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Actes du IIème Congrès du dialogue Britano-Maghrébin tenu à l'Université d'Exeter : 14-17 Septembre 2002

The Movement of People and Ideas between Britain and the Maghreb

Sous la direction de

Prof Emérite. Abdeljalil TEMIMI & Dr. Mohamed Salah Omri

Publications de la :

Fondation Tunisienne pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information
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المنعقد بجامعة إكستر فيما بين 14-17 سبتمبر/أيلول 2002 حول

حركة البشر والأفكار بين بريطانيا والمغرب العربي

تحت إشراف
الأستاذ المبرز، عبد الجليل التميمي و د. محمد صالح العمري

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Directeur-Fondateur
Abdeljelil TEMIMI
Prof. Emérite à la Faculté des Sciences Humaines et Sociales de l'Université de Tunis I

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PREFACE

Prof. Abdeljelil Temimi & Dr. Mohamed Salah Omri

Until the beginning of the colonial era, the Maghreb maintained numerous relations with nearby areas and spaces further afield. These relations may not have been balanced, being heavier with some regions than with others, but were, nevertheless, varied. Colonialism restricted these relations to the dominant colonial power, France in the case of the Maghreb, Italy in the case of Libya and Spain in the case of northern Morocco. This has left a lasting effect on the economic, political and cultural relations of the Maghreb. In this context, British-Maghrebi relations appear to be limited in scope, particularly when compared to Britain's relationship with the Arab East or French-Maghrebi relations. It is for this reason that dialogue between Britain and the Maghreb today is of crucial importance.

The present volume brings together the papers, which dealt with the main theme of the conference

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held at the University of Exeter in Britain between 14th and 17th September 2001. The event was the second of a series of conferences devoted to British Maghrebi relations since the sixteenth century sponsored by Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, the Centre for Mediterranean Studies and the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, both based at the University of Exeter. A cursory overview of the papers reveals a particular relationship between time and space, which characterized British-Maghrebi encounters. On the British side, there is little correspondence between the time assigned to the Maghreb and the area as a social and cultural space. Somehow this time is always a past or a future, never really a present. There is a dissonance between the experience and its interpretation. Experience is constantly filtered and mediated through different time lenses. This is true even at the most immediate of experiences of the space, such as diaries and travel accounts. Travelers, residents, diplomats and writers

interpret their experience of the space in terms of a past, mostly derived from texts. When the future is evoked, the Maghreb is not seen in terms of its own progression. It is situated in the past and Britain is, somehow, considered its future, hence calls for helping the region "catch up" with Britain. Likewise, Maghrebis (Tunisian Elites, for instance) look up to Britain, as if she were situated in the future. As a whole, a tension between the experience and its interpretation prevails amongst both peoples.

The work on Britain and the Maghreb presented here has benefited greatly form current thinking about representation and subjectivity in other areas of research. There is an urgent need to the study of constructions of images and critique of representation, which I hope would continue. The conference began, however, to look beyond issues of representation, projection and desire. It is time, we think, for the project to explore these new directions more in depth and perhaps even open up new venues for others. One of these could be an examination of the conditions, which made representation possible in the first place. What were the conditions enabling, governing and perpetuating travel, exploration and representation of the Maghreb by the British? What are the politics and economics of this representation? On the side of the Maghreb, it is timely to think about the political and economic dimensions of how British diplomats, writers and tourists were handled. How were missions and travel accounts of Britain produced and circulated? Within what power relations has the English language spread in North Africa? And how does the growing Maghrebi diaspora in Britain relate to all this? We hope that future conferences will be able to tackle some of these issues in a calm and rigorous manner.

Finally, we are pleased to acknowledge the generous sponsorship of the British Councils in Tunisia and in Morocco for the conference and the publication of the proceedings. John Whitehead, Director of the British Council in Tunisia deserves particular thanks for giving the project much needed support.

Prof. Abdeljelil Temimi & Dr. Mohamed-Salah Omri

THE BLUE MANUSCRIPT

Sabiha AL KHEMIR
London, Britain

This forthcoming novel is perhaps best described as quest. Quest is the word which most easily encapsulates this novel's narrative and meaning – quest on many levels. At the most obvious, narrative level, it is the quest of variously motivated characters, the members of an archaeological team, for the Blue Manuscript. As such, it moves from Cairo (a significant presence) to a remote village and the 'dig', then on to London. The characters, Europeans and Arab, are drawn from a variety of backgrounds. The novel is a fictional tapestry : its colouring is variegated but always intense - with several threads of narrative. The events set in the 'present' (the 1980s), unfold in the intellectual and geographical terrain in which West meets East and Islam. This Islam, though, looks back to times of some of its greatest achievements in culture and the arts, a theme developed in historical interludes which intersperse and connect structurally and thematically in the main narrative. The novel develops the theme of the universal quest for communication and understanding, for similarities within difference, for a community of interest and feeling which reaches beyond the problems of linguistic exchange, transcending the boundaries and antagonisms of cultures.

Below are excerpts from the novel published here by kind permission of the author.

Excerpts from *The Blue Manuscript*, pp. 15 - 26

The group tried to keep up with the Professor, not to lose sight of him, but it was difficult to cross the street within the force of human tide created, paradoxically, by a population struggling for survival. The team were embraced by the hubbub, a strange combination of closeness and anonymity. 'One would never dream of trying to find a particular person in this opaque crowd,' thought Zohra. People of all sorts surrounded them. From the very ordinary-looking, to characters who seemed to come from another era. Alan was befuddled. Somehow he managed to stay separate. For him it was more like a painting by Bosch. He felt fear. Fear of difference, of this alien culture. Donatella was composed but she was careful where she placed her foot. The Professor was leading the way. Even Mustapha was following.

'I tell you, he knows the old city like the palm of his hand !' Mustapha reiterated, his eyes gleaming with admiration. The Professor himself was excited, his love for the city, intense.

Zohra lingered behind. Huge billboards were all over the streets. A narrative collage. They were reminiscent of the covers of the cheaply published novels she had seen in her father's room many years before. Those cheap covers were all she knew of her father's culture. The pouting lips of the stars were painted a red which screamed louder than any mouth could. The publicity panels aimed to be more clamorous than the city's commotion. This was of course before kitsch started to lose its authenticity and posters got replaced by laminated photographs. Dust engulfed everything. Nothing showed its real face. There were many trees but their green was dulled by dust. The shop windows too were overcast and a film of dust covered the stars in the posters. Perhaps without the dirt, the patina of time, the city would lose its sensuality. Sweat made dust cling, and touch was a force that shaped the character of the city. Everything but everything was in intimate contact with everything else, people touched cars touched animals touched people touched walls touched trees, all in an organic modus vivendi. And human existence had a dilatory quality. In spite of having been baked a million times, the people of this land had remained of malleable clay and their whole life seemed meaningless in the overall scheme of things. To the side of the bridge, Zohra noticed a man climbing a high pole, busily replacing one of the billboard posters. He wore no protection, nor was he an expert acrobat. Perhaps human life was simply worthless.

A traffic of lorries, cars, buses, motorbikes, bicycles, people and animals, carriages filled with all sorts of products were led by donkeys, mules or people, depending on their size. Men, women, children carried things on their heads such as cages filled with swollen bread, walking with impressive poise. A barber was shaving his clients on the pavement. Women, men and children, mannequins in frozen poses, filled the windows of the endless clothes shops. On the pavement, people crowded around something. Mustapha managed to get a glimpse, a boy had a green basin filled with water, in which a naked doll swam round and round. A few steps further on, a woman in black crouched next to a spread of cigarettes and lighters. Behind her, the façade of a little shop was a window display of nuts. An old man sold sweet potatoes which he cooked on the flames of his mobile fire. Someone was praying on the pavement. A man smoked his *narghile*. A cart with a mountain of tin containers was being pushed by a little boy. A man was spreading cloth handkerchiefs on a box. Every bit of space was used. Some sellers worked in shifts. A man who had been selling cassettes all morning was being replaced by someone selling cooked beans. A boy with wide-open eyes, steadfast in the face of dust, pushed a cart with a pyramid of tangerines. He cut through the crowd in the smooth way of an expert,

his voice clearing the passage : '*Yastafendi! Yastafendi!*' Lovers held hands in the anonymous crowd. Touch brought great consolation. On the pavement, an old man was repairing clothes on his sewing machine. People swept in front of their shops. Net sacks of oranges and melons hung on the façades of shops that sold fresh juice. Lines of washing, between apartment windows, dried nonchalantly in the dust. A teenager leaned against a tree sipping leisurely from his glass. Nearby, a woman was selling tea which she stewed in great urns on the pavement. Someone provided ironing in his little shop. People had those luxuries. But it was also as though this was regulated by a pact of complicity to give everyone a chance of survival. Rolls of meat turned against flames. Whole chickens turned rhythmically on skewers on their cyclic journey as though they were enjoying it. But there was simply no chance of escaping the flames.

From a small shop, bursting with rope of different thicknesses and colours, a man emerged carrying two huge rolls of copper thread. He handled them effortlessly as though they were an insignificant weight. Glasses asked Zohra to help him buy some string for his spectacles. The others waited outside. Away from Mustapha, Glasses asked Zohra: 'What did Mustapha say about *Yahud* yesterday?' Zohra was surprised that Glasses still remembered the quarrel on the bridge. She said that he was talking about the man's bald patch, that it resembled the *yarmulke* which Jews wear. Glasses, however, suspected that Mustapha's remark was in some way derogatory.

The Professor started his tour of Fatimid Cairo with the gate of Bab Zuwayla, dating from the eleventh century. The Salih Tala'i Mosque was surrounded by a murky pool. A few planks were stretched over the water for access. Shoes stood in pairs outside the mosque door. It was prayer time and the team had to wait to go in. There were piles of sheep skins left to dry. Red streaks marked where blood had run in streams. Kodama San's face showed no sign of shock, but shocked he was. The Professor could read the question in his fixed look, 'Why are Fatimid buildings left to rot?' The Professor gave Mustapha a knowing look.

But Mustapha was absorbed by the carcass of an old car in front of the mosque. 'Its owner must have forgotten where he parked it a few years ago!' said Mustapha with a laugh. Inside the old building the atmosphere was surprisingly quiet and cool. No one would have thought that in the throbbing heart of the city there was a corner so peaceful, so serene.

From the gate of Bab Zuwayla, unfolded a series of clothes shops, as well as carts selling trinkets of all kinds. A mature woman, dressed in black, sat on the ground, smoking from a recycled detergent bottle. Every now and then, she interrupted her puffing to berate the men behind the mobile vegetable store, a cart fastened to a mule. 'There's no

doubt, she's the boss,' thought Zohra. The mule lifted its head, shaking its nose bag, trying to catch the last grains. Zohra's attention was drawn to the Arabic calligraphy which decorated the cart. 'Beautiful calligraphy,' she remarked, but Mustapha shrugged. 'I know calligraphers with extraordinarily gifted hands. There's great talent in this city,' he said before he carried on with his rosary. It was true. Beautiful writing with a sure hand was present everywhere, from the façades of shops to publicity posters. Zohra wondered about the calligraphy of the Blue Manuscript.

The teens were surprised that buildings of different types mingled. New constructions, many of them unfinished, were intimate with ruins. Old buildings, hundreds of years old, were close, too close to blocks of flats that rose pompously fast towards the sky. Zohra had heard that in some cases, they collapsed just as fast, killing large numbers of people - fake cement sold at high prices revealing its true nature. Layers of time were interwoven in intricate chaos. Old stucco carvings appeared when least expected. The past was present everywhere. Timeless devotion had once transformed hard materials into beautiful lace. Now, time was making it crumble into dust. Zohra took a photograph.

'Ruins have their own beauty,' said Donatella.

'Awesome! If these buildings were in the U.S.' said Mark, 'a lot of money would be invested to restore them. There, there's not enough history. Here, there just aren't enough dollars!'

'The history of Cairo can be read through the names of its streets,' declared the Professor, pointing at the words inscribed on the wall. 'This street is named after the Fatimid Caliph al-Muizz who founded the city in 972. Al-Muizz street originally separated two palaces, the Eastern Palace and the Western Palace. Both have been destroyed and the Fatimid ancestors buried here were removed when the market of Khan el-Khalili was built. The general plan of the city has remained much as it was when it was conceived in A.D. 969.'

'I thought you said A.D. 972.' intervened Donatella.

'969 was when the general Jawhar conquered Egypt. Three years later, Caliph al-Muizz came from Ifriqiyya, present-day Tunisia,' explained the Professor. Then he added: 'The Fatimids ruled in Egypt until 1171 when they were overthrown by Saladin.'

'Over two hundred years!' exclaimed Donatella.

A strong aroma of pepper drifted by and a man emerged from around the corner, staggering under two immense sacks. Brightly painted pigeon coops looked down from the roofs of the adjacent buildings. Pigeons were a popular dish.

The Professor led them down al-Muizz Street to the Aqmar Mosque then on to the Hakim mosque and the great northern gate of Bab al-Futuh. They would pass jewellery, spices and perfumes before they reached the piles of onions at the top of the street. The Aqmar Mosque had a dark face. Its delicate shell motifs had survived a hard reality. The Professor drew their attention to the bands of calligraphy carved in stone. 'This is the Kufic script,' he explained. 'It takes its name after the Iraqi town of Kufa which was a great centre for culture. Here, leaves and flowers spring from the letters for decoration. The so-called "floriated Kufic" developed in this country.' The Professor smiled. He suddenly thought of the florid way people spoke, of their honey-coated words and it made sense to him that floriated script bloomed in Egypt.

'Is this the script in which the Blue Manuscript is written?' ventured Zohra.

'The Blue Manuscript is written in simple, early Kufic script, with no decoration.' said the Professor.

The Professor's enthusiasm was bubbling. There were many Cairos and Professor O'Brien's Cairo was Fatimid. His comments were spiced with old stories. The group was impressed by his knowledge. But he had to say almost everything twice. Mustapha found it difficult to follow his Irish accent. Zohra was enchanted by the Fatimid monuments, but was saddened by their poor condition. They seemed desolate and she wanted them to be alive with their own reality. She could not comprehend where this wish came from. Also the gap of time created an inexplicable sense of melancholy. Perhaps not all our sadness belongs to us. Near Bab al-Futuh the overspill of onion shops accumulated in large heaps like a lament on the fate of this grand medieval gate. In its hey-day, its iron-studded leaves were readily shut by its guards at the first hint of danger, and now they had become permanently rooted, wide-open. A man lay asleep in the blissful shade.

They ventured across the Fatimid city wall into the cemetery, with its domed little shrines. They came across people who told them that more than two thousand had made the cemetery their home. A teenager covered her mouth as she giggled, exuding a surprising love for life. Her mother, the mother of nine children, held a toddler in her arms. They all lived in one small room but they had a television, a fridge and a cooker. Tombstones held clothes-lines. Some still held lines of paper decorations from a recent religious feast. Mark, Donatella, Glasses, Zohra, Kodama San and Alan, especially Alan, were in disbelief. What kind of hardship would have led people to live among the dead? But Mustapha commented: 'Prophet Muhammad said, "*Fa idha dhaqat anfusukum fazuru al-'awwat*"'

'What does that mean?' asked Glasses.

Mustapha thought for a moment. 'When you despair, visit the dead.' Then he added: These people are attracted by the spiritual aspect of the situation.'

'What a ridiculous interpretation!' thought Zohra.

The cemetery hosts stood, a bewildered look in their eyes, and in their laughter, a bemusement at the visitors' foreignness. A young man revealed that he had buried both parents in the room where he now lived with his wife and baby. 'We never separated,' he added with a joyful grin. Mustapha translated. The team members watched, confused. The entanglement of life and death was both disturbing and intriguing. The clinging to life had persisted from ancient times, a life-force which conferred a magnetic energy on the city. A lust for life and a heavy pollution saturated the air. And the boundaries between life and death were totally erased.

They picked up Alan's jacket and everyone was baffled. There was no trace of the tear. 'And it's not because the daylight's faded!' said Mustapha, holding it to the light. The nimbleness of Egyptian hands was beyond belief.

'Awesome! They've got magic hands!' said Mark. 'In the States, that guy would make a fortune!'

'Let's export him!' said Mustapha. 'We can share the profits.' They both guffawed. A wan smile appeared on Kodama San's face or, perhaps, it was an illusion created by the street light which stood crooked, leaning towards him in the twilight. They saw more of Kodama San's silent smiles than they heard his voice. They hardly noticed he was there. Alan, too, was taciturn. He was eager to go to the hotel and freshen up.

The day had started its bow to the evening and the sun was going down quickly. The car ascended. Mustapha had promised them 'a fantastic view' from the Muqattam Hills. The view was indeed extraordinary. Tall minarets, slender like sharpened pencils, soaking the sky and claiming the city as though it were Muslim only. 'A thousand minarets can be seen from here,' said Mustapha, broadening his chest. Surprisingly, at that very moment, the minarets released their voices. The overlapping calls to prayer spread from the tips of the minarets, a transparent ink, tracing luminous arabesque in the dark sky.

They contemplated the romantic view for some time silently, totally unaware that under their feet the mighty Muqattam Hills were expelling dust over the city continuously without ever shrinking. From their vantage point, Cairo looked content, a cradle of lights that gave the illusion of the city coming to a standstill. Deceptive. Things were happening, but veiled by the screen of darkness. Only the moon was witness. It hung above them, its soft light diffused.

It was time to go back to the hotel but Mustapha decided to stay behind, which surprised the others. He did not seem the romantic type. 'I come here often,' he said, 'when I can't sleep. It's such a soothing sight and the air is so fresh. Do you know that Saladin chose the Muqattam Hills to build his citadel because of its healthy air? He tested the atmosphere in different parts of Cairo by hanging pieces of raw meat. The meat rotted after only one day, everywhere,' Mustapha took a deep breath before he continued, 'except here. The meat remained fresh for more than three days here!' His gaze roamed across the view of the city and his hands stopped working on his rosary. '*Ya salaam 'alik ya Salah ed-Din!* The Great Saladin,' he declared, his voice filled with pride.

Tenderness glistened in his eyes. He drew a deep drag and heaved a sigh of smoke. Everyone went silent. But the Professor laughed and said: 'I think Saladin's main concerns were the military advantages of the hill, and its central location. It provided him with a local stronghold!' Mustapha did not decipher everything the Professor said because of his accent, but he did not ask him to repeat what he had just said.

They crossed the Qasr al-Nil Bridge, guarded by its stone lions, to get to their hotel in Zamalek. Alan, the Professor and Kodama San went in and Zohra, Donatella and Glasses decided to go for a stroll. The smell of lavender and honeysuckle overwhelmed the senses. There were lovers in the cars parked along the Nile. The beautiful river had given people a taste for romance. A gift for all. Florists were selling birds of paradise. Shards of moon sparkled on the water. Zohra suddenly felt tired. She changed her mind, as she often did, and went back to the hotel. Donatella was angry but said nothing.

In the hotel room, a dancer performed all styles of dancing, from ballet to flamenco, from belly dance to salsa, changing costumes and choreography in split seconds. A phenomenon of extraordinary imitation. Zohra watched intently, not knowing what she was looking for, perhaps the authentic person behind the performance. The cleaner had obviously forgotten to switch off the television. Zohra pressed a button, the dancer vanished and a story emerged from the day's thick layers of events... a story the Professor had told them earlier that day about Yazuri, minister to the eighth Fatimid Caliph, al-Mustansir, who ruled in Cairo in the eleventh century. Yazuri summoned two painters, an Iraqi and an Egyptian for a competition. The challenge was to paint a mural of a dancer. The Iraqi artist painted her as though she were coming out of the wall, while the Egyptian painted her as though she were vanishing into the wall. Zohra reached for her notebook and for no specific reason scribbled: 'Caliph al-Mustansir and his minister Yazuri', perhaps trying to hold on to the day's memories.

She stood on the balcony. The day's heat had lingered long into the night. Air conditioning-boxes dotted the tall buildings and there were

endless television serials on the roofs. One roof was covered by palm-tree branches, long dead. Zohra reflected that they must have come from a nearby tree. Layers were preponderant. Cairo was a city that could never be excavated. Zohra had grown up in London and the only other Arab city she had visited was Tunis, the home of her father, a comparatively bare city where just a glance reveals all there is or so it seems. One could never get to know Cairo, however, because of its immense scale. The city itself did not know every nook and cranny within it. Like a gigantic creature, every one of its pores led to a world of its own. Zohra took a deep breath. Cairo was magic. This was the city of mad passion, where ardent fans committed suicide when their favourite stars died. This was once the capital of the Arab world. This was the city where the stories of *The Thousand and One Nights* were born but this was also where they were recently banned. Was the medieval mentality more open-minded? Or was what needed to be protected less under threat?

A lightness filled the atmosphere. She was tired or rather, the feeling was that of inebriation brought on by the old city. Cairo was a frothing picture of humanity. Humanity with all its joys and sorrows, its misfortunes and successes, its flaws and perfection, from putrid pollution to pure, distilled essence, humanity with its genius and helplessness. It was only later, much later, however, that Zohra realized that when one is touched but not concerned, one can have before one's eyes the most extraordinary reality yet remain blind to its implications for the people who belong to it. For the moment, her romantic vision of Cairo obscured those implications. In just a few days, the city had triumphed in its seduction. She had lived in London all her life. And the joy of hearing Arabic spoken all around her now, the joy of what she had never had, filled her. She remembered the Professor's words as he quoted the fourteenth-century philosophical historian Ibn Khaldun: 'What one sees is always surpassed by what one can imagine, because of the scope of the imagination, except Cairo, because it surpasses anything one can imagine.'

As the translator, she did not think of herself as an active member of the excavation team. Yet, lying on the bed that night, she was filled by a sense of the past and an anticipation of the exciting mission that awaited them in Wadi Hassoun. As she drifted off to sleep, Zohra wondered about the name of those beautiful trees that wore mauve dresses under a veil of dust. She did not know, when she closed her eyes that night, that she had fallen in love. The city was a remnant of a civilization that had been exhausted. And her being was starved of what this city used to be. She had fallen in love with what had already gone, nothing less tragic than a doomed love.

In his room, the Professor, a cold beer in his hand, lay down, his long legs extending beyond the end of the bed. Another day of bureaucracy

and waiting lay ahead of him. He gazed at the palm of his hand and reflected. He wondered what awaited him in this expedition, about which he had dreamt for thirty-two years... 'He knows the old city like the palm of his hand!' Mustapha's words rang in his head. 'This lively city is dying,' he thought. 'It's rising ground-water levels, leaking water pipes and sewers that are making precious monuments crumble. The process has been going on for years. Water penetrates the limestone and rises. It evaporates and the salt crystallises within the stone: eventually stone crumbles into powder. The heart of the Fatimid city is being devoured.' Professor O'Brien sighed before he let out a sarcastic laugh. 'Of all the bureaucratic departments perhaps that of sewerage is playing the most decisive role in the fate of the Fatimid city!'

'And Saladin,' said Professor O'Brien loudly to the pink walls of the five-star hotel room, 'Saladin wasn't so great! He burnt the magnificent libraries of the Fatimids!' The Professor took the last sip of his beer and threw the can on the carpet. But there was no sound to be heard.

He lay in silence. His thick brows joined in a frown. He wondered how long he was going to be stranded in Cairo, negotiating his way through the maze of charm. He felt as though he was caught in the grip of the city, a monster that was preventing him from realizing his dream. And he could not wait to start his mission of digging the remote past of the Middle Ages, where lustre wasters would prove his theory right. Eventually, he went to sleep with a strange thought: 'If everything spoke, archaeology would be totally different!' It did not cross his mind that, if that was the case, there would perhaps have been no need for archaeology at all.

The caravan marched towards the formation of Cairo, the building of a civilization. Al-Muizz was carrying the past into the future. Through the invisible chinks of the wooden sepulchres, came the first rays of dawn. They brought the hope of hundreds of years to the bones of the ancestors, longing to be buried in Egypt, the desire in their marrow still throbbing alive. Here, they would finally dissolve, embracing the earth of this land as though they were born in it, setting roots in their final resting place. The camels loaded with the coffins, marched in front. Their walk had a kind of lulling rhythm. Ubayd Allah al-Mahdi, al-Qa'im bi-Amr Allah, Ismail al-Mansur, the caravan proceeded in a distinct line, carrying the sepulchres of grandfathers, sons, daughters, grandchildren as well as their descendents, different generations, one dream. Egypt, a great land worthy of great achievements, the step of a caravan on to a road, entry into Egypt, the establishment of a dynasty, the Fatimid dynasty.

With the sepulchres of the ancestors, the caravan carried the riches of the court. Six hundred camels were loaded with pure gold which came from the palace in Sabra al-Mansuiyya in Ifriqiyya. Other camels

carried fine brocades, jewels, rock-crystals, ivories, luxurious wares and beautifully carved wooden boxes, many of which were made by the gifted artist Ahmed al-Khurasani. Within one of these boxes, the Blue Manuscript was carefully wrapped in silk. But there were not only treasures of art work, the court's invaluable craftsmen too, such as the master potters, were brought on this journey. Along with them came the palace musicians, cooks, the sweet-maker Younes, al-Muizz's trusted story-teller, infamous for his pronounced nose, and the court chronicler who was recording the events of history as they unfolded.

There were no less than five thousand camels. 'Not all those who want to come with me can,' al-Muizz had said to his faithful follower, Ibn Ziri who was staying behind in charge. 'If they do, by the time I reach Alexandria at the head of the caravan, those at the tail will still be in Ifriqiyya.'

'Adlun wa tasaamuh li 'izzin shaamil wa hukmin qa'im' (Justice and tolerance for complete glory and everlasting rule). Words marked the principles of the new dynasty. Arabic letters were pressed into the sand as the caravan advanced. The horses' shoes had been made by a dexterous blacksmith under the instruction of the court calligrapher. Though heavily loaded with palanquins, the camels and horses never faltered during this long journey. They somehow knew that Cairo was the ultimate aim. They knew their significant role in conquests at this time. The men moved in silence, you would not think this was the happiest occasion in their history. The desert's sand belts crept forward towards the South under the influence of the prevailing wind. The caravan crossed lines of isolated crescent dunes, a challenging task. Ridges of sand rose high in front of them. But al-Muizz's guide was endowed with a rare skill, a kind of sixth sense. He was renowned for his ability to recognize the way wherever he was and in whatever weather conditions. He remembered features, however small and he was vigilantly aware of deceptive appearances. The desert might seem empty and uniform to others but to him, it was filled with variations. He could read the desert the way others would read a book. His keen sight travelled a great distance and he could see the horizon which was cut off to other travellers.

The cool, cool breeze caressed the pigeon's feathers. It spread its wings in the soft pink light of dawn and flew high. As it crossed the blue expanse over the desert it dreamt of its nest. Its journey was a journey home. It was going back, carrying a message forward. The written word was its cargo. A significant message to General Jawhar on the first day of spring in the year A.D. 972. Unaware of the news it carried, the pigeon saw the travellers as insignificant ants. Dark dots linking, breaking and joining again in a long, sinuous line. But this was the caravan proceeding in the desert towards Cairo or what would one day become the great city of Cairo.

Al-Muizz was watching his own and his ancesters' dream to conquer Egypt unfold before his eyes as the desert receded. He noticed that there was no trace of the words pressed into the sand by the horses' shoes, only the desert's eternal waves. He got off his horse, took a handful of earth and savoured its colour. 'A different soil makes different people.' He cast a look around and could see that the light of Egypt had a golden tinge. It had been a few weeks since he had left on this journey. He touched his bay horse's lucky forehead and was filled with peace. He loved this horse, sensible and calm by nature. It lived up to the popular belief that, born by day, a horse brings luck. He caressed the dark spot on its forehead, tracing the circular motion of hair and glanced at the camels. The look in their eyes was deep and weary. The sun was getting hot. Al-Muizz agreed with the guide that it was time to rest.

The guide chose carefully the place to camp. They unloaded the camels. The hair on their bumps looked like the desert's sporadic growth and their colour blended with the earth. They were rightly called 'the boats of the desert' – without them, this journey would not have been possible. As with every time they halted for rest, servants fed them salt. While up to now, they had eaten whatever bushes they encountered, today was different. The camels were given milk and talked to in the recommended friendly tone, preparing them for their last day's work. Al-Muizz fed his horse sesame seeds with his own hands.

And in no time, the barren landscape was magically transformed into a garden fit for a caliph. Cypress trees, fountains and roses sprang, a magic world of colour unfurled. Such were the gardens depicted on the carpets imported from Andalusia, the courts of the Fatimids' rivals in Islamic Spain.

Excerpts from *The Blue Manuscript*, pp. 108 - 112

'I want it to be a manuscript unlike any other, a manuscript that displays the glory of the word of God,' said the mother of Caliph al-Muizz to Ibn al-Warraq, the Calligrapher of the court. 'It is going to be for my burial when God's call comes.' She spoke with the gentle authority for which she was renowned. A combination of power and humility which even her son found extraordinary. When a month earlier she had told him that he was not to consider the conquest of Egypt that year, A.D. 962, he acquiesced. And as he was eager to fulfill the dream of his ancestors, he was disappointed, yet he showed her no sign of his feelings. The year before, when she had returned from pilgrimage she recounted to him the magnanimity of the governor of Egypt. He had provided her with a significant retinue to escort her on her journey to Haj, invited her to stay in the palace and ensured her safety and comfort. And this second time she forbade her son to conquer Egypt because she was about to embark on a pilgrimage to Mecca. She would not allow the conquest to

take place while al-Ikhshidi who had been so generous to her was still in power.

'A unique copy of the sacred text for which no expense will be spared,' she declared to the Calligrapher that morning in the Palace of Sabra al-Mansuriyya, near Qayrawan. She had in fact, accompanied by her hand-maiden, gone to the Calligrapher's quarters herself, an exceptional occurrence. Ibn al-Warraq's gaze was caught by the maiden's beautiful face for a moment: her golden crescent earrings glittered. Before the mother of al-Muizz left, the Calligrapher thanked her and made a promise that he would dedicate himself to the task assigned to him and hoped he would be worthy of it.

He opened the window within the *mashrabiyya*, the carving of which had given the opaque medium of wood a shimmering translucence. Light poured in, bathing his face as he looked out. He stood aware of the manuscript that had just been commissioned. A minaret reached to the sky. He saw it as a pen ready to write the words of God. The traditional three spheres and crescent that crowned its tip marked the cycle of the moon. Standing there reflecting, Ibn al-Warraq became free of time. 'I shall write a manuscript worthy of the Creator,' he whispered to no one in particular as he gazed beyond, into the light which would ignite the creative spark.

It was not until the intense light of midday had shifted, its edge softened, that Ibn al-Warraq returned to his thoughts. With the change of light, he remembered the letters carved on the façade of the Great Mosque in the town of Susah, where he had grown up. The letters ran as an upper band on the high wall and as a child, from where he looked, the remote inscription could not be read, not even by grown-ups. The sacredness of the Arabic letter meant that its mere presence on a building was significant. He remembered how the inscription on that wall changed as the light changed. Sometimes it was visible, sometimes not. He could still see it in his memory's eye, when as a child, he had watched the protruding letters, written in monumental kufic script, slowly disappear. He would spend hours watching what seemed to him like a magical phenomenon, those solid, prominent letters carved in stone vanishing. His friends thought he was obsessed. They were fascinated at the beginning but soon lost interest. For him, however, this little boy who was learning how to master his hands, continuously practicing calligraphy under the supervision of his father, a master calligrapher, the fascination of the carved letters which appeared and disappeared never ceased. He became enamoured with the alphabet's forms: the Arabic letter *m* resembled a mouth, the letter *'ain*, an eye, the *alif*, an upright slender youth, the *dal*, a person bent with age and the combined letters *lam* and *alif*, a close embrace between two lovers. His father doubted whether he would ever make it as a serious calligrapher.

But, to his father's surprise, the boy grew to recognize what a joyful discipline calligraphy could be.

Having acquired an outstanding reputation, Ibn al-Warraq was called to be the Calligrapher of the Fatimid court to teach the young al-Muizz. He never returned to the town of his childhood although it was not far from Qayrawan. Yet, every day, he watched the shift of light carve the letters in his memory's eye, and every day, it seemed as if it was for the first time. A band of calligraphy ran from the edge of the window where he stood now with the ninety-nine names of God carved in wood as a wainscot. Ibn al-Warraq's eyes rested on *'al-Rahman, al-Rahim, al-Salam'* (the Compassionate, the Merciful, the Source of peace). The Calligrapher was familiar with Arabic letters engraved in metal, sculpted in stone, painted in glaze, carved in wood, embroidered in silk thread... And now, for the commissioned manuscript, he wanted them to shine with light.

It was that darker stage of twilight: the light had just stepped beyond the moment of hesitancy. Ibn al-Warraq was sitting in that same place, opposite the window but the view was of a different season. It had been over two months already since the mother of al-Muizz had come to see him. On the table were leaves of paper with many calligraphic experiments which had not met with his satisfaction. The pen rested to the side. He had been applying himself completely, in search of the visual expression for the commissioned manuscript, writing and re-writing, practicing constant transformations that came closest to purification. His wish was to see content and container as one in the new manuscript. But how?

He was becoming gradually effaced by the descending darkness. And the moon and stars in the inky sky gazed at him where he sat. The moon was simply a witness of time, a luminous disc of consciousness. He could see the minaret, a constant feature of the picture from his window, more in his memory than in the material reality of the moment. The voice of the muezzin pierced the obscurity of the night. Other voices reverberated from the tips of other minarets. They crossed, overlapping, one fading, one starting, in a reaching motion under the dome of the sky.

'How appropriate the human voice is for the call to the faithful,' thought Ibn al-Warraq as he pondered the origin of the call to prayer. When the Prophet met with his companions to address this, some suggested sounding a bell like the Christians, some suggested a horn as was the custom of the Jews. And others suggested using a gong like the Hindus. It was then that Umar, one of the Companions told them of his dream which had recommended that a man should stand in a prominent place and call the faithful to prayer with the words, *'Allah Akbar'*. Umar's suggestion was being considered, when Ali the Prophet's son-in-law joined them and said he had had a similar dream.

For Ibn al-Warraq, the purity of light was the closest to the quality of the voices now reverberating, interrupting the darkness around him. 'The elongation of sound as in the voice of the muezzin will be traced in the new manuscript,' he thought.

He had been staring at the sky for a long time, the moon approaching the horizon. Intense indigo came to wrap his whole being in penetrating silence and he saw that it was also this silence that he must convey in his calligraphy. The night had come with inspiration and creative insight. Its depth and the brilliance of the stars would find their way into his work. It suddenly became clear what the manuscript should be like. It was to be his vision, his original expression of the sacred text. 'While basing his style on the masters of the past, a good calligrapher has to transcend their models to create his own vision,' his father had told him. Ibn al-Warraq sensed that the time had come for him to transcend what had been passed on to him, to transform the layers of transcestral knowledge, to give from himself. He thought of the famous calligrapher Ibn Muqla who, sixty years earlier in Baghdad, had devised a cursive script that was mathematically proportioned. Writing in the Maghreb was different. Attention was directed less to the particular significance of each letter, and more to the collective harmony of the text on the page.

While the Calligrapher was absorbed by his reflections, his apprentice entered the room with a jug of water. His mute gestures simply added to the silence. He placed the jug nearby without uttering a sound, lit the oil lamp and retreated, leaving Ibn al-Warraq gazing silently out. A door had just opened before him after a long quest of creativity. Ibn al-Warraq had fasted from speech for a month now and the apprentice was being especially careful not to disturb him. There was only the rhythmic wheezing of his chest. He reached for the jug and poured from it. Within its neck, he glimpsed a beautiful peacock, framed by a line of calligraphy. The delicate piercing had transformed the thick clay into lace. It was the jug's filter cleansing the water. Grace filled his being. 'The written word marks one of the great differences between humans and animals and unlike animals, humans have developed a sense of the beautiful,' thought Ibn al-Warraq. For a brief moment, he was intrigued that the exquisite image of a peacock had been placed where it was not conspicuous. 'Inner beauty,' he thought, 'is not for human eyes alone. Beauty comes from the Creator and returns to Him.'

In the wavering light, he gazed at his long, slim fingers. How many times had he told his right hand: 'You will trace the worthy copy of the sacred word even if it requires a lifetime.' He cast a glance at the dark blue sky, the golden moon and the luminous stars. It was a full moon. Full of mystery. A flame-coloured volcano, blazing in the depths of the sky, refusing to be extinguished. 'Has it got fire in its blood? Is it a piece of life, of hope in a dark sad night? Tomorrow, alas, the sun will put it

out but only to shine with more light, more life, perhaps more hope.' The inspiration for the Blue Manuscript was being born. 'This is how my letters must look, just like the moon and the stars in the deep indigo sky with all the mysteries of the night's silent velvet. Golden letters on deep night blue will be my search light in darkness.'

Ibn al-Warraq prayed that he would be able to achieve his vision. He also prayed that his life would not come to an end before the copying of the text was complete.

'Alif, Lam, Mim,' Ibn al-Warraq recited in his heart. *'Alif, Lam, Ra,'* ... *'Ta, Sin, Mim'*... He went on repeating those letters which started some of the chapters in the Quran – enigmatic letters which have escaped all human attempts at deciphering their meaning. Letters which held the meaning of the sacred, the unattainable.

The night became darker and the stars shone through the dome of the sky like tiny openings letting in the divine light. The universality of the night's face, this immensity of darkness and the wholeness of silence. Tonight was beautiful like every night in Sabra al-Mansuriyya. Deep darkness, the offspring of the magical light which had pervaded the town during the day. Everybody was asleep, the town was shrouded in silence, proud of its pregnancy. Mystery that would give birth to a new day and bathe it in renewed light. Now the midnight blue exhilarated the mind, raising the heart to the beyond. Blue was more than one, slate blue, cerulean blue, peacock blue, sky blue, cobalt blue, blue-green, blue-turquoise... and turquoise was more than one... all telling thousands of stories... but all shades deriving from one colour. 'Inner beauty is power,' thought Ibn al-Warraq. 'Magical, overwhelming. Inner beauty is the Creator. A way to Truth.'

In his heart, the Calligrapher's silent rehearsal never ceased. *'Alif, Lam, Ra'*... *'Alif, Lam, Mim...'*

Sabiha AL KHEMIR
London, Britain

LE REGARD D'UN CAPTIF ANGLAIS SUR ALGER DURANT LA PREMIERE MOITIE DU XVII SIECLE

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Le Maghreb des temps modernes a excité les curiosités, et suscité l'intérêt de l'Europe. La course, l'esclavage, la rédemption des captifs, le commerce, la diplomatie, l'esprit de découverte sont à l'origine d'une immense production. Les écrits deviennent de plus en plus nombreux à partir du XVIIe siècle comme en témoignent les différentes bibliographies (1) Cependant un des problèmes que nous pose à nous maghrébins cette littérature européenne est celui de la représentation du Maghreb dans ces œuvres. Autrement dit, comment a été perçu le Maghreb par l'Europe ? Certes l'image que se faisaient les Européens du Maghreb a fait l'objet de nombreuses études. Cependant il faut noter que l'accent est mis particulièrement sur les textes français (2).

A contrario l'image de l'Algérie dans les textes anglais et plus particulièrement ceux du 17 siècle reste peu cernée. Nous voudrions donc par cette contribution présenter les aspects d'une réalité perçue par un captif anglais, en l'occurrence Francis Knight. En fait nous avons malheureusement peu de renseignements sur la vie de ce captif car il ne livre aucune notice biographique le concernant. Il ne s'agit pas d'un

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(1) Ministère de la Guerre, *Tableau de la situation des établissements français dans l'Algérie de 1840*, Paris, 1841.
Playfair (R.L.), *A bibliography of Algeria from to the expedition of Charles V*, in 1541 to 1887, London, 1888.
Rinaud De Card (E.), *Livres français du XVIe et XVIIe siècles concernant les états barbaresques*. Paris, 1911.
Taillard (Ch.), *L'Algérie dans la littérature française. Essai de bibliographie littéraire et raisonnée jusqu'à l'année 1924*, Paris 1925.
Ternaux Compans (H.), *Bibliothèque asiatique et africaine ou catalogue raisonné des ouvrages relatifs à l' Asie et à l'Afrique qui ont paru depuis la découverte de l'imprimerie jusqu'à 1700*, Paris, 1841.
Turbet- Delof (G.), *Bibliographie critique du Maghreb dans la littérature française (1523-1715)*, Alger, 1976.
(2) Brahimi (D.), *Voyageurs français au XVIIIe siècle en barbarie*, Thèse. Martino (P.), "Les Arabes dans la comédie et le roman du 18 siècle" *Revue africaine*, 1905.
Thomson (A.), *Barbary and Enlightenment. European attitudes towards the Maghreb in the 18th Century*, Brill, Leiden, 1987.
Turbet- Delof (G.), *La presse périodique française L'Afrique barbaresque dans la littérature aux XVI et XVII siècles*, Genève, 1973.
Turbet- Delof (G.), *La presse périodique française et L'Afrique barbaresque au XVIIe siècle 1611-1715*, Genève, 1973.

captif illustre (4) mais d'un jeune marchand anglais qui fut esclave à Alger de 1631à 1638(5).

Dans la première partie de sa relation intitulée : " *A true and strange relation of seven years slavery under the turkes of Argeire suffered by an english merchant* " (6) Knight restitue avec minutie son vécu de captif et plus particulièrement sa vie quotidienne de galérien et ce depuis le jour où il tomba en esclavage le 9 décembre 1631, à l'âge de 23 ans, jusqu'à son évasion en 1638 (7).

Il ressort de la lecture du texte que sa captivité fut une expérience très riche, durant laquelle, il côtoya les hauts dignitaires de la ville et du gouvernement. Il a eu, ainsi, successivement quatre patrons : un renégat (8), un Agha (9) un pacha et enfin le célèbre raïs Ali Bitchin (10). Ce qui l'emmena à passer une bonne partie de sa captivité en mer, en tant que Galérien, expérience qui lui parut la plus diabolique et la plus inhumaine que l'on puisse vivre. Durant ces sept années de captivité, perdant l'espoir d'être racheté, il eut recours à l'évasion comme moyen pour recouvrer sa liberté. Après trois tentatives il réussit enfin à s'évader et cela à partir de Vélons ! Etonnant destin !!

Dans la seconde partie consacrée au Gouvernement et à la ville d'Alger Knight aborde des questions d'une importance capitale : le fonctionnement du Gouvernement, les revenus les forces maritimes et terrestres, les richesses, les habitants, en fournissant des données chiffrées. Cependant l'accent est mis notamment sur les aspects militaro-politiques. Les événements relatés font de cette relation un témoignage précieux sur la vie tumultueuse du "sérail" dans les années trente du XVIIe siècle. Au-delà des informations intéressantes qu'il livre de son séjour algérois, la question pour nous est de savoir si notre auteur, acteur dont le long séjour fait de lui un témoin oculaire est tout

(4) Grammont (H. De), *Les illustres captifs du Père Dan*. Paris, 1884.

(5) Knight (F). *A relation of seven years slavery under the Turks of Argeire, suffered by an English captive merchant*. London, 1646.

(6) Nous avons respecté la langue dans laquelle ce texte a été publié en 1640.

(7) Son expérience est semblable à celle du captif français, Germain Mouette qui passa 11 ans de captivité au Maroc avec quatre patrons successifs.

(8) Il s'agit des chrétiens convertis à l'Islam.

(9) Nom donné au chef suprême de l'armée de terre.

(10) C'est ainsi que Knight nous le décrit: "...Ally (Ali) pichellin generall of Argiere, a great man in substance, having besides his land and other riches 800 christians slaves... a great tirant he respected no man aboue another and in truth we were all exquisitely miserable that were his slaves ..." Knight op. cit. p. 9.
- Sur la vie de ce célèbre raïs voir:
Belhamissi (M). *Marine et Marins d'Alger 1518-1830*.Alger, 1996, 37.

de même le témoin fiable(11). La question est aussi de savoir quels sont les faits relatés, comment sont -ils interprétés ? Quelle image nous donne -t-il de cet Alger des années trente du XVIIe siècle ? C'est ce que nous tenterons de faire ressortir.

La vie et la condition des captifs chrétiens :

Autour des affres de l'esclavage au Maghreb toute une littérature se développa. Le thème mobilisa durant des siècles, prêtres, dévots chroniqueurs et poètes (12) qui ont déployé tant de zèle à noircir le tableau. Ils usèrent de tous les moyens en vue de la collecte de sommes d'argent. Il s'agit en fait d'une littérature engagée dans le but d'exciter la pitié et d'engager les états chrétiens pour la rédemption et la délivrance des captifs (13).

Alger selon Knight est la ville fatale à tous les chrétiens. *"I arrived in that city fatall to all christians and the butchery of mankind...my consolation is for the losse of many christians, taken from their parents and countries of all sorts and sexe..."* (14). Cependant il ne s'étale pas à fournir une description fastidieuse de la condition des captifs, contrairement aux récits contemporains(15). Certes sa description, qu'on

(11) A ce propos Bachrouch écrit : " le voyageur, le négociant ou l'agent consulaire habités par la négativité anti barbaresque ne peut -être un témoin fiable ".
Bachrouch (T), "Les Barbaresques de Tunisie au XVIIe siècle Mythes et interprétations". *Les provinces arabes et leurs sources documentaires à l'époque ottomane. Etudes réunies et présentées par Abdeljelil Temimi*, Tunis, 1984, p. 87.
voir aussi :
Hrch M. Ch, "Les sources européennes de l'histoire moderne du Maghreb. Leur importance et leurs limites "*Les provinces arabes... op.cit*, pp. 149-152.

(12) Belhamissi (M). *Les captifs algériens et l'Europe chrétienne (1518-1830)*. Alger, 1968.

(13) Voir :
- Blevin, *La condition et la vie des français dans la régence d'Alger*, Alger, 1899.
- Dumont (P.J.), *Histoire de l'esclavage en Afrique, par JS Quesné*, Paris, 1929.
- Martin (M), *La vie et la condition des esclaves chrétiens*, Alger 1900.
- Orse (Abbé), *Alger pendant cent ans et la Rédemption des captifs*. Paris, 1857.
- Wilbeim (J.), *Captifs chrétiens à Alger*, Paris, 1933.
- Riggio (A.), "Esclaves et missionnaires en Barbarie 1672-1962" in, *Revue Africaine*, 1949, pp.38-64.
- Sacerdoti (A.), " Esclavage chrétien en Barbarie"in, *Revue africaine*, 1949.

(14) Knight, *op. cit*, p. 1.

(15) Voici un extrait de la description que fait Grammaye de la condition des esclaves chrétiens à Alger : " non contents d'avoir accablé les malheureux de coups de bâton et de corde, ils les suspendent pieds et poings liés, ensuite ils les fracassent et à l'aide d'une corde nouveuse leur serrent la tête à leur en faire presque éclater la cervelle ..."
- Boussonnoor, "Le regard du captif au XVIIe siècle où le Bestiaire Algérien de J-B Grammaye"in, *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine*, n° 29, 1985, p. 12.

ne découvre en fait qu'au fil du récit, reste brève, néanmoins elle véhicule les préjugés de son temps. Ainsi tyrannie et cruauté sont évoquées en gros plan : " *they are christians whose case is to be pitied, that lyes groaning under the yoake of turkish tyrannie, who martyr them dayly by their most contested, most inexorable, and inhumane cruelties ...* " (15). De même ce qui frappe le lecteur, dans cette relation de captivité, c'est l'absence de toute description de la vente des esclaves au badistan, ainsi que de leur vie dans les bagnes (16).

Par ailleurs il témoigne sa compassion et sa douleur à ses compatriotes captifs anglais "*...but those I must lament and nature obliges to be most indulgent to, is for more than 1500 of my miserable countrie men, who are there plunged in the most vile and greatest detriments...* "(17). Animé par le désir de les voir, et de se voir enfin libre. Il lance un appel pressant à sa Majesté pour leur délivrance en mettant en exergue les avantages et les profits que l'Angleterre pourrait en tirer :

"*...Such men they are that had or may his majestie have occasion to use Sea-men, a 1000 of them were better than the best 3000 in England*"(18).

La question des convertis à l'Islam :

A l'égard des chrétiens convertis à l'Islam, les renégats, Knight, qui les a côtoyés de près puisqu'il a servi deux patrons renégats, et bien que l'une des ses expériences soit heureuse selon la description qu'il en fait : " *I was two years and six months a slave to one of them. I was not employed in the least servility. His presence did not disturb me ...And indeed he was an honest moralll man* "(19), *exprime à leur encontre des sentiments de haine, d'aversion et d'indignation « ...Lord how facile do those professe the new religion priding themselves in turkish ceremonies and in a faith once execrable unto them.... »*(20).

Ainsi, fidèle aux idées véhiculées par ses contemporains, il accuse ouvertement ces nouveaux convertis, d'avoir agi bien plutôt par vice que par conviction. Certes il s'attaque ouvertement à ces nouveaux convertis

Quant au Père Dan il dresse une liste des "supplices infligés" aux esclaves, l'accent est mis de toute évidence, sur l'horreur et sur la cruauté.
Dan (le père François), *Histoire de la barbarie et de ses corsaires*, Paris, 1637.

(15) Knight, *op. cit*, p. 51.

(16) Yacine (T). "Les Bagnes d'Alger d'après Cervantès" in, *Revue d'histoire maghrébine*, 1981, pp. 87-91.

(17) Knight *op. cit* p. 51.

(18) *Ibid*, p. 52.

(19) *Ibid*, p. 3.

(20) *Ibid*, p. 2.

en les accusant d'avoir perdu la foi chrétienne, mais à aucun moment notre captif ne s'attaque à l'Islam. Est-ce parce qu'il n'appartient pas au monde ecclésiastique ? Cette opinion aussi est semblable à celle de son contemporain le captif Aranda qui condamne lui aussi les renégats avec ces propos : « *gens perdus, sans religion et sans conscience, figuriés de la chrétienté et de la Turquie, pour l'énormité de leurs crimes, avec quels cette ville sert d'asile et de refuge*»(21). Quant au père Dan s'interrogeant sur ce phénomène il nuance des propos racistes à l'égard de l'Islam : «*D'où vient qu'il y a tant de renégats qui se rangent dans le parti du faux prophète Mahomet..... ?*» (22). Il est vrai que les renégats aux yeux de l'Europe chrétienne étaient vus comme des criminels. A ce propos Bachrouch écrit : « *...ce crime commis par ces transfuges est double, il leur est tenu rigueur non seulement pour avoir apostasié, mais aussi de l'avoir fait pour le bien potentiel militaire et maritime de l'ennemi* » (23).

Appel à la conquête d'Alger :

Knight est tellement émerveillé par Alger, la prodigieuse et richissime qu'il ne peut comprendre qu'elle ne puisse être commandée par l'Europe ! Notre captif qui ne voit pas la nécessité de s'étaler sur la description de la condition des captifs à notre grande surprise, prêche pour la conquête de la ville, et il y revient plusieurs fois. Ainsi, en évoquant l'essor démographique de la cité, il incite l'Europe à la conquête d'Alger en suggérant l'envoi conjointement d'une expédition maritime soutenue par une autre terrestre. (24). De même, lors de la description des fortifications de la ville il met, cette fois, l'accent sur les failles et les possibilités à exploiter. C'est un fantasme qui le hante ! Il revient également sur la question en évoquant le nombre et le courage des captifs chrétiens : «*.... Whose number and vertues were they armed, were not only enough to master Alger but to make a final conquest of all Africa, they are esteemed to be 60.000...* ». (25).

On voit bien que son dessein consistait à inciter l'Europe et à la convaincre que la conquête d'Alger ne serait pas coûteuse étant donné

(21) Aranda (E), *Relation de la captivité et liberté du sieur Emmanuel d'Aranda jadis esclave à Alger*, 4éd, Paris, 1665.
Le texte intégral est repris par Dessus Brahimi, *Opinions et regards des européens sur le Maghreb aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Alger, 1978.

(22) Dan (le père François), *Histoire de la barbarie et de ses corsaires*, Paris, 1637, p.300.

(23) Bachrouch, *op. cit*, p. 38.

(24) Knight, *op. cit*, p. 53.

(25) *Ibid*, p. 54. Il est clair que le chiffre avancé par Francis Knight reste fantaisiste, irréel. Ce qui montre comment la réalité est mêlée à la fiction et l'inspiration est à dessein.

les richesses fabuleuses dont regorge la ville qui elles seules, couvriraient largement les dépenses engagées pour une telle conquête. Enfin, il termine son appel à la conquête d'Alger en émettant le vœu de participer un jour à ce projet ! (28) En fait prêcher pour la conquête d'Alger n'est pas une idée originale, en ce 17e siècle hostile au Maghreb, en l'occurrence à l'Algérie. De nombreuses voix ont appelé tantôt à sa colonisation, tantôt à sa destruction (29).

L'originalité de la relation :

Ce qui est remarquable dans cette relation de captivité, c'est le souci de Knight d'apporter des renseignements originaux. Ainsi il nous livre un témoignage vivant, riche en enseignements sur la vie tumultueuse du «sérail» et sur les mutations politiques qui s'y effectuaient. Ce qui permet de saisir les prémisses de l'avènement des Janissaires au pouvoir c'est à dire la révolution dite des «aghas» (30). Parallèlement c'est avec une intelligence remarquable qu'il nous montre que la puissance économique, dans la cité prodigieuse, échappe aux Ottomans et à la caste dirigeante. Ceux qui la possèdent ce sont les Andalous et les Maures. "*...The Turks ...as conquerer keeps all sort of the inhabitant as vassals in great subjection, yet in substance is, but a slave into them, as possessing goods by imagination, and the others poossesing the essentialls : for the Moores and Tagerians are the owners of lands and ships ...*"(31). De même notre captif bat en brèche certains témoignages extravagants à propos des fortunes fabuleuses et prodigieuses amassées par les pachas cupides ! C'est ainsi qu'il décrit la situation matérielle misérable voire indigente de quelques pachas : "*...its rare that any of them go away with almost a coate to his back : two of them went away miserable poor ...*"(32).

Knight fait preuve d' impartialité et d'objectivité à maintes reprises, et il ressort de certaines réflexions très pertinentes que sa condition d'esclave n'a pas toujours altéré ses jugements. Ainsi au sujet du respect du traité de paix signé entre l'Algérie et la grande Bretagne (33), il

(28) Ibid, p. 54.

(29) Stein (H.), "Un dessein sur Alger sous Louis XIII", in. Revue de géographie, T. 12, 1883, pp. 25-29.
- Chevalier (P.), "Projet pour l'entreprise d'Alger", *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France*, par Danjou, Paris, 1809, 2 ème Série, T X. pp. 79-88.
- Turbet-Delof. Bibliographie op.cit, pp. 178-179.

(30) Bisper (P.), "La révolution dite des Aghas", in, *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 1966.

(31) Knight, op. cit, p. 32.

(32) *Ibid*, p. 32.

(33) Il s'agit en fait du premier traité de paix signé entre l'Algérie et l'Angleterre qui fut ratifié par les Anglais en Août 1623. A la suite de cette paix 600 captifs anglais

remarque qu'il a été rompu par les Anglais et il ajoute que les Algériens ont subi à cet effet de grosses pertes (34).

En outre Knight, tout au long de la relation de sa captivité, fait preuve d'une grande intelligence avec un souci de restituer un vécu d'une part, et d'informer le lecteur sur la ville d'Alger la florissante dont il est émerveillé d'autre part. Captif, il compatit à la dure expérience de tous les captifs, mais loin du zèle que nous constatons chez ses contemporains, rédempteurs et captifs eotamment Grammaye et Dan. A vrai dire, Knight qui n'a pas échappé totalement aux clichés de son temps, où les préjugés de race et de religion ont dominé, se démarque de ses contemporains. Et il faut dire aussi que les sentiments d'animosité d'aversion, de haine et de mépris envers Alger ne sont pas omniprésents chez lui. De même à l'égard de l'Islam, notre captif ne manifeste aucune haine, aucun mépris. En guise de conclusion cette relation de captivité émanant d'un captif anglais, reste un document fort rare sur Alger, la ville-Etat dans les années trente du XVIIe siècle, période qui se caractérise par la rareté des documents.

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ont été libérés. La paix fut respectée très scrupuleusement pendant cinq ans, aucun navire anglais n'a été attaqué par les rais (marins) algériens. Godfrey (F). *Légende barbaresque : guerre, commerce et piraterie en Afrique du Nord de 1415 à 1830,traduit et annoté par Farida Hellal.* Alger, O.P.U. 1991, p. 270.

(34) Knight, op. cit p. 52.

THE PATIENT WIFE IN ENGLISH AND MAGHREBI LITERATURES

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During the last decade, academic scholarship on Mediterranean culture has challenged earlier assumptions that posited dichotomical opposition between the Northern and Southern shores (or worse a one-way influence from North to South) to attend to more mutual influences. Interrogating the Mediterranean as a conduit rather than a barrier has proved more enabling, particularly if one avoids chauvinistic origin claims and concentrates on the synergy of aesthetic cultural contacts (north/south/east/west). Such revision allows new perspectives on the definition of culture and, the carving out of cultural territories. Two similar tales, one medieval from Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, 'The Clerk Tale' also known as 'Patient Griselda', and one traditional contemporary oral tale, 'Salwa', from the collection I compiled in the 1980's will form the basis of my contribution to this post-modern border crossing between east/west, past/present, male/female and oral/written. Consideration of two versions of the same tale helps ensure that the identity remains situated and contextual, and accordingly features essentialist notions of identity, problematises their importance and challenges the previously accepted conventional boundaries between cultures and assumptions about the flow of cultural transmission. Its key proposition in these respects is that literature is a range of inter-textuality.

This comparative study and the idea that literature is a range of inter-textuality has three implications. The first is that the study and teaching of texts such as Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* whose assembly was complete by 1387, should be placed within the wider context of the medieval narrative including the vigorous medieval Arabic vernacular literature. Framed narratives to which the *Canterbury Tales* can be compared are the *One Thousand and one Night* and Giovanni Boccaccio's earlier *Decameron* compiled between 1349 and 1351. Comparative work provides the reader with broader possibilities and productive strategies for reading and re-reading the Griselda legend in Chaucer's collection. The second is that some of the conventions of the historic-geographic folktale scholarship are in need of revision. It is not much help to think of 'The Clerk's Tale' as a tale with a mostly west European distribution pattern when versions of it seem to turn up in the

neighbourhood of Tunis. The third is that contemporary readers of 'Sabra', its Tunisian analogue, should move away from a conception of a text as existing within a hermetic universe and try to understand the ongoing complex cultural and political circumstantial reality, or 'worldliness' to borrow Said's terminology, from which it emerged without imposing western paradigms or evolutionary schema of the kind we have advanced or 'they are stuck in the middle ages'.

I would like to tell the story of my newly developed interest in this field. The story bears telling because it is preliminary to my discussion and typical of the often blind-fold search for parts of the literary history of medieval Europe. In Academia, coincidence plays a prominent role in directing and shaping our work as does good sense and perspicacity. I was in the US for two years on a Fulbright scholarship. I taught in the Comparative Literature Department at Berkeley where I shared an office with a Spanish Medievalist who had *The Canterbury Tales* on one her courses' reading list. I discovered by coincidence that 'The Clerk's Tale', better known to western literary scholars as the Griselda Legend, was similar in many ways to *Sabra*, a tale in my published collection of contemporary Tunisian folktales and a common motif in the *Arabian Nights*. The discovery provoked my interest which was sustained by the mystery of the connection. To answer this question I found myself confronted with a literature with a heated debate going back many years. My American colleague suggested it came to Tunis through French sources. Like many fellow scholars she could not contemplate the possibility that the direction of cultural diffusion might have been from Tunis to France. My proposal was that it came from the East: it was based on the knowledge that the interaction between Romance Arabic cultures in Spain had been substantial in music and musical poetic spheres. As a music lover I was aware of a considerable literature on the influences of al-Andalus *muwashshahat* on Courtly Love.

My American colleague became more convinced that we had borrowed the tale from French sources when we found an anonymous French version : "Le Massager de Paris: Exemplary Tales for wives" (ca.1393). At the heart of her inability to give credence to such possibility was the attitude /intellectual baggage that Europeans and medievalists carry which is an inescapable determinant and shaper of what they are able to see or imagine about eastern cultures. The images and paradigms are not free of political and ideological factors or cultural prejudices. With my new discovery and in my quest to satisfy my curiosity I faced a new path to explore, a new trajectory of scholarship and I found myself in the middle of the most hotly debated topics.

I have since found that 'the Patient Wife' has engaged the attention and exercised the narrative powers of many literary figures and has been circulating since the middle ages in many different cultural and social contexts past and present/ in North Africa, Europe, and the

Middle East, in oral and written literatures told by males and female narrators. It is currently found in folk repertoire mostly narrated by women who use this tale to exaggerate and demonstrate the concretion of cultural forces that oppress them and to demonstrate practical strategies to achieve personal fulfilment.

There have been several book-length treatments of the Griselda legend in Europe, the vast majority focusing on the medieval literary versions and primarily on questions of classification and origin (cf. Bettridge's PhD dissertation ; Kohler ; Bettridge and Utley ; Griffith ; Swann ; Cate ; Dawkins ; Thompson), although recently interest has expanded to include later uses of the Griselda legend in literature, drama (Caryl Churchill's 1982 play *Top Girls*), music, and visual arts. To my knowledge no work has focused on Griselda with or against her sisters in the East and North Africa. What motivates this comparison is that these tales have not before been brought into dialogue with each other : breaking down borders that have kept these variants separate (time, region, religion/culture, language, registers).

Chronology has an obvious part to play in helping us assess what Chaucer might have had available for his compilations ; so does his own upbringing in the 1340s and 1350s where as a wine merchant's son in London he would regularly have seen ships arriving from Bordeaux in the Pool of London to await payment of duty on the import.

Chaucer's own experience of travel in France and Flanders was vastly widened this way as far as to mention Carthage (Tunis) which thus frames this factor in my hypothesis. Chaucer's childhood and his later duties as a Customs Officer inform his own vivid and somewhat critical picture of the Shipman offered in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. He writes as if that familiar brawling rascal knew all the secrets of cooper and as the shipman in charge of the sailing barge "Maudelayne" which he implies regularly plied as far north as Gotland and as far south as Spain. Somewhat to the disadvantage of the Visitor, he implies this knowledge actually stretched as far as the city of Hull in Yorkshire and Carthage in the south.

"Ful many a draughte had he ydrawe
From Bordeux ward, while that the chapman sleep,.
Of nyce conscience he took no keep.
If that he faught , and had the lyer bond
By water he sent hem hoom to every lond.
But of his craft to rekene wel his tydes,
His stremes and his daungers him biydes,
His harberwe and his moone, his lodemenage,
Ther nas noon swich from Hull to Cartage."

(Prologue)

This study is a part of a larger, comparative project focusing on many realizations of this tale, breaking such boundaries of early study as East-West constraints, and the bounds medieval-modern, male-female, oral-written, Christian-Islamic, literatures and conventions. Thus far I have found and or collected 20 versions of the tale, including eight different medieval European literary versions (known as the Griselda legend, AT 887), a Jewish Moroccan version, an Islamic Moroccan, one Jewish Tunisian, two Islamic Tunisian, and seven Greek and Turkish variants.

The motif of patience has for centuries belonged to a common fund of story telling. Are we in the face of one of many Jungian archetypes which form the collective unconscious, and which are assumed to reflect universal human thought found in all cultures. For Lévi Strauss "*le Conte est un langage au second degré qui se retrouve dans toutes les cultures*".

Is the folktale purely an imitation of an invisible not yet recognized pattern? Or is it the result of a diffusion of traits ? Mostly formulated at the beginning of the twentieth century in the wake of the British Imperial order an important theory about the diffusion and interchange of cultural forms underlies and explains cultural diversity and cultural flow.

Whatever the outcomes necessary to sustaining the balance of these factors I have found that the multiplicity of variants invalidates monolithic readings of this tale as essentially misogynistic or as one solely reinforcing women's domestic role. The same story can indeed sustain different, even mutually exclusive, readings. Oral narrative is a privileged and powerful field of expression, due to its "capacity not only to take on radically different significances from one historical moment to the next, but also to accommodate at the same moment incompatible significances, with an effect of dynamic ambiguity (Barber and Farias, 1).

On Oriental sources of English literature

The connection between *Sabra* and *Griselda* provides an illustration of the influence of Arabic Literature on the development of western narrative prose. The motif of wife testing is recurrent in the *Arabian Nights*. But many Chaucerian critics have overlooked this connection. J. Burke Severs claims his chief objective in writing is to determine precisely 'the poet's European sources' (Severs, 1) and Slater defines the literary context within which Chaucer writes as "exclusively European." (Slater, 239) ; eventhough he considers it important to establish what texts Chaucer knew: not a single line or detail from the *1001 Nights* or *Kalia and Dimna* also known as the *Fables of Bidpai* rates a mention. Yet it is unlikely that Chaucer did not have at least a strong awareness of the collections at second hand. The connection with Giovanni

Boccaccio has been established. We know that he had read and used as source several of his Latin encyclopaedic works. For instance Chaucer read Boccaccio's Griseldis through a Latin translation by Petrarch for he says that he used it as the basis of 'The Clerk's Tale' in the *Canterbury Tales*. Quite a few tales find analogues in the *Decameron*. Chaucer's place and work should be examined in a literary landscape that included Boccaccio whose indebtedness to *Arabian Nights* is acknowledged. We also know that Geoffrey Chaucer himself headed a diplomatic mission of Genoa and Florence in 1372-73, when he might possibly have met Boccaccio. Is that sufficient to argue that there is no direct indebtedness of the English story teller to the Arabian sources ?

Some critics assert that Chaucer could not have borrowed from Arabic sources because he could not have known appropriate Arabic sources to borrow from. That seems more like the overlay of the standard Classical nineteenth century education. At that time it was towards the edge of acceptability to be studying Chaucer at all in schools. While universities kept open opportunities to study earlier literature and other languages, commerce was so constrained by 1806 that the East India Company had to establish Haileybury College to make up for lack of Oriental languages outside Hebrew and Coptic which did figure in theological education. But historical evidence tells us that such an assertion as those nineteenth century critics offer about Chaucer's ignorance of the vernacular literature of the Arabs is an unreasonable hypothesis. As we have seen Chaucer himself knew London's seamen were aware of trades as far as Carthage (Tunis) and Spain where *Al-Andalus* was a major center of learning from which a variety of intellectual and literary traditions were introduced to the rest of Europe through numerous translations.

Story collections were in themselves a distinct eastern genre and were circulating in the middle ages. For example, *Kalia and Dimna* became known in Europe through its Latin translation, the *Directorium vitae humanae* (Joseph Derenbourg 1887). Besides, literature related to *Alf Leyla wa Leyla* was common in Europe a long time before Galland's *Les Mille et Une Nuits* (1704-17). Most of *The Nights*'s stories circulated in Europe through oral transmissions and many others were introduced in written sources via Spain in the 12th C (Vasvari, 9). In the case of Boccaccio, it has long been known and accepted that a fair number of his sources are 'Oriental', but Boccaccio's own tacit recognition of the centrality of Arabic presence in medieval Europe has not been acknowledged in the scholarship on the his *Decameron*. In his novella, Boccaccio includes even some stories 'he had heard' (Introduction to Decameron). Why can't we assume that some of his stories have ultimately come from a storytelling tradition that was voiced in Arabic or Hebrew during the Arab/Tunisian occupation of Sicily (902-1091).

Gervase Mathew's historical and literary account "The Court of Richard II", (1968), makes all this much easier to follow and specifically supports this hypothesis about the role of the Norman Court in Sicily. He writes that is administration was half Byzantine half Arabic, and that a dynasty with close links to the Norman one had taken over rule of England from 1066.

For all that Chaucer is explicit in both *the Knight's Tale* and *Troilus and Crisyde* that the tales had their origin in the Neapolitan Kingdom of Sicily. Links with the Norman Kingdom of Naples and Sicily remained persistent and were also the key to passage made by sea for trade or pilgrimage or even on Crusade to further East. Here it begins to show overlap with Geoffrey Chaucer's own travels and experience of diplomacy in Paris for Robert's Neapolitan dynasty was a younger branch of the royal house of France and continued to intermarry with it well past 1400. Matthew reports "there were great Norman families like the San Severini which held high office under the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II and the relatively elaborate [Neapolitan] civil service was ultimately from the half Byzantine, half Arabic administration of the Norman Kings of Sicily. It forms a clear example of cross fertilization" (1).

Arabian Nights seems to have been among the many influences which both Boccaccio and Chaucer digested and transmuted in producing their literary collections. The provenance of parts of the collections they framed can be traced to India and the Middle East. My contention is that the *Decameron* moves within a Mediterranean, rather than a narrowly Italian, space. In his novella, Boccaccio relates a story that took place in Mahdia, a small coastal town in Tunisia. That 'The Patient Wife' came from Tunisian oral sources is less questioned. It seems to me unthinkable that Catholicism would allow the taking of a second living wife.

The genesis and the shape of both Chaucer's and Boccaccio's collection speak to a powerful presence of the East in the West. While it is not within the scope of the present paper to go into the influences of the *Arabian Nights*, I would like to present a literature which as direct bearing in the study of these tales

Maria Rosa Menocal argues in her book *The Arabic Role in Medieval Europe*, that the influence of Arabic culture on medieval literature has been ignored or marginalized for the last two centuries. Basing her study on evidence indicating that the hybrid fertile phenomenon of Arabic (and Hebrew) culture was a central and shaping phenomenon in Medieval Europe, Menocal suggests major modifications of the medieval

(1) J.A. Burrow (editor of a critical anthology) Geoffrey Chaucer, Penguin, London, 1969, p. 286.

canon. In presenting her argument, she reviews the Arabic cultural presence in a variety of key settings including the universities of Paris, Bologna and London. The general Arabic intellectual prominence in European medicine, mathematics and literature and the popularity of the *Arabian Nights* in particular, are directly adopted into texts such as *The Canterbury Tales*. It is clear by that time that the stories already enjoyed immense popularity and were moving around the trade routes with the merchant classes who figure so prominently in its pages. But Chaucer was inventive enough to transform them into distinctively Chaucerian tales.

Katharine Slater Gittes, in an article entitled "The Canterbury Tales and the Arabic Frame Tradition" (1983), reminds medievalists that they have often neglected the Arabic component of medieval culture and points to the fact that scholarship on Chaucer has neglected the frame narrative tradition in which he wrote and argues that its roots and organizing features are derived from Arabic, "the frame narrative tradition, of which the Canterbury Tales is the culmination, incorporates a tradition that originated and developed in Arabic" (1983:237). Chaucer clearly wanted to explore this even further. His other compilation "The Legend of Good Women" survives in two differing textual assemblages. There is much that comes from the Hellenic literary traditions, but also there are The legend of Thisbe of Babylon and Ovid's Legend of Dido, Queen of Carthage.

Critics have unfairly attacked the work of Catherine Slater Gittes (letters on this article in the PMLA 98, 99) as faulty knowledge. Why had medievalists rejected such a plausible and logical proposal ? Why do some westerners have difficulty in considering the possibility that they are in some way indebted to the Arabs and why whether implicitly or explicitly are many Europeans governed by clichéd east/west dichotomy, and notions that there exists a distinctive western cultural and literary history that is necessarily opposed to and mutually exclusive of non-western cultural history ? Who makes the argument and who resists ? I believe an overtly determined history of imperialism informed by 'euro-centric diffusionist thought' (Blaut, 17) or by cultural arrogance continue to shape conventional notions of knowledge and views of history adopted by those who shirk primary sources and rely on what they see as the received wisdom of "authorities".

Foreign relations, science, natural history, international law, trade, social anthropology and international history cannot truly flourish within those bounds. Although many international boundaries were fixed in the nineteenth century, resolution of subsequent boundary disputes cannot happen without looking across those bounds. Literature is another field that cannot truly flourish within those artificial bounds. If we do not acknowledge the significance of trans-national cultural flows, we will give way to preconceptions that impoverish our views of

medieval literature and its world of subtle understanding. An important implication of the post-colonial scholarship is the critique and deconstruction of the binary opposition to non-European traditions that have structured western epistemologies. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Boccaccio's *Decameron* as currently studied within a purely 'western' framework would be enlivened by a recognition of the Arabic component and acceptance of the connection. Expanding the canon of medieval literature through incorporating an Arabic component and a variety of texts that in critical ways sometimes parallel medieval European one will not only shed light on their scope and structure, but also enrich our interpretive possibilities.

My paper is not essentially an exploration of origin. Comparative work is not ultimately separable from questions of origin and the implicit rule of comparative work is that there must be a plausible historical relationship between the texts, at least in terms of their being part of the same general literary universe. But this sort of comparative work "could well be done initially at least, by merely assuming that such a comparison is legitimate and leaving the question of origin outside our immediate focus" (Menocal, 141).

Let me come back to the Tunisian version and its English analogue set down in versified textual form in the 14th Century by Chaucer. Before discussing the tales further and their connection here is a summary of their content.

Summary

Sabra's father, a king, advertised her qualities as a wife, demanding three loads of gold, "one for her beauty, one for her patience, and one for her wisdom," as her bride-price. An unnamed Prince arrived, seeking "kinship with his honour the king," and married her. The Prince took Sabra to his distant land, accompanied only by her black maid Dadah. Alone with her maid in an ornate but isolated palace, Sabra must do housework, "as though she had never been a princess." Eventually, Sabra gave birth to a son while the Prince was away at war. When he returned, Dadah took the child to him; he kissed it, then threw it into the sea. Dadah returned home weeping and told Sabra what had happened. Sabra ordered her to be patient and greeted the Prince as though nothing were wrong. The same happened with a second son and a daughter. After fifteen years the Prince told Sabra that he wished to marry a younger woman and asked her to find him an appropriate bride. Sabra searched for a year, enduring the insults of other women when she told them the bride was for her own husband; finally she told the Prince that she could not find anyone. The Prince told her to ask for the daughter of an old woman who lived nearby ; Sabra offered three baskets of jewels for the beautiful girl. The Prince had four rooms robbed to the palace, for his new bride. During the marriage ceremony, the

Prince forced Sabra to participate in the ritual by giving him away and accompanying the couple into the nuptial chamber. Sabra's scarf brushed a candle and caught fire; patting it out with her hand, she said, "You took away my children and burned my flesh and blood. Now I have a rival, my patience is exhausted and my wisdom has run out". The Prince kissed her, told her that their children were not dead, and that he had been testing her patience and endurance throughout these years. Sabra said she wanted to see how far he could go. They were reunited and lived together in the palace.

Chaucer's structure for "The Clerk's Tale"

At the request of his vassals, the Marquis of Saluzzo Walter is urged to take a wife. He picks the beautiful daughter of a peasant whom he decides to marry after he buys her submission. On the wedding night he instructs :

"I warn you to be ready to obey my lightest whim and pleasure
You must show a willing heart, ungrudging night or day
Whether I say yes you shall never say No!"

After few years, she bears him two children, a boy and a girl. He pretends that he has killed them having given in to pressure from his noble friends who did not approve of his match in the first place. He pretends " to have murdered them in the dark rather than allow them to be raised by a village girl who did not have the social grace of the nobles". Griselda did not utter a word of complaint. Under the pretence that she has displeased him he pretends to have taken another wife of his rank. He has the daughter brought in to the house as if she were the new bride. During the marriage ceremony he strips Griselda to nothing more than her shift and asks her if she likes the beauty of his new bride. She praises his pride and finally speaks up : "I never saw a lovelier in my life, one thing I beg you never put her on trial, adversity forced on for her would be harder for to suffer than for me."

After he has discovered that she has patiently endured it all, Walter says: That is enough Griselda mine", and takes her up in his arms to kiss. He shows her grown children and honours her and has others honour her. The tale ends with these verses:

This does not mean that it is good
for wives to ape Griselda's humility,
It would be endurable they should
But every body in his own degree
Should be as perfect in his consistency
As was Griselda , that is why Petrarch chose
To tell her story in his noble prose.
(Chaucer, 362)

Sabra and the Clerk's Tale

Many medieval authors insert this tale into misogamous/misogynistic discourse as well as political discourse on proper relations between the rulers and the ruled. The medieval treatments of "The Patient Wife" share a remarkably consistent plot, making Griselda an ideal wife who uncomplainingly endures the trials imposed upon her by her husband. Petrarch does waver as to the husband's character, stopping short of equating him with God. Conflating class, gender, and religious hierarchies, Petrarch whom Chaucer quotes in the end of the story endorses Griselda's humility as the ideal behaviour of a Christian subject. His closing comments, mentioned above, urge his male audience to imitate this female model of patience.

Many readers, including Philippe de Mézières (1383-84), construed the tale as a wife testing story and translated it into the vernacular for a female audience in order to teach women their place. Chaucer's more ambivalent and ironic version, narrated by the Clerk, vacillates between Petrarch's sublimating interpretation and Mézières' more practical one. The Clerk criticizes Walter's (the husband) cruel, self-indulgent behaviour as tyrannical and increases the irony in Griselda's speeches ; however, he also privileges the wife-taming interpretation by concluding his performance with a lengthy parody of praise for the Wife of Bath and all unruly wives, thus framing his tale of Griselda as a nostalgic tribute to "the Golden Age of Wifely Obedience".

In Chaucer's version, we see a masculine articulation of the Clerk's fantasies of creating an iconic image of woman as helpless, subservient, and passive ; Griselda's identity is constructed by the masculine gaze on her appearance and by masculine ears for her voice, imposing an interpretation onto her character. Walter repeatedly points to the disparity between her position as his wife and her identity as her father's daughter, framing Griselda's subservience as stemming from her inferior origins. In this masculine frame Griselda's subjectivity remains overshadowed, as the tale begins and ends with Walter's and the Clerk's desires highlighted in contrast to the more demanding form Griselda's loyal and stoic perspective and experience.

The Griselda legend is often rejected by modern readers for propagating the dominant construction of women as weak and silent, colluding in their oppression. Interestingly, this tale type is found among the folklore repertoire of contemporary story-tellers, especially in the Maghreb ; these analogues often emphasize the patient wife's role in reforming her husband, preserving the family and thereby restoring order to their marriage and her life.

For Ghaya, the Tunisian teller, "the Patient Wife" is not about submission but about individuation through the discovery of the extreme limits of one's physical and moral resources ; in this process, patience

becomes a supreme virtue to mark the affirmation of the self. When at the end of Ghaya's version the Prince says, "Your beauty was obvious from the moment I saw you, but how could I know the extent of your patience and wisdom?", he interprets the tests from a masculine perspective, so confirming the wife's value as a commodity ; from the wife's perspective, her triumph confirms her selfhood and wholeness. Hence the cleverness of these women, who in retelling this tale, allow the male audience to believe that it praises and glorifies their power over women. To the female tellers and audience members, this tale celebrates women's strength and resistance, encouraging them to realize their full potential and to put limits on patriarchal abuses. It endorses negotiation rather than rupture, pacifism rather than violence, and patience as a viable strategy that benefits the family as a whole and brings greater personal fulfilment for women.

By focusing on Sabra's personal development over the course of her experience, Ghaya emphasizes Sabra's wisdom and patience as qualities and assets ready for her own conscious use. While these values could be called patriarchal, the tale in fact questions this interpretation and presents an alternative reading of these values as feminist. "All sacrifice is good," says Ghaya, if it benefits the family as a whole; she endorses negotiation and passive resistance as strategies that bring greater fulfilment to women.

The trials of love and marriage structure many tales in my collection, *Behind Closed Doors*; embedded in these narratives is a female discourse that expresses an affirmative view of suffering and patience as character and consciousness-building trials. Despite trials, folktale heroines do not renounce their social roles ; rather, they work within their culture, challenging it, revising it, recreating it anew.

Modern readers often resist positive interpretations of patience: Patience is seen as a necessary quality of the powerless; impatience is the prerogative, and privilege, of the powerful. In this context, "The Patient Wife" can only receive a negative response. Contemporary texts often buy into this negative reading. For example, the character of Patient Griselda in Caryl Churchill's 1982 play *Top Girls* explains her behavior as a reflection of her powerlessness: she could not resist, because of her gender and social inferiority; she even reproduces the system that constructs her as powerless, defending her husband's behaviour as stemming from his need to know the depth of her love (25-30 (9). Haya Bar-Itzhak and Alice Shenhar have collected a de-contextualized Jewish Moroccan variant of "The Patient Wife" and read it negatively, saying that it "indicates to what extent the women have

(9) See also Brodhead for a discussion of Erica Jong's and Eleanor Roosevelt's very different interpretations of Griselda, 52-53.

internalized the values and norms of a patriarchal society" (36) and does not "challenge... the prevailing social order" (19). However, I discovered a Muslim Moroccan version of the 'Patient wife' entitled "Ommi Saanoura" (A clay doll variant is Ommi Tfayla..) in Malika al-Assimi's work on women's folktales in Morocco in the section entitled Bab Al-Sabr, 'Patience' where Malika al-Assimi has compiled many tales that present patience as character building experience for women and a principal constituent of life, and in weaving the fabric of wider family and community interests and providing a model for all to follow.

In the foreword of *Patience and Power: Women's Lives in a Moroccan Village*, Susan Schaefer Davis presents the following exchange:

Anthropologist/Me : You want to get married, but what if you don't like the man your family chooses, or what if you don't get along after a few years?

Moroccan Girl: *Ghadi nsber, Mbal mmi*. I'll be patient, like my mother.

Davis comments on this conversation :

To a Westerner, this reply may suggest a kind of submission, a bearing of whatever happens because this is a woman's lot and she has no alternatives. I often heard women say "I'll be patient" or "Women are patient," but after I became more familiar with the culture I realized that this meant much more than just enduring whatever came their way. They were patient—*until* they fully understood a situation and decided which was the best move to make. The mother of the girl above was patient with her first engagement... until she decided she really disliked the man and ran away; the marriage was never consummated (v).

However, the positive interpretations of what can easily be read as powerless gendered behaviour challenges modern Western readers to break with their cultural assumptions and normative reading practices.

Conventionally, theory has been associated with the trans-cultural and trans-historical big picture. Of the many writings that articulate and analyze locations and displacements of theory Adrienne "Notes Toward a Politics of Location" (1984) and Edward Said's "Travelling Theory" (1983) have been influential. For Said, we are to recognize the extent to which theory is a response to specific social and historical context. He delineates the transformed ideas which "occupy new positions in new time and place." (227)

On the other hand, Rich's writings register the contestation of the political theoretical category of 'woman' and of a common female experience that had emerged as part of a largely white, first world, middle-class feminism. To theorize about women or patriarchy one must look beyond the local to wider comparative phenomenon. The African-American Andre Lorde, in "House of difference", refers to historically produced connections and differences: woman, Afro-American, North American, Caribbean, and, I shall add, Arab, Tunisian.

The moral of the story is not that husbands should not kill their children or abuse their wives but the centrality of the family (the individual rights, the tale focuses rather on a conscious choice and not an obligation to sacrifice and take on the responsibility to preserve the family and certain values.

'Sabra' is part of a collection of oral folktales I have translated and textualized for publication in 1996. Their textualization is important because hitherto they have been ephemeral memories. It is valuable collection because oral culture is dying. Had I not collected them they would not have provided the East West or The United Kingdom bridge and testified to the circulation of ideas, whether this takes the form of acknowledged influence or creative borrowing, cultural and intellectual life is nourished by this circulation. As a new teller of these tales I see my self as a link in the chain. This is only one of many possible paths for retrieving the link for new research and readjusted perspectives for our views of boundaries.

We have gradually come to recognize the sheer complexity of the question of origin but also the extent to which it can be an obstacle to fuller understanding. Differential readings may prove as instructive in moving texts further apart -in textual, cultural, and political terms- as when they explore areas where they overlap : differentiated readings help articulate the contours of specific cultural formations that may never touch at all. It is not necessary for a people to originate or invent all or even most of the elements of their culture. It is necessary only that these components become their own, embedded in their traditions, expressive of their 'worldliness' Any *Canterbury Tales* curriculum might enliven itself by assigning selected *Arabian Tales* and Tunisian variants for comparative reading; for it is in relation to these woks that the authorial strategies of Chaucer are most readily grasped and differentiated.

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AN ENGLISH MERCHANT AND CONSUL-GENERAL IN ALGIERS C. 1676 – 1712 : ROBERT COLE AND HIS CIRCLE

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'Nous savons peu de choses encore de la Méditerranée réelle du XVIIe siècle', remarked Fernand Braudel nearly fifty years ago.[1] Braudel's statement, which is still true, at least in part, for the seventeenth century is equally or even more valid as an observation on the eighteenth.

What can be said of Algiers in these years in the context of Anglo-Maghrebine relations ? I have suggested in a recent paper[2] that Algiers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a frontier polity within the context of the Ottoman frontier, possessing characteristics: the preponderance of strong converso ('renegado') elements in the local Turkish ascendancy; the economic and social importance of an extensive and well-organised slave trade ; unceasing warfare at least nominally in the service of religion; which were more akin to the emergent beyliks of western Anatolia in the later 13th and 14th centuries than to the contemporary 17th / early 18th century Ottoman empire sensu strictu and its own disparate provincial elites[3]. The question of how far Algiers in this period was a de jure provincial outpost of OE, but one which possessed its own locally validated ruling elite, or whether it was essentially more comparable in status but not of substance with the Khanate of Crimea, providing military; in fact, naval; support to the sultanate against payment, and therefore not a 'province', which by definition must be revenue-generating, at least in theory, to the centre, has not yet been examined satisfactorily[4].

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(1) Fernand Braudel, 'L'économie de la Méditerranée au XVIIe siècle', Cahiers de Tunisie, ix (1956), 175-197.

(2) 'A "forgotten frontier"?: Algiers and the maritime frontier from the French bombardment (1682) to the Algiers earthquake (1716)', paper for a panel on the Ottoman frontier, delivered in absentia at the annual convention of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 2002. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Caroline Finkel for reading the paper for me.

(3) On the Ottoman frontier as a historical (and historiographical) problem, see my 'The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths', in Daniel Power and Naomi Standen (ed.), Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700 (London and New York, 1999), 228-250 .

(4) Cf. a series of papers, to be delivered at the forthcoming (January 2003) 5th 'Halcyon Days in Crete' symposium, devoted to a comparative study of Ottoman

Further cross-frontier comparative examinations, e.g. why Malta in these years turned from being a society and a state based on the corso/ in effect, on religious war with 'the other', to one based on trade, whereas Algeria did not (or could not), raises problems beyond the remit of the present paper[5].

Within the narrower compass of the theme of the present gathering, a close-up view of Anglo-Algerine relations takes as its starting-point a reexamination of the activities of Robert Cole, one of the most significant amongst a number of notable English (or British) consuls in Algiers during the time of the later Stuarts. Cole (1712), whose Mediterranean, more specifically whose Algerine career, significant despite its many obscurities, neatly spans the last decades of the seventeenth and the first of the eighteenth centuries, is but one little-studied figure amongst many interesting second-ranking overseas servants of the crown during this period. Cole was active as a merchant in Algiers from at least the mid-1670s onwards, and for the last eighteen years of his life, from 1694 to 1712, he served there effectively and industriously as His (latterly Her) Majesty's Agent and Consul-General.

Robert Cole's family history largely remains to be determined. Cole himself had lived continuously in Algiers, most probably since 1678 or thereabouts,[6] but he had a wife and at least a sister, together with two brothers and other relatives in England. Both his brothers were customs officers on the South coast, at Southampton, Portsmouth or Cowes, from at least the middle years of Charles II's reign onwards. A brother-in-law was bishop of Chichester[7]. Two of his nephews joined him in business or as personal secretaries in Algiers, and died there. Cole's early life remains largely undocumented and some mystery surrounds it. If it is the same Robert Cole, he may himself also have been employed in the customs service in the first half of the 1670s, being dismissed in or before July 1676, and ending up in Algiers little more than a year later[8]. On the other hand, Cole is referred to in an

provincial elites. The Khanate of the Crimea will be included as a subject for discussion; the North African 'Regencies' apparently will not be, which is to be regretted.

(5) Cf. Carmel Vassallo, 'Consuming to Commerce: Maltese Merchants in XVIII Century Spain' (Valletta, 1997).

(6) PRO, SSP 71/4, f. Cole to Shrewsbury, Algiers, 4 Feb. 1698/9: 'the Dey says one and twenty years is to long for a man to live here, that it makes him total wise for these matters'.

(7) Calendar of Treasury Books 1668-1672, 1382: Treasury Lords to Customs Commissioners to establish a sum of 177 l. for Lawrence Cole, as master, and for a mate and four men of the kyastomal smack at Southampton.

(8) CTB 1676-1679, 288 (28 July 1676; Outletters, Customs, III, 185): Warrant from Treasurer Danby to the Customs Commissioners to outreach the salary of £35 per annum for a landwaiter at Dover, lately allowed to Robert Cole, landwaiter there, dismissed the service.

endorsement made in 1682 in the Secretary of State's office in London to one of his letters as 'Mr Robert Cole (a merchant that hath remained there [scil. in Algiers] during all the late Warr with his Majestie'. The most recent and final- before 1816- Anglo-Algerine conflict had broken out in October 1677, and there is further evidence from Cole himself that he had been writing to the Secretary of State's officer for some years before 1682. 'I have often troubled you', he wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins's secretary John Cook on 14 July 1682, 'and have been favoured with none in return'[9]. If we accept the above hypotheses, which I am disinclined to do, then Cole's transition from an out of office landwaiter in Dover to an established merchant and a correspondent in Algiers of the Secretary of State's office must have been a remarkably rapid one.

Sir Godfrey Fisher, writing of Cole, describes him as 'a member of a prominent family of London merchants, long connected with the Barbary trade' and as having been resident in Algiers for most of his life[10]. Certainly, there were several other individuals by the name of Cole who were active in trade in the Mediterranean in this period, but whose relationship to Robert Cole remains to be established. From an earlier generation there appears Ezra Cole, merchant at Izmir in 1686;[11] from 15 years earlier one John Cole, merchant at Malaga (1671),[12] while a possible Algiers connection from as early as the 1660s, in the persons of George and (the same ?) John Cole, both found at Algiers in 1669; the former name recurs in the East India Company's records for the years 1700-14, but the connections, if any, of both remain to be determined[13]. Charles Cole, who was secretary to the English embassy at Venice in Queen Anne's reign, was a correspondent in 1707 and 1708 of B. Zollicoffre, a merchant and clearly, from his name, a member of the wealthy and well-established Jewish community at Livorno;[14] Robert Cole, himself, ten years earlier, was equally in correspondence with Messrs. Sollicoffer and Alphussan of Livorno, this time over the disposal of '10 barrels of red herring', prize goods from Algiers. A family connection, rather than simple coincidence, is an attractive possibility[15]. There is also a Christian Cole, secretary to

(9) PRO SP 71/2, ff. 294-5. Cole to John Cook, Algiers, 14 July 1682.

(10) Sir Godfrey Fisher, Barbary Legend. War, Trade and Piracy in North Africa 1415-1830 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 282.

(11) Letters to Ezra Cole from Lord Chandos, 1686, BL MSS Stowe 228, f. 273b, 228, ff. 7b, 18.

(12) Letter to S. Luke, 1671, BL MS Sloane 3511, f. 5.

(13) BL, India Office Records, E/3/87 (East India Company General Correspondence, Letter Book 4), ff. 123-136, passim (letters dated March and June, 1693). Was either George or John Cole the father of Robert?

(14) BL MS Add. 4741, ff. 247, 249, 251, 253.

(15) Bromley, 'Cole Letter-Book', 40.

Charles, 1st duke of Manchester, who was, like Robert, a correspondent of Sunderland when the latter held the office of secretary of state for the southern province between 1706 and 1710[16].

The few historians who have concerned themselves even in passing with Cole's lengthy and multifaceted career in Algiers and with his valuable and informative despatches have come to widely differing views on the man and his character. Sonia Anderson, writing of the less well-documented first decade and a half of Cole's career in Algiers before his appointment as consul-general, has stigmatised him as a former slave, and a crooked dealer in slaves[17]. A very different estimate of Cole, which comes from another rare intervention of value by a non-area specialist in the history of the Barbary Regencies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is to be found in a short study by the late J. S. Bromley, which even specialists in the history of the English Levant and Barbary trades could perhaps be forgiven for not taking immediate account of, since it was first published in Warsaw in 1974 in a Festschrift for the Polish economic historian Marian Małowist[18].

Bromley's article explores with profit and insight the contents of a hitherto unknown out-letter book kept intermittently by Cole during the first seven years or so of his tenure of the Algiers consulate[19]. From the letters entered into it a contrasting picture emerges : that of a dedicated and hard-working official, engaged single-handed in the difficult and unrewarded task of the redemption and, wherever possible

(16) BL Add MSS 61532, 61533, 61651, ff. 130-206 passim.

(17) Sonia Anderson, 'Ryswat and the Barbary States, 1655-64', typescript of unpublished article circa 1967, p. 55. I am greatly indebted to Miss Anderson for her kindness in allowing me to read and make use of her unpublished work.

(18) J. S. Bromley, 'A Letter-Book of Robert Cole, British Consul-General at Algiers, 1694-1732', in: St. Herbst et al. (ed.), *Społeczeństwo, Gospodarka, Kultura: Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Małowistowi w Czterdziestolecie Pracy Naukowej* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), 45-58, republished in J. S. Bromley, *Corsairs and Navies, 1660-1760* (The Hambledon Press: London and Ronceverte, 1987), 29-42.

(19) The Letter-Book entries cover two short periods: 29 August 1694 to late March 1695 and 22 August 1700 to 2 May 1701. The manuscript was purchased privately in 1695 and 22 August 1700 to 2 May 1701. The manuscript was purchased privately by Bromley in 1967. It was formerly in the possession of the late Sir Bruce Ingram; after Bromley's death it passed into the keeping of the Bodleian Library, where it is classed as MS. Eng. Lett. b. 31. It would appear that the documents from the first period (ff. 2 - 42a) were all copied (or drafted) in the first months of 1695: the first document (ff. 2-3a) is an English translation of a letter from 'Hadg Shaban Dey' to William III, dated 26 Ghamadi II, 1106, which corresponds to 2/12 January 1695, and in the official reply to the Letter-Book's second document (f. 3a), a copy of a letter from William III to Haja Shaban Dey, dated 26 March 1694, itself a reply to an earlier letter from the Dey dated 11 April 1693. The regular series of entries begins with a clutch of letters (ff. 4r - 6a) written on 29 August or 7 September to the chief officers of the English squadron of men-of-war which was at that time off Algiers.

the ransoming, of English seafarers and the restitution of the ships and their cargoes which had been taken by Algerian corsairs.

The contents of the Letter-Book, as Bromley observes, can be supplemented at the official level by those despatches from Cole to the Secretaries of State in London which have survived in the Public Record Office. These last, as he points out, are very unequally distributed: 'less than forty in all', according to Bromley's computation, down to 20 June 1706, after which there is a lacuna until 13 April 1710. This period, as Bromley noticed, is roughly coincident with the tenure of the southern secretaryship by Charles Spencer, 3rd duke of Sunderland, the son-in-law of John Churchill, 1st duke of Marlborough[20].

Cole's 'missing' dispatches for the years 1706-10 are in fact to be found in the relevant section of the Blenheim Papers, still at Woodstock when Bromley was engaged with Cole, but now in the possession of the British Library[21]. I have drawn on them for a separate study of several incidents involving British ships taken as prize into Algiers during these years[22] the present contribution takes up and develops this theme from the point at which, in the spring of 1710, Cole's despatches reappear in the files of the Public Record Office, down to his death in office two and a half years later. The despatches written by Cole during the later years of his career at Algiers, after the British seizure of Gibraltar and when the Allied armies operating in Spain were in great need of shipments of corn from Algiers and Oran, are of particular interest in the context of Anglo-Maghrebine relations, for it was in these years, with British naval supremacy in the western Mediterranean assured firstly through the occupation of Gibraltar (1704), which gave control of the Straits, and secondly through the conquest of Minorca (1708) and the establishment of a secure naval base at Port Mahon, which allowed a British fleet to remain permanently on station within the Straits, that Anglo-Algerine maritime relations in particular were brought into a much narrower compass than hitherto.

Algerine contacts through Gibraltar or Minorca with the British forces active in the western Mediterranean during the War of the Spanish Succession have so far remained largely unstudied. The major importance of Algiers and its coastal hinterland, particularly Oran after

(20) Cf. 'Letter-Book', 31. Sunderland held the secretaryship for the southern province from 3 Dec. 1706 to 14 June 1710. Bromley was also aware of two early letters (1684-7) of Cole in the Bodleian, and one of 1707, together with a further early letter (1681) in All Souls College (see 'Letter-Book', p. 31, n. 4 for the references).

(21) British Library, MSS. Add. 61101-61710. Cole's despatches to Sunderland are in MS Add. 61535, ff. 70-181v.

(22) "An Englishman, an Irishman and a Scotsman": British ships taken as prize into Algiers, 1706-10 according to the 'missing' despatches of Robert Cole', to be published in the near future.

its reconquest by Algiers in 1708, as both Fisher and Bromley has pointed out, was as a source of corn and other foodstuffs for the allied armies operating in Spain in the Carlist cause, in which trade Cole was to play a leading role[23]. From the Algerine side, ships of Gibraltar and Minorca were still officially regarded as enemy vessels[24]. Another source of friction was the issuing by the governor of Gibraltar of ship's passes which were regarded by the Algerine authorities as worthless[25]. A characteristic incident, combining both the above contentious issues, was triggered on 1 Sept. 1710 by the bringing in to Algiers of a 'Gobarrah', or small sailing craft, laden at Tetuan with merchandise for Gibraltar, sailing under the British flag and carrying a pass issued by Governor Elliot of Gibraltar, but with a Genoese captain, one Marco Cozalla, and a foreign crew, for whom Cole was unable to act under the terms of the Anglo-Algerine treaty renegotiated by Admiral Munden in 1700[26].

The major British historians of the subject, Corbett for example, concerned principally with Marlborough's grand strategy against Louis XIV, make barely passing mention of Algiers or the Maghreb and their connections with Gibraltar or Minorca during the war years. Nonetheless, a number of Anglo-Algerine incidents, ostensibly trivial in themselves, are illustrative of the situational complexities arising from two worlds, two distinct cultures, brought unwillingly into closer contact during these years.

One such incident, which involved a Gibraltarian bill of exchange and the Algerine reaction to the normal European practice of levying interest in exchange for credit, is worth mentioning. The protagonist was the unnamed reis of an Algerine corsair vessel, who according to Cole had returned to port on 17 January 1711 to report to the Dey [27] a

(23) Bromley, 'Cole Letter Book', 38-9; c.f. Fisher, *Barbary Legend*, 280, 284-6.

(24) Fisher, Barbary Legend, 287. Cf. SP 71/4, 98. Memorandum, undated and unsigned, but not in the Blenheim papers and therefore post April 1710, regarding Algerine seizures of ships and their Spanish crews in the governor of Gibraltar's service. Cf. also Thomas Thomson to Dartmouth, Algiers, 12 Jan. 1712/13, SP 71/5, ff. 5-7, regarding Cole's stance on Algerine attacks on vessels off Majorca in the service of Charles III.

(25) Bromley, 'Letter Book', 38-9; Fisher, Barbary Legend, 287.

(26) SP 71/4, ff. 101-2. Cole to Dartmouth, Algiers, 23 Sept. 1710. Cf. SP 71/4, f. 103. William III, Instructions for Cole, Hampton Court, 12 May 1701 (copy).

(27) 'Al¬ Efendi, known as 'Al¬ Çaveq, Dey and later conjointly Pasha of Algiers, 1711-18, proclaimed Dey on 3 August 1710 after a military coup d'état against his incompetent predecessor Deli Ibrahim Bey. Cf. SP 71/4, f. 101. Cole to Dartmouth, 23 Sept. 1710. An anonymous mid-18th century Algerine chronicle (cf. G. Delphin (ed.), 'Histoire des pachas d'Alger de 1515 à 1745. Extrait d'un chronique indigène traduit et annoté par G. Delphin', Revue Asiatique, 11ème série, XIX (1922), 297) confirms Thos. 18 Cum. II 1122 = 14 Aug. 1710 [N.S.], i.e. 3 Aug. O.S. as the date of his accession. Cole thought highly of 'Al¬ Efendi's abilities: 'As a change could

curious tale of his deglings with the British at Gibraltar[28]. A few days after his departure from Algiers- the date is not given, but presumably it was in December 1710- the corsair was boarded in the night by a French man of war. The collision, in which the Algerine vessel's yards were broken, occurred 'not many Leagues within the narrows of Gibraltar'; the corsair reis accordingly bore away to Gibraltar to effect repairs. Finding there 'some necessarys' for his purpose he- 'with much Difficulty, as he says'- 'adjusted with Mr Vere for eighty Spanish Dollars'. The problem was that the reis lacked ready money to pay the bill, whereupon Vere exacted a further ten dollars for cambio, which, as Cole reported, 'the Turks are utter strangers to'. A few days after the reis's return to Algiers Cole was presented with Vere's note for 90 dollars: 'the Algerine Captain Complained very heavily how hardly he was used in his bargain'; subsequently the Dey sent word by Cole's dragoman to the effect that 'his people' had been unkindly treated at Gibraltar, which he thought the English 'would not have Done'.

Nor was this the reis's only complaint against the authorities at Gibraltar; he alleged also that while he was in port three Christian slaves made their escape from his vessel and were accorded protection. Cole enquired privately of other Christians- presumably other slaves of this reis- and was assured that the fugitives were still aboard when they made sail from thence [i.e., Gibraltar] and therefore were not to be demanded of him. As Cole pointed out, and as the Dey accepted, it was very common for slaves, when Algerine ships were near a Christian shore, to attempt to regain their liberty by swimming to land.

One of the most rewarding episodes for study in the context of Anglo-Algerine relationships in these years is an incident off Gibraltar involving an English privateer, the Norris, under the command of Edward Norris and an Algerine carvel named the *Bennamear*, under the command of Ramadan Reis. On 12 September 1711, the *Bennamear* having returned to port that day, its commander and agá made what Cole terms 'a heavy complaint' to the Dey of the ill treatment which they had met with in the Straits' mouth a month previously, on 11 August, at the hands of a British ship of 44 guns which, it was alleged, had fired a 'whole broadside' into them, killing seven 'Turks' and

hardly be for the worse, so is this much for the better, and my personall acquaintance and friendship with the new Governour, gives me hopes that I shall prevail with him to permit the exportation of Corn to Barcelona, Gibraltar and Lisbon'. Cole had moved rapidly to secure from the new Dey confirmation of the existing Anglo-Algerine treaty: cf. a memorandum (which) (above) dated 22 Cum. II / 8 Agustos [sic] 1122 / 1710, with preface and seal-impressions, Turkish and [abridged] English translation, SP 71/4, f. 107. I intend to deal more fully with the Turkish documents from Algiers in this period in a future article.

(28) SP 71/4, f. 118. Cole to Dartmouth, Algiers, 13 Feb. 1710/11 (copy prefaced to same to same, 16 March 1710/11, ff. 119r-120).

wounding an eighth [29]. Details of the incident are contained in a brisk letter from Norris to Cole, sent with Ramadan Reis and given into Cole's hands by the Dey the day following the Bennamear's return to port. Addressed to 'Worshipfull Sir' and dated 11 August 1711, the day of the action, it merits quotation in full:

> This morning meeting with Captain Rambledemle [sic] Raiz Commander of the Bennamear and he not striking his Ensign nor Lowering his top Gallant sail which is our English order and Honour to Her Majesty &ca. upon which I ordered my gunner to fire one gun [after] which he immediately gave me a whole broad side and small shott accordingly wherein I answered him with the same and made him strick his Colours and come on board I have supplied him with Tarr Canvas and a Compass which I wholly Leave to your Self to charge I hope to see you in a Little time[30].

Who was Ramadan Reis, Norris's 'Captain Rambledemle' (Ramadan?), commander of the *Bennamear*? The relationship between Algerine ships' names and their identifying stern makings is a problematical one,[31] but in the present case the *Bennamear* can with a large degree of probability be identified with a vessel of 14 guns, 160 crew, which appears in the 1710 Fleet List as the 'Two Parrots', commanded in August of that year by a certain 'Ali ('Alle') Reis'[32]. In the Fleet List for 1712 the 'Two Parrots' reappears with the same details, its commander listed by Cole as 'Ramadan Raiz Dutch Renegado'[33]. A year later, in August 1713, in the Fleet List drawn up by Thomson, Cole's successor, the 'Two Parrots' again appears, under

(29) SP 71/4, f. 143. Cole to Burtenshaw, Algiers, 28 Sept. 1711. The Norris affair is mentioned briefly and inaccurately by Fisher, *Barbary Legend* 287.

(30) SP 71/4, f. 145. Edw. Norris to 'Worshipfull Sir' [sic]. Cole, copy†, 11 August 1711. On the 'droit de pavillon' cf. also Hamison, *Marine et Marins d'Alger*, ix. 45-6, who acknowledges the English origin of the custom. Louis XIV attempted to enforce the 'droit de pavillon' in favour of French vessels both in port at Algiers and at sea against Algerian vessels, but in practice was constrained to accept the fact that Algerian vessels were not disposed to recognise French pretensions at sea (Hamison, ix. 46, with details of a comparable incident in 1692 involving French warships attacking Algerine vessels against orders on the grounds of their disrespect to the French flag).

(31) On Algerine ships' names in this period see G. Tayllet Delyl, 'Noms de navires algériens au xviiième siècle', *Revue Internationale d'Onomastique*, xi (1970), 213-219; Mouley Belhamissi, *Marine et Marins d'Alger (1518-1830)*, 4 vols. (Algiers: Bibliothèque Nationale d'Algérie, 1996), i. 107-111.

(32) SP 71/4, f. 388. 'A List of the Shipps and Carvells belonging to The Government of Algier the 30th August. 1710' (Robert Cole). On Algerine fleet lists in this period see my article 'Some Algerine Fleet Lists 1688-1714', forthcoming.

(33) SP 71/4, f. 180. (15 June 1712. Robert Cole).

> the command of 'Ramadam Raize', but possessing a pair of guns less, reduced apparently from seven to six a side[34].

The firesting Edward Norris may also be identified. On 8 May 1711 he had 'appeared personally' before the High Court of Admiralty and was granted a warrant for a commission under letters of marque for the Norris Gally, a ship of 'about 400 tuns burthen', with a crew of 60, equipped with 26 guns and proportionate amounts of arms, shot and powder, and victualled for a four months' voyage[35]. The High Court of Admiralty Letters of Marque Register also confirms Cole's suppositions regarding the owners of the Norris: two of the seven registered 'owners and setters out', Robert Hals and Jacob Watchstaff, are identified as being 'of London, merchants', but the remaining five (Thomas Bradell (Bradwell?), Samuel Pitt, Alonso Vere, Nicholas Holloway and William Thrup) were all 'merchants residing at Gibraltar'[36].

Cole, who was immediately summoned before the Dey while still lacking any knowledge of the incident, 'endeavoured to wipe off the imputation', assuring the Dey that he had no knowledge of any such act by one of her Majesty's subjects, and that the offending vessel may have been a French ship under British colours, which, 'under this covert, might both gratify the hatred which that people generally bear to the Algerines, and also thereby think to throw the odium of it upon us'. He added that in wartime colours were 'no distinguishing and certain marks' of any ship', enemy vessels occasionally hoisting each other's ensigns, and 'a neat shot' that this was 'a common practice' even among the Algerines themselves[37].

The Algerines however were on safe ground in alleging that the offending vessel was British: to the Dey's insistence that he 'would have a thousand dollars for the life of each Turk that was killed', Cole neatly and successfully countered by observing that if the Dey made the lives of men a debt, he was excused from offering satisfaction for them by art. 14 of the Anglo-Algerine treaty, by the terms of which no man was obliged to pay the debts of another.

(34) SP 71/5, f. 83. 'A List of the Sea Force of Algier this present year 1713'. 24 August 1713.

(35) PRO HCA 26/13, f. 145.

(36) PRO HCA 26/13, f. 145.

(37) For further examples of the use of false colours see Belhamissi, i. 178-9. Cf. an incident in 1713 involving HMS Bristol, cruising in the Straits' mouth against Salles men, firing on an Algerine vessel. Confusion between the Algerine and Salles flags, rather than deliberate deception, seems to have been the cause of the incident in this case: SP 71/5, 33 Gv. Hemington to English consul in Algiers, 15 April 1713; cf. Jennings to Samuel Thomson, Blenheim, Barcelona Roads, 22 June 1713 (ibid., ff. 39-41), and Samuel Thomson to Jennings, Algiers, 16 July 1713 (ibid., ff. 63-5): '... the damage being very small, and not one Turk, nor More killd, and the commander of the [Algerine] Cruizer gave a very favourable account [to the Dey] of the action...'.

Threats failing to work, the Dey changed his tack, and attempted persuasion. As Cole reported the conversation, he 'enlarged above measure' of the kindness he had done to Her Majesty's subjects and particularly to Cole himself, by permitting the export of corn (i.e. for the use of the British forces in Spain). Cole riposted by enumerating the many signal services rendered in the recent past by the British fleet: Admiral Russell's liberation of an Algerine vessel taken by the Dutch; a similar service rendered by Sir George Rooke; and the queen's kindness in giving them 'a Large Main Mast', which Cole emphasised he did not think would have been so easily passed over, in that 'but a few days ago' the Admiral was forced to take out the mast given to him by the French, 'being rotten' and replace it with the British one, 'without which the ship could not go to sea'(38).

The result was that both the Dey and Cole decided to send letters, of complaint and report respectively, to Sir John Jennings at Port Mahon. Cole withdrew from audience with the Dey in order to seek further information, which he obtained from Christian slaves that were on board the Algerine, who assured him that the ship which had fired on them was British and that their reis was in possession of a letter from [sic: read 'for'] Cole. Shortly afterwards Ramadan reis himself came to Cole's house, giving Cole essentially the same account that he had received from the Dey, but adding that besides being shot at, he had been treated with 'very abusive language'. At the same time he refused to hand over to Cole the letter from Norris, preferring to give it into the Dey's hands.

Accordingly, on the following day, Cole repaired once more to the 'Supream' to complain of Ramadan reis's refusal, but he was followed into the King's House by the reis and the aga. The Dey immediately handed the letter over to Cole, but, as Cole put it, 'now seemed more incensed than the Day before', and told Cole that he 'would have the Lives of as many of Her Majesty's subjects, as were on the place, beginning with me, as there were Turks slain' in the corsair vessel. The

(38) Was the mast in question one of the 15 masts successfully obtained earlier the same year in Marseilles by Bekir Reis, who had been sent thither by the Dey Ali Cavuş on an urgent mission to purchase naval supplies? (details of the mission are supplied by Hamissi, *Marine et Marins d'Alger*, ii, 60-65). Hamissi adds few details on Bekir Reis, '... fort honnête homme, bien porté pour notre nation et en faveur dans le gouvernement présent' according to the French consul Chierambault (Hamissi, ii, 60), and positive identification is indeed difficult: in the Algerine Fleet List drawn up by Robert Cole in August 1710 two individuals by the name of 'Turkere Reis' appear: one, commander of the Orange Tree, of 44 guns, 500 crew; the other of the Two Lyons, 36 guns and 375 men (PRO SP 71/4, f. 108, 30 August 1708). In the list for 1712 (in which the 'Two Lyons' appears under the name of the White Lyon), both Bekir Reis's again appear; both are identified as 'Turks', i.e. of Anatolian origin. For the details of extensive Dutch furnishing of military and naval supplies to Algiers in 1711 see H.-D. de Grammont, 'Etudes Algériennes' La Course, l'Esclavage et la Redemption, *Revue Historique* xxv-xxvii (1884), i, 37.

letter turned out to be be from the English privateer, 'whose name', wrote Cole, 'Your Lordship may be pleased to observe is Norris and as I understand is the Ships name'. The Norris as has been noted, belonged to what Cole correctly describes as 'British Merchants in Gibraltar'(39).

Cole passed on Norris's account of the incident to London, making much of the alleged reason Norris fired on the Algerine vessel, 'to make him strike his Ensign, or Lower his top gallant sail in Honour to Her Majesty'. As Cole observed, 'with all Imaginable deference to Her Majestys Honour, I humbly beg Leave to observe to Your Lordship is new to me, being never that I know of practised in these Seas, nor appointed by any article of agreement'. He was equally dismissive of Norris's claim to have fired but one gun: the Christian slaves aboard the Algerine had assured Cole that 'at the very first' Norris fired nine, which 'unexpected discharge' caused Ramadan reis to return it with a broadside from the smaller ship, 'which in the whole carrys but 12 a<...?> guns', upon which Norris gave them another broadside, and brought the action to a close by boarding. Cole made no mention of Norris having supplied Ramadan reis with tar, canvas and a compass, but added that he hoped Capt. Norris 'will not come to this place', as he had intimated in his letter he hoped to, since, as Cole sagely observed, 'its probable his presence will remind this Government of what passed and what will be the consequence I am not able to foresee'(40).

Cole enclosed a copy of Norris's letter in his despatch of 24 September, but news of the affair was slow in reaching London, not being received in the secretary's office (via Thomas Baker) until 5 January 1711/12. In Algiers, meanwhile, the incident was not being made much of by the authorities: by late November the Dey had informed Cole that he wished to excuse himself from writing to Jennings about it, hoping to receive justice from the Crown through Cole's own representations of the affair(41). In London the Norris incident was taken more seriously: in early December Thomas Baker, who by then had obviously received news of the affair from Cole, drew up a three-page memorandum for the secretary of state's office(42).

(39) Cf. supra, n. 36. British privateering ventures out of Gibraltar have been little studied. Four vessels from Gibraltar, of which the *Norris* was certainly one, were commissioned with letters of marque between 1702 and 1712 in the War of the Spanish Succession (1719) 200, only two out of the six commissions for ships from overseas bases (from 98 in total for the 11 months which the war lasted) were registered to vessels from Gibraltar. Two others were from Port Mahon, and one from Oporto (the sixth was from Jamaica): Gwinkey, *British Privateering Enterprise*, 88, 112-3, citing PRO HCA 26/13/21, 258.

(40) SP 71/4, f. 144.

(41) SP 71/4, f. 145. Cole to 'My Lord', Algiers, 29 Nov. 1711.

(42) SP 71/4, ff. 147-8. Thomas Baker to secretary of state's office, Bloomsbd. 15 Dec. 1711.

Baker began by recalling how, on the accession of William III, the king had been 'pleased to gratifie the longing desires of the then Illustrious Dey of Algier' by sending him to Algiers to renew and confirm the Anglo-Algerine treaty 'which hath been for above one and twenty years with incredible humanity and respect observ'd by them', and how, on his recall after five years, the Dey 'conjured' him to perform 'all the good Offices which could lye in my power, to that Government, with the Ministers of this Court when any immergent occasion should require'(43).

Baker, accordingly, offered his memorandum on the 'late very unlucky accident' between Capt. Norris's 44-gun privateer and the (according to Baker) 14-gun Algerine. According to Baker's memorandum, which is clearly based on a letter with which Cole must have accompanied the copy of Norris's letter of 11 August, Norris had at first fired a single gun to bring the Algerine to lower his topsails and strike his colours 'in Honour to Her Majestie', but the corsair rais 'being wholly unacquainted with that Ceremony, and not complying', Norris then fired nine guns 'in Earnest', which were answered by the rais 'with as many as he could bring to bear upon the Aggressour'. These were answered by Norris 'with his whole Broad side', killing seven 'Turks' and wounding one. Baker then recapitulated Cole's being summoned before they Dey, and the latter's threat that 'he himselfe with six more of Her Majesties subjects should bee sacrificed to attone for the death of those Turks'.

According to Baker, the account of the affair relayed to him by Cole was in the shape of 'a few lines written in very great perplexity, as foreseeing a probability of the Dey's executing his menaces and declaring a War against us'. How to defuse the situation? Baker, although he confessed himself to be 'an utter stranger to Sea-Instructions', ventured to recall how, when Torrington commanded the Grand Fleet in the Mediterranean, he thought himself highly respected when any of the Algier men of War frankly bore into his Fleet where they were caressed by his Lordship with all friendship and regard. Which hee well knew to bee a more powerfull expedient for the perpetual preservation of that Important Peace....

Accordingly, unless means were to be found to bring about what he termed 'a mitigation of the Turks rage against the Consul', the 'great Evil of revenge attacks 'on Her Majestie's inoffensive subjects sailing in Merchants Employment'.

To what extent should Cole's and Baker's apprehensions about Algerine attitudes be taken au pied de la lettre? Two years or so later, writing only a month or so after Robert Cole's death, Thomas Thomson

(43) Ibid.

could observe that 'the business of Norris which your Lordship has been so often troubled about' had never been mentioned by 'this Governour' (i.e. 'Ali, Dey and Pasha) since Cole was first sent for about it, 'and then only in a Jocose way' (44).

Another important and complicated case from Cole's last years involved the *James and Mary* of London, Thomas Perkins master, which was taken by three Algerine cruisers in March 1711 (45). The *James and Mary* was brought in on 12 March by a small Algerine cruiser, one of three corsair vessels involved in her capture westward of Malaga. The reasons given were that the *James and Mary* had Spanish colours on board, and that there were more foreigners than English in the crew. Clearly this was not an open and shut case: the captors, uncertain as to how the matter would be determined at Algiers, permitted the master and part of his crew to remain on board 'to prevent any damage or Embezzlement', the remaining members of the crew being shared out between the three capturing vessels, two of which were still at sea.

At this point Cole's narrative changes direction: he relates how, when the corsair arrived in port, the 'Strangers', 'being five Spaniards', were brought ashore, one of them being the 'reputed Master', but 'the wind and sea being very high' the 'British Master' could not leave his ship. The five Spaniards being brought before the Dey, Cole immediately appeared on their behalf, demanding that they be handed over to him as crew members of one of Her Majesty's subjects' ships. The Dey replied that he would give Cole the English crew members, but would sell the Spaniards' ship and lading. Cole's intelligence work was as usual first-class: he was already aware that the Dey had already received letters from the 'Captains at Sea' letters to the effect that the *James and Mary* was carrying both British and Spanish passes: accordingly he successfully requested an adjournment until the English captain could come ashore.

On the following day, 13 March, Cole found the master in the King's House. Here he produced his Admiralty pass, dated 17 August [1710], signed by Sir John Leak and Sir George Byng, and corresponding to the counterpart in the Algerines' possession. Cole's assertion, that the ship was British, and as lawful prize, was countered by the Dey with the claim that the *James and Mary* also carried Spanish colours and a Spanish pass, and was more Spanish than English in its make-up. Cole countered the Dey's argument by pointing out that the situation had arisen as a result of royal permission having been given to some British subjects to trade in enemy ports in Spain, and that to carry on such a

(44) SP 71/5, f. 248. Thomas Thomson to Dartmouth, Algiers, 4 Dec. 1711.

(45) SP 71/5, 119-120. Cole to Dartmouth, Algiers, 11 Feb. and 16 March 1710/11; *ibid.*, ff. 123-4. Notes to same, 13 April 1711.

trade it was necessary for the masters of British ships 'to have the Emperors Pass and Ensign as well as their Own'. Both to empower them to enter and ride in their ports, and to prevent [their] being taken by the French'.

The Dey, obviously and prudently unwilling to take personal responsibility for accepting Cole's argument, sent for the Admiral of the fleet and the corsair captains in port, and 'after a long canvassing the matter' he yielded to the extent of delivering up the ship, cargo and English crew, but insisted on making slaves of the Spaniards. Cole responded that all must be set at liberty or none, which if refused, he would communicate the Algerian breach of the treaty to the queen, and also to 'Her Admirall at Mahon' who, he had heard, 'was lately arrived in these Seas with a powerful Fleet'. He added, in more practical terms, that the ship could not sail without its full complement of crew.

Cole's demarche had the desired effect: all the Spanish members of the crew present in Algiers, with the exception of one who, wounded, was kept at Cole's house, were sent on board the *James and Mary* to await the return of the remainder of the crew on the other two vessels of the flotilla.

Two weeks later, on the morning of the 26th, the second vessel returned to port. Cole immediately waited on the Dey to request the handing over of the *James and Mary* crew members on board 'one of Her Majesty's subjects and four Renegadoes', which was agreed to and carried out, but at noon on the same day Cole was summoned to the Dey's presence, where he found the captain presumably of the second cruiser 'renewing his pretence of making prize of the *James and Mary*'. More details now emerged of the circumstances surrounding the English ship's capture. According to the men, whose testimony was backed up by Capt. Perkins, the Algerine had come up with the *James and Mary* at dusk, hailing her, he had received a response 'from Barcy' from some of the men, whereupon he fired a broadside and a volley of small shot and boarded. None of this account was disputed, but according to Capt. Perkins the reason for the crew's self-identification as Biscayans was that there were reports current at Malaga, where the *James and Mary* had been loading, to the effect that three French men of war were cruising to the westward of the port, and that they had taken the Algerines to be the potentially hostile French ships. After a further hour's 'warm dispute' Cole gained his point a second time, despite further protestations from the Dey and the rais that ships with a majority of non-British crew members ought to be regarded as legitimate prize.

Cole's solicitory of the cause of the *James and Mary* was still not concluded. On the evening of the 26th the third corsair returned to port with the three remaining Spanish crew members on board. On the

following morning Cole again waited on the Dey, and this time there was no opposition: the three Spaniards were handed over and restored to their ship, and after waiting until 14 April for a favourable wind the *James and Mary* proceeded on its way.

In the last months of 1711 the frequency of Cole's despatches tails off: after writing at length regarding the Norris affair on 24 September, he appears to have sent only one further despatch to London before the end of March in the following year. This was written late in November 1711;[46] by the end of January 1712, at the time of the arrival at Algiers of a small squadron: HMS Captain, Superb and Charles Galley from Port Mahon under Capt. Charles Smith, carrying the queen's letter to the Dey, Cole was clearly in ill health, 'being confined to my bed ... by a violent pain in one of my legs', as he wrote, over a very shaky signature, on 31 March, with the news that he had been forced to employ George Holme, chaplain to the English nation at Algiers, as his deputy to deliver the royal letters to the Dey[47]. At the time of writing, two months later, Cole was still confined to his room, though hoping 'in a few Days to be abroad again'. Clearly, Cole's illness was far from transient, and already by this time the vultures were beginning to gather. A further two months later, in June 1711, Cole's brother Thomas was writing to the secretary of state's office with allegations of plots by 'Messrs Thomsen of Algiers' to get Cole dismissed from office in favour of one of the two brothers' 'a creature of the dey's' as Thomas Cole, no doubt echoing his brother's words, referred to him.[48]

What is rewarding in an examination of these late despatches is the further information which they provide on the persistence of the Algerine corso in the face of a greatly enhanced British naval presence in the western Mediterranean, on the intricate complexities of the whole western Mediterranean and near Atlantic privateering scene during these years, and on Cole's own notable forensic skills.

The complexities of the Mediterranean and near Atlantic corso are exemplified by the arrival at Algiers on 9 November 1711 of a French privateer of 36 guns, 'reported to belong to Dunkirk', but last from Toulon, 'wanting only five days from thence'. Alleging news brought in by the putative Dunkirker, the French consul told the Dey that 'the Brittish' possessed 'not one Cruizer between those two ports': a

(46) SP 71/4, ff. 165-6.

(47) SP 71/4, 149-50. Cole to Dartmouth, Algiers, 31 March 1712. Queen Anne's letter to the Dey is dated 22 June 1711.

(48) SP 71/4, 162. Thomas Cole to secretary of state's office, Cowes (Isle of Wight), 11 June 1712. The allegation must have been made in a private letter from Robert Cole to his brother, written earlier in the year. This, as with Robert Cole's other personal correspondence for these years, appears not to have survived.

statement dismissed by Cole as the 'palpable untruths' and 'disingenuous aspersions' of 'the common Enemy'.[49]

Cole's forensic skills are most clearly apparent in the case of an unnamed prize ship brought in to Algiers on 30 October 1711. '[A] prize [ship] appearing to the Westward of this place', Cole noted, information was brought that she looked 'like a Brittish Galley'. This, he wrote, 'occasioned my going down to the mold to pick up what information I could concerning her'. Cole had had decades of experience, and possessed a practised eye for identifying a strange ship: 'At her approach', he wrote, 'I easily discerned her to be Bristol built being sailed and rigged likewise after the Brittish manner'. Once identified as a British vessel, further intelligence was needed: as Cole put it, 'these marks and tokens made me suspect that some indirect means had been used by the Captor [sc. to conceal her origin]'. Cole's informant, not identified by name but only as 'the Turk who brought her in', told him that the vessel had been taken between Malaga and Gibraltar by the Algerine Fleet Admiral. Further questioning of his informant revealed that the ship was loaded with wheat and 'Baccalo' (i.e., salt cod) and had been taken while displaying Genoese colours (i.e. as an ostensibly legitimate prize). Cole then pushed forward with his forensic skills: having asked his informant 'what kind of corn it was', he was told that it was 'a small white grain'. A sample was procured, which Cole was able to tentatively identify: as he wrote, 'it appeared not unlike Madeira wheat'.

His suspicions aroused, Cole's next step was to wait on the Dey the next morning. Cole asked the Dey whether he had received any letter from his Admiral ('Ali Captain') by the ship he sent in. The answer was in the negative: demanding Cole's reason for the enquiry, he told him that he was apprehensive the admiral had 'done amiss', the ship appearing to him to be British-built and was probably in consequence British-owned. Cole withheld from the Dey his further hypotheses based on the evidence of the vessel's lading: 'I omitted giving him timely information', he wrote, that the salt cod appeared to be from the New England and French (Grand banks) fishery, and that possibly the vessel had been taken by the French, carried to Cadiz, and sold there to 'the Genoeze'. All evidence which might have helped to identify the vessel was lacking: no ship's papers were found, and the crew were said to have made their escape ashore, which, he concluded, 'induces me to hope that she does n[ot?] belong to any of the Queens subjects'.[50]

In his despatch of 31 March 1712 Cole provides detailed accounts of two further Algerine prize actions in the face of British warships which Sir John Jennings, commander of the British naval forces at Port

(49) SP 71/4, ff 145-6. Cole to Dartmouth, Algiers, 24 Nov. 1711.

(50) SP 71/4, f. 145. Cole to Dartmouth, Algiers, 24 Nov. 1711.

Mahon, had desired him to bring to the notice of the Algerine authorities. One incident involved a Genoese vessel 'taken by a Crusize of this place' off Porto Farina while under convoy of Capt. Smith, commander of HMS Captain; the other confirmed that Algerine corsairs were still cruising between Majorca and Port Mahon 'to the hindrance of Her Majestys fleet being supplied with provisions from the latter'. In the event, Cole's continuing indisposition prevented him from appearing before the Dey in person, and the business was deputed to Captain Smith.[51]

In respect of the Genoese vessel, the Dey's response was that its crew could not be released, firstly because they were taken 'out of sight of any convoy', and secondly because 'the Captain of them' had within 40 days after he was brought in to Algiers redeemed himself for 1100 Spanish dollars 'which he [the Dey] conceived he would not have Done, if he had thought he had a right to be claimed as a freeman by the Queen of Great Brittain'.

On the vexed subject of Algerine cruising between Port Mahon and Mallorca and Minorca the Dey was equally unbeforming: he 'could not debar them from thence, or any other part of the Seas not stipulated by the Articles', he said, 'but must leave them at Liberty to steer their course whatever they should esteem it most for their advantage'.[52]

It is clear that in the course of the Spanish Succession War the Anglo-Algerine maritime frontier (if one may employ the term) was brought into higher relief through the British occupation of Gibraltar and Port Mahon. In this context also, Algiers was an Islamic frontier state, yet there seems to have been no ideological element in Anglo-Algerine relations, either at sea or on land, except perhaps for Algerine inability to distinguish between pre-existing Spanish rule and the new order in respect of British ships en route to and from Gibraltar and Port Mahon. In this context the two ports and their traffic were still regarded as forming part of the Abode of War.[53]

To what extent was the Algerian frontier a 'soft' one (from the Algerian side, that is)? Noteworthy in these years was the vulnerability of Algiers (and the other regency states) to attack from the sea. Algiers (and, equally, Tunis and Tripoli) were thus equally vulnerable to naval assault, beginning with Blake's attack on Porto Farina / Ghar al-Melh in 1655, but open hostilities had been replaced by treaty arrangements by 1675. On land there was no territorial threat: events were viewed to be going the other way as the British took Port Mahon

(51) SP 71/4, f 149.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Colin Heywood, 'A "Forgotten Frontier"?' (see, p. 60, n. 2, supra). For what seems to have been an important, but still unpublished, paper by Rhoads Murphey on the Algerian frontier, read at the AHA meeting in San Francisco in 2002, I am dependent on notes kindly supplied by Dr Caroline Finkel.

and Minorca in 1708, so Algerine forces retook Oran: until the post-Napoleonic 'new imperialism' of the 19th century. Conversely, there was no Algerine threat to the 'enemy' coastlands of the western Mediterranean beyond that from raiding / slaving parties unable to penetrate the interior: only the *corso* embraced 'active' ghazi-type activity.(54) Certainly, Cole's own despatches give the impression that ideology entered very little if at all into his day-to-day relations with the 'King's House': difficulties - even a short-lived fear of penal reprisals over the Norris affair - were ascribed to temperament rather than ideological differences. Was Cole over-egging the omlette?: 'The Temper of these people is not so difficult to hit upon, as some persons for their own private Interest have represented' observed Cole's temporary successor, Thomas Thomson, in the somewhat disingenuous and self-revealing letter to Dartmouth, written less than a month after Cole's death and mentioned earlier.(55) Nor, on the surface, is there much evidence *of l'esprit du ghazi* (to borrow a Wittekian phrase) to be seen in the Algerine interception of British vessels imprudent enough to attempt the transit from Gibraltar to Port Mahon without a pass,(56) or in the belated ransoming in 1714 of 'six matelots danois', the last remaining captives from a Scottish prize, the Isabella of Kirkcaldy, taken off Algiers five years previously.(57) But much of course depends on what *ghazi*, in early 18th century Algiers, as much as in 14th-century Bithynia, really meant. It was probably not a question that would have meant much to Robert Cole, merchant, consul and diplomat between two worlds, as he made his customary way down to the harbour mole in Algiers, on a morning early, to seek out and to identify from the cut of its rig or to learn, from the Christian slaves among the corsair's crew, the identity of the latest Algerine prize brought in from the high sea.

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(54) See my 2002 MESA paper (n. 2 above) for an elaboration of these points

(55) Cf. supra, p. 66, n. 44.

(56) Cf. Samuel Thomson to Bolingbroke, Algiers, 23 Aug. (copy), 23 Nov. and 17 Dec. 1713. SP 71/5, 145, ff. 161-8 (copy in better state of preservation than the original)

(57) Copy-extract of a letter from the Magistrates of Bergen to the king of Denmark, in Sidenthal to Bolingbroke, 'London, 18/29 Dec. 1714'. PRO SP 71/5, 309-314. On this incident, involving the *Isabella* of Kirkcaldy, *see* my forthcoming article "An Englishman, an Irishman and a Scotsman" (see p. 60, n. 22 supra).

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Introduction :

The paper deals with the representation of Moroccan culture in British writings on North Africa. It examines a variety of texts produced on the fringe of canonical and mainstream British literature and concerned with the description of the other in North Africa. These texts were mainly produced by travellers, adventurers, traders, diplomats, captives and writers of all ways of life who happened to visit this area. Most of them are travel accounts by amateurish writers whose occasional or incidental visits to these countries are recorded in impressionistic tales describing their experiences in the exotic land of the Moors.

The 19th c. saw a feverish quest for new territories and as David Thomson put it : "Colonies came to be valued both as manifestations of national greatness and as sources of raw materials and markets for manufactures" (1). Africa came to be the chief colonial attraction and between 1870 and 1914 "the whole of Africa apart from one or two small areas was partitioned among the European powers" (2). It must be noted that "Britain had no overseas territories at the publication of Hakluyt at the end of the 16th" (3). It is also to be noted that European expansion saw its most intense activity between 1815 and 1914 with a climax rush for Empire in the late 19th c.

Despite its proximity to Europe, North Africa or what Europe historically tabbed as the 'Barbary States', remained for many centuries, a close and unsafe area for Europeans. Apart from the Mediterranean main commercial ports (Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers and Tangiers) and some Atlantic Moroccan ports, the interior parts of these countries remained closed and forbidden for non-muslims.

The 17th and 18th centuries knew an increasing interest in the Barbary States as a cultural subject and as a commercial partner and a

(1) - Thomson, David, *The New Imperialism: The White Man's Burden*, Penguin, Middlesex, 1950. p.203.

(2) - Id.

(3) - Clark, Steve (Editor), *Travel Writing and Empire*, Z Books, London, 1999. p.5.

potential threat to European maritime activities. With the development of the European imperial projects, the Barbary States became a recommended commercial, diplomatic, touristic and exotic destination for many Europeans. The 19th century saw an upsurge of travel texts on the Maghreb as this area started to open up, or rather, to be opened up, under the European pressure and expansion, to a panoply of visitors for different purposes and with different backgrounds. These visitors' accounts constitute not only an invaluable mine for ethnographical and social data about the cultural life of the Maghreb, but also a colonial discourse on European cultural supremacy.

The British discourse about North Africa started as a cultural and distant discourse of difference. The first texts about Barbary were texts of wonder at otherness in religion, habits, social structure, political system, clothing, social institutions, architecture etc...These texts served a cultural and a historical purpose as many of them are of an ephemeral and popular nature. From the second half of the 16th century onwards Barbary tales became a favourite subject in British society. This awareness took the form of the different cultural other as negativity : the non-Christian (or the Mohametan) the non-white (black), the non-civilized (barbaric and savage lacking education and an adequate political system etc.) Nevertheless these negative attributes made the Moor an attractive cultural other and a popular exotic subject which fired the public imagination by the fantastic stories about the Moors and the Barbary States.

After a brief identification of travel accounts as the genre within which most of the used texts of this corpus were written, the following pages will deal with some aspects of Morocco as a country and as a culture in its portrayal by British travellers. These aspects include: the description of towns, imperial cities, housing and urban organization, the physical description of the Moors with their cultural and social habits, the status of women and that of the Jews, religion, politics and the judicial and the educational systems . While referring to all these aspects, the paper has no claim to a full and exhaustive study of those subjects, as this is part of a book project the author is working on.

Travel writing is the literary genre, which crosses all the geographical and cultural territories yet its own boarders as a genre are undefined. Traditionally it is a popular genre to which "anyone can have a go" as Steve Clark put it (4). With the "democratisation" of travel and the development of mass tourism and cheap package holidays, it was thought, for some time, that the travel genre belonged to the past and has no place in modern literary interests. This tendency proved totally wrong as post-colonial criticism and re-readings of imperial literature found in travel texts the first hints to colonial aspirations and invaluable

(4) Clark, Steve (Editor), *Travel Writing and Empire* p. 1.

information about the genesis of early imperial temptations. Travel implies both power and desire. Clark suggest that "as a popular genre, [travel writing] has proved strikingly resilient, and in the hands of its most recent exponents, provides a niche for a distinctive kind of postmodern literacy" (5).

As a destination and as a subject for textual recording, the Maghreb in general and Morocco in particular knew a historical development parallel to the European awareness of other geographical and cultural spaces and to the European colonial expansion. The earliest western references to Morocco oscillate between history, legend, mythology, literary fiction and travelogues. It must be remembered that the region and its people were baptised by the west since the very names of "Moors" and "Barbary " are western inventions. "Barbary" as a name accommodates a western necessity for the location of otherness as savageness but also as a space for evasion and exoticism occasionally serving literary expression in the form of travel and wonder texts. The general discourse about the Barbary States varies between mere references to the country and full length texts with literary and encyclopaedic endeavours; the authors also vary between the most famous ones like Shakespeare, Fletcher, Thomas Heywood, Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift, Lancelot Addison, Ali Bey to less known and more or less forgotten writers like John Drummond Hay, Robert Spence Watson, John Buffa, Captain G. Beauclerk, Arthur Leared etc...

A- British Travellers and Moroccan urban space :

European travellers to Morocco were fascinated by the imperial cities in general and by certain spatio-cultural themes in particular within that urban space. In this section I have chosen some of the most favourite places on which the interest of the different visitors was focused and those which retained their attention and which we frequently come across in their texts. Their list is long but we discussion will b limited to some of the most "attractive" ones from the visitors' point of view as for example: city fortifications, walls and gates, narrow streets and open spaces, Sugs and open markets, the mosques and their minarets, schools and universities, Moorish houses and their architecture.

Travel accounts on Morocco recurrently divide the city space into two parts: in the first quarter there is the palace or the governor's residence, the government cellars or *Makhazen* , the barracks for the Sultan's or Governor's guards and soldiers, the rich houses of the city's "nobility" - including European traders and foreign diplomats and representatives- and in the rest of the city are 'crammed', according to these travel accounts, the common Moors and the Jews. An illustration of this

(5) *Ibid*

instance is given by Richardson, whose description of Mogador (the modern *Essaouira*) is given in the following terms :

> The city is divided into two parts: one division contains the citadel, the public offices, the residence of the governor, and several houses occupied by European consuls and merchants, which are all the property of the Sultan ; and the other is the space occupied by the houses of the Moors and Jews (6).

The original aim of the travel was cultural discovery and space discovery hence the sustained effort to unveil and to reveal the other as a civilizational and cultural entity. In fact the wish to unveil the other veils another wish of the traveller, which is no other than the possession and enjoyment of the cultural space of the other. But the resistance of the country as a whole to open up its gates to the foreign European powers, with their cultural and civilizing and modernizing missions, was fought throughout the 18th and 19th centuries with the final subjugation of the cultural space and later the geographical space through texts and pre-texts.

1- 'An Army of lyons' : The city as legend :

Textual representation of the Moroccan city by European travel writers took different forms and adopted different strategies to come to terms with the multi-faceted manifestations of Moorish urban space. Many texts took over old popular stories and texts about the mythological and legendary origins of the Moroccan cities and sometimes reproduced them to enhance the exotic dimension of their discourse about otherness. In this sense, historical matter, popular lore and legend became the media for reading the "city-in-time" and a way for interpreting its cultural and anthropological realities.

Texts about Moorish cities sometimes take the form of fairyland fantasies as illustrated by the story of the "*city of Lyons*" supposedly on the Moroccan coast. According to Fletcher, 'Whence by continueing along the land of Barbaria wee sayled neere to the citty of Lyons' which was prosperous until its inhabitants became :

> proud and exceeding in all other wickednesses, the Lord sent an army of lyons upon them, whose sparing neither man, woman or child, but consumeing all from the face of the earth, took the city in possession to themselves and their posterity to this day, ... (7).

(6) Quoted in Bidwell, Margaret and Robin, *Morocco, The Traveller's Companion*, London and New York, 1992, p.113. Ilbon Richardson, James, *Travels in Morocco by the Late James Richardson*, edited by his widow, London , 2 Volumes, 1868.

(7) Fletcher, Francis, in Henry de Castries, *Sources de l'Histoire du Maroc*, 1905, Series 1, vol. 1, p. 282, Paris 1905. This is an account of Sir Francis Drake's 1577 globe circumnavigation written by his chaplain Francis Fletcher: the extract refers to the expedition passage by the Moroccan coast (Mogador and Cap Blanc)

The account goes on to describe the fierceness of the lions "rageing along the shoare with fearfull roreings and cryes, making many offers to enter the sea and to make a prey of our boate...". This description illustrates three levels of the European and colonial discourse about space as otherness : first, the religious level, as the city was punished for its wickedness and non-Christian behaviour. The space in which the word of God is not heeded is thus severely punished. In this sense the Moorish city becomes a setting for a Christian and biblical parable to teach the word of God. The second level is both aesthetic and exotic in the sense that the fantastic story of God sending lions to punish the inhabitants of the Moroccan city serves to embellish and eroticize the discourse, which takes the form of an aesthetic commodity very palatable to the British readership of that time. The third level is an oblique political invitation to free this land from the savageness of the lions.

In her *Saints and Sorcerers*, Nina Epton perpetuates the legend of Tiznit (8) and argues that the women of Tiznit are beautiful and « many of them are said to follow the profession once exercised by the lady who gave the town its name" (9). According to Epton, Tiznit was a prostitute of great charm converted by a holy man to saintly life and as "Virtue does not necessarily mean the absence of love., especially in Islam", the holy man married Tiznit and together "they wandered through the desert proclaiming the laws of the Prophet". After the death of the holy man, Tiznit lived alone in a tent and :

> One day bandits rode up to molest her while she was at her prayers. Furious at being coldly repelled by an unarmed woman, the leader struck her with his lance. Blood flowed from the mortal wound and when it touched the sand, a fountain sprang miraculously between two palm trees. The town eventually built on this spot was named Tiznit in honor of the saint (10).

Here the portrayal of the legend is permeated by a hegemonic and colonial discourse. The insertions and comments of the author make of the legendary genesis of the urban space a medium for cultural debasement. Far from a neutral description of a Moorish town, Epton's text makes oblique comments, which betray a partisan attitude against the women of Tiznit and Islam. The very first sentence of the story begins by accusing the beautiful women of Tiznit of following " the

(8) Tiznit is a town with a long history South of Agadir.

(9) Epton, Nina, *Saints and Sorcerers: A Moroccan Journey*, London, 1958, p. 186.

(10) Id.

profession once exercised by the lady who gave the town its name", that is prostitution. The legend is thus used to stereotype Moorish morality and an old fairyland story about the town serves to categorize the women of Tizmit and to confirm what is -according to the author- their low morality. Thus, the sacredness of the place is spoilt by the saint's impious past and by the present immoral behaviour of the women of Tizmit. The traveller has used a legend for the cultural debasement of the Moroccan urban space.

El-Ksar El-Kebir is another Moorish city with a legendary origin. Arthur Leared visited the city in 1879 and reported "the story about the foundation of this town". While on a hunting expedition, Sultan Almansour (16th c.) lost his way and was entertained *incognito* by a poor fisherman, in whose hut he passed the night. The Sultan was so well pleased, that he bestowed upon the fisherman some royal buildings, situated not far off. These buildings having been enclosed within a wall, soon took the form of a town, to which the name of Alcassar el Kebir, or, the Great Palace, was given (11).

The story here is akin to the fairy tales where some magic instrumentality brings happy encounters between the poor wood cutter, shepherd or fisherman with the good hearted prince, princess or king. The outcome of these happy meetings is sometimes the bestowing of royal munificence on the poor lucky man whose good fortune atones for the misery of his lot. This tale about El-Ksar El-kebir serves not only to perpetuate a legend but also to exoticize the origin of the town. This exoticization, which serves the aesthetic aims of the travel tale, is also a reduction of the hard physical reality of the town and its human dimension to a mere enjoyable fairy tale: it is a form of literary appropriation of otherness as an enjoyable commodity within that cultural space.

2-"Narrow streets and crooked lanes": Urban Organization

The European representation of Moorish urban space is generally tainted with an exotic dimension, which removes physicality from the other making the urban world of the other an inner journey and an unreal experience. David Spurr defines this approach as one of the controlling modes of authority used by colonial discourse and calls it *insubstantialization* or what he termed "seeing as in a dream" (12). Along these lines, an anonymous visitor to Tetuan wrote: "In walking through the town it seemed as if I were surrounded by everyday scenes

(11) Leared, Arthur, *A Visit to the Court of Morocco*, London, 1879, p.6.

(12) Spurr, David, *The Rhetoric of Empire, Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing and Imperial Administration*, Duke University Press, Durham and London, 1993, p.141.

and characters reproduced from the pages of the Arabian Nights" (13). The visitor goes on describing the people he meets as immaterial beings not belonging to the physical world but to be found only in the *Thousand and One Nights*. He meets the storyteller, the barber and blood letter, the dentist shaving the head of a pensive Moor, women going to the baths with slaves and finally the famous hunchback of *The Nights*. The city space becomes thus an exotic scene peopled by unreal characters out of space and out of time. In contrast to these dreamy attitudes, the reactions to the physical urban reality of the Moorish *Medina* were characterized by wonder and admiration sometimes, rejection at other times and even a feeling of suffocation in some cases.

A general feature that struck European travellers to Moroccan cities is the narrowness of the streets in the old *Medinas*. When Arthur Leared visited Fez in 1879, his first reaction concerned the absence of windows and the narrowness of the streets : "What astonished us most of all was the extreme narrowness of the streets in which the private houses were situated. ... Nothing more dismal or cheerless could be imagined than such narrow chasms between high windowless walls." (14)

The expectations about Moorish urban space were often frustrated and could lead, sometimes, to complete disappointment as happened to one of the visitors who, after describing the city of Tetuan as beautiful from a distance, changed his mind once he was in the town :

> On close inspection the city did not appear as handsome as when seen at a distance. Within the walls, towers, mosques, and private houses were grouped together without design or regularity, in narrow streets and crooked lanes. All was plaster and whitewash and therefore all looked bright and clean, but the absence of any architectural beauty, the many blind walls, and the deficiency of windows, produced an impression of disappointment, which is not uncommonly felt on entering an Eastern town (15).

Here the traveller's disappointment is both cultural and psychological as the incongruity between his expectations about space and the reality of the Moorish architecture provokes a negative reaction to Tetuan. Most travellers reacted with varying degrees of acceptance or rejection to the narrow streets and blind walls. This narrowness of streets is sometimes made unbearable by dust and filth and the reactions betray an astonished disillusionment on visiting Al-Ksar El-kbir, Leared wrote: "We entered and all illusion was dispelled. It was

(13) Anonymous, 'Tetouan', in *Fraser's Magazine*, New Series, April 1875, Vol. XI, N° LXIV, p. 445.

(14) Leared, Arthur, *A Visit to the Court of Morocco*, London, 1879, p. 64.

(15) Anonymous, 'Tetouan', in *Fraser's Magazine*, op.cit. p. 442.

market day, and the crowds gathered round our party in the hot, filthy, and dusty streets in a way that was almost unbearable' (16). A similar disappointment was experienced by Ali Bey when visiting Tangier which presented "a pretty regular aspect" with "an interesting view" from a distance but: "As soon as we approach the inside of the town the illusion ceases, and we find ourselves surrounded with everything that characterizes the most disgusting wretchedness" (17). Along the same lines, and in reaction to Assila streets, Montbard produced one of the most negative and debasing literature about Moorish urban space :

> What pestilent streets! a black sewer full of foul things emitting abominable smells, running along dilapidated walls, hideous shops, with pendant, dislocated weather-boards. We tack along the walls, clinging to the fastenings of the shops, to every projection and cavity, wherever we can get any support, in order to avoid coming into contact with this horrible filth. As we thus proceed, in single file, along the goats' track, we have now and then to make some trying dead halts when coming face to face with a pedestrian from the opposite direction. We glare at him and he at us, with suppressed rage, and obstinately cling to the wall, anxiously waiting till the one who is in the greatest hurry, shall take the outer side, and, with the utmost precaution, skirt round the other, running the risk of being stretched his full length in this putrefaction. It generally happened that we were the most eager to get on, and we thought ourselves lucky if at such critical junctures a passing mule or prancing horse didn't splash us from head to foot in this black and fetid mud (18).

This passage illustrates how the narrow street space brought the Western traveller at close grips with the cultural other in a uneasy physical proximity which betrayed "suppressed rage" and repulsion. The narrow city street brought the foreign visitor face to face in a literal *'eyeball to eyeball'* with the cultural other. This frontal encounter squeezed out of the traveller his inner feelings of intolerance towards the urban space of the other. In fact it tells more about some of the turn-of century racist attitudes than about the dirty streets of Assila.

Within what Spurr calls the mode of 'Filth and Defilement' in the colonial discourse, the same Montbard describes the streets of Assila in the following terms :

> Women, coming out of kennel-like hovels, draw back at once,

(16) Leared, op.cit. pp.6-7.

(17) Ali Bey, *Travels of Ali Bey el Abassi*, 1816, p.13.

(18) Montbard, George, *Among the Moors. Sketches of Oriental Life*, London, 1894, pp.55-56.

> terrified at the sight of us, and disappear indoors, shouting and shaking their fists at us. ....Some lean cats with bristling russet coats jump into the plashes, pursued by half-naked lads, and disappear into some wide-mouthed holes.
>
> Dirty Jews with smooth, glossy hair, black skull-caps fastened on by a check handkerchief, brush by us with squinting eyes, clad in their ragged, patched robes of faded blue, and a musty smell escapes from under these sordid tatters.
>
> A donkey bars our way. It is all skin and bone.... At every spot where the bones bulge the skin is cut, and swarms of flies settle on the naked flesh. Long wheals, destitute of hair, mark the place of old closed sores, and the body is furrowed with them (19).

Here the traveller's eyes examines everything and spares nothing. No negative detail escapes the scrutiny and examination of the author. Montbard's description puts special focus on filth and decay through a myriad of negative qualifiers. The Moorish houses become 'kennel-like hovels', the cats are 'lean', the kids are 'half-naked', the doors are 'wide-mouthed holes'. The jews are 'dirty Jews' with 'squinting eyes' clad in 'ragged, patched robes' and 'sordid tatters' with 'a musty smell'. The donkey is all 'skin and bone' with 'cut skin and 'swarms of flies on the naked flesh' etc. With this sad and bleak portrayal of life within the town, the urban space becomes a mere container of misery and suffering that spares neither man nor beast.

What is striking about this and similar debasing descriptions is that the author saw nothing to brighten, relieve or cheer up the oppressive misery of the town. While other European travellers who visited similar places, at the same period, saw, beside this misery and agonies a fresh, colourful and inspiratory life, Montbard saw nothing but hopelessness and sordid decay. There are many examples of authors who balanced a negative portrayal of Moorish space with flashes of admiration for its 'uncorrupted' humanity and invigorating freshness. Nerval, among others, saw in Moroccan markets a spectrum of colours, but we could also mention famous names as Delacroix, Matisse and others who visited the country at the same period and who found in Moorish space a source of artistic inspiration.

3- Sanitation: The City as Decay

Moorish urban space in travel descriptions and representations fluctuates between marvellous and marvelling exotic elaborations on the one hand and an obsession with ruin and decay, on the other. Both

(19) Id. p.57.

choices reflect the ambivalence between David Spurr's "idealization" and "debasement". Many European travel accounts cut off the Moorish city space from its historical, cultural, political and economic contexts and reduce what is supposed to be a description of the city as otherness to ruins and decay. Buffa visited Marrakech in 1805 just after a period of civil war, plague and famine (20) and described it in the following terms:

> I was much disappointed on my arrival at Morocco with the appearance of the place; for, instead of finding it, as I expected, superior to Fez and Mequinez,, I found it a large ruinous town, almost without inhabitants. It contains, indeed, a great many mosques caravanseras, public baths, market-places or squares, and palaces of the Xeriffes, but all in a most deplorable state of ruin. Not many years since, this city was the Imperial residence, and contained six hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants: but the late civil wars, and the plague, which raged with such violence, in the beginning of the present Emperor's reign, nearly depopulated it. In consequence of the latter melancholy event, the court was removed to Fez and Mequinez. To this account we may place the present desolate appearance of Morocco. The Imperial palace is, however, kept in repair, as the Emperor goes to Morocco annually to spend the fast-days, which are during the months of October and November; scarcely one fourth of the other palaces and houses are inhabited (21).

As this passage shows, the description *of* urbanity becomes a text and a pretext for social and political debasement. Thus Marrakech is seen only as "a large ruinous town" and "a depopulated city" with "a desolate appearance" deserted even by the Emperors who removed the capital to Fès and Meknès. In contrast to these ruins, the imperial palace was "kept in repair" as the "Emperor goes to Morocco annually to spend the fast days". Here the contrast between the ruins of Marrakech and the restored and renovated palace serves as an oblique comment on justice, despotism and the privileges of the Sultan. The description of the urban space is used to make political comments on the country and its system of government. True, the author admits the "former grandeur and magnificence" of Marrakech, but his bleak portrayal of the desolate decay lacks understanding and compassion for the tragedy that befell the city. The author allows no possible way out and no redeeming hope for Marrakech. Even the usual exotic aestheticization habitually found

(20) Note that these were the curses of the country at repeated periods of its history. A relevant pamphlet was written on the subject by G. Wilkins in 1606 (?) under the title of *The Three Miseries of Barbary : Plague, Famine and Civil Warre*. Da Capo Press Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Amsterdam and New York, 1969.

(21) John Buffa, *Travels through the Empire of Morocco*, London, 1910, pp. 174-5. Note that Morocco was the old name of Marrakech.

in texts about Marrakech is absent here. The text about the urban decay becomes an indirect pretext for the intervention of a saviour who was no other than the European other with his 'redeeming' civilization.

The image of urban decay was a recurrent feature of nineteenth century travel texts on Morocco. One could multiply the examples to illustrate this idea, but we shall limit ourselves here to two more travellers to show how the Moorish urban decay retained the attention in travel accounts and how this decay could be used as a pretext to justify the foreign intervention of the European powers.

When Arthur Leared visited El-Ksar El-Kebir, he found that "a general decay was only too plain. Here was to be seen an open space covered with mouldering ruins, there, a minaret, the mosque of which no longer existed" (22). A more negative attitude is taken by George Montbard who visited Assila at the beginning of the 1890s. He found the ancient town "dying away in the proud sepulchre of its lofty decaying walls, corroded at the base" and predicting that "the time is not far distant when the vultures will hover over the crumbling towers, when the yelping of the jackals will fill the silence of its ruins" (23). Here we move again from the description of a town to an apocalyptic annihilation of life –or a wish for it– within this urban space. The image given by these descriptions of decay is that of a town, a city, a whole country crying for help and for a redeeming force to restore order and life to an agonizing urbanity and a dying culture. Now, if the general European discourse on the Nineteenth century Moorish city is characterized by the portrayal of an overwhelming decay, the descriptions of particular spaces within the same city branded cultural and architectural specificities as could be seen in their representation of open public spaces.

4- Houses and Private Spaces :

If Moorish suks, streets and other public spaces were open to European travellers, few occasions were given to these visitors to see the interiors of houses and to describe the inner parts of a Moorish house. Culturally, home privacy was a sacred feature of Moroccan life : in towns and imperial cities, a man is traditionally jealous and secretive about his spouse(s) and would not refer to his wife by name but euphemistically as 'my house' or 'my children'. The meaning of the arabic word *sakan* or dwelling means 'calm', 'peaceful' and 'quiet' and as Leila Ahmed put it, this term 'expresses the Islamic concept of a man's right to a haven of inviolable privacy, forbidden to and guarded from intrusion by other

(22) Arthur Leared, *A visit To the Court of Morocco*, London, 1879, p. 6.

(23) Georges Montbard, *Among The Moors, Sketches of Oriental Life*, London, 1894, p. 55.

men" (24). This cultural concept found its architectural expression in the building of the urban house where the women's apartments are generally distanced from the more common parts where guests are received. This architecture is found in big houses and residences of the wealthy upper class and in palaces.

What retained the attention of most travellers in the traditional Moorish house architecture is its square form with a court in the middle and a marble fountain at its centre. When Buffa visited Fès, he described its houses in the following terms: "Their houses consist of four wings, forming a court in the centre, round which is an arcade, or piazza, with one spacious apartment on each side. The court is paved with square pieces of marble, and has a basin of the same in the centre, with a fountain" (25).

In the same line, the houses in Tetuan were described by another traveller thus :

> ...Each house is built with a square open court in the centre, round which, in the case of the upper storeys, runs a balcony; thus, as the doors and windows of the different rooms open into this court, the inmates secure for themselves *that great desideratum in Barbary: perfect privacy and security from outside observation*...(26) [my italics]

As we can see here, most travel accounts concord on stressing the privacy element in the architectural structure of Moorish houses: in fact, the distribution of the home space was a focus of interest and curiosity for the European travellers. It must also be added that the expectations of these travellers about space organization were frustrated when it came to the functionality of rooms. In fact, the distribution of home space in the European city between common and private areas and between open and forbidden spaces could be blurred to the extent that the *locus* of sexual space remained sometimes uncertain and moving in space and time as illustrated by Mumford in the following passage :

> Until the curtained bed was invented, sexual intercourse must have taken place for the most part under cover, and whether the bed was curtained or not, in darkness. Privacy in bed preceded the private bedroom: for even in seventeenth century engravings of upper-middle-class life and in France, a country of reputed refinement the bed still often occupies a part of the living room. Under these circumstances, the erotic ritual must have been short and almost secretive, with little preliminary starring through eye or voice or free movement (27).

(24) Ahmed, Leila, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992, pp. 116-117.

(25) Buffa, John, *Travels Through the Empire of Morocco*, London, 1810, p. 149.

(26) Anon. *Fraser's Magazine*, op. cit. p. 442.

In opposition to this uncertainty and vagueness about the locus of sexual intercourse, the European traveller came to Morocco anticipating the discovery of that oriental forbidden space of licentious freedom : *the Harem*. But the social behaviour and the architecture of the houses prevented the travellers from seeing or coming in contact with the place of their oriental dreams and phantasms. The architecture of the Moorish house serves to shield not only its women and their family life, but also the very space where couples meet and entertain each other.

5- Boundaries, Walls and Fortifications :

The Moroccan city was historically considered a haven of security and a protected and protecting sanctuary but also a cloistered trap where one is exposed to many a danger. Historians of this country are too well aware of the classical division of historical Morocco between *Bled Essiba* and *Bled El Makhzen*. It divided Morocco into two spaces: a space of civil order and submission to the central authority or pacified space and a space of rebellion and anarchy, civil war and tribal challenge of the central government. This classical historical division marked the architecture and the urban development of the Moroccan cities. One of its direct consequences is the great efforts made by different dynasties in the building of walls and fortifications to secure protection against the recurrent attacks of rebellious tribes against that symbol of central authority: the city. The most famous example is Moulay Ismail's (1672-1727) legendary walling of Meknes which retained the attention of European travellers to Morocco.

Yet, British travel writers saw the Moroccan city as a closed entity surrounded by strong walls and protected by gates that close at night. The main characteristic of the city is closeness and fear of the dangers that beset it with the distinctive feature of refusing and rejecting the other, that is, the Christian or the European, sometimes out of shyness and shame and sometimes out of cowardice and fear. This rejection was multidimensional and took religious, political, cultural and economic forms.

Not only the city is closed but also the houses and the buildings are veiled and hide their secrets behind walls. The Moroccan house is screened from the outside world and European travellers noticed the absence of windows except sometimes for small openings that do not function as windows in the European sense. British travellers stressed the narrowness of streets and the absence of windows which according to them gave Moroccan cities and their social life a character of shyness

(27) Mumford, Lewis, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and its Prospects*, New York, 1961, p. 286.

and a tendency to protect privacy and to insist on a veiled social life.

These travel accounts give the impression that the travellers are frustrated again and again because they wanted to see every thing, to unveil everything about the city but the city walls and its architectural plan prevented them from doing that. The city is enclosed in walls and social life is encapsulated and cloistered in what seemed to be windowless houses. Rejected by the Muslim part of the city, European visitors were generally housed in the Jewish quarter or the Mellah.

6/ Mosques, Schools and Universities :

According to Lewis Mumford, the city started as 'a sacred spot, to which scattered groups returned periodically for ceremonials and rituals, the ancient city was first of all a permanent meeting place' (28) Though one may not agree that all cities started as 'sacred spots', the historical Islamic city whether in North Africa or the Middle East is always planned with the mosque at its centre, as its 'sacred spot'. In his discussion of the required conditions for the founding of a city, the tenth century Muslim historian and thinker, Al-Mawardi, stipulates that eight conditions are necessary for the founding of an Islamic city : providing it with water, planning its roads and streets in proportion to its population, building a mosque for prayers *in its centre* so as to be near all the city inhabitants, the planning of its markets according to its needs and in suitable spaces etc...(29) It is an attempt at democratizing the spiritual rights of city dwellers to be as near as possible to the mosque: it guarantees the right to prayer and above all puts God and religion at the centre of the Islamic city. Thus symbolically and physically the mosque is at the centre of islamic urban life.

The architecture of the Mosque is a recurrent feature in travel accounts on Morocco, we shall limit our illustration here to one example from John Buffa who was an army Doctor in Gibraltar and who visited the country in 1805 :

> The mosques of this town, which I have before mentioned as very numerous, are square buildings, and generally of stone: before the principal gate there is a court paved with white marble, with piazzas round, the roofs of which are supported by marble columns. In niches within these piazzas, the Moors perform their ablutions before they enter the mosques. Attached to each mosque is a tower, with three small open galleries, one above another, whence the people are called to prayer, not by a bell, but by an officer appointed for that duty. Those towers, as

(28) Mumford, Lewis, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations,and Its Prospects*, New York, 1961, p. 95.

(29) Sebti Abd El Ahad, S. & Halima Farhat (1994). *Almadina Fi Al Asr Al Wasit*. Beirut and Casablanca, AlMarkaz Althakafi Al Arabi. p. 18.

> well as the mosques, are covered with lead and adorned with gilding, and tiles of variegated colours (30).

The foreign visitors were blind to the social function of the mosque and saw in it only a religious function. Few of them noticed the other functions of the Mosque including those of school, shelter in case of danger, assembly point and advisory council for worldly matters. Beside his primary role as spiritual guide and religious leader, the Imam or Fkih of the mosque performs social functions as that of community adviser and social moderator, judge and even doctor. He also supervises different stages of the Muslim's rites of passage including baptism, circumcision and death.

As a sacred space in the Muslim city, the Mosque was forbidden to European Christian visitors as well as to Moorish Jews. A recurrent image reported by European visitors is that of Jews who, out of respect for the sanctity of the Mosque used to take off their shoes when passing them. John Buffa kept a sharp eye on mosques and religious practice in general. While in Tangier, he noted that the 'British Vice Consul who is a Jew pulled off his slippers when passing mosques as a tribute of respect to which all Jews are compelled' (31) :

Beside the Mosques, the European travellers were much interested in the educational system and in the traditional organization of schooling. Ali Bey describes the architecture and furniture of the urban school, in the following terms :

> In the towns the school is usually a single, ground floor room, without windows, with light coming only through the door. There is no furniture except for mats and a sort of bench on which the teacher squats with his legs folded underneath him. The children sit on the floor in the same fashion (32).

In his *Mysterious Morocco*, Ward describes Fez as " The University City" of Morocco. At the Karaouyine University, students are attached to one of five Medrasah (School or College) where they lodge and pay no rent but buy the key from the last occupant. At the Karaouyine Mosque they are taught by *Oulemah* or "wise and learned men" supported by property left for the endowment of "Kursi" or chairs (33). This is only to show that schools, mosques and all educational spaces constituted both a cultural and an architectural curiosity referred to by most European travellers who visited Morocco. Beside these religious and university

(30) Buffa, John, *Travels Through The Empire of Morocco*, London, 1810, p. 142.

(31) Buffa, John, *Travels Through The Empire of Morocco*, London, 1810, p. 139.

(32) Ali Bey quoted by Bidwell, op.cit. , p. 211.

(33) Ward, H. J. R., *Mysterious Morocco and How to Appreciate it*, London, (n.d.), p. 170.

spaces, the popular and common open urban areas had their own attractions for the foreign visitor.

B-The Moor : Nature and culture, the Man and the system :

For the British traveller the first striking feature about the Moor is his curious clothing. When he first arrived in Tetouan Buffa was surprised at the queer clothes worn by women, whom he found different from anything he had seen before: a straw hat with an enormous conference, the piece of cloth covering half the face leaving the two eyes peeping out in the middle, and the body enveloped in a coarse haik gave the whole a captivating exotic touch for our traveller. Both Buffa and Ali Bey noted that the common people walk about with bare legs and arms. They found the Moorish footwear clumsy yellow slippers. These British travellers could not comprehend why the Moors "never took off their turbans, but pull off their slippers, when they attend religious duties" (34). But if the clothes worn by common people were seen as part of their backwardness and awkwardness, most of those travellers could not help admiring the dignified and impressive dress of people of distinction which gives them a touch of ease and pride. About European and Moorish clothes Watson wrote : "I dressed for dinner in full English costume at the cherif's request and felt like a black beetle by the side of these picturesque men..." (35).

When we come to physical description of Moors by British travellers the balance is negative. Buffa, for example, found most Moors ill and ugly even in Fez, where -according to him- the best specimens of Moorish handsomeness can be found. However, Buffa found women in Meknes "excessively handsome and not devoid of neatness" (36). For Ali Bey the ugliness of the Moor is given a political explanation. He described the tents of a douar as black and "as ugly as the inhabitants, who are of a copper colour, or yellow, of a very low stature, lean, with a dull and suspicious look : it resembled that which a man might be supposed to wear who knows that he was born for liberty, but who feels that he is crushed by despotism" (37).

For these travellers, ugliness is the rule and fairness an exception, so when Beauclerk saw a pretty Moorish girl, his reaction was more than surprising: of the girl he said that : "she was rather pretty for an Arab girl, who in general are most repulsively ugly...", adding that "an elderly

(34) Buffa, p. 143.

(35) Watson, Robert Spence, *A Visit to Wazan, The sacred City of Morocco*, London, 1880, p. 169.

(36) Buffa, p. 160.

(37) Ali Bey, 123.

Arab woman is, to my eye, the most disgusting object in nature" (38). Like Ali Bey, Beauclerk found a moral, social and psychological but racist explanation for the ugliness of a section of Moorish population: "Young jews are beautiful but adults become ugly because of a constant debasement of their minds, servility, avarice, deceit..." (39).

1-Hospitality

All the British travellers I consider in this paper did partake of Moorish hospitality and they all acknowledge it. Buffa was "most kindly and hospitably" received by the Governor of Larache. This generosity was not found only in the higher class of society but was more usual and more frequently met with in the lower classes. While camping near a *Douar* in the province of Taza, Ali Bey tells us how "The good natured inhabitants of this *douar* insisted so friendly on me to stay with them one day, that I could not refuse it, they did their utmost to make me pass my time agreeably ..." (40). He added later that : "The tribes which lived on the road where I passed continued to show me every civility, and provided me with victuals and forage" (41).

On his 1829 trip to Laraich John Drumond Hay enjoyed this generosity and hospitality of the Sheikh of the villages on his way. On one occasion he wrote: "We had scarcely picketed our tents, when four men presented themselves, bearing a mona (42) of sheep, fowls, barley, etc which were laid at our feet on the part of the Hakkem (43) as a provision for the night, and enough there was for five times the number of our little party" (44). But this bountiful mona was not limited to the diplomat since on the same occasion as Hay himself said: "a miserable infidel of a jew arrived here, and a mona of bread and a fowl was sent him by our lord" (45).

2-Friendship : Firm and constant :

Friendship and faithfulness to it are aspects of Moorish social life which struck the 19th-century British travellers as noteworthy. Most travellers made what could have been -at least on the part of the Moors-

(38) Beauclerk, 113.

(39) Beauclerk, 27.

(40) Ali Bey, VI, p. 196.

(41) Ali Bey 199.

(42) 'Mona' is a gift of food for travelers.

(43) The governor.

(44) Hay, John Drummond, *Western Barbary: Its Wild Tribes and its Savage Animals*, 1844, London, 23-24.

(45) Hay, 24.

lasting friendships. Sometimes when the visit was over the leave-taking was made in tears after walking part of the way - a mile or two - with the traveller. Beauclerk wrote :

> It may be said of the Moors, that though they are an uneducated people, there are among them many of a very superiour order, who are possessed of delicate sense of politeness, and a suavity of manners, rarely equalled even in the polished circles of Europe. Their ideas of friendship are firm and constant, and their honour unquestionable (46).

The extent of Moorish friendship and generosity reach levels unknown to the British travellers. On one occasion, a Mr. Brown, one of Beauclerk's companions, incautiously admired the Haik of fleecy work worn by Hamet Ben Hassan, a Caid in Marrakech. The Caid's reaction was spontaneous and immediate: he took off the Haik and offered it to the doctor without hesitation and "it was in vain the doctor declared he would not accept it, for the poor fellow said that to refuse his offer would be to refuse his friendship" (47).

John Drummond Hay, that old friend of Morocco, experienced Moorish friendship early in his career. In 1829 and while he was camping in the country with a party of Moorish hunters in a wilderness beset by all sorts of dangers, he wrote :

> ...[F]or my supper party [meaning his companions] were as wild a set as could well have been collected together. Yet I felt safe among them, since I had often broken the bread of friendship, and shared with them in their toils and pleasures of the chace : in fact, they looked on me as a brother-sportsman ; and, I believe, would have laid down their lives rather than a hair of my head should be injured (48).

This feeling of security, which is warranted by the friendship tie between Hay and his friends, is a recurrent feature experienced by many of the travellers under consideration.

3-The Moorish social life and character :

British travellers to Morocco have all paid special attention to the Moor's social, psychological and moral behaviour, and in every single work large sections are allocated to these descriptions. The overall balance of their value judgements is as may be expected negative, but this should not blind us to the fact that the negative portraits are portraits of the 19th-century Morocco, a country in political, economic,

(46) Beauclerk, *A Journey to Morocco*, London, 1928. p.192.
(47) Beauclerk, 247.
(48) Hay, 12.

social and cultural decline. On the other hand, the visitors belong to 19th-century British Empire, a country at its highest in wealth and power and the leading European country in the field of technology and industrialization, which makes the gap between the observer and observed wide indeed.

Most travel accounts consulted agree in their portrayal of the Moor as a lazy being. All the travellers noted the slowness of the Moor's life. Ali Bey made the point clear : "The most distinguishing characteristic of these people is idleness. At every hour of the day they are seen sitting or stretching themselves in the streets and other public places" (49). Beauclerk, on the other hand, singled out the white Moor for being given *to 'sensual pleasures'* and indolence (50). Watson, who exerted himself to be as positive as he could in his treatment of Moorish life, found it hard to adapt to the slowness of Moorish life. He wrote: "To an Englishman who is used to be fully occupied, accustomed ... to live in haste : - the absolute worthlessness of time, and the leisurely movements of the Moors, are at first exceedingly irksome" (51).

The western code of reference and the social norms the visitor is used to clash with those of the Moroccan culture, resulting in frustrations. But the problem is not only that of a cultural difference or even a clash between two ways of life, but takes the form of political discourse. Buffa wrote with unusual temperance :

> It is therefore fortunate for Europe, that the Moor are so indolent a people : for the immense power this empire might have, were peopled by an industrious and ambitious race of men, would render it the most formidable in the world (52).

4-Women and harems:

We cannot speak of the Moorish character in the British writings without referring to the place of women because of the prominent place and the attention given to their situation by the British visitors. The Moorish harem represented for the British writer a world of lust and sensuality. After describing how the women of the Sultan were bolted each night in small rooms, John drummond Hay comments: "such are the Moorish ideas of female society, that they look upon women in no other light than as instruments of pleasure and sensuality" (53). One of the frustrations of the visitors was the near impossibility of seeing or

(49) Ali Bey, 16.
(50) Beauclerk, 274.
(51) Watson, 76.
(52) Buffa, 136.
(53) Hay, 98.

getting in touch with Moorish women. The problem is more acute in the city than in the country. Drummond Hay explained that "The country folk in Morocco, it may be observed by the way, are far less jealous of their women's virtue than those in the towns"(54). The Moorish women of the imperial cities were completely veiled, and it was almost impossible for the British visitor to see or talk to an unveiled women. But when the visitor is a doctor, or thought to be one, as was the case of Captain Beauclerk, then the opportunities are many, as Beauclerk explains: "A Moor... requested we would repair to his house to visit his wife, and as the opportunity was so good for seeing a Moorish woman unveiled, we immediately went there... After this I had the opportunity of seeing many of them" (55).

When in Meknes, Arthur Leared, whose wife was allowed to enter the Harem of the governor, described the women as fat, dirty, and not pretty at all. On another occasion, he was admitted as a doctor to the harem of the governor of Zaccota, of which he says: "A dirtier, plainer set of women it would be difficult to find" (56), and the same Leared was admitted into a Jewish family, where he found that "Few of the Jewesses were handsome, they were in general fat and flabby" (57).

5- Moorish Jews: an ambivalent representation

The Moorish Jew received special attention in these travel accounts. The image of the Jew is somehow ambivalent for, on the one hand, most of the writers could not overcome the anti-Semitism with all the racist prejudices against the Jews, which was part of the European heritage of that period, and a sense of compassion for what they considered an oppressed minority among the "savage" Moors. Buffa wrote: "These people are obliged to walk barefooted through the Moorish streets, and they suffer the greatest outrages without a murmur" (58).

Ali Bey wrote that "The Jews in Morocco are in the Most abject state in slavery" (59), and that judges always favour Moslems over Jews, but added that in Mogador for example they represented the richest class and "lived like the merchants of other nations", and that they enjoyed "much more liberty than at any other place" (60). Beauclerk, on the other hand, found that the Jewish Moors of Tangier lived in houses

(54) Hay. 26.
(55) Beauclerk. 31.
(56) Leared. 19.
(57) Leared. 39.
(58) Buffa. 139 140.
(59) Ali Bey. 33.
(60) Id. 147.

intermingled with the rest of the population, and that their women were pretty and fair and under no restraint, unlike other Moorish women. But he could not overcome his anti-Jewish feelings as in this occasional reference to a Jew: "while we were waiting on the shore the return of the messenger a dirty looking fellow in the European costume came up to us and introduced himself as a Jew merchant of Tetouan" (61). Beauclerk later gave an account of how they were cheated by this Jew, whom he described as belonging to a community of "proverbial cheats" (62). According to Beauclerk, deceit and avarice are hereditary inherent characteristics of the Jew. He says: "the Jewish boy has hardly turned the seventh year, when he is taken in by hand by the elder brethren, and taught 'to make the worse appear the better bargain'" (63). But despite the anti-Jewish prejudices, Beauclerk was indignant about the fact that rich Jews had to pay up to eight thousand dollars to the Makhzen in order to have permission to wear large European hats instead of skull caps.

When talking about Moroccan Jewesses, Drummond Hay found that some of them : "rivalled in regularity of features, even my own dear country women - the fairest of the fair..., but there is nothing intellectual about her , and she is in truth merely a beautiful animal" (64). In fact for Hay all Jews were dirty, and when he visited a synagogue all he saw was "a greasy-faced Rabbi [who] ...was standing before a dirty desk and [who] held in his hand a still dirtier book of prayers" (65). But as historians know, this same Drummond Hay defended relentlessly the cause of Moroccan Jews at a later stage when he became influential in the court of Morocco. That the Jews were dirty was reiterated by Watson, who reported that when the Bashaw of El Kasr Kebir tried to have sanitary regulations, the Jews opposed paying any contribution to that effect, adding that "when we visited the Jews' quarter we found it a simple abomination!... Words fail me to express the filthiness of the streets" (66). Arthur Leared summed up his observation on the condition of the Jews in Morocco in the following words: "In the midst of insult and bad treatment, they manage to exist, and a few of them to become rich [t was painful to see" (67).

Apart from any truth value that this discourse about the Jews may

(61) Beauclerk. 116.
(62) Id. 154.
(63) Id. 229.
(64) Hay. 66.
(65) Hay. 69.
(66) Watson. 165.
(67) Leared. 39.

hold, it is certain that it helped to create in the minds of decision makers in Britain a need to protect the Jews of Morocco, that need which, added to other political and economic needs, made the interests of Britain in Morocco greater and their interventions in the internal affairs of the country more frequent to the point where colonization was seriously considered.

6-Education and Sciences : An illiterate system :

The low state of education and sciences in 19th c. Morocco received much attention from the visitors of Barbary. Ruffa noted that "the illetrate system of the Moors has also completely shut the door against the arts and sciences, and all knowledge of the value of a free and secure commerce" (68). Ali Bey found that the Moors were plunged in the grossest ignorance because they had no art of printing. When he visited the Qarawyine University in Fez and met the Ulemas there, he found that they had no idea about the movement of the earth nor the slightest idea of physics, chemistry, etc.... He also found in the old university a terrestrial globe and a celestial globe which were abandoned to the dust, damp and rats because "the Mahometans do not know how to use them" (69). About the educational system in Fez Ali Bey wrote "... all their studies are confinede to the Koran and its commentations and to some trifling principles of grammar and logic" (70) And when talking about the Moorish maritime skills, Bey commented that "it is happier for Europe that they never think of improving in this art (71), as this would encourage pirates.

In Marrakesh Ali found that "arts and sciences are entirely out of the question as there is hardly a school of any note" (72). Arthur Leared, the physician, was amused at the Moors' reluctance to drinking effervescent pills, thinking the water is boiling. And after taking the medicine the patient gives away a furious rush of imprisoned gas, which is interpreted as an evil spirit leaving the body. Leared used an electro magnetic apparatus to experiment electric shocks on the unbelieving faces of Moors. These and other instances recorded by these visitors contributed to create the image of backwardness and ignorance of the Moors. All the visitors agree that the savage Moors were in need of the civilising power of the British Empire. For Ruffa this backwardness had a direct impact on the Moorish trade, for him the illiterate system of the Moors was responsible for their ignorance of the value of "free and

(68) Ruffa, 180.
(69) Ali Bey, 69.
(70) Id. 121.
(71) Id. 128.
(72) Id. 157.

secure commerce" (73). The same backwardness was responsible for the bad state of Moorish ports: a fact which hindered trade since the installations at these ports are not made to receive in good conditions the merchant vessels which moored in Babary. The same ignorance, and absence of a skilful approach to agriculture left half the country unexploited. Beauclerk noted that: "... the plains of Ducalla alone, are capable of producing in one year as much corn, as the United kingdom of Great Britain" (74) D. Hay took the comparison further when he stated the country was so rich that with a good government it could produce as much as the whole of North Europe and the Tropiques (75).

6- Political and Military weaknesses: An imperial view

The 'backwardness' of the Moor was portrayed in the British Writings under consideration through critical remarks pertaining to the political system and the military capabilities of the country. Ali Bey for example, wrote : "...Let us ever regard with horror such despotic governments, where subjects are so wretched, where nature has been so bountiful !" (76). In other words Bey's discourse is that Morocco was a rich country, which needed to be saved by a civilized European power. The same point is made by Beauclerk who found the whole fabric of the Moroccan government shaky and every department in utter decay and backwardness, adding that the country was very under-peopled and nothing short of the head and the hand of Bonaparte could save it (77). Drummond Hay had the same view and thought that Morocco was a rich country which needed a good government. In line with this view, some travel accounts paid special attention to the defensive fortifications of the cities and the military capabilities of the Moors showing that this under-peopled and rich country was too weak to defend itself against any European invader. For Beauclerk the chief engineer and the chief bombardier of the Sultan's army were two shivering Spanish soldiers unworthy of military responsibility. The Moorish regular army according to this captain of the British Empire is composed of 700 soldiers "more wretchedly equipped" (78). But though every Moor was liable to be called upon to serve as militia Beauclerk thought that : "in a country where the greater part of the population consists of tribes of men of any country, as the arabs, no great sacrifices can be expected from the emulation of patriotism. He that is born under a camel's hair tent on the desert, has

(73) Ruffa, 180.
(74) Beauclerk, 286.
(75) Hay, 22.
(76) Ali Bey 128.
(77) Beauclerk, 282.
(78) Id. 278.

few localities around to endear him to the country of his birth" (79). So for Beauclerk the Army was badly supervised, wretchedly equipped and with no patriotic feelings which made it very vulnerable to any attack by the British Army. He even went further and imagined himself in the battlefield for another conquest of Morocco for the glory of the British empire and gave the Empire this useful advice: "In a country like this, cavalry would be the most useful, as the soft sand of the road would prevent the rapid movements of the infantry, and make them an easier prey to the cavalry of the enemy" (80). He added that there was no need for the infantry since "the fortification of their towns is a mere burlesque of the term" (81). In fact Beauclerk thinks that Mogador - the most fortified of the Moorish ports could be captured by any naval officer in ten minutes. Drummond Hay found that the whole of the Moorish Marine force which consisted of a few old vessels and which were unfit for the sea represented "... the sorry remnant of the naval forces of Morocco, whose Sallee rovers used to keep in constant alarm the peaceful merchantmen of christendom." (82). All this shows us that these travel accounts are not as innocent as they may appear at first and that most travellers were politically conscious of the implications of their belonging to an empire with interests in Barbary.

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(79) Id. 271.
(80) Id. 273.
(81) Id.
(82) Hay, 66.

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Lady Anne Blunt's Algerian Journals, 1873-74 :

Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840-1922) and Lady Anne Blunt, née King-Noel (1837-1917), are known for their Arabian travels, described in *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (1879) and *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* 1881). What is less well known is that they had already undertaken a number of smaller-scale expeditions, beginning with some weeks riding in Spain during the spring and summer of 1871, followed by a horseback tour from Istanbul to Izmir in spring and summer of 1873. The Turkey trip was their first experience of exploring the rural, if not remote, Islamic East and might usefully be understood as a successful experiment that then served as an incitement to more adventurous travel. It was closely followed by a longer trip to Algeria in the winter and spring of 1873-74, which, after a traumatic beginning, appears to have consolidated the Blunts' mutual pleasure in making desert expeditions.

Both the Blunts kept travel diaries during the Turkey tour, though Wilfrid abandoned his after a few weeks, on 15 May 1873, just after writing the sonnet "Roumeli Hissar" (B. L. Add. MSS. 54073). Some years later he explained that he had abandoned his journal because:

> I had no secrets to set down in one, what I thought she thought, what I did she did, what I felt she felt. These times were our true times of marriage, more than in Europe, and they were happy times. (qtd in Longford 95)

Two things are revealed in this passage: first, that in making expeditions the Blunts were intimately united in a manner that did not obtain at home, where Wilfrid was perpetually sexually entangled with other women. This revelation adds a kink to Edward Said's hypothesis that one of the things Europeans sought in the Islamic East was "sexual experience unobtainable in Europe" or "a different type of sexuality, perhaps more libertine and less guilt-ridden" (Said 190). For the Blunts the difference of Islam lay in Wilfrid's new-found fidelity to Anne, and his absorption in the masculine society of the desert (Longford 94,

Hopwood 204-8). As Byron's granddaughter, Lady Anne was received in the East as both a woman of high breeding and as an advocate of freedom from tyranny , she became an honorary man.

Secondly, Wilfrid knew he could rely on Anne's lifelong dedication to journal-keeping. The British Library holds some 214 volumes of her journals and pocket diaries. It appears that Anne was the sole recorder of the Algerian trip, although Wilfrid occasionally made sketches and drew maps (B. L. Add. MSS. 54074) and, in some instances, annotated Anne's account by adding marginalia. Touring Algeria, Anne filled six notebooks and one pocket diary with a daily account of their adventures (B. L. Add. MSS. 53860-6), a practice she would continue on all their subsequent expeditions. These expeditions became occasions for collaboration in observing and recording. However, as Billie Melman has observed, that collaboration has almost certainly been exaggerated to the detriment of Anne's contribution, with the result that Anne's achievements as "explorer, diarist, writer, translator of pre-Islamic poetry and scholar" are slighted, and that despite her impressive corpus, there is "not one biography of her, not a single monographic study" (Melman 285).

This paper is part of an effort to restore Anne to the history of English women's travel writing and to begin to answer the question of how representative or unusual among English travellers to the Islamic East both Blunts might have been. Reading Anne's manuscript account of the Algerian tour alongside Wilfrid's retrospectus in his *Secret History of the Occupation of Egypt* of 1907 allows us to recognize how substantially the published Arabian travels remain Anne's work, regardless of Wilfrid's editorial interventions. However, the very concept of "Anne's work" must simultaneously be acknowledged as having been profoundly influenced by Wilfrid's knowledge and opinions. She often deferred to his greater worldly experience in matters as varied as identifying exotic species of birds, selecting camels and horses for hire or purchase, and judging the trustworthiness of the locals. At least in these early travels together, both Blunts seem to have been in fundamental agreement about most things they encountered, and passionately dedicated to making a success of the tour.

That dedication was severely tested when Anne suffered a miscarriage on the night of 12-13 January, after only three days on muleback from Medeah. They had been in Algeria, hoping to embark on their adventures, since the 25th of December. On New Year's Day Anne wrote:

> Lady Kingston was holding an afternoon tea reception & there

> were visitors besides, it was, Wilfrid said, just like
> Torquay. We went to the hotel & we dined at the Cafe de la
> Bourse, & came home hoping that tomorrow wd. be the last day
> we shd. be obliged to stay at Algiers.
>
> (B. L. Add. MSS. 53852, fol. 3 v)

The "Torquay of Africa" would become a marketing slogan for Algiers through Thomas Cook's tours and John Murray's guidebooks, the first of which had appeared in 1873 (Beucherif 121). But Wilfrid here utters it as if it were an original observation, and perhaps it was. The gathering impatience with things English and desire to be off on their desert adventure make the recorded trauma of the miscarriage all the more poignant. In her small blue French pocket-diary Anne noted:

> 13 Janvier. Mardi.
>
> I was ill all not goon. & so we have lost both the
> chance for the future & the journey now. I did not think I
> was doing a folly but now it seems to me I shd. have known
> I was trying the impossible. I lay all day in the tent,
> repenting too late. Wilfrid shot a hare. He might have got
> gazelles but I cd. not be left for long enough. I was
> afraid. (B. L. Add. MSS. 53851, fol. 8 r)

The rigours of travel on horse-, mule-, or camel-back, all of which Anne loved, cannot have made sustaining pregnancy easy, particularly when undertaken on a side-saddle. After three days, Anne was carried 25 miles to Boughzoul on a litter by twelve Arabs, four at a time. Far from a shame for abandoning the journey, the event meant a change of route: stopping in Boughzoul, buying camels and horses in Bogharr, and then going to Tiaret and Orán before attempting Laghouat and Beskra on the way to Constantine. As late as 1911, Boghari was still a reasonable place to find good horses since it lay on the road between Tiaret and Blida where there were pedigreed Arab studs (British Naval Intelligence 2: 107, 156), and the region of Tiaret remained the centre of native Barbary horse-breeding (British Naval Intelligence 2: 229). Such was Anne's determination to travel, and to please Wilfrid by travelling with him, that she was back in her side-saddle within twelve days. The "very compact travelling unit" the Blunts made, as Wilfrid put it (qtd in Longford 123), appears to have been achieved at the cost of the children they wished to

have only their daughter Judith survived).

A Tropology of Travels in Algeria

How representative were the Blunts as Victorian English travelers? I would argue, from my readings of British travel writing from the eighteenth century to the present, that although the Blunts represent something of an extreme case, some aspects of their self-representations as travelers carry over generally into the self-representations of English travelers, especially when their destinations lay in the Islamic world of the Maghreb or Near East. Most nineteenth-century travelers who could afford to make their own exploratory expeditions were, like the Blunts, upper-class, with a landed perspective and often with sporting interests. Wilfrid was never so conscious of his duties as a Sussex squire (Hourani 87-103) as when he traveled East. Certainly the Blunts were always on the lookout for handsome horses and dogs, and Wilfrid used his gun on every conceivable occasion to provide game for the pot or specimens for natural historical preservation. On the Algerian trip they traveled with two pointers, Bob and Ben, eventually giving Bob away to the French commandant at Aïn Oussera and later acquiring a handsome saluki whom they took back to England along with two of the horses they had purchased. Anne awoke on March 15th full of canine-inspired delight: "I thought first of my new dog. The sun shone: I wrote down the name of Haouach the beautiful slughi, & the Commandant wrote it for me in Arab. It means 'faiseur de gazelles'. I cd. hardly believe that M. de Laugle had seriously meant to give away his dog: however we are really to take away Haouach" (B. L., Add. MSS. 53856, fol. 5 v). This is Anne's first Arabic lesson, entry into the language mediated by canine love. The Blunts' animal adventures, however, belong to a another study of animals and Englishness (for a first installment, see Landry).

In this paper what I derive from these early, unpublished travel narratives is a tropology of Bluntian reportage. The most common tropes offered by European travelers in the Islamic East are produced within a system of citation Said has designated as Orientalism. Even travelers like the Blunts, who sided with the Arabs against both Ottoman imperial governance and the French colonial administration, showed themselves to be caught in an epistemic system of representations manifested as a series of "desires, repressions, investments, and projections" (Said 8). The Blunts' perspective straddles uneasily that of aristocratic amateurism/travel as having sporting adventures and an emergent political and scholarly interest in the Arab world. As novice travelers in Algeria, both Blunts reveal themselves through Anne's narration to be riding the border between tourism and professional fieldwork. They are "old Arab

hands" in the making, generating themselves proleptically by constructing "Algeria."

Anne strove to be an accurate eye-witness in Algeria, making scientific observations (barometer and thermometer readings, descriptions of soils, plants, and animals, ethnographic descriptions). There is also a certain lyricism to her rendering of the everyday: packing and unpacking, finding provisions, directing servants, shooting game or failing to shoot it, making coffee over an open fire, eating if possible (there is much hunger on this trip). It seems to me that the most striking operative tropes in her Algerian narrative are: the great game, the tent, exhibitionism and self-deconstruction/self-consolidation worked out by means of a dialectic with native hospitality and friendship, and an emergent anti-colonial stance.

The Great Game:

The macropolitics within which the Blunts operate is one of imperial rivalries. It is as if the armies of the Great War were already drawing into position, and as if the world of John Buchan's thriller *Greenmantle* (1916) were already assembling in Europe and the Middle East. Encountering Germans in Algeria initiated a peculiar cycle of petty violence that turned the Blunt's travels there from tragedy to farce. On April 2nd at the caravanserai between Biskra and Batna, Anne observed:

> We found ourselves in the midst of civilization, carriages
>
> were driving abt. with travellers, & a diligence for Biskra
>
> stopped for breakfast at the inn while we were there. Some
>
> Germans were in the room when we first arrived so we cd. not
>
> go in, but they fortunately went away –
>
> (B. L., Add. MSS. 53856, fol. 24 v)

Tempers rise with the return of civilization. Wilfrid strikes his young Cape Verdean servant, Pompey, for galloping a horse with a sore back, and then delivers a "soufflet"- a box on the ear- to a Maltese innkeeper who overcharges them and then says insulting things when Wilfrid refuses to pay the total amount requested. The obligatory Ottoman escort or Spahi, Ben Youssef, and the Arab members of the party had paid for their own absinthe and coffee, and the innkeeper was hoping to milk the English gentleman for a double payment. Wilfrid

> told the aubergiste he was a voleur, & the man made menacing
>
> gestures & said something injurious, the words Wilfrid cd.

not recollect, whereupon Wilfrid gave him a box on the ear. One of the waiters, with a German accent, remonstrated or made some remark & Wilfrid then said something to the effect that if he liked he might also have a soufflet - Then the people of the inn began making a noise & screaming something abt. the gendarmes, in the midst of which noise we rode away.

(B. L. Add. MSS. 53856, fols. 36 r-v)

Where Germans are, or have been, or have had influence, there will be trouble for Englishmen. When at their journey's end at Constantine they meet up with Mr. ("Lord") Clarke and his ladies, who have just come all the way round from Laghouat and are going to Biskra, Anne observes, "His prospects are anything but agreeable, I think" (B. L. Add. MSS. 53856, fol. 42 v).

The French come in for some bemused condescension, with Anne writing concerning the difficulties of obtaining a gun licence at Algiers, "No wonder if in troublous times France comes to grief, with such wheels within wheels of botherations & vexations for each simple thing" (B. L. Add. MSS. 53852, fol. 5 v). But she later revised her opinion about French administration, at least with regard to the officers of the Bureau of Arab affairs, who often seem to have enjoyed the life of desert outposts: "I must say that the french officers we have seen have all been most kind & anxious to help us to do what we liked" (B. L. Add. MSS. 53853, fol. 17 r). So long as the French were sporting officers interested in Arab horses and the nomadic way of life, the Blunts could not fairly take exception to them.

Having traveled in Spain, Anne feels in Oran that she is back in familiar country:

Oran is like a spanish sea-port town, not at all french, & pleased me. There was a certain appearance of life & prosperity which I have seen no where else in Algeria. The streets were full of intransigentes from Cartagena & spanish was understood in all the shops. There was even that peculiar smell of fried oil & the smoke of havana cigarettes which belongs only to Spain. The hotel de la paix

is a very good inn & the wine & cooking seemed to me the best in the world. (B. L. Add. MSS. 53853, fols. 43 r-v)

Familiarity breeds hyperbole. The reassuringly familiar Spanish atmosphere, which reminded her of their original riding adventure, is both a defense against the strangeness of the Maghreb and a bulwark against French colonialism.

Tents

The tent is a key element of the racing expedition on horse- or camelback. And, as James Clifford has observed, the tent flap is a "threshold for certain practices of writing" (Clifford 111, n. 3). Clifford has analyzed the tent as an ethnographic domain for the modern anthropologist, observing "its mobility, thin flaps, providing an 'inside' where notebooks, special foods, a typewriter, could be kept, a base of operations minimally separated from 'the action'" (Clifford 98). There are few meditations on tents as such in either Anne's or Wilfrid's accounts. The longest probably occurs on the Algerian tour, when after miscarrying Anne takes some comfort in having a tent to be ill in. Reporting the few noises she can hear - the servants and the Spahi talking, "the grunting noise the camels make, & the twittering of some larks high in the air above," she writes:

A tent is, in fine weather, the most comfortable place to be ill in if you must be ill, for there is air & no draught & no trouble abt. anything. (B. L. Add. MSS. 53852, fol. 22 v)

The tent above all signified mobility, the essential difference from Europe of the culture of the nomadic people the Blunts were traveling among. The tent represented an escape from ownership and the private property considerations that preoccupied everybody back home. In this respect, of course, the tent also represented a certain independence from the local culture: tented travelers were always at a distance from villages, even while passing through them. Often the chief advantage of a tent seems to have been that it had no fleas, unlike the hans or private houses where travelers might be accommodated. The porousness of the tent as an ethnographic instrument thus seems problematized by the Blunts' example. But there is no doubt that the tent brought them closer to Nature - its details as well as its vigors. Camping in remote places became something of an end in itself. And the tented desert tribes of Algeria, Egypt, the Euphrates valley, and the Arabian peninsula came to represent all that was most admirable in the Eastern alternative to

Western civilization.

Otherness and Self Deconstruction/Self Consolidation

At times in the Algerian tour this admiration for the Other is not so apparent. Orientalist stereotyping of Arabs breaks out on the road between Frenda and Mascara:

> We passed some camels & donkeys & Arabs in a group a little way out of the road to the right, from amongst whom an old woman with a blue star tattooed on each cheek rushed towards us holding out her hands & talking fast & loud like all the Arabs. We gave her some sous.
>
> (B. L. Add. MSS. 53853, fol. 30 r-v)

Indeed, near the beginning of the trip we might at times wonder what Anne was traveling in Algeria for, besides getting Wilfrid away from European temptations and demonstrating her own competence at enduring hardships.

> It is a great bore going to Caids & people who give you hospitality because the horses cannot feed, & we ourselves cannot do what we like. Ben Yussuf heard at the tents he went to, that the Caid had been expecting us the last three days having orders to give us corn &c & to kill three sheep for us, & we are lucky to escape going to his place -
>
> (B. L. add. MSS. 53854, fol. 31 v)

And yet she cannot disguise her emerging interest in who is who in desert society:

> I suppose this Caid is of the tribe of the Ouled Sidi Hamza, of whom the goum [horsemen] who accompanied us from Nekreb to Sekaroum, said that they wd rather not meet them, not being on good terms with them. (B. L. Add. MSS. 53854, fol. 31 v)

Longer exposure to Arab customs allows her to distinguish degrees of elegance in deportment - just as at home. At Aaflou:

> We asked Mr. Gualtier to shew us how the Arabs ate couscous with their hands & this he did & we saw the Agha do it afterwards in a manner wh: was almost elegant - different from that of the people we had seen at the Caid of Chacuya's tent who gobbled like pigs & dropped the couscous all about the carpet. (B. L. Add. MSS. 53854, fol. 38 v)

There is also, of course, the frisson of being the first English people, or first Europeans, to penetrate the interior. Anne adds to her account of 3 March:

> [I forgot to say that yesterday the Caid of Chacuya said we were the only English people who had ever come through this place, & that once only a frenchman had passed by.] (B. L. Add. MSS. 53854, fol. 31 v)

After visiting the daughter-in-law and wife of the Agha Eddin at his camp outside Aaflou, Anne remarked:

> The condition of women being so miserable hard they were the more desirous to see me. If they ever had any new ideas in consequence they wd. soon be taught poor things by the argument of the stick that for them no rights exist.
>
> (B. L. Add. MSS. 53854, fol. 43 r).

The self-consolidation of the Western hegemonic subject - here gendered female - (see Spivak 283-4) as a being with rights and freedoms denied other less fortunate women was another product of Eastern travel. I have analyzed elsewhere the specific spectacle of the Englishwoman on horseback among foreign observers (Landry 471-5). Anne too has her moment of recording her equestrian exhibitionism, the gratification of seeing herself as an astonishing, even dashingly manly, sight. At Laghouat, her reputation had preceded her:

> 0 We were told that my visit added a sensation wh: will last for many years. People will say "A year that the foreign lady came" - &c Their astonishment at seeing me was boundless & especially at my galloping abt. on horseback - had I gone only at a foots' pace they wd. have been less

puzzled perhaps. (B. L. Ad. MSS. 53854, fol. 43 r)

Anne never felt her place was with the women of the East, not even among the Bedouin, whom she will come greatly to admire. One of the benefits of travel for her was that as an Englishwoman, she became an honorary man, her side-saddle notwithstanding (see Landry 473-4, 484 n. 38). Thus self-consolidation (as Western, English, free) was accompanied by self-deconstruction (she was no longer firmly fixed in femininity but imaginarily beyond a simple gendered binary).

Friendship and Hospitality :

Such entering into a publicly masculine society opened possibilities of new friendships sustained by hospitality. Of the Bash Agha of Harmela, Ben Yahia, who introduced them to couscous and the sung history of Abd el Kader, Anne wrote, "I like the Bash Agha & am sorry to say goodbye to him" (B. L. Add. MSS. 53852, fol. 24 r). There is also Boualem (Bulaheum, Bulahuan, or Balahuan in Anne's spelling), a dates trader, who joined the party with a companion and a mule at Laghouat and whose portrait Anne fondly drew. He proved himself to be indispensable : skillfully bleeding a young horse who was ill (it recovered), giving sound advice about the country, singing on the road, and promising hospitality at his oasis town of Bordj. Having provided them with "a very good breakfast of five or six dishes, the couscouss was excellent" (B. L. Add. MSS. 53856, fol. 7 v), Boualem promised to rejoin them at Biskra, where he "took an affectionate farewell" of the party a short way from the town, "& said he shd. never forget us" (B. L. Add. MSS. 53856, fol. 19 r). Boualem represents a first instance of the kind of friendships the Blunts will strike up with Arab informants in their later travels.

An Anti-Colonial Stance :

This crossing over into mutual affection had political as well as personal consequences. Wilfrid attributed his "earliest political reflection" with regard to "Eastern things" to the Anatolian excursion, during which "We" - he and Anne were of one mind - "were impressed, as all travellers have been, with the honest goodness of these People and the badness of their Government" (Blunt 6, 5). The political lesson was that "with much fiscal oppression a large personal liberty existed in rural Turkey for the poor, such as contrasted with our own police and magistrate-ridden England" (Blunt 5). Freedom loving aristocrats like Wilfrid and Anne found that in Algeria their sympathies were wholly with the Arabs because they could not fail to notice, and be incensed by, the "contrast between their noble pastoral life on the one hand, with their camel herds and horses, a life of high tradition filled with the

memory of heroic deeds, and on the other hand the ignoble squalor of the Frank settlers with their wineshops and their swine" (Blunt 7). The "incongruity" of "these last" as "the lords of the land" while the Arabs were "their servants" was another "new political lesson" (Blunt 7).

Conclusions :

The Blunts may never have published these early travel journals because they considered them too amateurish and preliminary in their observations to be worthy of public notice. It is, however, the very amateurishness of these early accounts, with their relatively uninterrogated English prejudices, that reveals in nascent form what would eventually set the Blunts apart from their fellow English tourists. Both learned Arabic and Anne especially went on to translate Arabic poetry. Wilfrid's advocacy of Arab independence with the Sherif of Mecca as the head of a new Caliphate influenced T. E. Lawrence, "Blunt's most devoted, perhaps only, disciple" (Tidrick 126, Hopwood 207). Anne eventually separated from Wilfrid in 1906 and retired to Egypt permanently. By the time she died there in 1917, she had immersed herself in Bedouin horse culture, and produced a work that arguably represents the least ethnocentric of all nineteenth-century Englishwomen's ethnographic writings on the Middle East (see Melman 298, 301), *The Authentic Arabian Horse*, edited and published by her daughter Judith Blunt-Lytton, Lady Wentworth. It was Algeria that gave Anne a first glimpse of Arab pastoral. Afterwards, the lyricism of adventurous tourism would begin to give way to that of Arabic sojourning *tout court*.

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"THAT TUNIS, SIR, WAS CARTHAGE": SOUTH SIDE TALES IN WEST SIDE SCALES

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Orient/Occident stages and topoi

> *"Il y a double écriture, comme il y a double mouvement céleste. Adam, premier maître du monde fut chassé du paradis terrestre, situé en Orient vers l'Occident, de la droite vers la gauche, selon le mouvement du premier mobile. De la même façon Noé, qui fut Janus, second maître du monde, passa d'Orient en Occident, et inversa les caractères, qui s'écrivent de gauche à droite, selon le mouvement inférieur des planètes c'est à dire d'Occident en Orient: selon la prophétie d'Isaïe: d'Orient je ramènerai ta postérité, et d'occident je te rassemblerai."*
>
> *Guillaume Postel, De originibus*

In his classic *Orientalism*, Said likens the imaginative and scholarly Orient to a theatrical stage; he writes:

> "The orient is the stage on which the whole East is confined. On this stage will appear figures whose role is to represent the larger whole from which they emanate. The orient then seems to be [...] a theatrical stage affixed to Europe"[....]. In the depths of this oriental stage stands a prodigious cultural repertoire...the Sphinx, Cleopatra, Eden, Troy, Sodom and Gomorrah, Astarte, Isis and Osiris, Sheba, Babylon, the Genii, the Magi, Nineveh...and a dozen more: settings, in some cases names only, half imagined, half known, monsters devils, heroes, terrors, pleasures, desires. The European imagination was nourished extensively from this repertoire: between the Middle ages and the eighteenth century: such major authors as Ariost, Milton, Marlowe, Tasso, Shakespeare, Cervantes [...] drew on the Orient's riches for their productions"(Said 63).

In the same line of thought, Ania Loomba observes that Renaissance theatrical fascination with the Orient is still in need for investigation, forty seven plays produced between 1579 and 1642 deal with the Orient. James Clifford talks about the Orient as "a theatre, a stage on which a performance is repeated from a privileged standpoint". For Greenblatt,

the East is a spectacle, a scenario, "a social energy" made of sensations that mingle the glamorous and the horrific, destined not only to fashion the national character but also to establish the very condition of monarchical power in spite or because of the binarism of subversion and containment inherent to theatrical representations (Loomba: 188-189).

The Occident is born and appended to the Orient, as well as is an extension to it, not as geography only, but as an archaeological component of both intellect and imagination. In between Orient/Occident times and sites lies the perpetuity of the sea, a disjunctive junction, studded with nameless and intriguing islands or continents, peopled with monsters, captives, pirates, exiles, sirens and treasures. In 1536, taking up the ancient definition of Isidore of Sevilla, Guillaume de Boldensele defines the Mediterranean as the sea between the lands and a sort of arm separating Asia, Africa and Europe (Qtd in Notz, 124). The insurmountable vastness is a divide and a regulator of an exchange that remained the same from antiquity up to the Middle Age and after. In *L'Europe et la mer*, Michel Mollat du Jourdain writes :

> "le dialogue Europe Méditerranée se poursuit jusqu'au terme du Moyen Age, et peut être même au-delà, en des conditions assez semblables de l'Antiquité. Comme dans un organisme humain, la mer intérieure joua le rôle régulateur d'un poumon: l'air de l'orient apportait le souffle de l'esprit et l'activité maritime soutenait la fonction nutritionnelle de la circulation" (419).

The sea also acts as an important literary machine, a nutrient for the imagination. There, exchange is the risky encounter with alterity (in space and in time) crossways the voyage into human imperfections, and the infinity and depth of the waters is a site for epics of power, for self-fashioning and referentiality. The motif of the inferiated and demonic sea is recurrent, as is wreckage and safe landing on a strange island. There too half sunk / half emerging islands prefigure the wreckage of habitual relationships and family history, the rediscovery of concealed wisdom and the establishment and redistribution of new connections. In the occidental imaginary, the inscriptions of the distant memory of the Roman/Carthaginian contention are mingled with the oriental genesis of the Bible, and with the more recent crusades. The heroes of odysseys and peregrinations often display among other quest topoi, a spiritual itinerary and a desire of the reunion of East and West into some ecumenical Christendom. In the humanist modern utopia, the old Christian substratum is grafted on the Renaissant emulation of the putative model of Rome and its masculine ideals of a global culture dominated by the sword and the law.

The Christian era gave a novel imaginative economy and geography to the ancient Mediterranean. Considering the organic relationship of

epic and history, and of epic and tragedy (tragedy being foundational of the *civitas* since Oedipus), Virgil's importance as a founding father in the representational process is fundamental in the literary phenomenon. As a nationalist, he paved the way to the synchretic process of christening the Greek and Roman mythological heritage in the first century A.D., thereby defining the boundaries and configurations of the new national imaginative territory. According to Perret, he formulated the esoteric import of national grandeur and history, embryonic in the Iliad and the Odyssey. The myth in Virgil takes a new configuration and a specific intention and becomes an ideological allegory. In its confines are consigned all the prescriptions of the Roman state and history: austerity, obedience to the gods, heroism, and reprobation to all those who, like Anthony or Caesar, failed to resist the subjugating charms and grandeur of the Orient (Perret 94-97). Thus the Carthagisian episode of Aeneas and Dido is expanded in Virgil to serve self referential and national constructive purposes. The scandalous landing of Aeneas in Carthage is as scandalous as are Anthony's Egyptian passions or Cesar's Spanish temptations. Of course, the Virgilian allegory was subject to jest and mockery among some literary figures in the same manner that Homer (his likely mentor) was among contemporaries and posterity.

In the aftermath of the crusades, humanists continued the reinterpretation of the theological representations into anthropological/ideological terms. The insecurities and uncertainties of the free and outward tension of the Renaissance imagination exacerbated the ancient divide and produced manicheist allegories. Christine Escarmant explains the modern process of translation :

> "la construction des régimes centralisés, l'édification des frontières européennes et des patrimoines linguistiques, se fondent sur la constitution de nouveaux mythes archéologiques qui mêlent désormais les dieux grecs et romains aux personnages bibliques dont ils ne seraient que les avatars" (103).

The ancient term barbarian, originally designating things that are not Roman, gradually becomes interchangeable with African, Moor, Gypsie, Turk, and Mohammedan; and with the discovery of the New World and its new savages, with Amerindians (Hulme 106). Thus monolithic racial difference and pan-Europeanism become imaginative antithetic parameters. In modernity, literature with its print capitalism ally disseminated the national boundaries of self-referentiality and definition (Anderson 37-46). With a view to the unending post Althusserian debate of the literary discourse being proactive to dominant ideology, Kristeva's Bakhtinian assumption that the generic boundaries of the constructive epic monology are opposed to the multivalent and dialogical nature of the narrative genre (Kristeva 159) may be used to account for the in-depth investment with paradox of the

unvarying imperial tropes and their territorial fixtures. Shakespeare, in spite or because of his relation to power and the relation of the stage to state ideology in particular, is one of such people of paradox and equivocation. In *The Tempest*, power is a discourse exposed and staged as a delusive illusion, an unsubstantial discourse made of words of air, a habitus of the mind rather than a tangible reality. Self-knowledge in depth more than self-referentiality is often in Shakespeare, a "Barbarian historian", as Voltaire calls him (Delon 55), the measure that distinguishes reality from appearance, and facts from fables. While lifting from as well as conversing with Virgil, Shakespeare proposes an alternative and almost scandalous archeology and genealogy to both progenitors and progeny.

Shakespeare's Orientations

All that's mine would have been thine, if it was not for that more (moor!)

Shakespeare_sonnet 40

Shakespeare's relation to modern Barbary and the Orient is displayed in many of his plays and poems. The renascent Elizabethan equivocal connections and unresolved aporia are dramatised in the dark comedy of *The Merchant of Venice* and in the domestic tragedy of *Othello, the Moor of Venice*. Both located in Venice, in Arabic *al boundoukia*, a cruel and cosmopolitan place where Christians, Jews and Moslems seek for lost treasures and lasting enigma. Julius Cesar and Anthony and Cleopatra display the presence of the remote space beyond the sea and all overwhelming passions and alliances, sublime and devastating, as well as the shifting identities of savage queens and nativised kings. The accounts of Barbary circulating in England in the XVIth . Century, with distant echoes of native piracy and of stories of Provençal, Corsican, Italian and even British adventurers converting to Islam to benefit from Tunisian and Algerian piracy and loot (Bloody 64), along with the embryonic political and commercial alliances certainly served as a nutrient for Shakespeare's imagination. The seduction and desire of the distant Orient, formerly dressed in the sexual simulacrum of Cleopatra (Belsey 38) acquire a prosperous merchant substance.

In 1600 Ahmad Al Mansur, the king of Fez, sent a Moorish embassy to Queen Elizabeth I. The acknowledged intention of the expedition led by Abd el Wahed Ben Messaoud was trade relations while the real motif was the establishment of an alliance and a joint military action against Spain. The alliance transformed the Spaniards into heretics and the barbarian infidels into allies. To render this quite unnatural alliance legitimate, an official spokesman had to declare in 1586 "her majesty, in using the king of Fez, doth not arm a barbarian against a Christian, but a barbarian against a heretic"(qtd. in Harris 90). Yet in spite of it being a *raison d'état*, the political alliance was however an undesirable aporia

and a source of anxiety for the English. Spain's reaction was more demonstrative; they sent several warships to Tunis and named one of its harbours in the West Indies, Carthage. Abd el Wahed Ben Mansour was considered as a possible model for Shakespeare's *Othello* which appeared in 1601.

The unhappy resolution of Othello's and Desdemona's wedlock does not resolve the ancient anxiety of misrepresented alliances; on the contrary, it further exacerbates the ambiguous redistribution of stereotypical and conventional traits of character. Thus the name Desdemona (suggesting whiteness, but also bad fate in Greek deus unfast, demons : fate) contains also the demonic. Her father's name Brabantio is an anagram of Barbarian; and Othello, the dark other, is given noble distinctions. Shakespeare plays his part in Renaissance self-fashioning by re-examining the relation between two cultures, two worlds, and two times and by incorporating the trace of the stubborn other in the palimpsest of the self.

Sea wise Shakespeare

In *The Tempest* examined here, Shakespeare invokes an alternative memory to self-knowledge. Scholars disagree on whether *The Tempest* is Shakespeare's early, penultimate or final work; they all tend to agree, however, on a more mature vision. The clash of cultures is transformed into a pre-modern or a posthuman postmodern multicultural reconciliation of irreconcilables. In *The Tempest* the plot fuses the English Renaissance imaginary and debates with fables and accounts reported by seafarers or read in the books of the ancients. The inaugural scene is a ship at great peril facing two inevitable sources of either wreckage or safe landing on a southern magical island, located in the Mediterranean, somewhere between Tunis and Naples. One of the major themes is the reconciliation of two generations and of two times; another, largely surveyed by postcolonial scholarship, is the usurpation and the erasure of Caliban's culture and history by Prospero (Caliban is a literal specimen of Montaigne's savage cannibals, son of the devil and of Sycorax, "the witch of Argiers"). In the calm that follows safe landing, Prospero, an equivocal character, re-assumes and recounts his rather nefarious past to his rather unreceptive daughter Miranda. To gain her attention and a favourable judgement on his finely unsubstantial discourse, he responds in the manner of an incompetent instructor, "Thou attend'st not. (But thou lose?"

The plot framed in this tale is as follows: Prospero, the duke of Milan whose throne has been usurped by his brother Antonio, is cast on an island with his daughter Miranda. The island was a place of banishment for Sycorax, the witch of Algiers. He subjugates her former slave Ariel and indeed enslaves her son Caliban. The play begins with a tempest engineered by Prospero's magic to wreck a ship carrying his usurping

brother Antonio and company, including Alonso, the king of Naples, his brother Sebastian and his son Ferdinand on their return from Tunis where they attended his sister Claribel's wedding to the king of Tunis. Ferdinand is thought to be lost, but by Prospero's art, he is brought to Miranda and they both fall in love at first sight with help from the spirit Ariel who brings in the goddess Iris, the link between men and gods: Juno of the heavens, patron of marriages: and Ceres, the earth goddess. On the other side of the island, Sebastian and Antonio plot to kill Alonso with the aid of the half-human Caliban who also tries to persuade them to kill his enslaver Prospero, and again Ariel and the gods thwart the scheme. The Tempest ends with reconcilement and renunciation and with the happy union of Miranda and Ferdinand. Prospero frees Ariel, renounces his magical powers and restitutes Caliban's island.

Although there are several analogues for the story of *The Tempest*, and contemporary accounts of the shipwreck of the sea venture in 1609 on the Bermudas and passages from Golding's Ovid and Florio's Montaigne contribute details to the play, no single source for it is known (Drabble 969). Virgil, however, may be the chief inspiration of Shakespeare. The line "That Tunis, sir, was Carthage" points clearly to Virgil's Carthaginian episode as the arche-text that Shakespeare revisits and responds to: Kermode states that "Shakespeare has Virgil in mind", Knott contends that "the Virgilian myths are invoked, challenged and finally rejected", and Wiltenburg indicates that "*The Aeneid* is not the main source of the plot, but the work to which Shakespeare is responding, the story he is retelling (qtd in Orgel 39). Prospero's or Caliban's island is not situated in the New World, it is located on an unnamed island in the Mediterranean. Somehow, Shakespeare complicates the picture by alluding to the New World, thus establishing a triadic relation between the Americas, Europe and Africa.

The plot in which such strange alliances are brought on an island somewhere in the southern part of the Mediterranean, undoubtedly recalls the fabricated Virgilian fable of Roman Aeneas's encounter with Dido of Carthage where passion is ruled out by duty. Shakespeare responds to the Virgilian forgery with a fable of happy marriages fabricated with the tricks and words of Prospero. The matrimonial alliances are of a political sort: Miranda (heiress to the duke of Milan) is wed to Ferdinand (the future king of Naples) and Claribel, Princess of Naples, weds the king of Tunis. What the play does not say but suggests (through the interplay of fearless symmetries is that motherless Miranda is probably Caliban's sister and the daughter/step daughter of Sycorax, the witch of Algiers. As in folk motifs, the beauty of the daughter is measured/identified by her mother/step mother. Caliban, who is the bearer of an alternative knowledge and truth in the play, testifies that only Miranda surpasses Sycorax in beauty: "I never saw a woman/ But only Sycorax my dam and she/ But she as far surpasseth Sycorax/ As

greatest does least (ACT III, sc. 2): A textual contiguity is thus established between the two women. In a parallel way, Prospero, the father figure, acknowledges in the end his paternity to Caliban : "This thing of darkness / I acknowledge mine " (Act. V, sc. I). Such strange quadruped household configuration involves the issue of heritage and legitimacy, but also brings to mind Shakespeare's strange relation to the dark lady of the *Sonnets* and his probable illegitimate half/half offspring.

Despite the suggested disapproval of Claribel's marriage to the king of Tunis, which Orgel pledges "would have been unthinkable to a Renaissance Christian audience, since the king of Tunis would have been a Moslem", a prosperous double wedding is celebrated in the lightness of comedy :

> "In one voyage,
>
> Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis
>
> And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife
>
> where he himself was lost, Prospero his dukedom
>
> In a poor isle and all of us ourselves
>
> When no man was his own" (*The Tempest* V, I)

The alliances engineered by Prospero, who possesses motherly and feminine qualities of nurturing (his own daughter) and fostering prosperous alliances, but whose magical words and books did also engineer the inaugural tempest, establishes unnatural and unknown past archaeologies and future genealogies. These obviously political marriages are a combination of sexuality and power: they evoke a past of treason, perfidy and usurpation and assume forgiveness of past injuries. All of this is not safe from irony, of course, and hints to the new global economics of strange encounter and alliances as well as to political matrimonial opportunism and its recuperation of all sorts of ethics. The comical genre relieves of the earnestness of the epic genre by displacing the tragic semblance of such unusual events. Naturally, we all know the centrality of matrimonial alliances, of kinship and kingship in the construction of the European monarchies and dynasties, ancient and modern. But the matrimonial alliances in the play are not intra-European: they are extra-European in nature and involve the circulation and exchange of women and men of alien blood and culture. The present unions of Claribel and the king of Tunis, and of Miranda and Ferdinand retrieve the memory of the past narrative of widow Dido and now widowed Aeneas as well as welds Carthage and Tunis in one.

The passage where Carthage is assimilated to Tunis and where widow Dido and widower Aeneas are brought up is one that "baffled critics" writes Stephen Orgel, one of Shakespeare's major contemporary critics. The argument takes place when Gonzalo, an old counsellor of

Prospero, finds himself on the island, in the company of Sebastian, Alonso and Antonio and Adrian, a courtier. The wreck happens on their return from Tunis, where they attended the royal wedding. In this episode, the exchange brings the far past and mingles ancient time with the present of the narrative with a view to re-examining the relationship of two cultures in constant conflict. Gonzalo, an honest old councillor, opens the debate with a metaphorical statement about their garments being "as fresh as we first put them in Afric" suggesting the perennial sameness in happenings and in attitudes since the first Roman/Phoenician contact that originated in Africa _ North Africa in old time geography. The elderly is someone who does as Prospero's says "yet taste some subtleties of the isleand/ that will not let you believe things certain". In a passage, where comedy approximates derision, he confounds temporal and spatial categories and now assures himself that "this Tunis, sir, was Carthage". Antonio speculates on Dido's widowhood and Sebastian on Aeneas's. Where Gonzalo likens Dido's righteousness to Claribel's, sly Antonio and Sebastian bring in unchaste widower and unchaste widow.

GONZALO : Methinks our garments are now as fresh as when we put them on first in Afric, at the marriage of king's fair daughter Claribel to the king of Tunis.

SEBASTIAN : 'Twas a sweet marriage, and we prosper well in our return.

ADRIAN : Tunis was never graced before with such a paragon to their queen.

GONZALO : Not since widow Dido's time.

ANTONIO : Widow? A pox o'that. How came that widow in? Widow Dido?

SEBASTIAN : What if he had 'widower Aeneas too? Good lord, how you take it!

ADRIAN : 'Widow Dido' said you? You make me study of that. She was of Carthage, not of Tunis.

GONZALO : This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.

ADRIAN : Carthage?

GONZALO : I assure you, Carthage.

Such speculations, where objective and subjective times are set face to face, are designed to bring back an old epochhistorical debate on the accounts of ancient authors on the Carthaginian legacy. Dido is only a gynomorphic/ geomorphic icon in the debate over history and power in the ancient Mediterranean economy. As Orgel observes :

> "From antiquity until well to the seventeenth century, there were two traditions concerning Dido. In the older, [...] she was an exemplary ruler, famous for her chastity and devotion to the memory of her murdered husband. She committed suicide to prevent her forced marriage to a local king. [...] It is Virgil who introduces Aeneas into the legend [...] Petrarch in the *Triumph of Chastity* explicitly denies that Aeneas had anything to do with Dido's death, and Boccaccio in his book of heroines, *De claris mulieribus*, rebukes Virgil for lying about her" (41).

The Vigilian semiology, feminises and consequently diabolises the Phoenician enemy, and transforms Dido from a model of heroic chastity and disinterestedness to an example of the dangers of erotic passions and subjugating power: "later commentators generally account for the transformation as Virgil's way of explaining the enmity between Carthage and Rome" (Orgel 41). In Their revision of Phoenician history, Soren, Ben Abed and Slim maintain that Emperor Augustus ordered the fable as a work of propaganda against Julius Caesar and other narratives of patriotic duty opposed passion (Soren et al. 22). Orgel quotes Sandys and his commentary on book 14 of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* to indicate the tradition Shakespeare is following in *The Tempest*: "Others upon better grounds have determined that this was a mere fiction and that Aeneas never came thither, he thus translates an epigram of Ausonius attributed to Dido "So fell unforced: lived undefamed/ Revenged my husband, built a city, died"(41). This of course effaces the manichean allegories that "feminise" the enemy and associate him/her with all things lustful or malignant. In this passage, the guilt is also incorporated in Aeneas, who now becomes an unchaste widower. As usual, Shakespeare intertwines human virtues and imperfections across the borders of sex, race and gender. As Orgel observes, " brief as it is, the exchange, with its tiny dialectic of ethical and cynical, encapsulates the play's thematic ambivalence towards human nature and towards the past" (42).

The speculation on the historical facts consigned in fables and epics is a self-reflexive moment where Shakespeare considers the function of the poet and of words. Prospero often considered to be his own self portrait is a fabricator of facts and fables with words made of air; and Virgil whom he invests with things unsaid yet done, is the initial achiever of unsubstantial tempests and a magus poet who determined to transform artful words into history, and magic into a 'well fished for' logos. In the tempest tale, "That Carthage was Tunis" is a "word" with effects "more than the miraculous harp" that "hath raised the wall, and the houses too", and one that "will make easy" "impossible matters", as "he will carry this island home in his pocket and give it to his son for an apple", and "sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more

islands". All of this is "crammed" into "ears against the stomach of sense".

ANTONIO : His word is more than the miraculous harp.

SEBASTIAN : He hath raised the wall, and houses too.

ANTONIO : What impossible matter will he make easy next ?

SEBASTIAN : I think he will carry this island home in his pocket and give it his son for an apple.

ANTONIO : And sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more islands.

GONZALO Ay.

ANTONIO : Why, in good time.

GONZALO : *(to Alonso)* Sir, we were talking that our garments seem now as fresh as when we were at Tunis at the marriage of your daughter, who is now queen.

ANTONIO : And the rarest that e'er came there.

SEBASTIAN : Bate, I beseech you, widow Dido.

ANTONIO : O widow, Dido? Ay, widow Dido.

GONZALO : Is not, sir, my doublet as fresh as the first day I wore it? I mean, in a sort.

ANTONIO : That sort was well fished for.

GONZALO : When I wore it at your daughter's marriage.

ALONSO : You cram these words into mine ears against The stomach of my sense.

Along with Dido's Carthaginian fable, Shakespeare invokes another obscure legend from Barbary, also associated with the feminine and embedded in the very fabric of the play. Like Dido's, it serves the purpose of unveiling things unsaid. The Maghrebean Island, a geography of endless and repeated conquests, has always been associated with the feminine from Tanit, to Dido to Sophonisbe to Al Kahena. The Arabs themselves constructed narratives about a 'Yamina of the Djoeedjir' a version combining Dido's and Sophonisbe's tales. The legend of Sycorax, the witch of Algiers, exile and proprietor of the island before Prospero, recalls the story of the Numidian queen Al Kahena. The appellation means in Phoenician, Arabic and in Hebrew 'oracle' or 'sorceress'. Arab sources, such as Ibn Abd el Hakem, En Noweiri, Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Al Athir date her existence to the first century of the Islamic era and to the early days of the conquest of the Maghrebean Island "Al Jazira al Maghribya". The exclusively Arab male sources and semiology constructed around Al Kahena, recall the Virgilian vein of

fornication and disfiguration. According to Ibn Khaldun, she has knowledge of the supernatural taught her by her familiar demons. Ibn Khaldun identifies her as a Jewish Djeroua from the Aurès in Algeria, and cruel ruler leader to her Berber Peoples. Ibn Abd El Hakem, an early Arab historian extends the metaphor to the whole territory, and quoting Al Khalifa Omar, names her the perfidious dweller, *"al ghadoura al mafarrige"* to explain its irreducibility to conquest and proselytization. At the same time, other accounts of her courage and political abnegation for the benefit of a multi race/confessional peaceful sociability and coexistence of her biological (Greek and Berber) and adopted posterity (Arab Muslim) are rendered in local folk legends and sources (Chaulet 252-258).

In very similar terms, Prospero informs us on "this damned witch Sycorax/For mischiefs manifold and sorceries terrible/To enter human hearing from Argier". Prospero and Sycorax share the same story of banishment: usurping her island, he is invested also with artful magic. Towards the end of the play we're urged, "the identification of Prospero and Sycorax in Shakespeare's mind becomes strikingly manifest : Prospero, celebrating and renouncing his magic, does so with a speech of Ovid's Medea. The name Sycorax, a subject of critical speculation, and one that has "never been adequately explained, is thus associated with our epithet of Ovid's witch, the Scythian raven" (Unger) 250. Yet, considering the morale of the tale, the appellation is closest to Sycomore, a sacred tree in ancient Egyptian mythology. The sycomore is indeed mentioned in Virgil's *Aeneid* where Sybil is said to write oracles on the leaves. For them not to be scattered, she keeps them in her hearth, or cavern, or fig (Barbier 567-580. The uterine symbolism is obvious here, and will be the more so when Prospero, also a maternal figure in the play, decides at the end of the play to bury it [his magic wand] certain fathoms in the earth, and deeper than ever did plummet sound/I drown my books". Moreover, and according to the Egyptian myth, climbing up the sycomore tree means participating in a certain spiritual madness, the madness or wisdom of detachment from the life world (Barbier 257). Considering the Renaissant predilection for anagrammatic writing, sycomore or nox (womb) then signify king/queen of the sycomore. On the other hand, Sycorax evokes another tree of the deep: sea corals, which, in Ariel's song become the bones of the father figure, who, in turn, evokes Proteus, the marine god, in whom the ancients dissimulated the ungraspable truths of the past and their multifarious metamorphoses. In Ariel's song, the search for origins, for roots and for truths is an hourly toil and duty to memory that discloses prosperous and strange gifts :

"Full fathom five thy father lies
Of his bones are coral made
Those are pearls that were his eyes

Nothing of him that doth fade
But doth suffer a sea change
Into something rich and strange
Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell.

Likewise, oblivion and burial of the logos and the renunciation of enchanting powers partakes in the same virtuous process of the duty to memory :

The pine and cedar. Graves at my command
Have waked their sleepers, oped, and let'em forth
By my so potent art. But this rough magic
I here abjure; and when I have required
Some heavenly music_which even now I do_
To work mine end upon their senses that
The airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
And bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And deeper than did ever plummet sound
I'll drown my book

Anecdotally, Dido's story is one of detachment and disinterestedness, as is Al Kahena's. Prospero also follows the same spiritual itinerary of renunciation. His final gesture of the dissolution of power and of the self, recalls the final gesture of Dido and of Al Kahena as they both build and die. The idea of abnegation as a form of sociability is captioned in Stephano's precept that "Everyman shift for the rest and let no man take care of himself" patterned on Montaigne's observation on cannibals, who, says he speak of men as halves of each other. "Burn but his books" proposes Caliban to undo Prospero's unsubstantial power. Prospero does vow to bury them instead as the airy art that makes tempests once prosperous alliances are made, before pronouncing his final plea to "let your indulgence set me free". *The Tempest* may then be read as a Quest/naufragium of truth.

The relationship of memory to history as it is dramatised by Shakespeare's dialogic and multivalent imagination shows that historiography is precisely the site of queries and quarrels opposing memory to history, often irreconcilable, and at times irreparable. He who wins, is he who constructs not necessarily the true or the best story, but rather the adept and productive economy of a story. Still, the magical island remains a memory matrix for infinite constructions of histories, and so an enigmatic site for the difficult task and duty to memory. By merely changing the tense and proxemics (*This* Tunis ,sir, *is* Carthage), the tuno as well as the process of the return from selective history (a mere representational truth) back to cumulative memory (an absent eternal present) are all altered for other miracles to commence,

other kernels to be sowed and as yet "more oracles" to plunge "full fathom five" and "rectify our knowledge".

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BRITONS ABROAD : TRAVELLERS AND TRADERS IN MAGHREBIAN PORTS, 1580-1720 *

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1. Travellers Write History :

Although notoriously unreliable, the writings of travellers can provide important insights concerning British trading interests and practices in the Ottoman Mediterranean during the long seventeenth century that the diplomatic and mercantile archives may obscure or even ignore. Such accounts often contain otherwise unavailable information that contributes to our understanding of trading interests, political interactions, social life, and the formation of national identities in international settings where cultural differences were being mediated, in a very direct sense, by the logics and logistics of trade.

In this paper, I will focus on some accounts by travelers to Maghrebian ports, focussing on moments when the traveler discovers fellow Britons already living there. With this in mind, I wish to offer a variant on that "paradigmatic" "travel conjuncture" which James Clifford has termed the "Squanto effect." Squanto, Clifford recalls, was "the Indian who greeted the pilgrims in 1620 in Plymouth, Massachusetts, who helped them through a hard winter and who spoke good English." "Think," he continues, "of coming into a new place like that and having the uncanny experience of running into a Patuxet just back from Europe" (1). Or think, I would ask, of arriving on the coast of North Africa in the sixteenth century and being greeted by a turbaned Turk born and raised in Devon, Cornwall, or Essex.

Haunted by this figure of the "hybrid 'native,'" the insider-outsider who is a good translator and explicator, the local informant who has "been around" (Clifford, p. 19), I will suggest that while travel writers might not furnish us with accurate figures on values and volumes of trade, they nevertheless do provide important glimpses into the lives of

* A different version of this paper on British expatriates living on Ionian islands was presented at the IGOAS congress at Nauplo of Laconia in June 2002 : my thanks to Professor Vassily Cristides and the audience on that memorable occasion. An earlier version using Okeley and Peyys was presented at Exeter University in September 2002 at "The Movement of People and Ideas," the occasion of this publication. Special thanks to Dr. Mohamed-Salah Omri, and—as always—to Donna Landry.

(1) James Clifford, "Traveling Cultures," in *Routes : Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 18-19.

expatriated fellow countrymen and women making a living where trade was happening and, in doing so, can shed light on how those engaged in shaping early Anglo-Ottoman relations refuse to conform to the "*positional* superiority" of the West over the East that Edward Said attributes to subsequent generations of European Orientalists (2).

Studies by Sonia Anderson and Daniel Goffman of Britons permanently resident amongst the trading communities of seventeenth century Izmir, and Nabil Matar's recent studies of captivity narratives involving the movement of peoples between Britain and Maghrebian ports, provide ample evidence of the diversity, scale, and importance of the links between expatriation and trade in the more general formations of national and international identities at the time (3). But by trade, let me hasten to add, I have in mind not simply the business of making a profit from importing and exporting commodities-British tin, rabbit-skins, and woollen goods in exchange for Eastern spices, currants, and silk, or African sugar, dates, and almonds, for example-but also the exchange of cultural values, practices, and attitudes, between one country, climate, and social structure, and another. The desire to profit from the trade in goods, I am suggesting, was frequently accompanied by the desire to trade places. As Matar forcefully argues in *Islam in Britain*, the attractions of Islam and life within the Ottoman Empire and its regencies across North Africa were so compelling that "thousands of European Christians converted to Islam in the Renaissance and the seventeenth century, either because their poor social conditions forced them toward such a choice, or because they sought to identify with a powerful empire" (4).

2. William Okeley in Algiers, 1639-1644 :

In contrast to residents of Ionian, Aegean, and Levantine trading centres, Britons living in Maghrebian ports who show up in the writings of travelers are most often immiserated captives, renegades, or pirates. Exceptions are, of course, conspicuous among whom are the soldiers and colonists living in Tangier between 1661 and 1684 when that city was under British control following Charles II's marriage settlement with Catherine of Braganza. Of them more in a moment. But first, some instances of hybridised natives discovered living in the Maghreb.

(2) Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (1978; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1995), p. 7.

(3) See Sonia Anderson, *An English Consul in Turkey : Paul Rycaut at Smyrna, 1667-1678* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), and Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550-1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), and *Britons in the Ottoman Empire, 1642-1660* (Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1998).

(4) Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain, 1558-1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 15.

Although it would be another two centuries before Algiers would deserve the title of "the Torquay of Africa," as Osman Bencherif calls it, (5) the pious William Okeley describes something like an expatriate community or subculture among the English living there during the period of his captivity between 1639 and 1644. When the man who buys him from the slave market-Okeley ironically calls him "my Patron"-runs into financial difficulties, Okeley reports being commanded to "allow him *two Dollars per month*, and Live ashore where I would, and get it where I could" (6) Casting about and trusting to God, Okeley first comes upon "an *English*-man, whose condition was that of a *Slave*, whose *Calling* was that of a *Taylor*" who "counselled me to come and stay with him" and learn the trade (p. 17). The next day, however, the tailor changes his mind and Okeley wanders forlornly until "Providence Directed me to another *English*-man, who was sitting in *a little Shop*" and invites him to join the business. "Seeing nothing but bare walls," Okeley asks "*to what End* ? What Trade should we drive here?" Recalling how the earliest trade between England and Morocco was in munitions, we may not be surprised by the reply Okeley received : "Countrey-man (said he) I drive here an unknown Trade: here I sell Lead, Iron, Shot, Strong-waters, Tobacco, and many other things : That Motion was a great deal too good to be refused: and I think at that time no tolerable condition would have struck with me". (pp. 18-19)

For the next four years of their partnership, Okeley becomes a successful dealer in clandestine commodities, especially tobacco and wine which sell well among the local Algerines and resident renegades. Hiding his growing profits from both his partner (who becomes a lazy drunk) and from his Patron, Okeley soon takes on another partner, one John Randal, "who, with his Wife and Child were taken in the same Ship with my self being put to the same shifts with my self, and, by very common, having a Monethly Tax imposed upon him by his Patron" (p. 19). As his hidden stash accumulates, so his desire for freedom grows and, in keeping with the providentialist nature of Okeley's narrative, deliverance arrives in the form of a newly arrived English captive, "Mr Devereux Spear, a Minister of the Gospel" (p. 23). "It deserves our consideration", Okeley muses, "and greatest Admiration, that the wise-

(5) Osman Bencherif, *The Image of Algeria in Anglo-American Writings, 1785-1962* (Lanham MD: University Press of America, 1987) p. 173.

(6) William Okeley, *Eben-Ezer: or, A Small Remembrancer of Great Mercy, Appearing in the Miraculous Deliverances of William Okeley, William Adams, John Anthony, John Ayres, John Gregory, From the Miserable Slavery of Algiers, with the wonderful Manner of their Escape in a Boat at Certain, The great Hardships, and strange Extremities which they endured at Sea for Six Days and Nights (there safe arrived at Marseils. With several Memorials of Encouragement during their long Captivity, and the following Providences at sea which brought them safe to England (rpt. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966) (Early English Books, 1641-1700 ; 1:1), p. 16.

God should supply our Necessities at the cost and charges of others of his dear Servants. But thus Providence sent Joseph into Egypt, where he endured a thirteen Years Slavery, that he might preserve the Lives of his Fathers Family, within whose narrow walls the most Visible Church of God in those days was enclosed" (p. 25).

Within a very short time, the cellar in which Okeley has been hiding his goddie becomes a chapel where, three times a week, "this Godly pouful Servant of Jesus Christ prayed with us, and Preach'd to us the Word of God... To our Meetings resorted many, sometimes three or fourscore, and though we met not *in the Street*, yet we never had the least disturbance from the *Turks, or Moors*" (p. 24). Unfortunately Okeley tells us nothing about who made up these large congregations, but perhaps they included "Sampson Baker," a surgeon who helps an unnamed English renegade who was severely beaten for goddie drunkenness (pp. 32-33). Perhaps it was Okeley himself who supplied the means to get drunk in the first place. When Okeley eventually plans a successful escape plan, he takes along a select group of six fellow countrymen, including two carpenters, a mariner, a bricklayer, and two cloth workers.

The evidence of Okeley's text is not a great deal to go on, but it does indicate something of a substantial community of Britons making a living and forming a subculture in Algiers at a time when England was engaged in its Civil Wars.

3. Pepys in/on Tangier, 1684

Perhaps the most vivid record of how expatriated Britons conducted their social life in a Maghrebian coastal town, however, is supplied by Samuel Pepys in the journal and index he kept while serving as agent for Lord Dartmouth's mission to close down the Tangier colony in 1684. Since John Wrigleworth has presented a splendid account of this "aborted footnote in Britain's imperial history" (2), I aim to add little more than a footnote to a footnote. Wrigleworth argues that Britain's Tangier reform "fell" because of "hostile politicians and recalcitrant royal officials," and that this once "optimistic" attempt at establishing a military, naval, and trading center on the North African coast "died from lack of interest" (Wrigleworth, pp. 223, 230). A cursory reading of Pepys' so-called "Tangier Papers" in their published form reveals further complicating ingredients. Unfortunately Edwin Chappell, who edited Pepys's short hand manuscripts in the 1930s, considered them to be "a certain amount of indelicate matter" that had "to be omitted"(8). But even so, what Chappell did include provides sufficient reason for thinking that the fall, or death, of the colony might also have involved the gross incompetence, immorality, and massive corruption affecting all members of the expatriate British community.

Immediately he arrived in September, Pepys noticed how "mightily" English bodies were disfigured from life in the colony. On Friday the 14th, the day his ship arrived, Pepys recorded meeting his brother-in-law, Balthazar St. Michel, who was "mightily altered in his looks, with hard usage as he tells me." Next Monday, the 17th, Pepys dined ashore and noted how Lady Mary Howard, whom he had known in London and now wife of the governor, Colonel Percy Kirke, was "mightily changed:" and again on Sunday the 23rd, after attending church, he records: "But above all that was remarkable here, I met the governor's lady in the pew (a lady I have long admired for her beauty, but she is mightily altered. And," he added, "they do tell stories of her on her part, while her husband minds pleasure of the same kind on his)" (pp. 16, 17, 22). More on Lady Mary and Colonel Kirke in a moment—for his own part, Pepys complained on the fourth morning after his arrival that he was "mightily out of order with my being bit in my face" by bed-bugs (p. 17). Evidently more than the local insect life was taking a mighty toll on the resident Britons.

Pepys was certainly no stranger to incompetence among ministers of state and admiralty officers, or to sexual corruption in high places. But what he found in Tangier offended and appalled even him: "Everything runs so to corruption here," he lamented, "Nothing but vice in the whole place of all sorts for swearing, cursing, drinking and whoring" (pp. 91, 89). Without comment he noted that the English physician, Dr. Lawrence "did get a black wench with child" (p. 90), observing "It is plain (from what I heard from the jade at the Bagno) that the women of the town are, generally speaking, whores, both mothers and daughters being so publicly to one another's knowledge." Beside the "jade at the Bagno," Pepys' local informants included one Captain John Giles, who had been in Tangier since 1671 and consequently served under each of the various governors. On the last day in September, Captain Giles told Pepys:

> the whole unfortunate history of this town from the neglect and self-interestedness of the several governors, showing me what this place would without deceit have really been by this time for trade, if it had not been for their taking away its being a free port by their duties set on goods, so as the place is much worse than ever it was. (p. 30)

(1) John Wrigleworth, "Tangier England's Forgotten Colony 1661-1684," *Actes du Xe Congrès International sur l'Histoire de la Maghreb: Etat de Recherche et enjeux culturels* (Aigleneuve: Tanger Fondation Presses, 2001), pp. 223-47.

(8) Edwin Chappell, ed. *The Tangiers Papers of Samuel Pepys* (Greenwich: Navy Records Society, 1935), "Preface," p. lx.

As Wreglesworth points out, the Tangier colony proved an enormous drain on the royal exchequer, and this was in part due to the corruption of the various governors as well as the ineffectiveness of royal control over their activities. Colonel Norwood, a former Lieutenant-Governor, "took the revenue of the hospital to his own use" (p. 90), while, contrary to royal orders, Kirke peremptorily banished all the Jewish merchants since they would not collude in his corrupt business deals. The fact that Kirke was personally engaged in trade at all was also in contravention of his direct orders from King Charles (pp. 97, 102). In addition to several instances of Kirke swindling merchants who would not agree to his terms, Pepys reports how he confiscated and "staved in" an entire consignment of wine out of malice towards the dealer, who lost "500 dollars," and "all the good the Governor did in it, was to make all his soldiers that could come thither drunk" (p. 99). This is the same commander-in-chief who, as Wreglesworth points out, "believed that brandy had killed more of the garrison than had the Moroccan tribesmen" (Wreglesworth, p. 229).

According to a builder named Gibs, another of Pepys's informants, Colonel Kirke "built a house for Mrs Collier," one of his mistresses, using "the King's stores and workmen, himself [*i.e.* Gibs] being employed in it, that was nine months in doing, that has cost the King 1,000 or 1,200, and she now lies in it. The like of the Bagno, built for the like use at the King's cost" (p. 92). In this "bagno," according to a different, unnamed source, Kirke kept another mistress. "The Governor," Pepys notes :

> is said to have got his wife's sister with child, and that she is now gone over to Spain to be brought to bed. And that while he is with his whores at his little bathing house which he has furnished with a jade a-purpose for that use there, his wife, whom he keeps in by awe, sends for her gallants and plays the jade by herself at home. (p. 99)

At least those buildings offered a certain amount of cover for Kirke's sexual indulgences, but Pepys also reports being informed "of the most foul acts done by Kirke in public, lying with a woman in the market-place, and making another woman be taken from her husband out of her bed and...," but here Edwin Chappell's editorial pen omits fourteen words (p. 103).

By no means all of Pepys's charges against Kirke are made at second hand from local informants, but Chappell's editing often requires that we would have to learn Pepys's short-hand and consult the manuscript in order to fill in the omissions that regularly appear in his reports of Kirke's own boastings. Two examples : "The Governor," Pepys writes, "told us publicly at table of a fool jade, a bawd here in town (that is called [blank] formerly a servant of my lord's uncle Washington) that he went to, [16 words omitted] and the beastly discourse about it, between her and him" (p. 96). And: "Kirke himself told, himself, publicly at table

how there was one wench, her name (as I remember) Joyce, that [10 words omitted] was banished the town for her lewdness, and all this by the time she was 16 years old, a mighty pretty creature- and of another wench called Dover [38 words omitted]" (p. 89).

Finally, two incidents that particularly raised Pepys' indignation. One occurred shortly before his arrival concerning a certain John Mings who petitioned Lord Dartmouth complaining of ill treatment. Kirke, it would appear, had a habit of arresting married men, "the King's subjects," and putting them in chains for no reason other than "getting their daughters or wives to come to him to look after their husbands and fathers." When Kirke "found them pretty," he used his position to "debauch" them (p. 92). In his petition, which Dartmouth asked Pepys to examine, John Mings described being a recent victim of this practice, claiming he was beaten and locked up in the guard house. When his wife came to see him, she was gang-raped by the guards "then carried up to York Castle," gang-raped again, "and in the meantime their house robbed and goods carried away." An enquiry was held but since Mings and his wife had already fled to Lisbon, there was no one to prove their case so Dartmouth resolved to avoid scandal by putting the petition aside. "But though I believe," Pepys commented, "that the woman might be a light woman and her husband an idle fellow, yet there was too much confessed to show the bestiality of the place" (pp. 97, 98).

We know from his earlier diaries that Pepys himself regularly accepted sexual favours from the wives of ambitious superiors in exchange for assisting their husbands' careers, so what roused his ire at the goings-on in Tangier was the forced nature of such practices, which for him constituted an illegitimate use of power and authority for no end other than bestial pleasure. And throughout his own career, Pepys remained a fiercely proud and patriotic, if not pathetically loyal, servant of his employer, Charles II. The corrupt use of delegated authority invariably infuriated him even more than incompetence or negligence. "Tangier," he wrote, "has plainly been a place to find only pretence for the employment of our ships upon their own business and the governors' ... to the debauching of all our commanders and others and particularly my Atkins." Notice the personal identification with royal authority - "our ships," "our commanders" - and the intimate sense of authority with regard to Samuel Atkins, Lord Dartmouth's secretary who was appointed Judge-Advocate of the Fleet. Before Pepys arrived, it seems that Admiral Arthur Herbert ordered Atkins "while he was drunk to be stripped stark naked and one of his legs tied up to his calves by the toe, and brought in women to see him in that posture. But this," Pepys comments, "is but one instance of a whole life that they all spend here in roguery" (p. 101).

For Pepys, it was not just the insects of North Africa, or the wherish women, or the corrupt and incompetent officers, or the lazy and drunken

soldiery, or even the temptations of turning Turk, but a whole way of life in colonial Tangier that caused Britons abroad to be mightily altered.

Some conclusions :

From the earliest British travelers and their reports of meetings with fellow countrymen living in Mediterranean and Maghrebian ports, we learn a number of things that might escape our notice were we to rely exclusively on the evidence to be found in the records of the Levant and Barbary Companies, the formal correspondence of merchants and diplomats, and the military and naval records.

British-born soldiers of fortune and merchants were living and trading in the Mediterranean long before William Harborne and the Levant Company started regulating trade by formally appointing consular officials during the 1580s.

Since most captivity narratives were composed with ulterior motives—the desire to exonerate returning converts and pirates, or to proselytize on behalf of Christian piety—such narratives provide us with little reason to imagine that Britons were uniformly keen to hold on to their native religion, culture, or national affiliation when faced with the temptations of life in the sun. For every author of an autobiographical narrative of escape, return, and repatriation, there were doubtless many more who stayed on willingly; and presumably even more who died in captivity or never had the opportunity to return.

Expatriated Britons living in the Maghrebian and Mediterranean ports, including captives, were engaged in numerous occupations—not simply as mariners and domestic servants, but also as surgeons, physicians, carpenters, builders, sail-makers, cloth workers, shop-keepers, slave dealers, ministers of religion, and dealers in clandestine goods.

Of the presence of British women living in Mediterranean ports there can be little doubt. Unfortunately the record remains tantalizingly vague. John Randall was, presumably, not the only captive in Algeria accompanied by a wife and child. Pepys records over 400 children born to Britons in Tangier at the time the colony there was abandoned.

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BARBARY IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND, 1550 - 1685

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Introduction :

Immediate expression of indebtedness to the organisers for the invitation to participate in this conference comes with an equally immediate warning: my contribution is not that of one with expertise on the world of the Maghreb and the Western Mediterranean. Rather, my focus is upon printed materials available in English about that part of the world. In the attempt to seek to demonstrate some of the ways in which encounters in that narrow and contested space were read by, and impacted upon, the politics of culture in the whole island of Great Britain in a period marked by Civil War as well problems with revolting 'domestic foreigners' (Irish: Scots: Welsh) at home and conflicts with European competitors (Spanish: Dutch: French) in the lands of Ottoman hegemony, it will also focus upon critical readings of those texts by scholars in subsequent times.

The investigation will attempt some sort of answers to two questions: in the period beginning, more or less, with the reign of Elizabeth (1558) that is also that of the defeat of the Spanish fleet by the Ottoman Navy near Tripoli (1560) and the death of Charles II (1685) that is also that of the signing of the peace treaty at Carlovitz (1699), following the failure of the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1683), what did English readers know about the complex worlds that were lumped together under the catch-all term, 'Barbary', and by which means did they acquire that knowledge? While passing reference will be made to forms such as travel tales and accounts by diplomats, stress will be placed on two sets of related sources : (a) because of their popularity, accounts of piracy and narratives of captivity; (b) conversely, because they seem to have escaped consideration, a body of texts known as Articles of Peace and associated official documents sold to the reading public..

Any attempt at making sense, in the present, of that body of texts read in their own time and re-constituted in times since must constantly bear in mind that it was not only that the Ottoman Empire had triumphed over the Hapsburg rival, but that within that Empire power had been devolved to regencies in Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli. Those operated side-by-side with the near neighbour, Morocco, which had

defeated the former conqueror, Portugal (1578), but which was, for most commentators, part of 'Barbary' – unlike Tangier, which had been transferred to English control as part of the marriage settlement of Catherine of Braganza to Charles II (1662), though abandoned to Morocco (1684)– which development, in it's turn, ushered in a brief yet remarkably singular set of responses.

While the view propounded by Andrew Hess, in his appositely entitled volume, *The Forgotten Frontier* (1) that it was the shift in European (including English) interest in the New World that accounted for the relative marginalisation of European interest in this Mediterranean world. One reason for the near absence of interest in the history of the Ibero African frontier during almost two hundred years is that it ceased to play a distinctive part in the evolution of either Muslim or European history, this paper will suggest an alternative view: that what took place was not so much a marginalisation of encounters in the Mediterranean but a re-fashioning of Early Modern tales that are being read by present-day scholars through the lenses of discourses fashioned in the subsequent periods of English colonial and imperial domination. The endeavours that celebrated that trans-formation might be summarised by two main terms : misreadings- amnesia.

With regard to the first, that of misreadings, two examples of commentary not only wholly unencumbered by supporting evidence, but also marked by tendentious rhetoric : (a) an 1816 account, part of whose title proclaims that it includes 'an account of the various attacks made upon them by several states of Europe', compares Tunis with Algiers to the advantage of the first named : 'The inhabitants of Tunis are justly considered [it is not said by whom] greatly superior to the Algerines, on account of their civilization and politeness ; they have had much more of commerce among them than the former, have made some progress in manufactures, and are in their manners friendly and obliging. This disposition is, no doubt, in great measure the effect of their intercourse with Europeans, to whom they show much more respect than [do] the inhabitants of Algiers. Though they keep some Christian slaves, and in common with the rest of the inhabitants make depredations, they do not appear to exercise that savage cruelty which characterises the Algerine pirates' (2). (b), an 1847 observation that makes no differentiation between the so-called Barbary States can come to the unsurprisingly

(1) Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier. A history of the sixteenth-century Ibero African frontier*, Chicago & London : Chicago University Press, 1978 : 8.

(2) Historical Memoirs of Barbary, as connected with the ghoodes of the seas, including a sketch of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, an account of the various attacks made upon them by several states of Europe, consideration of their present means of defence, and the original treaties entered into with them by Charles II. London, Cadell and Fenner, 1816.

confident conclusion that: 'they occupy an important space on the earth's surface

> In the advantages of position they surpass every other part of Africa unless, perhaps, we except Egypt,- communicating so easily as they do with the Christian nations, and thus, as it were, *touching the very base and border of civilization* [my italics] (3).

With regard to the second, that of amnesia : hardly any of the major recent histories of those years, or biographies of the key English participants- Charles I, Oliver Cromwell; Charles II– make any reference to those documents entitled Articles of Peace that were concluded between the English and their North African counterparts in the period. How to account for such critical silence- especially when the English texts of some of those Articles of Peace were printed for public sale to and consumption by a popular readership? Since I am not, by training, a historian, I must admit, at once, that I have not made a search of the journals in which scholars in that discipline present their work. Looking, however, at some of the key recent books about the two monarchs and the ruler between them (4)- a selection made precisely because some are geared at the scholarly community (J. R. Jones ; John Miller; Kevin Sharpe; Ronald Hutton; Timothy Venning) while others are aimed at a wider popular reading public (Antonia Fraser; Christopher Hibbert ; Christopher Falkus) - is it not interesting to find that there are only two citations worth the noting : (a) in a distinguished volume of nearly a 1000 pages of close scrutiny, in which he devotes a fair amount of space to Charles I's diplomacy with European counterparts, Kevin Sharpe's only reference to North Africa is in connection with the impact upon local communities with reference to the collection of Ship Money - purportedly to finance attacks on pirates. That highly specialised, conflictual and ongoing debate is not, however, the burden of this intervention (5). (b) In *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*,

(3) Charles Sumner, White Slavery in the Barbary States. A lecture before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, February 17, 1847. Boston : William Tickner and Company, 1847, 5.

(4) J. R. Jones, *Charles II. Royal Politician*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1987 ; John Miller, *Charles II*. London : Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1991 ; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992 ; Ronald Hutton, *Charles II, King of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, Oxford : OUP, 1989; 1991; Timothy Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, New York : St. Martin's Press, 1995; Christopher Hibbert, *Charles I*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968; Penguin, 2001 ; Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell. Our Chief of Men*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1973 ; Methuen, 1985 ; Mandarin, 1989 ; *Charles II. His Life and Times*, London : Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1979; 1993; Christopher Falkus, *The Life and Times of Charles II*, London : Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1972.

(5) See, for instance, K. R. Andrews, *Ships, Money, and Politics. Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; David Delison Hebb, *Piracy and the English Government, 1616-1642*, Aldershot :

Timothy Venning (1995) devotes only one (out of 17) chapters to events in the Mediterranean - and much of that to Venice and the Turks. From within the ranks of a predecessor post Second World War generation of eminent historians, there is resounding silence: save one - Christopher Hill- of whom, more later. First, however, to popular accounts of piracy and narratives of captivity.

Accounts of piracy and narratives of captivity :

The most common epithet used by commentators who wrote at the time of British imperial dominance to describe the phenomenon referred to as Barbary pirates, derived from the title of one of the most influential late 19th.C accounts, is that these pirates were the 'scourge of Christendom' (6). Is it a perverse and unscholarly lack of evenhandedness to point out that the surname of the author of that 1884 volume is Playfair? Andrew Hess offers the damning observation that Playfair 'describes the corsairs in the manner of the medieval propagandists against Islam'. While that is accurate, it is not perhaps sufficient since Playfair actually goes further. He not only suggests the existence of Ottoman communities whose economic activities had a religious dimension that was Muslim in content as well as purpose ; he also hints that Christendom was unified. While I am not competent to comment on the assertion concerning the economic element in Islam, as described by Playfair, that critic's portrayal of Christendom is simply not the case. Furthermore, it is not capable of being demonstrated as being so. Christianity was fissured along well-known European fault-lines of Catholic vs Protestant.

If the classic instance of Ottoman awareness of and readiness to exploit differences within the ranks of a so-called unified Christianity was that, with the excommunication (1570) of Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V, English merchants were able to trade free of the Papal edicts against economic relations with Ottoman States, there are others that show the untenability of the notion of the 'scourge of Christendom' and to posit, in its stead, a countervailing view readily discernible in Early Modern narratives' that English accounts of piracy and of captivity were as much about the perfidy of other Christians : Roman Catholics (French: Spanish: Italian) in their dealings with (mostly according to the writers) blameless Protestant English – though (given the nature of the composition of pirate bands) that, too, is subject to qualification.

The first feature about piracy in the Early Modern period is that while many of the practitioners of those times were English, that detail is not often enough acknowledged in subsequent critical accounts-

Scolar Press, 1994 ; Nabil Matar, 'The Barbary Corsairs and the Civil War', *The Seventeenth Century*, Volume XVI, No. 2 (Autumn) 2001, 239-258.

(6) R. L. Playfair, *The Scourge of Christendom*. Annals of British relations with Algiers prior to the French conquest, London, Smith Elder, 1884.

though there noteworthy exceptions- notably C. M. Senior (7) and James E. Thompson, who, citing Peter Earle, asserts that 'many of the corsairs were Southern Europeans" who were "often little more than pirates who sought their fortunes under the star-spangled green banner of Algiers rather than the Jolly Roger'" (8). Furthermore, these English pirates were in competition not only with their counterparts from other Christian nations; they were also in contestation with ships of their own nation who operated from spaces that were not under the control of the Ottoman Regencies. English pirates who plied their trade in the North Atlantic were based in ports in southern Ireland as well as in Mamora (not far from Salé), close to the present-day Rabat). These English pirates had very little in common with their nominal compatriots who worked the Mediterranean and who were mostly (though not exclusively) based in Tunis. This latter group not only made no distinctions between the ships of Christian nations they raided, but the further they went into the eastern Mediterranean the more they came under Ottoman influence, with the result that several eventually entered the service of that Empire. If that act of entering the service of Ottoman rulers was one reason why they were accused of having 'turned Turk', or 'renegado', thereby seen in religious terms as adding to the miseries of Christian slaves in the Barbary States, perhaps an equally pertinent objection to them was that going over to the enemy made it possible for many of them now to live well above the station to which they had been born in England.

In that regard, perhaps the most celebrated example in Tunis was the English pirate, Ward, protected by Cara Osman, then head of the janissaries and an absolute control of the city. It was to Osman that Ward sold all his spoils which were then, in turn, sold on to Christian traders : to the profit of pirate as well as ruler at the expense of Christians : who would presumably then sell at a profit to other Christians and 'Turks'. Ward not only 'turned Turk' but took the title Yusuf Rais and married an Italian woman from Palermo - though it is reputed that, from time to time, he sent money to his wife back in England, where he certainly became the best-known of the English pirates, especially after the publication of two accounts published within a short time of each other (1609) : Andrew Barker's *A true and certain report* (Blunt *Newes from the New World*)

(7) C. M. Senior, *A Nation of Pirates. English piracy in its heyday*, Newton Abbott, Devon: David & Charles, 1976, 43

(8) James E. Thompson, *Mercenaries, Pirates, and Sovereigns. State-building and extra-territorial violence in Early Modern Europe*, Princeton NJ: Princeton U. P., 1994, 44. Peter Earle, *Corsairs of Malta and Barbary*, London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1970, 40-51.

(9) [Andrew Barker], A true and certain report of the beginning, proceedings overthrown, and now present estate of Captaine Ward and Dansiker, the two late famous pirates : from their first setting forth to this present time. As also, the firing

Barker leaves his readers in no doubt about his motives for telling his tale : not simply because, as one who had been taken captive by Ward, he could claim that he had been a witness of the pirate's actions, but especially because, in his view, he might "best gratify my friends and most truly satisfy the world, and their greedy and avidious expectation what injury he has done, daily does, and still endeavours to do, to rich estates and provident seafarers, to the venturing merchant and the careful sailor, to poor wives and distressed children: how like a villain and an apostate he lives: and how, like a reprobate in persisting, he hopes to die" [1-2].

But then, what to expect from someone like Ward who does not know his place ? Is it excessive to suggest that underlying Barker's chronicle of the origins and progress of Ward there is pirate envy ? Barker describes Ward, while resident in Plymouth, as 'a fellow poor, base, and of no esteem: one as tattered in clothes as he was ragged in conditions'. Furthermore, not only did he never pay his rent, but 'All the day you should hardly fail to find him in an alehouse'. What sticks in Barker's crop is that Ward now lives there in Tunis in most princely and magnificent state, his apparel both curious [careful : fastidious] and courtly, his diet sumptuous, and his followers seriously obeying his will. He has two cooks that dress and prepare his diet for him, and a taster before he eats. "I do not know of any peer in England that bears up his post in more dignity, nor has his attendants more obsequious unto him For that [because] his success has made him desperate and resolute, his riches hath made him proud" [16].

Whether or not Barker had knowledge of the lives of the English aristocracy and gentry of those times to make the adjudication is an intriguing though ultimately unanswerable question. But compare his tirade against Ward with the following matter-of-fact account by the Scot, William Lithgow (11) :

> Here, in Tunis, I met with an English captain, General Ward, once a great pirate and commander at sea who, in despite of his denied acceptance in England, has turned Turk, and built there a fair palace, beautified with rich marble and alabaster stones ; with whom I found domestic some 15 circumcised English renagates whose lives and countenances were both alike, even as desperate as disdainful. Yet old Ward their master was placable and joined me lately with a passing land conduct to Algiers. Yea, and several times in my 10 days staying here I dined and supped with him [358].

Ward was not alone in rising to such heights of respect and status in Tunis. There was, for instance, Sampson Denball, from Dartmouth, who had arrived in that city with Ward, and who had himself become a *rais* in the fleet of Yusuf Dey, the Turk who ruled Tunis after the assassination of Cara Osman in 1610. But, as demonstrated in the tale of the pirates Purser and Clinton (12), not every pirate was either as lucky or as privileged to be taken under the protection of the politically powerful in the Ottoman Regencies – especially in Tunis.

Englishmen who sought refuge in Algiers were, it would appear, less successful than their counterparts in Tunis. One reason for that may well have been because the experience of the rulers of that city. Willing to assist those who claimed that their actions were anti-Spanish, they soon found that the word of some of these English pirates was not their bond. For instance, in 1604, Richard Gifford, secretly in the employ of the Duke of Tuscany, killed and wounded many of the local inhabitants when he set fire to galleys in the port: while, in 1608, the acting English consul, Richard Allen, decamped to Spain, taking with him 3 Ottoman ships and their cargoes valued at 300,000 pieces of eight – worth, at that time, the tidy sum of some £70,000. Perhaps the more interesting consequence of the event was that the Algiers ruler, having passed sentence of death on all English merchants living in that city, later commuted that sentence to the payment of a heavy fine before their departure. But while King James condemned the punishment pronounced by the Algiers ruler against his subjects, the English monarch's own hatred of pirates– especially those who were his subjects – was no less stringent: of which, the hanging of 19 pirates side by side at Wapping Pier (the traditional place of execution of such people) in 1608 is but one example of his animus against them : though that action had as much to do with the monarch's hatred of Turks, perhaps best expressed in the poem, 'Lepanto', he had written as a young man in Scotland. In that poem, it is not only that the Turks are portrayed as agents of Satan: he depicts the Venetians as being so dispirited that

of 25 sail of Tunis men of war, together with the deaths of divers of Wards captains. Published by Andrew Barker, master of a ship, who was taken by the confederates of Ward, and by them some time detained in prison. London. Printed by William Hall, and are to be sold by John Helme at his shop in S. Dunstans Churchyard, 1609.

(10) Newes from the Sea, of the two notorious pyrats Ward the englishman and Dansker the dutchman. With a true relation of the most pirates by them committed unto the 6th. of April 1609. Printed at London for N. Butter and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the [t p. in British Library copy cropped].

(11) William Lithgow, The Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and painefull peregrinations of a long nineteen yeares Travayles, from Scotland to the most famous kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa . . .1614 : 1616 : 1632 : 1640: 1682: 1692. The extract, in slightly modernised form, is from the 1632 edition 'Imprinted at London by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by Thomas Fussell and Humphrey Mosly at their shop in Paul's Church Yard, at the Ball, and the White Lyon.

(12) A True Relation, of the lives and deaths of the two most famous English Pyrats, Purser and Clinton, who lived in the Reigne of Queen Elizabeth. Together with the particular actions of their Takings, and undertakings. With other pleasant passages which passed before their surprisall worth the observing. London. Printed by Io. [John] Okes, 1639.

though they are urged by the angel Gabriel to take up arms against the Turks, they do not do so until all Christian States unite in the endeavour: a hope often expressed but never to be realised, mainly because of differences traceable as much to religious belief as national aspirations between and within European states.

Two further brief examples of the 'scourge of Christendom' being English : (a) Sir Francis Verney, who, having failed in his attempt to prove his right to a family inheritance, sold up and left for Algiers, where he, too, turned Turk and went to sea as a pirate. Not only did he successfully raid several English ships, he also took especial delight from having taken one filled with Bordeaux wine that was destined for the cellars of the English monarch. He died in his bed in Messina in Italy (1615). Compare that, (b) with the experience of the Cornishman Ambrose Sayer. When the English ship on which he was a common sailor was taken by one belonging to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he found himself in jail in Florence for 4 years, followed by a further 3 at the hands of the Inquisition in Rome, and after that, a slave on a Spanish ship until he, together with other Protestants, also slaves on the same boat, managed to escape to Algiers. Living in that city for several years, he eventually rose to command a privateer of that place, and avenged himself by raiding French and Spanish ships. But, captured at Salé in 1613, he was sent back to England, where he was convicted of piracy : though he managed to escape. How to account therefore, especially in view of the critical acclaim that has marked reviews in journals of popular opinion on both sides of the Atlantic for Linda Colley's recently-published *Captives. Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850 (13)*, that there is no mention anywhere in her account of Englishmen who had exchanged captivity for the freedom as well as benefits afforded them by local patronage ?

While I shall return to some further issues raised by the Colley volume (of theory, as well as of detail) later on, it should, at this juncture be noted that governments on both sides sought to tackle the problem: in evidence of which, two documents : the 1623 proclamation by Charles I restraining merchants from carrying munitions to and reaping benefit from being used by 'pirates and sea-rovers usually retiring to, and harbouring themselves at Algiers and Tunis' (14) and by the 1680 reissue in London and 1682 in Edinburgh of a letter from the King of Morocco to Charles I in which the former seeks the assistance of the latter 'for the reducing of Sally, Argiers, &c.', at the same time noting that the two states had combined in taking the first named port, had executed some of the pirates, and had sent some Christian captives back

(13) Linda Colley, *Captives. Britain, Empire and the World 1600-1850*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2002.
(14) A Proclamation restraining the carrying of munitions to Algeeres and Tunis. Imprinted at London by Bonham Norton and John Bill, 1623.

to England (15). The extent, as well as the varieties of forms of co-operation between 'Turks' and Moors' and English rulers since the time of Elizabeth is not only traced in detail by Nabil Matar ; his carefully nuanced conclusion with reference to Morocco is surely valid : 'Evidently the military cooperation between Britons and Moors covered both land and sea operations and was based on what seemed to be (although it was never formalized) a strategic alliance between London and Marrakesh' (16). Examples of cooperation with other 'Barbary' rulers will be cited, where appropriate, below.

The point about citing examples such as those above (and there are others) is in order to demonstrate the risks attached to making the assumption that all so-called Barbary pirates were North African by origin and Muslim by religion : from where it is but a short step to the construction of the conventional binaries such as those of Christian versus Muslim, or of overarching unities such as that of Barbary. David Delison Hebb (17) draws attention not only to the dominant construction of the North African regencies in the 17th century as being pirate states (18), the abuse of corsairs as 'villainous pirates' in texts such as those by Playfair (referred to earlier) and Lane-Poole (19), still regularly cited to this day. Hebb also shows that even the more measured attempt at modulating that dominant view, as was the case with Sir Geoffrey Fisher's celebrated *Barbary Legend (20)* was flawed because it went 'too far in exculpating the Barbary corsairs', especially in the 17th c. Other examples include, for instance, Joseph Morgan's *A Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary (21)* (1750) – actually a translation, with some minor additional material, of the text of the Englishman's French consular colleague, Laugier de Tassy, *Histoire du royaume d'Alger* (1727); the often-quoted but seriously flawed A. M. Broadley's *Tunis*

(15) A Letter from the King of Morocco to His Majesty the King of England, Charles I, for the reducing of Sally, Argiers, &c. the first of which was taken by the assistance of the English forces, with an account of the execution of the pyrats, and the number of Christian captives sent to His Majesty. London. Printed for Rowland Reynolds in the Strand, 1680.
(16) Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999. 20-21.
(17) David Delison Hebb, op. cit., 1994.
(18) J. E. G. de Montmorency, 'Piracy and the Barbary Corsairs', *Law Quarterly Review XXXVI* (1919) 133-142, quoted in Hebb, 12.
(19) S. Lane-Poole, with additions by Lieut. J. D. J. Kelley, U. S. Navy, *The Barbary Corsairs*. London : T. Fisher Unwin, 1890.
(20) Sir Geoffroy Fisher, *The Barbary Legend: War, trade and piracy in North Africa, 1415 – 1830*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1957.
(21) Joseph Morgan, A Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary: viz. Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Morocco. Containing the origin, revolutions, and present state of those kingdoms, their forces, revenues, policy, and commerce By a gentleman who resided there many years in a public character. London. Printed for T. Griffiths, at the Dunciad, in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1750.

Past and Present (1882) (22); A. S. Corbett's *England in the Mediterranean* (1904) (23); Stephen Clissold's *The Barbary Slaves* (1977) (24) and William Spencer, *Algiers in the Age of the Corsairs* (1976) (25).

There is especially the matter of definition of the actions themselves. Bear in mind that, while a pirate is a robber who engages in that task at sea, a privateer is someone who is usually authorized by the laws of the state in whose employ he is, and which state requires him to take its prizes on its behalf the merchant ships of other states, notably those that are perceived as being the enemy. Bear in mind, further, that in the time of the encounters I am seeking to describe and decode that the conventional stories of Muslims and Christians being in a virtual state of war with each other elides that of the perhaps even more virulent animosities within the ranks of the Christian nations: between Catholic and Protestant.

Another factor complicating the conventional categorization was, as Janice E. Thomson (26) quite rightly asserts the unconventional form of political authority under which the corsairs operated. The Barbary states were ostensibly ruled by the Sultan's appointees, the pashas. Yet, in reality, by the turn of the seventeenth century, these states were under the control of senior military officers acting through their elected leaders, the beys and deys'. Thomson quotes, in support of her assertion, the conclusion reached by Peter Earle (27), that since 'Barbary and Turkey acted independently states which were at peace with Turkey were not necessarily at peace with Barbary, and vice versa'. It was not until this juncture, that of the moment of the decline of the strength of English piracy and that of the growth of the power of pirates in ports such as Salé, that English governments stared to act.

The point I am seeking to emphasise is that while the actions of the English authorities were couched in the language of morality, the real objective was to seek to assert political and economic influence – not only against the Ottoman enemy, but also, against other Christian nations: notably Catholic enemies such as Spain and France. Those efforts varied in their level of success. For instance, the 1620 expedition against Algiers, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel, managed to free only some 'forty poore captives' – the sum total of what the Algiers authority

(22) A. M. Broadley, *Turks Past and Present*, 2 vols., Edinburgh : W. Blackwood & Sons, 1882.
(23) A. S. Corbett, England in the Mediterranean. A study of the rise and influence of British power in the Straits, 1603–1713, 2 vols., London : Longmans, Green, 1904.
(24) Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves*, London : Paul Elek, 1977.
(25) William Spencer, *Algiers in the Age of the Corsairs*, Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
(26) Janice E. Thomson, *supra*., 45.
(27) Peter Earle, *supra*., 101.

said that it had in the city (28). In that regard there is the important point made by Hebb that by the 1620s the action of sending a fleet to sort out the Barbary pirates and to repatriate captives was the preferred policy of the English Crown: even though (as he calculates) the cost of freeing each individual prisoner by that means (£138.00 – a massive amount in those times!) was at least twice as what it would have cost had that been done by negotiation and peaceful means.

But note also the date of the expedition: 1620 – the year in which an English fleet bombards Algiers in order to secure freedom for Christian captives is also the year in which two other significant events occur: (a) that of the settlement at Plymouth by the Pilgrim Fathers who sought religious freedom in the New World; (b) black slaves from Africa are also first brought to that New World. Neither those who gave instructions for the attack on Algiers nor those who settled in the New World, despite being fired with Christian and Protestant zeal, had a word to say about the plight of the blacks: particularly when it should be recalled that, in some instances, travellers themselves drew attention to the differences between Christian slavery in the New World and Muslim slavery in the old. For instance, that in Muslim countries the lash was hardly ever used against men – and never against women. Compare that with its use not only against blacks on plantations but also against whites on board ships; that slaves in Muslim societies were not branded, thereby to show that, like cattle, they were the property of another human person; that, unlike in Christian countries, and more akin to what had been the case in classical Greece and Rome, a slave was not deemed perpetually. Finally, the prejudice of 'race' that was integral to Christian slavery was not only absent but, furthermore, slaves from the interior of the continent of Africa, once freed, rose to positions of some eminence. There is, for instance, the example of former black slaves from the interior of the continent becoming magistrates in the courts in Fez– a feature that needs further examination.

Cynicism concerning the plight of captives– in this case, on both sides– is perhaps most evident in the following episode : when Captain Rainborough attacked Salé (1637), the rulers there sold some 1000 Christian slaves to Algiers and Tunis. Eventually, just under 300 captives were freed, together with the promise that those who had been sold to Algiers and Tunis would eventually be redeemed. When the Moroccan Ambassador was sent to London, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of

(28) *[John Buttood, Algiers Voyage. In a sorrall or briefe repertory of all occurents happning in the fleet of ships sent out by the king his most excellent Majestie, as well against the pirates of Algiers, as others, Under the command of Sir Robert Mansil Knight, Vice Admiral of England, and Admiral of that Fleet and a Councell of Warre appointed by his Majestie. The accidents of every particular month (since the first setting out) being in this discovery, expressed by one that went along in the voyage.* Imprinted MDCXXI [1621].

Stradford, could write to Archbishop Laud that 'this action of Sallee is full of honour'. Why? Because it 'should help much towards the ready and cheerful payment of the shipmonies', the infamous taxes levied by Charles I first against maritime towns and shires and later extended nation-wide to meet naval expenses, a tax that was to be one of the key issues that led to the overthrow and subsequent execution of the monarch. Instead of either the monarch or his key advisors or (indeed) his Archbishop making the moral connection, that task had to be done by the poet-politician, Edmund Waller : he not only wrote a poem entitled 'On the Taking of Sallee', but, in a speech in the Parliament, argued that 'By the many petitions which we receive from the wives of those miserable captives at Algiers (between four and five thousand of our countrymen) it does too evidently appear, that to make slaves at home, is not the way to keep us from being made slaves abroad' (29).

The connection of events taking place 'at home' with that of the plight of captives is referred to in the opening paragraphs of at least one official document : that by Edmund Casoo, who styles himself 'Agent for the Parliament', who had been sent to negotiate the release of captives in Tunis and Algiers, and which was printed for public sale in 1646 (30), the year in which Charles I surrendered to the Scots, and in which the royalist armies capitulated at Oxford. While the opening statement is probably, in principle, unexceptionable :

> As nothing can demonstrate to the world the sincerity of the intentions of a state better than their own public actions, so the piety of their resolutions can never be manifested more clearly than when carried on through variety of difficulties', note, in what follows, the nature of the language deployed to describe the politics of civil war and the effects thereof 'At the commence of this parliament, while yet the kingdom was at peace, both Houses passed an Act whereby they did manifest unto the world their resolutions of undertaking that Christian work of the redemption of the captives taken by Turkish, Moorish and other pirates, from that cruel thraldom which they lay under immediately after the passing whereof this unnatural was by the malice of the kingdom's enemies fomented and continued and the whole kingdom enwrapped in misery, and to be

(29) Edmund Waller, Works, edited by G. Thorn Drury, 2 vols., London : George Routledge & Sons, 1905 2:71

(30) [Edmund Casoo], A relation of the whole proceedings concerning the redemption of the captives in Argiers and Tunis. With the translation and copies of the letters from the Bashaw, Dayes, Mufty, Cadibo and Sheeades unto both the honourable Houses of Parliament. As also the letters from Edmund Casoo Esq., Agent for the Parliament there, to the Honourable the Committee for the Navy. Together with a list of the captives names redeemed, and the prices they cost there in the market. Published by special authority. London, Printed by F. L. for Laurence Blaiklock, living at Temple Barr. 1647 [1646].

> redeemed by both Houses of Parliament from the tyrannical oppression which it groaned under. Whereby, indeed, that work of the redemption of captives was, for a time, interrupted in its progression.

Notwithstanding, the action that followed upon the political decision to ransom captives was impressive. The first ship, sent in 1645, laden with money as well as goods, was, by contrary winds, forced to anchor at Gibraltar, where it was set on fire. Some monies were saved and put on another ship : but that was, on the way back to England, wrecked off Cadiz. Still, the following year, the Parliament found the money to send yet another ship. That one safely brought back 244 captives, leaving behind the English Agent to await the arrival of two further ships, with an even greater sum of money and goods, to redeem the rest of the captives. While it is impossible to decide whether or not the nature of the actions were in any way motivated by the desire of the Parliament influencing citizens at home, such singular persistence was untypical : especially in comparison with the previous regime of Charles I. Much more common in his time was the practice of levying a charge to be collected : sometimes from the merchants of the City of London : sometimes by general collection in churches : sometimes limited to that part of the country from which the captives came. Pleas to authority in which the case for captives was made, as well as reports of successful return home, were often recorded in the popular press : of which, the following are examples at random : 'Newes from Sally : of a Strange Delivery of Foure English Captives from the slavery of the Turkes' (1642); Henry Robinson's pamphlet of the same year that sought to connect succour of captives not only to trade but also to English national identity, and, towards the end of the period under consideration, the different connection : that of religion : more specifically, of a Quaker familiarity with the Qu'ran : made by George Fose in a communication directed at the Great Turk, Mohmet IV (31).

(31) Newes from Sally: of a Strange Delivery of Foure English Captives from the slavery of the Turkes. 1642. Henry Robinson, Libertas, or Reliefe to the English Captives in Algiers. Briefly discoursing how such as are in slavery may be soonest set at liberty, others preserved therein, and the Great Turke reduc'd to renue and keepe the peace inviolate, to the greater enlargement of tradeand priviledges than ever the English nation hitherto enjoy'd in Turkie. Presented to the serious consideration of the Honourable Court of Parliament. By Henry Robinson, Gent. London. Printed by Rich. Cotes for John Sweeting, and are to be sold at his shop, at the signe of the Angel, in Popes-head Alley, 1642 : The case of many hundreds of Poor English-Captives in Algier, together with some remedies to prevent their increase, humbly presented to both Houses of Parliament. 1680. George Fox. To the Great Turk, and his King at Algiers. Together with a postscript of George Pattison's taking the Turks, and setting them on their own shoar. London. Printed for Ben Clark, in George-yard, in Lombard-street, 1680.

While the licence for the collection of such monies might have been proclaimed under the name of the monarch, the money collected was invariably handed over to selected City of London merchants with trading connections in Barbary, who would act as interlocutors to hand it over to their counterparts there. The English authorities avoided all formal links with the process, clearly described in the 1631 document that went out under the seal of Charles I :

> Whereas we are credibly informed that there are many of our poore subiects in miserable captivity in those parts, within the Dominions of Morocco from which barbarous and cruell slaurry and the manifold grievances and distress of soule, mind and body, which accompany the same : from which barbarous and cruell usages they cannot be freed until their ransomes be satisfied. for the speedy effecting thereof, have thought good by a general collection within this Our realme of England, and Dominion of Wales, to commend their miseries and pittifull calamities unto the charitable consideration of all Our loving subjects, not doubting but that all good Christians will be moued, as feeling members of one another's miseries, freely and willingly to extend their liberall contributions for the redemption of so many distressed Christians from the slaueric and bondage of the mercilesse barbarians. that we doe order and grant that a general collection be made of the charitable deuotions and liberalities of all our loving subjects towards the redemption of the said poore captives aforesaid (32).

Stories about the fate of 'poor captives' was one of the most regular – and, for publishers, profitable– genres throughout the period. Apart from those already cited, three further accounts having to do with 'Barbary' and regularly cited in critical studies are those by John Dunton (1637) (33), by Thomas Phelps (1685) (34) and by Francis

(32) By the King. A licence for a collection throughout England and Wales, towards the redeeming of poore English men captives under Muely Abdawelly King of Morocco. London. William Jones, 1631.

(33) John Dunton, A True Iournall of the Sally Fleet, with the proceedings of the voyage. Published by John Dunton. London Mariner, Master of the Admirall called the Iroquent. Wherein is annexed a List of Sally Captives names, and the places where they dwell, and a Description of the three Townes in a Card. Printed by John Dawson for Thomas Nicholas, and are to be sold at the signe of the bible in Popes-head alley. 1637.

(34) Thomas Phelps, A True Account of the Captivity of Thomas Phelps, at Machanees in Barbary, and of his strange escape in the company of Edward Baxter and others, as also of the burning left two of the great pirate-ships belonging to that kingdom, in the river of Mamora, upon the thirteenth day of June 1685. By Thomas Phelps. London. Printed by H. Hills, Jun. For Christopher Hudsmarsh, at the Golden Ball over against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1685.

Brooke (1670) (35). While the earliest I can trace are those by Thomas Saunders (1584; reprinted 1889) (36) and Richard Hadelton (37) (1585; reprinted 1886; 1900), these were followed by others lesser known though no less influential with reference to the plight of captives : John Rawlins (1622) (38), Francis Knight (1640; reprinted 1745, 1841) (39) and R. D. (1672) (40). The most comprehensive as well as longest, that

(35) Frances Brooke, Barbarian Cruelty. Being a true history of the distressed condition of the Christian captives under the tyranny of Muley Ishmael Emperor of Morocco and King of Fez, and Mauritania in Barbary. In which is likewise given particular account of his late wars with the Algerines : the manner of his pirates taking the Christians and others his breach of faith with Christian Princes, a description of his castles and guards, and the places where he keeps his women, his slaves, and his Negroes. With a particular relation of the dangerous escape of the author, and two Englishmen more, from thence, after a miserable slavery of ten years. London. Printed for J. Salisbury at the Rising Sun in Cornhill, and H. Newman at the King's Arms in the Poultry. 1670.

(36) Thomas Saunders, A True Description and lovely Discourse of a most honourable voyage, made lately to Tripolie in Barbarie, in a ship named the Iesus, wherein is not only shewed the great miserie, that then happened fell the author hereof and his whole company, as well the Merchants as the Mariners in that Voyage, according to the cursed custumes of those barbarous and cruell Turcks, in their terrible usage of Christian captives: but also the great unfaith fulness of those heathenish infidels, in not regarding their promise. Together with the most wonderfull judgement of God, upon the king of Tripoli and his owne, and a great number of his people, being all the Tormentors of those English captives. Set forth by Thomas Saunders, one of those Captives there at the same time. Imprinted at London, by Richard Jones, for Edward White, dwelling at the Signe of the Gun, by the little North dore of S. Paules, the 21 of April. 1587.

(37) Richard Hadelton, Strange and Wonderfull things [that] happened to Richard Hadelton, born at Braintree in Essex, in his ten years travels to many forraign countries. Penned as he delivered it from his own mouth. London. Printed by Alhell Hebbel for William Barley, and are to be sold at his shop in Gratious Street, neere Leaden hall. 1586.

(38) John Rawland, The Famous and Wonderfull Recovery of a ship of Bristol, called The Exchange, from the Turkish pirates of Argier. With the memorable attempts and good successe of John Rawlins, pilot in her, and other slaves who in the end, with slaughter of about 40 of the Turks and Moors, brought the ship into Plymouth, the 12th February last, with the captain Gentleman and 5 Turks more, besides the redemption of 21 men and one boy, from Turkish slavery. London. Printed for Nathaniel Butter, dwelling at the Pied Bull, at St. Austin's Gate. 1622.

(39) Frances Knight, A Relation of Seaven Yeares Slaverie under the Turkes of Argeire, suffered by an English Captive Merchant. Wherein is also contained all memorable passages, Fights, and accidents, which happened in that Citie, and at Sea with their Shippes and Galleys during that time. Together with a Description of the sufferings of the miserable Captives under that merciless Tyrannie. Whereto is added a Second Booke containing a Description of Argeire, with its originall, Manner of Government, Increase, and present flourishing estate. London. Printed by T. Cotes, for M. S. Junior, and are to be sold by The Sellers, at Popes Head Ally. 1640. 1abb [lit. 1st]. A True Relation of the Adventures of Mr. R. H., an English Merchant, taken by the Turks of Argier in 1661. London. Printed by Philip Brooksby, neer the Hospital-gate in West-Smithfield. 1672.

by someone who signs himself 'Mr. T. S.' (41) is almost certainly a compilation made by someone who had never travelled in Barbary but whose accounts were extracted from previously-published tales by those who had been in those parts. While some of the features that they all (more or less) have in common are the following: that they are written by men who claim that they have no special skill in writing; their objective was simply to offer an account of what had happened to them, and that it was their Christian faith that kept them going, they are also marked by their differences, notably the extent of their animus against other Europeans rather than against 'Turks'. To deal, briefly, with two tales: those by Phelps and Saunders: the latter because his tale is, not only arguably the first (1587) by an Englishman; it is also regularly ignored in commentaries; the former, because of the sophisticated range of reference from one who not only makes that claim in his 'Preface to the Reader', he repeats it at the end of his tale:

> Thus have I given a short and plain account of my captivity and escape, with the circumstances that attended it: and though possibly my style may appear rough and unpolished, which the courteous reader, I hope, will excuse, expecting no other from such a blunt seaman, acquainted with nothing so much as dangers and storms; yet do I profess I have penned this narrative with all the sincerity and truth that becomes a plain dealing Englishman'.

Their texts are actually much more complex than the limited claims made on their behalf by their plain-dealing makers. For instance, captivity narratives provide revealing insights into a sense of English national identity, forged here by the special circumstances of contact not simply with the inhabitants of North Africa, but also with other European Christians. For Englishmen, neither of these groups (European Christians or North African Muslims) could be relied upon to play by the rules. Furthermore, that was so also by their own countrymen who had turned renegado. For instance, Phelps's ship was captured by a pirate from Salé whose captain refused to recognise the Articles of Peace then in operation between Algiers and England. Phelps not only records that his initial encounter was with 'an ancient Moor who formerly had been a slave in England, and who was set at liberty by our late Gracious King Charles II'; he also tells of how, when he tried to persuade the Christian captives to overpower the pirate captain and his

(41) The Adventures of (Mr. T. S.) an English Merchant, Taken Prisoner by the Turks of Argiers, And carried into the Inland Countries of Africa: With a Description of the Kingdom of Argiers, of all the Towns and Places of Note thereabouts. Whereunto is added a Relation of the Chief Commodities of the Country, and of the Actions and Manners of the people. Written, first by the Author, and fitted for the Publick view by A. Roberts. Whereunto is annex'd an Observation of the Tide, and of how to turn a Ship out of the Straights Mouth, the Wind being Westerly. by Richard Norris. London. Printed, and are to be Sold by Moses Pitt at the White Hart in Little Britain. 1670

crew while they were asleep, that endeavour was foiled because one of the other English captives, the ship's steward, a "sneaking varlet proved recreant and, for fear of him, the other eleven turned also renegades to this heroic and Christian resolution. He proved himself a Christian in words, but indeed we found more civility from the Moors than [from] him".

Sold on by the pirate captain as slaves to the ruler he refers to as Muley Ishmael, Emperor of Morocco and Fez, Phelps itemises in detail the cruelties of that ruler : not only towards captives, but also against the ruler's own subjects. He informs his readers that he 'had been several times to the West Indies, and have seen and heard of divers inhumanities and cruelties practised there. I have also read in books, and have heard learned men discourse of the Sicilian tyrants and Roman Emperors. But, indeed, I forget them all: they are not to be named in comparison with this monster of Africa : a composition of gore and dust, whom nothing can atone but human sacrifices'. That, in his view, such behaviour was not singular, Phelps cites the case of one Hamed Ben Hadda, who, he says, "had been the Moroccan Ambassador in England three years before, and who although he was received and entertained here with extraordinary civilities, and caressed everywhere by endearments of kindness and respect: and although by his finesse and Moorish subtlety he stole into the inclinations of the well-meaning and good-natured English, so that he obtained the reputation of ingenuity and candour, yet the dog has returned to his vomit that injunction made famous in *2 Peter* 2:22: "But it has happened unto them according to the true proverb, The dog *is* turned to his own vomit again: and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire".

Phelps provides a fascinating account for the continued enslavement of (by his estimate, 800 Christian captives, of whom some 260 were English) in Morocco. He tells his readers that although some had already paid substantial amounts for their freedom, and that an agreement had been concluded some years previously between the Moroccan ruler and an emissary from the English Court, as a result of which "all the English slaves were to be set at liberty at the rate of 200 pieces of eight a head: and the bargain was so far struck that the Christians were got a mile out of town". That they got no further, he says, was because of the intervention of 'the accursed Jews (the stench and pest of the nations of the earth, malicious to all mankind, and loathsome and abominable wherever they come, whom not only have the blood of the Saviour of the world lying on their heads, but are accountable for the blood of many thousands of his members, which they daily shed), these wicked enemies of Christianity brought back those poor Christians into the house of bondage thus : they proffered the Emperor as much money as the King of England tendered for the Christians's ransom, if he would only lend them for a while to build a

city for the Jews ; and then they would be returned to the king. The erections [great soon closed with these advantageous terms, and the Christians were turned over to the Jews, who employed them [for] three years building their city. But, when finished, see the judgement of God! The Jews were turned out, and forced to give place to the Moors'.

Arguably one of the most fascinating for an account of cultural encounters is that of Thomas Saunders, whose 1585 tale, re-issued in 1598, seems to have escaped consideration in recent collections while the splendid study by Nabil Matar (42) has his family name as 'Sanders', he escapes citation not only in Colley, but also in Vitkus (43) as well as Kamps and Singh (44). His is not only arguably the first English captivity tale of double-dealing between Europeans of different nations (English, French, Italian), but also of two strangely connected tales of justice in the world. 'Christian infidels' from other lands who had come aboard their ship when it was first boarded, had 'made spoil of our goods, and used us as ill as the Turks did' [Blount], are punished: the son of the king, who takes a (presumably) homosexual fancy to a number of English male captives and has them removed to his place, where he forced them to 'turn Turk', on a mission to Constantinople to the 'Great Turk', is killed in an encounter in the Gulf of Venice; the king himself is killed instantly when his mare falls down under him. Furthermore, because Saunders had written a letter which he had sent by another to his father in Tavistock, Devonshire. From there, via intercessions on the part of important figures such as the Earl of Bedford and Sir Edward Osborne, the plea for rescue and redemption eventually reached Constantinople, where the Sultan despatched the English diplomat to the Porte, accompanied by an Ottoman counterpart, to secure their release. Which was done. So that 'Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderful works of God showed upon such as infidels, blasphemers, whoremasters, and renegate Christians' [Blount].

Finally, how to account not only for the details of the following story, but also for the publishing history thereof. Richard Blome's *A Description of the Island of Jamaica, with the rights and territories in America to which the English are related*, first published in 1672, was, the title-page informs, based upon the notes of Sir Thomas Lynch [Lynch?], sometime Governor of Jamaica. Reprinted in 1678, and included in subsequent editions, there was found in a further tract

(42) Nabil Matar, *op. cit.*, 101.

(43) Daniel J. Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England*, New York : Columbia University Press, 2001.

(44) Ian Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, Basingstoke : Palgrave, 2001.

entitled '*together with the present state of Algiers*' (45). In that addition, in the part devoted to the itemisation of the various categories of the inhabitants of that city, there appears the following disclaimer, as well as observation :

> I know not if it may be proper to set down here the Christian slaves also, that, according to the best computation, are constantly in circa. 18,000, of which about 900 are galley-slaves, who are very miserable. The rest are employed by their several patrons : some in their gardens, houses, or sent to sea according to the professions and quality of their patrons, by whom, for the most part, they are better treated than any slave in the Grand Seignior's domains, having the benefit to keep shops, taverns, or work upon their handicraft-trade, paying their patrons certainly per month, not exceeding 3 dollars per month, according to the best agreement they can make: and what they make more, it is not in the power of the patron to take away from them : by which means thousands of captives obtain their liberty by their own industry. / They also have liberty to say and hear Mass every day of the week at the respective banyard and place allowed for the service. The Protestants also have a place to preach and pray in, the which is performed in the English consul's house, by the several nations, as English, German, Dutch, etc. [7].

If the account in Blome modulates the stark tales told by Dunton, Phelps, Brooks, Knight and the rest, of the experience of Christians held captive in North Africa, such tales might also be seen as a follow-up to stories which tell of dissension within the ranks of the Regency rulers, of rivalry leading to killing and usurpation– such actions being described as characteristic of the region and of its governments: of which, two famous examples : George Wilkins's *Three Miseries of Barbary* (46), defined as 'plague, famine, and civil war' and the tract *Late Newes out of Barbary* (47). If the Wilkins account is, in part, a tale of the mendacity of the Spanish ambassador towards his English counterpart, it also goes out of its way to praise the Emperor for his willingness 'to do justice –

(45) Richard Blome, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica, with the isles and territories in America to which the English are related together with the present state of Algiers*, London. Printed by *J. B.* for Dorman Newman, at the King's Arms in the Poultry, 1678.

(46) George Wilkins, Three Miseries of Barbary. Plague. Famine. Civille warre. With a relation of the death of Muhamet the late Emperour, and a briefe report of the now present warre betweene the three brothers. Printed by W. J. for Henry Gosson, and are to be sold in pater noster rowe at the signe of the Sunne, 1608.

(47) Late Newes out of Barbary. A letter written of late from a Merchant there, to a Gentle[man] not long since employed into that country from His Majesty, containing some strange particulars of this new asiatish King's proceedings: as they have been credibly related from such as were eye-witnesses. Imprinted at London for Arthur Johnson, 1613.

even unto strangers'. And if the *Late Newes out of Barbary* tract is, in part, an account of the prevalence of civil war in that part of the world, then the feature common to both is the view that the miseries of Barbary might be accounted for by the 'state and condition of these miserable Moors, given over beyond measure to these idle and superstitious vanities blind prophesies, dreams, necromancy and suchlike'. Despite that, the writer claims that when he went, with others, to welcome the new king back to Marrakesh, 'he [the king] entertained us very kindly, and told us he would show the English what favour he could, and permit them free trade, willing us to take knowledge that he was sent by God's appointment, to relieve the oppression, as well of Moors as strangers, as Christians and all sorts, and what we had seen to advertise, saying we should yet see more strange matters come to pass, than what has passed. His meanings, as we gather, is the conquering of Spain, France, and Italy; with which opinion he possessed the credulous Moors'. It is a motif that is present in several texts - of which kind, one other - that by the diplomat Percy Kirk of his reception by the Emperor at Fez. (1683) (48).

Articles of Peace :

While there are several reasons why it is necessary to ask questions about the role played by Articles of Peace, I shall limit myself to two : in their own times, why did successive English administrations find it needful to have what were effectively the state printers to issue for sale on the open market and to the reading public the details of the treaties agreed with the North African states; in ours, why hardly any analysis of their significance by historians of those earlier times? While time does not permit either detailed citation or commentary, let me, nevertheless, draw attention to some of the key features of the Articles as relevant to their own times.

Of these, perhaps the most important is that there is constructed an English sense of hierarchy of the North African states: itself dependent upon a sense of the extent of relative friendship with England. Tunis is best friend; Algiers worst; Tripoli and Morocco in-between. Equally fascinating is English awareness of national identity abroad as well as social difference at home while English people shall have freedom of movement while resident in Tunis and shall not be subject to the jurisdiction of the common courts of law, but shall address themselves 'unto the Dey himself, from whom they shall have judgement', they shall be allowed to take their children with them, even if these had been born in Tunis. On the other hand, if a Tunisian warship takes an enemy ship

(48) Percy Kirke, The Last Account from Fez, in a Letter from one of the Embassy to a Person of Honour in London, containing a relation of Colonel Kirk's reception at Mequinez, by the Emperour, with several passages in relation to the affairs of Tangier. London. Printed for Walter Davis in Amen-Corner [n.d.] 1683 ?

and finds Englishmen serving on that enemy ship for wages, such men should be made slaves 'unless they were merchants: in which case, they and their goods should be freed (49).

Diplomatic engagements with the North African states that are conducted in London rather than in 'Barbary' offer useful insights into the nature of political tensions at home in England of which the most spectacular was the visit by the Moroccan Ambassador to Charles I, escorted by his counterpart, Robert Blake (50): which account now only provides a detailed description of the arrival of the dignitaries at Gravesend, the journey upriver to Greenwich, from where they were rowed to Tower Bridge, from where they were 'conveyed with His Majesty's coach [and, at the least, a 100 coaches more], and the chiefest of the citizens, and Barbary merchants to meet the King: it also mentions that the Ambassador was by birth a Portuguese, who, having been taken captive at age 8, was taken into especial care by the Emperor, whose favourite he became. Furthermore, the English negotiator, Robert Blake, had arranged that 33 English captives who had been brought from Algiers and Tunis (some of whom had been in captivity for 25 years or more) should be freed'. While 15 were immediately set free, the freedom of the other 18 was temporarily postponed because, as skilled gunners, their expertise was required to help with the suppression of an internal uprising against the Emperor: after which not only were they set free, but they also formed part of the cortege that went to Whitehall with the Ambassador.

While, as Nabil Matar has recently shown (51), Charles I tended to pass the matter of ransom of Christian captives to the City merchants and to the ports, it was perhaps the actions of his interim successor, Oliver Cromwell, that caused comment and interest on the part of the

(49) Articles of Peace betweene The Most serene and Mighty Prince Charles II. and the Most Excellent Signeur, Mahomet Basha, the Dean of the Noble City of Tunis, Haha Mustapha Dei, Morat Bei, and the rest of the soubdiers in the Kingdom of Tunis, concluded by Sir John Lawson knight, the fifth of October 1662. Published by His Majesties Command. Printed by the assigns of John Bill and Christopher Barker, printers to the Kings Most Excellent majesty. 1677.
(50) The Arrivall and intertainements of the Embassadors, Alkaid Javzar Ben Abdella, with his Associate, Mr Robert Blake. From the High and Mighty Prince, Muley Mahamed Sheque, Emperor of Morocco, King of Fesse, and Susa. With the Ambassadors good and applauded commendations of his royall and noble entertainments in the Court and the City. Also a description of some Rites, Customes, and Lawes of those African Nations. Likewise, God's exceeding mercy, and our Kings especiall grace and favour manifested in the happy Redemption of three hundred and two of his Majesties poore subjects, who have layne long in miserable slavery in Salley in Barbary. London. Printed for I. Okes dwelling in little Saint Bartholmewes. 1637.
(51) Nabil Matar, 'Wives, Captive Husbands, and Turks: The First Women Petitioners in Caroline England', *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, 23 (1997) 111-128.

rulers of Christian Europe. Still, the success of Edmond Casos's diplomacy in seeking the release of captives, mentioned earlier (52), did not prevent Cromwell from (1655), sending one of the strongest fleets– some 30 ships in all– against Tunis, forcing that city into submission. His subsequent actions enabled him, two years later, to proclaim to his parliament that he had made peace with those he referred to as 'the profane nations'. How different the Lord Protectors's actions and reactions in other places : on the one hand, massacre of the Irish at Drogheda (1649); on the other, assurance to English settlers and colonizers in Jamaica that they would be protected by army as well as fleet while building their castles there (53).

Following the restoration of monarchy, Charles II signed Articles of Peace with Tripoli (1662); with Algiers (1662 ; 1682), and with perhaps most famous of all, with Tunis (1677). Close study of some of the key provisions will not simply draw attention to the irony of the terminology: they will especially highlight the dire consequences for 'Barbary' States which were found to be remiss in their application of provisions excessively against their interests. Apart from the example cited earlier of the distinction to be made in the treatment of Englishmen who served for wages, and those who were merchants, (see note 49, supra.), or that provision should be made in each of the States 'for the English and their Consul to have a place for their prayers, and that nobody shall by word or deed do any wrong or damage whatsoever to any of the subjects of his said Majesty' (54), there are two intriguing examples of that further inequality of treatment: firstly, that Englishmen accused of breaking local laws 'shall be liable unto any other judgement but that of the Duan' (Algiers 1664: Article 12 & 13) (55); (Tunis 1677: Article 8) (56).; furthermore, that in disputes between Englishmen, the differences were to be subject to the decisions made by the Consul. Furthermore, 'That in case any of his said Majesties subjects should happen to strike a Turk or a Moore, if he is taken, let him be punished: but if he escape, nothing shall be said to the English Consul or any other of His Majesties subjects on that account'.(Tunis, 1662, Article 7). By 1677 the details were firmer still. Not only was it now clearly stated 'That no commander or other person of any ship or vessel of Algiers shall take out of any ship or vessel

(52) See note 30, supra.
(53) By the Protector. A Proclamation Giving Encouragement to such as shall transplant themselves to Jamaica. October 1655.
(54) Treaty of Peace betwixt Charles 11 King of England and the Bassa and Divan of Algier. Made the 3rd. of May, 1662. (Article 6)
(55) Articles of Peace between his Sacred Majesty, Charles 11, King of Great Brittain, Fraance, and Ireland, &c. and the City and Kingdom of Algiers, concluded by Thomas Allen Esquire, Admirall of his said Majesty of Great Brittain's ships in the Mediterranean Seas, &c. London. Printed by Thomas Mabb, dwelling on St. Paul's Wharff, 1664.
(56) See Note 49, supra.

of His said Majesty's subjects, any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them anywhere to be examined, or upon other pretence' (Algiers, 1677: Article 5), the language of the Article cited earlier now reads: 'That in case any subject of His said Majesty, being in any part of the Kingdom of Algiers, happens to strike, wound or kil a Turk or a Moor, if he be taken, he is to be punished in the same manner, and with no greater severity than a Turk ought to be, being guilty of the same offence. But if he escapes, neither the said English consul nor any other of His said Majesty's subjects shall be in any sort questioned and troubled therefore'. (Algiers, 1677: Article 16: Tripoli, 1677: Article 15) (57).

However else these may be interpreted, at least three features stand out : firstly, the question: how to account for the re-printing, in 1677, for sale to the public, of the Articles of Peace originally concluded in 1662: and why have their titles now been changed to read 'Articles of Peace and Commerce'?: secondly, that whether with one, or more than one of the North African States, it was the English who came off best in the exchange the corresponding State was required to fulfil a much greater obligation to the common good and peace than the English: finally, if diplomacy did not work, there was always force: the number of times Articles concluded were the outcome of a visit from an English fleet– one that sometimes resorted to bombarding one or more of the key North African towns into acceding to policies that sought to ensure peace for English governments (whether monarchy, as under Charles I and his son, Charles II, or during Cromwell's Protectorate)– of which, three examples: Sir Edward Spragge who signed Articles of Peace with Algiers (1671) also destroyed ships in the harbour: Sir John Narborough, who concluded Articles of Peace with Tripoli (1676), also burnt ships in that port that he claimed belonged to corsairs (58). Admiral Blake did the

(57) Articles of Charles 11, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. and the Most Illustrious Lords, the Bashaw, Dey, Aga, Divan, and Governours of the City and Kingdom of Tripoli. Concluded by Algiers Sir Edward Spragge, 1677.
Articles of Peace and Commerce between the Most Serene and mighty Prince Charles 11. by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c. and the Most Illustrious Lords, the Bashaw, Dey, Aga, Divan, and Governours of the City and Kingdom of Tripoli. Concluded by Sir John Narborough, Knight, Admirall of His Majesties Fleet in the Mediterranean Seas, the First day of May, 1676. Published by His Majesties Command. London. Printed by the assigns of John Bill and Christopher Barker, Printers to the Kings Most Excellent Majesty. 1677.
(58) A True and perfect relation of the happy success and victory obtained against the Turks of Argiers at Bugia, by His Majesties fleet in the Mediterranean under the command of Sir Edw. Spragge. As it is contained in a letter from the said Admiral, of the eleventh May, 1671. In the Savoy, London, 1671 : Particular narrative of the burning in the port of Tripoli Four Men of War belonging to those corsairs by Sir John Narborough Together with his taking afterwards Five Barks laden with coin.

same with Tunis for Cromwell. Which brings me back to Christopher Hill, the only historian who sought to show the nature of the real relations that underpinned, from the English point of view, the foundations of these Articles of Peace. For Hill: 'The governments of the 1650s were the first in England to have a world strategy. After [Admiral] Blake had subdued the pirates of Algiers, Cromwell envisaged mounting control of the Mediterranean by the occupation of Gibraltar and Minorca (1559), and that 'the Sultan of Morocco sent him [Cromwell] presents, and treaties were signed with Algiers, Tetuan, and Tunis, establishing English bases there (161); from which, he concludes : 'The forcing of treaties on Tetuan and Tunis introduced a new type of gunboat diplomacy, of which the next three centuries were to see a great deal. In 1656-7, Spain was effectively blockaded. The English navy cleaned up privateering from Algiers to Dunkirk, in a way that no other power could: Blake in the Mediterranean: Penn in the Caribbean : Godson in the Baltic, were phenomena hitherto unknown, presaging Britain's future. English merchants were now protected in the Mediterranean and Baltic in a way that would have been quite impossible to early Stuart governments' (161) (559).

Perhaps excessive in scope; though certainly, in principle, with reference to the international politics, spot on. Which is all the more reason why scholarly amnesia is so strange. Or not, as the case may be. If, as the title of the Wilkins text referred to earlier had it, that the three features characteristic of 'Barbary' were plague, famine, and civil war, then English governments made no small contribution to that state of affairs. Finally, and perhaps most intriguingly, if the moment we are discussing marks the beginning of English colonial empires other than in Ireland, the details of the evidence of the inequalities imposed by the so-called Articles of Peace will show that it was in the relations with the North African States that England first began to design and perfect that policy later to be referred to as 'divide and rule'.

Conclusion :

Having, firstly, limited my references strictly to texts that were available in the public domain and therefore likely to have played a part in shaping the views of the readers of those times, and, secondly, deliberately apportioned the major part of my talk to setting forth not simply the detail but especially the rhetoric deployed by the makers of the variety of texts of their own time, let me now briefly suggest not so much conclusions but ways of seeing those texts. While it might be asserted that I might have looked in greater detail at official

and of his farther action on that coast. Published by Authority. At the Savoy. Printed by Thomas Newcomb, 1676.
(559) Christopher Hill, God's Englishman. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1970. Pelican, 1972 ; Peregrine, 1988. Penguin 1990 ; Penguin Classic 2000.

governments documents, at archives of the major trading companies, and perhaps also at the views expressed in documents sent from the Barbary rulers, that has not been my interest. My concern is with the readily available texts by which means there was shaped, in Early Modern England, a sense of the space referred to as Barbary.

The first– and probably dominant– sense is that the writers construct themselves not simply as being English (and that goes, as well, for the Scot, William Lithgow), but chiefly as superior to those Others whom they encounter : not only the inhabitants of those parts, but also to other Europeans whom they meet there. In part, the often unstated foundations are familiar: representations of a kind that show a remarkable similarity with those about other spaces: of which animosity against the Catholic enemy nations of Europe is matched by that of Islam. And yet while with reference (for instance) to the Near East there is the constant reference to the 'Terrible Turk', that epithet and what it stands for is not nearly as common or as intense when references are made to 'Barbary'. The epithet recurs not only in plays and in poetry of the period that celebrated the punishment of apostates (60): it is there especially in printed accounts of the sermons preached to celebrate the return to the fold of former backsliders: of which, arguably the two most famous were two versions of the same event, preached by Edward Kellet and Henry Byram, and printed within a few months of each other (61): about the ideological function of which sermons (notably about that by William Gouge, *A Recovery from Apostacy &c*) there is an excellent analysis by Margo Todd (63).

And then there were the complex reactions to Islam: of which, one example to show that conventional and simplistic responses in the present about the past simply will not do. While the author of document detailing the visit of the Moroccan Ambassador in 1682 conventionally refers to Muhammad as a 'false prophet', he also notes that the people are 'strict observers of the laws' of their religion, and that they volunteer to him the view that "Christ was a great prophet, born to be a Saviour of the word, but not incarnate". Furthermore, not only does he tell his English readers that "their churchmen are not covetous, or lovers of money or riches" : he also comments favourably on the care with which these men, in their capacity as judges in local affairs, attempt to find the

(60) "Apostacy Punished". A new poem on the deserved death of Jonas Rowland, the renegado, later executed in Morocco. London, T. H. for the author, 1682.
(61) *Edward Kellet*. A Return from Argier. A sermon preached at Modelhead in the County of Somerset the 16 of March, 1627, at the re-admission of a relapsed Christian into our Church . London, Printed by T. H. for I. P. and are to be sold by Richard Thrale, dwelling in Paul's Church yard at the signe of the cross Keyes, 1628.
(62) Preached at the recovery of a penitent Renegado into the Church. Octob. 21. 1638. London, G. Miller for *I.* Kirton & T. Warren, 1639.
(63) Margo Todd, 'Puritans, Pirates, and the Drama of Reconciliation', *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Spring 1997: 37-56.

truth in such disputes, as a basis for appropriate sentencing. "They are just in their words and promises : for which reason there is small use of bills, bonds, or obligations among them (which is the reason why there is scarcely one rich scrivener, either in Morocco, Fez, or Susa): for the breach of promise is held an unrecoverable disgrace amongst them": surely a sideways glance at unedifying practises at home! His conclusion : "I am sure they surpass many Christians in righteousness and just dealing towards men". A neat little dilemma for Christians : how to come to terms with the integrity of a community whose behaviour is preferable to that of your own when the theological foundations of the actions of that community is regularly excoriated ?

Perhaps one of the most striking features of the stories forged by critics of the past two centuries is that while there is no doubt that, in many cases the originals were read, it is to be doubted that the conclusions drawn could be traced back to those texts. Unlike that of their Early Modern predecessors, the rhetoric of the commentators is suffused with the language not now of an England on the threshold of becoming a colonial power, but with that of a Great Britain that is the dominant imperial one. Neither that rhetoric nor the political and cultural assumptions upon which those representations are based have yet been shaken off neither in popular culture, nor in politics.

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THE MOVEMENT OF IDEAS THROUGH TRANSLATION : A CASE STUDY OF MAGHREBI LITERATURE

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"However chaotic, however full of conflict this civilization may be, a fruitful conciliation must be made possible, sometime, somehow. Man's creative work, properly and widely communicated, may well be the means of doing away with at least some of the chaos and conflict"

Jebra I. Jebra (1)

Introduction :

Literature has always been a dynamic and living force in human society. As a type of communication, literature is used for self disclosure and discovery of the other. Viewed in this perspective, literature is not only an expression of the sense of beauty and aesthetic perception and imagination in Man, but in the process it also mirrors and portrays the society with which it interacts in all its respects.

North African literature, or Maghrebi literature, is considered a vibrant and exciting tradition because it stems from a region that has long been at the crossroads of different civilizations. Maghrebi literature has often been inspired by its inference from European culture. Over the past fifty years, Arabic literature in Maghreb has evolved rapidly, impersonating European literature in its own style of writing, thinking and story telling.

What marks Maghrebi novels is the dominance of a number of themes that can be basically reduced to three: social justice, political struggle, and a moral evaluation of the human condition. These themes are dealt with in this paper from the angle of their role in drawing the image of the Maghrebi people (as Arabs and Muslims) in the translated works under discussion.

The Maghrebi novels that are translated into English are very few in number compared to the bulk of Maghrebi novels. All the translated novels are works of fiction and autobiographical fiction written by Moroccan and Algerian writers. Some Tunisian writers, however, have English translations for parts of their works published in specialized

(1) Jebra I. Jebra, "Modern Arabic Literature and the West", *Journal of Arabic Literature* II (1971), p. 91.

translation periodicals. Apart from few exceptions, the works are translated by English translators.

Translation and Image Making :

From the Middle Ages until the present, Western literatures have invariably produced a bulk of imaginative portrayals of the Arab Muslim world, which more or less assumes the nature of fabulous experiences and visions. Very broadly this visionary stance of literary Orientalists typically involves a peculiar mode of imaginative distillation and transmutation of unflattering images, settings, events, characters or themes about the Arabs and Islam. The circulation of ideas, images and stereotypes of Arabs and Islam was substantially influenced by translation practices, both in the narrower sense which refers to the transfer of Arabic texts into other languages and in the wider one in which forms of intercultural representations such as travel and travel writing can be said to translate and manipulate one culture for the benefit and consumption of another.

Translation is one of the most obvious forms of image making and manipulation that we have. It conveys its images together with other media. In addition, translation is considered as an exercise in facilitating communication between cultures. According to M. P. Williams (2), language not only enables us to create our own private universes, but also to have our innermost hearts to other people. Language in this sense " convey[s] how we, our culture or someone else whom we are quoting view that culture.

The importance of the cultural dynamics set in motion by translation becomes even more evident if we consider that images of Arabs established and manipulated outside their boundaries were then adopted and exploited by English writers. The translations of *The Arabian Nights* are considered responsible for the image of Arabs and Muslims held in the West to the present day. The role of those translations becomes evident when we realize how this image was then manipulated by English writers to enhance what Edward Said terms the "Orientalist vision" (3) of Muslims and Arabs. This vision, as aptly described by Edward Said, bears scant resemblance to the realities it presumably purports to describe. The literary Orientalists recreated a set of preexisting ideas and dogmas already disseminated in the West about Arabs and Islam, inevitably "shaping the world they do not know

(2) M. P. Williams, "Translating the Sultan's Letters: A Study in the Avoidance of Exoticism", *Antipodes* 6 , 2 (1992), p. 26.
(3) Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 69. Said remarks that "Empirical data about the Orient or about any of its parts counts for very little ; what matters and is decisive is what I have been calling the Orientalist vision, a vision by no means confined to the professional scholar, but rather the common possession of all who have thought about the Orient in the West"(p. 69).

in the likeness of the world they do know". A large body of imaginative writings on Arabs and Islamic culture can be cited that illustrate what R.W. Southern (4) calls "the ignorance of the triumphant imagination(5): Dante's *The Divine comedy* (1314), Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1615), Beckford's Vathek: *An Arabian Tale* (1781),Scott's *The Talisman* (1825), Shelley's *Alastor* (1816) and Byron's *Childe Harold* (1817). The picture of Islam and Arabs changed very little among Western writers such as Flaubert, Thackery, Twain, Joyce , and Kafka.

As far as the Maghrebi image is concerned, the works and translations of Paul Bowles, especially his novel *The Spider's House* (6) demonstrate the ever stable Orientalist vision of Arabs, especially Moroccans. In his works Morocco remains a mere "backdrop, an exotic scrim upon which writers project love triangles and kif reverie (7) Bowles's focus on Moroccan "primitiveness," superstitions, magic and violence are regarded by Moroccan intellectuals as an embarrassment and his apparent preference for the 'old' Morocco, which, in their eyes, is an insult to national pride. The sharp contradictory views (the exotic vision of Paul Bowles and the realistic vision of Moroccan intellectuals) can be summarized in the remark stated by the Moroccan writer Mahi Binebine when he was told that Paul Bowles announced : "I've always been fascinated by the Straits of Gibraltar : for me they're the center of the universe". Binebine countered "More like the greatest abyss of the universe because just a few kilometers separate the world of the poor from the world of the rich"(8)

The process of transmitting cultural elements through translation is a complicated and vital task. Rachel May (9) has pointed out that translations emerge from a perceived need to change the readership and surrounding culture of a text, and can reflect a struggle over the ownership of that text. Such a struggle is heightened when there is an imbalance of power between the donor culture or country and the target audience as is the case with the majority of world texts translated for global consumption. Based on his experience in North Africa, Albert Memmi observes that the colonizer always needs to present a positive image of himself and a negative image of the colonized. His very

(4) R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass : Harvard University Press, 1962), p.32.
(5) *Ibid.*
(6) Paul Bowles, *The Spider's House* (New York: Random House, 1955.
(7) Brian Edwards, *Desert of Memory*, http://www.loolmag.com/templates/default. 22 Mars 2001. p.1.
(8) Ignacio Cembrero, "Ignacio Cembrero Interviews the Author of " Cannibales"", *MAKTOUB* 10/11 (2001),p.13.
(9) Rachel May, *The Translator in the Text: On Reading Russian Literature in English* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1994), p.4.

existence demands images that "become excuses without which the presence and conduct of a colonizer [...] would seem shocking" (10).

Jebra I. Jebra describes the relationship of Arabs and the West as "a long and complicated story, and like a good complicated story it has plenty of conflict in it, and plenty of love and hate" (11). In fact the give and take between nations as between cultures, is no simple exchange. It will come to the fore in a culture when that culture considers itself 'authoritative' and central with regard to other cultures. This attitude is clearly felt in Edward Fitzgerald's letter to his friend E.B. Cowell in which he states "it is an amusement for me to take what liberties with these Persians who (as I think) are not poets enough to frighten one from such excursions, and who really do want a little art to shape them" (12) André Lefèvre explains this attitude of Fitzgerald who would have never taken the same liberties with Greek or Roman authors, stating that "Since Victorian England considers itself central, and since he happens to be translating from a culture that is by no means central, he takes what liberties he pleases" (13) Such translations undermine the quality of translated material and become immensely problematic in the sphere of interlocking cultural values, particularly when these values are part of the colonizer-colonized relationship between the first and third worlds. For such translators, being faithful to the target language audience means making adjustments to suit their ideology or system. By doing so, the translator fits into the stereotypical role that was familiar to the colonizer, a voice that not only spoke of the peace and tranquility of a distant world, but also offered an escape from the materialism of the contemporary western world. The translations were perfectly adjusted to the prevailing paradigms of the East.

The Image of Arabs Reflected in the translations of the Maghrebi Literature :

Maghrebi literature is secular in the full sense of the term. However, religious images and references are too obvious to be ignored. References to God and Koranic verse are integral components of the discourse. The overall impression one gets about Islam after reading the translated novels is that it is, together with customs and tradition, to be blamed for the ills in the Maghrebi society. All of the women writers express their revolt against tradition that forces women to stay at home and wear the veil. Women's life is drawn capitulating the Harim atmosphere.

(10) Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p.79.
(11) Jebra, p.1.
(12) Edward Fitzgerald, The Variorum and Definitive Edition of the Poetical and Prose Writings (New York: Doubleday, 1972), VI, p. xvi.
(13) André Lefèvre, "Translation: Its Genealogy in the West", in *Translation, History and Culture*, eds. Susan Bassnett and André Lefèvre (London : Printer Publishers Ltd. 1990), p.19.

Polygamy is presented as if it were the standard practice and not the exception. Nothing is said about the strict conditions under which polygamy is allowed in Islam, thus reinforcing in the mind of the English reader the exotic vision of Sheherazade and his Harim. In fact, choosing the name of Sherazade for two novels under discussion is no coincidence. Representing Arab women in the twentieth century as being helpless agents in their societies does injustice to the efforts that are undertaken for the involvement of women in the development of their countries. The readers of such novels are made to overlook the fact that these are individual cases not to be generalized to all Maghrebi women.

Religious references are also used to draw a line between the educated privileged elite and the illiterate underprivileged mass. The beliefs of ordinary Muslim people are reflected in their seeking refuge in God, especially when tested at times of calamity and crisis. In most of the Algerian novels, this cultural factor is shown to be activated by disadvantageous policies especially in the areas of economic and social privilege. Writers, especially Algerians, also show how opposition to state authority is then most naturally expressed in Islamic language, and how the shift to fundamentalism occurs. Muslim modernists, on the other hand, represent the well-to-do, Westernized, urban, intellectual elite who are sympathetic to modernity and the Western way of life. Because of their economic, social and cultural minority status, their influence on their society at large is limited and their efforts remain marginal in overall terms.

Islam is equated with submission. This submission, however, is to be understood within its cultural context, not as a pretext for laziness as it is implied in the translated versions. In Mohammed Choukri's *Al Khoubz Hafi* (For Bread Alone), the main character states that "Nothing could be done without God's and Prophet Mohammed's willingness : No one leaves jail, works or has luck unless they give their permission" (14). I think such statements need to be commented on by the translator to avoid passing the idea that Arabs react to their problems in a passive manner.

Female writers are haunted by their Algerian and Moroccan past. They search for their true identity in education and work, but are caught between two worlds: Africa and Europe their parents' and their own. Through the detailed description of family life in general and the life of women in particular, these writers provide a fascinating glimpse into a world usually unknown to the West. Unfortunately, most of their characters end the struggle for freedom by becoming uprooted, confused with their Maghrebi identity and estranged from their societies. None of these characters, however, tries to play a role as overcoming the

(14) Mohammed Choukri, *For Bread Alone*, translated by Paul Bowles (London : Peter owen, 1973), p. 15.

difficulties faced by other women or provide solutions to the problems they raise. They criticize tradition and express their fascination with the Western pattern of liberated Western women overlooking those women's sacrifices for the sake of their rights. The English reader is misled by these writings because they give the impression that there is injustice done to women. In fact, men are not in a better situation. The English reader should be aware that long periods of colonization and exploitation by super powers are responsible for the miseries of Maghrebi societies.

Male writers on the other hand give vivid descriptions of the back streets, nightlife, and gay relations. Most of the works present men heavily obsessed with sex and relate this desire to the general atmosphere of suppression. Sex becomes the only outlet for the state of helplessness felt by men.

The Other is represented by a binary system of oppositions. The binarism of the Colonizer (English, French, Spanish) versus the Maghrebi echoes the stereotype discourse of post colonial literature. While the colonizer is educated, rich and clean , the native is illiterate, poor and dirty. The insistence on these boundaries is a way to reinforce current power structures by making sure that each party is contained by a definition. This preoccupation with the Other brings to the fore Lacan's mirror stage where we want this unification with our divided self, a unification which is impossible.

Conclusion :

The translated works considered in this paper are shown to highlight the belief systems of the Maghrebi people. It should be recognized that those systems have a magnetic religious attraction, and express political and social aspirations. As far as the political violence practiced in the name of Islam, a theme central to Algerian novels, we should interpret it as a universal part of political change. People sometimes say that the British and the Americans had a "peaceful" path of development. The history of both countries, however, tells us of the civil wars that led to the establishment of their boundaries and states.

There is a tendency in Western discourse to disfigure the genuine causes of liberation movements in the Third World. In a deliberate attempt to confuse issues, the West has insisted on labeling liberation movements as terrorist movements and terrorist organizations and on regarding terrorism as a mere technical and security question. When such propaganda gains strength in the public mind, decision-making policies become acceptable to the masses that are unfamiliar with the truth about Islam and Muslims. Writers and translators should present an alternative perspective to the prevailing distorted public discourse in the West on terror and terrorism.

The concentration on translating Maghrebi literature that is written mostly by Berber writers gives a one sided view of the Maghrebi societies and deepens, in the mind of the English reading public, the claims of the Berbers about the discrimination practiced against them. This act of selectivity in translating constitutes a missed opportunity for what could have been a turning point in presenting a balanced view of the Maghrebi culture to an English readership.

In selecting texts for translation into European languages, there must be a move away from translating works that are labeled as totally oriental and strange. Western readers must be led on from what they want to hear to what they need to hear. They continue to be presented, however, with the same stereotype image of the Maghreb due to the tendency of a number of publishing houses to translate works of Maghrebi literature which reflect exoticism.

The texts chosen for translation, as M.P. Williams puts it, must "present a mixture of the new and the old, the strange and the familiar, above all in such a way as to give a balanced view of the culture (15) M.P. Williams has translated Khaled ben Saghir's book *Al-Maghreb wa Britanya Al-Uzma fi Al-Qarn Al-Tasi' 'ashar* (1856-1886) and gives invaluable advice for translators stating that " [...] in selecting texts for translation into European languages, there must be a move away from defensiveness and self-justification, and towards discovering and then filling the genuine needs of western culture at this time." Eventually, wondering about the composition of the cultural patchwork that the Arab world should present to the West, M.P. Williams highlights the needs of the West which should also motivate the translator's choice of texts: briefly, these consist in,

1 - A need for relationship.

2 - A need for transcendental values.

3 - A need for hope.

4 - A need to be put in touch again with the physical world.

5 - A need to be put in touch with themselves. (16)

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(15) M. P. Williams, p.33.
(16) *Ibid.*, p.40.

THE IMAGE OF ALGERIA IN BRITISH WRITINGS (1830-1930)

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Since independence the Maghreb countries have been occupied almost exclusively with the establishment of a new society. An important part of this activity has been directed towards a solution to the problem of symbols and values: the construction of an image of themselves for their own contemplation and for export to the world outside. One aspect of this general problem of acculturation is concerned with interpretations of history and the evaluation of one's own place in historical evolution. Starting from the premise that Mahgreb history has largely been a monopoly of French scholarship since 1830, contemporary historical writers in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco have found it essential, before entering upon problems of historical interpretation, to rewrite their own history. Discovery of this first requisite has generated a spirit shared by all those writers preoccupied with this problem, however much they might disagree on solutions to it, which is best expressed by the phrase "*décolonizer l'histoire*". The subject is vast , and I should like here only to indicate several of the problems, with their proposed solutions, so far by writers dealing with the history of Algeria.

Anglo-Saxon authors have devoted preciously few original studies to the Maghreb. All contributions to the history of this area, which includes the whole of Africa north of the Sahara from the Atlantic Ocean to the western borders of Egypt, tend to be too dependent on earlier French interpretations. With respect to Algeria during the nineteenth century, of course, most documents are in French. English and American writers, however, have a different way of looking at things, a particular approach that is quite apart from that of French scholars. In this difference lies the possibility of new contributions by English writers. But the best English studies of the Maghreb do not offer much that is new.

English studies of Algerian history are rarer than studies of the Maghreb in general. Indeed, only one period in the history of Algeria has really interested British and American authors: the revolutionary era which extended from 1954 to 1962. Books on this recent period include introductory chapters that tell the story of the nineteenth century. But these accounts are practically always based on the interpretations of the

two or three leading French historians of Algeria and include, to everyone's credit, the studies of Ch. A. Julien, and Ch .R. Ageron .

One paradox exists with respect to the scarcity of studies of Algerian history in English: the only complete and specifically Algerian bibliography is that of R. Playfair, an Englishman and long -time resident of Algiers. This reference is to *A Bibliography of Algeria from the expedition of Charles V, in 1541, to 1871* (London, the Royal Geographical Society, n. d (1880), and its complement by the same author, *Supplement to the Bibliography of Algeria from the earliest Times to 1895* (1898) (1).

The most interesting archives outside France are those of the Public Record Office in London. A few documents deposited there are concerned with Algerian problems and were written by British consuls in Algiers. Many more reports originating from the consulates of Great Britain in Tangier and in Tunis deal indirectly with Algerian questions. The London Missionary Society to Jews, which had a representative in Algeria as early as 1857, has its own archives. Another group, the North African Mission, has left a magazine the file of which may be consulted at Yale University.

Early British Travelers In The Regency :

The first English narratives of travel about Algeria began to appear in the 18th century. More reliable than the earlier accounts of the Trinitarian Fathers or the tales of captives, they provide historians with an invaluable source of first -hand information on 18th century Algeria.

Thomas Shaw was probably the most famous of those early European visitors who traveled to the Maghreb. The mass information he provided in his *Travels and Observations...* (1737) was still relevant and usable nearly a century later, as the French commanding staff discovered when they prepared to invade the country. Shaw was chaplain of the English Consulate from 1720to 1737.

His extensive travels in the Regency during the twelve years he spent here resulted in a most comprehensive treatise in which he provided a wealth of information not only about the geography, climate, flora and fauna of the Regency but also on its government, military forces, revenues, religion, local customs and judicial system.

Forty years later, in the second half of the 18th century, traveling literally in the footsteps of Shaw, James Bruce (1730-1794), the future explorer of the source of the blue Nile, was the first European to make a voyage of scientific discovery to the region.

(1) Shaler, William, Sketches of Algiers. Boston. 1826. p. 282.

In March 1763, he arrived at Algiers where he had been appointed as Consul General with a commission to study the Roman ruins which had been identified and described by Shaw. Between 1765 and 1766, he made a journey into the interior, which took him to the Aurès Mountains. The drawings which Bruce made with the help of Luigi Balugani, the Italian artist who accompanied him on his mission, were mainly concerned with the remnants of ancient civilizations.

Among the travelers who visited Algeria in the late 1830's and early 1840's, two were to leave important records of their impressions of the country: the poet Thomas Campbell and the traveler Alexander Kinglake.

'Thomas Campbell was one the first English travelers to visit Algeria after the French occupation .His intention was to take a deliberate inspection of the changes produced by the event. In July 1834 he set out on the 'Grand Tour'

Campbell spent nine months in Algeria. *Letters from the South* was published in 1837. It is a record of his visit, of the incidents of the voyage. He met the American Consul who had been an eye-witness to the taking of Algiers by the French troops and who could tell many interesting stories and details (2)

The *Letters* add little to our information on the social and political conditions of Algeria in the early years of the conquest .Campbell was kindly treated by the French army commanders in Algeria. He was the guest of General Voirol, met General Desmichel just before his new appointment as Commandant for Oran ; he accompanied General Voirol and his brigade on an excursion in the interior of the country, questioning his various hosts and collecting material related to the recent events in Algeria (3)

Alexander Kinglake is mainly known as the author of *Eothen*, a travel book he wrote after a journey that took him in 1834 from London to the East, first across Europe via Prague and Vienna to Turkey, Cyprus, Lebanon, Palestine and through the Sinai desert to Cairo. Several years later, Kinglake embarked on a journey to Algiers. The diary he kept on that journey must have been intended for future use but unfortunately, it remained in the form of a manuscript.

There is no evidence in his journal that Kinglake ever questioned the legitimacy of the French presence in Algeria. He set off for Algiers in August 1845. Kinglake visited the Great Mosque and noted that one of the clocks kept there for determining the hour of the call to prayers, had been presented to the Dey in former times by the English Consul at

(2) Campbell, op. cit., Vol. I , pp. 36-38.
(3) Gerald de Gaury, Travelling West: the life of Alexander Kinglake (1809-1891), London, 1972.

Algiers, He commented that the policy of confiscation of the Mosques properties and revenues generally adopted by the French, has created political discontent among the moors of the cities and that there was "a noyau of disaffection in every mosque". This rare political observation is confirmed after a visit to the Casbah, the old Moorish quarter of the city.(4)

Wilfrid Scawen and Lady Anne Blunt :

Quite unlike Kinglake, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who was to become know for his travels in the Middle East and Arabia, was more critical of the French presence in Algeria. In fact, the journey he made to Algeria some thirty years after Kinglake undoubtedly left its mark on him and provided support for the anti-imperialist views for which he was to become notorious. In the early months of 1874, Blunt traveled with Lady Anne to Algeria.

The Blunts shared a common interest for Arab horses which brought them to visit the northern fringes of the Algerian desert in search for good specimen of horses for their stud farm in Sussex. He found his sympathies going to the Arab natives whom he considered as victims of an act of open aggression by a Western nation. Images of the desert provided Blunt with the subject matter of one of the rare poems inspired by his journey to Algeria . *The Oasis of Sidi Khaled* is obviously based on an actual trip he made to Sidi Khaled, an oasis of palm-tree groves watered by the Oued Djedi in the Bou-saada-Biskra basin on the pre-Saharan fringes (5).

The French conquest :

The expedition of Algiers was not connected with the colonial policy of the Restoration Bourbon monarchy, but was a make-shift operation for internal political consumption, carried out by a government in difficulty seeking the prestige of a military victory. Behind it lay a confused history of debts involving France, the Dey and two Jewish merchants, which had dragged on since 1798 and culminated in 1827 with the severing of diplomatic relations when the Dey Hussein "struck" the French consul.

The expedition had been regarded by Europe as an expedition to chastise an insult: it was turned out that it was a conquest. Bourmont proceeded to take all the necessary measures for retaining the regency, as a French settlement.

(4) Ouanas, Ben cherif. The Image of Algeria in Anglo-American writings : 1785-1962, p. 117.
(5) Annual Register, 1830. London, 1831, 72 (1830), p. 174.

Position of diplomatic agents after 1830 :

The French conquest of Algiers in 1830, put an end to many of the privileges enjoyed by the consuls resident in Algiers. They held no other credentials than those to the Dey, but the French refused to recognize their position as "diplomatic agents". R. St. John maintained that the French did all to annoy and irritate him and to debase Britain's official character in Algiers.

The colonial office had left him without specific instructions, although Goderich had warned the consul of the necessity of conducting himself in his relations with the French Authorities "whith that courtesy and respect which should mark the intercourse between the agents of friendly governments". St. John had been warned also to abstain from making application to the French for diplomatic privileges. It was obvious that before long the problem of the consul's position must come under the notice of the foreign secretary.

Palmerston was not the man to acquiesce to a position in which any British agent in the Mediterranean would be exempt from his control. From May 1832, his advice conditioned the instructions sent to Algiers from the colonial Office.

St. John was advice to send copies in his reports to the British ambassador at Paris, and to send them by safe channels only. The foreign secretary was kept informed of events in Algiers by way of Paris, and through inter-department correspondence from the colonial office.

British reaction to the French conquest :

The English consul at Algiers, knowing the general attitude of the government he represented, vainly offered his services as mediator .The blockaded continued .This manifest opposition came before anyone in England knew of the proposed occupation .On January 11, 1830, Laval, French Ambassador at London, was instructed to break the news to Wellington. In doing so he portrayed the Algerian mariners as a menace and a disgrace to christianity and emphasized the unbearable humiliations which the French had suffered. He assured Wellington that Laval heaped insult upon injury by suggesting that as Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria were all practically independent of the Sultan, no infringement on the general political status would be made. A French expedition against Algiers alone was enough to antagonize the English but to have Egypt, Tripoli and Tunis involved was, to them, beyond endurance .This would endanger practically the whole of Northern Africa and place France in a dominant strategic position for the control of the Mediterranean.

Wellington, protested on behalf of the integrity of the Turkish Empire. He had Aberdeen, the foreign secretary, write to Gordon, the English minister to Constantinople, (to represent to the Turkish

Government the necessity of using every possible endeavor to induce the Dey of Algiers to make ample and prompt reparation to the King of France to prevent the expedition).

The British colony in Algiers.

The last third of the 19th century saw the British colony solidly established at Mustapha-Supérieur which had become a residential and predominantly British enclave in the city.

Soon after his arrival at Algiers as the new British Consul -General, Robert Lambert Playfair started a public subscription to build a church for the wintering visitors and the English community which now numbered about 200 permanent residents. The church of the Holy Trinity was erected on ground presented by the French Government and at a cost of £ 2,500 sterling .It was consecrated in 1871 by the Bishop of Gibraltar, together with the English cemetery, in Mustapha – Supérieur.

The church was pulled down in 1905 to make way for the "Grande Poste" Algiers' central post office, whose construction started in 1910 and which was inaugurated in 1913.

The British colony was also very much involved in charity and community work. In January 1897, Miss L. Costa opened a small hospital which was later transferred to the 'Villa Regina'.

The 1895 edition of *Murry's Handbook Of Algeria and Tunisia* lists three English doctors, dentist, architect and chemist in street of Bab-Azoun. Several English family had bought properties to which they returned year after year.

Finally, the presence of an important English community was attested by an office of Thomas Cook in the center of the city with a branch office near the Hotel St. George.

The British colony lived its own life separate from the city .In their great majority, the British did not take a real interest in the French colony. As in India and East Africa, they kept apart from the native population. Like Consul Playfair, who had served as Lieutenant-colonel in the army of India, they generally approved of the French colonializing mission in Algiers. Arab society remained a separate, alien world to the majority of them.

The British introduced their own social rituals and recreations. The semi-tropical Algiers winter was ideal for gardening activities, Mrs. E. W. Arthur at her residence of Djenan-el-Mufti, the Bells at their estate of Mustapha Rais at El-Biar, Sir Peter Coats at Campagne Paisley' on the chemin des Aqueducs, A. Mackloay at Dejnan Ali-Rais, now the residence of the ambassador of Japan.

After the departure of Sir Robert Playfair, it was Mrs. Arthur, the grand-daughter of Sir Peter Coats, who became the central pillar of the British colony in Algiers. In her villa of Djenan -el-mufty, she played hostess to the English sovereigns on their official visit to Algiers in April 1905, to princess de Battenberg in 1909, to Kipling when he stopped at Algiers and to many other celebrities.

By the mid -1920s, the reputation of Algiers as a wintering resort superseded by that of Biskra (6).

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(6) Playfair, the Scourge. The States man's year-book, 1856-1963 ; Annuaire Général de l'Algérie, 1864-1886 ; Bulletin official du Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, 1830-1962.

LES RELATIONS SCIENTIFIQUES ANGLO-MAGHREBINES : ETAT ET ENSEIGNEMENTS POUR L'AVENIR

Prof. Abdeljelil TEMIMI

Nous n'envisageons pas, dans cette brève communication, de retracer la courbe des relations anglo-maghrébines durant les époques moderne et contemporaine, cela mérite qu'on le fasse un jour : notre dessein tend essentiellement à voir comment, en examinant ces relations scientifiques anglo-maghrébines, nous pourrions aujourd'hui en tirer des enseignements utiles pour une conception voire une nouvelle architecture de l'avenir des relations scientifiques de ces deux espaces géo-politiques.

Il est clair qu'on ne peut mesurer les grands acquis du savoir et de la connaissance dans les laboratoires en Grande Bretagne avec le processus de la connaissance et du savoir au Maghreb, durant les trente dernières année : mais nous croyons profondément que la nouvelle génération de chercheurs universitaires tant Maghrébins que Britanniques, sont en mesure d'imaginer et d'établir une nouvelle plate-forme commune de recherches interdisciplinaires en sciences humaines et sociales, c'est ce que nous nous proposons d'évoquer à travers les multiples enjeux, que nous impose tant bien que mal, la mondialisation qui nous a acculés à prendre en considération l'interchange scientifique international.

Rappelons d'abord que les relations entre la Grande Bretagne et le Maghreb remontent au début du XVIIe siècle pour connaître tout au long des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, un suivi politique accéléré et ce grâce non seulement aux consuls, établis sur tout le littoral maghrébin, mais également à un grand nombre de voyageurs, explorateurs et missionnaires qui ont parcouru le Maghreb dans tous les sens et qui ont laissé des correspondances qui constituent aujourd'hui une mine très riche d'informations sur le Maghreb pré-colonial : ceci ne se situe sûrement pas dans une perspective strictement scientifique. Mais il faut reconnaître aujourd'hui que leurs écrits constituent, aux regards des historiens et sociologues et généralement des chercheurs, une rare et incomparable source d'informations diverses pour l'histoire maghrébine, source pour laquelle il faudrait envisager tout un programme de publication, car ces correspondances couvrent plus de trois siècles. L'initiative prise par Archives Editions de Londres et édité par AL. P Burdett et qui consiste à publier une grande partie, bien que triée, des correspondances de la Grande Bretagne couvrant le Moyen Orient, et même l'Iran, sont considérées aujourd'hui comme des références

incontournables pour la recherche non seulement historique, mais également, de l'histoire des comportements, des mentalités et d'anthropologie culturelle : le nombre de volumes déjà publiés dépasse la centaines, renferment des documents inédits aujourd'hui à la portée des chercheurs internationaux ; malheureusement le Maghreb est totalement absent dans ce dynamique processus de publications de documents en anglais, ce qui tend à prouver que l'intérêt pour le Maghreb est faible sinon quasiment absent durant le XXe siècle dans l'enseignement et la recherche en Grande Bretagne ; les quelques réalisations scientifiques de chercheurs britanniques sur le Maghreb, sont essentiellement dues à des vocations conjoncturelles et limitées dans le temps et l'espace.

Il faut reconnaître également que l'époque coloniale marqua une rupture presque totale : le Maghreb a été reconnu, de fait, comme la chasse gardée d'une autre puissance coloniale ; ainsi la présence anglaise à tous les niveaux en Afrique du Nord française, s'est éclipsée pendant des décades entières jusqu'à l'événement de l'indépendance des pays maghrébins au milieu du XXe siècle, à part une présence militaire conjoncturelle lors de la deuxième guerre mondiale, mais qui n'a eu aucun effet palpable politique, économique ou social sur le Maghreb.

C'est bien l'événement des indépendances qui a ouvert des perspectives de relations bilatérales, lesquelles il faut le reconnaître, furent nouées sans état d'âme ; l'introduction de la langue anglaise fut timide et sans grande répercussion sur le processus de l'enseignement en sciences humaines dans les pays maghrébins francophones ; un demi siècle durant, nous pouvons le confirmer, moins de 2% des chercheurs utilisèrent l'anglais dans leurs recherches ; ces chercheurs ont été livrés à eux-mêmes, sans aucune action réelle commune et sans soutien, ce qui explique qu'une majorité des maghrébins anglophones ont déserté nos universités pour se réfugier soit dans les Universités d'Asie, des USA ou ailleurs. Ainsi le français reste la principale langue de communication avec le monde... Quels enseignements pouvons-nous en tirer pour l'avenir des relations scientifiques bilatérales ? C'est dans cette optique que nous évoquons, dans une première étape l'Etat de la recherche scientifique au Maghreb et en Grande Bretagne en sciences humaines et sociales, puis dans une deuxième étape nous avançons quelques suggestions pour un futur dialogue anglo-maghrébin.

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En effet, le Maghreb, espace arabophone et francophone par excellence, est vu à travers le miroir de la recherche française ; l'état des relations scientifiques et culturelles entre le Maghreb et la Grande Bretagne laisse beaucoup à désirer ; une analyse comparative de l'apport de chacune des deux parties, nous aidera sûrement à pallier à ces carences.

Sans nous arrêter longuement sur le parcours, les réalisations et les orientations de la recherche au Maghreb, force est de constater que le Maghreb, espace arabophone, de surcroît francophone, est appréhendé à travers les publications, les congrès et réunions qui s'organisent régulièrement en France ; la recherche maghrébine que ce soit ses publications, ses rencontres et ses thèses de doctorat, soutenues annuellement, est totalement négligée par l'ensemble des chercheurs européens et la Grande Bretagne ne fait pas exception à cet égard. La connaissance de l'autre, en l'occurrence ici le Maghreb, interpelle tout chercheur européen à respecter la déontologie, toute simple, du développement de la connaissance et du savoir, surtout s'il s'agit du Maghreb lui-même ; serait-il convenable et admissible qu'on continue à percevoir le Maghreb à travers les activités de recherches non-maghrébines ? Il est temps, grand temps, de procéder à une évaluation des réalités scientifiques des uns et des autres, voire une redéfinition totale.

Les universités maghrébines enregistrent des centaines de thèses, en langue arabe et également en langue française. Bien qu'une partie de ces thèses soient soutenues dans la langue de Voltaire, les chercheurs européens ne daignent pas avoir le soin d'en tenir compte dans leur travaux de recherche ; le même phénomène existe pour les thèses préparées par des Maghrébins ou d'autres spécialistes du Maghreb en Grande Bretagne ou dans les Universités américaines ; elles sont totalement méconnues, jamais prises en considération ou très rarement ; un index détaillé de ces thèses devrait être engagé ; quant aux thèses et travaux en langue arabe soutenus dans les Universités maghrébines, ils sont totalement méconnus également, puisqu'ils ne figurent nullement dans les bibliographies d'ouvrages sur le Maghreb édités en France, ou ailleurs ces dernières décades ; peut-être est-ce la faute des Maghrébins qui n'ont pas su défendre leur participation au développement de la connaissance, en établissant un index annuel et détaillé de toutes les thèses déjà soutenues ou publiées et dont quelques unes sont remarquables et de très haut niveau scientifique.

Pour les chercheurs maghrébins, on peut dégager une tendance majoritaire susceptible de bien refléter la recherche universitaire réalisée par l'école historique maghrébine, qui a mené un dur combat pour promouvoir un devenir de la recherche en sciences humaines et sociales, plus approprié, indépendant et novateur dans sa propre méthodologie ; mais d'autre part quelques universitaires maghrébins ont adopté la micro-histoire, et en sont même devenus les apôtres en prétendant, haut et fort, influencer l'avenir de la recherche historique maghrébine pour la mettre au diapason de la recherche mondiale ? Nous pensons que cette tendance finira par détourner la recherche historique sur le Maghreb de ses priorités et nous devons espérer que les nouvelles générations adopteront d'autres pistes de recherche, répondant mieux à

notre réalité et surtout au dynamique processus de la recherche réalisée depuis un certain temps.

Un autre volet mérite attention : l'initiative prise par quelques tribunes maghrébines de recherche pour traiter des sujets classés tabous, comme la censure intellectuelle au Maghreb, les élites maghrébines, l'histoire contemporaine récente et l'interview de personnalités politiques maghrébines, les courants idéologiques, particulièrement l'Islam, qui secouent le Maghreb depuis peu. Ces sujets furent traités calmement mais avec objectivité et indépendance d'analyse et d'esprit : c'est le nouvel itinéraire que teste de prendre la nouvelle génération des chercheurs maghrébins aujourd'hui, malgré les aléas et les difficultés du présent, et peut-être aussi de l'avenir.

La recherche britannique quant à elle, est fortement orientée vers les pays du Machrek, anciennes colonies de la Couronne : cette recherche a connu un processus aux expériences historiques extrêmement riches avec le monde arabe : c'est ainsi que nombre de centres ont acquis une célébrité internationale comme le SOAS, St. Antony Collège d'Oxford, Cambridge, Durham et maintenant le Centre d'Etudes Arabes et Islamiques de cette honorable Université : ces centres sont de véritables laboratoires de recherches s'intéressant à tous les aspects culturels, économiques et politiques ; il est vrai aussi que la présence d'un large nombre de spécialistes moyen-orientaux, formés principalement en Grande Bretagne et secondés par des chercheurs étrangers, toutes nationalités et disciplines confondues, à la suite de l'accélération des événements douloureux et dramatiques de la région, ont contribué fondamentalement à négliger le Maghreb, qui aux yeux de tous, paraissait sans intérêt majeur sur la scène politique, économique ou scientifique ; en conséquence le Maghreb pendant longtemps n'a pas été appréhendé comme une entité géopolitique avec ses spécificités et ses couleurs propres, qui font de lui un espace d'une extrême importance pour un grand nombre de dossiers euro-maghrébins : le relatif intérêt manifesté pour le Maghreb en Grande Bretagne, avait des racines lointaines, accentué également durant les trente dernières années par des facteurs conjoncturels dus aux particularités de l'espace géopolitique britannique et si le richissime arabe fut à l'origine de l'émergence d'un très grand nombre d'instituts et de centres sur le Moyen Orient, aucun centre ou institut de recherche ne fut créé sur le Maghreb en Grande Bretagne jusqu'aujourd'hui, à part quelques associations éphémères d'amitiés anglo-tunisienne, algérienne et marocaine, sans grand impact sur le processus de la connaissance sur le Maghreb.

D'autres facteurs non moins décisifs à ce faible intérêt pour le Maghreb en Grande Bretagne, c'est le rôle joué par la Commission Européenne dans les programmes de recherches, à court et à long terme, avec les pays du Sud, tout particulièrement avec le Maghreb, moyennant des subventions pour un partenariat scientifique Nord-Sud : la Grande

Bretagne n'a pu donc bénéficier de ce processus de partenariat qui consiste à offrir des subventions par la Commission Européenne aux projets de recherches euro-maghrébins, ce qui explique l'absence quasi totale de programme régulier de recherches entre chercheurs britanniques et maghrébins sur des thèmes communément discutés et acceptés par les deux parties : en outre les universités britanniques n'ont pas manifesté d'intérêt à de tels programmes avec les instituts, universités et centres maghrébins ; ces multiples facteurs ont eu un effet négatif quant au nombre très réduit de spécialistes britanniques sur le Maghreb jusqu'aujourd'hui.

Comment remédier à ce constat et relancer un futur processus scientifique anglo-maghrébin ? En effet, le Centre d'Etudes Arabes et Islamiques de cette Université, qui a eu le soin d'engager cette nouvelle problématique de recherche sur le Maghreb, en organisant l'année dernière conjointement avec notre Fondation, le premier dialogue anglo-maghrébin dont les actes ont été publiés par nos soins au début de cette année, ce centre disje, nous réunit aujourd'hui pour ce deuxième dialogue, fruit d'une collaboration engagée entre nos deux institutions, reflétant notre volonté d'être à l'écoute des transformations et des mutations qui secouent le Maghreb afin que nous puissions appréhender ses multiples réalités politiques, économiques, culturelles et religieuses. Ce Centre promet beaucoup grâce à la ténacité de ses dirigeants, à leur volonté pour développer les échanges et le partenariat avec le Maghreb.

En effet un pareil centre pourrait devenir, au niveau de la Grande Bretagne, un laboratoire d'informations diverses sur le Maghreb où pourraient collaborer étroitement des chercheurs des deux parties, cela exige nécessairement la création d'unités documentaires diverses qui auront la facilité de recevoir directement les sources maghrébines, thèses soutenues et travaux publiés en arabe ou en français ; ce centre est appelé également à se connecter à quelques laboratoires maghrébins et étrangers pour être au diapason de la recherche sur le Maghreb.

Quant aux Centres du British Council en Tunisie et au Maroc, ils pourraient continuer à travailler au rapprochement et à la consolidation des relations scientifiques entre Maghrébins et Britanniques ; élargir leur tâche et peut être se convertir en véritables centres de recherche, non seulement pour la diffusion de la langue anglaise, pour créer un dynamique processus de partenariat bilatéral maghrébin : c'est une vision très ambitieuse, mais nous tenons à l'exprimer ici dans ce cadre privilégié du dialogue anglo-maghrébin.

Il est inutile de se lancer dans des projets d'envergure et peu réalisables comme la création d'une vitrine culturelle maghrébine à Londres ou ailleurs pour combler l'absence de centres maghrébins en Grande Bretagne ; il serait cependant souhaitable qu'une unité de traduction dans les deux langues puisse être créée et peut-être

pourrions-nous lancer des publications communes pour quelques titres bien choisis et ciblés ; bref toute une programmation rationnelle pour promouvoir le dialogue de la connaissance et du savoir qui reste l'un des objectifs majeurs, que nous tous ici, souhaiterions atteindre.

Je conclus cette brève mise au point sur la nécessité de multiplier l'interchange scientifique anglo-maghrébin, en invitant les instances universitaires britanniques à faire confiance aux chercheurs Maghrébins et surtout à faciliter leur déplacement en Grande Bretagne pour effectuer leur recherche, ce qui n'est pas le cas aujourd'hui.

Merci de votre attention.

Prof. Abdeljelil TEMIMI

ALGER VUE PAR LA FILLE D'UN CONSUL ANGLAIS AU DEBUT DU XIXE SIECLE : ELISABETH BROUGHTON

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Nous avons pris pour habitude de n'avoir pour écrits européens sur l'histoire d'Alger à l'époque ottomane, que ceux rédigés par des consuls, des militaires, des voyageurs, des captifs ou des missionnaires religieux. Quant aux écrits de femmes européennes, on peut dire que, pour cette époque, ils sont particulièrement rares. Nous n'avons encore trouvé aucune trace de mémoires d'épouses de consuls (excepté les mémoires de la mère d'Elisabeth (2)), de militaires ou encore de femmes captives. Et c'est pour cette raison que l'on peut dire qu'en écrivant ses mémoires auxquelles, elle à donné pour titre « *Six years residence in Algiers* », Elisabeth Broughton se distingue des autres femmes de son époque vivant à Alger : elle fut la fille du consul anglais Henry Stanyford Blanckley : militaire de formation, qui a servi la Grande-Bretagne dans la guerre d'Amérique et au siège de Gibraltar ; il devint consul aux Iles Baléares, et c'est en 1806 qu'on lui a confié le consulat de Grande-Bretagne à Alger après une période de forte tension entre Alger et Londres (3). Les relations entre les deux pays ont fini par connaître une réelle détente tout le long de son mandat qui a duré six ans (4).

Elisabeth est arrivée à Alger à l'âge de six ans, venant de Malte, avec ses parents et sept de ses frères et sœurs (5) le 9 octobre 1806, à bord de la frégate Hydra commandée par le capitaine Mundy. Elle y a passé six

(2) Nous comptons publier dans un avenir proche une étude consacrée aux mémoires de Madame Blanckley .

(3) Cette tension était due à une affaire de mœurs où le consul Anglais John Falcon était mêlé en 1802. De ce fait John Falcon fut chassé par le *Dayan d'Alger* et l'Angleterre est restée sans représentant à Alger durant 4 ans.

(4) Sur la période passée par Blanckley dans ses fonctions de consul à Alger voir : Broughton. E., *Six years residence in Algiers*, London, Sawders, 1839. Playfair. R.L., The scourge of christendom. Annals of British relations with Algiers prior the french conquest, London, Smith Elder, 1884 ; Bardoux. J., « La vie d'un consul auprès de la Régence d'Alger », in *Revue Africaine, 1924, pp. 281-286* ; Archives Diplomatiques, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, France, Correspondance Consulaire, Alger, t. 38,39,40 ; Zahra. Z., « La mission du consul anglais Blankley à Alger », in *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine*, n°s 107-108, 2002, pp. 49-58 (en arabe).

(5) « ... Le nouveau consul vient d'arriver sur une frégate. C'est un homme âgé, père de huit enfants qui l'ont accompagné » voir : Lettre de Dubois-Thainville, Consul français à Alger, à Talleyrand, Ministre des Relations Extérieures (Alger, le 09 octobre 1806), in, *Correspondance Consulaire...*, *op. cit.*, t.38.

années de sa vie, car la famille Blanckley quitta Alger en automne 1812. Elisabeth est la troisième fille de ses parents : ses deux sœurs aînées étant mariées, elle se trouva l'aînée des filles à Alger, mais nous ne savons pas combien les Blanckley avaient de filles et de garçons. Elisabeth cite un grand frère et une jeune sœur mais, au fait, nous ne savons pas grand chose sur la vie des Blanckley, surtout en ce qui concerne leur fille Elisabeth et la famille de son époux Broughton.

Concernant son livre, il est composé de deux parties, la première partie elle l'a consacrée aux mémoires de sa mère, Mme Blanckley portant sur son séjour à Alger. Elle les a réécrits en y ajoutant à chaque fois éclaircissements et commentaires. La deuxième partie est constituée par ses propres mémoires ou souvenirs qu'elle a rédigés lorsqu'elle a quitté Alger. Les mémoires de sa mère, lui ont été d'une grande aide, car nous constatons qu'elle revit ses souvenirs de son séjour à Alger en les lisant, et peut-être même que ce sont ces mémoires qui l'ont poussées à écrire ses propres souvenirs après avoir dépassé fort probablement l'âge de 30 ans. Son livre qu'elle a intitulé « *Six ans de résidence à Alger* » a été publié à Londres en 1839 (6), c'est un livre énorme de 452 pages suivies d'annexes. D'après les recherches que j'ai effectuées, ce livre n'est pas très bien connu par les chercheurs et peu cité par les historiens.

De son séjour à Alger (7) et de l'hospitalité des Algériens :

Le séjour d'Elisabeth avec ses parents à Alger fut agréable. Reçus dès le premier jour de leur arrivée à Alger avec de grands égards par le *Dey* Ahmed (1805-1808), ils avaient occupé deux demeures magnifiques, la résidence et la maison d'été. L'une d'elles dominait la mer, selon ses propres dires. Elisabeth avait une chambre splendide comme elle n'en avait jamais eu dans sa vie.

La famille des Blanckley n'a pas vécu dans l'isolement. Elle s'est intégrée à la société algéroise et rendait de fréquentes visites aux grandes familles de la cité comme la famille du *Dey* Ahmed, celle de leur *Turdjeman* « interprète » Ali Rais, et celle du *Cadi* et leurs voisins de la résidence d'été. Elle prenait part également à toutes les fêtes et réjouissances auxquelles elle était conviée. Cela a permis à Elisabeth et à sa mère d'avoir une connaissance de l'intérieur même des demeures. Elle a pu ainsi décrire l'organisation des intérieurs féminins, la préparation des mets, la façon de s'habiller, etc. Elisabeth a été très touchée par la grande générosité, la courtoisie et l'hospitalité de ses hôtes. A l'occasion de la fête de *l'Aid-el-Fitr* (8), sa famille recevait des offrandes sous forme de gâteaux de toutes sortes de la part des épouses des officiers supérieurs et de l'élite algéroise. Très souvent elle était

(6) 27 ans après le départ d'Elisabeth d'Alger, au moment où son âge atteignait les 39 ans.
(7) Le séjour est mieux décrit par sa mère Mme Blanckley.
(8) *L'Aid-el-Fitr*, c'est la fête qui clôt le mois du *Ramadhan*

reçue par les femmes de la haute société qui, pour la circonstance, se mettaient dans leurs plus beaux atours.

De la description de la ville :

Dans sa description d'Alger, Elisabeth se montre impressionnée aussi par la splendeur de la ville. Ce qui retint son regard dès sa première vue de la ville d'Alger, c'était ses maisons, ses minarets et ses palmiers. La ville d'Alger lui paraît, vue de la mer, comme une place fortifiée : ses terrasses, semblaient comme des batteries et surprenaient tous les navires de guerre visitant Alger pour la première fois. Pour ce qui est de ses palais, elle fut émerveillée par leur beauté ainsi que par celle des maisons d'été. Celles-ci se trouvaient dans les hauteurs et au pied de la montagne (9). Elles étaient habitées par les Turco-ottomans, les maures et les consuls en été. Quant à l'architecture, plus généralement parlant, elle la trouva très différente de celle qu'elle avait vue dans les autres pays visités. Elle a pu décrire tous les édifices avec une grande précision, tant pour ce qui est de leur intérieur que de leur façade extérieure. Elle les a dépeints avec force détails depuis les portes jusqu'aux terrasses en passant par les galeries, couloirs et autres *sqifa*.

Le décor intérieur était fait de faïences, de céramiques et de marbres, avec des belles couleurs, dans une harmonie extraordinaire. Les sculptures et particulièrement les plafonds la remplissaient d'admiration. Les rues dans la ville étaient étroites, si bien que, dans l'angle, deux personnes ne pouvaient passer en même temps (10). Il en allait tout autrement des routes qui menaient aux maisons d'été. Elle étaient larges et donnaient, avec leurs grands arbres aux branches pendantes, une impression de paysage romantique. La ville était parsemée de fontaines (11) parce que les musulmans leur accordaient une certaine importance qui pouvait toucher au sacré. Au centre de la cité se dressait une grande et magnifique fontaine édifiée par Hassan Pacha où venaient se désaltérer librement les passants. Il se trouvait à Alger une seule rivière (12), qui ne ressemblait pas au Thames, mais aux temps pluvieux le niveau de ses eaux était considérable. Il y avait sur cette rivière une sorte de pont en bois qui servait de passerelle aux

(9) Il s'agit probablement de la montagne de Bouzaréah.
(10) En décrivant les rues au XVIIIe siècle, *Voiture de Paradis*, cite : « ... les (autres) rues d'Alger sont si étroites que trois personnes auraient de la peine à y passer » voir son livre, *Alger au XVIIIe siècle*, 2e édition, Tunis, Bouslama, p. 10.
(11) Les fontaines faisaient partie des fondations pieuses et elles étaient gérées par un responsable « *Khodjat al-Oyoune* »
(12) Il s'agit peut être de la rivière *Oued Koriche* dont les eaux viennent des hauteurs de Bouzaréah et traversent la ville par Bab el-Oued, dont le nom «La Porte de la Rivière ».

passants, mais il y avait également une autre rivière (13) à Alger qu'elle n'avait pas vue ; elle était plus importante que la première et se trouvait à l'extrême Est d'Alger.

De la végétation et du mode alimentaire :

Elisabeth a remarqué que partout de même que dans chacune des demeures, on trouvait différentes espèces de végétation, des arbres fruitiers et des massifs fleuris. Ainsi, on trouve à Alger des orangers qui donnent les fruits les plus fins du pays. Les pommiers et l'olivier se trouvent en abondance dans la montagne, mais aussi les abricotiers, les citronniers, les vignes et les figuiers. Les lilas, les œillets, les narcisses, le chèvrefeuille, géranium et roses sauvages, parsemaient les montagnes et ornaient les maisons. Les Algérois étaient tellement attachés à cette forme d'ornement qu'il n'était pas rare de trouver quelque turc portant, accrochée à son turban, une fleur fraîchement cueillie. Les légumes sont très variés et excellents, d'après elle, Alger produit non seulement les fruits et légumes qui existent en France et en Angleterre mais aussi d'autres qu'elle ne connaissait pas comme la *mloukhiya (14)*. Elle trouva la cuisine algérienne délicieuse et excellente, elle a beaucoup aimé le couscous qui est le plat national, le ragoût de mouton, les salades assaisonnées d'huile d'olive et de jus de citron et le délicieux jus de fleurs d'orangers, «*cherbet*» *(15)*.

De quelques habitants d'Alger :

Pour ce qui est des observations touchant à la société citons en quelques unes, elle relève que les janissaires se considéraient comme la seule aristocratie dans le pays. Les Biskris (*Boukra (16)*) assuraient la distribution de l'eau, et faisaient également la garde et la police (17) des portes de la ville durant la nuit après qu'elles eussent été fermées. Ils étaient réputés pour leur sévérité à l'encontre des promeneurs et en particulier ceux qui circulaient sans sauf conduit ou autorisation. Elle remarquait la présence de cette police la nuit, à son retour avec ses parents, des fêtes ou soirées auxquelles ils étaient conviés (18). Quant

(13) Il s'agit probablement de la rivière *Oued el-Harrach* où quelques navires pouvaient mouiller. Ce même *Oued el-Harrach* est connu dans l'histoire par l'échec de l'expédition de Charles-Quint en octobre 1541.

(14) La *mloukhiya* est une sorte de légume connu surtout à l'Est Algérien.

(15) *Jus fait d'eau de fleurs d'oranger* avec du sucre.

(16) Les Biskris, viennent de la région de Biskra, au Sud Est de l'Algérie.

(17) Sur la police à Alger à l'époque ottomane voir : Shaler, w., Sketches of Algiers Political, historical and civil. London, Boston, 1826; Venture de Paradis., op. cit ; Laugier DE TASSY, Histoire du Royaume d'Alger, Amsterdam,1725 ; Hoexter M ; « La *Shurta* ou la répression des crimes à Alger à l'époque ottomane », in *Studia Islamica*, t. LVI, pp. 117-146.

(18) Cela veut dire que la sécurité était assurée à cette époque à Alger, d'ailleurs le consul américain Shaler qui a vécu à Alger de 1815 à 1828, a bien décrit le rôle de la police quant à la sécurité de la ville : « ... There is probably no city in the world,

aux Kabyles (*Khayel* (19)) qui se trouvaient dans la ville ils travaillaient surtout comme valets dans les maisons, dans les fermes, dans les étables, comme jardiniers, bergers, bûcherons aussi. D'ailleurs les Blanckley eux même avaient à leur service un Kabyle nommé Said et qu'ils ont pris avec eux à Londres lorsqu'ils quittèrent Alger. Concernant les modes de communication avec les gens qu'elle a côtoyés, elle trouva que, d'une manière générale, il y en avait qui parlaient couramment la *langue franca* (20), comme leur interprète Ali Raïs et le ministre de la marine Sidi Youssef.

Des Modes vestimentaires :

Quant aux modes vestimentaires, le *barnous (21)*, qui se vendait très cher, constituait l'habit extérieur essentiel des hommes respectables. Il y avait deux sortes de *barnous (22)*, le blanc fait de laine et mis en été, surtout par les habitants de la ville et de ses environs ; quant au deuxième il est de couleur noire et fait de poils de chèvre et se met en hiver. Quant aux femmes, lorsqu'elles sortaient dans la rue, elles se couvraient du *Hayek (23)* qui est fait de soie ou de laine (24), c'est une belle texture mais bizarre d'après Elisabeth.

Des animaux :

En décrivant les animaux d'Alger, Elisabeth s'arrêta longuement sur les oiseaux. Elle trouva que les perdrix, bécassines, cailles, sarcelles, sont très nombreuses ; les rossignols, les mulets noirs, les linottes, les chardonnerets également qui, avec leurs gazouillement, semblaient jouer de vraies mélodies. Concernant les autres animaux elle ne cite que le sanglier. Elle cite les autres animaux comme les chats sauvages des montagnes et les petits insectes qu'elle trouve gênants, et les fourmis blanches aussi qui envahissaient leur maison d'été et dévastaient

where there is a more vigilant police, where fewer cognizable crimes are committed, or where there is better security for person and property than in Algiers » voir Shaler, W., Op. cit., p. 52.

(19) Les Kabyles viennent de la région de Kabylie, Centre Est de l'Algérie à 120 Km d'Alger.

(20) La *Langue franca* est un mélange de l'arabe et de différentes langues des pays riverains de la Méditerranée.

(21) Le *barnous* est une sorte de cape très longue avec une capuche, étroite au niveau du cou et très large en son bas. Il se porte toujours en Algérie surtout par les vieux.

(22) Venture de Paradis nous a laissé une description détaillée du *barnous*, il cite « ... Les soldats turcs ou gens aisés portent des berrous noirs : ils sont faits à Mascara, et ce sont les femmes qui les travaillent avec de la laine noire naturelle, et non teinte ... Les berrous noirs sont l'habit de cérémonie des kalakhachis. Le Dey et les grands officiers du gouvernement le portent blanc ... » voir : Venture de Paradis, op. cit., p. 59.

(23) Sorte de tissu carré, fait de soie *Hayek soie* ou mélangé dans l'arabe dialectal algérois demi-soie *Hayek nosse nosse* ou de polyester. Le Hayeq se porte jusqu'à présent surtout par les vieilles.

(24) Nous ignorons s'il y a toujours de Hayeq fait de laine actuellement.

surtout les sucreries. En citant les poissons, elle remarqua qu'il y en avait de bons comme le rouget, le homard, les truites, ainsi qu'un bon nombre d'autres petits poissons.

Des industries d'Alger :

En décrivant les industries existant à Alger, Elisabeth trouve qu'il y avait les moulins de poudre à canon (25) (with the exception of the power-mills, sic) ainsi que quelques unités de transformation de produits agroalimentaires de consommation courante. Tout ce qui se trouvait à Alger comme produits d'industries venait de l'extérieur du pays.

Des relations algéro -anglaises :

Elisabeth était très fière d'être la fille du consul, le mieux considéré par le Dey, qui avait parmi tous les privilèges de négocier la libération des captifs, (notons ici entre autres la libération des captifs portugais). Elisabeth était très fière également de son père, le consul Blanckley, qui a pu prendre à l'avantage de son pays, les privilèges qui étaient auparavant dévolus à la France dans l'Est d'Alger (26).

De son jugement quant à Alger :

Le point de vue d'Elisabeth quant au régime politique ne diffère pas de ceux des Européens qui l'ont précédée, et qui ont visité ou vécu à Alger et écrit sur la question. Cette si belle ville dans laquelle elle a passé les plus belles années de son enfance et qu'elle a tant chérie, cette ville qu'elle a quittée avec tant de chagrin, c'est cette même ville qu'elle nomme la « ville de la mort, de la barbarie, du despotisme », elle ira jusqu'à regretter que le rêve de son père de faire annexer Alger à la couronne britannique, n'ait pas été exaucé. Elle rendra finalement grâce à Dieu qu'elle ait été prise par des chrétiens (27).

(25) S'agit-il de la fonderie des canons *Dâr al-Nuhas* ou *Dâr al-Barud*, qui était un des établissements qui relevait de l'industrie à Alger, à côté du Chantier naval (*Tersanè*) et l'Hôtel des monnaies (*Dâr al-Sikka*) ou *Dâr al-rasqui*. Sur l'industrie et l'artisanat à Alger, voir : Venture de Paradis ; Shaler, w ; Cathcart, Mémoires d'un captif du *Dey*. Consul d'Amérique au Maghreb, traduit de l'anglais par Ismail El-Arabi, Alger, O.P.U., 1982 (en arabe) ; Shuval, T., La ville d'Alger vers la fin du XVIIIe siècle. Population et cadre urbain, Paris, C.N.R.S., 1966 ; Raymond, A., « Le centre d'Alger en 1830 », in Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée, n° 31, 1981, pp. 73-81.

(26) Ces privilèges ont été confirmés par le traité du 8 janvier 1807 qui a accordé à l'Angleterre des facilités commerciales donnant du coup à ce pays la place prépondérante qu'occupait auparavant la France depuis le XVIe siècle. C'est ainsi que le consul Blanckley, le père d'Elisabeth pu obtenir pour son pays ce que n'avait pu faire aucun de ses prédécesseurs à Alger.

(27) Il semble se dégager de ses écrits un jugement porté sur les autorités dirigeantes de ce pays, comme si seuls les Européens pouvaient lui assurer une véritable splendeur.

Conclusion :

Les mémoires d'Elisabeth peuvent être considérées comme présentant un grand intérêt pour l'histoire d'Alger au début du XIXe siècle. Elles contiennent non seulement des informations importantes mais aussi des détails d'une grande précision, surtout quand il s'agit de décrire la ville d'Alger, son environnement et quelques aspects touchant à la vie sociale. Le côté politique diplomatique n'a pas été très bien traité, effleuré seulement par quelques remarques dépassant parfois la période correspondant à son séjour à Alger. Quant aux domaines touchant au commerce et à l'économie d'une manière plus générale, ils ont été vraiment négligés et pour le peu qu'elle leur a réservé, elle les traite en y portant un jugement sévère. Peut-être étant très jeune à Alger cet aspect n'a pas retenu suffisamment son intention.

Si ses mémoires ont été marquées par la précision dans la description de certains aspects, elles restent cependant particulièrement pauvres quant à l'évocation de certains événements marquants et la désignation de certains noms de lieux, contrairement à ce qu'ont été les mémoires de sa mère. L'image qui ressort de ses écrits sur Alger, diffère de celle que nous avons l'habitude de recevoir à travers les écrits de ses contemporains et même de ceux qui l'y ont précédée ou succédée, mis à part bien sûr ce qui relève de la mentalité européenne, quand il s'agit de porter un jugement sur d'autres gouvernements, en particulier ceux de l'Afrique du Nord, et d'exprimer leur désir de voir cette région gouvernée par des Européens. C'est dans ce regard particulier, celui d'une femme d'abord que nous n'avons pas l'habitude d'avoir, que réside l'intérêt marquant de ces mémoires. On y trouvera une nouvelle approche couvrant des aspects multiples et variés de la vie à Alger, même si elle ne couvrent qu'une courte période ne dépassant pas six années (1806-1812).

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TUNISIAN ELITE AND BRITISH POLITICS IN THE MIDDLE EAST 1918/1939

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The analysis of the Tunisian elite's writings about British politics in the Middle East 1918/1939, allows us to determine the nature, the components and tendencies of those writings. It also helps to show the similarities and differences between this elite's positions and those in the Middle East .

The Tunisian elite was distinguished by its openness as a result of its double culture. It is a reformative elite -- including a wide sector of the "Zeytuna" elite. This elite recognized the legitimacy of the mandate and recognized its necessity for the country's development, but its allegiance was not absolute but often oppositional, mostly resistant. The Tunisian elite's interest in foreign, particularly Arab, affairs stems from their cultural, intellectual and even social background and their feeling of being part of this space.

In reality, the positions taken by the elite were not the result of these factors only. Nationalist struggling often made those positions and analyses a means to raise awareness among the people with regard to their reality by comparing it to similar cases. In this way they were able to communicate ideas and positions which they were unable to express openly for fear of measures that might be taken against them. They could be also trying to provoque the French.

The British image in the minds of Tunisian elites were hazy and complicated, ruled by a number of considerations and influenced by the inconsistencies of the British policies in the Islamic and Arab worlds. Britain occupied the two of the most important civilized centers that had a direct relation with the Arab and Islamic history of Tunisia, namely, India (1849) and Egypt (1882). On the other hand, an in light of its size, power and colonialist influence, Britain was a real rival to France. This image remained until after WWI when Britain became, in the eyes of the Tunisian elite, directly responsible for the collapse of the Ottoman empire, the parceling of the Arab region and the creation of the Jewish national state. Britain was considered the enemy of Islam, the one who let Muslims down, and spread enmity between Muslims and Arabs. British politics was also characterized by ambiguity, mischief and evil intentions. Although the Tunisian was aware of the relationship between the British policy and the Zionist movement, they counted on the British alignment with the Palestinians out of respect for the feelings of Muslims and to serve her own economic and strategic interests.

Two contradictory realities governed the image of Britain among Tunisian elites:

Despite their strong enmity towards British policy in the Middle East, the elite admired and valorized the democratic way by which Britain ruled her regions of influence in Egypt and Palestine.

Many of the extreme positions of the elite against Britain were not innocent but were often designed to please the French administration in Tunisia or due to French pressure in order to disfigure British policies and embellish the French conduct in Lebanon and Syria.

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A "FUTURISTIC" READING OF THE ENCOUNTER BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FROM AN UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENT BY RICHARD WOOD

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The present paper addresses a central issue, which has been and continues to be source of differences and arguments, namely the relationship between the East and the West, a relationship often characterized by lack of clarity, misjudgment and rash to conclusions. The paper is based on a rare and hitherto unknown 72-page manuscript sent by Sir Richard Wood to the Secretary of State in London.

Wood takes as a starting point the Tunisian experience, which speeded up the relationship with the other, breaking down barriers between an expanding West and an East charmed by ignorance, underdevelopment and dependence. He takes into consideration Khayr al-Din's thought, Cheikh Bayram, and particularly the epistle of Sheikh Ahmed Ibn Khoja (d. 1896) pertaining to the need for fairness towards non-Muslims, tolerance and mutual trust and love throughout the Ottoman empire, which Wood defended from his position as a diplomat in its midst. Wood criticizes naive Western conceptions of Islam; notes the tanzimat (reforms) adopted by the Sultanate and suggest that the West was one of the main reasons why these reforms were aborted, despite Ottoman support of Jews and Christians. It is particularly noteworthy that Wood, inspired by the ideas of the Hanafi Chaykh Ahmad Ibn Khoja and others, makes a "intentional" reading of several Koranic verses and presents a visionary social and political view of the reasons underlying the misunderstanding between the East and the West.

ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE MORISCOS OF MOROCCO IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

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Following their expulsion from Spain in 1609, a significant Morisco community too residence in Morocco. They settled in the region of Masab Abi Raqraq, establishing three communities in Rabat, Qabet al-Wadaya and Sale. Their move to Morocco did not, however, end their relationship with Spain. They engaged in a protracted war of revenge against the Spanish. They launched sea attacks against Spanish and other European fleets. In order to create a strategic balance, Moriscos established a special relationship with Britain, exploiting the conflict between the Catholic camp, lead by Spain, and the Protestants spearheaded by Britain. The Moriscos and Britain had mutual interests. Moriscos needed weapons and ammunition, equipment for their ships and some provisions. Britain needed to retrieve her captives and secure her ships against Morisco attacks and pillage. The British were also engaged in building a lucrative trade. British archives contain important documents related to this area, some of which have been published but the majority remains.

We discover, for instance, that Moriscos were able to obtain 14 canons and ammunition in exchange of freeing British captives in 1616, through the British representative in Morocco, John Herson. In 1627 and 1628, they sent their envoys to Britain to sign agreements. Britain, however, discovered that these weapons were used against its own ships, which made them think seriously about occupying Qabet al-Widaya, a move which would allow them to be positioned very close to Spain and to destroy a Morisco stronghold, which had become source of trouble for them. This is made clear in a report sent by John Herson to Charles the First in 1627. He stresses a number of points:

- Encouraging Moriscos to seek independence form the Moroccan Sultan Zidan.
- Encourage Moriscos to work against the enemies of Britain in Morocco.
- Stressing the fact that they are Christians like the British.
- Attempting to use Moriscos to occupy al-Ma'mura, which was a the Spanish stronghold in Morocco.
- Recognising Moriscos as an independent entity.
- Stressing the fact that Moroccans did not like Moriscos, which makes these closer to the British.

Another report by the same representative, dated 8 October 1630 emphasizes the same issues.

EXETER CONFERENCE AND ITS CHRONOTOPES

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Between 14 and 17 September, 2002 the University of Exeter was the site of the 2nd conference on Britain and the Maghreb held under the auspices of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies and the Centre for Mediterranean Studies of the University of Exeter, Fondation Temimi pour la recherche scientifique et l'information from Tunisia and with support by the British Councils in Tunisia and Morocco. The range of papers, the atmosphere and the location of the conference are perhaps best described in terms of chronotopes or the "primary means for materializing time in space", as Michael Bakhtin suggests. In a novel, these would be the "organizing centers for the fundamental narrative events." Most papers may be grouped in chronotopes. Two of those identified by Bakhtin serve my purposes here. The third is invented.

The Idyllic chronotope, which is linked to the pastoral novel, describes the setting of the conference as much as it does a number of the papers given. Exeter is located in the South West of England, a lush farm area, which can be seen from the windows of the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, the venue of conference. To the north and West, stretches the idyllic Dartmoor National Park, where a number of delegates where transported to a 6th Century BC religious site and on to the old village of Chagford, guided by Donna Landry and Gerald Maclean. To use the touristic/Orientalist cliché, time stood still or, at least for a change, Maghrebi visitors moved backwards in time in Britain. John Potvin illustrates this move in his study of representations of the male body in the *London Illustrated News*. He contends that the representation of the male Oriental body relegates it to a past time in congruence with the Western chronological time. The Blunts, whose Algerian trip is studied by Donna Landry, describe Algeria as a time-space of "innocent" happiness, their romance rekindled by the "archaic East." Mohamed Laamiri notes in his overview of British travel literature on the Maghreb that one of the images which emerge is that of the Maghrebi city as myth or legend, a place without reality or substance. Najet Mchala shows how, through a combination of classical sources and tales of the fantastic, Shakespeare blurs the line between history and memory in the proximity of a Tunis, which has become Carthage in his play. The island in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is a site of magic in Prospero's terms and a space where an ephemeral, largely "bookish" East finds its expression. Enacting a past or fantastic time in the Maghrebi space was not limited to the British. Costanza Ferrini

shows how the Italian writer Emilio Salgari, for instance, sets one of his popular adventure stories in Algiers. De Amicis' description of Morocco reveals a similar outlook despite the fact that it serves different purposes and is written in a "scientific" genre. Patricia Almarcegui explores the apparent paradox of Spanish representations of the East. Having an 'East within,' Andalusia, and proximity to Morocco did not prevent Badia and his compatriots from locating Morocco in a vague "Oriental" time.

The Rabelaisian chronotope :

Although Domestic Services did their best to cater for the needs of a crowd with a multitude of dietary requirements and restrictions, food in Exeter was not a match for the Couscous and fresh oranges, which were readily available in Zaghouan at the first conference on Britain and the Maghreb: the State of Research and Cultural Contacts held in March, 2001. Entertainment was, however, spontaneous and abundant. The poet Fathi Kacemi provided the whole range: Rabelaisian satire on snoring, peace poetry, romantic verse, and even a poem about Exeter, or "exetera". The course of the early encounters between Britain and the Maghreb is, however, rather the other way around. One of the key themes of the conference was European communities in the Maghreb, their lives, how they related to one another and their relationship to their environment. Gerald Maclean portrays, from various published and unpublished accounts, English communities whose lives were built on excess. The environment and their own behavior, most notably, heavy alcohol abuse, changed their manners, corrupted their "Englishness" and affected their very bodies. Ali Tablit describes the English settlement in the Mustapha Superieur district of Algiers as an enclave where the English formed a small community. Glimpses of this community can be gleaned from the memoirs of Elizabeth Broughton, *Six Years Residence in Algiers, 1806-1812*, analyzed by Zakiya Zahra. A view of the lives of English captives in Algiers in the 1630s is exposed by Aicha Ghattas, whose focus is on the uses of captivity narrative in historiography. Anne Williams' research focuses on the Knights of Malta, a group who were more Quixotian than Rabelaisian, and who armed themselves and attempted in vain to hold on to fortified presidios along the North African coast and particularly Tripoly from 1530 to 1551.

What might be called a postcolonial chronotope can be illustrated by the presence of Maghrebis in Europe, a theme treated in six contributions. Bouslem Belkacemi charts the flux of Algerian students to Britain form 1977 to 1990, showing the relationship between oil revenues and Algeria's relations with France, on one side, and the number of students heading to British universities on the other. Nina Sutherland taps into a hornet's nest in her research on the Harkis. She contends that they make a community of refugees, rejected by both France and Algeria. Lucy MacKeith closed the proceedings by a

presentation on an art project, exhibited in the Institute specifically for the conference, which brought together Muslim and Arab children from Exeter in order to express their sense of who they feel they are in Britain today. The movement of stories was explicitly addressed by Imam Mrabet and Monia Hejaiej and, in a different way by Sabiha al Khemir. Mrabet stresses the impact of translation on cultural understanding and exposes the commercial and cultural biases underlying translation of Arabic literature into English. Hejaiej, whose paper points out that there is a methodological bias which denied the links between Western and Arab literatures for far too long, shows how stories traveled across cultures, from oral narratives in the Arab Mediterranean to Chaucer. Sabiha al Khemir brings both worlds together in her novelistic world. In her first novel, *Waiting in the Future for the Past to Come*, personal time and communal space diverge, pushing the main character to exile in Britain. In the second book, *The Blue Manuscript*, a Maghrebi women living Britain discovers her ties to Islamic art from the past. This movement between the two regions and the ensuing mixed allegiances are treated in a number of historical papers.

The range of activities and web of contacts of Robert Cole, whose portrait is compiled by Colin Heywood through letters and official records, reveal the complexity of British-Algerian relations on the ground at the turn of the seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century, the stakes and the state of Maghrebi geo-politics were very different but British policy remained complex and far from transparent. The case of Bonbker El-Gahanjaoui, studied by Khalid Ben Sehir, mirrors Cole in many respects. El-Gahanjaoui was a Moroccan who collaborated with the British with the consent of the Sultan. Through him we sense opposition to British policies raised by "humanist" voices. The portrait of the British consul in Tunisia, Richard Wood presented by Fathi Kacemi reflects such a tendency. Wood draws on reformist thought in 19th century Tunisia to urge his government to change its views of Islam and policies towards the Ottomans. Abdellatif Hannachi's paper on the image of Britain among Tunisian elites during the first part of the 20th century reveals a hazy and changing view, linked to local as well as Middle East politics and loyalties.

Debate on Maghrebi-British academic cooperation was opened by Abdeljalil Temimi in a paper, which laid out the past and the future of the interchange. He shows that the present project, which has many short-lived precedents, has witnessed a solid restart in Zaghouan in March 2001. Most notable in his view is the wealth of information and archival sources, which remain largely unused. The wider implications of the interchange are likely to open up these archives and vary the sources for the study of both the Maghreb and Britain. The study of the encounter reveals much about the internal dynamic of each area and, in some cases, helps shed light on issues which go beyond the Maghreb and

Britain. Ken Parker, who keynoted the conference, identifies early modern British policy in the Maghreb as training ground for Britain's colonial policy in the East later on. A case study of this point is provided by Mohamed Razouk, whose research on British policy towards the Moriscos of Morocco in the early part of the 17th century shows their policy of divide and rule, managing all three sides: the Moroccan authorities, the Morisco community and Spanish ambitions. Parker also emphasizes two ideas, which kept returning throughout the conference. His work on constructions of "barbary" in early modern England, identifies misreading and amnesia as two key features of these constructions. While misreading and amnesia may have determined how Britain viewed the "Barabary", it is the task of conferences such as this one, to contribute to a much-needed corrective reading and to help restore the memory of a long and complex interchange between Britain and the Maghreb.

Mohamed-Salah Omri
22.09.2002 revised August 2003

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CATALOGUE DES PUBLICATIONS

DE LA FONDATION TEMIMI POUR LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE & L'INFORMATION

Le lecteur trouvera ici les dix séries des publications assumées par la Fondation ainsi que les trois périodiques suivants :

- *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine (RHM)* :

- 112 numéros sont déjà parus de 1974 à 2003.

- *Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies (AHROS)* :

- 28 numéros sont déjà parus de 1990 à 2003.

- *Revue Arabe d'Archives, de Documentation et d'Information (RAADI)* :

-12 numéros sont déjà paru de 1997 à 2002.

Quant aux ouvrages, ils sont répartis suivant les séries suivantes :

Série 1 : Les Provinces Arabes à l'époque ottomane.

Série 2 : Archéologie Ottomane.

Série 3 : Etudes d'Histoire Moriscque.

Série 4 : Mouvements nationaux tunisiens et maghrébins.

Série 5 : Témoignages oraux sur la Mémoire Nationale.

Série 6 : Recherche Scientifique en Sciences Humaines dans le monde arabe.

Série 7 : Documentation, Information, archives et Index.

Série 8 : Dialogues bilatéraux et multilatéraux.

Série 9 : Sources inédites sur l'histoire du monde arabe aux époques moderne et contemporaine.

Série 10 : Mélanges dédiés à quelques chercheurs ou historiens qui ont servi l'histoire du monde arabo-musulman.

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Série 8 : Dialogues bilatéraux et multilatéraux

Nombre d'institutions et d'organismes arabes et islamiques se sont intéressés pendant la dernière décennie à la promotion du dialogue des cultures, des religions et des peuples, moyennant un travail non scientifique qui a fini par éclipser les objectifs réels de tels dialogues. Nous constatons par ailleurs que ces congrès et conférences n'ont pu être couronnés par la publication de leurs actes, ni par les débats qui s'y sont déroulés, en langues arabe, française, anglaise et espagnole, ce qui aurait pu contribuer au rapprochement et à la connaissance de nos partenaires, d'où le manque

ونحن إيمانا منا بأهمية التواصل الحضاري الفاعل مع بقية حضارات وأديان وثقافات الشعوب الأخرى، أخذنا على أنفسنا العهد منذ خمسة عشر سنة، بتنظيم عدد من الحوارات الهادفة والبناءة مثل الحوار الإسلامي-المسيحي والعربي-التركي والشرقي-الأوسطي والعربي-الإفريقي والبريطاني-المغاربي والإسباني-المغاربي والخليجي المغاربي. كما حرصنا في عدد من تلك المؤتمرات على تسجيل محاضرات ملون المناقشات وبخاصتها الإضافية، والتي كشفت لنا عن الأبعاد الحقيقية والمهمة لمستقبل هذه الحوارات بين الأطراف جميعا. وقد نشرنا جميع أعمال تلك المؤتمرات التي أجريت يومئذ وتم نشر أغلبها بالعربية والفرنسية والإنكليزية والإسبانية، وهذا ما شكل إضافة بارزة جدا. وإلى القارئ الكريم قائمة بتلك المنشورات المتعددة الإختصاصات والتي وجدت لدى الباحثين العرب والدوليين ترحيبا نوعيا :

1 - أعمال مؤتمر حول : **وضعية الدراسات عن الشرق الأوسط**، 264 ص، (بالعربية والإنكليزية) منشورات المؤسسة، زغوان، 1996.

2 - أعمال المؤتمر العالمي للحوار الإسلامي-المسيحي الثاني حول : **المسلمون والمسيحيون في عصر النهضة الأوروبية**، 360ص، (بالعربية والفرنسية) مارس/آذار 1997.

3 - أعمال الدورة العالمية المنعقدة بتمبكتو حول : **الثقافة العربية الإسلامية وإفريقيا جنوب الصحراء. غرب إفريقيا نموذجا**، (بالعربية والفرنسية)، 487 ص، أوت 1997.

4 - أعمال المؤتمر الأول للحوار العربي-التركي حول : **القمالية والقماليون**، (بالفرنسية والعربية والإنكليزية)، 320 ص، منشورات المؤسسة، زغوان، أفريل / نيسان 1999.

5 - أعمال المؤتمر الثالث للحوار الإسلامي-المسيحي حول : **مقاربات جديدة للعلاقات الإسلامية – المسيحية في عصر النهضة الأوربية**، 257ص، (بالعربية والفرنسية)، زغوان -ماي/أيار 2000.

6 - أعمال المؤتمر العالمي الثاني للحوار العربي-التركي حول : **التحديث والحداثة في البلاد العربية وتركيا في القرن العشرين**، 260 ص، (بالعربية والفرنسية والإنكليزية) زغوان، جوان 2001.

7 - أعمال المؤتمر الرابع للحوار الإسلامي-المسيحي حول : **الشرق والغرب في جذور الحوار الإسلامي-المسيحي في عصر النهضة خلال القرون 16-19**، (بالعربية والفرنسية)، 200 ص، منشورات المؤسسة، زغوان، أوت 2002.

8 - أعمال المؤتمر الأول للحوار البريطاني-المغاربي حول : **بريطانيا والمغرب العربي : حالة الأبحاث والعلاقات الثقافية**، 375 ص (بالعربية والفرنسية والإنكليزية)، منشورات المؤسسة، جانفي، 2002.

9 - أعمال المؤتمر العالمي الثالث للحوار العربي-التركي حول : **العلاقات العربية التركية ودور الشباب في التحديث**، 340 ص، (بالعربية والفرنسية والإنكليزية) زغوان، أوت/آب 2003.

10 - أعمال المؤتمر الأول للحوار الإسباني-المغاربي حول : **العلاقات الإسبانية المغاربية : ماضيا وحاضرا ومستقبلا**، 244 ص، (بالعربية والإسبانية والفرنسية) زغوان، سبتمبر/أيلول 2003.

11 - أعمال المؤتمر الثاني للحوار البريطاني-المغاربي حول : **هجرة البشر والأفكار بين بريطانيا والمغرب العربي**، 268 ص، (بالعربية والإسبانية والفرنسية)، زغوان، أكتوبر/تشرين الأول 2003.

12 - أعمال المؤتمر الثاني للحوار الخليجي المغاربي الأول (تحت الإعداد).

d'efficacité de ces congrès aléatoires qui coûtent, pourtant, des centaines de milliers de dollars.

Croyant en l'importance de la communication et au dialogue inter-civilisationnel, inter-culturel et inter-religieux, nous avons entamé depuis plus de quinze ans une série de dialogues constructifs dans diverses disciplines, islamo-chrétien, arabo-turc, moyen-oriental, arabo-africain, anglo-maghrébin, hispano-maghrébin et Maghreb-Golfe, dialogues dont la plupart des débats qui reflètent les dimensions réelles de ces dialogues ainsi que les actes, ont été publiés en arabe, français, anglais et espagnol, ce qui constitue une réalisation scientifique majeure. Ci-après donc une liste des publications multi-disciplinaires dont la parution a été accueillie très favorablement par les chercheurs arabes et internationaux :

1 - Actes du Ve Symposium International sur : The State of the Art on Middle East Studies, 254 p (en anglais et arabe), Zaghouan, 1994.

2 – Actes du deuxième Congrès sur : Chrétiens et Musulmans à l'époque de la Renaissance, 360 p., Mars 1997.

3 – Actes du colloque international tenu à Tombouctou sur : La culture arabo-islamique en Afrique au Sud du Sahara : Cas de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, 487p, Août 1997.

4 - Actes de la 1re table ronde du dialogue arabo-turc sur : Kémalisme et Kémalistes, 320 p (en arabe, français, anglais et turc), Zaghouan, Avril 1999.

5 - Actes de la IIIe Rencontre Scientifique sur : Nouvelles Approches des relations islamo-chrétiennes à l'époque de la Renaissance, 257p, Zaghouan, Mai 2000.

6 - Actes du IIe Congrès du dialogue arabo-turc sur : Modernisation et Modernisme dans les pays arabes et en Turquie au XXe siècle, 260 p. Zaghouan, Juin, 2001 (français et arabe).

7 – Actes de la IVe Rencontre sur : Occident et Orient : Aux origines du dialogue islamo-chrétien (XVIe-XIXe s), 200p. Zaghouan, août 2002.

8 – Actes du 1er congrès du dialogue britano-maghrébin sur : La Grande Bretagne et le Maghreb : Etat des recherches et contacts culturels, 375p, Zaghouan, janvier 2002 (anglais, français et arabe).

9 - Actes du IIIe Congrès du dialogue arabo-turc sur : Relations arabo-turques et rôle des élites dans la Modernisation, 340 p. Zaghouan, Août, 2003 (français et arabe).

10 - Actes du 1e Congrès du dialogue Hispano-maghrébin sur : Les Relations hispano-maghrébines : Passé, présent et avenir, 244p, Zaghouan, Septembre, 2003 (français et arabe).

11 – Actes du IIe Congrès du dialogue britano-maghrébin sur : The Movement of People and Ideas between Britain and the Maghreb, 268p, (anglais, français et arabe), Zaghouan, Octobre 2003.

12 – Le premier congrès du dialogue Scientifique Golfe-Maghreb (à paraître).