سياسة مصر العـــربية

في النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر

ثورة العســـير [1] (١٨٦٤ - ١٨٦٦)

للدكتور محمد محمود السروجي
مدرس التاريخ الحديث بالكلية

كانت ثورة العسير احدى الثورات العديدة التي قامت ضد الحكم العثماني والـسيطرة العثمانية نتيجة لضعف سلطة الباب العالي واضطراب الامور في اليمن والحجاز . وقد استعان السلطان العثماني بوالي مصر في اخماد تلك الثورة ، ووجدت تلك الدعوة ترحيبا كبيراً من قبل والي مصر اسماعيل أملا في احياء الـسياسة العربية التي سارت عليها مصر في النصف الأول من القرن التاسع عشر .

فاشتراك مصر في القضاء على تلك الثورة يعتبر من وجهة نظر مصر تتمة للـسياسة العربية التي وضعت أسسها من قبل . ولذا فلا يستطيع الباحث أن يتفهم سياسة مصر في النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر ازاء ما يجرى في شبه الجزيرة العربية من أحداث ما لم يرجع الى الوراء بضع قرون ليلم المامة سريعة بالـسياسة التي اتبعتها كل من مصر والدولة العثمانية ازاء تلك المنطقة العربية من العالم .

بدأ اهتمام العثمانيين بالسيطرة على سواحل البحر الأحمر بعد احتلالهم لمصر مباشرة عام ١٥١٧ . وكان مرد هذا الاهتمام يرجع – الى حد كبير – الى محاولتهم معالجة أهم المشاكل السياسية والاقتصادية التي واجهتها مصر منذ أن كشف طريق رأس الرجاء الصالح في أواخر القرن الخامس عشر .

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(١) جميع الوثائق العربية المشار اليها في هوامش البحث منقولة عن قسم المحفوظات التاريخية بالقصر الجمهوري . أما الوثائق الفرنسية فمنقولة عن أرشيف وزارة الخارجية الفرنسية ومحفوظة بالقصر الجمهوري أيضا .

كان على الدولة العثمانية اذاً أن تدافع النفوذ البرتغالى المتغلغل فى المحيط الهندى والجزء الجنوبى من البحر الأحمر . ووجد العثمانيون أن من واجبهم القيام بعمل حاسم لوقف التيار البرتغالى ، لانقاذ العالم الاسلامى من هذا الخطر الصليبى المتعصب ؛ حماية لقوى الاسلامية فى الهند من أن تحطم ، ومحافظة على الولايات العربية الواقعة على سواحل البحر الأحمر من أن تنتزع السيطرة على التجارة الشرقية من أيديها . هذا فضلا عن الفائدة الكبيرة التى تعود على الدولة العثمانية من القضاء على قوة البرتغاليين ومن بسط سيطرتها على الطريق التجارى القديم ، واستعادة أهميته السابقة كطريق تجارى هام بين الشرق والغرب .

ومن ثم بدأ الأتراك العثمانيون يتطلعون الى الاستيلاء على السواحل الغربية لشبه الجزيرة العربية ، ووضع أيديهم على المراكز العربية التجارية الواقعة على ساحل البحر الأحمر الغربى مثل هرر وسواكن ومصوع حتى لايمكنوا البرتغاليين من توطيد أقدامهم فى تلك المناطق .

وكان الحجاز أسبق هذه الأقطار الى الدخول فى حظيرة الدولة العثمانية بعد أن دالت دولة المماليك فى مصر . ولم يجد شريف مكة غضاضة فى أن يتقدم بفروض الطاعة والولاء للسيد الجديد (السلطان سليم) بمصر ، ليضمن بذلك بقاءه فى منصبه ، وليتمتع بالحماية العثمانية ضد اعتداء البرتغاليين .

واذا اتجهنا الى الطرف الجنوبى الغربى لشبه الجزيرة العربية نجد أمارة اليمن حيث كانت خاضعة لحكم الأئمة الزيديين ، وكان أمراء المماليك فى مصر يدعون لأنفسهم شيئا من السيادة على اليمن نظراً لسيطرتهم على اقليم الحجاز . وقد وجد هؤلاء المماليك فى الضغط البرتغالى على اليمن فرصة سانحة لتدعيم نفوذهم فى تلك البلاد ، فأرسلوا بقوة حربية كبيرة اليها بحجة الدفاع عن كيانها ضد الغزو البرتغالى . وظلت تلك القوة الحربية قائمة الى سقوط دولة المماليك فأخرجت منها بالقوة . وبذلك أصبحت اليمن مطمعا لقوتين جديدتين هما : العثمانيون والبرتغاليون . الى أن تمكن العثمانيون من أن يكون لهم الغلبة فى النهاية وأن يسيطروا على اليمن بعد حملات متعددة وتضحيات شديدة . وبالرغم من ذلك لم يستطع الأتراك العثمانيون البقاء فيه فاضطروا الى الانسحاب عنه فى سنة ١٦٣٥ .

كما استطاع الأتراك أيضا من بسط سيطرتهم على الأمارات الواقعة على الخليج الفارسى . ولكنها كانت فى واقع الأمر سيطرة اسمية ، وظلت السلطة الفعلية فى أيدى أمرائها ومشايخها المحليين .

من هذا العرض الموجز لحركة التوسع العثمانى فى شبه الجزيرة العربية لمواجهة الضغط البرتغالى نجد أن العثمانيين قد اضطروا الى الاهتمام بالعالم العربى وبالمشاكل العربية ، وبأن يكونوا لأنفسهم سياسة عربية خاصة ازاء تلك المناطق .

وباستيلاء العثمانيين على الحجاز اتخذوا من جدة قاعدة لحكم هذا القطر العربى ، وأطلقوا عليه اسم ولاية الحبش ، وأقاموا بها واليا تركيا برتبة الباشوية ويخضع لسلطته شريف مكة . وظلت الصلة التى تربط مصر بالحجاز تتمثل فى بعثة الحج المصرية وفى الأموال والغلال التى ترد سنويا الى الأراضى المقدسة . واستمر الحجاز خاضعا لحكم الأتراك العثمانيين الى أن استولى عليه الوهابيون فى عام ١٨٠٢ م .

وعند ما عجزت الدولة العثمانية عن استرداد الحجاز من أيدى الوهابيين ، التجأت الى محمد على والى مصر ، للقضاء على الحركة الوهابية وانتزاع معظم الجزيرة العربية من أيديهم . واستطاعت مصر بعد جهود كبيرة من السيطرة على الحجاز فى عام ١٨١٩ ومن وضع سياسة عربية خاصة بها فى شبه الجزيرة العربية . وتهدف تلك السياسة الى الاستقلال بحكم تلك البلاد ، وبذلك أصبح لمصر منزلة سامية لدى الشعوب الاسلامية نتيجة لسيطرتها على الحرمين الشريفين .

وقد حاول محمد على بعد أن استتب له الأمر فى شبه الجزيرة العربية أن يتجه بفتوحاته شرقاً نحو الخليج الفارسى وجنوباً الى اليمن ، ولكن الحكومة الانجليزية أنذرته من المضى فى هذا السبيل ، وبادرت باحتلال عدن سنة ١٨٣٩ . فلم يجد محمد على بدا ــ تحت ضغط الحكومة الانجليزية ــ من الانكماش داخل شبه الجزيرة العربية ، الى أن استطاعت انجلترا فى عام ١٨٤٠ من القضاء على الحكم المصرى فى شبه الجزيرة العربية وأن تعيد اليها الحكم العثمانى مرة أخرى ثانية .

وكان لفشل حركة محمد على فى تكوين امبراطورية عربية والاستقلال عن الباب العالى صداه العميق فى الحكومة العثمانية التى لم تتردد فى استغلال تلك الفرصة فى تشديد قبضتها على البلاد العربية الخاضعة لحكمها ، فأقامت بالحجاز الى جوار الوالى العثمانى وشريف مكة قوة عثمانية كبيرة لتوطيد النفوذ العثمانى فى تلك البلاد . ونجح العثمانيون ــ الى حد كبير ــ فى تدعيم سلطانهم على الحجاز نتيجة لانتهاجهم تلك السياسة الجديدة .

وظلت مصر منذ الفترة التى أعقبت عام ١٨٤٠ بعيدة عن مسرح السياسة فى الحجاز ، ولا يربطها بهذا القطر الشقيق سوى ما سبق أن أشرنا اليه من ارسال الصدقات والغلال الى فقراء الحجاز كل عام . واستمر الوضع على هذا النحو الى عام ١٨٦٣ حيث حدثت بعض الاضطرابات فى اليمن والحجاز ضد الحكم التركى وتجمعت قبائل العسير تحت راية أميرهم محمد بن عائض محاولة الاستيلاء على منطقة تهامة وتهديد الأراضى الحجازية . وقد شجع النجاح الذى أحرزته تلك القبائل على مقاومة السلطات التركية الحاكمة التى أزعجها هذا الانتصار . وتحرج موقف متصرف الحديدة التركى (على باور باشا) ، وطلب النجدة من عزت حقى باشا حاكم عام الحجاز . وكان مجىء القوات التركية كافياً لانسحاب القبائل الثائرة عن الحديدة واعتصامها فى المناطق الجبلية المجاورة لها والتى تبعد عنها مسافة تتراوح بين ثمانية وعشرة فراسخ .

ولم ينته خطر الثوار بهذا الانسحاب ، اذ مازالوا يسيطرون على بعض المناطق الحصينة على الساحل والتى مكنتهم من مطاردة السفن التجارية المارة بمحازاة ساحل عسير ، والاستيلاء على ما بها من متاجر[1] . وكان على السلطات التركية الحاكمة فى الحجاز والتى تتمثل فى عزت حقى باشا الوالى العثمانى والشريف عبد الله حاكم مكة أن تقضى على تلك الثورة . ولكن نظراً لعدم تحديد اختصاص كل من الرجلين المسئولين تحديداً دقيقاً ، حاول كل منهما أن يفتئت على سلطة الآخر ، فكثر الاحتكاك بين هاتين الشخصيتين الكبيرتين . وساعد على ذلك الكراهية المتبادلة بين الطرفين .

Douin ; Hist. du Règne du Khedive Ismail. T. I P. 316. (1)
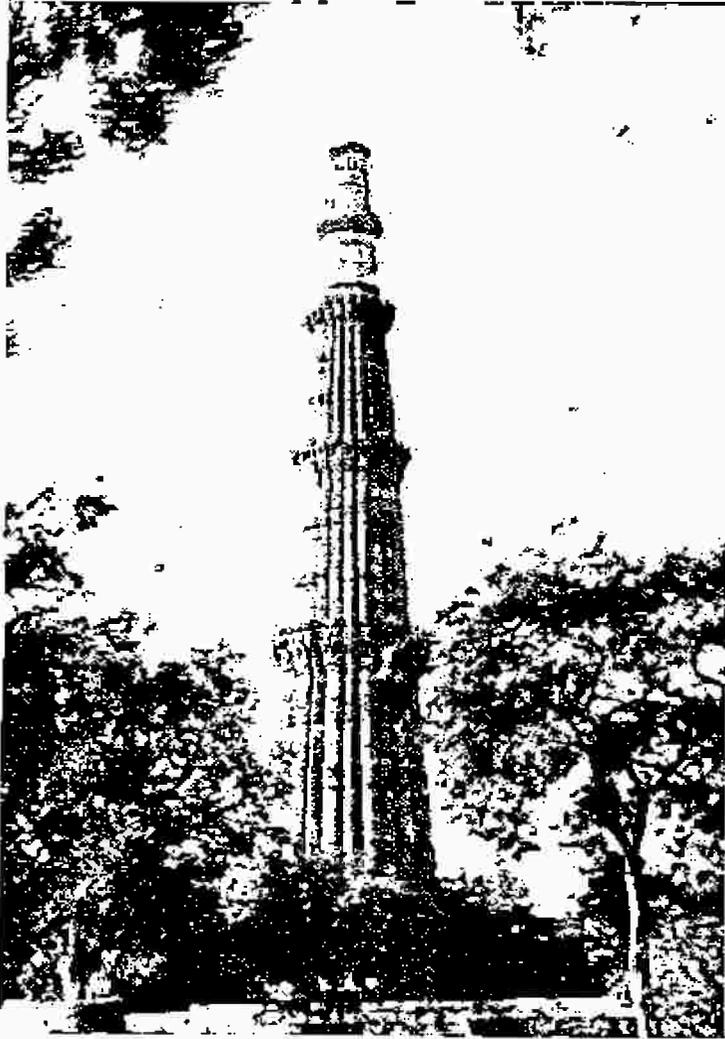
قطب منار أطول مئذنة في العالم بمدينة دهلي

فعزت باشا كان يمثل العصبية التركية الحاكمة ، والشريف عبد الله يمثل العصبية العربية المحكومة . وأدى ذلك فى النهاية الى عدم القيام بعمل ايجابى مشترك لاخماد تلك الفتنة .

هذا من جهة ، ومن جهة أخرى فقد تحرج موقف شريف مكة عندما كلفه الباب العالى بالقضاء على ثورة قبائل عسير ، وذلك لأن تلك القبائل كانت من أهله وعشيرته . بل انه كان على العكس من ذلك يحرضهم سرا على الثورة ضد الحكم العثمانى .

لهذه الأسباب مجتمعة لم تستطع السلطات التركية الحاكمة فى الحجاز من القيام بعمل ايجابى حاسم للقضاء على الثورة . فلجأ الباب العالى الى والى مصر (اسماعيل) للاستعانة به فى اخضاعها . ولما كان والى مصر يسعى فى ذلك الوقت للحصول على فرمان من الباب العالى يجعل ولاية مصر وراثية فى أكبر أبنائه ، ورحب بتلك الدعوة ارضاء للسلطان العثمانى من جهة ، وأملا فى احياء سياسة مصر العربية من جهة ثانية . ومن ثم فقد أعدت مصر قوة حربية قوامها ٥٤٤٤ جنديا من المشاة والفرسان الباشبوزق (الغير نظاميين) مزودة بأربعة مدافع جبلية تحت قيادة اسماعيل صادق بك . وتمثل تلك القوة طليعة القوات المصرية المرسلة للاراضى الحجازية . وأبحرت تلك القوة فى ٣ يونيه سنة ١٨٦٤ من ميناء السويس على الباخرة الجديدة متجهة الى جدة .

على هذا النحو كان تدخل مصر فى المسائل العربية فى النصف الثانى من القرن التاسع عشر ، وهو يشبه ــ الى حد كبير ــ تدخلها فى شئون شبه الجزيرة العربية فى عهد محمد على ، حينا استعان به السلطان العثمانى على اخضاع الثورة الوهابية . ولكن والى مصر (اسماعيل) لم يكن على استعداد لأن يقدم تضحيات كبيرة كتلك التى قدمها محمد على ، ثم يكون شأنه فى النهاية شأن جده من قبل . ولهذا فقد آثر سياسة اللين ، وعدم المخاطرة بالدخول فى حرب ضد الثوار بأية حال من الأحوال ، مع بذل كل المساعى الممكنة للوصول الى تسوية سلمية بين الطرفين المتنازعين .

وقد حرصت مصر على اقناع رجال الحكومة بالأستانة بوجهة نظرها فى حسم النزاع بالطرق الودية . ونجحت فى الحصول على موافقة الباب العالى على تلك السياسة[1] ، وخصوصاً بعد أن أظهر الثوار ميلا للتفاهم والدخول فى طاعة الدولة العثمانية حقناً للدماء وحفظاً للأموال والممتلكات[2] .

كما حاول الشريف عبد الله من جهة أخرى ، أن يسير على سياسة خاصة تحظى برضاء الطرفين المتنازعين ، وتلائم ــ فى نفس الوقت ــ مع مركزه الدقيق كحاكم عربى . فهو من الناحية الرسمية يعتبر أحد موظفى الحكومة العثمانية ، ويدين بالطاعة والولاء للسلطان . ومن جهة أخرى فهو يرتبط بصلة الدم بقبائل عسير إذ أنهم أهله وعشيرته . فإزاء هذا الموقف الدقيق ، حاول الشريف عبد الله أن يحتفظ بتوازنه بين الطرفين ، وبألا يقوم بأى عمل يعرضه لغضب الباب العالى ، أو لاتهامه بالخيانة من قبل أهله وعشيرته[3] . ولهذا السبب أخذ الشريف عبد الله يسوف فى اتخاذ موقف حاسم ازاء الثوار ربما يستطيع الوصول الى اتفاق مرض مع أمير عسير عن طريق المفاوضات .

كان هناك اذن اتفاق فى الهدف بين سياستى كل من والى مصر وشريف مكة ازاء الثوار ، وان اختلفت الشخصيتان فى الغاية التى يسعى كل منهما الى الوصول اليها . فكلا الرجلين كان يعمل جاهداً من جانبه لاظهار نفوذه وسيطرته على الموقف فى الحجاز . ومن هنا نشأت المنافسة الشديدة بينهما .

وما زاد الثورة اشتعالا انضمام ثلاث قبائل عربية كبيرة كانت تقيم بالقرب من الطائف الى الثوار بعد أن خضعت تلك القبائل فترة طويلة من الزمن لحكومة الحجاز ، فأصرت السلطات التركية على عودتها . واتخذت التدابير اللازمة

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(١) عثمنة سايرة " تركى " من الخطاب العالى الى صاحب العزة توفيدان الحاكم المصرية بالحجاز . وثيقة بمعن رقم فى ١٥ ربيع أول سنة ١٢٨٢ (أغسطس سنة ١٨٦٥) .

(٢) دفتر ٢١ عابدين من الخطاب العالى الى كامل بك القبرجكتخدا . وثيقة رقم ٣٧ فى ٢٠ ذى الحجة سنة ١٢٨١ (مايو سنة ١٨٦٥) .

(٣) Aff. Strang. Corr. polit. S. Marie au Ministre. No. 7 Djeddah 12 Oct. 1865.

للقيام بعمل حاسم ، فاجتمع مجلس عسكرى ضم كل من اسماعيل صادق بك والشريف عبد الله وعزت حتى باشا ؛ وبعض الضباط العظام لبحث الموقف ووضع الخطط الحربية الكفيلة بقمع الفتنة . وقد استقر رأى المجلس العسكرى على ايفاد القوات المصرية والعثمانية الى بلدة قنفذة لاتخاذها مركزا أماميا للعمليات الحربية[١].

وفى ١٢ أغسطس سنة ١٨٦٤ خرج شريف مكة على رأس ٢٥٠٠ من الفرسان الباشبوزق والمشاة والمدفعية متخذا الطريق البرى الموٌدى الى قنفذه من ناحية الشرق حيث تتجمع القوات المصرية والعثمانية قبل بدء الهجوم . ولحقت به أيضا قوة أخرى من فرسان الباشبوزق قوامها ١٨٠٠ فارس[٢]. بينما مارت قوة حربية أخرى تحت قيادة أخى شريف مكة لدخول قنفذه من ناحية الغرب . فأصبحت حملة القوات الزاحفة على عسير حوالى ٨٥٠٠ مقاتل تحت قيادة الشريفين ؛ منها ٢٥٠٠ مقاتل تحت قيادة الشريف عبد الله و ١٨٠٠ مقاتل تحت قيادة أخيه و ٤٢٠٠ جندى مصرى تحت قيادة اسماعيل صادق بك[٣].

ويقابل هذا العدد من جانب الثوار عشرون الف مقاتل مزودون بأربعين مدفعا ، وبعدد كبير من البنادق ، ويعتصمون بمناطق جبلية حصينة . فكانت فرصة الفوز أمام القوات المصرية والعثمانية ضئيلة جدا . وهذا ما دعا شريف مكة الى التروى وعدم القيام بأية عمليات حربية ضد الثوار ، وخصوصا وأن أهل عسير قد أستطاعوا من قبل الاستيلاء على مكة وجدة[٤].

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(١) اسماعيل سرهنك : حقائق الأخبار ج ٢ ص ٢٩٤

(٢) Aff. Strang. Corr polit. S. Marie au Ministre. No. 212 24 Oct. 1865. 12 Oct. 1865.

(٣) Aff. Strang. Corr. polit. S. Marie au Ministre No. 212 Djeddah 24 Oct. 1865.

(٤) Aff. Strange. Corr. polit. S. Marie au Ministre. No. 7 Djeddah 12 Oct. 65.

واذا كان شريف مكة حريصا على عدم خوض معارك حربية ضد قبائل عسير ، فقد كان والى مصر أشد منه حرصاً على ذلك ، ويبدو هذا من الكتاب الذى أرسله والى مصر الى اسماعيل صادق باك قائد الحملة المصرية فى أواخر أغسطس سنة ١٨٦٥ حيث يقول :

« واذا صدر اليكم تنبيه بالسفر الى جهة ما أو بالهجوم ، ورأيتم »
« فى ذلك خطراً ، فلا تعيروهم اذنا صاغية وتمهلوا فى تنفيذ »
« طلباتهم . واعلموا جيداً أن أمراء وضباط الجانب الآخر »
« (يقصد العثمانيين) أناس غريبو الأطوار ، لا يهتمون قيد »
« شعرة إذا ما هلكتم جميعكم ، ولا يأبهون عنكم . فكونوا »
« على حذر وبصيرة واجتنبوا اتلاف الجنود واتعابهم » [١].

ويحذره فى نهاية الكتاب أيضا من الدخول فى حرب جدية مع قبائل عسير ، وأن يتجنب القتال قدر المستطاع .

كما أرسل بكتاب آخر الى شريف مكة يلفت نظره الى ضرورة ابعاد القوات المصرية عن ميناء قنفذه ، لأن جوه لا يتلاءم مع الحالة الصحية للجنود المصريين ، وطالب بسحبهم فى الحال الى منطقة أخرى أكثر ملاءمة لطبيعتهم [٢].

ويبدو من كل ما تقدم أن والى مصر أراد أن يوفق بين مصلحته وبين تنفيذ بنود فرمان سنة ١٨٤١ الذى نص على اعتبار الجيش المصرى جزءاً من الجيش العثمانى ، وعلى وجوب مساعدة مصر للدولة العثمانية ، اذا ماطلب منها ذلك فى أى وقت من الأوقات . أى أنه أراد أن يحافظ على نصوص

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(١) محفظة سايرة . من الجناب العالى الى اسماعيل صادق ، وثيقة بدون رقم فى ٦ ربيع آخر سنة ١٢٨٢ (أواخر أغسطس سنة ١٨٦٥) .

(٢) دفتر ٢٢ عابدين من الجناب العالى الى سيادة الشريف أمير مكة المكرمة . وثيقة رقم ٨٦ فى ١٣ ربيع آخر سنة ١٢٨٢ (سبتمبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

هذا الفرمان من ناحية الشكل ، لا من ناحية الجوهر . ولذا حرصت مصر على مساعدة الدولة العثمانية فى مختلف المناسبات دون أن تكبد نفسها خسائر كبيرة ، كان فى مقدورها تجنبها وتلافيها .

ولما كان شريف مكة ــ كما سبق أن ذكرت ــ قد اتخذ من سياسة التسويف والمماطلة هدفاً يسعى لتحقيقه ، حتى لايدخل فى قتال مع الثوار فقد احتج بقلة عدد ما لديه من الجنود . وطلب من والى مصر تزويده بأورطتين سودانيتين علاوة على ما لديه من جنود . فرفض والى مصر اجابة هذا الطلب لأنه لم يشأ أن يذهب فى مساعدته الباب العالى فى مسألة عسير الى أبعد من هذا الحد . كما أنه كان يخشى على الحالة فى السودان من جراء سحب هاتين الأورطتين ، نظرا لقلة ما لديه من القوات المصرية . ولذا يشير على قائد قواته بالحجاز بتجاهل طلب شريف مكة « وبأن ينفذ التعليمات السرية حرفيا وبكمال الدقة والعناية ، وألا يهتم بتعليمات الباب العالى اذا ماتعارضت مع تلك التعليمات »[1] .

وفى ١٤ ربيع ثانى سنة ١٢٨٢ (سبتمبر ١٨٦٥) أرسل والى مصر محمد بن عائض كتاباً[2] يوضح له فيه ماتأمر به تعاليم الدين الاسلامى الحنيف من اطاعة ولى الأمر ، ويعده ــ فى حالة استجابته لنصحه ــ بأن يسعى لدى الباب العالى للحصول على عفوه وموافقته على تعيينه أميراً على عسير ، بعد أن يتنازل عن الأراضى والقبائل التى ضمها اليه . وفى ختام كتابه هذا يحذره من عاقبة تماديه فى العصيان بقوله :

« واذا لم تقبلوا النصيحة الخيرية فى الدين ... فتكونون السبب »
« فى سوق الجيوش المتكاثرة من أرض مصر القاهرة الى تلك »
« البقاع ، وخراب تلك الديار وسفك الدماء ... فالأولى الانقياد »
« والطاعة قبل وقوع تلك الساعة »[3] .

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(١) مخفظة مسايرة من الجناب العالى الى اسماعيل صادق بك . وثيقة رقم ٩٣ فى ١٣ ربيع ثانى سنة ١٢٨٢ (أوائل سبتمبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

(٢) ، (٣) دفتر ٢٢ صادر عابدين من لدن الجناب الأعظم الى محمد بن عائض أمير عسير . وثيقة رقم ٩٠ ص ٢٥ فى ١٤ ربيع ثانى سنة ١٢٨٢ (سبتمبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

وقد أظهر أمير عسير بعد أن تلقى هذا الخطاب ميله الى السلم والرجوع الى حضرة الباب العالى .

وعند ما وجد والى مصر أن دعوته الى السلم وجدت قبولا لدى أمير عسير بعث اليه بكتاب يبشره بقرب صدور فرمان سلطانى يمنحه رتبة أمير الأمراء والباثوية كما وعدد من قبل [1] .

ويقابل هذا المسعى من جانب والى مصر مسعى آخر منافس له من قبل شريف مكة الذى كان يحاول التقليل من شأن الدور الذى قامت به مصر ، مظهرا للدولة العثمانية مدى ما يتمتع به من نفوذ روحى كبير وما له من سلطة قوية يمكنه من حل مسألة عسير دون حاجة الى تدخل عسكرى ، ليرتفع بذلك شأنه لدى الباب العالى . ولذا حفلت تقاريره التى كان يرسلها تباعا الى الاستانة بالأمل القوى فى أن تنتهى تلك المشكلة بما يتفق ورغبات الباب العالى بفضل ما يبذله من جهود [2].

وقد رأت الحكومة العثمانية ــ بناء على تلك التقارير ــ ايفاد الأمير لواء جرى باثا (أحد أعضاء لجنة الشورى العسكرية) الى مكة لتداول الرأى مع الشريف عبد الله بشأن ما يجب عليه اتخاذه من تدابير [3]. وقد أساء تصرف الحكومة العثمانية هذا ، والى مصر ، وخشى أن يسبقه شريف مكة الى حل هذا النزاع ، وبذلك تتفوق دبلوماسية الشريف عبد الله على سياسته مما يؤدى الى ضعف النفوذ المصرى فى الحجاز . ولذا يضج والى مصر بالشكوى لدى السلطان العثمانى ، موضحا له بأن أنفل حل لتلك المشكلة دون

(١) دفتر ٢٢ عابدين من الجناب العالى الى محمد بن عائض أمير عسير . وثيقة بدون رقم وبدون تاريخ .

(٢) دفتر ٢٢ صادر عابدين من الجناب العالى الى كامل باثا . وثيقة رقم ١٢٢ ن ٥ جادأول سنة ١٢٨٢ (أواخر سبتمبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

(٣) دفتر ٢٢ صادر عابدين من الجناب العالى الى كامل باثا . وثيقة رقم ١٢٨ ن ٥ جاد أول سنة ١٢٨٢ (أواخر سبتمبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

مسلك دماء أو أضاعة الكثير من الأموال ، أن يترك له وحده أمر التفاوض مع أمير عسير . ويعبر والى مصر اسماعيل عن المرارة التى يشعر بها نتيجة لتصرفات شريف مكة بقوله :

« ولكن ما الحيلة وشريف مكة — مع الأسف — لايرى »
« هذا الرأى ، ولايحبذ هذه الفكرة ، وانما يبعث على التوالى »
« بتلك التقارير المشحونة بالمعسول من الكلام والأمانى ، »
« أملا فى نوال المزيد من الاحترام والاكرام . وكلما وجد »
« هناك (أى فى الاستانة) من يصغى لقوله ، أمعن فى خطته »
« وأساليبه ، الأمر الذى لايستطيع معه أن يكتم امتعاضه »
« منه ولا يستطيع كذلك أن ينسب خطة سيادته الى غير »
« الأغراض الشخصية »[١]

ويلفت والى مصر نظر الحكومة العثمانية الى الاختلاف البين بين أعمال شريف مكة وبين آرائه وتذبذبه بين الاقدام والاحجام . ويقرر بأن مثل هذا الرجل لايصلح لمعالجة أمثال تلك الأمور الخطيرة[٢].

وفى نفس الوقت أرسل والى مصر مندوبا من قبله ويدعى يحيى احمد افندى الى شبه جزيرة العرب لمقابلة أمير عسير والتفاوض معه سرا بشأن الوصول الى اتفاق فيما بينهما ، على ألا يعلن عن نتيجة تلك المفاوضات الا اذا أسفرت عن نجاحها[٣]. حتى لا يضعف مركزه أمام شريف مكة وأمام الباب العالى .

ورغم جنوح أمير عسير للسلم ، فان الباب العالى لم يسمح للقوات المصرية بالانسحاب من الأراضى الحجازية ، بل أصدر أمره بأن تظل تلك القوات

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(١) المصدر السابق .

(٢) المصدر السابق .

(٣) محفظة سايرة بدون رقم . من الجناب العالى الى اسماعيل صادق بك . وثيقة بدون رقم فى ١٩ جماد أول سنة ١٢٨٢ (أكتوبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

مرابطة فى تنفذه ريثما يحسم الأمر بصفة نهائية ، فربما تطور الأمور فجأة .
فلا مناص اذن من بقاء القوات المصرية فترة أخرى من الزمن ، فلم يجد
والى مصر بدا من الرضوخ لهذا الأمر[1] .

وقد خشى والى مصر من قيام اضطرابات أخرى فى قلب شبه الجزيرة
العربية ــ وخصوصا وأن الأحوال فى اليمن كانت غير مستقرة . وكانت العلاقة
بينها وبين الدولة العثمانية سيئة ــ مما قد يتعذر معه سحب القوات المصرية
من الأراضى الحجازية . فاغتنم الوالى فرصة تجمع تلك القوات فى ميناء
جدة ، وأخذ يلح على الباب العالى فى سحب قواته بعد أن استقرت الأمور
محتجا بأن بقاءها خارج مصر فى مهمة حربية يحمل الميزانية المصرية أموالا
اضافية وخصوصا وأن حملة تكاليف الحملة قد بلغت حتى ذلك الوقت
(اكتوبر سنة ١٨٦٥) أربعين القف كيسة (٢٠٠٠٠٠ جنيه)[2] .

وفى ٧ شعبان سنة ١٢٨٢ (أواخر ديسمبر سنة ١٨٦٥) تلقى قائد القوات
المصرية بالحجاز الأوامر من القاهرة بأن يشرع فورا فى ترحيل الجنود
النظامية الى مصر أولا ، ثم تتلوها القوات غير النظامية[3] . وقد تم
انسحاب القوات المصرية من الحجاز فى يناير عام ١٨٦٦ بعد أن أمضت
حوالى السنتين دون حرب أو قتال .

وتقديرا لما قام به والى مصر من خدمات لفض هذا النزاع ، أرسل الباب
العالى جميل باشا (أحد المعاونين العسكريين فى الديوان السلطانى) الى مصر
يحمل خطا شريفا يسجل فيه السلطان العثمانى شكره لاسماعيل على مابذله
من مساع موفقة لحسم مشكلة عسير دون اراقة دماء[4] . كما تبودلت التهانى
أيضا بين الباب العالى وشريف مكة[5] .

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(١) دفتر ٢٢ عابدين من الجناب العالى الى الباب العالى . وثيقة رقم ١٤٦ فى ١٩ جماد أول
سنة ١٢٨٢ (أكتوبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

(٢) دفتر ٢٢ عابدين من الجناب العالى الى كامل بك القبوكتخدا . وثيقة رقم ١٩٥
فى ١٠ جماد ثانى سنة ١٢٨٢ (أكتوبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

(٣) محفظة سارة ٥٠ من الجناب العالى الى اسماعيل بك صناديق بدون رقم فى ٧ شعبان
سنة ١٢٨٢ (أواخر ديسمبر سنة ١٨٦٥) .

(٤) الوقائع المصرية . العدد رقم ٦ فى ٢٨ ديسمبر سنة ١٨٦٥ .

(٥) Aff. Etrang. Corr. Polit. S. marie au ministre no. 212 Djeddah 24 Oct.
1865 .

CONTENTS OF THE EUROPEAN SECTION

EARLY STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT AND STANDARDISATION OF ARABIC LITERARY LANGUAGE

By

M. KHALAFALLAH

Introduction

Arabic literary language has been academically standardised since the third and fourth centuries A. H.,(9th and 10th A. D.). Its grammar, syntax, vocabulary and literary usages were clearly defined after systematic and laborious research. Since that time until the persent, its life has been continuous and uninterrupted. Although every Arabic-speaking country has developed its own colloquial language for everyday life, they all have continued to use that same literary language.

The scholars of the early centuries of Islam—who were responsible for that remarkable achievement of linguistic standardisation—made their starting point the historically authentic text of the Kur'an, which described itself as a «Clear Arabic Book», and which was recorded, put together and officially circulated in the first century A. H. (7th A.D.). Collections of the traditions, epistles and speeches of the Prophet; sayings and speeches of the Caliphs and the famous orators of the early Islamic period, and anthologies of Islamic poetry were also used as references and textual examples of the literary language. But the greates offorts of the scholars in the second, third and fourth centuries A. H. were directed towards the collecting reviving and verifying what was still kept in the memories of *rawis,* and bedouins of pre-Islamic literature. The poetry as well as proverbs and speeches of the last hundred and fifty years of the Djahiliyya period were collected studied and commented uopn, and were used as explanations of Kur'anic usages and as proofs of linguistic and literary correctness.

The assumption on which that work of reconstruction and standaradisation was built was the identity of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic literary language. This assumption i bo n out by many historical and literary data. The Kur'an claimed to have spoken to the Arabs in their own tongue as was God's way with every Divine mission (We have never sent any messenger except in his peoples tongue — Kur'an, ch. 14, verse 4). When the Arabs heard the Kur'an they understood it, appreciated its literary excellences, and were greatly struck by its sperior eloquence (Ibn Hisham *Al-Sirah alNabawiyya.* Cairo 1914, part I, pp. 201, 216—217).

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Some of the Djahiliyya famous poets, such as, Labid and —according to some authorities—al-A'sha witnessed the rise of Islam, and some of them were reported to have composed poetry in honour of its founder (Ibn Qutayba, *Al-Shi'r wa-l-Shu'ara*. Cairo 1364 A.H., p. 212). Poetry was used on both sides in the struggle between Muhammad and the Quraysh. Arrivals of tribal delegations to submit to Muhammad were the occasions for literary exchanges on either side (Ibn Hisham, *Al-Sirah.*). The Prophet and some of his leading companions showed knowledge and appreciation of Djahiliyya poetry. The Prophet was reported to have asked for the poetry of Omayya ibn Abi-s-Sult to be recited for him and he showed his appreciation of it. The Cahliph Abu-Bakr used ro prefer al-Nabigha to the other poets and say: «he is the best in poetry, the sweetest in rhythm and the deepest in thought» (Al-Muzhir- part II, p. 479). On being asked : who wer ethe most poetical tribe ?' the Mokhadrum poet Hassan answered : ,the tribe of huthayl.' The Chaliph 'Omar was a connoisseur of Djahiliyya poetry and an admirer of the poet Zuhayr. He is reported by many authorities to have given the following piece of information about the rescuing of a portion of pre-Islamic poetry from perishing : «Poetry» — he said — "was the achievement (knowledge) of people who had no better type of knowledge". When Islam came, the Arabs busied themselves with the religious struggle and the invasion of Persia and Rum, and had no time for the narrating and keeping of poetry. As Islam spread, and conquests multiplied, and the Arabs became settled in cities, they tried to revive their poetical heritage. But as there were no recorded collections, nor written books, and many of the Arabs had died or had been killed, the larger proportion was lost and the lesser only was retrieved. The family of al-No'man ibn al Munthir used to have a collection of the poetry of famous poets and of their panegyrics about him and his family. This, or part of it, came into the hands of Bani Marwan". (As Suyuti, ,,*Al-Muzhir*, New Cairo ed. part II pp. 309, 473—474, 479, 483). Abu 'Amr ibn al-'Ala', and ibn Sallam reported on this matter in a more or less similar fashion (Ibn Sallam, *Tabaqat al-Shu'ara*, pp. 22—23). Ibn Faris's version of this is instructive, he says : "Poetry was the public register of the Arabs, by which genealogies were kept and deeds were known, and from which the language was learnt. It is a guide in whatever is difficult to understand of God's Book and the Prophet's traditions, and the sayings of his companions and followers. A poet may be a better one than another, and some poetry may be sweeter and more elegant than another. But old works of poetry do not differ in

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excellence to a marked degree. Each can be used as a guide, and each is needed. (Al Muzhir, part II, pp. 470–471). The Djahiliyya poet — in the words of a modern scholar — was the press agent and the journalist of his days. His poems committed to memory and transmitted from one tongue to another, offered an invaluable means of publicity. He was at the same time the moulder and the agent of public opinion... Besides being oracle, guiding orator and spokesman of his community, the poet was its historian and scientist, in so far as it had a scientist" (P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 3rd ed. London, 1946. p. 95).

Thus many references could be quoted to strengthen the claim to auth enticity of what was retrieved of the Djahiliyya poetry, and the identity of its construction, style and language with the text of the Kur'an and the manner of composition of post-Islamic poetry.

The second fact upon which historical references are agreed is that the Djahiliyya poetry, as has been collected and handed down to us, was recited and appreciated all over Arabia. The poetic language heard in the courts of the Lakhmids in Hira and the Ghassanids in Syria was the same as that heard and applauded in Nadjd and Hedjaz.

I

How did that literary language develop in a country so widely scattered as pre-Islamic Arabia? And in what relation did that language stand to the tribal dialects which no doubt existed in the Djahiliyya, and traces of which were to be found in the variants of Kur'anic readings, and in the reported usages by the later grammarians and lexographers? These questions in their modern formulation were not clearly conceived by the early Muslim authors. The information we get from them on this subject of the development of the literary language are fragmentary and inconsistent. Claims for priority in evolving the literary language have been advanced by different tribes. A statement often quoted in Islamic books advances the theory that pre-Islamic poetry began in Rabi'a at the hands of al-Muhalhil; then shifted to Qays where the two Nabighas and Zuhayr flourished, and finally it turned to Tamim where it remained till the days of Islam, (Al-Muzhir, vol. II, pp. 467, 477). Taba Hussein,

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in modern times tried to refute this line of development *(Fi-l-Adab al-Djahily*, 3rd ed., Cairo 1933, second and fourth books). A glimpse of light on the subject may be sought in the many attempts at explaining the Prophet's tradition "The Kur'an was revealed in seven *ahruf* (tongues or languages)." According to Ibn 'Abbas those were the seven dialects of Upper Hawazin and Lower Tamim. This may be taken to mean that these seven dialects, being the clearest and the most eloquent, contributed largely to the formation of the literary language. (As-Suyuti *al-Itqan*, 2nd ed. Cairo 1935, p. 47). Al-Tabari in his *Tafsir* raises the question as to whether the Kur'an was revealed in all or some only of the Arab tongues, and uses the tradition referred to above to argue that the Kur'an was revealed in some only (seven) as the Arab dialects were too numerous to count, (al-Tabari *Tafsir*, 1st ed. Cairo 1323 A.H. vol 1, p. 15).

Ibn Faris claims that the Kur'an contained the representative characteristics and features of Arab tongues so that the Kur'anic argument will be the more binding, and the inability of the Arabs to surpass or equal its excellence will be clearly demonstrated, *(Al-Muzhir*, vol.II, p.321). But the prevailing notion however in Islamic books seems to be that the various localities or districts of the Arabian peninsula, were divided into two categories : those which exemplified correct speech and literary usages and those which did not do so, owing to contamination by foreign influences. The first category, that of pure Arabic, can be marked geographically by tow lines : one stretching from a few kilometres south of Makka to the Gulf of Bahrayn, the other running north from the surroundings of Madina to Hira (R. Blachere, *Hist. de la Litt. Arabe*, Paris 1952).

The Quraysh tribe is without doubt, included in this domain. Several Islamic authorities, however, would have this purity limited to the Quraysh. Ibn Qutayba, for example, denies that the Kur'an was revealed in other than the Quraysh tongue. Thus the seven *ahruf* according to him are those of the clans of the Quraysh. The idea that the Quraysh was the cradle of pure and literary Arabic was expressed in positive terms by two eminent authorities : ibn Faris and al-Farabi. The first (in his *Fiqh el-Lugha)* says : Authorities on the speech of the Arabs, rawis of their poetry, and specialists on their dialects, wars, and localitites, have agreed that the Quraysh had the purest and most eloquent tongue. God has chosen them from among the Arabs, and chosen Muhammad from among the Quraysh. He made the Quraysh the guardians of his Ca'ba. Dalegations from all over Arabia went to Makka for pilgrimage, and other purposes (commerce and literary competitions). They used to seek arbitration at the hands of the Qraysh. And although eloquent and elegant

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in tongue, the Qurayah used to select the best and purest of what they heard in those meetings in speech, poetry, and dialects, and incorporate all that into their own. In this way they became the most aloquent among the Arabs. Al-Farabi tries to advance what seems to be an answer to our question when he says : (in his *al Alfaz wa-l-Huruf*) : "The Quraysh were the best critics of the clearest words, the easiest in pronounciation, the most pleasing to hear and the most expressive of inner thought. The tribes from whom the 'Arabiyya was taken, and who were responsible for the development of (literary) Arabic were Qays, Tamim and Asad. Most of what was adopted came from them. Next to them come Huthayl, some clans from Kinana and Tayy. None was taken from other tribes". *(Al-Muzhir*, vol. I, p. 211). A statement reported by As-Suyuti suggests that the Kur'an was revealed first in the language of the Quraysah and its neighbours of eloquent Arabs, and then the rest of the Arabs were allowed to read it in their own dialects.

There are so many such statements by Islamic authors which may indicate one of three possible answers to our inquiry. Literary Arabic which was developed in the pre Islamic period may have originated in one particular language, that of the Qurayah for example. Or it may have originated in a definite group of dialects, probably that of the pure localities. Or finally it may have come about as the results of intermixing between the dialects of pre-Islamic Arabia. An interesting explanation is suggested by the 19th century Egyptian author H. al-Mursafi (d. 1307/1889). He says that the Arabic (literary) tongue passed through four stages (three in pre-Islamic time, and one after Islam) of polishing and selection. The first was that of the ancient Arabs who used to take words from other (Semitic) tongues, abbreviate them and modify their forms to becom sweet and elegant. The second stage was the selection by Isma'il and his early sons who — as the Prophet Muhammad testified — had a clear Arabic tongue. As a result of wars and migrations, this Isma'ilite tongue changed and became diversified. The third stage was the selection by the Quraysh who were the inhabitants of Makka and its neighbourhood. The Arabs used to come to them annually in the pilgrimage season and remain with them about fifty days, during which these pilgrims used to present to the Quraysh their poetry for criticism and their disputes for settlement. They also used to transact business and conclude dealings which necessitated discussion and argument. The Quraysh made a practice on those occasions of selecting from the various Arab tongues whatever was pleasing to hear and elegant to use. They would hear for example *"al-howjam"* or *"al-Howjama"* and *"al-ward"* or *"al-warda"*, (meaning the rose) and they would avoid the first and use the latter two.

The last and fourth stage came when Islam spread its mission and called for a general and universal social life. It was then that the intelligent from among the Arabs and non-Arabs used the process of final selection when they took up the task of systematising the Arabic language. They divided themselves into three groups : those who sifted the words and distinguished the good from the bad, the obscure from the clear in the different dialects; those who divided constructions into clear and not clear; and those who undertook the narrating of poetry and speeches, drawing attention to excellence in literature and to the Arabic ways of expression. In this way several sciences were created. This work was necessitated by the dispersion of the Arabs in the Islamic territories and by the appearance of solecism in Arabic as a result of the mixing of Arabs with other reces. (H. al Mursafi, *Al-Wasila al-Adabiyyà ila-l-'Olum al-'Arabiyya.* Cairo 1289 A. H., part I, pp. 23- 25).

Whatever the explanation may be of the emergence of a recognised general literary language in Pre-Islamic Arabia, there is no doubt that some unifying processes were already at work before the advent of Islam.

Arab historical sources provide us with many references to such early unifying processes.

There seems to have been a continuous movement to and fro between the various tribes. One form of this movementn was the dispersion of the Azd tribe from Ma'rib to Hamadan and Himyar, and then to Tihama and Hidjaz, where some settled in Makka and its neighbourhood, and others branched off to Iraq, syria, 'Oman, Yamama, Bahrayn and the borders of Persia. Other examples are the migration of the Ansar tribe to Yathrib and of Ghassan to Syria. Arab groups from Rabi'a and Mudar are known to have settled in Mesopotamia, had abodes and pastures there and enjoyd the protection of Persia in the East, and Byzantium in the West. Some, like Taghlib (ibn Rabi'a) in Mesopotamia, and Ghassan, Bahra', and Tanukh(from Yaman) in Syria adopted Christianity. A useful account of these migrations, based on historical references is contained in a recently published research in Cairo, (which supported the view that such migrations tended to drive the scattered tribes towards a unified hterary language and a select conversational medium), by S. Faysal, *Al-Mujtama'-at al-Islmiyya fil-Qarn-el-Awwal* (A. H.), Cairo 1952, vol.II.

Attempts at answering this question of the origin of literary Arabic have been made by past and present Orientalists, and presented almost the same picture as we drew above from Arabic sources. (See articles in Encyc. of Islam). Noldeke and Brokelmann were on the side of a common

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literary language to which all — or most — dialects contributed. In the opinion of the former, the differences between dialects spoken in the main part of Arabia were small, and the literary language was based upon all of them equally. The latter favours the assumption that litarary Arabic arose gradually as a result of the reciprocal relations between the different tribes, which followed from their annual migrations in search of pastures, as well as from the pilgrimages to common places of worship, such as Makka and 'Okaz; the vocabulary probably was drawn from many dialects. Most of the other Orientalists are on the dide of a definite group of dialects, or one special dialect, being the origin of literary Arabic. A. Schade, for example, although realising that a correct answer to this question must depend on the complete study of ancient dialects, suggests, howevere that a comparison with other languages such as English, French and German might give more weight to the idea of the dialect of a special tribe having been —perhaps for political reasons— adopted as a common litreary language. Kamfmeyer located the favoured dialect in the Eastern part of central Arabia. Nallino thought it was the colloquial of the Nadjd tribes united in the state of Kinda.

A bold attempt at a modern treatment of the subject was recently made by C. Rabin, on the basis of the study of ancient dialects. In his book (*Ancient west-Arabian*, London 1951), he gives a summary of Muslim and European views, and then proceeds to reconstruct the dialects of the Himyar, Azd, Hudhail, Hidjaz, and Tayyi tribes. The basic idea behind his book is the discovery that the schematization of all dialect difffferences into Hidjaz and Tamim which we find in Arab works corresponds to a real cleavage of the ancient dialects into an Eastern and a Western group. He does not claim to give a definite opinion on the question of the origin of classical Arabic. But he offers what he calls a working hypothesis, namely that classical Arabic is based on one or several of the dialects of Nadjd, perhaps in an archaic form. Nadjd was an area where East and West Arabians met and mingled. In the west of the region the Ghatafan and Hawazin dialects were strongly West Arabian, in the East those of Ghani and 'Uqail claerly Eastern... this area was thus neither puraly East nor puraly West-Arabian. It was the scene of various attempts to transcend the tribal organization : the empire of the Kinda and Qays confederation. Here, apparently Arabic poetry came into being. Just as in Spain lyrical poetry carried everywhere the idiom of its Galicial cradle, so the new Arabic poetry spread together with the language in which the first poems had been composed. In view of the mixed character of the area it is likely to have been a compromise between Eastern and Western Arabic right from the outset. It was widely employed before Islam by poets whose spoken language differed strongly from that of the Nadjd. Some local varieties developed

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which admitted, to a very limited degree features, especially vocabulary of non-Nadjdi dialects. The unity of the poetical language was assured by the close cultural links which developed at the same time, and the meeting of poets from many tribes at the courts of Hira and Ghassan and at commercial and religious centres. Such a local type of classical Arabic was employed in the Hidjaz for poetry and perhaps also for writing in general. This is the idiom in which the Kur'an was spoken and recorded". (v. Rabin, *Ancient West Arabian*", London 1951, Chapter 1.).

Another promising modern attempt to study Arabic dialects through their ralics in Kur'anic variants and in recorded linguistic and grammatical constructions, and through their lingering features in modern dialects is made by I. Anis of Cairo. He does not dwell much on the question of the origin of classical Arabic. But, he starts from the supposition that the Peninsula was composed of several units represented in the tribes, and in spite of common social systems, this separation resulted in different dialects with distinguishing features. Cultural and political factors, however, which preceded the rise of Islam, led to the emergence of Makka as the centre of Arab unity, and to the adoption of a common literary language. This language, by necessity avoided the pecularities and idiosyncrasies of the different dialects and became a model vehicle used and appreciated by the specialists in the art of expression. This was the language which the Kur'an used and helped finally to establish. (I. Anis, ,Al-Lahajat al-'Arabiyya". Cairo 1946, Introduction).

II

In the preceding section of this paper we tried to give a representative account of the various theories and hypotheses, advanced—by Arabic and Western scholars — for the explanation of the emergence of classial Arabic during the fifth and sixth centuries, A. D. Our main concern here, however, is to follow the course of the development and spread of litrary Arabic in the early centuries of Muslim history. The second stage in that development began with the rise of Islam. The new religion chose to make its challenge to the poetically minded Arabs through literary composition . The new Holy Book, by its excellence, proved to the Arabs as miraculous as the turning of a stick into a snake, or the healing of the sick was to former peoples. The whole revolution in the life, belief and practical philosophy of the Arabs was embodied in the chapters of this new Book. From the beginning of its revelation it was

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being learnt by the Muslims and recorded in writing by the special scribes employed by the Prophet. (Al-Jahshiari, *Al-Wuzara' wa-l-Kuttab*, ed. Saqqa and others, Cairo, 1938).

The Arabs understood the meanings of the Kur'an and appreciated its excellent qualities in the normal way in which any people would understand and appreciate a work of literature in their literary language.

The general practice was that a Muslim would learn a few verses (ten for example) and would not exceed them until he knew their meanings and followed their precepts in practical life (Al-Tabari, *Jami'al-Bayan*, vol I, pp. 27, 28). It was not long before a group of companions (e. g. Ibn 'Abbas, Ibn Mas'ud, 'Ikrimah, and 'Aly) became specialists in the interpretation of the Kur'anic text. Thus a new branch of literary and linguistic learning started which became later an important reference in the standardization of literary Arabic. But there was another important aspect of Kur'anic reading which had some bearing on the development of literary Arabic, namely the variants which caused concern to many a faithful believer. When some companions noticed different readings on the part of others, and brought the matter to the notice of the Prophet, he reassured them by saying "The Kur'an was revealed in seven *ahruf*" (literally letters which was taken by different commentators to mean languages, dialects, tongues, or ways of pronounciation). The discussion of this tradition occupies prominent place in every book on Kur'anic interpretation. It raises many problems connected with Kur'anic usages in their relation to linguisic and grammatical standards which were established later.

The danger of this variation in the reading of the Kur'anic text reached its climax in the time of the third Caliph, 'Othman when it led to serious quarrels among the fighting Muslim forces in the Byzantine and Persian Empires. To stem this, 'Othman took the bold step of ordering a standard copy to be compiled by the famous revalation scribe, Zayd ibn Thabit and others. The compilers were told to follow the Quraysh dialect when they could not agree on the reading to adopt. Five such authorised copies were sent, each to an important centre. All others were ordered to be destroyed or burnt (Al-Qastallani, *Fath al-Bari*. Vol. Vii., p. 534). Thus the first and foremost Islamic literary book of the Arabic language was edited and circulated, and for this and other reasons, became the most authentic model for literary usage. Wherever the Islamic faith went in its rapid spread, it carried with it this religious and literary constitution. Every believer learnt part, or all, of it by heart, and was influenced in his literary activities by its diction and modes of expression.

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Many of the different readings of the Kur'an, however, were preserved to us through the *Qira'at* or variants and they proved valuable in the reconstruction and study of Arabic dialects.

The Kur'an had, yet, another aspect in which it influenced the course of the literary language, namely its miraculous unsurpassable excellence. The literary Arab celebrities admitted impotence before its challengge, and Muslims down the ages looked up to it as their literary guide and linguistic authority. The study of secrets and signs of Kur'anic eloquence and inimitable superiority has given Arabic literary criticism a special approach and a wealth of material (See, M. Khalafallah, *Kur'anic Studies as an Important Factor in the Development of Arabic Literary Criticism*, Faculty of Arts' Bulletin, Alexandria, Vol. VI, 1953).

During the Prophet's life-time, and some time after, pure poetical activites among the Arabs gave way to the propagation of the new faith by word and by sword. Some devout Muslims found better occupation in learning the Kur'an and pondering on the beauty of its style, others joined the invading Muslim armies in Syria, Iraq and Persia. The art of public speaking, for a period, took the place of the art of poetry. The literary language now was turning more and more into a language of religious guidance, moral uplifting and legislation for the new order. New shades of meaning and literary usages began to develop within the framework of the pre-Islamic literary language. "The Arabs in their Djahiliyya days", says ibn Faris, had inherited from their ancestors a heritage of dialects, literature, rituals and sacrificial practices. But when Islam came, conditions changed, religious beliefs were discarded, practices abolished, some linguistic terms were shifted from one usage to another, because of matters added, commandments imposed, and rules established. (Examples of these changes are given by Al-Syuti, Ibn Khalawayh, Al-Tha'alibi and Ibn Durayd. See, *Al-Muzhir*, part I, pp.v 249, 295, 296, 298, 301, 302.).

Thus the second stage in the development of the Arabic literary language has brought in new important factores, religious and social, and introduced many necessary linguistic changes. But that was not all. The scene was considerably widening and shifting. The Arabs were no longer contained in their Peninsula, but they were spreading north, north east, and north west with the rapidly sweeping conquests of Islam. Wherever they went they carried with them not only their new Arabic Holy Book with its polished and appealing language, but they carried also their tribal linguistic characteristics, and their traditionally inherited literature (poetry, proverbs, narratives, and oratorial speeches) which they stored in their memories.

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These conquests were an important factor in the process of Arab linguisstic unification. Several of the big invading armies were composed of mixtures of tribes, many of whom were accompanied by their women and children. Thus a good deal of intermixing and intermarriage batween the tribes took place in the conquered cities...Newly established settlements — sush as *al-Kufa* — had in them elements from north as well as from south Arabia, and from Hidjaz as well as from Nadjd.

The Arabs were now passing from the tribal stage to the stage ef cities and countries. Their social units were no longer the tribal units only of Asad Kinda, Muzayna, Tamim. etc, but the peoples of Busra or Kufa, and the peoples of Syria or Egypt. This new regrouping of the Arabs must have reduced considerably the linguistic differences of the dialects and must have helped the unifying processes which we met earlier in pre-Islamic times

All through their early Islamic wars and victories the Arabs then were heading not only towards religious, but also towards linguistic and literary unity. They never ceased, even in their war camps to recite pre-Islamic poetry and to argue about the merits of famous poets.

With those conquests, Arabic was now spreading to new non-Arab territories. Its fortunes in the different units of the vast Islamic empire were varied. In some countries like Syria and Egypt it became — and is still at the present time — the national language of the country. In others like Persia it remained for a few centuries the language of culture, but with time it gave way to the native Persian language. The story of the spread in its early stages, and the emergence of the colloquial languages in the Arabic-speaking countries is a long and interesting one. (See, S. Faysal *Al-Muijtam'at al-Islamiyya*, Vol.II). The spread and establishment of Arabic in some countries as a national language was aided by various factors. In syria, for example Arabic did not find itself a stranger as Arab elements had already settled there, Arabic poetry had been welcomed at the Ghassanids' courts, and many of the original inhabitants spoke Armaic which was a kindred language to arabic. In Iraq, apart from the great numbers which came with the conquest, Arab tribes from pre-Islamic times had already settled there, and an Arab state had established itself in Hira. In those regions of Iraq where Persian was prevalent, Islam and the long established neighbourhood of Arabs and Persians paved the way for the conquering language. Some Persian kings — such as Bahram Jour — were even known to have been brought up in the Arabic courts and to have composed Arabic poetry. This along with the fact that Arabic was the language of the governing classes, and of the new religious and social values, all combined to secure for Arabic an official position in Persia.

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If we leave the Eastern provinces and turn westward to Egypt and North Africa we find other factors which helped to establish Arabic as a permanent language. Since Ptolomaic times, Greek has been in Egypt the language of Culture, politics, administration, and later of the Church, while Coptic was the vehicle for daily intercourse among the population. When Islam conquered Egypt, the governing Arab classes spoke only Arabic, and it was natural that those who came in contact with them showed a great desire to learn Arabic. For the rest of the people, a form of Arabic dialect was developed for the practical needs of everyday life. The adoption of classical Arabic as a state language, and of colloquial Arabic as a conversational medium among the Egyptians was accomplished within a century after the conquest. Authorities state that Coptic disappeared almost completely after that period from most parts of Egypt, and could only be found among the scholars who specialised in studying it (A. Amin, *Fajr el-Islam*, 3rd ed., Cairo, 1935, p. 259).

In North Africa Arabic became the dominant language in the cities through the spread of the new raligion and the arrival of wave after wave of Arab settlers. The Berber language showed the most resistance to the new language in its strong holds in the interior. But Arabic went on spreading, and was later strengthened by the Arab conquest of Spain.

These conquests, then acted as carriers of Arabic both as a literary and as a colloquial language in many different lands. As many Arabs migrated to these new territories, taking their language with them, so did great numbers of non-Arabs migrate in the opposite direction; many as slaves and clients, and they settled in the big Arab centres of Makka, al-Madina, al-Basra and al-Kufa. They naturally adopted Arabic as their medium of intercourse, and some of them masterad literary Arabic and became famous writers, and poets. Some of the Persian clients found in the two capitals of Hidjaz a fertile soil for their music and singing. Thus a movement of interaction between Arabs and non-Arabs was taking place all through the Islamic empire during the first century A. H., This movement produced a great civilisation which became known as Arab-Islamic civilitation. The ancient Aramaic and Iranian cultures, under the aegis of the Caliphate, were woven into a new pattern and expressed through the medium of the Arabic tongue. Arabic was thus envigorated by new elements of ideas and images, stimulated with fresh conceptions of excellence and eloquence, and enriched with a new vocabulary. Persian, in particular, was responsible for the introduction of new terms in the fields of luxury, ornaments, handicrafts, fine arts, government administration, and public registers (A. Amin, *Fajr al-Islam*, Section III).

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Under the Umayyad rule, the capitals of the empire, began to settle down to some form of activity and specalisation. In Hidjaz lack of political power, combined with increased wealth and luxury from war booties, produced a leisurely life of poetry, music and singing. It was the combination of these religious, political, and economic factors which made of Hidjaz in the firest century A. H., a centre of amorous peotry. This new development in the life of Makka and Madina gave the classical language a new field and fresh material. The two schools of love-poets, the Bohemian under the leadership of 'Omar ibn Abi Rabi'a, and the Platonie under Jamil Buthayna made extensive use of the narrative style, and helped to give Arabic literature one of the finest literary encyclopaedias of the world, the Book of „al-Aghani", by Abu-l-Faraj -l-Asfahani. In Syria and Iraq where political strife and tribal fueds were at their highest, partisan and tribal poetry flourished and kept alive the pre-Islamic spirit of literary rivalries. Jarir, al-Farazdaq, al-Akhtal and scores of other poets took part in these public controversies and provided the classical language with another wide field, "al-Naqa'id.".

On the prose side, public speaking and epistle writing made great strides. The spread of the new order which Islam preached depended largely on persuasion. Weekly religious sermons and public directions from the Prophet, the Caliphs, their deputies and governors produced a wealth of eloquent speeches and a number of first-class orators. (Al-Jahiz, *Al-Bayan wa-t-Tabyin*). The expansion of the Islamic empire and the increase in matters of general policy and administrative organization necessitated the establishment of state registers and the employment of expert writers. (Al-Jahshiary, *Al-Wuzara' wa-l-Kuttab*).

From the second century A.H. onwards a group of epistle writers — mostly non-Arabs — began to distinguish themselves by their literary prose productions. They introduced into Arabic literature new literary techniques and ways of expression inspired by their original non-Arabic cultures. At the hands of ibn al-Muqaffa', Abd-el-Hamid and their school, Arabic briefness gave way to long works of prose, and Arabic rhetorics began to be enriched by the fruits of Persian, Indian, and Greek rhetorics (Al-Jahiz, *Al-Bayan wa-t-Tabyin*). Thus the Arabic language became the religious, literary and administrative instrument of a rapidly growing and developing community. It was not long before that language was called upon to express the intellectual energy of that vast Islamic empire. Islam with its new liberating and stirring influences seemed to have released strong currents of intellectual activity which applied itself

deligently to the search after knowledge. Early Muslim efforts bore fruits in the fields of Kur'anic and religious studies, and then in those of history, language and literature. With the transference of power from the Umay-yads to the 'Abbasids, the intellectual achievements of the Muslims found new scope in translating foreign philosophy and science. In the fourth century A. H. Islamic centres of learning in the East as well as in Muslim Spain were at the height of their scholastic activities and were making valuable contributions in the Arabic language to the advancement of knowledge. (P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*).

III

So much then for the second stage in the development and spread of literary Arabic, which accompanied, coincided with, and was influenced by the rise of Islam and the establishment of a vast Islamic Empire. But this in turn led to the third and important stage in the life of literary Arabic and that was the stage of linguistic and literary researches which led to the solidification and fixing of its principles and characteristics. The need for this began to be felt from the first century A.H. Grammatical and linguistic mistakes in the use of the classical language made their appearance even at the time of the Prophet and the Caliph 'Omar (Al-Bala-thuri, *Futuh*. Alarmed by this the Arab Caliphs of Omayya started a campaign for purification and correct usage of the Arabic classical langu-age. They began to observe this in their own circles and in the education of their children. 'Abd-u-l Malik ibn Marwan used to warn his sons against solecism by telling them that in the speech of a nobleman, it was uglier than small pox in the face or a rent in a precious grament. 'Omar ibn 'Abd-el-'Aziz, who ruled towards the end of the first century A. H., used to be very critical in linguistic matters, and could not suffer to hear any incorrect utterance around him. But this incorrectness in matters of construction and vocalization was not confined to any particular group or class of the new community. Some Bedouins could — and did — deviate sometime from the recognised and approved usages, as they did not have rules and laws to keep them to the right path. (As-Suyuti, *Al-Muzhir*, vol.II, pp. 494 and after). Some Arab gocvernors of the provinces — e.g. Khalid al-Qasry the governor of Iraq — were known for their solecism, a weakness of which satyrists made use against them (Johann Fuck, *Al-Arabiyya*, Section 2.). Even *rawis* — such as Hammad, and poets — such as al-Farazdaq — were not immune from such weakness. (Ibn Sallam, *al-Tabaqat*, p. 15). More Serious—however—were the deviations introduc-ed by the non-Arab Muslims in sound and construction as will as in matt-ers of meaning. The vocalization system of Arabic and its variation of case

endings proved a stumbling block to the non-Arabs whose languages were simpler in these matters than Arabic. The effect of this showed itself in two ways : in the creation of local colloquial dialects, and in the spread of solecism in the classical language. These symptomatic phenomena were observed at a time when progress of the Muslim state began to stimulate interest in knowledge and research. This interest — driven by the strong urge to keep pure the language of the Kur'an and the cultural vehicle of Muslim literature and thought — prompted the scholars of Islam to launch their campaign of purification which reached its climax andd bore its fruits in the third and fourth centuries A.H.

A—The first line of attack was the creation of a science of grammar which early in its evolution found its master mind in Sibawaih (d. 180A.H.). His work— known in Arabic sources by the name of the Book — presents a coherent and logical system built apparently on the established usages of Hidjaz and Tamim. It remained the main authority for Arabic grammarians all through the centuries, and became the centre of their critical discussions and commentaries. During the life-time of Sibawaih two grammatical schools of thought developed : one in Basra of which Sibawaih was the leader, and one in Kufa under the leadership of al-Kisa'i (d. 189 A. H.). The story of development of that science, the pedigree of its great masters and the viewpoints of its schools is told in many Arabic and European sources. (See e. g. : 1- Ibn-Al-Anbari, *Al-Insaf* ; 2— Al-Suyuti, *Bughyat al-Wu'at* ; 3— M. al-Rai'i *Tarikh Adab al-'Arab* ; 4 — Howell, *Arabic Grammar* ; 5— Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*).

B — The second line in the stablization of literary Arabic was the creation of a science of language The early founders of the science were al-Khalil ibn Ahmed (d. 160 A. H.), the author of the first Arabic lexicon *(Kitab-al-'Ayn)*, and Ibn Durayd (d. 223 A.H.). the author of "*al-Jamhara fi-l-Lugha*". Later lexicographers such as Ibn Manzur (d. 711 A. H.), and Fayruzabadi (d. 817 A. H.) gave classical arabic its greatest standarised dictionaries "*Lisan-al-'Arab*" and "*al-Qamus*".

C — Yet another important branch of study contributed in no small measur to the standardizing processes of literary Arabic -- namely the line of literary criticism which built itself on the excellences of the Kur'anic style and the essential features of classical poetry. Critical writings, from the beginning of the third century A. H. took different froms. At the hands of Abu'Obayda (d. 210 A.H.), a-Farrla' (d. 207 A.H.) and Ibn Qutayba (d. 276 A.H.), they appeared in the form of a treatment of Kur'anic literary and linguistic usages. Ibn Sallam (d. 232 A. H.) al-Amidi (d. 371 A. H.), al-Jurjani (d. 392 A. H.) occupied themselves with the classifi-

cation of the poets, the analysis of their art, or the comparative study of some of them. Al-Jahiz (d. 255 A.H.), Abu Hilal al-'Askary (d. 395 A.H.) tried to build up a science of rhetorics and literary criticism which was later brought to a mature stage at the hands of Abd-al-Qahir al-Jurjani (d. 471 A. H.) .

These three principal lines of standarization were part of a general Muslim intallectual movement which bore fruits in several directions, and originated or developed many fields of knowledge. It is to the credit of the early Muslim Humanists of the first and second centuries A. H. that they realized the necessity of a developed and standardized classical language. Before this could be accomplished a ceaseless search among the desert Bedouins for correct and pure linguistic usages and for memorised poetry of the classical period was undertaken by a group of rhapsodists or rawis, chief among them being Hammad al-Rawiya (d. 156 A. H.), Khalaf-al-Ahmar (d. 180 A. H.), Abu 'Amr ibn el-'Ala (d. 154 A. H.) and al-Asma'i (d. A. H.). (See Ibn al Nadim, *al-Fihrist.*).

Thus by the end of the fourth century A. H. the chief and radical characteristics of Literary Arabic were finally and academically fixed. As an instrument of literature and science, of philosophy and of human culture in all its aspects, the Arabic language proved a ready and efficient vehicle. It spread with Islam and invigorated itself with all the cultures which Islam incoroporated, but always within the norms and standards exemplified in the Kur'an and classical poetry, and systematized in various sciences by the humanists of the third and fourth centuries after Hidjra.

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<div align="right">(M. Khalafallah)</div>

خلاصة باللغة العربية

المراحل الأولى فى تطور اللغة الأدبية العربية وتثبيت مقاييسها

يقع هذا البحث فى مقدمة وثلاثة أقسام : فأما المقدمة فقد أثارت الى الحقيقة التاريخية ، وهى أن اللغة الأدبية العربية قُررت معايرها بشكل على فى القرنين الثالث والرابع الهجريين ، فوضعت قواعدها النحوية والصرفية وحددت أوضاعها اللغوية والأدبية بعد دراسة جادة وبحث منظم . وقد استمرت حياتها منذ ذلك اليوم الى العصر الحاضر دون انقطاع ، واستمرت الأقطار العربية تتخذ منها لغة أدبية موحدة ، وإن اصطنع كل قطر منها لهجة عامية لحياته اليومية .

هذه الحركة العلمية استندت الى فروض ومبررات ، منها اتحاد اللغة الأدبية قبل الإسلام وبعده ، ومنها انتشار الشعر الجاهلى واستقرار أوضاعه اللغوية والاسلوبية فى كثير من انحاء شبه الجزيرة العربية قبل الاسلام .

ويلخص القسم الأول من البحث محاولات العلماء من شرقيين ومستشرقين فى تعليل نشوء تلك اللغة الموحدة ، وفى بيان الصلات بينها وبين اللهجات التى كانت منتشرة فى شبه الجزيرة .

وأما القسم الثانى فانه يتتبع تطور اللغة العربية وانتشارها فى المرحلة الثانية التى بدأت بظهور الاسلام ، فيشير الى أن معجزة الدين الجديد جاءت فى صورة كتاب عربى مبين ، وجّه الحياة العربية وجهة جديدة وسن لها دستورا شاملا ، ولم يلبث هذا الكتاب أن جمع ونشر فى صورة رسمية وأصبح محور دراسة أدبية ولغوية كان لها أثرها بعد فى تقنين اللغة الأدبية ، كما كان لفكرة اعجازه أثرها فى ابراز مقاييس الجودة الأدبية . فلما اتجه الاسلام الى خارج شبه الجزيرة فى فتوحه ، صاحبته اللغة العربية فانتشرت بانتشاره ، وتأثرت بعوامل الامتزاج بين الجيوش الفاتحة التى جمعت بين أفراد وكتائب من قبائل

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مختلفة ، وبخروج العرب من المرحلة القبلية الى مرحلة بناء الأمصار وانشاء الدول . وبذلك امتد ظل العربية الى الشام والعراق وفارس والى مصر وشمال اقريقية . وحين استقر الحكم فى الدولة الأموية أخذت عواصم الامبراطورية الاسلامية تتخصص فى نواح من الثقافة والنشاط الفكرى ، فازدهرت الموسيقى والغناء وشعر الغزل فى أمصار الحجاز ، ونشط شعر السياسة والعصبية فى الشام والعراق ، وظهر كتاب الرسائل من الموالى والعرب . وبذلك كله أصبحت اللغة العربية الفصيحة لغة دين وأدب واجتماع وادارة فى مجتمعات متطورة ناهضة ، وأظهرت كفايتها لمطالب النشاط الذهنى فى تلك الامبراطورية الواسعة . وبقيام الدولة العباسية اتجه ذلك النشاط وجهة جديدة فأخذ فى ترجمة التراث العلمى والفلسفى للأمم القديمة . ولم تلبث المراكز الاسلامية فى الشرق والغرب أن بلغت فى القرن الثالث والرابع الهجريين ذروة الازدهار ، وأن أخذت بنصيب اللغة العربية فى تقدم المعرفة الانسانية .

ويتناول القسم الثالث من البحث شعور العلماء المسلمين فى المرحلة الثالثة من تطور اللغة العربية بضرورة تقنين أوضاعها اللغوية والأدبية ، والعوامل التى أثارت هذا الشعور ، والتى كان من بينها ظهور اللحن وتسرب العناصر الدخيلة الى جسم اللغة . وقد ظهرت جهود هؤلاء العلماء فى جهات ثلاث : الأولى خلق علم النحو ، والثانية خلق علم اللغة ، والثالثة خلق الدراسات النقدية والبلاغية . وقد نشأت هذه العلوم ثمرة لحركة علمية قامت على الجمع والنقد والتصنيف ، وهى حركة جديرة أن تأخذ مكانها بين الحركات العلمية الكبرى فى التاريخ الانسانى .

محمد خلف الله

21

GEORGE GISSING; a Biographical Note

By

NUR SHERIF

The ghost of Gissing's family haunted him both during his lifetime and after his death. It is this ghost that still stands between the biographer and Gissing the man. There is no better evidence of this than the expurgated volume of his letters and diaries edited by his brother and sister, Algernon and Ellen Gissing. In the preface written by his son, Alfred, there is an emphasis on the maturer judgments of the older Gissing who had come to regard the "intelligence of the heart" as far more important than the "intelligence of the brain". Here Alfred refers to a book similar in character to *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* which Gissing had contemplated writing and in which he was to "set forth his ideas as further modified by experience". [1] His son regrets that "such a project was never carried out". "It is indeed unfortunate" he says, "for we know comparatively little of his mental development in later days". [2] Alfred goes on to point out why the extracts from the diary inserted in this volume are so few : they are introduced mainly with the idea of furnishing such details of his movements and occupations as are not contained in the letters. [3] Describing the diary, he says that

> the entries are, as a rule, short and hurried; they were intended either to recall to the writer's mind the principal events of each day, or in a few words to summon up before his vision certain impressive scenes which he had looked upon during his travels on the continent. Except in the case of his foreign travel there are but few detailed descriptions or expressions of opinion; consequently the entries contain little that would be of interest to the public". [4]

Thus the diaries are dismissed in an attempt to put the biographer off the track.

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1. Letters of George Gissing to Members of his Family, (1927) p.v.
2. p. v.
3. p. vi.
4. p. vi.

This indicates that there is a feeling of shame of the younger Gissing and a strong desire to efface the views of the "immature" young man by stressing the maturer views of the older and more experienced person; while the description of the diaries is an attempt at self-justification based on unconvincing arguments. It is difficult to believe that a writer like Gissing would have kept a diary without trying to get to the bottom of his own character, for Gissing was nothing if not honest, and it would not be wrong to assume that this diary would contain his innermost thoughts and feelings. Where there is reticence it would be unconscious, and his very silence would be significant. His own conception of the value of a diary is expressed in a letter to his sister Margaret :

> By the by, do you keep a diary? If not. I should certainly advise you to do so, now that you have more time to spare. Put in it all the main events of each day, and, at the same time, every book you read, with remarks upon them. Likewise jot down special thoughts that come into your head. To say nothing of the pleasure it gives you to look over such a book in future days, you benefit much by the careful thought it necessitates, thoughts about yourself as well as other people. I have found it a very good exercise to try to *learn* myself, asking myself whenever I do a thing of some importance Why do I do this? Would it be better to leave it undone? and so on. [1]

On April 7th, 1902 he writes in his own diary :

> Yesterday started to open the first volume of my diary, and found it such strange and moving reading that I have gone on, hour after hour. Who knows whether I may not still live a few years; and if so, I shall be sorry not to have a continuous record of my life and I resolve to begin journalising once more, after all but a year of intermission. [2]

It is evident then that Gissing desired to have, and presumably to leave a continuous record of his life which would serve as a justification of his actions to anyone who would be interested to know something about them.

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1. *Letters,* p. 76, June 25, 1880.
2. MS. Diary.

That he did not fully trust his family to tell the whole truth about him is clear from what Gabrielle Fleury says in one of her letters, where she points out that Gissing was not very happy in leaving his papers in the hands of his family and would have left them to her had he lived longer.

There is still further evidence of the family's desire to whitewash his memory in the volume of published letters where they insert, as an appendix, a letter sent to Gissing's sisters by the Reverend Theodore Cooper who had visited him on his death-bed. This letter suggests that Gissing had at last expressed a belief in God :

> I leaned over him and said 'My friend, you are going home' Distinct and clear came the words 'God's will be done.' [1]

In *The Private Life of Henry Maitland*, Morley Roberts denies that Gissing died " in the fear of God's holy name, and with the comfort of the Catholic faith." [2] It is difficult for anyone who has read his books to believe that he had. What is significant, however, is first the fact that the Reverend Theodore Cooper should have stressed this point, feeling that it would comfort the family, and second that they should have deliberately inserted this latter in the published volume.

Knowing how much the family had suppressed of Gissing's life by merely comparing the volume of letters with Morley Roberts' biography, it is with a feeling of expectation that one opens the three volumes of unpublished diaries in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. But even here, before reading a single word, one is again haunted by the ghost of his family : a number of pages have been cut out of volume I. The first entry is dated 27th December, 1887 although Gissing's letter to Margaret [3] indicates that he had started to keep a diary in 1880. This does not necessarily mean that the missing pages are those covering the whole period from 1880 to 1887. It is possible that there was a fourth volume

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1. *Letters*, Appendix A. p. 399

2. Ch. XII

3. See above p. 24.

which has either been destroyed or is still in private hands. We are more inclined to believe that there were more than three volumes as volume I (December 1887 - May 1889) is written in ninety seven pages; volume II (May 1889 - March 1895) in one hundred and thirty four pages; and volume III (March 1895 - November 1902) in one hundred and thirteen pages. That is more than fifty pages a year during the early part of his life and twenty during the latter period. If we add twenty pages to volume I, which is about the number of the missing pages, that would bring us no earlier than the latter half of 1886. As Gissing implies that his diaries are a complete record of his life, and if we accept "complete" as meaning his life as an adult, that would leave at least six or seven years unaccounted for in the diaries.

All this is mere conjecture and we will, therefore, leave it at that and concentrate on the concrete evidence we have of the missing pages. Who is responsible? Was it Gissing or his family? Gissing re-read the diaries in 1902 [1] and felt he would like to have a complete record of his life; he, therefore, began journalising once more "after all but a year of intermission". This makes it clear that there was nothing that he wished to suppress. There is still further proof that he was not responsible for destroying these papers. The pages of the three volumes are numbered and the present volume I starts on page one which is sufficient proof that Gissing did not number them when he first started to write; and there is no obvious reason why he should have done so later on. The most likely explanation is that they were numbered by Algernon and Ellen Gissing for purposes of editing and that they did this after they had read the diaries and cut out what they wished to suppress.

What exactly was in the early pages we may never know, but there is little doubt that they referred to Gissing's early life with Nell, his first wife, the broad outline of which may be reconstructed from the collection of unpublished letters at the library of Yale University and the New York Public Library. Our interest in these pages, however lies mainly in what their absence implies : the attitude of the family to Gissing's early life. This, in its turn will help us to form an idea of their influence on him during his lifetime.

A quick perusal of the unpublished diaries reveals that the only reference to Nell that has been left in is to her death. On the other hand, no pages have been cut out or passages deleted where Gissing

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1. See above p.24.

describes his wretched life with Edith, his second wife who finally ended in an asylum. The most plausible explanation of this attitude would be that whereas the family objected to Nell on moral grounds, they were not so opposed to Edith who, despite her other drawbacks, conformed to their idea of respectability. Gissing's mother never forgave him for marrying Nell whom she refused to recognise. [1] It was a blot on his life which the family would do its best to efface; hence the missing pages. This conspiracy of silence started soon after the marriage :

> Mother told me the girls knew nothing of Nell.
> Will there not be a danger of Mrs. Pickford talking
> about her to Madge? [writes Gissing to Algernon]. [2]

It is true that Madge was only fifteen at the time, but as Gissing himself says, there was always the danger of her hearing about Nell from a different source. A broad-minded mother might have sought a better solution than mere silence. Gissing's mother, however, was very strict in the way she brought up her children. The girls grew up in an atmosphere of strict religious conformity, not unusual in those days in English provincial towns. Their Sundays at home were cheerless and depressing. Away on holiday Gissing records the annoying changes that had to be made in meal times for his sister's churchgoing on Sunday. Madge goes twice, both in the morning and in the evening. In the afternoon, while Gissing reads Ovid she reads some pietistic work. [3] When he finds her reading *Les Misérables* one Sunday he can hardly believe his eyes and regards it as a fact worth recording in his diary. [4]

Gissing never forgets his dreary Sundays at Wakefield; they are constantly recurring in his novels. In his description of Sunday at Banbrigg the memory of his own gloomy Sundays at home is present. [5] The rigid religious atmosphere of Wakefield is substantiated by Ellen's objection to *The Emancipated* where she sees too much of herself in the character of the narrow-minded puritanical Miriam. That her indignation was well-founded is apparent in Gissing's letter to Algernon on the subject :

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1. Writing to Algernon, Gissing says : "Nell wishes to be kindly remembered. How I wish I could say to Mother, as well as to you" (Feb. 28, 1880, Yale University Library).
2. July 11, 1879, Yale University Library.
3. MS. Diary, August 25, 1889. September 1, 1889.
4. Ibid.
5. *A Life's Morning*, Ch. XII.

But such indignation could only be felt by one who
was actually in that very slough (religious imbecility);
nothing is satirised in the book but the meanest
exaggerations of ignoble puritanism ... To pass from
habitual intercourse with provincial pietism to *The
Emancipated* is too abrupt, the air is too strong... They
live in their remote corner of the earth and the great
tide of human progress never touches them. [1]

Connected with this religious atmosphere is the intellectual sloth
and dullness which Gissing also associates with his home. Whenever
he goes back to Wakefield the intellectual barrenness appals him and he
fears that the place will make him a complete dullard. [2] In 1889 he
stays there for a little under three months. Five days after his arrival
the atmosphere begins to weigh down upon him : the paltry talk at
meals, the discussion of nothing but local facts and the absence of any
attempt at tackling abstract subjects. [3] Gissing, always hypersensitive,
seems, even as a boy, to have sensed a lack of intellectual and aesthetic
response from his mother. In a latter to her describing a walking
tour in North Wales, every minute of which he thoroughly enjoyed, he
checks his enthusiasm whenever he directly addresses her. The opening
sentence runs as follows :

I have to write you a very long letter today, which
I hope will interest you [4].

The same note returns at the end of the letter:

When I come home again I hope to have the
pleasure of going over this with you on a map [5]

There is a formality and a feeling of uneasiness here which never
completely disappears after Gissing grows up. On the occasion of his
mother's visit to him in later years, we recognise the same suggestion
of a strained relationship :

1. April 2, 1890, Yale University Library.

2. MS. Diary, September 2, 1888.

3. Ibid, May 30, 1839.

4. *Letters*, April 19, 1873, p. 9.

5. Ibid. p. 11.

> My mother is here on a visit from Wakefield, for
> a month. Strange companions, she and I with sadly little
> to say to each other. My tumultuous mood does not
> make my situation easier [1].

In the few references Gissing makes to his mother one is struck
by an unusual reticence and lack of ease. When Mrs. Gaussen, looking
over his album of photographs, remarks on his mother's "strikingly
handsome face ... extraordinary full of character", he amazes her by
saying that he "was really quite unable to say whether the character
was in reality there or not"; and he goes on to explain :

> So utterly a stranger, on reflection, do I find our
> mother to me. A curious state of things; one which, I
> fancy, would have been pretty much the same under any
> circumstances. [2]

It is clear, then, that the rift between them was not due to one
particular incident in Gissing's life, such as his expulsion from Owen's
College and his first marriage. It had begun much earlier, when he
was a boy and his attitude to her had not changed since. She was
for him then,[3] and remained to the end, the mother whom he associated
with discipline and intellectual narrowness.[4] The tight hold that she
had on Gissing is apparent from the fact that not until after his second
marriage did he have a separate banking account. Up to the age of
thirty four he deposited whatever money he earned with his mother at
Wakefield. Whenever he needed any he would send home asking for
the sum of five or ten pounds at a time. On December 1, 1891 he
receives £ 12.10. from his mother, the last of his money in her hands.
A few days earlier he had deposited £ 105 in his own name in the
National Provincial Bank of England. This is the first banking account
he ever had.[5] He even has to write to Algernon "asking him how to
fill up cheques payable to self"[6] The whole history of Gissing's

1. Letter to H.G. Wells, Unpublished MS.
2. October 26, 1884, to Algernon, N.Y. Public Library.
3. Gissing sends his son Walter to be "tamed". "Walter", writes Gissing,
"always speaks of Wakefield discipline with much respect" letter to Margaret,
August 7, 1896.
4. See below pp. 30 and 33.
5. MS. Diary, November 23, 1891.
6. MS. Diary, December 19, 1891.

relationship to his mother and his position at home may be read between the lines of these entries in his Diary. His mother's iron grip had not loosened its hold on him all these years. With her principles and severity she must have been a stern judge of whatever he did or said. This was largely responsible for his shyness, and lack of confidence, both of which clearly come out at an Omar Khayyam dinner when he is asked to give an account of his first meeting with Meredith as reader of Chapman and Hall. "Got through the speech somehow" he writes in his diary. The next entry, the day after, runs as follows :

> Tormented to death with thinking of my speech
> last night. This retrospective shyness a dreadful thing.
> In vain tried to read a little. [1]

This is not the self-consciousness that suddenly appears after a set-back such as that connected with his first marriage, although, no doubt, it would be itensified by it The fact that Margaret complains of the same shyness [2] and lack of self-confidence indicates that it is more likely the outcome of their upbringing and early environment.

In those days Gissing allied himself to his father as Emily does in *A Life's Morning*, where there is a secret understanding between them unconsciously directed against the mother. Gissing's idolisation of his father after his death is itself an expression of resentment against his mother. He admires in him the very qualities that are absent from her :

> The more I think of father . . the more I admire
> his . . perfect lack of prejudice and openness to all truths [3]

What strikes him about his mother is the absence of intellectuality and he finds it strange that his father had exercised no influence over her [4] One may discern a hidden note of contempt at her inferiority. It seldom happens, however, that a man, no matter how great a worshipper of the intellect he may be, is alienated from his mother for the absence of intellectual qualities. Therefore we are inclined to see his attitude to her as a result rather than a cause of his alienation.

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1. MS. Diary. July 14 1895.
2. See letter to Madge, November 2, 1883, N.Y. Public Library.
3. Letter to Algernon, May 9, 1880, Yale Library.
4. Reminiscences of my father, Yale Library.

Further light is shed on his relationship to his mother in a letter from Gabrielle Fleury to Morley Roberts. Here there is a reference to a certain Mme. S.M. to whom Gissing had spoken in confidence.

> and told her that *he hated his mother*, that she
> was a bad woman, that she had killed his father by the
> mis·ry she gave him [1]

Gabrielle is appalled at this and dismisses the woman as mad: for "Gissing could not have said these things, which were not true". She is, however, prepared to admit that :

> he may have told her simply that he had not at all
> the same ideas that his mother and sisters, but not more[2].

That there was a difference, that Gissing resented the general atmosphere of his home and that he allied himself to his father there can be no doubt. The idealised relationship between father and son in *Workers in the Dawn* and father and daughter in *A Life's Morning* and *The Nether World*, compared with the more strained and reserved relationship between mother and son in *Demos*, suggests that there was a hidden tension between Gissing and his mother, such as might easily have led him in an unguarded moment of confidence to attribute his father's misery, if not his actual death, to his mother.

Although he had not openly tried to break away from his mother until his forties, Gissing unconsciously attempted to do so at a much earlier date. This took different forms, all somehow associated with his father who had himself been in silent rebellion against his wife[3]. The intellectual eagerness which Gissing had shown as a boy and which his father had encouraged, became more and more marked with time. His mother's lack of understanding of what he had come to appreciate, and, possibly her secret resentment against what she could not fully grasp, helped to form his interests into a weapon which he could brandish against her narrow outlook. Thus they developed into a worship of the intellect which, in Gissing's less worthy moments, became an intellectual snobbery. This worship of the "intelligence of the brain",

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1. Gabrielle Fleury to Morley Roberts. April 19, 1910, N.Y. Public Library.
2. Ibid
3. Reminiscences of my father, Yale Library

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which takes an aggressive shape surprisingly out of keeping with his shyness and retirement, gave him a feeling of superiority over others, particularly over his family. It was a means of breaking away from his mother and asserting his personality.

Gissing refers to his lack of decision as "a hateful fault in his character"[1] and yet when we go over the circumstances of his three marriages we note a remarkable doggedness in the manner they were carried out. They meant much more to him than they would to an ordinary person. The affair at Owen's College and his second marriage which have puzzled biographers have been explained in terms of his sensuality[2]. This, however, is hardly a quality one would associate with Gissing. Judging from his novels, one would rather be inclined to think that he showed an unusual shrinking from anything that may be described as sensual. He himself writes :

> The majority of men have little time to think of matters sensual. It is only a few strong brained men who are at once busy and preys to passion or even to persistent desires[3].

Gissing was very young when he first knew Nell — he was only eighteen. His idealism and lack of experience were partly responsible for his consequent behaviour at College; but there was also a hidden urge to break away from the family, to assert his own individuality which so far had been suppressed beneath a weight of narrow provincialism and lower middle class respectability. Thus he tried to tear himself away, doing violence to himself, it is true, but also shocking his people as he had unconsciously meant to do. The family then intervened and got him shipped off to America, with the help of friends. Although often accused of running away from trouble he came back to England to face it. His mother was largely responsible for sending him away and his return may be explained as an act of defiance : he was not going to have others determine his life for him. Gissing came back and did the very thing his family had wished to prevent; he resumed his relationship with Nell although he did not actually marry

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1. MS Diary, February 10, 1889.
2. See *Private Life of Henry Maitland*.
3. Letter to Morley Roberts, November 3, 1895, N.Y. Public Library.

her until October 1879 [1] There is no doubt that he had a deep
affection for her, for in all his letters to Algernon and Will, written
at that time, she is spoken of with gentleness. It cannot be denied
that he married her against his better judgment. Before the marriage
he had all but finished writing *Workers in the Dawn*. In this novel,
which he refers to as "a singular piece of detailed prophecy", he
foresaw what would happen to Nell in the pathetic Carrie. Yet Giss-
ing, a free thinker with no orthodox views on marriage, went through
with it in a spirit of defiance.

Time proved Gissing wrong and his mother right, a fact which
seemed to increase his resentment. This is given expression in the
husband-and-wife relationship in *A Life's Morning* and the son-and-
mother relationship in *Demos*. In the later novel, Mutimer, like
Gissing, is represented as a rebel who comes in conflict with his
mother This resentment also appears in Gissing's more direct references
to his mother [2] and her narrow outlook. The following is a passage
from a letter to his sister comparing the attitude of his sister-in-law
with that of his mother :

> Never do I hear a word in Worcestershire about
> household concerns; never is a meal discussed; never is
> the servant referred to in our conversation. Everything
> of that nature *comes to pass* merely; it is not wearisomely
> laboured over... Now *is* it worth sacrificing this human
> progress and peace for the sake of making sure that
> there is nothing in the kitchen that might not be better?....
> No, but then, of course, the inhabitants of a house must
> unite in recognizing that the mind is of more account
> than the body. Mother would grant you that hypothe-
> tically, but we know sadly enough that her paradise is in
> precisely the opposite direction. It is a sad, sad thing
> that anyone should be rendered incapable of spiritual
> activity by ceaseless regard for kitchen-ware and the back-
> door steps. [3]

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1. See *George Gissing, Grave Comedian*, Mabel Donnelly p. 35.

2. See above p. 30.

3. September 13, 1883, *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library December 1947,
   p. 376.

In quoting this passage Dr. Mabel Donnelly points out that it comes after Nell's death, and indicates that Gissing, having rid himself of his shame, had also rid himself of his mother the reminder of his shame. She also claims that his changed attitude towards his mother permitted him more self-confidence in his relations with women. It is impossible to accept this explanation as he chose for his second wife the very type of woman to whom he could feel superior. Furthermore, the note of resentment in the above quotation and the inability to view his mother more tolerantly show that he had not completely broken away from her. She is still the mother he had known as a boy, the mother who had insisted on order and discipline in the home.

It was not yet possible for Gissing to break away from Wakefield. In fact, after the death of Nell, the hold that the family had on him seems to have increased. As far as numbers are concerned, the odds were against him; now he had to contend not only with his mother but with two grown up sisters as well, all of whom were closely allied in their acceptance of middle class values.

After Nell's death, Gissing, at different times made the acquaintance of three women. In each case this might have developed into a more serious attachment had he been slightly more confident. Finally at Wakefield he met Connie Ash, a friend of Margaret's. In three days he forms a strong attachment, admits having fallen in love and even writes to his sister Nelly about her,[1] a fact which indicates that this time he meant to act. But Nelly's support and approval were still essential to him. On August 16, he receives a letter from his sister, presumably in answer to his own. After this there is no further mention of Connie Ash; on August 20, he leaves Wakefield and is back in London the next day "feeling very shaky and hopeless"[2]. Here he spends his time wandering about the streets in a state of utter despair[3]. His loneliness all but drives him mad and he feels that he will not produce any more good work unless he gets married.[4] On September 28, the first reference is made to Edith Underwood who was to become his wife on February 25, 1891. Had Nelly anything to do with this unusual behaviour ? Had she brought up the old scandal, or had she drawn his attention to the fact that no

1. MS. Diary, August 11, 1890.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, August 29, 1890.
4. Ibid, September 16 1890.

middle class woman would marry a poverty stricken author ? Or had either Connie herself or her family rejected his suit ? It is difficult not to conclude with so autobiographical a writer as Gissing that what happened in Wakefield before he so unexpectedly returned to London, was closely connected with the central theme of *New Graub Street* — that of the writer of integrity who, in a world of commercialised art, is unable to earn a decent living and keep, in reasonable comfort a wife of his own class. In this novel Gissing gives us a moving study of the outcome of such a marriage as he had learnt to see it. He ident-ifies himself with Reardon but tries to avoid his mistake, and therefore, seeks an uneducated wife, with no social pretentions. Such a woman will, he thinks, provide him with the physical comforts of a home, thus enabling him to prove his worth at least as an author and once more to establish his superiority over Wakefield.

Gissing went through with his second marriage with his eyes open; the idealisation of his youth had disappeared. Not once in his diaries or letters is there any mention of love for Edith. This is a loveless marriage. The affection he had had for Nell and the love he had expressed for Connie Ash have turned to a cold calculation with regard to marriage :

> Unfortunately my circumstances forbid me — and always will — to think of any educated person. I dare not face the possibilities of a life requiring an income of more than a couple of a hundred a year. On the other hand, I shall not make a disreputable choice. It will merely be a matter of continuing to live with as little social intercourse as at present. It is not my destiny to become a member of society, that is abundantly clear [1].

Gissing had already made his choice and knew its consequences; he even went out of his way to make it clear to others. He wrote to Mrs. Harrison saying that from then onwards he could not mix with educated people. [2] Earlier in December, 1890, after he had made up

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1. To Algernon, October, 1890, Yale Library.

2. MS. Diary, April 21, 1891.

his mind about marrying Edith, he received an invitation to dinner from Edith Sichel [1] and in order to resist the temptation of accepting it he went so far as to sell his dress suit; he felt that he would never again sit at a civilised table. [2] The temptation of turning to society is still strong, but as his recent experience at Wakefield had served to intensify his feeling of inferiority he shuns it, deliberately choosing a wife who will keep him away from society.

Gissing's description of her is strangely reminiscent of his mother :

Edith, as you know [he writes to Algernon], is uneducated but I am more than satisfied with her domestic management. [3]

The marriage as a whole, in its early stages reminds one of his father's marriage. There is the same intellectual gap between him and his wife as there had been between his parents. The similarity must, at some point, have occurred to Gissing, bringing out the old resentment he felt against the narrow outlook of his mother. In yet another attempt at breaking away from her, he indirectly attacks her through his wife with whom he has unconsciously come to associate his mother. Gissing now identifies himself with his father employing the intellect, the very weapon he had taught him to use, to establish his superiority. Thus, instead of trying to make a success of his marriage, he unconsciously works for its failure.

This explains the shocking change in Edith's character some months after the marriage and the domestic misery that follows. Writing to Algernon, Gissing says that she possesses "the virtue of extreme quietness and docility" [4]. He refers to her in the same favourable manner in a letter to Ellen :

I quite believe that in a year's time there will be no great fault to find with her demeanour. [5]

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1. She is one of the women about whom Gissing thought a great deal after Nell's death.

2. MS. Diary, December 5, 1890.

3. November 6, 1891, Yale Library.

4. January 11, 1891, Yale Library.

5. January 24, 1891, Yale Library.

It is difficult for us to believe that the novelist who has given us so many penetrating psychological studies of women should have been utterly mistaken about Edith's character when he first married her. We are, therefore, inclined to accept this description of her as a fair estimate of her character at the time. The change that follows is as much Gissing's fault as it is her own.

There are indications in the Diaries that, as the day of the marriage approached, Edith became more hesitant and would have withdrawn her consent had he been less determined. Gissing, probably with an eye on the family, had made up his mind and would tolerate no dallying. He had fixed 10th February for the marriage [1] but on 3rd February he receives a letter from Edith asking him to put it off because of her sister's illness.[2] This does not come as a complete surprise; but he writes back to say that he will put it off only for a week, till 17th. February.[3] On 9th February, Edith is still holding back; Gissing, however, is adamant and he writes to say that if the marriage does not take place within a fortnight he will put it off altogether.[4] There is something feverish in all this. Why this urgency where there was no love? Gissing would have felt it as a slight had even the daughter of "a working sculptor" refused him. He had already written about her to Ellen who sent him a "dolorous" answer lamenting his decision. [5] The very feeling that they were all watching his next step "shaking their heads and viewing [him] rather gloomily"[6] goaded him on. This marriage was another attempt at asserting himself by doing the very thing to which his family objected :

> It gets more and more difficult for me to believe
> that people regard me indulgently. [7]

And, after all, was not the Wakefield mentality partly responsible for the marriage? And had he not chosen his wife for the very qualities which his family appreciated ?

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1. MS. Diary, January 15, 1891.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, February 3, 1891.
4. Ibid. February 9, 1891. See also February 13, 1891.
5. MS. Diary, October 6, 1890, October 7, 1890.
6. To Ellen. February 1, 1891, Yale Library.
7. Ibid.

In the early months Edith lived up to Gissing's expectations. More than eight months after the marriage he writes to his brother :

> She has many good qualities, and most distinctly improves. I feel sure katie [his sister-in-law] would not find it impossible to see a little of her now and then.

> My health at present is very good. I can work tremendously and have my head full of projects.[1]

and again :

> Am writing with extraordinary ease just now. Scarcely remember a like period.[2]

Gissing, however, still refers to her lack of education in a painfully self-conscious and apologetic manner. *Born in Exile*, the novel that he wrote during this period with apparently more ease than any other — a fact for which we have to thank Edith — is concerned with Godwin Peak, a man frustrated through his inability to marry his social and intellectual equal. Gissing could never forget the disparity between him and his wife, and we are inclined to believe that he himself made her feel it as it was uppermost in his mind. In a letter to Ellen, written only three weeks after his marriage, he says :

> Edith is reading 'A Village Hampden'. She is able to understand it fairly well. My own books will of course be for ever out of the question for her.[3]

Commenting on one of the letters she had written to him before their marriage, he says that it " really surprised " him, as it was " so well written and expressed ".[4] The very fact that it had " surprised " him indicates that he was contemptuous of her intelligence and never expected much of her. Edith must have found this attitude exasperating. With time it led to an uncomfortable situation, for no woman wishes to be reminded of her inferiority, least of all by her husband. If this happens she is bound to seek revenge somehow. Thus, after the birth of her first child, the gentle docile woman who had satisfied Gissing

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1. November 6, 1891, Yale Library.

2. MS. Diary, October 20, 1891.

3. March 7, 1891, Yale Library.

4. To Ellen, January 24, 1891, Yale Library.

with her domestic management, turns into a quarrelsome shrew who neglects her home and drives her husband out of the house in search of peace and quiet. From this point Gissing's diary is scattered with references to his wretched domestic life. Every day there is wrangling and uproar in the kitchen.[1] When things become so bad he rents a room at Eaton Place where he can work in peace.[2] The year 1892 is "on the whole profitless. Marked by domestic misery and discomfort".[3] Edith was making it impossible for him to carry on his work. She was preventing, in the most effective manner, the exercise of the intellect which she had felt was directed against her. Now Gissing openly laments her intellectual inferiority and the fact that he is condemned to associate with unintelligent inferiors who talk about nothing but the mean every day business of the household.[4]

It is the old tragedy of his parents reenacted. He experiences the same loneliness which he imagines his father had felt :

> Never a word to me, from anyone, of understanding
> sympathy — or of encouragement.[5]

The situation gets worse as the child grows up and begins to understand the discord at home using it for his own purposes.[6] The absurd quarrels between husband and wife over a lost tin-opener and a shaving-brush[7] indicate that their nerves were so taut that the slightest occurrence provoked anger. Once again Gissing had to admit that he had failed and to endure the humiliation of sending his son to his family in order to have him "tamed".[8] Yet even in his failure he had scored a point against his mother : a marriage, such as his mother's and his own, based on intellectual disparity, could never lead to happiness. The only way out was a separation from his wife.

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1. MS. Diary, October 4, 1892.

2. Ibid, December 15, 1892.

3. MS. Diary, December 31, 1892.

4. MS. Diary, January 24, 1893. CF. reference to his mother p. 33 above.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, August 9, 1896.

7. See MS. Diary, August 24 and 25, 1897.

8. Ibid, April 10, 1896.

Gissing leaves the country, as he had done after the death of his first wife, in search of the freedom he had sought but failed to find in England. There is something significant in his visits to Greece and Italy, for each time they come at a critical point in his life. His two marriages had, in different ways, been a bid for freedom away from the family and Wakefield ; both attempts had failed and, in binding him to an even narrower world than the one from which he had wished to escape, had caused him considerable suffering. After his release with the death of Nell and then with the decision to separate from Edith, Gissing takes an intellectual and spiritual holiday. These flights to Greece and Italy are symbolical actions denoting his actual breaking of the chains ; they give his newborn freedom a physical reality and their healing power helps him to regain confidence.

Less than three months after his return from abroad Gabrielle Fleury is mentioned in his Diary :

Letter from a French woman wanting to translate
New Grub Street [1]

A correspondence between them ensues and she visits him several times at Dorking. It is not difficult to realise what comfort this "sweet and intelligent creature" [2] must have brought Gissing. They read poetry together [3] ; she talked to him of his novels ; she told him about her friendship with Mme. de Musset, Alfred's sister, and brought him a photograph of Daudet. [4] So far Gissing had had to separate his domestic from his intellectual life. Now, in one person, he discovered all the qualities he had dreamt of in a woman. She was of a good family, moved in literary circles, had intellectual interests and was "sweet and dignified"; but above all, she loved Gissing. This is the one thing that he had missed most in his life, the love of a woman who was in every respect his equal. Only such a woman could help him to regain his self confidence and enable him to overcome his obsessive concern with the narrowness of Wakefield. Within three months of his first meeting with Gabrielle Fleury they decide to live together. [5]

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1. June 23, 1898.

2. MS. Diary, July 26, 1898.

3. Ibid October 9, 10, 12 1898.

4. Ibid, July 26, 1898.

5. MS. Diary, October 15, 1898.

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In spite of the difficulty of the situation — his second wife was still alive — Gissing, who always accused himself of indecision, never for a minute wavered. There is no mention in his Diary of his having written to Ellen [1] or anyone of his family concerning his decision, as he had done on his previous marriage. He no longer needs the sanction of the family. Morley Roberts is one of the few people he informed of his private plans, and that is mainly because Gissing had asked him to seek legal advice on the possibility of a divorce from Edith. Gabrielle, however, had quite made up her mind; she was not going to risk waiting for a divorce which might never come off. The following passage from a letter to Gissing reveals the strength of the bond between them :

> Plus je réfléchis et plus la lumière se fait dans mon esprit, plus je suis assurée que mon impression est juste. *Il vaut mieux renoncer* à se lancer dans cette voie d'une issue si lointaine même en admettant que cette issue soit favorable. En un mot je crois fermement qu'il *ne faut rien faire,* et laisser les choses en l'état où elles étaient, et tout comme si cet incident singulier ne s'était pas produit — Le hasard, le risque est trop grand, le résultat douteux et, en tout cas, trop lointain. Nous nous marions parce que nous nous aimons, parce que nous sommes sûrs l'un de l'autre, non par convenance mondaine. [2]

Commenting on her character, Gissing says :

> This woman has moral genius. I never imagined her like to exist... She is a woman to go through fire for... an incredible woman to one who has spent his life with such creatures. [3]

After Gissing's death, she writes heart-breaking letters to Morley Roberts expressing her loneliness and desire for death and mentioning three attempts at suicide. As late as 1910 she writes :

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1. See above p. 37.

2. A quotation from Gabrielle's letter to Gissing which he sends to Morley Roberts, February, 1889, N.Y. Public Library.

3. Ibid.

I do not feel life has still something for me. On the contrary I feel my life is closed entirely and my one desire is to escape out of it, I will most certainly end by killing myself. [1]

Such affection must have overwhelmed Gissing. The fact that he meant so much to a woman like Gabrielle gave him the confidence he badly needed. He began to go about much more; the shrinking from people particularly noticeable after his second marriage, tended to disappear; the resentment he had felt against the world diminished. The serenity of *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* is remarkable ; it is a quality one never associates with the younger Gissing who wrote to relieve the tension produced by the conflict between his intellectual and domestic life. Now the two are perfectly fused and the tension relaxes ; there is nothing to rebel against, neither wife nor family. He still laments, as always, the waste of time, but the old incentive to work has weakened. The novels he writes during this last phase of his life are of little literary value. The entries in his diary are fewer, and he even stops journalising for more than a year. There are no longer any secret thoughts that he wishes to disclose, no rebellious mood to which he urgently wishes to give expression. Having asserted his personality through the love of an equal, he comes to terms with life, and Gissing the private individual supersedes Gissing the novelist.

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1. To Morely Roberts, April 19, 1910. N.Y. Public Library.

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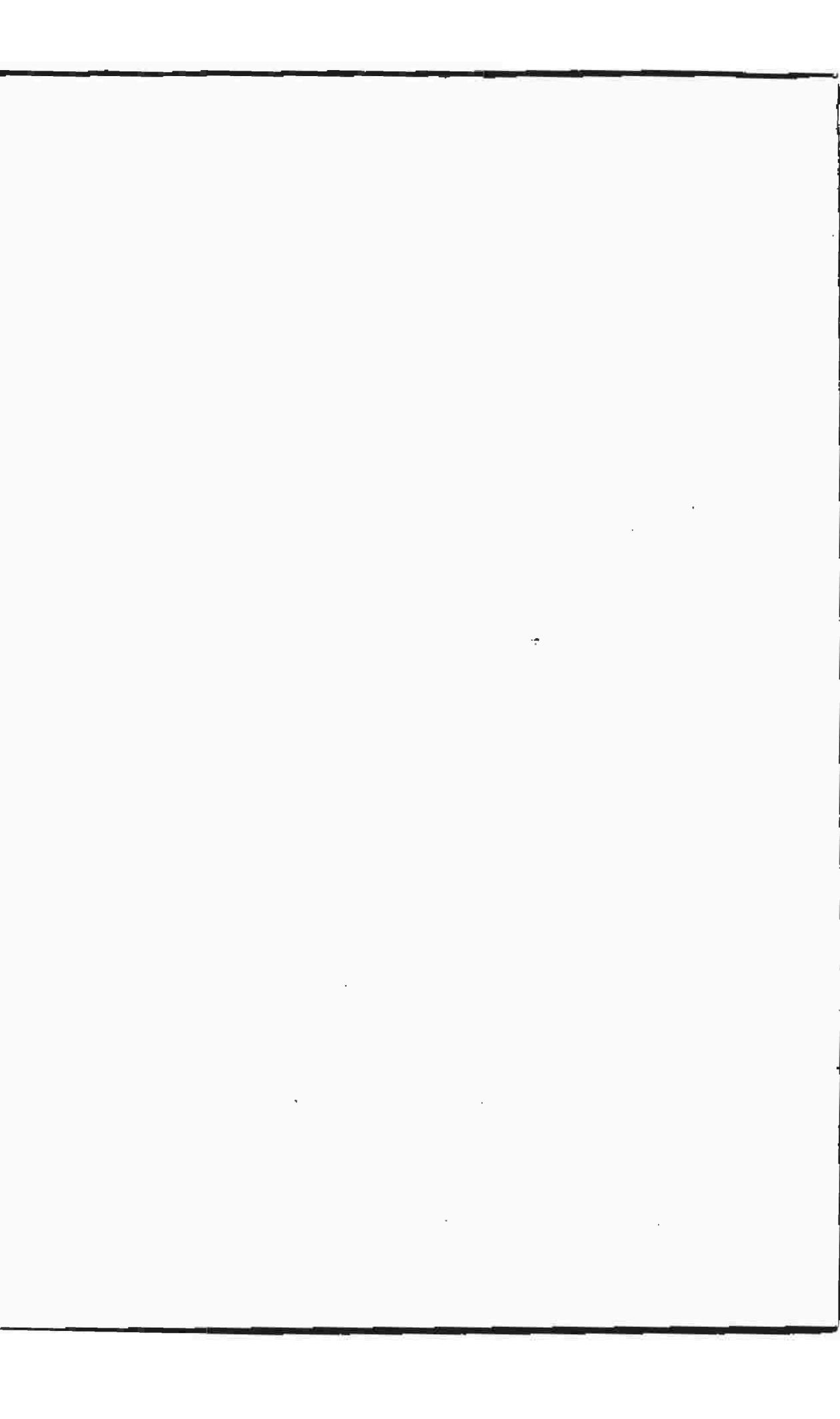   Letters to the Gissing Family.

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I have been unable to quote from Gissing's letters to Eduard Bertz as they are in the process of being edited for publication by Mr. Arthur G. Young.

INDIVIDUALISM IN ITS RELATION TO SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By

Dr. ALY A. ISSA

INTRODUCTION

Small homogeneous societies which are labelled primitive do not show diversification of any kind. The institutions within these societies were formulated by the whole group, that is collectively When science and technology invade such societies, diversification of phenomena begins to take place, and individuality gradually replaces collectivity. The purpose of this paper is to trace the individual character both in the formulation of scientific theories and in the will to accept a new scientific appliance.

Western civilization, which is basically scientific, is, with its impact on primitive and less advanced societies, responsible for the social change occurring therein. It does seem appropriate to start with a determination of its place of origin together with a definition of its nature,

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Western, white, or European civilization, and like terms are ones by which the Wilsons and other scholars of African sociology explain the facts of social change in Africa.[1] Neither geographical nor social attributes such as are often appealed to, make any real sense or help in understanding what civilization really means. Benjamin Kidd hits the nail on the head when he states that "although the systems of civilization to which we belong has a clearly defined place amongst the peoples of the earth, it has really no definite racial or national boundaries".[2] He continues : "It is not Teutonic or Celtic or Latin civilization. Nor is it German or French or Italian or AngloSaxon".[3]

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1. Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1945.

2. Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, London, Macmillan & Co. 1895, p. 131.

3. Loc. cit.

But after finding that to describe it as European civilization is still incomplete if not inaccurate,he presently goes on to say that he accepts the expression in general use, viz. "Western Civilization"[1], and thus leaves the problem partly unsolved.

The general tendency among writers is to add a temporal epithet to the geographical description of western civilization. They maintain that it began to display its characteristics in Europe throughout the eighteenth century, the age which has been regarded as the "complete antithesis to the Middle Ages".[2] That was the epoch when materialism triumphed "chiefly in the sciences of rational dynamics, physics and chemistry; and philosophy acted for the locomotion of ideas.[3] In the nineteenth century western civilization began to take definite shape. What is peculiar and new to the century, differentiating it form all its predecessors, is its technology".[4]

To regard western civilization as completely autonomous and to distinguish its features sharply from previous centuries seems to be based on a somewhat prevalent idea, of which a certain Leon Robin may be taken as a representative, that the history of science is not science.[5] To him, the history of science is an effort forgotten once the aim is reached.[6] As it stands, Robin's view with regard to the history of science does not seem to he sound. It has been admirably refuted by such thinkers as Henri Berr and particularly by Professor Abel Ray, who is a great authority on the subject. The latter, dealing with the history of science, conceived the subject as a study of the growth of human mind.[7] One wonders whether western civilization can he properly understood without our going back to the Chaldeans among whom the passage from practical to disinterested curiosity was effected[8]; or to the Egyptians, in spite of the fact that their "science" was simply technique.[9] The Chinese astronomy, which was an ordered image

1. Loc. cit.

2. Cf. A.N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*, Cambridge, At the University Press, 1946. p. 71.

3. Op. cit. p., 73.

4. Op. cit., p. 120.

5. Cf. Henri Berr; in Abel Rey, *La Science Orientale avant les Grecs*, Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1930. Avant-propos, p. iv.

6. Ibid.

7. Henri Berr, op., p. viii.

8. Cf, Abel Rey, op. cit., pp. 146, 147, 196, 199.

9. H. Berr, in op. cit., Avant-propos, p. ix.

or logical representation of the universe, can be regarded as a sort of mythological physics, while India, with her stupendous metaphysics and her mysticism expressed science through the institutions of a primitive geometry and an atomism still completely qualificative.[1] These stages of human progress appear to no small extent responsible for the emergence of western civilization and even, one might venture to say, for its final form. It was out of technique that craving for knowledge proceeded, and out of religion, myth, and magic that the need to understand stepped into the wider sphere of science.[2] The foregoing point of wiew has been well summarized by Henri Berr who, basing his judgment on Abel Ray's arguments, states :

> " . . . dans cette diversité des civilisations, il y a bien une civilisations intellectuelle qui se dessine ; il y a une orientation générale ; il y a une route royale de la connaissance, avec des grands tournants. Les réalisations contingentes, spécifiques, ne masquent pas à Ray un mouvement dirigé; partout ce mouvement fraye à sa voie à une raison qui paraît, comme la définira Aristote, porter la masque de l'humanité ; en s'accentuant et s'organisant, il accentuera du même coup la civilisation hellénique et occidentale." [3]

Other writers on the history of science such as Mieli hold the same opinion as Ray. Mieli's wiew is that science is not simply a mechanical photography of the external world.[4] It cannot be explained exept by ancestral attitudes of the mind in its relation to the phenomena of nature.[5]

If it is true that the basic element in western civilization is science and that this evolves from the simplest scientific discovery and the factory system by means of scientific appliances to the heaviest industrial plants, we must then find out what similarity or dissimilarity icience will show in regard to the original social usages, seeing that st has become a significant factor in social life. We know that society, without intervention by outside influences, is able to form its

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1. Op. cit., pp. ix, 358, 395, 400, 408, 425.

2. Op. cit, pp. x, 6, 12, 14, 15, 182, 536 — 9.

3. Cf. op. cit. pp. ix, 400, 401, 403, 406.

4. Cf. Aldo Mieli, *La Science Arabe et son Rôle dan l'Evolution Scientifique Mondiale*, p. 8.

5. Loc. cit.

own usages of kinship, law, and religon and back them all up with the necessary sanctions to ensure its existence. These spontaneous social institutions have rather a "conservative" character; and they came into existence simultaneously with society itself. Anthropologists themselves do not know how these came to be formulated and accepted. *Western science, on the contrary, is not a strictly social product.* It did not start as an integral part of human life, and no doubt society is able to go on without it as it did in the past. Besides we know how scientific theories (we are here referring to the genuine or major scientific theories which have changed the phase of social life in modern times) have come to be formulated, and how scientific appliances have come to be accepted.

II

We would now put forward the assumptions on the basis of which we suggest to understand the processes of African social change:

First, that a technical appliance which becomes a social necessity was invented and is being accepted individually; and in this respect it differs from other social habits and institutions in that these were originally formulated and accepted collectively.

Second, that the desire of all human beings to raise their material standards of life is universal, and that the mentality of all men, irrespective of the races to which they belong, is moulded in such a way as to make them believe in the possibility of realizing this desire through reliance on science and scientific appliances. This will apparently reduce the study of social change to that of a sort of social progress. Although the evaluation of facts is no concern of the social scientist engaged in the pure side of his discipline, still he has to study the facts of social progress as they are envisaged by the people among whom they occur.

Third, that science, developing as it is through individual minds in the formulation of its theories, and through individual wills in the way how its appliances are accepted, ends in becoming a significant factor in social life, ready to compete with genuine social institutions and will thus have a recognized place and function in the social scheme.

Fourth, that the natives of the primitive and less advanced societies, on being faced with the miracles of science and the usefulness of technology, develop a definite feeling of inferiority towards the

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white man. This felling can be seen in the desire of the natives to adopt the moral, intellectual and in some cases the spiritual features of western civilization. This, of course, does not prevent the persistent tendency of the senior members from amongst the natives, each of them by temperament *laudator temporis acti*, to keep unaltered at least some feature of their old culture in token of their personality.

Fifth, that the barriers separating different cultures are being losened by the impact of science, and that there are signs that the world is moving towards a unified culture.

III

In what follows the indivdualistic element lying behind the appearance and diffusion of western civilization will be sketched as it manifests itself in Europe where this civilization crystallized. It is with that element, we are inclined to imagine, that the change taking place in less advanced societies can be interpreted.

A. N. Whitehead writes that the greatest invention of the nineteenth century was the invention of the method of invention.[1] By this statement he refers to the appearance of modern technology, which was first in practice realized in England, by the energy of the prosperous middle class.[2] He further points out to the part played by the Germans in abolishing haphazard methods of scholarships.[3] In the Germans "technological schools and universities progress did not have to wait for the occasional genius, or occasional lucky thought.[4] This should of course apply to modern technical invention which" is fundamentally a set of directions for behaviours addressed to certain persons who wish to obtain a certain end. It is the patent specification of which the essence lies in these directions for the solution of a practical problem"[5].

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1. See hie *Science and the Modern World*, p. 120.

2. Op. cit., p. 121

3. Loc. cit.

4. Loc. cit.

5. Cf. H. Stafford Harfield, *The Inventor and his World*, (Penguin Books), Middlesex, England, 1949, P. 18.

What is of particular interest to the sociologist is the workings of the mind of the comparatively few geniuses who, by their major inventions, have completely changed spontaneous social life. These are the individual men and women who remain out of sight and in the majority of cases unrecognized behind industrial institutions and technical achievements. A concrete example will clarify this point :

> "If we take, for example, a great electric power station, we may find that it has been designed by a skilled engineer. This skilled engineer, however, will, generally speaking, and if he is a wise man, have only followed in every detail the best current practice known to him. On the other hand, the whole station represents a collection of inventions most of which can be traced to original minds such as Watt, Parsons, Farranti, and so on, over a long but not unlimited list." [1]

It is a mere commonplace in the methodology of sciences that a theory usually flashes unexpectedly into the mind of the scientist in the form of a sudden illumination or intuition. Poincaré attributes the discovery of such truths to what he calls the *unconscious*, or *subliminal ego*. By his account,

> " . . . the subliminal ego is in no way inferior to the conscious ego ; it is not purely automatic, it is capable of discernment ; it has tact and lightness of touch ; it can select, and it can divine. More than that, it can divine better than the conscious ego, since it succeeds where the latter fails." [2]

A real discovery is defined as the creative function of the mind, and the work of this subliminal ego is done by a particular kind of imagination other than that which is simply reproductive. It is true that sometimes both the reproductive and the recreative imaginations are based on reminiscences. But while the former recalls long-memorized elements more or less as they were, the latter constructs form these elements a new form of synthesis, and original combinations. This sketches roughly the individual manner of the initial step which western civilization has taken towards the great social changee caused by science.

1. Ibid.

2 H. Poincaré, *Science and Method*, translated from the French by F. Mitland, London, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1914, p. 5. We are referring to Poincaré's English version as his original book is not available at the time of writing.

An artist may rightly claim that the original combinations occurring in his mind are of the same nature as those occurring in the mind of a scientist. The only difference and a major one, however, would be that the scientist's combinations are concerned with revealing the secrets of the external and material nature whose control has been the foremost objective of man in all ages.[1]   In art, and let us consider its latest creative stage, the works of Constable, Turner, Picasso, and others, are not counterparts of material existence. The authors "have deen and are singularly devoid of ideologies of any kind. They live in their vision ... and follow the inevitable course dictated by their sensibility.   Moreover, "the good artist has very rarely a practical interest inanything but his art"[2] But although the scientist derives both interest and pleasure from his creations, still these find a different response from the public, which find through them new means towards a further control over nature. Besides, science develops side by side with technical development ; there is always close interaction between them. In Bernal's own words :[3]

> "Neither (science and technics) would be possible
> without the other, for without the advance of science
> techniques would fossilize into traditional crafts, and with-
> out the stimulus of techniques science would return again
> to pure pedantry."

This association which in the beginning went on without beign noticed[4] is becoming more a conscious process, and "the independent scientist, so impotant in earlier ages and even in the nineteenth centnry, has practically disappeared." In Great Britain as well as in other countries scientific research is being carried out in the universities, in Governeent departments and in industry. In Germany, "the research laboratories of large industrial combines such as the I. G. farbenindustrie became more important centres of research than even Government or university institutions."[5]

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1. Cf. V. Gordon Childe, *History* London Cobbett Press 1947, p. 3.

2. Herbert Read. *Art Now.* p. 14.

3. Op. cit. p. 13.

4. p. 126.

5. Loc. cit.

The student of sociology must be interested, among other things, in research conducted by universities and industrial institutions that yield discoveries available for social exploitation. In Bernal's view, the application of science "is so much taken for granted that the way in which it works has never been seriously looked into".[1]

An examination of historical civilizations will not prove unnecessary if we wish to lay bare the principles on which the application of scientific discoveries rests. To begin with, archaeological findings maintain that human progress is represented as a series of ages distinguished by technological labels, starting from the Palaeolithic Age (the most ancient) and ending with the Machine Age.[2] But in discussing the supposed positive correlation between an improvement in technique and a progress in social growth, Toynbee points out that there are :

> "Cases of technique improving while civilizations remain static or go into decline, as well as examples of the converse situation in which technique remain static while civilizations are in movement-either forward or backward as the case may be."[3]

This discussion would have been more profitable had its propounder directed his attention towards the correlation between technique and societies, rather than between technique and civilizations. However for the purpose of this paper we may test another point of view, viz. the correlation between an improvement in technique and the individual comfort and happiness of those who use the technique. We shall find not only that that correlation is positive but also that this approach may enable us to put our finger on some sort of clue to the principle behind the application of scientific discoveries.

It seems logical that, if the idea leading to an invention appears individually, the invention itself should follow the same course. We know from reliabl historical documents both written and engraved, that the plough was used in Mesopotamia ane Egypt in 3000 B. C.[4] It may have existed before that date in either region; the lack of earlier documents, or a simple neglect to record it at an earlier period

1. Op. cit., p. 53.

2. Cf. Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, abridgement of volumes I - VI, by D.C. Somervell, London, O.U.P., 1947, p. 192.

3. Op. cit., p. 193.

4. V. Gordon Childe, *What Happened in History*, London, Penguin Books, 1964, p. 72.

leaves this matter undecided for the present. The significant point, as it seems to us, would be that the spread of the plough throughout Egypt, as well as its appearance afterwards in India (not much later than 3000 B.C.), in China (soon after 1400 B. C.), in Sweden (not very much later than 1400 B. C.), and in other places by 1000 B.C.[1], presumably followed the same individualistic principle, having the two aspects of invention and borrowing. The constant desire of the individual for an improved standard of living must lie behind such acts. The trends in all processes of production in modern industry can be summed up as *the greatest possible production with the least possible effort.* This is being especially realized by automatic devices, increased speed of operation, simplification of processes and diminution of the bulk and weight of machinery.[2] This rule should not be confined to modern times only. It can be applied to agriculture in ancient times. In the case of the plough this double purpose was realized as soon as the implement came into use.

It is commonly the case that, when documents refer to the author of a political philosophy, an economic doctrine, or a technological or medical invention, the name of the new entity is formed from the author's name with a termination such as—*ism* or—*ine*. In some instances the entity shows the inventor's name which may either stand alone, or have, for example, the word system attached to it. In ancient and prehistoric times where no such evidence regarding the author is available, the matrial invention is usually attributed to the whole society. But society as such can and should spontaneously make its own traditions and usages as it cannot, as society, go on without them. *Society by itself is naturally concerned with mere existence, not with a better existence. Innovation tending to improve life and raise the material standard of living must be individually made.* It is only natural that every primitive farmer should grasp the idea that the heavier the hoe is the deeper it penetrates into soil to dig up the root traces of crops already, harvested in preparation for new sowings.[3]

It has has been rightly and acutely stated by Professor Childe that "the most decisive innovation was that by harnessing the ox man began to control and use a motive power other than that furnished by his own

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1. Ibid.

2. Cf. J.D. Bernal, op. cit., p. 360.

3. Cf. E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization*, London, Macmillan & Co.. 1904, p. 217.

muscular energy. The ox was the first step to the steam engine and petrol motor".[1] Farmers who live close together immediately adopt each other's methods if they find them successful. In a word greater prodution ond less effort are always the objective of both the primitive farmer and the civilized man. The explanation of this can only be the innate desire of the individual to improve his material existence.

Mechanization together with industrialization and the effect of the modern use of science offer large-scale opportunities for the inividual. But it has to be borne in mind that if they develop rapidly where they are introduced, their development will to a great extent be due to the favourable appeal they make to that innate and foremost need of the individual to improve his material standard of living.

The victory of modern civilization, with industry as its first weapon, has found a monetary system already in existence. Wages are determined by money the first great achievement of which is "that it enables man as consumer to generalize his purchasing power, and to make his claims on society in the form which suits him best".[2] We should also at least consider the enjoyment of conveniences and the gaining of a " sense of seuriry derived from the possession of a pool of money".[3] The actual improvement in the material standard of the individual through the use of scientific appliances is so obvious that it stands in no need of proof.

Recent inquiries show that machinery and industry create large populations.[4] The increase is greater in length of life and amount of leisure.[5] But the immediate effect in material standards is remarkable. This standard was raised fourfold in Great Britain during the nineteenth century.[6] The increase seems to be gaining rapidly in accordance with the capacity of machinery and the number of further innovations in the domain of science. The following quotation referring to modern times may illustrate this point :

1. V. Gordon Childe, ibid.

2. D. H. Robertsod. *Money* London, Nisbet & Co., 1946, p. 4.

3. Op. cit., p. 36.

4. Sir Josiah Stamp. op. cit., p. 21.

5. Op. cit., p. 6.

6. Ibid.

"A factory worker in the united States is paid several times as much in real wages as his predecessor received a generation ago. While management may justly claim credit for this improvement, it was made possible only by utilizing technological achievement resting on scientific discoveries which made the labor of each worker more productive. For the wages he received for one hour of labar in the middle 1930's a factory worker in Italy could buy a certain amount of food. a similar worker in Great Britain could buy twice as much. but a worker in the United States could buy four times as much." [1]

V̇

As science rapidly advances, the material standard of life will continue to rise, and all this will not occur without serious changes in the social systems. Centres of industry, mostly in the large cities and in newly built industrial towns, are attracting village dwellers by their better standards of life. With the approach of the ninteenth century the danger from the desertion of the land for industry began to be felt very acutely in Great Britain. [2] No wonder then if incentives in the from of prizes of all sorts were planned to protect agriculture against the new sweeping industrial change. Chief among such incentives was perhaps the establishment in 1494 of an Agricultural Society "for the purpose of exciting farming enterprises", and accordingly "premiums were offered for the best ploughman, the best sheep shearer, the servant who had stayed longest in the seme place, the father of the largest family who never required parish help, and so forth". [3]

1. G. R. Harrison. *Atoms in Action.* London. George Allen and Unwin. revised 2nd eb., 1944, p. 7.

2. Cf. Rev. Rev. P.H.. Ditchfield and William Page (Editors). *The Victoria History of Berkshire*, Vol. II, p. 229.

3. Ibid'. n. 488.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN LAW

By

MUSTAFA EL-AMIR
(Ph., D., Cantab.)

The student of Demotic Legal Texts meets with serious problems because a knowledge of the Ancient Egyptian Law is a sine qua non for a complete understanding of these texts.

But it is just this knowledge that, up till now, has been lacking. Though we possess some records of lawsuits and frequent reference to litigation in the texts of all periods, yet they have been generally neglected. Some fragments of contracts on papyri and Ostreca were also found but, bristling with so many difficulties, no attempt has been made to explain them. It is therefore fitting to introduce our study of Demotic Contracts with a short chronological account of the history of Law in the Pharaonic periods.

Our information is derived from Classical authors monuments and Papyri and, for the sake of clarity, is treated in two separate topics-Law-in-Statute [1] and Law-in-action. [2]

I. Law-in-Statute.

Written Laws and Administrative rescripts would naturally appear before written documents. In Ancient Rome there were written Laws at a time when writing was not employed in private transactions.

A. Classical authors.

There is no doubt that Egypt, from the earliest periods, possessed a highly developed Statute. The country was prosperous, ruled by native kings for thousands of years and these facts "could never have been true of any people which did not enjoy most excellent customs and laws and the institutions which promote culture of every kind" (Diodorus 1, 69). [3]

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1. i. e. Written Law.

2. i. e. Documentation and judicial practice.

3. For this reason. Egypt was visited by Homer, Pythagoras of Samos and Solon, the law giver, to acquaint themselves with its Laws and Institutions.

It is not surprising to hear from Diodorus that the Law of Egypt, already from the beginning of its history, had assumed an advanced and highly civilised form; for the development from a primitive to a civilised society should be sought in its prehistoric periods.

We find in Diodorus (I. 94—95), the names of Six Law givers from Menes, who claimed to have received the Laws from Thot, to Darius, who unlike his predecessor, ruled in accord with the laws. The other four were Sasychis,[1] Sesoosis,[2] Bochoris and Amasis. The laws of Egypt spread among other peoples everywhere but after the conquest of Alexander many institutions were changed.[3] The entire body of the laws was written in eight volumes.[4]

In a word, Diodorus wants us to believe what "appears in the written records of the priests of Egypt" and has passed his careful scrutiny (I, 69) that there existed a written code of eight volumes which was codified six times in the Pharaonic times and then changed in the Ptolemaic period.

B. Monuments.

It is surprising that the monuments which have recorded nearly every aspect of Egyptian civilisation, are silent with regard to the Code of Laws. There is only a vague reference in the Tomb of Rekhmyre, the Vizier of Thotmes III when represented sitting in judgment with the whole Corpus juris of Egypt displayed before him. It is contained in four tables with ten rolls (or skins) upon each.[5] Refernce is also made in the text to Rekhmyre who was learned in the *Law*... who carried the *Law* of the King in his hand and who was patient with the witnesses, etc...

But we have reference to administrative rescripts on monuments. Among these mention should be made of the celebrated decrees of the Old Kingdom discovered by Weill [6] at Coptos and studied with so much

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1. Identified with Shepseskaf by H.R. Hall: Ancient History of the Near East P 127.

2. Identified with Sheshonk I (See Reich: MIZ.I, 178).

3. Diodorus, I, 95.

4. Diodorus I. 75 and Clement (See Petrie-Social Life P. 77).

5. Newberry: The Life of Rekhmara 1900 PL.IV, Breasted: Records II, § 675 and § 712.

6. Weill — Les décrets royaux de l'ancien empire égyptien, Paris 1912.

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authority by Moret and Sethe. Here, we have to deal with official documents spreading from the 5th to the 8th Dyn., emanating from the Royal Chancellory, whose terms have, as a consequence, an exact legal sense. They constitute a source of first class importance as much for the 'droit public' as for the 'droit privé'. The most important two, belonging to Pepi II, show the regime of the great temples and their domains. They also reveal the relation between the central power and the Provincial sacerdoce at the end of the Old Kingdom. In general they contain all the elements of the donation and installation contracts and the formalities required to give them an authentic character. The status of persons, land and land ownership become clear.

The Edict of Horemheb contains legislation by means of which he intended to prevent the oppressive abuses connected with the collection of Taxes from the common people, who were continually robbed and impoverished by the fiscal officers.[1]

C. Papyri.

The Demotic Papyrus 215 of the Bibliotheque Nationale known as the "Demotische Chronik" speaks of the reform of the Egyptian Law by Darius. A Committee of the wise and learned Egyptians went to Susa with their collection of Laws which were adjusted or altered according to the whim of the King. That codification took 21 years and was written on a papyrus both in Aramaic and Demotic.[2]

In Pap. B. M. 10591 reference is made to the following laws.[3]

First, the Law of year 21 (of Epiphanes) "If a man marry a woman and he write for her an endowment, and he have a son by her , and he put her away and he marry another woman and he write for her an endowment and he have a son by her and the said man die, his property is wont to be given to the children of the first wife, which he assigned to her as an endowment at first".

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1. Breasted. Records III § 45.

2. Reich, MIZ, I. 178.

3. Sir H. Thompson — A Family Archive from Siut, Oxford 1934.

4. This is a statement of the Law of Inheritance in the case of a man having two successive wives and leaving issue by each. See Sir H. Thompson Siut P. 13, Note 16.

Secondly, the Sixth Law: "He who withdraws himself, he is stopped until the judgement is registered"[1]. There is also reference to the *Six Laws* in which Sir H. Thompson was inclined to see an error for the Sixth Law".[2]

Thirdly, there is reference to the *8th Tablet* "of the law of Egypt which is called the House of Delay" which would seem to bear on a power of holding up a pending action while a remedy is being sought through another channel.[3]

The Legal Code of Hermopolis.

Though, as we have seen, there is but a scanty reference to Egyptian law, yet the recent years of Excavation have been very fruitful in this field. For, it was in 1938—1939 that Dr. S. Gabra came across a very important roll of Demotic Papyrus during the Excavations of the Cairo University at Tuna-el-Gabal.[4] It is believed that it comes from a temple archive from the reign of Philadelphus or earlier.

From the preliminary report [5] on this great find we gather that it contains a part of the "Common Law" dealing with the tenure of arable land, ownership of real property, problems of inheritance, endowment and the disputes arising therefrom. This extremely important document will certainly throw considerable light on Egyptian Law and its complete publication is eagerly awaited by Scholars of Demotic, jurists and historians.

It is then certain, on the strength of the above evidence that Egypt possessed a written Code from the earliest periods of its history. In the later periods Bocchoris, and after him Amasis, engaged themselves upon extensive legislation.[6] Bocchories regulated all that concerns the kings and the contract. Amasis regalated all that concerns the political economy of Egypt and thus completed the work of Bocchories (see Revi-

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1. ibid .P. 53 Note 8.

2. ibid P. 23 note 103.

3. ibid. P. 53 note 6.

4. Sami Gabra: Bul. Inst. d'Egypte XXV, P. 242.

5. G. Mattha: Bul. Inst. d'Egypte XXIII, P. 297 ff.

6. Their codification is dealt with by Revillout who suggested a connection with the Twelve Tables of the Roman Law See: Les Origines Egyptiennes du Droit Civil Romain Paris 1912.

llout. Precis du Droit Egyptien II, 931 — Paris 1899—1903). Then the Persian King Darius copied their cod for use in his country, a fact which proves that the Egyptians possessed a highly developed legal system long before the advent of the Greeks.

This code of laws has, unfortunately, been lost. For we can hardly assume that the Egyptians did not inscribe their code on a monument as did Hammurabi upon a pillar of black diorite or as did the Romans on Twelve bronze Tablets.

Therefore we have to look for written copies in Demotic Papyri from the Ptolemaic period. The discovery of the whole body of Law one day, will certainly excite the whole world.

II. Law-in-Action.

The Pharaonic periods, prior to the Ptolemies, have also yielded a great number of legal texts relating to Contracts and Law Suits. But if the documents properly called Legal are rare and often incomplete, the funerary texts on the other hand are very numerous and comprise a considerable store of information and data which enable the historian to ressuscitate the legal and social life of Ancient Egypt. A collection of these made it possible for an eminent Lawyer and Historian[1] to give us a complete picture of the Institutions and the "droit privé" of Ancient Egypt in the Old Kingdom.

One of the most ancient texts is the biography of Methen. From his life there emerges a very precise picture of the family law. It also refers to gifts, conveyances and wills from which we infer that legal transactions were concluded between private persons[2]. A deed of sale of a small house at the beginning of the 4th Dyn. completes our knowledge of the conveyance of immovable property; the social position of priests, scribes and workmen who, in signing the deed as witnesses, appear as endowed with all their civil rights.[3] Clauses of safeguard against eviction and hidden

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1. Professor Jacques Pirenne: Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé du L'Ancienne Egypte 3 vols. Bruxelles 1932—1935.

2. Seild: in the Legacy of Egypt edited by Glanville Oxford 1942.

3. Pirenne Vol. I, P. 1.

defects are found in this document as well as the indication of the price. Many scholars have also discussed several documents of sale and donation from which they were able to trace the descent of property in the early periods of Egyptian history.[1]

The Old kingdom is also remarkable for the "Testamentary Enactments" frequent in the tombs of the 4th Dyn.[2]. These show a great interest as a revelation of the legal organisation of this remote age.

The Middle Kingdom is remarkable for the "Funerary Contracts" which throw much light on the social conditions at that time.[3] The importance of these contracts lies in the mortuary customs and beliefs which they reveal. Seidl compares them with the medieval "DONATIONES PRO ANIMA" by which pious individuals used to bind some monastery to read masses on festival days for the salvation of their souls[4]. In this, they are also similar to the Islamic "Wakf" still prevailing in modern Egypt. So many Muslims are constituting these "Wakfs" in favour of the institution, person or persons who will recite the Koran on certain occasions for the same purpose.

But the most valuable discovery of legal documents from the Middle Kingdom is that known as Petrie Papyri from Kahun; a group of Hieratic ppyri from the 12th Dyn. Representing household archives[5]. The legal documents of that find are of quite exceptional interest as scarcely anything of the kind ever been known earlier than the Demotic Papyri of the 26th Dyn. They belong to three classes:

1— The Wpwt; specification of the persons of the household.

2— The Imyt pr; conveyance or Will or cession[6].

3— The Swnt; agreement for services and their payment.

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1. See particularly.
   Revillout: Rev. Eg. XIV, 87.
   Murray: P.S.B.A., XVII, 240.
   Scharff-Seidl: Festschrift fur Leopold Wenger Band V. Munchen 1944.
   Grdseloff—Ann. Serv. XLII, 25 Deux Inscriptions juridiques de L'ancien Empire.
   Pirenne Van de Walle — Doc. - Jur. Eg. 1931.
2. See Breasted: Records I, P. 88 91, 99, 106, etc.
   Selim Hassan: Excavations at Giza.
3. See Breasted: Records I, 535.
4. See The Legacy of Egypt. Chapter on Law P. 198.
5. Griffith: Petrie Papyri from Kahun and Gurob.
   Griffith: Law Quarterly Review Vol. 14 (1898) p. 43.
6. Pirenne-van de Walle Doc. Jurid., 10.

The number of the properly called legal documents surviving from the New Empire is comapratively greater than the two preceding periods. In studying the "Four Papyri of the 18th Dynasty from Kahun", Gardiner remarked that "the New Egyptian idiom has not yet penetrated to any great extent into the legal documents of this date. In general there may be said to be little difference between the style of our documents and those of the end of the 12th Dynasty from Kahun".[1]

In them, Seidl has recognised a development of a new kind of document; the document drawn up by a scribe and attested by witnesses, which continued to be the principal type throughout the succeeding periods. It differs from the imyt pr in that it was not sealed but took a formal shape. It begins with the date and ends with the signature of the scribe — with whom we do not meet, in the imyt pr — and consequently did not require to be sealed.[2]

Gardiner has recently brought to light a very interesting document relating to adoption and inheritance[3]. A certain childless stable-master wanted to ensure that his entire property should pass to his wife. But he saw that a claim on the part of one of his brothers and sisters might seek to deprive the childless wife of some part of his estate. Therefore, he adopted his wife as his daughter. "The employment of this particular legal fiction" commented Gardiner "shows how deeply the thought of inheritance in direct line was implanted in Egyptian mind." [4]

The procedure of adoption consisted simply in making a verbal declaration in front of witnesses. The document begins with the date and ends with the names of witnesses among whom was a sister of the testator.

Cerny has recently published the will of Naunakhte and thus added a new evidence to the stock of documents relating to testaments[5]. This will, as it has been remarked, follows the style of all Egyptian legal documents. Like them, it begins with a verbal declaration made by the

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1. Gardiner: A. Z. 43 P. 45.

2. Legacy of Egypt. P. 198 ff.

3. See J. E. A. 26 P. 23 f. Adoption Extraordinary.

4. Cf. Chafik Chehata: Le testament dans l'Egypte Pharaonique in Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger 1954 No. 1. 15 ff.

5. See J. E. A. 31, 29 f.

testator before the court (or witnesses) and it was drawn up by a professional scribe. This fact led Cerny to the conclusion that "it was not the written word alone, but the spoken word subsequently recorded as an actual event on a papyrus or ostracon that conferred upon the document its legal validity".[1]

To Cerny[2] and Gardiner[3] we owe also the publication of a series of documents coming from Deir-el-Medinah. To show, in a general way, to what extent the study of the legal documents of this period is due to these scholars, Malinine[4] has noted that out of 49 texts forming our documentation, properly called legal, from the New Empire, the Ostraca have furnished 25 deeds. He has also given some general observations on the character of the whole collection of these documents. He came to the conclusion that they are probably either "actes d'audience" delivered during a legal procedure which might be used as a draft to facilitate the final report of the corresponding authentic deeds recorded on papyrus; or of simple extracts from these deeds, delivered to the interested parties. The drawing up of these documents is always very concise; the task of the scribe being evidently to put down the essentials and leave out the details. It is thus that the developed formulary consecrated by usage which the scribes possessed for drawing up authentic deeds figures in it, in a very abridged form to such a degree that the principal terms characterising a given verdict to which the document refers, are sometimes entirely lacking. The lackonism of the expression is so excessive that the text becomes a sort of personal 'aide-memoire' remains incomprehensible to every one except the writer.[5]

To Seidl,[6] we owe a recent study devoted to the history of the legal institutions of the Ancient Egyptians during a period of two thousand years, from the Old Kingdom to the period which immediately precedes the Ethiopian Conquest.

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1. ibid, P. 42 and not 5.

2. Cerny: Ostraca Hieratiques. Cat. Gen. Mus. du Caire.

3. Gardiner: Hier. Pap. aus dem. Kgl. Mus. zu Berlin Bd. III.

4. Notes juridiques (a propos de L'ouvrage de E. Seidl) in Bulletin IFAO, XLVI, P. 93. f.

5. Ibid. P. 95—96.

6. Einfuhrung in die Agyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, I Juristischer Teil (Agyptologische.Forschungen, Heft 10, 1939).

Malinine[1] in his article devoted to reviewing Seidl's book, has remarked that we know indeed that the first written contracts in 'abnormal Hieratic' and in Demotic appeared respectively towards the end of the 25th and the beginning of the 26th Dynasties. These are private documents of a nature hitherto unknown; marking a new epoch for the history of Egyptian law. The law of this period intermediary between that of ancient and Ptolemaic periods should be the subject of a special study. Unfortunately, this study has not yet been realised, since a great part of the documents referring to it still remain unpublished.[2]

Revillout was the first to make a profound study of the contracts of the Saitic and Persian periods which constituted the Egyptian 'Law of Contract' and which continued in the Ptolemaic period. Here, this great Savant and pioneer, gives us the impression of a very advanced and highly developed Law, which sufficiently met with all the needs of Daily Life.[3]

In the Ptolemaic period, the Greeks were subject to their own statutes (πολιτικοί νόμοι) At the same time the Egyptian Law (Ο ΤΕΣ ΧΩΡΑΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ) prevailed for the Egyptians. It was then obvious that a conflict between the two legal systems arose especially when it was a question of transactions between Greeks and Egyptians. This was settled by a decree of Eurgetes II (118 B. C.) which provided that the language of the deed should determine the governing law.[4] Thus if the parties draw up a contract in Demotic, Egyptian Law is applied, otherwise Greek Law is applied.[5]

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1. Ibid. P. 93—123.

2. Ibid. P. 93.

3. In this field he produced his monumental works; See particularly: Precis du Droit Egyptien 2 vls. 1561 pp. Paris 1903: Notice des Papyrus demotiques archaiques etc Paris 1896.

4. Taubenschlag: The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of the Papyri New York 1944.

5. In Berlin 3105 reference is made to a document written in (sh nn n kme) i. e. Demotic; and to another written in (sh wynn) i. e. Greek.

Fig. 1 — Femmes au voile, Relief au Musée de Trieste

Fig. 4 — Statuette scytho - bactrienne, Ermitage, Petersbourg
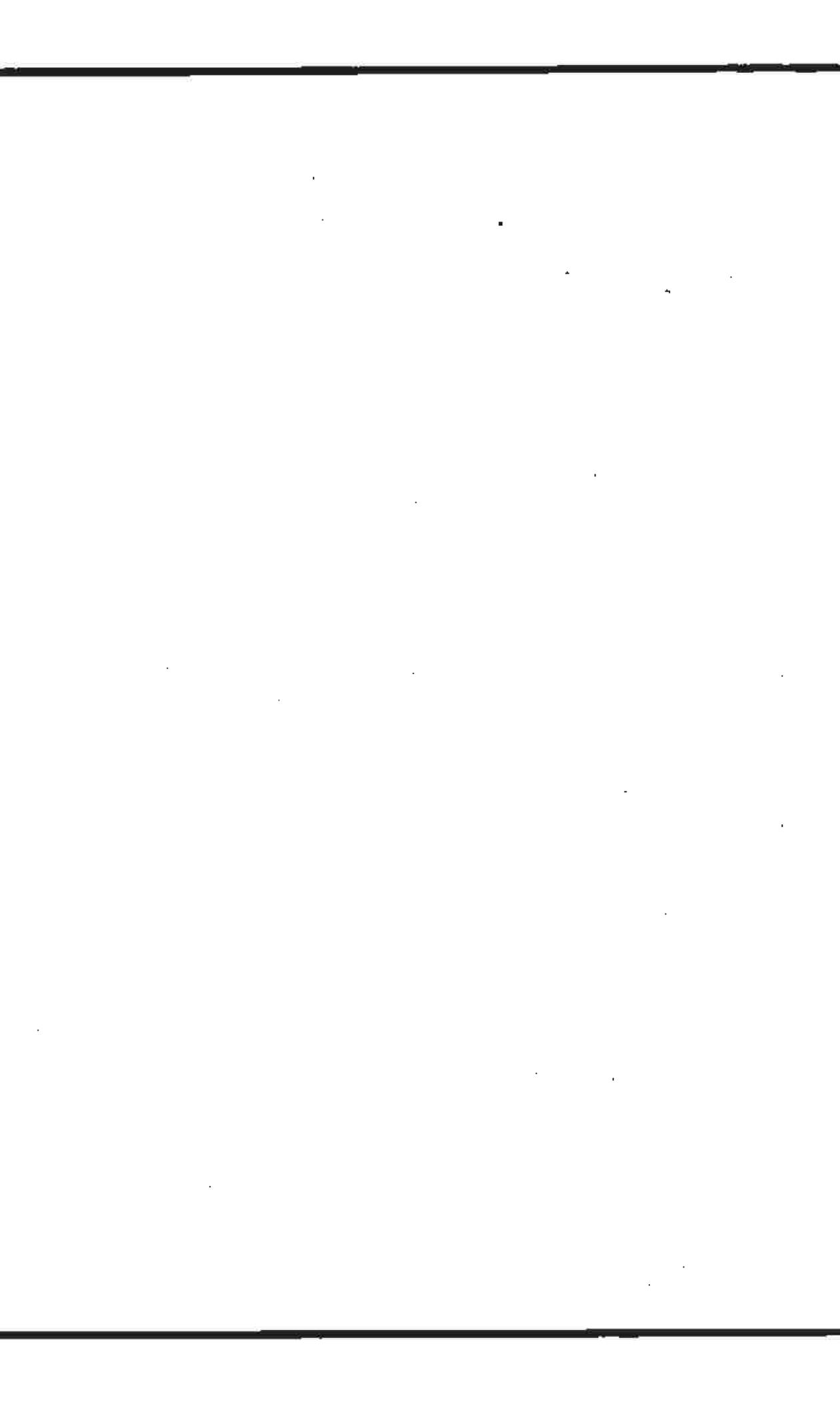
Fig. 3 — Danseuse, Detail d'un sarcophage, Musée de Naples

Fig. 5 — Dalle de pavage, provenant du Cachmire, Musée Guimet

Fig. 2 — Torrana Est du Stoupa de Santchi, Indes

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF
ABELARD'S "DIALOGUE BETWEEN A PHILOSOPHER,
A JEW AND A CHRISTIAN".

By

·ABDEL HAMID HAMDY MAHMOUD
(PH. D.)

St. Bernard's orthodox influence brought upon Abelard the condemnation of the authorities. "He undermines the whole Christian faith", wrote St. Bernard in the report of the Council of Sens, "by attempting to comprehend the nature of God through human reason" (*). So Abelard was condemned in 1141 by the Council of Sens, and this judgment was confirmed by the Roman Curia. Then he retired to Cluny where he wrote his dialogue ² under the protection of his friend Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of Cluny.

The idea of this dialogue had a special significance for Abelard. He tried to find a defence for his whole attitude which would give it the safe character of orthodoxy. He knew from his reading of the Church Fathers that the ancient Church possessed an apologetic literature which proved the case of Christianity as true philosophy in contrast to the religious practice of both Judaism and Islam which were said to be based on tradition and divine Order.

Abelard takes the Jew in this dialogue as his antagonist because he represents the non-Christian community tolerated·in his surroundings. He adds the figure of a Moslem philosopher as antagonist to the Jew and the Christian, while Abelard himself plays the part of umpire.

The philosopher asks both the Jew and the Christian whether they have come to believe in their faiths through reasoning or merely through following the traditional beliefs of their own folk and the sentimental ties that attach them to their ancestors. ³.

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1. See Draper, "Intellectual Development of Europe," Vol. II, London 1884. p. 11.

2 Abaelardi, P. "Dialogus inter philosophum, Judaeum et Christianum," in Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. CLXXVIII, Paris 1885, 1611—1682.

3. Migne, op. cit.; 1614 C.

In answering this question, the Jew is made to say that the Old Testament had been given to them by God, and that every generation had equally instructed its posterity to observe the rules of this Testament as much in word as in example. He admits that though the spreading of the faith does not furnish any proof to convince the incredulous, nevertheless, nobody could reasonably provide any refutation of this Testament in which they believe. "It is certainly righteous", says the Jew, "to feel its consistency to all reason and conceive its appropriateness to divine goodness and to the salvation of mankind [1]."

The Christian on the other hand, in answer to the same question, displays his keen interest in the rational investigation of the faith. He is proud that one can prove the legality of these investigations from the Scriptures of the Church. He remembers that sometimes faith has to be built up with reason, or has to be defended against those who deny that it should be investigated through rational channels. That the defence of faith has sometimes to be conducted by reason, as he asserts, can also be proved from Biblical authorities [2].

The whole development of thought in this dialogue leaves the reader with the impression that the way of representing the faith in philosophical terms is an old established method in the defence of the Church. Abelard has withdrawn himself to the position of the umpire who almost keeps silent. The reader is left to draw his own conclusions for the topical question of Abelard's philosophy.

We may add that Peter the Venerable, a year after this dialogue was written, embarks on the refutation of the Koran, with the belief that Christianity has been built on reason, and that Islam can not be a true faith as it has no foundation of reason which is the only way to attain truth. This obvious connection makes one inclined to believe that Peter the Venerable, in his treatise against Islam. [3], was inspired and influenced by Abelard's idea put in his dialogue.

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1. Ibid., 1617 A.

2. Ibid., 1641 C.

3. By this treatise, Peter intended to equip Christians with a reply to the so called "Moslem heresy", and at the same time to attempt to convert Saracens by the power of reason and not by force of arms. See "Contra Sectam Saracenorum, Migne, P. L., CXXXIX, 673 B/c.

LA FEMME AU VOILE DANS L'ICONOGRAPHIE COPTE

By

HILDE ZALOSCER

Parmi les sujets qu'on retrouve dans l'art copte, il y en a un surtout qui nous frappe par son étrangeté. Bien que nous ayons déjà par ailleurs examiné sa génèse et sa signification [1], ce sujet nous paraît cependant assez important pour justifier une nouvelle analyse qui essayera de saisir d'un peu plus près sa signification, à première vue si obscure et si énigmatique.

Le relief du Musée de Trieste (fig. 1), qui provient probablement d'Ahnas, représente deux femmes nues debout. Elles portent de lourds bijoux : grosses boucles d'oreilles, un épais anneau autour du cou, enrichi d'un grand médaillon ; leurs jambes sont croisées et, de leurs bras levés elles tiennent, au dessus de la tête, un bandeau plat, large au milieu et se rétrécissant vers les deux extrémités. Ces bandeaux sont traités d'une manière si sommaire qu'il est difficile de saisir leur signification. Or, ce motif revient avec insistance dans l'art figuratif copte. Nous le retrouvons presque tel quel sur des autres reliefs : même profusion de bijoux, même attitude : jambes croisées et bras levés; pourtant on reconnaît ici facilement que le bandeau plat du monument précédent est en réalité une écharpe finement plissée. Ce même sujet orne les niches sculptées sans que toutefois il soit limité à la sculpture, le motif de la femme au voile est très fréquent dans les tissus ou en bronze [2].

On peut se demander à bon droit ce que signifie ce motif et pour quelle raison il est traité avec tant d'insistance dans l'art chrétien de l'Egypte. S'agit-il d'un motif purement décoratif, d'une pose accidentelle ou bien d'un sujet iconographique déterminé? — Remarquons tout de suite que la pose : bras levés, jambes croisées et déhanchement bien marqué, ainsi que les bijoux, mais surtout le modelé mou de ces corps désossés apparentent notre femme au voile à la Yakschini de l'iconographie hindoue (fig. 2). (A ceci près que le voile est remplacé par des branches). Une double question se pose à propos de ce motif de l'art

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1. Hilde Zaloscer, *Quelques considérations sur les rapports entre l'art copte et les Indes*, Le Caire, 1947.

2. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, Catalogue général du Musée du Caire, Vienne, 1904, pl. XXXI.

côpte, celle de ses sources et celle de sa signification. S'agit-il d'une influence venue des Indes que des liens étroits, aussi bien culturels que commerciaux, unissaient depuis longtemps à l'Egypte ? Si oui, le problème des influences, si chère aux historiens d'hier, est à reprendre à sa base. Une influence présuppose, de la part de celui qui la subit, une attitude spirtuelle déterminée et un choix libre, en d'autres termes, une prédisposition, dont l'origine doit être examinée à part. — Pour en revenir au motif de la femme au voile, constatons d'abord qu'il est connu de l'art classique de la Grèce et de l'art hellenistique. Il aurait donc été facile à l'artisan copte de s'inspirer des modèles qui existaient sur place. Pourtant, fait étrange, si le geste en lui-même : bras levés avec le voile deployé est identique à celui qu'on retrouve dans les monuments hellènes, le personnage qui le porte en est sensiblemen différent. Tout d'abord, dans les monuments classiques, la femme est généralement habillée (fig. 3). d'autre part, elle ne porte pas de bijoux et surtout l'attitude — les jambes croisées et le déhanchement si caractéristique des femmes copte — n'est pas la même. Sur les monuments classiques la femme au voile exécute en général un simple pas de danse. Un autre fait important : dans l'art classique le voile est porté par différents personnages identifiables. Ainsi sur un sarcophage hellenistique du Musée de Naples il est porté par Venus [1], Europe aussi le porte, de même que Hélé [2], et même des personnages mâles sont affublés de cet attribut étrange, comme, par exemple, Pluton [3] ou encore Ganymède sur le beau mosaïque du Vatican. — En dehors de l'art classique, la femme au voile figure dans l'art hindou, où elle est — nous l'avons déjà dit — traitée d'une manière qui la rapproche étroitement de son double des monuments coptes. Ce sont les mêmes femmes opulentes, couvertes de bijoux. Elles sont nues comme les femmes des monuments coptes, leurs jambes sont croisées dans le même déhanchement lascif. En résumé, on peut dire que si le thème étrange de la femme au voile se rencontre dans l'art classique de la Grèce, ce n'est qu'aux Indes cependant que nous trouvons le modèle, identique dans tous ses détails aux figures de l'art copte.

Si nous avons pu jusqu'à un certain point circonscrire les aires où le motif de la femme au voile est répandu, ceci ne nous a aidé à saisir la signification du motif ni à en identifier le personnage. Dans la littérature il est désigné généralement, sous le nom de danseuse. Monneret de Villard, par contre, y voit une néreide [4], probablement parce que la

1. Sur un sarcophage dans la Galeria Borghese, Rome.
2. Roscher, *Denkmaler des klassischen Altertums*, vol. I, p. 420.
3. Roscher, *l. c.*
4. Monneret de Villard, *La scultura ad Ahnâs*, Milano, 1923.

femme est très souvent accompagnée d'un dauphin. C'est d'ailleurs grâce à cet accessoire que nous pourrons identifier le personnage même. En effet, le dauphin apparaît souvent comme compagnon de la femme au voile, ainsi que le prouvent les reliefs des fig. 1 et 2 ou encore le bronze du Musée Copte du Caire [1].

Quelle est la signification du dauphin? — Comme élément décoratif il remonte à une très haute antiquité et on le rencontre déjà dans l'art crétois. C'est un motif iconographique très fréquent et très complexe de l'époque classique. Il figure avant tout dans le cortège de Poseidon et de Vénus, de même que dans le mythe de Dionysos et ses dérivés. Il forme donc le noyau même du mythe de Leucothée. Ce mythe corinthien rapporte que le roi Athanas, obligé de sacrifier ses enfants, perd de douleur la raison et persécute dans sa démence leur mère Leucothée. Pour échapper à sa fureur, elle se précipite du haut d'un rocher dans la mer. Elle est transformée en dauphin et devient à la suite une divinité maritime bienveillante. D'autre part, Leucothée est, d'après Homère, la soeur de Sémélé, elle-même mère de Dionysos et de la bacchante Agavé, ce qui l'identifie à Ino, bacchante elle aussi. C'est elle d'ailleurs qui élèvera l'enfant Dionysos. Mais Leucothée possède une voile magique, le *krydemnon* qui joue un rôle important dans les aventures d'Ulysse. Après son naufrage, Leucothée lui apparaît et lui conseille de se réfugier chez les Phéaciens. Elle lui donne son voile qui l'y conduira, à condition qu'une fois atteint le rivage, Ulysse suit ses conseils et lui rejette le voile que, "la déesse saisit de ses deux mains": Nous reconnaissons aisément dans cette description le motif de la femme au voile tel que nous l'avons rencontré dans les monuments plastiques. Ainsi la femme au voile sort de son anonymité et nous reconnaissons en elle Leucothée avec son krydemnon magique. — D'après un autre mythe, d'origine laconienne cette fois-ci, Leucothée, après la mort de Sémélé, cache le dieu-enfant dans la grotte Brasaï, où elle l'élève à l'insu de la jalouse Héra. Les deux mythes, on le voit, montrent Leucothée sous des aspects fort différents. Les arts plastiques eux aussi se sont emparés de ce personnage pour le présenter sous des formes différentes. Dans l'art copte, la femme apparaît sans autre indication précise, accompagnée simplement de son dauphin et déployant son voile. S'agit-il d'une omission, d'une simplification, qui élimine tout élément accessoire pour ne retenir que l'essentiel? Nous aurons à revenir là-dessus. De toute façon il nous semble

1. Nous aimerions mentionner une intéressante adaptation de la femme au voile pour les besoins de l'iconographie chrétienne, dans le bronze (Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, l. c. Fig. 9100), où la femme nue, les jambes croisées, porte dans ses mains levées le symbole de la croix, tandis que deux dauphins se tiennent à ses côtés.

que le mythe de Leucothée tel qu'il se présente dans la mythologie classique n'est point une création orginale, mais que des éléments appartenant probablement à des mythes différents ont fusionné en se groupant autour d'un thème nouveau. Ces divers éléments ont ensuite assumé de nouvelles significations, conformément à la loi de la formation et de la transformation du mythe. Certains éléments restent inchangés et c'est en eux que nous pouvons reconnaître les symboles les plus significatifs du mythe original. Enrichis de nouvelles interprétations et de „rationalisations‴ ils figurent finalement comme pièce détachées, difficiles à comprendre car hautement surdéterminés.

Dans le mythe de Leucothée c'est l'élément dauphin qui à côté de l'élément voile semble jouer un rôle important. Que le dauphin ait été comme le penseraient les partisans de l'explication totémiste — originellement la divinité même pour ne devenir que plus tard l'attribut de la divinité anthropomorphisée, n'a pour nous aucun intérêt, car ce processus remonte à une époque beaucoup trop lointaine ; le rôle qu'il joue dans le mythe de Leucothée à l'époque classique et chrétienne se joue sur un tout autre plan. Sa présence s'explique en apparence par les rapports du mythe avec la mer : le saut de Leucothée du haut du rocher et le sauvetage d'Ulysse. Au même titre le dauphin fait partie du cortège d'Aphrodite et de Poseidon. Mais aussi de celui de Dionysos. Rappelons que Dionysos, persécuté par les pirates étrusques, transforme ces derniers en dauphins. C'est probablement pour cette raison que nous trouvons parfois les vêtements de Dionysos ornés de dauphins [1]. Mais il nous semble que cet animal marin qui joue si souvent le rôle d'un sauveur — rappelons-nous qu'il sauve le prophète Elie dans les récits bibliques, Arion — dans la mythologie grecque, que dans l'iconographie hindoue, il accompagne les Açwins — il nous semble que le dauphin possède une valeur symbolique beaucoup plus profonde. Mais revenons à Leucothée. Elle est, comme le dauphin, une divinité protectrice, elle sauve la vie à Dionysos comme elle le fait d'ailleurs pour Ulysse. Elle les fait en quelque sorte renaître une seconde fois. Le mythe comporte en plus un autre élément non négligeable, celui de la démence. Dans le mythe corinthien c'est l'époux dément qui précipite Leucothée à la mer, tandis que dans une autre variante du mythe, c'est elle-même qui, dans un accès de folie, se lance dans les flots.

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1. Marthe Oulié, *Les animaux dans la peinture de la Crete préhistorique*, Alcan, Paris, fig. 5, 56, 59.

De tous ces éléments que nous venons d'énumérer, nous aimerions poursuivre en premier lieu l'étude de celui qui rattache Leucothée à Dionysos. Nous savons déjà que c'est elle qui, à la place de la mère, élève l'enfant-dieu. Mais il y a plus : dans un conte ancien, Athamas, cherchant son épouse trouve la fuyarde parmi les bacchantes, courant et dansant avec elles dans les forêts au milieu du cortège de Dionysos. De même, Euripide parle de la frénétique bacchante Ino — alias Leucothée. Nous comprenons maintenant pourquoi le voile est porté d'une part, par les néréides, d'autre part, par les bacchantes ou les danseuses : Leucothée est elle-même ce lien qui unit les deux mondes : le monde marin et le monde extatique, puisque de nourrice de Dionysos elle devient sa prêtresse. Le motif de la démence et de la persécution n'est qu'une mutation ultérieure, une rationalisation en quelque sorte, mais il rappelle la frénésie homicide qui emporte les bacchantes. (Et ceci peut servir d'exemple de la variation des motifs qui supportés par une émotivité caractérisée, reapparaissent sous des formes similaires dans le nouveau mythe).

Ainsi Leucothée, notre femme au voile, est une danseuse du culte de Dionysos. Or, la danse dionysiaque ou orgiaque, partie essentielle du culte du dieu a été étudiée, quant à son origine et sa structure, tout dernièrement par Louis Séchan [1]. L'auteur l'oppose de façon catégorique aux emmelies et aux danses gymniques, en soulignant le caractére étrange de la dans orgiaque. Il conclut qu'il s'agit là d'un apport global venu de loin, probablement de la Thrace, à la suite des invasions, ou même de plus loin encore. Séchan décrit les différents poses de la danse orgiaque. Ses mouvements caractéristiques — tous exécutés dans une sorte de fureur — sont la cambrure du corps et le *kalabis*, qui consiste en un mouvement immodéré des hanches, accentué par l'impulsion des mains. Pourtant, ce qui nous intéresse le plus dans sa description, c'est le fait que toutes les danses orgiaques étaient des danses *voilées*. "Pendant la cambrure les bras de la danseuse sont écartés sur les deux côtés, élevés au-dessus de la tête et elle déploie son écharpe qu'elle tient des deux mains". Voilà donc une fois de plus notre femme au voile : elle est une des prêtresses des mystères de Dionysos exécutant la danse du culte. Séchan souligne le caractère barbare des danses voilées qui les distingue des autres danses classiques. Or, cela n'a rien d'étonnant. Aujourd'hui que l'origine asiatique de Dionysos, ce dernier venu de l'Olympe, est définitivement établie, il nous paraît probable qu'il ait, dans sa migration,

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1. Louis Séchan, *La danse grecque classique.*

apporté avec lui, son culte et le personnel de celui-ci. Séchan pense, il est vrai, à l'origine thracienne du dieu, mais il paraît plus vraisemblable que la Thrace ne soit qu'une étape de son voyage, et que le véritable lieu d'origine se trouve plus loin, aux Indes. C'est là d'ailleurs que Siwa lui-même, divin danseur, danse sa danse cosmique par laquelle il crée et détruit le monde. La danse, loin d'être un simple divertissement, est une cérémonie religieuse, un spectacle qui recrée en s'y identifiant, les mystères de la vie cosmique. Or, cette danse mystique est-elle si loin de la danse des mystères dionisiaques? D'après Euripide les bachantes déchaînées, qui se livrent aux délires sacrés de l'amour, peuvent également, dans cette même extase qui trouble leurs sens déchirer leurs compagnes. Ainsi la danse des Indes, créatrice et destructrice à la fois, se pratique à la lettre — dans le culte de Dionysos. Tout en perdant quelque peu son caractère sacré, la bacchanale garde l'essentiel et n'est qu'un adaptation de la danse mystique et rituelle hindoue. Il ne faut pas oublier que c'est pour les mêmes raisons que des danseuses étaient attachées aux Indes au service du temple, usage qui s'y est maintenu jusqu'au XIIIème siècle de notre ère. Le rite d'initiation de la danseuse du temple comprenait un cérémonial étrange [1] Le jour prévu, la famille de la jeune fille se rassemble et un des représentants de celle-ci lui offre une écharpe d'or — le tali — et le lui noue autour du front. Ce n'est qu'ainsi voilée qu'elle est remise au prêtre. Le service de ces danseuses consistait à chanter des hymnes et à danser devant la divinité, elles étaient cependant en même temps des prostituées sacrées. Le mariage divin était consommé devant l'idole et avait pour but d'assurer, par ce procédé magique, la fertilité et la prospérité de la communauté. La danse, malgré la "hiératisation" de ses gestes, n'était en réalité que le simulacre de l'accouplement.

Il reste à savoir ce que signifiait le voile dans ces rites hindous aussi bien que grecs. Etait-il un simple accessoire de le toilette féminine ou bien possédait-il une signification symbolique? Salomon Reinach [2] pressent avec une intuition pénétrante, que le voile possède dans les rites religieux une valeur particulière. Il rassemble sur ce sujet une riche documentation sans toutefois arriver à une solution satisfaisante. Bien avant lui, Plutarque s'était déjà demandé pourquoi se voilait-on la tête quand on s'approchait des dieux, ce qui semble indiquer que tout en étant encore en usage, le voile avait déjà perdu à son époque sa signification.

1. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, a study of oriental religion.*

2. Salomon Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religion*, Paris, 1908, p. 301 sq.

Il nous semble que l'on pourrait reconnaître la véritable signification du voile en poussant un peu plus loin l'analyse des personnages qui le portent et des circonstances dans lesquelles il apparaît. Plutarque mentionne que l'obligation de se voiler était de rigueur dans les rites orphiques des Pythagoriciens. (Notons en passant que des liens étroits unissaient Pythagore et sa doctrine à la philosophie hindoue.) Reinach nous parle d'un beau vase où est représentée une scène d'initiation aux mystères de Démétre. L'initié y a la tête voilée. Dans les mystères d'Eleusis, l'initié doit passer de l'obscurité pour accéder à la lumière : ce passage est symbolisé par le voile avec lequel on lui bande les yeux. Le rite du voilage est passé dans le rite baptismal du christianisme primitif. A Jérusalem, le candidat au baptême était exorcisé la tête voilée. Le voile apparaît ensuite au moment de la mort, ou en rapport avec elle. Nous avons déjà mentionné que sur certains monuments, Pluton, dieu de la mort, porte un voile. A Rome, les vestales coupables sont ensévélies voilées, de même que les condamnés à mort sont exécutés "capite velato" (On peut se demander si l'usage actuel de bander les yeux au condamné n'est pas une survivance „rationalisée" de cet ancien rite) Se voiler soi-même la tête au moment de la mort est une habitude que l'on trouve chez les Romains aussi bien que chez les Grecs. Platon rapporte que Socrate se voila la tête après avoir bu la ciguë. Nous pourrions prolonger cette liste. Ajoutons seulement qu'il existe encore une autre occasion où le voile joue un rôle symbolique. C'est le mariage. Le voile figure dans le cérémonial nuptial chez les Anciens, dans le rituel juif, dans l'église arménienne et dans la cérémonie chrétienne. Sa valeur symbolique ressort en outre, dans "la prise du voile", qui est en quelque sorte l'acte essentiel de la consécration virginale en Occident comme aux Indes. Suivant le rite copte et le rite juif, les deux mariés sont recouverts d'un voile pendant la cérémonie nuptiale. — Le voile remonte donc à un passé lointain; il existe encore dans toute la richesse et toute la complexité de sa signification dans le polythéisme grec, mais il semble y avoir perdu un peu de son évidence, puisque Plutarque se perd en conjectures quant à son symbolisme. De même, on le retrouve aux Indes avec la même importance qu'en Occident.

Notre certitude que le voile est un objet de culte, possédant une valeur symbolique, sinon une force magique, augmente du fait que tout en changeant de propriétaire il se limite dans l'usage à certaines cérémonies bien définies. Mais quelle est sa signification? Pourrons nous jamais la définir d'une façon nette? ou bien le voile ne serait-il qu'un de ses symboles riches et confus, chargés d'associations multiples mais inconscientes, et surdéterminés, comme le rêve, par des élaborations ultérieures? Un fait pourtant est clair. Tout en changeant de propriétaire;

le voile participe, avec toute la force de symbole, aux moments cruciaux de la vie, à ces moments de transition où un être passe d'un état dans un autre, où, pour parler le langage des Anciens, il se trouve au seuil d'une nouvelle vie. Son usage est essentiel dans les rites orphiques, rites d'initiation où le myste est sauvé, renaît, purifié, à une nouvelle vie. Nous l'avons vu porté par Pluton, dieu de la mort, et les mourants eux-mêmes; il figure finalement dans les rites nuptiaux. Aux Indes, il est en plus porté par les femmes au moment de l'accouchement. Le rôle du voile est donc en quelque sorte de recouvrir et de "dévoiler" le mystère.

Ainsi les fils que nous avons poursuivi un à un se rejoignent ; nous avons finalement identifié la femme au voile et examiné la signification rattachée à son voile. Nous avons reconnu dans ce motif, étranger dans l'iconographie copte, un sujet qui remonte à une époque beaucoup plus reculée. Reste à savoir pourquoi ce sujet revient dans l'art copte avec une telle insistance et où l'artiste copte a-t-il puisé son inspiration. Il paraît à première vue que l'hypthèse la plus simble serait celle de la continuation de la tradition classique. Pourtant le style aussi bien que certains éléments importants dans la conception du sujet diffèrent sensiblement de ceux des monuments classiques. Par contre, la parenté avec les monuments de provenance indoue paraît beaucoup plus accentuée. L'hypothèse de l'influence hindoue se trouve confirmée par un certain nombre de monuments qui jalonnent la route que ce motif avait dû emprunter dans sa migration vers l'Occident. La fig. 4 représente un statuette scytho-bactrienne qui montre une ressemblance étonnante avec notre femme au voile. Les bijoux, l'attitude qui rend d'une façon maladroite les jambes croisées, le déhanchement et surtout les bras levés qui tiennent, en guise de voile, une sorte de corde tressée, — le même motif y est intégralement reproduit. Un autre monument que nous avons trouvé parmi les objets provenant de l'exédition Kahk au Cachemire (fig. 5) actuellement au Musée Guimet, représente une danseuse — habillée celle-ci, probablement sous l'influence hellénistique — qui déploie comme les autres un voile. Ainsi c'est aux Indes que l'art copte aurait emprunté le sujet de la femme au voile ? Cela paraît probable. Déjà Berstl [1] dans une étude sur ce que l'auteur appelle l'"art indocopte" avait montré qu'à l'époque copte les éléments hindous viennent enrichir l'iconographie de l'Egypte chrétienne. Nous avons poussé un peu plus loin ces recherches et nous avons trouvé qu'il ne s'agissait point là de simples influences, mais d'une parenté, d'un retour à un fond commun protohistorique qui fait renaître des

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1. Hans Berstl, *Indo-Roptische Kunst*, in Jahrbuch für asiatische Kunst, 1924, p. 165, sc.

anciens mythes communs. L'influence hindoue arrive à un moment hist-
orique opportun et agit en quelque sorte en catalyseur. Nous touchons par
là à un des problèmes essentiels de la génèse de l'art copte. Le cataclysme
qui bouleverse le monde méditéranéen au début de notre ère, les Grandes
Migrations qui s'en suivent, favorisent dans l'art copte l'apparition d'un
phénomène inattendu dans l'évolution de l'art, mais dont il faut cepe-
ndant tenir compte si on veut comprendre l'art du début de notre ère. Il
s'avère que l'histoire n'est pas — comme l'a dit Focillon, avec tant
de justesse — "une simple succession dans le temps, mais plutôt
comme un empillage de couches géologiques dont certaines failles font
apparaître la simultanéité dans la durée". Il y a des regressions historiques
comme il y a, à leur suite, des rechutes psychique dans la mentalité
des sociétés : sous l'influence d'un bouleversement politique et social,
une couche ancienne est susceptible d'être ramenée à la surface. C'est ce
qui semble s'être produit dans l'art copte. En effet, avec celui—ci nous
assistons pour la première fois à la manifestation artistique du peuple
égyptien lui-même: Libéré de l'emprise des classes dominantes du pays,
autochtones ou étrangères, c'est le peuple qui pour la première fois
s'exprime dans ses oeuvres rudes mais si expressives [1] Nous assistons
à une renaissance qui fait apparaître avec un violence inattendue, d'anciens
souvenirs et des depôts asiatiques communs qui s'étaient conservés chez
ces peuples dans un état protohistorique et il s'avère que des mythes et
des symboles primitifs vivent encore à l'état latent dans les regions pro-
fondes de la conscience colletive La resurrection du motif de la femme au
voile montre bien que — malgre les transformations que le mythe à subies
au cours de ses „rationalisations" successives dans le monde grec — le
peuple égyptien a su lui redonner assez de vie et de vigueur (comme d'ail
leurs pour un autre sujet : Leda — la femme à l'oiseau) — pour qu'il
fût susceptible de recueillir le moment venu, des éléments provenant d'un
autre foyer culturel que celui de la civilisation classique.

Sous le double choc des Invasions et de la chute de l'Empire suivi
d'une refonte spirituelle dûe au Christianisme, une reprise de contact a
eu lieu. Une double reprise, aimerions nous préciser. Car en prenant con-
tact avec la culture hindoue, à laquelle elle était unie par des liens très
anciens, l'Egypte chétienne reprend contact avec son propre passé.

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1. Hilde Zaloscer, *L'immanence le l'art copte*, in Valeurs, N. III, p. 59 sq.

ولا يستطيع الباحث أن يرجح كفة أحد الطرفين على الآخر ، فكل من والى مصر اسماعيل وشريف مكة قد بذل مساعٍ متواصلة للوصول الى حده النتيجة .

كما تبودلت التهاني بين والى مصر اسماعيل وبين محمد بن عائض أمير عسير فى ٢٨ شعبان سنة ١٢٨٢ (يناير سنة ١٨٦٦) ، وأوفد والى مصر من قبله الى أمير عسير من يدعى احمد افندى المنى ليبلغه تهانيه ويبسط له تفاصيل السياسة المشتركة بينهما فى مستقبل [1]. ولم تشر الوثائق الى كنه تلك السياسة التى اعتزم والى مصر تنفيذها بالاشتراك مع أمير عسير . كما أنى لم أعثر على وثائق لتلك الفترة تنير لى الطريق وتوضح السياسة العربية التى انتوت مصر السير عليها فى المستقبل . ولكن الأحداث التاريخية التى مرت بمصر فى السنوات القلائل التى تلت ثورة عسير تبين لنا أن والى مصر لم يولِ السياسة العربية الخالصة اهتماما كبيرا ، حتى لايصطدم بالباب العالى وبالدول الأوربية كما حدث أيام محمد على . بل ان سياسة مصر فى ذلك الوقت قد اتخذت وجهة افريقية ، ولو ان توسع مصر على الساحل الغربى للبحر الأحمر قد أدخل فى حوزتها مراكز عربية تجارية هامة مثل هرر وسواكن ومصوع وغيرها .

واذا كانت سياسة مصر العربية فى النصف الأول من القرن التاسع عشر قد وجدت معارضة من قبل الحكومة الانجليزية ؛ فان سياسة مصر الأفريقية ايضا لم تقابل من انجلترا بعين الارتياح . وظلت تلك الدولة تتحين الفرص للقضاء على امبراطورية مصر الأفريقية ، كما قضت على امبراطوريتها العربية من قبل . وقد واتتها الفرصة فى عام ١٨٨٢ حيث تمكنت من احتلال مصر ، ثم ارغامها على الانسحاب من السودان بعد ذلك بسنوات قلائل .

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(١) دفتر ٢٢ عابدين (بند متفرقات) من اسماعيل باشا الى محمد باشا ابن عائض أمير عسير . وثيقة بدون رقم نص ٩٣ فى ٢٨ شعبان سنة ١٢٨٢ (يناير سنة ١٨٦٦)