

Utopia and Civilisation in the Arab Nahda

Exploring the 'Nahda', a cultural renaissance in the Arab world responding to massive social change, this study presents a crucial and often overlooked part of the Arab world's encounter with global capitalist modernity, an interaction which reshaped the Middle East over the course of the long nineteenth century.

Seeing themselves as part of an expanding capitalist civilisation, Arab intellectuals approached the changing world of the mid-nineteenth century with confidence and optimism, imagining utopian futures for their own civilising projects. By analysing the works of crucial writers of the period, including Butrus al-Bustani and Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, alongside lesser-known figures such as the prolific journalist Khalil al-Khuri and the utopian visionary Fransis Marrash of Aleppo, Peter Hill places these visions within the context of their local class- and state-building projects in Ottoman Syria and Egypt, which themselves formed part of a global age of capital. By illuminating this little-studied early period of the Arab Nahda movement, Hill places the transformation of the Arab region within the context of world history, inviting us to look beyond the well-worn categories of 'traditional' versus 'modern'.

PETER HILL is a Vice Chancellor's Research Fellow in History at Northumbria University, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; previously, he was based at Christ Church, University of Oxford. An intellectual and cultural historian of the Arab world in the long nineteenth century, he has lived and studied in Syria, Lebanon and Egypt. He has published articles in journals including Past & Present, Journal of Arabic Literature and Intellectual History Review.





Utopia and Civilisation in the Arab Nahda

PETER HILL Northumbria University





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108491662

DOI: 10.1017/9781108666602

© Peter Hill 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Hill, Peter, 1988- author.

Title: Utopia and civilisation in the Arab nahda / Peter Hill.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019037809 (print) | LCCN 2019037810 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781108491662 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108740562 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108666602 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Civilization, Arab–19th century. | Arabic literature–1801–History and criticism. | Utopias in literature. | Arab countries–Intellectual life–19th century.

Classification: LCC DS36.88 .H555 2029 (print) | LCC DS36.88 (ebook) | DDC 909/.0974927081–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019037809

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019037810

ISBN 978-1-108-49166-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

Lı	st of Figures pa	ge vii
A_{ϵ}	cknowledgements	viii
N	ote on Transliteration, Dates and Abbreviations	X
	Introduction	1
1	Who Made the Nahda?	18
	1.1 Modes of Production, Nodes of Connection	19
	1.2 Capitalist Intensification and Expansion	23
	1.3 The Rise of Beirut and Its Bourgeoisie	27
	1.4 The Beiruti Nahda: Early Iterations of the Syrian	
	Scientific Society	30
	1.5 Other Cultural Sociabilities: Majālis, Theatre, Addressed Verse	37
	1.6 The Syrian Scientific Society, 1868–9	42
	1.7 Mehmed Ali and His Officials	47
	1.8 Rifā a al-Ṭahṭāwī and the Languages School	50
	1.9 Catholics of Aleppo	59
	1.10 The Marrāsh-Dallāl Circle of the 1850s and 1860s	65
	1.11 The Wider Nahda	73
2	The Discourse of Civilisation	79
	2.1 Introduction	79
	2.2 The City, the <i>Polis</i> and Human Sociability: Prehistories of	
	Tamaddun	81
	2.3 Khalīl al-Khūrī's Introduction to Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār	87
	2.4 Civilisation in the Crisis of 1860	93
	2.5 The Scope of Tamaddun in Nafīr Sūriyya	96
	2.6 Tamaddun for Whom?	100
	2.7 Tamaddun as External or Internal Standard?	110
	2.8 Consolidation in the 1860s; Civilisation and Society	118
	2.9 Class Confidence: Beirut 1869	124
3	A Place in the World	129
	3.1 Introduction	129

v



vi	Cos	ntents	
	3.2 Among the Geographers	131	
	3.3 The Old Geography and the New	139	
	3.4 'A Picture of What His Rule Contained': A Geography		
	of Mehmed Ali's Domains	143	
	3.5 Islam and the Ottomans	153	
	3.6 Civilisation and Savagery	160	
	3.7 Ancient Geographies	171	
	3.8 Great Men and Translatio Studii	175	
	3.9 Civilisation's Expansion: Foreign News in Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār	180	
4	An Arab Utopian	188	
	4.1 Utopian Thinking in the Nahda	188	
	4.2 Literary Utopias in Arabic	197	
	4.3 In the Forest of Justice	200	
	4.4 Dream, Allegory and War: The Framing of the Utopia	204	
	4.5 The Philosopher and the King	208	
	4.6 Dialogue and Polyvalence	211	
	4.7 The Trial and Yāqūt's Tale	217	
	4.8 Freedom and the Laws of Nature	223	
	4.9 Aspiration and Actuality	232	
	4.10 Discontents: Barbarous Civilisation	238	
	Conclusions	245	
Bi	Bibliography		
Index			



Figures

1	Staff of al-Madrasa al-Waṭaniyya – Zaydān, <i>Tārīkh</i>	
	Ādāb al-lugha al-ʿArabiyya	page 39
2	Țahṭāwī, al-Taʿrībāt al-shāfiya - Opening Page	135
3	Țahṭāwī, al-Ta rībāt al-shāfiya – Section on Religious	
	Geography	162
4	Marrāsh, Ghābat al-Ḥaqq (1865) - Title Page	201
5	Marrāsh, <i>Ghābat al-Haqq</i> (1865) – Yāqūt's tale	221

vii



Acknowledgements

To conceive of a study of Arab utopias in 2011 and complete it only in 2019 is to invite a certain irony. First sketched out during a moment of revolutionary aspiration in several Arab countries, this book has been written largely in the shade of the violent repression that formed that moment's aftermath. It bears, nonetheless, the marks of its first origin; and my first acknowledgement must be a tribute to the courage and vision of the utopians of 2011.

This book has benefited from the generous assistance of many colleagues and friends, at many stages of its development. I owe particular thanks to Robin Ostle, who guided my first steps in the study of the Arab Nahda; and to Mohamed-Salah Omri, who supervised the doctoral thesis from which this book derives. For discussing the project's themes, reading sections of the manuscript, or sharing their own unpublished work, I would like to thank Maha Abdel Megeed, Şeyma Afacan, Nader Atassi, Nora Barakat, Nadia Bou Ali, Anthony Edwards, Chihab El Khachab, Khaled Fahmy, Zachary Foster, Israel Gershoni, Jens Hanssen, Beth Holt, Joanna Innes, Rana Issa, Aaron Jakes, Ceyda Karamursel, Nicole Khayat, Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, Hilary Kilpatrick, Feras Krimsti, Christine Lindner, Ussama Makdisi, Adam Mestyan, Helen Pfeifer, Claire Savina, Kathryn Schwartz, Hannah Scott Deuchar, Samah Selim, Johannes Stephan, Einar Wigen, and Florian Zemmin. I am especially grateful to Marilyn Booth and Hussein Omar for the encouragement, advice, and companionship they offered me throughout the writing of the book.

The completion of this project has been enabled by the financial support of two Oxford colleges: Christ Church, where I have been a Junior Research Fellow during the writing of the book itself in 2015–19; and St John's, where I wrote the doctoral dissertation on which it was based in 2012–15. I gratefully acknowledge, too, the financial contributions made to this doctoral project by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK), and by the drinkers in the Lamb &

viii



Acknowledgements

ix

Flag pub who (I suspect unwittingly) funded my St John's College Lamb & Flag Scholarship. Especial thanks are due to the Institut français du Proche-Orient, Beirut, for the hospitality it extended to me in 2013–14.

I received much valuable help during my research from staff at the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford, particularly at the libraries of the Oriental Institute and the Middle East Centre, St Antony's College; at the Jafet Library of the American University of Beirut, especially Dr Kaoukab Chebaro and her team in the Archives and Special Collections Department; at Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmiyya in Cairo; at the Historical Archive of the Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide in Rome; and at the Houghton Library, Harvard University. I am indebted to all those at Cambridge University Press who have worked on the book, particularly the Commissioning Editor, Maria Marsh, the two anonymous readers, and the copy-editor, Chris Bond.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to my parents, Nick and Kate Hill, and to my partner Georgina Brooke, for their love and support over the years.



Note on Transliteration, Dates and Abbreviations

Arabic text and names are transliterated using the conventions of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. All translations, except where otherwise noted, are my own; the Arabic originals of many of the passages can be found in my doctoral thesis, 'Utopia and Civilisation in the Arab Nahda' (University of Oxford, 2016). All dates are given in their *hijrī* (AD) form. In Chapter 4, the abbreviation *GḤA* refers to the 1865 Aleppo edition of Fransīs Marrāsh's *Ghābat al-Ḥaqq*; *GḤB* refers to its 1881 Beirut edition.