

Cartooning for a Modern Egypt

Arts and Archaeology of the Islamic World

Edited by

Marcus Milwright (*University of Victoria*)
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Cartooning for a Modern Egypt

By

Keren Zdafee



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Cover illustration: Outori, “al-Kaškūl wa-ḡuyūf Maṣr” (*al-Kaškūl* and Egypt's Guests), *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 93, February 25, 1923, 8.

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For my Parents' Parents



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Acknowledgments

“And so, it is with our own past. It is a labour in vain to attempt to recapture it: all the efforts of our intellect must prove futile. The past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect, in some material object (in the sensation which that material object will give us) of which we have no inkling. And it depends on chance whether or not we come upon this object before we ourselves must die.

—Marcel Proust, *Swann's Way*.¹

Beginning in the fourth century, the history of art was presented as a history of death—a reflection of the longing to immortalize lost worlds. Meaning, the *salvation* of works of art from bygone pasts is not just a mere intellectual activity, but the fulfillment of a desire, an act of yearning and nostalgia. The seeds of longing, which sprout this treatise, were implanted eight years ago, in my first encounter with the modern Egyptian caricature, in a seminar paper I wrote for Professor Hana Taragan, at the Faculty of the Arts, Tel Aviv University. The research I conducted for that original essay opened the door to abundant, complicated, and challenging worlds. I had the privilege of studying these worlds with the unconditional support, encouragement, and commitment of Professor Taragan, who guided me along the process of researching and writing my PhD dissertation, and then consulting the editing process of it into this book. One cannot estimate, surely not with words, her dedication and contribution to my work, or her professional and personal generosity to me. The seeds she rooted sprout devotion, obligation, and a passion for the study of the modern arts of the

Middle East. I consider myself fortunate to have been her student.

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¹ Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past: Swann's Way*, trans. by C.K. Scott Moncrieff and Terence Kilmartin (London: Chatto and Windus, 1981), 60.

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An early version of part of chapter five was published as “Between imagined and ‘real’: Sarukhan’s al-Masri Efendi cartoons in the first half of the 1930s,” in *Comic Empires: The Imperialism of Cartoons, Caricature, and Satirical Art*, edited by Richard Scully and Andrekos Varnava (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019). Other sections were presented in seminars, conferences, and workshops over the years. The comments and feedback I have received through them affected tremendously this work and I am grateful to all organizers and participants.

Bringing this book to print could not have been possible without the copyediting of the late Anthony Berris and Jennifer Diann Jones. I am also grateful to the two anonymous readers, whose written feedback and questions to the first version of this book challenged me to rethink sections of it and reconstruct its narrative. I am thankful to Teddi Dolls, Brill’s Series Editor, for his support in bringing into realization *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt*.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to my beloved family—to those surrounding me in the present and to those whom we have parted from in recent years—for their unconditional support, their patience, and perhaps most of all, for their presence in my journey, which formed and routed me to be who I am.

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On Translating Caricatures

A caricature is an image allegedly discussing a single phenomenon; however, it simultaneously reveals the formation of a process or of cultural, social, and historical patterns. “It is a work of art folded in a newspaper,” determined Eitan Machter and Avital Maya Machter, and hence it is able to transcend its time.¹ Having said that, translating into English and interpreting an Arabic work of art

rooted in the subtleties of the Egyptian dialect a century after it was first published might result in missing some of the diverse layers of meanings.

Throughout this book, I have attempted to translate the captions as literally as possible. However, since the captions for some of the caricatures occasionally use idiomatic expressions, verse, slogans, and slang peculiar to the Egyptian dialect and culture, I have sometimes preferred using nearly equivalent expressions in English in order to transmit the expressionistic nature of the text. When available, I cite published translations of texts. All other translations are my own.

¹ Eitan Machter and Avital Maya Machter, *Qariqatûrââ, paršanûṭ wû-bîiqôret* (*Caricature, Interpretation and Critic*) (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2014), 16.

A Note on Transliterations

The transliteration of Arabic words in this book generally follows the system of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition* (or that of *the International Journal of Middle East Studies*), with the following modifications: ġ replaces j, ḥ replaces kh, ḍ replaces dh, š replaces sh, and ğ replaces gh. In addition, not all orthographic details of the original script are represented. For example, a *hamza* appearing at the beginning of a word is not transliterated, and no distinction is made between *ā* from *alif*, from *alif maqṣūra*, or from *tā' marbūṭa*. Foreign words that have entered the English language or have a generally recognized English form are Anglicized, as found in Merriam-Webster's Collegiate

Dictionary, in which such terms appear without diacritics (e.g. sultan and khedive; and names of places, e.g. Beirut, Istanbul, Cairo). For some exceptions, the *ʿayn* and *hamza* are preserved (e.g. Qur'an and 'ulama'). When needed, an "s" is applied at the end of singular versions of Arabic words instead of using their conventional plural forms in Arabic (e.g. efendis). Names of certain authors who opt for English or French spellings of their Arabic and Hebrew names in their publications appear according to these preferences. Arabic and Hebrew books, periodicals, and newspapers' titles are fully transliterated with only the first major term in the title capitalized.

Introduction

1 Historical Background

In July 1882, the British fleet bombarded the city of Alexandria in order to assume control over the riots that broke out in the city. The British were trying to assist khedive Tawfīq (r. 1879–1892) to regain his authority over the country, which was controlled by the Egyptian nationalist leader and army officer Aḥmad ‘Urābī (1841–1911).¹ ‘Urābī, while claiming to be a spokesperson for a national revolution, led the army against the khedive and the British. The British occupied the city and ‘Urābī’s forces were defeated at Tall al-Kabīr. ‘Urābī surrendered and was put on trial for treason against the khedive, found guilty, and exiled to Ceylon. Although, formally, the Ottoman sultan continued to maintain some suzerainty over Egypt until the outbreak of WWI, when, with the British restoration of khedive Tawfīq to the throne, Egypt’s Ottoman era came to end and the national-colonial era in Egypt’s history began.

Tawfīq became khedive in June 1879, after his father, Ismā‘īl (khedive of Egypt 1863–1879), had been deposed by the Ottoman sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II (r. 1876–1909). Ismā‘īl’s financial difficulties, caused by his policy of vast, radical, and rapid Europeanization, led to the setting up of a European Control Commission over Egyptian finances, as well as the institution in 1876 of the *Caisse de la dette publique* (Public Debt Fund), with representatives from European creditor states. The previous year, 1875, the Mixed Courts (*al-tārbūnāl*) were established and empowered to adjudicate

disputes between Egyptians and foreigners, as well as between foreigners residing in Egypt—a further weakening of Egyptian autonomy. The presence of the British and the French in the country and their control over the incomes of the Egyptian market in the interests of the European banks’ creditors generated a sense of economic suffocation and frustration, if not real financial bondage for the political and economic Egyptian communities.

From 1883 on, and until khedive Tawfīq’s death in 1892, Tawfīq was under the control of Lord Cromer—formally, the British Consul-General (in office 1883–1907); however, in practice, he was the exerciser of British authority. When Tawfīq died unexpectedly, ‘Abbās Ḥilmī II came to the throne. ‘Abbās strove to restore the original status of the khedive as a sovereign ruler, molded after the example established by his grandfather Ismā‘īl; this meant asserting Egypt’s status as a semi-autonomous province within the Ottoman Empire. Although ‘Abbās’ efforts proved unsuccessful, he gained support amongst anti-imperialist Egyptians, who saw him as an independent leader prepared to confront colonial rule. Indeed, ‘Abbās had supported early nationalist activities by Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874–1908), leading to the establishment of the Nationalist Party, *al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*, in 1907.

British fear of the Nationalist Party led to growing suspicions that the khedive would support the Nationalists’ anti-British and pro-Ottoman activities. When WWI broke out in August 1914, Sir Herbert Kitchener (formerly the head of the Egyptian armed forces, now the consul-general) took advantage of ‘Abbās’ vacation in Istanbul and notified him that he would be forbidden to reenter the country—accusing him of allying himself with the enemies of Britain. Martial law was declared throughout Egypt (February 2, 1914), and in December 1914, British authorities announced their

¹ Khedive was the title of the rulers of Egypt in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was a unique title among the vassals of the Ottoman sultan, aiming at setting the Egyptian vassals apart and above the other governors and viceroys of Ottoman dominions.

decision to depose ‘Abbās. The British declared Egypt a British protectorate—de facto separating Egypt from the Ottoman Empire—and they nominated Ḥusayn Kāmil, ‘Abbās’ uncle, his successor, giving him the title of sultan.

On the death of Ḥusayn (October 1917), Aḥmad Fu’ād, Ḥusayn’s brother, succeeded him as the sultan of Egypt. During the reign of Fu’ād, and immediately after the armistice of November 11, 1918, the Egyptian nationalist movement, headed by Sa’d Zaḡlūl (1857–1927) and the Wafd (Ar. lit. “delegation,” founded November 1918) launched an open struggle against the British occupation.² A general rebellion broke out throughout Egypt in March 1919 and continued throughout the year. The 1919 rebellion had far-reaching consequences for Egyptian politics, society, and culture, as the Wafd grew out of it as the main national party of the country. The popular struggle gained the support of wide sectors of the Egyptian people and turned Egyptian nationalism into a broad popular movement—the dominant force of the decade. The ongoing popular campaign forced Britain to eventually recognize Egypt as a “sovereign and independent state” on February 28, 1922. Following the declaration, also known as the Unilateral Declaration of Egyptian Independence, Fu’ād assumed the title of king of Egypt (March 1923), and

2 In November 1918, Zaḡlūl, who was the minister of education prior to the war, and a member of the Legislative Assembly, met with Reginald Wingate, the British high commissioner in Egypt, to negotiate Zaḡlūl, ‘Abd al-Aziz Fahmī and ‘Ali Ša’rāwī’s plan to travel to London to present Egypt’s case for independence in preparation for the peace conference in Paris. Following the meeting, the Egyptian Wafd was formed as an official body to represent the national right to self-determination, with Zaḡlūl as its president and four other members in addition to the two mentioned—Muḥammad Maḥmūd, Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, ‘Abd al-Latif al-Mukabāti, and Muḥammad ‘Ali ‘Alūba. For a description of the events leading to the Wafd construction see ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Rāfi‘ī, *Tawrat sanat 1919: ta’rīḥ Miṣr al-qawmī min sanat 1914 ilā sanat 1921* (Miṣr: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1955); and ‘Afāf Luṭfī al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt’s liberal experiment, 1922–1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

at the end of that year Egypt had a new constitution that permitted the election of a parliament. Unilaterally, the declaration ended the British protectorate over Egypt and granted it independence. However, the declaration placed conditions on Egypt’s independence in four reserved areas: foreign relations, communications, the military, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Meaning, Egypt gained only nominal independence. The implementation of the 1923 constitution, the building of a constitutive-parliamentary regime, the establishment of political parties and open elections, the strengthening of the palace and the king as a dominant force in the political arena, and the development of political struggles between all the political forces involved in Egypt’s politics (the palace, the political parties, and the British), all created and institutionalized the political discourse and practices of the period.

2 Egyptian Nationalism and the Development of the Press

The events from the late 1870s to the British forces’ entry to Egypt (1882), mark the end of an era in Egypt’s history and the beginning of a new one. The constitutive motif of the years to come, until the 1952 coup d’état by the Free Officers, is the development of nationalism in the country, hence it is discussed in academic discourse as the “national era.” However, Britain had a formative role in the prominent political processes during the first half of the twentieth century, as they were both the target for national rage and a model for emulation. This problematic blend will only end with the Free Officers’ revolution. Hence, one should also relate to this era as the colonial one, although formally Egypt was not a British colony. This national-colonial state produced a dynamic and highly engaged political, cultural, and social press.

During these years, fundamental changes would alter Egypt’s elite structure and its relation to the general public. A new discursive community arose, which in the first quarter of the twentieth century

came to be the “first self-consciously modern generation in Egyptian history [...] and middle-class-claiming men”—i.e. the efendis (Ar. pl. *efendiyya*).³ The efendis were the products of Egyptian modern education, and they were central to the nationalist movement as well as to the emerging radical movements of the 1930s and 1940s. In the Egyptian context of the late nineteenth century, the term efendi came to designate groups of men who approximated a cultural bourgeoisie, to the extent that they could not be considered peasants, workers, or aristocrats. However, although occasionally discussed as students, modernizing elites or intelligentsia, as Lucie Ryzova has shown, the efendis were “a distinct social phenomenon linked to wider processes of modernity and social transformation.”⁴ In other words, it was a socio-cultural concept signifying a stance toward modernity in the particular historical colonial context. The efendi subject was marked by a number of socially recognized signs—Western-style education (standing for the efendi’s ownership of modernity) and subsequent employment as a professional or white-collar worker. A Western-style suit and the *ṭarbūš* (pl. *ṭarābiš*) outwardly expressed his cultural capital, which was translated into social capital, depending on the subject’s proximity to the sources of social and cultural authority, political power, and economic resources.

As Ryzova articulated, an intimate connection developed between the efendis and the state’s modernizing project throughout the nineteenth century and in the first four decades of the twentieth century. For some efendis, the relationship was merely institutional—meaning they were those “who ran the day-to-day institutions of the

state,” as the modern state was “the largest producer of efendis (as students) as well as their principal consumer (as bureaucrats, teachers, and other professionals).”⁵ However, for other efendis, “the relationship to this [modernization] project was ideological.”⁶ As they gradually became full participants in the political arena they constructed a political, cultural and social discourse, distributed through newspapers, journals, pamphlets, and books. This discourse, articulated by Ryzova as “*efendiyya* subjectivity” (or “efendi culture”) was a reformist discourse that sought to fix the country, which in the *efendiyya*’s perspective needed to be rebuilt from scratch.⁷ The efendis presented and believed themselves to be in possession of the right cultural and scientific tools to be its reformers—the only force in society capable of fixing the country’s problems. The articulation of “efendi subjectivity” was inseparable from the appearance of new cultural forms, and especially the press and publishing, which spread the worldview of the *efendiyya* and caused it to dominate the public sphere. In other words, the history of the efendi is substantially the history of the Egyptian media, and vice versa.

The rise of the *efendiyya*, and its political and cultural activity, was linked to several social processes characterizing the national-colonial era, amongst them the rise in urban population and economic activities and the development of transportation and communication—which all led to the intensification of socio-political involvement. At the same time, literacy was also on the rise—an outcome of the expanding education system, whether on the initiative of the government, or privately. As the numbers of readers rose (i.e. efendis), a political journalism was established on the European model, delivering news through news agencies’ services and distributing political messages in the form of articles.

3 Lucie Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya. Passages to Modernity in National-Colonial Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4.

4 *Ibid.*; and “Egyptianizing Modernity through the ‘New Efendia’: Social and Cultural Constructions of the Middle Class in Egypt under the Monarchy,” in *Re-Envisioning Egypt, 1919–1952*, ed. Arthur Goldschmidt, Amy Johnson, and Barak Salmoni (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 124.

5 Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya*, 19.

6 *Ibid.*, 20.

7 *Ibid.*

Ami Ayalon specifies three main types of Arabic journals which appeared in the nineteenth century: “government bulletins, journals of scientific or literary interest, and news-oriented papers.”⁸ The government bulletins were the first to appear in the region of the Middle East—in Cairo in the late 1820s.⁹ A truly private Arabic press emerged in Egypt in the 1850s, and, as Kathryn A. Schwartz indicates, “it distinguished Cairo as one of the first Ottoman cities to incorporate print into its textual culture.”¹⁰ The first attempt to publish an Arabic language private paper was made in 1869 in Cairo, and four years later in Alexandria.¹¹ In 1875, the first private Arabic press, owned by the Greek Catholic brothers Salīm (1849–1892) and Bišāra (1853–1902) Taqlā, was established in Alexandria, which publishes the weekly *al-Ahrām* (*The Pyramids*, 1876–today).¹² *Al-Ahrām* foregrounded news reportage over political ideology, for the most part, while other papers in the late 1870s concentrated on political confrontation. As Ayalon articulated, “Egypt’s recent exposure to international politics, combined with the emergence of a modern Egyptian elite, with keen political awareness [...], engendered a new phenomenon: a demand on the part of the governed, articulated by an intellectual leadership, to be involved in matters of government, to be informed, and to be consulted on questions relating to their future.”¹³ Thus, journals and newspapers become the major mechanism

for echoing criticism on the interchanging governments and expressing public sentiment. The British administration following the 1882 occupation believed in freedom of expression both as a principle and as an instrumental safety valve for releasing pressures, and hence were prepared to leave the Egyptian press alone, as long as it did not become excessively aggressive.¹⁴

Weeklies or monthlies were the preferred medium for reportage and intellectual debate during the early decades of the Arab press in Egypt. However, by the late 1880s, the dailies had begun to play a more important role, and by the turn of the century they had moved to the center stage.¹⁵ However, and as Ayalon indicates, the success and influence of the newspapers and journals from 1882–1918 was relative, as they were targeted to a privileged few—those who could read and benefit from reading. The two leading journals of the period sold about 10,000 copies per issue, and the dailies sold thousands of copies daily (the most popular one had a circulation of 6,000).¹⁶ Although in the 1890s ninety new journals on diverse topics appeared in Cairo, most of them lasted for a very short time. These papers reached an audience of about 200,000 readers in Egypt—a figure that represent a small segment of the society. Despite the small numbers, the Arabic press in Egypt did help create an atmosphere for political action, which would eventually undermine the British hold on the country.

Following WWI, hundreds of newspapers and journals appeared in Egypt until WWII, as each year saw the appearance of dozens of new papers. Circulation of Arabic papers rose to about 180,000 for the dailies. By the second half of the 1940s these numbers would rise to over 500,000 copies daily.¹⁷ As the government was constitutional and press freedom was acknowledged by the 1923 constitution, the press had a margin of freedom which

8 Ami Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution: Cultural Production and Mass Readership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 82.

9 In Istanbul and several other Arab provinces from the early 1830s onward. *Ibid.*

10 Kathryn A. Schwartz, “The Political Economy of Private Printing in Cairo as Told from a Commissioning Deal Turned Sour, 1871,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49 (2017): 26.

11 Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East—A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 42.

12 In January 1881 it became a daily. It operated from Alexandria until November 1899 and thereafter from Cairo. *Ibid.*, 42–43.

13 *Ibid.*, 43.

14 *Ibid.*, 52.

15 *Ibid.*, 55.

16 *Ibid.*, 58.

17 *Ibid.*, 81.

allowed it to evolve and progress, despite constant harassment from the palace and the interchanging governments. During these years the press became the main platform for debating issues of religion versus secularism, Egyptian identity versus Arabism, territorial nationalism versus pan-regional nationalism, and democracy versus dictatorship. Thus, Cairo became the “hub of anti-British and the interparty contention and the center of cultural ferment.”¹⁸

While in the decade preceding WWI newspapers had initiated the formation of political parties, in the interwar period, political parties launched newspapers, which became, according to Ayalon, the most widespread journalistic endeavors of the period. Although these were the most typical papers of the period, many journals and newspapers contributed to the political discourse without formal party affiliation. The political debate in the press was mostly concerned with the ideological conflicts within and among the political parties, the confrontations with the palace and its supporters, the foreign presence, and the cultural identity desired for the Egyptian community.¹⁹ Other publications were non-political—such as journals devoted to the arts and literature, agriculture, health, education, household affairs, etc.

The invention of lithography by Johann Alois Senefelder (1771–1834) in Munich in 1798 made illustrations in the press possible. Transfer lithography which enabled the publishing of text was made possible in the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁰ The medium could have been employed for any illustrative purpose, but in practice the European *regular* papers considered images to be frivolous and excluded them from their pages. Thus, lithography remained for some time a sign

of difference—a medium of the oppositional, for it was used only in the satirical European dailies. In other words, the medium itself, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was a distinctive sign of protest and critique.²¹

According to Schwartz, lithographic presses had operated in Cairo since around the mid-nineteenth century.²² The Egyptians apparently acquired the technique from Europeans; however, Schwartz emphasizes that it would be a mistake to assume that Cairene private printing developed as a western import or practice. Rather, the Cairenes involved in printing text through lithography assimilated it into the local structures of power and textual production.²³ In addition, while in Europe lithography was mainly used at the time to print the pictorial, in Cairo’s private presses, as they began to form in the early 1850s, lithography was favored over typography for printing text.²⁴ Arabic lithography had a crucial role in furthering the Egyptian “print revolution” with regard to the domain of books.²⁵ Researchers emphasize the unique circumstances in Egypt in which lithography displaced typography for almost half a century—a phenomenon which did not characterize European print history. However, no research has been done on the interaction between

18 *Ibid.*, 75.

19 *Ibid.*, 78.

20 Kathryn A. Schwartz, “Meaningful Mediums: A Material and Intellectual History of Manuscript and Print Production in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Cairo” (PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2015), 244.

21 Richard Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 152. For the history of lithography, see Roger Passeron, *Daumier*, trans. Helga Harrison (Secaucus, NJ: Poplar Books, 1981).

22 Schwartz, “Meaningful Mediums,” 244.

23 *Ibid.*, 272.

24 *Ibid.*, 256.

25 On the prevalence for much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of lithography over typography for printing books see Messick Brinkley, “On the Question of Lithography,” *Culture and History* 16 (1997): 158–176; Geoffrey Roper, “The Printing Press and Change in the Arab World,” in *Agents of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin, 250–267 (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007).

the development of print technology in Egypt and the appearance and development of the illustrated journal in the first three decades of the twentieth century. The technological aspects of printing a newspaper were an integral feature of the journalistic endeavor, and in the end, they affected the work of anyone engaged in the enterprise—from the work of the caricaturist to lesser agents involved in the publishing activity. Hence, it should receive further research.

3 “Egypt for the Egyptians”

The first satirical journal was published in Egypt in early 1877 by the Jewish Ya‘qub (James) Ṣannū‘ (1839–1912), followed by one of Ṣannū‘’s prominent colleagues, ‘Abdallāh Nadīm (1845–1896)—the biweekly *al-Tankīt wa-l-tabkīt* (*Mockery and Reproach*, founded June 1881). Ṣannū‘’s first journal, *Abū naḍḍāra zarqā’* (*The Man With the Blue Glasses*), lasted only two months before being forbidden by the khedive. In June 22, 1878, after two failed attacks against his life, Ṣannū‘ left (or was expelled by the khedive from) Egypt and emigrated to France. Eight weeks later, he continued publishing his paper in Paris, in a slightly changed format—now, a caricature appeared on the cover-page.

In Paris, Ṣannū‘ published twelve different versions of *Abū naḍḍāra* between 1878–1885. From 1885, the structure, name and layout of the newspaper became more stable—the outcome of Ṣannū‘ becoming acquainted with new lithography techniques on the one hand, and his attempts to find a way around the khedivial press censorship on the other, as his journals were smuggled into Egypt.²⁶ Ṣannū‘ also held lectures in Paris in different literary circles, fighting for a free Egypt—both from local tyrants and the British occupation. He committed himself fully to the Egyptian

cause—identifying himself first and foremost as an Egyptian, and as Irene Gendzier writes, “his allegiance was primarily to his fellow Egyptians and not to the Jewish minority.”²⁷ Gendzier claims Ṣannū‘ coined the slogan *Miṣr li-l-Miṣriyūn* (“Egypt for the Egyptians”)—the slogan that appeared on the header of his journal and that was adopted by ‘Urābī’s rebels.²⁸

A testimony to the popularity of Ṣannū‘’s journal in Egypt can be found in an article from the beginning of the century published in *L’Europe diplomatique*. The paper documented an event occurring in a performance by the singer Aḥmad Salīm. During the evening, a seller of *Abū naḍḍāra zarqā’* appeared, managed to blend in with the crowd, and sold three hundred copies of it. Most of the audience, claimed the reporter, turned their backs to the singer, gathered in small groups, and delved into reading. After a while, some of them demanded the singer to sing for them from *Abū naḍḍāra*’s repertoire. However, it should be noted that the reporter does not mention the audience’s reaction to the images.²⁹ Despite his diverse and important role in the Egyptian *nahḍa* (cultural awakening) of the nineteenth century and the Egyptian national struggle, Ṣannū‘ was mostly portrayed as a peripheral figure in general historiographies of the *nahḍa*.

Ṣannū‘, as well as the second generation of caricaturists working in Egypt in the interwar period, belonged to Cairo’s foreign-national-communities, as they are commonly labeled, or the cosmopolitan community. These foreign-local communities, as I will call them throughout this book, were mostly immigrants who arrived in Egypt during an extended period of immigration, from the late nineteenth century to the 1940s, many of them seeking economic opportunities. Despite the fact

26 For the ongoing changes Ṣannū‘’s journal underwent see, Abou Naddara Collection at <http://kjc-sv036.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de:8080/exist/apps/naddara/index.html>. Last accessed on February 21, 2019.

27 Irene Gendzier, *The Practical Visions of Ya‘qub Sanu‘*, *Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs 15* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 16.

28 *Ibid.*, 74, 138.

29 The source is quoted in Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*, 193, n. 61.

that in Egyptian historiography the name of Şannū‘ alone was identified with the importation of the caricature genre into Egyptian print culture, the following chapters will reveal that the foreign-local artists and entrepreneurs of the interwar period should have been regarded as making the more fundamental artistic contribution to formulating, designing, and developing of the genre in the Egyptian press.

4 Theoretical Background

Although cultural historians have recognized the involvement of Cairo’s minorities, immigrants and foreigners in the adoption, adaptation, assimilation, and distribution of the caricature within the formative modern Egyptian culture, their unique place and importance within these cultural processes has been mostly overlooked. The reasons for this omission vary. First, historiography of Egypt’s modern culture dealt for many years with works of art that can be labeled as “high art,” particularly in the field of public commemoration, and has focused on the significance of these works of art in forging the “national style” or the “national text” within the domain of the visual arts. Within this discourse, the influences of European artistic genres, such as Realism, Naturalism, Impressionism, and Surrealism, were discussed in relation to their importance or relevance to the work of a specific artist. The works of Ruşdī Iskandar and Kamāl al-Malāḥ, Orit Bashkin, Liat Kozma and Israel Gershoni, Muḥammad ‘Izzat Muşţafā, and Liliane Karnouk should be noted in this context.³⁰

30 Israel Gershoni, *Piramidā la-umā: haṣṣaḥā, zikaron u-le’umiyut be-miṣrayim ba-me’ah ha-‘ešrim* (*Pyramid for the Nation: Commemoration, Memory and Nationalism*) (Tel Aviv: ‘Am Oved, 2006); Orit Bashkin, Liat Kozma and Israel Gershoni, *Leḥāsel tarbūt be-miṣrayim: tiknūn tarbūtī, zehūt le’umūt ve-šiniy heḥratī be-miṣrayim, 1890–1939* (*Sculpting Culture in Egypt: Cultural Planning, National Identity and Social Change*) (Tel Aviv: Ramôt, 1999); Liliane Karnouk, *Modern Egyptian Art: The Emergence of a National Style* (Cairo:

However, the caricature as an art form received little attention in these works because it is perceived by these historians as a cultural product of mass production, which was consumed by heterogenic audiences, including the illiterate who had the caricatures read to them. This assumption has been repeated frequently by different historians, who based their view on the fact that many caricatures were accompanied by titles in the Egyptian vernacular (*al-‘amiyya*).

Alongside these studies, during the last couple of decades, works dealing with popular culture, including the caricature, began to appear. The caricature was dealt with, again, in these works as part of Egyptian mass culture. Among these studies are the works of Walter Armbrust, Beth Baron, Israel Gershoni, Roberta Dougherty, Şawqiyya Hiğris, ‘Afāf Luţfi al-Sayyid Marsot, Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Na‘īm, Eve M. Troutt Powell, and Ziad Fahmy.³¹

American University in Cairo Press, 1988); Muḥammad ‘Izzat Muşţafā, *Tawrat al-fann al-taškīlī* ([al-Qāhira]: Dār al-Qalam, 1966); Ḥamid Sa‘īd and Dragoljub Kažić, *Contemporary Art in Egypt* (Cairo: Ministry of Culture and National Guidance, 1964); and Ruşdī Iskandar and Kamāl al-Malāḥ, *Ḥamsūn sana min al-fann* (Mişr: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1962).

31 ‘Afāf Luţfi al-Sayyid Marsot, “The Cartoon in Egypt,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13, no. 1 (1971): 2–15; Walter Armbrust, *Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Roberta Dougherty, “Badī‘a Masabni, Artiste and Modernist: The Egyptian Print Media’s Carnival of National Identity,” in *Mass Mediations: New Approaches to Popular Culture in the East and Beyond*, ed. by Walter Armbrust, 243–268 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000); Eve M. Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Beth Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender and Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Şawqiyya Hiğris, *Fann al-kārikātīr* (al-Qāhira: al-Dār al-Miṣriyya al-Lubnāniyya, 2005); Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Na‘īm, *Ḥikāyāt fi al-fukāha wa-l-kārikātīr* (al-Qāhira: Dār al-‘Ulūm li-l-Našr wa-l-Tawzī‘, 2009); Ziad Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians: Creating the Modern Nation through Popular Culture* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2011);

Reading the caricature as reflecting widely shared beliefs is influenced by the French art critic Champfleury, who claims that “the popular imagery, in pleasing the people, reveals their nature.”³² In other words, if one wishes to comprehend all the layers of meaning in one of these works of art that was produced for mass consumption, one needs to study the *weltanschauung* of the viewer-reader. This assumption characterizes most works dealing with reading twentieth-century comics and caricature as art. For example, David Carrier’s work, which argues, following Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault, that our attitude toward interpreting “museum art” and popular culture should be different.³³ For Carrier, contrary to the treatment of “museum art,” there is no reason that information regarding the author or the painter of popular art should occupy a privileged role in interpreting their art.³⁴ Since the audience projects onto popular art its fantasies, fears, and hopes, the analysis of these works should focus on the visual and textual mechanisms which reflect the shared *weltanschauung* of the image and audience. “We don’t need bookish analysis to understand such pictures, which rely on ideas known to everyone in our culture,” argues Carrier.³⁵

Cartooning for a Modern Egypt wishes to re-examine the role of the caricaturist working and publishing in a “restricted production sphere,” to use Pierre Bourdieu’s terminology.³⁶ Bourdieu’s

theory serves here as the theoretical framework for analyzing caricatures from Egypt from the first four decades of the twentieth century. In his article, “*Le Marché des biens symboliques*,” Bourdieu differentiates between works of art intended to be distributed in the “restricted production sphere” (*champ de production restreinte*)—traditionally labeled as “high art”; as opposed to works of art intended to be distributed in the “wide production sphere” (*champ de grande production*)—traditionally labeled as “low art.”³⁷

According to Bourdieu’s theory, works of art distributed within the “restricted production sphere” embodies the worldview of a specific clientele: “a well-defined class or section of a class” (“*c’est-à-dire d’une classe ou d’une fraction de classe bien définie*”).³⁸ The artist working within this sphere creates his audience by defining that audience. In contrast, the artists working within the “wide production sphere” create works of art for their audience, and their technical and aesthetic decisions are subjected to the worldview of the “most divergent public” (*les plus différentes du public*).³⁹ According to Bourdieu, these decisions manifest themselves in the use of technical means and aesthetic affects (images, stereotypes and common clichés) that were immediately accessible to the widest audience possible, alongside the systematic exclusion of any theme that could arouse resistance or offend any segments of that public.⁴⁰ If artists working within the “wide production sphere” use visual and thematic codes which are not accessible to the wider public, a communication “breakdown” (*ruptures de communication*) may occur.⁴¹ Hence, the aim of the “low art” or “average art” (*l’art moyen*) is to “represent the widest social denominator” (*de plus grand dénominateur social*) possible, and it must strive to achieve the “widest cultural and social dispersion of its

Israel Gershoni, *Ôr ba-šel: mišrayim ve-haḥāšīzm, 1922–1937* (*Egypt and Fascism, 1922–1937*) (Tel Aviv: ‘Am ‘Ôḇed, 1999) and *Milhemet ha-Umot ha-Halashot: Mitsrayim be-Milhemet ha-‘Olam ha-Sheniyah, 1939–1945* (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2017).

32 Champfleury, *Son regard et celui de Baudelaire. Textes choisis et présentés par Geneviève et Jean Lacambre* (Paris: Hermann, 1990), 216.

33 David Carrier, *The Aesthetics of Comics* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 82.

34 *Ibid.*

35 *Ibid.*, 83.

36 Pierre Bourdieu, “*Le Marché des biens symboliques*,” *L’année sociologique. Troisième série* 22 (1971): 54.

37 *Ibid.*, 81.

38 *Ibid.*, 81–82.

39 *Ibid.*, 82.

40 *Ibid.*

41 *Ibid.*, 89.

public.”⁴² Bourdieu defines the ideal audience of “average art” as the “average viewer or listener” (*spectateur, auditeur ... “moyen”*).⁴³

In any system, summarizes Bourdieu, one can find all levels of production: the “avant-garde art,” intended for a restricted audience, one composed of a limited number of colleagues; “bourgeois art,” aimed more directly to non-intellectual factions of the dominant class and occasionally consecrated by the most official legitimization bodies (the academy); and finally the “average art,” within which one can distinguish, the position of their “target audience” in the social hierarchy, between “higher art,” “cultural imitation” (*la culture en simili*)—directly targeted to the middle classes (*classes moyennes*) and those in the process of climbing the social ladder—and “mass culture,” that is to say the corpus of works which are socially vague (*quelconque*) and targeted to anyone.⁴⁴

Following Bourdieu, *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt* disputes the common hypothesis of Egypt’s cultural historians who analyzed the caricature produced in the national-colonial era as a branch of Egypt’s mass culture, targeted to an audience traditionally labeled as the “average Egyptian.” These stances ignore, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, the characterizations of the caricatures produced in Egypt between the late nineteenth century through the first four decades of the twentieth century. To fully read these works one needed to be familiar with Western culture and the caricature as an artistic genre. This familiarity was prerequisite if one wanted to bridge the gap between the image and its interpretation. These works were targeted first to consumers who were able to read and identify the visual repertoire, which was Western in more than one aspect. Indeed, many of the works were accompanied by explanations, sometimes short, sometimes long, which elaborated the imbedded interpretations of the images, but these explanations could not have

bridged over a lack of proficiency with the characteristics of the genre. The Egyptian caricatures of the period reflected, first and foremost, as does any work of art, the tendencies and preferences of their artists, which embodied in them their unique political, social, and cultural positions. The artists’ gaze, or the foreign-local gaze, reflected both their social characters (their background, family and so forth) and their professional training. The visual works they produced were shaped by the East-West encounter within the colonial context.

A second reason for the limited attention given in research to the study of the caricature from the Egyptian national-colonial era is that historiography of the modern Egyptian caricature itself has a short history—the first steps in outlining this history were only taken in the 1980s. The fact that the historiography of Egyptian caricature grew and developed within post-colonial debate influenced, consciously or unconsciously, the attention given in these works to the contribution of the foreign minorities to the adoption, adaptation, and assimilation of this artistic genre within the formation of modern Egyptian culture.⁴⁵ Since post-colonial research wishes to resist the hegemonic images of the West by presenting reality “as is” or from “within,” the focus of historians, with regard to the Egyptian caricature, was on the contribution of Egyptian artists. One can note within this context the work of al-Sayyid Marsot and Ḥalīd Muḥammad ‘Azab, which highlighted the pharaonic routes of Egyptian caricature;⁴⁶ ‘Abd al-Na‘īm’s work, which devoted only two

42 *Ibid.*, 82.

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Ibid.*, 85.

45 Starr already drew attention to the fact that post-colonial approaches to the study of Egypt’s history, in general, tend to overlook the cosmopolitan narrative of the Europeanized foreign minority residents, and her work foregrounds the cultural production of these communities, with regard to literature and the cinema. Deborah A. Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt: Literature, Culture, and Empire* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

46 Al-Sayyid Marsot, “the Cartoon in Egypt”; Ḥalīd Muḥammad ‘Azab (ed.), *Rūz al-Yūsuf: 80 sana shihāfa* (al-Iskandariyya: Maktabat al-Iskandariyya, 2006).

paragraphs to the connection of Egyptian caricature to European caricature;⁴⁷ and the work of Allen Douglas and Fedwa Malti-Douglas that dealt with the comic strip as it appeared in Egypt from the 1950s (i.e. from the revolution of 1952, which ended the foreign presence in Egypt), while ignoring comic strips that were published prior to the 1950s.⁴⁸ Within this corpus of works, the work of Muḥammad Raḥā (1911–1989) received attention, and he was categorized as “the first Egyptian caricaturist.”⁴⁹

Another aspect that was constantly emphasized in these works was the role of the caricature in formulating the national visual repertoire of modern Egypt. Thus, for example, the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi, a caricature type designed by the Armenian artist Iskandar Ṣārūḥān (1898–1977), was treated as the “ideal Egyptian” or the “typical Egyptian.”⁵⁰ This character, as will be discussed in detail in the fifth chapter, performed three roles: the first was being an embodiment of, or spokesman for, the journal in which he appeared, i.e. *Rūz al-Yūsuf* (first published October 26, 1925), or of the image the journal wished to project; the second, defined al-Miṣrī Efendi as the target audience of the journal—the “average Egyptian” to whom the “average” cultural products were targeted; and finally he was marked as the ideal Egyptian, the new modern citizen of the Egyptian nation, who carried the burden of building the Egyptian nation (i.e. the ideal efendi). Within the context of the discourse on Egyptian national iconography, the caricaturist who drew al-Miṣrī Efendi has received

little attention, if any, neither has the individual image itself. Baron even argues artists’ personal expression in this regard is an artistic “whim,” and it can only be read as part of a consensus on nationalist iconography.⁵¹

Reading caricatures from Egypt as neither Egyptian nor foreign, can be done through post-Orientalism theories. The criticism of Edward Said’s theory in the early 1980s tried to subvert unequivocal distinctions between the colonized and colonizer and signified not only the resistance of the occupied to his occupier but also to his collaboration with him. The subversion, under Said’s binary, can be found in Homi K. Bhabha’s works, which initiated discussions unveiling the colonialist principles hidden in different knowledge constructions and expanded the discussion beyond the East-West binaries into what Bhabha has called “the third space.” Bhabha’s theory enabled the dissolution of the boundaries between East and West and the construction of hybrid categories, which in their turn enabled discussion of dynamic identities, that were constructed within the colonizer-colonized relationship. Some historians, such as Yehuda Shenhav, see Bhabha’s theory as the model for discussing those who were neither colonizer nor colonized, or those who “represent no one.”⁵² Shenhav’s interpretation is crucial to the minorities, immigrants and foreigners’ identity in colonized societies, and it is employed here on the grounds of its ability to reflect the cultural products of Egyptian cosmopolitan society in the interwar years as culturally hybrid art.

In reading caricatures from the Egyptian national-colonial era as cultural products of an “in-between space,” I seek to foreground the caricaturist in Egypt as an artist and as a cultural entrepreneur. Hence, the aim of this book is first and

47 Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Na‘īm, *Ḥikāyāt fī al-fukāḥa wa-l-kārikātūr* (al-Qāhira: Dār al-‘Ulūm li-l-Naṣr wa-l-Tawzī‘, 2009) 46–47.

48 Allen Douglas and Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *Arab Comic Strips: Politics of an Emerging Mass Culture* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994).

49 “Raḥā, awwal rasām kārikātūr Miṣrī,” *al-Farā‘ina: maḡalla kārikātūrīyya tuṣaddar bi-l-Qāhira ‘an ittiḥād munaṣamāt rasāmī al-kārikātūr (fikū) bi-Miṣr* 72, April 27, 2009, 2.

50 See, for example, Ryzova, “Egyptianizing Modernity,” 124–163.

51 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 80.

52 Yehuda Shenhav (ed.), *Qōlōn‘alīyūt ve-hamaṣaḥ ha-postqōlōn‘alī: ‘antōlōgīyā šēl targūm ve-makōr* (Coloniality and the Postcolonial Condition: Implications for Israeli Society) (Jerusalem: Meḡōn Van Leer; Tel Aviv: ha-Qibūṣ ha-Me’ūḥad, 2004), 12–13.

foremost to read the caricatures as works of art as well as to try to reconstruct the intentions of the artists who created them. Historians of Egyptian culture tend to discuss these artists as European “cultural agents” or as working with an “inside-as-outside” inspiration. Although this “inspiration” was an inseparable part of the historical narrative of Egyptian national culture, discussions of this agency, as it appeared in prominent cultural studies, were fractional, and they neglected to address the full meaning embedded in these works of art. The caricatures from the first four decades of the twentieth century were not only distributed to the public but also to colleagues—artists and intellectuals. Following Bourdieu, although the artists in *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt* are addressed as “creators,” discussion of their artistic acts of production is less focused on their clientele (i.e. their target audience) and more on their creators’ competitors and their desire to produce a position in the space of production which is different from all other positions. The relationship between these creators and their artistic production is “the whole set of relationships between the artist and other artists, and beyond them, the whole set of agents engaged in the production of the work of art, or at least, of the social value of the work.”⁵³ For Bourdieu, few are the artists for whom their entire being, their self-image, and hence their artistic production, is not dependent on their own image and the image of their work in the eyes of others. In order to claim their position in the production sphere, the artist “does not need to consult what the other has written [or drawn]; he simply has to follow his taste, his own inclinations, in order to define himself against what the critic on the opposite side—who does just the same thing—thinks or says.”⁵⁴

5 Reading Caricatures

Reconstructing the intentions of the artist of a specific work of art cannot reveal the way it was read or experienced by its audiences, and as Eitan Machter and Avital Maya Machter have indicated, “many of the meanings which will be read in a text are embedded in it within the life context of the reader and the spirit of the zeitgeist. The distance separating the creator [and artist] and the different addressees [readers as well as viewers] regarding time, space, and culture, can affect the ways of reading [the cultural product] and enrich its meanings.”⁵⁵ In this context, the caricature is not different from any “artistic interpretation and explanation of this world and its association. Many different forms that man has created in his language of signs gradually lose their original meaning: they outlive the cult that called them to life, they outlast the magic that was originally attributed to them and carry on their existence in museums as late, lost remains.”⁵⁶ Hence, it will be difficult to define or evaluate the affect a certain caricature had on its readers. Since the caricature in itself is an interpretation of a certain event, whether social, cultural or political, it seeks to reflect its creator’s reading of reality. In addition, since it is not meant to be a news report, it will not be addressed here as an “illustrated article”—a common perception amongst various researchers.

Machter and Machter are right when they claim that the caricaturist is a “seismograph of a collective will, anxiety, anticipation, joy, pride or frustration.”⁵⁷ And indeed, in its very nature the caricature is an immediate response to a political, cultural, or social event or a process experienced by contemporary society. These events are translated into metaphorical situations through a social

53 Pierre Bourdieu, “But who Created the Creators?” in Pierre Bourdieu, *Sociology in Question*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Sage Publications, 1993), 140.

54 Bourdieu, “The Metamorphosis of Tastes,” in *Ibid.*, 111.

55 Machter and Machter, *Qarīqatūraâ, paršanûṭ wû-bûqôret*, 10.

56 Werner Hofmann, *Caricature: From Leonardo to Picasso* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1957), 7.

57 Machter and Machter, *Qarīqatūraâ, paršanûṭ wû-bûqôret*, 11.

and cultural sign-system, developed through the discourses of the time—this sign system can be composed out of metaphors, figures of speech, analogies, literal and artistic references, accepted signs and so forth.⁵⁸ In other words, the image is a testimony to current events—a kind of historical evidence. Therefore, the caricature is always anchored in the context of a specific event, story, or object/subject to which it refers or which it represents. And that is why these images are at their communicational peak when their message is direct and clear, and their affect immediate. That is to say, the caricature's clarity relies on the familiarity of the image, not its innovation.⁵⁹

However, the reality faced by the viewer in the caricatures of the Egyptian national-colonial era is not a reconstruction of the Egyptian Muslim community's social and cultural foundations, which forms the majority of the Egyptian populace; though the reality of the Egyptian Muslim communities is present in the caricatures and not just in the dialect spoken by the caricatures' heroes. Rather, these images reveal the way in which the cultural processes through which this political and social artistic genre was assimilated into Egyptian culture. At the same time, these images construct a culture that transcends national borders and that illustrates a complex *weltanschauung*, in which Eastern, Egyptian or local elements coexisted alongside Western and foreign ones. These serve as a testimony to the multicultural, multilingual and multiethnic environment within which these images were constructed and designed, as well as the universal elements which characterized the modern era and were reflected in different expressions

of social justice, equality and liberty in accordance to their local interpretations.

With the abovementioned circumstances in mind, the images discussed in *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt* illuminate and narrate the history of the caricature in Egypt in its formative years. The next chapter explores the rise and fall of the cosmopolitan society in Egypt and its indispensable role within Egyptian print culture. The third and fourth chapters explore the sources used in this study: the journals, publishers, and publishing houses (production, location, and distribution), formats, types of images, and the caricaturists themselves. They also look at the economic contexts of publishing, such as prices, costs, and readership. The purpose of these two chapters is to discuss the political, commercial, and economic constraints on the various platforms through which the caricatures were distributed. In other words, although the caricature is discussed here as a work of art, an individual expression of its creator, its distribution through privately-owned and independent journals, which were marketed as cultural commodities and were consumed in open markets, limits the possibility of discussing the caricatures in isolation from these economic constraints.

The following chapter, "The Typical Egyptian; The Ideal Egyptian: On Visual Stereotypes and Constructing Egyptian Identity," offers a mapping of that public as imagined by the caricaturists and the journals through which they worked. The chapter opens by rendering the images of the *awlād al-balad* (lit., sons of the country), the *fallāḥ* (pl. *fallāḥīn*, ploughman; member of the rural population) and the lowest ranks of society, and it offers an interpretation of these images as an expression of the *average* Egyptianness under the gaze of cosmopolitan artists, as well as the gaze of other elite sections of Egyptian society. In the end, the visual repertoire depicting these lower ranks of Egyptian society showed them as *negative* objects, an antithesis to the *ideal* citizen in modern society. The chapter continues with a discussion of the image of al-Miṣri Efendi, the caricatured type

58 For a discussion of these aspects of the modern caricature see Ernst Gombrich, "The Cartoonist's Armory," in *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other Essays on the Theory of Art* (London: Phaidon, 1963), 127–142.

59 For a discussion of this issue, see Ernst Kris, "The Principles of Caricature," in Ernst H. Gombrich and Ernst Kris, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*, ed. by Ernst Kris (New York: International Universities Press, 1952), 189–203.

designed by the Armenian artist Şārūḫān, both as an image of the reading public or the intended audience of the journals in which he was portrayed and as a construction of the ideal modern Egyptian citizen. This section offers a new reading of the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi, not just as a symbolic image reflecting a set of notions regarding the ideal character of the modern Egyptian subject, but also as a caricatured type, which carried additional layering of meanings which sometimes differed and contrasted with the attendant meaning as the ideal Egyptian.

Chapter six, “The Good, the Bad, and the Evil: Images of Women,” first discusses the two available options for Egyptian womanhood in the Egyptian cartoon space of the first four decades of the twentieth century: on the one hand, the traditional lower-class femininity, and on the other, the modernized or westernized middle-class or elite one. Neither of these options, as this chapter will show, presented itself as an embodiment of desirable Egyptian womanhood of the national-colonial era. The second part of the chapter re-examines images of famous women and symbolic women, previously dealt with by historians of modern Egypt as part of Egypt’s national iconography and as reflecting the changing social context of the Egyptian elite woman. The purpose of returning to these images is to contextualize them in the visual caricatured system, through which male-artists constructed negative, abstract ideas of womanhood, which in the end were not Egyptian, Muslim, or traditional, neither were they Western or modern.

In Chapter seven, “Images of the Other? Colonizer and Colonized through the Gaze of those ‘mystifiés de la colonisation,’” I seek to address the

question of how the colonizer, as the Egyptian Other, was portrayed in the caricatures, and I ask, is there a construction of Otherness as a mirror to Egyptianness in the caricatures of the period? I contend that a close examination of the semiotics of East-West encounters in the illustrated compositions actually reveals a more fluid boundary between the two ostensibly contradictory poles, and resists the native/foreign, us/them, self/other binaries to construct a *reality* in which “us” and “them” are not easily defined. The second part of the chapter focuses on images of the Sudanese as a construction of Otherness in Egyptian society. Following Troutt Powell’s *A Different Shade of Colonialism* (2003), I discuss these images as reflecting both the existence of colonialist tendencies in the colonized, thus rendering Egypt as the “colonized colonizer,” and the colonialist tendencies in the cosmopolitan society, tendencies which were the result of their Europeanized *weltanschauung*.

The organizational schema noted above provided me with the opportunity to speculate on the way in which foreign-local artists in Egypt envisioned and evaluated the past, present, and future of Egyptian society and its connections to other societies. Colonial modernity allowed the presence of a cosmopolitan community in Egypt, with its prosperity and deep cultural involvement in constructing Egyptian national culture from late nineteenth century through the first four decades of the twentieth century. The images which emerged from this cosmopolitan experience are the result of a complex cultural synthesis, and they function as part of the cultural processes which took place in the context of the Egyptian anti-colonial resistance to British foreign rule.

Cairo's Colonial Cosmopolitanism

In February 1923, the Cairo-based satirical journal *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* (*The Illustrated Notebook*, first published May 24, 1921) published a noteworthy caricature, “*al-Kaškūl wa-ḍuyūf Miṣr*” (“*al-Kaškūl* and Egypt's Guests”), depicting what might be labeled as the journal's editorial board (fig. 2.1).¹ Sitting on a pile of newspapers, and documenting in writing the event occurring at the top left of the composition, is Sulīmān Fawzī, the owner of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* and its editor in chief. Fawzī is dressed in a dark-green Western suit. His shoes are yellow, and his socks are striped in red and white. On his head he wears the *ṭarbūš*, which serves as a visual mark, signaling him as belonging to the Egyptian socio-cultural group of the *efendīyya*. Behind Fawzī stands the journal's art editor and leading caricaturist, Juan Santes (?–1941), documenting the same event by drawing it. Santes also wears a dark-Western suit. Around his neck a black scarf is tied in a large butterfly knot. On his head he wears a wide light-colored Spanish hat. His overall appearance marks him as of Spanish origin. The text beneath the caricature specifies that it was drawn by the Italian artist Outori and that the image embodies Outori's gaze.²

Not much biographical information can be gathered regarding Outori, Santes and Fawzī. Outori arrived in Egypt in the early 1920s with an Italian orchestra, which performed at the Cairo Opera House. He encountered issues of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* sold on Cairo's streets, which impressed him deeply, and he addressed Fawzī and asked him to publish caricatures in the journal from time

to time—a request to which Fawzī acceded.³ *Al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, amongst the most popular weeklies in Egypt during the interwar years, was Fawzī's second venture in Egyptian print culture.⁴ It was a satirical journal and the first in Egypt to publish caricatures in color.⁵ Each issue contained four full-page color caricatures—the frontispiece,

3 These details were given in a short column published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, marking the publication of Outori's caricatures in the journal. The column did not elaborate on what grounds Fawzī agreed to Outori's request for publication. “*Masyū Ōūtūrī*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 90, February 4, 1923, 15.

4 It was preceded by a journal entitled *al-Kaškūl* (*The Notebook*, first published June 5, 1914), which was owned and edited by Fawzī. In the editorial published in honor of the first anniversary of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, Fawzī clarified that it was the same paper only now it was illustrated. Sulīmān Fawzī, “*Al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar fi ‘amihi al-ṭānī*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 54, May 28, 1922, 3.

The journal ran throughout the 1920s and up until 1934, though in the last two years of publication, its issues were not published regularly and consistently. Different sources claim it ran until the end of WWII. However, I was unable to trace any issues beyond March 1934. Another journal named *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* did appear between 1935–1941 and was run by Muḥammad Ḥalāwa, which Šawqīyya Hiḡris claims was the same journal as Fawzī's. Hiḡris, *Fann al-kārikātūr*, 121–123. The caricaturist Muḥammad Raḡā claims that he worked for the journal in 1940. See Sa'īd Abū al-'Aynayn, *Raḡā, fāris al-kārikātūr* ([Al-Qāhira]: Aḡbār al-Yawm, 1990), 54.

5 A former journal, *al-Sīyāsa al-muṣawwara* (*Illustrated Politics*, founded December 1907), which was also known as *The Cairo Punch*, published color caricatures as well. However, the journal was published by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Zakī first in Vienna and later in Rome and posted to Egypt, hence it is not considered here as an Egyptian publication. For a discussion of the caricatures in *al-Sīyāsa al-muṣawwara*, see Marilyn Booth, “What's in a Name? Branding *Punch* in Cairo, 1908,” in *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair*, ed. Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler (Heidelberg and New York: Springer-Verlag, 2013), 271–306.

1 Outori, “*al-Kaškūl wa-ḍuyūf Maṣr*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 93, February 25, 1923, 8.

2 As can be understood from the text, Outori did not write the captions for this caricature nor for his other images published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*.



FIGURE 2.1

Al-Kaškūl and Egypt's Guests. Outori, "al-Kaškūl wa-ḍuyūf Maṣr," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 93, February 25, 1923, 8.

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the middle double-spread, and the back cover. The journal mainly addressed current political affairs in the context of Egypt's quest for independence from the British occupier. It was perceived, as was its owner, as an anti-Wafdist venture and as a devoted supporter of Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn (The Liberal Constitutional Party, founded 1922). Fawzī's attacks on the Wafd and its leader Zaḡlūl led to his arrest on at least one occasion. Additionally, he was constantly criticized professionally and personally by his two main competitors in the illustrated press genre: *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* (*Illustrated Witticisms*), founded February 1915 by the Greek Orthodox Syrian Iskandar Makāriyūs (1882–1952), and *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, founded by the

Tripoli-born actress Fāṭima al-Yūsuf (1898–1958). Their criticism mainly addressed Fawzī's alleged hedonistic lifestyle and moral corruption, whereas the caricatures he published were read by them as harming and posing a risk to the nation's security and fight for independence.

Santes, apparently of Spanish origin, emigrated from France to Egypt in the 1910s, following an invitation from the amīr Yūsuf Kamāl (1882–1969) to teach at the *Madrasat al-fanūn al-ḡamīla* (School of Fine Arts), founded in Cairo in 1908 by the amīr. In Egyptian cultural historiography, Santes is considered one of Egypt's foreign founding fathers of the caricature genre. His contribution to the development of the art of the caricature in Egypt was

recognized during his lifetime, as can be seen in articles and caricatures documenting his artistic activity during the interwar years. In one of these articles, following his death in 1941, *al-Itnayn* (*The Two*, founded June 1934) summarized his thirty years of activity in the Egyptian illustrated press. The writer, Aḥmad Rāsim (1895–1958), a poet, an art critic and Santes' friend, praised the Spanish artist for his drawing skills, and, more importantly for the project of *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt*, he also praised Santes' ability to familiarize himself with the Egyptian vernacular as well as his ability to apprehend much of its originality and subtle implications. These characteristics could have explained, according to Rāsim, Santes' popularity and success in the 1920s and 1930s.⁶

Santes and Outori belonged to Cairo's cosmopolitan communities, whose numbers in Egypt were highest during the interwar period.⁷ These communities were mostly comprised of immigrants who arrived in Egypt during an extended period of immigration that attracted Ottoman subjects and foreigners mainly to Egypt's urban centers.⁸ As Deborah Starr argues, many of them did not integrate into Egyptian Arab society, nor did they seek Egyptian nationality, and they would never become Egyptian citizens, though they were local residents who identified with Egypt as a nation and were deeply involved in Egypt's politics, economy, and its social and cultural life.⁹

The image constructed in the caricature "*al-Kaškūl* and Egypt's guests" emerged from and reflects the cosmopolitan experience of Egypt's foreign-local subjects in the interwar years. Outori's staged composition makes Santes' place in the composition natural, unremarkable under the

gaze of the artist who drew the caricature. Both the writer-editor and the illustrator-caricaturist document the same event, each in his own way. Although one can claim that Fawzī is depicted in a manner that attaches higher importance to him in the composition, on the grounds of him being in the front and consequently appearing to be larger, this detail is consistent with the working relationship between the editor in chief of any journal and its leading art editor. In other words, the caricature "*al-Kaškūl* and Egypt's guests" depicts a mixed work-environment, in which Eastern and Western elements coexist. More specifically, it establishes Santes' role and importance within the venture of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*. Having said that, it also stresses Santes' foreign identity through his outward appearance, by employing *negative* attributes—evidence of not being Egyptian.

The image which emerges from this caricature, as from the ones that will be discussed in the following chapters, undermines the native-foreign binary and forms "a distinctly cosmopolitan construction of 'nativeness,'" to use Starr's phrasing.¹⁰ Starr, while discussing literature and movies from Egypt's "cosmopolitan era," defines this nativeness as a subjectivity, which identified both with the place and the collective, but at the same time proclaimed a cultural identity of not being Egyptian: a "voluntary affiliation, [one which is] not governed by legal definitions of nationality, nor by commonly held conceptions of national identity."¹¹ Hence, the term "cosmopolitan," emphasizes Starr, does not relate only to the presence of Europeans and foreign Europeanized minorities in Egypt's urban spheres; rather, it also relates to a broader sense of a collective which avoids homogenization while it acknowledges and portrays difference.¹²

A second caricature, or illustration, published in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* in May 1921, will provide further insight into this construction of

6 Aḥmad Rāsim, "Santes wa-l-mumaṭīlūn 'alā masraḥīhi," *al-Itnayn* 347, February 1941, 12.

7 Robert Tignor, "The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt, 1920–1950: From Millet to Haute Bourgeoisie," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, no. 3 (July 1980): 449.

8 *Ibid.*, 417.

9 Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 6–7.

10 *Ibid.*, 7.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*



FIGURE 2.2 At 'Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā' Square. Untitled illustration, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 337, May 23, 1921, 2.

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“cosmopolitan nativeness” (fig. 2.2).¹³ The black and white illustration depicts a spectacle that the unknown painter attested he “never saw in his life” at ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’ Square in Cairo. The image features three police officers attempting to cope with a commotion across the square. One of the officers, in the middle of the scene, is trying to grasp a dark-skinned Egyptian man in a *ṭarbūš* and a *ġlābiyya*. This man is being pulled from his other side by a barefoot young boy, also in a *ġlābiyya*. The other two officers, at the back of the scene, are depicted detaining and directing the vehicles attempting to cross the square. Two men in Western suits and straw-boaters are chatting on the left, one of them is sitting in the driver’s seat of a car, and neither is apparently aware of, or bothered by, the commotion. In the passenger seat of the car sits a man wearing a Western suit and a *ṭarbūš*, meaning he is marked as an *efendi*. A young boy in a

torn *ġlābiyya* is mugging the man standing beside the car. Meanwhile, a woman in the latest 1910s European fashion, including a wide-brimmed hat, stockings, and high heels, is climbing into the back of a truck standing to the right of the road. A young man in a *ṭarbūš* and Western suit is assisting her. Passengers sit at the rear of the truck—men and women, some in local dress and some in Western outfits. Framing the scene at the far back are a couple of buildings: on the left, a round structure that could be misidentified at first sight as the base of a minaret, and on the right, a big billboard with the inscription “LIPTON” is set on the top of another building.

The site depicted in this illustration, ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’ Square, southeast of the Azbakiyya park and its Opera House, marks the entrance to what Janet Abu-Lughod calls “the transitional business district” of Cairo.¹⁴ According to Abu-Lughod’s

13 Untitled illustration, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 337, May 23, 1921, 2.

14 Janet Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 209.

theory, ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’ Square forms the link between two distinct physical entities: the colonial Western or European city to the west and the “real” Cairo—the old, traditional, Oriental Egyptian city to its east.¹⁵ As a transitional sphere, Abu-Lughod argues, “it is an unattractive mélange, having neither the modernity of the Western zone nor the exotic charm of the Eastern bazzars.”¹⁶

In a process beginning in the late sixteenth century, Europeans, Armenians, and Christian Syrians, settled in the area surrounding what was then the Azbakiyya pond. Two centuries later, at the turn of the nineteenth century, the French expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte (1798–1801) confiscated residences surrounding the Azbakiyya and used them as offices and institutes for the French Expedition.¹⁷ Bonaparte himself selected al-Alfi Bāy’s palace, on the western shore of the pond, as his residence.¹⁸ The presence of the French changed the urban character of the area. Local Christians and Europeans opened taverns, restaurants, and cafes around the pond—institutions that would characterize the area during the nineteenth century. During Muḥammad ‘Alī’s reign (1805–1848),

al-Mūskī Street, from ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’ palace (former ‘Atabat al-Zarqā’) to Cairo’s *ḥaliḡ* (canal), was renovated and became the commercial artery of the capital and the center for European trade. The pond was drained and transformed into a park “à l’Européenne.”¹⁹ The Europeans whom ‘Alī had appointed to work on his different industrial, agricultural and educational projects chose it as a place of residence—a choice that Doris Behrens-Abouseif claimed was a natural extension of the old French quarter.²⁰ European-style hotels were established in the neighborhood by Europeans, and several churches were built by the foreign communities in the area between the French quarter and Azbakiyya. During the reign of khedive Ismā‘īl, several ministerial buildings were erected on the site of the former palace of ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’. In addition, Italian, French, and Greek theatres and a French circus were established in the same neighborhood. Some of the land surrounding what is now the Azbakiyya park was sold by the khedive, but due to the high real estate prices, the outcome of the great influx of Europeans emigrating to Cairo at the time, only Europeans could afford the high prices in the quarter.²¹ Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, instead of the Ottoman and the Egyptian religious elites, who resided on the southern shore of the Azbakiyya pond-park, Europeans inhabited the Azbakiyya and the surrounding area, and the quarter “had become the new Frankish quarter of Cairo.”²²

If we return to the buildings described in the illustration in *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* (fig. 2.2), we can identify the alleged minaret on the left as the Tiring Department Store, founded in 1910 by the Constantinople-born Victor Tiring. Tiring was an Austrian merchant who specialized, together with his brothers Gustav and Konrad, in Turkish tailoring. Oscar Horowitz, who designed the building, was a Czech architect who studied in Vienna

15 The theory of Cairo having been cut into two halves (as in Abu-Lughod’s “Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo” and *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*), has been criticized in the past two decades. See Jean-Luc Arnaud, *Le Caire: Mis en Place d’Une Ville Moderne, 1867–1907* (Arles: Actes Sud, 1998); Khaled Fahmy, “An Olfactory Tale of Two Cities: Cairo in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Historians in Cairo: Essays in Honour of George Scanlon*, ed. J. Edwards (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002), 155–187; Mercedes Volait, “Making Cairo Modern (1870–1950): Multiple Models for a ‘European-Style’ Urbanism,” in *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans*, ed. Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait (Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2003), 17–50; and Adam Mestyan, “Power and Music in Cairo: Azbakiyya,” *Urban History* 40, no. 4 (2013): 681–683.

16 Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious*, 209.

17 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and Its Environs from Azbak to Ismā‘īl, 1476–1879* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1985), 71–76.

18 *Ibid.*, 70.

19 *Ibid.*, 84.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.*, 92.

22 *Ibid.*, 99.

and designed similar shopping outlets within the Austro-Hungarian sphere. When the building was completed in 1912, the Tiring Department Store was the first large selling-floor shop of its kind in Cairo, and it became the city's premier shopping destination for imported, mainly European, luxury goods.²³ As can be seen from photos and postcards dating to the beginning of the century, across the street, on top of another modern structure, a large billboard was situated, declaring that *buvez tous le thé Lipton* (everybody should drink Lipton tea).

When compared to these photos, it is clear that the artist who drew the illustration for *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* was trying to document the architectural scenery of the square as accurately as he could, as well as the intermixing of cultures that characterized the quarter at the beginning of the twentieth century. Having established that, the importance of the illustration is not in its descriptive or documentary aspect, nor in the way it establishes the foreign presence in Cairo in the 1920s. Following Starr's discussion of postcards designed by the cosmopolitan society of Egypt in the first two decades of the twentieth century, as well as her analysis of the Egyptian movies of the mid-twentieth century, this illustration's significance should be found in the broad sense of a collective that emerges out of it.²⁴ While the presence of Western men and women in this scene could have been explained through the presence of tourists in

Cairo's urban scenery, the Westerners are not depicted in this composition as observers, as would be expected of tourists, but as an integral part of the quarter's social urban fabric. Even the text beneath the illustration does not relate at all to the Westerners and notes only that "the fuss filled the air, the police and the passengers are confused, the pickpockets are working, and the world is in tumult."²⁵ In other words, Western presence is imagined here not necessarily as foreign, as the image documents a reality of daily social interaction.

Although *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*'s artist did not sign his work, one can speculate, based on the style of the illustration, that it was drawn by Aīḥāb Ḥulūṣī (1898–1986). İhap Hulusi Görey, as he is known today, was one of Turkey's most prominent graphic artists, best known for his posters designed during the Republican era (1923 to date). The son of the Turkish architect Ahmet Ḥulūṣī Bāy, Aīḥāb was born in Egypt to an aristocratic family. He studied in an English-language school in Alexandria, taking painting lessons by post. He started publishing caricatures in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* in 1917 and worked for the journal for approximately three years. Afterwards, he traveled to Germany for a formal art education, staying there for five years—three in the Heimann Schule Studio and two years in the Kunstgeiverbe Schule. With the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire, he became a Turkish citizen and after his time in Germany chose to move to Istanbul and changed his surname to Görey.²⁶

Ḥulūṣī's caricatures in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* were among the first local caricatures to be published in the journal. The journal set itself the

23 When in 1915 Martial Law was imposed by the British, the Tiring Store was listed as enemy property and sequestered. Tiring was eventually granted a conditional license to trade in Egypt but only with British allies. Due to the loss of its supply sources, which were mostly from Eastern Europe, the sequestered store liquidated its stock in 1920. For a short review of the history of the building and photographs of its details see Ed Owen, "Revisualising a Downtown Cairo Landmark, the Tiring Building," *Medina* 19 (August-September 2001): 64–65.

24 Starr, "Masquerade and the Performance of National Imaginaries: Levantine Ethics, Aesthetics and Identities in Egyptian Cinema," *Journal of Levantine Studies* 1, no. 2 (Winter 2011): 31–57; and *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, Introduction.

25 *Al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 337, May 23, 1921, 2.

26 Some sources claim that the family left Egypt after the British occupation of 1882, and hence, that Ḥulūṣī left for Germany in 1920 from Istanbul. Ḥulūṣī's signatures on the pages of *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* suggest otherwise. For a brief survey of his career in Istanbul, see Serra Dogan, "İhap Hulusi Görey and His Posters: The Famous Two that Shaped the Public in Republic Period in Turkey," *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences* 51 (2012): 43–47.

task of publishing world news in a manner that would be “useful [*muḥīd*] and easy to read,” as Makāriyūs, the owner and editor in chief, declared in its first issue.²⁷ Having declared that, Makāriyūs continued by saying he hopes the journal “will delight men of science and literature [...] and be worth[y] of conservation in homes, libraries and institution[s] for the study of science.”²⁸ In its first years, the journal was based on the photographed image, while the text was secondary to it—accompanying and clarifying the images in a few short phrases. During the first two years of *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara*’s publication, the journal published mainly British caricatures, most of which were devoted to the political affairs of WWI—a common procedure since the nineteenth century, as the development of new printing techniques and better communications and transportation networks greatly facilitated the distribution of printed materials throughout Europe and beyond.²⁹ Makāriyūs did not attempt to disguise the foreign source of the images, as evident by the inclusion of their artists’ original signatures. However, only rarely he mentioned in the captions themselves that an English artist illustrated the “comic painting” (*ṣūra hazalīyya*), as he referred to the caricatures, without noting the artist’s name.³⁰

Returning to the caricatures with which we started, the composition depicted in “*al-Kaṣkūl* and Egypt’s Guests,” as well as the composition depicting the turmoil at ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’ Square,

are not just the products of the presence of cosmopolitan society in Egypt’s urban centers during the first four decades of the twentieth century. Rather, they reflect their designers’ and publisher’s self-perception regarding their position within Egypt’s political, social, and cultural life. As Starr notes, post-colonial approaches to the study of Egypt’s history, in general, tend to overlook the cosmopolitan narrative.³¹ More particularly, as Starr has emphasized, the narrative of Egyptian anti-colonial resistance to foreign rule tends to flatten distinctions between agents of the European powers and Europeanized foreign minority residents.³² However, as Robert Tignor notes, “many of them believed that they were indeed Egyptians even without citizenship or wanting to claim it.”³³

1 Middle Eastern/Colonial Cosmopolitanism and the Egyptian Case

Cosmopolitanism had been a concept applied in Middle East studies when referring to moments in time and in place of “tremendous ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity,” or when relating to the opposite of “national” or “nationalism.”³⁴ However, as Will Hanley has articulated, these two simplified notions of the term have led scholars to mostly discuss cosmopolitanism as an elite phenomenon, entailed with nostalgia for a lost past (and in contrast to present day Middle East societies). Hence, “cosmopolitanism serves as a tag, a reflexive, generic piece of shorthand that promises to draw together and organize scholarly interventions when in fact it camouflages productive differences.”³⁵

27 Iskandar Makāriyūs, “*Kalima*,” *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 1, February 15, 1915, 1.

28 *Ibid.*

29 For the attempts made by European regimes during the nineteenth century to ban the republishing of caricatures imported from abroad see, Robert Justin Goldstein, “Political Caricature and International Complications in Nineteenth-Century Europe,” *Michigan Academician* 30 (March 1998): 107–122.

30 For an example in which the editor specifies the source of the image, see *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 66, May 15, 1916, 5. The sub-title declared that this “allegorical illustration was drawn by a humoristic political English painter.”

31 Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 9.

32 *Ibid.*

33 Tignor, “The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt,” 417.

34 Will Hanley, “Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies,” *History Compass* 6/5 (2008): 1346.

35 *Ibid.*

Peter Van der Veer rejects the perception of cosmopolitanism and nationalism as alternatives, and he argues that one should recognize them as the poles in a dialectical relationship.³⁶ Van der Veer defines cosmopolitanism as essentially a form of colonial modernity: "a form of translation and conversion of the local into the universal."³⁷ However, it is the translation and improvisation of one weaker conceptual framework into another, which is more powerful and hence more universal.³⁸ Meaning, Van der Veer articulates that cosmopolitanism is principally the Western engagement with its Others in the colonial context.³⁹ For Van der Veer, cosmopolitanism emerged together with nationalism in the context of forging the capitalist world-system of the nineteenth-century.⁴⁰ Within this context, colonizing modernity claimed a cosmopolitan openness to other civilizations; however, this openness was embedded in a desire to bring progress and improvement: "a cosmopolitanism with a moral mission," expressed in the phrase "the white man's burden."⁴¹ In other words, the cosmopolitanism of the colonial empire was articulated in the desire to spread the morality of the modern western nation-state.

The question of cultural translation serves Van der Veer as a typical example of colonial cosmopolitanism. As the languages of the colonized were perceived by the colonizer (and one can argue also by the colonized) as weaker than the western languages, the colonizer, who was fluent in more languages than the colonized, could grasp the language and costume of the locals, while remaining true to his own culture. Therefore, he could *cross over* from culture to culture and serve as a spy amongst the people he spied upon.

However, the westernized locals (the colonized) were not perceived by the colonizers to have the same ability and were not capable of *crossing over*.⁴² Thus, being cosmopolitan was essentially a western essence.

Sami Zubaida's definition of Middle Eastern cosmopolitanism embodies the Middle East studies' perspective: "the personal and cultural mixing across communal boundaries."⁴³ In the modern age, this cosmopolitan milieu enabled the "process of deracination from caste, community and religion," and as such it went along the lines of the European case.⁴⁴ For Zubaida, the years from 1882 to the outbreak of WWII in Istanbul, Cairo and Alexandria offer a principle Middle Eastern paradigm for the discussion of "the golden age of Middle Eastern cosmopolitanism."⁴⁵ These centers present a thriving cosmopolitanism based on patterns of associations, ideas, and movements which are reflected in the styles of life, which sway between the Ottoman and the European, as well as in the patterns of personal relationships and cultural mixes.⁴⁶ The processes which made these centers cosmopolitan were the opening up of formerly closed communities, the expansion of European modern education, the assimilation of printing technics, and the spread of migration inwards as well outwards.⁴⁷

For Hanley, Zubaida's definition reveals the problem at the heart of Middle Eastern cosmopolitanism: "is it a mental or a material condition?"⁴⁸ Hanley argues that "cosmopolitanism is essentially a particular, European, literate, bourgeois perspective; [and] it is not universal [...] and just because it has become a category of analysis[, it] does not

36 Peter Van der Veer, "Colonial Cosmopolitanism," in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds.), *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 166.

37 *Ibid.*

38 *Ibid.*, 167.

39 *Ibid.*, 178.

40 *Ibid.*, 179.

41 *Ibid.*, 167, 173.

42 *Ibid.*, 167–168.

43 Sami Zubaida, "Middle East Experiences of Cosmopolitanism," in Vertovec and Cohen, *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism*, 40.

44 *Ibid.*, 33.

45 *Ibid.*, 37.

46 *Ibid.*, 34.

47 *Ibid.*, 36.

48 Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies," 1349.

mean that it is [or was] a practice, a lived reality, for any but a tiny minority."⁴⁹

Cosmopolitan Egypt, as embodying “tremendous ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity,” emerged around the mid-nineteenth century and disappeared in the 1960s. It was the product of significant immigration, which developed out of imperial Ottoman and British rule, and it was shaped by the East-West encounter. However, as Starr emphasizes, it can be neither reduced to nor seen as equivalent to colonialism.⁵⁰ *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt* seeks to explore the ways in which colonial cosmopolitanism shaped cultural production in interwar Egypt, while focusing on caricatures, cartoons, and comics published in the Egyptian satirical, illustrated, and popular press. The history of the caricature in Egypt has only partially been told. However, it is one that deserves further examination, particularly in regard to the question of the part played by cosmopolitan subjects in Egypt in constructing and shaping the illustrated satirical public sphere.

As Starr notes, under Ottoman rule, and prior to the nineteenth century, there were in Egypt communities of non-Egyptian Muslims (Turks, North Africans and *šawām*),⁵¹ and non-Egyptian non-Muslims (Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Christian *šawām*).⁵² Members of these communities were considered Ottoman subjects, as were Egyptian Muslims and Copts. The non-Egyptian Muslims were distinguished from the local populace by language in the case of the Turks and dialect in the cases of the North Africans and *šawām*.⁵³ Aside from these communities, a small number of Europeans have resided in Egypt since the late eighteenth century, and several hundred more arrived with the French occupation under Napoleon in 1798.⁵⁴

49 *Ibid.*, 1348.

50 Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 9.

51 The term *šawām* refers to subjects who had migrated from Ottoman lands that, after WWI, became, roughly speaking, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine.

52 Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 16.

53 *Ibid.*, 16.

54 *Ibid.*, 19.

The significant inflow of immigration began under ‘Ali in the 1820s, with the governor’s industrial expansion which drew foreign investment to Egypt. It regained momentum under khedive Ismā‘il in the 1860s, while under British occupation immigration numbers rose again, and again following the population movements induced by WWI.⁵⁵ Whereas in the late nineteenth century the numbers of foreigners living in Egypt was around 110,000, by 1927 that number reached 225,600.⁵⁶

The legal status of foreign nationals in Egypt (non-Ottoman foreigners and Ottomans who became European nationals or *protégés*) was dictated legally by the Capitulation(s)—a treaty bestowed on France by the Ottoman sultan in the sixteenth century.⁵⁷ Originally, the treaty was designed to protect Christian merchants traveling to or residing in Ottoman lands. It granted them extra-territorial legal protection and exempted them from certain taxes, and Egyptian courts had no authority over them. Only their own consuls exercised judicial power in cases involving foreigners or in disputes between foreigners and Egyptians.⁵⁸

The capitulations were signed solely by the sultan as a matter of his personal prerogative. That is to say, foreigners inside the Ottoman state were accorded certain privileges regarding the practice of their own religion and the governance of

55 The evolution of Alexandria’s foreign population between 1848 and 1960 is summarized in Robert Mabro, “Alexandria 1860–1960: The Cosmopolitan Identity,” in *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, ed. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), table 1, 248.

56 In the 1917 census, the size of the leading foreign communities was estimated as follows: Syrians 7,728; Armenians 7,760; French 21,270; British 24,354; Italians 41,198; Greeks 56,751. Published in Tignor, “The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt,” 421.

57 For a comprehensive work on the capitulations, see Maurits H. van den Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System: Qadis, Consuls, and Beratlis in the 18th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2005.)

58 Mabro, “Alexandria 1860–1960,” 252.

their own communities.⁵⁹ However, since early in the seventeenth century, European powers interpreted clauses in the capitulation treaties with the Ottoman empire to grant them the right to protect the interests of particular religious minority communities. As Starr notes, the Russians claimed the right to intervene in internal Ottoman affairs to protect the interests of Orthodox Christians, the French claimed such privileges over the Catholics, and the British over the Druze and Jews of the Levant.⁶⁰ As a result of their increasing interference, these European powers were able to institute their influence in Ottoman lands and further their colonial interests in them, as in the establishment of the Mixed Courts, with its jurisdiction over legal cases involving European residents, in 1875. The capitulations also enabled foreign consuls to grant citizenship to their protégés, and as Mabro explains, this system for granting foreign nationality was abused quite liberally throughout the nineteenth century, despite the Protection Law (1863) and the Ottoman Nationality Law (1869) enacted by the Ottomans in order to counter this phenomenon.⁶¹ The recipients of foreign nationality were granted special privileges extended by the capitulations. After 1882, the British administration provided political protection for foreigners, and through the continuing negotiations over Egypt's independence, Britain kept insisting it should retain responsibility for safeguarding the interests and security of foreigners in Egypt.

2 The Cosmopolitan Society and the Egyptian Press

During Egypt's economic boom from cotton sales—an outcome of the American Civil War

(1861–1865)—many Ottomans from greater Syria emigrated to Egypt from the late 1860s; these emigres included print-inspired immigration, intellectuals, and entrepreneurs. Many of these Syrians, or more accurately Beirut immigrants, were Christian and they played a formative role in the development of Egyptian journalism.⁶² In the last quarter of the nineteenth century they privately established some of the most prominent publication houses in Egypt, among whom one can note Dār al-Ahrām, Dār al-Muqāṭṭam, and Dār al-Hilāl—who published five of the journals discussed in this book. The journalistic products these publishing houses distributed were influenced by western tastes and styles, and they adopted western business practices early on by printing genres like journals.⁶³ As Gershoni emphasizes, these journals became some of the main mechanisms for constructing and distributing modern Egyptian culture.⁶⁴

According to Ayalon, about 15 percent of all papers published in Egypt between 1873 and 1907 were founded by Syrians, although they comprised less than a third of one percent of the population in 1907.⁶⁵ More importantly, Syrians owned two of the five most influential dailies that were published between 1882–1918, and they controlled the most popular cultural journals until after WWI. Their investment in literary and scientific journals played an important role in fostering reading habits and accustoming their target audiences to acquiring modern knowledge of a different kind.⁶⁶ Only towards the end of the nineteenth century did Egyptians begin to challenge their dominance in the field. During the interwar period, the dispute over political issues was Egyptianized, as Egyptian nationalists gradually pushed the

59 Mathew Burrows, "Mission civilisatrice: French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860–1914," *The Historical Journal* 29, no. 1 (March 1986), 112.

60 Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 20.

61 Mabro, "Alexandria 1860–1960," 252.

62 Schwartz, "Meaningful Mediums," 349.

63 *Ibid.*, 350.

64 Gershoni, "Maḥō'," in Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, *Leḫāsel tarbūt be-miṣrayīm*, 22.

65 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 52.

66 *Ibid.*, 53.

foreigners, and especially the Christian Syrians out of the scene. As the national struggle intensified, by the early 1920s the second and third generation of Christian Syrians in Egypt were leaving mainstream journalism.⁶⁷ Having said that, the dailies and the journals the Syrians still published were part of an intellectual-journalistic empire, which distributed hundreds of thousands of copies in the 1930s.

For Gershoni, the presence of independent Arabic-Egyptian journalistic institutions and the development and consolidation of Europeanized sub-cultures within Egypt had a crucial influence over the construction of the new modern Egyptian culture. The presence of the local-foreigners had direct and immediate implications for the cultural activity of Egyptian intellectuals:

“It encouraged them to open the local culture to fast reception of European values and norms. It accustomed them to a pluralistic journalistic discourse and to western rules of marketing and consumption of literature, journalistic and cultural consumer products. They internalize [through its presence] the need to frequently use the European languages (French, English, Italian, German) and to translate European literature and intellectual works into the local Arabic language in order to enhance the language and to make it relevant to modern reality. It created within them the need to represent the achievements of the philosophy, science, technology, literature, and art of the modern world to the consumers of the local culture. It urged them to have a consecutive and up-to-date dialogue with the literature and journalism prevalent in Paris, London, Berlin and Rome. [And] it instantly provided for them diverse models of printed culture to emulate, absorb and assimilate.”⁶⁸

67 Gershoni, “Maḥō,” in Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, *Leḥāsel tarbūt be-miṣrayīm*, 22.

68 Gershoni, “Maḥō,” in Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, *Leḥāsel tarbūt be-miṣrayīm*, 22.

3 Belonging and not Belonging

As Starr emphasizes, before the modern conceptualizations of “nation” or “ethnicity” became accepted cultural and legal terms in Egypt, one could not have spoken of these communities as “foreign” or “extra-territorial.” Or in Starr’s phrasing, “through much of the nineteenth century, one cannot speak of a territorially bounded, ethno-linguistically defined Egyptian national identity against which these communities—Muslim and non-Muslim alike—could be viewed as ‘foreign.’”⁶⁹ They were all considered Ottoman subjects.

Having said that, as Mabro emphasizes, the dichotomy foreign/Egyptian did prevail, at least in the image that one group had of the other.⁷⁰ For example, Egyptian dialect refers to Egyptian men as *sayyid*, *haḡḡ*, *efendī*, *bāy*, or *paša* (Ar. sig. *bāšā*; pl. *bāšawāt*, is the highest official title of honor). Foreigners were addressed as *ḥawāḡa* (pl. *ḥawāḡāt*). *Efendi* (often written *effendi* following the French usage), *bāy*, *paša*, and *ḥawāḡa* are all of Turkish origin, all meaning “sir.”⁷¹ As Mabro indicates, although the term *ḥawāḡa* is used respectfully, the distinction reinforces boundaries between communities, and through this distinction excludes its subject. At the same time, not all foreign-locals were cosmopolitan subjects, nor were all Arab, Muslim, and ordinary people featured as a non-cosmopolitan backdrop that could accentuate the cosmopolitan character of the cosmopolitan subjects. Hence, cosmopolitanism, as Hanley indicates, demands the “inclusive frame of reference.”⁷²

Mabro suggests that one could differentiate into four distinct groups the population of non-Egyptians, *ḥawāḡāt*, on the basis of their

69 Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 17.

70 Mabro, “Alexandria 1860–1960,” 248–249.

71 *Ibid.*, 248, n. 2.

72 Will Hanley, “Cosmopolitan Cursing in Late Nineteenth-Century Alexandria,” in MacLean N. Derryl, and Sikeena Karmali Ahmed, *Cosmopolitanisms in Muslim Contexts: Perspectives from the Past* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 92.

willingness and their eligibility to integrate into Egyptian society. While some immigrants like the *šawām* and the Jews from the Arab world were Arabophone and could easily integrate into their existing communities, most immigrants never mastered Arabic and never sought to integrate into Egyptian Arab society, even when families remained in Egypt for several generations.⁷³

The first group consists of foreigners who managed to integrate very early on and became accepted as Egyptians—mainly Muslim Arabs and Turks who came from north Africa and the Levant before the nineteenth century. These immigrants from Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Syria, Crete, and Turkey considered themselves Egyptians for many generations, and their Egyptianity was not questioned. Some Christian Arabs and a few Armenians also managed to integrate at an early date into Egyptian society.⁷⁴

The second group consists of non-Egyptians or *hawāğāt* who wished to obtain Egyptian nationality through the Nationality Law of 1929 but were ultimately rejected or felt rejected.⁷⁵ After the severing of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire in 1914, and the subsequent emergence of the Egyptian nation-state, the question of who was Egyptian and who was not became acute. Several draft laws were prepared, beginning in 1914, but the Nationality Law was only finalized in 1929. This law included in its definition of Egyptian nationals all Ottoman subject residents in Egypt at the start of WWI.⁷⁶ Religion was neither a condition for nor an impediment to opting for Egyptian nationality: Muslims, Christians, and Jews were all eligible, provided they could establish Ottoman origin. Hence, this law enabled a large number

of Syrians, Lebanese, Palestinians, Jews from Asia Minor, Ottoman Greeks, Armenians, and Turks to obtain Egyptian nationality.⁷⁷ One can assume that those who seized the opportunity considered themselves to be Egyptians. However, in the 1940s and 1950s, mainly following the establishment of the State of Israel, some subjects from this group, namely the Ottoman Jews and Christians, discovered that they were not fully recognized as Egyptians. At best, they were considered Egyptianized (*mutamaşşirūn*),⁷⁸ or in Mabro's terminology, "partly disguised" *hawāğāt*.⁷⁹

The third group consisted of non-Egyptians of Ottoman origin who could have opted to become legally Egyptian, but instead managed to obtain protection or a passport from a European power and through it took advantage of the capitulations.⁸⁰ This group included Jews who emigrated to Egypt from all over the Mediterranean, beginning in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, but mainly between 1860 and 1920;⁸¹ and a number of Christian Syro-Lebanese subjects (*šawām*). These immigrants managed to collect a portfolio of nationalities including Russian, Austro-Hungarian, Greek, French, Brazilian and so forth.⁸²

Mabro's fourth and final group consisted of foreigners who did not opt for Egyptian nationality and for whom integration into Egyptian society was not desirable. They were Italians, French, Maltese and Cypriots with British passports, European

73 Mabro, "Alexandria 1860–1960," 248.

74 *Ibid.*, 250, 253.

75 *Ibid.*, 251, 253.

76 Shimon Shamir, "Egyptian Nationality Law (1929)," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. Norman A. Stillman. Accessed on 29 July 2018. First published online: 2010. http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-jews-in-the-islamic-world/egyptian-nationality-law-1929-SIM_0007010.

77 Mabro, "Alexandria 1860–1960," 251.

78 *Mutamaşşir* is someone who has obtained Egyptian citizenship, someone who is behaving in an Egyptian manner, or someone who is impersonating an Egyptian.

79 Mabro, "Alexandria 1860–1960," 252.

80 *Ibid.*, 251, 253.

81 Regarding the Jewish families in Egypt that managed to obtain a European passport, Mabro specifies the following numbers for 1927: 5,764 with French nationality, 4,949 with Italian nationality and 2,130 with British nationality. *Ibid.*, table 2, 251.

82 The censuses of 1917 and 1927 specify the following nationalities regarding the Jewish community: French, 776 in 1917 and 5764 in 1927; Italian, 668 in 1917 and 4949 in 1927; British, 343 in 1917 and 2130 in 1927.

Greeks, British from the British Isles, Austrians, Germans and so forth. The last two groups, the true *ḥawāḡāt*, as Mabro terms them, never attempted to merge into Egyptian society.⁸³

A fifth group, small in its dimensions and occasionally discussed in the caricatures of the interwar period, was comprised of Egyptians who wished to be *ḥawāḡāt*, the *mutaḥawagīn* (“foreignized”): “Egyptians who had been immersed in French or English culture, or who married foreigners, and felt somewhat distanced from their own Egyptian identity.”⁸⁴

Many of the immigrants who came from various parts of the eastern Mediterranean were merchants, and they brought their mercantile experience and their ties with European firms with them to Egypt. Although throughout the nineteenth century and until the end of WWI, ethnic and religious loyalties persisted, intercommunity marriage was uncommon, and business mainly organized along national lines; the interwar years were characterized by the coalescing of these communities into a self-conscious *haute bourgeoisie*. According to Tignor, the coalescing of these foreign communities into a distinctive class group was reflected in two phenomena: the first, creation of quasi-political organizations, which served as pressure groups intended to articulate new policies and to influence the government. Two examples of such organizations were The Egyptian Federation of Industries (established in 1922) and The Economic Council (established in 1922). The second phenomenon was the publication of journals, which served as forums for articulating and spreading shared ideas and interests. *The Égypte Industrielle* (founded 1925 by I.G. Levi, a Jew born in Istanbul in 1878 and migrated to Egypt in 1903) is one example of such an enterprise.⁸⁵

A half-imagined Europe, to use Mabro’s term, provided a label for the common identity of

Egypt’s foreign-local communities.⁸⁶ Those who embraced the Europeanized cultural identity and the cosmopolitan way of life shed their original national identity. This homogeneous culture was mostly characterized by using French (and to a lesser degree English) as the *lingua franca*, peppered by expressions from the various communal languages, while also losing the ability to speak Arabic.⁸⁷ The use of French did not confirm in any strict sense a nationality or citizenship, and as such formed a bond between the local-foreign subjects, while at the same time it constituted a barrier between them and other groups.⁸⁸ As Hanley demonstrates, linguistic misunderstandings were embedded in everyday cosmopolitan communication, and they marked the key social boundary of speech.⁸⁹ For Hanley, this linguistic challenge reflects one limit of the imagined conventional image of cosmopolitanism.

While in mid-nineteenth-century Egypt members of the foreign-local communities tended to cluster in the same districts of the city, the ethnic residential separation was breaking down into mixed living spaces by the 1870s. By the interwar years, although the old ethnic quarters still persisted, Cairo was becoming organized by socioeconomic status. In the luxurious neighborhoods of Garden City, Zamālik and later Ma’ādī children of different ethnic origins mixed.⁹⁰ The children of the well-to-do families had common private educational experiences in Egypt or abroad and received a westernized training. None went to the Egyptian government’s primary or secondary schools.⁹¹ Only a few attended the new Egyptian

83 Mabro, “Alexandria 1860–1960,” 252–253.

84 *Ibid.*, 253, 258–259.

85 Tignor, “The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt,” 436–449.

86 Mabro, “Alexandria 1860–1960,” 258.

87 Tignor, “The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt,” 442.

88 For a discussion on communication as a key to understand the cosmopolitan phenomenon, see Hanley, “Cosmopolitan Cursing in Late Nineteenth-Century Alexandria,” 92–104.

89 *Ibid.*, 96.

90 Tignor, “The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt,” 443–444.

91 *Ibid.*, 442–443.

university. Their parents belonged to the same social and sporting clubs, and they shared patterns of work and play. They bought furniture from the same decorators and clothes from Paris and London. Finally, they had a homogeneity of literary and artistic tastes, and writers such as Corneille, Racine, Molière and so forth inhabited their libraries.⁹²

Having said that, it was not a homogeneous group. Each ethno-linguistic community perceived itself as different from the others by virtue of their nationality, ethnic origin, or religion, and within that religion there were divisions by sect. Mostly, they did not marry outside their religious and national heritages.⁹³ The British, French and Belgians thought of themselves as Europeans or Anglo-Egyptians or Franco-Egyptians; the Greeks perceived themselves as Greeks; for the Jewish families, religion and ethnic traditions were retained in all aspects of life. Thus, “the *shawam* remained *shawam*, the Italians remained Italians, and the Jews remained Jews.”⁹⁴

As Mabro indicates, a large proportion of the foreign immigrants spent the rest of their lives in Egypt, as did their descendants.⁹⁵ Yet, despite the long stays, “many of these foreigners remained foreigners, proclaiming an identity defined by negative characteristics—that of not being Egyptian.”⁹⁶ Jacquelin Kahanoff (1917–1979), a Jewish Cairo-born novelist and essayist, described in one of her essays the ambivalent identity of being a local *ḥawāḡa*:

“I am trying to reconstruct the feelings I had towards the community and land in which I grew. The fact that none of our house members was Egyptian embarrassed me as a child. I did not know whether

being born in Egypt made me Egyptian or whether I should want to be Egyptian, or not. Probably most of the Egypt-born Jews from my generation felt the same oppressive ambivalence of belonging and not belonging.”⁹⁷

This feeling of “belonging and not belonging” was described by Kahanoff repeatedly:

“I was not sure we were Egyptians ... we did not speak Arabic at home, but French or Italian with Maria, and Arabic only with the servants. My parents and other parents spoke Arabic only with the grandparents, who spoke different dialects of Arabic and did not understand each other very well. Therefore, perhaps, people who came from places like Tunis or Baghdad were not Egyptians, I used to think. Indeed, the king is Turkish, but if he is the king of Egypt, then he must be Egyptian as well. Therefore, if the Turks are Egyptians perhaps, we are Egyptians as well, or maybe it is not the same regarding the Jews and the Greeks for instance? Maybe they are not the sons of Egypt as the Muslims and the Arabs, even though they are not foreigners as the Europeans? There are all sorts of people, I used to say to myself, some of which are made of one color, as when you squeeze red or blue from a tube of paint, and some resemble colors squeezed together.”⁹⁸

Despite the ambiguity described by Kahanoff regarding her self-perception as an Egyptian, some of the local-foreign subjects in Egypt saw themselves as Egyptians in the national sense of the term. Responding to a series of accusations in the nationalist press and parliamentary assaults on

92 *Ibid.*, 444.

93 Tignor, “The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt,” 446.

94 Mabro, “Alexandria 1860–1960,” 260.

95 *Ibid.*, 248.

96 *Ibid.*

97 Jacquelin Kahanoff, “*Bên šenê ‘ôlamôt*,” in *Bên šenê ‘ôlamôt: masôt u-pirkkê ḥitbônenût* (*Between Two Worlds*), ed. David Ohana (Jerusalem: Keter, 2005), 33.

98 Jacquelin Kahanoff, “*ha-ša’if ha-kaḥol šel ha-qidma*,” first published in *ba-Maḥanē*, September 1967. Republished in Kahanoff, *Bên šenê ‘ôlamôt*, 53–54, 55–56.

the predominant economic position of foreigners, an article in the *Égypte Industrielle* argued that the entrepreneur who invested his energy and capital in the country was “one hundred percent nationalized. [...] the Nationality of the entrepreneur plays only a secondary role.”⁹⁹

4 The Fall of Cosmopolitan Society in Egypt

In the process of the Egyptian nation's formation, the differences between the majority Egyptian Arab Islamic population and the diverse foreign resident groups were sharpened, and consequently by the middle of the twentieth century the majority of these foreign communities failed to successfully integrate into the Egyptian national community—which led to their immigration out of Egypt.¹⁰⁰ As Starr notes, in these processes of differentiation, which constructed the Egyptian nation through its collective encounter with Otherness, the European colonial powers were identified as the Other against which the Egyptian struggle was defined. Simultaneously, multiple processes of differentiation defined most of the foreign minorities as compradors of colonialism—foreign agents acting against the interests of the state.¹⁰¹

Different social, economic, and political historical processes influenced the differentiation of

minorities and foreigners in Egypt from the imagined Egyptian national collective. Starr roughly summarizes these processes as the economic crises of the 1930s and their implications for the Egyptian market in the 1940s and 1950s, which were as follows: the significant increase in the size of the Egyptian population; the accelerated urbanization processes for those in search of livelihoods, and the difficulties that characterized the socialization and acculturation of millions of countrymen in the urban society and culture which all led to a politics of distress, alienation and protest; the Arab-Israeli conflict, which mainly but not solely, affected the Jewish community of Egypt; and finally, the Free Officers revolution and the rise of president Ḡamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir (1954).

From late 1929, due to the New York stock market crash and the world economic crises, the Egyptian market deteriorated into an acute and protracted crisis, which affected every sector of Egyptian society: the wealthy and poor, the big landowners as well as *fallāḥīn* and workers, elite, middle class and the masses, the city dwellers, and countrymen. The economic crises had an acute influence on Egyptian society, which manifested itself in the demands for an “independence economy” for the country, for “economic nationalism” (*wataniyya iqtisādīyya*) or “social nationalism” (*wataniyya iḡtimā‘īyya*). Since a considerable segment of the minorities and immigrants had achieved great financial success, their wealth led to them being viewed as foreign agents acting against the interests of the state by the native Egyptians, although for some local-foreigners their goals were to lessen the control of European capitalism over the Egyptian economy and to create a more autarkic and national economic system.¹⁰²

During the 1940s and 1950s, demographic forces produced significant increases in the size of the Egyptian population and led to migration from rural areas, particularly to Cairo and Alexandria. The evident foreignness of the cosmopolitan culture

99 *Égypte Industrielle* 15, no. 5, March 1, 1939, 29, quoted in Tignor, “The Economic Activities of Foreigners in Egypt,” 439.

100 Some scholars, such as Khaled Fahmy, place the beginning of the process of marking the Turkish-speaking Ottoman Arab elites as “foreign” at the formation of Muḥammad ‘Ali’s army. Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pashas’ Men: Mehmed Ali, his army, and the making of modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 314. Starr emphasized in this context that non-Muslim Egyptians were not subject to conscription, and thus conscription marked the Egyptian Muslim majority as “national” in contrast to the non-Muslims’ identity. Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 19.

101 *Ibid.*

102 Tignor, “The Economic Activities of Foreigners,” 418; Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 22.

shaped Egyptians' attitudes towards the resident minority communities. The visibility of the foreign nationals' culture served as a red flag for Egyptian economic frustrations. A rise of nationalist demands for jobs, economic positions, and improved standards of living in Egyptian society led to marking the foreigners and *mutamaşşirūn* as "a natural target."¹⁰³ Although not all immigrant minorities achieved great wealth, and not all members of the elites were foreigners, the small group of foreign minority elites nevertheless shaped the Egyptian public's view of the entirety of the foreign minority community.¹⁰⁴

The perception of the minorities' communities as foreigners was enshrined in legal definitions of Egyptian nationality and national identity, from the decrees of 1892 and 1902, which tried to deal with the question of who was an Egyptian for administrative purposes, to the Nationality Law of 1929.¹⁰⁵ Prior to WWII, Egyptian concerns over the privileges granted to foreign nationals were redressed in 1937 at the Montreux Convention. Egypt succeeded at the convention in reaching accords with the twelve remaining capitulatory powers to abolish the capitulations.¹⁰⁶ The next legal development took place in 1947, when a law was enacted which limited the number of foreign nationals in any commercial company. The law stated that 75% of the salaried positions and 90% of the workers employed by any company in Egypt should hold Egyptian nationality. Consequently, many foreign nationals and minorities who had not sought or received citizenship through the 1929 Nationality

Law were now confronted with diminished employment opportunities.¹⁰⁷

Following the 1956 Suez Conflict, in which Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula in collusion with Britain and France, Egypt expelled British and French citizens from its soil. The Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967 made it clear to the communities of Jews that there was no future for them in Egypt. The final blows to these communities were made by the new regime that rose to power under 'Abd al-Nāṣir's presidency in 1954. In the years following the Suez Conflict the Egyptian regime implemented a further Egyptianization of business plan in 1958 and compelled the nationalization of companies in the early 1960s, which affected significantly the remaining foreign communities. National ideology and public policy turned against the foreign minority presence. Consequently, by the mid-1960s, the population of foreign minorities in Egypt had dwindled, and as Starr puts it, "Egypt's so-called cosmopolitan era had come to an end."¹⁰⁸

As Hanley noticed, histories of cosmopolitanism in the Middle East occasionally reflect historians' and readers' nostalgia for imagined utopias of social mixing in the past as well as anti-nationalism or concerns about the tragedy of Arab politics in the present, and hence historians' and readers' desires for a cosmopolitan future.¹⁰⁹ Hanley's main argument is that the cosmopolitan required a margin of lower-class Europeans and Egyptians in order to make the cosmopolitan subjects the social center: "The essential characteristic of the center is belonging, while the margin is unimportant, alien, foreign."¹¹⁰ Meaning, the poor were excluded a priori, and political, linguistic and social boundaries were only crossed by the elite. As Zubaida articulates, cosmopolitan Alexandria included a system of exclusions for the native

103 Mabro, "Alexandria 1860–1960," 253.

104 Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 22.

105 Shamir, "Egyptian Nationality Law."

106 The treaties included a provision specifying that although foreigners were to be subject immediately to Egypt's laws and taxation, cases involving foreign nationals could continue to be tried in the Mixed Courts. The treaties signed at the Montreux Convention limited the period for trying the cases of foreigners in the Mixed Courts to 12 years, after which authority would revert to the Egyptian legal system. Starr, *Remembering Cosmopolitan Egypt*, 21.

107 *Ibid*, 22.

108 *Ibid*, 23.

109 Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies," 1359.

110 *Ibid*, 1352.

Egyptians, which manifested itself, for example, in the segregation or exclusion of the native Egyptians on buses and trams, and in clubs, bars and cafes.¹¹¹ Interaction between the cosmopolitan elites and the native Egyptians manifested itself in the *consumption* of native Egyptians as servants, functionaries and prostitutes.¹¹² In other words, cosmopolitanism was about wealth and secularism.¹¹³ Hence, Hanley calls for a re-calling of these groups and their cultural products by their *proper* names. As the foreign-locals' language, education, commercial expertise, and capital, differentiated them from ordinary, Arabic speaking Egyptians, or de-Egyptianized them, and led to the deceptive sense of "belonging and not belonging," they should be addressed as the elite they were and perceived themselves to be.

Focusing on the art of the caricature, *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt* wishes to foreground the

role played by Egypt's foreign-local entrepreneurs and artists in formulating and constructing the Egyptian caricature in the interwar years. The foreign-local (or cosmopolitan) experience of these entrepreneurs and artists shaped the cultural sphere in which and through which they worked. Although these journals were published in Arabic and were targeted at the Arabic speaking public in Egypt, the caricatures published in them constructed this Egyptian public sphere as inconsistent, incohesive, and some might say, unsure of itself. Following Hanley, and despite some of the self-perceptions of the Egyptian local-foreigners, the following chapters will reveal that in the end, the cultural product of the Egyptian local-foreigners (i.e. the caricatures) was designated for, or reflected, a culture of a few. The Muslim Arab Egyptians who, by definition, were not cosmopolitan, existed in the compositions, but at the same time were excluded from them—exclusion which, as Hanley argues, constructed the context that created cosmopolitan Egypt.¹¹⁴

111 Zubaida, "Middle East Experiences of Cosmopolitanism," 37.

112 *Ibid*, 38.

113 Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies," 1358.

114 Hanley, "Cosmopolitan Cursing in Late Nineteenth-Century Alexandria," 100.

Journals, Images, Counter-Images, and Readers

“*Māmmā! māmā! Rūz al-Yūsuf ɗarabtinī!*”

Saʿīd ʿAbada, *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, June 19, 1928.

In an editorial published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* on June 19, 1928, Saʿīd ʿAbada mocked the behavior of Egypt’s political leaders, who, in his eyes, behaved like three-year-old children—inexperienced, rude, stubborn, and spoiled—who saw themselves as heirs to an imagined imperial family. In ʿAbada’s metaphor, once these children encounter for the first-time disobedience from their subjects, they run to their “mother, the empress, in tears, to ask for her help dealing with their subjects’ rebellion.” If the empress fails to help them, “they stop eating and drinking, redraw to their bed to dream of their pathetic crown and their rebellious subjects.” However, concludes ʿAbada, “while we are ready to bear this kind of behavior from infants, we will not tolerate this kind of behavior from forty or fifty-year-old children.”¹

The rest of the editorial dealt with the role of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in view of Egypt’s politicians’ “childish behavior.” ʿAbada imagined *Rūz al-Yūsuf* as an educating father, being forced to hit his kids with a staff. However, this punishment was not meant to harm and injure; rather, the staff is soft, gentle, and flexible, aiming at directing the children to the right path, while the father (hence, the journal) avoids, as much as he can, hurting the feelings of those “spoiled children.” The beating with the staff, emphasized ʿAbada, is the same as a father saying to his kid, “phooey!” (*al-kih wa-l-daḥḥ*), when he wants his child to throw something dirty from his hands or mouth. Nevertheless, concluded ʿAbada’s editorial, those “big boys,” i.e. Egypt’s politicians, continue their immature behavior, whining and

complaining, and in their tantrum “bang their head against the wall, refusing to eat and drink.”²

Cartooning for a Modern Egypt traces that “soft staff” or “oppositionists’ jokes” as ʿAbada called the caricatures in another editorial, which were illustrated in Cairo during the national-colonial period.³ These images, which were distributed through diverse types of journals, reveal that both editors and caricaturists saw themselves as standing as a unified front with the daily press in fighting for Egypt’s modern politics and culture.⁴ In other words, criticizing political culture and social behavior was perceived by these entrepreneurs as embodying their “greatest hope for [the] construction [of] modern Egyptian culture, which every reformer in this country strives for—a culture liberated from all restraints, and which liberates every mind.”⁵

The primary sources for this book are nine journals which were published in Cairo in the first four decades of the twentieth century. Two are satirical journals: *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* and *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. Three are illustrated journals, which published caricatures as a prominent and constant feature: *al-Fukāha* (*Humor*, 1926–1934),⁶ *al-Iṭnayn: al-fukāha wa-l-kawākib* (*The Two: Humor and the Stars*,

2 *Ibid.*

3 Saʿīd ʿAbada, “*Alā abwāb al-sana al-sābiʿa ... wa-l-ʿadad—yā ahl al-ʿaḡab—i85!*” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 185, August 31, 1931, 3.

4 This united front, “shoulder to shoulder,” so to speak, was reflected in a caricature published in *al-Iṭnayn* in which Muḥammad Tawfiq Nasīm (prime minister, November 1934—January 1936) is seen helpless in front of a “press attack” by the daily *al-Balāḡ* (*The Announcement*, 1923–1953), *al-Iṭnayn*, *al-Muṣawwar*, *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, and *al-Ahrām*. “*Bayna al-amwāḡ wa-l-ṣuḥuf*,” *al-Iṭnayn* 63, August 26, 1935, 5.

5 Fāṭima al-Yūsuf, “*Rūz al-Yūsuf fi ʿāmiḥā al-tālīt*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 103, October 27, 1927, 3.

6 *Al-Fukāha* was first published December 1, 1926, by Imīl and Šukrī Zaydān (Dār al-Hilāl Publishing house).

1 Saʿīd ʿAbada, “*Māmmā! māmā! Rūz al-Yūsuf ɗarabtinī!*” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 132, June 19, 1928, 3.

1934–1941);⁷ and *Aḥīrsa‘a al-muṣawwara* (*Last Hour Illustrated*, 1934–to today).⁸ The rest are illustrated journals which occasionally published caricatures: *al-Laṭā‘if al-muṣawwara*; *al-Muṣawwar* (*The Illustrated*, 1924–to today);⁹ *Kull ṣay’ wa-l-‘ālam* (*Every Matter and the World*, 1927–1932);¹⁰ and *Kull ṣay’ wa-l-dunyā* (*Every Matter and the World*, 1932–1936).¹¹ The bulk of the caricatures discussed in this book are from *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, *al-Iṭnayn*, and *Aḥīr sa‘a al-muṣawwara*, both because of the range of caricatures published in them and the way they represent many of the styles and themes found in the whole range of satiric and illustrated journals produced in Egypt at the time, and in light of these journals’ high distribution figures.

7 *Al-Iṭnayn: al-fukāha wa-l-kawākib* was first published June 18, 1934 by Dār al-Hilāl Publishing House. The journal was a merger of two prior publications: *al-Fukāha* and *al-Kawākib* (*The Stars*), as indicated by the journal’s title. The journal continued publication under the title *al-Iṭnayn: al-fukāha wa-l-kawākib* until 1942; thereafter it continued to be published until 1960 under the title *al-Iṭnayn wa-l-Dunyā*. Throughout this book I will use the shorter version of its title—*al-Iṭnayn*.

8 *Aḥīr sa‘a al-muṣawwara* was first published July 14, 1934 by Muḥammad al-Tābī. The journal was sold in 1946 to the brothers ‘Ali and Muṣṭafā Amīn, who owned *Aḥbār al-yawm* (*News of the Day*, first published in November 1944) and *Aḥbār al-Yawm* publishing house, which continues to publish the journal. The journal is available online at <https://akhersaa.akhbarelyom.com/>. Accessed on 18 June 2018.

9 *Al-Muṣawwar* was first published October 24, 1924 by Dār al-Hilāl Publishing House and continues to be published in the twenty-first century. The journal is available online at <http://almussawar.com/>. Accessed on 18 June 2018.

10 *Kull ṣay’ wa-l-‘ālam* was first published October 21, 1927 by Dār al-Hilāl Publishing House. The journal was a merger of two prior publications: *Kull ṣay’* (first published November 16, 1925) and *al-‘Ālam* (first published May 30, 1926).

11 *Kull ṣay’ wa-l-dunyā* was first published January 17, 1932 by Dār al-Hilāl Publishing House. The journal was a merger of two prior publications: *Kull ṣay’ wa-l-‘ālam* and *al-Dunyā* (first published May 22, 1929).

I included only the Cairene Arabic language press, thus omitting the provincial press,¹² journals in other languages,¹³ the foreign-language press, and the expatriate press,¹⁴ all of which are, nevertheless, important to the study of caricatures in Egypt. My focus on publication in Cairo is both pragmatic—limited by the number of images that can be discussed within this framework—and intentional, since modern Egyptian culture was, as Gershoni notes, in many respects a Cairene project, constructed in a Cairene surrounding, and for a Cairene audience.¹⁵

The main difference between the various journals was in the way the political text prevailed in them. Overall, in late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, the intense

12 Such as the journal *Ma‘lish* (*Never Mind*), which was published in Alexandria by the caricaturist Kem. Kimon Evan Marengo (1907–1988) was born in Alexandria to a Greek family. His satirical magazine was apparently published in Alexandria until he left to study in Paris from 1929 to 1931 at the *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques*. During the 1930s he drew caricatures for *Le Petit Parisien* and *Le Canard Enchaîné* in France, and for numerous newspapers in England. For Kem’s caricatures during WWII, see Valerie Holman, “Kem’s Cartoons in the Second World War,” *History Today*, March 2002, 21–27.

Another example is the satirical journal *al-Manara* (*The Lighthouse*), which was published in Alexandria in 1888, on the model of an Italian satirical journal, and was illustrated by an Italian caricaturist. Details regarding this journal can be found in Elisabeth Kendall, “Between Politics and Literature: Journals in Alexandria and Istanbul at the End of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean*, ed. Leila Tarazi Fawaz and C. A. Bayly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 339.

13 Such as the Armenian-language journal, *The Armenian Cinema* (1925–1926), which was published in Cairo by the Armenian caricaturist Šārūḥān.

14 Such as the journal *al-Siyāsa al-muṣawwara*, which was published by the Egyptian expatriate, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Zakī.

15 Israel Gershoni, “Maḥû,” in Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, *Leḫāsel tarbût be-miṣrayîm*, 42–43.

involvement of the Egyptian press in politics manifested itself in giving priority to the political essay (the *maqāl* or *maqāla*) over reportage (*ḥabar*). As Ayalon articulates, “polemics and diatribe were the *raison d’être* of many papers, as elsewhere in the region.”¹⁶ To this, one may add that the preference of the political text over the news report characterizes times of revolution, in which the newspaper constitutes a mouthpiece of public discourse—a means to convey public opinion. Jürgen Habermas, in a discussion of the idea of the “public sphere” in eighteenth-century France, defines this press genre as “a transmitter and amplifier, no longer a mere vehicle for the transportation of information but not yet a medium for culture as an object of consumption.”¹⁷

The journals discussed in this book differentiate themselves in the way they highlighted the political text: while the satirical journals focused on political, cultural, and social criticism, the illustrated or popular ones, as they are occasionally categorized in historiographies dealing with modern Egyptian culture, devoted only limited space to political issues, if any at all. The “entertainment” journal, which appeared for the first time as a journalistic genre in the first half of the twentieth century, is defined by Walter Armbrust as a journal that promoted reading for pleasure, and hence preferred press coverage in areas such as sports and culture over the daily coverage of political issues. These illustrated journals, according to Armbrust, were a medium in their own right, combining text and images in ways that were distinct from

other media. While in the “serious” journals and newspapers, to use Armbrust’s terminology, images were generally illustrative and secondary to the text, in the illustrated journals text and image appeared as bound together.¹⁸ It was not always possible to read this kind of text-image combination aloud to illiterate members of the public, and as Armbrust notes, these illustrated journals were made to be read individually—taking in imagery and text simultaneously: “The viewer (or reader) is not meant to experience the text as a linear narrative, but to lose his or her way—to meander through, absorbing a profusion of imagery and information in the course of reading a single text.”¹⁹

The political orientation of the journals discussed in this book reflects the variety of political stances which prevailed in the Egyptian public sphere during the period: *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* reflected a pro-Wafdist orientation; *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* was associated with the palace and apparently financially supported by *Ḥizb al-’aḥrār al-dustūriyyūn*;²⁰ *Rūz al-Yūsuf* reflected in the early years pro-Wafdist tendencies, which led to the Wafd being called on several occasions “*Rūz al-Yūsuf’s* party.” However, in the 1930s the journal and *al-Yūsuf* herself turn their backs on the Wafd.²¹

16 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 81.

17 For comparison, in Europe and the United States, only after the construction of the bourgeoisie constitutional state and only after the legal construction of the political public sphere in the 1830s, could the press, as a forum for critical rational discourse, liberate itself from “the need to take a side” politically and focus on the opportunity to profit from the press as a business enterprise. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1989), 183–184.

18 Walter Armbrust, “The Formation of National Culture in Egypt in the Interwar Period: Cultural Trajectories,” *History Compass* 7, no. 1 (2009): 165.

19 *Ibid.*

20 The Wafd’s major party rival, *Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn*, was officially founded in October 1922 by descendent Wafdist, moderate politicians, young professionals and large landowners who wished to support an independent Egypt, constitutional rule, the protection of civil rights, free speech, and the establishment of social justice. The leading members were ‘Adli Yakan and ‘Abd al-Ḥālīq Ṭarwat (who was the prime minister at the time of the announcement). Aḥmad Luṭfi al-Sayyid wrote the party’s program as declared in October 1922. For a description of the events leading to *Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn’s* construction, see al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt’s Liberal Experiment*, 64–67.

21 Fāṭima al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt* (al-Qāhira: Maktabat Rūz al-Yūsuf, 1953), 122.

Finally, some of the journals were apolitical, such as *al-Muṣawwar*. Despite the journals' presentation of a variety of political orientations, all of these journals were private ventures; they were not owned by the political parties they supported or were associated with.

The journals used different terms to define their essence or journalistic goals. *Al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* declared it was a literary, scientific, historical, humoristic, illustrated journal (*mağalla adabiyya, 'ilmiyya, tāriḥiyya, fukāhiyya, muṣawwara*).²² *Al-Fukāha* defined itself as a humoristic journal. The satirical journals used mainly the term "criticism" (*naqd* or *intiqād*) to define their purpose: the sub title of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, for instance, declared it was an illustrated, political, critical journal; and *Rūz al-Yūsuf* defined itself as a political, critical, theatrical (*masraḥiyya*), illustrated journal.²³

The satirical images themselves were often explained with the terms *ṣūra hazaliyya* or *ṣūra fukāhiyya*—meaning "humoristic painting" or "comic painting." The editors of *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* used the term *ṣūra hazaliyya siyāsiyya* (humoristic political painting) and *ṣūra ramzziyya fukāhiyya siyāsiyya* (political humoristic symbolic painting), when trying to explain the purpose of the political caricatures to its readers in its first years of publication. The use of the terms "humoristic" or "comic" reflect a softened approach to political satire, and one could question whether these terms robbed the satirical image of its intended

purpose: criticizing reality—a *reality* hidden from the eyes of its readers.²⁴

Another manifestation of the differences between the satirical journals and the illustrated entertainment ones appeared in the advertisements promoting the publication of new issues: the satirical journals highlighted their political goals while the others highlighted the jaunty reading experience. And yet, *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, which saw itself as a political and critical journal from its re-orientation in 1927, pleaded with its readers to treat the critical caricatures in it merely as jokes made by oppositionists—humoristic criticism that unfortunately the authorities did not know how to deal with except through suspensions, fines and confiscation of issues.²⁵ The editors' use of softened terms to define the caricatures, as well as the explanations that accompanied the satirical images, justify them to the readers and ease their acceptance. Their use also implies the difficulties that this artistic-journalistic genre encountered in assimilating into Egyptian culture. I will return to these difficulties later in the chapter.

1 Formats

The journals do not display a uniform appearance regarding their formats, size, or quality of print. All journals discussed were published once a week. However, occasionally, and mostly because of censorship, not all issues were published or distributed four times a month.²⁶ Thus, for example,

22 This definition began to appear as a sub-title of the journal and as part of its header from its fifth issue.

23 For comparison, the most common term used by the Ottoman satirical press at the beginning of the twentieth century was *mizah*, which is often translated as humor or joking. However, Palmira Brummett suggests that in the context of the revolutionary press, it is better translated as "satirical." Palmira Brummett, *Image & Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2000), 17–18.

24 The same approach to the satirical image appeared in Turkish humor magazines, which used the terms *lâtife* (wiggery) or *eğlence* (entertainment). Gökçen Ertuğrul Apaydin, "Modernity as Masquerade: Representations of Modernity and Identity in Turkish Humour Magazines," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 12, no. 1 (January–March 2005): 109.

25 'Abada, "Alā abwāb al-sana al-sābī'a," 3.

26 *Al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*, *al-Fukāha*, and *al-Itḥayn* were published every Monday. *Al-Kaškūl* was published in its first year every Sunday, then continued to be published every Friday. *Al-Muṣawwar* also published every Friday.

Rūz al-Yūsuf, while celebrating its sixth year of publication, notified its readers that although it was supposed to have published 360 issues by that date, it had only distributed 185.²⁷ Alongside the distribution inconsistencies, there appeared to be also technical or financial difficulties of all sorts. These manifested themselves, for example, in black or white spaces being printed in different parts of different issues, or, occasionally, the use of low-quality print paper.

The journals' content varied from news and informative or educational articles, to rhetorical texts (such as editorials, speeches, and letters), to entertainment (humor, literature, gossip, the theatre, the movies and so forth), to formal texts (such as parliamentary information, orders, reports, and official letters from different authoritative bodies), to information from the journal itself (such as messages, advertisements and competitions). The way these diverse texts and images were arranged in each journal was subject to the orientation of the journal itself. Some journals dedicated the frontispiece and its verso to the publication of a caricature, as well as occasionally the back cover. In addition, several other caricatures were published throughout the inside sections (at times the caricatures were published on a full page, in other

cases they only occupied a small part of it). Other journals integrated the caricatures only after the main texts (news, editorials, and articles of different sorts).

I will give a couple of brief examples. The first is of *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*, which started out with an eight-page format, which were all based on photographed images to which small sections of text were added. In its tenth year, the number of the pages rose to sixteen, and it added content sections, such as a news digest of the week (from Egypt and abroad). In each contained a caricature, but in its early years, these were not original works; rather, they were, mainly, caricatures that had been published previously in prominent European satirical journals such as the British satirical journal *Punch, or The London Charivari* (1841–1992), or from French, Italian and German journals. The original signatures of the caricaturists who drew these works were apparent, among them one can recognize those of Frederick Henry Townsend (1868–1920), Alick P. F. Ritchie (1868–1938), James H. Dowd (1884–1956) and Edward Tennyson Reed (1860–1933)—all prominent British caricaturists who published in *Punch*. All these caricatures dealt with the ongoing events of WWI.²⁸

Captions in Arabic were added on top of the images, naming the characters in each composition. An additional signature of the studio or local artist who translated the work was also apparent on all republished images. Occasionally, a second signature appeared on the images of that art studios—Şabūnaġī, A. Fendian and Co., Aram Ber, or Faqī—that provided photographs, sketches, illustrations, and caricatures by request, as their promotional ads declared. The information available on these studios is not wide-ranging. Regarding Şabūnaġī, for instance, we know it belonged to a Christian family, which emigrated to Egypt from

Rūz al-Yūsuf started publishing every Monday, then, in its second year, changed to Thursday and later to Tuesday. *Kull šay' wa-l-dunyā* published every Wednesday. *Kull šay' wa-l-'ālam* published every Tuesday. *Aḥir sa'a al-muṣawwara* published every Saturday.

27 The editorial in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* specified that all journals published by the *Rūz al-Yūsuf* Publishing House or in which Fāṭima al-Yūsuf participated in publishing with other publishers, were subjected to similar confiscations and suspensions by the authorities: *al-Raqīb* (*The Criticizer/Censor*), *Şadā al-Haqq* (*Echo of Truth*), *al-Şarq al-adnā* (*The Near East*), *al-Barq* (*The Lightning*), *Miṣr al-ḥurra* (*Free Egypt*), *al-Şadā al-şarq* (*The Echo of the East*), *al-Rabī'* (*The Spring*), and *al-Şarḥa* (*The Scream*). See 'Abada, "Alā abwāb al-sana al-sābī'a," 3; for the events, which led al-Yūsuf to publish other journals or to collaborate with other publishers to avoid suspensions see 'Azab, *Rūz al-Yūsuf: 80 sana şihāfa*, 54–63.

28 For discussion of the work of these artists during the War years, see Lucinda Gosling, *Brushes & Bayonets: Cartoons, Sketches and Paintings of World War 1* (Oxford: Osprey, 2008).

the Ottoman province of Diyarbakir. The family held studios in Jaffa and Beirut as well. The studio in Cairo was probably directed by David Şabūnağī and another brother whose name remains unknown—the signature that appears occasionally on their work is of M. Şabūnağī. Advertisements in the journals published the services of studios that provided graphic and photographic services of all sorts.²⁹ When the caricatures were drawn especially for *al-Laṭāʾif al-muşawwara*, the editors mention that fact next to the image or on it. However, the name of the caricaturist was not specified in those cases. When the journal began to publish regularly an original caricature drawn by an Egyptian-based artist, the caricature was published on the last page of the journal, occupying half the page. In general, the format of the journal remained constant, as well as its reliance on the illustrated/photographed image.

I take my second example from *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, which started out as a journal dedicated to art and culture issues. During its first two years, the journal published caricatures only rarely, and when it did, they were small in dimension and limited in their detail. After two years, the journal changed its orientation to politics, on the encouragement of its leading editor Muḥammad al-Tābī (1896–1976). In her autobiography, al-Yūsuf mentioned that not all the editors agreed at first to the change, and disputes arose amongst members of the editorial board regarding the essence of the journal. Zakī Ṭulaymāt, an actor, writer and theatre and movie director, as well as al-Yūsuf's second husband, asked that the journal be left in its original format, dealing with the “high arts” (*fann al-raḡī*)

and “high literature” (*al-adab al-ʿālī*). However, al-Tābī “was constantly mocking those high arts, and kept mentioning the low distribution numbers, as well as the letters received by mail from angry readers who complained over the abstract art articles (*maqālāt al-fann al-muḡarrad*).”³⁰ Al-Tābī demanded that the journal change into a commercial version of itself through the exposure of the misdeeds of the art world. Al-Yūsuf proclaimed that the change was inevitable, and indeed, after the change, the number of copies sold from each issue rose to nine thousand.³¹

In the editorial of the first issue after the journal's transformation, al-Yūsuf clarified that the political times which Egypt was facing forced her journal to deal more with Egypt's political issues. And yet, emphasized al-Yūsuf, the journal will continue to deal with the arts as well.³² With the change in focus, the format of the journal changed as well, and now the frontispiece was dedicated to the publication of a full-page colored caricature. The back cover was reserved for the publication of photographs—mainly of American actors and actresses, but also Egyptian theatre actors and musicians. After three months of publication in this new format, the back cover was given over to the publication of a full-page colored caricature. During the next ten years, the length increased until it reached fifty-two pages.³³

29 See, for example, *al-Aḡyāl*, December 4, 1897, 383. Regarding another sibling—John Louis (1838–1931), a former priest and a journalist—we do have more information. See Martin Kramer, “Pen and Purse: Sabunji and Blunt,” in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times; Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C.E. Bosworth (Princeton: Darwin, 1989), 771–780; L. Zolondek, “Sabunji in England, 1876–91: His Role in Arabic Journalism,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 14, no. 1 (1978): 102–115.

30 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 101. For al-Tābī's work in *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, see ʿAzab, *Rūz al-Yūsuf: 80 sana şihāfa*, 158–175.

31 *Ibid.*

32 Fāṭima al-Yūsuf, “*Rūz al-Yūsuf fi ʿAmiha al-Thalith*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 103, October 27, 1927, 3.

33 In March 1935, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* publishing house began publishing a daily called *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. Both the journal and the daily continues to be published in the twenty-first century, while during the last decade, an online version of both also appeared. For discussion of the events leading to the publishing of the daily see al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 155–164. The journal is available online at <http://rosa-magazine.com/>. Last accessed on December 22, 2016; the daily is available at <http://www.rosaeveryday.com/>. Accessed on June 24, 2018.

2 Illustrations, Photographs, and Advertisements

Various types of images were interwoven throughout the journals' pages: illustrations, photographs, advertisements, and caricatures. Black and white illustration could include headers to different sorts of regular columns, portraits, technical sketches, or page/column decorations in the margins of the page or of a text. Occasionally, competitions or riddles were published in the form of deformed illustrations or portraits missing some features, and the readers were asked to recognize the person depicted. The personalities depicted could have been from the Egyptian political, cultural, or social spheres, but also from the American ones—mainly movie actors and actresses.³⁴

Al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara was the first Egyptian journal to publish photographs in Egypt.³⁵ As Baron notes, at first, the journal wished to provide its Egyptian readers with images of WWI; however, the British authorities prohibited photos to be taken at the front, so the journal published sketches and photographs that documented aspects of the

war or events related to the war that were happening in proximity to Egypt.³⁶ In the following years, the journal widened its scope of coverage. In the spring of 1919, for example, it covered the demonstrations, meetings, and leaders of the popular national revolution. Alongside the political issues, it also reviewed a range of social and cultural issues such as crime, sports, celebrations, parades, fairs, and funerals. The photographs were accompanied by titles and explanations written by the editors, which helped the readers to interpret the images properly. Some of the photographs were signed by the photographers or by the studios who printed the images. Editors mentioned only rarely the names of those photographers. Once the journal started to use its own photographers, the number of signed images was reduced significantly.³⁷

As Stephen Sheehi argues, the ownership of a camera, as well as the act of taking a photo, was a social marker of the upper strata in Middle Eastern societies at the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁸ These developing strata could afford to own a camera, and the act of taking a portrait photo played a central role, according to Sheehi, in constructing or signaling an individual's social identity. The modern subject, whose portrait was reflected in the photograph, was identified as belonging to the upper strata of society either by his modern attributes or by the setting of the photograph.³⁹

34 *Al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*, for example, once published a riddle that was composed of thirty sketches of different portraits in which the faces were partly missing, and the readers were invited to identify the public figures. A money prize was promised to the winner. *Al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 38, November 1, 1915, 9.

35 On the history of photography in the Middle East see Lucie Ryzova, "The Image sans Orientalism: Local Histories of Photography in the Middle East," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 8 (2015): 159–171; Stephen Sheehi, "A Social History of Early Arab Photography or a Prolegomenon to an Archaeology of the Lebanese Imago," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 2 (2007): 175–206; Wolf-Deiter Lemke, "Ottoman Photography: Recording and Contributing to Modernity," in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Wurzburg, 2002), 237–249; Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East, 1860–1950* (London: Quartet, 1989); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000).

36 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 89.

37 *Ibid.*, 90.

38 Sheehi discussed the social history of photography in Lebanon in the early days of the mandate. One can find similar aspects in both histories—the Lebanese and the Egyptian. Furthermore, some of the photographers who worked in Lebanon were also active in Egypt. Sheehi, "A Social History," 175.

39 Ryzova, following Sheehi, discusses the social activity of taking a photo, arranging the photographs in an album, and writing notes or subtitles alongside them, as reflecting the emergence of a classed and gendered self in early to mid-twentieth-century Egypt. Lucie Ryzova, "Boys, Girls, and Kodaks: Peer Albums and Middle-Class Personhood in Mid-Twentieth-Century Egypt," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 8 (2015): 215–255.

The attributes could have been a car, different kinds of modern technologies, his clothes and so forth. The setting could have been certain locations in Cairo and Alexandria related to the social activities of modern Egyptians. Advertisements in the press encouraged readers to buy cameras and to take photographs, highlighting aspects such as time, memory and simplicity: “if you want to remember your beautiful days, then take a picture of it with Kodak and preserve them forever. You can learn to use this device in half an hour,” declared one such advertisement.⁴⁰ Advertisements in the journals asked readers to send in photographs taken by them, both of prominent public figures and of political, social and cultural events, and in exchange, the editorial boards offered them to pay for the image (assuming it was genuine)—payment ranged from 30 Piasters for a single photograph to five Egyptian Pounds, in accordance with the theme photographed.⁴¹

These photographs could have been used as a source for the work of the caricaturists working in Egypt at the time. Working photographs became a characteristic of the work process for European artists (painters and caricaturists) once the use of the camera in Europe was commercially established after 1851. Artists used the new medium in order to shorten their process—it eliminated the need to sit the object of the painting for hours in front of the artist (preparatory drawings).⁴² The caricature as *portrait charge* relies on representing

a specific individual by exaggerating, de-forming, or accentuating his facial features while preserving likeness. The documentation of that individual in a photograph, which was distributed on a mass-scale through the press, could have been used as a common base, or as a mediatory mechanism, between artists and viewers, in guaranteeing that the object of the caricature would be recognized. In Egypt, two artists at least, Archak Fendian and Baṣāl, worked as photographers and painters. Archak Fendian was an Armenian photographer who also published paintings, illustrations, and caricatures, mostly in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara*. However, both Fendian and Baṣāl were mostly praised for their photographs published during the first two decades of the twentieth century in the Egyptian press.⁴³

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there was extensive theoretical discourse in France regarding the differences between the art of photography and the art of painting. The discourse reflected artists' concerns that the “silver image” would outmode paintings and art more broadly. The invention of the camera forced artists to discuss issues of “imitation,” “resemblance” and “identity,” and the purpose of art in general. As Anne McCauley notes, painting caricatures and taking photos were perceived as two polarized actions—the caricature was perceived as a reaction against the rules of the “proper” representation of the real world (initiated during the Renaissance and systemized in seventeenth-century academic theory), while photography was seen as a positivist act, resulting in an image which was identical to reality.⁴⁴ A humoristic reference to the relationship between caricature and photography

40 “Ḥudd Kūdak,” *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 336, July 18, 1921, 12.

41 See, for example, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 660, October 3, 1927, 27.

42 On the new medium of photography in the 1850s and its utilization in the work processes of caricaturists in second empire Paris see, Anne McCauley, “Caricature and Photography in Second Empire Paris,” *Art Journal* 43, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 355–360. A well-documented example of a caricaturist using photos in his work process is the British caricaturist Edward Linley Sambourne (1844–1910), who recruited his children, relatives, servants (even policemen, or members of the public) to pose in costumes appropriate to his caricatures' subjects. For a discussion on Sambourne's work

process see, Richard Scully, “Constructing the Colossus: Linley Sambourne's Greatest *Punch* Cartoon,” *International Journal of Comic Art* 14, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 131–132.

43 For a brief discussion of Archak Fendian see, Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 85. Regarding Baṣāl, I was not able to gather any biographical information regarding the artist/photographer.

44 McCauley, *Caricature and Photography*, 355.

appeared in a column published in *Aḥir sa'a al-muṣawwara* in September 1935. In this column, the unnamed writer addressed an incident in which his photographed-portrait was published in the journal. The anonymous writer shared with his readers that following the publication he received a letter from one of the readers sympathizing with him over the *fact* that his photographed-portrait was less successful than his caricatured one.⁴⁵

In addition to the photographs in the press, advertisements also tightened the symbolic relationship between consumption and self-identity—an identity which was distinctly modern.⁴⁶ Advertisements appeared in the Egyptian press soon after the first publications began to appear, and between 1890 and 1914 a significant increase in the publication of advertisements was evident.⁴⁷ Newspaper systems were active in promoting advertisements and soliciting businesses to use the new commercial medium. As mentioned by Ayalon, the first ads, until WWI, marketed the products of small businesses, such as importers and doctors. These occupied only a limited space in each issue (approximately five percent), and their costs were relatively small.⁴⁸

In the years following WWI, the consumption of industrial products increased considerably, as

did the development of commercial districts in urban areas. The volume of advertising space in the newspapers, the quality of advertisements, and the number of products advertised increased accordingly.⁴⁹ An ever-growing number of services and products were marketed in the press: cruise companies, movies, cars and bicycles, radios, fashion, chocolate, alcoholic beverages, and so forth—most of them were imported goods, though more local businesses started to use the advertising services as well.⁵⁰ In effect, following the British occupation, and especially during the interwar years, the advertising of industrial goods was done mainly through the press; meanwhile, there was a slow and gradual move toward promoting products through other channels, which became more and more popular.⁵¹ The range of products advertised reveal a great deal of information about their target audiences, especially how

45 “*Min Iskandariyya ilā Ra's al-Bar,*” *Aḥir sa'a al-muṣawwara* 61, September 8, 1935, 28.

46 For the importance of advertising to the study of Egyptian culture, and to its ability to reflect which aspects of European (and later on American) modernity were embraced by Egyptian society, which were rejected, and which were assimilated into former consumption patterns, see Relli Schechter, “Reading Advertisements in a Colonial/Development Context: Cigarette Advertising and Identity Politics in Egypt, c1919–1939,” *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 2 (2005): 485–503.

47 Nancy Y. Reynolds, “Economics: Advertising and Marketing: Egypt,” in *Encyclopaedia of Women & Islamic Cultures*, vol. 4, *Economics, Education, Mobility and Space*, ed. Suad Joseph (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2007), 118.

48 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 203–204. For a discussion regarding the advertinments' contents in this period, see Mona Russel, *Creating the New Woman: Consumerism, Education and National Identity, 1863–1922* (New York: Palgrave McMillian, 2004), 57–61.

49 Reynolds, “Economics,” 118. In 1907, the first advertising agency was established in Egypt—The Société Anonyme de Publicité. The company changed its name to The Société Orientale de Publicité in 1913. It was partly purchased by the newspaper *al-Miṣrī* and became the most influential advertising agency in Egypt during the 1960s. The agency owned the newspapers *The Egyptian Gazette*, *The Egyptian Mail* and *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In addition, it served as the sole publication agency of *La Réforme*, *La Réforme illustr*, *La Réformée*, *Journal du Caire*, *Le Progrés*, *Revue d'Egypte économique et financière*, *La Presse giornale d'orient*, *Médicale d'Egypte*, and *Ephimeris*. The agency also represented the political parties al-Miṣrī and al-Balāḡ. Relli Schechter, “Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882–1956,” *Arab Studies Journal* 10, no. 1/11, no. 2 (2002/2003): 51–52.

50 For a discussion of the development of advertising in Egypt in those years, see Russell, *Creating the New Woman*, 61–78.

51 Shechter emphasized that except for cigarette advertisements, advertising in other mediums than the press was limited in non-urban spheres, and in any case the press was the main and maybe the only practical medium for wide-scale publicity campaigns until the 1960s. Shechter, “Press Advertising in Egypt,” 45. Only in the 1960s, did radio advertising as well as advertisements in the cinema and on television shows become significant marketing channels. Reynolds, “Economics,” 119.

the advertisers perceived the social positions and ambitions of the readers. Most advertinements of the period assumed that their audiences had access to the Cairene markets and the means to conduct what the advertisers perceived as a modern way of life.

In the interwar period, the use of advertisements accelerated and improved in tandem with their thematic and graphic development, as well as the development of the advertising industry as a whole. Its progress was closely related to the development of the press, and especially the journals published by the *Dār al-Hilāl*, if only because of their high distribution numbers in comparison to the daily press.⁵² As Shechter mentioned, first and foremost, the journals of *Dār al-Hilāl* presented high quality printing and graphic design. More importantly, the modern experience articulated in these journals corresponded with the products they advertised.⁵³ Evidence of this is seen when, in 1931, the Arthur Balfour Trade Mission visited Egypt to explore ways to boost British commerce. The mission recommended that “the safest and most satisfactory method of advertising manufactured goods, shipping lines, etc., for a purely Egyptian public, is through the medium of the illustrated Arabic press.”⁵⁴ According to the mission’s reports, “the considerable increase in recent circulation of the illustrated Arabic journals, and still more the extraordinary volume of illustrated advertisements from all sources published in these papers, are sufficient evidence of the value of this method of propaganda.”⁵⁵

The advertisements of the interwar period mainly promoted imported goods (or local substitutes) and played on the appeal of the foreign/modern.⁵⁶ Most advertisements were for cosmetic

products, tanning lotions, hair products, soaps, perfumes, deodorants, toothpaste, cigarettes, high heels, hats, and the latest European and American fashion. The advertisements in the interwar period are differentiated from the ones that were published prior to WWI in several aspects. First, before the war, advertisers rarely Egyptianized the advertised product or tailored it to local tastes and sensibilities. The advertisers simply published the original foreign advertisements as they were. Nothing in the advertisement suggested an Egyptian clientele, except the Arabic text accompanying the ad—the subtitles in Arabic, by and large, were added next to the English or French text. As Mona Russell indicates, another difference is seen in the transition from focusing on the product itself to promoting its users, their self-esteem, and their social location. In interwar advertisements, modern individuals were performing in imagined settings, using the product advertised. The consumption of that product or the ownership of it were related to progress, efficiency, and rationality, which were perceived as inseparable aspects of the modern way of life.⁵⁷

The competition between publishers to attract advertisers contributed to the development of advertising businesses. The well-established newspapers opened design departments which grew rapidly to cope with the developing business. In addition to selling advertising space, these departments provided copywriting and graphic services. Later, some of the publishing houses founded advertising agencies of their own, such as *Dār al-Hilāl*’s “Asian-African Advertising Agency” and *Rūz al-Yūsuf*’s “*Rūz al-Yūsuf* Advertising Agency.”⁵⁸

The presence of advertisements in the entertainment journals did not impinge on the purpose of the journal, “reading for pleasure,” to use

52 Schechter, “Reading Advertisements in a Colonial/Development Context,” 485.

53 Shechter, “Press Advertising in Egypt,” 50.

54 Public Record Office (PRO), BT 59/8, 2, quoted in *Ibid.*

55 Shechter, “Press Advertising in Egypt,” 50.

56 Schechter, “Reading Advertisements in a Colonial/Development Context,” 484; Schechter, “Press Advertising in Egypt,” 56.

57 Mona Russell, “Marketing the Modern Egyptian Girl: Whitewashing Soap and Clothes from the Late Nineteenth Century to 1936,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 6, no. 3, *Special Issue: Marketing Muslim Women* (Fall 2010): 21, 24.

58 Other newspapers’ agencies are named in *Ibid.*, 51.

Armbrust's phrasing.⁵⁹ One could ask, however, whether the purpose of the satirical journals—presenting political, social, and cultural criticism—was subverted by the presence of advertisements, which surrounded the caricatures. Richard Terdiman, who discusses the caricature in nineteenth-century France, believes so. Terdiman draws attention to the fact that when a reader of the satirical journals viewed the frontispiece caricature of a journal such as *La Charivari* (first published in December 1832), when he turned over the object (i.e. the caricature), he discovered *its* verso, *its* underside—"the page 4 advertising."⁶⁰ The same alignment was apparent in *al-Kaškūl al-muşawwar*. Terdiman points to the fact that occasionally, due to the low-quality of print at the time, the surface of the plate of the caricature was disrupted by the print-through of the advertisement—a technicality which was extremely difficult to prevent in light of the conditions of nineteenth-century letterpress technology. This phenomenon was also apparent in *al-Kaškūl al-muşawwar*. Since the advertisements, Terdiman emphasizes, stood for the dominant practices which the satirical journal set itself to mock, their floatation on to the surface of the satire threatens the apparatus of the satirical corrosion in fundamental ways.⁶¹ Having said that, Terdiman does not argue that *La Charivari*'s staff should not have printed advertisements—he only draws attention to the fact that the "dominant discourse" is so deeply rooted in the discursive structures of society, that even the most concerted strategies of resistance (i.e. a satirical journals) could not fail to find themselves working within the boundaries of the dominant structures. In other words, although *La Charivari* systematically mocked the practices of advertising puffery, there was never any significant effort to alter the form of the paper's disposition of its space, or of its internal economy: "business is business in capitalist society," and advertisements in "a nineteenth century daily still paid the freight," concludes Terdiman.⁶²

59 Armbrust, "The Formation of National Culture," 165.

60 Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 187–190.

61 *Ibid.*, 190.

3 "Counter-Images"⁶³

The theoretical framework constructed by Terdiman for the analysis of the satirical press and its caricatures defines culture in the modern age as a political, social, and cultural "field of struggle" between "discourses of domination" and "counter-discourses" of power.⁶⁴ As Terdiman emphasizes, dominant forms of discourse achieve unprecedented degrees of penetration and an astonishingly sophisticated capacity to enforce their control on the forms of social communication and social practice, which provide the configurations of modern existence. But at the same time, in intimate connection with the power of such an apparatus, discourses of resistance ceaselessly interrupt the dominant. For every level at which the discourse of power determines dominant forms of speech and thinking, counter-dominant strains challenge and subvert them. Hence, counter-discourses.⁶⁵

The object of the caricature, as "counter-image," is to "represent the world differently," according to Terdiman.⁶⁶ This projection of difference is not simply to contradict the dominant. Since the power of a dominant discourse lies in the codes by which it regulates understanding of the social world, counter-discourses seek to detect and map those naturalized protocols and to reflect their subversion. What is at stake, determines Terdiman, is the "paradigms of social representation themselves."⁶⁷ As images, the visual representation constructed in the caricatures serve in a distinct way as representations of the Other: "an alternative to

62 *Ibid.*, 191.

63 Borrowed from *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, this title addresses caricatures as discussed by Terdiman in the third chapter of his book.

64 For an outline of the relationship between counter-discourses and their dominant antagonist in nineteenth-century France, see Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 25–43.

65 *Ibid.*, 39.

66 *Ibid.*, 149.

67 *Ibid.*

the dominant real, to its discourse, and to its characteristic system of expression.”⁶⁸

As in France at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the caricature in Egypt at the beginning of the twentieth century was a new cultural product. Skimming through the illustrated and satirical journals was probably a startling experience at first. The abundance of imagery of all sorts spread out on full pages differentiated these journals from the dense flux of the printed text in the regular or traditional press, which Terdiman describes as “a gray blur of words.”⁶⁹ However, the caricature was supposed to be immediately distinguishable from the dense flux of printed text, as image, as well as from all other images in those journals, as *counter-image*.

When the “exaggerated portrait drawing” was first developed in Italy, around 1590, the use of the Italian verb to describe it, *carico* (to load or to overload) or *caricare* (to charge), referred to the visual exaggeration or burlesque of pen drawings of human heads.⁷⁰ From these verbs came the French verbs *la charge* or *charger*. The excess these verbs load upon their object in order to “bring it down,” comprises an essential counter-discursive move, argues Terdiman.⁷¹ The exaggerated portrait drawings were practiced as a kind of comic relief for students at Agostino and Annibale Carracci’s academy at Bologna. They were thought to reflect the “perfect deformity.” However, by the late eighteenth century, the term *caricature* had become a category for a range of images that did not necessarily contain recognizable likeness, and it was applied to a variety of works, including “exaggerated faces, extreme physiques, fantastic forms composed of inanimate objects, and even animals acting like humans.”⁷² Contemporary writers

differentiate between a visual social criticism and a political one, and they tend to use the term “satirical art,” which refers to imagery in the elements of a caricature.⁷³

One cannot find those same meanings of exaggeration or burlesque in the terms chosen to describe or name the caricature in Egypt (*ṣūra fukāhiyya*, *ṣūra hazaliyya*, *ṣūra siyāsiyya*, or *ṣūra ramzīyya*), as indicated in an article published in March 1907 in the first issue of the journal *Hā, hā, hā*.⁷⁴ The article, which dealt with the principles of the caricature genre, high-lighted the fact that there was no parallel term in Arabic for the word caricature, or for the action of drawing it. Similar problems of *translation* can be detected in other cultural spheres, such as the Japanese. The caricature genre was *imported* to Japan, through the initiative of Charles Wirgman (1832–1891), a former British army officer turned correspondent for the *London Illustrated News*, which began publishing the comic journal *Japan Punch*. Wirgman’s journal gave the Japanese their first word for cartoon—*ponchi-e*, or “Punch pictures.”⁷⁵

Following the short discussion of the meaning of the term “caricature” in the editorial published in *Hā, hā, hā*, and the lack of an equivalent in Arabic, the editor shared with his readers that he had not learned the craftsmanship (*ṣināʿa*) of drawing caricatures, which he admits requires expertise, skill and practice. Nor did he have any previous knowledge in the field. However, he thought that after he practiced that art, through his journal, he could shine and surpass trained caricaturists.⁷⁶

68 *Ibid.*, 151.

69 *Ibid.*, 150, 154.

70 Constance C. McPhee and Nadine M. Orenstein, *Infinite Test: Caricature and Satire from Leonardo to Levine* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012), 4.

71 Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 153.

72 McPhee and Orenstein, *Infinite Test*, 3.

73 *Ibid.*

74 Parts of the article were re-published in Aḥmad al-Maḡāzī, *al-Ṣiḥāfa al-fanniyya fi Miṣr: naṣʾatuhā wa-taṭawwūruhā min al-ḥamla al-Faransīyya 1798 ilā Miṣr al-dustūrīyya 1924* (al-Qāhira: al-Hayʾa al-Miṣriyya al-ʿamma li-l-Kitāb, 1974), 168–174.

75 For the history of Japanese political cartoons, see Peter Duus, “Presidential Address: Weapons of the Weak, Weapons of the Strong—The Development of the Japanese Political Cartoon,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 4 (November 2001): 965–997.

76 Al-Maḡāzī, *al-Ṣiḥāfa al-fanniyya fi Miṣr*, 169.

Unfortunately, this first issue was also the last issue of *Hā, hā, hā*.

The article in *Hā, hā, hā* allows us to discuss the adoption processes of the caricature in Egypt as a procedure of “interference”—a procedure articulated in Itamar Even-Zohar’s Polysystem Theory.⁷⁷ The Polysystem Theory, developed by Even-Zohar in the 1970s, is a systemic approach which perceives culture from a semiotic perspective. The theory developed originally through literary studies; however, as Even-Zohar emphasizes himself, it was expected to serve as the theoretical environment for the study of culture. Through his theory, Even-Zohar defines culture as a complex system of variant socio-cultural sub-systems subjected to change. The theory aims to explain the sources of change—as change is defined as one of its essential characteristics. According to the theory, change accrues through two different procedures: the first, is an internal one, articulated in the *transfer* of models from center to periphery and vice versa; the second is characterized in the adoption or importation of items (material or semiotic) from an external repertoire, which Even-Zohar calls “interference” (borrowed from Czech linguistic Structuralism).⁷⁸

For Even-Zohar, interference plays a vital role in the making of repertoires, and hence in the organization of the life of groups, as well as the interaction between groups.⁷⁹ Even-Zohar proposes the notion of interference with reference to situations where goods and practices imported from one culture (a source culture) to another (a target culture) become domesticated in the target culture, and generate new local forms of production and

consumption.⁸⁰ In other words, a precondition for interference must be some kind of contact—whether direct or indirect.⁸¹ Once the transferred item is introduced into the repertoire of the target community, its success or failure becomes a domestic matter.⁸² However, a successful transfer will result not only in the domestication of that product, but rather in the domestication of the *need* for it.⁸³

In Egypt, as in other non-European societies, the caricature genre was transferred into the local culture in a series of processes related to the peripheralization of Egypt’s political, social, and cultural spheres to Europe; its introduction was prompted by the intensifying cultural contact between Egypt and the European powers and the presence of the Europeanized communities in Egypt. These Europeanized entrepreneurs and artists imported and domesticated this artistic-journalistic cultural product in the Egyptian press and hence can be perceived as “cultural agents” of interference who served as “agents of change.”⁸⁴

Returning to the images themselves, stylistically, the caricatures from the different journals reveal a wide range of compositions, reflecting the complexity of the images. Some caricatures were no more than scanty black and white sketches, depicting one or two figures. In some cases, the image was accompanied by long titles, and the full interpretation of the image was dependent on the reading of the text for the message to be read *properly*. Other caricatures, some in color, were based on elaborate compositions, including detailed surroundings in the backgrounds. Most caricatures fell somewhere between these two poles—in

77 Itamar Even-Zohar, “Polysystem Theory and Culture Research,” in Itamar Even-Zohar, *Papers in Culture Research* (Tel Aviv: The Culture Research Lab., Tel Aviv University, 2010), 39; and Even-Zohar, “Polysystem Theory (Revised),” in *Ibid.*, 43.

78 Even-Zohar, “The Making of Culture Repertoires and the Role of Transfer,” in Even-Zohar, *Papers in Culture Research*, 71–72, 70–76.

79 *Ibid.*, 72.

80 Even-Zohar, “Laws of Cultural Interference,” in Even-Zohar, *Papers in Culture Research*, 52.

81 However, contact may occur without generating any substantial interference. Hence, interference and contact are distinct processes, interconnected but not fully overlapping, *Ibid.*, 53.

82 *Ibid.*

83 *Ibid.*, 73.

84 Even-Zohar, “The Making of Culture Repertoires,” 70.

which the background was comprised of few details, and the text accompanying the caricature was limited as well.

Publication in the journals themselves indicated that the colored caricatures were perceived as works of art. Editors from the different journals encouraged readers to remove the caricatures, frame them and decorate their dwellings with them—some added that their value will rise once they received that treatment.⁸⁵ A caricature published in *Aḥir sa'ā al-muṣawwara* showed a family that did so (fig. 3.1).⁸⁶ The caricature, entitled “Holiday’s Cookies,” depicts a family from the lower strata of society and their dwelling—indicating that the custom may have crossed social boundaries. The husband complains of his wife asking him for money to buy cookies for the coming holiday. Their ramshackle house is decorated with a caricature—perhaps perceived as affordable art for the poor?

An advertisement published in *al-Itṭayn* which promoted the publication of *al-Muṣawwar* in October 1934 promised that the editorial board of *al-Muṣawwar* would enclose in the next issues of the journal postcards of caricatures drawn by Santes, in which he would draw caricatured portraits of Egyptian men and women of the hour. The postcards, the ad emphasized, could be framed and hung.⁸⁷ Also, some caricatures were used as a basis for riddles and competitions. The readers were instructed to cut them from the journal and save them till the publication of the next issue for instructions.⁸⁸

Occasionally, references in the journals addressed the quality of the images, as judged in the eyes of readers. Thus, for example, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* published a letter from one of its

readers which praised and exalted the cleverness and skills of the caricaturist of an image which was published in the previous issue. The letter was published next to a re-publication of that image—without naming the expert caricaturist, which one can assume based of the style of drawing was Santes.⁸⁹

The caricature could be incorporated into a text-block or isolated from the text surrounding it, either by a frame or through occupying a full page; meanwhile, its connection to the text was left to the reader’s imagination. Text, by and large, was situated beneath the image, and often a main title was added centered above it. In some cases, the scribe’s signature was added next to the sub-title. This was most common in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*. Two signatures of scribes who worked for the journal can be identified—Naguib Ḥawāwīnī and Sayyid Ibrāhīm.⁹⁰ Titles could be short or long. They could be explanatory, or they could alter the meaning of the image, subvert it, or offer a new meaning. This relationship between image and text is unique to the genre of the caricature within the printed medium. Text and image were dependent on one another and one could not convey the full intended message without the other. Reading image and text of a single caricature was done simultaneously, and that is why caricatures are not meant to be read aloud. In other words, although many caricatures were written in the colloquial Egyptian dialect, reading the text aloud did not necessarily lead to a *correct* and full reading of the text-image, since the visual language of the caricature is not a mere illustration of the title, sub-titles or monologues accompanying it.

As counter-images, caricatures were not meant to serve as footnotes to, or an illustration of, the *real* political history. Rather, they were meant to be an

85 *Al-Itṭayn* 23, November 19, 1934, 28.

86 Iskandar Ṣārūḥān, “*Kaḥk al-ʿīd*,” *Aḥir sa'ā al-muṣawwara* 127, December 13, 1936, 11.

87 *Al-Itṭayn* 17, October 8, 1934, 20.

88 For example, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 86, October 2, 1916, 5; *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 88, October 16, 1916, 8–9.

89 *Al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 88, January 21, 1923, 2.

90 I was not able to determine whether the signature of Ḥawāwīnī was that of the famous calligrapher Naḡīb Ḥawāwīnī—the Syrian lawyer who moved to Cairo from Damascus and worked for King Fuʿad.



FIGURE 3.1 Holiday Cookies. Iskanḍar Šārūḩān, "Kaḩk al-ʿīd", *Aḩir saʿa al-muṣawwara* 127, December 13, 1936, 11.
THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF ISRAEL, JERUSALEM

integral part of the political and social fabric, to influence public opinion, to serve as a political mechanism to express dissatisfaction with the regime and with what was going on in society in general. Thus, the image becomes an agent of political and social action: it could channel feelings of resentment towards the regime and encourage readers to act—whether with restraint or aggression. It is difficult to describe, regarding the Egyptian public sphere, how the caricatures were changing public opinion or driving subjects into action, and in any case, the effect of each image is overdetermined by every aspect of its content, layout, and context. If a caricaturist, such as Raḥā, was sentenced to prison following the publication of a caricature against King Fuʿād, then one can assume that the authorities saw in it a potential threat to public order. And indeed, the journals frequently complained about the punitive measures applied against them. *Al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, for example, mentioned in a column published on the occasion of its entering its second year of publication, that during the first one, its owner Fawzī was summoned five times to the Criminal Court (*Maḥkamat al-ḡināyāt*) to account for the journal's caricatures.⁹¹ *Rūz al-Yūsuf* reported quite a few suspensions, fines and confiscations of issues.⁹² In one of its issues, a caricature addressed the harassment it was suffering from the authorities (fig. 3.2).⁹³ Beneath the title *Ayām al-usbūʿ* (“The Days of the Week”), seven different scenes documented a typical week of Fāṭima al-Yūsuf's life: on Sunday, the journal was being distributed; on Monday, a phone call was received from the Public Security Department (*Idārat al-ʿamn al-ʿām*); on Tuesday, a summons for bringing to judgment; on Wednesday, an investigation “on behalf of Egypt” (*fi niyābat Miṣr*); on Thursday, al-Yūsuf stood before the Court of Misdemeanors

(*Maḥkamat al-ḡunaḥ*); on Friday, work began on the next week's issue; and on Saturday, al-Yūsuf re-stood before the Criminal Court. The sub-title of the caricature asked why there was no “day-off.”

Questions about which individuals or social groups read a certain caricature, and how they reacted to it are not easy to answer. Partial answers can be found in autobiographies documenting the period, or in occasional articles in the journals themselves, which addressed the publication of a certain caricature and its reception by certain readers. Thus, for example, we can find testimonies of attacks by individuals against journals' printing houses or offices, such as an event which occurred in October 1924.⁹⁴ Shortly before the dissolution of the Wafd cabinet in November of that year, and the appointment of Aḥmad Zīwar's cabinet (he held office from November 1924 to July 1926), a group of students, identified with the Wafd, burst into the offices of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, damaged the phone-lines, broke the windows, disabled the press and set fire to the journal's warehouses. The students were not prosecuted by the Wafd government, and the authorities chose to summon the owner, Fawzī, for questioning and put him on trial on the pretext that he insulted the prime minister and slandered his cabinet. As mentioned, the journal was identified with al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn, and the caricatures he published constantly criticized the Wafd and its leader Zaḡlūl. Only under Zīwar's government were the students brought to justice.

Other references in the press invalidated or called into question the effectiveness of the caricature as counter-image/discourse in the Egyptian public sphere. Thus, for example, in the column published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* on the occasion of its entering its second year of publication,

91 “*Al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar fi ʿāmihi al-tāni*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 54, May 28, 1922, 3.

92 For a summary of all punitive measures taken against *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, see ‘Azab, *Rūz al-Yūsuf: 80 sana ṣiḥāfa*, 60–62; and Ibrāhīm ‘Abduh, *Rūz al-Yūsuf: sira wa-ṣaḥīfa* (al-Qāhira: Mu’assasat Siḡill al-ʿArab, 1961), 304–313.

93 “*Ayām al-usbūʿ*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 286, August 7, 1933, 9.

94 The events were documented in Yūnān Labīb Rizq, “*al-Ahrām: A Diwan of Contemporary Life*,” *al-Ahrām Weekly Online*, no. 501, 28 September–4 October 2000. Available at <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2000/501/chrncls.htm>. Last accessed on December 29, 2016.



FIGURE 3.2 Days of the Week. "Ayām al-usbū," Rūz al-Yūsuf 286, August 7, 1933, 9.
THE JOSEPH REGENSTEIN LIBRARY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

the author (probably Fawzī) boasted that field marshal Allenby himself (Edmund Henry Hynman Allenby, 1st Viscount Allenby, High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, 1919–1925) thought the humoristic images in the journal did him justice, since he looks younger in them (“younger than he looked before Egypt received independence”).⁹⁵ In January 1923, the journal published a quotation from Saʿīd Zaġlūl, the nephew of Saʿd Zaġlūl, which revealed that his uncle, while exiled in Gibraltar, read the journal carefully—noting it amused him and sweetened his time there.⁹⁶ The fact that *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* thought it important to publish evidence of Zaġlūl’s approval and enjoyment of the journal is worth noting here since the it constantly criticized Zaġlūl and the Wafd.

The ability of the caricature in Egypt to perform as counter-discourse effectively or to reflect public opinion is again tested when reading a caricature published in *al-Itṭayn* in January 1935, titled “The Editors and Illustrators of *al-Itṭayn* as Imagined by the Readers” (fig. 3.3).⁹⁷ This caricature suggests that not all readers perceived the satirical image as intended. It depicts *al-Itṭayn*’s editorial board. In the center of the composition sits Santes surrounded by his colleagues—some are recognizable, such as the editor in chief Ḥusayn Šafiġ al-Miṣrī (1882–1948), sitting on the ground in the left corner; or the caricaturist Ramzī, sitting at Santes’ feet; others remain unknown. The group portrait was accompanied by text by one of the journal’s editors; it reads as follows:

“Often, when one of our editors is taking the tram or sitting drinking coffee, he hears one person saying to another while holding a copy of *al-Itṭayn*: “This is Ḥusayn Šafiġ al-Miṣri, he must be addicted to *ḥašīš*; and Ḥairī Saʿīd eats bread dipped in



FIGURE 3.3 *Al-Itṭayn*’s Editorial Board. “*Muḥarrirū al-Itṭayn wa muṣawwirūhā kamā yataḥayyaluhum al-qurā*,” *al-Itṭayn wa-l-dunyā* 32, January 21, 1935, 17.

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ḥašīš instead of cheese.” And his friend says, “all the editors who work with them take intoxicating drugs.” And they say the same about Santes, who is a *ḥawāġa*. And they claim they must be addicted to *ḥašīš*, in view of the distorted ideas of the editors and the imagined images of the illustrators. And we swear by Allāh, we are not drugged people, *ḥašīš* is forbidden! So, do not blame us for smoking it, otherwise we will have a smoke of *ḥašīš* for you, and have a laugh at your expense.”

The editors of the journals were aware of the potential for misreading the caricatures, and alongside the sub-titles, which appeared next to the caricatures dealing with social issues in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara*, for example, the editor occasionally added a note emphasizing that the journal did not mean to hurt the public’s feelings and that the images should be read only as “illustrated contemplations” (*ḥawāṭir muṣawwara*). Thus, alongside a series of caricatures dealing with an episode of the kidnap and return of several children in May 1922,

95 “*Al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar fi ʿāmihi al-tānī*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 54, May 28, 1922, 3.

96 *Al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 88, January 21, 1923, 2.

97 “*Muḥarrirū al-Itṭayn wa muṣawwirūhā kamā yataḥayyaluhum al-qurā*,” *al-Itṭayn wa-l-dunyā* 32, January 21, 1935, 17.

the editor emphasized his concern regarding the poor security situation in the country—perhaps in fear that the images, which were illustrated by the American caricaturist Doug while working for *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* during 1922, would be read as mocking the Egyptians.⁹⁸ Other references relating to questions of reception can be found in the reactions of certain politicians to their *starring* in the caricatured compositions—as with a caricature published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* describing Maḥḡūb Tābit, one of the representatives of the Central Committee of the Wafd, holding a copy of the journal and pointing to the caricature published in it.⁹⁹ Some articles testify to the popularity of the satirical journal and the satirical image. Thus, for example, in November 1935, *Aḥir saʿa al-muṣawwara* published an article dealing with the elections to the Council of the Universities Union (*Maḡlis ittiḥād ḡāmiʿa*).¹⁰⁰ From the article, one learns that some of the candidates used the caricatured image of al-Miṣrī Efendi and presented it on posters and banners as their main supporter.

4 The Caricaturists

The appearance of the caricature in the Egyptian press is often discussed in Egypt's cultural historiographies as reflecting the colonial relations between local Egyptian culture and the dominant modern European cultures (mainly the British and the French)—relations which led to cultural processes of diffusion, acculturation, and assimilation. Viewing the modern caricature in Egypt as traces of contacts and diffusion leads researchers to define Cairene culture as a “salad bar,” to use Roberta Dougherty's term.¹⁰¹ However, studies that deal with these counter-images rarely examine the artists themselves, and hence neglect the fact that

many of them were not Egyptians in the cultural or legal sense of the term; some, perhaps, never even called Egypt their home. As the following chapters will show, these artists' agency manifested itself in image-texts which reflected their socio-cultural differentiation—the unique cosmopolitan identity of “belonging and not belonging.”

Most caricaturists working in Egypt through the first four decades of the twentieth century remain unknown, although their signatures do appear on their works. We can identify the names (or partial names) of the following caricaturists: Iḥsān; Ben;¹⁰² Baṣāl; Birnād; Farīdūn; the brothers Ḥusayn Fawzī and ʿAbbās Kamāl,¹⁰³ Muḥammad Fawzī; Muḥammad Ḥamdī; George; Strika Laboski; ʿUṭmān; Aḥmad Ṣabrī; Star;¹⁰⁴ the brothers ʿAlī, Ṣawqī and Fawzī Rafīkī,¹⁰⁵ Ramzī; Rašwān; Romanos;¹⁰⁶ and George Zamrud. Three artists

102 The signature appears in English.

103 Two movie directors who had experience earlier in their careers of drawing caricatures. Fawzī was married to the famous belly dancer Naʿīma ʿAkīf (1929/1932–1966). When Muḥammad al-Tābī started working as editor for *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, he recruited the two brothers to draw for the journal. While the frontispiece of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* was drawn by Santes, the brothers drew the back cover.

104 The name appears in English.

105 ʿAlī Rafīkī was a former Turkish officer and engineer, who arrived in Egypt after Atatürk's rise to power. Rafīkī worked mainly for *Ḥayāl al-ẓill* (first issue was published in March 1907 by Sulīmān Fawzī; the second issue was published in June 1924 by Aḥmad Ḥāfīz ʿAwaḍ and Muḥammad Masʿūd), *al-Fukāha*, *al-Muṣawwar*, *Kull ṣayʿ wa-l-ʿālam* and *Kull ṣayʿ wa-l-dunyā* and *Yahuwa* (*Listen! published by Aḥmad Tawfiq*). Iskandar and al-Malāḥ claim he was the first caricaturist in Egypt to draw the image of Ḡuḥā, as well as the first caricaturist to attempt to create an animated movie—the film “Ḡuḥā and Ibn Nawās.” Iskandar and al-Malāḥ, *Ḥamsūn sana min al-fann*, 162. There is no information regarding ʿAlī's brothers, Ṣawqī and Fawzī, beside the fact that they followed in his footsteps and became caricaturists as well.

106 Two studies mention this artist. Both claim he worked on the first issue of *Ḥayāl al-ẓill*, when it was first published in 1907. Iskandar and al-Malāḥ, *Ḥamsūn sana min al-fann*, 161; Hiḡris, *Fann al-kārikātūr*, 118, 147. Hiḡris calls the artists Jiromanos, which she says means foreigner.

98 *Al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 383, June 12, 1922, 2.

99 *Al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 44, March 19, 1922, 9.

100 “*Al-Miṣrī Efendi yaṣtarik fi intihābāt ittiḥād ḡāmiʿa*,” *Aḥir saʿa al-muṣawwara* 69, November 3, 1935, 22–24.

101 Roberta L. Dougherty, “Badiʿa Masabni, Artiste and Modernist,” 245–246.

only used their initials—L.B.,¹⁰⁷ Ben, and the American Doug. A large number of caricatures were printed with no signature at all—a phenomenon which, while discussing the Ottoman satirical imagery of the revolutionary press (1908–1911), Brummett argues testified that the work reflected the editor's point of view and not necessarily the artist's. Brummett also finds the anonymity of the art work a continuation of a tradition long practiced in Islamic civilization which underscored the functionality and message of the object over the prestige of its maker.¹⁰⁸ Since many of the artists working in Egypt in the period discussed were not Muslims, one needs to look for alternative explanations, and perhaps the lack of signatures should be discussed with regard to ownership of the caricatured image. As caricatures, segments of caricatures, caricatured types and full compositions were repeatedly copied within a certain publication, as well as by others, one can assume that artists did not have copyrights over their works and that these products were perceived as being in the public domain, as well as that their perception as works of art had its limitations.

To the above list of named caricaturists, one can add numerous caricatures illustrated by readers that the different journals published—a phenomenon most apparent in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*. These works, in contrast to the ones by the professional caricaturists, were accompanied by subtitles that identified the illustrators by their names. Some caricatures, also published by *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*, that were drawn by the journal's caricaturists were based on an idea conceived by one of the journal's readers, as mentioned by the editor in the explanatory text accompanying the image.¹⁰⁹

Some of the caricaturists mentioned worked for more than one journal at a time. At the same time, some of the publishers employed artists regularly and exclusively within their editorial staff. The working relationship between the artists and the journals in which they published their work were sometimes initiated through personal acquaintances or random meetings that led to long term ventures. Simultaneously, there were ads in the journals looking to hire illustrators or graphic designers. The ads always referred to illustrators (*muṣawwar*), never to caricaturists. Accordingly, when the different journals addressed the work of a specific caricaturist, they always referred to him as a *muṣawwar* (painter, illustrator, or photographer).

Three caricaturists differ from those listed above on the grounds of their popularity during their lifetime and on the grounds of the recognition they have received in Egyptian historiography for the part they played in the assimilation of the caricature genre in the Egyptian press: Santes, Ṣārūḥān and the Egyptian Raḥā. Santes (or Sintes as his name appears in the French Egyptian press) and Ṣārūḥān are addressed in Egyptian post-colonial research as the foreign founding fathers of the modern Egyptian caricature. Raḥā, is mentioned for the most part as the first Egyptian caricaturist.¹¹⁰ However, since Raḥā's work began to be more dominant at the beginning of the 1940s, after his time spent in prison, he will not be discussed here.¹¹¹ One can argue that the famous sculptor Maḥmūd Muḥtār (1891–1934) should have been discussed in this context as well, since some scholarly works claim he drew caricatures as well. However, I was unable to trace works in the Egyptian press that were signed by him.

The information regarding Santes, the leading artist of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, is scanty at best.

107 The initials appear in English.

108 Brummett, *Image & Imperialism*, 37.

109 See, for example, A. K., untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 287, August 9, 1920, 5. The idea for the caricature came from Muṣṭafā Fahmī Maḥmūd, from

Alexandria; he received 100 *Kirsh Ṣāgh* (the Egyptian Penny) from the journal as a reward.

110 See, for example, "Raḥā, *awwal rasām kārīkātūr Miṣrī*," *al-Farā'ina*, 2.

111 For his contribution for the Egyptian caricature, see Abū al-'Aynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārīkātūr*.

For instance, Sa'īd Abū al-'Aynayn claimed he was Italian.¹¹² An album celebrating *Rūz al-Yūsuf's* eightieth anniversary argued that Santes was a Jew of Spanish origin.¹¹³ There are more sources claiming Santes was a Jew, while claims of his Spanish origin are based on his appearance in the caricatures in Spanish dress. The artist emigrated to Egypt during the 1910s, following the invitation from the amīr Kamāl to teach at the *Madrasat al-fanūn al-ġamīla*. Abu al-'Aynayn claims that Santes was invited by the amīr to serve as the institute's dean. Other sources argue that Santes was only invited to teach at the institute.¹¹⁴

Santes worked for several publications in Cairo and Alexandria simultaneously. In addition to being the leading art editor and main caricaturist for *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, Santes worked for the Dār al-Hilāl publishing house and became their leading caricaturist as well. He also published caricatures in *al-Itṅayn* and in *Maġallatī* (*My Journal*, 1934–1937), published by Aḥmad al-Ṣawī Muḥammad (1902–1989). Santes also drew caricatures for French journals published in Cairo and Alexandria, such as the political weekly *L'Égypte nouvelle* (*New Egypt*, 1922–1941), published by José Canéri,¹¹⁵ *La Semaine Egyptienne* (*The Egyptian Week*, 1926–1950s[?]); and *Ġuḥā*, first published in November 1931 by Georges Dumani.¹¹⁶

Aḥmad Rāsim described Santes as a modest person who did not like public exposure, and unlike other artists of the period, did not wander the streets of Cairo, “swaggering his art.”¹¹⁷ Yet, one

can find evidence of his success and his familiarity among his intended audience in various publications in the Egyptian and Franco-Egyptian press during the interwar years. For example, in August 1922, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* published a caricature of Santes drawn by Rāsim (fig. 3.4).¹¹⁸ The image only showed a raw silhouette of the artist—while only the Spanish dress remained as



FIGURE 3.4 *Al-Kaškūl's* Artist. Aḥmad Rāsim, “*Muṣawwar al-Kaškūl bi-rīṣat aḥad al-qurā*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 67, August 27, 1922, 8.

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112 Abū al-'Aynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārikātūr*, 36.

113 'Azab, *Rūz al-Yūsuf: 80 sana ṣiḥāfa*, 311.

114 Abū al-'Aynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārikātūr*; 36. 'Azab, *Rūz al-Yūsuf: 80 sana ṣiḥāfa*, 311; Iskandar and al-Malāḥ, *Ḥamsūn sana min al-fann*, 161.

115 Information regarding this journal, as well as scanned issues of it, can be found at http://www.cealex.org/pfe/diffusion/exemplaires_tous.php.

116 Some sources claim that Santes published this journal himself. The Centre d'Études Alexandrines' site lists the journal as Dumani's venture.

117 Rāsim, “*Santes wa-l-mumaṭilūn 'alā masraḥihi*,” 11.

118 Aḥmad Rāsim, “*Muṣawwar al-Kaškūl bi-rīṣat aḥad al-qurā*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 67, August 27, 1922, 8.

a symbolic identifier. The sub-title beneath the caricature specified that one need not to describe the facial features of the painter to recognize him. A few years later, *al-Muṣawwar* published a four-page article documenting King Fu'ād's visit to the 1927 art exhibition in Cairo.¹¹⁹ The event was also documented (with the same photographs) in the Franco-Egyptian journal, *La Semaine Egyptienne*. From the French article, we learn that more than a hundred caricatures by Santes were displayed at the art exhibition, which were gathered and bound as an album at the end to be safeguarded at the *Librairie d'art* in Cairo. Two pages of the article published in *al-Muṣawwar* were dedicated to Santes and his caricatures. The text accompanying the documentary photographs declared that “we [the editorial board of the journal] do not need to introduce Mr. Juan Santes to the readers, since he is very famous and his critical artistic comic paintings serve as a testimony to his accomplishments in this field.”¹²⁰ Under a photograph that documented King Fu'ād standing in front of Santes' works, the editor wrote that the king himself enjoyed his own caricatures drawn by the artist—a peculiar remark in light of the fact that artists in Egypt at the time were forbidden by the law to draw caricatures of the king.

A weekly section in *al-Iṭnayn* featured a caricature drawn by Santes, and dedicated in each issue to a variety of Egypt's prominent public figures. The section, which covered the first full inside page of each issue during its first year of publication (and occasionally the frontispiece), introduced politicians, actors and actresses, singers, writers, journalists, and so forth to the readers. In October 1934, the section was dedicated to Santes himself—the only artist who had the honor—a further testimony to Santes' familiarity

to his target audience.¹²¹ Santes drew this caricature as well. It is worth noting, in this context, that caricaturists drawing themselves as part of their compositions is not a phenomenon unique to the Egyptian sphere.¹²² However, in some of these other instances, one can read the appearance of the caricaturists' self-portrait as an act of resistance in itself. In other words, artists wished to emphasize their agency in the press not as observers but rather as active players in the public sphere. In most of the caricatured “self-portraits” from the Egyptian press, the appearance of the artist is quite comic and occasionally rather passive, depriving them of agency as *serious* intellectuals.

Santes was not the only caricaturist to integrate his image in caricatures. Other artists also used Santes' portrait in their works—further evidence of his popularity. For example, Ramzī does this in the weekly strip called *Zaqzūq wa Ẓarīfa* (“Zaqzūq and Ẓarīfa”), which was published in *al-Iṭnayn* in October 1934.¹²³ In this weekly comic strip, two frogs, Zaqzūq and his wife Ẓarīfa, were depicted every week struggling to cope with the daily distresses of a typical Egyptian couple from the lowest strata of urban society.¹²⁴ In one of the episodes, the journal's board was celebrating the birth of Zaqzūq and Ẓarīfa's son, Abū Za'īza'. In this imagined celebration, Ramzī depicted the leading editor of *al-Iṭnayn*, Ḥusayn Šafīq al-Miṣri, in the middle of the composition holding the young baby frog. Santes is seen standing behind him while spreading salt against the Evil Eye—an act which can be read as a symbol of Santes' Egyptianization. Ramzī himself appears in the top left

119 *Al-Muṣawwar* 128, March 25, 1927, 13–14. “Salon Egyptien au Palais Tigrane,” *La Semaine Egyptienne*, Easter 1927, 26.

120 “Mi'rūdat al-ustād Sāntis fi mi'raḍ al-Qāhira,” *al-Muṣawwar* 128, March 25, 1927, 13.

121 Juan Santes, “*al-Ustād al-masyū Sāntis: rasām Dār al-Hilāl; al-dunyā kulluhā fi ġizmatihī*,” *al-Iṭnayn* 17, October 8, 1934, 2.

122 See, for example, Duus, “Presidential Address,” 965–997.

123 Ramzī, “*Zaqzūq wa Ẓarīfa*,” *al-Iṭnayn* 20, October 29, 1934, 5.

124 To clarify, this is not the journal *Zaqzūq wa Ẓarīfa*, which was published in 1930 by Muṣtafā Amīn.

of the composition, drawing a portrait of the baby Abū Zaʿīzaʿ.

All these visual references to Santes reflect what Armbrust describes as “an aura of stardom” conferred on intellectuals through publications in the printed press.¹²⁵ Armbrust referred to the canonical status achieved by the prominent intellectuals of the age through their writing in the entertainment magazines.¹²⁶ These seminal figures of thought, ideology, and literary culture—including Aḥmad Zakī Abū Šādī, Aḥmad Amīn, ‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-‘Aqqād, Tawfiq al-Ḥakīm, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Ṭahā Ḥusayn, Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Māzinī, Salāma Mūsā, Labība Aḥmad, Nabawiyya Mūsā, Muḥammad ‘Abduh, Rašīd Riḍā and Ḥassan al-Bannā—did not only produce *serious* cultural products. They also wrote for the entertainment magazines, which as Armbrust mentions, placed them in a popular context. The conditions for the emergence of these canonical intellectuals were intimately tied to the emergence of the new media itself, which served as the framework for their cultural production.¹²⁷

I argue that to this intellectual production and aura we can add the artistic agency of caricaturists such as Santes and Šārūḥān. These artists saw themselves as standing shoulder to shoulder with the leading editors and writers of the time with regard to their political, social and cultural responsibilities. A caricature published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* in July 1923 reflects these self-perceptions of the artists. In this image, Fawzī confronts al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī al-Hāšimī, king of the Ḥiǧāz (1916–1924).¹²⁸ The king was discontented with the journal’s publications. His anger was fueled by the actions of George Lutf Allāh, son to a Greek Orthodox family who emigrated to Egypt from Lebanon in the late nineteenth century, and

who was involved, along with his two brothers and father-in-law, in financing the Syrian Arabic national struggle against the French mandate. Three years later, in 1927, he put himself forward as a candidate for the Lebanese presidency. In the composition, Lutf Allāh hides behind the king and points at Fawzī.¹²⁹ In the text accompanying the caricature, Lutf Allāh complains about the criticism directed at him from the pages of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*. Back to the matter at hand, the importance of the composition is in the depiction of Fawzī’s entourage, which represents or embodies the journal. Santes is depicted standing beside Fawzī and holding a copy of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, while caricatures of different Egyptian politicians and British officials are scattered all around them.

Available information regarding the second “foreign founding-father” of the caricature in Egypt, Šārūḥān, is more extensive. He was born in October 1898 to an Armenian Catholic family living in Ardanuç, a small town in the Caucasus mountains. In 1900, his father, Hagop Šarūḥaniān, moved with his family to Batumi, the capital of the region. In 1909, they moved again, this time to Istanbul. Šarūḥaniān enrolled Iskandar and his brother Levon in the Armenian Catholic Clerics’ school. At the end of WWI, both brothers graduated and, despite the civil strife and Turkish persecution of Armenians, stayed in Istanbul and started publishing a four-page weekly called *Ardanuç*, in which Šārūḥān drew the caricatures. In 1922 Šārūḥān emigrated to Belgium, then again to Vienna, where he studied art. In Vienna, he met the Egyptian intellectual ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Šinnāwī—son of a wealthy family from Maṣūra, who was studying the art of printing, hoping to establish a printing house and a journal once back in Egypt. This encounter led Šārūḥān to emigrate to Egypt. He arrived in Alexandria in July 1924, afterwards

125 Armbrust, “The Formation of National Culture,” 166.

126 *Ibid.*, 166.

127 *Ibid.*

128 Juan Santes, “Lutf Allāh yuṣkur al-Kaškūl ilā malik al-Ḥiǧāz,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 115, July 27, 1923, 8–9.

129 For discussion of this chain of events, see Meir Zamir, *Lebanon’s Quest: The Road to Statehood, 1926–1939* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 60–61.

he moved to Cairo and together with al-Šinnāwī embarked on the publication of a journal titled *al-Ġarīda al-muṣawwara* (*The Illustrated Journal*, first published in September 1924).¹³⁰ In 1926, he showed his work—mainly caricatures of prominent Armenian figures active in Egypt—in a joint exhibition with A. Badrik's paintings.¹³¹

This exhibition led to a meeting with al-Tābī, who brought Šārūḥān to work at *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. In her memoirs, al-Yūsuf mentioned that when Šārūḥān started working for her he did not know Arabic and was unfamiliar with the prominent politicians of Egypt, so models from Santes' works were brought to him to copy.¹³² Moreover, al-Tābī “lost his patience at least ten times before he could figure out the idea that was laid out in one painting,” claimed Abū al-‘Aynayn.¹³³ Work between the two was based on Šārūḥān drawing the caricatures and al-Tābī writing the text.¹³⁴ The same work-pattern was documented regarding Santes' work at *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*.¹³⁵ However, this was not an *Egyptian* phenomenon. Editors and artists collaborated the same way in other socio-cultural spheres as well.¹³⁶

When in 1934 al-Tābī left *Rūz al-Yūsuf* to establish his own journal, *Aḥīr sa‘a al-muṣawwara*, Šārūḥān left with him.¹³⁷ During 1935, he embarked on publishing his own journal, *al-Qarfān*

(*Feeling Nauseated*), which was published in French. The journal ceased publication after three years.¹³⁸ In 1946, *Aḥīr sa‘a al-muṣawwara* went bankrupt and was sold to Muṣṭafā and ‘Alī Amīn—owners of the weekly *Aḥbār al-yawm*—and Šārūḥān joined their staff.¹³⁹ Later, when the Amīn brothers launched the daily *al-Aḥbār* (*The News*, first published in May 1952), he contributed caricatures to it as well. In addition to *Aḥīr sa‘a al-muṣawwara*, *Aḥbār al-yawm*, and *al-Aḥbār*, Šārūḥān contributed caricatures, among others, to *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, *al-Mustaqbal* (*The Future*), *al-Masrah*, *al-Šarq al-adnā*, *al-Wataniyya* (*Nationalism*), *Aḥīr laḥza* (*Last Moment*), as well as to the Franco-Egyptian press—*Ana mali*, *Savoir*, *Variétés*, *Le Semaine Egyptienne*, *La Bourse Egyptienne*, *Le Progres Egyptien*, *La Reforme*, *Le Journal d’Egypte*, and *The Parade*. Internationally, his caricatures were published in the American *Fortune Magazine* and *The New York Times*, the British *Punch* and *The Manchester Guardian*, the French *Le Rire* and *Marianne*, and the Armenian daily *Arev*. Šārūḥān also published a collection of political caricatures titled *The Political Year 1938*, a book in Armenian on the art of caricature,¹⁴⁰ a book of caricatures titled *Haḍiḥi al-ḥarb* (*This War*, 1939), which criticized the aftermath of WWII,¹⁴¹ a book of illustrations of Armenian idioms; as well as four satirical plays on the Armenian diaspora. Overall, Šārūḥān displayed his works in five exhibitions—three in Egypt (al-Armān Club, 1927; Saloon Goldenberg 1937; the Lebanese Youth Club, 1952), one

130 The journal only ran for two issues. Iskandar and al-Malāḥ, *Ḥamsūn sana min al-fann*, 163.

131 *La Semaine Egyptienne* 2, May 27, 1927, 20.

132 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 112.

133 Abū al-‘Aynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārikātīr*, 112.

134 *Ibid.*

135 Tonia Riaey and Sherifa Zuhur, “Visualizing Identity: Gender and Nation in Egyptian Cartoons,” in *Colors of Enchantment: Theater, Dance, Music and the Visual Arts of the Middle East*, ed. Sherifa Zuhur (Cairo and New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001), 392.

136 See, for example, the working habits of Honoré Daumier as documented in Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 180–181.

137 Iskandar and al-Malāḥ, *Ḥamsūn sana min al-fann*, 162; and al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 126.

138 Iskandar and al-Malāḥ, *Ḥamsūn sana min al-fann*, 164.

139 For the events leading to the bankruptcy, see Abū al-‘Aynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārikātīr*, 133–136.

140 Iskandar Saroukhan, *L’Annee Politique 1938 vue à Travers la Caricature Dessins de Saroukhan* (Cairo: La Bonne Egyptienne, 1939).

141 Information regarding this book appeared in Egypt's State Information Service (SIS). However, I was not able to trace any copies of this book and attempts to access the relevant page in SIS while writing this book have proven unfruitful.

in Beirut, and one in Aleppo.¹⁴² As opposed to the other artists discussed in this book, Šārūḥān received, in 1955, Egyptian nationality. However, though the artist was honored and received several medals from foreign countries for his work, he was not well known in Egypt, where he spent most of his life.

The fact that both of the most prominent caricaturists in interwar Egypt, as well as many of the secondary ones, were from the foreign or minority communities, allows us to discuss their unique social stance as *mystifiés de la colonisation* (deceived by colonization), to use Albert Memmi's phrase.¹⁴³ Memmi, a Tunisian Jew writing in the 1950s, discussed the issue of his own self-identity as a Jew as in between being a colonizer and being colonized, while writing on French Algeria. Memmi's work, alongside that of Frantz Fanon, in the late 1950s through the 1960s, was amongst the first to describe the lives of those subjected to European colonialism from *within*, and later served as a sort of a starting point for post-colonial research. As Shenhav wrote, "Memmi could have spoken for anyone and provides the best testimony for the universal voice, precisely because he represents no one. Memmi's position reflects exactly [...] what Homi K. Bhabha entitled as 'the third space.'"¹⁴⁴

In *Portrait du colonisé precede du portrait du colonisateur* (1957), Memmi discusses those foreign-locals whom he related to as "those who are neither colonizers nor the colonized" (or those "deceived by colonization"): "the nationals of the other powers (Italians, Maltese of Tunisia), the candidates for assimilation (the majority of the Jews), the newcomers (Corsicans in Tunisia, Spaniards in Algeria) [... and] the agents of authority recruited from among the colonized themselves."¹⁴⁵ For Memmi, their concrete situation, economic and psychological, in the colonial complex, in relation to the colonized on the one hand, and the colonizers on the other, accounts for their image. For Memmi, even the poorest among them, with "the little crumbs that were given to them," were differentiated from the colonized by their unique in-between stance with its own privileges not available to the colonized: easier employment, less insecurity against total poverty and disease, less precarious schooling, and more self-respect, as well as other considerations by the colonizer.¹⁴⁶ While being favored, more or less, over the colonized masses, they tend to establish colonial-colonized relations with them. At the same time, since they do not coincide with the colonizing group, and since they do not have the same role in the colonial complex, they do differ from the colonizer—each one of them in their own way.¹⁴⁷

All these nuances, claims Memmi, are easily readable when analyzing their relations with the colonial act. The Italians of Tunisia, for example, have always envied the French for their legal and administrative privileges; however, they are nevertheless in a better position than the colonized—they are protected by international laws, as well as by their consulate. Often, far from being rejected by the colonizer, it is they who hesitate between assimilation into the local society and their fidelity to their homeland. Finally, their common European origin, a common religion, and foreign lifestyle

142 Recently, from January 10, 2018 through February 19, 2018, Šārūḥān's work was displayed in the Cairene art gallery—Al-Masar Gallery. Prior to this exhibition, his work was displayed in Bibliotheca Alexandria (December 2017). The catalog for this exhibition can be seen at <http://www.agbuegypt.com/admin/PublicationFiles/Saroukhan%20Catalogue%20LOW%20RES.pdf>. A relative of Šārūḥān, his son-in-law Garrow Jakoub, revealed in a TV show that Šārūḥān's family would like to donate his full body of work to the Egyptian ministry of culture, in hope that they will establish a museum for the artist. However, their pleas remain so far unanswered—reflecting, perhaps, the ambivalent post-modern official position and public opinion regarding Egypt's cosmopolitan past.

143 Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Howard Greenfeld (London: Souvenir Press, 1974).

144 Shenhav, *Qôlôn'aliyût ve-hamašab ha-postqôlôn'ali*, 12–13.

145 Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 57.

146 *Ibid.*, 43–44.

147 *Ibid.*

and habits, in most cases bring them sentimentally closer to the colonizer.

If we look at the state of the Jews, continues Memmi, their constant and justified ambition was to escape from their colonized status. To do that, they try to resemble the colonizer in the confessed hope that he will cease to recognize them as different from him. Hence, their efforts to forget the past, to change their collective habits, and to adopt enthusiastically the language, culture, and Western manners of the colonizer. But even if the colonizer does not always openly discourage these candidates for assimilation, he does not allow them to succeed either. They live, thus, a painful and constant ambiguity: on the one hand, the colonizer rejects them, and they share partly the concrete situation of the colonized and have certain partnerships with them; on the other hand, they reject the values of the colonized as belonging to a “fallen world”—a world they hope to escape with time.¹⁴⁸ The most recent assimilates are generally situated well beyond the average colonizer. They claim to be more colonizing than the colonizer. They display a haughty contempt for the colonized, and persistently recall their borrowed nobility, which is often contradicted by their common greed and brutality. Surprised by their privileges, they indulge them while anxiously and decisively defending them. And when colonization comes to peril, they contribute to it its most dynamic defenders, its shock troops, and occasionally its provocateurs.¹⁴⁹

Those among the colonized who are recruited for jobs as bureaucrats, superior employees, leaders, police officers, etc., form a category of colonized who pretend to escape from their political and social condition, claims Memmi. But, since to do so they choose to stand to the right of the colonizer and defend his interest, they end up adopting his ideology, even with regard to their own people and with regard to themselves. In the end,

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 45–46.

all of them are more or less *mystified*, more or less beneficiaries, disillusioned to the point they accept the unjust system (i.e. they defend it or resign themselves to it), which heavily weighs upon the colonized. For Memmi, they were all deeply satisfied by being in a better position than the colonized, although they never fully assimilate in the baseness, though the colonizing act presses them toward it.¹⁵⁰

It is difficult to answer what exactly the foreign-local artists working in Egypt during the interwar period actually thought of Egyptian society, or how they perceived their place in it, since they didn't leave behind autobiographies. A second obstacle is our difficulty in defining them as artists. In other words, it is difficult to determine to what extent did they worked in *isolation* (whether in their private dwellings or in designated studios), to what extent they were subjected to the orientations of the journals' owners and editors in which their caricatures were published, or whether their cultural artifacts were the result of modes of social cooperation—the result of collaborative production.

However, clues regarding their unique foreign-local *weltanschauung*, or their cosmopolitan identity, can be gathered from their visual works. As, for example, in one of the headers of Şannū's journals, from September 1904.¹⁵¹ Şannū, who constantly changed the name of his journal and consequently the design of its headers, persistently used a symmetrical design. In the center of the headers he always placed his self-portrait, in image or in text—him being Abū Naḍḍāra. In the design chosen, despite slight differences between 1904 and 1910, the title *Abū naḍḍāra* was always placed in the center, above it a second attribute related to Şannū—his glasses. To the left of Şannū, a composition titled “Orient” was placed, composed of

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁵¹ The header can be seen at http://kjc-svo36.kjc.uni-heidelberg.de:8080/exist/apps/naddara/journals.html?collection=/db/data/commons/Abou_Naddara/Journals/1904. Last accessed February 1, 2019.

a series of items *related* to the East (agricultural goods and two buildings that can be identified as mosques with a minaret towering above them), as well as an Oriental man, dressed in appropriate garments (a *ġlābiyya*, *qaftān*, and turban). To the right of Şannū', a composition titled "Occident" was composed of Western architecture and industrial goods (gearwheel and an anchor)—apparently symbolizing Western modernity. A man dressed in a three-piece suit and a bowler hat stood to the left of it. The position of Şannū' in the center of this composition can be read as reflecting Bhabha's in-between culture, or "third space": Şannū' or Abū Naḍḍāra in the center does not belong to the Occident or to the Orient; or maybe he belongs to both. "The possibility to be anything," wrote Ronit Matalon, "occasionally meant being nothing in the Levantine context."¹⁵² Kahanoff, also did not think she was "both" (*gam ve-gam*); but rather that "at the end, we were nothing."¹⁵³

Through discussing the imagery designed by those artists who were "neither colonizers nor the colonized," *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt* reveals the importance of the artists' cosmopolitan experience and identity for the domestication processes of the caricature in the Egyptian press. Should we read caricatures from the colonial period as merely a Western product assimilated into Egyptian culture as is? Was the cultural *transfer* controlled and thought through carefully? Can a line be drawn between the *allowed* and the *avoided* in the procedures of adaptation?

Some will argue that the caricature in Egypt was in its formative years, nothing more than a mere copy of the European genre (or of its branch in the United States), at least regarding the form and style of the caricature, and that the artists working in Egypt looked at the caricature in Europe as a

model for borrowing and imitation. Indeed, illustrated journals in Egypt, which began publishing caricatures, did declare in their first years of distribution that they look at satirical journals such as the British *Punch*, the German *Simplicissimus* (1896–1967), or the French *La Caricature* (1880–1904) as models to work by.¹⁵⁴

In addition, many caricatures from the Egyptian journals display similarities (in their themes, styles, compositions, and design) to caricatures published in European journals. For example, a caricature published in May 1922 in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* presented an image of Egypt as a local woman with the caricatured personification of Britain, John Bull (fig. 3.5).¹⁵⁵ Both "Egypt" and "Britain" stand on scales, measuring their weight following the war. This composition, by Santes, quotes a caricature published in the French satirical journal *l'Assiette au beurre* (*The Butter Plate*, founded 1901), in December 1903.¹⁵⁶ Santes simply switched the French personification of Marian, symbolizing the French Republic, with the personification of Egypt. This artistic quotation is not a rare example, and, as will be seen in the following chapters, many of the local Egyptian works quoted, borrowed, and reproduced attributes, types,

154 As for *Punch*, it served as a source and a model for the emergence of satirical journals from London to Asia to Australia. For *Punches* and *Punch*-like magazines in nineteenth- and twentieth- century Asia (from Egypt and the Ottoman Empire in the West via British India up to China and Japan in the East), see Hans Harder and Barbara Mittler (eds.), *Asian Punches: A Transcultural Affair* (Heidelberg; New York: Springer; 2013); for Indian satirical journals that used *Punch* as a work model, see Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

155 Juan Santes, "al-Istiqāl wa-l-wazn," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 54, May 28, 1922, 8.

156 Valerie Rottembourg, "Après la campagne," *l'Assiette au beurre* 140, December 5, 1903, 7. The caricature can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1047956x/f7.item>. Last accessed on January 11, 2019.

152 Ronit Matalon, "Ha-Lašōn ve-ha-bayit: dvarim be-kinūs 'al safrūt ve-haġira," *Mi-Qarōv* 2 (Summer 1998), 169.

153 Jacquelin Kahanoff, *Mi-Mizrah šemeš* (Tel Aviv: Yariv, 1978), 16.

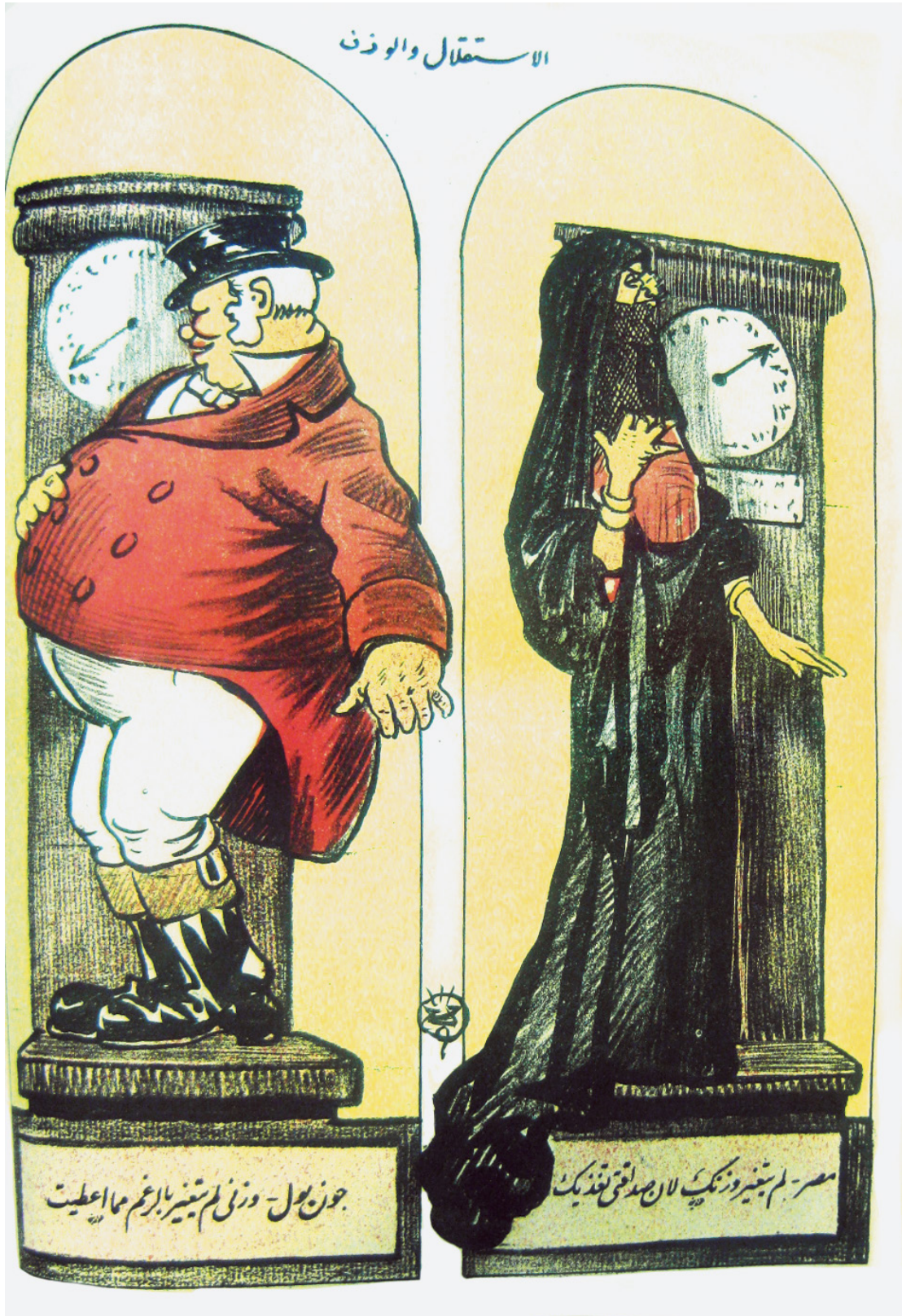


FIGURE 3.5 Independence and Weight. Juan Santes, "al-Istiqlāl wa-l-wazn," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 54, May 28, 1922, 8. HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

personifications, and full compositions from, mainly, the European visual culture spheres.

What was the importance of the image's source to the local audiences? One might claim that since *l'Assiette au beurre* did not circulate in Egypt and was probably known to only a few intellectuals, then the artistic quotation was irrelevant for the purpose of the image performing as counter-discourse. However, other artists used better known sources, as in the case of a caricature published in *al-Itḥayn* in February 1935 (fig. 3.6).¹⁵⁷ The caricature, titled "*Dars fī al-ḡuḡrāfiyā*" ("A Lesson in Geography"), depicts the high commissioner to Egypt and the Sudan at the time, Sir Miles Wedderburn Lampson (served 1933–1936), standing with his legs spread wide open above Egypt and Sudan, as a symbolic visual reference to his post.

The unknown artists quoted a caricature by Linley Sambourne, "The Rhodes Colossus," which was one of the most familiar of all nineteenth-century political caricatures.¹⁵⁸ This caricature became for many "the archetypal image of British imperial power," claimed Richard Scully.¹⁵⁹ The image, first published in *Punch* in December 1892, depicts Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) towering over the African continent.¹⁶⁰ *Punch* editors linked Rhodes' surname to one of the seven ancient wonders of the world—the Colossus of Rhodes, a statue erected in the ancient Greek city of Rhodes (capital of the island state of the same name). The statue depicted Helios the sun god, the city's patron deity,

and it was designed and built between 294 and 282 B.C. A sixteenth-century engraving by Maerten van Heemskerck perpetuated the myth that the statue originally stood astride the entrance to Rhodes Harbor.¹⁶¹ Scully estimated that this image provided inspiration for Sambourne's caricature—at least in terms of the pose and the accessories used in "the Rhodes Colossus." However, and as Scully specifies, the pun was not very original, and the joke was already in general circulation around the time the caricature was published and had already become a commonplace in the comic press.¹⁶²

The original Colossus of Rhodes was well-known to those members of the Victorian middle classes who read and wrote for *Punch*. As one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, it was a fixture in the rote learning of basic facts required by the contemporary school system, and the Victorian *obsession* with classical language and history would have underscored such knowledge. Familiarity with all kinds of classical minutiae was part of the shared culture of Victorian Britain.¹⁶³ This familiarity was essential for reading Sambourne's caricature. In any case, the importance of Sambourne's cartoon grew over time, as it was copied and imitated by numerous other caricaturists.

Was the caricature "A Lesson in Geography," published in *al-Itḥayn*, read by the Egyptian audiences as quoting "The Rhodes Colossus" or its source? The answer to this question remains unresolved, as is also the case in regard to the Egyptian audience's familiarity with the French source of the caricature published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*. In neither case was the source published in the Egyptian press alongside the artistic quotation. One might claim that the agency of the caricatures as counter-images does not lay in the ability of their audiences to read all the layers of symbolic representations embedded in them.

157 "*Dars fī al-ḡuḡrāfiyā*," *al-Itḥayn* 36, February 18, 1935, 8.

158 E. Linley Sambourne, "The Rhodes Colossus," *Punch, or The London Charivari*, December 10, 1892, 266. The caricature can be seen at <https://archive.org/details/punchvol102a103lemouoft/page/266>. Last accessed on January 11, 2019.

159 Scully, "Constructing the Colossus," 120.

160 Sambourne was a junior cartoonist at *Punch*. Although he was the one who composed the drawing, the image was actually a collective effort by numerous hands—namely the editorial staff which convened every Wednesday to review the events of the week in order to determine the content of the new edition. *Ibid*, 125–126.

161 The engraving can be seen at <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/collectie/RP-P-1904-3301>. Last accessed on 24 June 2018.

162 Scully, "Constructing the Colossus," 127–128.

163 *Ibid*, 126.



FIGURE 3.6 A Lesson in Geography. "Dars fī al-ġuġrāfiyā," *al-Itḥayn* 36, February 18, 1935, 8.

With that being said, these images do attest to their artists' *weltanschauung* and cultural capital, and it should be assumed that while designing the caricatures, the artists directed them to audiences who could read all the allusions, explicit or not, in the visual compositions—whether relating to arts, literature, theatre, movies, fashion, or other cultural products—whether from the Egyptian's, Arab's or Muslim's cultural *stock*, or from other cultural spheres.

One might also argue, in this context, that the counter-images discussed in this book were published in journals which do not necessarily represent the largest-circulation in the Egyptian press or that the criticism expressed through this counter-images does not represent the most popular political, social, or cultural stances. In other words, the images we are dealing with were not from the *traditional* press, especially the dailies, which published caricatures only occasionally. However, this *regular* journalism, prominent and central as it was, does not tell the whole story of Egypt's culture in the national-colonial era.

This book draws attention to the caricatures of the cosmopolitan society as institutionalized

counter-images, designed and distributed in the context of Egypt's national struggle for independence, at a time in which the presence of minorities, foreigners and immigrants reached its height. The artists' cultural capital and cosmopolitan *weltanschauung* was not confined to their artistic choices or sources for inspiration; rather, it constructed the caricature in Egypt in the first four decades of the twentieth century as a visual representation of the Other. However, this Otherness stood for the Egyptian extra-territorial phenomenon of cosmopolitanism. In other words, this imagery did not represent an Egyptian counter-discourse, but a discourse of those who perceived themselves as belonging, only to discover later they did not. The images, symbols and compositions used by the artists to draw their audiences' attention reflects their unique gaze on Egypt's past, present and future. A reflection of a culture which, in Kahanoff's words, "materialized in a bizarre space, appeasing itself and degrading itself simultaneously."¹⁶⁴

164 Jacquelin Kahanoff, "Tarbût nefel," *Davar*, May 25, 1973, reprinted in Kahanoff, *Bên šenê 'ôlamôt*, 119.

Caricature as Product

On Publishing, Publishers, and Readers

The caricaturist in the modern age aims at producing an impression of discomfort with *reality* by virtue of his status as an artist, not as a journalist. Therefore, the images he draws should be read and discussed as works of arts—in contrast to the perception of the caricature as an illustrated article. Having said that, the caricature in Egypt, from its appearance in the late nineteenth century and through the first half of the twentieth century, was not designed and sold as an independent work of art. The artists working in Egypt in this period worked for and through private and mostly independent journals, which were marketed as cultural products, and consumed in the open market. Some of these journals had a wide circulation, a few were amongst the most highly distributed journals of the time, particularly in light of the circulation numbers of the political parties' journals and newspapers.¹ In addition, some of the publishing houses that printed the journals discussed in this book became well established empires. Caricatures and advertisements published in the journals suggest that their owners aimed at marketing them in the public sphere as a desirable luxury product. Since the caricature was not sold and marketed as an independent work of art, but rather was distributed as part of a product which was subject to political, economic, and commercial constraints, this chapter will deal with these contexts.

As an industrialized and commercialized work of art, and as a mechanism for expressing and

promoting the new Egyptian modern culture, the caricature in Egypt in the first half of the twentieth century was at the disposal of open public discourse, which was conducted as part of public opinion. The public discourse encouraged open debates and discussions in civil spaces through the free press and the freedom of opinion as a universal right of all Egyptian subjects.² Public opinion in Egypt reached its full maturation in the interwar years and gained considerable political and cultural influence. The press served as the main mechanism for its crystallization and institutionalization by establishing public opinion amongst the ever-expanding communities of reader-consumers. The intensification of public opinion through the interwar years was constantly nourished by the parliamentary political culture, with its liberal and pluralist character. This political culture manifested itself in the constitution (which guaranteed freedom of opinion, freedom of organization and so forth), as well as in the representative institutions of parliamentary rule. I.e., in the inter-party-political struggles, in the tensions between those parties and the palace, in the existence of general elections, and through the constant presence of open public criticism. Other channels for the formulation and institutionalization of public opinion in Egypt were the intensification of Egyptian theatre, song-writing, the movies, the radio, public clubs, the coffee houses, the cultural associations, rallies, and mass street demonstrations. The state education system, which expanded considerably in the period, also contributed to the development and nurturing of public opinion consciousness.³

¹ Some of these political parties' journals and newspapers had low circulation rates, and one might claim were of low quality. C. Wilton Wynn, "Western Techniques Influence Party Newspapers of Egypt," *The Journalism Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (December 1948): 391.

² Gershoni, "Maḥḥ," in Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, *Leḥāsel tarbūt be-miṣrayīm*, 13.

³ Gershoni, *Ōr ba-ṣel*, 46.

The publication of caricatures (especially in the satirical journals) served as further evidence of, and testimony to, this open public criticism.

The democratic discourse, which was the dominant discourse in Egyptian civic society, evolved from 1923 into the central framework of political, cultural and intellectual life of the interwar years: “a polysystem of texts, discussions, attitudes, perceptions, representations, models, desires, strategies, plans, practices and political and intellectual struggles, which all focused on the search for the theoretical and practical options of the implementation and operation of a democratic, constitutional and parliamentary regime over the Egyptian society.”⁴ The basis for the democratic public opinion and discourse was the multi-ethnic, multi-religion, and multi-lingual civic society, which constantly supported the parliamentary political culture and saw itself as responsible for defending, protecting and nurturing it.⁵ This society was “a cohesion of ever-expanding middle strata: urban and educated communities, associations, organizations, bodies, federations of industrialists, traders and bankers, trade unions of professionals, white and blue-collar workers, labor unions, professional guilds, youth clubs, women’s organizations, cultural and intellectual clubs, formal parties and extra-parliamentary political movements.”⁶

In the press, the volume of printed materials, which grew significantly after WWI, reflected, and constituted a testimony to the expansion of Egyptian civic society. Distribution cycles of dailies and journals that barley reached thousands of single

copies prior to the war rose to over tens of thousands of copies after the war.⁷ In addition, hundreds of new titles appeared in Egypt in the interwar period. A survey from 1937 specified over two hundred and fifty titles in Arabic (of these, two hundred were in Cairo) and sixty-five in other languages.⁸ Accelerated technological developments, which characterized the interwar period were a major factor in the evolution of the press; among them, the appearance of radio in the 1930s, which became a medium for establishing the custom of consuming the news, especially in urban communities.⁹ The train system, which grew steadily, connected the urban centers to the *rif* (rural areas) and narrowed time and distance between them. Also, large scale electricity projects were carried out in the interwar period, and these contributed to the expansion and the consolidation of the press, as well as to stimulating the distribution of the press and developing other press genres.¹⁰

The journals’ criticism (whether through image or text) was not meant to be received as isolated cries of rage. Rather, the journals’ political and social struggles were meant to be, and were conducted, in the public sphere. Their owners wished them to be politically efficient and to meaningfully

4 *Ibid.*, 45.

5 If we accept the interpretation of the visual composition of the Egyptian flag at the time as representing the three monotheistic religions (the crescent moon and three stars), then it constitutes a visual embodiment of Egypt’s pluralistic civic society of the time. For the different meanings of the Egyptian flag at the time, see Elie Podeh, “The Symbolism of the Arab Flag in Modern Arab States: Between Commonality and Uniqueness,” *Nations and Nationalism* 17, no. 2 (2011): 435–436.

6 Gershoni, *Ôr ba-şel*, 46–47.

7 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 148–149.

8 Details from the survey were published in *Ibid.*, 76.

9 While through the 1920s radio operated through private hands, in 1931 it was transferred to government control. May 1934 saw the first formal broadcast, and by 1939 the number of owners of radios in Egypt reached eighty-six thousand (many of them were owners of cafes and restaurants, which means that the number of listeners was much higher). For the history of radio broadcasting in Egypt see, Douglas Boyd, *Broadcasting in the Arab World: A Survey of the Electronic Media in the Middle East* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1999); Virginia Danielson, *The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kulthum. Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 84–87.

10 For electricity projects in Egypt in the interwar period see, Robert Vitalis, *When Capitalists Collide: Business Conflict and the End of Empire in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 63–103.



FIGURE 4.1
The Owner of *al-Kaškül* in His Prison Cell.
Juan Santes, “*Şāhib al-Kaškül fi siġnihi*,” *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 161, June 13, 1924, 20.
HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

intervene in the cultural sphere. It seems that the journals' owners, as well as the artists working for them and through their journals, were willing to pay a personal price for their desire to be active in the public sphere. Thus, for example, Fawzī, the owner of *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar*, was imprisoned on the grounds of his journal's publications and the criticism directed at the Wafd. The caricaturist Raḥā served a four-year sentence for caricatures he drew criticizing the king, after which he returned to drawing caricatures. Fawzī's imprisonment incited further criticism, led by Fawzī and his journal, of the incumbent government and its leader

Zaġlül. In June 1924, Fawzī was depicted sitting in his prison cell in a caricature published in *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar*; while Zaġlül holds the keys to his cell—apparently guilty of Fawzī's imprisonment (fig. 4.1).¹¹ The text accompanying the image was a monolog by Fawzī: “I know now you can physically isolate the human being from his fellow brothers; however, you cannot incarcerate his mind.”

11 Juan Santes, “*Şāhib al-Kaškül fi siġnihi*,” *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 161, June 13, 1924, 20.

Although the satirical journals in Egypt addressed social issues, their main purpose during the interwar years was to question and explore the political position Egypt was facing and its national aspirations and objectives. Accordingly, the responses of the alternating governments to the caricatured images were mostly political ones. The Press Law of 1881 was reimplemented in March 1909, and on the one hand caused the closure of many journals, and on the other deterred others from publishing new ones.¹² The articles of the 1909 Press Law determined that each newspaper or journal needed to send five copies of each new issue to the Department of Publications in the Ministry of the Interior for inspection; any change in ownership or the identity of the journals' editors which dealt with political, administrative or religious issues needed to be immediately reported to the Department of Publications; newspapers and journals which dealt with these issues were obliged to obtain a government license for publishing a newspaper; owners of presses needed to apply for permission to publish newspapers and journals; and the names and addresses of the printing houses which published a given title needed to appear on each issue published.¹³

WWI brought with it the application of Martial law and the intensification of censorship over the publication of newspapers and journals, as well as of correspondence into and out of Egypt. To these circumstances one should add the worsening of the economic situation of the country.

Consequently, titles of limited scope ceased publication, and overall, there was a significant decline in Egyptian journalistic activity until the 1920s.¹⁴ Yet, some satirical journals thrived through the war years, such as *al-Masāmīr: ǧarīda waṭaniyya, fukāhiyya, adabiyya, intiqādiyya* (*The Nails: A Critical, Literary, and Humorous Nationalist Journal*, first published on February 19, 1909).

The end of WWI, and the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, created a new reality for the Egyptian press. On April 19, 1923 the constitution was established, defining Egypt as a parliamentary monarchy, and guaranteeing, at least in theory, the freedom of the press. Article 14 of the constitution states that "the freedom of opinion was guaranteed; any person can express himself orally, in writing, *in painting* or in any other way" (my emphasis).¹⁵ Article 15 addresses the press directly and states that "the censorship on the press is forbidden. Publishing warnings to newspapers, sustaining them or confiscating them through administrative means are forbidden as well."¹⁶ Having established that, this freedom was permitted only "within the limits of the law" (*fi ḥudūd al-qānūn*), and administrative actions were permitted against the press whether or not they were needed in order to defend the "social order" (*nizām al-iǧttimāʿī*).¹⁷ In addition, the constitution permitted the king to declare a state of emergency, which allowed him to disable the printing presses and to prohibit any publication which in his opinion jeopardized the social order.¹⁸ As Ayalon indicates, these restrictions over the freedom of the press dismissed the articles of the constitution, and furthermore the 1881 Press Law was never officially dismissed,

12 The press law was first implemented on November 26, 1881 and established some regulations over the local press. On March 1909, a government decision was made, with the encouragement of Eldon Gorst, the British general consul to Egypt between 1907–1911, to reinstate the 1881 Press Law, which had gone out of use in 1894. The law was implemented on March 27, 1909. For a discussion on the events which lead to its re-implementation, see Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh, *Taṭawwur al-ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣriyya*, 1798–1951 (Cairo: Maktabat al-Adab, 1951), 87–88.

13 The articles of the 1909 Press Law are discussed in Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*, 103–104.

14 For WWI's economic effects on Egypt see, Ellis Goldberg, "Peasants in Revolt-Egypt 1919," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24, no. 2 (1992): 261–280. Goldberg focusses on the *rīf* population, however he also discusses the urban one.

15 The articles of the law were published in *al-Waqāʿiʿ al-Miṣriyya* 42, April 20, 1922, 2–9.

16 *Ibid.*, 2.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*, 3.

and so it was possible to interpret the expression *fi hudūd al-qānūn* as meaning under the limits of that law.¹⁹

And indeed, the interpretation of the law and of the constitution was subject through these decades to the whims of the palace and its agents in the various governments. Thus, when in June 1930 Muṣṭafā al-Naḥḥās (the leader of the Wafd after Zaḡlūl's death; his government served between January 1930 and June 1930) submitted his resignation to the king, King Fu'ād managed to assemble a minority-government, without the Wafd and Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn. Fu'ād invited Ismā'īl Ṣidqī (1875–1950) to head the new government, which aimed to undermine the political parliamentary order established in 1923 and to establish an autocratic regime. The new government, which served between June 1930 and September 1933, as well as the following one headed by 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Yaḥyā (his government served between September 27, 1933 and November 14, 1934), established a new political dictatorial order, which was defined by contemporary intellectuals as a constitutional coup (*al-inqilāb al-dustūrī*).²⁰ In October 1930, a new constitution came into force that contracted the powers of the parliament as a legislative authority and expanded, in contrast, the powers of the executive authority, hence intensifying the political power and the authority of the palace. In June 1931, a new Press Law came into force. The articles of the new law elaborated the stipulations on those who wished to publish a newspaper or a journal, among them the obligation that the editor or editors of the title will be Egyptians, whether it was published in Arabic entirely or partly; the age of the editors could not be younger than twenty-five; and their reputation needed to be intact.²¹ Only with the new government of Tawfiq Nasīm (serving between November 1934 and January 1936),

which was aware of the weakness of the ill king and his susceptibility to the growing pressures of the Wafd and Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn, was the 1930 constitution abolished and the parliament dissolved. The reenactment of the 1923 constitution accrued in December 1935.²²

As the frequency of judicial proceedings against the journals that published caricatures had increased throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the issues of censorship, the press laws and the role of the newspaper/journal as defending the freedom of speech was constantly discussed in the different titles, as well as in the caricatures of the period. Thus, for example, a caricature which *documented* the funeral procession of the censorship on the grounds of its *death* on May 14, 1921, was published in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* a week after its alleged funeral (fig. 4.2).²³ The deceased's coffin was escorted by representatives of different newspapers and journals, among them *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* as a young child (probably as an embodiment of the short period in which this title was printed with comparison to the other representatives), *al-Aḥbār*, *al-Muqaṭṭam* (*The Broken*, named after the range of hills east of Cairo, 1888–1952), *al-Aḥālī* (*The Family*), *al-Būrṣ* (*The Stock Exchange*), and so forth. The procession was led by an officer, who was identified as “the Law of Printed Materials,” which the editor entitled in the text as “the deceased's father, meaning

19 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 119.

20 For the events leading to al-Naḥḥās resignation, see al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment*, 129–137.

21 For a partial publication of the law's articles, see *al-Ahrām*, June 18, 1931, 6.

22 The reenactment of the 1923 constitution became possible following the declaration of the “National Front” (al-Jabha al-Wataniyya) signed by representatives of all major parties and which was delivered to King Fu'ād alongside a demand to reopen the negotiations with the British over Egypt's independence based on the talks which were interrupted in 1930 between al-Naḥḥās and Arthur Henderson. For the events leading to the forming of the National Front, see al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment*, 171–177. Some researchers, such as Gershoni, see the National Front as a testimony to the power of the intellectuals' criticism and its pivotal role in shaping public opinion. See Gershoni, “Maḥō',” in Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, *Leṣāsel tarbūt be-miṣrayīm*, 21.

23 Aīḥāb Ḥulūṣī, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 328, May 23, 1921, 2.

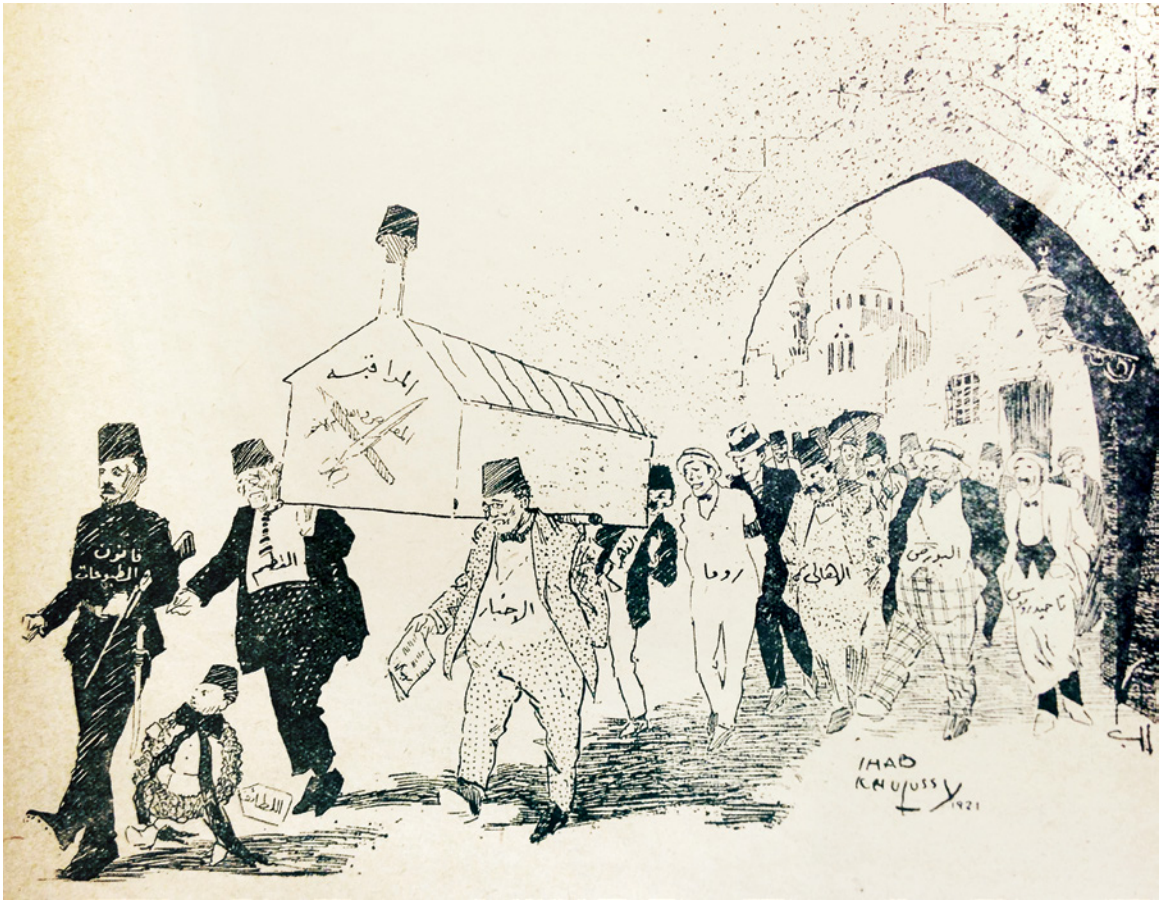


FIGURE 4.2 The Censorship's Funeral. Aḥḥāb Ḥulūṣī, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 328, May 23, 1921, 2. STERLING & BASS LIBRARIES, YALE UNIVERSITY

the one actually responsible for the application of censorship.”

The issue of the freedom of the press and the restrictions applied to the activities of newspapers and journals by the regime were the focal point of many caricatures. An example was published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in November 1934 (fig. 4.3).²⁴ The caricature depicts the press as a young woman chained to a poll. Representing the press as a woman was its most frequent visual representation in interwar caricatures. This choice was not unique to the

Egyptian sphere; rather it reflected the visual traditions of representing the post-French revolution civic ideas as women (such as liberty, justice, and equality), which characterized the European arts. In the image from *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, the press was dressed in a simple, long dress with short-sleeves, and appeared with bear feet. Her hair was designed following the latest European fashion. In fact, none of the young woman's attributes specified her as “the press,” “freedom,” or Egyptian in any way.²⁵ The identification of the woman as “the

24 “*Ḥurriyyat al-ṣiḥāfa*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 353, November 26, 1934, frontispiece.

25 Occasionally, artists showed “the press” in the Egyptian caricature holding a pen or a rolled sheet as attributing symbols. See, for example, “*Qūll dī al-ṣiḥāfa, wa-min*



FIGURE 4.3 The Freedom of the Press. “*Hurriyyat al-ṣiḥāfa*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 353, November 26, 1934, frontispiece.

THE JOSEPH REGENSTEIN LIBRARY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

press” is accomplished through the text beneath the image:

“Prime Minister Nasīm: What’s wrong with her, al-Miṣrī Efendi, why did they do that to her?”

Al-Miṣrī Efendi: This is the press, oh Paša, and for four years she has been in this heavy sadness. She couldn’t free herself until recently, and with god’s help your government will free her and untie her chains.”

dah illi bi-yahnīkur?” *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* 1103, March 30, 1936, 24.

One can argue this un-Egyptianized version of the press was meant to be just that—a *universal* embodiment of the post-French revolution civic ideas

as women. Having said that, one wonders whether without the text accompanying the caricature one could have recognized it at the press, where there were no visual attributes identifying her as such.

A month later, the issue of the freedom of the press was discussed again in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* (fig. 4.4).²⁶ This time, the incoming prime minister, Tawfiq Nasīm, was depicted as Papa Noel, holding in one hand the Christmas tree and in the other a walking cane. Three dolls are hanging around his neck—apparently representing the presents Papa Noel distributes in honor of the New Year (Christmas, according to nineteenth-century Christian traditions). On the ground, beneath his feet, sits a young woman with her hands tied. The young woman is dressed in a plain sleeveless dress, which exposes her legs—also tied. The captions beneath the image clarify it:

“Honorable Papa Noel Nasīm Paša: What present do you want to receive in honor of the New Year?”

The Press: Can there be a better present than untying my chains and returning my freedom?”

There is nothing new in the way the press was depicted in this image, in comparison to the caricature published a month earlier. However, the editors of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* found it necessary to clarify in the image from December that Papa Noel is “a legendary [*ḥarāfi*] personality, which according to the myth distributes presents in honor of the New Year.” Ignoring the misidentification of the Christian tradition with a New-Year’s Eve tradition, one can assume that the editors thought the image of Papa Noel would not be readable to all viewers. In any case, both caricatures reflected the hopes of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* that the incoming prime minister, Tawfiq Nasīm, would revoke the 1930 constitution and restore the 1923 one, and with it the freedom

of the press—which did happen in December 1935.

In October 1935, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* was celebrating its ninth year of activity with a special issue. The frontispiece caricature of that issue depicted Don Quixote and his squire, Sancho Panza, retreating from an attack on a windmill (fig. 4.5).²⁷ Beneath the windmill sprawled on the ground are some of Egypt’s former prime ministers, among them one can recognize Ṣidqī and Muḥammad Maḥmūd (his first government served between June 1928 and October 1929). The text beneath the caricature is as follows:

“**Rūz al-Yūsuf enters her 10th year ...**

(Don Quixote is an ancient rider who tried to fight windmills!)

Nine years and the buckets of the windmill are still turning

Sa’d watched over her, Sa’d’s heirs guarded her

How many Don Quixotes before you tried to stand in her way

His right hand was paralyzed, his lucky star has fallen

And his character—a lesson for the world and its creatures!”

According to this text, the windmill is *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, with which many Don Quixotes (i.e. the prime ministers of Egypt) tried to fight throughout its years of activity. However, they failed, and the windmill continued to work. The narrative described in these lines stands in contradiction to the literary text of Don Quixote. In the romance, Don Quixote, the picaresque hero with a distorted perception of reality, is the one who wanted to wage wars for justice—wars which were for the hopeless. However, in this frontispiece the windmill is the one fighting the war for justice, while Don Quixote and those like him are marked as its enemies.

26 “*Hadayāt rās al-sana,*” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 358, December 31, 1934, 11.

27 “*Rūz al-Yūsuf tadḥulu fī sanatihā al-‘ašira,*” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 349, October 29, 1934, frontispiece.



FIGURE 4.4 New Year's Present. "Hadayāt rās al-sana," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 358, December 31, 1934, 11.
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FIGURE 4.5 *Rūz al-Yūsuf* Enters Her 10th Year. “*Rūz al-Yūsuf tadḥulu fī sanatihā al-‘ašira*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 349, October 29, 1934, frontispiece.

THE JOSEPH REGENSTEIN LIBRARY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

An example of a caricature which dealt with the frustration of the different representatives of Egyptian governments in face of the journal's activity can be seen in a caricature published in June 1924, which *documented* a dialogue between Prime Minister Maḥmūd and the head of the Printing Department at the Internal Office.²⁸ Maḥmūd was depicted as being furious about *Rūz al-Yūsuf's* continued activity. He demanded the immediate shutdown of the journal and could not understand how it continued to publish after he closed it on more than one occasion. Indeed, suspensions were forced on the journal, according to a number of sources, more than once on the grounds of the caricatures it published. The image depicted is a typical example of how journals dealt with those suspensions, meaning depicting the current prime minister as the "current fiend," and the journal or the press as his victims. Yet, occasionally, the issue was dealt with in a different manner—a comic one. In September 1934, *al-Itḥayn* responded to an interview with the Minister of the Interior regarding the amended Press Law. The column in *al-Itḥayn* presented, in image and text, ten journalists, including the caricaturist Santes. All participants in the composition threaten to abandon their jobs and to turn to other pursuits, if the amended Press Law came into force: Fāṭima al-Yūsuf, for example, was depicted as a nanny, wandering Garden City; Santes was depicted as a shoe cleaner; Ḥusayn Ṣafīq al-Miṣri was depicted as a fortune teller, and so forth.²⁹

As an ever-growing audience of potential consumers developed and as an ever-growing and diverse body of entrepreneurs of newspapers and journals developed, the distribution of the caricature remained subject to political constraints. I am unable to determine to what extent the caricaturists were censored by the editors for whom they worked. The views they expressed in their images,

whether signed or not, reflected, for the most part, the views of the journals that served as their platforms for publication. In addition to the political constraints, the journals, and consequently the caricaturists, were subject to economic, social, and cultural forces. First, the journals' profitability was a prerequisite for the distribution of the caricature amongst as many consumers-readers as possible—a fact reflected in the expanding space for advertisements in the journals that published caricatures. A second issue relates to the question of who could afford to buy an illustrated journal in Egypt in the first half of the twentieth century. As opposed to the European markets, where caricatures were sold as isolated works of art in designated shops, in the Egyptian sphere, caricatures could be bought and read only through newspapers and journals.³⁰

Yet, the editorial boards of the illustrated journals encouraged readers to cut out the caricatures from the journal, frame them, and hang them on their walls, as works of art. An advertisement encouraging readers to do this appeared in *al-Itḥayn* in November 1934 (fig. 4.6).³¹ The ad pleaded with the readers to cut out Santes' "beautiful artistic plate[s]," frame them and decorate their homes with them, and claimed once they had received that treatment, the caricatures' value would raise. This practice may have crossed social boundaries, as can be seen in the caricature published in *Aḥir*

28 Iskandar Ṣārūḥān, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 157, June 13, 1924, 5.

29 "Fi maydān al-i'māl al-ḥurra," *al-Itḥayn* 15, September 24, 1934, 6–7.

30 Shops that sold caricatures in Paris and London, for example, presented caricatures in their windows, allowing random passersby to view some of the works. For a short history of this distribution method, see McPhee and Orenstein, *Infinite Test*, 11–15. It was also possible to buy caricatures in other European cities, such as in Berlin, through agents—some were "young children, rag-pickers, and other less savory characters [who] sold literature and prints from house to house, in the streets, and in taverns." Mary Lee Townsend, *Forbidden Laughter: Popular Humor and the Limits of Repression in Nineteenth Century Prussia* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 78.

31 "Lawḥāt fanniyya ḡamila," *al-Itḥayn* 23, November 19, 1934, 28.



لوحات فنية جميلة

تستطيع الحصول عليها ب مداومتك على شراء مجلة الاثنين

يحتوى غلاف مجلة الاثنين
كل أسبوع على صورتين
فيتين جميلتين بريشة الرسام
البارع المعروف مسيو سانتس
رسام دار الهلال . ويستطيع
القارىء أن يزن حجراته بهذه
اللوحات الفنية بقصها ووضعها
داخل اطارات زجاجية كما ترى
في الصور المنشورة مع هذا
الكلام، وهذه الطريقة لا تكلفك
سوى بضعة قروش ، ولكنها
تساوى بعد ذلك قيمة كبيرة

مجلة الاثنين تصدر كل يوم اثنين

■ ٢٨ ■

FIGURE 4.6 Beautiful Artistic Plates. "Lawḥāt fanniyya ḡamīla," *al-Itḥayn* 23, November 19, 1934, 28.



FIGURE 4.7 The Value of Art. Birnād, “Qīmat al-fann,” *al-Itṭayn* 77, December 2, 1935, 17.

PENN LIBRARIES RESEARCH ANNEX

sa‘a al-muṣawwara (fig. 3.1).³² I have not been able to discover whether the lower strata of Egyptian society actually appreciated and consumed caricatures as works of art. However, other caricatures lampooned such people for their cultural ignorance, especially in regard to the arts. For example, a caricature published in *al-Itṭayn* in December 1935 dealt with the art of painting (fig. 4.7).³³ Above the title, “the Value of Art” (*Qīmat al-fann*), a young *efendi* is seen painting a picture of a house. Behind him stands a man, identified through the dialogue as a *fallāḥ*, looking at the painting. The dialogue between the two is as follows:

32 Iskandar Šarūḥān, “*Kaḥk al-‘id*,” *Aḥir sa‘a al-muṣawwara* 127, December 13, 1936, 11.

33 Birnād, “*Qīmat al-fann*,” *al-Itṭayn* 77, December 2, 1935, 17.

“The painter (to the *fallāḥ*): Know that, once I will finish this painting of the house, I will sell it for a thousand Egyptian Pounds.

The *fallāḥ*: Who is the madman who will buy a painting for a thousand Egyptian Pounds if he could buy the whole house for five hundred Egyptian Pounds?”

1 Publishing and Publishers

The entrepreneurs of the satirical, illustrated, and popular journals in Egypt were an eclectic group from the educated strata of society, mostly men with different political agendas. Overall, the press in Egypt was a male enterprise, despite the fact that beginning in the 1880s there were women’s journals published by women, written by women,

and directed to a female audience.³⁴ However, regarding the satirical genre, there is little evidence of female involvement—neither in the ownership of journals, nor in writing or in the artistic sphere—except for the involvement of Fāṭima al-Yūsuf. Al-Yūsuf described in her autobiography the difficulties women faced when choosing a journalistic career (and in the public arena at large).³⁵ For al-Yūsuf, these difficulties laid in the fact that men saw in women only a means for entertainment (*lahw*),³⁶ or an object (*matāʿ*).³⁷

Six of the journals discussed in *Cartooning for a Modern Egypt* were owned by Syrian immigrants of Greek-Orthodox origin who emigrated to Egypt in the late nineteenth century. *Al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* was published by Makāriyūs, the son of a Greek Orthodox family, who emigrated to Egypt from Beirut in 1884. Makāriyūs' father, Šāhīn (1853–1910), was the co-editor, together with two

other Syrians, Yaʿqūb Šarrūf (1852–1927) and Fāris Nimr (1856–1951), of *al-Muqtaṭaf* (*The Collection*, Beirut, 1876–1884; Cairo, 1884–1952), the daily *al-Muqaṭṭam* and the *Sudan Times* or *al-Sudan*—an Arabic-English paper founded in Cairo and Ḥartūm in 1903 and published twice a week. The name of *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* was chosen in honor of Makāriyūs' father's monthly, *al-Laṭāʿif* (*Witticisms*, 1886–1910).

Al-Muṣawwar, *al-Fukāha*, *Kull šayʿ wa-l-ʿalam*, *al-Iṭṭayn*, and *Kull šayʿ wa-l-dunyā* were all published by the Dār al-Hilāl publishing house, which was owned by the Zaydān family. Ğirġī Zaydān (1861–1914) emigrated to Beirut following the political and social unrest which prevailed in the area of Mount Lebanon in the 1840s. In 1882, Zaydān emigrated to Egypt after being expelled from the Syrian Protestant College (following his participation in a demonstration in favor of the Darwinist faction).³⁸ Ten years later he started publishing *al-Hilāl: maġalla ʿilmiyya tāriḥiyya adabiyya* (*The Crescent: Historical, Scientific, Literary Journal*, first published September 1892). After WWI, and under the leadership of Zaydān's sons, Imīl and Šukrī, the journal flourished and the publishing house itself, Dār al-Hilāl, expanded its activities and began publishing additional titles, among them the ones discussed in this book.

How did the entrepreneurs of the satirical, illustrated, and popular journals perceive their role and the role of their journals within the Egyptian public sphere? Makāriyūs wrote in the first issue of his journal that *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* aimed to address writers and researchers, and yet to be easy to read. He wanted the journal to be worthy of keeping in libraries and universities, and “perhaps [it] will be welcomed by the public” (my emphasis).³⁹

34 On the eve of the 1919 revolution, approximately thirty journals written by women and directed at a female audience were published in Egypt. Baron mentioned that women writers at the beginning of the twentieth century were not overtly political in their writings, meaning that they did not discuss national political issues. Rather, they focused on discussions of the family and women's role in society in the context of increasing Egyptian nationalism and the re-imagining of the Egyptian community. The women's journals served as a platform for discussions of marriages and divorce, women's education, and employment options, as well as women's isolation, the wearing of the veil, and so forth. At the same time, journals provided tips for how to do household chores and advice on cultivating the self and on relationship issues. For Baron's discussion of the beginning of the women's press and its social and political context, see Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994). For a discussion of the interwar women's press, see Aglal Khalifa, “*al-Šiḥāfa al-nisaʿiyya fi Miṣr, 1919–1939*,” (MA diss., Cairo University, 1966).

35 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 99–100.

36 The word *lahw* in Arabic can mean “entertainment” as well as “a woman.”

37 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 100.

38 Thomas Philipp, *The Syrians in Egypt, 1725–1975* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985), 79.

39 Iskandar Makāriyūs, “*Kalima*,” *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 1, February 15, 1915, frontispiece.

Al-Yūsuf clearly had similar ambitions. She mentioned in her memoirs that the idea of publishing a journal exclusively devoted issues related to the high arts sprouted in a meeting with friends at the coffee shop Kisāb, in August 1924—a decision, she claimed, which was in response to the absence of such journals in the Egyptian cultural sphere.⁴⁰ A number of writers and poets joined this initiative and worked for the journal, without being paid, out of a desire to contribute to this artistic-journalistic endeavor. Among these intellectuals, al-Yūsuf mentioned Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Māzinī, ‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-‘Aqqād, Ibrāhīm Ramzī, Muḥammad Luṭfī Ğum‘a, Zakī Ṭulaymāt, Ḥabīb Ğāmātī, and Aḥmad Rāmī.⁴¹

However, and as mentioned, the journal changed its format for the second time in June 1926, and assumed a political character.⁴² Al-Yūsuf argued that she conceived the idea for this change in response to the limitations of the market for art journals, and in view of her growing interest in local politics in the two years prior to the change. Al-Yūsuf’s involvement in Egyptian politics developed in the context of her friendship with Zaġlūl, which led her to follow the development of the national movement and to get “enthusiastic about every demonstration in the streets calling for total independence.”⁴³ From al-Yūsuf’s description of the chain of events that followed the decision, one can also learn how she perceived herself as a journalist and of her desire to be appreciated as one. Al-Yūsuf claimed that the Wafd used the student card of the journalist and activist Munīra Ṭābit (1902–1967) in order to publish two journals—one in Arabic, *al-Amal* (*The Hope*), and the other in French, *l’Espoir* (*The Hope*). The publication of these journals, allegedly by Ṭābit, was accompanied by press coverage, including a photo of Ṭābit in one of *al-Muṣawwar*’s frontispieces under the title: “the first Egyptian woman to enter the

press.” Al-Yūsuf contacted Imīl Zaydān and asked him to publish her photo as well, and to credit her work as a woman-journalist. According to al-Yūsuf, Zaydān refused, arguing that publishing her photo was equal to free-publicity. Al-Yūsuf thought the main reason was the fact that Zaydān “didn’t see her as Egyptian.”⁴⁴ Al-Yūsuf’s accusation is curious considering Zaydān himself was the son of an emigrant.

Browsing through the journals, it becomes clear that the owners, editors, writers, and artists were eager to place their journals in a prominent and central position within the context of the political arena. Those same publishers, writers and artists were at the same time amongst the target audience of the press, and they constantly deliberated on the role of the press in the Egyptian public sphere. This discourse is reflected in editorials on the history of the press; on its responsibilities to the past, the present, and the future of the press; on its successes and failures; and in critical columns on the stances and contents of their competitors’ newspapers and journals.⁴⁵ These self-referential discussions were part of a wider discourse that was emerging at the turn of the twentieth century on the “idea of literacy,” its importance, and its social uses, as journalists, reformers, religious scholars, women activists, and government officials were all seeking to influence the literary practices of their time.⁴⁶

Caricatures addressed those same issues. In March 1924, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* published a caricature in which the journal was depicted as a lantern whose light prevented Zaġlūl from acting as he wished to (fig. 4.8).⁴⁷ Two weeks later the frontispiece caricature of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*

40 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 94–95.

41 *Ibid.*, 98.

42 *Ibid.*, 103, 112.

43 *Ibid.*, 103.

44 *Ibid.*, 105.

45 For a discussion of this self-referential discourse, see Hoda A. Yousef, *Composing Egypt: Reading, Writing, and the Emergence of a Modern Nation, 1870–1930* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2016), Chapter one, especially 28–33.

46 *Ibid.*, 27.

47 Juan Santes, “*al-Kaškūl yamna’ min ḥuḍūr ġalasāt al-barlamān*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 149, March 21, 1924, 16.

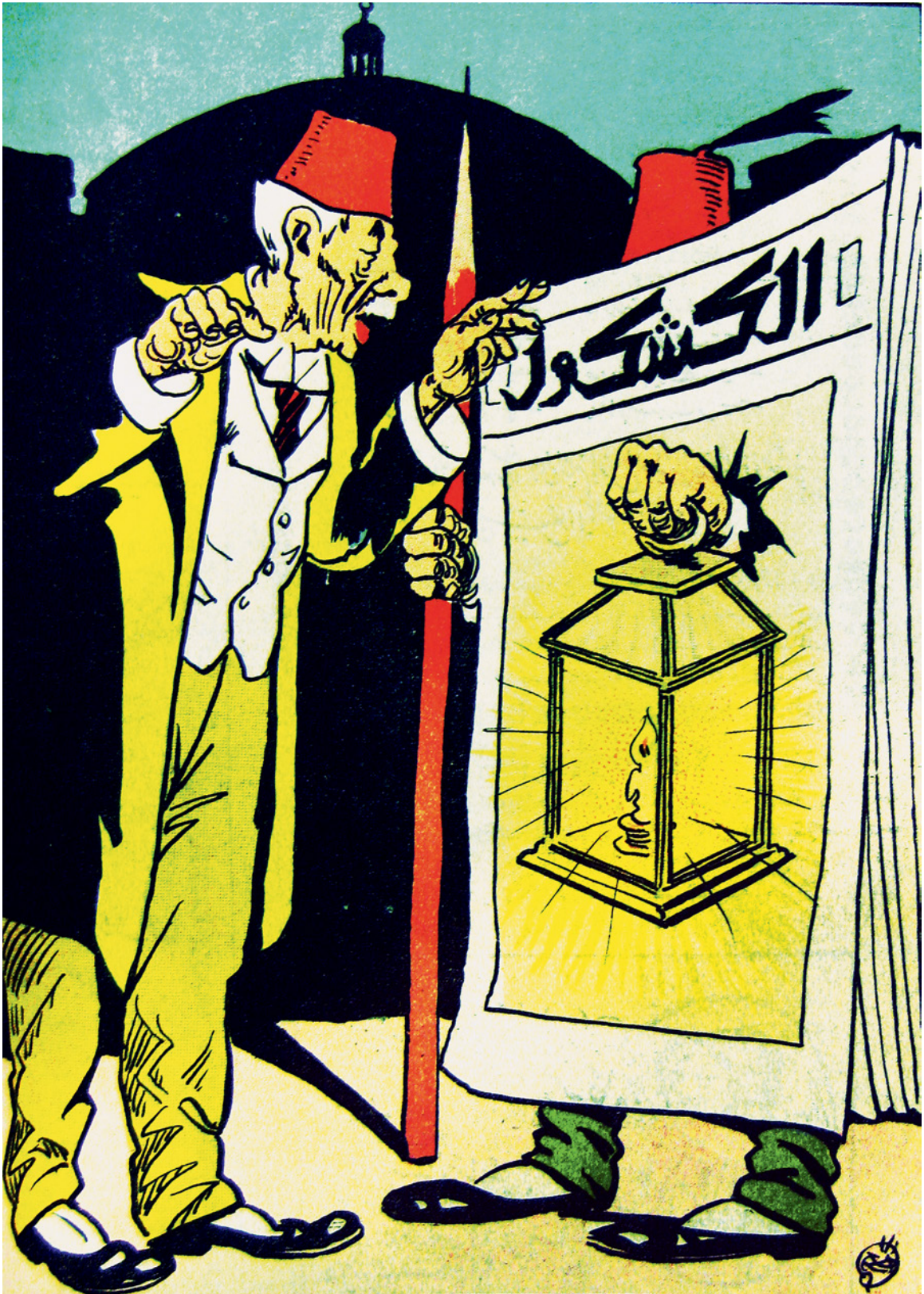


FIGURE 4.8 *Al-Kaşköl Prevents the Convening of Parliamentary Meetings.* Juan Santes, “*al-Kaşköl yamna’ min huđür ğalasät al-barlamän,*” *al-Kaşköl al-muşawwar* 149, March 21, 1924, 16.

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dealt again with the role of the journal within the political arena, and more precisely with the need for a satirical journal as a means to convey political criticism against the regime (fig. 4.9).⁴⁸ In this caricature, Zağlūl is seen sitting on a throne, crowned with a laurel wreath, welcoming a delegation of journalists. On the right, one can identify Fawzī, burning incense in front of Zağlūl.⁴⁹ At the center, three journalists are depicted bowing down—one of them can be identified as a representative of *al-Aḥbār* on the basis of him holding a copy of the newspaper. These two caricatures emphasized the role of *al-Kaškūl* or its stance in opposition to the Wafd and its leader, and hence the oppositional importance of the satirical journal.

Despite the unifying elements of the satirical, illustrated, and popular journals, there was not always agreement between the different journals regarding how to present their criticism through images. Various columns and caricatures discussed the work of other journals in this context, as well as their writers and artists. Thus, for example, a month after *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* began publication, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* attacked at length and in detail the appearance of the new journal and its owner's motives.⁵⁰ In this column, the criticism of the caricatures was particularly prominent, while the unknown writer (probably Makāriyūs himself), accused Fawzī of publishing images (*ṣuwar* and *rusūm*), "which are called caricatures," but they are not real caricatures, as only *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* knows what caricatures are. The writer does not clarify what he means by the phrase "real caricatures." He claims that people see in the caricatures and in the satirical press itself an unworthy expression of modern Egyptian

culture. In his eyes, and in the eyes of some of the intellectuals of the time (according to the writer), satirical writers and caricaturists are loathsome, corrupted, mean, and vicious people. Fawzī himself is accused in this column of betraying Egypt and pursuing personal benefits at Zağlūl's expense—"Egypt's hero." The satirical press is depicted as an obstacle in the nation's path to freedom and full independence—a nation which cannot afford "wolves in the costumes of sheep, appearing as journalists, and behaving corruptly through the filthy illustrated newspapers through which they are killing the spirit of nationalism, and putting an end to the national culture."⁵¹ The writer suggests that *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* and its owner change their focus and discuss the elements in Egyptian society that corrupt the Egyptian youth, and thereby threaten the nation's existence: the filthy movies and theatre plays, gambling, dove hunts, alcoholic beverages and drugs. According to the writer, condemning these obscene habits needed to be at the core of the national struggle. At the end of the column, the writer estimated that soon *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* would cease to exist, on account of the many letters he received, "even from Post Sudan," applauding his criticism of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*.⁵²

The disputes between the different journals discussed here also revolved around their political, social, and cultural positions. Prominent in this context was the criticism directed in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* against *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* and Fawzī. Over a period of five years, between 1926 and 1931, almost once a month, articles and caricatures in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* discussed Fawzī's behavior and actions. Fawzī was described in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* as a greedy and corrupt troublemaker;⁵³ as a possessor of privileges under the governments of Maḥmūd and

48 Juan Santes, "Hkaḏā yurīd takūn ḡarīda al-Aḥbār wa-ḡarīda al-Kaškūl?" *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 151, April 4, 1924, frontispiece.

49 In Egyptian popular culture, burning incense in front of someone is considered an act of praise and approbation.

50 "Lā nurīd li-Miṣr ṣiḥāfa muṣawwara qaḏara," *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 334, July 4, 1921, 12.

51 *Ibid.*

52 *Ibid.*

53 Untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 128, May 22, 1928, frontispiece; "Ḥawla sarāy ʿIzzat Paša," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 129, May 29, 1928, 9.



FIGURE 4.9 Is This How He Wants *al-Aḥbār* and *al-Kaškül* to Be? Juan Santes, “*Hkaḏā yurīd takūn ḡarīda al-Aḥbār wa-ḡarīda al-Kaškül?*” *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 151, April 4, 1924, frontispiece.

Şidqī, and even as their puppet, as well as being sponsored by the *Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn*;⁵⁴ and as actually running a bar as opposed to a legitimate satirical journal—apparently due to Fawzī's lifestyle.⁵⁵ After December 1931, it seems at least from the pages of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, that Fawzī ceased to exist. This “disappearance,” after five years of criticism, is odd since *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* continued publishing at least until 1934. It should be noted that despite the constant criticism in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* of Fawzī, only a few caricatures in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* dealt with *Rūz al-Yūsuf* and its owner, Fāṭima al-Yūsuf. However, the criticism reflected in these images mostly focused on al-Yūsuf's political stances and not her personality or private life.

2 Production, Location, and Distribution

The history of the economy of printing, the material and organizational factors of the industry, and of the agents involved in circulation, including the technical, logistic, and operative channels of the industry in Egypt has been receiving growing academic attention in the past two decades. The most prominent studies in this context are those of Ayalon and Kathryn A. Schwartz.⁵⁶ As

Ayalon indicates, these aspects of printing “had a substantial impact on the scope and pace of producing written works, their dissemination in the region, and their availability to the emerging reading publics.”⁵⁷ As academic literature on the Arab *nahḍa* had tended to focus on the text itself (the ideas, contents, and genres of writing), and on its political, social and cultural implications, these new studies focused on less-studied aspects of the intellectual activity, without which “there would have been no literary awakening.”⁵⁸

Regarding the journals discussed here, some of these aspects can be discussed through the autobiographies of al-Yūsuf and Raḥā. Al-Yūsuf explained that at the beginning of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*'s publication, its production was handled in several locations: the editing and proofreading were done in al-Tābī's office, in al-Yūsuf's apartment, and in random coffee shops;⁵⁹ lining the engravings was done in a special workshop; and the printing itself was done in a printing house in al-Šarīf street.⁶⁰ It should be noted in this context that printing houses in Cairo printed the issues of more than one journal or newspaper, and only a few of the newspapers and journals of the time had their own printing machines.⁶¹ Raḥā mentioned in his memoirs that most journals in the 1920s were printing their issues in a printing house that was

54 “*Taḥta ayy sulṭān tuharrur al-ṣuḥuf al-mu'arriḍa?*” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 130, June 5, 1928, 10–11; Iskandar Šārūḥān, “*al-Sīnimā al-nāṭiqā*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 161, February 25, 1930, 7.

55 “*Bār wa-ḡarīda al-Kaškūl*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 132, June 19, 1928, 7.

56 Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution*; Schwartz, “The Political Economy of Private Printing in Cairo,” and “Meaningful Mediums: A Material and Intellectual History of Manuscript and Print Production in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Cairo,” (Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2015). To these studies one can add studies that explore aspects of learning the profession such as Adnan Ayyub Musallam, “The Emergence of the Arabic Language Press, 1514–1914, with a Case Study of Printing and Press Developments in Egypt and Ottoman Syria/Lebanon,” *al-liqa' Journal* 39 (December 2012): 129–153.

57 Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution*, ix.

58 *Ibid.*

59 Fawzī also worked from home in the early days of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*. See Yūnān Labīb Rizq, “Al-Ahrām: A Diwan of Contemporary Life,” *al-Ahrām Weekly Online* 512, December 14–20, 2000. Accessed April 13, 2017, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2003/646/cu6.htm>.

60 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 99; ‘Abduḥ, *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, 25–26.

61 In the late nineteenth century, there were only three printing presses in Egypt—Al-Ahrām, Wādī al-Nīl and Būlāq. These circumstances began to change following the British occupation, and at the beginning of the twentieth century (1909) there were 62 printing machines in Cairo, 46 in Alexandria and 23 more in other urban centers across Egypt. Musallam, “The Emergence of the Arabic Language Press,” 151.

located in ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’ square.⁶² With the economic consolidation of some of the journals, a few of them acquired printing equipment, such as *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*. The owner advertised his printing services in the 1930s in his journal’s issues—ads which were directed to anyone in need of printing services. The income from these services probably assisted in paying for the printing of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* itself.⁶³

The journals had offices for communication and subscription purposes. The addresses of those offices were updated, as required by law, usually on the frontispiece of each issue. However, when al-Yūsuf opened the formal offices of the journal in May 1928, her home address continued to be published in the journal as *Rūz al-Yūsuf*’s mailing address for the use of readers. The data regarding the addresses for communication shows that most of the offices were located in adjacent neighborhoods—Qaṣr al-Nīl and Bāb al-Lūq. Some of the caricaturists also hired offices in those neighborhoods, such as Raḥā, who had an office above the market of Bāb al-Lūq. Advertising companies held offices in that area, such as Šarikat al-Našr al-Miṣriyya (The Egyptian Publishing Company).⁶⁴ Qaṣr al-Nīl and Bāb al-Lūq are located south-west of ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’ square, and they are part of what is termed in Egyptian historiography as “colonial Cairo” or, to use Abu-Lughod’s term, “the Golden Coast.”⁶⁵ A significant portion of the Egyptian elites inhabited this section of the city in the first half of the twentieth century. At the beginning of the century, these

were mostly immigrants and Christians. The development of the area (which included the quarters of Azbakiyya, Sulaymān Paša, Qaṣr al-Dūbāra, Garden City and Zamālik) began under the rule of Muḥammad Sa‘īd, son of Muḥammad ‘Ali, between 1854 and 1863.⁶⁶ However, its main growth and development occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century, when numerous commercial and financial foundations were established there, as well as foreign consulates, private villas, apartment buildings, and gardens. At the end of WWI, Muslim Egyptians made up less than half of the population of these quarters of the city, despite their prominent presence as servants to the quarters’ inhabitants. In 1947, their presence rose to 57 percent; however, among those who were not servants, but rather belonged to the elites, most spoke French among themselves and kept a lifestyle similar to what they perceived as Western. The significant change of the quarters’ character occurred only after the Free Officers Revolution in 1952.⁶⁷ The concentration of the journals’ offices, as well as the printing houses and graphic services in these quarters, allowed for the collaboration and shared use of printing and other equipment, as well as the relatively easy coordination of publishing each issue. In addition, the intended audiences of the journals lived in that area; hence, the distribution of each issue in the streets through different *agents* occurred in the intellectual, cultural, and social surroundings of the production of the satirical product.

Information regarding distribution figures of the journals can be found in the journals themselves, and in documentation by their owners, who wished to praise the achievements of their products and their political significance. They also used those numbers to attract advertisers. However, as other researchers have mentioned, these figures cannot be seen as reliable, since some of

62 Abū al-Aynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārikātūr*, 38.

63 The advertisements in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* praised the quality of the journal itself as a testimony to the quality of the work done in the printing house of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*. One can learn from the advertisements that the printing house performed work for different purposes, including for lawyers, doctors, and merchants. For an example of these ads, see *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 451, January 3, 1930, 22.

64 Abū al-Aynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārikātūr*, 38, 41.

65 Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, 202.

66 According to Abu-Lughod, in the Middle Ages Bāb al-Lūq was the place of residence of Cairo’s thieves and fugitives. *Ibid*, 116.

67 *Ibid*, 204.

the information was apparently exaggerated, on the grounds of the reasons just specified.⁶⁸ Alongside the evidence of exaggerated distribution numbers, one can find reportage of low distribution data to avoid paying high taxes, which was collected in accordance with distribution numbers.⁶⁹ Thus, for example, *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* published in January 1921 an ad, addressed to advertisers, that claimed that the journal sold 17,000 copies of each issue.⁷⁰ Three months later, the figures rose to 30,000 copies.⁷¹ Three years later, Makāriyūs claimed the journal sold 35,000 copies of each issue.⁷² Another advertisement, published in the journal in January 1921 and addressed again to the advertisers wishing to publish in the journal, told them that recently the journal advertised for a writer. The advertisement was removed after only a week due to the numerous replies the editorial board received—as a testimony to the journal's popularity, or in the ads' words, "the reason is well known: it is the distribution range of the journal."⁷³ In another ad, published in *al-Itṭayn*, *al-Muṣawwar* asked the advertisers to remember that "*al-Itṭayn* has the largest circulation of any journal in Egypt, after *al-Muṣawwar*."⁷⁴ In an advertisement published in *Kull šay' wa-l-ʿālam*, the journal's publishing house declared all five journals published by Dār al-Hilāl (which add up to 125,000 issues per week) are read by half a million readers across Egypt.⁷⁵

Ayalon compiled several estimates regarding distribution numbers for some of the journals discussed here. Accordingly, between the years 1927 and 1928 *al-Muṣawwar* and *Rūz al-Yūsuf*

published 20,000 copies per issue; *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 10,000 copies per issue; and *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* around 8,000 copies per issue. Around 1937, the distribution numbers of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* declined to 3,000–4,000 copies per issue while *al-Muṣawwar*'s numbers rose to 24,000–26,000.⁷⁶ Raḥā wrote in his memoirs that in the early 1940s *Aḥir sa'a al-muṣawwara* sold 11,000 copies per issue.⁷⁷ According to Ayalon, at the end of the 1940s this number rose to 40,000, while *Rūz al-Yūsuf*'s distribution rose again to 20,000 copies per issue, whereas figures for *al-Itṭayn* reached 120,000.⁷⁸ If we compare these numbers to the distribution numbers for the daily press, such as those for *al-Ahrām*, the leading newspaper of the time, which published 30,000 copies per issue, we can see that the illustrated, popular, and satirical journals had a relatively wide distribution.

The journals were distributed by mail, through distributors, agents (*muwazza'* or *wakīl*), sellers or suppliers, and other mediators.⁷⁹ These mediators, determined Ayalon, were essential to the processes of distribution and to establishing the connection between producers and consumers: "they were the ones who determined whether distribution would be slow or accelerated; whether the publications will reach the *rīf* and periphery or will remain within the limits of urbanization centers; whether their availability in certain urban quarters will be easy or difficult; whether their producers, publishers and printers will receive their payments in full and on time; and whether—in the case of journals—their distribution's flow will be constant or fragmented."⁸⁰

68 Wynn argued that the custom of exaggerating distribution numbers was still common in the 1940s, since there was no official bureau responsible for the issue. Wynn, "Western Techniques," 391.

69 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 145–146.

70 *Al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 308, January 3, 1921, 10.

71 *Al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 322, April 12, 1921, 2.

72 *Al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 476, March 24, 1924, 6.

73 *Al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 308, January 3, 1921, 10.

74 *Al-Itṭayn* 106, June 22, 1936, 7.

75 *Kull šay' wa-l-ʿālam* 235, May 10, 1930, 2.

76 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, tables 1 and 2, 143, 148–151.

77 Abū al-ʿAynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārikātīr*, 134.

78 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 148–151.

79 As Ayalon mentions, not long after the inception of mass Arabic printing, a network of agents was spread across the region, and it proved indispensable for the distribution of journals and newspapers. Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution*, 129, 131.

80 Ayalon, "*ha-Pōʿalim ha-šḥōrim šēl ha-thūyya ha-tarbūtī ha-ʿarabī*," *Hamizrah heḥadaš* 50 (2011): 31.

Testimonies of the role these mediators played in designing the process of distribution are scanty. There is limited information regarding their identity, their socio-cultural background, their other occupations, or their place in the community. As the journals occasionally published the names of their agents or suppliers and their locations, clues regarding their social and cultural position were exposed by these publications. Up until WWI, a great many of them had Christian names, reflecting the broad involvement of that community in distributing the printed product.⁸¹ During the interwar years, the title *efendi* often accompanied the names of the agents, which testifies to their belonging to the educated strata of society. Some of them held several positions, alongside their work as agents for the journal—as collectors of subscription fees, or advertising agents. Ayalon suggests that journals and newspapers addressed these mediators to serve as their agents due to their social status, their public role, or their education.⁸² Thus, for example, in its first year *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* published an advertisement that declared its need for agents to distribute the journal in Egypt's various districts. The add also specified that the chosen agent would need to pay the journal a deposit fee in cash (the amount is not specified).⁸³ Later in the issue, the names of three sellers of the journal were specified—two in Cairo and one in Alexandria. Yet, these sellers or suppliers were not exclusive to *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar*; rather, as the add specified, they were selling newspapers and journals in Arabic and other languages in Cairo and Alexandria.⁸⁴ A year later, the editorial board of *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* published that Ibrāhīm Efendi was the journal's agent in Lower Egypt and Alexandria. In addition, the agent also served, as the ad specified, as the collector of the subscription fees for the journal and was responsible for collecting ads for publication

from these areas.⁸⁵ Similar examples can be found in *al-Laṭā'if al-muşawwara*, which published in its first year an ad for an agent for both Cairo and the *rif*.⁸⁶ A year later, an agent specifically for Alexandria was added, and the following year, the journal published a list of twenty-two shops and businesses (Ar. *maktaba*; pl. *maktabāt* or *makātib*) in which the journal could be bought.⁸⁷ *Rūz al-Yūsuf* had agents in Egypt and abroad—in Lebanon, Sudan, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Tunis, New York, and Paris.⁸⁸

References to agents' incompetence or negligence can be found in the journals, which testified to the problematic realities of the distribution systems, as well as to the problems of collecting subscription fees or transferring those fees back to the executive offices of the journals. Thus, for example, *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* published in April 1922 an ad declaring the dismissal of Muḥammad Efendi Fu'ād, who had been responsible for collecting funds (*muḥaṣṣil*) for the journal in Lower Egypt, due to his unreliability and his failure to comply with the instructions of his superior, 'Abdallāh Efendi. The ad also mentioned that from then onwards, 'Abdallāh Efendi would be the sole agent responsible for all matters regarding the journal in the area.⁸⁹

In addition to distribution problems caused by the agents, there were also problems stemming from the manner in which the mail was handled by the post clerks, from the manner in which postal services functioned as a whole, and from the functioning of the train systems, which all affected the distribution of newspapers and journals

81 Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution*, 131.

82 Ayalon, "*ha-Pō'alim ha-šḥōrim*," 39.

83 *Al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 47, April 9, 1922, 6.

84 *Ibid.*, 11.

85 *Al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 87, January 14, 1923, 10.

86 *Al-Laṭā'if al-muşawwara* 15, April 26, 1915, 4.

87 *Al-Laṭā'if al-muşawwara* 49, January 17, 1916, 9; *al-Laṭā'if al-muşawwara* 26, August 19, 1915, 4. Ayalon mentioned that the term was coined especially for book shops in the mid-nineteenth century and became common from the mid-1870s. Ayalon, *The Arab Print Revolution* 39, 106–107.

88 *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 103, October 27, 1927, 5; 114, February 14, 1928, 12; 129, May 29, 1928, 11; 144, September 18, 1928, 17; 279, June 19, 1933, 25; 398, September 11, 1935, 47.

89 *Al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 48, April 16, 1922, 15.



FIGURE 4.10 Sunday. “*Yawm al-‘aḥad*,” *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* 330, June 6, 1921, 6.
STERLING & BASS LIBRARIES, YALE UNIVERSITY

at large.⁹⁰ The Egyptian postal system was instrumental to the distribution of printed materials, which were mostly printed in Cairo, and then delivered to Egypt’s urban centers and the *rīf*.⁹¹ As discussed by Fahmy, this system contributed

greatly to the gradual standardization of Egyptian culture by increasing the systematic circulation of news, gossip, and culture, and in the process exposed the periphery to the developing culture of the national core (Cairo).⁹²

Yet, postal distribution problems caused situations in which subscribers had to wait several days before receiving the issues from Cairo. A caricature published in *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* addresses these kinds of delays. The caricature refers to an unexplained government decision to cancel railway traffic every Sunday. As the decision affected the distribution of printed materials, it also caused other economic damage to merchants, farmers, and anyone with an interest in the regular traffic of the train (fig. 4.10).⁹³ The caricature shows a representative of the press, among other victims of the government’s decision, shoving a locomotive, while complaining that he did not know the free

90 The first organized postal service in Egypt was established early in the reign of Muḥammad ‘Ali, although at first it limited its services to government use only. Ḥassan al-Baḏīli established the first courier service for public use in the 1820s. It was followed by Carlo Merati’s 1843 opening of the first post office in Alexandria and the establishment of a postal service between Cairo and Alexandria. This postal service, which was later called the *Poste Européenne*, gradually established post offices throughout the Delta and, later, Upper Egypt. In January 1865, the Egyptian government bought the network of nineteen post offices from the *Poste Européenne* and incorporated them into an official “Egyptian Post Office.” Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*, 26–27.

91 Fahmī published the numbers of journals delivered by the Egyptian Post Office between 1895 and 1917; on average, roughly one-third of all Egyptian mail consisted of journals. *Ibid*, Appendix A, table A.2, 178.

92 *Ibid*, 27.

93 “*Yawm al-‘aḥad*,” *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* 330, June 6, 1921, 6.

subscription he received meant having to work so hard. A week later, the journal published a second caricature relating to the subject, in which it was declared that the trains would resume activity on Sunday. Yet, according to the image alone, one can understand that resuming activity came at a price to the customers, who are depicted being run over by the train.⁹⁴

3 Cost and Price

The article from *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* discussed above that criticizes the appearance of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* and its owner's motives, based its arguments on the claim that Egypt would not be able to face the tests which the "filthy illustrated press" (*ṣiḥāfa muṣawwara qaḍara*) confronted it with—a press which offends both the journalists of the time, and Egypt's leaders and heroes.⁹⁵ The anonymous writer, which one can assume was the journal's owner, Makāriyūs, wrote that Egypt had enough un-illustrated newspapers. He advised *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* not to go down that "filthy path," and pointed out that *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* knows better how to keep the principle of "defending the interests of the country ... [and how] to materialize the means for free illustrated press."⁹⁶ In what way were the caricatures of *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* more loyal to the principle of defending the interests of Egypt one can only speculate. *Al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* was identified as having a pro-Wafdist ideology, while Fawzī, the owner of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, was associated with the al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn, as well as with the Palace.

However, was the main concern of *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* only Egypt's and its leaders' dignity? For six years *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* was the most

prominent illustrated journal published in Egypt, as well as the main publisher of caricatures.⁹⁷ In other words, despite the ideological and national claims of the anonymous writer in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara*, one might assume that his motives were also economic and reflected a battle over the pockets of the consumers. After all, the logic behind each of these private publications was basically economic, despite all statements to the contrary by the owners and editors.

How much did it cost to publish a journal? An owner of a newspaper or of a journal who chose not to invest in printing equipment could have begun the venture with a low budget. Initiating a new journal or a new newspaper with its own printing house was a much more expensive venture. When the British established an Arabic weekly for propaganda purposes during WWI, they estimated the initial costs at sixty Egyptian Pounds, and the monthly operating costs at two hundred Egyptian Pounds. Baron estimated that the high monthly costs were mainly due to high prices during the war, and due to the salaries of the British reporters. A previous estimate, from 1887, estimated the initial costs at a hundred Egyptian Pounds and the monthly costs at 25 Egyptian Pounds.⁹⁸

A private owner of a journal of limited scope need to hold several positions: to serve as the editor of his paper, to collect the materials himself, to write the articles, and to distribute the final product. Ṣannū's *Abū naḍḍāra* was based on such a scheme. When Ṣannū began publishing caricatures in the journal, at first, he also drew the caricatures himself. Occasionally, one editorial board had control over the publication of several journals, such as the editorial board of *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara*, which also published *al-ʿArūsa*

94 Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 332, June 20, 1921, 5.

95 "Lā nurid li-Miṣr ṣiḥāfa muṣawwara qaḍara," *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 334, July 4, 1921, 12.

96 *Ibid.*

97 Satirical journals were published in Cairo before WWI; however, these did not last long and were not as widely distributed as *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara*. Between 1890 and 1910 over a hundred satirical journals were published in Egypt, constituting about twenty percent of all printed press in those years.

98 Baron, *The Women's Awakening*, 67–68.

(*The Bride*, 1925–1934), *al-Awlād* (*The Children*, 1921–1932), and a short term daily. In this context, while describing the first days of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, al-Yūsuf mentioned that the work on each issue was done at her private dwelling, or more accurately, in a two-room apartment, owned by the poet Aḥmad Ṣawqī, which also temporarily served as the offices of the journal.⁹⁹ The editorial board of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in those days included al-Yūsuf, the editor al-Tābī, and the manager Ibrāhīm Ḥalīl (the brother-in-law of ‘Abd al-Qādir Ḥamza, the owner of *al-Balāġ*). Aside from al-Yūsuf’s apartment, the offices of the editorial board for *al-Balāġ* and the nearby al-Angīlu Ḥāliyyā Bar served as work spaces for al-Yūsuf and al-Tābī.¹⁰⁰

In practice, the main expenses for newspapers and journals’ entrepreneurs were printing and mailing. However, postage was the main expenditure: for a journal with several thousand subscribers, some located overseas, the mailing costs could have been double the printing costs.¹⁰¹ When al-Yūsuf considered publishing her journal, her colleague Ḥalīl, who worked at the time for *al-Balāġ*, estimated that printing 3,000 copies on a high quality paper would cost her twelve Egyptian Pounds, and if all copies were sold, the net profit for each issue would be five Egyptian Pounds.¹⁰² The amount was not as high as al-Yūsuf thought it would be.¹⁰³ Yet, she found out that the actual costs of printing the first issue were much higher than the initial estimate. However, she did not mention the exact figure in her memoirs.¹⁰⁴ Later, she encountered difficulties distributing the journal—a mission joined by her friends, the doctor Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ, the theatre actor Zakī

Rustam, and the singer Um Kulṭum.¹⁰⁵ Al-Yūsuf revealed that some of the subscribers continued to receive issues though they were not interested in the journal, and therefore refused to pay for them. In any case, the journal was not profitable at first, hence all editorial board members, including al-Yūsuf herself, received no payment for their work, nor did some of the writers and poets who contributed to the journal in its first years.¹⁰⁶

The ongoing materialization of more and more journals and newspapers generated intense competition, which in turn created the investments of more and more resources in improving the products and promoting them in order to survive and thrive. These resources came, as mentioned by Ayalon, from family fortunes, or more frequently, from patrons, such as groups of colleagues who shared the *weltanschauung* reflected in the journal; political parties who wanted to support one title or silence another; religious communities, businesses, and other groups which aimed at promoting their economic interests, etc.¹⁰⁷ Investments could be made monthly or periodically, or through the acquisition of a large number of issues. Al-Yūsuf mentioned that the first issue of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, for example, was funded by her colleague, Aḥmad Ḥassan.¹⁰⁸ Ṣawqī, who owned the flat from which al-Yūsuf worked, and in which she also lived, helped finance her move to a new residence, with the reorientation of the journal to a political format. The new building was also owned by Ṣawqī and was situated in the same street.¹⁰⁹ Martin Kramer mentioned that in many cases, the patrons of newspapers and journals remained anonymous, as they were prepared to pay a considerable amount of money to see their opinions

99 These circumstances meant that anyone who wanted to work with her needed “to climb a ladder of ninety steps before arriving to the offices of the journal.” Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 97.

100 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 98.

101 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 197.

102 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 95–96.

103 *Ibid.*, 96.

104 *Ibid.*, 97.

105 *Ibid.*

106 *Ibid.*, 98.

107 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 200.

108 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 96.

109 The rent at the new address was two Egyptian Pounds per month. In the new location, each one of the members of the editorial board—al-Yūsuf, al-Tābī and Ḥalīl—had their own desk. *Ibid.*, 109–110.

printed and spread to a wide audience.¹¹⁰ Exposing the patrons' names could have been harmful to owners and donors alike, since it would have called into question the integrity of the journalists on the one hand, and the interests of the patron, on the other. Evidence of this is found in *Rūz al-Yūsuf's* constant criticism of the economic support Fawzī and *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* received from al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn, as reflected in a cartoon published in February 1930 (fig. 4.11).¹¹¹ This comic strip suggests that each time a parliament was headed by the Wafd, Fawzī deliberately criticized it in order to be fined and arrested, so he could address the members of al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn for help and financial contributions.¹¹²

Information on how these different ventures were funded (expenses and costs of offices, equipment, raw materials, data collection, salaries, and distribution) is scant for the most part.¹¹³ Some information regarding *Rūz al-Yūsuf* can be gathered from al-Yūsuf's memoirs. Al-Yūsuf describes funding difficulties with regard to the publication of the first issue that resulted from the fact that the journal's vendors refused to pay her the profits from the first issue until they received the second.¹¹⁴ In addition, the journal did not have a

regular budget in its early years which included expenses, profits and stock. The expenses were written in a small notebook, and al-Yūsuf and al-Tābī reached an agreement that the profits would be divided between them equally. This amount ranged from a hundred to a hundred and fifty Egyptian Pounds each month.¹¹⁵ Al-Yūsuf mentioned that she managed to save from this amount every month until she had four hundred Egyptian Pounds to use as collateral to purchase the first private printing press for the journal.¹¹⁶ Interestingly, the first equipment bought by the editorial board was a pair of bicycles.¹¹⁷ Regarding the salaries of the writers, al-Yūsuf mentioned she employed Muṣṭafā Amīn for three years and he received only ten Egyptian Pounds for the whole period. After three years, she started paying him eight Egyptian Pounds per month. His colleague, Ġalāl al-Ḥamāmṣī, earned four Egyptian Pounds per month; Karīm Tābit earned eight Egyptian Pounds per month; and Sa'īd 'Abduh, who wrote a column and a poem for each issue, earned one Egyptian Pound per month.¹¹⁸

While the daily press was based on the written word, the illustrated, popular, and satirical journals incorporated a substantial number of images as well, and they needed to include as part of their budget the salaries of photographers, illustrators, and caricaturists, hence their budgets had to be significantly higher.¹¹⁹ One of the first references to the higher costs of publishing an illustrated journal appeared in the monthly *al-Hilāl*. In an article relating to the appearance of the illustrated journal *al-Siyāsa al-muṣawwara*, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the writer mentions that "the cost of the subscriptions were relatively minor in comparison to the necessary costs of

110 According to Kramer, without the economic backing of these patrons, the Arabic press would not have survived its first years of development. Kramer, "Pen and Purse," 771.

111 Iskandar Ṣārūḥān, "*al-Sinimā al-nāṭiqā*," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 161, February 25, 1930, 7.

112 Hiğris also claims that the journal's operation was co-funded by Ḥizb al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn. Hiğris, *Fann al-kārikātūr*, 121.

113 Wynn mentioned that in the years following WWI, a beginning writer earned between eight and nine Egyptian Pounds per month, and most reporters combined working for a morning newspaper and an evening newspaper to make a living. According to Wynn, the low salaries were the result of the lack of professional training—only in 1937 was the first Department of Journalism established in the Middle East at the American University at Cairo. Wynn, "Western Techniques," 394.

114 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 97.

115 *Ibid*, 127.

116 *Ibid*, 128.

117 *Ibid*, 99.

118 *Ibid*, 126–127.

119 For discussion of the implications these extra costs had on the Ottoman satirical journals, see Brummett, *Image & Imperialism*, 41.

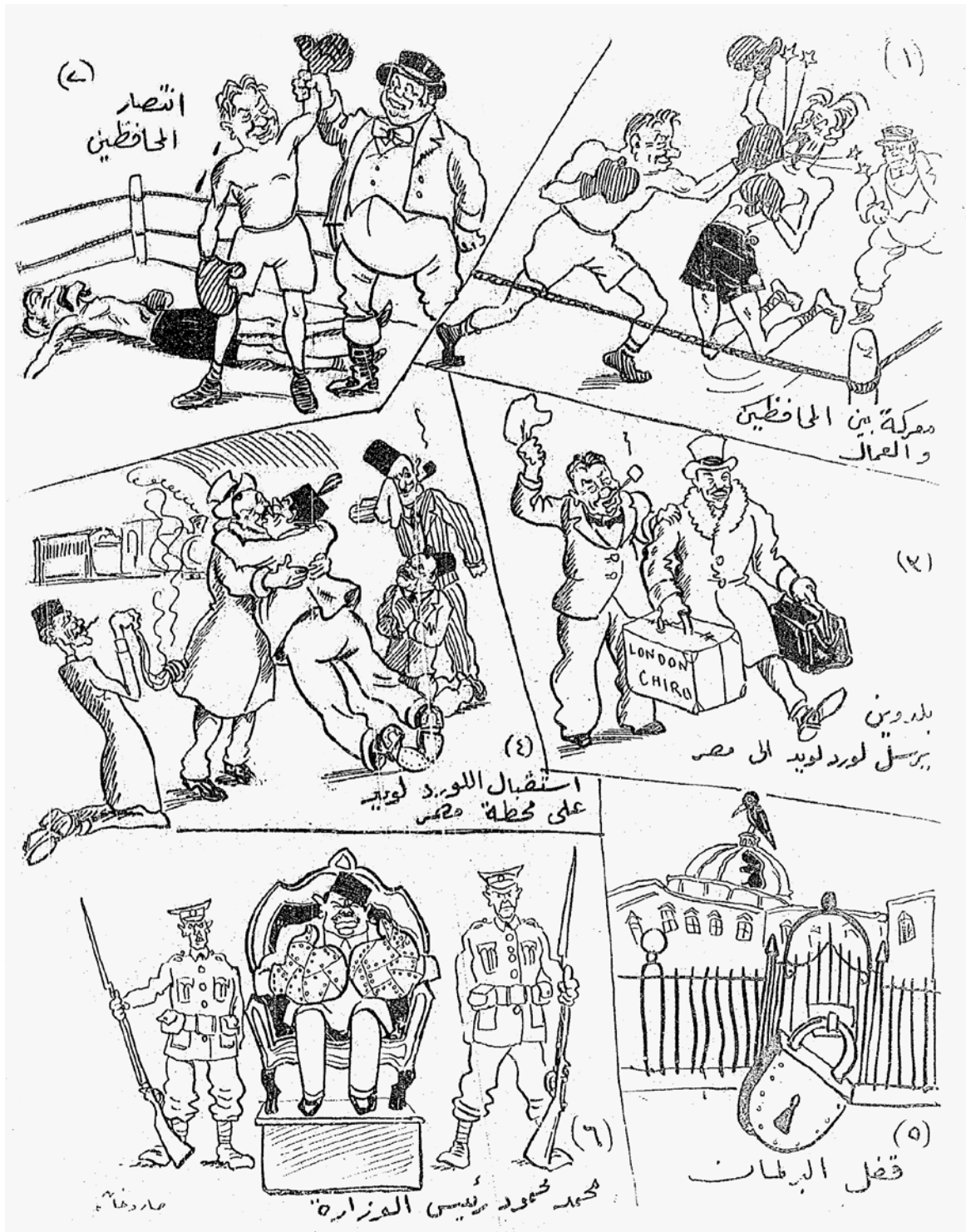


FIGURE 4.11 The Sound Film. Iskandar Šarūhān, "al-Simā al-nāṭīqa," Rūz al-Yūsuf 161, February 25, 1930, 7. THE JOSEPH REGENSTEIN LIBRARY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

illustrating and printing."¹²⁰ These costs, as mentioned in *al-Šā'iqa* (*The Lighting*), discussing *al-Siyāsa al-muṣawwara*, occasionally demanded "economic sacrifices" by the publishers.¹²¹ In any case, these kinds of references are not common. The caricaturist Raḥā mentioned in his memoir that for three weeks of work he did for *al-Fanān* (*The Artist*) he earned twenty Piasters.¹²² Later, he started requesting forty Piasters for a colored frontispiece caricature, while paying one hundred and fifty Piasters per month for a studio and office he rented above the marketplace at Bāb al-Lūq.¹²³ When working for the brothers Muṣṭafā and 'Alī Amīn, he earned ninety Piasters for a colored caricature.¹²⁴ In 1940, while working for *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, his salary reached twenty Egyptian Pounds per month.¹²⁵ Šārūḥān, Raḥā mentioned, earned fifty Piasters for each caricature he drew for *Rūz al-Yūsuf*.¹²⁶

4 Advertising Revenue

Apart from being sponsored by different patrons, the journals raised funds by printing advertisements. Terdiman was the first to draw attention to how satirical journals in nineteenth-century France were subject to commercial logic in the arrangement of their textual and visual materials. Since the space on each page was measurable in money, the column functioned principally to afford the maximum amount of type, and thus of income, per unit area. Thus, in Terdiman's words, "the column *itself* became readable as a machine to make money" (Terdiman's emphasis).¹²⁷ In other

words, commercial constraints dictated how text and image were laid-out on each page. Hence, although satirical journals aimed at articulating *pure* "counter-discourses," they found themselves, in the end, working under the same commercial and economic rules as the "hegemonic discourse."¹²⁸ The satirical journals in Egypt, as well as the illustrated and popular ones, were subject to the same economic constraints and performed within the same commercial format as other journals.

While reading the journals discussed here, I was unable to trace any information in the issues themselves regarding costs of advertising space, either per page or column, as occasionally can be seen in other newspapers and journals.¹²⁹ As a rule, publishers of newspapers and journals in Egypt were reluctant to disclose information regarding advertising revenue. Shechter argues that the reasons for this were related to business competition.¹³⁰ Al-Yūsuf mentioned that in her journal's early years, she sold advertising space for fifty Piasters per page.¹³¹ The journals do, however, include information regarding how communication between publishers and advertisers was conducted—whether through advertising agencies, or representatives of the journal who collected advertisements to be published. Thus, for example, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* published in each issue on the verso side of the frontispiece an ad declaring that anyone who wishes to publish in the journal should contact Šarikat al-Našr al-Miṣriyya.¹³² *Rūz al-Yūsuf* published ads with the contact information of its representative in Alexandria, who was in charge of collecting advertisements to be published in the journal. Some of the journals had agents outside

120 "Matbū'āt ḡadīda," *al-Hilāl* 5, February 1, 1908, 320.

121 *Al-Šā'iqa's* reference to the economic sacrifices demanded by the publishers appeared in *al-Siyāsa al-muṣawwara* 8, February 14, 1908, 4.

122 Abū al-'Aynayn, *Raḥā, fāris al-kārikātūr*, 38.

123 *Ibid.*, 41.

124 *Ibid.*

125 *Ibid.*, 54.

126 *Ibid.*, 112.

127 Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 186.

128 Early references in the Egyptian press to the costs of advertising space appear in *Wādī al-Nīl* and *al-Ahrām*. See Shechter, "Press Advertising in Egypt," 47.

129 Some information regarding other newspapers can be found in Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 204.

130 Shechter, "Press Advertising in Egypt," 50.

131 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 97.

132 The agency was situated in Qašr al-Nīl quarter, at 14 Maḡlūm Paša St., Cairo.

Egypt, such as *al-Itḥayn*, who collected advertisements in London and Paris as well.

An abundance of information regarding the efficiency of press advertising can be found in the journals. Shechter argues that this information reflected the importance of advertisements as a source of income for the publishers.¹³³ For example, in an ad from *al-Itḥayn*, the editorial board pleads with *al-mu'linīn al-kirām* (“the dear advertisers”) to compare the quality of materials and printing, as well as the sales of *al-Itḥayn* to other journals, and reminded them that “*al-Itḥayn* is the best-selling Egyptian journal after *al-Muṣawwar*,” (which was, like *al-Itḥayn*, a Dār al-Hilāl publication).¹³⁴

5 Sales Revenue

The journals' financial independence guaranteed their intellectual freedom and a platform from which to conduct a liberal, democratic discourse. Yet, they were still subject to principles of supply and demand. While prior to WWI, advertising revenues were a significant income source for newspapers and journals, these were not enough to fully finance publication.¹³⁵ Patrons were an important source of financial support; however, the journal's main source of income came from selling subscriptions and individual issues.

How much did it cost to read? Occasionally reading journals was free of charge. As Ayalon revealed, in Egypt, as well as in other late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century public-spheres, several readers were exposed to each issue. There were several forms of “group consumption” of newspapers and journals: collective acquisition and individual use through libraries or ad hoc groups; “borrowing” of newspapers from their distributors

for a fraction of the newspaper price; and reading in groups.¹³⁶ Meaning, those who could not afford to buy a newspaper or a journal's subscription, or even an individual issue, could have had access to them in coffee shops or other public places, such as through libraries' collections and reading rooms which began appearing in Egypt from the 1870s.¹³⁷ As Ayalon indicates, one can assume that the practice of reading newspapers in public had a greater effect on the male audience than the female one, since men had greater freedom in the public sphere.¹³⁸ Issues were also passed along from reader to reader or exchanged for other issues, as documented at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Egyptian intellectual Malaka Sa'd in her manual for household chores, *Rabbat al-Dār* (literally, the owner of the house; *The Housewife*).¹³⁹ Other sources documented that newspapers were read aloud in Cairo's streets, markets, and coffee shops. Listeners were “servants, donkey riders and others who couldn't read.”¹⁴⁰ In other words, information was transferred orally to a wider audience, and even if it was not read literally, it is hard to estimate the number of people exposed to the messages of the press, beyond the number of issues sold. Some of the caricatures published in the journals document this phenomenon of communal reading, as seen in an example published in January 1933 in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* (fig. 4.12).¹⁴¹

133 Shechter, “Press Advertising in Egypt,” 51.

134 “*Ilā al-mu'linīn al-kirām*,” *al-Itḥayn* 106, June 22, 1936, 21.

135 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 205–206; Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 69; and Shechter, “Press Advertising in Egypt,” 47.

136 Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution*, 184–193.

137 On the appearance of libraries and reading rooms in the region, see Ayalon, *The Arabic Print Revolution*, 114–122.

138 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 158.

139 Malaka recommended in the manual that the books and journals loaned be numbered and that these numbers be recorded when they were loaned, to guarantee their return. As mentioned by Baron, quoting Malaka, this recommendation suggested the existence of an informal network of readers in certain circles in Egyptian society. Baron, *The Women's Awakening*, 88.

140 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 157, n. 40, 264.

141 Untitled caricature, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 609, January 13, 1933, 17.



FIGURE 4.12 Communal Reading. Untitled caricature, *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 609, January 13, 1933, 17.
HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

There were of course readers who paid for subscriptions. Subscription costs were derived from the time period of the subscription and the distance of the customer. Annual subscriptions ranged from fifty Piasters per year (*al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara*, *Rūz al-Yūsuf*, *al-Iṭnayn*) to one hundred Piasters per year (*al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*). A six-month subscription ranged from four Piasters (*Rūz al-Yūsuf*) to sixty Piasters (*al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*) across Egypt; and twelve Shillings (*al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara*), one hundred and twenty-five Franks, five dollars (*al-Iṭnayn*), or two hundred Piasters for subscriptions abroad (*al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*). For comparison, daily newspapers sold annual subscriptions in Egypt during the interwar period for amounts that ranged between one hundred and two hundred Piasters. Journals sold subscriptions for less, eighty-five–one hundred and twenty Piasters per year. As a rule, journals, as opposed to newspapers, depended more on selling subscriptions, basically due to the fact that reading journals was more of a private activity, mostly done in the privacy of the reader's home, and less in public. Some of the journals used different incentives to encourage readers to buy subscriptions.¹⁴² The editorial board of *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara*, for example, offered binders that held a whole year's issues for eighty Piasters.¹⁴³ In addition, competitions offering different prizes, a custom most frequent in *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara*, were published occasionally. Some of the prizes reached the amount of ten Egyptian Pounds.

There was also the possibility of buying a single copy of a journal through newspaper sellers. A single copy of *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* or *Rūz al-Yūsuf*

in their first years of publication cost five *Malimāt* (one thousandth of an Egyptian Pound). Meanwhile, *al-Muṣawwar*, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, and *al-Iṭnayn* charged ten *Malimāt* per issue. Issues sold a week after publication were sold for higher prices.¹⁴⁴ For comparison, a daily in Egypt was sold in those years for prices ranging from three to five *Malimāt*.

The journals were sold on the streets by peddlers, mostly “barefooted newspaper boys in their blue or white robes and grubby turbans, who ran shouting through the streets, squares, tram stations, and cafes,” as some of the caricatures of the time documented.¹⁴⁵ In the imagined world of the caricature, these peddlers were the first to “pay the price” for the distribution of the caricature. Politicians who saw themselves attacked by those images, were depicted in caricatures revenging their insult—whether through biting those peddlers, pouring water over their heads, or other violent means, as can be seen in an example from May 1932, in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* (fig. 4.13).¹⁴⁶

6 Readership

“you must be joking, how can you read the newspaper if you are blind?”

I am only looking at the pictures ... ”

“*Surʿa ḥāṭir*,” *al-Iṭnayn* 44, April 15, 1935, 2.

Who could afford to buy a copy of a daily or a journal in Egypt in the first half of the twentieth century? The average annual per capita income in Egypt was about 50\$ or 1,000 *Qurūsh* on the eve of WWI.¹⁴⁷ However, the income of large segments of society, such as peasants, unskilled workers, and semiskilled laborers who provided

¹⁴² For details of some of these incentives, see Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 207–208. Yousef discusses briefly the difficulties journalism entrepreneurs encountered in maintaining a dedicated and paying readership, and the means of collectively shaming subscribers' behavior, in the hope of encouraging recalcitrant readers to send in their dues. Yousef, *Composing Egypt*, 30.

¹⁴³ *Al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 47, January 3, 1916, 9.

¹⁴⁴ *Al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara*, for example, raised the price from five *Malimāt* to twenty *Malimāt* after a week.

¹⁴⁵ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 156.

¹⁴⁶ “*Ṣuḥuf al-muʿāraḍa ... dāʿiman!*” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 223, May 23, 1932, 3.

¹⁴⁷ Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 192.



FIGURE 4.13 Opposition Newspapers... Always! "Ṣuḥuf al-mu'ārada ... dā'imān!" *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 223, May 23, 1932, 3.
THE JOSEPH REGENSTEIN LIBRARY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

simple services, was even lower. In other words, an annual subscription for a journal was worth approximately ten percent of their yearly income—an unrealistic option for most of the population. According to Ayalon, only three or four percent of the population could afford to buy a newspaper or a journal in Egypt at the time. In other words, for every one-thousand people, thirty-five copies of newspapers and journals were bought.¹⁴⁸ This meant that the satirical, illustrated, and popular journals were luxury goods, accessible only to the privileged, even when we are dealing with the purchase of a single issue. In addition to this economic constraint, one should be aware of the fact that in 1917, 92.1% of the Egyptian population were illiterate. In 1927, the numbers for literacy rose to 11.8% (male literacy was 19.6% and female literacy was 3.9%).¹⁴⁹

Who was, therefore, the target audience of these cultural products? It is difficult to pinpoint, count, identify and characterize the target audiences of the satirical, illustrated, and popular journals in

Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century. And yet, the editors of these journals address a certain type of reader, based on their perception of Egyptian society and its readiness to consume the printed cultural product. These perceptions were reflected in the information available in the journals themselves: the circulation and distribution areas, the subscription costs, the quizzes and competitions, advice columns, and information regarding the publication of forthcoming issues. Alongside the textual information, different images presented an imagined readership (caricatures, photographs, and illustrations), which provided images of men and women reading a journal. This imagery reflected the perception of editors and owners regarding their *ideal* reader-viewer's characteristics and social profile.

Upon examination, these images show that amongst the target audiences of these journals were the prime ministers of Egypt as well as other leading politicians, bureaucrats and state officials of all levels, military and police officers, judges, and other state servants. *Al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*, for example, published, on several occasions, images depicting Zaḡlūl, al-Nahḥās, and Crown-Prince Fārūq (1920–1965) holding copies of the

148 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 153.

149 Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*, table 4, 33; Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 141, 143.

journal. Alongside the images of the different representatives of the regime were images of other public figures, such as athletes, movie and theatre actors and actresses, singers of both sexes, writers, intellectuals, and so forth—all shown holding copies of the different journals. *Rūz al-Yūsuf* published in one of its first issues a photograph of the Jewish actress Victoria Cohen (1891–1966) holding a copy of the journal in an unnatural pose—allegedly reading it; however, she really seems to be presenting it to her imagined reader.¹⁵⁰ Associating the journal with public figures who were allegedly subscribers, positioned the journal as a luxury good, and its purchase theoretically identified its buyer as belonging to the same social circles as those public figures.

The relationship between the satirical journals and their readers was essentially political and was influenced by the political affiliation of the journals. In this context, the satirical journals were differentiated from the popular and illustrated ones, which were essentially a-political and addressed a wider audience. In these relationships, the community of readers were an active crowd, reacting to the contents of the journals: sending letters, writing articles, solving quizzes, winning prizes, and drawing caricatures that the journals occasionally published. Whether they disclosed their name or not, they revealed further information regarding their sex, profession, age, social status, religion, and geographical location.

From the range of information available in the journals, one can determine that the consumption of the satirical, illustrated, and popular journals in Egypt throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century was mainly an urban phenomenon, and more accurately a Cairene and

Alexandrian one. Fahmy disclosed that until the 1950s, 78.6% of the Egyptian journals published in Arabic were printed in Cairo. 9.2% were published in Alexandria—the second largest urban center regarding the volume of Arabic press.¹⁵¹ Consumers were mostly men—Muslims and not. And yet, women were also an intended audience, judging by the content of different texts and caricatures, as well as the advertisements promoting manufactured goods, different services, and the journals themselves. An example can be seen in the advertisements of *al-Muṣawwar* for its forthcoming issues, which regularly presented women reading its issues (for example, fig. 4.14).¹⁵²

Readers outside Egypt were also a targeted audience, as shown by Ayalon's claim that the Egyptian press had the highest demand throughout the Fertile Crescent: in 1936 about ten thousand copies of Egyptian dailies and about fifteen thousand copies of Egyptian journals were distributed throughout the area.¹⁵³ In this context, Ayalon pointed out that the division of the region into separate states, with defined borders and individual governments, did not result in a press exclusively confined to separate national territories. Rather, the tradition of the region as a single "pool of communication" remained and even developed further, enhanced by improved means of transportation.¹⁵⁴ The prices for the different journals outside Egypt were published on each issue, as well as the names of agents through which the journals could be bought.

Egyptian readerships could also be found outside Cairo and Alexandria, from the beginning of the twentieth century, as indicated by Baron.¹⁵⁵ John Ninet's experience demonstrates this; he was a Swiss traveler who toured Egypt at the time. Ninet claimed that "there was hardly a donkey boy in Cairo, or of any of the provincial towns, who

150 *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 58, December 8, 1926, frontispiece. It is interesting to note that all issues of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in its first two years of publication devoted the frontispieces to the publication of photographs of prominent public figures, many of them were women, including al-Yūsuf herself. However, Cohen was the only one presented with a copy of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in her hands.

151 Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*, 31, n.39, 188.

152 "*Taqrā' al-Muṣawwar 'alā al-blāg,*" *al-Itḥayn* 113, August 10, 1936, 7.

153 Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East*, 74.

154 *Ibid.*

155 Baron, *The Women's Awakening*, 82, n. 14, 217.

had not heard them [Abū Naḍḍāra's dialogues of Ṣannū'] read, if he could not read them himself; and in the villages, I can testify to their influence, for I was myself a diligent *colporteur* of Sanua's lucubrations wherever I went" (Ninet's emphasis).¹⁵⁶ However, Ninet relates to the journals Ṣannū' published in Cairo before he left for Paris—meaning they were lithographed sheets of text, without caricatures. In any case, reading a news report, an article, or a literary text, and explaining it, is not comparable to reading a caricature aloud, as this may not even be possible. The reading of the satirical image is an individual act, which often requires political, cultural, and social prior knowledge, as well as the ability to decode the visual and verbal symbols encoded in the art work. The prevailing assumptions in cultural studies are that caricatures are conceived as part of mass culture, crossing social boundaries, and targeting the widest possible audiences, without any stipulation regarding their level of education or their socio-economic background: "anyone could listen—to a handbill read out loud or a joke passed from friend to friend. Everyone could look—at caricatures and funny knickknacks, over someone's shoulder, in a shop window, in a vendor's basket."¹⁵⁷

In Egyptian cultural studies, this assumption is partly based on the fact that many of the caricatures' subtitles were written in the Egyptian colloquial dialect. Fahmy, for example, claimed only the colloquial Egyptian possessed the linguistic flexibility and the tools necessary to articulate wit and humor to all Egyptians, regardless of education or class. That was, according to Fahmy, the primary reason for the popularity and political effectiveness of the comedic theatre, recorded popular music, and the satirical press at the turn of the twentieth century and the continuing need for an outlet for colloquial Egyptian culture in the twenty-first century.¹⁵⁸ However, Fahmy's discussion is



FIGURE 4.14 Read *al-Muṣawwar* at the Beach. "Taqrā' *al-Muṣawwar* 'alā *al-blāg*," *al-Itḥayn* 113, August 10, 1936, 7.
PENN LIBRARIES RESEARCH ANNEX

on a satirical press that focused on the literary text—poetry and theatrical dialogues, which were based on daily activities and situations, and were adjusted to oral transmission and distribution and

156 John Ninet, "Origins of the National Party in Egypt," *The Nineteenth Century. A Monthly Review* 13 (January 1883): 128, quoted in Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*, 53.

157 "And most Berliners did," claimed Townsend, in her research of popular humor in nineteenth century Prussia. Townsend, *Forbidden Laughter*, 70.

158 Fahmy, *Ordinary Egyptians*, 6–7.

hence could be considered as part of mass culture, even an illiterate one.

The use of the colloquial to accompany caricatures in Egypt can be compared to similar choices in other lingual spheres, as, for example, nineteenth-century Berlin. Mary Lee Townsend has shown that the caricatures distributed in Berlin were also subtitled using the *Berlinisch* colloquial dialect. Townsend argued that this choice could be explained through social and cultural phenomena. The first was the outgrowth of the romantic interest in folk customs, while the second was the search for a national identity. She also points to the fact that the use of urban dialect added a touch of realism to the works. The use of *Berlinisch* colloquial dialect was also a political choice, “part of a battle for the freedom of the people ... an attempt to reach the *Volk* in whatever ways possible” (Townsend’s emphasis).¹⁵⁹

Habermas, who discussed the British eighteenth-century public-sphere, argued that the printed press was perceived by its readers as an inseparable part of the oral discussions in the public sphere. Hence, texts that were printed in the form of dialogues affirmed their closeness to the “spoken world” and served as a continuation, through their reading out loud, of the *original, real*, conversations, and vice versa. Thus, the conversation which was reproduced in the printed media, continued through its reading.¹⁶⁰

A different perspective was presented by the intellectual Fanon in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). This book, which aims to give a psychological analysis of the violence of colonialism, discusses the unreliability of the national bourgeoisie, and calls for an authentically national culture, which can only arise from an armed struggle (revolution). In Fanon’s thought, culture, rather than material conditions, serves as the crucial factor in bringing about the revolution. In other words, he sees the revolution above all as a cultural phenomenon. In his chapter “On National Culture,” he stresses the

importance of an authentic national culture for the stability and legitimacy of the new political order in the postcolonial era. For Fanon, the revolutionary culture is not the pseudo-national cultures most African states have contented themselves with—folklore, *négritude*, a truncated and self-interested version of the national past. In these pseudo-national cultures, artists and intellectuals use the local colloquial dialects to “be near as possible to the people”:

“At the very moment when the native intellectual is anxiously trying to create a cultural work, he fails to realize that he is utilizing techniques and language which are borrowed from the stranger in his country. He contents himself with stamping these instruments with a hallmark which he wishes to be national, but which is strangely reminiscent of exoticism. The native intellectual, who comes back to his people by way of cultural achievements, behaves in fact like a foreigner. Sometimes he has no hesitation in using a dialect in order to show his will to be as near as possible to the people; but the ideas that he expresses and the preoccupations he is taken up with have no common yardstick to measure the real situation which the men and the women of his country know. The culture that the intellectual leans toward is often no more than a stock of particularisms. He wishes to attach himself to the people; but instead he only catches hold of their outer garments.”¹⁶¹

One can ask in this context whether the reading of a spoken dialect, allegedly one that is “closer to the people,” is easier? Some, like Townsend, argue it is not. In her *Forbidden Laughter* Townsend has shown that for the mid-nineteenth century Berliners, reading the *Berlinisch* colloquial dialect was harder to decode than when hearing it, and it quickly became a fad.¹⁶² According to Townsend,

159 Townsend, *Forbidden Laughter*, 74.

160 Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 42.

161 Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. by Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963), 222–223.

162 Townsend, *Forbidden Laughter*, 75.

some mid-nineteenth-century educated Germans found the *Berlinisch* colloquial dialect amusing because they could recognize the errors and pretensions of their less fortunate contemporaries. Authors sometimes based their jokes on the tension between standard literary German and *Berlinisch*, thereby making their humor accessible only to those able to understand the discrepancy.¹⁶³ I must admit I have not been able to trace in the caricatures from interwar Egypt evidence for such discrepancies. However, many caricatures used words transliterated from French, Italian, and English in their subtitles—raising other questions regarding who their intended audiences were. Or what their designers assumed regarding their social and cultural capital. In any case, references regarding the ability of readers to fully read caricatures of the time are scanty at best.

In conclusion, it is clear that the caricatures, like other cultural products available in interwar Egypt, participated in drawing the conceptual boundaries that defined the social and cultural assets of their creators as well as of their readers. Purchasing an illustrated, popular, or satirical journal designated their consumers as belonging to defined socio-cultural strata on the one hand, and on the other defined the cultural product itself as a desirable luxury good. A comic strip, published in June 1936 in *al-Itnayn*, illustrates this point clearly (fig. 4.15).¹⁶⁴ In it a young woman is trying to draw the attention of a young man sitting on a bench. After three attempts fail, she drops an illustrated journal on the ground beneath the bench. In response, the man picks up the journal and starts reading it, leaving the young woman annoyed—a testimony to the illustrated journal's appeal.

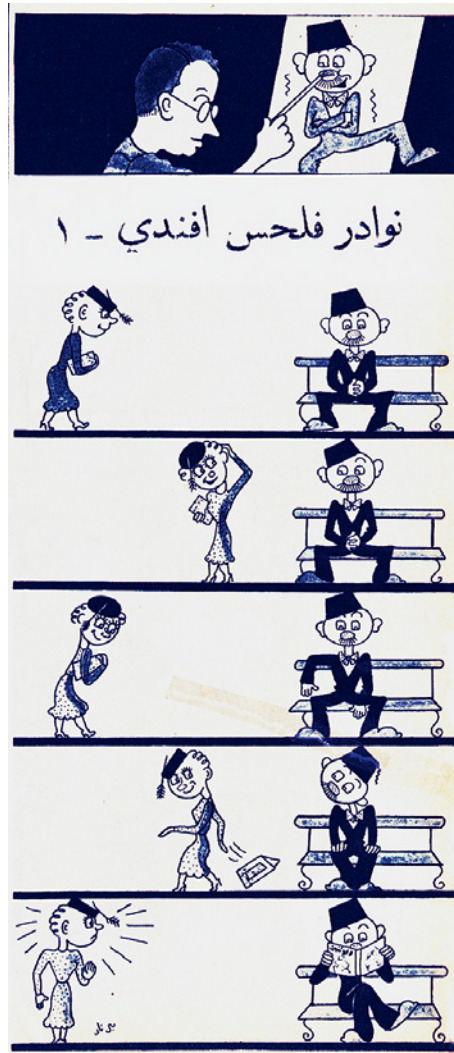


FIGURE 4.15 Anecdotes of Falḥas Efendi. Birnād, "Nawādir Falḥas Efendi—I," *al-Itnayn* 106, June 22, 1936, 20.

PENN LIBRARIES RESEARCH ANNEX

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Birnād, "Nawādir Falḥas Efendi—I," *al-Itnayn* 106, June 22, 1936, 20.

The Average Egyptian; the Ideal Egyptian

On Visual Stereotypes and Constructing Egyptian Identity

In the fall of 1919, a commission headed by Alfred Milner, the British colonial secretary, proceeded to Egypt to make recommendations for the future relationship between the two countries. The commission arrived in Egypt on December 7, 1919. Strikes, disturbances, and attacks on individuals had continued throughout the summer and the Prime Minister Muḥammad Saʿīd had resigned in November. He was replaced by Yūsuf Wahba, who escaped assassination a week after the arrival of the commission. Zaḡlūl, who determined that nobody but himself should negotiate with the British, saw to it that the mission was boycotted by all shades of Egyptian opinion.¹ The sultan and his ministers were the only Egyptians prepared to meet its members. The boycott was so effective that it took Milner only three weeks to decide that the best way forward would be to abandon the label protectorate, in the hope that this concession would bring Egyptians to agree to the substance of British requirements. The Milner Report, recommending the end of the protectorate and the negotiation of a treaty, was published in February 1921. A government formed by ʿAdlī Yakan, one of Zaḡlūl’s rivals, spent most of the year trying to negotiate such a treaty but was inhibited by Zaḡlūl’s virtual veto power. When ʿAdlī consequently resigned, Zaḡlūl brought his supporters onto the streets to prevent the formation of any alternative government. Allenby then had Zaḡlūl arrested and deported to the Seychelles and prevailed on a reluctant British government to promulgate a unilateral declaration that incorporated the Milner recommendations

and conferred a limited measure of independence on Egypt—the declaration which would be later known as the February 28, 1922 or the Unilateral Declaration of Independence.²

In the two weeks following the arrival of the commission to Egypt, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* published a caricature that was amongst the first to include a variety of men and women representing the Egyptian public (fig. 5.1).³ Under the title, “The Foundations of the Egyptian Nation” (*ʿanāšir al-umma al-Miṣriyya*), were depicted four men, two women, a baby and a child standing to the side of a road, which was titled “the road to full independence” (*ṭarīq al-istiqlāl al-tām*). The leaders of the Egyptian nation, “*al-umarāʾ al-faḥām*” (the honorable *amīrs*), were depicted walking the road, while turning their backs to the road leading towards “the protection” (meaning, protectorate). A man, depicted from his back, wearing a Western suit and a top hat, and identified by a title as Milner is standing at the crossroad *yelling* at the group of the amirs “and you too ...”

The title “*ʿanāšir al-umma al-Miṣriyya*,” asks the viewer to identify the figures depicted as a visual cross-section of the Egyptian men and women of the time. Two of the men wear Western suits and a *ṭarbūš*. These could have represented the evolving socio-cultural modernizing middle-strata of the society. One man is wearing a *ḡubba* or a *quftān* (both are long robe-like garments for men) and an *ʿimāma* (Ar. pl. *ʿamāʾim*, or the turban; a cloth wound around a cap), and hence can be identified as belonging to the lower strata of society or the

1 For the Milner commission, see J.C.B. Richmond, *Egypt 1798–1952: Her Advance Toward a Modern Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1977), 181–185.

2 *Ibid*, 184–185.

3 Aīḥāb Ḥulūṣī, “*al-Umarāʾ ilā ḡānib al-umma—fawz ʿazzīm li-l-qaḍḍiyya al-Miṣriyya*,” *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 257, January 12, 1920, 1.



FIGURE 5.1 Great Win for the Egyptian Cause. Aḥḥāb Ḥulūṣī, “al-Umarā’ ilā ḡānīb al-umma—fawz ‘aẓẓīm li-l-qaḍḍīyya al-Miṣrīyya,” *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* 257, January 12, 1920, 1.

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‘ulamā’ (Ar. s. ‘ālim, a term denoting scholars of almost all disciplines, although referring more specifically to the scholars of the religious sciences).⁴ The fourth man can be identified as a Copt, based on the crucifix hanging on his neck. One of the women is wearing a knee-length dress, her hair is raised up, and a *yašmak* (Turkish-style, white face veil) is covering her face—this was worn in Egypt by the elite in the early twentieth century. The second woman is wearing a local traditional loose black gown (*sabla*, the Egyptian synonym for *tawb*—a basic tunic worn by both sexes throughout the Middle East). Her face is covered with a black face-scarf, and her head with the black

ḥabara (dark, silky enveloping outer wrap for women).⁵ All these attributes associate her with the lower strata of society (urban or rural). As for the two children, one of them is dressed in a Western suit, hence belonging to the elites. The other, the baby, sits on the shoulders and holds the head of the woman who was identified as belonging to the lower strata, and hence belongs to the same social stratum.

The process of development and consolidation of the caricature in Egyptian print-culture was a visual quest inseparable from the search for the national symbols of the formative nation-state. The artists of the period *needed* to imagine

4 “Ulamā’,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms*, ed. by P.J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_eizglos_SIM_gi_05074. First published online: 2012. Accessed on 16 January 2019.

5 Y.K. Stillman, N.A. Stillmann, and T. Majda, “Libās,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0581. First published online: 2012. Accessed on 16 January 2019.

or design the notion of Egyptian nationhood as an expression of the desirable Egyptian national identity. This desire or *need* to imagine the nation visually was a characteristic, as Charles Press demonstrates, of democratic societies during their formative eras.⁶ Press, who aims to illustrate the history of the political caricature over the course of four-hundred years, examines how cultural icons were designed through satirical imagery in different political spheres (especially the United States and Britain). Press's discussion, despite the criticism directed at him, can serve as a map for the discussion of satirical visual representations in any political sphere.⁷

According to Press's analysis, one can divide any satirical repertoire, of any given developed or stable democracy, into two categories: "official symbols," which originate in top-to-bottom assimilation processes from the regime and its agents, and "unofficial political symbols," which are the creation of the regime's internal critics, and are distributed through bottom-to-top cultural processes. Since the official symbols aim to affirm the legal authenticity of the nation and its regime, when these symbols are besmirched or purposely damaged, the patriotic citizen is expected to regard the act as an outrage and sacrilege.⁸

The unofficial political symbols take time to develop, though the *need* to create them will appear in many cases almost as soon as the date of the creation of the democratic polity. The "democratic mood," claims Press, "encourages the fashioning of such less-than-perfect symbols, because only in democracies will citizens be permitted to create them, and only there can loyal citizens be permitted wryly to face up to having a less-than-perfect nation with a less-than-perfect government in a less-than-perfect world."⁹ The political symbols are used to project an attitude toward the regime and to the nation that is sharply at variance with the patriotic posture encouraged by the official symbols.

As Press illustrates, "any animal that is not downright repulsive will do as a symbol to represent strength. And the lofty qualities can be symbolized by a pure woman dressed up in a flowing formal; always on hand is the imposing governmental building or public monument or shrine to a great leader of the past."¹⁰ In some of these cases, the citizens themselves will become imperfect but sympathetic symbols to represent the nation. By the "citizens themselves," Press means caricature types such as Major Downing, Yankee Doodle, Uncle Sam, and others (to focus on his American examples), which could be read as representatives of the nation's members.¹¹ There are two ways to read these unofficial visual representations: first, as an embodiment of the nation itself, in this case the United States of America; and

6 Charles Press, *The Political Cartoon* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickson University Press, 1981).

7 Criticism of Press's book attacked the awkward language, the lack of internal organization of the chapters, as well as the book as a whole, the "jumps" from period to period and from one political sphere to another, and finally the ambition itself to illustrate, in a thorough and comprehensive manner, a four-century history of three separate continents. Regarding this last point, it stands out that Press only dealt with English-speaking spheres and ignores the history of the caricature in France, Germany, Italy and so forth. For some of his critics, see Alice G. Marquis, "The Political Cartoon by Charles Press," *The American Historical Review* 87, no. 5 (December 1982): 1360–1361; M.G. Lord, "The Political Cartoon by Charles Press," *Political Science Quarterly* 98, no. 3 (Autumn 1983): 545–546.

8 Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 224–225.

9 *Ibid.*, 226.

10 *Ibid.*, 225–226.

11 For Yankee Doodle, see *Ibid.*, 216; for Major Downing, see Henry Ladd Smith, "The Two Major Downings: Rivalry in Political Satire," *Journalism Quarterly* 41 (Winter 1964): 74–78, 127; Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 218–222. For Uncle Sam, see Albert Matthews, *Uncle Sam* (Worcester, MA: The Davis Press, 1908); Frank Weitenkamp, *Uncle Sam through the Years: A Cartoon Record* (New York, 1949); and Alton Ketchum, *Uncle Sam, the Man in the Legend* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1959); Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 218–222.

secondly, as an embodiment of the notion of the *ideal* citizen. These *ideal* types represent what the nation stood for at the time of their creation. They were perceived as *needed* for the formation of the democratic or liberal nation and carried on their shoulders the burden of consolidating the civic society in those democratic or liberal political entities. According to Press, these imagined citizens were characterized by their “common sense” as well as by their duty to take care of themselves rather than being a burden to others. Other common traits were their hopeful and kindly rather than utopian character; they were pragmatic rather than ideological, but also idealistic, which requires taking the long-view rather than a short-sighted one. “Rather than symbolizing ideal virtue and purity,” such a figure “suggests taking the next sensible step to improve things,” concludes Press.¹²

As Peter Duus articulates in a discussion of the development of the Japanese political cartoon, although caricaturists wielded their art as a weapon of remonstrance, protest, or resistance, in practice they were often allies of the state as agents of “democratic surveillance.”¹³ Ultimately, the caricaturists belonged to the same political community as the newly constituted nation and the agents they lampooned. The way caricaturists design the “unofficial political symbols” in the form of *ideal* citizens are meant to be used to mobilize a sense of national community amongst readers. In other words, caricaturists use these *ideal* citizens in order to draw a satirical boundary between “us” and “them”—a boundary that traces the contours of national identity.¹⁴ These types define a sense of national uniqueness by emphasizing what makes a given nation different from other nations—what makes a British type British, a French type French, a Japanese type Japanese, and so forth. In doing so, the caricature becomes one of many mechanisms used by the regime and its agents, as well as by private individuals (in textbooks, popular novels,

exhibitions, or advertisements), to naturalize the idea of the nation.¹⁵ In other words, they manipulate how the reader or viewer perceives his duties and loyalties as a citizen of the nation. Through these mechanisms, readers and viewers are encouraged to act. In other words, the caricatured types, like other visual and textual mechanisms, are used to educate viewers, lecture them, and criticize their behavior in an attempt to advance them toward an ideal promised future. Or as Neil McWilliam argues, these visual imagined types sought to help the viewer to be “an active and efficient citizen.”¹⁶

In their attempt to waken readers into action, caricaturists in Egypt, as in other visual public spheres, used, amongst other mechanisms, attributes that made *noise*. In many caricatures, characters are depicted ringing bells, hitting drums, blowing trumpets, operating music boxes, or shouting/calling/yelling in the urban streets or rural scenery in an attempt to attract the attention of other participants to the caricatures’ sphere [as well as the readers’] and drive them into action. In this context, the use caricaturists made of depictions of processions stands-out. This visual mechanism was evident in European caricatures beginning in the sixteenth century, and it allowed artists to critically present a large variety of social groups or individuals in a single composition. The placement of different individuals, side by side, in a single composition showing a procession enabled artists to clearly emphasize the differences between those individuals.¹⁷

The target audiences of the political caricature in the formative years of the European spheres,

12 *Ibid*, 226.

13 Duus, “Presidential Address,” 981.

14 *Ibid*, 983.

15 For a discussion on the importance of the novel and the newspaper to the imagining of the nation’s community, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: New Left Books, 1983), 37–46.

16 Neil McWilliam, *Dreams of Happiness: Social Art and the French Left, 1830–1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1993), 273–274.

17 For the history of this visual mechanism, see McPhee and Orenstein, *Infinite Test*, 21, 76–91.

as well as in the United States, were the elites and the higher middle strata of society. These strata cultivated within themselves a sense of cohesion and social identity, which occasionally was defined at the expense of the lower social classes. Consequently, the *ideal* citizen, which was an imagined representative of the target audiences, emphasized their unique and characteristic customs and presented them as a model and a social stance to strive for. The emphasis on the social and cultural characteristics of those representatives as embodiments of national identity simultaneously excluded all those individuals and groups who did not belong to the higher strata of society from the national discourse. Taking the example of Uncle Sam: as a white middle-aged man, he stood for the white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASP)—the elite social class of powerful white Americans of British Protestant ancestry.¹⁸

During the first decade of the twentieth century, caricatured types of the “common” citizen began to appear in European and American satirical journals. These types were an embodiment of the idea of Everyman—an imagined representative of the *average* citizen from the lower middle strata. Originally, Everyman was an English morality play of the fifteenth century, probably a version of a Dutch play, *Elckerlyc*. The morality play was an allegorical drama popular in Europe, especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which the characters personify moral qualities (such as charity or vice) or abstractions (such as death or youth) and through which moral lessons were taught. Of all morality plays, the one that is considered the greatest, and that is still performed, is *Everyman*.¹⁹ Press defines the caricatured types of Everyman as the “little man lost in the big organization world, the Charlie Chaplin of *Modern Times*.”²⁰ In the caricatures, they appeared as

victims of corrupt or cruel and brutal political leadership. As victims, these types had no means to *fight back* except through satirical humor. One of the first examples of these types was Brother Jonathan, which evolved from the image of Yankee Doodle.²¹ Originally a theatrical character, Jonathan was a shrewd and down-to-earth type, who continually demonstrated his natural common sense at the expense of cultured snobs. As a version of the Yankee American, he became very popular in the early 1800s. The first cartoons of his image appeared in the 1810s, and they were influenced directly by the stage-Yankee.²²

Duus claims, regarding the Japanize satirical sphere, that these common types facilitated in the audience a sense of solidarity with the nation.²³ In other words, viewers could have identified them as an embodiment of their next-door neighbor, in contrast to images such as Uncle Sam, which were in a sense heroic, and aimed at embodying the heritage of the nation. The overall design of the common citizens contributed to the look of the next-door neighbor since they were not dressed in the nation’s symbols, such as the striped suit of Uncle Sam. Additionally, caricaturists used a variety of men, women and children, in accordance with the scene depicted, and hence allowed viewers to find something of themselves in those types. “It was easier for the reader to identify with a specific rendering of the nation self than a generic one,” concludes Duus.²⁴

The appearance of the common types, as representatives of the public, reflected the ongoing growing engagement of larger segments of the society in the political culture of the liberal and democratic nations. The criticism these types produced aimed at confronting the policies of the

18 Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 227.

19 Christine Richardson and Jackie Johnston, *Medieval Drama* (London: Macmillan, 1991), 97–98.

20 Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 222.

21 For the image of Brother Jonathan, see Albert Matthews, “Brother Jonathan,” *Transactions 1900–1902, The Colonial Society of Massachusetts* (Boston: C. S. M., 1950), 94–126.

22 Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 216–218.

23 Duus, “Presidential Address,” 986–989.

24 *Ibid*, 989.

different governments without undermining the political order which allowed the establishment of those governments. In other words, although these types embodied an awareness of the flaws and deficiencies of those in power, their creators still believed in the basic principles of the system, as well as its ability to improve itself.²⁵

One can also see in these types the reflection of the evolution of a collective political subconscious—meaning the imagining of civic society or the new modern society as one unit consisting of different individuals. Lynn Hunt calls this unit a “political family.”²⁶ Hunt, in a discussion of the art and literature of post-revolution France, shows that imagining revolutionary politics through the idea of the “political family” aimed at replacing the monarchic discourse which preceded it. This discourse involved imagining the heads of the monarchic regime as parents of the community. The imagined relationship of the patriarchal family was replaced by a brotherhood, which was articulated in the slogan *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* (liberty, equality, fraternity).²⁷ The revolutionaries who wished to *get rid of* their patriarchal parents did not want to replace them with new ones, but rather to imagine a new family in which the children are independent and sovereign.²⁸

Returning to the caricature with which we began our discussion, one can see in the crowd standing at the side of the road leading to “full independence,” an expression of the idea of the “political family”—an Egyptian one. As in the French precedent there is no “father” or “mother” in this

family, despite the Zağlūls’ rhetoric, as will be discussed in the following chapter. Similarly, Egyptian caricaturists never attempted to establish King Fuʿād as a symbol for Egypt, as an imagined “father”—a phenomenon that can be traced in other newly constituted nations, such as the European monarchs who became senior-symbols of their hierarchical new *family*. The reason for this iconography of absence is probably the prohibition of caricaturing the king.

Egyptian caricatures of the family theme were mainly used to claim political justice. In many of these, different imagined representatives of the Egyptian public appear to be conducting national fights against the colonizer, as well as against local political leaders. Through these imagined representatives’ degradation in the different compositions, caricaturists sought to arouse empathy among readers and call them to the cause. In other words, types, such as “*anāṣir al-umma al-Miṣriyya*,” offered national unity while cultivating a consciousness of Egyptian cohesion. In this composition, as well as in many others, one could have found amongst the *anāṣir al-umma al-Miṣriyya* a variety of imagined representatives from all social strata of Egyptian society, as well as imagined representatives from its non-Muslim communities. However, during the 1930s, this visual repertoire narrowed down and included mostly representatives of the socio-cultural stratum of the *efendiyya* as well as representatives from the urban and rural lower classes.

A further aspect of these types which needs to be addressed, before discussing the types themselves, is the possibility of reading these characters as a kind of *proof* of the existence of the public the journals addressed—meaning, the target audience. In other words, the presence of a variety of characters from the Egyptian urban and rural spheres in the caricatures can serve as a testimony to the existence of that public. In this context Brummett’s theorization of the intimate relationship between the journal and its public is worth quoting: “the press creates the public by assuming and addressing it and the public creates the press

25 Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 226.

26 Lynn Hunt, “Discourses of Patriarchalism and Anti-Patriarchalism in the French Revolution,” in *Language and Rhetoric of the Revolution*, ed. John Renwick (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 25–41.

27 Hunt based her claims on Sigmund Freud’s theory of the “family romance.” Sigmund Freud, “Family Romance,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1959), vol. 9, 238–239.

28 Hunt, “Discourses of Patriarchalism and Anti-Patriarchalism,” 26.

by consuming it. [...] The public is real because it is embodied in cartoon characters who engage in satiric interaction with the gazettes, with other inhabitants of the cartoon space, and with the public at large.”²⁹

In other words, one can discuss the visual stereotyping of different social strata in Egyptian society as an attempt by caricaturists to create, imagine, and document the public to which the caricatures are addressed. As a documentation mechanism, these images serve as a further layer in the journals’ aspiration to serve as the mouthpiece of those publics. That is to say, the un-official symbols in the form of the common people were part of the struggles for control over the public sphere in which the press participated. As Brummett emphasizes, following David Latin, “elites in all subsystems try to make their subsystem the privileged locus of symbolic production in their society.[... Each journal was] an organ in the struggle of various elite groups for the high ground in symbol production.”³⁰ These struggles dictated who would be included in the visual repertoire, and who would be excluded.

To demonstrate that the caricaturists and the journals themselves truly represented the public, the artists used visual and lingual mechanisms that claimed to be popular. In other words, the caricatured types which represented the *ideal* citizen, or the *common/average* citizen, needed to be first and foremost recognizable, and their success was based on that familiarity. In many cases caricaturists quoted characters from an existing cultural repertoire—both from oral traditions and from literary and theatrical traditions. Their appearance in caricatures occasionally gave them a new meaning or interpretation in the national idiom. Alice Sheppard claims, in the context of American caricatures, that the familiarity of these characters

was meant to aid communication between readers and the artists, as well as to soften resistance to the criticism these characters pronounced. Consequently, the ability of the image to influence the viewer’s insights grew.³¹

Another mechanism meant to reaffirm the mandate artists took upon themselves to represent the voice of the public was the reliance of many compositions on the format of conversation. With this mechanism, artists allegedly brought print culture to the oral culture. Voices from street corners, from rural roads, from the coffee shops, and from the market places were documented between the pages of the journals in the form of imagined conversations between the imagined representatives of the public. These representatives were depicted talking about political, social, cultural, and economic issues. Occasionally, the titles of the caricatures specifically mention that the characters depicted were *documented* having a conversation or that their conversation represents the public opinion regarding the issue talked about. For example, consider a caricature drawn by Santes, “*Ḥadīṭ al-intiḥābāt fī qarya*,” in which three men are depicted standing in a village street.³² The caricature was re-published a decade later in *al-Itḥayn* with sub-titles arguing that one of the men was “the department’s agent” (*wakīl al-dāʿra*) and the other “the head of the village”

29 Brummett, *Image & Imperialism*, 51.

30 David Latin, *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yruba* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 175–179. Brummett, *Image & Imperialism*, 51.

31 Alice Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994). Sheppard bases her assumption on Freuds’ theory regarding the image. Strachey, *Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, vol. 22, 74–75.

32 Juan Santes, “*Ḥadīṭ al-intiḥābāt fī qarya*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 105, May 20, 1923, 11. This caricature is an example of the work process of the caricaturist based on photographs. The composition of the image is based on a postcard of ‘Atabat al-Ḥaḍrā’ Square, distributed by Lichtenstern and Harari. The postcard can be seen at <https://www.hippocard.com/listing/241135-egypt-cairo-square-ataba-el-khadra-vintage-lichtenstern/14078170>. Accessed on 16 January 2019.

(*al-ʿumda*).³³ However, the image itself does not reflect the fact that the men are having a conversation, since their gestures and their facial-features are frozen in a static posture, as if all three of them are listening rather than talking.

Brummett argues, regarding the Ottoman cartoon space, that the visual mechanism of the conversation is a broadening of a literary mechanism unique to Middle Eastern societies.³⁴ Brummett attributes a high importance to the long tradition of the use of dialogue as a device for political criticism and philosophical debate in Middle Eastern culture, and hence she emphasizes its uniqueness and importance in Ottoman caricatures of the revolutionary press. Brummett concludes that the conversation format could have attracted readers from different strata of the Ottoman society and thus serve as a meeting point for a variety of target audiences. However, as Habermas has shown, the dialogue form was significant for early versions of the news in Europe, such as sixteenth-century European news journals and fifteenth-century broad-sheets that were written in dialogue form and meant to be declaimed or sung.³⁵ Terdiman argues, regarding Daumier's caricatures of the mid-nineteenth century, that the overwhelming majority of the caricatures' captions report *speech*.³⁶ For Terdiman, this reliance on the conversation format (speech) reflects the artist's attempt to record or document the class criticized, its customs, demeanor and *weltanschauung*. Meaning, with the speech format, Daumier aimed to expose the deficiencies and flaws of the evolving French bourgeoisie in the mid nineteenth century.³⁷

The appearance of the satirical journals in the French public sphere in the 1830s served as a catalyst for the development of the caricature

as a means of conveying social criticism and the formation of a social awareness which Terdiman calls "counter-hegemonic consciousness."³⁸ The appearance of the caricature in Egypt, and its adaptation and assimilation in the Egyptian public sphere, both serves the social discourse and encourages more finely-tuned political awareness and criticism. However, it seems that the "speech" or "conversation" formats in Egyptian caricatures were not a means of *exposing*, for when they address social behavior, they do so in a manner which was un-grotesque, un-exaggerated, and basically un-caricaturized.

Additionally, the bulk of the caricatures address the national struggle. Thus, the different representatives of Egyptian society in the visual compositions perform national roles. When criticism focusing on behavior, manners and customs was evident, it was directed against those who were perceived as westernized—women being the main victims of criticism, as the next chapter will discuss. The lower classes were attacked occasionally on account of their simple manners or foolishness. However, what stands-out is the fact that the foreign-local communities, with all their customs and ways of life, were absent as objects of ridicule in the Egyptian caricatured sphere. This was in sharp contrast to reality itself, in which, according to Kahanoff, each group constantly mocked the others.³⁹ Kahanoff sought to explain this absence from cultural products in a discussion of the cosmopolitan literature of the period. Her assumption was that mentioning social statuses and ethnic or religious identities, which all had crucial roles in

33 The reuse of the caricature, without mentioning its source is a testimony to the lack of regulations regarding copyrights in Egypt.

34 Brummett, *Image & Imperialism*, 54.

35 Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 254, np. 35.

36 Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 183–184.

37 *Ibid*, 164–179.

38 The criticism of the behavior of some of the sectors of French society started with the appearance of the "*types français*," the "*bons bourgeois*," the "*moeurs conjugales*," those who have "*beaux jours de la vie*," and "*philanthropes du jour*." These images reflected the intellectuals' dissatisfaction with the developing French middle class. For Terdiman's discussion of these satirical types, see *Ibid*, 164–179.

39 Jacquelin Kahanoff, "*Tarbût be-hithavût*," in *Bên šenê ʿôlamôt*, 121.

people's lives and destiny, was considered rude or impolite. That is to say, Kahanoff blamed the "polite cultural style" of the foreign-local minorities.⁴⁰ Although the local caricaturists belonged to this same cultural milieu, it raises the question of whether their role as the creators of the caricatures led them to avoid visual self-criticism.

1 The Images of the Egyptian Public

How did the *voice* of the Egyptian public look? A public that the journals addressed directly, as when, "in response to the many requests of readers," they published a caricatured portrait of Ḥusayn Šafīq al-Miṣri, the leading editor of *al-Itḥayn*?⁴¹ As a rule, the voice of the Egyptian public is mostly male, although women are present in the caricatures. However, only a small fraction of these women is *actively* engaged in the *conversation*. Mostly, they are portrayed in a passive manner, standing at the side of the occurrence, watching, beside the male participants. Additionally, and in contrast to male examples, there was no female caricatured type which developed into a full character with a unique voice, qualities, and style of conduct. Nor was there one that represented a certain social stratum or served as an embodiment of the ideal female-citizen. Only in the 1940s did female-*positive*-stereotypes of Egyptian womanhood begin to appear.⁴²

Occasionally, images of children (boys) are portrayed as representatives of the public. These come from different social strata and are positioned against various backgrounds—in rural settings, at school, in outdoor urban scenery, and so forth. The children could represent the public as innocent in the context of the political and social upheavals characteristic of the era. Occasionally, they *speak* in a mature voice, as the ones with life-experience and as the ones with the better understanding of how things *really* work—as opposed to the generation of their parents who apparently disappoint them. A caricature published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* in March 1926 reflects how children were becoming a means for social change (fig. 5.2).⁴³ The scene illustrates a conversation between Zaḡlūl and a pupil (according to the sub-title) on the whereabouts of a luxurious and formal room. Zaḡlūl, standing on the left with his back slightly bent, is dressed in a Western suit and a *ṭarbūš*. A scarf is wrapped around his neck, and he uses an umbrella to steady his stance. The pupil is standing in front of him, also dressed in a Western suit and a *ṭarbūš*. Under his left arm, he holds a school-bag. On the wall behind them hang two dress-items which represent the traditional or the Egyptian—an *ʿimāma* and a green *ḡlābiyya*. On a stool, on the right, is a brown fedora hat. The boy, with a defiant gaze, asks the national leader, "what is the difference, honorable president, between changing the turban with the *ṭarbūš* and changing the *ṭarbūš* with the fedora hat? Why are you willing to abandon wrapping the turban, and not abandoning the *ṭarbūš*?" Zaḡlūl answers that the *ṭarbūš* is in fact a naked *ʿimāma* (since the inner part, the red cap, stays, and allegedly only the white shawl was removed), while the fedora is "a wicker basket" (*maqtaf*).⁴⁴ That is to say, by wearing the *ṭarbūš* one preserves his Egyptian or national

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *al-Itḥayn* 5, July 16, 1934, 2. There are many examples of journals addressing readers in this direct manner, using expressions such as *ʿila ḥaḍrāt al-Maṣriyyun* (to the honorable Egyptians).

⁴² Amongst the examples of the 1940s, those designed by Raḥā, such as *Bint al-Balad*, are notable. For this caricatured image of the female Egyptian, see Lucie Ryzova, "I am a Whore, but I will be a Good Mother: On the Production and Consumption of the Female Body in Modern Egypt," *The Arab Studies Journal* vol. 12/13, no. 2/1 (Fall 2004/Spring 2005): 80–122.

⁴³ Juan Santes, "*al-Burnīta baʿd al-ṭarbūš*," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 253, March 19, 1926, frontispiece.

⁴⁴ When referring to a human being, *maqtaf* can also mean stupid or idiotic in popular usage—perhaps as an insult to the ones wearing the fedora hats?

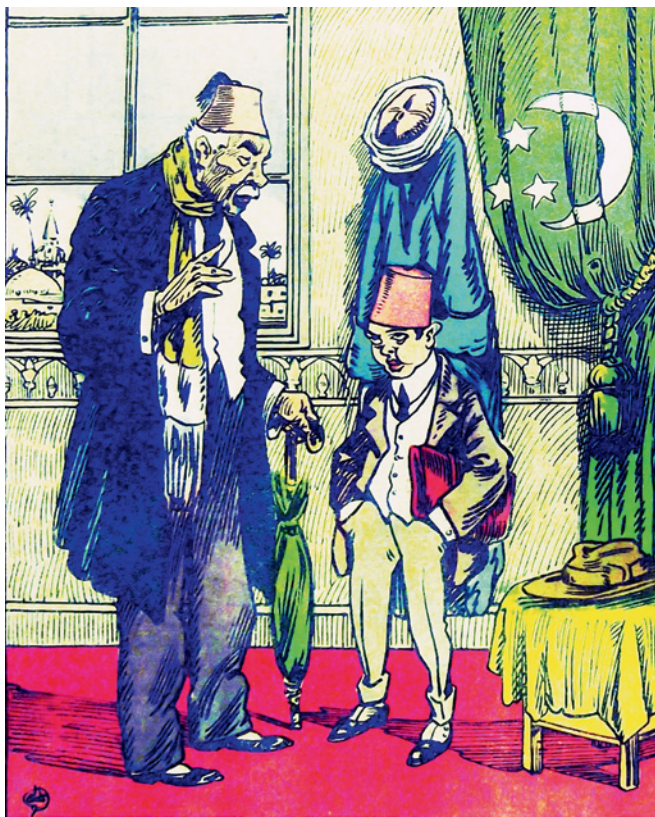


FIGURE 5.2
The Fedora after the *Ṭarbūš*. Juan Santes, “*al-Burnīta ba’d al-ṭarbūš*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 253, March 19, 1926, frontispiece.

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identity, while wearing the fedora is pointless, since it is perforated.

The caricature “The Fedora Hat after the *Ṭarbūš*” was published following an incident at Dār al-‘Ulūm (literally, the House of Science) in February 1926.⁴⁵ Students at the institution and at al-Azhār arrived at class wearing suits and *ṭarbūš*.⁴⁶ When

45 “Egyptian university established in 1872 to train teachers of modern subjects. Offered a mix of religious and secular subjects. Initially recruited students from the mosque-university of al-Azhār and preferred learning by rote memorization; eventually modernist ulama and laymen moved it in new directions.” “Dār al-‘Ulūm,” in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, ed. by John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e498>. Accessed on July 1, 2018.

46 The incident and the discourse it sparked in the local and foreign press is documented in Wilson Chacko Jacob, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870–1940* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 203–215.

the education minister tried to enforce the dress code, the students went on strike, demanding the right to keep up with the times in their style of dress. In the end, the students were ordered to return to their classes or face expulsion. They complied. The caricature “The Fedora Hat after the *Ṭarbūš*,” which can be read as resisting the demand to abandon the *ṭarbūš* and adopt the Western-style hat, links the turban and the *ṭarbūš* to the same cultural heritage, overlooking the fact that the *ṭarbūš* itself was a relatively recent adaptation from the Ottomans.⁴⁷ This embrace of

47 The Egyptian discourse was sparked by the Turkish abolishment of the *ṭarbūš* as part of Atatürk’s policies to modernize the Turkish Republic. The turban was first abolished in Turkey by the sultan Maḥmūd II in 1829 for all but religious officials. The *ṭarbūš* was banned in November 1924. For the Turkish discourse regarding the *ṭarbūš*, see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), 267, 404.

the Ottoman and Arab past served the pro-*ṭarbūš* camp against the proponents of the Western-style hats. Arguments against replacing the *ṭarbūš* with the brimmed hat varied: some saw the discussion as clinging to the marginal rather focusing on substance—the substantive question was, what did it mean to *actually* embrace modernity? Some criticized the un-controlled and un-balanced blind imitation of Western manners. Others defended the *ṭarbūš* as a national symbol. Supporters of Western-style dress argued the Western clothes, according to scientific reasoning, were better suited to the Egyptian climate. Salāma Mūsā (1887–1958) saw embracing Western-style clothes as the ability to adopt the European mentality (*ʿaqliyya*), as the mentality of the modern era. Mūsā also claimed that European dress cost less, and that it is more suitable to the modern taste and to the Egyptian climate.⁴⁸

As Wilson Chaco Jacob described, this dispute between the students and the minister quickly fanned outward to include the general question of national identity.⁴⁹ Inspired by the Dār al-ʿUlūm students, another group of students from government secondary schools began to clamor for the right to wear the western hat instead of the *ṭarbūš*. This instance apparently led Zaġlūl to advise them that “the question of dress is an issue of authentic national identity. If we changed our own [style of] dress, we would change our national identity, and a people without a national identity are a people without life.”⁵⁰ The debate shifted from a turban-*ṭarbūš* axis, to a *ṭarbūš*-fedora hat axis, as two visual symbols representing two contesting national identities. However, Zaġlūl’s words insinuated that the very existence of Egypt was at stake if

unthinking youth embrace Western style clothes. Yet in the caricature in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, the youth represents the voice of reason. The imagined *father*, with his bowed back, represents the *old* generation, which failed to fully embrace modernization.

The dress items at the center of the illustrated debate, which served as markers of national identity, represented a set of attitudes and patterns of political, cultural, and social identities that were categorized in the caricatured sphere into two separate *camp*s: the first represents tradition, which was embodied through the negotiation of inherited categories of Egyptianness—meaning its representatives were the *awlād al-balad*, the *fallāḥīn* and the lower strata as a whole. These were recognized mainly by their local, traditional, dress. The representatives from this group were depicted in caricatures as the *typical* or average Egyptians. However, it was the average Egyptian as the stereotypical imagined notion which was constructed through the Orientalistic gaze of Europeans.

The second group was comprised of all those who embraced Western manners; however, they still remained recognizable as Egyptian by wearing the *ṭarbūš*—meaning all those who belonged to the *efendiyya* socio-cultural stratum. This second type, or stereotype of Egyptianness, allegedly stood for the new modern Egyptian man—the *ideal* citizen who was supposed to constitute the new modern society of the new nation-state. However, as the second part of this chapter will show, the images of the *ideal* Egyptians were hardly free from the Orientalist gaze. Ultimately, the insider-as-outsider gaze of the local-foreign caricaturists could not help but manipulate the artistic choices they made. Although these choices were extracted from the local-social repertoire at hand, and they sought to construct an *ideal* Egyptianness, they rather reflected the same Orientalist assumptions and insights regarding the Egyptian Other.

In the end, one cannot locate any imagined types or stereotypes of Egyptian men who “went the whole way” and embraced westernization in all its outward characteristics (Egyptian women will be discussed in the next chapter). The artists

48 Mūsā’s stance regarding the *ṭarbūš* is discussed in Giora Eliraz, “Intelektūʾalīm miṣrīm mūl masoret ve-šīnūi, 1919–1939” (“Egyptian Intellectuals Facing Tradition and Change”), PhD Dissertation (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1980) 29–30.

49 Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 203–215.

50 The second incident was reported by Zaġlūl’s nephew, Aḥmad Zaġlūl in “the *Ṭarbūš* and the Hat,” *al-Faṭh*, July 22, 1926, 12, quoted in Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 209.

did not articulate newly interdependent notions of Egyptianness, but rather negotiated visually two limited possibilities from the existing social repertoire. Most of the visual representatives of the Egyptian public were random men and women who appeared in single caricatures. Only a limited number evolved into caricatured types, while artists used cultural symbols from the Egyptian, Arab, Ottoman and Islamic visual repertoire for their design. These symbols could be visual, such as placing the *misbaḥa* (the Muslim prayer beads) in the hands of subjects from both groups, or it could be the borrowing or quotation of theatrical, literary or cinematic characters and their integration into the caricatured visual sphere as *themselves*. Their behavior in the imagined world of the caricature varied from surrendering to the forces at home or from abroad aiming to colonize them, to trying to survive the upheavals of the time, to fighting back in battles which could either be won or lost.

2 *Awlād al-balad, Fallāḥīn and the Lower Strata*

From the late nineteenth century and through the first decades of the twentieth century, caricaturists working in Egypt chose images of men in local traditional dress as an embodiment of the Egyptian nation, or the Egyptian public. As an image of the Egyptian public and nation, these imagined subjects, which were mostly recognizable as *fallāḥīn*, represented *real* authentic Egyptians. However, this choice, made mostly by the local-foreign artists, was not an ideological one, or one that meant to represent a romantic image of the *fallāḥ*—a choice which characterized the literature and the arts of painting and sculpture of the time. Rather, these stereotypes reflected the gaze of the local-foreign subjects who framed the local *fallāḥ* according to the prevalent Orientalist stereotypes and their perception of what it meant to be an Egyptian.

I begin my discussion with a preliminary definition of the term *ibn al-balad* (pl. *awlād al-balad*),

or what it means when we define someone as *ibn al-balad*. According to the anthropologist Sawsan al-Messiri, the first to discuss the term academically, the meaning of the term *ibn al-balad* (lit. son of the country) is not fixed and could relate to a set of local identities, social-status distinctions and national identities—all according to the historical period and memory.⁵¹ Al-Messiri's discussion of the term's definition seeks to distinguish between the different meanings associated with the term. Some derive from the behavioral characteristics or norms of conduct which were associated with those addressed as *awlād al-balad*. Meanwhile, others derive from the association of the term with specific groups within Egyptian society, which mark or reflect Egyptian collectiveness according to their self-image.

First, al-Messiri determines who are not *awlād al-balad*. The term first appeared in the local literature at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its purpose was to distinguish the local community from the foreign elites ruling Egypt (the Mamluks, the Ottomans, and the British). The term aimed to honor their authentic Egyptian origins. For example, the *awlād al-balad* were presented in *sīra* literature (biographies) as heroes and rebels who defended the weak against the foreign enslaving elites and as leadership role-models seeking to enforce justice.⁵² However, the term also distinguished and differentiated these local Egyptians from the foreign Muslims (the North Africans, the Syrians, the Sudanese, the Yemenis); from the local Europeans (the Franks); and from the local Christians (the Copts). Within the Egyptian Muslim community, al-Messiri differentiates the *awlād al-balad* from the *fallāḥīn*. More precisely, the *awlād al-balad* are specifically identified as urban subjects, while the term is mostly used for the Muslim Cairene urban population.

51 Sawsan al-Messiri, *Ibn al-Balad: A Concept of Egyptian Identity* (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

52 For a discussion of these literary characters prior to the invasion of Napoleon, see *Ibid.*, 27–30.

Through the eighteenth century the *awlād al-balad* could have belonged to the more financially-solid strata and were also associated with the ‘*ulama*’. However, the political and social changes that took place during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century led to a negative perception of the *awlād al-balad* amongst the Egyptian middle-classes and the elites. In a slow process, this socio-economic group lost its power and influence in the political structure of Cairo.⁵³ The beginning of this process can be traced to the rise to power of Muḥammad ‘Ali, in the context of his modernization projects. In short, the Egyptianization of the ruling elites occurred through the integration of the graduates of ‘Ali’s modern European oriented schools with the nation’s bureaucracy. As a result, the economic, social, and cultural gap between these graduates and the Egyptian masses grew wider and wider, while the elites and the higher-middle-strata sought to differentiate themselves from anything local or *baladī* (literally, locally)—meaning the local dress, the use of Arabic, and local customs and manners. Consequently, during the first half of the twentieth century, the *awlād al-balad* came to include the local merchants, artisans, and the urban masses.⁵⁴ Only after the 1952 Free Officers Revolution and the abandonment of the Western cultural symbolic repertoire, which dominated the political, cultural, and social spheres in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century, did the status of the *awlād al-balad* rise again.⁵⁵

Egyptian-based caricaturists manipulated images of Egyptians wearing traditional clothing (a *ḡlābiyya* or a *qaṣṭān*, and a turban) as an embodiment of the Egyptian nation. However, they did not differentiate between the *awlād al-balad*, the *fallāḥīn* or other subjects from the lower strata—urban or rural. The stereotypes they used were designed under the same visual assumptions, and

one could not have differentiated one traditional representative from the other. Only the titles and sub-titles specified whether we were looking at a *fallāḥ*, an Egyptian, and so forth. Additionally, their behavior and their imagined qualities or characteristics were homogeneous. In other words, the caricaturists’ perception of the local Egyptian, the *baladī*, was influenced by their insider-as-outsider gaze, which reflected the European Orientalist discourse. That is to say, although the journals in which the caricatures were published sought to constitute a mouthpiece for the national struggle, the images they contained occasionally *spoke* in a different *language*. These images reflected how the fundamental colonialist or Orientalist discursive principals penetrated the non-Western structures, which were supposed to be an alternative or challenge to the objectification of the patriarchal colonialist discourse, which Van der Veer argues was also cosmopolitan.⁵⁶

It is worth noting, in this context, that the same phenomenon can be traced in Egyptian intellectuals’ writings of the period, which echoed Orientalist knowledge of the Orient. For example, “Qāsim Amīn” by Haykal, first published in the journal *al-Suḡūr* (*In Public*, 1915–1923) on February 25, 1916 and re-published in *Fi ‘awqāt al-farāḡ*.⁵⁷ In the article, Haykal asks “what was the Egyptian past?,” and he tries to answer this through discussion of the image of Qāsim ‘Amīn (1863–1908). The text, as observed by Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, draws its methodology from the writings of the French literary critic and cultural researcher Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (1828–1892), and it claims that one can detect the sources of the national literature of one’s society in the climate and land of one’s country. Following Taine, Haykal presents the environment in which Amīn grew up using the same cultural theory. The image of the Egyptian, thus, reflects the climate of the Nile Valley—relaxed,

53 *Ibid*, 5–6.

54 *Ibid*, 35.

55 Ḡamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir himself was presented and perceived as *ibn al-balad*. *Ibid*, 6.

56 Van der Veer, “Colonial Cosmopolitanism,” 173.

57 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, *Fi ‘awqāt al-farāḡ: majmū‘at rasā’il ‘adabiyya tāriḥiyya aḥlāqīyya falsafīyya* (al-Qāhira, 1925).

peaceful, and safe. Accordingly, his character is presented by Haykal as submissive, living in the present while clinging to the past, lacking any desire for change. That is why, according to Haykal, there was never any attempt in Egyptian history to resist foreign rule which had been present in Egypt since the rise of Islam.⁵⁸

The scope of this work will not allow us to elaborate here on the entire Orientalist perceptions of the Orient—Europe’s “cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the other,” to use Said’s definition.⁵⁹ Orientalism, as Said claims, “expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.”⁶⁰ As Said argues, “the essential relationship, on political, cultural, and even religious grounds, was seen—in the West—to be one between a strong and a weak partner,” and “[m]any terms were used to express this relation. [...] The Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, ‘different’; thus, the European is rational, virtuous, mature, ‘normal.’”⁶¹ This “knowledge about and knowledge of Orientals, their race, character, culture, history, traditions, society, and possibilities” manifested itself in both academic and practical knowledge, “which any Orientalist (or ruler of Orientals) might examine, understand, and expose.”⁶² Post-colonial research, following Said, deals extensively with the image of the Oriental Other and with how the subjectivity of the non-Western Other was constituted by the coercive force of colonialism.

Edward William Lane’s *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, published in 1860, is just one among many texts

published by and for Orientalists; in it he discusses the character of the Egyptian:

“Influenced by their belief in predestination, the men display, in times of distressing uncertainty, an exemplary patience, and, after any afflicting event, a remarkable degree of resignation and fortitude, approaching nearly to apathy; generally exhibiting their sorrow only by a sigh, and the exclamation of ‘Allah kereem!’ (God is bountiful) [...] The same belief in predestination renders the Muslim utterly devoid of presumption with regard to his future actions, or to any future events. He never speaks of anything that he intends to do, or of any circumstance which he expects and hopes may come to pass, without adding, ‘If it be the will of God’; and, in like manner, in speaking of a past event of which he is not certain, he generally prefaces or concludes what he says with the expression, ‘God is all-knowing’ (or, ‘most knowing’).”⁶³

Further in the chapter, Lane discusses another Egyptian attribute—laziness:

“Indolence pervades all classes of the Egyptians, except those who are obliged to earn their livelihood by severe manual labour. It is the result of the climate, and of the fecundity of the soil. Even the mechanics, who are extremely greedy of gain, will generally spend two days in a work which they might easily accomplish in one; and will leave the most lucrative employment to idle away their time with the pipe.”⁶⁴

Although caricaturists aimed to express, through their images, empathy for the lower strata of Egyptian society, the way they depicted the representatives of these strata reflected those same essential distinctions of the Orientalist discourse on the Egyptians. The imagined representatives

58 *Ibid*, 91–143; Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, *Lepasel tar-bût be-miṣrayîm*, 104–115.

59 Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 9.

60 *Ibid*, 10.

61 *Ibid*, 48.

62 *Ibid*, 46.

63 Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: John Mu-beay, 1860), 283–284.

64 *Ibid*, 294.

of the lower strata mostly appear passive, submissive, or complementary of their inferior situation. Only rarely are they depicted *fighting back* against those who wish to bully them.⁶⁵ Caricatures in *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar*, and especially those by Santes, reflect these collective characteristics. In Santes' compositions, the Egyptian is consistently caught in his *natural* surroundings—sitting on the bank of the Nile, in front of his ramshackle house, or walking the country roads, while discussing current political affairs. He is portrayed barefoot, in torn clothes, and his body is mostly static. His bodily gestures are minimal, even when discussing current political turmoil. When portrayed in action, he is never actively confronting the British colonial forces, and only rarely does Santes depict him confronting his own political leaders. His actions are mostly every day, ordinary, simple ones, focusing on “passing the time activities,” such as smoking. Or he is depicted in an indelicate, vulgar manner that would be expected from the lowest strata of society.⁶⁶ The sub-titles accompanying these compositions give these Egyptians varied names, ones which were associated with popular Egyptian traditions. In other words, these choices of names testify to a knowledge of popular culture—further proof that the titles and texts were written by someone other than Santes.

The empathy that some of these images seem to express for the suffering of the lower strata should not be read in tandem with the romantic image of the *fallāḥ* in the literature, painting, and sculpture of the 1920s and 1930s. From the 1910s to the 1940s, the rural motif dominated Egyptian literature and arts as a means of constructing the

political and social identity of the Egyptian community. Or in other words, for the intellectuals, writers and artists, the *fallāḥin* were a central and essential theme of national authenticity.⁶⁷ As Elliott Colla has shown, during the first decade of the twentieth century, everyday life of the peasantry was depicted in many works of prose fiction.⁶⁸ Amongst the most prominent examples are *al-Fatāt al-rifīyya* (*The Young Country Woman*) published by Maḥmūd Ḥayrat, or his earlier novel *al-Fatā al-rifī* (*The Young Country Man*), published in *Musāmarāt al-ša'b* (*The People's Conversing and Singing at Night Time*) in the late 1890s;⁶⁹ *Fatāt Mişr* (*Egyptian Girl*) and *Fatāt al-Fayūm* (*Fayoum Girl*) by Ya'qūb Şarrūf;⁷⁰ *'Aḍrā' Dinşawāy* by Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī;⁷¹ *Dinşawāy* by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Dülār;⁷² and *Zaynab* by Haykal (1914).⁷³ These texts manipulate peasant romance to suit nationalist discourse in the form of “a central feminine character of unimpeachable virginity and honor—the focus of libidinal competition between masculine characters of different social strata who vie for her heart, [readable as vying] for the heart of Egypt.”⁷⁴ The romanticizing of rural Egypt is also evident in paintings and sculptures, including Muḥammad Nāġī's *al-Rif al-Mişrī* (*The Egyptian Countryside*, not-dated) or *al-Şayyādūn* (*The Fishermen*, not-dated); Maḥmūd Sa'īd's *Na'īma* (1925) or *Fallāḥa*

65 For one of these examples, see Iskandar Şārūḥān, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 184, August 5, 1930, 7.

66 For some examples, see “Ka's 'amī al-Wafd,” *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 528, June 26, 1931, 32; “*al-Siyāsa fī al-aryāf*,” *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 523, May 22, 1931, 15; “*al-Siyāsa bayna al-āma*,” *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 514, March 20, 1931, 15; untitled caricature, *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 542, October 2, 1931, 15.

67 Robin C. Ostle has shown how in the 1940s and 1950s the focus shifted to the urban setting. Robin C. Ostle, “The City in Modern Arabic Literature,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49, no. 1 (1986): 193–202.

68 Elliott Colla, “How *Zaynab* Became the First Arabic Novel,” *History Compass* 7 (2009): 217–218.

69 Maḥmūd Ḥayrat, *al-Fatāt al-rifīyya* (al-Qāhira: al-Maġlis al-'A'li li-al-Ṭaqāfa, 1905).

70 Ya'qūb Şarrūf, *Fatāt Mişr* (Mişr: Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif 1905); *Fatāt al-Fayūm* (al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at al-Muqatafa, 1907).

71 Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Ḥaqqī, *'Aḍrā' Dinşawāy* by (Mişr: Minbar, 1906).

72 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Dülār, *Dinşawāy* (Mişr: [?], 1906).

73 Haykal, *Zaynab: manāzīr wa-aḥlāq rifīyya* (*Zaynab: Country Scenes and Morals*) (Mişr: [?], 1913).

74 Colla, “How *Zaynab* Became the First Arabic Novel,” 4.

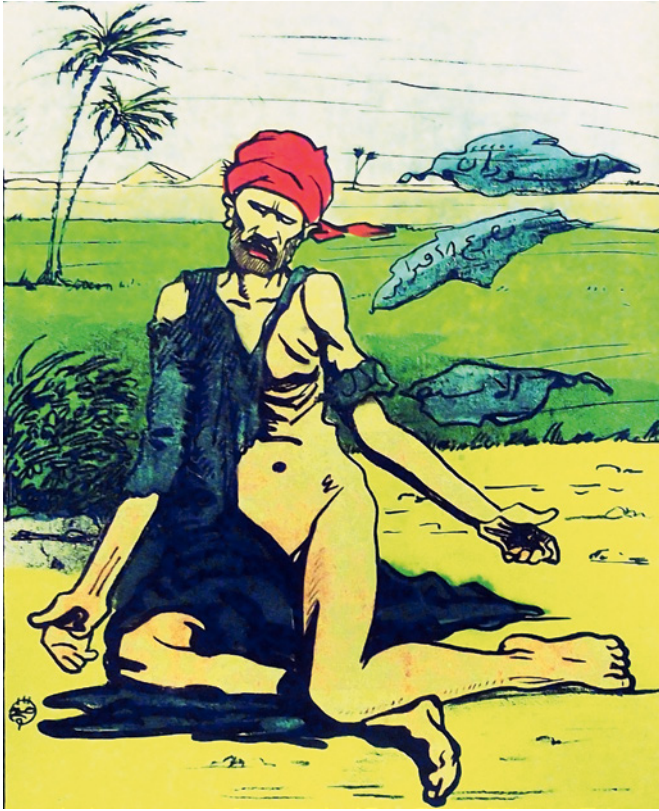


FIGURE 5.3

The Declaration of February 28, 1922. Juan Santes, "Taṣriḥ 28 Fibrāyir bayna al-aḥzāb," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 402, January 25, 1929, frontispiece.

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(not-dated); and Maḥmūd Muḥtār's *Ibn al-balad* (not-dated), *Zawġat Ṣayḥ al-balad* (*The Sheikh of the Country's Wife*, 1929), and *Arwāḥ al-ḥamasin* (not-dated). These modern Egyptian painters and sculptors, as many others, depict Egyptian geography and social scenery as an incarnation of Egyptian nationalism. The rural landscape and its inhabitants were depicted not from a critical stance, but rather from a romantic one.

However, in Santes' works, as well as in others, there is no attempt to romanticize or glorify the images of *ibn al-balad*, the *fallāḥ*, or other representatives from the lower strata. One cannot see in his imagery a strategy by which the non-Western subject resists the Orientalist colonialist discourse and actions. Additionally, in some of Santes' works, the artist uses the image of the Egyptian dressed in local clothes, such as the *ġlābiyya*, as a simple and immediate means of Egyptianizing Western works of art. A typical example is a frontispiece in which a half-naked "Egyptian," according to the title, dressed in torn clothes with only his turban intact,

sits on the ground with his hands spread wide in a gesture of helplessness and his head turned down (fig. 5.3).⁷⁵ Santes' image quotes a caricature published fourteen years earlier in the French satirical journal *l'Assiette au beurre*. The caricature, by the painter Léon Bonnat (1833–1922), was published following the approval of the National Legislature of France of a measure which commits the people to "Social Solidarity."⁷⁶ Bonnat's caricature shows a naked baldheaded man, sitting on the ground with his hands spread in despair. Only a small piece of fabric covers his genitals. This caricature quotes a painting, also by Bonnat, titled *Job*

75 Juan Santes, "Taṣriḥ 28 Fibrāyir bayna al-aḥzāb," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 402, January 25, 1929, frontispiece.

76 Léon Bonnat, *L'État, L'Assiette au beurre*, September 23, 1905, 2. The caricature can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10482169/f2.item>. Last accessed on 17, January 2019. For a discussion on the bill, see Charles R. Henderson, "Social Solidarity in France," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 11, no. 2 (September 1905): 168–182.



FIGURE 5.4

Return of the Firm Grip. Juan Santes, “*Awdat al-mu’kima*,” *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 377, August 3, 1928, frontispiece.

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(1880).⁷⁷ Bonnat’s *Job* places the biblical figure in daily reality, through a realistic portrait of a poor man, who sits on a pile of straw with his palms facing the sky in a gesture of submission—an embodiment of his belief in his god. In the caricature *l’État*, Bonnat uses the biblical image to criticize the implications of the Social Solidarity Bill for France’s poor, once the bill enters into force.

In another example from Santes’ caricatures, an image of the head of a *fallāḥ* (according to the sub-title) is presented being pressed by two arms, symbolizing the Wafd, as the sub-title indicates (fig. 5.4).⁷⁸ The firm grip forces the submissive subject, crying out in pain and pleading with his

hands for mercy, to vomit coins. The caricature was published in the context of the formation of a new government, headed by Maḥmūd and al-Aḥrār al-Dustūriyyūn, after the Wafd government of al-Naḥḥās was dismissed in June 25, 1928.⁷⁹ *Al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* constantly attacked the Wafd and its leaders; thus, this caricature identifies the Wafd as a party that does not represent the Egyptian *fallāḥīn* and will not be able to represent them in the future. In this caricature, Santes again quotes a caricature from *l’Assiette au beurre*—this time one drawn by the Czech artist František Kupka (1871–1957).⁸⁰ Kupka’s caricature was published in an issue of *l’Assiette au beurre* which was

77 Léon Bonnat, *Job*, oil on Canvas, 1880. Musée Bonnat-Helleu, Bayonne, Nouvelle-Aquitaine, France. The painting can be seen at https://www.musee-orsay.fr/fr/collections/catalogue-des-oeuvres/notice.html?no_cache=1&nnumid=069583&cHash=1bfbfa6121. Last accessed on January 17, 2019.

78 Juan Santes, “*Awdat al-mu’kima*,” *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 377, August 3, 1928, frontispiece.

79 For discussion of the events leading to the dissolution of al-Naḥḥās’ government, see al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt’s Liberal Experiment*, 109–110.

80 František Kupka, “*Religions*,” *l’Assiette au beurre* 162, May 7, 1904, frontispice. The caricature can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1048036c/f3.item>. Last accessed on January 17, 2019.

dedicated to the religions of the world—all of the issue's caricatures were designed by Kupka. The context of the publication was probably the steps taken in the summer of 1904 against the influence of the church on state matters in France. These steps led to the end of the law of December 1905, which separated the Church and the State.⁸¹ In the French frontispiece, a monk is depicted being pressed with the hands of one of the church's men. The Egyptian caricature replaces the churchman with a representative of the Wafd—by changing the details of the ends of the sleeves. In other words, without the change in title and sub-title one could not have recognized the hands of the oppressor. Santes did not even change the facial features of the subject of suffering and left the monk's face as is in Kupka's caricature.

What role did the original work play in these examples in their Egyptian target culture? In my opinion, Santes' act should be read, first and foremost, as designated for audiences who could identify and fully read the symbolic repertoire embedded in the compositions. Meaning, the reader had to have preliminary knowledge of and access to the Western arts and culture. However, one should also ask whether Santes' quotations bestowed on his images additional interpretive meanings and created new interpretations for them. The answers to these questions lay for me in our reading of his actions. Meaning, can we read his imagery as social criticism of that social stratum or political criticism of its leaders? Also, one should ask whether, when a foreign artist living and working in Egypt for a limited period of time chooses to depict the country's subjects through stereotypical Egyptian characteristics and present them as a *reality*, should his action not be read as constituting an Orientalist judgment? Or one that relates the subject depicted with generic characteristics like passiveness

and submissiveness. An answer can be given only when examining the complete corpus of Santes' works, which do reflect an Orientalist approach towards those he perceived as true Egyptians.

The clearest example in Santes' works reflecting his Orientalist gaze is his use of the image of Ġuḥā as an embodiment of the stereotypical Egyptian, as well as an embodiment of Egypt as a nation, as also discussed by Irène Fenoglio.⁸² Santes uses the image of this allegedly *authentic* Egyptian both in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* and in a French journal published in Egypt under the title *Ġuḥā* (1931–1934).⁸³

Ġuḥā is a pseudo-historical character first documented in ninth-century Arabic literature, and over the centuries the character has turned through oral and literary traditions into a popular protagonist of jocular tales, jokes, and pranks.⁸⁴ While originally a crude character, and often portrayed as a sexually aggressive adolescent, in nineteenth and twentieth century publications

81 The *Loi du 9 décembre 1905 concernant la séparation des Églises et de l'État* was passed by the Chamber of Deputies on 9 December 1905. For a discussion of the law, see Othon Guerlac, "The Separation of Church and State in France," *Political Science Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (Jun 1908): 259–296.

82 Irène Fenoglio, "Caricature et représentation du mythe: Goha," in *Images d'Égypte: de la fresque à la bande dessinée*, ed. Jean-Claude Vatin (Cairo: CEDEJ, 1992): 133–143. The article and its images are available at <https://books.openedition.org/cedej/555?lang=en>. Last accessed on September 17, 2017.

83 There is uncertainty regarding the identity of the publisher of this journal. Some attribute it to Santes himself; others, such as the Centre d'Études Alexandrines, attribute it to Georges Dumani.

84 Ulrich Marzolph, "Juḥā," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Third Edition, ed. by Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson. Available at https://referenceworks-brillonline-com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/juha-COM_32867?s.num=0&s.q=juha. First published online: 2017. Accessed on January 27, 2019.

Ġuḥā is known as Kojā Nasr-al-Din by the Kazakhs and Uzbeks; Nasr-al-Din Efendi by the Uigurs; Nasarat by the Chechens; Hoja Nasr-al-Din by the Greeks; Molla Nasr-al-Din by Azerbaijani, Iranians, and Afghans; and Mošfeqi by the Tajiks. Among the Arabs he is often referred to as Ġuḥā al-Rumi or Ġuḥī. Hasan Javadi, "Molla Nasereddin," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, 2012, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/molla-nasreddin-i-the-person>. Last accessed on September 17, 2017.

he was portrayed as a lovable and sophisticated philosopher and commentator on the unoriginality of human existence.⁸⁵ As Hasan Javadi argues, although the stories relating to Ğuḥā are generally humorous, “in the subtle humor there is always a lesson to be learned.”⁸⁶ These stories involve people and incidents from all social strata, including kings, beggars, politicians, clerics, and so forth. Out of these tales, some of which might have existed in pre-Islamic times, emerges the wise-fool personality of Ğuḥā as a character embodying an amusing mixture of silliness and shrewdness. This basically low-class wise fool, with his ready wit, life experience, and bonhomie characterizes the inner strength of ordinary people.

The other side of Ğuḥā is his foolishness and naiveté that often imparts a meaningful sense of criticism. Ğuḥā was identified by al-Sayyid Marsot as a kind of Everyman, embodying public opinion. Al-Sayyid Marsot, while discussing Ğuḥā’s image in Egyptian folklore, indicates that in local Egyptian traditions he is mostly cast as the put-upon victim, who eventually turns the tables on his assailants—“as a kind of wistful fantasy of a justice which was nonexistent.”⁸⁷ According to al-Sayyid Marsot, the verbal lampoon of the Ğuḥā tradition fulfilled the necessary function of acting as a safety valve and was a social and political commentary as well—a means to enhance a sense of a national community in the face of alien rulers.⁸⁸

Although al-Sayyid Marsot claimed Ğuḥā did not appear in Egyptian caricatures, Ğuḥā was depicted, as mentioned, and discussed by Fenoglio, by Santes in his caricatures. In Santes’ images, Ğuḥā appears in a range of ages between forty and old age. He always appears in local, traditional garments—the *ġlābiyya*, above it the *qaftān*, a turban on his head and cloth slippers on his feet. However, one cannot say it is the same man in each caricature. It seems that Santes designed the image of Ğuḥā anew each time. In most cases he

was presented as a kind man, occasionally with grotesque facial features—big eyes, accentuated nose, thick lips, and a beard—and usually in an unthreatening manner. And he smiles a lot, occasionally with no connection to the text put in his mouth. In other words, Santes’ Ğuḥā cannot be discussed as a reflection of the figure from the oral traditions—as a character who “turns the tables on his assailants.” Additionally, Santes does not present the character as an active participant in the caricatures in which he appears. Rather, he uses him as an embodiment of Egyptianness as perceived by the artist himself—a lovable, harmless, unthreatening man. This Egyptianness was named by Fenoglio as *gohité* (Ğuḥāness)—a label attributing characteristics of simplicity and naivety to all Egyptians and seeing in them harmless, submissive, and fatalistic types.⁸⁹ In one of the examples Fenoglio discusses, Ğuḥā is presented as a man in his forties or fifties, with a short black beard.⁹⁰ He is standing with his back turned to earth as it rolls toward him. He is standing still, scratching his head with his right hand, in a gesture of wonder and helplessness. The text accompanying the caricature is as follows: “there is no point denying, he is now spinning in the wrong direction.” The words affirm the image of a helpless man, who succumbs to his pre-determined destiny. As Fenoglio argues, it is a character that exist only to mediate and distribute the artist’s gaze on Egypt and the Egyptians.⁹¹ In the end, the only connection between the oral description of Ğuḥā and the caricatured one is his name.

Santes’ choice of representing Ğuḥā in his caricatures was probably influenced, as Fenoglio also indicates, by literary sources published in French

85 *Ibid.*

86 *Ibid.*

87 Al-Sayyid Marsot, “The Cartoon in Egypt,” 4.

88 *Ibid.*, 2–3.

89 Fenoglio, “*Caricature et représentation du mythe: Goha*,” 141.

90 Fenoglio does not disclose any identifying details regarding the illustration, other than the fact that it was published as a frontispiece in the journal *Ğuḥā*. The image is available at <https://books.openedition.org/cedej/555?lang=en>. Last accessed on September 17, 2017.

91 Fenoglio, “*Caricature et représentation du mythe: Goha*,” 141.

in the 1920s by writers from the minority community of Egypt. The first is *Goha le simple* (*Ġuḥā the Fool*), by Albert Adès and Albert Josipovici—the first was born in Cairo, and the second in Constantinople. Both acquired their education in France and lived in Egypt.⁹² *Ġuḥā* was used by the authors to describe the lives of the common people in Cairo. When writing the preface to the second English edition to the book, Octave Mirbeau wrote, in 1924, that when he read *Ġuḥā the Fool*, he understood the East.⁹³ He saw the book as a documentary text, “given facts” from the most common, “from those that make up the life of every day.” The authors, claimed Mirbeau, while denying themselves “lyricism,” “lifted the veil for our Western eyes. The whole East seems to say, ‘Look, here I am!’”⁹⁴

A second book, *Les contes de Goha* (*The Tales of Ġuḥā*), by Elian Finbert, assembled little anecdotes from the oral tradition of *Ġuḥā* and published them in French.⁹⁵ The journal *Ġuḥā* was also published in French, mainly for the foreign communities of Cairo and Alexandria. The editor of the journal testified, at the end of the first year of publication, that he sought to expose his readers to the national tendencies of the Egyptians, and more accurately to distribute the Wafd stances.⁹⁶ However, *Ġuḥā*'s demeanor in the journal *Ġuḥā* was no different than the way he *behaved or performed* in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, which was an anti-Wafdist journal, published in Arabic for Arabic-reading audiences. That is to say, in the caricatures in which *Ġuḥā* performed, he *spoke* in one language, while the platforms through which

his images were distributed *spoke* in different and varied languages.

During the 1930s, images of types from the lower strata began to appear which did not represent the authentic or average Egyptian or Egypt as a nation. Most of these types appeared in *al-Itṭayn*. Some of the caricatures in which these types appeared were not political, but rather expressed social criticism. They focused on daily activities and contexts, and criticized the dress, demeanor and conduct of the lower strata. In this context, the artists' image-as-monologue at the expense of his *victims* (which could be the reader himself if we accept the notion that the illiterate was also exposed to the caricatures) reflects the role of caricaturists as “moral educators,” who took it upon themselves to criticize the society in which they lived.

The most prominent examples from *al-Itṭayn*, in this context, is the weekly comic strip, the first to be published in Egypt, which first appeared in the journal in July 1934—*Zaqzūq wa Zārifa*. The heroes of this comic were a couple from the urban lower class; the weekly comic strip reflects the troubles and hopes of these classes, as well as their attempts to cope with their changing surroundings following the modernization of Egyptian society. The comic was created by the caricaturist Ramzī, who based the design on the model of Mickey Mouse and his Minnie (first drawn in 1928). Thus, although *Zaqzūq* and *Zārifa* were frogs, their hands, shoes, and costumes were copied by Ramzī from those of Mickey and Minnie.

In their relationship, *Zārifa* constantly gains the upper hand. Each time her husband misanswers a question, does not behave as she expects him to, or disappoints her, she hits him. In one of the episodes, *Zārifa* attacks her husband on the grounds that he cannot find a decent job, and she threatens to divorce him if he does not succeed—a threat which symbolizes the role reversal between the husband and wife in this family (fig. 5.5).⁹⁷ The unemployed husband seeks

92 Albert Adès and Albert Josipovici, *Goha le simple* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1920).

93 Octave Mirbeau, “Preface,” in Albert Adès and Albert Josipovici, *Goha the Fool*, trans. Morris Colman (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1924), xi.

94 *Ibid.*

95 Elian Finbert, *Les contes de Goha* (Paris: Les Presses modernes, 1929).

96 The quotation appears in Fenoglio, “*Caricature et représentation du mythe: Goha*,” 134, with no identifying details regarding the identity of the writer or the issue from which it comes.

97 Ramzī, “*Zaqzūq wa Zārifa*,” *al-Itṭayn* 19, October 22, 1934, 5.

زقزوق وظريفه

زقزوق - والله يا سي حبيب افندي يا اميه
 انا اعدت سه لاقى شغل والدنيا كلنا مقفوله
 في وشي
 حبيب افندي - شوف لاه واسطه واستنجم
 في الحكومه... افسه



زقزوق - وايه اللي حا احملة اديني لفيت طول
 النطر - ما لفيتسه مشغله اهدا...؟
 ظريفه - واننا لانه ما اوكلسه راجل مشغول
 قد الحمار... اذا ما لفتسه نشغل انا
 حا اطردك



زقزوق - طوبى بالاك على يا ظريفه حا الاقوى
 مشغل دلوقت منيه؟! - دول الوزرا ارايحهم
 يسبروا شغلهم ويخرجوا من الوزارة
 ظريفه - حال.. مادام الوزرا حا يسبروا شغلهم
 روح بدل واحد منهم واشغل وزير!



زقزوق - يا سيدي اسامعيل بك اجمل معروف
 الترمط لي في وظيفه في الحكومه افسه فيفسه
 وظايف سرخير واسطه... والله لا يوربك وحشه...
 اسامعيل بك - حكومه ايه دلوقت - دول الوزرا حا يسبروا
 سر وزاراتهم



FIGURE 5.5 Zaqzūq and Zarīfa. Ramzī, "Zaqzūq wa Zarīfa," *al-Itḥayn* 19, October 22, 1934, 5.
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advice from Ḥusayn Efendi, who, judging by his title (and dress), belongs to the socio-cultural stratum of the *efendiyya*. Ḥusayn Efendi recommends that Zaqqūq gets protection (*wāsita*) from someone in the government. Zaqqūq turns to Ismāʿīl Bāy, whose title indicates he is higher in the bureaucracy than Ḥusayn Efendi. When Zaqqūq asks Ismāʿīl to get him a job in the government, Ismāʿīl answers that the current government is about to dissolve, and all the ministers will leave their offices, hence he cannot help him. When the husband returns to his wife with this answer, she happily commands him “to go and replace one of them and work as a minister!” The dialogues between these characters reflect the importance of the ministerial post, or more accurately, the post in the Egyptian bureaucracy in the period discussed, when the *mīrī* post (a distortion of the word *amīrī*, meaning governmental or official)—the all mighty bureaucrat—was perceived as the most desirable.⁹⁸

Returning to the journal itself, during the first three years of its publication, its frontispieces were constantly devoted to the lower social strata—some criticizing them, some allegedly documenting all kinds of types which together formed the Egyptian national community. Porters, waiters, card players, rice and coffee fortunetellers, officers, policemen and so forth appear in these frontispieces as *themselves*. The images lampoon their appearance as well as their conduct. In one of these frontispieces, a family from the lower strata is depicted visiting the zoo (fig. 5.6).⁹⁹ The father, his wife, and their child stands in front of the apes’ cage. The father’s and the child’s facial features mirror the faces of the apes. In the subtitles, the father addresses the apes and asks them why don’t they leave their cage? The response he gets is “you come inside.” In other words, in their appearance and conduct the family is compared

to the animals, depriving them any real social or national value.

One can see these images as reflecting the “*efendiyya* subjectivity,” to use Ryzova’s terminology—the reformist discourse that sought to fix the country, which in the *effendiyya*’s opinion needed to be rebuilt from scratch.¹⁰⁰ As Ryzova details, “through this discourse, Egyptian society was perceived as deficient and sick, suffering from retardation and backwardness.”¹⁰¹ The reasons for this illness appeared to the *efendiyya* in every sphere of what they called the Egyptian society:

“the absence of education, and ‘culture,’ of order and discipline, of purpose and productivity. [... it] included poverty and ignorance. It also included a religion gone wrong at the hands of an *azhari* establishment with its education based on rote learning of ancient texts, blind submission to senior textual authority, and inimical to rational enquiry. It included a degenerate form of religion, such as the popular Islam and Sufism [...]. The reasons for this retardation also included bad social habits, both intimate and public, ranging from personal hygiene and the culture of gender seclusion, to the chaotic and unsanitary architectures of cities. It included a culture of indolence and the ensuing lack of industry, initiative, and productivity. Last but not least, it also included bad government, an unjust political system of despotic rule that generated only oppression and denied people their rights. This despotic system was supported from below by a culture of submission and fatalism, as well as by the ossified religious establishment giving despotism a mantle of legitimacy.”¹⁰²

However, this same discourse, when conducted by the West, served as the pretext for colonial domination of the West over the East. Hence, one needs

98 See Ryzova’s discussion on the subject, Ryzova, “Egyptianizing Modernity,” 137–138, 141–143.

99 “*Fi ḥadiqa al-ḥayawānāt*,” *al-Itḥayn* 26, December 10, 1934, frontispiece.

100 Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya*, 20.

101 *Ibid.*

102 *Ibid.*



FIGURE 5.6 In the Zoo. "Fi ḥadiqa al-ḥayawānāt," *al-Itnayn* 26, December 10, 1934, frontispiece.

to locate, in reference to each caricature, who drew it and what worldview was reflected in it, without negating the influence the Western discourse had on the *efendiyya*'s perspective.

Another caricatured pair I wish to discuss in the context of the lower strata is the theatrical duo of Kiškiš Bāy and 'Ali al-Kassār (1887–1957). The image of the *'umda* (village chief) Kiškiš Bāy originally came from the work of Nağīb al-Riḥānī (1891–1949). Al-Riḥānī was an actor and a writer in 'Azīz 'Id's (1884–1942) theatrical troupe until he left in May 1916 to perform his own comedic sketches and eventually start his own theatre company.¹⁰³ His comedic plays relied on and included a great deal of music. Al-Riḥānī specialized in playing the role of Kiškiš Bāy—an *'umda* from the countryside lured to the city by its many temptations.¹⁰⁴ According to al-Yūsuf's memoirs, the idea for Kiškiš Bāy came to al-Riḥānī from a joint creation of 'Azīz 'Id and Amīn Šidqī (1890–1944)—the translator of many of 'Id's plays from French into Egyptian Arabic, who would later become the exclusive writer for al-Kassār's comedic troupe.¹⁰⁵ The theatrical drama they wrote, *al-Qarya al-ḥamrā'* (*The Red Village*), was meant to reflect the rural lives of the *true* Egyptians.¹⁰⁶ The drama revolves around the images of the village al-Balāš' *'umda*, the village watchman, and his beautiful young daughter. The girl was employed in the *'umda*'s house. However, the *'umda* falls in love with the young girl and rapes her. Her father, seeking to atone his family honor, kills his daughter. Al-Riḥānī took the image of the village's *'umda* and turned it to a comic character in a theatre he established in Alfā street (on the grounds of the former casino Šahrazād). The name Kiškiš Bāy was chosen by al-Riḥānī—it was a nickname chosen for him by a dancer named Lucy, who worked in the casino and later joined al-Riḥānī's troupe.¹⁰⁷

103 For 'Azīz 'Id's troupe, see Fahmī, *Ordinary Egyptian*, 123.

104 *Ibid.*, 124.

105 *Ibid.*, 123.

106 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 18.

107 *Ibid.*, 18–19.

As Fahmy demonstrated, Kiškiš Bāy's plays and songs were unprecedentedly popular, and as newspapers of the period reported, they were "sung by women in private, repeated by children in the streets and alleys, and chanted everywhere by all classes, from the highest to the lowest."¹⁰⁸ These songs became, as another article declared, "the songs of the masses."¹⁰⁹

The caricatured image of Kiškiš Bāy first appeared in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, and later also in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* and in *al-Itṭayn*—which dedicated one of its frontispieces to the character. In many of the caricatures in which he appears, he is accompanied by the image of Oṭmān 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, who on stage and screen was performed by 'Ali al-Kassār. Between the mid-1930s and 1940s, the character of the Nubian wise-fool Oṭmān 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ appeared in at least half a dozen movies. This character was one among a repertoire of Nubian types, mostly appearing in popular comedies, in the roles of maidservants, butlers, servants and *bawwābūn* (sg. *bawwāb*, doorkeepers). As Joel Gordon indicates, these comical figures "were often bemused by their masters' antics and were occasionally party to plots designed to undermine household authority."¹¹⁰ Frequently they were the object of verbal and physical abuse.

In *al-Itṭayn*'s caricatures, the pair, Kiškiš Bāy and Oṭmān 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, is presented in collages—meaning that photographic images of the two actors, dressed in their theatrical costumes, were cut and re-cast in new realistic compositions.¹¹¹ However, Kiškiš Bāy was presented as Kiškiš Bāy, while

108 *al-Minbar*, August 26, 1918, quoted in Fahmī, *Ordinary Egyptian*, 124.

109 *al-Minbar*, March 10, 1919, quoted in *Ibid.*

110 Joel Gordon, "River Blindness: Black and White Identity in Early Nasserist Cinema," in *Narrating the Nile: Politics, Cultures, Identities*, ed. Israel Gershoni and Meir Hatina (Boulder; London: L. Rienner, 2008), 143–144.

111 In most of the collage-caricatures in *al-Itṭayn* there is no signature for the artist who created the images. However, in one caricature there is a signature which highly resembles that of Santes. untitled caricature, *al-Itṭayn* 21, January 5, 1934, frontispiece.

the image of Oṭmān ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ was presented as al-Kassār. This blurry border between reality and imagination was further blurred by the fact that the artist responsible for the collages did not distort the images he manipulated, but rather contextualized them in Cairene and Alexandrian urban scenery, allegedly recreating a realistic encounter rather than distorting it in order to create his caricature.¹¹²

Apart from the caricatures, *al-Itṭayn* also featured comical dialogues between the pair—a further testimony to the popularity of both the actors and their theatrical and cinematic characters in the public sphere. Many intellectuals and critics, as mentioned by Fahmy, attacked al-Riḥānī and al-Kassār’s productions (as well as many others, all performed in the colloquial), accusing them of vulgarity. However, their popularity only increased, and their vaudeville plays were consumed by all Egyptians, regardless of class or education.¹¹³ The use of these characters is further proof of their popularity—regardless of the caricaturist’s interpretation of the pair as an embodiment of Egyptianness.

The appearance of representatives from the lower strata of Egyptian society in Egyptian caricatures in the 1930s as *themselves* parallel their disappearance as symbolizing the *authentic* Egyptian or Egypt as a nation. This process occurred in tandem with the appearance of al-Miṣrī Efendi—a caricatured type which presented itself through the 1930s as a modern Egyptian man, and reflected, allegedly, a new kind of subject who was articulated in the *efendiyya*’s discourse as *required* for the establishment of the modern Egyptian nation-state. The appearance of al-Miṣrī Efendi as an embodiment of the modern Egyptian national identity can be read as reflecting the self-perception of the

efendiyya as the guardians of the Egyptian nation. And indeed, this caricatured type reflected the range of meanings imbedded in their perception of modern Egyptianness. Academic research tends to emphasize this interpretation of this caricatured type. However, al-Miṣrī Efendi was not just a mouthpiece for *efendiyya*’s discourse; rather, he was also a caricatured type embodying a set of inherent qualities and behaviors that were not in line with the *efendiyya*’s self-perception, as I discuss below.

3 Al-Miṣrī Efendi

Al-Miṣrī Efendi, a short-statured, middle-aged man wearing a Western suit, a *ṭarbūš*, and a pair of glasses, and holding prayer beads in one hand, first appeared in 1930 in the pages of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*.¹¹⁴ His creation was attributed to the Armenian artist Ṣārūḥān.¹¹⁵ Although Ṣārūḥān did not name the character in the image as al-Miṣrī Efendi, over the next couple of years this image would *conquer* every niche of the journal and be identified with *Rūz al-Yūsuf* and its creator, Ṣārūḥān.

The idea to design al-Miṣrī Efendi came-up, according to al-Yūsuf, when she and al-Tābī sought an icon for their journal that would symbolize the leading ideas of their journalistic venture.¹¹⁶ This icon needed to be recognized as visually and thematically different from the caricatured type used

112 For example, ‘*Alā šāṭī? al-baḥr bayna Kiškiš wa-al-Kassār*, *al-Itṭayn* 8, August 6, 1934, 26–27.

113 Fahmī quotes from Zaḡlūl’s diary, which testified that while visiting Ṣidqī’s house, his children performed in front of them bits of al-Riḥānī’s Kiškiš Bāy plays. Fahmī, *Ordinary Egyptian*, 124.

114 The caricature illustrated one of the journal’s readers’ responses to the progress of the negotiations between Britain and Egypt over Egypt’s full independence. Iskandar Ṣārūḥān, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 5, May 13, 1930, 9.

115 Some researchers associated the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi with the artist Raḥā, who worked for *al-Itṭayn*, among other journals. Ryzova, for example, mentions that al-Miṣrī Efendi first appeared regularly on the pages of this journal. Ryzova, “Egyptianizing Modernity,” 155. Dougherty suggests that the character was invented in the mid-to-late 1920s. Dougherty, “Badi’a Masabni, Artiste and Modernist,” 267.

116 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 135.

by their main competitor—the satirical journal *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, which, according to al-Yūsuf, used the image of Ġuḥā.¹¹⁷ While browsing through Western satirical journals, al-Yūsuf and al-Tābī came across “an image of a man, who looked like al-Miṣrī Efendi, who wore a bowler hat, and carried an umbrella. And we quoted this character; thereafter we dressed him with the *ṭarbūš* and placed the prayer beads in his hands. And Šārūḥān started to draw al-Miṣrī Efendi.”¹¹⁸ According to al-Yūsuf, this character was meant to be used as “a timeless allegory for the average [*ada*], loyal, kind, Egyptian man.”¹¹⁹

Within two years of its appearance, the popularity of this character reached unprecedented heights. Browsing through *Rūz al-Yūsuf* from the first half of the 1930s, the frequency with which this character appears in the journal mushroomed: from elaborate colored caricatures to rough, fuzzy, black and white sketches, to advertisements for cigarettes, alcoholic beverages, and various consumer goods, and as part of the visual design of headers for different columns.¹²⁰ He was seen reading letters from readers and answering their

questions; he appeared as the header on different columns addressing the political issues of the day; he criticized, in image and text, the behavior of Egyptian politicians; he promoted the up-coming issues of the journal; and he joined the national struggle by pleading with readers to buy only local Egyptian goods. It seemed that the imagined border between the journal and its mascot completely blurred. One prominent example of this ambiguity was a weekly column published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* and titled *al-Miṣrī Efendi: ġarīda siyāsīyya, usbū'īyya, muṣawwara* (“al-Miṣrī Efendi: A Political, Weekly Illustrated Newspaper”). From the title of this column, one could assume there was a weekly newspaper entitled “al-Miṣrī Efendi.” The column header presented al-Miṣrī Efendi as the president and the leading editor of this newspaper. Al-Yūsuf was presented as its owner. The text each week was presented as written by al-Miṣrī Efendi.¹²¹

In addition, several other artists working for different journals adopted the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi in their caricatures as well—a practice common in this artistic genre in interwar Egypt, which indicated that artists and newspapers did not yet possess legal copyrights for their visual materials. The visibility of this character was so extensive that some readers thought they were viewing a caricatured image of an actual person. Some approached the paper asking for the address of al-Miṣrī Efendi, about his origin, and whether he had any children? Others complained that in view of al-Miṣrī Efendi's national efforts, he should have received the honorific of Paša. A letter, signed by “Eyewitness” and addressed to the editor of *Aḥīr sa'a al-muṣawwara*, was about a previous article published under the title “*Sadāġa ba'ḍu al-kurā': limādā lā yun'imu 'alā al-Miṣrī Efendi bi-rutba al-bashawīyya?*” (“Naivety of some readers: why al-Miṣrī Efendi is unworthy

117 I find al-Yūsuf's claim regarding Ġuḥā at odds with the number of times the image actually appeared in the journal (approximately a dozen instances). Additionally, it was not used as the journal mascot, nor did it appear in any columns as their header—a prominent feature of the use of al-Miṣrī Efendi.

118 While discussing the originality of al-Miṣrī Efendi, al-Yūsuf emphasizes that Šārūḥān denied on at least one occasion—while being interrogated by the state prosecutor regarding a caricature which featured al-Miṣrī Efendi—that he was responsible for creating the image. Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 135.

119 *Ibid.*, 136.

120 For al-Miṣrī Efendi's advertisements for alcoholic beverages, see *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 360, January 14, 1935, 38; *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 457, December 24, 1936, 45. For al-Miṣrī Efendi's cigarette advertisements, see *Aḥīr sa'a al-muṣawwara* 70, November 10, 1935, 32; *Aḥīr sa'a al-muṣawwara* 71, November 17, 1935, 36. For al-Miṣrī Efendi's headers for weekly columns, see *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 354, December 3, 1934, 14; *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 372, April 8, 1935, 4, 24; and *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 374, April 22, 1935, 12.

121 I was unable to trace who wrote the weekly column. An example can be seen in “*al-Miṣrī Efendi: ġarīda siyāsīyya, 'usbū'īyya, muṣawwara*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 363, February 4, 1935, 16. An actual journal named *al-Miṣrī Efendi* was published in Alexandria from the 1940s until the 1950s.

of the title ‘*Bāšawīyya*’).¹²² The letter mentioned that many readers asked the paper for al-Miṣrī Efendi’s address and the paper needed to clarify that the character is only a fictional character, like Ğuḥā. The writer urges the editorial board to state that there is an al-Miṣrī Efendi living in Alexandria, and he further specifies his address there.¹²³

Only with the appearance of al-Miṣrī Efendi in the early 1930s did a unique stereotype which was associated with the *efendiyya* crystalize—an image which had distinct and identifiable visual and behavioral features, which repeated themselves from caricature to caricature. During the 1920s, caricaturists occasionally chose images of efendis to represent Egypt as a nation or to represent the Egyptian people (*al-šaʿb al-Miṣrī*). One of these early examples, drawn by Ğulūṣī, was published in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* (fig. 5.7).¹²⁴ The caricature presents an image of a young efendi, dressed in a three-piece suit and a *ṭarbūš*, and identified by a sub-title on his suite as symbolizing the “Egyptian public” (*al-ġumhūr al-Miṣrī*). On his *ṭarbūš* appears the symbol of the 1919 Revolution. The young efendi reaches toward a dove sitting on a tree branch above his head. The tree is marked by the title “The Tree of Dreams” and the dove, according to the accompanying editorial text, symbolizes the profits from the Egyptian crops. The caricature, the second in a series appearing

in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara*, addressed the pigeon-hunting habit that had spread among young Egyptians as a leisure activity. The explanatory text elaborated that this habit swelled to improbable dimensions, and Egyptian youth, instead of going to work to help provide for their families, invest their time in this dishonest practice, as well as others, such as gambling and drinking alcohol—an influence of the British presence in Egypt, according to the writer. The caricature blamed the foreigners for ripping off the Egyptian efendi (i.e. the country) while he is occupied in his dishonest hobby. This caricature, as many others from this period published in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara*, presents the efendi as the *average, authentic* Egyptians from the lower strata were presented—meaning passive, chained to their reality, and suffering from the tyranny of the various governments and/or the colonial powers. Occasionally, the titles of the caricatures mark them in definite terms as the “poor public” (*al-ġumhūr al-maskīn*).¹²⁵

Returning to al-Miṣrī Efendi, the caricatures, headers, and advertisements featuring al-Miṣrī Efendi in the first half of the 1930s are addressed here as visual signs—an expression of a set of ideas relating both to the journals in which he first appeared and to the sociocultural group of the *efendiyya*, to which he belonged. As a representative of the *efendiyya*, this character was meant to symbolize what it meant to be a modern Egyptian subject in the context of the anti-colonial struggle, according to the *efendiyya*’s perspective. However, al-Miṣrī Efendi was also an image in itself—a caricatured type that had its own characteristics and represented ways of thought and codes of behavior that differed from the ideas it meant to convey. The sign (al-Miṣrī Efendi) and the signified (the *efendiyya*, Egypt, and the journal) were connected to each other and created each other’s meaning; therefore, al-Miṣrī Efendi appeared not only as a way to represent meaning but was also as a

122 *Aḥir saʿa al-muṣawwara* 64, September 29, 1935, 22.

123 *Šāhid ʿayān*, “*al-Miṣrī Efendi, hayy yurzaq?*” *Aḥir saʿa al-muṣawwara* 66, October 13, 1935, 52.

124 Aīḥāb Ğulūṣī, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 278, June 7, 1920, 8. It was not Ğulūṣī’s only use of an image of an efendi in caricatures as representing the people. When not using efendis to embody the notion of the Egyptian people, he Egyptianized the chosen symbol by placing a *ṭarbūš* on it—hence associating it with the *efendiyya*. For example, Aīḥāb Ğulūṣī, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 279, June 14, 1920, 4. In this example, a dove symbolized the Egyptian public, and she appeared with the *ṭarbūš* on her head.

125 Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 417, February 5, 1923, 16.



FIGURE 5.7 The Tree of Dreams. Aḥḥāb Ḥulūṣī, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 278, June 7, 1920, 8.
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platform for creating meanings of its own, through an interpretive reading process.¹²⁶ As an artistic creation in and of itself, it was a part of a sign-system, which was semi-autonomous with regard to reality. In other words, al-Miṣrī Efendi was also the embodiment of Ṣārūḥān's insider-as-outsider gaze, which also manifested itself in a partial set of Orientalist values regarding the Egyptians and their character.

However, first and foremost, a significant portion of the different kinds of images that included al-Miṣrī Efendi showed him reading an issue of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* or acting in the name of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*. These images identified al-Miṣrī Efendi—in accordance with al-Yūsuf's remarks regarding her and al-Tabī's intentions for this caricatured type of the "average Egyptian"—as an expression of the journal's intent to create, imagine, and attempt to capture the public by designing its symbols. In other words, al-Miṣrī Efendi, as an Egyptian Everyman or as "one of the readers," was an attempt to create an image of the public by addressing it. He was the proof of the existence of that public. In this context, the engagement of this imagined type in interaction with the journal itself, with other characters in this imagined space, and with the public at large (the journal's target audience) repeatedly reaffirmed the journal's two self-assigned missions: the first, to speak in the name of that public; and the second, to reaffirm its self-perception as the leading producer of the preferred symbolic caricatured repertoire of Egyptian society.

Secondly, as a visual sign, al-Miṣrī Efendi's dress, attributes (mainly his *ṭarbūš*), and his title (Efendi) denote that he belonged to the *efendiyya*. These garments, as discussed at length by Ryzova, served as signs that differentiated the efendi from his external and internal Others: on the one hand, the

colonial powers that had come to dominate the country and his social superiors—the Ottoman elite; and on the other, his subordinate social Others, which represented tradition and were identified by the *ġlābiyya* or the traditional dress.¹²⁷

As a representative of the socio-cultural stratum of the *efendiyya*, its image is read in post-colonial historiographies as embodying the *efendiyya's* subjectivity.¹²⁸ As Ryzova explains, the efendi subjectivity—i.e. "the building of a modern nation-state in a colonial context"—was constructed around two main missions which the efendis took upon themselves: "internal reform, or modernization; and independence from the occupier."¹²⁹ Through this discourse, the efendis portrayed themselves as being the ideal citizens of the state, those who could fulfill the role of a modern public, in whose hands lay the future of the country, and with whom Egypt could reemerge as a nation among nations.¹³⁰

The caricatured image of al-Miṣrī Efendi could be read—and has been read by cultural historians—as being the ideal embodiment of the *efendiyya's* worldview as the guardians of the formative Egyptian nation-state. He was the undisputed icon or type representing or identifying for its viewers what Egyptianness is, or how Egypt will present itself as national and modern in the 1930s. Numerous caricatures of al-Miṣrī Efendi can be cited here as embodying the *efendiyya's* subjectivity. For example, in December 1936, *Aḥīr sa'ā al-muṣawwara* published a black and white cartoon commemorating the ratification of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty (fig. 5.8).¹³¹ The caricature featured rows of identical men in *ṭarābiš* and Western suits marching in procession, praising and extolling the treaty achieved "with our blood,

126 For a theoretical discussion on reading caricatures through semiotic theories, see Machter and Machter, *Qariqatūraā, paršanūt wû-bûiqôret*.

127 Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya*, 8–9.

128 *Ibid*, 21.

129 *Ibid*, 25.

130 *Ibid*, 23.

131 "Mîn dammānā wa min dīrā'īnā," *Aḥīr sa'ā al-muṣawwara* 129, December 27, 1936, 9.



FIGURE 5.8 With Our Blood and Through Our Arms. “Min dammānā wa min ḍirā’inā,” *Aḥir sa’at al-muṣawwara* 129, December 27, 1936, 9.

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and through our arms.”¹³² Al-Miṣrī Efendi is leading the procession, while in his right hand he holds the flag of the Kingdom of Egypt (1923–1953). The following text accompanies the image:

“Rise, oh Egyptian and welcome the new era,
with joy and greetings
Forget your misery, and prepare to live happily,
free from first of January
Beware of overlooking and peace,
you are living among wolves
He that will want to sleep will sleep,
among monsters in the middle of the forest
Beware of relying on the glory of the Pharaohs,
it will be disgraceful, and it will be a curse
Let us praise the glory we have achieved,
with our blood and through our arms
This flag will not be lowered again,
after it has risen to greatness
We will raise it to the sun and say it is still low,
we want it to be yet higher
Every drop of our blood, for our homeland,
with no hesitation
Our blood preserved safely,
we will devote it to the day of struggle.”

The appearance of al-Miṣrī Efendi in this image, and his duplication in the ranks of al-Miṣrī Efendi marching behind him, visually embodies the efendis' worldview—they constructed themselves as the only positive and productive force in society. In this caricature, there is no other Egyptianness which can claim to participate in the national struggle and to which the national triumph can be attributed. Only the Egyptianness manifested in the images of al-Miṣrī Efendi, the *true* Egyptian, could navigate the country to the shores of independence (while insinuating through the text, the failure of their national leaders to do so).

¹³² The 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty was signed on August 26 and ratified on December 22. The terms of the treaty are published in al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt's Liberal Experiment*, 253–267. The ratification was on December 12, 1936, five days before the issue was published.

This caricature visually articulates what Ryzova termed “a national community of similar-minded men with a shared perspective on society and history.”¹³³ In this brotherhood, al-Miṣrī Efendi was the son, the only son, as another comic strip exemplified (fig. 5.9).¹³⁴ While setting-out Egyptian history over the past fifty years, the comics imagined Egypt as a woman in local attire, and called her *al-umm* (the mother), while her son, the *ibn*, is al-Miṣrī Efendi.¹³⁵ Other images bound the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi to the notion of Egypt as a nation, as in a header to one of *Rūz al-Yūsuf*'s columns—“*Aḥbār, maʿālūmāt, asrār*” (“News, Information, Secrets,” fig. 5.10).¹³⁶ In this header, an image of al-Miṣrī Efendi symbolizes “here” (*min hunā*), meaning Egypt, while an image of John Bull symbolizes “there” (*min hunāk*), meaning Britain. Both of the visual symbols should be read as concise visual summaries of the two semi-confronting ideas of the nations they stood for.

The self-identification of al-Miṣrī Efendi and of the *efendiyya* as the only *true* Egyptians is most apparent in caricatured images in which al-Miṣrī Efendi is in interaction with the British occupier. In this context, and on several occasions, the boxing ring serves as the setting for al-Miṣrī Efendi's confrontations with all kinds of British representatives. One example, from *Aḥir saʿa al-muṣawwara*, shows the progress he made with regard to his might, his physical power, and determination, in dealing with the different High Commissioners to Egypt and the Sudan from 1920 to 1935 (fig. 5.11).¹³⁷ The four imagined confrontations are accompanied by the following dialog:

¹³³ Ryzova, *The Age of the Efendiyya*, 21.

¹³⁴ “*Miṣr fi ḥamsīn sana*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 289, October 29, 1934, 7.

¹³⁵ Also performing in this imagined “cinema” (as the comic's sub-title declared) was the villain, Britain, played by the image of John Bull. The image of John Bull as symbolizing the Other, the colonial force of Britain, will be discussed in the Sixth chapter.

¹³⁶ For example, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 361, January 21, 1935, 8.

¹³⁷ Iskandar Ṣārūḥān, “*Sīyāsāt al-ššidda hiya allatī ʿallamtunā!*” *Aḥir saʿa al-muṣawwara* 78, January 5, 1936, 7.



FIGURE 5.9 Egypt in Fifty Years. "Miṣr fi ḥamsīn sana," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 289, October 29, 1934, 7.
THE JOSEPH REGENSTEIN LIBRARY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

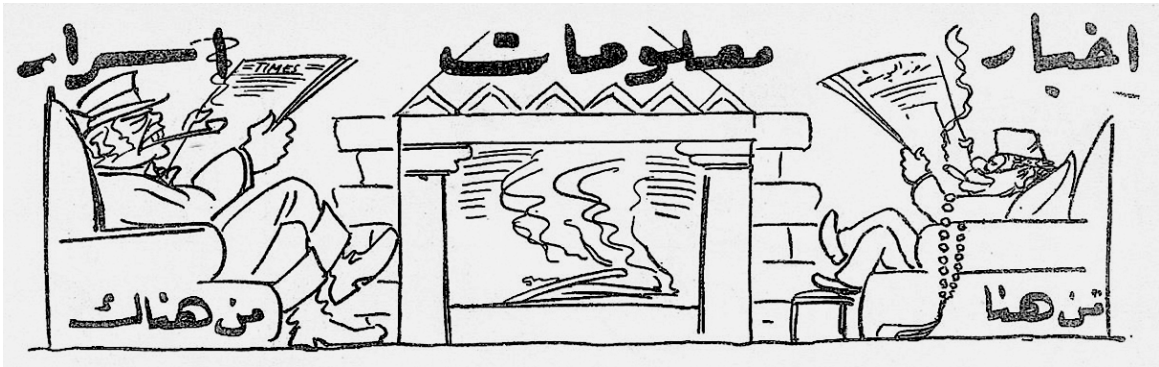


FIGURE 5.10 News, Information, Secrets. *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 361, January 21, 1935, 8. THE JOSEPH REGENSTEIN LIBRARY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

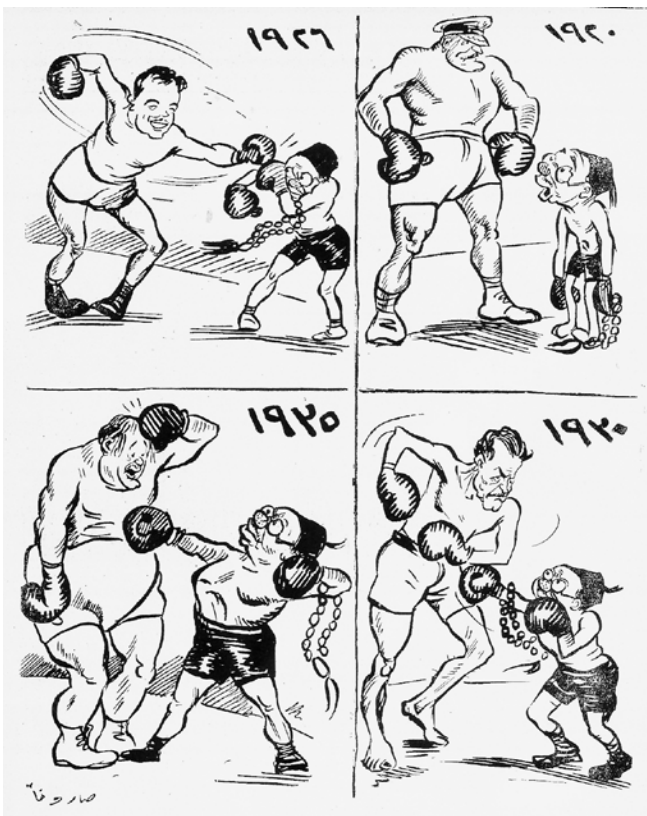


FIGURE 5.11 Power Policy. Iskandar Šarūḥān, “*Siyāsat al-ššidda hiya allatī ‘allamtunā!*” *Aḥir sa’a al-muṣawwara* 78, January 5, 1936, 7. THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF ISRAEL, JERUSALEM

Sir Miles Lampson: Oh, my God! Where did you learn to punch like that?
 Al-Miṣrī Efendi: I learned it from the High Commissioners that preceded you ...!

The caricatured images of the “boxing ring” reflect what Jacob termed the construction of “efendi masculinity.”¹³⁸ Jacob’s research explored the

138 For Jacob’s discussion of the efendi under the colonial gaze, see Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 46–54.

attempts made by the modern Egyptian subjects to free themselves from the “colonial gaze” during the British colonial period. In the British discourse, the modern efendi was perceived as deficient, weak, less disciplined, and insufficiently masculine—unfit for national service. Below is an example from Alfred Milner’s book, *England in Egypt* (1892):

“Anybody who knows the social life of modern Egypt is well acquainted with the Efendi class. Their familiar characteristics, the obsequious manner, the slouching gait, the shortsightedness which is often so extreme as to amount almost to blindness, the worn frock-coat buttoned up to the chin, the general air of dinginess and servility—all these are calculated to make the most unfavorable impression upon the typical Briton.”¹³⁹

That is to say, Egyptian masculinity was defined as a lack of masculinity. In tandem with these claims, there were others who found that “no military education [...] can transform the present Egyptians into good soldiers as long as the officers—the ones who are indigenious—are made of the same stuff; that is, under the uniform all one finds is a fellah.”¹⁴⁰ As Jacob articulates, this statement relates to the ultimate aims of colonial liberalism, at least theoretically, to bring better government, progress, and a better life to the colonized, the Egyptians in our context. The efendi was the target of reform that would have produced a subject that could become an obedient—but not servile—individual. According to the British colonial discourse, after being properly disciplined, such men could eventually be entrusted with real responsibilities. The likelihood of reforming the pre-colonial Egyptian body was what provided

the justification for the continued British colonial presence in Egypt, as well as in other colonies.¹⁴¹

As Jacob demonstrated, efendi discourse from the late nineteenth century revealed awareness of, and anxiety towards, the colonial representations of Egypt and the Egyptians. Qāsim Amīn’s response to Charles-François-Marie d’Harcourt’s *l’Égypte et les égyptiens* (1893) for example, was published in 1894 in *Les Égyptiens*:

“The contemporary fellah, Muslim or Copt, is in height generally tall, strong, and well-built, he possesses a rare physical energy. He is simply dressed, very poorly nourished and even more poorly housed. He completes the most grueling work, under a burning sun, without murmuring and almost content with his lot.”¹⁴²

Not all denied the colonial claims, but rather incorporated them into proposals for the regeneration of Egyptian men.¹⁴³ This primary aspect of the efendi discourse was focused on the production of the new national bodies—a discourse based on a profound sense of physical inferiority. Nevertheless, this discourse and numerous practices related to it came to play a critical role in the Egyptian nationalist project and the constitution of efendi masculinity. In this context, education was perceived as the key to fixing the problem, as the nationalist efendi pedagogy incorporated growing interest in physical culture, as a means to build character (which in turn was related to masculinity).¹⁴⁴ Returning to Şārūḥān’s comics in *Aḥīr sa’a al-muṣawwara* (fig. 5.11), clearly, these four images sought to redesign reality, as the giant in the first act is defeated at the hands of the new, masculine, fit al-Miṣrī Efendi in the last act. The arrogance of the first was replaced by confusion

139 Alfred Milner, *England in Egypt* (1892, reprinted in London: Edward Arnold, 1926), quoted in Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 46.

140 Charles François Marie, Le Duc d’Harcourt, *l’Égypte et les égyptiens* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1893), 27–28. Harcourt’s observations were based on his visit to Egypt in 1889.

141 Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 65–67.

142 Qāsim Amīn, *Les Égyptiens: Réponse à M. Le d’Harcourt* (Cairo: Jules Barbier, 1894), 11.

143 Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 63.

144 Chapters 3 through 7 in Jacob’s book detail the different ways in which the care of the male body was addressed as a means to produce a modern national subject.

and helplessness as an expression of the colonial encounter from the *efendi* perspective. This image can be read as a typical or ideal embodiment of the *efendiyya's* perspective or subjectivity of the period. However, as compelling as such a reading is, it tells only part of the story, since these images were not common and did not represent the majority of al-Miṣrī Efendi's performances.

As mentioned by al-Yūsuf, the task of designing this icon was placed in the hands of Ṣārūḥān. As discussed in the first chapter, the Armenian caricaturist, Ṣārūḥān, emigrated to Alexandria from Vienna in July 1924.¹⁴⁵ In 1926, he began to work for *Rūz al-Yūsuf* after mainly drawing caricatures of prominent Armenian figures active in Egypt. While working for al-Yūsuf, Ṣārūḥān was responsible for drawing caricatures, which were at first based on Santes' work, and al-Tābī wrote the text.

Browsing through Ṣārūḥān's caricatures of al-Miṣrī Efendi, it is apparent that more than once they conveyed meanings that were different or even contradictory to the *efendiyya's* discourse or worldview. These meanings were articulated through his appearance as well as his manners and demeanor in the imagined world of the caricature. In most of his appearances he was portrayed as a passive participant, present in events or observing them, standing at the side of the composition, and only rarely he was seen "in action," as with the images of the *fallāḥ* or *ibn al-balad*. In other words, Ṣārūḥān actually constructed what can be read as mainly an un-masculine subject, or one representing a questionable masculinity (as it was perceived in the *efendiyya's* discourse), of a balding, bespectacled, middle-aged man. Mostly, he was indifferent to, or unaware of, the colonial imagining of the Egyptians or of Egypt.

A caricature, published in April 1932, presents an example of his submissive character, as constructed by Ṣārūḥān (fig. 5.12).¹⁴⁶ The image shows a hungry, sick, and worn-out al-Miṣrī

Efendi chained to Prime Minister Ṣidqī. His back is bent, but nevertheless he is smiling. He makes no attempt to resist his condition. A dialogue between Ṣidqī and the High Commissioner to Egypt and the Sudan at the time, Sir Percy Lyham Loraine (served 1929–1933), underscores the gaze which framed him as indifferent to his life circumstances:

The High Commissioner:	It seems al-Miṣrī Efendi is humiliated and hungry. What's the story? Why did you do that to him?
The Prime Minister:	In the name of God, I was told once that al-Miṣrī Efendi, whenever he became hungry, blessed whatever he received! You can see the results with your own eyes.

It is true that this caricature was meant as a guilty plea against Ṣidqī and his regime. And yet, al-Miṣrī Efendi, as the Egyptian public, is not "free of blame." His submission and passivity overcame him and constructed him as a fatalistic subject, with his eternal smile; hence, its image can be read as un-masculine and questionably Egyptian and modern.

A second point to be made regards al-Miṣrī Efendi's small dimensions, which were always in sharp contrast to the dimensions of others in the imagined world of the caricature. This visual characteristic contrasted his weakness and inferiority to the vigor and authority of the colonial powers and local rulers alike. In this context, al-Miṣrī Efendi demonstrated close links to British and American images of Everyman—the kind of representation of the "common people." From the beginning of the twentieth century, these standard caricatured stereotypes were usually drawn as short-statured men who were exploited and manipulated by their political leaders.¹⁴⁷ Examples are "Mr. Common Man" by Frederick Oppen (1857–1937)—a short bald man, wearing a hat too small

¹⁴⁵ Iskandar and al-Malāḥ, *Ḥamsūn sana min al-fann*, 163.

¹⁴⁶ Untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 217, April 11, 1932, frontispiece.

¹⁴⁷ Press, *The Political Cartoon*, 222.



FIGURE 5.12

What's the Story? Untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 217, April 11, 1932, frontispiece.

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for his head;¹⁴⁸ “John Q. Taxpayer” by T.E. Powers (1870–1939)—designed as a naked man wearing a barrel; “John Citizen” by Percy Fearon, known as “Poy” (1874–1948); “John Q. Public” by Vaughn Richard Shoemaker (1902–1991)—a short man who wore glasses, a moustache, a felt hat, a suit and a tie (and sometimes smoked a cigar); and “The Little Man” by Sydney Strube (1890–1956)¹⁴⁹—to

whom apparently al-Yūsuf related in her memoirs, since he was recognized by his bowler hat and umbrella.¹⁵⁰

Common to all these caricatured types of Everyman was their defined identity as national subjects. Additionally, they were conservatives, married men, loyal patriots, and committed to the principles of the country within whose public sphere they performed. All these characters represented the lower-middle strata, bullied by their governments and the economic monopolies. As articulated by Rod Brooks, their appearance was linked to the consequences of national and imperial economy in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁵¹ Their ability to face the challenges they confronted in the imagined world of the

148 For the image of “Mr. Common Man” see, Donald Dewey, *The Art of the Will: The Story of American Political Cartoons* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 20.

149 For an interpretation of Strube’s “Little Man” as a symbol of national identity, see Rod Brooks, “The Little Man, and the Slump: Sidney Strube’s Cartoons and the Politics of Unemployment, 1929–1931,” *The Oxford Art Journal*, 8, no. 1 (1985): 49–61; and “‘Everything in the Garden is Lovely’: The Representation of National Identity in Sidney Strube’s Daily Express Cartoons in the 1930s,” *Oxford Art Journal*, 13, no. 2 (1990): 31–43.

150 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 135.

151 Brooks, “The Little Man, and the Slump,” 33.

caricature was based on their “common sense,” which allegedly reflected the voice of the public at large.¹⁵² The popularity of these characters reached its height in the interwar years, when they were put in the satirical images at the front of the economic, social, and political struggles of their nations, whereas the politicians were tucked away on the margins of those images as spectators. Additionally, these characters had a crucial role in constructing national identity, which was meant to appeal to all social strata. This national identity defined the new national lifestyle, which included playing recreational sports, buying consumer goods, and developing new interests in topics such as the weather, gossip and radio shows. This new lifestyle was promoted through printed cultural products to the working classes who could afford them.¹⁵³

Al-Miṣrī Efendi shared most of his characteristics with the caricatured representations of Everyman, except one aspect of his life—his marital status. Unlike the characters mentioned, al-Miṣrī Efendi was not married.¹⁵⁴ Also, there was no female equivalent to be seen in any of the Egyptian journals of the first four decades of the twentieth century which embodied an ideal female Egyptian subject. However, and more importantly, in approaching this type as personification of an entire period and social system, we should ask whether the state of colonial modernity to which he was subject should not have driven him “into action” in the caricatured world, in accordance with the political and social context in which he performed?

Following the world economic crisis of 1929, the Egyptian economy entered a severe crisis, which effected all strata of society. However, as Gershoni argues, the most crucial social effect of the depression was the appearance of a new urban educated

stratum (i.e. efendis).¹⁵⁵ In comparison to the efendis of the 1920s, the efendis of the 1930s were younger (most of them were in their twenties), and many of them originated from lower social strata.¹⁵⁶ Unlike the “old generation,” they saw in the British presence the source for all Egypt’s problems, and they perceived the politicians leading the country as collaborators with the British. Many of them believed that the remedy to Egypt’s problems would not be conceived through additional negotiations, as conducted by the “old generation,” but rather in physical resistance to occupation.¹⁵⁷

The political, economic, and social circumstances drove the “new *efendiyya*” into action on all levels—actions which reflected their frustration towards the economic crisis and unemployment, and towards the political establishment and dictatorship of Ṣidqī, with its violent and anti-democratic characteristics. In this context, Gershoni identifies three channels of action. First, economic and social activity which sought to promote purchasing Egyptian goods and banning foreign goods.¹⁵⁸ Secondly, the establishment of political organizations that promoted the ideals and goals of the “new *efendiyya*”—organizations that operated outside the current political establishment (as, for example, the Young-Egypt Association, *Jam’iyya Miṣr al-fatāh*).¹⁵⁹ And thirdly, the return to the principles and ideals of the original Islam, as a challenge to the political and cultural establishments which emulated European models. This pattern of action was expressed in the formation of organizations that sought to translate the messages of *salafī* Islam into political action. The Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Iḥwān al-muslimīn*) was one of these organizations.¹⁶⁰

152 Allegedly, as Brooks states, the “little man” did not represent the public sphere, but rather the private and the homey. *Ibid.*, 33.

153 *Ibid.*, 55.

154 This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

155 Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, *Confronting Fascism in Egypt: Dictatorship Versus Democracy in the 1930s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 208.

156 *Ibid.*, 209.

157 *Ibid.*, 208.

158 Gershoni, *Ōr ba-ṣel*, 96–98.

159 *Ibid.*, 98–99.

160 *Ibid.*, 99–101.

Governmental coercion and popular opposition characterized the first half of the 1930s, which resulted in hundreds of deaths and thousands of wounded. Within this context of political violence, the young men, particularly the students, were seen as increasingly important actors. The Egyptian intellectuals of the 1930s defined the changes in Egyptian society as *nahaḍat al-šabab* (the youth revival) or *tawrat al-šabab* (the youth revolution).¹⁶¹ British discourse regarded it as the “efendi problem.”¹⁶² The press distributed the political and cultural discourse that perceived these youths as embodying the hopes and dreams of the country.

Returning to al-Miṣrī Efendi, based on his visibility and performance in the caricatures, he neither embodied nor reflected the image of the *new* modern Egyptian, aware of his political mission and of his masculinity. Ostensibly, he was not a model for emulation or admiration. It is interesting to compare, in this context, al-Miṣrī Efendi to other national types from the region that were subjected to colonial domination, such as the image of Srûlik, created in 1956 by the Israeli cartoonist Kariel Gardosh (1921–2000), known by his pen name Dôš. Srûlik was a young man, in his early twenties, wearing a *tembel* hat, biblical sandals, and khaki shorts. Srûlik reflected the self-image of a small embattled nation, which managed to overcome its enemies. He became the symbol of the young Israel, vibrant and innocent, and of the *new* Jewish man—the ultimate Sabra. If Srûlik and al-Miṣrī Efendi had performed in the same imagined world, then al-Miṣrī Efendi could have been portrayed as his father.¹⁶³

Was al-Miṣrī Efendi meant to be an embodiment of this rising young social force, an embodiment of “the age of the *efendiyya*,” or was he an embodiment of the “old generation”? If he was meant to

be a visual symbol of *nahaḍat al-šabab* then why did Šārūḥān not portray him as a young man, a man in his twenties, erect and tall? Why did he use the image of a balding middle-aged man? It seems that there was no conscious artistic or thematic decision to create a symbol that would challenge the Egyptianness constructed under the colonial gaze. In the absence of primary sources regarding Šārūḥān’s intentions, one can ask whether the artist, still a young emigrant when he designed this *ideal* Egyptian subject, was not actually creating an image of a type, which reflected in his behavior and characteristics a partial set of Orientalist values regarding the Egyptians and their character. In this context, al-Miṣrī Efendi’s facial features should be noted as well—the accentuated nose, the big eyes, and the thick lips—all features that can be seen as Orientalist descriptions of Egyptians, as was evident with regard to the depiction of Ğuḥā.

Another way of reading the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi is presented by Terdiman’s analysis of Daumier’s social types. Terdiman argues that the systematic use of a type in different social roles in middle-class society, its setting in a wide-circulation journal sold to continuing subscribers who can be presumed to have followed the prehistory of each type, and who will be around to look at further developments in the story, changes the mode in which these types function. The repetition of a character in diverse situations transforms the object of satire beyond the perspective of the isolated image to a systematic pattern of pathology.¹⁶⁴ In other words, Daumier used types which represented the hegemonic-discourse (the middle-class discourse) in order to construct a counter-discourse—meaning he turned the social types performing in his caricatures against themselves.

One can ask, whether the use Šārūḥān made of the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi was manipulated in the same way. In any event, the scattered evidence regarding the reception of the caricatured

161 *Ibid.*, 92.

162 Ryzova, “Egyptianizing Modernity,” 133.

163 For Kariel Gardosh and the image of Srûlik see the official website, <http://srulik.co.il/>. Last accessed on October 2, 2017.

164 Terdiman, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse*, 169–170.

type suggests he was read by his intended audience otherwise. For example, an article published in *Aḥir saʿa al-muṣawwara*, which dealt with the elections to the Universities Union in 1935, described in detail the propaganda utilized by the candidates, which included the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi. Posters and banners held by students presented him as an avid supporter of one of the candidates.¹⁶⁵ His popularity amongst the readers of the satirical journals demonstrates he was appreciated as a national symbol and not necessarily as a self-reflecting critical mirror.

If as a national symbol he was “meant to reaffirm the unity of the collective and give the concept of nationhood greater immediacy,” not all could share his (and the *efendiyya*’s) self-identification as embodying the Egyptian national identity.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, other journals, such as *al-Iṭṭayn*, did not portray al-Miṣrī Efendi, but efendis—drunk, unemployed, wandering the streets of Cairo, objects of ridicule. These 1930’s images can be read as a continuum of the 1900–1920’s imagery and texts which condemned Egyptian men for blindly mimicking Western manners, customs, and weaknesses. In an illustrated article published in *al-Iṭṭayn*, the writer addressed the issue of the “foreign Egyptians” (*al-Miṣriyyūn al-aḡānib*), which he classified as “the English Egyptian,” “the French Egyptian,” and “the German Egyptian.”¹⁶⁷ They were Egypt’s

young ones who went to European capitals, spent a certain amount of time studying there, and came back to Egypt as *foreigners* in their own country:

“they walk the streets and quarters as tourists, asking about the behavior and costumes in wonder, as the Americans do; they speak in broken Arabic, and address their Egyptian brothers arrogantly; as if they were from different dough, different from the Egyptian dough.”¹⁶⁸

Afterwards, the article criticizes, in text and image, the appearance, characteristics, and behavior of these “English,” “French” and “German Egyptians.” This article, as well as many caricatures in *al-Iṭṭayn*, reflects the different approach adopted by this journal, as well as by others, towards the efendis, whereby they were the object of mockery and ridicule.¹⁶⁹ According to al-Messiri, this approach could explain why, in 1941, the image of al-Miṣrī Efendi was dropped from the pages of *al-Iṭṭayn*: “it didn’t and shouldn’t symbolize the Egyptian, because it represented the lowest class of government officials—the effendi class or petty bureaucrats.” Thereby, it was actually al-Miṣrī Efendi’s disappearance which better reflected the changing economic and social circumstances in which the new *efendiyya* rose.

165 “*Al-Miṣrī Efendi yaṣṭarik fi intihābāt ittiḥād ḡāmiʿa*,” *Aḥir saʿa al-muṣawwara* 69, November 3, 1935, 22.

166 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 57.

167 Abū Šabat, “*al-Miṣriyyūn al-aḡānib*,” *al-Iṭṭayn* 60, August 5, 1935: 14–15.

168 *Ibid*, 14.

169 Al-Messiri, *Ibn al-Balad*, 48. Al-Messiri quotes the artist Raḡā, who referred to the journal *al-Iṭṭayn* as having published caricatures of al-Miṣrī Efendi. Regarding the interwar years, I should mention that I have not found any incorporation of this character into this journal.

The Good, the Bad, and the Evil

Images of Women

Almost as soon as the Egyptian “women’s awakening” discourse got underway in the late nineteenth century, negative images of modernized women and women activists began to appear in the Egyptian popular, illustrated, and satirical press. The types of women under criticism crossed boundaries of age, social affiliations, and marital and economic status. Sometimes the images were of evil tempters and sexually corrupted women; sometimes of domineering, aggressive, and obsessed wives; and sometimes of overly westernized modern women—not sufficiently Egyptian, not sufficiently Islamic.

Important changes in the content and context of the debate on women’s roles and rights in Egyptian society had taken place throughout the nineteenth century in the Egyptian public sphere. These debates culminated in the 1920s with the formation of women’s organizations, as well as educational and legislative reforms. However, in the imagined caricatured world created by men and directed mainly to male audiences, women were still being disparaged, laughed at, and reduced to objects of ridicule. Skimming through the satirical press, one might have assumed there was no ideal Egyptian model of womanhood, but only impure, unworthy, unwomanly, malicious, debased ideas of women.

The stereotypes demeaning Egyptian women can be read and have been partially debated by some researchers as mainly reflecting an Islamic-Egyptian reaction to Western stimuli. In other words, since this imagery was constructed in the context of Egypt’s efforts to modernize and compete with the West, the caricatures of women have been debated in scholarship as reflecting Egyptian-Islamic tendencies to cling to the past in an attempt to block change and preserve the status

quo. At the same time, images of Egypt as a woman were discussed as reflecting the changes that took place in Egyptian women’s status and roles in society. However, these studies ignored these personifications’ counterparts to the caricatures’ imagined world, hence ignoring the overall negative caricatured *atmosphere* regarding women and their fight for their rights in the Egyptian public sphere.

As this chapter will demonstrate, visual satirical imagery in the Egyptian press reveals a close resemblance to Western visual debates on women’s rights—such as the nineteenth-century French satirical reaction to social changes, which accelerated following the French Revolution, or the American imagery of the suffrage campaign (1907–1914). Hence, the Egyptian imagery demeaning women should be contextualized as part of a phenomenon that crossed boundaries of geographical space, society, culture, and religion—a gendered reaction to social change, and not necessarily an Islamic or Egyptian one.

1 The Women’s Awakening

Intellectual discourse regarding reforms in women’s status and rights in Egypt posed a complex challenge to the traditional Egyptian society. The issues of establishing equality of women and men and their rights, lifting boundaries between the two genders (such as unveiling, or un-secluding women), and expanding women’s education and employment prospects, all reflected the ideological tension evoked by the encounter between traditional Egyptian society and modern culture. All these issues involved questioning the taboos of the traditional society, with regard to gender relations.

Alongside the demands to reform every aspect of Egyptian society and calls to cling to the past in an attempt to block change, were voices from the “main stream” that attempted to articulate an intellectual discourse between those two poles. Questions regarding the encounter between tradition and change, between the old and the new, the East and the West, were answered with attempts to resolve the tension embodied in this encounter by drawing the lines between *proper* cultural borrowing and *proper* relations between old and new.

The “women’s question” was one of the fundamental issues that Egyptian society was facing following the encounter with modern Western culture. In practice, the discourse regarding the women’s question articulated the ways in which men needed to reform and improve the Egyptian woman.¹ Through this discourse, men and women intellectuals were attempting to articulate what kind of a modern Egyptian woman the reforms needed to *design*. They asked, are men and women naturally equal? What are the differences and the similarities between men and women? What roles do modern Egyptian women need to fulfill for the nation? What kind of education should a girl receive? How were good mothers and daughters defined? How was a good marriage defined? Did women need to be physically secluded from men?

According to one text, published in the journal *Samīr al-ṣaġīr* (*Little Samīr*, 1897–1900) and discussed by Huda Yousef, a “good” girl was defined as generous, patient, and hardworking; a “bad” girl was none of those things.² The journal, aimed at schoolchildren, held a writing contest on the question, how should a homemaker spend most of her time? The winning response, by a male student, listed in detail the duties of the proper housewife: “she should keep herself busy organizing the home, ironing, and sewing clothes; she should not

be lazy or sleep too much; if she has free time and the ability, she should read beneficial works and teach her children how to read; above all, she must be thrifty and avoid creating problems for her husband.”³

Other texts related to the subject in a broader sense, while bringing the moral character of women to the forefront. For example, Anṭūn Nawfat’s answer to the question “is a man allowed to read letters that arrive in the name of his wife, or not?” published in *al-Fatāh* in 1894.⁴ In his answer, Nawfat criticized the lack of female education, which resulted, in his opinion, in three types of women: “prostitutes, tyrants, and gems.” According to Nawfat, there was not much a man could do if his wife belonged to the first two categories. However, if his wife was “a gem,” meaning “a true companion to her husband, a good mother to her children, and a caretaker of her home,” then there was no reason her husband should not be able to open her letters, but she could open his too.⁵

Scholars point to Rifā’a al-Ṭaḥṭāwī as one of the earliest modern Egyptian writers to consider the situation of women in Egypt, in his *Taḥlīṣ al-ibrīz fī talḥīṣ bārīz* (*The Extrication of Gold towards the Summation of Paris*, 1834) and *Manāhiġ al-amīn li-l-banāt wa-l-banīn* (*The Faithful Guide for Girls and Boys*, 1873). However, there is broad unanimity among intellectuals regarding the centrality in the turn-of-the-century debate on women and Egyptian society of Qāsim Amīn.⁶ First defending

1 For a discussion of the “women’s question” in the interwar period, see Eliraz, “Intelektû’alīm miṣrīm mûl masoret ve-şinûi,” 75–114.

2 “*Mulaḥ wa-ādāb*,” *Samīr al-ṣaġīr* 1, no. 2 (November 1, 1897), 7, published in Yousef, *Composing Egypt*, 97.

3 “*Tadbīr al-manzil*,” *Samīr al-ṣaġīr* 1, no. 34 (September 21, 1898): 134, published in Yousef, *Composing Egypt*, 97.

4 “*Sū’āl*,” *al-Fatāh* 1, no. 11 (March 1, 1894): 497, published in Yousef, *Composing Egypt*, 74.

5 Anṭūn Nawfat, “*al-Zawġān*,” *al-Fatāh* 1, no. 12 (March 16, 1894): 549, published in Yousef, *Composing Egypt*, 74.

6 For prominent discussions of Amīn’s writings, see Mary Flounders Arnett, “Qasim Amin and the Beginnings of the Feminists Movement in Egypt” (D. Phil. diss. Dropsie College, 1965); Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 164–170; Juan Ricardo Cole, “Feminism, Class, and Islam in Turn of the Century Egypt,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13 (1981): 387–407.

Islam in *Les Egyptiens* against Harcourt's criticism regarding women's rights in Egypt, he then turned to a reformist posture in *Tahrīr al-mar'a* (*The Emancipation of Woman*, 1899), and *al-Mar'a al-ġadīda* (*The New Woman*, 1900).⁷ In these books, Amīn criticized polygamy, as well as men's broad rights regarding divorce, and he asked to expand women's rights with this regard. He devoted special attention to the possibility of expanding girls' education as a necessary step and as a central pillar in any effort to promote women's status in society. Amīn also criticized the custom of wearing a *hiġāb* (literally a "screen, curtain"; a Muslim woman's veil), and asked to reduce gradually the social isolation to which the Egyptian woman was confined.⁸ As observed by Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, while in *Tahrīr al-mar'a*, Amīn made sure to emphasize his reforms were in line with the spirit of Islam, in his *al-Mar'a al-ġadīda*, his arguments were drawn from European thought, which he used to define the concepts of freedom, progress, and civilization, without trying to find equivalents in Islamic discourse and traditions.⁹

Without invalidating Amīn's role in the debate regarding women and society, women were also actively engaged in that debate, as Baron has shown in *The Women's Awakening in Egypt:*

Culture, Society, and the Press.¹⁰ The first woman activist in Egypt for women's rights was the poet and novelist 'Ā'īša 'Iṣamit Timūr (1840–1902), also known as 'Ā'īša al-Timūriyya. Other prominent female activists were Nabawiyya Mūsā, who will be discussed at length below, and Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1886–1918), known as Bāḥiṭa al-Bādiyya—both were amongst the first female graduates of the new government schools for girls. Nāṣif wrote for the journal *al-Ġarīda*, and her writings were collected in a book in 1910, *al-Nisā'īyyāt* (*The Women*).¹¹ Nāṣif also made important contributions to the expansion of education opportunities for girls, criticized polygamy and men's abuse of divorce rights, and demanded a minimum age for marriage, for girls, of sixteen.

Arabic journals by, for, and about women (what came to be known as *al-maġallāt al-nisā'īyya*) began to appear in the late nineteenth century, and by the eve of the 1919 demonstrations close to thirty such journals had been published inside and outside of Egypt.¹² These journals help scholars to recover the voices of women of the period.¹³ As Baron has noted, they were platforms for the first generation of women in the Arab world to write in numbers and publish their works as printed texts.

7 Harcourt, *l'Égypte et les égyptiens*. In his book, Harcourt condemned Egyptian society, religion, and culture. He described the primitive life and surroundings and focused especially on the status of women. In response, Amīn defended the costumes of Egyptian elites and tried to prove that there are equal rights between the men and women of Egypt. Both of Amīn's works are available in English translation: Qāsim Amīn, *The Liberation of Women, and the New Woman: Two Documents in the History of Egyptian Feminism*, trans. Samiha Sidhom Peterson (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000).

8 Yousef estimates that Amīn's work generated nearly a hundred books, in addition to a torrent of articles, seeking to either oppose or defend his positions. Yousef, *Composing Egypt*, 77.

9 Bashkin, Kozma and Gershoni, *Lepasel tarbūt be-miṣrayīm*, 61–62.

10 Judgmental towards Amīn's centrality in modern academic debates is Leila Ahmed, *Women, and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

11 Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, *al-Nisā'īyyāt* (al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at al-Ġarīda, 1910).

12 Amongst the most prominent are Alexandra Avierino's *Anīs al-ġalīs* (*The Intimate Companion*, 1898–1907/1908), Labība Hāšim's *Fatāt al-šarq* (*The Eastern Girl*, 1906–1939), and Malaka Sa'd's *al-Ġins al-laṭīf* (*The Fair Sex*, 1908–1925).

13 Most prominent of the work done on these sources is Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt*. For studies of the women's press after 1919, see Iġlāl Ḥalifa, *al-Šihāfa al-nisā'īyya fī Miṣr, 1919–1939* (M.A. thesis, University of Cairo, Faculty of the Arts, 1966); idem, *al-Šihāfa al-nisā'īyya fī Miṣr, 1940–1965* (Ph.D. diss., University of Cairo, Faculty of the Arts, 1970); idem, *al-Ḥaraka al-nisā'īyya al-ḥadiṭa* (al-Qāhira: al-Maṭba'a al-'Arabiyya al-Ḥadiṭa, 1973).

These journals also led to the rise of a new female literary culture in Egypt, which in its turn continued and enhanced women's fight for their cause, which was articulated in the phrase *al-nahḍa al-nisā'iyya* (the women's awakening).¹⁴

Women's participation in what came to be known as the "ladies' demonstrations of March 1919" was marked in Arabic and English texts as one of the most prominent symbols of the 1919 Revolution and a turning point in the Egyptian women's awakening movement.¹⁵ It was a peaceful and ordered procession of finite size, which included women participants from the elite, as can be identified by their dress—the long black *ḥabara*, the white *yašmak*, and black robes.¹⁶ Although the myth regarding these demonstrations is that they expressed social solidarity and unity across class boundaries, the actions of the women participants reinforced a hierarchical class vision for society.¹⁷ More importantly to the issue at hand, though later on many characterized the March 1919 demonstrations as feminist acts, or claimed that they had feminist content, the petitions the women participants presented and the placards they carried reveal that the female demonstrators did not raise feminist concerns in the demonstrations themselves.¹⁸ Having said that, as Baron demonstrates, the ladies' demonstration of March 1919 did become later a link in the struggle

for women's rights—a struggle led and dominated by men.

As Baron indicates, the veiled women, who allegedly were documented in photographs demonstrating on March 1919, became over time the model militant—a major symbol of the national struggle, and an abstraction of the nation itself, while the details of the events themselves receded in importance.¹⁹ However, as Baron shows, these photographs associated with the demonstrations, were actually misidentified by Egyptians and scholars of Egypt: some were photographed on the occasion of the celebrations of the release of the Wafd detainees from Malta a few weeks later (on April 8).²⁰ Others were photographed on April 12, 1921, documenting the decorations and processions in Alexandria in honor of Zaḡlūl's return from exile.²¹ One image was photographed in 1928, in the context of student protests against the efforts of a non-Wafdist Egyptian government to reach an agreement with the British.²² However, in the Egyptian collective memory, "the Cairene 'ladies' demonstrations' of March 1919—really a composite of several March and April protests—became a referent for women's political activism in Cairo and elsewhere throughout the decade."²³

Returning to the women's question, the years which followed the 1919 upheavals witnessed a reform in women's status, especially with regard to education, but also with regard to matrimonial law.²⁴ The school system and educational opportunities

14 Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt*, 1–2.

15 The whole sequence of events is described in *Ibid.*, 108–113. As Baron has proven, although the basic outline of the story of the 1919 women's demonstrations in Egypt is well known, re-examining the British and Arabic sources, as well as the daily Arabic press and U.S. archives raises questions regarding the details and the chronology of the events. It appears that two or three different demonstrations on different dates have been conflated into one in collective memory. In addition, although the demonstrations were often depicted as being spontaneous, the marches were planned in advance and well-orchestrated. See *Ibid.*, 109–110.

16 *Ibid.*, 110.

17 *Ibid.*, 112.

18 *Ibid.*, 112–113.

19 *Ibid.*, 123.

20 *Ibid.*, 125–127. Baron draws attention to a little-known book published in 1919, which sets the photos from April 1919 in their proper context. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Abada, *Nahaḍat al-mar'a al-miṣriyya wa al-mar'a al-'arabiyya fi al-ta'riḥ* (al-Qāhira: al-Hilāl, 1919), 22–27.

21 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 129.

22 *Ibid.*, 129–130.

23 *Ibid.*, 133.

24 The essence of the legal reforms on the statuses of Egyptian women manifested itself in the interwar period in two laws—they reduced men's rights to divorce their wives (1929) and expanded women's rights to divorce (1920, 1929). Regulations from 1923 and 1931

for girls expanded (separately from the boy's educational system).²⁵ The 1923 constitution declared that elementary education was mandatory for boys and girls. In 1925 a high school education system for girls was established, and at the end of the 1920s women could enroll at the Egyptian university.

Schooling advocates had hoped that the educational institutions would provide a disciplined, controlled environment within which boys and girls could get an education more suitable for their expected roles as citizens and progenitors of future generations of Egyptians. Regarding the education for girls, as Yousef has shown, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, it had a very specific purpose: "women needed to be taught their duties to God, to their husbands, to their children, and increasingly to their nation."²⁶ The overwhelming agreement was that no one wanted ignorant or *ḡāhīl* women.²⁷ However, as Yousef has emphasized, reformers have distinguished between two different types of education: the *tarbiya* ideal and the *ta'alīm* ideal. *Tarbiya* was the broader concept of the two, encompassing the moral, physical, and intellectual development and upbringing of children, and it did not entail any specific course of study: "Any kind of upbringing

that produced the desired results could be designated 'good *tarbiya*.'"²⁸ *Ta'alīm* often referred specifically to the realm of formal education and intellectual development, and the necessity of it was readily contested. In other words, many Egyptians believed that girls should undoubtedly be raised well, but it was debatable whether *ta'alīm* education indeed "improved women."²⁹ Writers across the ideological spectrum agreed that an uneducated girl, who nevertheless had a good moral *tarbiya*, was superior to the schoolgirl who had formal *ta'alīm* but was unaware of her duties "as an Egyptian woman, wife, Muslim, or citizen."³⁰ Under these social assumptions regarding education for girls, the kind of home, husband, and children a woman was educated to serve depended on where she was on the socioeconomic ladder of Egyptian society and hence determined what kind of education she needed to receive. Upper-class or elite women, middle-class women, or women of humbler means did not need the same education or literacy. In other words, since a woman's position in the early twentieth century was assumed to be immutable, education could not have changed her position in society, it simply made her a better (or worse) daughter, wife, or mother within her social surrounding. Under these assumptions, some intellectuals argued that education might have a disastrous effect on young women once they returned to their original social surrounding.³¹

The first women's organizations were founded in the 1920s and 1930s, with different goals and perspectives. Looking to secure a political niche for themselves, elite women founded the Women's Wafd, alongside political journals that supported the party. The wwcc (Women's Wafd Central Committee) considered itself part advisory committee, part publicists for the Wafd, and strove to be "in the heart of the action."³² Under the

limited girls' marriage before the age of sixteen, and for boys before the age of eighteen. Norman Anderson, *Law Reform in the Muslim World* (London: Athlone, 1976), 40, 103–104, 119–124, 130–131, 137–138.

25 The first officially sponsored girls' school in Egypt, named al-Suyūfiyya, opened in 1873. It taught the Qur'ān and sewing, and a year later Turkish and piano lessons were added. A few years later a second school, al-Qarabiyya, was opened, as a "lower class" version of al-Suyūfiyya. In the late 1870s, following the financial crises, the two schools were combined and turned over to the *waqf* (religious endowments) administration of the government. Under the *waqf*, the school came to serve as an institution for preparing orphan, deaf, and blind girls for basic employment. Yousef, *Composing Egypt*, 55.

26 *Ibid.*, 53.

27 *Ibid.*

28 *Ibid.*, 54.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 *Ibid.*

32 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 168.

presidency of Hudā Šaʿrāwī (1879–1947), the Women’s Wafd also sought to promote women’s rights and progress. On March 16, 1923, the initiative of Šaʿrāwī, the Egyptian Women’s Union (al-Ittīḥād al-Nisāʾi al-Miṣrī) was founded.³³ The union fought for women’s right to vote (which had been denied in the new constitution of 1923), amongst other feminist battles.

Amongst the prominent journals of the interwar period, which sought to support women’s political and social rights, was the Arabic weekly *al-Amal*, which was launched in early November 1925, allegedly by Tābit.³⁴ It promoted itself as “the journal defending women’s rights,” and it showed explicit interest in political affairs.³⁵ However, Tābit’s demands for women’s right to vote and to be elected were not accepted by all women activists of the Egyptian Women’s Union. Some thought the timing was premature and labeled Tābit’s demands foolish and childish. Resistance also came from conservative quarters and the Islamic press.³⁶

Questions regarding the content and purpose of the social changes regarding women’s rights, equality, and progress remained controversial throughout the period. However, it was not confined to, and did not result solely from, an Islamic-secular dichotomy. Rather, as Jacob argues, and as reflected through the caricatures, the more fundamental question was regarding the boundaries between masculinity and femininity, which was brought to the foreground. Or in other words, the concern was more over “women becoming more like men, and men becoming more like women.”³⁷

33 For a discussion on Šaʿrāwī and her role in the woman’s awakening in Egypt, see Margot Badran, “Huda Shaʿrawi and the Liberation of the Egyptian Woman” (D. Phil. Diss., Oxford University, 1977).

34 Al-Yūsuf claimed that the Wafd used the student card of Tābit in order to publish the journals. Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 103–105.

35 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 179.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 170–171.

2 Female Personifications

The printed-textual debate regarding women’s awakening in Egypt reflected a range of opinions, which roughly fell into three camps—secularists, modernists, and Islamists. These three categories are articulated by Baron as follows:

“The secularists, who proved few in number outside the circles of minorities, concentrated on matters such as language and education, which were less likely to provoke controversy. The modernists spoke of improving women’s position within the family through innovative religious interpretations. The Islamists, in opposition to secularists, modernists, and religious conservatives alike, stressed the rights Islam had given to women and called for a return to ‘true Islam.’”³⁸

Caricatures debating those same issues were unequivocal in their messages. Women seeking equal rights were marked as seeking to change traditional gender roles and hence threatening to harm society’s moral and political structure. Scholars discussing these images contextualize them in the unique local circumstances of colonial modernity, and within the context of the encounter with the West.

When these images are examined in comparison to other cultural spheres debating the emancipation of women, the similarities of the visual reaction to the effort to reform women’s statuses are apparent. These similarities raise broader debates regarding the definitions of femininity and women’s place in public life, while crossing borders of religion, culture, and society. British anti-suffrage imagery, from the period between 1906 and 1914, can serve here as an example. As art historian Lisa Tickner articulated, British suffragists argued their cause from two positions—“rights” and “expediency.”³⁹ From the first, they argued women’s rights

38 Baron, *The Women’s Awakening in Egypt*, 7.

39 Lisa Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907–1914* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1987).

in essence, and particularly in a democracy, to full human citizenship. From the second, they argued for the benefits that women's enfranchisement would bring to society at large. The legal subjection of women was in their view wrong in-itself, and at the same time one of the main obstacles to human improvement and social reform.⁴⁰ The anti-suffragists were either opposed to the concept of "natural rights," claimed that women's enfranchisement had to be related to the public interest (meaning no one could be afforded a right that would damage the state), or argued that women were a special instance deprived by nature of such natural rights. In other words, the anti-suffragists in Britain argued that "women did not want to vote, did not need to vote, and would not gain by voting; furthermore, they were not fit to vote by their inferior capacities, lack of education, physiological frailty, and economic dependence".⁴¹ And finally, society would not benefit from women voting (women would be diverted from their domestic duties, and the home and family would be destroyed).⁴² They claimed that female enfranchisement would sexualize politics and unsex women, confusing the proper boundaries of masculine and feminine, public and private, domestic and political, by which the natural complementarity of a harmonious social order was maintained.⁴³

Tickner argues that the visual imagery at the disposal of caricaturists regarding the suffrage campaign was already shaped by a long-standing tradition of political caricature and the popular

illustration of social types—which formulated images of the shrew, the embittered spinster, or the strong-minded woman. Meaning, the perception of suffragists was already shaped by the existence of these types. Stereotypes of femininity and ideals of womanliness were all naturalized in what Tickner terms "common knowledge" and legitimated by the scientific discourses (such as medicine) of the time.⁴⁴ Hence, the British suffragists and their artists were inevitably concerned not just with the position of women in the economic and political spheres, but also with a struggle for meaning in all those representational practices, where definitions of femininity were produced and contested.⁴⁵

Two particular types of women were already current in nineteenth-century illustration which could offer themselves for appropriation against the suffrage cause. The first was that of the domineering and nagging wife. The second, and more influential according to Tickner, was that of the embittered spinster, already current in *Punch*, for example, by the 1870s.⁴⁶ The domineering and nagging wife was usually portrayed as having a masculine profile and a severe "dress reform" silhouette; the spinster is almost always thin, lacking the curves *appropriate* to pleasurable femininity, motherhood and charm. The angles of her body are echoed in the sharpness of her features and the lines that mark her face, for as Tickner points out, she is by definition beyond the stage at which she might still expect to find a mate. Her expression is

40 *Ibid*, 3–10.

41 *Ibid*, 154.

42 As Tickner shows, anti-suffragists in Britain drew heavily on the Victorian ideology of "separate spheres": Man for the field and woman for the hearth; Man for the sword, and for the needle she; Man with the head, and woman with the heart; Man to command, and woman to obey; All else confusion." Tennyson, *The Princess* (1847), Part 4, II, published in Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, 154.

43 For the anti-suffragist arguments and the suffragists' counter-arguments, see *Ibid*, 153–160.

44 *Ibid*, 161.

45 The Artists' Suffrage League (founded January 1907) and the Suffrage Atelier (founded February 1909) aimed to produce representations which would contest the hegemonic order in the sense of actual images and pictures. For a discussion of these two organizations, see *Ibid*, 16–26.

46 Two of the most prominent examples for these types are "Mrs. Witherington Mildeu," the advocate for Women's Rights, who was accompanied by her husband in *Punch* in 1871; and "Miss Gander Bellwether," the Champion of Women's Rights, who appeared in 1874. *Ibid*, 163–164.

excitable, bewildered, or vindictive. She also wears masculine clothes and occasionally spectacles. Her whole appearance derives from her indifference to her femininity, her desire to ape men's place in the world, and the hardening effects of public speaking on a woman's countenance and sensibility. This type was already popular in the music hall, the novel, and in illustrated journalism. No new type was needed for the militant in visual representation.⁴⁷ Caricaturists in Egypt employed these same visual strategies for attacking the women's cause.

Categorizing American suffrage imagery, art historian Alice Sheppard points to five types of women employed by male artists in nineteenth-century American caricatures to express anti-suffrage arguments: "famous women, who actually existed, ordinary women, grotesque women, ideal women, and symbolic women."⁴⁸ Famous women, Sheppard claims, appeared less often than those from the other categories and were nearly always portrayed as radical, outrageous, or anticipatory of early twentieth-century roles. Grotesque women were characterized with the same traits, only they were not real women. The mechanism of representation was the same as described by Tickner for British anti-suffragists and it stood for the notion that if women were given real power it would collide with and weaken society. Ordinary Women appeared as gullible, simpleminded, and petty, as well as preoccupied with fashion, social status, and overt signs of gentility; also, they were typically pictured in the home, their *natural* domain, where romance, fashion, and the arts dominated their lives and conversations.⁴⁹ When artists did not portray these women with caricatured features, or distorted features, their characteristics could have been mistaken by readers as real female traits.

The ideal woman is seen in Charles Gibson's Gibson Girl, who epitomized, for men, the ideal

female form.⁵⁰ The Gibson Girl was compared with a goddess and she bore scant resemblance to everyday, mortal women. Her activities, as Sheppard points out, were limited to posing, promenading, and polite social conversation, and were combined with her aloof posture and studied facial expression, which all invited the viewer to see her as an object. She was no thinker or activist, nor sexually provocative—a male fantasy of a woman eternally young, beautiful, and unobtainable.⁵¹

And finally, symbolic women, who were defined as personifications of abstract concepts—political, religious, artistic, philosophical, and so forth. Most of these personifications preserve classical appearances such as the ideal female form. They set a visual model, unattainable for real women, and as such constructed a system, along with the other female types, from which women's perceptions were excluded.

Both art historians, Tickner and Sheppard, turn to Sigmund Freud's theories of humor to explain the relation between types of women and jokes. Freud's definition of the "tendentious joke" (as oppose to the innocent one) as a hostile (serving the purpose of aggressiveness, satire, or defense) or obscene (serving the purpose of exposure) technique, serves as an explanatory mechanism for caricatures demeaning women. According to Freud, images of domineering, aggressive women reflect men's unconscious fears of their own drives and weaknesses: "[b]y making our enemy, small, inferior, despicable, or comic, we achieve in a roundabout way the enjoyment of overcoming [her]—to which the third person, who has made no effort, bears witness by his laugh."⁵² Tickner also directs attention to Freud's discussion of the

47 *Ibid.*, 164.

48 Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, 61.

49 *Ibid.*, 61–62.

50 For the Gibson Girl, see Marion Harry Alexander Spielmann, "On Charles Dana Gibson—Apostle of American Beauty and Humour," *The Magazine of Art* 1 (1903): 15–19.

51 Sheppard, *Cartooning for Suffrage*, 63.

52 Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. James Strachey (London: Pelican Freud Library, Penguin Books, 1976), 140.

tendency to idealize or to denigrate the female sex.⁵³ Both kinds of the tendentious joke (the hostile and the obscene) serve the purpose of exorcising men's dislike and fear of women, but they are also simultaneously impelled by an idealization of feminine purity. Most caricatures involving women in nineteenth-century Britain and America were tendentious jokes, since those in public circulation were drawn by men and because the feminist movement touched a raw social, sexual, and political nerve, concludes Tickner: "nothing was more absurd for some audiences than the spectacle of a woman trying to become like a man, or more defective than a suffragist 'unsexed' by her political activities; nothing was more fundamentally unnerving, and therefore more productive of the laughter by which tension is released and anxiety transformed momentarily into pleasure."⁵⁴

Returning to Sheppard's categorization of the types of women employed by male artists in nineteenth-century American caricatures, these also apply to the caricatures in the Egyptian visual public sphere. However, while in the American and British public spheres pro-women imagery supported the women's movements and their fight for women's rights—imagery which was also designed, produced, and distributed by women—there was no pro-women imagery in the Egyptian visual public sphere. Also, as the following discussion will show, the pictorial rhetoric of the caricatures in Egypt construct an imagined reality in which women as "sister-citizen[s]," as patriots who stood by their fellow male counterparts in the fight over Egypt's independence, were absent as well.⁵⁵

Nor were there any female role-models—an *ideal* wife, mother, or sister of the Egyptian nation. The Egyptian Everyman had no Everywoman counterpart to support and build the emerging nation-state. And while in other cultural spheres, such as the Ottoman for example, women's position was articulated more and more as the "mother" of the nation, there was no equivalent visual stereotype for the Egyptian visual repertoire, despite the appearance of numerous images of Egypt as a woman.

3 Un-Ordinary Women

Caricatures presenting ordinary, mortal women throughout the first four decades of the twentieth century in Egypt reflect the concerns and anxieties of the mostly male local society undergoing dramatic changes. These articulated themselves into a set of dichotomies: on side was the Egyptian *old* or traditional woman, while on the other, the *new* Europeanized or westernized *free* woman. In other words, women represented the poles of modernity and tradition, as perceived by artists, editors, and entrepreneurs of the satirical, illustrated, and popular journals.⁵⁶

In caricatures presenting these two types of women, the traditional woman was presented as dignified, solid, and with large dimensions, while the westernized *new* woman was presented as dishonored, weak, bent, and scraggy. In a caricature from *al-Latā'if al-muṣawwara*, a veiled woman in a long black cloak (a dress item typical of elite women who used it to conceal Western dress worn under) and a black head *ḥabara* is presented in full profile (fig. 6.1).⁵⁷ Her face is covered with the

53 "On the Universal Tendency to Debasement in the Sphere of Love (Contributions to the Psychology of Love 11)," in Sigmund Freud, *On Sexuality: Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality and Other Works*, trans. James Strachey et al. Ed. Angela Richards (London: Penguin-Pelican, 1991) 243–260.

54 Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, 163.

55 I am using here Brummett's terminology for the embodiment of the everyday woman who acted in the Ottoman cartoon space on behalf of her nation. Palmira Brummett, "New Woman and Old Nag: Images

of Women in the Ottoman Cartoon Space," *Princeton Papers: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (Spring-Summer 1997): 13–58.

56 The same phenomenon can be located in the Ottoman cartoon space of 1908–1911. See *Ibid.*

57 Aīḥāb Ḥulūṣī, "Ams wa-ḡadān," *al-Latā'if al-muṣawwara* 232, July 21, 1919, 3.



FIGURE 6.1 Yesterday and Tomorrow. Aīḥāb Ḥulūṣī, “Ams wa-ğadān,” *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* 232, July 21, 1919, 3.

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yašmak, which was worn in Egypt by the elite in the early twentieth century.⁵⁸ Only a small part of her face is visible—the area of the eyes and nose, leaving her whole body covered, and, therefore, its actual silhouette is left to the imagination of the viewers. In the center of the image appears a

58 Egyptian peasants had their own style of veiling—they pulled a head scarf across the face when the situation warranted. Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 36.

second woman. As opposed to the woman who surrounds her, she is in a white short-sleeved dress, which barely covers her knees. Her hair is partly covered with a scarf. Her face is covered with a white see-through face veil. In her hands, she holds an umbrella. Both women wear high heels, however the ones of the woman in the in more revealing dress are much higher.

The explanatory text accompanying the image articulates its meaning:

“Our critical-painter [*muṣawwirunā al-niqāda*] Aīḥāb Efendī drew this humoristic critical painting in which appears the far-reaching ambitions that many women have achieved with regard to overdressing [*tabarruğ*] and Europeanizing [*tafarnuğ*], which is exaggerated and radical; and he [Aīḥāb Efendī] wrote under the painting that he described in this painting the vast gap and the great difference between what used to be the dress of the Egyptian ladies for years and what their grandchildren, the young women of tomorrow, will wear if they continue [to walk] this road of exaggeration, of overdressing and Europeanization, and I [Aīḥāb Efendī] explored the fate of those ladies in its limit, which they will face if their veils [continue to] shorten; and indeed the veil lifted from the bottom until it reached the knees and dropped from the top to the chest line, hence confusing the men, who gaze at it with discontent, and the surprise had an adverse effect on them, and hopefully their generosity and kindness will [result in] them answering this question, and will not [cause] them to turn their back to it.”

Returning to the image, it is clear that the caricaturist uses the posture of the two women, one representing the traditional Egyptian woman while the other the westernizing elites, to articulate its social criticism. Whereas the woman in traditional dress is standing steadily on the ground, and her overall dimensions are much larger, the other is slightly bent, her high heels undermining her posture, and her gaze is directed at the viewer, hence undermining the distance between the viewers

and the object of their gaze. The semantic differences between the full-profile and the *trois quarts* profile, or the symbolic connotations of each visual formula, were well-known iconographic traditions used by artists educated in Western art institutions. The renewed popularity of portraits in profile was a revival of antique traditions which characterized the arts of Europe from the fifteenth century onwards. However, the antique representation of rulers and important notables in profile had been well known in France and Italy since the thirteenth century and applied in the arts.⁵⁹ Full face images or *trois-quarts* were perceived as articulating an intimate contact, and hence read as symbolizing the earthly, as opposed to the immortal and divine in the full profile. Heads facing left were perceived by those who were accustomed to Greek and Latin scripts as looking to the past, while heads facing right as looking to the future. However, since we are dealing here with scanning texts and pictures from right to left, then the meaning, if relevant, should be reversed.

If we accept the notion that the outward appearance of the female body articulates its virtues

59 For a discussion on the difference between the full-profile and the *trois quarts* profile see, H. Wentzel and Charles Mitchell, "Portraits 'à l'antique' on French Mediaeval Gems and Seals," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16, no. 3/4 (1953): 342–350; on the meaning of profiles in antiquity, see Matti Fischer, "Identity and Value: Interpreting Portraits on Coins from the Victor A. Adda Collection," in *Face of Power: Roman Gold Coins from the Victor A. Adda Collection*, ed. Haim Gitler and Gil Gambash (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum and Zurich-London: Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, 2017), 165–195; on the relationship between quattrocento profile portraits and profile in the Renaissance, see Avigdor W.G. Poséq, "On the Orientation of Heads on Renaissance Medals," *Notes in the History of Art* 24, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 21–27; and on silhouettes and profile portraits from the late eighteenth century to the present, see A. Hyatt Mayor, "Silhouettes and Profile Portraits: The Martin Collection," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35, no. 3 (March 1940): 50–54. I would like to thank Matti Fischer for his remarks on this issue.

as a modern citizen, this structuring of the ideal Egyptian woman was yet uncommon in the caricatured visual sphere. Other instances of traditional women encountering westernized women were less clear in their messages when focusing on the image alone. In a caricature from *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* published in June 1924, two pairs of women are depicted at the beach (fig. 6.2).⁶⁰ Lying in the shallow water are two women in bathingsuits. Their hair-cuts are short, following the latest European fashion, and their eyes heavily made-up. Walking behind them are two women dressed in long black cloaks that obscure their bodies. One of the women wears the white *yašmak* of the elite, while the other one, on the left, has a white face-veil which is adorned with a nose piece (which along with a dark face veil was worn by lower-class women). Only the eyes and palms of these women are visible. The posture of the pair is erect, and they are walking as one, while the two women bathing are in two different postures, with their hands and legs spread out. None of the visual characteristics of either of the pairs is grotesque, exaggerated, distorted, or caricatured. The overall appearance of the image is of a documentary quality—like a photo taken at the beach. Only through reading the sub-title can one fully comprehend the social criticism:

"Look at these nudes who are bathing in the sea and the men are staring at them.⁶¹ Is this the freedom the ladies asked us to integrate into, like them? Calamity will accrue if all take their example from them."

In both caricatures, the artists narrow down the available repertoire of femininity in interwar

60 Juan Santes, "*al-Sayyidāt fī šāṭi' al-baḥr*," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 167, June 25, 1924, 10.

61 The phrase *šuffi yaḥḥi*, translated as "look at," is taken from the *ʿammīyya*. This phrase in the local dialect is used when addressing someone and calling his attention to something. However, it has a negative connotation which could not have been translated into English.



FIGURE 6.2 The Ladies at the Beach. Juan Santes, "al-Sayyidât fi šâṭi' al-baḥr," *al-Kaškûl al-muṣawwar* 167, June 25, 1924, 10.
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Egypt into two available options: one traditional in its appearance and dress-code, and the other westernized in its bodily exposure—as if the ideal femininity of the period was reduced to the question of how covered the woman was. At the same time, color also highlights the difference between the two options—black for modest, traditional femininity; white or colorful for the un-Egyptian option. However, in contrast to the clear position expressed by Ḥulūṣī in the first caricature described, Santes' position is less clear, and cannot be read properly from the image itself.

Both caricatures suggest that the covered body and covered face were sufficient for constructing a womanhood that maintains the integrity of the nation. However, other images suggest the contrary. In a caricature published in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* in March 1917, an image of an elite woman is depicted in four daily episodes: in the theatre, walking the streets of a city, entering a store, and on the tram (fig. 6.3).⁶² The woman is dressed in the long black cloak, her hair is covered with a different hat in each frame (in one of them she wears the *ṭarbūš* as a symbol of her crossing the invisible line between masculinity and femininity), and her face is covered with the white *yašmak*. In each of the frames she is seen amongst men—Egyptian and foreign (based on their clothes). The text accompanying the four images, articulates their meaning, since the images themselves are not caricatured:

“These four paintings were put here by the honorable, righteous, intellectual writer, the undersigned, to be placed in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*; and their purpose is to display our social and moral flaws, which do not suit our character and customs as an Arabic-Eastern nation. And we see that the pen of the painter pronounced what the most articulate social writer-critic could not describe; and the readers of *al-Laṭā'if* will go into the thick of the

illustrated issues; and we put them [the paintings] here with thanks and perhaps in its publication we will evaluate our imitation of the westerners, [imitation that] corrupts and isn't appropriate, and rifts, and will not civilize.”⁶³

From these editorial comments (which were not written by the caricaturist as reflected from the text), it is apparent the images present the actual presence of women in public spaces constitutes a problem as well as a critique of westernization. Also apparent from the images is the problematic nature of making contact, not just with the local Egyptian and Muslim men but also with foreigners, who were part of the urban scenery.

The presence of women in the public spheres, the imitation of Western dress, and the exposure of the female body were only a fraction of the male-concerns regarding the women's awakening in Egypt. Other issues that were dealt with in caricatures can be categorized as what Jacob described as the processes of women's masculinization and denaturalization—as was insinuated by the woman wearing a *ṭarbūš* in one of the frames of the caricature just described.⁶⁴ Through a discussion of the ways sex was talked about in the Egyptian printed media, Jacob draws attention to the concerns men had over the issue of equality between men and women. The masculinization of women and the threat it posed to the social order deeply concerned Egyptian middle-class men and women, who sought to challenge the status quo. As Jacob emphasizes, the fundamental question was about the boundaries between masculinity and femininity, which was brought to the foreground, and not just the failure to fulfill gendered roles, as other researchers suggest. Practicing sports by women, for example, was discussed as having the potential of introducing masculine elements into the female body, hence affecting the woman's chances for marriage, her sex life, and her

62 Aīḥāb Ḥulūṣī, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 110, March 19, 1917, 12.

63 *Ibid.*

64 Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 167–179.



FIGURE 6.3 Our Social and Moral Flaws. Aîhâb Hülûsî, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 110, March 19, 1917, 12.

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reproductive ability.⁶⁵ As Jacob demonstrates, caricatures of women playing what were conceived as men's sports presented women with what the

artists perceived as masculine bodies: large, wide, tall bodies. The women were dressed in men's uniforms (soccer outfits, or tight short overalls, as were worn by wrestlers) and high heels (for example, fig. 6.4, in which the women's breasts were

65 *Ibid.*, 170.

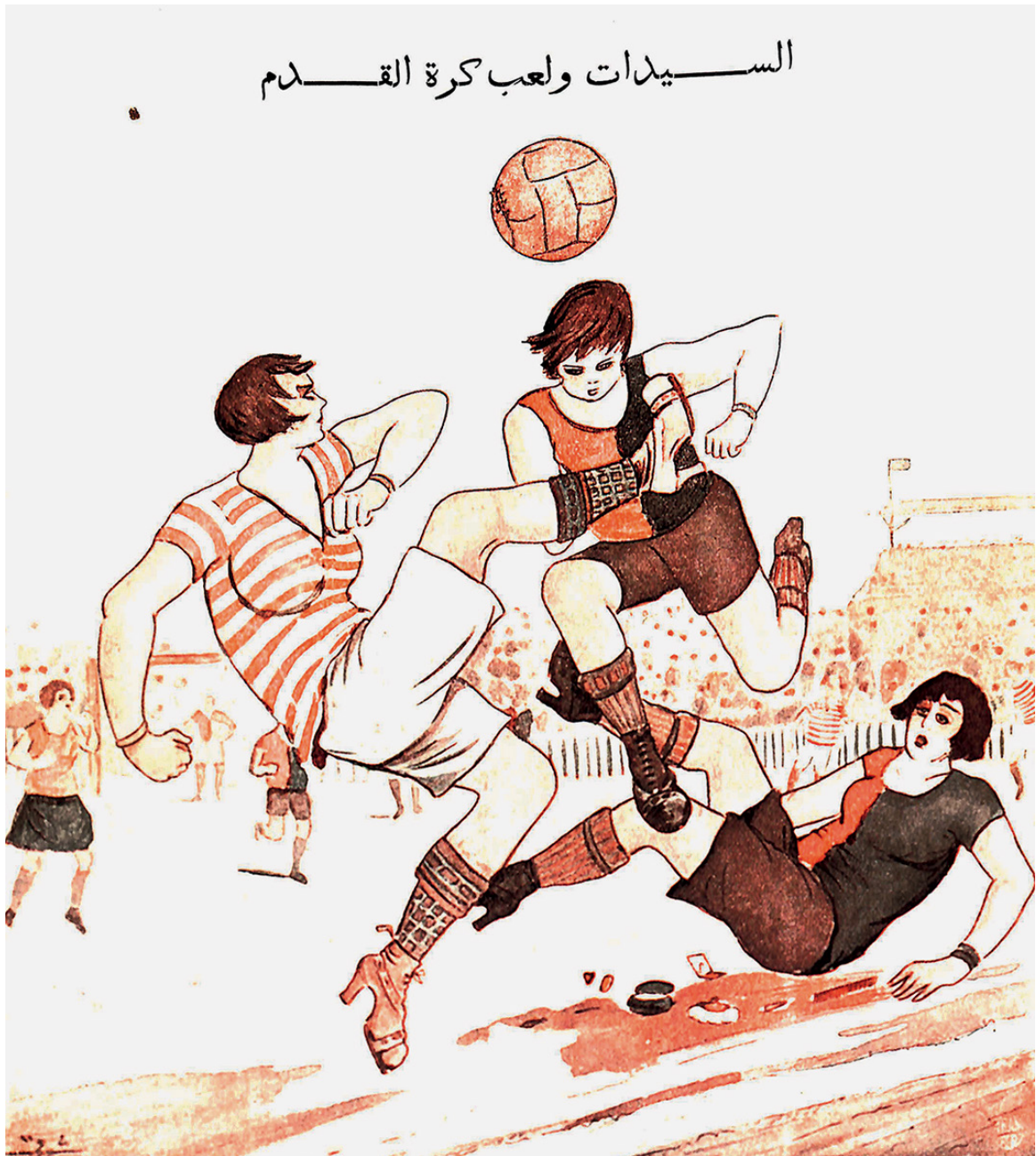


FIGURE 6.4 The Ladies and the Game of Football. Šawqī Rafikī, “*al-Sayyidāt wa-la’ib kura al-qadam*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 107, November 24, 1927, frontispiece.

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excessive).⁶⁶ The result was a womanhood that threatened men’s masculinity in its dimensions

and overall appearance, since it was articulated as abnormal.

For Jacob, the male-fear of the masculinization of women pressed them to fight the feminist onslaught. Jacob contextualizes this fight over

66 Šawqī Rafikī, “*al-Sayyidāt wa-la’ib kura al-qadam*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 107, November 24, 1927, frontispiece.

their honor in the modern colonial circumstances. This was one of two fronts—the other was a fight against persistent colonial relations.⁶⁷ The critique, Jacob argues, was against middle-class masculinity and its ability to lead the new nation to complete freedom and to lead the new middle-class households to happiness.⁶⁸ Although colonial modernity defines the battle-field in which the Egyptian men were fighting, it could not solely explain the construction of anti-woman caricatures and the visual means employed.

The debate was, as in other social and cultural spheres in which women were fighting for their rights, over the expectations men had about who was the ideal woman and the role each gender was supposed to fulfil. A series of caricatures published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* articulates the threats the women's awakening posed to the other sex. For a few months in 1928, each issue of *Rūz al-Yūsuf* devoted its frontispiece to the implications of the women's awakening for the relationships between the sexes.

The first caricature on this issue (which was also published by Jacob) was titled "*al-Tawrat al-nisā'iyya wa-mabādī'ūha al-ṭalāṭa*" ("The Women's Revolution and Its Three Principles," fig. 6.5).⁶⁹ In three frames, the *real* meaning of the terms in the French revolution's motto—Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité—were caricaturized: *ḥurriyya* (*Liberté*) was presented as women's right to smoke in public (which was prohibited for women in Egypt); *musāwā* (*Égalité*) was presented as a woman leading a middle-class man and a dog with a leash (hence equating the man with the dog); and *iḥā'* (*Fraternité*) was presented as two women fighting. All four women were dressed in the most revealing dresses, exposing their breasts and legs. All the women wear high heels and stockings, with their upper legs exposed, revealing their suspenders. All the women are heavily made-up, and all wear

heavy necklaces. Their overall appearance undermines their dignity and morality.

Other caricatures articulating what "the women's renaissance" really meant showed, for example, a woman replacing a wheel on her car, an operation which resulted in her legs being exposed—which causes a commotion in the street, and hence disturbed the public order.⁷⁰ The subtitle declares that we are watching "a lady who parked her car at the roadside." Apart from her bare feet there are no caricatured elements in this scene; thus, only the title gives this caricature its subversive character, as in Santes' caricatures.

In the following months, different daily encounters between men and women were caricaturized, focusing on women's a-morality, lack of dignity, and excessive licentiousness. The men who needed to deal with this behavior were diverse in their age and class—which meant that the women's question had implications for all strata of Egyptian society. In February, *Rūz al-Yūsuf's* frontispiece presented a woman dressed in a revealing see-through dress with a torn strap (fig. 6.6).⁷¹ An aged man, dressed in a *ḡlābiyya* and a turban, is staring at the woman's breast. The woman is accompanied by her son—who is dressed in a Western suit, and wears a *ṭarbūš*, hence identified as someone educated in a modern school. The child is the one responsible for the torn strap, which exposed his mother's breast, because he pulls on her skirt in an effort to cover his mother's legs. In fact, his efforts fail—since the dress is so short, covering the legs exposes the breasts and vice versa, leaving the child in a helpless state—which is also articulated in the plea he makes in the subtitle, "since the man is watching." In this scene, the child is the sole guardian of morals in the public sphere.

In March, *Rūz al-Yūsuf's* frontispiece featured a large woman smoking. Her dress was held on her shoulders by two tiny threads, while exposing her

67 Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 171.

68 *Ibid.*

69 "*Al-Tawrat al-nisā'iyya wa-mabādī'ūha al-ṭalāṭa*," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 114, February 14, 1928, frontispiece.

70 Fawzī, "*al-Nahḍa al-nisā'iyya*," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 124, April 24, 1928, back cover.

71 Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 112, February 2, 1928, frontispiece.



FIGURE 6.5 The Women's Revolution and Its Three Principles. "Al-Ṭawrat al-nisā'iyya wa-mabādī'ūha al-ṭalāṭa," Rūz al-Yūsuf 114, February 14, 1928, frontispiece. HOOPER INSTITUTION LIBRARY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY



FIGURE 6.6 Cover Your Legs, Oh Mama! Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 112, February 2, 1928, frontispiece.
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breasts and accentuating her nipples (fig. 6.7).⁷² The man in front of her is characterized as traditional on the basis of his dress. He is in his late thirties or early forties. The dialogue between the two is as follows:

- Why don't you want to kiss me Şayḥ Aḥmad?
- Since I am afraid to be burned by the fire!!

In June, a young couple was illustrated relaxing on the banks of the Nile, across from the pyramids (fig. 6.8).⁷³ The couple belongs to the *efendiyya* or the elites. The woman lies down leaning on her partner. She wears a mini dress, with no sleeves. The upper part of the dress is rolled down and reveals both of her breasts. Neither of them seems bothered about the public exposure of the woman. The dialogue between the couple is as follows:

- [him]: believe me, oh Zūzū, you are the first I have ever kissed in my life!
- [her]: your words are sincere! And that is why, oh miserable, kiss me on my forehead!!

In other words, not only do the last two caricatures described bluntly suggest the women's licentiousness, but the dialogue affirms that they had more sexual experience than their partners, and the men's sexual abilities do not meet the women's expectations. Two weeks earlier, a woman in a bathing suit was depicted holding a fishing net, in which she captured her hunting trophy—men of a variety of ages, social, and economic statuses.⁷⁴ The subtitle declared it was the “hunting season,” and alerted men to watch themselves since the summer was approaching. In another caricature, a woman in a tight dress, emphasizing her breasts, is talking to a man, dressed in a traditional *ǧlābiyya*: “listen boy! Go to the room and wear a dress from

my dresses, so if my husband surprises us, he will think you are the midwife.”⁷⁵ The *boy* is a man in his thirties or forties. His right hand is touching his chin in an embarrassed or confused gesture. In this caricature, the woman is illustrated as a manipulative and deceptive wife, conspiring behind her husband's back, and it is left to the viewers' imagination what exactly is being concealed from her husband. At the same time, the way she speaks to the man, who is probably her servant, undermines his masculinity: in her body language, in the words chosen, and in the act she is asking him to perform.

At the beginning of June, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* published a frontispiece in which a woman was illustrated in what seems to be a bathing suit; however, it resembles lingerie (fig. 6.9).⁷⁶ The subtitle declares that “even the sea wants her to get dressed!!” insinuating that women walked around in public spaces completely exposed. The danger embedded in this performance is emphasized by the depiction of the woman's hands as claws.

Other caricatures that emphasize women's deceitfulness use images of *ideal* women with regard to their looks, especially their facial features, as perceived in Western cultural spheres. A series of caricatures published in *al-Fukāha* show close-ups of Western women's faces, heavily made-up, and all presented as manipulating men's feelings. In one of these, the woman is illustrated as talking on the phone:

- (a man' voice in the telephone): hallo ... is it you my love?
- (the woman) Yes ... who are you?⁷⁷

One can also read this caricature as insinuating that modern Western technology can, in the wrong hands, be used to deceive people. In another example, a woman is depicted holding a heart. The title of the caricature announces: “auction—a

72 L.B., untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 120, March 27, 1928, back cover.

73 L.B., untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 133, June 26, 1928, back cover.

74 L.B., “*Şayd al-‘iṣāri*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 128, May 22, 1928, back cover.

75 L.B., “*al-Dāya*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 126, May 8, 1928, back cover.

76 L.B., untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 130, June 5, 1928, back cover.

77 Ben, untitled caricature, *al-Fukāha* 181, May 14, 1930, 48.



FIGURE 6.7 The Torment of the Fire. L.B., untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 120, March 27, 1928, back cover.
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FIGURE 6.8 Never Kissed Before. L.B., untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 133, June 26, 1928, back cover.
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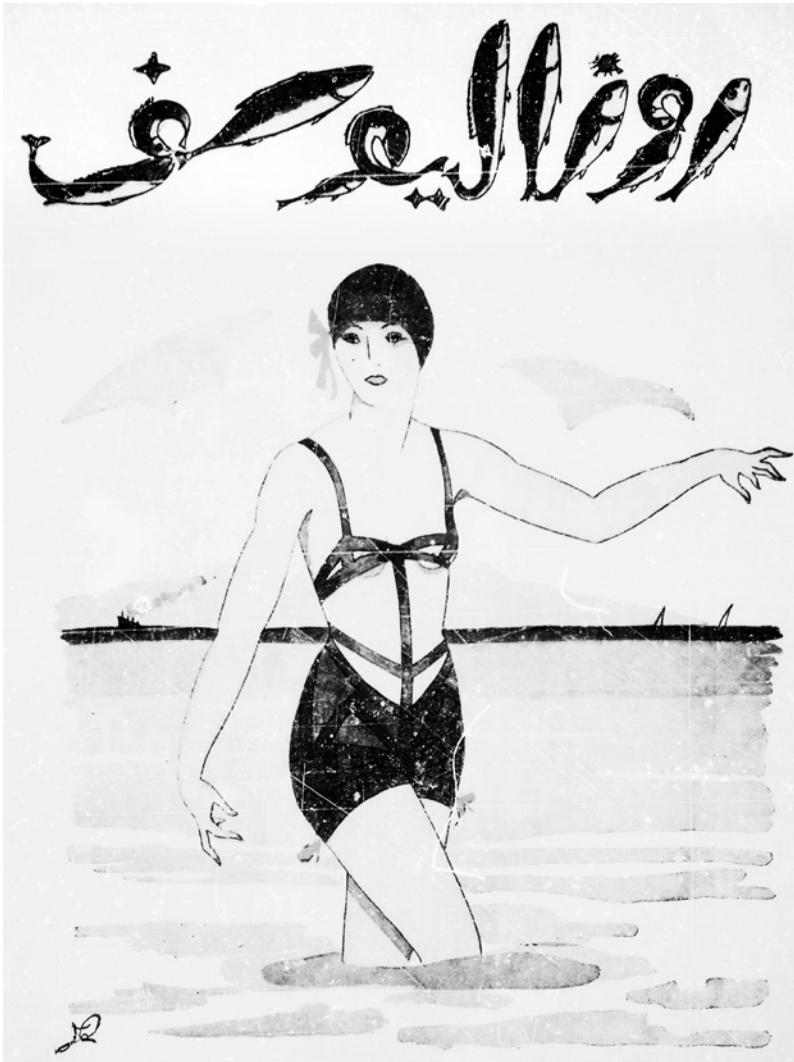


FIGURE 6.9
A Troubling Issue. L.B., untitled
caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 130, June 5,
1928, back cover.
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heart for sale; going once, going twice, sold; that's a sale, oh world."⁷⁸ Although the titles were written in Arabic, they are actually Arabic transliterations of French words—*ʾūkāzyūn*; *ʾlā ʾūnā*, *ʾlā duuā* (*occasion*; *allé une*, *allé deux*). One can argue, following Hanley, that this use of the transliterated French expression serves as an alienating language barrier for those who didn't *belong*—the foreign margin of simpler Egyptians—to the French

speaking cosmopolitan social center.⁷⁹ Learning the language could not bridge the social barrier.

A few months earlier, a statue of a woman's head was illustrated on the frontispiece of the journal. On the scaffolding around it, six men, named in the subtitle as the "toilette workers" (*ʾumāl al-tūalīt*), are depicted working on the statue. Here, also, the woman's face is illustrated with Western features. The title declares that this is what the women's renaissance is all about. In other words,

78 untitled caricature, *al-Fukāha* 108, December 19, 1928, frontispiece.

79 Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies," 1352.

the women's fight is *really* over the right to be worshiped by men.

Body language also played a part in constructing women's a-morality, lack of dignity, and excessive licentiousness. In a caricature published in *al-Fukāha*, a man and a woman, both from the middle or elite strata, are depicted sitting in a train booth.⁸⁰ The man is sitting with his back erect in discomfort. His legs squeezed together, and his hands are on his knees. The woman, with a cigarette in her right hand, is dressed in a black cloak, however it is open around her chest, revealing her underclothes. More bluntly, her legs are spread, and the cloak which is raised up, also reveals her knees. While her body language conveys a blatant ease, his undoubtedly conveys the opposite. In another example, a woman-driver is trying to seduce a policeman, while sitting in her car.⁸¹ The young man's response is of obvious embarrassment and discomfort. The fact that this temptation is occurring in the public sphere adds to the sense that the woman lacks inhibitions.

The bodily exposure of the modern westernized woman was also condemned within the private domains. In a caricature published in May 1928, a young man and a young woman are sitting in what seemed to be a public space in a private home. The man is fully dressed in a traditional *ġlābiyya*. His eyes are made-up, and he has a thin mustache, following French fashion. In his hands he holds prayer beads—suggesting he is a Muslim. The woman is dressed in a sleeveless mini-dress. Her legs are spread in a way which cannot conceal her private parts. A second man is standing beside the couple, dressed in a Western suit, and a *ṭarbūš*. The dialogue accompanying the scene is as follows:

– How, oh Miss Ramzziyya, oh my child, you sit in front of Šayḥ Šālīḥ, and you are almost naked!

– [Šayḥ Šālīḥ] There is no harm, oh Bāy! Miss Ramzziyya is like my daughter!

The couple is apparently not married; however, they are also not embarrassed to expose this *immoral* relationship. Sexual activity outside of the legitimate bonds of marriage was one of the primary concerns, as Jacob notes, of the middle classes. Journals marshaled medical experts, foreign and Egyptian, to demonstrate the harms inherent in sexual activity outside marriage, such as sexually transmitted diseases, which were apparently on the rise.⁸²

Only rarely does the modern westernized woman ask her partner in the caricatured sphere for moral help. In a caricature published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in April 1928, a couple is depicted in their private domain (fig. 6.10).⁸³ The woman is dressed in a short strapless leg-revealing dress. With her hands, she attempts to cover her private parts. Her eyes, heavily made-up, are closed, perhaps in shame, as the subtitle insinuates: “are you happy? I would rather you tell me my dress is short, lengthen your clothes until they drag on the ground.” The object of her plea sits on a sofa, smoking a *nārġīla*. He is dressed in a *ġlābiyya* and turban—suggesting perhaps he does not belong to the educated strata. His gaze is turned to her legs. His body language reveals he is completely indifferent to her appearance and her plea.

The ability of women to actually perform men's jobs was also discussed in caricatures in which the modernized woman features. One of *al-Fukāha*'s issues addresses the question of women joining the police forces. The frontispiece of this issue presents a police-woman running hysterically from a cat.⁸⁴ In her run, she loses her *ṭarbūš*, her gun and her club. Describing women as emotionally unstable and inferior to men was a well-established visual and textual discourse in

80 Untitled caricature, *al-Fukāha* 105, November 28, 1928, finispiece.

81 “Iġrā’ alā al-ššahayna,” *al-Fukāha* 109, December 26, 1928, frontispiece.

82 Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 167.

83 L.B., untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 121, April 3, 1928, back cover.

84 “Al-Būlis al-nisā’i,” *al-Fukāha* 174, March 26, 1930, back cover.



FIGURE 6.10
A Dress Too Short. L.B., untitled
caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 121,
April 3, 1928, back cover.
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late nineteenth-century Western satirical journals. This *Egyptian* response was not new in any way—neither thematically, nor visually. Inside the issue, one of the caricatures shows what will happen if a policewoman attempts to direct traffic.⁸⁵ The woman, who is dressed in a short uniform, exposing her knees and hands and accentuating her breasts, raises her right hand to stop the traffic. The subtitle of this caricature is as follows:

85 Untitled caricature, *al-Fukāha* 174, March 26, 1930, 25.

“This is how the police-woman will stand in the middle of the street, all gazes will be directed at her uniform and equipment; the public will subject itself to her signals and they will stand still in front of her, humiliated and subdued; they will not move, even if given the traffic-sign by her.”

To judge from the caricatures in which the modern westernized woman appears, one can assume that the Egyptian man had no ability to cope with the deficiencies of the immoral, promiscuous,

indecently exposed woman. He became the object of her gaze, her cravings, and her manipulations. The modern Egyptian woman was only concerned with pursuing her sexual urges, and no man could resist her—neither the elite, nor the middle-class men, nor those who belonged to the lower strata of society. In the moral chaos constructed through this visual imagining of Egyptian society only rarely does one find the guardians of public morals, such as a random child, or an embarrassed wife.

4 Grotesque Women

Ḥulūṣī's "*Ams wa-ḡadā*" published in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* (fig. 6.1) insinuates that if a woman will outwardly preserve the traditional Egyptian look and avoid adopting European or westernized fashion, then she will fulfill her role as a woman in the new modern Egyptian culture, as well as preserve the nation's honor and strength. In other words, one can read this caricature as a visual code for the ideal woman-citizen. However, this image was a rare instance of a visual stereotype embodying an image of a traditional Egyptian woman as an honor-worthy woman. The bulk of the caricatures in which women represent the *past* or the traditional Egyptian culture, or constitute the opposite idea to the westernized woman, present these women as grotesque, violent, or plain. They are the obese wives, unattractive or un-womanly in the eyes of their male-partners. Most of them represent the lower strata of society. In many of the caricatures in which they feature, they are depicted striking their husbands—an aspect that linked them to the modern woman regarding the criticism directed at Egyptian men and their ability to *fight back*. Apart from one example, these domineering wives are presented childless—another characteristic they shared with the modern westernized women—which can be read as further evidence of their failure to fulfill their roles as spouses and mothers. Neither do these women constitute a model for the wives, mothers, and sisters of the new nation.

A caricature published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in April 1928 presents a woman accused of a crime, standing in front of a judge (fig. 6.11).⁸⁶ The defendant is a short woman in her thirties or forties. Her mouth is wide open in an apologetic smile, revealing neglected teeth—some are broken; some are missing. Her eyes are flirting with the judge sitting above her, who looks partly amazed and partly shocked or disgusted. Her speech reveals her lack of self-consciousness under the male-gaze: "it wasn't me, his excellency the judge; however, your description applies to the defendant's description: small and beautiful, graceful, and thin. Your eyes are like honey. Enough, enough, oh Bāy! I am the defendant!" In other words, in her attempt to elicit compliments for her looks, she is willing to accept the accusations, which first she denied. That is to say her looks concern her more than her integrity.

The obsessed wife was presented in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* and *al-Fukāha* as controlling her thin fragile husband. Her dimensions in all her appearances are much larger than her husband, emphasizing his vulnerability, and hence his *feminization*. She could appear in the white *yašmak* of elite women, while wearing a long black dress and the black *ḡabara*, or in plain, simple dresses in different lengths. Her head, in all cases was covered with a scarf. Her face, on the other hand, was only occasionally covered. However, this seemingly *feminist* feature, was used by the caricaturists not as an ideological act, but rather, as an opportunity to reveal a face that was vulgar, un-attractive and un-womanly. An example of such a caricature was published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in February 1928 (fig. 6.12).⁸⁷ A large woman dressed in a plain dress, with white and red stripes, is standing in the street in front of a young boy. Her head and shoulders are covered with the

86 Iskandar Ṣārūḡhān, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 121, April 3, 1928, frontispiece.

87 Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 116, February 28, 1928, frontispiece. Other examples include Iskandar Ṣārūḡhān, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 118, March 13, 1928, frontispiece; Ben, untitled caricature, *al-Fukāha* 90, August 10, 1928, frontispiece.



FIGURE 6.11

The Defendant. Iskanandar Şārūḥān, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 121, April 3, 1928, frontispiece.

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black *ḥabara*. Her face is exposed revealing her accented eyebrows. Her large smiling mouth is dyed in red. Her jaw is heavy and wide and the folds of fat beneath it hide her neck. Her eyes are shut in a smile. The overall appearance is of animalistic features. Behind the woman stands her husband, as revealed by the dialogue accompanying the caricature. His face is bandaged. He uses two crutches to stand. He looks terrified. The dialogue accompanying the image is between the young boy standing beside them and the woman, who is identified as Ms. Laṭīfa (literally, gentle, kind, gracious).

The boy: Why, oh my aunt, Ms. Laṭīfa, did you marry this sick, crushed man?

Ms. Laṭīfa: He was not sick and crushed like this, dear child, when I married him!

This idea of a “pre-marriage” (*qabl al-zawāġ*) / “post-marriage” (*ba’d al-zawāġ*) dichotomy was a common theme in the caricatures and was always used as an accusation against women, who apparently changed their skin once married. In some instances, the woman presented was the modern woman, who was shown in two sequences,



FIGURE 6.12 Ms. Latifa. Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 116, February 28, 1928, frontispiece. HOOPER INSTITUTION LIBRARY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

pre-marriage (as a beautiful woman, made-up and dressed decently and tidily) and post-marriage (with her hair chaotic, her face clean of makeup, and her general appearance sloppy).⁸⁸ *Al-Fukāha* also published foreign caricatures presenting the same idea of the abusive wife. These caricatures were translated to Arabic without specifying their original sources or mentioning that the society depicted in them was not Egyptian—although this is clearly apparent from the outfits of the women and men depicted. One can wonder, whether these caricatures were meant as further testimony of the flaws of modernity, regarding women's a-morality, lack of dignity, and excessive licentiousness—regardless of the society these women belonged to.⁸⁹

In a caricature published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in January 1928 the *old* woman and the *new* woman confront one another on the basis of their looks.⁹⁰ A family, representing a traditional Egyptian family, is staring at a modernized Egyptian woman passing by them. The man, in his fifties or sixties, asks his wife, standing beside him and holding a baby, “why Umm al-Rizq, are you not as pretty as her?” His wife’s answer raises questions about the idealization of the modernized woman’s beauty, while at the same time testifies to her own unattractiveness or indifference to her appearance: “your taste was always spoiled! What do you like about her? Buy me red and white and I will become prettier than her ... however, I hate red and white!” As in the case of Ms. Laṭīfa’s caricature, her facial features are exposed and depicted as coarse.

One of the most prominent stereotypes of the traditional or *old* woman in the caricatures of the period was the image of *Ẓarīfa*—the woman-frog, part of the couple *Zaqzūq wa Ẓarīfa*. These characters, as previously stated, were designed by the caricaturist Ramzī on the model of Mickey Mouse

and Minnie. However, despite the clear visual similarities, there was a sharp difference between the *femininity* of Minnie and the *masculinization* of *Ẓarīfa*. Minnie was a stereotyped character which represented a mainstream example of her time of the passive female character who was dependent on her male partner. Her feminine attributes, in the eyes of her creators Walt Disney and Ub Iwerks, were constructed through her visual appearance as well as her behavior. When she was originally created during the twenties, Minnie wore falsies on her chest, making her, as Luke Baldwin Dubin notes, an adult female.⁹¹ The falsies disappeared in 1929, and up until 1944 she was bare from the waist up.⁹² In one short, “Wild Waves” (1929), she was seen with a bra and a swimsuit that showed off her chest.⁹³ Minnie also wore a short flapper girl dress, which revealed her patched bloomers, as well as black stockings, and oversized high heels.⁹⁴ The fact that Minnie’s bloomers were constantly on display, leads Dubin to suggest that Minnie was not intended to be a “woman, but rather a desexualized toddler—or, at the very least, that her dress and relationship to Mickey are indicative of a conflicted attitude towards female sexuality.”⁹⁵ However, other researchers, such as Xavier Fuster Burguera, see in her, as in Betty Boop, Honey, Cookie, Petunia Pig or Daisy Duck, a female

88 For example, “*Yā ‘ayni*,” *al-Fukāha* 98, October 10, 1928, frontispiece.

89 See, for example, untitled caricature, *al-Fukāha* 322, January 24, 1933, 37.

90 Untitled caricature, *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 111, (?) January 1928, frontispiece.

91 Luke Baldwin Dubin, “I Might be a Duck, but I’m Human: An Analysis of Clothing in Disney Cartoons,” MA Dissertation (Brock University, 2008), 77.

92 *Ibid*, 81.

93 As Dubin notes, “this trend was short-lived, after which no more references were made to Minnie having breasts or wearing bras.” *Ibid*, 89.

94 The flapper girl of the 1920s, the visual basis for Minnie Mouse, was the New Woman of the era who smoked cigarettes, drank gin, lifted the lower edge of her skirt, dress, or coat, danced the Charleston, and made out in roadsters. More importantly, she earned her own keep, controlled her own destiny, and secured her liberties. For this New Woman in American culture, see Joshua Zeitz, *Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern* (New York: Broadway Books, 2007).

95 Dubin, “I Might be a Duck, but I’m Human,” 112.

stereotype, which “remained confined to domestic environments or were depicted negatively outside the household domain,” as she often became a damsel in distress that Micky tried to rescue. Thus, reproducing the dominant male discourse of the era.⁹⁶ At the same time, she frequently acts as Mickey’s conscience, by making him behave as society expects, or at least punishing him when he misbehaves.⁹⁷

Zarifa, on the other hand, was not illustrated in such a *feminine* way. Her facial features resemble those of Zaqqūq, and in fact, without her skirt or dress, her high heels, occasionally a woman’s purse and the highlighting of her breasts, it is impossible to differentiate between the husband and wife. The similarity in appearance was not a function of pictorial difficulties, since when the couple’s son, Abū Za’iza’, marries Ta’na’a (in another chapter she is mentioned by the name Šakšūka), she is portrayed as feminine in similar ways as Minnie Mouse—the skirt with the patched knickers, a big bow over her head, and long eyelashes.

In the relationship between Zarifa and Zaqqūq, Zarifa constantly has the upper hand. She is not the “damsel in distress.” After the birth of their son, Abū Za’iza’, the boy and his mother join forces against the father, constantly humiliating him and challenging his status as head of the family. In one of the only episodes in which Zaqqūq *fight back*, it is only after Zarifa punches him several times.⁹⁸ The chapter begins when Zaqqūq demands to know where Zarifa is going now, after she has been gone for over an hour, which, as he declares, was humiliating for him (*bitubahdalīnī*). Zarifa informs him she is going to the movies and will tell him what she saw after she returns. In the

next frame Zarifa tells her husband she saw the boxing fight between the American Jewish boxer, Maximilian Adelbert “Max” Baer, and the Italian Primo Carnera.⁹⁹ In the next three frames, Zarifa demonstrates on her husband the course of the actual fight. However, in the last frame, Zaqqūq punches his wife to the ground. Zaqqūq’s speech in this frame outlines the alternative *reality* he desires: “do you know what would have happened if Carnera would have punched Baer till he [Carnera] regained his strength?”

Zarifa took responsibility for the wellbeing of the family. She guided her husband in his daily social encounters, encouraged him to learn how to read and write, to get an education, and to offer his alleged occupational abilities. However, her performance in this weekly comic-strip cannot be read as a feminist act, promoting the women’s awakening, or fighting for women’s rights. Zarifa was clearly not fond of her husband. She was portrayed as rude, violent, and more importantly, un-feminine and un-sexualized under Ramzī’s gaze, and probably under that of his mainly male-audience.

5 Famous Women

Elite and middle-class Egyptian women who were involved in the political and social public arena were not frequently portrayed in the Egyptian caricature. In fact, only four such figures appeared prominently in caricatures, and even these appearances were rather rare: Šafiyya Zaġlūl (1876–1946), wife of the Wafdist leader Zaġlūl; Hudā Ša’rāwī (1879–1947); Nabawiyya Mūsā (1886–1951); and Fāṭima (Rūz) al-Yūsuf. All four women took their political missions seriously, saw themselves as major players in the political public sphere, and considered their undertaking as crucial to the nationalist cause.

96 Xavier Fuster Burguera, “Muffled Voices in Animation. Gender Roles and Black Stereotypes in Warner Bros. Cartoons: From Honey to Babs Bunny,” *Bulletin of the Transylvania University of Brasov* 4 (53), no. 2 (2011): 68–69.

97 Dubin, “I Might be a Duck,” 44.

98 Ramzī, “Zaqqūq wa Zarifa,” *al-Iṭnayn* 5, July 16, 1934, 28–29.

99 The fight was on June 14, 1934; in it Baer won by technical knockout over Carnera. With this win, Baer became World Heavyweight Champion, a title which he would hold for 364 days.

Following the arrest and deportation of Zaġlūl in March 1919, which led to the breaking out of large demonstrations, Şafiyya became a public figure and was widely known as “Mother of the Egyptians” (*umm al-Miṣriyyīn*)—a popular nationalist symbol.¹⁰⁰ As Baron has indicated, Şafiyya planned her public persona, carefully chose her words, weighed her actions, and controlled her photographic image. Her pictures appeared regularly in journals; proof, claims Baron, she was one of the most visible and popular female figures of the period. No woman appeared in more photos in the Egyptian press in the interwar years than Şafiyya.¹⁰¹

Şafiyya maintained control of the image she projected over the years by allowing photographers to take her portrait at certain moments. The images which Şafiyya released to the press reinforced the sense of her maternal aura and sanctity, and helped her to carve out a political role for herself. As a result, she enjoyed political influence during her husband’s lifetime and continued to exercise power after his death.¹⁰² Until she left to join Sa’d’s exile in Gibraltar, Şafiyya had not unveiled before photo-journalists in Egypt. She lowered her veil slowly. In late 1921, her portrait had appeared on the cover of a French journal and was reprinted in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* in January 1922—giving the Egyptian public their first glimpse of her face.¹⁰³

After six months in exile, Sa’d was released by the British, and he set out with Şafiyya for Europe.

Al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara published quite a few shots of the couple in Europe.¹⁰⁴ These showed Şafiyya with a hat or uncovered head and with flowers or needlepoint in hand, which Baron mentions were symbols of femininity.¹⁰⁵ Baron claims that the photos of Şafiyya published around the mid-1920s served as inspiration for the construction of the image of Egypt as the New Woman by Santes, and that one can find similarities between the image of Şafiyya and the image of “Egypt.”¹⁰⁶ In my opinion, these similarities are not that distinct.

After her husband’s death, on August 23, 1927, Şafiyya donned black and wore it on almost all occasions until her own death. Şafiyya emerged in the post-Sa’d era as both a powerful political player and a potent national symbol around whom support for the Wafd could be rallied.¹⁰⁷ Sa’d’s death transformed Şafiyya’s demeanor in photographs and she became a perpetual mourner—her face draped in a dark veil. She no longer smiled in press photos, instead her face was pensive, and her expression downcast.¹⁰⁸

The controlled image of Şafiyya in photos could not be repeated in caricatures. These reflected the fact that not all Egyptians saw in Şafiyya their “mother.” The caricatures discussed here were all published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, after Sa’d’s death.¹⁰⁹ Hence, in all of them she appeared mourning with a long black dress or a long black

100 For the life and career of Şafiyya Zaġlūl, see Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 135–161. A biography of Şafiyya was written by, Gued Vidal, shortly after Şafiyya’s death: Gued Vidal, *Şafiyya Zaghoul* (Cairo: R. Schindler, 1946). Another source for Şafiyya’s life and career is Fahīma Ṭābit’s *al-Zaʾim al-ḥālid wa-umm al-Miṣriyyīn fī manfā Jabal Tāriq (The Glorious Leader and Mother of the Egyptians in Exile in Gibraltar)* (al-Qāhira: Maktabat al-Şams al-Ḥadīta, 1948), which documented Şafiyya’s trip to Gibraltar in 1922 to join Sa’d in exile.

101 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 136.

102 *Ibid.*, 135.

103 The photo is published in *Ibid.*, 149, fig. 24. Şafiyya’s image is marked by an X and identified as “Mother of the Egyptians.”

104 The photos were published on October 1, 1923, 9; and September 23, 1925.

105 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 150.

106 The caricatures which Baron refers to were published in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* on September 17, 1923; June 25, 1923, 16; and July 30, 1923, 16.

107 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 156.

108 *Ibid.*, 154.

109 She appeared prior to Sa’d’s death in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* only once. See Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 204, April 10, 1925, 9. In this image, she is portrayed unveiled. Her face is depicted as that of an old woman (she was forty-eight at the time). Her head is draped with a black scarf, and she is wearing a green dress.

ḥabara, which covered her body as well. Occasionally, a white or a green under-garment peeped out. The black face-veil, with which she appeared in public, was absent from the caricatures, probably to allow readers to *recognize* Şafiyya.

Şafiyya's caricatured portrait negates any identification of her with modernity or westernization, although as accounts from the period indicated, she was dressed in an up-to-date French fashion—concealed under the black cloak and *ḥabara* once leaving her private domains.¹¹⁰ The caricatures in *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* also did not establish any Egyptian identity for Şafiyya, or of her being “Mother of the Egyptians,” as her photos did—especially the one in which she is draped in the flag of Egypt.¹¹¹

Besides the fact that Şafiyya was denied her maternal persona in the caricatures in *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar*, a persona crafted by her through her political activities, the caricatures in which she appears lampoon the very notion of her involvement in party and national politics. The visual construction of Şafiyya's involvement, after Sa'd's death, in political affairs manipulates the same visual dichotomy of women's masculinization on the one hand and emasculation of the Egyptian men on the other—in this case, the Wafdists politicians. A typical example is a caricature published in *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* in January 1930 (fig. 6.13).¹¹² In the scene, Şafiyya is depicted receiving a delegation of Wafdists at her house, known widely as *bayt al-umma* (the house of the nation)—a name which Baron claims, helped instill a sense of a national family.¹¹³ The positioning of Şafiyya and the Wafdists politicians in the composition cuts the image in half. On the right, Şafiyya occupies

the full height of the frame, while the seven politicians on the left, who bow in front of Şafiyya, occupy only half the space she does. As a result, the image of the widow seems incomparably bigger than the men. To this un-equal alignment, one needs to add the physical gestures of the men, who lower their eyes, and put their hands together in supplication, while Şafiyya is not even directing her gaze to them, but rather to the portrait of her husband hanging on the wall.

Other caricatures negate Şafiyya's femininity all together and illustrate her as an old woman, covered from head to toe with her black widow's garments.¹¹⁴ Although these caricatures can be read as criticizing the Wafdist politicians' emasculation, and their consent to be bossed around by a woman, one should also consider the way Şafiyya was illustrated as an old woman in these caricatures, while she was only in her fifties. The aging of Şafiyya's image allowed the anonymous caricaturists to blur the visual boundaries between the woman and the men in these compositions, and to ostensibly give a male *voice* to the image of the woman. This visual and thematic technique of using aged women as a caricature type can be seen in other cultural spheres, such as in the Ottoman revolutionary satirical press, in which one can find the image of Cadaloz, the Old Nag—mascot for the gazette published in 1910 of the same name.¹¹⁵ As Brummett notes, Cadaloz was an androgynous figure, freed from a sexual role—a result of her advanced age. Her wardrobe could also include male-dress; however, her presentation negates the lampooning of her masculinization of this woman-type, as she was a non-sexual entity.

The same visual approach can be seen with regard to the images of Nabawiyya Mūsā in *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* and *Rüz al-Yūsuf*. Mūsā was a

110 Grace Thompson Seton, *A Woman Tenderfoot in Egypt* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1923), 24, 33.

111 The black and white photograph was dated February 22, 1922, and first published in *Ibid.*, 20. Seton claims the flag was red and white.

112 “*Muwazzafū al-Nahhās fi bayt al-umma*,” *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 454, January 24, 1930, 32.

113 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 140.

114 For example, “*Fī bayt al-umma*,” *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 507, January 30, 1932, 32; “*Şuġl 'iyāl wa-şuġl niswān*,” *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 603, December 2, 1932, 18.

115 For the image of Cadaloz, see Brummett, *Image & Imperialism*, 60–65.



FIGURE 6.13
Al-Naḥḥās' Clerks at the House of the Nation. "Muwazzafū al-Naḥḥās fi bayt al-umma," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 454, January 24, 1930, 32.
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teacher, a lecturer, and the first Egyptian woman to serve as a school principal. She had a long career in administering schools run by the Ministry of Education and provincial councils, and later her own private institutions.¹¹⁶ Mūsā wrote for several Cairene journals, among them *al-Muqaṭṭam*, *al-Ahrām*, and *al-Balāḡ al-usbūʿī*. In 1937, she founded her own journal, *Maḡallāt al-fatāḥ* (*The Journal of*

the Young Woman, published from October 1937 to June 1943). She also published several books.¹¹⁷

In caricatures mocking Mūsā, she is always depicted wearing a long heavy 'abāya—the long black cloak that was worn mostly by conservative or lower-class women—which blurs her feminine characteristics. Hence, reflecting a body which

¹¹⁶ For a summary of Mūsā's career, see Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 38–46.

¹¹⁷ These included, *Dīwān al-Sayyida Nabawiyya Musa* (*The Poetry of Nabawiyya Musa*, Cairo: 1938); *al-Mar'a wa al-'amal* (*The Woman and Work*, Alexandria: al-Maṭba'a al-Waṭaniyya, 1920); and *Tārīḥi bi-qalamī* (*My History by My Pen* [n.d.]).



FIGURE 6.14
Nabawiyya Mūsā's Party. Untitled
caricature, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 535,
August 14, 1931, 32.
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could have been easily mistaken for male. In other cases, she is dressed as half man half woman, as in one of the most prominent examples published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* in August 1931 (fig. 6.14).¹¹⁸ Mūsā is depicted as wearing a man's dark jacket over a white buttoned shirt and a dark tie. She also wears a long skirt, and her head is covered with the black *ḥabara*. Her facial-features are coarse. In the dialogue beneath the caricature Mūsā addresses

Makram (William) 'Ubayd (1889–1961), who was high in the Wafd leadership, and asks him why he thinks he is the only one who knows how to talk to himself?¹¹⁹ Meaning, she is questioning 'Ubayd's sanity. 'Ubayd answers he did not know Mūsā was

¹¹⁸ Untitled caricature, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 535, August 14, 1931, 32.

¹¹⁹ 'Ubayd, an Egyptian Copt, dropped his Christian name William in 1929 after being accused by *al-Aḥrār al-dustūriyyūn* of trying to sabotage the second treaty of independence which they were negotiating. However, in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, as in other anti-Wafdist papers, he was always referred to as William Paša—highlighting him being a Copt.

more fortunate than him. Meaning, both Mūsā and ʿUbayd are mocked here as disconnected from reality.

The image of Mūsā as quasi-British and quasi-masculine was constructed by Mūsā herself, and not by the caricaturists, who manipulated it to mock Mūsā's alleged masculinization. As discussed by Christina Civantos, both the British colonial authorities and Egyptians created a vision of the learned Egyptian woman that posits such a woman as too knowledgeable about certain spheres, having too much contact with the opposite sex, and thus being of questionable morals.¹²⁰ Mūsā, Civantos illustrates in a discussion of Mūsā's autobiographical essays, sought to distance herself equally from British and Egyptian imagined constructions of Egyptian womanhood. On the one hand, the woman of Orientalist fantasy—the veiled wife or haram slave, wearing make-up, perfume, ornate jewelry, and luxurious, revealing clothes. On the other, for Mūsā's Egyptian contemporaries, knowledge and wholesomeness were incompatible. A literate woman with access to knowledge was perceived as dangerous. Education could have exposed women to inappropriate information and inappropriate contact with men—as was reflected in the caricatures mocking the westernized woman, although these images did not relate specifically to knowledge acquisition. Beauty and education combined could have threatened a woman's honor. Modesty, a homely or plain appearance, and illiteracy were bound together. As Civantos illustrates, Mūsā refers to herself as ugly. By constructing herself as unattractive to the man gaze, prim and strict, Civantos argues, Mūsā removed herself from the position of the object of male desire to take the role of an intellectual subject, and thus achieves intellectual agency.¹²¹

Mūsā's choices to appropriate the modest, plain appearance on the one hand or the quasi-British and quasi-masculine on the other, were manipulated by the caricaturists as a means to undermine her femininity altogether and construct her as a masculine androgyne. Thus, they have challenged Mūsā's attempt to construct herself as both public intellectual and respectable Egyptian woman. In other words, while in her writing and appearance Mūsā asserts her power over herself and asserts her autonomy (even if partly) through her appearance, in the caricatured sphere, the illusion of control is re-attested, constrained by the visual discourses about the Egyptian woman and by the power structures that legitimate and authorize the female voice.

A few issues prior to the publishing of the caricature in which Mūsā appeared, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* devoted its frontispiece caricature to al-Yūsuf (fig. 6.15).¹²² In this image, al-Yūsuf is depicted as standing with her arms outstretched, dressed in a low-cut red dress and a wide red hat—apparently alluding to her former acting career. Hiding behind her back are al-Naḥḥās and Maḥmūd. The title of the caricature, "*Ḥizb Rūz al-Yūsuf*" ("The Party of Rūz al-Yūsuf") refers directly to the criticism amongst anti-Wafdists against the relationship between the Wafd and her paper, which was strong from the second half of the 1920s to the mid-1930s.

Baron argues her appearance is feminized but not sexualized. I agree with Baron, that al-Yūsuf's image was meant to show that the female-journalist was manlier than the male leaders of the Wafd.¹²³ However, I am more concerned here with the resemblance of the caricatured image of al-Yūsuf to her *actual* portrait—a resemblance which is fundamental to the construction of the caricatured portrait of her. During the 1930s al-Yūsuf became one of the most famous journalists in Egypt, and her picture appeared frequently in the

120 Christina Civantos, "Reading and Writing the Turn-of-the-Century Egyptian Woman Intellectual: Nabawiyya Musa's *Tārīḥi bi-qalami*," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2013): 4–31.

121 *Ibid.*, 25.

122 "*Ḥizb Rūz al-Yūsuf*," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 522, May 15, 1931, frontispiece.

123 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 185–186.



FIGURE 6.15
Rüz al-Yūsuf's Party. "Ḥizb Rüz al-Yūsuf," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 522, May 15, 1931, frontispiece.
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press. Skimming through the images of al-Yūsuf in caricatures, it becomes clear that her caricatured portrait bore only faint facial resemblance to her photographic image. In the other examples published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, she appears with messy uncontrolled blond hair, occasionally with the same red dress. In other words, there is no fixed image of al-Yūsuf that became a typical caricatured portrait of her, in contrast to those of the male politicians in caricatures. Her identification could be made only through the sub-titles. In other words, the construction of al-Yūsuf's image was not based on the assumption that readers/viewers could identify her only by her image. Perhaps this

un-resemblance should not come as a surprise in a society in which, as Ryzova notes, revealing a woman's identity in public is perceived as damaging her integrity as a respectable woman.¹²⁴ Another explanation for the gap between the actual portrait to the caricatured one, could be the low exposure of female political activists in the public eye, in comparison to male politicians, resulting in a less coherent satirical image. Another way to read this lack of resemblance to the *real* al-Yūsuf is that it undermines the agency of the

124 Ryzova, "I am a Whore, but I will be a Good Mother," 83.



FIGURE 6.16
Women's Politics. "Siyāsāt al-niswān," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 522, May 15, 1931, back cover. HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

female-politician/journalist. In depicting her as a generic woman, and not as al-Yūsuf *herself*, caricaturists deprived her of her identity as Fāṭima al-Yūsuf, hence dismissing her role in the public sphere.

Returning to the caricature "*Ḥizb Rūz al-Yūsuf*," the issue of *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* in which this frontispiece was published devoted its back cover to the opposite idea—that powerful politicians should be masculine. If the frontispiece's theme was the emasculation of the Wafdist politicians, the back cover took this idea forward and presented 'Ubayd and al-Naḥḥās as two women—dressed in female-garments, high-heels

and adorned with jewelry (fig. 6.16).¹²⁵ Both men hold women's masks in their hands. Another example, published in *Aḥir sa'a al-muṣawwara*, presented a group of young men sitting around a table powdering their noses, applying perfume, combing their hair, manicuring their hands, and skimming through French fashion magazines.¹²⁶ The young men, as we learn from the sub-title, are apparently interested in constructing a new

125 "Siyāsāt al-niswān," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 522, May 15, 1931, back cover.

126 "*Ḥizb awlād al-dḍawāt ... yā awlād al-...*," *Aḥir sa'a al-muṣawwara* 119, October 18, 1936, 7.

political party. However, their feminine behavior, as criticized in the image, undermines their legitimacy as serious politicians suited for a *man's job*. Feminizing Egyptian politicians was not only reflected in their dressing-up as women, but also in their *behavior*, as they were depicted as emotional, agitated, weeping, and hysterical—all stereotypical characteristics of women, which caricaturists in Egypt and elsewhere, used to de-legitimize women's political agency.

Hudā Ša'rāwī, who according to Baron was Šafiyya's closest competitor in press-photos, received the same visual treatment as al-Yūsuf.¹²⁷ Meaning, her caricatured image did not resemble her actual one. Perceived by the British as "the leader of the feminist movement" in Egypt, Ša'rāwī was the first president of the Women's Wafd.¹²⁸ She used the presidency to support the Wafd, but nevertheless she maintained its autonomy and used her position to articulate her own political views.

Following her published criticism of Zaġlūl on the issue of Sudan in *al-Siyāsa* (the newspaper of al-Ahrār al-Dustūriyyūn), she was referred to by counter-Wafdist writers as being the "mother-in-law of the Egyptians."¹²⁹ While this kind of categorization served as a pretext for Western caricaturists to illustrate women as un-feminine, malicious, and coarse, Ša'rāwī, like al-Yūsuf, was portrayed as a generic woman, occasionally with un-feminized facial-features, as in a caricature published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* in May 1931.¹³⁰ Occasionally, she was feminized but not sexualized, as in a caricature published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* in January 1930.¹³¹ In other instances, her face was covered with the *ḥabara*, sparing the

need to deform or caricaturize her portrait. In other words, her appearance in caricatures was not visually-repetitive, and viewers could not have recognized her by her appearance alone.

A group caricatured *portrait* of female-Wafdist activists, which was published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*, cuts to the point of the male caricaturists' gaze which undermined the agency of female political activism, while invalidating their identity and hence their role in the public sphere (fig. 6.17).¹³² The caricature, "A Delegation of the Women's Wafd to Field Marshal Allenby," depicts a group of more than ten elite or middle-class women. The women's Wafd Central Committee, which was founded two and a half years prior to this publication, was comprised of fifteen members, all married and mostly to Wafd members. Šafiyya was nominated honoree president. Hudā was the president, Ester Fahmī Wīšā (1895–1990) was vice president, her aunt Reġina Ḥayyāt was treasurer, and Fikriyya Ḥusnī was secretary.¹³³ The caricatured group can be divided into two separate stereotypes of women: the feminized but unsexualized type, to use Baron's terminology; and the un-feminized, heavy and masculine type of woman (one is even depicted with stubble). All of the women are depicted smoking, which was perceived as a dishonorable act for women in public. None of the women is recognizable.

6 Symbolic Women

Throughout the nineteenth century a preoccupation with the concepts of "freedom," "civilization," and "progress" was central to the construction of modern Egyptian ideologies, which enabled the modern concepts of "liberalism," "socialism," "democracy," "secularism," and "citizenship" to evolve

127 The total number of her photos in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*, for example, adds up to a fifth of those of Šafiyya. Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 136.

128 For a summary of Ša'rāwī career, see Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation*, 32–38.

129 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 172.

130 Untitled caricature, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 523, May 22, 1931, 16.

131 Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 454, January 24, 1930, 32.

132 Juan Santes, "Wafd laġnat al-wafd li-l-sayyidāt 'inda al-Mārišāl Allīnbi," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 64, August 6, 1922, back cover.

133 For the establishment of the Women's Wafd Central Committee establishment, see Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 166–167.



FIGURE 6.17

A Delegation of the Women's Wafd to Field Marshal Allenby. Juan Santes, "Wafd laġnat al-wafd li-l-sayyidāt 'inda al-Mārīšāl Allīnbi," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 64, August 6, 1922, back cover.

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in Egypt at the dawn of the twentieth century. As Wael Abu 'Uksa has shown, systems of meaning that developed around the word "freedom" (*ḥurriyya*) were organized in a variety of ways, while associated concepts acquired altering signifiers with unstable forms, concepts such as,

"equality (*taswīyya* and later *musāwā*), citizen (*sitūyyān*, *waṭanī*, and later *muwāṭin*) and citizenship (*ġinsiyya*, *muwāṭana*), constitutional and constitutionalist (*qānūn* and *qānūnī*, *dustūr* and *dustūrī*, *sharṭa*), natural rights (*ḥuqūq ṭabī'yya*, *ša'a ṭabī'yya*, *ḥuqūq baṣariyya*, and *ḥuqūq*

al-ādamiyya), social contract (*'aqd al-t'ānus wa al-iġtimā'*, *waṭiqa iġtimā'yya*, *'aqd iġtimā'ī*), secularity and secularism (*dunyawīyya*, *ṭabā'i'yya*, *dahriyya*, *almāniyya*, *ilmāniyya*, *madaniyya*), tolerance (*tasāhul*, *tasāmuḥ*), republic (*ġumhūr*, *mašyaḥa*, *ġumhūriyya*, *fawḍa*), revolution (*qiyām*, *fitna*, *āmmiyya*, *tawra*), parliament (*mašūra*, *šūra*, *ahl al-ḥall wa al-'aqd*, *barlamān*), reforms (*tanzīmāt*, *iṣlāḥāt*), society (*iġtimā'*, *hay'a*, *mujtama'*), progress (*taqaddum*, *taraqqi*)."¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Wael Abu 'Uksa, *Freedom in the Arab World: Concepts and Ideologies in Arabic Thought in the Nineteenth*

Abu 'Uksa illustrated, while discussing the construction of political ideas through linguistic lenses in Arab political thought, some of these concepts were new; some were recruited from medieval Arabic and absorbed new meanings; others were borrowed as neologisms.¹³⁵

The gendering of some of these concepts and their embodiment in the Egyptian visual arts (cartoons, drawings, paintings, posters, prints, and sculpture) as women has received considerable academic attention; most notably, regarding the caricature, by Baron, and Tonia Rifaey and Sherifa Zuhur.¹³⁶ As indicated by these scholars, modern nations and political abstractions have often been imagined in European artistic traditions through female personifications.¹³⁷ Female figures were also used to personify abstract concepts such as the cardinal virtues (Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude), theological virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity), the liberal arts, and philosophy. The nationalist discourse representing the homeland as a female body has often been used, as Afsaneh Najmabadi indicates, to construct a national identity based on male bonding among a

nation of brothers.¹³⁸ Whenever the power of the nation is or was invoked, “we are more likely than not to find it couched as a *love of country*: an eroticized nationalism” (Parker et al.’s emphasis).¹³⁹

As a body to love, to possess and protect, to kill and to die for, Egypt as a woman wore various guises or identities. As Baron has shown, Egypt in the interwar period differed in age, size, and attributes.¹⁴⁰ She could appear as an aged woman, emaciated with a walking stick, as a baby or a young girl, as a modern elite woman in her twenties, or a *fallāḥa* in her forties.¹⁴¹ However, only rarely did caricaturists present her as a mother, which Baron explains by the presence of a real “Mother of the Egyptians”—Ṣafīyya Zağlūl.¹⁴²

Historians’ explanations of why Egypt came over time to be depicted as a woman are varied. They range from a folkloric practice of thinking of the nation as a woman, to linguistic explanations drawing attention to the feminine nouns *Miṣr* and *umma* (both mentioned by Baron), to searching for images of the fertile mother earth (dating back to the pharaohs), as the source for images of “Egypt as the mother of the earth” (*Miṣr umm al-dunyā*), as Rifaey and Zuhur argue.¹⁴³ Baron mentions that the idea to embody the nation as a woman, “like the idea of nationalism itself, might have come from

Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 18–19.

135 *Ibid.*

136 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*; Rifaey and Zuhur, “Visualizing Identity,” 386–404.

137 The gendering of the nation has been the subject of numerous works within the discipline of art history and beyond. Thus, I list only a representative sample here: Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, “Introduction,” *Nationalism and Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Suruch Thaper, “Women as Activists; Women as Symbols: A Study of the Indian Nationalist Movement,” *Feminist Review* 44 (summer 1993): 81–96; Lydia Liu, “The Female Body and Nationalist Discourse: *The Field of Life and Death* Revisited,” in Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan (eds.), *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practices* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Tricia Cusack and Sighle Bhreathnach-Lynch (eds.), *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

138 Afsaneh Najmabadi, “The Erotic *Vatan* [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: To Love, To Possess, and to Protect,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 3 (July 1997): 442.

139 Parker et al., *Nationalism and Sexualities*, 1.

140 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 70.

141 To these various female guises, one should add other embodiments of the Egyptian nation, such as Egypt as a cow, occasionally with the head of a sphinx, and Egypt as a horse or as a donkey. See, for example, untitled caricature, *Abū naḍḍāra* 7, March 18, 1880, 112; untitled caricature, *Abū naḍḍāra Zarḳā*’ 10, July 28, 1889, 101; “*Rendez la Vachne au Fellah*,” *Abū naḍḍāra* 1, February 5, 1895, 6; untitled caricature, *Abū naḍḍāra* 3, March 22, 1897, 14; untitled caricature, *Abū naḍḍāra* 10, December 1906, 42.

142 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 78.

143 Rifaey and Zuhur, “Visualizing Identity,” 390.

abroad.” Meaning, “from the European model in general or the French republican precedent (Mariane) in particular.”¹⁴⁴ As such, Baron adds, “it would be one more example of an almost universal practice.”¹⁴⁵ Once this fact is established, Baron does not attach any importance to this cultural *transfer*.

For Baron, the question of why Egypt was depicted as a woman “is not [as] important as the process by which this occurred, what sort of a woman was chosen, and what these images ultimately tell us about race, class, and gender in Egypt.”¹⁴⁶ In her efforts to contextualize the caricature within Egyptian social, cultural, and political surroundings, Baron fails to take into account who produced the caricatures and how their social and cultural characteristics inform their visual repertoire. Thus, Baron minimizes the artist’s role to an almost present-absence. This approach of discussing caricatures as “signs of our times,” as reflected also in Rifaey and Zuhur’s work, is characteristic of popular culture studies—meaning, discussing mass-culture art as reflecting first and foremost, the audiences’ tendencies, likes and dislikes.¹⁴⁷

I, however, disagree with these approaches. One cannot conclude these images tell us something about the society in which they were distributed without trying to reconstruct the artists’ goals and purposes. I am not suggesting that reconstructing what Foucault calls the “author-function,” in our case the caricaturist, will fully allow us to interpret his art.¹⁴⁸ Nor do I suggest we fully “give-up” the author, since then any attempt to decipher the images would be futile.¹⁴⁹ However, once we foreground the artist’s role in the process of

creating caricatures we will not be able to read his images as an act of a “whim,” nor do they “form a consensus [...] on nationalist iconography”—both of which are claimed by Baron.¹⁵⁰

When Baron discusses, for example, Şannū’s decision to depict Egypt as a pharaonic queen, she mentions his Jewish origin and assumes he may have found pre-Islamic representations “particularly appealing as symbols, as did Egyptian Copts, for presumably all Egyptians could identify with them.”¹⁵¹ However, in the period discussed by Baron, Şannū was printing his journal in Paris. It is hard to imagine that while residing in Paris in the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, Şannū was not influenced, directly or indirectly, by the cultural Egyptomania in the urban surroundings of Paris. Pharaonic Egypt was present in the city in many forms, symbols, and monuments, which became an integral part of Parisian identity. Since the seventeenth-century, pharaonic Egyptian icons had been adopted by and assimilated into the elite culture—the arts, architecture, furniture, and dress. Antique archeological findings and monuments that originated in the pharaonic past were placed in central public spheres. Obelisks, pyramids, and images of pharaonic kings were popular monuments.¹⁵² *L’Expositions Univerelle*, held in Paris in 1867, 1878, 1889, and 1900, was another public sphere in which to install monumental pharaonic displays, and the Egyptian pavilions received great attention in these exhibitions. For the Parisians, Egypt’s identity was pharaonic.

The three historians’ most discussed guise for Egypt is as a young elite woman, or as she was named after Amīn’s work the “New Woman” (*al-mar’a al-ġadīda*), who was designed by Santes and copied by many other caricaturists working in Egypt at the time. All three researchers have focused their discussion on the social contexts in

144 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 57.

145 *Ibid.*, 57.

146 *Ibid.*, 58.

147 For the different approaches to analyzing mass-culture art, see Carrier, *The Aesthetics of Comics*, Chapter 5 and 6.

148 Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 130–131.

149 In this context, I follow Carrier’s methodological approach as presented in his *The Aesthetics of Comics*, 80–82.

150 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 80.

151 *Ibid.*, 60.

152 The most monumental example is the obelisk given by Muḥammad ‘Alī to King Louie Philip, which was placed, in October 1836, at the Place de la Concorde.

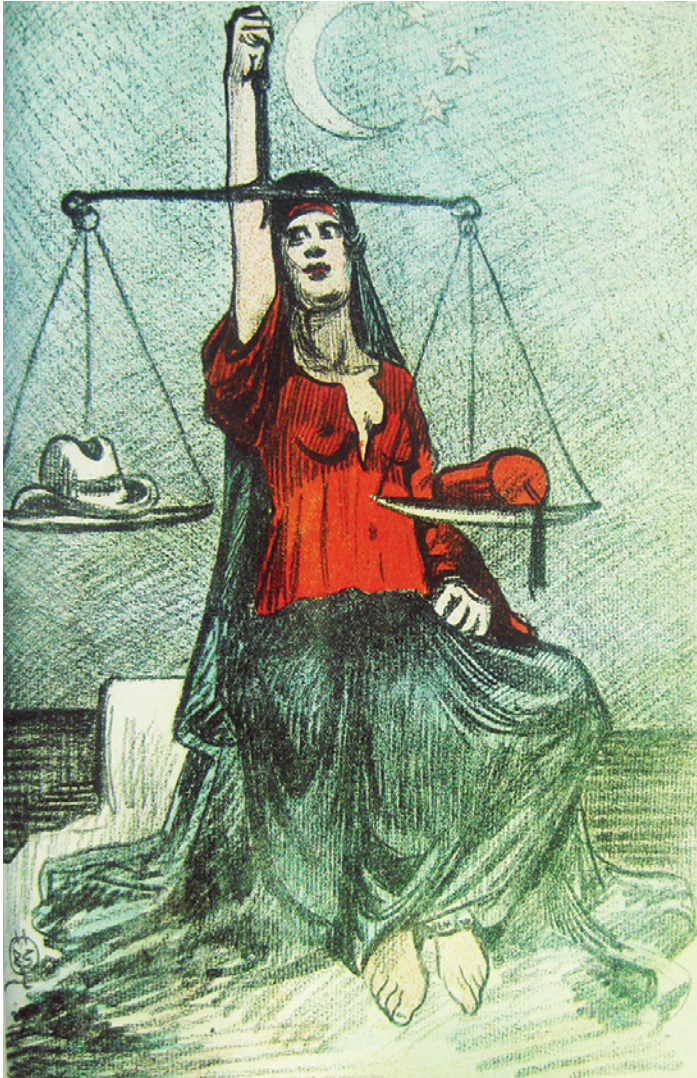


FIGURE 6.18
Our Sons' Interests; The Foreign Interest.
Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 44, January 19, 1922, frontispiece.
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which Egypt could appear as an unveiled or half-veiled modern woman, relating the realism and dynamism of contemporary Cairo. As Baron emphasizes, this female Egypt reflected the shifting realities of women during this period and their new political culture.¹⁵³ At the same time, Baron sees the female representation of the colonized nation as particularly appropriate because of her status in Egyptian society: “she was passive, prone, and weak.”¹⁵⁴

However, when examining Santes’ work, it is clear that he presented Egypt in the forms of various women, old and young, modern and traditional, pharaonic and classical, urban and *fallāhī*. In one of his first images of Egypt as a woman, Miṣr was presented as a young *fallāḥa*, dressed in a red low cut, see-through *ġlābiyya*, partly exposing her breasts (fig. 6.18).¹⁵⁵ The black *ḥabara* is covering her head. Her feet are bare. She is holding scales—with which she is weighing on one side a Western

153 Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 70–73.

154 *Ibid.*, 73.

155 Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 44, January 19, 1922, frontispiece.

brimmed hat and on the other, a red *ṭarbūš*. Above the woman-Egypt is a crescent moon, and three white stars—a representation of Egypt's flag at the time. In fact, this visual attribute is the only one relating the woman to Egypt. The text beneath the caricature specifies the woman as Egypt: "Egypt does not believe that the interests of her foreigners equal the interests of her sons." The image, however, proclaims otherwise—the scales are even.

Santes' image quotes a caricature published in October 1903 in *l'Assiette au beurre* and drawn by the Czech artist Vaclav Hradecky (1867–1940).¹⁵⁶ In Hradecky's caricature, titled "The Balance," the caricaturist depicts the Ottoman Empire as a woman. The woman's torso is completely naked; her face is partly covered with a black *ḥabara*. In her hand, she is holding a sword, which lies on her hips. In her other hand, she is holding a scale on which she is weighing on one side a red *ṭarbūš* and on the other three skulls. The issue in which Hradecky's caricature appeared was dedicated to the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II. The caricature appeared in a double spread in which the left sheet was dedicated to an article that summarized the sultan's regime entitled "Thirty Years of Assassinations."¹⁵⁷ That is to say, the *ṭarbūš* in the caricature represents 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II and his agencies, and the skulls—his regime's victims. The depiction of the Ottoman empire (which can also be identified as Justice) as a naked woman is not anomalous, and it is in tandem with European Orientalist depictions of the East, as can be seen in numerous nineteenth-century paintings of the imagined oriental harem (Ar. *ḥarīm*, the female apartments inaccessible to strangers and their occupants).¹⁵⁸

156 Vaclav Hradecky, "L'Équilibre," *l'Assiette au beurre* 135, October 31, 1903, 3. The caricature can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1047946j/f3.item>. Last accessed on January 21, 2019.

157 Léon Bloy, "Trente ans d'assassinats," *l'Assiette au Beurre* 135, October 31, 1903, 2.

158 For some selected studies on nineteenth-century oriental art, see Donald A. Rosenthal, *Orientalism: The*

A second example, also discussed by Rifaey and Zuhur, appeared in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* in March 1924 (fig. 6.19).¹⁵⁹ In this caricature the *fallāḥa* represents the Unilateral Declaration of Egyptian Independence. The *fallāḥa*'s baby, representing the Egyptian parliament, is being kidnapped by Zaḡlūl. Through the subtitle we learn that Zaḡlūl is threatening to feed the baby-parliament with "Nestlé's milk."¹⁶⁰ In this image as well, Santes quotes a caricature from *l'Assiette au beurre* which was drawn by the Portuguese artist Tomás Júlio Leal da Câmara, Santes' contemporary, who lived and worked in Portugal, Spain, France, and Belgium.¹⁶¹

I was unable to establish Santes' acquaintance with da Câmara. Nor could I determine whether his artistic quotation was merely plagiarism. It can be argued that the foreign-local Egyptian artist quoted French caricatures nearly in full, contextualizing them in the Egyptian sphere with only a few minor details—such as the representation of the local flag above the woman's head, and the "theme" weighed on the scales in the first example. However, Santes' tendency to quote European art works can also be read as alluding to audiences who could identify the sources of the images and appreciate their meanings and cultural milieu.

Near East in French Paintings, 1800–1880 (Rochester: Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1982); Mary Anne Stevens (ed.), *The Orientalist: Delacroix to Matisse: European Painters in North Africa and the Near East*, Exhibition Catalogue (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1984); Gérard-Georges Lemaire, *The Orient in Western Art* (Cologne: Könemann, 2001).

159 Juan Santes, "Sa'd Paša yaz'um an yawm 15 Mārs yawm al-barlamān lā yawm al-istiqlāl," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 148, March 14, 1924, 20.

160 Rifaey and Zuhur read this image as referring to sex and power; however, they do so without explaining their reading. Rifaey and Zuhur, "Visualizing Identity," 389.

161 Tomás Júlio Leal da Câmara, "Paternité," *l'Assiette au beurre* 314, April 6, 1907, 4. In da Câmara's caricature, the king of Spain, Alfonso XIII (r. 1886–1931) is the kidnapper, while his wife, Victoria Eugenie of Battenberg, supports him from behind. The caricature can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10483921/f4.image>. Last accessed on January 21, 2019.



FIGURE 6.19
 March 15, The Day of Parliament.
 Juan Santes, "Sa'd Paša yaz'um an
 yawm 15 Mārs yawm al-barlamān
 lā yawm al-istiqlāl," *al-Kaškūl al-
 muṣawwar* 148, March 14, 1924, 20.
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In other words, Santes developed his images by means of a complex dialogue not only within the political, social, and cultural surroundings of Egypt, but also within the European art traditions. In the end, although Santes' use of European visual personifications of the Orientalist nation-states (in the first example) was done in a more *controlled* way, the partial cover of the woman's torso does not change the artist's gaze—which can be said to be Orientalist.

What is most evident from the corpus of images of Egypt as a woman is that the Egyptian-based caricaturists did not construct through these images a classic Egyptian heroine. While these

various types of women were named Egypt (*Miṣr*), or occasionally Freedom (*ḥurriyya*), Patriotism (*waṭaniyya*), or Revolution (*ṭawra*), their appearances were not necessarily a of timeless, mythical mode of womanhood, as articulated visually in European artistic traditions, as well as in other non-Western contexts, which internalize Western blueprints "in the name of progress, modernization and internationalism."¹⁶²

¹⁶² Rao Radhakrishnan, "Nationalism, Gender, and the Narrative of Identity," in A. Parker et al., *Nationalism and Sexualities*, 86.

If we expect to only find images of the Egyptian nation as a beloved mother, wife, or daughter in need of protection, men probably should have been portrayed as the aggressive, virile, menacing, militaristic powers. A comparison to other colonized cultural spheres in which the same dichotomy was portrayed emphasizes the complexity of the cosmopolitan gaze in Egypt. When discussing the Ottoman revolutionary cartoon, Brummett argues that while the female nation *Türkiye* embodied the ideas of freedom, integrity, vulnerability, community, and love, other states, particularly those which posed threats to the empire, were gendered as male, often dressed in military uniforms. Male nation figures tended to embody the qualities of aggression, militarism, power, imperialism, valor, lust, and greed in Ottoman cartoons. Thus, the aggressive England was John Bull, and Austria, Russia and Germany were personified by their rulers, by military figures with weapons, or by ferocious beasts: “[t]hese male personifications of European states were the obvious counterpart to the female gendering of the Ottoman State. ‘She’ was a mother, a wife, or a daughter, engendering patriotic sentiments through her need for protection and her guardianship of the national honor.”¹⁶³ As the next chapter will elaborate, the illustrated relationships between Egypt and other states in the Egyptian cartoon space was not necessarily between the “weak” and the “strong”; between the one in need of protection, and the aggressive Other. France could appear as a woman, and mostly did; as did Britain, which occasionally was portrayed as “Britannia.” Uniformed men embodying the European states, and most notably Britain, which was the main colonizing force in Egypt, were rarely used.

In this same context, Brummett also emphasizes the emotional and physical state of *Türkiye* in the Ottoman cartoon space and describes it as “beleaguered by her enemies, or defiant.”¹⁶⁴ Her beauty,

grace, sexuality, and honor were constantly threatened by the European powers. She occasionally appeared ill, laid low and even dismembered by internal and external threats. Brummett, like Baron and Rifaey and Zuhur for the Egyptian public sphere, sees these images as intended to provoke feelings of humiliation and to invoke a patriotic response.¹⁶⁵ The Ottomans, or Egyptians in our case, were supposed to come to their nation’s defense on seeing these images. The danger could have come in the form of economic imperialism, European colonizers, cultural degradation and so forth.

There are many examples from the Egyptian cartoon space embodying the same gendered relationships between Egypt and the European states as well as between Egypt and internal threats which jeopardized its political integrity or its quest for independence, in the eyes of their illustrators. However, there are also many examples that contradict this familial or sexualized theme. One of the rare examples in which Egypt is displayed as sexually humiliated appeared in *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* (fig. 6.20).¹⁶⁶ Mişr appears in this caricature as a young woman, dressed in a knee-length, sleeveless green dress on which appears the white crescent and the three stars of the Egyptian flag. The dress’ straps, however, are torn, exposing both her breasts. With her right-hand, Egypt is trying to hold the dress up. The other hand covers her mouth in a gesture of embarrassment. Surrounding Mişr is a group of women, each of which symbolizes one of the members of the states in the of League of Nations (as can be concluded from the title of the caricature).¹⁶⁷ Facing Mişr is Britannia, embodied as Pallas Athena. She offers Egypt a green fur coat to cover herself.

¹⁶³ Brummett, “New Woman and Old Nag,” 27–28.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 31; Rifaey and Zuhur, “Visualizing Identity,” 388–389.

¹⁶⁶ Juan Santes, “Mişr wa-‘uşbat al-umam,” *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 437, December 27, 1929, frontispiece.

¹⁶⁷ Some of the personifications in this composition can only be identified through comparisons to other works by Santes, such as the personification of America



FIGURE 6.20 Egypt and the League of Nations. Juan Santes, "Miṣr wa-ʿuṣbat al-umam," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 437, December 27, 1929, frontispiece.

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The sub-title mistakenly identifies Britannia as France:

France: Why aren't you dressed? We are expecting you at The League of Nations?

Egypt: What should I do if al-Nahḥās and his friends want me to stay the rest of my life naked?

In other words, the European nations are not to be blamed for Egypt's political situation. Rather, Britannia is portrayed by Santes (and hence by *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar*) as the one who is concerned about Miṣr's honor and dignity, while Egypt's own politicians are the ones responsible for her humiliation.

Baron and Rifaey and Zuhur also emphasize the notion that these images were intended to generate a romantic attachment to the nation and encourage a fusion with it. Or as Baron argues: “[b]y depicting Egypt as a woman, nationalists hoped to stimulate love for the nation and draw male youth to the cause. The man was the actor, the speaker, the lover; the woman was the acted upon, the listener, the beloved.”¹⁶⁸ There are, however, many images that contradict this claim, such as an example from *Rūz al-Yūsuf* published in May 1930 (fig. 6.21).¹⁶⁹ In this caricature Egypt as a young modern woman is depicted flirting with John Bull, as an embodiment of England. Her face is heavily made-up, and she wears a revealing dress. Her image bears close resemblance to the images of the westernized Egyptian women who were heavily

lampooned in the caricatures of the period. One needs to question whether these images could have been read separately from the caricatures demeaning the westernized/modern Egyptian woman, or whether, taken as a whole, these images could not but fail to construct a “nationalist iconography.”

In the end, there was no clear message of Egypt as a damsel in distress, in need of male protectors, or as a classical heroine. Nor was the British colonizer presented as the evil aggressor, as will be discussed in the next chapter. This ambivalent visual sphere was read by Rifaey and Zuhur as representing a loss of identity.¹⁷⁰ I contend it was the result of the mixed orientations and loyalties of the artists working in Egypt at the time and their cosmopolitan experience, reflecting their insider-as-outsider gaze. Focusing on the artists' cultural capital and social milieu, and the implications for their artistic choices also explains why these visual embodiments of Egypt as a woman were dropped after the 1950s. The use of a Western art tradition for approximately fifty years was not truly *domesticated* in the local arts and public sphere. Hence, it was dropped once the artists promoting those traditions left Egypt.

Egyptian social institutions and customs prevented women from creating alternatives to men's images of them, as the artists were all male.¹⁷¹ Elite women did receive private art education, and some of them, as discussed by Dina A. Ramadan, were known for being quite accomplished. These included the sculptor Princess Samiḥa Ḥusayn (1889–1984), Hudā Ša'rawī, Šarīfa Riyād, Mrs. Ḥusayn Sirrī, Mrs. Maḥmūd Sirrī, and Nafisa Aḥmad 'Ābdīn. As Ramadan notes, works by female artists were exhibited in galleries in Cairo and Alexandria and reviewed positively in the

standing behind Britain. Others remain un-identified, such as the heavy rural woman standing behind Egypt, which Santes only used in this composition—perhaps as an embodiment of Germany? The personification of France is also unique—a heavy rural woman, dressed in a long, white dress, a short red cape, and a green skirt. Under her right arm she holds an umbrella—an uncharacteristic attribute of France.

¹⁶⁸ Baron, *Egypt as a Woman*, 78.

¹⁶⁹ Iskandar Šārūḥān, “*Hal tusta'anafu al-mufāwaḍāt qarīban bayna Miṣr wa-Inglatrā?*” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 174, May 27, 1930, 13.

¹⁷⁰ Rifaey and Zuhur, “Visualizing Identity,” 397.

¹⁷¹ For a discussion on the School of Fine Arts in Cairo and its exclusion of female students, see Dina A. Ramadan, “The Aesthetics of the Modern: Art, Education, and Taste in Egypt, 1903–1952,” PhD Dissertation (Columbia University, 2013), 96–99.



FIGURE 6.21

Egypt and England. Ishtar, "Hal tusta'anafu al-mufāwāḍāt qarīban bayna Miṣr wa-Inglatrā?" *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 174, May 27, 1930, 13.

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local press. However, women were not permitted to enroll in the *Madrasat al-Fanūn al-Ġamīla* for decades and the first generation of established female artists were either privately educated or studied abroad. In any case, they were not working for and through the printed press. Men were the only producers and controllers of the caricature, and their graphic representations preserved a male-centered view. While in the American, British, and French public spheres, by the turn of the twentieth century women were *fighting back* through imagery, promoting women's right to suffrage for example, there was no Egyptian

equivalent, no women artists, nor any male artists, fighting through caricatures, for their rights.

Taken as a whole, caricatured images of women reflected a male ideology that is similar to the Victorian "separate spheres" doctrine discussed by Tickner, through which each gender had its *proper* bounded spheres.¹⁷² Women's attempts to cross those imaginary and physical boundaries resulted, according to the images, in confusing the *proper* boundaries between masculine and feminine,

172 Tickner, *The Spectacle of Women*, 154.

public and private, domestic and political. Social order itself was dangerously compromised. When caricaturists in Egypt lampooned Egypt's female political activists, diminished the social worth of Egypt's female citizens, and overstated their

deficiencies, they created images that minimized the Egyptian woman's humanity. At the end, none of the visual models constructed by these artists were Egyptian, Muslim, or traditional; neither were they Western or modern.

Images of the Other?

Colonizer and Colonized through the Gaze of Those “mystifiés de la colonisation”

The meaning of colonial discourse as an apparatus of power “that turns on the recognition and disavowal of racial/cultural/historical differences” has been discussed in the context of post-colonial discourse and the criticism of Orientalism.¹ As Bhabha argues, its predominant strategic function is the creation of a space for a “subject peoples” through the production of knowledges of colonizer and colonized. Its objective is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction. In marking out a “subject nation,” the colonizer’s form of government can appropriate, direct, and dominate the “subject nation” in various spheres of activity.² Post-colonial discourse, as a critical perspective of colonialism, seeks to unveil the deep-structures of the colonial reality or of colonial history, as they were embedded in the culture, practices, and consciousness of different societies.

As Said demonstrates, there was a lively European debate dating from at least the mid-eighteenth century on the merits and demerits of holding colonies.³ During the nineteenth century, debate over colonies usually turned on their profitability, their management and mismanagement, and on theoretical questions such as whether and how colonialism might be squared with *laissez-faire* or tariff policies. However, as nationalist or

anti-imperial resistance in the colonies gradually became more and more noticeable, so too did a wildly contradictory number of anti-imperialist forces.⁴ Yet, according to Said, “only after nationalists first took the lead in the imperial territories, then expatriate intellectuals and activists, did there develop a significant anti-colonial movement in the metropolis.”⁵ Said, following Raoul Girardet, saw in the massive infusions of non-European cultures into the metropolitan heartland during the early years of the twentieth century an important phenomenon, “which transformed disciplines and gave voice to new ideas that unalterably changed that structure of attitude and reference which had endured for generations within European culture.”⁶ In other words, Said’s interest is in the large-scale mass movements of intellectuals and scholars from the colonial or peripheral regions, who set themselves the revisionist, critical task of dealing frontally with the metropolitan culture, and therefore moved their contest over decolonization from the peripheries to the center.⁷ Said saw in the products of this “*voyage in*” (Said’s emphasis) an especially interesting variety of “hybrid cultural work.”⁸ Said’s definition of these hybrid cultural products can serve here as a definition of the caricature in Egypt, although we are dealing with resistance to colonialism through the work of those who moved in the *other direction*—from the metropolitan heartland to the periphery. It was “an ‘imperial’ language [... which used] the techniques, discourses, and weapons of

1 Homi K. Bhabha, “The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism,” in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, ed. by R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T.T. Minhha, and C. West (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990), 23.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).

4 *Ibid.*, 240–241.

5 *Ibid.*, 241.

6 *Ibid.*, 242–243.

7 *Ibid.*, 244.

8 *Ibid.*

scholarship and criticism once reserved exclusively for the European.”⁹

As a means of resistance, the caricature in Egypt in the cosmopolitan period could also constitute a *post-colonial* discourse, in the sense of a critical perspective on colonialism, which exists alongside direct colonial oppression, to adopt Shenhav’s epistemological analysis of the initial *post*.¹⁰ Shenhav, following Bhabha and Said, claims that one can define representations as *post-colonial* even if they appeared years before the concept post-colonialism was accepted in Western discourse.¹¹ In other words, post-colonialism means opposition to “the dominant structure which arises out of a perceived, perhaps even militant awareness on the part of individuals and groups outside and inside it that, for example, certain of its policies are wrong.”¹² That is to say the caricature in Egypt, as an imperialistic visual language, could have constituted an anti-colonialist discourse in the service of Egyptian resistance forces.

Does the caricature in Egypt construct a visual discourse aimed at disputing colonial assumptions and practices? The present chapter seeks to examine this question through the discussion of images representing the Other—meaning compositions in which those who are not Egyptians play a part. The discussion will be twofold: the first part of the chapter will examine images of the British colonizer, and the second will discuss images of Sudan and the Sudanese as an embodiment of colonized Otherness—imagery that some researchers discuss as reflecting an Egyptian colonialist discourse. This narrative allows me to demonstrate how the proximity of the images of the Egyptian and of the non-Egyptians construct a visual sphere partly dominated by Orientalist

assumptions, which were based on the knowledge accumulated in the West on the Orient and the Oriental. Therefore, it is difficult to see in this visual sphere an original Egyptian act, which stands in its own right, and which does not absorb into and become a part of the “dominant culture of a succeeding metropolitan and paranational period.”¹³

1 Heroic Savior or Dangerous Adversary?

During 1922, *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* published three caricatures which dealt with the involvement of Britain, or more accurately entanglement, in several locations, among them India, Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, South Africa, and Ireland. The three caricatures were not original. They had been previously published in the American press, and they were the work of American caricaturists. The first caricature was published in *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* in April. According to the editorial text accompanying it, it was published a month earlier in an American humoristic (*fukāhiyya*) journal, although the text does not specify which one (fig. 7.1).¹⁴ In the center of the composition stands the British symbol of the lion, dressed in the outfit of John Bull, trying to shield his body from the storm raging around him. The source of the storm is to be found in the images of four men, blowing at him. Each one of these men represent a land in which Britain was involved politically, militarily, economically, and culturally: India, Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey. The text accompanying the caricature clarifies that the caricature reflects the state of Britain:

“The source of the calamity surrounding it is in the storm caused by the four countries of the world [...] the source being Egypt, India, Turkey and Palestine—a hint to the fact that these countries

9 *Ibid*, 243.

10 Shenhav, *Qôlônî’aliyût ve-hamaşab ha-postqôlônî’alî*, 10.

11 As Shenhav indicates, the concept first appeared in the political theory of the early seventies and was used to describe the new nation states that appeared after WW11. *Ibid*, 10, n. 2.

12 Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 240.

13 *Ibid*, 244.

14 I was unable to trace the journal or the artists who designed the first two caricatures. Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā’if al-muṣawwara* 376, April 24, 1922, 19.



FIGURE 7.1 England's State of Affairs. Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 376, April 24, 1922, 19.

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are *settling their score with England* [my emphasis]; and the [British] nation is firstly standing in embarrassment, wishing for the storm to pass; and the tail [of the lion] wrapped itself around him, and its mane is flapping in the air."

The second caricature was published a month later, in May 1922 (fig. 7.2).¹⁵ This time the British lion is standing on the earth, above the British

Isles, roaring in pain. Its long tail curls over Egypt, South Africa, India, and Ireland, while above each of these regions his tail is tied in a knot. In each of these locations a man is trying to untie the knot, while the unknown caricaturist depicts each one of these men as what he perceived as the *average* citizen in those regions. For Egypt, an image of an efendi. For South Africa, an image of a white man dressed in a Western suit. For India, an image of a dark-skinned Hindu fakir. For Ireland, a light-skinned man with coarse facial features, reminiscent to the facial-features of an ape,

¹⁵ Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 380, May 22, 1922, 16.

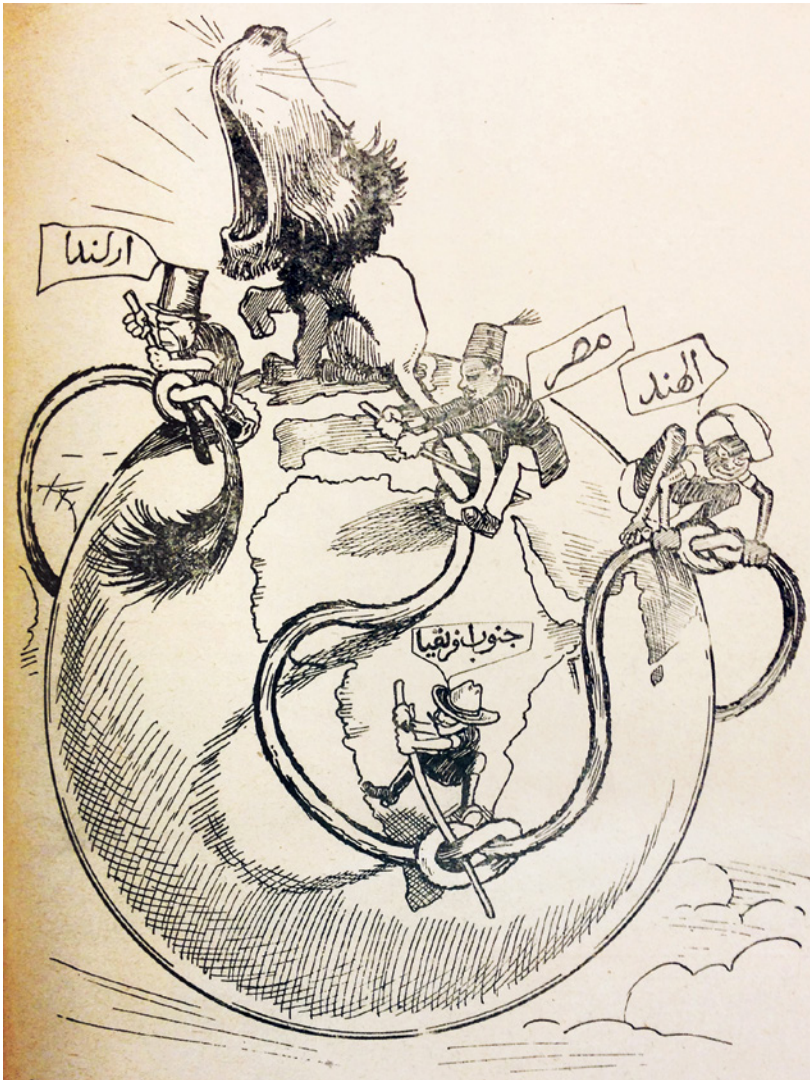


FIGURE 7.2 The Long Tail. Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 380, May 22, 1922, 16.

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wearing a top hat.¹⁶ The text accompanying the caricature is as follows:

“This is the end of the one who lets his tail lengthen and wrap the earth; and it will not be long before

this long tail will get entangled and will become more entangled than the tail of the uromastyx;¹⁷ and the British lion in this caricatured painting was born in British Algeria, however its tail began to stretch and lengthen around the earth and around itself; as can be seen in the painting, first in Egypt and then in India, South Africa and Ireland; and

16 The depiction of the Irish as resembling an ape is in line with British depictions of Irishmen in satirical journals in Britain. For a discussion on the subject, see Gwen Sharp, “Negative Stereotypes of the Irish,” *The Society Pages: Sociological Images*, October 6, 2008. <https://the.societypages.org/socimages/2008/10/06/negative-stereotypes-of-the-irish/>. Last accessed on October 26, 2017.

17 The Arabic expression, *a'qadu min ḍanabi al-ḍabbi* (more entangled than the tail of the uromastyx) means very complicated.



FIGURE 7.3 A Humoristic Symbolic Painting. Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 409, December 11, 1922, 13.

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these knots cause him great pain and suffering, despite the vigor of his might and despite the vigor of his courageous spirit, and despite the fact he is the king of the animals; and he opens his mouth in agony, cries in pain—and that is the state of the world, my friend.”¹⁸

The third caricature, by the American caricaturist Charles Dana Gibson, appeared in *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* in December 1922 (fig. 7.3).¹⁹ It was accompanied by a short editorial paragraph entitled “An Allegorical Humoristic Painting” (*ṣuwar hazaliyya ramzziyya*). In this composition, the British lion is seated on the ground, while his tail, tied in a knot, is held in the hands of the outgoing British prime minister, David Lloyd George (served 1916–1922). The prime minister is offering the tail

to the incoming prime minister, Andrew Bonar Law (served 1922—1923). According to the editorial text, Lloyd George addresses Bonar Law with the following words: “I serve you, my dear, this tail, in which this knot, perhaps you will be able to entangle it.” The editorial text continues with the following: “and this knot symbolizes the diverse political problems Britain faces, and which preoccupied [Lloyd] George in his attempts to solve them—attempts which can be compared to writing on water; however, [Bonar] Law stops to think, scratching his head hesitantly and fearfully.”²⁰

The importance of these three American caricatures for our purposes is the way they depict Britain: hesitant, scared and threatened by those it colonized. Britain is not depicted as strong and self-assured, but rather as being required to pay a price for her political and military involvement

18 Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 380, May 22, 1922, 16.

19 Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 409, December 11, 1922, 13.

20 “*Ṣuwar hazaliyya ramzziyya*,” *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 409, December 11, 1922, 13.

in each one of the lands depicted, as they rose up in resistance. The West-East relationship in these compositions is not articulated as a relationship between a strong dominant colonizer and a weak subordinate colonized. Rather the relationship depicted is one between a power which perceived itself as stronger only to find its circumstances complicated beyond its abilities or might. The colonized in these compositions are described as an obstacle or difficulty for the empire.

The attempt to locate the same West-East encounter regarding the British-Egyptian relationship in the Egyptian caricatures was futile. The threat Britain posed or the obstacles it set in the path of Egypt's independence are not presented as a systematic visual depiction of Britain in a demonic or grotesque manner, nor did the Egyptian caricatures seek to undermine its strength in the eyes of the readers. In the imagined relationship between Egypt and Britain in the caricatured sphere the superiority and centrality of Britain was not contested and was accepted as undisputed fact. Furthermore, for the most part, neither Britain nor the British are visually characterized as violent or aggressive. The British are not named or addressed as the imperialists or as the conqueror, and only a limited number of caricatures address the British territorial aspirations outside Britain—although the British colonial enterprise was at its peak. The absence of clear visual criticism of British imperialism was also reflected in the limited number of caricatures addressing the capitulations, which was visually discussed mostly in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* during the early 1920s.

In one of the rare examples dealing with the capitulations, the visual means employed were drawn out of Western-Christian visual and thematic vocabulary. In a caricature, which was published in March 1927 in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara*, Sa'd Zaḡlūl is presented as performing the role of St. George (fig. 7.4).²¹ An early Christian martyr, St. George became one of the best known and worshiped saints of the Christian faith, and the

patron-saint of England—an ideal of martial valor and selflessness.²² Legends about him as a warrior-saint, dating from the 6th century, became popular and increasingly extravagant, although nothing of George's life or deeds can be established. Jacob de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*, 1265–66) repeats the story of his rescuing a Libyan king's daughter from a dragon and then slaying the monster in return for a promise by the king's subjects to be baptized.²³ Since the dragon, for Christians at the time, symbolized the devil, paganism, and ultimately anything destructive of society, slaying it became a symbol of the victory of Christianity. The story of slaying the dragon became the most common motif in representations of St. George. Additional myths were associated with St. George during Crusades, which popularized his cult in western Europe. At the end of the Middle Ages, his status as a military-saint became an inseparable part of his identity. He was described as fighting his enemies or leading the Christian army against the infidel enemies.

The depiction of St. George as a knight, devoutly fulfilling his sublime mission in the service of God, and as the sublime symbol of chivalry, was linked to the consolidation of English national identity in nineteenth-century Britain.²⁴ Paintings of knights were integrated in a renaissance of chivalric traditions which characterized the late eighteenth-century to WWI, as thousands of knights in armor were depicted in literature, paintings, sculptures, stained-glass, the stage, or in real Eglinton fights. The growing interest in the

21 "Madad yā Rifā'ī, madad," *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 632, March 21, 1927, 16.

22 For the devotional, iconographical and gendered aspects of St George depiction and veneration see, Samantha Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000).

23 George's slaying of the dragon may be a Christian version of the legend of Perseus, who was said to have rescued Andromeda from a sea monster near Lydda.

24 For the origin of St. George's cult in the Near East, the transmission of the tradition to England and the development of it there, and for the figure of St George in England from the Reformation to the present, see Michael Collins, *St George, and the Dragons: The Making of English Identity* (Stroud: Fonthill, 2018).



FIGURE 7.4 Help, Oh Rifā'i, Help. "Madad ya Rifā'i, madad," *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 632, March 21, 1927, 16.
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Middle Ages in historical research, literature, and the arts was linked in Britain to the consolidation and design of the British national identity in the nineteenth century. The knights represent an ideal and a code of moral conduct—a combination of traits embodied in physical and mental strength of the chivalrous gentleman of the Victorian and Edwardian eras. At the end of the nineteenth century, this code of chivalric conduct was embraced not only by the elites but also by the middle classes, as a social *entrance ticket*. It was reflected in all spheres

of life: education, military service and service in the British colonies, charity work and membership in social clubs. The code was associated with the idea of Muscular Christianity—a movement that grew in the mid-nineteenth century and promoted a "healthy masculine" Christianity.²⁵

25 For the historical and theological development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain, see Nick J. Watson, Stuart Weir, and Stephen Friend, "The Development of Muscular Christianity in Victorian Britain

The caricature “*Madad yā Rifāʿī, madad*” (“Help, Oh Rifāʿī, Help”), published in *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara*, refers to the central scene in the saint’s myth—his fight with the dragon and its subjection. Zaḡlūl performing as the saint, fights a dragon that symbolizes the capitulation’s privileges. Apart from the title marking the dragon as “the foreigners’ privileges,” he is dressed in a European brimmed hat—a further visual indication of his Europeanness. The sword in Zaḡlūl’s hand is marked with the title “the press” (*al-ṣihāfa*)—a visual embodiment of the self-perception of the press’ national role. The horse on which Zaḡlūl sits is marked with the title “the government” (*al-ḥukūma*), whereas the visual sign of Zaḡlūl is not just a representation of the man himself but also a symbol of the “people” (*al-ṣaʿb*)—a testimony to Zaḡlūl’s status in the eyes of large sections of the society as a national symbol. Since the caricature is not signed, one cannot discuss it as a deliberate act of visual *spolia*, or repurposing, of a Christian theme and symbol, to be manipulated as a means to subvert the foreign and Christian rule.

When caricaturists in Egypt represented the British imperialistic ambitions, for the most part, Egypt was not *present*. When present, the visual relationship in which the West or Britain on the one hand was confronting the East or Egypt, on the other, the caricatures did not construct Egypt as an obstacle in the path of the empire. Only the sub-titles turn the image into a *post-colonial text*. Two caricatures which were published the same year as the American caricatures can serve here as examples. The first was published in November 1922 (fig. 7.5).²⁶ In this caricature, the work of Santes, a heavy John Bull is depicted sitting on the earth, holding a whip, and threatening the moon

and the stars. The text beneath the image is not associated with either of the participants in the composition; however, one might speculate it is the moon speaking: “you stand still, while the dome of heaven, obedient [to fate] spins; you attempt to determine destiny—however destinies laugh [at you].”²⁷ This phrase is quoted from a poem by the eleventh-century poet al-Maʿarrī (973–1058)—a critical source of inspiration for many *nahḍa* writers since the late nineteenth century. A complete edition of al-Maʿarrī’s *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* (*Committing One’s Self to What is Not Obligatory* or *The self-imposed compulsion*), known as the *Luzūmīyāt*, was published in Cairo between 1891 and 1895 by ʿAzīz Zand, and selected passages from the *Luzūmīyāt* continued to be published in Cairo throughout the twentieth century.²⁸

The visual source of this image is a caricature published in *l’Assiette au beurre*, which was drawn by the Portuguese caricaturist Câmara.²⁹ The text accompanying the French caricature refers to the British imperialist aspirations: “Portugal belongs to me since it is a colony; France, because of the *Entente Cordiale* agreement;³⁰ India, because it’s

and Beyond,” *Journal of Religion and Society* 7 (2005): 1–21; and Donald E. Hall (ed.), *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

26 Juan Santes, “*Inkilitarī wa-l-ʿālam al-islāmī*,” *al-Kaṣkūl al-muṣawwar* 79, November 19, 1922, 1.

27 I would like to thank Yohanan Friedmann from the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, for his assistance in translating these verses.

28 His *Luzūmīyāt* was first published in by Amīn ibn Ḥassan al-Ḥalawānī al-Madanī (d. 1898) in Bombay (1885–6), following al-Madanī’s participation in the Sixth Oriental Congress in Leiden (1883), where the name of the poet had come up during a discussion of important Muslim poets who had complicated relationships with religion. Later on, in 1914, Ṭahā Ḥusayn completed his Ph.D. dissertation on the life and work of al-Maʿarrī. The dissertation was published in 1915.

29 Tomás Leal da Câmara, untitled caricature, *l’Assiette au beurre* 314, April 6, 1907, 31. The caricature can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k10483921/f15>. image. Last accessed on January 23, 2019.

30 Signed April 8, 1904, the Anglo-French agreement settled a number of controversial matters which ended antagonisms between Great Britain and France



FIGURE 7.5 England and the Islamic World. Juan Santes, “*Inkilitarā wa-l-‘alam al-islāmī*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 79, November 19, 1922, 1.

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and paved the way for their diplomatic cooperation against German pressures in the decade preceding WWI (1914–1918). However, the most important feature of the agreement was that it granted freedom of action to Great Britain in Egypt and to France in Morocco (with the proviso that France’s eventual dispositions for Morocco include reasonable allowance for Spain’s interests there). At the same time, Britain ceded the Los Islands (off French Guinea) to France, defined the frontier of Nigeria in France’s favor, and

agreed to French control of the upper Gambia valley, while France renounced its exclusive right to certain fisheries off Newfoundland. Furthermore, French and British zones of influence in Siam (Thailand) were outlined, with the eastern territories, adjacent to French Indochina, becoming a French zone, and the western, adjacent to Burmese Tenasserim, a British zone; arrangements were also made to allay the rivalry between British and French colonists in the New Hebrides.

mine; America, based on its dialect; and Spain, since when this child grows up to be a king he will be English.” The image of John Bull in the French caricature is depicted as grotesque—a ridiculous figure, a mad man dressed in a circus suit and clown shoes. While the French caricature depicts John Bull in a grotesque manner, the Egyptian image displaced it with a sense of horror he poses for the Islamic world, as the title implies in the Egyptian caricature, while the subtitles quote from al-Ma’arrī’s poem and contextualize the image in a fatalistic perspective directed at the British—meaning, you can continue to make plans; however, destiny will determine your fate. The change in perspective reflects not only the gaze of the individual artists, but also the perspective of the society he belonged to—the first, the French, was involved in a series of colonial control-struggles with Britain over territories around the globe; while the second, the Egyptian, articulated, allegedly, a colonized state of mind.

A few other caricatures from the Egyptian press, all drawn by Santes, employed the symbol of the earth to express the imperialistic aspirations of various Western forces, amongst them a caricature published in August 1922 (fig. 7.6).³¹ In this caricature, John Bull (Britain) and Santes’ visual interpretations of the personifications of France and Spain are standing around the earth: France is depicted as a heavy angry Marian, and Spain as a mustached man with a severe face. Despite the dissatisfaction expressed on the faces of Spain and Britain, and despite the angry gestures of their bodies, the text beneath the caricature declares that “the European states received their interests in the East as they wished, and not as the Easterners hoped for; and the moon is sick.”

Another caricature, published in November of the same year, presented John Bull as cleaning Egypt off the map of British acquisitions.³² The

cause is explained underneath the caricature: “we have dismissed the military rule in Egypt and broke off the last connection we had in it and that is why I am cleaning it from our property map.” On the bucket containing the detergent appears two dates: February 28, 1922—the Unilateral Declaration of Egyptian Independence, and the second, July 5, 1923—the date of the removal of the military regime. Both of these images depict reality as a given state of affairs. There is no visual attempt to present the British in these compositions as a grotesque or caricatured entity. The text accompanying it only reflects a sense of dissatisfaction with the new circumstances.

When the images of the different and various representatives of the British empire in the Egyptian caricatures are compared to visual satirical images from other cultural spheres that discussed the British imperialist threats, the avoidance of depicting the British as a conquer becomes apparent. A comparison to caricatures from *l’Assiette au beurre*, which dealt with the second Boer War (1899–1902), serve here as an example.³³ *L’Assiette au beurre* dedicated one of its issues to the Transvaal “concentration camps,” in which men, women and children, Boers and native Africans, were collected by the British in order to help the British identify who was their enemy and who was not.³⁴ The idea of concentrating the population in camps first arose when the Spanish fought against insurrections in Cuba in 1896, and similar camps were also used by the USA in wars in the Philippines in 1900–1902. Kitchener introduced the system to South Africa, and by October 1901 there were

31 Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 64, August 6, 1922, frontispiece.

32 Juan Santes, “Miṣr wa amlāk Inkilitarā,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 113, November 13, 1923, 20.

33 South African War, also called the Boer War, Second Boer War, or Anglo-Boer War, and to Afrikaners, also known as the Second War of Independence, was a war fought from October 11, 1899 to May 31, 1902, between Britain and the two Boer (Afrikaner) republics—the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State—resulting in British victory.

34 For a discussion of British and French caricatures concerning the British concentration camps, see Mark Bryant, *Wars of Empire in Cartoons* (London: Grube Street, 2008), 112–158.



FIGURE 7.6 European Countries Accept Their Interests in the East. Juan Santes, untitled caricature, *al-Kaškül al-muşawwar* 64, August 6, 1922, frontispiece.

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118,000 Europeans and 43,000 Black South Africans in the concentration camps, which were run by the army. Considerable criticism of the practice and the British conduct was raised both at home and abroad in light of the fact that an estimated 20,000–26,000 women and children died while in custody—mostly of disease.³⁵ *L'Assiette au beurre's* issue, which was all illustrated by the French artists Jean Veber (1864–1928), explicitly

represented the violence allegedly employed by the British toward those who were in the Transvaal camps. Two of the images presented British representatives trampling on civilians in the camps: in the first Kitchener, the chief of staff to Field Marshal Sir Frederick Sleight Roberts, whom he succeeded as commander in chief in November 1900, is seen in the guise of an odious toad-beast;³⁶

35 *Ibid.*, 155.

36 Jean Veber, "Lord Kitchener," *L'Assiette au beurre* 26, September 28, 1901, 3. The caricature can be seen at

and in the second Edward VII (1841–1910, king of the United Kingdom and of the British dominions and emperor of India from 1901) is illustrated as a wine barrel.³⁷

Returning to the caricatures in which the symbol of the earth or the symbol of a map was manipulated in order to discuss British imperialist aspirations; one can note that in these compositions the different representatives of the West were presented as the *owners* of the land while the *locals*, whether Egyptian or other colonized nations, were absent all together. One cannot trace in these imagined realities any visual *resistance*, as is prevalent in the American caricatures, or the violence reflected in the French ones. Britain is presented in these caricatures as operating in a sphere devoid of its colonized subjects.

When the Egyptians are present in compositions dealing with British colonialism, their presence is passive, as, for example, in a caricature published in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* in April 1936 (fig. 7.7).³⁸ In this caricature, which was published in the context of the negotiations between Britain and Egypt over what would be eventually called the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, Egypt is depicted as an elderly woman, sitting on a map of Egypt and surrounded by flags of the British Empire pinned to the spheres in which Britain wished to maintain political and military power. Egypt's body is bent and weak, her head leaning on her right hand. Her facial-expression reflects sorrow and pain. The text above the image clarifies that this will be the fate of Egypt if it consents to the British demands.

This caricature aimed at conveying a message of a threat that might materialize—meaning Egypt's imagined future is depicted, not its present.

However, one might wonder whether this image of a passive, motionless, emotional Egypt does not reflect an Orientalist reality which is understood as the product of unchanging racial or cultural essences. These essential characteristics are articulated by Said's *Orientalism* as a set of opposites when compared to the West: passive rather than active, static rather than mobile, emotional rather than rational. Hence, the Orient, Europe's Other, is marked by a series of fundamental absences (movement, reason, meaning). Or in Bhabha's phrasing,

“[this] racist stereotypical discourse, in its colonial moment, inscribes a form of governmentality that is informed by a productive splitting in its constitution of knowledge and exercise of power. Some of its practices recognize the difference of race, culture and history as elaborated by stereotypical knowledges, racial theories, administrative colonial experience, and on that basis, institutionalize a range of political and cultural ideologies that are prejudicial, discriminatory, vestigial, archaic, ‘mythical,’ and, crucially, are recognized as being so. By ‘knowing’ the native population in these terms, discriminatory and authoritarian forms of political control are considered appropriate. The colonized population is then deemed to be both the cause and effect of the system, imprisoned in the circle of interpretation. What is visible is the *necessity* of such rule which is justified by those moralistic and normative ideologies of amelioration recognized as the Civilizing Mission or the White Man's Burden.”³⁹

The establishment of the occupant's domination over the natives, which affirms his superiority, was based on polydimensional methods that dehumanized the militarily and economically subjugated native social group and turned it into an object in the hands of the occupying nation. The objectification process of the native population generated an ideological sphere (which functioned

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1047856k/f3.item>. Last accessed on January 23, 2019.

37 Jean Veber, “The Thunderbolt of War,” *l'Assiette au beurre* 26, September 28, 1901, 13. The caricature can be seen at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1047856k/f3.item>. Last accessed on January 23, 2019.

38 Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 1104, April 6, 1936, 24.

39 Bhabha, “The Other Question,” 83.



FIGURE 7.7 The Fate of Egypt. Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 1104, April 6, 1936, 24.
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closely with political and economic needs) in which there was a culture in which one can recognize “qualities of dynamism, of growth, of depth”; while against it, “we find characteristics, curiosities, things, never a structure.”⁴⁰ In other words, a substantial part of colonialism, the highest expression of the colonial system and one of the most significant features of the colonialist, is racism.

Memmi’s discussion of colonial racism defines it as being made up of three major ideological components: “one, the gulf between the culture of the colonialist and the colonized; two, the exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the

colonialist; [and] three, the use of these supposed differences as standards of absolute fact.”⁴¹ That is to say, racism not only “establish[es] a fundamental discrimination between colonizer and colonized, a *sine qua non* of colonial life, but it also lays the foundation for the immutability of this life.”⁴² Thus, the historical relationship between the colonizer and the colonized becomes an essence.

European publics were exposed to this stereotypical racist discourse through modern representational mechanisms, such as the world exhibitions, the popular press, journals, novels, travel-books, and official reports from the colonies,

40 Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution: Political Essays*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1964), 34–35.

41 Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 115.

42 *Ibid.*, 118.

as well as from public speeches, history books, anthologies, biographies, poetry, illustrations, and caricatures.⁴³ Later, at the height of European imperialism, the cinema joined the discursive practices which spread the colonizer's gaze.⁴⁴ The scope of this work does not allow the presentation of all these modes of representation, which were shaped by the relations between an array of new disciplines: history, art history, archaeology, geology, biology, and anthropology.⁴⁵ However, it is worth presenting here briefly two caricatures, the first was published in the American satirical journal *Puck* in December 1902 in the context of the second Boer War.⁴⁶ This caricature epitomizes the dichotomy between Civilization and Barbarism, Barbarians, and Barbarity, as it was perceived in Western discourses—un-Western, not-White, and un-Christian.⁴⁷ At the center of the composition, Britain is portrayed as a white war goddess leading behind her British soldiers and settlers. The goddess-Britain is holding a flag with the inscription “Civilization.” At her feet are bodies of black fighters. The British campaign is running against a

group of black Africans, and their leader is holding a flag with the inscription “Barbarism.”

In the second example, from the British satirical journal *Punch*, the *average Egyptian* was presented as unfit to serve his nation (implying military service), and referred to in the title as “The Egyptian Pet.”⁴⁸ Beneath the caricature is a saying of the British prime minister, Robert Gascoyn-Cecil, 3rd Marquess of Salisbury (served 1895–1902): “We desire that Egypt should be strong enough to repel all external attack, and to put down all internal disturbances.”⁴⁹ “Not up to it *yet*, young'un.” (my emphasis), explained the prime minister to the young Egyptian in the subtitle, while checking his muscles and affirming the obvious regarding the British presence in Egypt.

This caricature affirms the ultimate aims of British colonial liberalism, at least theoretically—to bring better government, progress, and a better life to Egyptians; what came to be known as “the narrative of salvation.” According to this narrative, which came to serve the colonial powers as a powerful ideological tool in the service of justifying empire at home to metropolitan populations, the colonial projects were portrayed as a philanthropical mission, rationalized by the will to fight ignorance, diseases, and tyranny. The colonial rhetoric of building a good and responsible government was implicitly and sometimes explicitly concerned with the problem of subject formation—men who were properly disciplined and could therefore be entrusted with real responsibility—the subject matter of the caricature “The Egyptian Pet.”⁵⁰

Skimming through the caricatures from Egypt from the first four decades of the twentieth century in which the British were confronted with the

43 For the modern mechanisms of arranging knowledge and displaying it in the World Exhibitions, see Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order,” in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 495–505.

44 For a review and criticism of the research on racism and colonialism in the cinema, see Robert Stam and Louise Spence, “Colonialism, Racism and Representation,” *Screen* vol. 24.2 (March 1983): 2–20.

45 For the way the space of representation, as constituted by the “exhibitionary complex,” was shaped by these new disciplines, see Tony Bennett, “The Exhibitionary Complex,” *New Formations* 4 (Spring 1988): 73–102.

46 Udo J. Keppler, “From the Cape to Cairo,” *Puck* 52, no. 1345, December 10, 1902, centerfold. The caricature can be seen at <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.319510028012880;view=2up;seq=332>. Last accessed on January 23, 2019.

47 For a discussion of the Civilization-Barbarism dichotomy as illustrated in Western caricatures, see Ellen Sebring, “Civilization & Barbarism: Cartoon Commentary & ‘The White Man's Burden’ (1898–1902),” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 13, no. 27 (July 6, 2015): 1–43.

48 John Tenniel, “The Egyptian Pet,” *Punch* 101, November 21, 1891, 247. The caricature can be seen at <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/14229/14229-h/14229-h.htm>. Last accessed on January 23, 2019.

49 Lord Salisbury's speech at the Guildhall, November 9, 1891.

50 For the formation of the Modern Egyptian under the colonial gaze, see Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, Ch. 2.

Egyptian, one can identify in most cases the use of the same visual differentiations between the colonizer and the colonized, under the colonial gaze: the British are presented as tall and upright, their bodily gestures moderate and accurate, almost hidden, and they are presented as having more experience through images of being the grown-ups and responsible adults. In front of them, the Egyptian representatives are presented as weak, unmanly, emotional, groveling, grotesque, and bent, or simply as little children.

An expression of this visual and thematic dichotomy can be found, first and foremost, in compositions relating specifically to the physical strength or manhood of Egyptian politicians in comparison to that of British politicians. Thus, for example, a caricature published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* of John Bull and al-Naḥḥās, the leader of the Wafd and the prime minister at the time, in the boxing ring (fig. 7.8).⁵¹ While John Bull is presented as sturdy and heavy, and with a determined facial expression, his hands clenched and ready to strike, and both of his legs are standing firmly on the ground, al-Naḥḥās is presented as slim and weak. He is bent, his eyes lowered to the ground, and his body recoiled slightly from John Bull. The subtitle describes the situation as a “friendly fight,” between a heavyweight boxing champion and a featherweight boxing champion.

A simple reading of this visual encounter between East and West is that it evokes viewers’ empathy in light of the inferior state of the Egyptian representative in comparison to the British one. Or it may be read as a criticism of the local politician who is not competent to *fight* his opponent. In this context, it should be noted that *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in the 1920s was a pro-Wafdist journal and saw in the Wafd and in its leader the legitimist heirs of Ḥizb al-Umma (The People’s Party, founded in 1907) and it saw the Wafd as successfully leading the political struggles Egypt was facing. As mentioned, the Wafd was nicknamed in the 1920s

Ḥizb Rūz al-Yūsuf—a nickname which al-Naḥḥās was proud of.⁵² It should be stressed that despite its support, the journal did not refrain from publishing caricatures of the Wafd and its politicians. However, this caricature, which undermines al-Naḥḥās’ masculinity, is only one example of many in which the Egyptian is stereotypically portrayed as weak, fragile, emotional, feminine, and immature—all traits which characterize his appearance in the colonial discourse.

The next three examples pit different Egyptian representatives against two of the High Commissioners to Egypt and the Sudan—George Ambrose Lloyd (served 1925–1929) and Loraine (fig. 7.9–7.11).⁵³ Common to all three examples is the representation of the British as opposed to the Egyptian: both High Commissioners are depicted standing erect and tall—in the first example the body of High Commissioner Lloyd clearly exceeds the upper border of the caricature. Their bodily gestures are minimal or hidden. Their legs are close to each other or separated by a slight spacing. They gently smile. Their suits are bright—a brightness that cannot be ignored against the backdrop of the dark Egyptian suits. Their whole appearance expresses majesty and splendor. There is no single aspect in their appearance that reflects an attempt to present them in a grotesque, ridiculous or critical manner. They seem to be depicted as *themselves*—an aspect which is more evident in Loraine’s appearance.

Unlike the British politicians, the Egyptians are depicted with twisted bodily gestures, bent and groveling; their facial features distorted and grotesque. Their speech underscores these alleged traits and behavior. Thus, for example, the dialogue of the first example is as follows:

52 Al-Yūsuf, *Dikrayāt*, 122.

53 Juan Santes, “*Watanīyya al-Naḥḥās Paša*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 366, May 18, 1928, frontispiece; Juan Santes, “*al-Mandūb al-Sāmī ista’rada al-wizāra*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 232, October 23, 1925, 10–11; “*Fī istiqbāl al-sīr Bīrsī Lūrīn*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 600, November 11, 1932, 32.

51 “*Bayna Brīṭāniyā wa-Miṣr*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 125, May 1, 1928, 9.

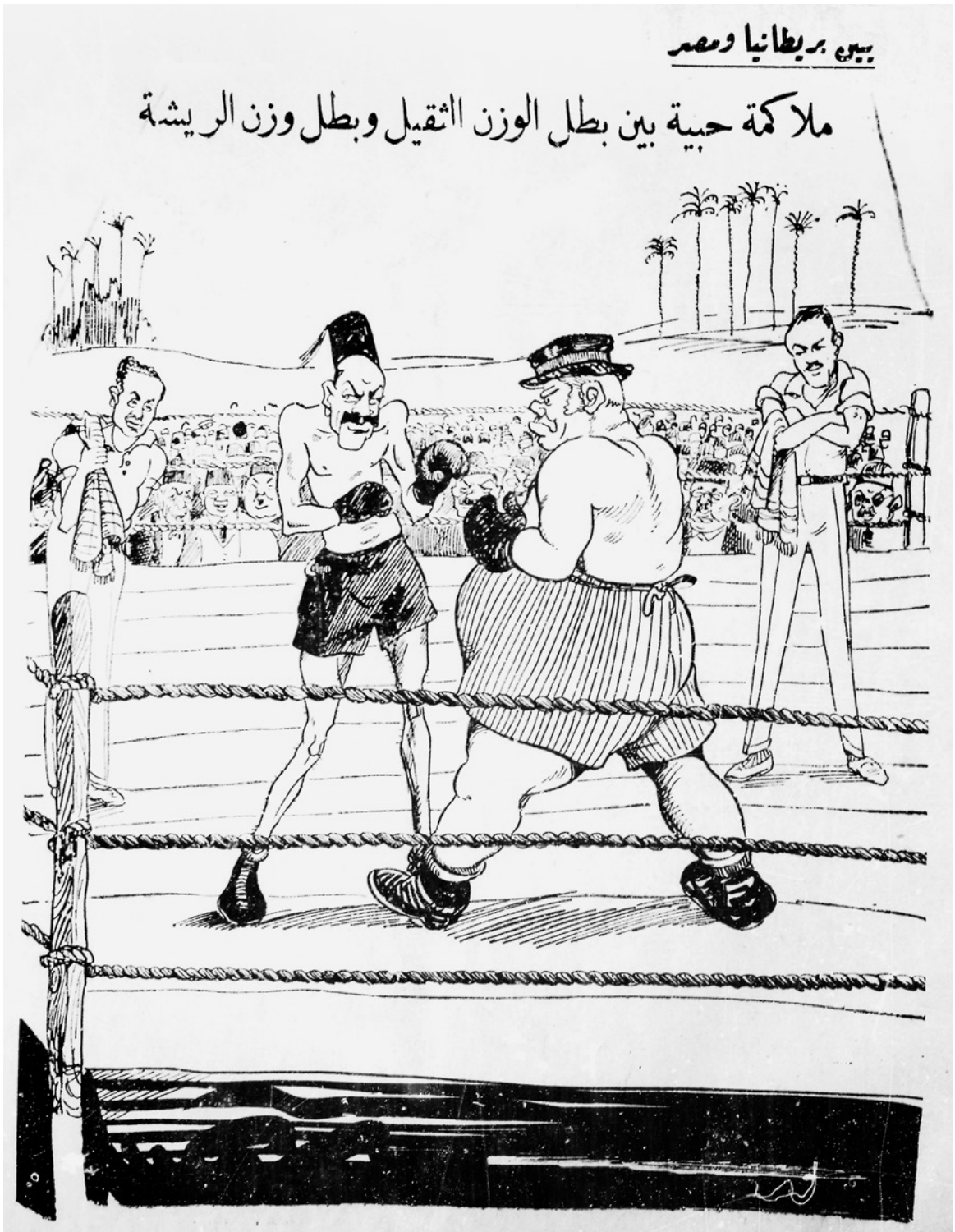


FIGURE 7.8 Between Britain and Egypt. “*Bayna Briṭāniyā wa-Miṣr*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 125, May 1, 1928, 9.
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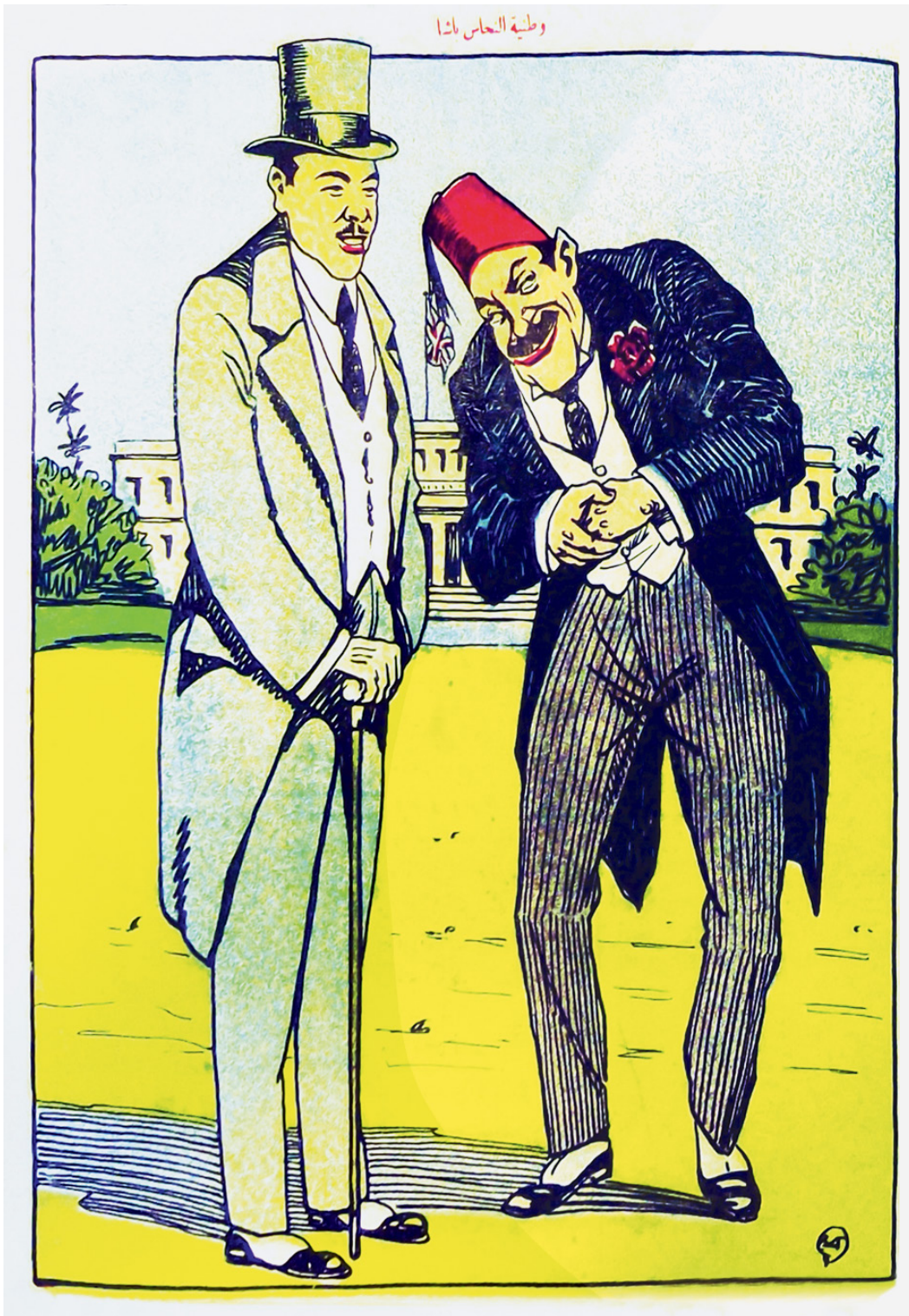


FIGURE 7.9 The Patriotism of al-Nahhās. Juan Santes, "Wataniyya al-Nahhās Paša," *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 366, May 18, 1928, frontispiece.

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FIGURE 7.10 The High Commissioner Reviews the Government. Juan Santes, "al-Mandūb al-Sāmī ista'rada al-wizāra," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 232, October 23, 1925, 10–11.

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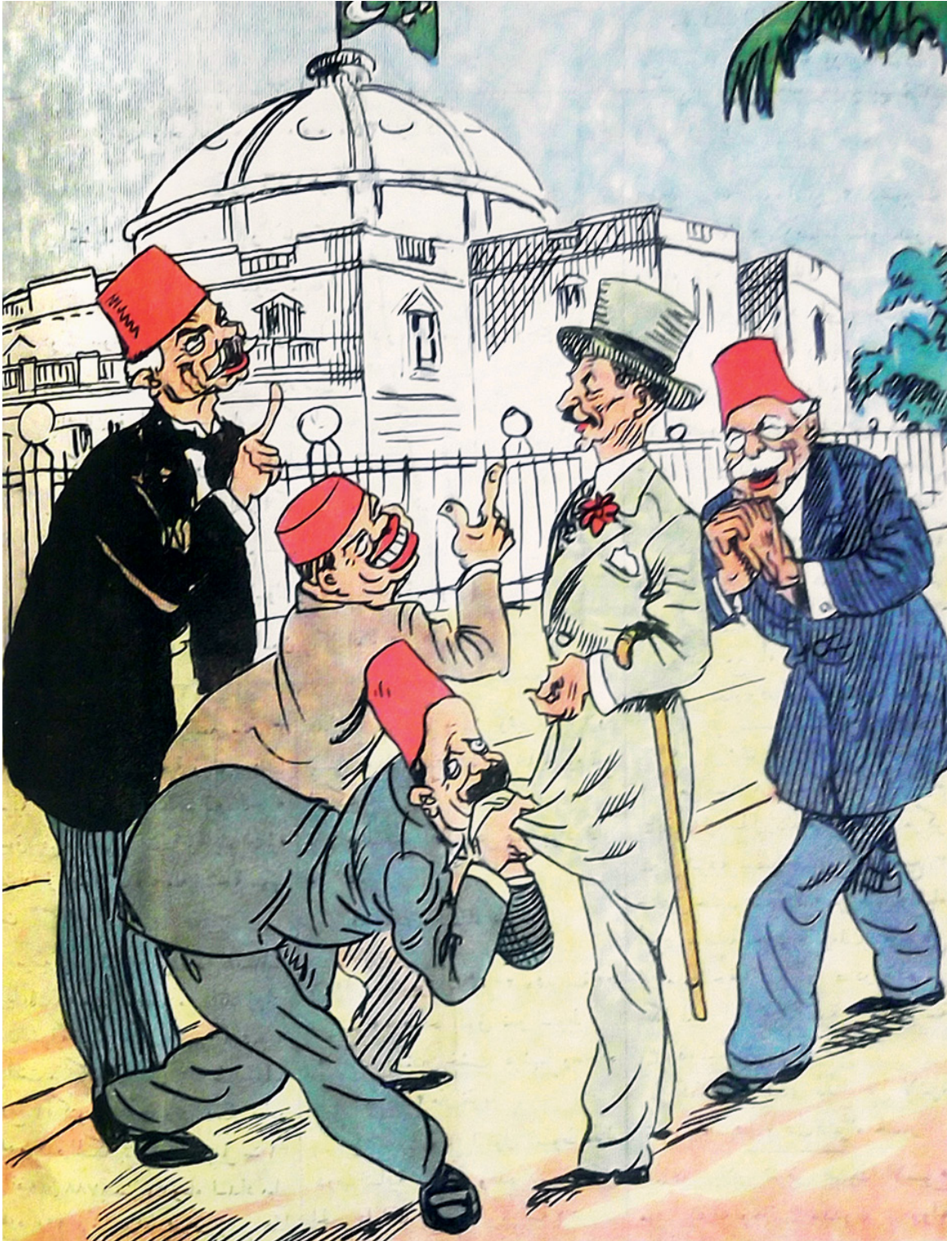


FIGURE 7.11 The Reception to Sir Percy Loraine. "Fī istiqbāl al-sīr Bīrsī Lūrīn," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 600, November 11, 1932, 32.

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“al-Naḥḥās: I have executed all your commands most accurately. If there is any further command, I am at your service. However, when I raise my head in front of our and your opponents, don’t be mad!

Lord Lloyd: Indeed, that’s good. What has been brought by the staff of Moses, will be brought by the staff of Pharaoh.”⁵⁴

Or in the third example, in which the reception of the Egyptian parliament for Lord Lloyd was documented:

“Muḥammad Maḥmūd: Your honor, it is not I who rejoice in light of your un-arrival. The person who spread this rumor was al-Naḥḥās and his associates; let Allāh destroy their home.

‘Adlī Paša: Thus is true ... However, please, your honor, let us go once more to the national government and we will all be at your service.”⁵⁵

These caricatures should be read, first and foremost, as criticizing the Egyptian politicians, and hence their deliberate depiction as grotesque and ridiculous. One can also say that the British representatives were not depicted in the same manner in order to emphasize the deceptive behavior of the local politicians—in the eyes of the caricaturist. And yet, the fact that probably all three caricatures were designed by Santes cannot be ignored with regard to the way he depicts the Egyptian Other.⁵⁶ All the same, Santes was not the only caricaturist to perpetuate this East-West visual

and thematic dichotomy, and particularly the un-Othering of the British representatives.

One of the semiotic visual mechanisms manipulated by artists in order to emphasize the uneven relationship between the Egyptian and the British was the use of “animalization,” to use Machter and Machter’s terminology—meaning the metaphoric representation of a person or a political body in the form of an animal.⁵⁷ The result, as Machter and Machter have shown, was a hybrid form, in between an animal and a human being, charged with specific stereotypical characteristics. In other words, in using a prominent accepted trait identified in popular culture with a certain animal and projecting it on a political figure, one can construct a critical stance.⁵⁸ The interpretation of the hybrid form can be grotesque or pathetic.⁵⁹ McPhee and Orenstein emphasize the instantaneous reading of such “shorthand analogies,” which enable viewers to quickly understand the character or the situation without the need for words.⁶⁰ An example is a caricature published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* beneath the title “*Zabā’in al-ṣayf*” (fig. 7.12).⁶¹ The composition presents two local politicians as flies hovering around John Bull. The blazing sun above him soaks his body with sweat, which he tries to fight with a handkerchief. His gaze is turned upwards, toward the flies Aḥmad Māhir (1888–1945) and ‘Ubayd. The text beneath the caricature is as follows:

“John Bull: All that the summer has brought with it is these flies, hurting my ears; and there is no

54 Juan Santes, “*Wataniyya al-Naḥḥās Paša*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 366, May 18, 1928, frontispiece.

55 “*Fī istiqbāl al-sīr Bīrsī Lūrīn*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 600, November 11, 1932, 32.

56 Although the last example is not signed, one can conclude from its style it is Santes’ work.

57 Machter and Machter, *Qariqatūraā, paršanūt wū-būqôret*, 48–52.

58 French caricatures in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century were partial to portraying people as animals (or objects), and particularly during the French Revolution. For prominent examples, see McPhee and Orenstein, *Infinite Test*, 56–63.

59 Machter and Machter, *Qariqatūraā, paršanūt wū-būqôret*, 48.

60 McPhee and Orenstein, *Infinite Test*, 21.

61 “*Zabā’in al-ṣayf*,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 579, June 17, 1932, frontispiece.



FIGURE 7.12 Summer's Costumers/Fools. "Zabā'in al-*ṣayf*," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 579, June 17, 1932, frontispiece.
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health department to save Egypt and me from them."

In the depiction of Māhir and 'Ubayd as flies, the caricaturist presents their political efforts as meaningless, except the annoyance they cause to the British. As with other caricatures discussed in this chapter, there is an intent to de-legitimize those politicians, as lacking the ability to lead the nation. However, alongside the criticism of the two members of the Wafd, one needs to consider the implicit criticism regarding the health-services in Egypt—the solution to it lay in the continued presence of the British empire in the form of John Bull (as embodied in the "the narrative of salvation"). In other words, the image and text re-establish the *need* for the British presence in view of the lack of sanitation and health services. The immediate solution to the problem appeared in a preceding caricature, in which Arthur Henderson, the British foreign minister between 1929 and 1931,

was seen exterminating the flies 'Ubayd and al-Naḥḥās.⁶² The title of the caricature declared that "prevention is better than treatment," and Henderson added in his monologue that it was the only way to get rid of those flies.

In other cases, both the British and the Egyptians are depicted as animals. In all the examples I have come across, Britain is depicted as a powerful predatory beast (as a lion for example), while Egypt is depicted as the weak prey (as a mouse or a sheep). What stands out in some of these compositions is Egypt's easiness, or acceptance of her up-coming brutal fate, and the staticity of her body in front of the threat she faces. An example is a caricature published in *al-Itṭayn* in August 1934 (fig. 7.13).⁶³ In this composition, High Commissioner Lampson is depicted as a cat facing a mouse—'Abd al-Fattāḥ Yaḥyā, the prime minister of Egypt at the time. In the dialogue accompanying the image, the prime minister welcomes the High Commissioner as he returns to Egypt and shares his concern and regret that he had to leave for England in the first place. The High Commissioner, with a wide smile, appears to be giving a ball to the mouse to play with. The prime minister is not only not trying to run away but is reaching out to receive the gift. The title of the caricature suggests otherwise—only when the cat is absent, the mouse gets to play.

In another image, published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in April 1928, Britain as a wolf faces Egypt, which is portrayed as a sheep (fig. 7.14).⁶⁴ The two animals face each other, neither of them moving, though the sheep lowers its head—perhaps in surrender? The wolf-Britain asks, "how come you are not satisfied with me eating you, oh insolent one!? It is rude. It is disrespectful. Please warmly accept it." Despite the text, the sheep's discontent is expressed only in the slight movement of the head.

62 "al-Wiqāya ḥayr min al-'ilāǧ," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 487, September 12, 1930, frontispiece.

63 "An ḡāba al-qitt al'ab yā fār," *al-Itṭayn* 9, August 13, 1934, 3.

64 Juan Santes, "Baḡna Briṭāniyā wa-Miṣr," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 122, April 10, 1928, 7.



FIGURE 7.13 When the Cat is absent, the Mouse Plays. "An ġāba al-qitt al'ab yā fār," *al-Itṭayn* 9, August 13, 1934, 3.
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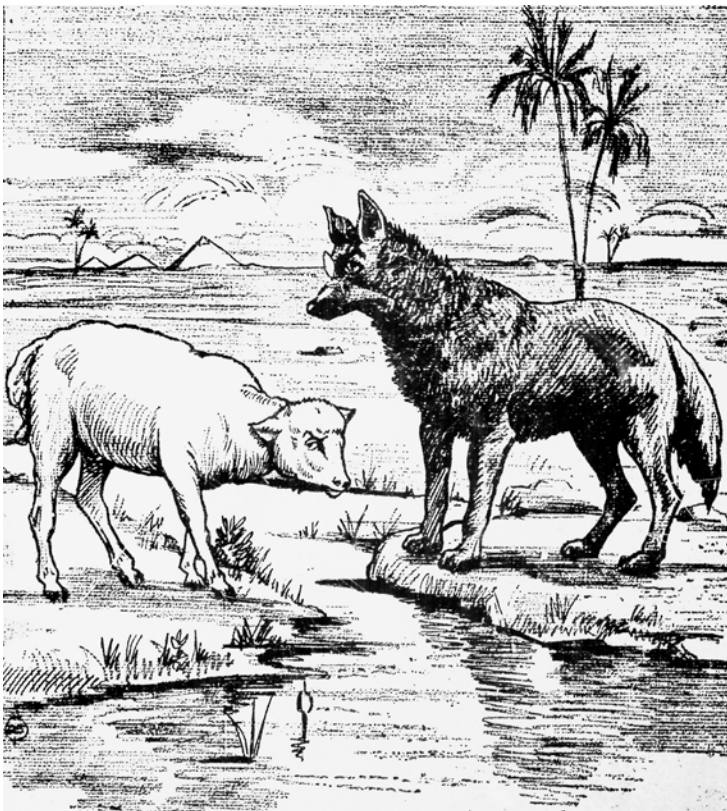


FIGURE 7.14
Between Britain and Egypt. Juan Santes,
"Bayna Bṛiṭāniyā wa-Miṣr," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 122,
April 10, 1928, 7.
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FIGURE 7.15
The Question of Sudan. Doug, untitled caricature,
al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara 418, February 12, 1923, 16.
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There is no hint of resistance in the bodily gestures of the sheep.

If Egypt in these last two examples seems to indifferently accept its fate, in an example published in the journal *Ġuhā* it seems happy with it.⁶⁵ Britain in this composition appears as a lion, opening its mouth to devour the sheep-Egypt. While the lion's expression is in line with the act he is performing, the sheep-Egypt seems to be smiling. Her legs are depicted as steadily standing on the ground, and she does not seem to be trying to escape her predator. One might suggest it is a visual embodiment of fatalistic Egypt, submissive and indifferent to her present as well as to her fate, as framed in Orientalist texts.

These same claims can be illustrated by examples in which Egypt is described as a small child, usually a girl, while Britain is presented as the responsible, rational, cool-tempered, and experienced adult. For example, a caricature pub-

lished in *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* in February 1923 (fig. 7.15).⁶⁶ In this composition, drawn by the American caricaturist Doug, Egypt is depicted as a crying little girl, wearing a Western outfit, and trying to grab a jug, entitled "Sudan." Without the title "Egypt," the girl could not have been identified as symbolizing Egypt. On the other side of the large jug stands a man, entitled "England." The text beneath the image refers to him as "the Lord." The Lord holds the jug in one of his hands, and with his other prevents Egypt from approaching. The text clarifies that the "question of Sudan" is one of the most complicated disputes between Egypt and Britain. The Lord warns Egypt not to grab the jug, since it might break, and she would lose everything. Egypt answers through the text that the Sudan-jug was always hers. The American caricaturist's choice to depict Egypt as a little girl, crying over the stolen jug, while Britain is depicted as controlling its emotions, does not seem to be in keeping with the text accompanying the image. The declaration, "the water of Sudan was Egypt's property from the day of Egypt's foundation," when put in the mouth of a crying little girl does

65 The frontispiece drawn by Santes appeared in Fenoglio's article without its full bibliographical information. Fenoglio, "Caricature et Représentation du Mythe," fig. 3. The image is available at <https://books.openedition.org/cedej/555?lang=en>. Last accessed on September 17, 2017.

66 Doug, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 418, February 12, 1923, 16.



FIGURE 7.16 Self-Rule vs. Full Independence. Aḥḥab Ḥulūṣī, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 258, January 19, 1920, 3.

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not sound like a legitimate claim, but rather becomes the emotional tantrum of a spoiled young girl, testing the adult in front of her, who wishes to discipline her. The embodiment of Sudan as an object to fight over, can also be read as a colonialist stance toward the region and its people. However, as the second part of this chapter will show, this objectifying and colonialist perception regarding the Sudan was shared by the British and Egyptians.

The inconsistency of the image with the text accompanying it is a function of the text not being written by the caricaturist himself. In fact, without the long paragraph attached to the image, the composition could have been read in different ways. The same inconsistency can be detected in another example relating to the Egyptian-British negotiations, also published in *al-Laṭāʾif*

al-muṣawwara (fig. 7.16).⁶⁷ In this caricature, published in January 1920, Egypt is portrayed as a crying baby, whom his nanny is seemingly trying to appease. In one of her hands the nanny holds a doll, marked as “self-rule” (*al-istiqlāl al-dāṭī*), while in the other, she holds a bottle marked with “full-independence” (*al-istiqlāl al-tām*). The nanny, which is portrayed from the back, is marked as “Milner”—meaning she is an embodiment of the Fall 1919 mission headed by Lord Milner. The text beneath the image explains that “the painting represents the nanny who deprives the young baby of what he needs to live and serves him a game to play with; and the baby screams: pooh, pooh.”

67 Aḥḥab Ḥulūṣī, untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʾif al-muṣawwara* 258, January 19, 1920, 3.

Since the nanny is portrayed from the back, and the image lacks grotesque or exaggerated details, there is no aspect in her presentation that can be definitely described as negative. In this visual narrative, it seems that the Egypt-screaming-baby is the antihero.

In both the images just described, Britain is portrayed as the calm, experienced, responsible adult while trying to cope with the uncontrolled behavior of childish Egypt. In some compositions in which the Egyptians are portrayed as young children, Britain's role is occasionally reduced to merely being present in the situation—relating to its continued presence in Egypt. For example, a caricature published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in June 1932.⁶⁸ The scene takes place at the beach. On the sand, playing, resting, napping, and eating are members of Ṣidqī's government. John Bull, representing Britain, sits under a beach-umbrella. The sub-title declares that the government decided to send, at her own expense, 3000 kids during the summer to Egyptian resorts. However, in the visual composition, those who seem to be spending time at the beach are the government members, as children, under British patronage.

Another visual and thematic mechanism to differentiate the East from the West was the portrayal of Egypt and the male-Egyptians with feminine characteristics, while the British presented next to them in the images were portrayed as masculine, according to the prevailing male-discourse of the time. In a series of imagined male-female relationships, Egypt and its various representatives were presented as belly-dancers, as professional mourning women, and so forth—mostly emotional, sometimes weeping—and in other cases, coarse and grotesque. Portraying the Egyptian politicians with feminine characteristics reflected the male gaze with regard to the gendered differences between the sexes, as well as women's status in Egyptian society.

68 "Musāyif al-atfāl," *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 225, June 6, 1932, 36.

The Egyptian *character* or the Egyptian *culture*, as reflected in caricatures juxtaposing the British and the Egyptian, was also documented in caricatures depicting the Egyptian street or daily urban life. Thus, for example, a caricature published beneath the title "*Ahl al-fann fī al-ʿīd*" ("The Arts' People in the Holidays," fig. 7.17);⁶⁹ and the caricature "*al-Šitā' fī al-Qāhira*" ("Winter in Cairo," fig. 7.18),⁷⁰ expose the lack of order and discipline in the Egyptian public sphere, and hence the lack of culture. The first caricature was published alongside an article dealing with the experiences of the theatre artists in Cairo following Ramaḍān in light of the audiences attending the theatre during the holiday—audiences which were described in the text as "children, families, and factory workers." According to the text, these viewers rattled, behaved rudely, interfered with the actors while performing their roles, and generally, were unsatisfied with their performances.⁷¹ The image itself, sought to portray the appearance of the theatre hall: overcrowded by the *ša'b al-ʿīd* (the holiday crowd), depicted as aggressive and violent toward each other and toward the structure itself, while the play is going on the stage. While the text defined the "holiday crowd" as children, families, and workers, from the image itself it seems that all strata of Egyptian society are being mocked.

The second caricature, "Winter in Cairo," depicts a characteristic Cairene street in the winter. The street is described as flooded with water, as neither pedestrians nor vehicles can proceed. The facades of the buildings are crumbling, and stores' awnings are torn by the wind. Garbage is floating in the flooded street. The subtitle of the caricature elaborates that Cairo is expecting the winter rains

69 Birnād, "*Ahl al-fann fī al-ʿīd*," *al-Iṭnayn* 30, January 7, 1935, 28.

70 Ramzī, "*al-Šitā' fī al-Qāhira*," *al-Iṭnayn* 30, January 7, 1935, 35.

71 "*Ahl al-fann fī al-ʿīd*," *al-Iṭnayn* 30, January 7, 1935, 28–29.

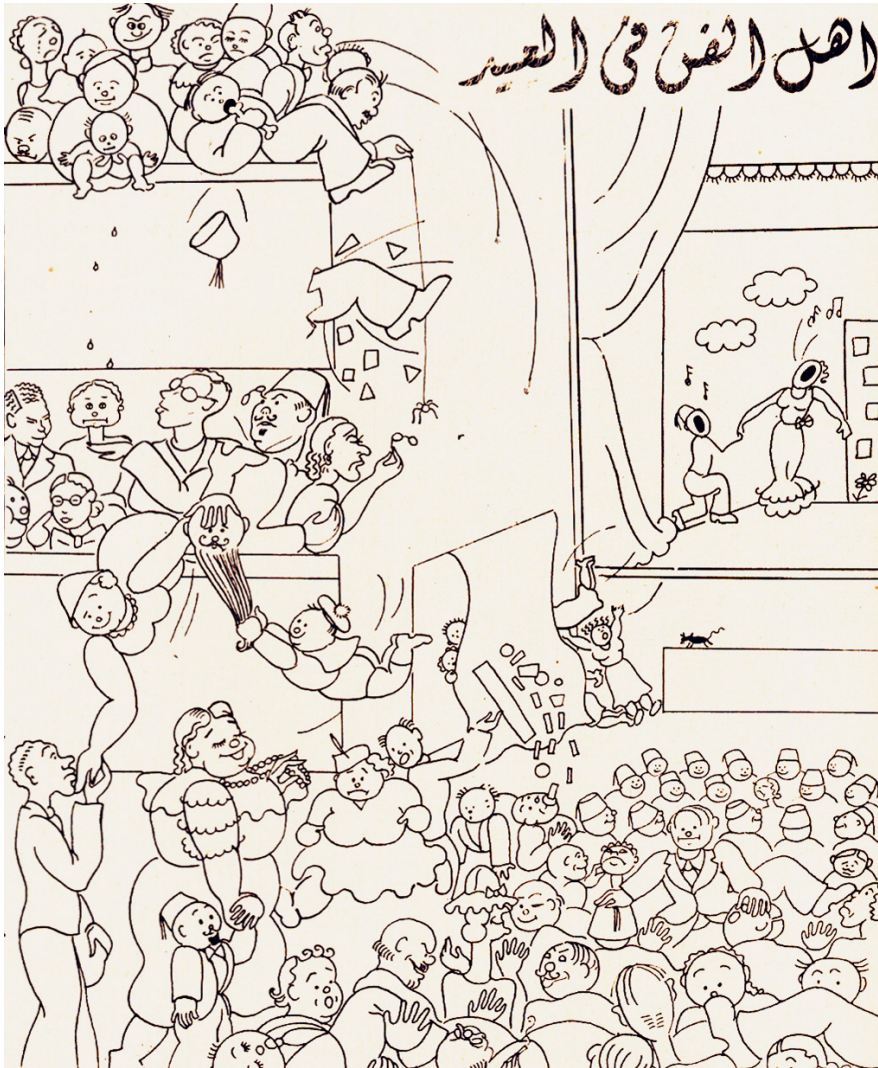


FIGURE 7.17 The Art's People in the Holidays. Birnād, "Ahl al-fann fi al-ʿid," *al-Itḥayn* 30, January 7, 1935, 28.

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through turning cars into sailboats—a declaration that can be read as Cairo's indifference to its urban state.

Returning to images which juxtapose personifications of Egypt and Britain, occasionally Britain was described as the guardian of Egypt's morals and honor. The caricature "Egypt and the League of Nations," which was briefly discussed in the fifth chapter is a clear expression of this perception

(fig. 6.20). Egypt's youth is noticeable amongst the group of women surrounding her—a representation of the youth of the nation itself in comparison to the other nations present, as Egypt only became a member of the League of Nations in May 1937, following the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in August 1936. Although the nakedness of the young woman testifies to her inferiority or her humiliation in front of the other nations, her facial



FIGURE 7.18 Winter in Cairo. Ramzī, “*al-Šitā’ fi al-Qāhira*,” *al-Itḥayn* 30, January 7, 1935: 35.
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features, the tone of her skin, her haircut, and her dress identify her as belonging to the same human and social fabric as the other national communities in the composition. The blame for her humiliation lies with the Wafd's leaders, while the West is portrayed as willing to accept her if only she will cover herself or let the West's representatives help her.

A further aspect of the positive depiction of the British in their encounters with the Egyptian in the caricatures of the period was their depiction in an un-caricatured manner. In fact, in many of the compositions in which British representatives appear, their depiction can be categorized as illustrated portraits rather than caricatures. The images and personifications of the British were not pathetic, ridiculous, or grotesque. The lack of visual mechanisms of Othering is also prominent in this context. Meaning, the use of visual means to emphasize the *Britishness* of the British in comparison to the *Egyptianness* of the Egyptians. Examples of such mechanisms can be traced in Nağib Maḥfūz's (1911–2006) realistic-naturalistic novels of the 1940s and 1950s. Thus, for example, in the first part of his *Cairo Trilogy*, *Palace Walk* (1956),⁷² an encounter between Kamāl, the youngest of

al-Ġawād's family, and British soldiers who set up small camps along the street in which the family's house is located, serve as the context for the following dialogue:

"He looked at Fahmy as though pleading for help. He stammered fearfully, Will they kill us?"

They won't kill anyone. They've come to pursue the demonstrations.

There was a short period of Silence. Then the boy commented, as though to himself, What handsome faces they have!

Fahmy asked him sarcastically, Do you really like their looks?

Kamal replied innocently, A lot. I imagined they'd look like devils.

Fahmy said bitterly, Who knows? ... perhaps if you saw some devils, you'd think they were handsome."⁷³

And later in the week,

"How handsome they are! I've never seen anyone more handsome before. Blue eyes ... golden hair ... gleaming white skin. They look like Aisha!

He suddenly ran off to the study, where he raised his head to see the picture of Saad Zaghloul on the wall next to those of khedive 'Abbas II, Mustafa Kamil, and Mohammad Farid. When he returned, he said, They're a lot better-looking than Saad Pasha."⁷⁴

Returning to the caricatures, on only a few compositions can one trace visual and verbal references to the stereotypical characterization of the British, emphasizing their *Britishness*. Amongst these compositions is one of the chapters of the comic strip *Zarīfa wa Zaqqūq* (fig. 7.19).⁷⁵ In this chapter, Zarīfa demands to know where her husband spent the night. Zaqqūq tells her he was walking

72 The *Cairo Trilogy* was originally conceived as a single novel; however, it was published in three parts: the first, *Bayn al-Qaṣrayn* (*Palace Walk*) was published in 1955; the other two parts, *Qaṣr al-Šawq* (*Palace of Desire*) and *al-Sukkariyya* (*Sugar Street*) were published in 1957. The trilogy was the first family prose narrative in modern Arabic literature. The narrative of its three parts records the socio-political transformation of modern Egypt in its quest for national identity and a role in the modern world. It also stretches the topography of the urban scene, with its cultural heritage and elaborate network of human relations. The saga places the Egyptian family at the heart of its narrative and follows its ups and downs over three different generations: *Palace Walk* begins during WWI in 1917 and ends with the outbreak of the 1919 nationalist revolution; *Palace of Desire* starts five years later, in 1924, with the British negotiation with Sa'd Zağlūl and ends with his death in 1927; *Sugar Street* begins in 1935 with al-Naḥḥās addressing a Wafd Party conference and ends with the mass arrest of political activists in 1944.

73 Naguib Mahfouz, *Palace Walk*, trans. William Maynard Hutchins and Olive E. Kenny (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 372.

74 *Ibid.*, 402–403.

75 Ramzī, "Zaqqūq wa Zarīfa," *al-Itḥayn* 3, July 2, 1934, 27.



FIGURE 7.19 Zaqzūq and Zarīfa. Ramzī, "Zaqzūq wa Zarīfa," *al-Itnayn* 3, July 2, 1934, 27.

innocently around Qaṣr al-Nīl, when two English soldiers started chasing him (apparently without justification, perhaps as an expression of their cruelty). The terrified Zaqqūq ran until he was red in the face, then the soldiers recognized him as one of *them* and carried him the rest of the way on a stretcher. The reference in the text to the tendency of the British to become flushed under extreme effort is not represented in the image itself, which was printed in black and white. Instead, Zaqqūq is portrayed smoking a pipe as testimony to his *Britishness*.

As the compositions discussed in this section seek to portray their Egyptian protagonists negatively and to delegitimize their political conduct and perceptions, the caricaturists use all visual means at their disposal in order to portray them in a grotesque or pathetic manner. Disregarding the identity of the caricaturists, one can read this imagery as seeking to caricaturize the local politicians through emphasizing their negative traits—at least in the eyes of the journal in which the caricature was published—while at the same time visually enhancing the differences between them and the rest of the participants in the composition. In line with this reading, one could contextualize the positive depiction of the British representatives through what the psychoanalyst Dominique O. Mannoni, in his *Psychologie de la Colonisation* (1950), calls “the inferiority complex of colonized peoples.”⁷⁶ Seeking to characterize the psychological phenomena that govern the relations between the colonized and the colonizer, Mannoni argues that “not all peoples can be colonized; only those who experience this need [for dependency].” Meaning, that the British acted in obedience to an authority complex, a leadership complex, while the colonized obeyed a dependency complex. And that is why, “wherever Europeans have founded colonies of the type we are considering, it can safely be said that their coming was unconsciously expected—even desired—by the

future subject peoples. Everywhere there existed legends foretelling the arrival of strangers from the sea, bearing wondrous gifts with them.”⁷⁷

This so-called “dependency complex” of colonized peoples was severely criticized by Fanon in his *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952). Fanon pointed out the fact that whenever the question arose of understanding why the European, the foreigner, was called *vazaha* in Madagascar, which means honorable stranger (*ḥawāḡa* in colloquial Egyptian); or when it was a matter of understanding why shipwrecked Europeans were welcomed with open arms; why the European, the foreigner, was never thought of as an enemy, instead of explaining this behavior in terms of humanity, of good will, of courtesy, scholars explained that it happened simply because inscribed in “fateful hieroglyphics” in the unconscious—there exists something that makes the white man “the awaited master.”⁷⁸

Whether we accept or reject Mannoni’s or Fanon’s readings, the fact remains that many of the caricaturists working in Egypt during the interwar period were foreigners or immigrants—some recently settled in Egypt; others were part of the communities of minorities who immigrated to Egypt during the nineteenth century. Their cosmopolitan experiences defines them as “the small colonizer” or as those “deceived by colonization,” to use Memmi’s terminology.⁷⁹ These artists could not have portrayed the images of the Egyptian facing the images of his Others through the Egyptian gaze. For Memmi, there was no difference between the Europeans living in the colonies, “the small colonizers,” even if they were not “potentates or possess thousands of acres or run the government,” and other colonizers.⁸⁰ The small colonizer defended the colonial system vigorously because he benefited from it.⁸¹ Every act of their daily life

76 Dominique O. Mannoni, *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization* (New York: Praeger, 1964).

77 *Ibid.*, 85–86.

78 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. by Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1986), 73–74.

79 Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 54–60.

80 *Ibid.*, 54.

81 *Ibid.*, 55.

placed them in a relationship with the colonized, and with each act their fundamental advantages is demonstrated. From the time of their birth, argued Memmi, they possessed a qualification independent of their personal merits or their actual class. They were part of the group of colonizers whose values are sovereign:

“They are protected by international laws and an extremely watchful consulate under constant observation by an attentive mother country. Often, far from being rejected by the colonizer, it is they who hesitate between integration and loyalty to their homeland. Moreover, the same European origin, a common religion and a majority of identical customs bring them sentimentally closer to the colonizer. The results are definite advantages which the colonized certainly does not have: better job opportunities; less insecurity against total misery and illness; less precarious schooling; and a certain esteem on the part of the colonizer accompanied by an almost respectable dignity. It will be understood that, as much as they may be outcasts in an absolute sense, their behavior vis-a-vis the colonized has much in common with that of the colonizer.”⁸²

Trying to characterize the moral and emotional difficulties experienced by those “colonizers who reject colonization,” or the colonizers of “extreme good will,” Memmi points to the fact that even if they discover that the colonized have justice on their side, even if they give the colonized their approval and even their assistance (meaning acting for their liberation and for their equal rights), they were not one of them and had no desire to be one. Memmi argues that even if they could vaguely foresee the day of their liberation and the reconquest of their rights, they did not plan to share their existence, even if they were freed.⁸³ On the other hand, continues Memmi, while the colonizers who reject colonization happen to dream of

a brand-new social state in which the colonized cease to be colonized, they did not conceive of a deep transformation of their own situation and of their own personality. In that new state, they would go on being what they are, with their language intact and their cultural traditions dominating. Meaning, while they hoped to be a part of the future nation, they firmly reserved the right to remain citizens of their native country. They realized that everything might change, and they invoked the end of colonization, but they refused to conceive that this revolution could result in the overthrow of their situation and themselves.⁸⁴

Returning to the Egyptian caricaturists, there were caricaturists of Egyptian origin, such as Ramzī. However, the images these caricaturists designed did not construct a counter-visual-discourse to the cosmopolitan artists’ images. This phenomenon can be explained by what Fanon calls a “stock of particularisms”:

“At the very moment when the native intellectual is anxiously trying to create a cultural work he fails to realize that he is utilizing techniques and language which are borrowed from the stranger in his country. He contents himself with stamping these instruments with a hallmark which he wishes to be national, but which is strangely reminiscent of exoticism. The native intellectual who comes back to his people by way of cultural achievements behaves in fact like a foreigner. Sometimes he has no hesitation in using a dialect in order to show his will to be as near as possible to the people; but the ideas that he expresses and the preoccupations he is taken up with have no common yardstick to measure the real situation which the men and the women of his country know. The culture that the intellectual leans toward is often no more than a stock of particularisms. He wishes to attach himself to the people; but instead he only catches hold of their outer garments.”⁸⁵

82 *Ibid.*, 58.

83 *Ibid.*, 67.

84 *Ibid.*, 84.

85 Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 223–224.

The lack of consistent criticism of British imperialism, the limited number of images that dealt with the foreigners' privileges, the lack of visual and verbal mechanisms of Othering, and the depiction of the British representatives in a conservative manner with regard to their caricatured portraits, all suggest that the artists did not perceive the British as their Other. In a discussion of this phenomenon in literature and movies from the period, Starr argues it is the construction of "familiar otherness," which uses a language of inclusion rather than exclusion: "an alternative construction of otherness—an Other who is familiar yet recognizably different."⁸⁶ In this cosmopolitan sphere, Egyptian identities remain unstable, mutable and vague, and in the movies Starr discusses, the foreigners, the immigrants and the minorities of Egypt are all portrayed as local subjects, who speak the colloquial Egyptian, and who form an inseparable part of the human urban fabric of Egyptian society. However, watching a movie in which one of these local subjects speaks colloquial Egyptian could have influenced the viewer's perception of that subject. Reading a caricature in which British representatives appear in the compositions with dialogue written in the colloquial Egyptian could not have had the same influence, since the *foreign hero* does not speak in his own voice.

The cosmopolitan or Levantine community portrayed in these movies, allegedly representing the Others, reflects the blurred boundary between the local and the foreign. Kahanoff reflects this vagueness in her attempt to reconstruct her feelings, as an Egyptian Jew, toward the country in which she grew up and toward the community she allegedly belonged to:

"The words 'native' and 'foreigner' confused me, hence even though they did not mean the same,

86 Starr, "Masquerade and the Performance of National Imaginaries: Levantine Ethics, Aesthetics and Identities in Egyptian Cinema," *Journal of Levantine Studies* 1, no. 2 (Winter 2011): 39.

both meant by contempt—'not English.' Later, I was surprised when I realized their meanings were almost reversed; 'native' meant 'born here,' 'foreigner' meant 'an outsider,' and, then, the idea that maybe the Englishmen were natives in England was an exhilarating audacity. However, there was no logic to that—the English were definitely not native in the same meaning as in our corner of the world. As a matter of fact, there was a third kind of people, inconvenient to the point of irritation, between the pink and the brown-skinned, people like us, Jews, Greeks, Christian Syrians, Armenians, native in the known meaning and Europeans in other meanings, which were called Levantines. [...] How hard it was for those in-between-people, people like us, to know what to choose, whom to resemble, or against whom to be, the British or the natives."⁸⁷

The narrative of coexistence which Starr discusses, through which the "familiar otherness" is constructed, can serve here for reading the caricatures in which the Egyptian faces the British. Although these images sought to proclaim an anti-British or anti-colonial stance, meaning to identify with the place (Egypt) and the collective (the Egyptians), they rather constructed a visual relationship in which the Egyptian was framed as the Other. Hence, this satirical imagery cannot simply be categorized as Egyptian or not, local or foreign, Eastern or Western. In other words, as the caricatures of the period cannot simply be discussed as a mere translation of European imagery, neither can they be discussed as the "under/other side of 'colonial discourse,'" to use Bhabha's phrasing.⁸⁸ The practices and discourses of the revolutionary struggle may be historically co-present with the colonial discourse, and intervene in it, argues Bhabha, but it can never be "read-off" merely on the basis of their opposition to it: "anti-colonialist discourse requires an alternative set of questions, techniques and strategies in

87 Kahanoff, "*ha-Ṣa'if ha-kaḥol*," 55–56.

88 Bhabha, "The Other Question," 75.

order to construct it.”⁸⁹ Some will categorize these compositions as reflecting Bhabha’s “third space.” In any case, one should wonder whether the depiction of the Egyptian as weak, emotional, and feminine facing the rational, calm, responsible Westerner did not intensify the differences between “us” and “them” according to the Western gaze. What consequences did these images had on the self-perception of their audience is another question which needs to be addressed.

2 Whose Object is This? Sudan and the Sudanese

“The Sudanese Question: Sweet but Thorny,” declared a caricatured frontispiece published in *al-Iṭṭayn* in August 1936 (fig. 7.20).⁹⁰ The facial features of the young Sudanese woman appear to us amongst the limbs of a thorny cactus bush. The young woman smiles, her lips colored in dark red, her hair is cut short, her head is bare, and a pair of large red hoop earrings hang from her ears. Her cheekbones are high, and white light is reflected from them and from her forehead. Her eyebrows are shaped in a thin black line. She does not direct her look to her viewer; rather her gaze is turned leftwards, toward an un-seen object or view. The limbs of the cactus surrounding her are equal in their dimensions to her head.

Sudan in this composition can be read as “a site of dreams, images, fantasies, myths, obsessions and requirements,” to use Bhabha’s phrasing for Said’s Orientalism. Bhabha, following Said and Fanon, sought to focus the theoretical discussion of the “Other Question” on the force of ambivalence which, for Bhabha, gives the colonial stereotype its currency.⁹¹ In line with Bhabha’s theoretical discussion, the young Sudanese woman is a sexual object; however, her framing as a thorny object sets her up as “a site of productive

power, both subservient and always potentially seditious.”⁹²

The stereotypization of the Sudanese Question as a young black attractive yet dangerous woman allows us, to use Bhabha theoretical discussion, to read the racial stereotype of colonial discourse in terms of fetishism. Meaning, the disavowal of difference.⁹³ For Bhabha, The recognition of sexual difference is disavowed by the fixation on an object that masks that difference and restores an original presence, and thus fetishism is always a “play” between the archaic affirmation of wholeness/similarity—“all men have the same skin/race/culture”; and the anxiety associated with lack of difference—“some *do not* have the same skin/race/culture [Bhabha’s emphasis].”⁹⁴ The fetish thus gives access to an “identity which is predicated as much on mastery and pleasure as it is on anxiety and defense, for it is a form of multiple and contradictory belief in its recognition and disavowal of it.”⁹⁵ A visual manifestation of this subversive mechanism of the difference, while simultaneously denying it, has been found in British advertisements since the beginning of the seventeenth century, which used slogans based on the form of “both/but.” For example, the slogan “Black, but Beautiful” for the Samuel and Henry Harris Company, which operated in London in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁹⁶

When examining the caricatures from interwar Egypt discussing the “Sudan question,” the question of who the colonizer is in this visual sphere arises. This question of “the colonized colonizer”

89 *Ibid.*

90 “*Al-Mas’ala al-Sudāniyya*,” *al-Iṭṭayn* 112, August 3, 1936, frontispiece.

91 Bhabha, “The Other Question,” 71.

92 *Ibid.*, 76.

93 *Ibid.*, 79.

94 *Ibid.*

95 *Ibid.*, 80.

96 The advertisement was published and discussed in Rosanna Masiola and Renato Tomei, “Gender in Blackness: Stereotyping in Children’s Literature, Media, and Political Discourse,” *The International Journal of Cross-Cultural Studies and Environmental Communication* 2, no. 2 (2013): 121–137. Available at https://crosscultureenvironment.files.wordpress.com/2013/09/volume2_issue-2_2013-volume-1_issue1_2014.pdf. Last accessed on January 27, 2019.



FIGURE 7.20 The Sudanese Question. "Al-Mas'ala al-Sudaniyya," *al-Itmayn* 112, August 3, 1936, frontispiece.
PENN LIBRARIES RESEARCH ANNEX

first appears in Timothy Mitchel's *Colonizing Egypt*.⁹⁷ However, Troutt Powell addresses the issue at length in her *A Different Shade of Colonialism* (2003). Troutt Powell focuses on the presence of colonial perceptions and tendencies amongst the Egyptian elites toward the Sudan and the Sudanese from the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century. These perceptions, according to Troutt Powell, affected Egyptian nationalism and cultural identity.⁹⁸ In her conclusion, Troutt Powell addresses the satirical images of the Sudan and of the Sudanese as reflecting the notion of the “colonized colonizer.” However, for Troutt Powell, the caricatures of the period mirror the Egyptian perception of the Sudanese, as she ignores the identities of the caricaturists. In what follows, I will briefly discuss the caricatures from the period that relate to the “Sudan Question” as framing the cosmopolitan gaze of its artists.

How far did Egypt reach? Since 1821 the Sudan had been an Egyptian colony. Most of the high officials and military officers serving in Sudan were of Mamluk-Ottoman origin, and Turkish became the language of communication between the Mamluk elite in Egypt and the colonial administration in Sudan. Sudanese, however, refer to “Turkish rule” to describe the occupation, which lasted until the Mahdī's revolt of 1885, which occurred shortly after the British occupation of Egypt in 1882.⁹⁹ A Sudanese religious leader, Muḥammad Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Sayyid ‘Abdallāh, who called himself al-Mahdī (the Messiah), rebelled against Egyptian rule, seized Ḥartūm, and evicted Egypt from almost all the territories it had ruled from 1821 to

1884. In 1898, British-led armies invaded the regions of the Sudan, which were held by the Mahdī's government, and re-attached them to Egypt. The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreements of January 19 and July 10, 1899, which lasted until the formation of the sovereign, independent Republic of the Sudan on January 1, 1956, established an office of governor-general, to be appointed, on British recommendation, by the khedive of Egypt and vested with supreme civil and military command. In theory, Egypt shared a governing role; however, in practice the structure of the Condominium ensured full British control over the Sudan, while the Egyptian Treasury paid the bills.¹⁰⁰

The British abolishment of the protectorate over Egypt following WWI, and the granting of nominal independence to Egypt, did not change British stances regarding the Sudan or Egyptian claims over the recognition that the Sudan was part of Egypt—geographically, politically, and culturally. The British continued to deny the territorial integrity of the Nile Valley, as perceived by the Egyptians, and insisted that Britain would continue to administer the Sudan separately from Egypt. Consequently, the issue of the Sudan remained unresolved and colored the negotiations between Egyptian nationalists and British officials in racial terms.¹⁰¹ While British officials acknowledged that there were political bonds in the past that united Egypt with the Sudan, these were always fragile, and they insisted that Sudan has never been really taken by or united with Egypt.¹⁰²

As Troutt Powell elaborates, British insistence on administering the Sudan separately from Egypt was partly based on racial differentiations—the result of anthropological studies, and especially those of the anthropometrist and ethnographer Charles Myers, who explored the racial identity of the Egyptians. The purpose of these studies

97 Timothy Mitchel, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

98 Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 22.

99 Two illustrations in Ṣannū's journal, *Abū naḍḍāra*, relate to the Mahdī's rebellion: the first illustrated one of the Mahdī's speeches to his supporters; the second addressed General William Hicks' defeat in September 1883. *Abū naḍḍāra* 1, March 3, 1883, 3; *Abū naḍḍāra* 1, October 27, 1883, 13. The illustrations are not caricatures, and the images do not take a stand regarding the events.

100 Anita H. Fàbos, *“Brothers” or Others? Property and Gender for Muslim Arab Sudanese in Egypt* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 5–6.

101 Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 174–175.

102 *Ibid.*, 177.

was to accentuate the racial homogeneity of the Egyptians. However, it served the British to refute Egyptian claims over the Sudan, since the findings were also meant to racially distinguish the Egyptians from the Sudanese.¹⁰³ Anthropological mapping of the Nile Valley defined who belonged where, while the racial reasoning characterized the political discourse rather than indigenous conceptions of belonging.¹⁰⁴

British officials also emphasized that since the establishment of the condominium, projects organized and administered by the Sudanese government had actually reformed the chaos wrought on the Sudan during Turku-Egyptian rule and the Mahdiyya. The British administrators preferred to invest in primary education, especially instruction in agriculture, which it thought could bring peace and prosperity.¹⁰⁵ Education, which eventually led to the level of *modernization* necessary for the Sudanese to govern themselves, was not part of any immediate plan, as the British perception of the Sudanese was that they were “school-boys—laughing, joking, and playing practical tricks on each other.”¹⁰⁶ The black man was infantilized and presented as requiring the proper (meaning, British) leadership and education, in order to maximize his utility.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, British perception of Sudanese nationalism differed from their perception of Egyptian nationalism, and therefore any progress toward political autonomy in the Sudan would have to be shaped out of British conceptions of Sudanese nationalism.¹⁰⁸

The political goal of Sudanese self-governance was not an Egyptian objective. For many of the theoreticians of Egyptian nationalist ideals, Sudan

was “Egyptian property.” As Troutt Powell demonstrates, this connection, which developed into a sense of possessiveness about the Sudan, developed in Egypt prior to the British occupation. Troutt Powell pointed out that the Egyptian discourse over the Sudan and the Sudanese and the special connection between the two countries can be framed in terms of a “civilizing mission.”¹⁰⁹ This Egyptian perspective began to take shape in the last decade of ‘Ali’s reign and was fully developed by the 1870s. However, from 1898 to 1899, the period of the British reconquest of the Sudan, Egyptian nationalists developed the themes of the Sudan being Egypt’s by right and by nature, and by 1919, the slogan “the unity of the Nile Valley” was well-established.¹¹⁰

A visual embodiment of the perception of the Sudanese as an object in the possession of Egypt can be seen in the caricature, which was previously discussed, in which Sudan was portrayed as a water jug (fig. 7.15). Indeed, the depiction of an entity (whether a living one or an idea) as an object is one of the rhetorical mechanisms at the disposal of the caricaturist—a mechanism which allows the caricaturists to construct a visual insight with regard to a certain individual or a situation without words. This rhetorical visual mechanism was articulated by Machter and Machter as “displacement”—the transformation of objects in which their function changes while being *transferred* into a new sphere and while taking on a new semantic function with a borrowed meaning.¹¹¹ However, in colonial discourse, the mechanism of objectifying the colonized subject has racial meanings which denies the subject—in our case the Sudanese—his humanity, and turns him into an Object. One can also note in this context a caricature published in *Rūz al-Yūsuf* in March 1930 (fig. 7.21).¹¹²

103 Eve M. Troutt Powell, “Brothers Along the Nile: Egyptian Concepts of Race and Ethnicity, 1895–1910,” in *The Nile: Histories, Cultures, Myths*, ed. Haggai Erlich and Israel Gershoni (Boulder: L. Rienner, 2000), 172.

104 *Ibid.*, 175.

105 Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 176.

106 George A. Henty, *With Kitchener in the Soudan. A Story of Atbara and Omdurman* (London: Blackie, 1903), 95.

107 Jacob, *Working Out Egypt*, 38.

108 Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 177–178.

109 *Ibid.*, 3.

110 *Ibid.*, 7.

111 Machter and Machter, *Qariqatûrââ, paršanût wû-bûqôret*, 41–42.

112 Iskandar Şârûhân, “*Ḥawla al-mufāwāḍāt*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 164, March 18, 1930, 9.

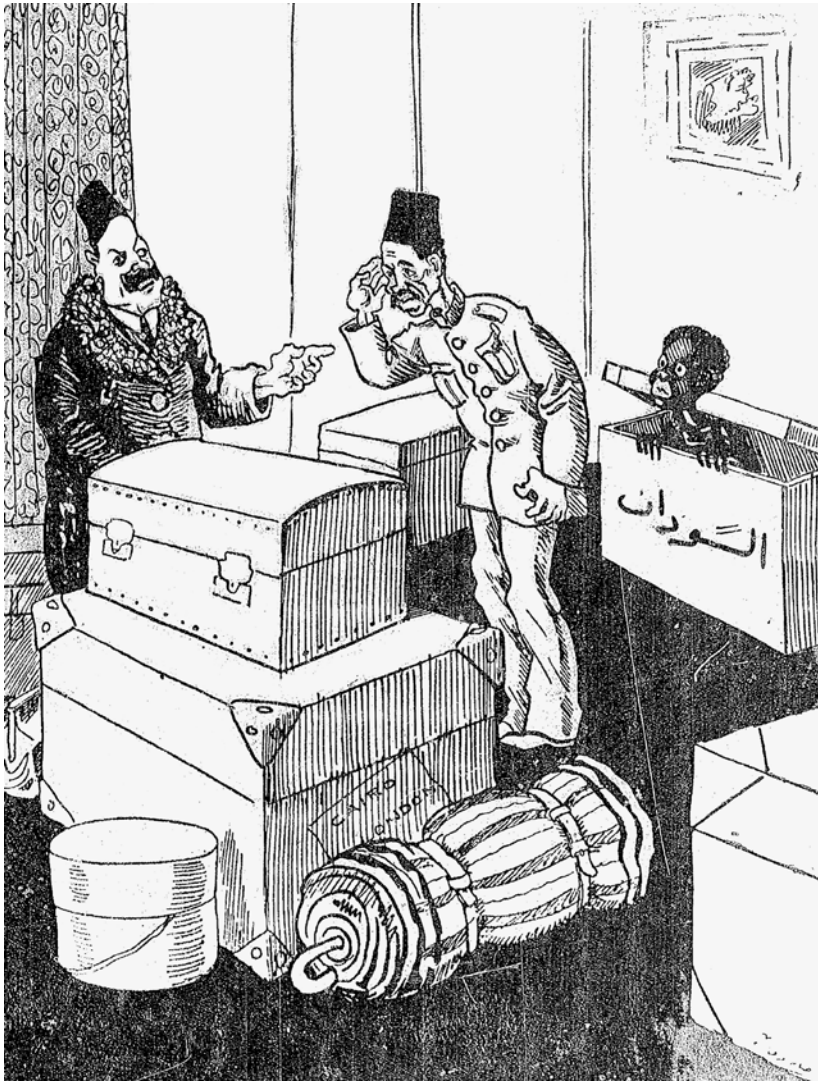


FIGURE 7.21 About the Negotiations. Iskanḍar Šarūḥān, “*Ḥawla al-muḥāwāḍāt*,” *Rūz al-Yūsuf* 164, March 18, 1930, 9.

THE JOSEPH REGENSTEIN LIBRARY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

In this composition, Prime Minister al-Naḥḥās is standing in the middle of a room, surrounded by travel crates. The destination is London, as a title on one of the crates specifies. Al-Naḥḥās turns to the officer facing him while pointing to a crate behind him, from which a young Sudanese man, or an adolescent, raises his head, and demands: “pay attention, don’t forget this box!” The caricature was published on the occasion of al-Naḥḥās’ departure to London to negotiate with Henderson, the minister for foreign affairs,

regarding a range of controversial issues, including the Sudan question.¹¹³ Al-Naḥḥās commands the

¹¹³ For the sequence of events that eventually led to the resignation of the prime minister, see al-Sayyid Marṣot, *Egypt’s Liberal Experiment*, 129–137. Al-Naḥḥās was accused in Egypt of failure in the round of talks. Al-Yūsuf discussed these events in her memoirs and mentioned that *Rūz al-Yūsuf* was the only paper which did not attack al-Naḥḥās for his statements over the talks. Al-Yūsuf, *Ḍikrayāt*, 137.

officer, while mentioning the box alone and ignoring its contents. Thus, he fixes its essence as a piece of property that can be transferred from place to place and denies the Sudanese subject his humanity.

During the 1920s, Egyptian nationalists, most notably Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, acknowledged the danger of accepting the racial differences among the people of the Nile Valley, which could materialize in losing the Sudan. Egyptian colonization of the Sudan was presented by al-Sayyid as a familial bond, referring to the Sudanese as the Egyptians' brothers. Through his writings, al-Sayyid, as discussed by Trout Powell, refuted the notions that Egyptians can colonize; only the foreigners, who did not have family bonds with the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, could do that. Sudan is not Egypt's colony, rather "she completes her."¹¹⁴ The new familial conception of the relationship between the Egyptians and the Sudanese was based on developments of Egyptian nationalist thought according to territorial criteria, which redefined the Egyptian nation through the slogan "the unity of the Nile Valley." However, the emphasis on the blood ties between the Egyptians and the Sudanese, as well as the emphasis on the shared experiences and suffering, or the equality of the Sudanese "with the Egyptians in all rights and duties," did not change the Egyptian premise regarding who ran the family affairs.¹¹⁵ It was an Egyptian "responsibility to look out for their brothers' welfare, and no one else's."¹¹⁶ The Sudanese could not have been imagined as co-administering the shared-nation, nor were they given a voice in the Egyptian political discourse itself.¹¹⁷

Caricatures from the period, as briefly discussed by Trout Powell, emphasized verbally the Egyptian notion that the Sudanese and Egyptians were "all from one mother, within the borders of

one country,"¹¹⁸ while visually speaking in another language. As an example, Trout Powell discusses a caricature which was published in *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* in September 1924 (fig. 7.22).¹¹⁹ In this composition Sudan is depicted as a ragged and diminutive dark-skinned girl, trying to scale a fence and reach a light-skinned and veiled Egyptian, addressed as her big sister. John Bull, representing Britain, grabs Sudan in an attempt to stop her from climbing the fence, while angrily saying: "I cannot leave you until I have completed your upbringing and education." Sudan answers, "Leave me alone! I'm going to my sister because I cannot live like this!" Egypt, looking over her shoulder with what appears to be a lack of interest, says to John Bull: "What have you to do with her? I'm her sister, I'm responsible for her." However, there is no visual similarity between the two sisters, but rather a *difference* which characterized all treatments of the Sudan Question in Egyptian caricatures. In all the visual compositions, Egypt was depicted as a young woman, dressed in Western attire, occasionally with a light face-veil, while Sudan was depicted as dark-skinned, mostly naked (testimony to her *un-civilized* state, under the gaze of the caricaturists), and occasionally in torn ragged garments or tribal garments.

Trout Powell rightfully points to the fact the although the Sudanese girl's actions are considered her own, and she is actively trying to unite with her sister, her smaller dimensions in comparison to the other two figures in the composition, and her youth, imply that Egypt or Britain has to be the caretaker of Sudan.¹²⁰ In other words, Sudanese submission to Egypt is voluntary. This notion of Sudanese activism appeared also in other caricatures; however, it only appears in the sub-titles, suggesting, again, that the caricaturists' perception of reality differed from those writing the texts accompanying the caricatures. An example is a

114 Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, *al-Ġarīda*, October 22, 1910, quoted in Trout Powell, "Brothers Along the Nile," 179.

115 *Ibid.*

116 *Ibid.*, 178.

117 Trout Powell, "Brothers Along the Nile," 180.

118 *Ibid.*, 179.

119 Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭā'if al-muṣawwara* 499, September 1, 1924, 16. Trout Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 214, fig. 10.

120 *Ibid.*, 215.



FIGURE 7.22 What Have You to Do with Her? Untitled caricature, *al-Laṭāʿif al-muṣawwara* 499, September 1, 1924, 16. STERLING & BASS LIBRARIES, YALE UNIVERSITY

caricature published in *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* in April 1933 (fig. 7.23).¹²¹ John Bull stands in the middle of the composition separating the two sisters. Sudan's appearance is that of the most common stereotypical European depictions of the Sudanese—a wild savage. The young Sudanese stands in fear to the left of John Bull, peeking from behind him, while her gaze is turned to her right, towards the feminine Egypt. She wears only a white straw skirt. In her left hand she holds a long spear. Her skinny body, marked in bright black, differentiates her from the other two figures in the composition. John Bull's left hand stops her from stepping forward. However, her alleged desire to unite with her sister is only reflected in the text:

121 "Miṣr wa-l-Sudān bayna al-Inkilitarā," *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 621, April 7, 1933, 32.

"I want to see my sister Egypt." There is no visual embodiment of that desire in her bodily or facial gestures. To the right of John Bull, Egypt as a woman in her twenties, wearing a sleeveless green Western dress, stands with her back to the others, while her head turns to the right. Nothing in her bodily or facial gestures suggests she wants the reunion. On the contrary, it seems she is not interested in it at all, as she only gazes unconcernedly at the scene.

Did the Sudanese actually want to reunite with Egypt? The Egyptian political discourse ignored the Sudanese political perspectives. Educated Sudanese struggled with the concept of the "unity of the Nile Valley" because it insinuated an Egyptian hegemony over the Sudan. Deep anti-Egyptian sentiments among many Sudanese were exploited by the British and by the officials of the Sudanese



FIGURE 7.23
 Egypt and Sudan Between Britain.
 “Miṣr wa-l-Sudān bayna al-Inkilitārā,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 621, April 7, 1933, 32.
 HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

government to accentuate the depths of alienation between Egypt and Sudan. The British attempts met with great success among the leaders of the Ṣūfī *ṭarāʿiq* (sg. *ṭarīqa*, orders of the mystical tradition of Islam) and old supporters of the Mahdī. These groups blamed the Egyptians for bringing the British into the Sudan and for destroying the Mahdiyya. The status quo under the British was perceived as temporary and as a tactical alliance against the Egyptians, who had proven themselves from the Sudanese perspective to be harder to evict. These perspectives were absent from the Egyptian press.

Stereotypical depictions in Egyptian caricatures of the family members, from the north and south,

repeated time and time again in the compositions. However, while the political discourse accentuates the similarities between the Egyptians and the Sudanese—the Pharaonic culture, the Arabic culture, and the Muslim culture—the images themselves stressed the difference. The dark-skinned as opposed to the white-skinned, the civilized as opposed to the savage, the child-like as opposed to the responsible grown-up, the modern versus the exotic. A further distinction lay in the roles Sudanese played in the visual compositions. When they were not the subject of the caricature itself, they were presented as objects. In all other depictions they were shown as serving the Egyptians. In other words, for the caricaturists,



FIGURE 7.24 Egypt and the Sudan, January 20, 1931. “Miṣr wa-l-Sudān,” *al-Kaškūl al-muṣawwar* 507, January 20, 1931, frontispiece.

HOOVER INSTITUTION LIBRARY, STANFORD UNIVERSITY

the black *citizens* of the country, or the brothers from the south, were no more than an “empire of domestics.”¹²² One can compare this social and cultural satirical decree to the way the Sudanese were portrayed in the Egyptian movies of the period.¹²³

¹²² Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 6.

¹²³ For a survey of the output of the Egyptian film industry under al-Nāṣir’s rule and the limited political rhetoric advocating unity of the Nile Valley in the early al-Nāṣirist movies, see Gordon, “River Blindness,” 137–156.

Joel Gordon argues that the appearance of the Sudanese only in minor roles in Egyptian movies was a decided diminution, which underscored the gap between the official national narrative and pop culture.¹²⁴ The caricatured sphere presented this same gap. However, one should consider its context, whether Egypt’s reluctance to unite with the Sudan in the compositions was an Egyptian perception or whether it was a further manifestation

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 144.

of the complexity of the inside-as-outsider gaze of Egypt's caricaturists.

The political discourse of the "unity of the Nile Valley" is discussed by Troutt Powell as a discourse over cultural traditions which were consolidated over decades of trade in Sudanese slaves. The British saw the Egyptian perceptions of the Sudan and the Sudanese, and especially their justification for Sudanese slavery, as further proof of the Egyptians' inability to govern themselves—hence, a further pretext for their continuing presence in Egypt as well as in Sudan.¹²⁵ A caricature published in *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* in May 1932 encapsulates this British perception (fig. 7.24).¹²⁶ This composition depicts the two cultural entities at the focus of the Sudan Question's negotiations. At the center, a characteristic rural Egyptian and a characteristic rural Sudanese are sitting and talking on the bank of a river. Plain straw huts behind them frame the scene of an unknown village along the Nile.

Behind them stand two representatives of the British colonial powers in Egypt—the British High Commissioner in Egypt and the Sudan at the time, Loraine, and Alfred Spender, a journalist and writer, who resided in Egypt from time to time. The two are discussing the spectacle in front of them:

"Mister Spender: Look at these two Sir Percy, they are drinking from the same jug!

Sir Percy Loraine: Between us, all our work was due to fail!"

This imagined dialogue reflects the British attempts to educate or civilize the Egyptians and/or the Sudanese. It embodies the Orientalist discourse with regard to the difference between East and West and to the application of Western anthropologic research to the "narrative of salvation." The visual composition emphasizes these differences: the Western couple, in light-colored outfits, stands erect and gazing from afar at their proteges in need of their protection; while the Eastern pair are depicted sitting bent on the ground—as a further proof of their lack of appropriate education or civilization? Their primitive dress and their accentuated and somewhat grotesque facial features represent the counter-essence of the Westerners. Furthermore, their smiles can be seen as a testimony to their indifference to their condition. The straw huts accentuate their un-modern essence. For Loraine and Spender, the Egyptian and the Sudanese are one—both fail to realize the promise embedded in the British presence.

The unity presented in this composition as a testimony to the failure of the British cultural project does not reflect the idea of the colonized colonizer; rather it is another manifestation of the insider-as-outsider gaze of the Egyptian cosmopolitan artists. The appearance of the Sudanese in this composition is under the gaze of all forces active in the cultural sphere of the satirical press—foreigners, immigrants, minorities, *mutamaṣṣirün*, and Egyptians. This depiction represents the Orientalist gaze of the Other—no matter which colonizer the gaze belongs to.

125 Troutt Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism*, 2.

126 "Miṣr wa-l-Sudān," *al-Kaškül al-muṣawwar* 507, January 20, 1931, frontispiece.

Conclusion

In March 1907, the first and only issue of *Hā, hā, hā* was published by Muḥammad Mas‘ūd and Ḥāfiẓ ‘Awaḍ. The main article of the issue was a long survey of the art of the caricature, its visual principles, and its definition in Egypt at the beginning of the twentieth century—“for those who have not seen the paper of Ṣannū.”¹ As discussed in the second chapter, the writer shared with his readers that he did not learn the craft of drawing caricatures, which he admits requires expertise, skill and practice, as well as previous knowledge of the field. However, he thought that after he practiced that art, through his journal, he would shine and surpass trained caricaturists.²

To face the task he took upon himself, the editor turned to Salīm Sarkīs, who published a journal named after himself (*Mağallat Sarkīs, Sarkīs’ Journal, 1905–1925*), to advise him how to learn to draw caricatures. Sarkīs’ reply is as follows:

“I see you seek [...] to publish an illustrated, humorous, sophisticated [*rāqīyya*] journal. And the people of Egypt are un-familiar with this art. [...] And these paintings [require] an observation unlike any other [observation]. You know I was the first to draw these humorous political paintings in the Arab press. And I will tell you how to draw the deformed shape. And my lesson will be a kind of a survey of this art and I ask you to be aware that what I am offering you is a desirable and highly important privilege.”³

Further on, the editor of *Hā, hā, hā* continues in the attempt to explain the logic behind the humorous political paintings:

“And I also must say that whomever finds the jokes in this paper or its paintings ugly, there is no reason to be upset or angry. Because we are like the lunatics, happy and rejoice as we see people insulted by us, and we are deeply settled in our madness.

The deep reflection in these paintings, dear readers, which appear in this paper, will not provide what [the reader] expects, since the representation of people and objects in a humorous fashion aims in the illustrated humorous press to leave an impression which testifies to the characteristics of the people and their feelings, despite the deliberate distortion, the exaggeration and the changes in their looks and their facial features, and in line with the principles maintained in this kind of circumstances.

And the reason why this humorous art has not reached its high proficiency is not because it is in its infancy; but, rather, because it wasn’t born yet, and it is being born today with the publication of *Hā, hā, hā* into the world of reality, with its visible flaws, which we hope to amend with proper care, while readers can help by asking for them [the repairs of the flaws]. And we will answer to them [the readers] by improving and executing the journal perfectly.”⁴

Then, the editor turned to present, according to him for the first time in the Egyptian press, an artistic criticism of four caricatures, published in the issue of *Hā, hā, hā*, while seeking to illustrate their purposes and examine their satirical qualities. At the same time, the writer stated he would not continue to do this in future issues, since it contravenes the mission (*risāla*) of the comic press:

“if there is anyone amongst the readers who needs an explanation of these paintings, it is not for him

1 Al-Mağāzī, *al-Ṣiḥāfa al-fannīyya fi Miṣr*, 168.

2 *Ibid*, 169.

3 *Ibid*, 169–170.

4 *Ibid*, 170–171.

that this paper is published, since the purpose of these newspapers is the deception [*talbīs*] and the mystification [*ta'miya*], and the mixture [*idgām*] and the vagueness [*ibhām*] and all that falls under the title 'for the viewer to understand.' However, the images speak for themselves... and [for their] story, since these paintings are different paintings from [paintings] of ink on paper, from what newspapers publish every day.

And we prefer to provide here the explanation since it will enrich the visualization of this paintings from the one hand, while indicating the level [of understanding] which the painter visualized his readers can understand, on the other."⁵

Through the discussion of this essay from the beginning of the twentieth century, I wish to return in this final section, to Even-Zohar's Cultural Interference procedure, which includes the procedure of cultural transfer, as it was articulated in his Polysystem Theory. Returning to this theory will allow us to finalize the formative years of the caricature in Egypt.

Even-Zohar's Polysystem Theory aims to explain the changes accruing in socio-cultural systems, dynamic and heterogeneous, over time. The central and major concept in his theory of culture is "repertoire," as the "aggregate, or the accepted stock of options utilized by a group, and by its individual members, for the organization of life."⁶ Cultural repertoires need to be made, learned, and adopted by people—that is the members of the group. Their formation may take place inadvertently, or "spontaneously" (by contributors whose names and fortune may never be known) or deliberately (by known and sometimes remembered members who openly and dedicatedly are engaged in this activity).⁷

The major procedures for making repertoires are defined by Even-Zohar as "invention" and

"import."⁸ However, import has played a much more crucial role in the making of repertoires, and hence in the organization of the life of groups, as well as the interaction between groups. Within the procedure of "import," Even-Zohar distinguishes a state of integrated importation which he calls "transfer." Transfer can result in cultural interference.⁹ Meaning, when "a relation(ship) between cultures, whereby a certain culture A (a source culture) may become a source of direct or indirect transfer for another culture B (a target culture)."¹⁰ A culture may become a source because it is considered a model to emulate—a source by prestige. Factors such as establishedness and highly visible presence may contribute to making a culture prestigious.¹¹ A culture may also be *selected* as a source culture when it is dominant due to extra-cultural conditions—a source by dominance. The dominant position does not necessarily result from prestige, as in cases of colonial powers.¹²

For "interference" to take place, material or semiotic goods need to be imported to a target market and gradually become integral parts of the target repertoire. Meaning, when they become obvious, self-evident, for the target group and indispensable for life.¹³ That is to say, a successful "transfer" does not only result in the "domestication" (or contextualization) of the goods but, rather, in its converting to a generative model—namely, an active component in the domestic repertoire—and more importantly, in the domestication of the *need* for it within the target culture.¹⁴

8 *Ibid.*

9 Even-Zohar, "Laws of Cultural Interference," 52–69.

10 Hence, some kind of contact between cultures is a precondition for interference. *Ibid.*, 52–53.

11 *Ibid.*, 63–66.

12 *Ibid.*, 66–67.

13 As Even-Zohar elaborates, not all imported goods result in such *transfers*, and on the other hand, not all *transfers* that do occur play a major role in the target repertoire. Even-Zohar, "The Making of Culture Repertoires," 72–73.

14 The basic principle here is the separation of the *transferred* item from the exporting source and its ensuing

5 *Ibid.*, 171.

6 Even-Zohar, "The Making of Culture Repertoires," 70.

7 *Ibid.*, 72.

Contacts are intermediated through agents, such as various kinds of “importers.” In cases in which the intermediaries are indispensable, we often deal with a small group of agents who operate as entrepreneurs in and for a target culture.¹⁵ Even-Zohar calls them “agents of transfer.” In the case of many such agents of new repertoires, their personality often shadows the concrete products they have proposed, or the products imported have become identified with them.¹⁶ The willingness of specific agencies in a culture to adopt what is viewed as an “external repertoire” relates to a certain point in which extraneous repertoire becomes valuable for a certain social group which think of itself as *lacking* or *in need* of it. As Rakefet Sela-Sheffy indicates, the most conspicuous instances of this attitude are cases of *cultural planning*, which often occur during periods of drastic changes, as in the example from the modern period, in which societies sought to apply a modern ideology.¹⁷

Returning to the essay in *Hā, hā, hā*, it is possible to discuss, through its content, different aspects of Even-Zohar’s concept of interference, as well as the apparent and hidden difficulties which could thwart the successful transfer of the caricature into Egyptian culture. As the editor of *Hā, hā, hā* mentions, there was no precedent in Egyptian culture for the genre of the caricature—a *lack* which provides one of the basic preconditions for a procedure of interference. Yet, the *need* for it was there, and therefore the editor of *Hā, hā, hā* sought to “revive” (*yunhaḍa*) that art for the “public good” (*al-maṣlaḥa al-āma*).¹⁸ The use of the verb “to

revive,” which insinuates a caricature genre in the past, is not explained not by the editor of *Hā, hā, hā*, nor by al-Maḡāzī who quotes the essay in his *al-Ṣiḥāfa al-fanniyya fi Miṣr*.

The essay relates to the *need of agency* or *agents*, which will take the task of transferring the caricature into Egyptian culture on themselves—Ṣannū‘ and Sarkīs. However, in Egyptian historiography the name of Ṣannū‘ alone was identified with the importation of this genre, although, in practice, his contribution to the aesthetic development of the caricature art was minimal at best, as his drawings in *Abū naḍḍāra* were illustrative rather than caricaturative. The artists of the interwar period should have been regarded in this context as the ones whose artistic contribution to formulating, designing, and developing the genre in the Egyptian press was more fundamental. These agents, some recognizable (including Ḥulūṣī, Santes, and Ṣārūḥān) others mostly unknown (such as Doug, Ramzī, L.B.), promoted in their imagery a mixture of Eastern and Western norms, values, demeanors, symbols, and languages—new and old, modern and traditional, Europeanized and Egyptianized. Working with and through the journals discussed in this book, they presented themselves as belonging to the same group of *agents* who sought to construct the new Egyptian modern culture and nation. It was their *labor* which made the transfer of the caricature into Egyptian culture a successful interference and domesticated the caricature as a visual means to convey political and social criticism, and a truly obvious and self-evident art form for the Egyptian target society for years to come.

Despite their active role in these cultural procedures, most of them remained unknown, only their signatures on their works can serve as a testimony to their presence in Cairo’s society and culture in the interwar years. Some of them, were mentioned in a paragraph or two in catalogic works dealing with the history of the genre in Egypt—most of which focus on the 1950s onwards. Some of these artists were of Egyptian ethnic origin. Most others belonged to the cosmopolitan communities. They comprise a small group of “agents of transfer,”

independence: “once the source is no longer needed for the making of the item-of-repertoire in question.” Even-Zohar, “Laws of Cultural Interference,” 53.

15 *Ibid.*, 53–54.

16 Even-Zohar, “The Making of Culture Repertoires,” 75.

17 Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, “Interference and Aspects of Repertoire Consolidation in Culture,” in *The Challenge of the Hyksos: Cultural Interference in the New Kingdom*, ed. by Manfred Bietak and Orly Gooldwasser (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, forthcoming), 5.

18 Al-Maḡāzī, *al-Ṣiḥāfa al-fanniyya fi Miṣr*, 169.

foreign-locals, each one of them working simultaneously for several journals and newspapers, in Arabic and foreign languages. Some belonged to the communities of minorities; some emigrated to Egypt. Some stayed in Egypt most of their lives; others left. Some were *mutamaṣṣirūn*, who perceived Egypt to be their home, and saw the national struggle as their own (Ṣannū's "Egypt for the Egyptians" comes to mind). Others worked for a few years and left without leaving any clues to their new whereabouts. The absence of first-hand known biographies or any archival materials regarding their lives made it impossible to grasp the entirety of their intentions, motives, and worldviews. One could only try to extract their insider-as-outsider gaze from the images themselves.

The imprint of those artists, who were neither colonizers nor the colonized (or those "deceived by colonization"), was evident not only in adopting and assimilating the *foreign* visual repertoire but also in the absence of local visual models and aesthetics such as Arabic calligraphy, or caricatured types imported from local oral traditions like the Egyptian puppet shows (which were incorporated into the Ottoman caricature sphere during the first decades of the twentieth century).¹⁹ A visual caricatured repertoire based on local types became more apparent during the late 1930s and more prominent during the 1940s, as for example in the works of Raḥā and Ṣārūḥān, who designed *Bint al-Balad*, *Ibn al-Balad*, *Raḥī' Hānim*, and more. And yet, contacts and interferences continued to occur between Egyptian caricature and other cultural spheres—a phenomenon which, to use Even-Zohar' phrasing, "has always been part of the historical existence of human societies."²⁰

19 For a brief discussion of the integration of those types in the Ottoman cartoon space, see Brummett, *Image & Imperialism*, 54.

20 Even-Zohar, "Laws of Cultural Interference," 52. One can note in this context the importation, translation, and contextualization of foreign comics such as Micky Mouse, which began to be published in Egypt in 1959 by Dār al-Hilāl. For a discussion of the translation of Mickey Mouse into Egyptian culture, see Douglas

Another aspect relating to Even-Zohar's concept of interference appears in the editorial essay in *Hā, hā, hā*—the question of the foreign repertoire's acceptance as a crucial factor in the procedure of interference. According to Even-Zohar, the "acceptance of the foreign repertoire" depends on an intricate network of relations, which he labels "the system of culture," and which includes factors such as the market, power-holders, and prospective users.²¹ *Hā, hā, hā*'s editors related to the fact that the "people in Egypt are not familiar with that art," the art of the caricature, and they also pleaded with the readers to see in those "ugly" works the fruit of the labor of lunatics. Hence, they should not get angry while observing them. At the same time, they emphasized that explaining them verbally, or with published explanations, misses the objective of these comic paintings to begin with. To this, one should also add the interpretation published in *Hā, hā, hā* of four different caricatures—an explanation which testifies to the public's limitations of fully reading caricatures in Egypt at the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, for example, in the explanatory text accompanying the first image, the editors felt the need to elaborate that:

"The person sitting on the couch is an Englishman, the one facing him is German, and the one standing beside him is French. The one eating and drinking is the governor. The people at his feet are the Egyptians fighting for crumbs."²²

Meaning, the visual systems of signs, which marked each person as belonging to a different nation, was self-evident for the caricaturist, but was, apparently, not self-evident for its Egyptian readers. Despite the editors' declaration they will

and Malti-Douglas, *Arab Comic Strips*; Jehan Zitawi, "Contextualizing Disney Comics within the Arab Culture," *Meta: Translators Journal* 53, no. 1 (2008): 139–153.

21 Even-Zohar, "The Making of Culture Repertoires," 72.

22 Al-Maḡāzī, *al-Ṣiḥāfa al-fanniyya fi Miṣr*, 171.

analyze the image and its satirical components, they only named the figures represented.

It is worth mentioning in this context that there were other perceptions regarding the ability of the Egyptians to read caricatures. However, these came from *outside*. Thus, for example, at the end of July 1908, *al-Siyāsa al-muṣawwara* quoted an article first published in the French *Les Nouvelles* (*The News*), in which the writer addressed the capacity of the satirical press to threaten the public order in Egypt:

“Publishing the likes of this newspaper in an Eastern country incites the emotions of the locals, whose gaze is forcibly turned to it, eyes wide. There is no doubt that these images carry the intent of stirring up nationalist ideas against the Europeans and getting the populace to hate them. They [the images] are worse than the articles of [the nationalist daily] *al-Liwāʾ* [*The Banner*, 1900–1904] in this sense, because what *al-Liwāʾ* writes to promulgate partisan passion are read by a group of educated people who have some knowledge, but the art of *al-Siyāsa al-muṣawwara* is tendered to everyone with a pair of eyes, so it can disseminate envy and anger in the breast of anyone who looks at it, whether he be an illiterate peasant or a bureaucrat with official diplomas.

Were we in any other country, we would let *al-Siyāsa al-muṣawwara*'s illustrations pass with an unconcerned shrug of the shoulders. But the conditions of the East do not permit us such unconcern, for people tend to believe what is sketched or written for them taking a partisan or fanatical line.”²³

Ignoring the double-standard arising from this text with regard to the Egyptian's right to express political criticism through publishing caricatures (a right which the writer does not dispute regarding the French), the writer's anxiety and concerns

were based on two hundred years of drawing caricatures in France.

Moving forward to the 1930s, the reception of the caricature by its intended audience remained controversial. To what extent could “illiterate peasant[s]” during the interwar years fully read the images, while not having the appropriate tools to identify the ensemble of textual cues and visual symbols embedded in the works? Even if there was someone to identify for them the person depicted, this identification alone did not guarantee the deciphering of its intended messages. Testimonies from the period which were discussed throughout this book suggest that caricaturists in the interwar period were still perceived as lunatics, drunk or drugged. That is to say, although the journals discussed presented themselves as having high distribution numbers, the question of the acceptance of their caricatured visual repertoire remained questionable.

Another issue in question regards the success itself of the interference of the caricature in Egyptian culture. Even-Zohar emphasized the aspect of the “domestication” of the *need* for the imported repertoire in the target group. A hundred years after the publication of the single issue of *Hā, hā, hā*, one cannot dispute the fact that the caricature as a means to convey political and social criticism became routine. In the last decade, caricatures are being distributed not only through the printed press, but also through on-line platforms, which transformed the visual medium into a truly mass-cultural product.

However, in the interwar period, the interference of this artistic-journalistic genre was partial, at best. The caricaturists in Egypt refrained from creating a blunt, violent, and subversive visual sphere, and refrained from dealing with highly-controversial subjects. Thus, for example, while the Christian religion, and all its institutions, was targeted constantly in the European satirical press, one can hardly detect any caricatures dealing with Muslim institutions and the Islamic faith. The royal institution was also absent from the visual satire, and in any case, the caricatures in the Egyptian

²³ The essay from *Les Nouvelles* was published in Booth, “What's in a Name?” 288–289.

press were subtle in their visual aesthetic: some were no more than illustrative visual *documentations*. In most of the compositions, their objects of ridicule were not depicted in a grotesque, exaggerated, or distorted manner. The criticism was mainly expressed through subtitles and editorial explanatory texts.

Focusing on the visual caricatured models themselves, the *need* for some of them was domesticated in the Egyptian genre, such as the *need* for caricatured types as symbolizing the different social strata and social sectors; or the *need* to visually depict modern civil concepts like the nation, freedom, justice, and so forth. However, no fixed personification was established. Most of the types designed in the interwar period disappeared in the 1950s, such as the female personifications of Egypt or al-Miṣrī Efendi, which lost its popularity in the late 1940s. One can assume it was an anticipated process—initiated by new changes and contacts, which in their turn initiated the creation of new symbols, some local, others, again, imported and interfered into the Egyptian culture.

The cosmopolitan environment in Cairo and Alexandria, as the product and the producer of colonial modernity, was what enabled those caricaturist-agents to act for and through the Egyptian press—a press which foregrounded the Egyptian resistance to foreign rule. The question of whether their images stand in their own right, and do not absorb into and become a part of the “dominant culture of a succeeding metropolitan and parana-tional period” was negated through this work.²⁴ Most of the caricatures published in the Egyptian press in the interwar period could have been

read by non-Egyptian audiences—being more or less familiar with local politics. Thereby, the visual language of the caricature in interwar Egypt can be seen as *general* and *universal*.

Can these images be read as an Egyptian anti-colonial discourse? The titles, subtitles and editorial texts which accompanied the different images sought to distribute a political and anti-colonial counter-discourse; however, the images themselves presented, occasionally, a different and even opposite message. Consequently, one cannot always draw a clear line between the identity of “us” as opposed to the Other in the imagined realm of the caricatures. In other words, although the caricaturists demonstrated through their imagery their identification with the local, seeking to promote the national struggle against the British occupier, their visual language itself occasionally reflected the foreign, European, white gaze, and thus constructed an un-cohesive, inconsistent, and some may say, un-sure-of-itself visual sphere. It is doubtful whether these artists, neither colonizers nor colonized, could have truly constructed an Egyptian counter-colonial discourse, when their cultural loyalties were not necessarily Egyptian. I wish to give the last words in this context to Memmi:

“The distance between his [the colonizer who refuses] commitment and that of the colonized will have unforeseen and insurmountable consequences. Despite his attempts to take part in the politics of the colony, he will be constantly out of step in his language and in his actions.”²⁵

24 Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 244.

25 Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, 86.

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