

Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' at-Tahtāwī :

The Egyptian Revivalist

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HIS LITERARY OUTPUT

THE first thing which strikes the student of the Arabic literature of this period is the remarkable number of works attributed to Rifā'ah,¹ but, in reality, there is nothing new or startling about the quantity, for the eighteenth century provides us with the names of many Egyptian scholars who produced long lists of works on all the subjects in which the learned were interested and for which there was a constant demand in scholastic circles.² Rifā'ah had a gift for writing which was encouraged by the exceptional circumstances in which he found himself once he had become absorbed into the military system created by Muḥammad 'Alī. What is so pleasing about Rifā'ah is the variety of his literary interests, and he must be credited with having been the principal actor in laying the foundations of the "new" literature. His verses, too, were admired by his contemporaries; as a student in the mosque of al-Azhar, he wrote an *urjūzah* on *tauḥīd* which attracted the attention of one of his teachers, Shaiḫ al-Faḍḍālī, but it was never published.³ He was especially good at *Waṭaniyāt*, a new *genre* in Arabic literature⁴; he seems to have been the first to have composed *Waṭaniyāt* and was probably inspired by French models; the following is an excellent example of this type of verse:—

والقادة الاسود	يا ايها الجنود
يعود هامي المدمع	إن أمكم حسود
بنصركم تؤول	فكم لكم حروب
ولا اقتحام معمع	لم تشنكم خطوب
وكم هزمتم من بغى	وكم شهدتم من وغى
على حاكم يصرع	فن تعدى وطنى

¹ Sarkis, *Mu'jam*, 942-7; he includes thirty-three works.

² al-Jabartī, i, 289-304; ii, 25-7; ii, 147; ii, 164; ii, 227-333.

³ Šāliḥ Majdī, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴ Patriotic songs or national anthems. The use of the word *waṭaniyah* is interesting.

These simple lines contain a great amount of vigour and colour and there are many more on the Egyptian Army and the Egyptian as a fighting man. Rifā'ah often put French poetry into Arabic verse to illustrate a point in the text. His pupil, Ṣāliḥ Majdī, was also a very good writer and poet, imitated his master particularly in the art of composing *Waṭaniyāt* and translating French poems, many of which have been published. The better type of Azharī in those days had no difficulty in writing verse of a kind, he probably acquired the habit of versification from having to memorize the numerous compendiums, some of them rather lengthy, which were written in the form of verse, one of the first and most important being the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Mālīk. A great deal of attention used to be paid to the study of *'arūd* and *kāfiyah*.

Rifā'ah's literary output began in France and can be divided into two periods, the first ending in 1841 and the second beginning with Sa'id (c. 1854) and ending thirty years later. It will be borne in mind that he was in disfavour with 'Abbās I, and for the period 1841-9 there was no demand for educational works, from which we can see that it required the stimulus of an official position and an energetic chief to get the best out of Rifā'ah, although he does not appear to have been altogether unoccupied with literary work while he was in exile in the Sudan.

In Paris, he put Agoub's (Ya'kūb) *La Lyre Brisée* into Arabic verse and called it *Naẓm al-'Uḫud fī Kasr al-'Ūd*, which was actually published there in 1827. His next work to be published was called *Juḡhrāfiyah Ṣaḡhīrah*, which was printed in Būlāḡ in 1830¹; this was a translation of a French work on geography the author of which is not known, for which he must have received orders from Muḥammad 'Alī so that the book could be used in the schools. There then followed a rapid flow of published works, mainly translations made while Rifā'ah was in France. In 1833, he published a translation on mining entitled *al-Ma'ādīn an-Nāfi'a li-tadbīr Ma'āyish al-Khalā'ik*; in the same year, he brought out his translation of Depping's *Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et coutumes des nations* under the title of *Ḳalā'id al-Mafākhīr fī Ḡharīb 'Awā'id al-Awā'il wal-Awākhīr*, a work which he had translated at the suggestion of M. Jomard. In the following year, he published another translation on geography entitled *at-Ta'rīfah ash-Shāfiyah li-Murīd al-Juḡhrāfiyah*, and in the same year, his original and best work on his journey to Paris entitled *Takhliṣ*

¹ Perron in *Journal Asiatique*, July-August, 1843, does not mention this work.

al-Ibrīz ilā Talkhīṣ Bārīs or *ad-Dūwān an-Nafīs bi-Īwān Bārīs*. This work is worthy of closer attention not only from the point of view of subject-matter but from the source of inspiration. Travelling in the Arabic-speaking world was not new; there had been plenty of travellers, some of whom had written about their travels, but few of them had had the opportunity of visiting European countries at such a late date. Professor Pérès, in his *L'Espagne vue par les Voyageurs musulmans de 1610 à 1930*,¹ gives us the names of several Moslems who wrote interesting accounts of their visits to Spain. Shaikh 'Abdal-Ghanī an-Nābulī (d. 1730) wrote several accounts of his travels in the Near East, not all of which have been published, but both the Syrians and the North Africans appear to have had more curiosity than the Egyptians about travelling and about the people of the countries they visited. Rifā'ah evidently set out to write an account of his experiences in France, for he begins the story with his journey from Alexandria and gives a lot of details about his sojourn in Marseilles; we cannot therefore attribute the source of his inspiration to Frenchmen. He was most likely asked by Muḥammad 'Alī to write this book, and we can certainly reckon on the encouragement and support of his favourite teacher and friend, Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār, who, being of North African parentage, was probably curious himself about the people with whom Rifā'ah was going to live. When the book first came out, it was referred to as *Riḥlat ash-Shaikh Rifā'ah* or as *Akhbār Bilād Urubbā*. It was translated into Turkish by Rustum Efendī and published in 1840, and had a wide circulation in Turkey; it has run into three editions in Egypt, the second in 1848 and the third in 1903. When it appeared the first time, Muḥammad 'Alī gave orders to have it distributed amongst all the officials and his friends. The fact that such a book as this should be reprinted in 1903 is significant; it has been observed that the Egyptians lack that spirit of observation and curiosity about foreign countries; at least, the kind that lends itself to books. They have been travelling to Europe ever since the early decades of the nineteenth century, yet there are very few accounts of individual experiences and reminiscences, and it is only recently that one or two mediocre accounts have appeared. Rifā'ah certainly stands out above all his countrymen, and they could not have paid him a better compliment than having his *Riḥlah* reprinted forty years after his death and over seventy years after its publication.

¹ Paris, 1937.

In the *Rihlah*, Rifā'ah is certainly struck with admiration for France and its high state of civilization. He describes the arts and sciences, the schools, universities, libraries, museums, and hospitals, and speaks highly of the virtues of the French, their love of freedom, glory, chivalry, and honesty. He is at pains to show his co-religionists that, although the French are Christians, they are unlike the native Egyptian Christian who is dull-witted and dirty. He shows a keen desire to awaken in his compatriots that spirit of rivalry by showing how much better off were the French through their industry and application, whereas this state of well-being should belong to the Moslem people. He is full of admiration for the French press, a thing quite new to him, and his curiosity about the French constitution and his own notes on some constitutional practices, such as the position of the king and the power of the Parliament, are particularly interesting. His sincerity is evident in every word he writes; he is aware that his book will be read by his fellow-*shaiḫs* who will never forget for one moment that Rifā'ah is describing an infidel race. This compels Rifā'ah to refer to the *Ḳor'ān* and *Hadīth* in appropriate passages, as he knows that all his exhortations to the *shaiḫ* class regarding European learning will go unheeded. He is openly antagonistic to that which is not in accordance with the *Ḳor'ān* and the *Sunnah*, and even uses such terms as *ad-dalālah* and *al-bid'ah* when he meets with something which, from a Moslem point of view, merits such qualification. The social life of the Frenchman and his ideas on religion quite obviously upset Rifā'ah. He is critical about the behaviour of their women, especially those of the higher classes, and is horrified at the way the men are enslaved by the fair sex. The book is not lacking in remarks which must bring a smile to the face of the reader; his *naïveté* about being invited round the hearth, the place of honour in a French home, is amusing, for he cannot forget what the word *nār* (fire) means to a Moslem. He is relieved to find that French books have no *shurūḥ* and *hawāshī* (commentaries and super-commentaries), not forgetting that each compendium he had to study in al-Azhar had quite a library of such literature behind it. In later times, Egyptians who went to France came from homes that had already assimilated something of French culture; they came from a society that had already lost its purely Egyptian atmosphere; they were more or less familiar with French thought and culture. But with Rifā'ah, we must realize that he came from a thoroughly Moslem-Azharī-Egyptian environment where women were never seen outside the *ḥarīm* and where there was no kind of social life akin to that of Europe.

He did not go through those "intermediate" stages of social behaviour which every educated Egyptian experiences and so the contrasts must have made a great impression on him. If the *Rihlah* is an interesting document to the Egyptian reader, it is all the more so to the European scholar who wishes to study the psychological attitude of a pure Azhari towards an entirely different culture.

In 1834, we have still another work on geography entitled *al-Kanz al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Arādī wal-Bihār*, an elementary book written in the form of questions and answers. Two years later, we have his first translation on the history of philosophy entitled *Kitāb Kudamā' al-Falāsifah*, and in 1838-9, three more works, one on the history of the ancient Egyptians entitled *Ta'rīkh al-Kudamā' al-Miṣriyīn*, another on geography entitled *al-Juḡhrāfiyah al-'Umūmiyah*, a partial translation of Malte-Brun's big work (only volumes i and iii were published); the third work is a translation of Dumarsais's *La Logique*, and entitled *al-Mantiq*.

We then get a break of seventeen years before his next publication, which brings us to his more literary productions, several of which resemble the kind of work any Egyptian would have written during this period. In 1855, he published his *Kaṣīdah Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah*, a panegyric composed in honour of his patron Sa'id Pasha who had him brought back from exile in the Sudan. In the same year, another similar work came out under the title of *Manzūmāt Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah*, and it is not until 1863 that we get some new work, for, practically speaking, he was unemployed; he was in charge of the Citadel school for a short time, but this was not a very serious affair; in any case, there was no demand for technical works or translations. Under Ismā'il Pasha, his special qualifications as a translator and educator again brought him to the fore; in 1863, he brought out a little grammar called *Jamāl al-Ājurrūmiyah*, a compendium in verse for use in the new schools opened by the Pasha. It was meant to replace the longer *Alfiyah* of Ibn Mālik, as the students in the new schools had not the time nor the ability to master such a work. There is nothing new in the method adopted by Rifā'ah, but it undoubtedly paved the way for a later work which is discussed below. Another panegyric was brought out in 1864 in honour of Ismā'il Pasha entitled *Kaṣīdah Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah*, and, three years later, his translation of Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque* which was published in Bairūt. He called it *Mawāki' al-Aflāk fī Akhbār Télémaque*, and, according to his biographer, he worked on it in the Sudan while in exile, i.e. about

sixteen years previously. The fact that it was published in Bairūt so long after he wrote it might point to lack of interest in it in Egypt, or else there were no facilities for printing it in Egypt at the time on account of the state of disorganization in the Būlak printing press and there being no other suitable press available. In the same year, he brought out another translation on mining called *Risālat al-Ma'ādīn* probably at the request of the ruler. The following year, we have his first volume on the history of Egypt entitled *Anwār Taufīk al-Jalīl fī Akhbār Miṣr wa Tawḥīk Banī Ismā'īl*, in which he covers the history of ancient Egypt up to the conquest of the Arabs; he does not appear to have completed the work, but it acquired some popularity in spite of its being unfinished. Two more works were produced in this year, his *Muḥaddimah Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah*, another series of *Waṭaniyāt*, and his *Ta'rīb Kānūn at-Tijārah*, a translation of the French *Code Commercial*, obviously made at the command of the Pasha, as at this time a great deal of work was being done on new codes for use in the Mixed Courts and Native Tribunals.

In 1869, he produced another grammar for use in the schools; it was called *at-Tuḥfah al-Maktabiyah li-Taḥrīb al-Lughat al-'Arabiyyah*, and was beautifully written and lithographed in the Madāris printing press in Darb al-Gamāmiz. Here we get something new, for Rifā'ah breaks away from the old method altogether; his language is simple and easily understood, for a great deal of the old technical jargon is dropped. It is quite evident from his preface that his main idea was to provide a handbook which would give all the rules of grammar and would be easy to learn; Rifā'ah deliberately introduced a new method, it was not an accident. He deals with grammar by means of convenient tables which are all thoroughly explained, and a glance at the book will show that it was meant for practical teaching. It should have been a great boon after Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyah*, especially as all the headings of the chapters and sub-chapters were written in large, thick type, thus facilitating the student's task in looking for a rule. It would have been interesting to have been able to obtain the reactions of Rifā'ah's contemporaries to this practical approach to Arabic grammar. The only reference to be found is that of his student, Ṣāliḥ Majdī, who states that it was a simple method and that the tables simplified the study considerably.¹ The book was not reprinted and he does not appear to have had much influence on their ideas of teaching Arabic. The fault was not Rifā'ah's; the student

¹ Op. cit., p. 52.

could not understand this method of study, he wanted something he could learn by heart, and the *Alfiyah* type of compendium was something that lent itself to memorization. The old school would certainly have looked upon this attempt of Rifā'ah's as a heresy, and any short road to the study of Arabic might easily have brought about a radical change in the status of the Arabic teacher which they did not consider necessary. In the Preparatory Schools, three years were allowed for the memorization of the *Alfiyah*—400 lines were committed to memory in the first year, 300 in the second, and 300 in the third. Rifā'ah's little work could have been covered in a year and the *practical* results would have been far better.

His *Manāḥij al-Albāb al-Miṣriyah fī Mabāḥij al-Ādāb al-'Aṣriyah*, also published in 1869, is one of his best works. Its object was to give his readers a general cultural guide of the time, and is full of interesting material both for the Egyptian reader and the scholar interested in Egypt of this period, as it gives an indication of the cultural interests of the educated classes. It must have been popular for a long time as there was a reprint in 1911. In 1870, he published another original work entitled *al-Kaul as-Sadīd fil-Ijtihād wal-Taḳlīd* and a collection of greetings and congratulations under the title of *al-Kawākib an-Nayyirah fī Layālī Afrāḥ al-'Azīz al-Mukmīrah* for Taufīq Pasha. He published two excellent works on education, one in 1874, entitled *al-Murshid al-Amīn fī Tarbiyat al-Banāt wal-Banīn*, the other in 1875, entitled *ar-Rasūl al-Amīn lil-Banāt wal-Banīn*. These are new approaches to the question of education amongst his compatriots, and these two works enjoyed great popularity, especially in view of his ideas on the education of women. Ismā'il Pasha had made a beginning in the right direction, he had opened two girls' schools, and Rifā'ah's works were probably timed to appear at a time when the Pasha was anxious to encourage these new ideas among his subjects. To what extent he influenced Ḳāsim Amīn, the champion of the emancipation of the Egyptian woman, is hard to say; Ḳāsim Bey must certainly have read Rifā'ah's works.

The following works were published posthumously:—

Nihāyat al-Ījāz fī Sīrat Sākin al-Ḥijāz, a religious work on the prophet (1874).

Mabādi' al-Handasah (1874), an elementary work on geometry.

Ta'rib al-Ḳānūn al-Madanī al-Fransāwī (1876).

A *takhmīs* on the *Ḳaṣīdah ash-Shihāb Maḥmūd* (1887).

There was another elementary work on geometry printed in Būlāk,¹ while several of his works remained unpublished, such as his *Mukhtaṣar Ma'āhid at-Tanṣīṣ*; his *Majmū' fil-Madhāhib al-Arba'ah*; and his *Sharḥ Lāmiyat al-'Arab*, which would have been useful and interesting had it been published. He appears to have written a little work or translation for the medical school which Ṣāliḥ Majdī calls *Risālah fit-Ṭibb* and there may have been plenty of others.

This formidable list shows us the extent of Rifā'ah's activities. The majority of his works were on subjects about which no *shaiikh* had ever written, and certainly not in the way Rifā'ah had done so. His works on history represent a completely new method as far as Arabic literature is concerned and so also his works on geography. He is the only writer of this period to have produced anything readable, and, although his compatriots always write well of him, it is to be doubted whether they really appreciate his great pioneer efforts in providing a basis for modern Arabic literature, especially in its technical and educational needs.

HIS STYLE AND LANGUAGE

We have seen that Rifā'ah is the first writer in modern Arabic literature to have attempted to write on entirely new subjects and to have attempted to follow European models. He can be compared with his predecessors such as al-Jabartī, al-Khashshāb, and ash-Sharkāwī, the last of that school of degenerate writers who wrote in a style usually described by modern Arabic writers as *rakīk*, a term which covers a multitude of sins. These old writers used *saj'* (rhymed prose) to the extent of boredom, and when they were obliged to forego their *saj' clichés* to describe some simple fact or event, it was with some difficulty that they achieved their modest aim. The pre-Rifā'ah prose writers used colloquialisms extensively, especially Turkish words or Arabic words with Turkish meanings. Perhaps their greatest defect was their lack of vigour, imagination, and inspiration; their prose was but a reflection of the period in which they were living. Rifā'ah did not give up *saj'*, he could not have done so, it would have been the *mustahīl ar-rābi'*, but he used it with some discretion, such as at the beginning of a work or a chapter, or when he was appealing to his Egyptian reader, or when he wished to emphasize some point. His style is simple, vigorous, expressive, and very

¹ *Handasat St. Cyr. (Handasat Sānsir)*. Sarkīs has Sāsir.

readable; to some extent it is affected by his constant reading of French works, but more probably by the fact that he always made written translations of the works he read. He knew that his reading public was limited to students and a few officials whose standard of culture was low and who were certainly unfamiliar with the West and its culture. He repeats in his works that he is trying to write in a simple way in order that the ordinary public could understand him.¹

The language of Rifā'ah will be considered here only so far as it is affected by the use of loan-words, a problem which has never been satisfactorily studied, and, in this respect, Rifā'ah's works present us with a suitable field for preliminary investigations as far as Modern Arabic is concerned.² By reading some half-dozen of his works, especially with a view to the study of loan-words, the following tentative classification has been arrived at:—

(1) The use of existing borrowed words, particularly of—

(a) Turkish words, many of which had been re-imported into Arabic; and

(b) Italian and French words, which came into Arabic through the medium of Turkish, e.g. :—

- (a) اجزاخانة pharmacy.
 اوضة room; has now become اودة and pron. in construct case أَتَّ.
 بغاز بوزاغ strait, also مضيق.
 بنجه beetroot.
 تحفخانة museum.
 تسرخانة arsenal, also ترسانه.
 سرعسكر general. Nearly all military terms were Turkish until a few months ago.
 ضابط officer, pron. zābit.
 عرضحال petition.
 قرقول police station or post; note also قرقول شرف guard of honour.

¹ *Riḥlah*, p. 5.

² I am particularly indebted to Mr. J. R. Firth who has been most useful with suggestions for the beginning of the study of loan-words in Arabic.

قشلاق barracks ; the Arabic word *تكنات* is not often used at this time, although we occasionally find it in the official documents in 'Abdīn Palace.

قهوجي *café-tier*.
 محاسبجي accountant or book-keeper.
 نوبتجي one on duty ; sentinel.
 ولاية used synonymously with *عمالة مأمورية* and *اقليم* with the meaning of province or *département*.

- (b) ترمبه Italian *tromba*.
 جرنال جورنال from Italian *giornale* with specialized meaning of Governor's report or bulletin. At the time the Turks borrowed this word, they had not yet started to use newspapers.
 طاولة from Italian *tavola*.
 واپور from Italian *vapore* ; initial *و* has *v* sound in Turkish but *w* in Arabic, which eventually became *ب*. From a sound feminine plural, a broken plural *بواير* was developed.

(2) The second classification includes Egyptian colloquial words which were in common use amongst writers :—

برانية external.
 جمعه week.
 جوانية internal.
 عالمه ج عوالم a female singer of a special Egyptian type, but Rifā'ah also uses the word for describing European singers.
 عيلة family.
 عيال children.
 فلوس money.
 وسطانية central.

(3) Under this heading, we might include geographical and personal names as they have their own interesting peculiarities of spelling :—

ازدرهان	}	Astrakhan.
استرخان		
استرقان		
اسیاتیة		<i>Asiatique.</i>
امریکة امریقة		<i>Amérique.</i>
کلیبر کلہیر		Kleber.
قبنہاق	}	<i>Copenhague.</i>
کوبنہاق		
کپنہاق		
قلوین		Calvin (Turkish <i>v</i>).
لوربول		Liverpool (Turkish <i>v</i>).
نورماندی		<i>Normandie.</i>

(4) Here we have a very large number of words which could conveniently be classified as the *initial* borrowings of this period. The actual foreign word is used in Arabic, and when there was a large number of them, some translators made a point of arranging them alphabetically either at the beginning or the end of the translation as a glossary. This was particularly the case with books on chemistry, physics, medicine, and botany. As in the case of geographical and personal names, there were some orthographical difficulties; the meaning of the word was limited and there was no attempt made to develop scatter, such extensions being normally made by periphrastic expressions.

پنوماتیقة	<i>pneumatique.</i>	
الاثیمومتر	<i>thermomètre.</i>	
الارتوییدی	<i>orthopédie.</i>	
الاردواز	<i>ardoise.</i>	
اقدمه	}	<i>académie.¹</i>
اکدمه		
اکدمیه		

¹ For footnote see p. 410.

اقطبر اقطوبر	<i>Octobre</i> . Both spellings now obsolete. اكتوبر used instead.
الامينوسه	<i>omnibus</i> .
الاتيمون	<i>antimoine</i> , instead of the Arabic كحل.
انسطيوط	<i>institut</i> .
الاقيانوسيا	} <i>Océan</i> .
الاقيانوس	
الاقيانوسية	
الإيتازونيا	<i>États Unis</i> .
الباراتونيرة	<i>paratonnerre</i> .
برسليكه	<i>presqu'île</i> , which he also explains as نيم جزيرة شبه جزيرة محيث جزيرة and نصف جزيرة.
بسطه	<i>postes</i> , generally بوسطه and بوسته also محل المكاتب.
بلاطين	<i>platine</i> .
بليونين	<i>deux billions</i> .
بوال	<i>poêle</i> .
بورو	<i>bureau</i> .
بوليتيقة البوليتيقة	<i>politique</i> .
البيان	<i>piano</i> (omission of final و).

¹ This word has often proved rather awkward for the lexicographers. The following short list is illustrative of their difficulties:—

Ruphy, 1802,	مدرسة جماعة العلماء
Don Raphael, 1822,	مدرسة ديوان العلماء
Boethor, 1828,	مجمع جمعية علماء ديوان علماء
Handjéri, 1840,	مدرسة العلوم دار العلوم
Marcel, 1869,	جماعة العلماء ديوان العلماء مدرسة
Habeiche, 1896,	مجمع العلماء

- بیر *pair*.
- [وظیفه البیریة] *pair*.
- جرنال ج جرنالات و جرنایل from French *journal* and independent of the Italian *giornale* above.
- خونولوجیا *chronologie*, which he also explains as معرفة الازمان.
- دسمبر *Décembre*, now ديسمبر.
- سبتمبر *Septembre*, now سبتمبر.
- الشوالية *chévahier* (Turkish *v*).
- الكاتدرالة كاتدرائية *cathédrale*.
- كازيطات *gazettes*.
- اكرتينة } *quarantine*; the verbal form كرتن
كرتينا } is in common use (the expression
كارتينة } يالله نكرتن الليلة is of interest; its
equivalent in English would be
"Let's dig in to-night" (i.e. let
us stay at home and not go out
or let us stay "in quarantine"
at home to-night)).
- القائولية *catholique*.
- قباينة *compagnie*; this most likely came
in through the Italian *compagnia*.
- فبريقات *fabriques*.
- فبرية *Février*, now obsolete, written فبراير.
- الفتيش *fétiche*.
- مرث *Mars* (Egyptian ث, pron. *s*).
- الموميا *momie*; from Persian, but Rifā'ah's
spelling is unusual.
- ورشة ج ورش وورشات workshop, factory, yard; generally
looked upon as a borrowing
from the English word work-
shop, probably introduced by
Maltese workmen.

(5) A very common form of borrowing was by way of periphrasis due mainly to the fact that the writer or translator could find no suitable Arabic word which could express the idea contained in the French word or expression.

In such expressions as :—

أرض	سياسة اهل الارض	political geography.
	تاريخ الارض	historical geography.
	اديان اهل الارض	religious geography.
	آداب اهل الارض	cultural geography.
	طبيعة الكرة الارضية	physical geography.
أنس	رسالة عقد التانس والاجتماع البشرى	(Rousseau's) " <i>Contrat Social</i> ".
دبر	العلوم التديريّة	administrative sciences.
ترك	متروكين لوقت الحاجة	reserves (lit. kept by for the time of necessity).
حسب	حساب مدخول البلاد ومخرجاتها	budget.
خطط	الحمير المخططة	zebras (lit. striped asses), although the Arabic word زرد is common.
دنا	علم هيئة الدنيا	geography (see أرض above).
دان	الديون الميرية	national debts.
رسل	رسل الدول	ambassadors.
رقق	نوع من الرقّ	a kind of slavery (Rifā'ah is trying to express the idea of serfdom in Russia).
سقى	السقى الصناعى	irrigation.
سوق	سراية سوق المعاملة	Stock Exchange— <i>Bourse</i> .
شرك	الشركا فى الضمانة	Insurance Company.
شاخ	شيخ مدينة باريس	Mayor of Paris.
شار	التلغراف وهى الاشارة	telegraph.
صحف	صحيفة خبرية	newspaper.
صرف	المصاريف البرانية والجوانية	national expenditure.

ضرب	تضرب القرعة [اناء القرعة]	to vote. ballot box.]
طب	طبّ البهائم	veterinary medicine.
عمل	معامل الاسلحة	arsenals.
	معامل السبك	foundries.
فاض	فيضان صناعى مديد	irrigation.
قدس	كانوا يقدسون فيها السلطين بعد توليتهم	“they used to sanctify their kings (sultans) in it (the cathedral) after their accession.” The verb تَوَجَّج is used now to express the idea of coronation.
ملك	ملك مطلق التصرف	absolute monarch.
	ماء روحى قوى معطر يعرف بماء كولونيا	<i>Eau de Cologne.</i>
نزل	نزلاتهم اى قبائلهم الموجودة بامريقة	settlements, encampments.
ورق	اوراق صغيرة	<i>réclames.</i>
	اوراق غير مكتوبة	blank forms, the word استمارة is now used.
	ورقة انكار	proclamation.
	اوراق الوقائع اليومية	newspapers.
	الورقات اليومية	
وطأ	اوطأ من مياه البحر عند المدّ و الفيضان	below sea-level.
وفر	علوم توفير المصاريف	economics.
وكل	وكلا	<i>Députés.</i>

(6) The next type of borrowing is one of the most important, although not during the Rifā'ah period, as Egyptian writers appear to have failed to understand the possibilities of the development of Modern Arabic. This refers to the extension of the application of existing words which Egyptians made great use of during the second wave of cultural Renaissance under Ismā'il Pasha and is a subject worthy of special study, for it includes the use of neo-Arabic formations,

the revival of obsolete forms, and the interesting problem of *calque*. The following is a list of Rifā'ah's words under the first heading :—

اقليم
مأمورية
ولاية
عمالة

all used for political and geographical divisions with additional meanings to describe certain European countries where the system of government was different to that of the Turkish Empire.

حرية

used to describe *liberté* and independence ; the word استقلال was not yet used with the latter meaning.

حكم

used in a variety of expressions such as—

حكم الدياني religious power.
حكم مطلق absolute power.
حكم وقته temporal power.

This root is one of the best examples which could be used to show the growth of Modern Arabic. Bercher in his new dictionary¹ gives some twenty new extensions of application, but the present writer has collected well over a hundred examples used in legal documents alone.

حقوق العقلية spiritual rights.
حقوق القانونية legal rights.
حقوق البشرية human rights.

This is another root which shows a vast extension of application.

حمامات سوقية public baths.

The adjective *public* is treated quite differently in Modern Arabic.

¹ Bercher, *Lexique Arabe-Français*, Tunis, 1938.

مشاركة	Treaty.
مظلات	umbrellas.
عرصة	fender.
عمارة	colony.
نواب	<i>Députés</i> .
ورقة	paper—see above, newspapers, etc., under ورق.
اليومات	daily newspaper.

(7) A number of the above expressions and words have fallen out of use in Modern Egyptian Arabic ; the following were used by Rifā'ah and are now of uncommon occurrence with the meanings given below :—

مخبر = بصاص	detective or secret agent.
عاصمة = تحت	capital (of a country).
ادوار = طبقات	storeys.
سوق = قصبة	market.
