, and to teach more people the French language.\textsuperscript{196}

Due to the rapid increase of scientific terms, the first Italian-Arabic dictionary was compiled by a Syrian priest named Fr. Raphael and published in Cairo in 1822. Then the first French-Arabic dictionary was compiled by an Egyptian Copt named Ellious Bocthor and its two volumes were published in Paris in 1828.\textsuperscript{197} (Fig. 2.13)

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{dictionary_front_cover.png}
\caption{The first French-Arabic dictionary was compiled by an Egyptian Copt named Ellious Bocthor in 1828. (Source: Bocthor, 1828, front cover).}
\end{figure}

Despite its broad coverage and advanced translations, Bocthor’s dictionary lacked many scientific terms. Akkach noted that the word “design” (\textit{taṣmīm}) which in French would be “Conception,” was missing. This is a vital word that is used in many fields such as architecture, engineering, mathematics, and art.\textsuperscript{198} Arab thinkers continued to struggle through the crisis of terminologies, and they needed to find a solution. The scholars discovered that there was not only a lack of appropriate terms, but also a lack of competent translators. When al-Ṭahtāwī wrote his book \textit{al-Ma‘ādin}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{196} Abu-Lughod, \textit{The Arab Rediscovery}, 28-29. See also, Sawaie, \textit{Azmat al-Muṣṭalah}, 76.

\textsuperscript{197} Ellious Bocthor, \textit{Dictionnaire Français-Arabe} (Paris: Chez firmin didot et fils, libraries, 1828), 37.

\textsuperscript{198} Akkach, “Modernity and Design in the Arab World,” 72.
\end{footnotesize}
al-Nāfiʿa, he took painstaking efforts to explain the meaning of some foreign words for which there were no Arabic equivalents. Sometimes he took a whole page just to explain one word in great detail. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī assured the reader that he gave each translation and explanation a tremendous amount of thought. He asked the reader for forgiveness if there were any inaccuracies, and he admitted that the monumental task would have been done better if he had a French assistant and at least ten people to help him. It is clear by this statement that the French-Arabic dictionary that was in existence at that time was not comprehensive enough to be useful to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. His solution to this problem was to include a small glossary of unique terms at the beginning of his second book, Qalāʾid al-Mafākhir, which he wrote in 1833. Small samples of words that he could not find a synonym for in Arabic were: institut (institute), électricité (electricity), baromètre, (barometer), Chambre des députés, (House of Representatives), and many others. In his quest to translate foreign terms into completely new Arabic terms (which simply did not exist yet), al-Ṭaḥṭāwī resorted to translating each individual letter of the foreign term into Arabic letters, thus conceiving completely new and unique Arabic words. If necessary, he would add a brief note about how to pronounce the new word.

Al-Shidyāq, a Syrian scholar who explored the European sciences closely, strongly criticized al-Ṭaḥṭāwī for using such an inelegant way to create new Arabic words. Al-Shidyāq was the foremost advocate of the Arabic language. He established many new Arabic words which came into common usage, words such as ʿimrān and taraqqī, which mean “prosperity,” “progress,” and “upward mobility,” and jarīda, which mean “newspaper.” Al-Shidyāq particularly disliked the introduction of foreign words into the Arabic language, although he seemed to overlook his aversion when he used boulevard to describe a wide street surrounded by trees. Avoiding the inclusion of European words was a way to preserve the integrity and purity of the Arabic language. (Fig. 2.14)

199 Shihābī, al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-ʿIlmiyya, 175.
200 Al-Shayyāl, Tārīkh al-Tarjama, 188.
201 Rifāʿa al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Qalāʾid al-Mafākhir (Būlāq: Dār al-Ṭibāʿa al-ʿĀmira, 1249 [1833]), 4-8.
A group of Arab students came up with a solution to the translation dilemma. They established schools of European languages which were designed to make modern sciences Arab friendly. The first School of Languages opened in Cairo in 1835; most of the teachers and translators were Syrian. Teachers at this school taught Arabic literature and foreign languages such as French, Turkish, Persian, Italian and English. Arab scholars at this school wrote books which were designed to support the teaching of science in the Arab world. The scope of each of these books was limited to only one subject (chemistry, physics, architecture, engineering), thus paving the way to specialization in education. This trend has remained to this day (although scholars are now espousing the importance of a holistic education in which several, seemingly unrelated, disciplines are combined). Syrian scholar Buṭrus al-Bustānī found the existing Italian-Arabic and French-Arabic dictionaries to be
woefully inadequate for modern students. Instead of duplicating these dictionaries and adding more entries, al-Bustānī decided to compile a large encyclopaedic dictionary. In the dictionary’s introduction, al-Bustānī stated that this dictionary (which was an encyclopaedia) was so comprehensive that every student should own a copy. This dictionary defined many of the new scientific and artistic terms which helped to enrich the Arabic language.\textsuperscript{205} (Fig. 2.15)

Figure 2.15. \textit{Dā’irat al-Ma’ārif} (Encyclopaedia) and the author Buṭrus al-Bustānī (Source: al-Bustānī, 1883, front cover).

‘Alī Mubārak, as already mentioned, was a celebrated engineer. His expertise made him one of the educated elite of his time. As a young man, he studied engineering and architecture at the established \textit{Muhandis Khāna} School. During his studies Mubārak found it very difficult to comprehend many of the things his professors were trying to say. His strong determination and scholarly aptitude ensured that he successfully completed his studies but the road which led to his success was long and often bumpy. At times he doubted his own intelligence. After some time, he realised that the material he was learning was not so difficult, but the way in which the professors delivered it was cumbersome and confusing. The main reason for this awkwardness was the inadequate way the terminology was translated and explained. Mubārak authored and translated many books about engineering and architecture in

\textsuperscript{205} For more on this point, see Buṭrus al-Bustānī, \textit{Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ} (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān Nāshirūn, 1987).
the Arab world.\textsuperscript{206} In these books, he used plain terminology to convey primary engineering rules and concepts.

The term “design” (\textit{taṣmīn}), which was not included in Bocthor’s French-Arabic dictionary, could now be found in Mubārak’s book \textit{al-Khiṭaṭ}.\textsuperscript{207} The inclusion of this word instigated the expansion of scientific terminology. \textit{Al-Khiṭaṭ} shows that Mubārak struggled to translate other terms for which there were no Arabic equivalents. For example, he used the term “red stone” (\textit{al-ḥajar al-ahmar}) to convey the word “brick,” which eventually became ājurr in Arabic.\textsuperscript{208} Other scholars were inspired by Mubārak and began to invent new words also. Mubārak’s pioneering work set a precedent paving the way for other wordsmiths to invent new words. Sheikh Ibrāhīm Yāzigī (1847-1906) provided a few new Arabic terms. He is credited with having invented the word \textit{ṭilā‘}, which means “varnish,” and \textit{muqawa}, which means “carton.” He published a series of articles in the magazine \textit{al-Ḍiyā‘}, in which his new words were introduced. He explained that one should be careful when adding new words related to Western innovations. Every new word must harmonize with the Arabic language and foreign phrases should be avoided.\textsuperscript{209} Some scholars disagreed with Yāzigī’s opinion. Ya‘qūb Ṣarrūf, for example, created a glossary of scientific terms such as: psychology (‘\textit{ilm al-nafs}) biology (‘\textit{ilm al-ahyā‘}), Darwinism (\textit{al-dārwiniyya}), evolutionism (\textit{al-taṭawwur}), and many others, which he introduced into the various branches of science. This revived old neglected and buried Arabic words.\textsuperscript{210}

By the late nineteenth century there were hundreds of new words introduced into the Arabic language. Some of these words were “Arabization” of foreign words, some were redefined existing words and some were completely new. At this time, it was clear that a systematic methodology should be employed in the creation of new words. Some students of medicine, who had a flair for language, specialised in translating and developing new terms in the field of medicine; some engineering graduates specialised in translating and developing new terms in the field of engineering. Comprehensive study and research was required to make sure that new Arabic scientific terminology kept abreast with Western developments. Even now, to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{206} Mubārak, \textit{al-Khiṭaṭ}, 9: 45.
\item \textsuperscript{207} Ibid, 9: 44.
\item \textsuperscript{208} Ibid, 9: 44.
\item \textsuperscript{209} Zaydān, \textit{Tārīkh al-Lugha al-ʻArabiyya}, 4: 166-167.
\item \textsuperscript{210} Ya‘qūb Ṣarrūf, “Uslūbnā fī Ṣa‘īb,” \textit{al-Muqtaṭaf}, 33 (1908): 562.
\end{itemize}
avoid inventing new words or introducing foreign words, new scientific terms are chosen from a repertoire of old words which have the same or similar meaning.\textsuperscript{211}

The first centre for scientific language was established in Damascus in 1919, followed by a similar one in Cairo in 1932. Other Arabic countries then followed. The work carried out at these centres contributed greatly to solving the crisis of terminologies, and the Arab world was then able to catch up (and keep up) with Western scientific developments.

**Learned Societies and New Urbanity**

Learned societies are organisations whose members share an academic discipline. They work to promote their discipline, and publish papers that discuss various topics within or allied to that discipline. The first learned societies were established in Europe (The Royal Society, 1660)\textsuperscript{212} and America (The American Philosophical Society, 1743).\textsuperscript{213} Advanced nations had a number of learned societies whose members played an active role in the cultural and material development of their urban centres.\textsuperscript{214} The Arab world was keen to emulate modernising Western urbanity (*tamaddun*) so they too wanted to form learned societies.

American Protestant missionaries were among the first foreigners to take advantage of the new transportation routes.\textsuperscript{215} One of these missionaries, Doctor Cornelius Van Dyck, (Fig. 2.16) was the founder of the first learned society in the Arab world. Van Dyck was born in Kinderhook, New York, in 1818, and died in Beirut in 1895. He obtained his degree from Jefferson Medical College in 1839. He studied Arabic to a high level, and translated many books into Arabic, starting with the Bible.

\textsuperscript{211} Shihābī, al-Muṣṭalahāt al-ʻIlmiyya, 175.
Van Dyck became a master in the Arabic language and his writings had considerable influence on the improvement of Arabic prose. Van Dyck dedicated most of his professional life to developing the Syrian Protestant College (later named, American University of Beirut), including its printing press, museum, and observatory. He used funds from his private medical clinic to help finance the college’s running costs.\(^{216}\)

In 1846, Van Dyck brought together a group of American missionaries and intellectual Arab Christians, and together they formed an informal literary association in Beirut. This association was a safe haven for prominent cultural and intellectual personalities.\(^{217}\) They had regular meetings in the house of sheikh Nāṣīf al-Yāzigī (1800-1871), an esteemed scholar who contributed greatly to the founding of the Syrian Society. This group discussed the pressing scientific issues of that time, including ways to develop Arabic language and literature.\(^{218}\) This scientific and literary association was so popular among its members that, one year later, in 1847, it charted its own constitution and became the first official Learned Society—The Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences. The society had three main goals which were outlined in the Transactions of the Society:

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\(^{216}\) Iskandar Bārūḍī, *Hayāt Kurpiyyās Fūn Dayk* (Bī’ābdā‘: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1900), 5-8.
The objects of the society shall be: first, the acquisition of science and art, on the part of its members, by means of mutual communications, tracts, discourses, and reports; second, the collecting of books, and papers, whether printed or manuscript, and especially those which are in the Arabic language, likely to be of use to the Society; third, the awakening of a general desire for the acquisition of the sciences and arts, irrespective of disputed questions relative to religious rites and doctrines, with which this Society does not concern itself. 219

To establish an official society of any kind, a constitution must clearly outline the rules and procedures that all its members are required to follow. 220 Having a new set of rules, as outlined by the society’s constitution, made them aware that other groups of people who shared a common interest could formulate their own laws and agree to abide by them. This awareness, in a small way, gave the members a sense of control over their own lives that was usually delegated to a higher power.

At each meeting, with the business part out of the way, a couple of members would present a discourse about a scientific topic which they believed was important in raising the intellectual level of the other members and Arab society as a whole. These speeches were transcribed and published as papers which were given to each member. In a short time, each member had an impressive collection of these important papers which became “significant indicators of the genius and position of the society and its members.” 221 The following list shows the variety and breadth of topics presented by members to the society: “A Discourse on the Instruction of Women” (Ta‘līm al-Nisā’) and “A New Discovery” (Iktishāf Jadīd) by Buṭrus al-Bustānī; “On the Delights and Utilities of Science” (Mabāhij wa Manāhij al-ʻUlūm) and “On the Superiority of the Moderns over the Ancients”

219 Ibid, 477.
220 Some of the rules of this society were: meetings must be held monthly; an annual meeting must be held each January; members may request other meetings under certain circumstances (outlined in the constitution); applications for membership are ongoing; admission-fee is fixed at fifty piasters with an annual tax set at twenty-five piasters; the library must be open every Saturday, from sunrise to sunset, and books may be borrowed by members for a restricted period with monetary consequences for overdue returns. For more on this point see Salisbury, “Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences,” 477-478.

The novelist and writer Yūsuf Ilyān Sarkīs (1856-1932), noted that the American missionaries had established several other learned societies, such as the East Society, Beirut Society, and the Charity Society (al-Maqāṣid al-Khayriyya).223 The common factors among almost all the original learned societies were that the members were exclusively Christian. The founding missionaries soon came to realise that their influence would spread much further if they allowed Islamic intellectuals to join these societies. This led them to establish a new learned society called “The Syrian Society for Science” (al-Jam‘iyya al-Šūriyya li-l-‘Ulūm) in 1868,224 which had many Muslim intellectuals taking part. The main impetus for most of these societies was to reach out and inspire people to learn more about the world; without the taint of religious or political interference. Despite government restrictions and religious opposition,225 these learned societies thrived and inspired many people to appreciate the wonders of science and art from a more informed perspective. The members of these societies enjoyed a privileged sense of camaraderie at the forefront of scientific and artistic discovery.

Learned societies, being a large organisation of academic disciplines comprising members from around the world, were able to exchange knowledge between members of diverse national and cultural backgrounds. Scientific, engineering, agricultural, and artistic achievements would be rapidly recognised, promoted, and disseminated by members who were networked together, unified by their affiliation to their particular learned society. Some academics belonged to more than one learned society, so a cross disciplinary pollination of ideas could also occur very rapidly.

224 Khūrī, A‘īl al-Jam‘iyya al-‘Ilmiyya al-Šūriyya, 75.
225 Cheikho, Tārīkh al-Ādāb, 75.
Chapter 3

Journalism: A New Mode of Communication
Chapter 3  Journalism: A New Mode of Communication

Since ancient times, mankind has employed various primitive printing techniques using stones, clay, and assorted textiles. In 1450, German blacksmith, goldsmith, and printer Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1398-1468) developed the first moving-type printing press. This ground breaking invention heralded a new era of learning and communication for mankind. First, it revolutionised the dissemination of literature in Europe, then rapidly spread throughout the world.\(^{226}\) (Fig. 3.1)

\[\text{Figure 3.1. Canon of Medicine by Avicenna (Ibn Sina) published in Rome, 1593. (Source: Library of the American University in Beirut, 2014, front cover).}\]

The Jews in Istanbul were the first group to harness the technology within the Ottoman Empire. They established their presses in the late 15th century.\(^{227}\) After several attempts (the most important constraint was financial), the Arab Christians succeeded in establishing their first press, named the Maronite Printing Press, \(\text{(al-Maṭbaʻa al-Mārūniyya)}\) in the village of Quzhaya (zgharta district) in Lebanon in


1610. The Maronite scientists gained their experience by participating in the field of publishing in Rome and Paris. Unfortunately, the Maronite Printing Press was short lived. It printed only one book, the book of Psalms, using Syriac script, and then closed its doors. Most sources did not provide clear reasons for its abrupt end. Travellers and Western missionaries, who visited the East at that time, were puzzled as to why the Muslim world refused to print in Arabic script. Orientalist Capuchin Father Joseph, who headed the mission of the French missionaries to Levant in the second half of the seventeenth century, for example, stated that “there are no presses for Arabic books at all; all their books are copied by hand.” Also, Italian traveller Count de Marsigli, who visited Istanbul in the late seventeenth century, noted that the Ottomans did not print their books at all.

At first, the Ottomans were not enthusiastic about the printing press. They embraced all sorts of Western innovations, such as modern styles of architecture, new social customs, new educational system, and were particularly keen to keep abreast of military technology and advanced tactical warfare, however, they were very slow in harnessing the power of the printing press. Although they were fully aware of the technology, they were very apprehensive about what they perceived to be its ramifications. There were several reasons why the Ottoman government was reluctant to adopt the technology of the printing press. The main reason was that the accuracy of Islamic scriptures could be lost through inaccurate printing. Printers could make (intentional or unintentional) mistakes, which would be multiplied a thousand times and distributed to unsuspecting followers. For this reason the religious authorities demanded that all Islamic scriptures be copied by learned hands. Another important reason for rejecting the printing press was learned from recent history. Protestant Christians in Europe printed thousands of copies of their recently altered version of the Bible and distributed it free of charge to Arab Christians. This initiative prompted a wave of conversions from Arab Christianity (Orthodox and Catholic) to Protestantism. The French Ambassador, who was a

230 Qaddūra, Tārīkh al-Ṭibā‘a al-‘Arabiyya, 99.
231 Ibid, 99.
Catholic, petitioned the Sultan to put a stop to this. The Sultan ordered that all the Protestant bibles be collected and locked up; never to see the light of day. This event made the Sultan aware of the potential danger that the printing press could unleash on the Islamic community. The first tentative steps taken by the Ottoman government occurred prior to the eighteenth century when they permitted a number of presses to be established by non-Muslim minorities under two strict conditions: firstly, only non-Muslim minorities were allowed to run the printing press, and, secondly, no Arabic script was to be used. These conditions were met by the officially sanctioned printing presses which ushered in the establishment of the first officially sponsored Ottoman press, the Müteferrika Press, in the eighteenth century.

Modern Printing and the Rise of Arab Journalism

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Ottomans allowed three Christian printing presses to use Arabic script. The first one was established in Aleppo in 1702, (Fig. 3.2) the second was in Choueir (Mount Lebanon) in 1733, and the third one was in Beirut in 1751. The printing presses in Aleppo and Beirut worked for only a short period, while the printing press in Choueir continued throughout the eighteenth century.

Figure 3.2. Book of Psalms by Aleppo printing press in 1706. (Source: Qaddūra, 2010, 337).

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235 The Jewish Encyclopaedia, Constantinople, vol IV (New-York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1903), 238-244. See also Qaddūra, Tārīkh al-Ṭibā‘a al-‘Arabiyya, 105.
236 Jirjī Zaydān, Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lugha al-‘Arabiyya (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, 1983), 45. See also Raḍwān, Tārīkh Matba‘at Būlāq, 11-17.
All three presses published only religious texts. They did not want to anger the official establishment by transferring any of the controversial (and somewhat fashionable) new ideas appearing in Europe about pro-freedom. They even seemed uninterested in printing material about scientific breakthroughs, new inventions, or contemporary socio-political concepts. The French philosopher François de Volney (1757-1820) stated this quite clearly when he said that the Levant publications did not contribute to any political, cultural, or educational changes in the Arab world. 237

These Christians believed that the printing press allowed them to reinforce their identity in the midst of the Islamic world. They realised that printing and disseminating their scripture and doctrines strengthened and unified their members by providing them with uniform and reliable textual information. 238

The first printing press run by Muslims was created in 1728. (Fig. 3.3) This printing press was conceived by the combined efforts of Ibrāhīm Müteferrika (d. 1745) and Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi (d. 1732). 239

Figure 3.3. Celestial spheres from Katib Çelebi’s book Jihannuma, published by Müteferrika Press. (Source: Çelebi, 1732, 27).

Müteferrika was an Ottoman diplomat and polymath, who played an active role in the peace negotiations between Russia and Austria. Çelebi was an envoy for the Grand Vizier, and travelled to France and observed the printing press in Paris. He was so impressed by what he saw that he recommended to the Grand Vizier that a

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237 Cheikho, al-Ādāb al-‘Arabiyya, 48. See also Qaddūra, Tārīkh al-Tibā‘a al-‘Arabiyya, 247.
238 Qaddūra, Tārīkh al-Tibā‘a al-‘Arabiyya, 247-248.
printing press should be built in the empire.\textsuperscript{240} Together, Müteferrika and Çelebi collaborated in an enterprise to establish the first Islamic press with Arabic script. To gain political and religious approval, they prepared a petition which included two main components: a detailed plan outlining the steps which would be taken to establish the press together with a collection of texts printed in Arabic script in Europe;\textsuperscript{241} and a report, named \textit{The Way of the Printing Press (Wasāılāt al-Ṭibāʻa)}, which was authored by Müteferrika. The report specified the objectives for establishing the press: first, Arabic is the language of science, second, Turkish speakers need good dictionaries to acquire the language and printing can produce such dictionaries; and third, works on astronomy, philosophy, history, and geography can be reproduced cheaply and accurately.\textsuperscript{242} The petition went through three stages of approval: first it was presented to the Grand Vizier who approved the petition, then it was examined by leading religious scientific scholars under the leadership of Sheikh al-Islam (al-sheikh ‘Abd Allāh Effindi) who issued an official \textit{fatwa} sanctioning the printing of books (except books related to Sharia and Islamic jurisprudence);\textsuperscript{243} then finally the petition was received by the Sultan (Ahmed III, Reign 1703-1730) (Fig. 3.4) who gave the decree which allowed the press to commence.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure3.4.png}
\caption{Ahmed III (1673-1736), the sultan of the Tulip Period by the painter Levni. (Source: Levni, \textit{Topkapi Palace Museum} in Istanbul, 2015).}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{240} For more on this point, see Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi, \textit{Fi bayân mā dhakarahu Muḥammad Afandī al-Awalī al-Marsūl min Taraf al-Dawla al-ʻAliyya ilā Faransā wa-mā Shāhadahu Hunāk}, MS, [1721].
\textsuperscript{241} Zaydān, \textit{Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lughah al-ʻArabiyya}, 44.
\textsuperscript{242} Qaddūra, \textit{Tārīkh al-Ṭibāʻa al-ʻArabiyya}, 259.
\textsuperscript{243} Zaydān, \textit{Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lughah al-ʻArabiyya}, 44.
The Sultan’s decree, which was issued in 1726, included a license allowing Müteferrika and Çelebi to establish a press using Arabic script. Alas, Müteferrika and Çelebi’s cooperation was short-lived and Müteferrika remained the sole proprietor of the press.\textsuperscript{244} The first two books published by the printing press did not credit those responsible for the printing. All subsequent books were published under the Müteferrika name until he died in 1746.\textsuperscript{245} Over time, his many tasks and responsibilities as a director became clear; these included administration, selecting, translating, and preparing books, writing introductions, epilogues, and indexes, drawing maps, operating and maintaining the printing press, and distributing copies to vendors.\textsuperscript{246}

\textbf{Figure 3.5.} A compass. Müteferrika’s edition of \textit{Tuhfat al-Kibār}. (Source: Çelebi, 1729, 71).

Also, the Sultan’s decree of 1726 listed the kinds of books which were allowed to be printed. (Fig. 3.6) Most kinds of books, especially ones related to science, philosophy, astronomy, and such, were allowable, but it was strictly forbidden to print the holy Quran, Hadith, or any other Islamic books. It is ironic that the first

\textsuperscript{244} The Father Holderman who worked with Müteferrika in the printing press stated in the introduction of his book that at the beginning of establishing the printing press, Müteferrika participate printing press with Çelebi. However, after short period Müteferrika took over himself the management of the printing press. For more on this point see: Yasemin Gencer, “Ibrahim Mutaferrika and the Age of the Printed Manuscript,” 155. See also, Şabān, \textit{Ibrāhīm Mutafarriqa}, 157.

\textsuperscript{245} Şabān, \textit{Ibrāhīm Mutafarriqa}, 157.

\textsuperscript{246} Qaddūra, \textit{Tārīkh al-Ṭibā‘a al-‘Arabiyya}, 262.
Islamic printing press printed nothing Islamic.\textsuperscript{247} This was quite contrary to the Christian printing press, which published only religious books.

\textbf{Figure 3.6.} World map. Müteferrika’s edition of \textit{Tuhfat al-Kibār} (Source: Çelebi, 1729, 24).

Despite their good intentions of providing the Muslim people with new knowledge and scientific information, those people who could read did not seem to be interested. They preferred to read religious texts, which were unavailable in printed form. The lack of education among the people produced a very small market for any kind of reading material. This lack of demand meant that the printing press was not a viable enterprise.\textsuperscript{248} It is worth noting that, despite the appeal of the printing press, handwritten books held an esteemed position in the Islamic community. In the late eighteenth century, there was an encyclopaedia entitled \textit{Tuhfat al-Khaṭṭāfīn}, which included details of a vast number of calligraphers, their names and works.\textsuperscript{249} The fact that such an encyclopaedia was produced indicates how important these people and their craft were to learned men.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{247} Ibid, 259.
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\textsuperscript{248} The press was forced to cease production several times during the eighteenth century, then in 1783, the proprietors expanded their output to include Islamic texts, and the facility produced printed material, uninterrupted, for many years.
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\textsuperscript{249} For more on this point, see Müstakimzade Süleyman Sadeddin, \textit{Tuhfe-yi al-Khattaṭin} (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928).
\end{flushright}
In 1798, Napoleon brought a printing press with his French campaign to Egypt. His press was capable of printing in French, Arabic, and Greek script. When the French were expelled from Egypt, they took their printing house with them and no publishing activities took place for almost twenty years. Nearly 15 years after introducing modern schools into the education system, Muḥammad ʿAlī launched the Bulāq Press, which was a newly deployed government department, and a major symbol of tamaddun in Arab lands. Now that the first wave of educated literate graduates from these modern schools were living and working in the community, he knew that there was more demand for printed material than there was during the time of the original Islamic press. This time people would want to buy and read the books produced by the Bulāq Press. The press would also profit by printing manuals for the military and official journals for the administration and textbooks for the new schools. Besides technical and official publications, the Bulāq Press printed many classics of Arabic literature. The books it produced were of a remarkably high quality, and the technical works contained some fine drawings and plans. These rare titles are of great interest to scholars of Arabic printing, book production, and history to this day.\(^{250}\) In 1822, the Bulāq Press printed their first book which was an Italian/Arabic dictionary. (Fig. 3.7)

\[\text{Figure 3.7. The first Italian-Arabic dictionary was compiled by a Syrian priest named Fr. Raphael and published in Cairo, at 1822. (Source: Raḑwān, 1953, 284).}\]

\(^{250}\) Raḑwān, Tārīkh Matbaʿat Būlāq. See also Ḥanna Fākhūrī, al-Jamiʿ fī Tārīkh al-Ādab al-ʿArabī (Beirute: Dār al-Jīl, 1986), 24-25.
Between 1823 and 1842, the Bulāq press published 243 titles. Interestingly, most of its books were related to the military, the rest covered (in descending order) poetry, grammar, mathematics and mechanics, medicine, veterinary science, religion, botany, agriculture, and political administration.  

The Bulāq Press was unimpeded by censorship laws, because such laws were not considered to be necessary for a government department. That was until 1823, when an Italian poet commissioned the press to print a book which contained material which was heretical to the Islamic religion. When Muḥammad ʿAlī was informed about this Italian poet’s dastardly intentions, he decreed that no European works are permitted to be printed by the Bulāq Press without his official consent. The printing press, or, more precisely, the printed word, allowed new breakthroughs in scientific, cultural, and political understanding to reach more people in more places at a greater speed than in any prior time in history. In the nineteenth century, it became a catalyst for new urbanity (tamaddun) and it paved the way for a new form of communication—Journalism.

Arabic Newspapers, Journals, and Periodicals

In 1892, historian Jirjī Zaydān wrote a short article entitled “Arabic Newspapers in the World.” This article contained a list of 150 Arabic newspapers which had been established during the nineteenth century within and o beyond of the Arab world. In the article he referred to the relationship between the rise of newspapers and the advent of new urbanity. He wrote:

There was no trace of newspapers in the old tamaddun, as far as we know. However, in the new tammadun we can see them as being a hallmark of civilization and a guide for civil society. When a community becomes well established in civil society, their newspapers proliferate and their topics vary. And since the West was the cradle of modern urbanity, the newspapers emerged, grew, and became established there for hundreds of years. As for our Arab lands, its sun did not rise until this century.

251 Ayalon, The Press, 13-14. See also Raḍwān, Tārīkh Maṭbaʻat Būlāq. See also Fākhūrī, al-Jamiʿ fi Tārīkh al-Ādab, 63-65.  
252 For more on this point see Raḍwān, Tārīkh Maṭbaʻat Būlāq. See also Fākhūrī, al-Jamiʿ fi Tārīkh al-Ādab al-ʿArabī, 100.  
Zaydān considered the newspapers as the evidence that distinguished the new urbanity from the old urbanity. He was not the only scholar to say that—most Arab intellectuals of the nineteenth century associated the emergence of new urbanity with the appearance of newspapers. They considered this as the evidence that distinguished the new from the old, the modern from the traditional. The new Arabic newspapers had many pages containing information that would interest the average reader and, consequently, shape public opinion.254

The first newspapers in Arab lands were those of Napoleon’s press. Any ordinary military leader, beset with the rigors and complexity of his command, would not consider a printing press to be an important tool of warfare. Napoleon, who was anything but ordinary, knew the power of the press to boost his soldiers’ morale by informing them about the latest news from home. He also used his printing press to appease the people he was subjugating by disseminating pamphlets, newsletters, and posters (using Arabic script), which proclaimed that he came not as their conqueror but as their liberator. (Fig. 3.8) When his French campaign left Egypt in 1801, they took the printing press with them and the Arab world resumed their traditional methods of copying text by hand.255

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Figure 3.8. A Description d’el’Égypte (Description of Egypt) was a series of publications, which offered a comprehensive scientific description of ancient and modern Egypt. (Source: Paris, Description d’el’Égypte, 1809, front cover).

255 Murūwa, al-Ṣiḥāfa al-‘Arabiyya, 133-134.
Four years later, in 1805, Muḥammad ʿAlī began his Governorship and launched his campaign to urbanise the entire Arab world. He was aware of the rapid progress occurring in the West and knew that establishing a printing press would be a pivotal step towards accelerating progress in the East. He was not hasty in his mission to establish a printing press. Much had to be done before that could happen. Muḥammad ʿAlī’s main priority was to modernise the education system so that the Arab population could learn to read. Once they could read, then—and only then—could they learn from the printed words which his press would produce. In 1815, he sent an envoy called Niqūlā Masābkī (about whom there is scant information) to Italy to construct molds which would be used to cast Arabic typefaces, and then, for the next four years, Niqūlā Masābkī studied the intricate process of printing.

In 1827, the time was right to launch the first Arabic newspaper called Jūrnāl al-Khidīwī. This newspaper reported mainly military news but also periodically included short stories whenever space allowed. Because of its military content, Jūrnāl al-Khidīwī had a limited readership. On the third of December in 1828, a new newspaper called “The Evidence,” al-Waqāʾī‘, began circulating.

Figure 3.9. Extract from the journal al-Waqāʾī‘ al-Masriyya published by Būlāq Press (Source: Raḍwān, 1953, 310).

256 Nashʿat al-Dīhī, Muḥammad ʿAlī Bāshā (Cairo: Dār al-Jumhūriyya li-l-Šīḥāfa, 2009), 92.
257 Ṭūsūn, al-Baʿṭṭāt al-ʿIlmiyya, 10.
Its contents consisted of irregular executive summaries submitted by department heads from within the government and public sector. Its pages were divided into two columns, Arabic on one side and Turkish on the other. It was compulsory for all public servants to subscribe to this newspaper, even those who could not read Arabic or Turkish.²⁵⁹

Muḥammad ‘Alī personally saw to it that everybody paid their subscription dues and received their copy of the newspaper. In 1841, ten years after al-Ṭaḥṭāwī returned from his scientific mission in France, he became the Chief Editor of the al-Waqā‘i’ newspaper. It was around this time that the publication was converted to one language, Arabic.²⁶⁰ Historian, Luwīs ʻAwaḍ analysed al-Ṭaḥṭāwī’s contribution to the newspaper and noted that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was not only reporting on internal politics and foreign affairs but commenting about them also. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī identified three distinct political factions: democratic, aristocratic, and “mixed” (which is a blend of the former two).²⁶¹ Among foreigners, the Islamic government had a reputation of being despotic, which was something Arab readers never considered before. This sort of reporting triggered an immediate and drastic response from the Sultan, who decreed that the newspaper must return to the original two column format with Arabic on one side and Turkish on the other, refrain from reporting on internal politics and foreign affairs, omit short stories and entertaining articles, and only be available to high ranking military personnel. This was done to limit political and intellectual awareness of the general public. The missing political and intellectual content became conspicuous by its absence.²⁶²

Over the next few years, several newspapers appeared and attempted to meet the demand for political news. The first person to fill this gap was a Syrian Christian living in Istanbul called Rizq Allāh Ḥassūn. In 1855, he began circulating the first independent Arabic newspaper entitled Mirʾāṭ al-Aḥwāl.²⁶³ Two years later, Iskandar Shalhūb, another Syrian Christian living in Istanbul, founded a political newspaper

²⁵⁹ Charles Augustus Murray, a Short Memoir of Mohammed Ali, Founder of the Vice-royalty of Egypt (London: Quaritch, 1898), 56.
²⁶¹ Ibid, 1: 255-256.
²⁶³ Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Šīhāfā, 1: 53. Also see Ayalon, The Press, 22.
entitled *al-Salṭana*. In 1858, Khalīl Khūrī, a Syrian journalist living in Beirut, founded a weekly paper named *Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār*. His newspaper covered political, commercial, scientific, literary, and historical topics. In 1857, the Ottoman government tightened its control over local journalists by enacting a new law called “The Press Law.” This law applied to the entire Ottoman Empire. The press needed to apply for official permission before publishing anything. If the laws were ignored, they would shut down the offending publication. These restrictive laws forced many journalists to immigrate to Egypt, which, at that time, had less censorship and legal restrictions.

According to historian Hourani, 1860 was a milestone in the history of Arabic newspapers. Important and accelerated developments were occurring throughout the Arab world and an unprecedented “growth of the periodicals press” was shaping the thoughts and opinions of Arab readers. Over the next thirty years, most periodicals were in Syrian Christian hands. In 1860, *al-Jawā’ib* became one of the most successful newspapers of the time. (Fig. 3.10)

**Figure 3.10.** In 1860, Fāris al-Shidyāq estblished *al-Jawā’ib* newspaper. *Al-Jawā’ib* became one of the most successful newspapers of the time. (Source: al-Shidyāq, 1882, 1147).

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264 For more on this point see Tarrāzī, *Tārikh al-Ṣīḥāfa*, 1: 47.
266 It is worth mentioning that in the nineteenth century, there was no clear difference for Arab intellectuals between newspapers and magazines. Newspapers and magazines, journals and periodicals were all synonymous at that time, because at the first glance there was no discernible difference between them.
It was so successful that its owner, Fāris al-Shidyāq, assembled a printing press for the sole purpose of printing this newspaper. The newspaper attracted a vast readership and was particularly favoured by the intellectual community and aristocracy. It was for this reason that the Sultan paid al-Shidyāq a sizeable annual stipend of 500 Ottoman Lira to ensure that the newspaper portrayed him in a favourable light and promoted him as the genuine worthy Caliph of the entire Islamic nation. This may not be the first (and certainly was not the last) time that a government paid for political persuasion through mass media.

1860 heralded the future trend of most periodicals—specialisation. There were scientific journals, agricultural journals, medical journals, and military journals. There were magazines that covered global issues and others that covered local issues. There were newspapers that reported on specific countries, written in specific languages. And, if you looked very carefully, there were probably even the forerunners of today’s gossip magazines that would tell you what the Sultan was wearing when he went to the annual religious festivals.

Women, Journalism, and New Urbanity

It is important to note that journalism was at the forefront of tamaddun al-jadīd (new urbanity or modern civilization). Newspapers and journals frequently reported on the latest trends in Europe, and they hosted the writings of prominent scholars who evangelised the need for modernisation in the Arab world. Also, unlike every other profession, journalism was one field which was open to women to participate and flourish in—other professions were the exclusive domain of men. The first female journalists were distinguished authors who had their writings published in books before newspapers and journals came onto the scene. They transferred their writing skills to the new communication medium of journalism as soon as it was firmly established. Four of these pioneering journalists were: Jalīla Tarmahān (d. 1899), ʻĀ’isha al-Taymūriyya (d. 1902), Zaynab Fawwāz (d. 1914), and Warda al-Yāzijī (d. 1924). Jalīla Tarmahān is considered to be the very first female journalist in the Arab world. In 1865, she wrote a ground-breaking article about midwifery in

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268 Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 126.
269 Ibid, 304.
the medical journal, *Ya’sūb al-Ṭib.* 270 Warda al-Yāzijī came from a literate family (her father and brothers were famous writers). She established her reputation as a celebrated poet and author of heart-felt eulogies. 271 Her work was so moving that it was compiled and published in a book titled *Hāḍīqat al-Ward.* When al-Yāzijī turned her attention to journalism she was a very prolific writer. Her articles criticized Arab women for being too influenced by the superficial aspects of Western culture, especially the trend of using Western words and phrases instead of the Arabic language. Al-Yāzijī drew the attention of the readers to some of the more admirable traits of Western women, such as their serious composure, and their pursuit of arts, science, and noble activities, which brought out their duty to family, community, and nation building. 272

‘Ā’isha al-Taymūriyya was forcefully encouraged by her mother to learn the domestic and social skills expected to be known by all women. ‘Ā’isha preferred to immerse herself in literature, and her father supported her passion. She vividly retold this story in the introduction of her famous book, *Nātā’i j al-Ahwāl,* which was popular during the nineteenth century. 273 Al-Taymūriyya wrote articles which called for the improvement of women’s conditions and encouraged women to engage in their communities in all aspects of their lives. She also challenged men to involve women in their community activities. She felt it to be her duty to liberate women from their demeaning status of mere “decorations” to something much more meaningful and rewarding.

Arabic Men are often surprised and impressed by their wives’ insight and intelligence but they never advertise this fact. They do not like to bring attention to their wives so they keep quiet about their hidden talents. Western men like to increase their status by letting everyone know how bright their wives are. 274

270 Jalīla Tarmahān taught at the midwifery school. For more on this point see Zaydān, *Tūrīkh Ādāb al-Luḥa al-‘Arabiyya,* 4: 180.
272 Ibid, 15-16.
273 For more on this point, see ‘Ā’isha al-Taymūriyya, *Nātā’i j al-Ahwāl fi-l-Aqwāl wa-l-Af’āl* (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Muḥammad Afandī Muṣṭafā, 1888), introduction.
Zaynab Fawwāz, affectionately known as “Leader of Women” (zaʾīmat al-marʿa) and “Jewel of the East,” (jawharat al-sharq) wrote an encyclopaedic tome, which contained the biographic details and significant achievements of 456 women throughout history from all over the globe. At the end of her illustrious career as a journalist, she published a book called al-Rasāʾil al-Zainabiyya (Zaynab’s Letters), which was a compilation of all her correspondence and articles. Her writings focused on three main issues. Firstly, the condition of women: “Ages ago the Eastern woman closed the door to her happiness and became a machine in the hands of men. Men moved her any way they wanted. They restricted her education, forbade her from leaving the house, or to attend any women’s congregations. The woman began to believe that this oppression was a natural law and she forgot that it was imposed on her by men.” Secondly, she wrote about avoiding myths, superstition, and sorcery within the community (especially between women). Thirdly, she focused on how women could help their community and build the nation. These female journalists helped to create the initial wave of al-tamaddun al-jadīd in the Arab world. The peak of this wave was reached when one woman launched her own journal.

Syrian Hind Nawfal (1875-1957) was the first woman to established a journal, a women’s journal, in the Arab world (Egypt) called al-Fatāt (The Girl) in 1892. When Nawfal was a child, she escaped with her family from Syria to Egypt to avoid Ottoman repression. Her family was scholarly. Her father was an intellectual writer, and her mother, Maryam Nahḥās (1856–1888) wrote The Lives of Famous Women, in 1879, a biographical dictionary of both Eastern and Western women. Sadly, her mother died before she completed the book. Nawfal’s comprehensive education and her talent for writing gave her a strong foundation for her publishing enterprise. Her family had the know-how and skills to support her

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275 Yusuf As’ad Dāghir, Mu’jam al-Asmāʾ al-Musta’ūra wa-Aṣḥābīhā lā Siyyama fī-l-Adab al-‘Arabī al-Ḥadīth (Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān, 1982), 133.
276 For more on this point, see Fawwāz, al-Durr al-Manthūr.
277 For more on this point, see Aḥmad Muḥammad Sālim, al-Rasāʾil al-Zaynabiyya (Cairo: al-Hay’a al-Miṣriyya al-ʿĀmma li-l-Kitāb, 2007).
280 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Sīḥāfa, 4: 95.
venture and to establish a magazine of their own. These magazines became the yardstick by which all other women’s magazines were measured. Because *al-Fatāt* was based in Egypt, Syrian people, wishing to avoid Ottoman censorship, used it as a sounding board to voice their opinions about the repressing conditions imposed upon them at home. In the first edition of her magazine, Nawfal clearly stated that her main priority was to fight for women’s rights. She wrote about how women’s rights were far greater in early times, and she described how these rights were gradually eroded over time until they were almost entirely gone in the nineteenth century. In her first editorial, Nawfal wrote: (Fig. 3.11)

This newspaper will contain articles about science, history, and literature. It will have humorous stories and news about everything that women regard as important. It will not concern itself with political issues or religious debates. The main objective of this newspaper is to defend the rights of women.283

![Figure 3.11](source: Nawfal, 1892, front cover)

Nawfal recognised how the promise of *al-tamaddun al-jadīd* held the potential for better conditions and equality for all people.284 Nawfal called for her female readers to contribute articles to the magazine. She encouraged them to improve their writing

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284 Ibid, 15-16.
skills, to be aware of the repressive forces around them and to voice their opinions about these forces in writing.\textsuperscript{285} It soon became apparent that the majority of contributors were Syrian women who benefited from the education they received in the missionaries’ schools at that time. It was also apparent that Egyptian women did not enjoy the same privilege and, consequently, most of them were illiterate.\textsuperscript{286} It is interesting to note that men represented a large proportion of the magazine’s readership because they were entitled to an education and could therefore read the magazine articles to their wives.\textsuperscript{287} The large male readership would have had a significant effect on editorial decisions as to whether or not to print articles about controversial issues which may offend men. Several leading women joined \textit{al-Fatāt}. The most notable of these women was Hāna Kūrānī (1870–1998), a trail-blazing women’s rights advocate who represented Syria at an international women’s conference in Chicago, USA, in 1892.\textsuperscript{288} She presented a speech about defending the rights of Eastern women. Her speech was so well received that she was interviewed by newspapers and her reputation spread rapidly around the world.\textsuperscript{289} Other women who joined \textit{al-Fatāt} became important regional correspondents: Zaynab Fawwāz (Egypt), Līzā Nawfal (Jaffa), Iṣṭar Aẓharī (Beirut), Māryam Khālid (Deir el Qamar and Mount Lebanon), ‘Abla Nawfal (Tripoli), Warda Farkūḥ (Homs), and Mārūn Shukr Allāh Thāḥīt (Aleppo). Other correspondents were situated in various parts of the Ottoman Empire, such as Jaffa, Beirut, Tripoli, Tanta, and Alexandria. There was even a foreign correspondent in the French city of Lyon.\textsuperscript{290} At the height of its circulation, \textit{al-Fatāt} had a very large readership. Nawfal stated that she could not keep up with all the letters sent to her from all over Syria, Mount Lebanon, Aleppo, and Baghdad. Nawfal’s Syrian contacts formed \textit{al-Fatāt}’s distribution network and sales force.\textsuperscript{291}

Most of the women that became journalists came from an aristocratic background. Their families could afford to send them to one of the exclusive schools

\textsuperscript{285} Tārāzī, \textit{Tārīkh al-Ṣīḥāfa}, 4: 96.
\textsuperscript{286} El-Sadda, ‘\textit{Isha Tawmār}, 39–40.
\textsuperscript{287} Ibrāhīm, \textit{Ṣuḥāfiyāt Thā’īrāt}, 24–25.
\textsuperscript{289} Kaḥḥāla, \textit{A’lām al-Nisā’}, 2: 84.
\textsuperscript{290} For more on this point see: Hind Nawfal, \textit{al-Fatāt} (Alexandria: May, 1893).
\textsuperscript{291} Hoda El-Sadda, \textit{al-Fatāt}: \textit{Jarīda ʻIlmiyya Tārīkhiyya Adabiyya Fukāhiyya} (Cairo: Mu’assasat al-Mar’a wa-l-Dhākira, 2007), introduction. See also Ibrāhīm, \textit{Ṣīḥāfa al-Nisā’iyya}, 17.
for girls, which were created by the early Western missionaries. These well educated women were very aware of their privileged background and they were even more aware of the multitudes of girls who were growing up without any entitlement to any schooling at all. They used their position as journalists to address this social inequity in articles that highlighted the unjust shortcoming in the existing education system, and demanded that something be done to rectify this situation.

**Enlightened Men, Liberated Women**

The idea of granting freedom and equal rights to women in the Arab world—as a part of modern urbanity—can be traced to the so called “Arab Awakening” movement of the nineteenth century. This movement was pioneered by well-meaning men who thought they had women’s best interests in mind. At first, they called for women’s education and the need to establish schools for girls. Then, to escalate the campaign, “Qāsim Amīn,” a fearless advocate for women’s rights, ruffled some feathers by demanding equality for women through legal and social reform.

The European Enlightenment and the French Revolution served as a model for shaping the new form of urbanity, *tamaddun*, in Eastern countries. The quest for *tamaddun* highlighted the need for equal rights and freedoms for women in the Arab world. Despite their good intentions, the leaders of the “Arab Awakening” who supported women’s rights were predominantly men advocating on behalf of women. Their suggestions reflected men’s needs rather than those of the women they represented. They never bothered consulting the women themselves. These men only paid lip service to women by condescendingly proclaiming that women are the most important part of the community. Unfortunately, the male character remained dominant in what was a highly patriarchal discourse about women’s roles in *al-tamaddun al-jadīd*. There was a remarkable scholar who tried to address the issues of Arabic women in an unusual way. Lebanese journalist and literary scholar Salīm Sarkīs (1869-1926), in his magazine *Mirʾāt al-Ḥasnāʾ* (The Belle’s Mirror), posed as a female journalist, who he called Maryam Mizhir. By doing this, his aim was to...

293 The first school for midwives in the Arab world was established in 1832.
encourage women to express their views and aspirations, hoping to increase their social presence. However, most of his own articles reflected his male perspective.\footnote{For more on this point, see ‘Abd al-Rahîm Ghalîb, Mi’at ʿĀm min Tūrîkh al-Ṣîḥâfa: Lisân al-Ḥâl (Beirut: Jarrûs Bris, 1988).}

Men seemed unaware of their biases and, as a result, they maintained their power and continued to dominate women.

Other pioneers in the “Arab Awakening” movement were progressive liberal thinkers, yet they opposed the women’s freedom and equal rights movement by using distorted scientific arguments to explain why women are inferior to men. For example, enlightened intellectual, philosopher, and physician Shiblî Shumayyîl (1850-1917), who was well known for his progressive thoughts and scholarly use of scientific argument to promote al-tamaddun al-jadîd, used his own biased interpretation of Darwin’s theory of evolution to justify the inequality between men and women. In a famous speech in Cairo he stated:

Some people think that women are just as smart as men. Natural science clearly demonstrates that, in low animals, the female mind is more developed than the male mind. However, the opposite is true in high animals. This means that females are smarter than males at the lower level of evolution’s ladder, but males are smarter at the higher levels such as primates and humans.\footnote{Shiblî Shumayyîl, Falsafat al-Nushû’ wa-l-Irtiqâ’ (Qairo: Maṭbaʻat al-Muqtaṭaf, 1910), 2: 95.}

Shumayyîl, despite his apparent open mindedness, misinterpreted Darwin’s theory to argue against equality between men and women. Also, he used monotheistic religions to support his position: “All the divine laws agree that women need to be treated like a minor.”\footnote{Ibid, 2: 95.} And, he described women as, “more volatile than men, they believe in myths, they are stubborn and stick with old habits more than men.”\footnote{Ibid, 2: 97.}

One of Shumayyîl’s contemporaries, ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Kawâkîbî (1855-1902), an influential political reformer from Aleppo, Syria, known for his book Ṭabâʾiʿ al-Istibdād (The Natures of Tyranny), had similar ideas. He opined that the cause of ethical decay in the Arab community was the lack of attention to women’s education: “A lack of education for women negatively affected their ability to raise...
children and their relationship with their husbands.” Paradoxically, al-Kawākibī observed, “The *tamaddun* of Europe should be called the *tamaddun* of women because the status of men in Europe has declined to little more than animals in the hands of women.” It seems that both these men had their own vision of a future that could be attained through the process of modernisation, however, equal rights for women did not factor into their visions. Perhaps they feared that liberated women could jeopardise their future status.

Most historians agree that women were a dominant force in the European enlightenment. This was a difficult reality for Arab intellectuals to accept. The course of the women’s rights movement during the “Arab Awakening” kept oscillating between women’s genuine needs and the assumptions made on their behalf by the men who championed their cause. Arab thinkers agreed that women’s issues required serious discourse, but, despite all their debates, discussions, and proclamations, no effective developments occurred.

In the first half of the century, Rifā‘a al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873), Fāris al-Shidyāq (1804-1887), and Buṭrusal-Bustānī (1819-1883) pioneered the women’s liberation movement. Al-Ṭahṭāwī was a great supporter for the education of women, especially after he saw the education system in France. He demanded, through his writings, to reformulate existing relationships between men and women in the East to reflect the equality of men and women in French cities. Al-Ṭahṭāwī wrote that French women played an important role in all kinds of business, at every level of activity and responsibility. He also mentioned that Europe draws the attention of Arab thinkers, especially how Western women have more freedoms and rights for education, marriage, and decision-making. Al-Ṭahṭāwī highlighted the ideas of the ruler Khedive Ismail (1830-1895), who reformed the Egyptian education system by making it equally available to boys and girls. Al-Ṭahṭāwī was contradictory in his vision of urbanizing women. He accepted the liberation of French women, but he did

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300 For more on this point see al-Ṭahṭāwī, *Takhlīs al-Ibrīz*. See also, al-Shidyāq, *al-Rihla*.
302 AL-Ṭahṭāwī, *Tahḥīṣ al-Ibrīz*, 40.
303 Rifā‘a al-Ṭahṭāwī famously said, “Girls should be educated equally with boys. They should learn to read, write, and do arithmetic. This would arm them with intellect and knowledge which would enable them to formulate their own opinions and to participate in robust discourse with men. This might make them look prestigious when they are liberated from the emptiness of life in the harem.” For more on this point, see al-Ṭahṭāwī, *al-Murshid al-Ămin*, 143.
not wish the same for Arabic women. The look of French women with bare heads, necks, and arms surprised him. “Women, in general, uncovered their bodies, especially around their necks, but they never showed their legs.” According to al-Taḥṭāwī, French women dress nicely, but a little immodestly.  

Fāris al-Shidyāq wrote eloquently about the need to liberate women. He espoused the notion that an urbanised community must respect and reward women for their time and labour, recognise the important roles they play in society, and provide them with a high standard of education. Buṭrus al-Bustānī was another Arab thinker who demanded the liberation of women. He was a great campaigner for women’s education and he discussed this issue when he addressed a meeting of the Syrian Society for the Arts and Sciences. Al-Bustānī often discussed matters pertaining to the development of Arab society. He presented a lecture on “The Education of Women” where he advocated providing women with a broad education, which would enable them to succeed in family life, society, and nation building. In 1850, al-Bustānī gave an inspired speech about the obvious lack of women’s rights and the need to eliminate the injustices and oppressions they faced in Arabic society.

Most historians consider Qāsim Amīn (1863-1908) to be the most influential force in promoting women’s rights in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In his book Taḥrīr al-Mar’a (The Liberation of Woman), Qāsim Amīn stated that European women were ideal role-models for Arabic women to emulate. He also

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304 Al-Taḥṭāwī mentioned that French women use umbrellas, and men do not. Some men in Western society believe that to use an umbrella is strictly a feminine behaviour. Al-Taḥṭāwī felt compelled to describe the thin belts that women wore to emphasise their figures and to appear more seductive. Al-Taḥṭāwī, Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz, 76.

305 Al-Shidyāq famously said, “In the past, women did not recognize differences between the beardless and shaved, between salty sea water and fresh Nile water. But now, as a result of European urbanity, women can criticize and argue with people who are experts in any field.” Al-Shidyāq continued to say, “I always wonder why we do not have urbanity like in the West; especially because I am sure our high moral standards would remain unblemished by it and our women could benefit greatly from it. I see urbanity as a new kind of life; it would be a great opportunity to spread public knowledge, and to attain greater perfection in our work. Without urbanity I feel nothing but sorrow for our countries.” For more on this point, see al-Shidyāq, al-Riḥla, 110-112.

306 Al-Bustānī strongly stated, “God did not create women to be worshipped like an idol. They weren’t created to be kept at home, unemployed and idly chatting to each other. A woman’s business is not limited to cleaning the house. A proper education would broaden a woman’s mental thinking, awaken her consciousness, help her to develop ethical emotions, guide her behaviour, improve her organizational skills, and teach her to be gentle, affectionate and kind.” For more on this point see, al-Bustānī, Khiṭāba Ta’lim al-Nisā’.

108
stated that the progress of Western society was a direct result of the advancement of women.\footnote{307 Qāsim Amīn, Tahrīr al-Mar’a (Cairo: Dār al-Ma’ārif, 1899), 12-13.}

When an Eastern visitor visits any city in Europe, the first thing they notice is the important role of women in society. Women in the West work alongside men in every occupation. Men can do women’s work and women can do men’s work, without any prejudice. The Eastern community, on the other hand, divides the roles of women and men: women work inside their family home and men work away from home. This division prevents women from reaching their full potential.\footnote{308 Ibid, 79.}

Most reformists agreed with his ideas whilst conservatives did not.\footnote{309 Muhammad Ḥarb, Tarbiyyat al-Mar’a wa-l-Hijāb (Cairo: Maṭba’at al-Ma’ārif, 1905), 77. See also Muhammad Faríd Wajdhī, al-Mar’a al-Muṣlima (Cairo: Maṭba’at al-Tarākī, 1901), 5-6.} His remarks about the reasons for the decline of Arab society could not be ignored.\footnote{310 Muḥammad ʻImāra, al-ʻAʻmāl al-Kāmila: Qāsim Amīn (Beirut: al-Mu’assasa al-ʻArabīyya li-l-Dirāsāt wa-l-Nashr, 1976). See also Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, Qāsim Amīn (Cairo: al-Mu’assasa al-Miṣriyya al-‘Amma li-l-Ta’līf wa-l-Tarjama wa-l-Ṭibā‘a wa-l-Nashr, 1963).} After living in France during the 1880’s, Amīn became one of the most demanding advocates of women’s liberation, and he instigated a revolt against the customs and traditions of men in the community. He insisted that women need to be involved in the community, and Arabic society must abolish ideas of inferiority. He stated that the community needed to stop the ignorance and put an end to the era of tyranny by men. His main message was that reforming the nation begins and ends with reform of the status of women.\footnote{311 Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Majīd Khayrī, al-Daf’ al-Maṭīn fī Taḥzīr ‘Ammā fī Taḥrīr al-Mar’a min al-Taḥbīs (Cairo: Maṭba’at al-Ma’ārif, 1899), 48.} Amīn explained the necessity of women’s liberation, which was a sensitive and critical issue in Arabic society at that time. He published another book named al-Mar’a al-Jaḍīda (New Woman), the contents of which were severely criticized by both conservatives and reformists.\footnote{312 Ahmad Ḥākī, Qāsim Amīn (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjūl al-Miṣriyya, 1973), 46.} He raised sensitive topics, such as the veiling of women, a man’s absolute right to divorce his wife, and so forth.

\footnote{307 Qāsim Amīn, Tahrīr al-Mar’a (Cairo: Dār al-Ma’ārif, 1899), 12-13.}
\footnote{308 Ibid, 79.}
\footnote{310 Qāsim Amīn, The Liberation of Women and the New Woman: Two Documents in the History of Egyptian Feminism, trans. by Samiha Sidhom Peterson (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 5-6.}
\footnote{311 Ahmad Ḥākī, Qāsim Amīn (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjūl al-Miṣriyya, 1973), 46.}

most controversially, the prohibition of polygamy. Although most historians consider Amīn to be the most important intellectual to fight for women’s rights, his life did not reflect his professed ideas. Near the end of his life, Amīn reverted to the cultural and religious conditioning ingrained in his psyche, and he radically changed his ideas. He lamented that his push for women’s liberation was a mistake: “my call for the Egyptian people to emulate the Franks in the liberation of women was wrong. I should never have asked women to remove their veils. And, I now realise the danger of involving women in business.” This ideological struggle was reflected in the lives of many of his peers.

There was a famous story in Amīn’s history, which illustrates how his theoretical ideas contradicted the application of those ideas in his own life. One day a friend came to visit Amīn at his home. Amīn was shocked when his friend asked to discuss some issues with his wife. Amīn refused his friend’s request without consulting his wife. This refusal prompted his friend to ask: “How can you represent women’s rights when you restrict your wife’s right to see me?” Amīn replied: “My wife received her upbringing from her parents, she grew up in a traditional family, and she is not comfortable with speaking with other men.” This dichotomy of thought showed just how fragile the relationship was between libertarianism and reality. The task of reconciling these new ideas with ingrained cultural traditions was not an easy one. It required changes at political, economic, social, and cultural levels, and drastic changes were necessary in order to reconcile cultural norms with the desire for modernity, sophistication, and urban development.

There were three main reasons why the women’s movement failed in the Arab world. Firstly, reformers proposed liberal ideas, but later repudiated those proposals. Secondly, men took it upon themselves to speak on behalf of women without consulting them. Thirdly, the movement failed to empower women to break out of their traditional roles of mother, wife, and house-keeper. The pretext of the preserving cultural heritage seemed to outweigh the need for women’s liberation.

For al-tamaddun al-jadīd to succeed and flourish, women must be liberated and be given equal rights to their male counterparts. During the Arab Awakening,

313 Qāsim Amin, al-Mar’a al-Jadīda (Cairo: al-Maktaba al-Sharqiyya, 1900), 73.
314 Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdal-ʻAzīz Musnid, I’tirāfāt Muta’akhkhira (Riyad: Dār al-Rāya li-I-Nashr wa-l-Tawzī’, 1991), 18. This story about Amīn’s change of heart concerning the liberation of women towards the end of his life is based on a personal statement made by Amīn published in a magazine called al-Ṯāhir in 1906. The magazine has not been located to verify the authenticity of the statement.
315 Ibid, 18.
only a few aspects of women’s rights were addressed. The main goal of the male
advocates within the women’s movement was to allow women to have an education.
This goal was ardently pursued and successfully attained for the benefit of the
children, not women per se. They did not even consider other fundamental rights,
such as the right to vote, the right to ascend to higher positions in the workplace, or
the right to request a divorce. The women’s movement never demanded anything
that was not an equal and rightful entitlement for all people, regardless of their
gender. Its main demand has always been based on a humanitarian principle that
aims to eliminate segregation and discrimination in society. Many of the
conservative traditions so deeply ingrained in Arabic society have been blindly
accepted as an inevitable part of life, even though these traditions came from a
primitive era and do not have any valid religious foundation. Perhaps it is time to
revisit the religious texts and highlight the many passages that support women’s
rights in today’s modern world. With the support of religious authorities, women
would be encouraged to strive for and attain leadership roles in all facets of modern
life.
Conclusion

Al-tamaddun al-jadīd was a new phase of civilizational development in the Arab world that brought about societal changes at all levels. Education, art and architecture, and journalism were particularly important areas of development as they brought the Arab-Ottoman world closer to Europe within a shared Enlightenment values based on science, humanism, and rationalism. This study traced the emergence of al-tamaddun al-jadīd (new urbanity) as it was described by Arab scholars who travelled to Europe in the nineteenth century. It highlighted the fact that these scholars were very impressed by the new urbanity they had seen in Europe and wanted to instigate a similar phenomenon in the Arab world—a phenomenon they called *tamaddun*. Unlike most studies which focus on the Arab world’s reluctance to adopt Western ideas, this study reveals how eager the Arab world was to accept the challenge of modernisation and willing to find a way to achieve the same benefits enjoyed by the West. This study argued that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the concept of *tamaddun* acquired new connotations that led to the emergence of a new model of education, journalism, and a call for the liberation of women. The study showed how the concept of *tamaddun* began to circulate when Arabic scholars published books describing their travels through nineteenth-century Europe. It explored the broad implications of *tamaddun* which affected traditional views about education, religion, and society as a whole. The study identified the transformation of traditional schools into modern institutions of learning as the first reforms inspired by the quest for *tamaddun*. This was reflected in the first school of architecture and engineering (*Muhandis Khāna*), the administrative and curricular reforms of al-Azhar, and the establishment of learned societies. The study followed the progress of *tamaddun* from educational reforms, which were bolstered by the introduction of the printing press, to the establishment of newspapers and magazines. It showed how these new printed media educated its readers and helped to spread the idea of *tamaddun* to the general public. It also showed how women contributed to, and flourished in, the field of journalism. The study showed how the liberation of women was a hallmark of new urbanity in the West and how the Arab world had to address this issue in order to achieve *tamaddun*. *Tamaddun*, through education and journalism was indeed accepted as a
welcome change by the Arab people. It not only transformed the lives of the people, but also changed the face of the cities they lived in.
Appendix A

Newspapers and Magazines Issued in the Nineteenth-Century
Appendix A

Newspapers and magazines issued by the French in Egypt

<table>
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<tr>
<th>#</th>
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<th>Country</th>
<th>Editor/Author/Owner</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>al-Hawādith al-Yawmiyya(^{316}) al-Ḥawādith al-Yawmiyya</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Ismāʻīl al-Khashshāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td>Le courrier Egypte(^{317})</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>La Decade Egyptienne(^{318})</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>___</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>al-Tanbīh(^{319})</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
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\(^{316}\) According to the historian Fīlīb Dī Tarrāzī, al-Ḥawādith al-Yawmiyya was the first newspaper in Arab lands, while other contemporary historians reference another periodical called al-Tanbīh that was published by order of the French governor, General Menou, in Egypt in 1800. According to some historians, there is no evidence to show that al-Tanbīh appeared or supported other periodicals at that time. For more on this point, see Fīlīb Dī Ta\(t\)rāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa al-ʻArabiyya (Beirut: al-Maṭbaʻa al-Adabiyya, 1913). See also Ami Ayalon, The Press in the Arab Middle East (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).


\(^{318}\) Murūwa, al-Ṣiḥāfa al-ʻArabiyya, 149. See also Ayalon, The Press, 12.

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<td>al-Jam‘iyya al-‘Ilmiyya al-Sūriyya</td>
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<td>Khalīl Khārī</td>
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320 According to the historian Ibrāhīm ‘Abdūh, *Journal al-Khedive* was established in 1822, while historian ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥamza mentioned that the *Journal al-Khedive* was established in 1813. For more on this point, see Ḥamza, *Qiṣṣat al-Ṣiḥāfa*. See also Ḥamza, *Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya*, 1798-1981 (Cairo: Mu‘assasat Sijill al-‘Arab, 1982).
325 ‘Abdūh, *Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya*, 335
327 Ibid, 1:47.
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Sūriyya</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Khalīl Khūrī, Rāshid Bāshā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>Ya’sūb al-Ṭib</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>al-Sharīka al-Shahriyya</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Yūsuf al-Shałfūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>al-Nashra al-Shahriyya</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Dr Van Dyck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Wādī al-Nīl</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>‘Abd Allāh Abū al-Sa‘ūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>al-Mutaṣarrifiyya</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>Ghadīr al-Furāt</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Jawdat Bāshā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

331 Tarrāzī, Ṭārīkh al-Sīḥāfa, 1: 47. See also Cheikho, al-Ādāb al-‘Arabiyya, 74. See also Ilyās, Taṭawwur al-Sīḥāfa al-Sūriyya, 31.
332 Tarrāzī, Ṭārīkh al-Sīḥāfa, 1: 47. See also Ilyās, Taṭawwur al-Sīḥāfa al-Sūriyya, 31. See also Ayalon, The Press, 22.
333 Tarrāzī, Ṭārīkh al-Sīḥāfa, 1: 47. See also Cheikho, al-Ādāb al-‘Arabiyya, 74. See also Ilyās, Taṭawwur al-Sīḥāfa al-Sūriyya, 31. See also Ayalon, The Press, 23.
334 Tarrāzī, Ṭārīkh al-Sīḥāfa, 1: 47.
335 Ibid, 1: 47.
336 Ilyās, Taṭawwur al-Sīḥāfa al-Sūriyya, 31. See also Cheikho, al-Ādāb al-‘Arabiyya, 74. See also Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Sīḥāfa, 49. See also Ayalon, The Press, 24.
337 Tarrāzī, Ṭārīkh al-Sīḥāfa, 1: 47. See also Murīwa, al-Sīḥāfa al-‘Arabiyya, 154. See also ‘Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Sīḥāfa al-Miṣrīyya, 335 See also Ayalon, The Press, 19.
338 Ibid, 1: 47.
339 Ibid, 1: 47.
340 Ibid, 1: 69. See also ‘Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Sīḥāfa al-Miṣrīyya, 335 See also Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Sīḥāfa, 62.
341 Ilyās, Taṭawwur al-Sīḥāfa al-Sūriyya, 32.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Dāwūd Bāshā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>امّال شركات مار منصور دي بول</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Mīkhā’īl Faraj Allāh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>مجموع الازوراء</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>al-Jam’iyya al-‘Ilmiyya al-Sūriyya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Aʼmāl Shirkat Mār Manṣūr dī Būl</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Midḥat Bāshā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>نزهة الأفكار</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Ibrāhīm Muwayliḥī, Muḥammad ‘Uthmān Jalāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>روضة المدارس</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Rifā’a al-Ṭaḥtāwī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>الزهرة</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Yūsuf al-Shalfūn, Fransīs Marrāsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>المهماز</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Khalīl ‘At̤iyya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>الجنان</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Buṭrus Bustānī, Fransīs Marrāsh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>34</td>
<td>البشير</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>al-Ābā’ al-Yasū’iyyūn, Luwīs Şābūnjī, Fransīs Marrāsh</td>
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<tr>
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<td>النحلة</td>
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<td>Luwīs Şābūnjī, Fransīs Marrāsh</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Salīm al-Bustānī, Fransīs Marrāsh</td>
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</tr>
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<td>المجمع الفاتيكانتي</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>al-Ābā’ al-Yasū’iyyūn, Fransīs Marrāsh</td>
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<td>كوكب الصبح</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>al-Mursalūn al-Amrīkiyyūn</td>
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<td>طرابلس العرب</td>
<td>Libya</td>
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343 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Sihāfa, 1: 73. See also Murūwa, al-Sihāfa al-‘Arabiyya, 155.
344 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Sihāfa, 1: 71. See also Murūwa, al-Sihāfa al-‘Arabiyya, 155.
345 Ibid, 1: 47.
346 Ibid, 1: 70. See also Ḥamza, Qisṣat al-Sihāfa, 63.
347 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Sihāfa, 1: 47. See also ‘Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Sihāfa al-Misriyya, 335. See also Ḥamza, Qisṣat al-Sihāfa, 63.
348 Ibid, 1: 47. See also Ḥamza, Qisṣat al-Sihāfa, 63.
349 Ibid, 2: 8. See also Cheikho, al-‘Ādāb al-‘Arabiyya, 74.
350 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Sihāfa, 2: 9. See also ‘Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Sihāfa al-Misriyya, 335
352 Ibid, 2: 47. See also ‘Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Sihāfa al-Misriyya, 335
353 Ibid, 2: 44.
<table>
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<th>No.</th>
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<td>al-Nashra al-Usbū‘iyya</td>
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<td>Ottoman, Syria</td>
<td>Salīm and Sulaymān al-Bustānī</td>
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<td>Jaridat Arkān Harb al-Jaysh al-Misri</td>
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<td>al-Ju‘ba</td>
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<td>al-Sheikh Nawfal al-Khāzin</td>
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<td>Salīm al-Ḥamāwī, Ḥamzā Fatḥ Allāh</td>
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<td>al-Waqqā‘i’ al-Misriyya</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>al-Ṭabīb</td>
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<td>Jūrj Būst</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>al-Taqaddum</td>
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<td>Yūsuf al-Shalfūn, Iskandar al-‘Āzār</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Thamarāt al-Funūn</td>
<td>Ottoman, Syria</td>
<td>‘Abd al-Qādir al-Qabbānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Rawdat al-Akhbār</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>al-Ahrām</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Salīm Taqlā, Bshāra Taqlā, Anṭūn Jumayyil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>52</td>
<td>Shu‘ā‘ al-Kawkab</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>53</td>
<td>Ṣadā al-Ahrām</td>
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<td>54</td>
<td>al-Manāra</td>
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357 Ibid, 3: 15.
358 Ibid, 2: 20. See also Cheikho, al-Ādāb al-‘Arabiyya, 74.
359 Tārīkh, Tārikh al-Ṣīḥāfa, 2: 22.
360 Ibid, 2: 51.
361 Ḥamāwī, Ṣīḥāfa, 371. See also Ayalon, The Press, 19. According to the historian Ibrāhīm ‘Abdūh, al-Najāh was established in 1881. For more on this point, see ‘Abdūh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣīḥāfa al-Miṣriyya.
367 Ibid, 2: 4. See also ‘Abdūh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣīḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335 See also Ḥamāwī, Ṣīḥāfa, 63.
368 ‘Abdūh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣīḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335. See also Ḥamāwī, Ṣīḥāfa, 63.
369 Ibid, 2: 4. See also ‘Abdūh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣīḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335 See also Ḥamāwī, Ṣīḥāfa, 66.
370 ‘Abdūh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣīḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335
371 Ibid, 335.
372 Ibid, 335.

119
<p>| | | | | |</p>
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<td>al-Muqtatāf</td>
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<td>Ya’qūb Ṣarrūf and Fāris al-Nimr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Al-Quds al-Sharīf</td>
<td>الفنوس الشريف</td>
<td>Palestine</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>al-Shahbā</td>
<td>الشهباء</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>‘Aṭṭār, Kawākibī, and Ṣaqqāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Lisān al-Hāl</td>
<td>لسان حال</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>Khalīl Sarkīs, Saḥīm Sarkīs</td>
</tr>
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<td>Šan`ā</td>
<td>صناea</td>
<td>Yemen</td>
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<td>al-Waṭan</td>
<td>الوطن</td>
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<td>Abū Nazzara</td>
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<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Ya’qūb Ṣannū’</td>
</tr>
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<td>62</td>
<td>Mīsr</td>
<td>مصر</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Ḍīb Iṣḥāq, Saḥīm Naqqāsh</td>
</tr>
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<td>63</td>
<td>al-Tijāra</td>
<td>التجارة</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Ḍīb Iṣḥāq</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>Mir`ūt al-Ahwāl</td>
<td>مرأة الأحوال</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>al-Waqt</td>
<td>الوقت</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Ḍīb Iṣḥāq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>al-‘Ahd al-Awāl</td>
<td>العهد الأول</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Ḍīb Iṣḥāq</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>Haqīqat al-Akhbār</td>
<td>حقيقة الأخبار</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Mīkhā’īl ʻAbd al-Sayyid</td>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Sūriyya</td>
<td>سورية</td>
<td>Ottoman</td>
<td>Ḍīmad ʻIzzat Bāshā al-ʻĀbid</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>al-Mishkāt</td>
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</tr>
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<td>al-Tabīb</td>
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<td>Iskandariyya</td>
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<td>al-Qāhira al-Hurra</td>
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<td>Bustān al-Akhbār</td>
<td>بستان الأخبار</td>
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</table>

---

373 Tārāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 2: 52. See also Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣiḥāfa, 97.
374 Tārāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 3: 7. See also Ilyās, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Sūriyya, 66.
375 Tārāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 2: 27.
376 Ibid, 3: 15.
377 Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣiḥāfa, 66.
378 Ibid, 66.
379 Ibid, 66.
380 Ibid, 66.
381 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335
382 Ibid, 335.
383 Ibid, 335.
384 Ibid, 335.
385 Ilyās, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Sūriyya, 70.
386 Tārāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 2: 60.
387 Ibid, 2: 57.
388 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335
389 Ibid, 335.
390 Ibid, 335.

120
| 74 | al-Tijāra<sup>391</sup> | التجارة | Egypt | Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, ʻAbd Allāh Nadīm |
| 75 | Dimashq<sup>392</sup> | دمشق | Ottoman Syria | ʻAbd ʻIzzat Bāshā al-ʻĀbid |
| 76 | Mirʾāṭ al-Sharq<sup>393</sup> | مرأة الشرق | Egypt | Salīm Ghanḥūrī |
| 77 | al-Iʿtidāl<sup>394</sup> | الاعتدال | Ottoman Syria | ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Kawākibī |
| 78 | 1879 | | | |
| 79 | al-Maymūn<sup>395</sup> | الميمن | | |
| 80 | Miṣr al-Fatāṭ<sup>396</sup> | مصر الفتاة | Egypt | |
| 81 | al-Mahrūsa<sup>397</sup> | المحروسة | Egypt | |
| 82 | al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī<sup>398</sup> | الكوكب المصري | | |
| 83 | al-Burhān<sup>399</sup> | البرهان | Egypt | |
| 84 | al-Salām<sup>400</sup> | السلام | Istanbul | Jibrāʾīl Dalāl |
| 85 | 1880 | | | |
| 86 | al-Mahrūsa<sup>401</sup> | المحروسة | Egypt | |
| 87 | al-Ittiḥād al-Miṣrī<sup>402</sup> | الاتحاد المصري | Egypt | |
| 88 | al-ʻArsh al-Jadīd<sup>403</sup> | العصر الجديد | | |
| 89 | al-Miṣbāḥ<sup>404</sup> | المصباح | Ottoman Syria | Niqūlā Naqqāsh |
| 90 | al-Burhān<sup>405</sup> | البرهان | Egypt | Ḥamza Faṭḥ Allāh, Muḥammad ibn ʻAwaḍ |
| 91 | al-Ṭāʿi<sup>406</sup> | الطائف | | |
| 92 | al-Hijāz<sup>407</sup> | الحجاز | | |
| 93 | al-Muntakhab<sup>408</sup> | المنتخب | | |
| 94 | al-ʻArsh al-Miṣrī<sup>409</sup> | العصر المصري | | |
| 95 | al-Mufid<sup>410</sup> | المفيد | | |

---

391 Ibid., 335.
392 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 3: 198.
393 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335. See also Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣiḥāfa, 66.
394 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 3: 8.
395 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335.
396 Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣiḥāfa, 66.
397 Ibid., 185.
398 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335.
399 Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣiḥāfa, 66.
400 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 3: 5.
401 Ibid, 2: 4. See also ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335.
402 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 2: 4. According to the historian Ibrāhīm ʻAbduh, al-Ittiḥād al-Miṣrī was established in 1881. For more on this point, see ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya.
403 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335
404 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 2: 33.
405 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335 See also ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa, 75.
406 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335 See also ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa, 66.
407 ʻAbduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335.
408 Ibid, 335.
409 Ibid, 335.
<table>
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<th>Place of Publication</th>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>al-Safîr</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<td>al-Fuṣṭâṭ</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>—</td>
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<td>al-Ahwâl</td>
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<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>al-Iʿtidâl</td>
<td>Ahmad Qadrî</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Jamʿiyyat al-Taʿlîm al-Masîhî al-Urthûdhuksiyya</td>
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<td>al-Hadiyya</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>al-Insân</td>
<td>Hasan Hûsûn Bâshâ</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Lûwîs Şâbûnji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>al-Nahla</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Silsilat al-Fukâhât</td>
<td>Nakhla Qalfâţ</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>al-Aʿlâm</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Al-Zamân</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>al-Bayān</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
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<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Dîwân al-Fukâhâ</td>
<td>Salîm Shiîhâda, and Salîm Ṭarâd</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Footnotes:

410 Ibid, 335.
411 'Abduh, Taťawwur al-Ṣîḥâfâ al-Miṣriyya, 335 See also Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣîḥâfâ, 77.
412 'Abduh, Taťawwur al-Ṣîḥâfâ al-Miṣriyya, 335.
413 Ibid, 335. See also Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣîḥâfâ, 77. See also Ḥamza, Qiṣṣat al-Ṣîḥâfâ, 77.
414 Tarrâzî, Târîkh al-Ṣîḥâfâ, 3: 3.
415 'Abduh, Taťawwur al-Ṣîḥâfâ al-Miṣriyya, 335.
416 Ibid, 335.
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418 Ibid, 335.
419 Ibid, 335.
420 Tarrâzî, Târîkh al-Ṣîḥâfâ, 3: 4.
421 Ibid, 2: 36.
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425 'Abduh, Taťawwur al-Ṣîḥâfâ al-Miṣriyya, 335.
426 Ibid, 335.
427 Ibid, 335.
428 Tarrâzî, Târîkh al-Ṣîḥâfâ, 2: 6.
| 112 | al-Nashra al-Baridiyya \[429\] | النشرة البريدية |  |  |
| 113 | al-Falāḥ \[430\] | الفلاح |  |  |
| 114 | al-Ḥaṣāyiq \[431\] | الحقائق | Istanbul | al-Naṣīr al-Sulāwī |
| 115 | Kawkab al-‘Alim \[432\] | كوكب العلم | Istanbul | ‘Alī Bāshā |
| 116 | al-Salām \[433\] | السلام | Istanbul |  |
| 117 | al-Mawṣīl \[434\] | الموصل |  |  |
| 118 | al-Mahrūsa \[435\] | المحرسنة | Egypt |  |
| 119 | al-Huqūq \[436\] | الحقوق | Egypt |  |
| 120 | al-Ḥaṣāyiq \[437\] | الحقائق | Egypt | Shāhīn Makāryūs |
| 121 | al-Insān \[438\] | الإنسان | Ottoman Syria | Hasan Ḥusnī Bāshā |
| 122 | Mirʾāt al-Akhlaq \[439\] | مرآة الأخلاق | Ottoman Syria | Salīm Ḥannā ‘Anحياء |
| 123 | Bayrūt \[440\] | بيروت | Ottoman Syria | Muḥammad Rashīd al-Dnnā |
| 124 | al-Ṣafā \[441\] | الصفا | Ottoman Syria | Alī Nāṣir al-dīn |
| 125 | al-Ṣiḥḥa \[442\] | الصحة |  |  |
| 126 | al-‘Aḥkām \[443\] | الأحكام |  |  |
| 127 | al-Adāb \[444\] | الأدب |  |  |
| 128 | al-Ḥāḍara \[445\] | الحاضرة | Tunis |  |
| 129 | Bayrūt al-Rasmiyya \[446\] | بيروت الرسمية | Ottoman Syria | ‘Alī Bāshā |
| 130 | Dalīl Bayrūt \[447\] | دليل بيروت |  | Amīn al-Khūrī |
| 131 | Al-Jarida al-Miṣriyya \[448\] | الجريدة المصرية |  |  |

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[^430]: Ibid, 335.
[^432]: Ibid, 3: 5.
[^437]: Ibid, 2: 4. See also Ḥamza, *Qiṣṣat al-Ṣiḥāfa*, 123.
[^441]: Ibid, 2: 61.
[^443]: Ibid, 335.
[^444]: Ibid, 335.
[^446]: Ibid, 2: 40.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author/Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>al-Nūr al-Taufiqī</td>
<td>النور التوفيقي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>al-Akhlaq</td>
<td>الأخلاق</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>al-Riyāḍa al-Miṣriyya</td>
<td>الرياضة المصرية</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>al-Manārā</td>
<td>المنارة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>al-Rāwī</td>
<td>الراوي</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>al-Haqqīqa</td>
<td>الحقيقة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>al-Adāb</td>
<td>الآداب</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>Makārīm</td>
<td>مكارم</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>al-Kanīsa al-Kāthūlīkiyya</td>
<td>الكنيسة الكاثوليكية</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Khalīl al-Badawī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>al-Haqqiyq</td>
<td>الحقائق</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>al-Muqāṭtam</td>
<td>المظلم</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>al-Amrūd al-Mu’dīyya</td>
<td>الأمراض المعدية</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>al-Mu'ayyad</td>
<td>المؤبد</td>
<td>*Alī Yūsuf</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>al-Maghrib</td>
<td>المغرب</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>al-Basrā</td>
<td>البصرة</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>al-Fawā'id</td>
<td>الغواند</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Khalīl al-Badawī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>al-Huqūq</td>
<td>الحقوق</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>Ilyās Maṭar and Ilyās Rassām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>al-Mahākim</td>
<td>المحاكم</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>al-Sharq</td>
<td>الشرق</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>al-Āhwāl</td>
<td>الأحوال</td>
<td>Ottoman Syria</td>
<td>Khalīl al-Badawī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

448 *Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335.
449 Ibid, 335.
450 Ibid, 335.
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452 Ibid, 335.
453 Ibid, 335.
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456 Ibid, 335.
460 *Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335.
461 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 2: 4. See also *Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335. See also Hamza, Qīsāt al-Ṣiḥāfa, 101.
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465 *Abduh, Taṭawwur al-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya, 335.
466 Ibid, 335.
467 Tarrāzī, Tārīkh al-Ṣiḥāfa, 3: 312.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Ottoman</th>
<th>Syria</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td><em>Lubnān</em> 468</td>
<td>لبنان</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibrāhīm al-Aswād</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Ṣada al-Sharq 469</td>
<td>صدى الشرق</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>al-A‘lām 470</td>
<td>الأعلام</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>al-Nīl 471</td>
<td>النيل</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>al-Bustān 472</td>
<td>البستان</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Waqā‘ī’i’ al-Būlīs 473</td>
<td>وقائع البوليس</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>al-Fawā‘id al-Šiḥhiyya 474</td>
<td>الفوائد الصحية</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>al-Zirā‘a 475</td>
<td>الزراعة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Kanz al-Zirā‘a 476</td>
<td>كنز الزراعة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>al-Nashra al-Dīniyya al-Uṣbū‘iyya 477</td>
<td>النشرة الدينية الأسبوعية</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>al-Fatā‘ 478</td>
<td>الفتاة</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Hind Nawfal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>al-Ustā‘ 479</td>
<td>الاستاذ</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>‘Abd Allāh Nadīm, ‘Alksān Šrafīān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>al-Hilā‘ 480</td>
<td>الهلال</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Jirjī Zaydān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>al-Ra‘y al-‘Āmm al-Murshid 481</td>
<td>الرأي العام</td>
<td>علامة</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>al-Kamāl 482</td>
<td>الكمال</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>al-Surūr 483</td>
<td>السرور</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>al-Mīzān 484</td>
<td>الميزان</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>al-Muhandis 485</td>
<td>المهندس</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>al-Nīl 486</td>
<td>النيل</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>al-İltifā‘ 487</td>
<td>الالتفات</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

468 Ibid, 3: 12.
470 Ibid, 335.
471 Ibid, 335.
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473 Ibid, 335.
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477 Ibid, 335.
479 Ibid, 335.
480 Ibid, 335.
481 Ibid, 336.
482 Ibid, 336.
483 Ibid, 336.
484 Ibid, 336.
486 Ibid, 336.
488 Ibid, 336.
489 Ibid, 336.
| 172 | Riyāḍ al-Tawfīq<sup>488</sup> | الرياض التوفيق |  |  |
| 173 | al-Barīd<sup>489</sup> | الباريد |  |  |
| 174 | al-Thamara<sup>490</sup> | الثمرة |  |  |
| 175 | al-Tilmīz<sup>491</sup> | التلميز |  |  |
| 176 | al-Sharāyi`<sup>492</sup> | الشرائع |  |  |
| 177 | al-ʻĀlam al-Miṣrī<sup>493</sup> | العلم المصري |  |  |
| 178 | al-Muntaqad<sup>494</sup> | المنتقد |  |  |
| 179 | Silsilat al-Fukāhā<sup>495</sup> | سلسلة الفكاهات |  |  |
| 180 | al-Ḥaqq<sup>496</sup> | الحق |  |  |
| 181 | al-Madrasa<sup>497</sup> | المدرسة |  |  |
| 182 | al-Taqaddum al-Miṣrī<sup>498</sup> | التقدم المصري |  |  |
| 183 | Ramsīs<sup>499</sup> | رمسيس |  |  |
| 184 | al-Naḍīm<sup>500</sup> | النديم |  |  |
| 185 | al-Hudā<sup>501</sup> | الهدا |  |  |
| 186 | Abū al-Hawl<sup>502</sup> | أبو الهول |  |  |
| 187 | al-Rāwī<sup>503</sup> | الراوي |  |  |
| 188 | al-Umma<sup>504</sup> | الأمة |  |  |
| 189 | al-Mahāsin<sup>505</sup> | المحاسن |  |  |
| 190 | Şihyūn<sup>506</sup> | صهيبون |  |  |
| 191 | al-Telegrāfat al-Ḥaqīqiyya<sup>507</sup> | التلفرقات الحقيقية |  |  |
| 192 | al-ʻAlīm<sup>508</sup> | العلم |  |  |
| 193 | al-Nūr al-ʻAbbāsī<sup>509</sup> | النور العباسي |  |  |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>194</th>
<th>al-Majalla al-Zirā‘īyya</th>
<th>المجلة الزراعية</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>al-Yānasib</td>
<td>يناسب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>al-Shams</td>
<td>الشمس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>al-Qadā</td>
<td>القضاء</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>Muntakhabāt al-Riwāyyāt</td>
<td>منتخبات الروايات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>al-Anghām</td>
<td>الأرغام</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Manfīs</td>
<td>مفين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Al-Mathaf</td>
<td>المتحف</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>Miṣr</td>
<td>مصر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>al-Arghūl</td>
<td>الأرغول</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>al-Fayyūm</td>
<td>飛びوم</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>al-Ahāl</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Miṣr</td>
<td>مصر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>Shahādat al-Haqq</td>
<td>شهادة الحق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>al-Zāhir</td>
<td>الظاهر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>al-Nibrās</td>
<td>البراس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>Šada al-Sharq</td>
<td>صدى الشرق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>al-Ikhlāṣ</td>
<td>الإخلاص</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>al-Miqbās</td>
<td>المقاس</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>al-Barq</td>
<td>البرق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>al-ʻAdl</td>
<td>العدل</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>al-Inšāf</td>
<td>الإنصاف</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Baṣīr al-Sharq</td>
<td>بصير الشرق</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1895|

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| 514 | Ibid, 336. |
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| 519 | Ibid, 336. |
| 520 | Ibid, 336. |
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| 526 | Ibid, 336. |
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| 529 | Ibid, 336. |
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
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<th>English Title</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>al-Sayyār⁵³³</td>
<td>السير</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>al-Nahla⁵³⁴</td>
<td>النحلة</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>al-Nāṭūr al-Miṣrī⁵³⁵</td>
<td>الناطور المصري</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>al-‘Am al-jaḍīd⁵³⁶</td>
<td>العام الجديد</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>al-Kināya⁵³⁷</td>
<td>الكتابة</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>al-Nashra al-Shahriyya⁵³⁸</td>
<td>النشرة الشهرية</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>Al-Tarā‘ij⁵³⁹</td>
<td>الطريق</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>al-Ma‘ārif⁵⁴⁰</td>
<td>المعارف</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq⁵⁴¹</td>
<td>مصباح الشرق</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Sāq al-‘Aṣr⁵⁴²</td>
<td>سوق العصر</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>al-Maghrīb al-‘Uthmānī⁵⁴³</td>
<td>المغرب العثماني</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>al-Mursī⁵⁴⁴</td>
<td>المصري</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
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<td>al-‘Abbāsī⁵⁴⁵</td>
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<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>al-Ważīţa⁵⁴⁶</td>
<td>الوظيفة</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>al-Tārāqqi⁵⁴⁷</td>
<td>الترافي</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
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<td>232</td>
<td>al-Munīr⁵⁴⁸</td>
<td>المنير</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
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<td>al-Munādama⁵⁴⁹</td>
<td>المنادمة</td>
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<td>al-Riyāda⁵⁵⁰</td>
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<td>al-Qāhira al-Hurra⁵⁵¹</td>
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<td>al-Mubashshir al-Miṣrī⁵⁵²</td>
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<table>
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<td>al-Aqlâm</td>
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<td>al-ʻAsr al-ʻAbbâsî</td>
<td>العصر العباسي</td>
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<td>252</td>
<td>al-Thabât</td>
<td>الثبات</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>al-Hurriyya</td>
<td>الحريه</td>
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</tr>
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<td>al-Shâm</td>
<td>الشام</td>
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<td>al-Šâ′iqa</td>
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<td>al-ʻAlâm al-Uthmânî</td>
<td>العلم العثماني</td>
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<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>al-ʻAthar</td>
<td>الأثر</td>
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</tr>
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<td>al-Hudûd</td>
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**References:**

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>al-Sharaf</td>
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<td>Al-Būsta</td>
<td>البوستة</td>
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<td>al-Firdaws</td>
<td>الفردوس</td>
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<td>al-Thura'iyya</td>
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<td>Bāb al-Futūḥ</td>
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<td>al-I‘lānāt</td>
<td>الإعلانات</td>
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<td>al-Ḥurriyya</td>
<td>الحرية</td>
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<td>Mir‘āt al-Hasnā</td>
<td>مراة الحسناء</td>
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<td>al-Hidāya al-‘Āmma</td>
<td>الهداية العامة</td>
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<td>Hifz al-Hayá</td>
<td>حفظ الحياة</td>
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<td>al-Teleghrāfāt al-Jadīda</td>
<td>التلغرافات</td>
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<td>al-Kamāl</td>
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<td>al-Salṭana</td>
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<td>al-Najāt</td>
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<td>278</td>
<td>al-Ajyyāl</td>
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| 281 | Abū Nazzara\(^{597}\) | أبو نظارة معظمة |  
| 282 | al-Nashʿa al-Waṭaniyya\(^{598}\) | النشأة الوطنية |  
| 283 | al-Iṣtiqāma\(^{599}\) | الاستقامة |  
| 284 | al-Kahrabāʿiyya\(^{600}\) | الكهربائية |  
| 285 | al-Rāʿid al-Layl\(^{601}\) | رائد الليل |  
| 286 | Abu al-ʿIyāl\(^{602}\) | أبو العياذ |  
| 287 | al-Safīr\(^{603}\) | السفير |  
| 288 | Al-Bāshā\(^{604}\) | البشا |  
| 289 | al-Jalāʾ\(^{605}\) | الجلاء |  
| 290 | al-Nashra al-Idāriyya\(^{606}\) | النشرة الإدارية |  
| 291 | al-Maʿmūn\(^{607}\) | المأمون |  
| 292 | al-ʻIfrīt\(^{608}\) | العفريت |  
| 293 | al-Tārīkh al-Yawmī\(^{609}\) | التاريخ اليومي |  
| 294 | al-Fayyūm\(^{610}\) | الفيوم |  
| 295 | al-Bayān\(^{611}\) | البيان |  
| 296 | al-Maʿmūn\(^{612}\) | المأمون |  
| 297 | al-Samīr al-Saghīr\(^{613}\) | السمير الصغير |  
| 298 | al-Tijāra\(^{614}\) | التجارة |  
| 299 | Mirʿāt al-ʿAṣr\(^{615}\) | مراة العصر |  
| 300 | al-Adab\(^{616}\) | الأدب |  
| 301 | al-Thabāt\(^{617}\) | الثبات |  
| 302 | al-Salām\(^{618}\) | السلام |  

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\(^{618}\) Ibid, 336.
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<td>al-Qānūn al-Asāsī</td>
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<td>al-Jāsūs</td>
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<td>Miṣbāḥ al-Sharq</td>
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<td>al-MuʿTaṣim</td>
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<td>Niblat al-Fishr</td>
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<td>al-Ghazālā</td>
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| 326 | Juhayna⁶⁴² | جهينة |  |
| 327 | al-Sūdān⁶⁴³ | السودان |  |
| 328 | al-Miṣrī⁶⁴⁴ | المصري |  |
| 329 | Anīs al-Tīmīz⁶⁴⁵ | أنيس التلميذ |  |
| 330 | al-Wāsiqā⁶⁴⁶ | الواسطة |  |
| 331 | al-Ḥurūb⁶⁴⁷ | الحروب |  |
| 332 | Shams al-Haqīqa⁶⁴⁸ | شمس الحق |  |
| 333 | al-Naṣīb⁶⁴⁹ | النصيب |  |
| 334 | al-Fūkāḥa⁶⁵⁰ | الفكاهة |  |
| 335 | al-Ṣabāḥ⁶⁵¹ | الصباح |  |
| 336 | Al-Maṭālib al-Haqa⁶⁵² | المطالب الحق |  |
| 337 | al-Shayṭān⁶⁵³ | الشيطان |  |
| 338 | Tasliyat al-Khawāṭir⁶⁵⁴ | تسلية الخواطر |  |
| 339 | al-Manār⁶⁵⁵ | المنار | Egypt | Rashīd Riḍā |
| 340 | Anīs al-Jalīs⁶⁵⁶ | أنيس الجليس |  |
| 341 | al-Miṣrād⁶⁵⁷ | المرصاد |  |
| 342 | al-Raqūb⁶⁵⁸ | الرقيب |  |
| 343 | Aal-Lijām⁶⁵⁹ | اللجام |  |
| 344 | al-Falāḥa al-Miṣriyya⁶⁶⁰ | الفلاحه المصرية |  |
| 345 | al-Jamʿīyya al-Miṣriyya⁶⁶¹ | الجمعية الطبية المصرية |  |
| 346 | al-Diyya⁶⁶² | الضياء |  |
| 347 | al-Mawsūʿāt⁶⁶³ | الموسوعات |  |

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|   | 369 | 368 | 367 | 366 | 365 | 364 | 363 | 362 | 361 | 360 | 359 | 358 | 357 | 356 | 355 | 354 | 353 | 352 | 351 | 350 | 349 | 348 |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
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الزمان

القول الحق

الأسد

سوق

العصر

البورصة المصرية

أنين المظلوم

الأساس

العلمي

الفوضى

الممتاز

المستشار

أبو الهدى

روضة البحرين

غزل البنات

العائلة

الآمال

السلسلة الروايات

إدريس

الظهور

المدارس

الإرشاد

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Ibid, 337.
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<td>al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī</td>
<td>الكوكب المصري</td>
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<tr>
<td>371</td>
<td>al-Jamʿiyya al-Zirāʿiyya al-Ḫidīwiyya</td>
<td>الجمعية الزراعية الخديوية</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>372</td>
<td>al-Wājība</td>
<td>الواجبات</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>373</td>
<td>al-Nūr</td>
<td>النور</td>
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<tr>
<td>374</td>
<td>al-Tāzkār</td>
<td>التذكار</td>
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<tr>
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<td>al-Shahāma</td>
<td>الشهامة</td>
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<td>الأسد المرقسي</td>
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<td>Madrasat al-Zirāʿa</td>
<td>مدرسة الزراعة</td>
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<td>Burhān al-Haqq</td>
<td>برهان الحق</td>
</tr>
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<td>379</td>
<td>al-Kawkab al-Durr</td>
<td>الكوكب الديري</td>
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<td>al-Mirsād</td>
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<tr>
<td>382</td>
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<td>الإسكندرية</td>
</tr>
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<td>383</td>
<td>al-Ikhā</td>
<td>الإخاء</td>
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<tr>
<td>384</td>
<td>al-Īṭīḍāl</td>
<td>الاعتدال</td>
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<td>al-Kawthar</td>
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<td>386</td>
<td>al-Sharqiyah</td>
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<td>al-Hikma</td>
<td>الحكمة</td>
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</table>

686 Ibid, 337.
687 Ibid, 337.
688 Ibid, 337.
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## Arabic Newspapers and magazines published in Western countries

<table>
<thead>
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<td>1885</td>
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<td>al-Tharthāra al-Miṣrīyya 735</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Mālṭa 737</td>
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<td>36</td>
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<td>Cyprus</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>Kawkab Amīrkā 739</td>
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733 Hamza, Qissat al-Sīḥāfa, 97.  
734 Tarrāzī, Tūrīkh al-Sīḥāfa, 3: 315.  
739 Ibid, 1: 33.
Appendix B

Books translated by Arab intellectuals in the fields of general engineering, architecture and mechanics
Appendix B

Books translated by Arab intellectuals in the fields of general engineering, architecture and mechanics

<table>
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<td>Ahmad Daqla</td>
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<td>Risālat al-Ma‘ādin</td>
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<td>1248/1833</td>
<td>___</td>
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<td>Mabādī’ al-Handasa</td>
<td>Rafā‘a al-Ṭahtāwī</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1249/1833</td>
<td>Bülāq</td>
</tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>al-Handasa al-Waṣfiyya1 Handasa Waṣfiyya 2</td>
<td>Muḥammad Bayyūmī</td>
<td>Duchesne</td>
<td>Bülāq</td>
<td>1252/1836 1263</td>
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741 Ibid, 112.
742 Ibid, 112.
743 Ibid, 112.
744 Ibid, 112.
745 Ibid, 112.
746 Ibid, 112.
747 Ibid, 112.
749 Al-Shayyāl, Tārīkh al-Tarjama, 171.
750 Ibid, 112.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>12</td>
<td>al-Maqla al-Ūlā min al-Handasa</td>
<td>Muhammad ‘Iṣmat</td>
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<td>1252/1837</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Uṣūl al-Handasa</td>
<td>Muhammad ‘Iṣmat</td>
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<td>Tarkīb al-Ālāt</td>
<td>Ahmad Ṭā’īyl</td>
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<td>Muhandis Khāna</td>
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<td>Ahmad Daqla</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Muhandis Khāna</td>
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<td>Ahmad</td>
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754 Raḍwān, Ṭārīkh Maṭba‘at Būlāq, 475.
755 Ibid, 475.
756 Ibid, 472.
757 Ibid, 475.
758 Ibid, 475.
759 Ibid, 475.
760 Ibid, 475.
761 Al-Shayyāl, Ṭārīkh al-Tarjama, 134.
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<td>Ifāḍat al-Azhān fī Riyādat al-Šibīyān</td>
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<td>1259/1843</td>
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<td>Būlāq</td>
<td>1259/1843</td>
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<td>Būlāq</td>
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<td>Tahdhib al-ʻIbārāt fī Fann Akhdh al-Masāḥāt</td>
<td>al-Sayyid ‘Ammāra</td>
<td>Būlāq</td>
<td>1260/1844</td>
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<td>al-Lālī` al-Bahiyya fīl-Ḥanḍasa-l-Waṣfiyya</td>
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<td>Kashf Rumūz al-Sirr al-Maṣūn fī Taʻbīq al-Ḥanḍasa ‘alá al-Funūn.</td>
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762 Ibid, 171.
763 Ibid, 135.
765 Ibid, 136.
766 Ibid, 136.
767 Ibid, 112.
768 Ibid, 137.
769 Ibid, 137.
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<th>Year/Publication</th>
<th>Location</th>
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| 31  | ‘Ilm Taḥarruk  
   al-Sawā‘īl | Ahmad Fāyid | 1264/1848 | Būlāq | 770
| 32  | Jāmi‘ al-Thamarāt fī  
   Hisāb al-Muthallathāt | Muḥammad Bayyūmī | 1264/1848 | Būlāq | 771
| 33  | Mikānīkā  
   Nazariyya | ‘Alī Mubārak | Between 1260-1265 | | 772
| 34  | Iydrūlicā | ‘Alī Mubārak | Between 1260-1265 | | 773
| 35  | Ṭabī‘a | ‘Alī Mubārak | Between 1260-1265 | | 774
| 36  | Hafr Ābār | ‘Alī Mubārak | Between 1260-1265 | | 775
| 37  | Mikānīkā  
   ‘Amaliyya | ‘Alī Mubārak | Between 1260-1265 | | 776
| 38  | Hisāb Ālāt | ‘Alī Mubārak | Between 1260-1265 | | 777
| 39  | Handasa  
   Waṣfiyya | ‘Alī Mubārak | Between 1260-1265 | | 778
| 40  | al-Ḥisāb | Ṣāliḥ Majdī | Between 1266-1270 | | 779
| 41  | Taṭbīq al-Jabr  
   ‘alá A‘māl-l-Handasiyya | Ṣāliḥ Majdī | Between 1266-1270 | | 780
| 42  | Handasa  
   Waṣfiyya | Ṣāliḥ Majdī | Between 1266-1270 | | 781
| 43  | al-Jabr | Ṣāliḥ Majdī | Between 1266-1270 | | 782
| 44  | Hisāb al-Muthallathāt | Ṣāliḥ Majdī | Between 1266-1270 | | 783

770 Ibid, 137.
771 Ibid, 137.
773 Ibid, 8: 23.
774 Ibid, 8: 23.
775 Ibid, 8: 23.
776 Ibid, 8: 23.
777 Ibid, 8: 23.
778 Ibid, 8: 23.
779 Ibid, 8: 24.
780 Ibid, 8: 24.
781 Ibid, 8: 24.
782 Ibid, 8: 24.
783 Ibid, 8: 24.
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1266-1270</td>
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<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>الروضة الزهبية في الهندسة الوصفية</td>
<td>إبراهيم رمضان منصور عزمي</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1268/1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>المنشة الدينية في الهندسة الوصفية</td>
<td>إبراهيم رمضان منصور عزمي</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1269/1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>النخبة الحسابية للدارس العسكرية</td>
<td>صالح مجدي</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1269/1853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>الدراسة السنية في الحسابات الهندسية</td>
<td>أحمد فعيد</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>1269/1853</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>الدار المنثور في الظل والمنظور</td>
<td>صالح مجدي</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1269/1835</td>
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784 Ibid, 8: 24.
785 Al-Shayyāl, Tārīkh al-Tarjama, 138.
786 Ibid, 138.
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