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TOWARDS THE CHANGE OF A PARADIGM: DID LITERATURE EXIST IN 19TH CENTURY MOROCCO?

Morocco – *Al-Maghrib al-Aqsa* – was one of the few areas in the Arab world that were not joined in the Ottoman Empire and bravely resisted its influence. Morocco entered the 19th century in an atmosphere of isolationism, introduced by the Alaouite Sultan, Mulay Slimane (ruled 1792-1822) [Mansour,1990], which weakened Morocco's position – firstly economically, then politically. The Sultan banned Europeans from settling in Morocco, and Moroccans from travelling to Europe. At the same time, soon after, right behind the southern border, France intensified its colonial policy and later began its occupation of Algeria in 1830. In turn, changes in the climate in the southern Morocco were another factor which cause the Berber tribes to migrate north, and this subsequently led to armed conflict with the Arab population and other Berber tribes already living there. The isolationism policy was continued by Sulayman's successor, Abd ar-Rahman (ruled 1822-1859), but the famine of the 1820s forced him to open the country to Europe, predominantly to Great Britain – cooperation on part of France was impossible due to the support Morocco provided to Abd al-Qadir in his struggle against colonialism. Regardless of the internal problems, the Alaouite army, comprised of black warriors, was deemed invincible. This belief was shattered when Morocco lost the battle of Isly against France in 1844, which uncovered Morocco's weakness in practically all aspects. The French played an increasingly significant role. Additionally, between the 1850s and 1860s, Morocco was attacked by the Spanish who wanted to exploit the increasingly more visible weakness of Alaouite sultans. As a result of these actions, a trade agreement was signed with Madrid, which granted Spain similar privileges as those enjoyed by other European countries. Sultan Sidi Muhammad (ruled 1859-1873) was becoming more and more aware of the weaknesses of his state and so he decided to introduce various political and economic reforms, but was unable to overcome the resistance from the conservative circles. Definitely greater success in this sphere was enjoyed by Sultan Mawlay Hasan (ruled 1873-1894), who, as Muhammad J. Bayham claims, followed the example of the Egyptian viceroy, Muhammad Ali [Bajham, 1950: 230]. Évariste Lévi-Provençal states clearly that his rule also brought a kind of renaissance of Muslim writing, which was connected with, among others, a political and social peace in the country [Lévi-Provençal, 1922: 349]. on the other hand, it was during his rule that the Moroccans signed the so-called Treaty of Madrid in 1880, which became one of the factors that lead to greater subjugation of Morocco to western countries. Unfortunately, this rather wise and measured internal and foreign policy of Mawlay Hasan was not continued by his successor, Mawlay Abd al-Aziz (ruled 1894-1908), which culminated in Morocco being transformed into a French protectorate in early 20th century [Abitbol, 2009: 280-412].

The 19th-century Morocco took only a limited part on the Arab revival movement (*An-Nahda*), however, the opposite claim of it being a cultural vacuum are equally exaggerated as they are widespread. The Polish Arab scholar, Józef Bielawski writes: “When in the 19th century, the Arab East was in the midst of its political, national and cultural renaissance, Morocco was still asleep in the spiritual atmosphere of Middle Ages. Any breath of fresh reformist trends or renaissance ideas, either from the Arab East or from Europe, were reaching Morocco with great difficulty and would not have enough impact to change the traditionalist spiritual atmosphere of this country” [Bielawski, 1989: 87]. This is in contrast to the words of the contemporary Moroccan scholar, Idris Jundari: “In the 19th century, there was an all-encompassing revival, both in Mashriq as well as in Maghrib. It was the result of a civilisation change, which the West imposed on the Arab world beginning with Napoleon's conquest of Egypt and his attempts to change the structures in the region and to impose others, which would serve the new powers playing on the world arena” [Jundari,2012: 14].

In comparison with Mashriq, Moroccan renaissance was delayed by approximately half a century. However, the most recent publications concerning the turn of the 19th and 20th century in the region, such as Sahar Bazzaz's study, demonstrate that the 19th century Arab revival and its continuation in the first half of the 20th century in Morocco have not been extensively studied and explored [Bazzaz, 2010]. This problem therefore requires a wider and more comprehensive examination as part of the study of Maghrib culture until the fall of the Almohad caliphate in the 13th century (e. g. the post-Almohad man concept, created by Malek Bennabi) [Dziekan,2011: 201-211].

The 19th-century Moroccan writings have remained little known even among those specialising in Arab studies. In the first half of the 20th century, French scholars displayed some interest in this period, but later the

subject was virtually forgotten: overshadowed by the Morocco's cultural stagnation paradigm in that period. This occurred despite the rare but extensive publications by É. Lévi-Provençal from the first half of the 20th century (comp. above) and the monograph by Mohammed Lakhdar, published in 1971 [Lakhdar, 1971]. Researchers of Moroccan culture are also familiar with the works by local scholars, such as Muhammad Ibn Tawit [Ibn Tawit, 1984] or Abd Allah Kannun [Kannun, 1960] that present a vast panorama of the 19th-century Moroccan writing.

This at least should prove that at that time Morocco was no intellectual desert, and that paradigm persisting for decades should be re-evaluated. That period saw the activity of eminent historians, writers, and poets to which further sections of this paper are dedicated, including Muhammad Ibn Idris al-Amrawi, Muhammad al-Kansusi, and Ahmad an-Nasiri. However, they are but only a modest group of representatives of various literature branches in *Al-Maghrib al-Aqsa*. Obviously, these were writings of varying quality, but it would be unfair to claim that thus they had no artistic value and therefore is undeserving of scholarly interest. Prose was particularly of high quality, especially historical writings, which at this stage had not yet fully separated itself from belles-lettres and had not fully transformed into strictly scientific writing. Moroccan poets also produced works of fair quality. The fact remains that before the 19th century, it was difficult to notice any signs of literary renaissance in Moroccan poetry – it is traditional through and through, limited in its subjects and within the classical form and traditional imagery, but this should be regarded as idiosyncrasy of the 19th-century Moroccan poetry, rather than just its weakness. The represented genres included *qasida*, *muwashshah*, *ritha* (elegy), *ghazal* (including *ghazal mudhakkar*), *madih* (panegyric), *ikhwaniyya* (poem written for friends), *mawliidiyya* (a poem composed in honour of the Prophet on the occasion of the anniversary of his birth – *Id al-Mawlid an-Nabawi*).

This shutting off of Moroccan men of letters within the confines of classical forms can to some degree be seen as a result of the country's political isolation from European influences, but it definitely should not be considered a characteristic of Moroccan literary output. A similar phenomenon could be observed, for example, in Algeria, which due to the French invasion of 1830 was not, perforce, isolated from the West¹.

The 19th-century prose was definitely less developed in terms of genre variety. Of course, there were *khutbah* (orations) and *risalah* (letters), while few authors attempted such difficult prose genre as *maqama*. As mentioned before, there was an abundance of historic prose.

Now, the question posed in the title of the paper can be answered – of course, such literature did exist if it was written about, albeit if scarcely. Further on in this paper, the author present three eminent, 19th-century Moroccan writers, who could successfully compete in their respective genres against the men of letters from the Arab East.

Muhammad Ibn Idris al-Amrawi

Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Idris Ibn Muhammad al-Azammuri al-Amrawi al-Fasi was born in Fez, in a poor family who claimed Sharifian origins, most likely in 1794. He studied Quran studies, literature, prosody, and some secular sciences, such as mathematics, in his home town, at the Al-Qarawiyyin University. In 1814, there, he met Muhammad al-Kansusi with whom he later became friends for many years. When the Sultan built palaces in Fez for his two sons, a beginner, most likely only eighteen years old, the writer could present his poem written for that special occasion before the ruler. The Sultan was so delighted with the verse, he awarded the author 100 *mithqa* [Schrötter, 1930: 394].

The quiet atmosphere of Fez at that time facilitated the development of the young mind and soon Ibn Idris became a secretary to one of the most valued Moroccan historians ever, Abu al-Qasim az-Zayyani (1734-1833). Undoubtedly Az-Zayyani had the most influence on the intellectual formation and career of Ibn Idris. There are well-founded hypotheses that it was Ibn Idris who gave the literary form to the historian's works. And it was Az-Zayyani who in 1821 introduced Ibn Idris to Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Hisham when he was still a *khalifa* (the sultan's deputy) in Fez and the writer became his servant. One year later, Sulayman died and it was Abd ar-Rahman who succeeded him, which opened the door to Muhammad's further career at the court: the ruler named him as his vizier. This was a position with a lot of responsibilities, especially at that time. Ibn Idris participated in almost all the activities undertaken by the Sultan in difficult situations which he faced during his rule in a time of political struggle in Morocco.

Ibn Idris was a very religious man, and very conscientious in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to him and did 'the work of four men.' This diligence and loyalty to the Sultan from the very first days of his rule did not, however, save him from the pitfalls of politics, which made his life rather difficult. In April 1831, as a result of a conflict with Al-Wadaya army², who claimed that he was the main cause of their dispute with the Sultan, Ibn Idris was imprisoned and his possessions were confiscated. In prison, he was severely tortured and remained imprisoned until 1835, when he finally regained the ruler's trust and took up another high position in the government.

Muhammad Ibn Idris died in 1847. As El Fassi points out the circumstances of his death are rather unclear. He died after a prolonged illness which could have been caused by the torture to which he was subjected in

¹ This paper does not include folk or semi-folk works, e. g. *zajal* and *malhun*.

² Arab cavalry comprised of members of this nomadic tribe, very influential, yet small part of the Moroccan army.

prison. Another version proclaims that he was murdered at the behest of Abd ar-Rahman, because, firstly, he was accused of too close a contact with the Algerian emir, Abd al-Qadir who was a competitor of sorts for the Moroccan ruler in the region, and secondly, he allegedly learned of certain deeds of the Sultan which were against Islamic morality.

Ibn Idris' literary output includes both prose and poetry. Ibn Idris' verses is undoubtedly of greatest literary value. His *diwan* was collected, but is it not available in its entirety to a wider readership as it remains in manuscript form. His works comprise, above all, mostly panegyric verse (*madih*), including elegies (*marthiyya*), which, of course, are very close in nature to the former. Ibn Idris wrote panegyrics in praise of the Prophet Muhammad, including numerous *mawlidiyyat*, which most frequently combine the praise for a ruler and the Prophet, and poems praising the Sultans Sulayman and Abd ar-Rahman, as well as pieces in honour of great Muslim «saints», (*awliya*). Of the elegies, the most famous is the one written after the death of Sultan Sulayman.

One of the more curious poems by Ibn Idris is he panegyric praising Sultan, Abd ar-Rahman, a part of which is devoted to an irrigation canal that the Sultan decided to build. It was connected with the need to water the *Al-Agdal* garden in Marrakesh, which the Sultan decided to renovate. The garden was established in 1157 by the Almohad ruler, Abd al-Mu'min, and later was embellished and developed by the following sultans, the last time by Abd ar-Rahman around 1824.

As a clerk of the *makhzan* Ibn Idris participated, as mentioned before, in many political activities of Abd ar-Rahman's time. This was also reflected in his works, and the best example of such religious and political verse is his address to the people of Maghrib calling for a holy war against the French after they invaded Algiers in 1830. Except for these most important genres and themes, his *diwan* also contains *ghazal*, descriptions (*wasf*), including masterful descriptions of nature, e. g. of grapes or the Sebou river, and poems of meditative nature. The last ones he composed during his imprisonment.

In formal terms, Ibn Idris' works is leaning rather towards classicism, but also displays a tendency for mannerisms. In formal terms it is typical *amudi* verse, but the poet also attempted other genres, such as *takhmis*. His poetic output is characterised by elegant language and sophisticated imagery, and the intertextual elements evidence how deep his roots reach into the Arab tradition.

Ibn Idris' prose includes mainly epistolography (*tarassul*). As a vizier he was responsible for the correspondence sent on behalf of the Sultan, including *dhahir*, the Sultan's official letters. He was the one who contributed to the revival of Moroccan epistolography, which was in crisis. Ibn Idris had a masterful command of rhyming and rhythmic prose (*saj'*), which he employed both with great taste and expertise. He could communicate modern thought in classical form, which was after all required by the nature of the texts he created. These letters also reflect the official protocol in force at the Sultan's court, and therefore they have the additional documentary value. Although the reader is dealing with rhyming and rhythmic prose that may require certain degree of verbal juggling, moreover as Ibn Idris usually does not speak on his own behalf and the subject of the letter is specific and imposed, and yet, as emphasised by Mohamed Lakhdar, his style remains clear and comprehensible for the reader today. The contents of these letters, as well as the poetry, can be read in historical works, where they are quoted as documents from the period and in the writer's biographies containing a complementary anthology, whose authors treat them as literary work. The most famous text in this genre by Ibn Idris is the letter sent on behalf of Abd ar-Rahman to his son, the successor, Sidi Muhammad, where he describes the events of the conflict with the Zammur tribe. Ibn Idris also attempted maqamas. Therefore he should be regarded as a multi-talented *adib*, who could hold his own among his contemporary Mashriq writers.

Muhammad al-Kansusi

Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Kansusi al-Marrakushi [Leiden, 1938: 884-5], also known as Akansus was born in 1797 in an old Berber family, who, on the mother's side, claimed Ja'fari origins. Akansus himself was questioning this *nasab*, but finally, after much detailed investigation he decided it was correct. From 1814 he studied at the Al-Qarawiyyin University in Fez. Traditional studies which he undertook included Quran studies and related teachings, as well as literature, the Arabic language and rhetoric, and additionally mathematics, *tawqit* (prayer timing science) and "secret teachings" (*sirr asl-huruf* and *awqaf*). As early as 1820, he became the servant of the Sultan Mawlay Sulayman, as his first vizier and the head of the chancellery (*Diwan al-Insha*). While serving the Sultan, in a politically difficult time for Morocco, he went on several important political missions. However, already in 1822, after the death of the Sultan and at the beginning of his successor's rule, he lost his office as a result of court plot and then he left for Marrakesh where he dedicated his time to teaching, mysticism, and writing. As a mystic he was first connected with the *Nasiriyya* order and he studied at the famous *zawiya* in Tamegroute in south Morocco, later, until the end of his life, he was connected with the *Tijaniyya* order, which regards him as one of its most eminent representatives.

Akansus was directly involved in many political events of that time, but already officially unconnected with the *makhzan*. In his views of the modernity of political situation in the Arab world, he did not share the awe of many contemporary modernists over the Western civilisation and saw it as a great threat to the Arab and Muslim

world in its entirety. At the end of his life, he lost vision and became a practising ascetic, among others, by refusing to eat meat. He dies in Marrakesh in 1877 and his funeral, as the contemporary historiographers noted, was attended by vast crowds of people. Today his burial place is still a destination of pilgrimages, mainly for worshippers connected with *Tijaniyya*.

Akansus literary work is not uniform and can be divided into a few main areas: historic writings, religious works, philology, and poetry.

The historical writings include, primarily, his most important work, published in full only in 1917/1918, but famous, two-volume monograph *Al-Jaysh al-'aramram al-khumasi fi dawlat Mawlana 'Ali as-Sijilmasi* ("Innumerable Fivefold Army or About the State of Mawlana 'Ali as-Sijilmasi"). This work was requested by Sultan Muhammad. Its initial fragments show inspiration and borrowing from earlier authors, which reportedly resulted in protests from the contemporary readers. Lévi-Provençal, who gives a quite detailed and gripping account of the work, in this case writes openly about plagiarising Al-Ifrani's (1670-1747) and Az-Zayyani's work. As Carl Brockelmann states, Akansus had a rather casual attitude towards historical truth.

For his chronicle, Akansus chose a specific structure, saturated with symbolism, on which he elaborates in the beginning of this work also indicating clearly that his aim was to justify the leading role of the Alaouite dynasty in the Islamic world, which was not, to put it mildly, accepted everywhere. The structure of the chronicle articulates Akansus' conviction that the history of Islam is an army, and, as any classic Arab army, is comprised of an avant-garde (*muqaddima*), two wings (*janah*), a heart (*qalb*) and a rearguard (*saqa*). To the author these divisions represent the subsequent Muslim dynasties.

Religious works remain, above all, in the context of Akansus' mystical practice and also concern problems of Muslim law. Sufi questions, mainly the defence of Ahmad at-Tijani's views are discussed in *Al-Jawab al-muskit fi ar-radd 'ala man takallama fi tariq al-imam At-Tijani bi-la tathabbut* ("A convincing reply to the one who spoke of imam At-Tijani's *tariqa* without conviction"). In this treatise, Akansus proceeds with the defence of the *Tijaniyya* order and the words of its founder against the attacks of the *faqih* and Sufi Ahmad al-Bakkay (died 1865).

Muslim law is described in the treatises which remain in manuscript form, including the comment to the qasida by Az-Zayyani on the *qat al-fatwa* in Fez and its neighbourhood and a treatise on the ablutions in the Mawlay Ya'quba hot spring.

Akansus, as any respectable and well-educated *adib*, was also interested in problems of Arabic language and literature. Here, an important work by Akansus is the edition of *Al-Qamus al-muhit* by Al-Firuzabadi (died 1414) which remains in manuscript form. In turn *Al-Ghayth al-ladhi insajama fi sharh Lamīyyat al-'Ajam* ("Rain", which transformed into a commentary on the *Lāmiyyat al'Aham*) is a commentary on the famous *Lamiyyat al-'Ajam* ("L-song of the non-Arabs *lam*") by At-Tughra (died 1120).

Akansus also left a vast correspondence (*risala*), which in many cases can be regarded as treatises – in keeping with the ambiguity of the term. An edition of these letters spans over 700 pages, and the texts in this collection are mainly religious in character.

Throughout his entire life Akansus wrote poems – these were predominantly panegyrics in praise of the successive Sultans: Abd ar-Rahman and Muhammad IV, but his work is characterised by both variety and high literary quality. The poetic output was collected in a *diwan*, however, one which, as far as the author knows, has not been published in its entirety, although in the minds of Moroccans Akansus remains as much a historian as a poet. The most famous poems of Akansus include the description of Muhammad Ibn Idris' garden, who belonged to the writer's closest circle of friends. As a poet, Akansus distinguished himself with his style, avoiding mannerisms so characteristic for many of his contemporaries, both eminent and second-rate poets. Another of his literary works is *Al-Maqama al-Kansusiyya* – a work of mystical nature.

Muhammad Akansus, referred to by his contemporaries and later as *adib Al-Maghrib wa-as-Sus* – "man of letters of Morocco and As-Sus", left a permanent mark on the 19th-century Moroccan literature, contributing to its development in a period otherwise regarded as languid. He was a versatile *adibem*, who influenced the later Moroccan writings in many of its aspects – purely literary as well as historical and religious.

Ahmad Ibn Khalid an-Nasiri

Shihab ad-Din Abu al-Abbas Ahmad Ibn Khalid Ibn Hammad an-Nasiri as-Salawi [Delhi, 2003: 32-34] was born in Salé in 1835. He was a direct descendant of the founder of the *Nasiriyya* mystical order (a branch of *Shadhiliyya*), Ahmad Ibn Nasir. He was educated in his home town, which at that time was an influential academic centre in the country. Of course, his education included classical Muslim religious education (theology, law) as well as Arab literature and other sciences. Throughout his life he was somewhat connected to Sufism, quite widespread in Maghrib, which was chiefly the result of his family traditions, on the other hand however, he was very critical of any "innovations" (*bid'a*) introduced to Islam and similarly to today's fundamentalist thinkers, he saw the source of Morocco's backwardness, when compared with Europe, not in adherence to religion, but in departure from it and its deformation. For this reason his views are sometimes described as Salafi.

In 1875 An-Nasiri began his service with the *makhzan*, where he filled various government roles, more and less important, such as a notary, superintendent, court's financial clerk, and a customs official. These, however, were not primary functions. At the end of his life he gave lectures in Salé, where he died in 1897. His biographers emphasise that in his teaching he introduced new didactic methods, extending beyond memorising, which, in his opinion, were not beneficial to the students. This, similarly to his views on Islam, caused fair resistance from the Moroccan alims. His criticism of maraboutism connected with hostility towards any innovations (*bid'a*) in Islam is especially characteristic. The Lebanese historian, mentioned above, M.J. Bayham regards him as the most eminent representative of Morocco's intellectual life in the 19th century [Bayham, 230].

An-Nasiri was a versatile man: a writer, historian, Sufi, lawyer, and finally - a clerk. This shaped his writing and contributed to a diverse range of genres and subjects. An-Nasiri's biographers list approximately 30 titles of works he authored. His most important work is *Al-Istiqsa li-akhbar duwal Al-Maghrib al-Aqsa* ("The Book of Investigation about the Dynasties of Morocco").

The work was first published in 1895 in Cairo. As Lévi-Provençal reports, the work was initially intended to describe the history of the Marinid dynasty and based on the work of Ibn Abi Zar' (died 1326) and Ibn Khaldun (died 1406), but later travels to various important Moroccan cities allowed An-Nasiri to obtain additional sources, which in turn enabled him to expand the scope of his work to the final page number and timeline.

Al-Istiqsa is one of the first examples in Arab historiography of a history of a "state". As Bernard Lewis writes, in Arab historiography "we rarely see histories of countries, and if so, they are, in fact, histories of cities. The history of Egypt is usually the history of Cairo, history of Syria - history of Damascus. One can find local histories of cities or provinces, frequently biographical, but not histories of states understood as they are more to the west, where people wrote histories of England or France [Lewis, 2004: 409].

Abdullah Laroui (Abd Allah al-Urwi), a Moroccan philosopher, historian and philosopher of history, makes numerous references in his writings to the work of An-Nasiri, treating it both as the source and, on the other hand, as the subject of his historiosophic and historiographic reflections. Laroui emphasises the usually traditional manner in which An-Nasiri writes the history, at the same time noting that his work can be read more as the author's vision of the history rather than a factual account of the events [al-Urwi, 1996: 11-13]. He indicates the overly literary nature of this historiography [al-Urwi, 2005: 77].

The form of the work is undoubtedly classical, which draws on the *khabar*, but the author of this paper believes that An-Nasiri presents historical writings that are not entirely traditional (as Laroui interprets). *Kitab al-istiqsa* lies closer to the boundary between tradition, represented, for example, by At-Tabari (died 923) and also Ibn Khaldun and the modern historiography. There are numerous attempts at criticism or verification of reports and An-Nasiri also includes voices from foreign monographs, Spanish and Portuguese. Except a chronicler's account, the work also contains fragments which Lévi-Provençal compares to the classical monographs of *wafayat*, or "life accounts" (lit. "obituaries").

In the light of this work, An-Nasiri can be described as the last gear Moroccan historian who wrote in the old style, but also the first one who began to break away from this style. As *Al-Istiqsa* is not solely a "dry" chronicle of events, in the style of At-Tabari, where the author's presence is limited to listing of their sources. An-Nasiri is present in his work predominantly as an observer, who draws conclusions both from past as well as the current events. This is not entirely a historiography that can be referred to as analytical. *Al-Istiqsa* also remains a work of literature. An-Nasiri is not fully able to break away from the traditional Arab historiographic writing which put great emphasis on maintaining beautiful form - but he clearly attempts to avoid contrived metaphors and to write in a clear and matter-of-fact manner, departing from the (the somewhat charming) *adab* manner. An-Nasiri's style is an important step on the path towards the development of new literary Arabic. All this contributes to *Al-Istiqsa*'s position as the most outstanding work in Arab literature in 19th-century Morocco [Завадовский]. *Al-Istiqsa*, in the words of Muhammad al-Ashari, Morocco's culture minister in 2001, is one of the foundations of Moroccan national memory and identity [Calderwood, 2012: 399].

Among his historical works, there is also the genealogy of his own family *Talat al-Mushtari fi an-nasab al-Jafari* (The Rise of Mercury or the Ja'fari Genealogy), which is also the history of the *Nasiriyya* order.

His other works show him as a versatile man of letters of his age. He is the author of the commentary to the famous *urjuzah* by Ibn Wannan (died around 1773) known as *Ash-Shamaqmaqiyya* and the commentary to Al-Mutanabbi's diwan. There is also a vast collection of his poems, many of which he quotes in *Al-Istiqsa* (these are mainly panegyrics), but the author himself showed disregard for his poetic attempts, although he displays great poetic craft.

A work of religious and philosophical character is *Ta'dhim al-minna bi-nusrat as-sunna* ("Elevation of love or on the victory of the sunnah") [Ar-Ribat, 2012], a dissertation on the various branches of Islam and the erroneous interpretations of faith they introduce, wherein he also suggests ways of reforming Sufism. An especially interesting text is the *Risalat al-Hawariyyin* ("Treatise on the Apostles"), where he discusses Christianity and the history of how it spread. There is also the work titled *Ar-Radd ala at-tabi'iyyin* or "The Reply to Naturalists/

Materialists”³, which is a record of a dispute with a European familiar with Western philosophies, who rejected the existence of entities, contradicted by Muslim law.

Unfortunately, despite such high esteem enjoyed by An-Nasiri in Morocco, a significant portion of his works remains in manuscript form.

All monographs dedicated to the 19th-century Arab literature focus mainly on Egypt and Greater Syria. Maghrib is usually omitted, although, for example, the 17th century is regarded in Algeria as its literature's golden age. However, the Orient scholars believe that there - between Benghazi and Agadir nothing of note was happening - or at least from the early 16th century if not earlier. If one is to speak of a time of a “depression” – *Inhitat* [Dziekan, 2017: 91-110] – it is especially true of the Arab West. Therefore, Arab studies still has a lot to make up for in this field. This paper is regarded by its author as another step in this direction. The author's research so far in the Algerian [Dziekan, 2014: 99-123] and Moroccan literature from the “Ottoman” period were the author's first attempts at subverting the paradigm of total collapse of Arab between the 16th and 20th centuries. The fact that the introduction to the VI volume of *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature - Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period* [Allen, 2008] reads that this is the final volume, and the volume dedicated to modern and most recent literature [Badawi, 1992] was already published shows just how much the conviction that the literary output in Arabic after 16th century is ingrained in the research. Therefore one should not expect anything in this area.

The author of this paper is personally convinced that it is worth changing this perception so that the image one holds of the 19th century Arab literature is not limited to the writings from the Arab East. The last one was undoubtedly in the avant-garde of the changes which swept across the region, but the aim here is not to dethrone it, but above all to show that the Arab West was also contributing to these changes in the Arab culture and society of that time. It was not only the societies of Mashriq who first just endured and then changed - Maghrib also existed even if one deems there were no notable reforms in the region. The author of the paper is convinced that the task before the researchers of culture and literature is not to describe that which is prominent, but also that which may not be of highest quality, but is evidence of a certain stage in development of a civilisation. In order to discover that civilisation, one cannot stop at the analysis of selected works by the most eminent authors from one, geographically separate area under the influence of that civilisation. It is necessary to explore also the output in other regions to understand how a culture endures, in contrast to such phenomena as development and progress. And this is an important task for the future of Arab studies.

Despite unquestionable talent, interesting oeuvre and importance for the literature of Maghrib, none of the three writers described herein appears in general monographs dedicated to Arab literature. An-Nasiri can, of course, be found in works dedicated to the history of Morocco and sometimes in monographs on Morocco's literary history. He is also the only one who “deserved” for his works to be translated into a western language – the entire *Al-Istiqsa* is available in French, a part - in English, and recently a translation concerning the 19th century was published in Polish. However, it was not as lucky as poetry. Although the original *Al-Istiqsa* contains numerous fragments of poetry by all three authors, the French and English translations omit these poems, and only the Polish translation reflects a true image of the original work content, and thus the fragments of verse by Ibn Idris, Akansus and An-Nasiri. Hopefully this is a promising beginning of the changes in perception of Arab culture of the Maghrib in the 19th century.

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³ It is worth noting that at the same time a work of similar title, if one is to judge by the short description of An-Nasiri's work, was written also by Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani.

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Marek M. Dziekan

Towards the Change of a Paradigm: Did Literature exist in 19th Century Morocco?

Since the beginnings of modern Arabic and Islamic studies in the West in 19th century, there exist a paradigm saying that the "Ottoman Period" (16-19 c.) in the history of Arabic culture and literature did not bring any interesting works, thoughts, ideas and personalities in the Middle East and especially in the North Africa. Nevertheless the last investigations provided as by Arabic as by Western scholars shows that this is not the truth. The achievements of this period are sometimes unexpected. In this context I would like to present shortly three 19th century Moroccan writers, whose output is almost completely neglected by the Orientalists. They are a poet and politician Ibn Idris al-‘Amrawi (1794?-1864), a historian and poet Muhammad al-Kansusi (1796-1877) and a writer and historian Ahmad an-Nasiri (1835-1897). Their literary output is little known in the West, while in Morocco they are treated as most outstanding writers in modern literary history of this country.

Марек М. Дзекан

На зміну парадигми: чи існувала література в Марокко XIX століття?

Починаючи з сучасних арабських та ісламських досліджень на Заході в 19 столітті, існує парадигма про те, що «Османський період» (16-19 ст.) в історії арабської культури та літератури не приніс цікавих творів, думок, ідей та особистості на Близькому Сході та особливо в Північній Африці. Проте останні дослідження, проведені

як арабською мовою, так і західними вченими, показують, що це не правда. Досягнення цього періоду часом несподівані. У цьому контексті я хотів би коротко представити трьох марокканських письменників 19 століття, вихід яких майже повністю нехтують сходознавцями. Вони - поет і політик Ібн Ідріс аль-Амраві (1794 - 1864), історик і поет Мухаммед аль-Кансусі (1796-1877) письменник та історик Ахмад ан-Насірі (1835-1897). Їх літературний вихід мало відомий на Заході, тоді як у Марокко їх вважають найбільш видатними письменниками у сучасній літературній історії цієї країни.

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