

Images of Arabs and Islam in Burton's Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah

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Abstract: The study aimed to discuss the position of Arabs and Islam in Western culture, concentrating on the British Victorians whose main conception of Arabia concerned the desert and the exotic orient. The increasing political and economic interest of the British government in Arabia led to more focus on Muslim Arabs in the Near East and the Arabian Peninsula, beginning with Napoleon's conquest of Egypt c. 1799, and escalating as Suez and the Ottoman Empire became more intertwined with the British imperialism. Missions and tours for various reasons went to the Near East and the Arabian Peninsula to discover and bring information for the Western Empires specially, the Royal Geographical Society.

On the other hand, the growing body of science concerning the Arab world came under the umbrella of orientalism, including all writers, novelists and travelogues concerned with 'the orient'. One of the oriental travellers was Burton, whose mission to visit the two Islamic holy places Al-Madinah and Mecca was a classic and romantic one. Burton's mission was not only to supply his sponsors with geographical and scientific information about Suez, the Arabian Peninsula and the two holy places, but he had other personal motivations that affected his work; *Personal Narrative of A Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*. Continuously, the study applies investigative, descriptive analysis and critical analysis methods to answer the above questions. The study consists of four sections. Section one presents an introduction in five subsections: problem of the study, hypotheses of the study, significance of the study, methodology of the study and finally, structure of the study. Section two presents Victorians' views of Muslims in three subsections: Victorian thinking and culture in Britain; Islam in the Victorian literature; and Victorian travelogues. Section three comprises a thematic analysis of Burton's *Pilgrimage*, concentrating on his liberal and ethnographic interests that motivated his imperialism. At the last section, the study discusses the final results, the study limitations and recommendations for the studies about Burton.

Keywords: Sir Richard Burton, Victorian Travelogues, orientalism, Near East, Arab, Islam, Arabian Peninsula.

صور العرب والإسلام في رحلة حج بيرتون إلى المدينة المنورة ومكة المكرمة

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المستخلص: هدفت الدراسة إلى مناقشة مكانة العرب والإسلام في الثقافة الغربية، مع التركيز على البريطانيين في العصر الفيكتوري الذين اهتم مفهومهم الرئيسي لشبه الجزيرة العربية بالصحراء والشرق الغربي. أدى الاهتمام السياسي والاقتصادي المتزايد للحكومة البريطانية في شبه الجزيرة العربية إلى زيادة التركيز على العرب المسلمين في الشرق الأدنى وشبه الجزيرة العربية، بدءاً من غزو نابليون لمصر عام 1799م، حيث تصاعدت حدة العلاقة بين السويس والإمبراطورية العثمانية والإمبراطورية البريطانية. عليه ذهبت بعثات وجولات لأسباب مختلفة إلى الشرق الأدنى وشبه الجزيرة العربية لاكتشاف وتقديم المعلومات للإمبراطوريات الغربية وخاصة تلك التي برعاية الجمعية الجغرافية الملكية.

كما جاء الكم المتزايد من العلوم المتعلقة بالعالم العربي تحت مظلة الاستشراق، بما في ذلك جميع الكتاب والروائيين ورواد الرحلات المهمين بـ "الشرق". كان بيرتون من الرحالة المستشرقين، والذي كانت مهمته لزيارة الحرمين الشريفين: المدينة المنورة ومكة المكرمة، مهمة كلاسيكية ورومانسية. لم تكن مهمة بيرتون مجرد تزويد رعاته بالمعلومات الجغرافية والعلمية عن السويس وشبه الجزيرة العربية والحرمين، ولكن كانت لديه دوافع شخصية أخرى أثرت على عمله: *الرواية الشخصية للحج إلى المدينة المنورة ومكة المكرمة*. اتبعت هذه الدراسة المنهج الاستقصائي ومنهج التحليل الوصفي ومنهج التحليل النقدي للإجابة على أسئلة الدراسة. وتكونت هذه الدراسة من أربعة أقسام. قدم القسم الأول مقدمة جاء فيها مشكلة الدراسة وفرضياتها وأهميتها ومن ثم المناهج المتبعة في هذه الدراسة وأخيراً خطة البحث. القسم الثاني قدم آراء الانجليز في العصر الفيكتوري عن المسلمين في ثلاثة أجزاء: الأول: الفكر الفيكتوري والثقافة في بريطانيا. الثاني: الإسلام في الأدب الفيكتوري. وفي الثالث الرحلات الفيكتورية. كما تضمن القسم الثالث تحليلاً موضوعياً لرحلة بيرتون، مع التركيز على اهتمامات بيرتون الليبرالية والإنثروبولوجية التي حفزت إمبراليته. وأخيراً القسم الرابع؛ خاتمة الدراسة. حيث اشتمل على النتيجة النهائية للدراسة مع ذكر الحدود المكانية والزمانية لها وتوصيات لدراسات مستقبلية عن كتاب السيرريتشارد بيرتون. الكلمات المفتاحية: السيرريتشارد بيرتون، أدب الرحلات، الاستشراق، الشرق الأدنى، العرب، الإسلام، شبه الجزيرة العربية.

Section (1) Introduction.

1.1 Problem of the Study:

The appearance of Islam in the late seventh century with the Prophet Mohammad in Mecca in the Arabian Peninsula was to shape the subsequent history of Euro-Asian relations. Arab-Islamic expansion in the early *hijri* centuries terminated the Sassanid rule in Persia and ended Byzantine hegemony in the Middle East. This began the now age-old encounter between Islamic and European civilization, cited by some as an inevitable clash of civilizations (Huntingdon, 1993), and by others as a generally peaceful coexistence (Braudel, 1996). The early centuries of Islamic dominance in the Mediterranean, Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent came to an end with the European Renaissance and Age of Exploration, and the crescendo of European expansionism which by the Nineteenth Century had brought most of the Muslim world under European colonial control (Kennedy, 2005).

Colonialism exposed Europeans to new peoples, cultures, religions and civilizations, and the Nineteenth Century witnessed unparalleled scientific interest in the cultures of the 'Orient'. Great translation works were undertaken by European orientalists, and cultural artefacts, from the time of Napoleon's occupation of Egypt (c. 1800) onwards, flooded into the museums of the European metropolises. Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula were particularly enigmatic due to their historical remoteness and traditional Bedouin culture (whose doctrines of hospitality, nobility and chivalry fired the imaginations of urbanised and industrialised Europeans), along with their suzerainty over the two holiest places in Islam – Meccah and Madinah. Thus, Burton intended to go to that part of the world to discover it and describe it to his sponsors which rises the following questions for this study to clarify its problem:

1. How were the Arabs and Islam represented in the Victorian books and scripts?
2. How were the Arabs and Islam represented in Burton's script *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*?
3. Was Burton's imperial script affected by his liberty and interests or not? Why?

1.2 Hypotheses of the Study:

This study analyses Burton's observations and attitudes to uncover the nuanced view that the Victorians had of the Muslim world, to explore where he conformed to the general pattern and where he differed from his contemporaries. Thus, the hypotheses of the study are:

- The Victorian conventional views of the Muslim world were not the same. While some writers and travelogues portrayed Arabs as primitives and savages, there were some praised them.
- Burton went to the Arabian Peninsula for the purposes of escaping from the Victorian traditions and discovering a new culture and Arabian people who were living in a harsh and dangerous environment to satisfy his anthropological and liberty thirsts.
- Burton portrayed Arabs as barbarians, savages and primitives and Islam as a religion of superstitions in his script *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*.

1.3 Significance of the Study:

The relationship between the Arabs and Victorians was not a simple continuation of the historical "clash" dating from the crusades; it included many fields and aspects of life. Victorian perspectives on the Muslim world are as enlightening about the Victorians themselves as about the latter. Victorian Britain saw the crystallisation of numerous new, dynamic and disturbing trends. Industrialisation (including steam technology), urbanisation and the maturity of post-Enlightenment science (particularly Darwinism) fundamentally challenged traditional structures of society and ideology. New technology linked the world – telegraphic communication between India and London for example enabled instant conveyance of information. Steam ships and trains eliminated barriers to travel and trade, and extended the military capacity of the European armed forces around the world. Traditional class distinctions began to be eroded with the rising manufacturing elite, who increasingly eclipsed the landed gentry in their wealth and importance in national affairs. The Christian religion – although in Britain (unlike in France) the official state doctrine – seemed to be increasingly challenged by secular scientific discoveries and theories, undermining the importance of man and the place of humanity in the world. Against the increasingly dynamic and powerful European civilizations the remains of the moribund gunpowder empires (Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal) lingered, their influence and power over their own territories increasingly eroded (Hodgson, 1977).

In recent decades, Edward Said's thesis of "orientalism" has come to dominate academic discourse on relations between "the West" and the Muslim world. According to Said (1978), Westerners view Islam and Arabs as inextricably linked, and associated with barbarism and backwardness. So, the importance of this study lies in the fact that, it is the first of its kind that shows the images of Arabs and Islam by the Victorians specifically, in the Arabian Peninsula. It also, investigates the Victorian books and scripts which were written by British travellers to the Arabian Peninsula about Arabs and Islam. In addition to that, the study is distinguished by analysing a script of Richard Burton *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* historically, thematically and literary to show how Burton portrayed the Arabs and Islam.

1.4 Methodology of the Study:

The study comes under the umbrella of human studies. So, the study used the following methods:

- **The investigative method:** the study investigates the Victorian books and scripts about Arabs and Islam which were written by British travellers to the Arabian Peninsula such as: Ricard Burton (1852), William Belgrave (1862), Lewis Pelly (1865) and Charles Doughty (1876).
- **The descriptive analysis method:** the study presents and criticises the previous studies about Arabs, Islam, the interactions and clashes between West and East during the Victorian era.
- **The critical analysis method:** the study analyses and criticises the script of Richard Burton *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (1852) historically and thematically to approve the existence of the imperialism and liberty themes towards Arabs and Islam.

1.5 Structure of the Study:

This study consists of four sections. Section one divides the introduction into five subsections: problem of the study, hypotheses of the study, significance of the study, methodology of the study and structure of the study. Section two presents Victorians' views of Muslims in three subsections: Victorian thinking and culture in Britain, Islam in Victorian literature, and Victorian travelogues. Section three comprises a thematic analysis of Pilgrimage, concentrating on Burton's liberal and ethnographic interests that motivated his imperialism, and a critical analysis of the prevailing trend of most critics to consider Burton as a pure imperialist. Finally, section four contains study results, study limitations and study recommendations for further and future studies.

Section (2) Victorians' Views of Muslims.

According to Wilson (2002), the Victorian period started in 1837 when Queen Victoria ascended the throne of Britain and ended with her death in 1901. In this important era there were many changes and factors that affected the life and culture of the British people as well as the new British Empire (which gained official status as an "Empire" in 1877 when Victoria was proclaimed "Empress of India" by Disraeli). This section explores the most significant influences on British culture and Victorian thinking which had an impact on literary works and writings of that critical period, including travellers' writing about Islam and Muslims. Macfie (2000) argued that Said saw that the relationship between the West and East was one of a relationship between "Self" and "Other", but Said's concept attracted a lot of criticism due to its provocation of antagonism between the "East" and "West".

2.1 Victorian Thinking and Culture in Britain:

Parkinson (1963) argued that the Victorian way of life and the neo-Roman traditions of the British people affected all aspects of life, which can be summarized in four points: the significant role of individuality, individual freedom and the individuals' relation to society; a sense of isolation from other societies; a strict hierarchical system; and institutionalized racial paradigms. Wilson (2002) stated that Darwin's theory was the most creative and destructive theory of the century (it came to the surface in 1859, with the publication of *On the Origins of Species*, but Darwin and others had been moving in a proto-Darwinian direction for some decades before). Many travellers and scientists were affected by and contributed to Darwinism. They supported the theory with a lot of evidences which they brought from other cultures and places of the world, fundamentally linked to growing British imperialism, which opened the way to the birth of the modern sciences of anthropology and sociology (and eugenics), which indicates the interest of the British in enlarging all levels of science and politics.

Darwinism gave a fillip to intrinsic racial attitudes. Parkinson (1963, 205-206) cited Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1895: "the British race is the greatest of the governing races that the world has ever seen"; however, it should be noted that the term "race" was used rather more freely during the period than its current connotation suggests, and the British "race" was in fact a composite of the English, Welsh and Scots. The quotation of Chamberlain (an ultra-imperialist dreamer whose calls for "imperial preference" – protective tariffs to encourage trade with British possessions – would have starved "the British race" within Britain) reflects Victorians' perception that they were the continuation of the classical Greco-Roman tradition of civilized, imperial rule. The curriculums of the public schools that were the engines of empire abounded with Latin and Greek, and values such as sense of duty to the state (reflected in Wilfred Owen's WWI counter-cultural attack on the maxim *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* – "it is sweet and fitting to die for country" – in his famous anti-war poem of the same name), chauvinism, and respect for law, order and industry. Thus, by 1886 the Victorian people considered themselves as the Chosen People. Parkinson added that the idea of imperialism and the civilizing mission appeared in literature with the works of Seeley and peaked with Rudyard Kipling in 1885 (Parkinson, 1963). Parkinson (1963) claimed that behind this imperialist propaganda was a harsh and unfair social system. He added that the industrial dominance made the Empire dominate other industrial and military powers; only Germany and the USA could challenge Britain in industrial production by the end of the 19th century, and the moribund civilizations of the Orient posed no significant threat to the Victorian civilization at all.

Nevertheless, according to conventional modern academic discourse, culturally (including religiously) and militarily, the Muslim world, especially the Ottoman Empire, remained a demonic "other" to mainstream Victorian society. Parkinson argued that the cold relationship between East and West was a result of the imperialism of the Western empires such as France and Britain. Queen (later Empress) Victoria held sway over many areas of the Near, Middle and Far East. The jewel in the imperial crown was India, and the importance of India formed the chief concern of British manoeuvres in the Eastern Mediterranean, as the Suez Canal was the artery of the British Empire, and thus had to be protected at all costs (Goody, 2004). Parkinson (1963, 184) mentioned that "India had already been placed directly under the crown, Queen Victoria proclaimed its Empress. After 1870 the tentacles of Empire reached out to Malaya, to Japan, and even into the heart of China". The trend of Empire affected a lot of English writers, travellers and traders, who had a chance to achieve their personal goals. In showing the jingoistic high imperialism of the age, Ledger and Luckhurst, (2000, 143) cited a speech of Cecil Rhodes (18 July 1899) at Drilling Hall, Cape Town: "Now, sir, they won't stop anywhere; they have found out that the world is not quite big enough for British trade and the British flag". Parkinson (1963, 184) observed that "By 1900 the British seemed to be everywhere, their power firmly based upon India and upon their naval superiority in the Indian Ocean".

Closer to home, some Victorians described the Ottomans in the Nineteenth Century, based on a spate of works on Turkish culture such as studies by E.J.W. Gibb, Redhouse and Hammer-Purgstall. Stanley Lane-Poole concluded that "Turkish literature is of enormous extent", depending on the knowledge of Turkish taste and language that he had (Lane-Poole, 1883, 224). This new thinking reflected the more bohemian trend in the Victorian society. However, it was also the result of political attitudes; Parkinson (1963, 186) cited Disraeli, who observed in 1866 that Britain "interferes in Asia because she is really more of an Asiatic than European powers". Disraeli, of Sephardic origin, was with his rival Gladstone the key figure in mid- to late-Victorian politics (Wilson, 2002). Auchterlonie (2001) chronicled a series of diplomatic affairs during the period in which Britain was closely involved with the Muslim world, including the Russo-Turkish war in 1876, the annexation of Cyprus in 1878, the deposition of the Egyptian Khedive Isma'il and the signing of the Treaty of Gandamak between Britain and Afghanistan in 1879, the attack on Tunisia by France in 1881, the attack on Egypt by Britain in 1882 and the loss of General Gordon in Khartoum in 1885.

A more immediate consideration of Muslims arose from a series of cholera epidemics during the Nineteenth Century, along with the general negative health outcomes of Victorian urbanization. Some have suggested that epidemics were deliberately employed as Malthusian methods of eugenic culling of the poorer classes; at any rate, urban squalor and disease certainly made life miserable for the urban poor (Wilson, 2002). Many people speculated that the cause of disease was the immigration of people from "the orient", understood to be anywhere east of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (e.g. Harker notes in his diary in *Dracula* that he entered "the East" from Budapest; "oriental immigration" during the Victorian period was normally linked to East European immigration, especially of Jews, who were escaping a series of pogroms by the Russian Tsars; Stoker, 1897, xviii, 224). Wilson records that three great waves of cholera struck Britain in 1848-9, 1853-4 and 1866, killing 53,000, 8,000 and 26,000 people respectively (Wilson, 2002, 37).

Wilson (2002) identified the 1860s as a significant watershed in Victorian politics, marking the dawn of liberalism or the new age. British men and women put old traditions and customs behind them, embracing the new trends of modernity. English men and

women began to be aware of and to take seriously Americanism. William Gladstone was the most important figure of this movement as a leader who believed that people should have freedom in everything, including democracy, in choosing who governs them, in reducing the monopoly of the Church of England and greater freedom in every aspect of life. While Disraeli was struggling to defend his concept of aristocracy against liberalism, scholars such as Lord Robert Cecil nevertheless hated Disraeli strongly, who in his later years was frequently criticized on the basis of his oriental (Semitic) background (Wilson, 2002). Despite new technology and lifestyles, Victorians still revered the aristocratic order of society, and the upper and middle classes lived in relative wealth and luxury well into the Twentieth Century. Wilson (2002, 1) mentioned that "The Victorians are still with us", and many trends of the era endure to the present day.

However, Ledger and Luckhurst (2000) argued that the Victorian era went through two ages, the first of which was the age of Victorianism, and the second of which was the age of modernity, which started in the third quarter of the Nineteenth Century, citing Max Nordau "Dusk of the nations, in which all suns and all stars are gradually waning, and mankind with all its institutions and creations is persisting in the midst of a dying world". This is to say that every nation follows its fate, which is going to destruction and ruin- a forerunner of Spengler's concept of the *Decline of the West* (1923) and Evola (2003) fatalistic philosophical ideas about the demise of the Traditional world and the tyranny of the Modern world.

The "new woman" began to appear during this time, contemporaneous with greater freedom in sexuality, writing, reading and women's roles. Previously rejected taboos became increasingly desirable by the end of the late Victorian period among liberals (e.g. women's suffrage). Revolutions in psychological knowledge, such as Freud's theory of psychoanalysis in the 1890s, and the influence of family memories on the personality, and concepts of schizophrenia and hysteria fascinated many late Victorian people (Ledger & Luckhurst, 2000). Thus, from the 1860s until the end of the Victorian era, there were many reformations in every field of life, including the biology, psychology, sociology, politics, economics, education, thinking, technology and literature as a result of civilization and modernity. People became relatively freer in their behaviour, religion and culture. The creation of many new concepts resulted, such as new women, new men, new species and new worlds, including the Arabian Peninsula, to be explored by the new men (and women, most famously Gertrude Bell, contemporary and colleague of T.E. Lawrence) of Europe. The complex environment of the late Victorian period saw many contradictions; between liberalism and conservatism, imperialism and internationalism, fanaticism and tolerance, and new men or women and the ancient order. All these contradictions affected the minds of fiction writers, dramatists, poets, novelists and travellers (Ledger & Luckhurst, 2000). Macfie (2000) cited Said, who argued that many conceptions seen as good and desirable in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century became bad and unpleasant in the late Victorian period and vice-versa, to serve political and personal aspirations.

The following section discusses the position of Arabs and Islam in the literature of the brave new world of Victorian Britain, in the works of poets, essayists, novelists and fiction writers.

2.2 Victorian Literature and Islam:

According to Stonky (1983), English Romanticism was unlike its parallels in the Continent, because of the British rejection of political trends emanating from Europe. Romanticism was rejected because it was detrimental to the position of the aristocracy of the Victorian Empire (despite the impoverished British aristocrat Byron being one of the guiding stars of Romanticism across Europe). Ludwig Tieck and his colleagues concentrated in their writing on themes of life such as dreams and theatrical illusions, not on political issues and liberalism. By the 1840s Dickens and other fiction writers took another trend by sympathizing with the working class and colonized countries, and the (literally) disenfranchised generally, stressing achievements in politics, economics science, technology and spiritual feelings (Stonky, 1983). Arnold and Guillaume (1931) argued that English Romanticism in literature was influenced by the *Arabian Nights*, which contributed to gothic romance and in reforming the English medieval and non-classical taste. They added that the most significant work reflecting the influence of the *Arabian Nights* in the Nineteenth Century was *Lalla Rookh* (1817) by Thomas Moore. Numerous works had Eastern names and flavours, such as *Sohrab and Rostum* (1853) by Matthew Arnold and *Ferishtah's Fancies* (1884) by Robert Browning. They concluded their argument by mentioning that the most compatible Arabian model in English prose literature during the Victorian period was *The Shaving of Shagpat* (1856) by George Meredith (Arnold and Guillaume, 1931). Khattak (2008) mentioned that *Lalla Rookh* was based on an Indian plot; it earned the praise of many Indian historians, although the author had never been to the Subcontinent. Finally, Khattak (2008, 51) cited Moore (1817, 39) "Well this shows that reading D'Herbelot is as good as riding a camel".

On the other hand, Arnold and Guillaume (1931, 209) also mentioned that for the growing interest of the British Empire in the East, especially towards Arabs, these 'oriental' works were sources and references for discovering the life and mysteries of the oriental world. Wilson (2002, 16) mentioned that in 1837, the two writers who most affected the life of Victorians were Thomas Carlyle (*French Revolution*) and Charles Dickens (especially his creative fiction, including *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1859), which included many Eastern terms of reference.

However, the most significant works that the British depended on for their understanding of the Orient were those translated from Arabic by people with many motifs. *The Arabian Nights' Entertainment* as it was first known in English was translated in 1651 by Antoine Galland (a French translator). Simon Ockley's famous work *The History of the Saracen Empires* (1708) was a pioneering work of oriental history. The most Islamic and important work was the first publicly disseminated English translation of the *Qur'an* by George Sale in (1734). These works affected many intellectuals and fiction writers of the Nineteenth Century, such as Carlyle, especially the translation of the *Qur'an* by Sale (Said, 1978, 63-64).

Hagelman (1977) emphasized the non-Romantic role of intellectuals and essayists in the new scientific culture of Victorian thinking. Historians and numerous scientists considered civilization, rationality and modern life, reflecting middle- and upper-class perspectives on the world. As part of this, Auchterlonie (2001) noted that more than 10 periodicals were written about Islam and the Middle East in the period of 1876-1885; publishing 353 articles, more than 200 of which concentrated on Islamic and Arab countries.

Carlyle (1840) represented the Prophet Muhammad ("Mohamet") and Islam in his book *Heroes and Hero Worship* as a true, faithful and great hero. He praised the Prophet's leadership in an environment of idolaters with loose morals. He stated that "look not at the falsehood of it, look at the truth of it. For these twelve centuries, it has been the religion and life" (Carlyle 1840, 76). Nevertheless, he described the *Qur'an* as gathered lies and iterations of stories (depending on the translation of George Sale). Finally, Carlyle praised Muhammad and observed that the Islamic religion had over twelve centuries convinced eighty million Muslims to follow him and believe in his religion without meeting him. Reflecting on the role of Islam in the Arab history, Carlyle discussed the importance of the geographical and religious origins of Islam- Meccah and Al-Madinah. Carlyle (1840, 77) observed (concerning Islam's birth in Meccah and Al-Madinah) that "To the Arab Nation it was as a birth from darkness into light; Arabia first became alive by means of it".

The most enduring and popular work that was concerning the Arab and Muslim world however was the eighteenth-century translation of the *Arabian Nights* by Antoine Galland. These tales satisfied the taste and style of all levels. This work took a long time to be collected by many authors and intellectuals. It was known as *One Thousand and One Nights* and sometimes as *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* (Ma'at, 1978; Khattak, 2008). The work was refined numerous times according to the mores and tastes of different decades and audiences due to its undoubted popularity and significance, from Jonathan Scott's version in 1811 to the definitive translation of Sir Richard Burton in 1888. Burton's knowledge of Arabic and his missions in the Orient, along with his arresting style in English, lent his version a colour which surpassed the preceding efforts (Ma'at, 1978).

In 2002, Emily Haddad collected the most significant poetical works of orientalist during the Nineteenth Century. She argued that the reputation of orientalist's poems reached the highest levels, especially in the late decades of the Nineteenth Century, because of the Islamic and Middle Eastern mimicry and representations in these poems. This reflects the new trends and style of "modern" Victorians. Haddad mentioned that the most significant influence on the Nineteenth Century poems was the *Arabian Nights*. She added that the narrative of oriental travellers affected the poems of Robert Southey's *Thalaba The Destroyer* (1801) and Percy Shelley's *The Revolt of Islam* (1818) in the 19th century (Haddad, 2002). The list of analyzed poets by Haddad included Wordsworth, Felicia Hemans, Matthew Arnold, Tennyson and Oscar Wilde. Finally, Haddad found that there was a connection between the poems of Victorian poets and the nature of the Middle East; the common themes of desert, man-made elements and landscape. Poets portrayed that these natural features of the Islamic, Middle East had affected the moralities and behaviour of the desert tenants, Bedouins and citizens. Thus, poets represented Arab and Middle Eastern people as cruel, harsh, primitive, fearless and unforgiving characters because of the hard nature that they live in (Haddad, 2002).

Bernard Lewis concentrated on the role of Empires – the Ottoman and Western powers. He argued that the relationship between all these powers were not only military; there were also many areas such as exchanging knowledge and trading bridges, and as part of this encounter the people of the Orient asked many questions such as "What are we doing wrong?, What are they doing right? And how do we catch up with them, and resume our rightful primacy?" (Lewis, 2002, 26). Hourani (1980) also argued that the relationship between Muslims and Europeans was not only military, given the large movement of traders and exchange of goods across the Mediterranean during the eleventh and twelfth centuries which expanded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He added that

until the sixteenth century, there was also an immigration and translation of Arabic knowledge into Latin which included many fields such as medicine, philosophy and other sciences (i.e. the medical scientist Ibn Sina). Lewis mentioned the role of missions from the side of the Western empires to discover the Middle East by performing the Hajj pilgrimage (Lewis, 2004), in addition to the large cohort of European colonial administrators and officials throughout the region. Additionally, military cadets and other students were sent from the Muslim world during the Nineteenth Century such as Egypt, Turkey and Iran for education in Europe (Lewis, 2004).

The fascination of Victorian authors with the Arab world was supported by Haddad (2002) with the example of Oscar Wilde's *Anthesia* (1879), which reflects a Liberal fascination with the Arab world upon seeing an Egyptian mummy in the British Museum (Wilde, 1879, 87-88):

O that gaunt House of Art which lacks for naught
 Of all the great things men have saved from Time,
 The withered body of a girl was brought
 Dead ere the world's glad youth had touched its prime,
 And seen by lonely Arabs lying hid
 In the dim womb of some black pyramid.
 But when they had unloosed the linen band
 Which swathed the Egyptian's body,--lo! was found
 Closed in the wasted hollow of her hand
 A little seed, which sown in English ground
 Did wondrous snow of starry blossoms bear
 And spread rich odours through our spring-tide air.
 With such strange arts this flower did allure
 That all forgotten was the asphodel,
 And the brown bee, the lily's paramour,
 Forsook the cup where he was wont to dwell,
 For not a thing of earth it seemed to be,
 But stolen from some heavenly Arcady.

Another example from *The Picture of Dorian Gray* by Wilde (1890) reflected an interest in Arab zoology: "The bezoar, that was found in the heart of the Arabian deer, was a charm that could cure the plague. In the nests of Arabian birds was the aspilates, that, according to Democritus, kept the wearer from any danger by fire" (Wilde, 1890, xi, 201).

Bram Stoker's *Dracula* mentioned the *Arabian Nights* and their macabre tales, which deeply affected the Gothic genre (Stoker, 1897, iii, 31):

It was this time close on morning, and we went to bed. (Mem., this dairy seems horribly like the beginning of the 'Arabian Nights,' for everything has to break off at cockcrow – or like the ghost of Hamlet's father.

Stoker also represented the East, especially Turks, as a source of danger and degeneration in *Dracula* by mentioning Turkish terms, reflecting the influence of Islam and the Muslim Empire in the following quote (Stoker, 1897, xviii, 224):

He must, indeed, have been that Voivode Dracula who won his name against the Turks over the great river on the very frontier of Turkeyland.

It is clear that the Victorian literature was affected by distorted images of the Muslim world from translations of the Qur'an, reformed and translated *Arabian Nights* tales and other Western cultural products. These works affected the perspectives and output of intellectuals, writers, poets and prose writers of the Victorian era. However, a small group of semi-professional adventurers, some of whom were sponsored and sent by the British government, travelled to the Muslim world and experienced it first-hand; these travelogues are thus fundamentally different from the mainstream orientalist works in the context of their production, and they are of the greatest interest to this study.

2.3 Victorian Travelogues:

Said (1978) argued that orientalism was acquired his new taste by 18th century Europeans and later was supported by scholars who added sense, taste and colour to this field. He added that the most important orientalists of the 18th century were

Foucault, Beckford, Goethe and Hugo. Thus, orientalism is embedded in all literature works, such as fiction prose, poetry, essays and travelogues, which formed the chief window onto different cultures for Victorian Europeans who wished to know the history, culture, people, and religions of other nations. Thus, orientalism can be considered as an independent genre. Said (1985) discussed that the main aim and legacy of the orientalism is historicism, which inspires in readers the concept that if the humans have a history and culture it should be narrated and documented to last for coming generations, by any tool. One of these tools was the travelogue, which was perhaps the most scientific, despite imperial, liberal, racial and other prejudices which often dominate such works.

Travellers and tourists to all sides of the world increased during the Victorian age. Notably, there was special interest in the East from the side of British people (Nash, 2009), aided by the advances in communications and imperial administrative networks outlined above. The most important places that attracted visitors were Egypt, India and the Holy Land. Thomas Cook offered tours to the Upper Nile from the 1840s (Gregory, 1999; Kark, 2001). Nash stated that the travel writing genre was emphasized and altered by the work *Eothen* of Alexander Kinglake, who visited the Ottoman Empire in 1834 but whose work was not published until 1844, then by the work of Eliot Warbuton's *The Crescent and The Rose* (1844), Thackeray's *Notes of a Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (1846), and Robert Curzon's *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant* (1849) (Nash, 2009). One of the most important (and certainly one of the most popular and lucid) was Burton's *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Mecca* (1853). However, according to Montagu (1929, 614; cited by Khattak, 2008, 44), travel literature continued the ancient and medieval European tradition of "traveller's tales", exaggerating the bizarre and exotic or even inventing monsters. Khattak also argued that there was as much falsity in the writing of Victorian travellers because of the absence of supervision of their works and the request for the corresponding Western public taste for prejudicial views about Islam and Muslims (Khattak, 2008). Goody (2004) argued that although travellers to the East brought very important knowledge to Europe, doubt about the reliability of some travellers' works remains because of their aims and motifs to travel (they could be imperial, liberal, economic and political). However, they were the only considerable sources of Eastern information which later became a separate literature genre in itself. Khattak (2008, 45) stated that "Among Victorian writers of travel there were differences in portrayal but surprising similarity in mistakes". However, the concentration here will be on English travellers to the Middle East and especially to the Arabian Peninsula during the Victorian period. Nash (2009, xi) mentioned that "As for the Arabian Peninsula, this was the Middle East's only blank space but it remained for much of the Nineteenth Century largely unexplored, in political terms its importance was nugatory". However, the Arabian Peninsula had a unique importance due to its significance to all Muslims as the site of the two holy cities of Mecca and Al-Madinah. It did not attract the attention of Britain until Burton emphasized its importance by "discovering" the Arabian Peninsula. Goody (2004) mentioned that Mecca and Al-Madinah were of interest to Jewish and Christian traders, while Mecca had more importance because of its religious significance.

The general ignorance concerning the region is expressed in a work in the 1830s (Carne, 1836, 1; cited by Khattak, 2008, 46) in which, discussing Mecca, it is observed that "an annual myriad advances to the tomb of the prophet"- misrepresenting the geographical location of the grave of the Prophet Muhammad by putting it in the *Kaabah* at Mecca (he is in fact in Al-Madinah).

Wilson (2002, 493) proposed that the Victorian self-perception of racial, technological and educational superiority led to "Bogus notions of racial stereotype, and favour for the salvation of souls, sometimes combined in the same individual to produce an alarming cocktail of imperialistic motivation". Wilson here attempts to show that the reason for the missions of Speke, Burton and Livingstone, sponsored by the British government, were not merely to discover new places of the world; always in the background was the civilizing mission. Nash (2009) mentioned that the reasons of travelogues were religious, political and social. However, to support the argument, Auchterlonie (2001, 11) cited Archibald (1877, 837), who described the Turks as "Barbarians pure and simple" because of the powerful Turkish army and the behaviour he witnessed when he served in it. He also cited the Gladstone, who led the racist criticism calling the Turks "The cruellest and mischievous despotism on Earth". De Leon (1876, 960) a US consul in Egypt, stated that "The Turk ever has been and still is an animal... and incapable of adopting our Western civilization as the African Negro in the Eastern and the Indian savage in the Western hemisphere have proved themselves to be". Auchterlonie (2001, 12) cited other British travellers who praised Muslims and the Islamic culture based on their experiences in interacting with them, such as Lord Kitchener, who in the period 1877-1878 described the Turks as "perfect heroes, enduring hardship without a murmur, always ready to fight, never conquered except by overpowering numbers". A traveller to Arabia in 1874-1875 to collect original Arabic horses. Upton (1877, 432) mentioned that "The Arabs are not savages, they are not barbarians... they have given their language to millions and diffused light, knowledge and science to the benighted people of Europe".

The preceding examples representing the Victorian views on Islam and Muslims show that the Victorians did not have a uniform conception of and attitude towards Islam and Muslims. There were some who offended Islam and Muslims extremely, depending on either a false background or bad experiences with corrupted Eastern people who could be found in any religion and in any society. Some praised Islam, Muslims and Arabs as a result of their experiences, even if these included fighting against them. Tidrick (2010, 1) mentioned that "it is the writings of four men (Richard Burton, William Palgrave, Wilfrid Blunt and Charles Doughty) which were mainly for the belief that Englishmen knew more about the Arabs than anyone else". This indicates the importance of the knowledge that they brought from the Arabian Peninsula to Europe about the Arab culture, language and religion. Later, all of these works came to be categorized under the genre of orientalism.

To conclude this section, it is clear that the puritanical mores and material advancement of the Victorian lifestyle made English people of the upper and middle classes haughty and dismissive of foreign cultures and religions. Victorians generally considered Muslims to be primitive and backward, but by the late Nineteenth Century, opinions were more varied and complex, based on orientalist's goals and motivations. The numerous diverse interactions and encounters between Europeans and Muslim people and civilizations have affected their works; some saw Muslim Arabs as savages and barbarians, while others saw them as educated, generous, noble and respectable. They became increasingly aware of Islam and its instruction because of travelogues about the Middle East, which (although they might be revolting to modern tastes) were more scientific and accurate than preceding polemics or fictitious tales. In addition to increased exposure to Islam and Muslims, the internal changes in Victorian society, driven by the reformation of rationality, science and cultural concepts played important roles in changing Victorians' perspectives towards others. The following section concentrates on one of the most important of Burton's works concerning the Arab world; his *Personal Narrative of A Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*. The next section aims to determine the position of Burton and his text within imperialism and to show the effect of the Victorian imperial culture on Burton's work.

Section (3) Burton's Personal Narrative of A Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah.

Burton's undercover experiences in India prepared him for covert and dangerous experiences. The choice of his forbidden journey to the two forbidden Islamic holy places in the Arabian Peninsula was daring and provocative, but it promised to yield useful information about the area in proximity to the main artery of the British Empire and world trade – the Suez Canal. Burton's *Pilgrimage* recorded his experiences, and is generally considered to be the most important English travel guide book about the Arabian Peninsula, written in a very fine narrative style.

This section is divided into two subsections, the first of which discusses Burton's *Pilgrimage* mission, and the most important events concerned with it. The second subsection analyses the theme of imperialism, which may be considered the hidden goal of this mission.

3.1 Burton's Pilgrimage Mission and Text

According to Kennedy (2005), Burton was thinking of travelling to Mecca from the time he was in India in the 1850s. Many factors attracted him to such an expedition, including imperialism, chauvinism and ethnographic interest. Additionally, in April 1852 the Royal Geographical Society offered 200 pounds sterling for any person who explored Arabia and brought detailed information. Godsall (1993, 333) mentioned that "the Council had obtained this sum from the Government and the EIC in 1846". Given that Burton was already an adventurer in India, it can be said that the concatenation of his own desire for travel and the growing imperial ambitions of the British Establishment precipitated his journey to Arabia. Growing imperial interest was indicated by the geographical and sociological study of the region. Godsall (1993, 334) stated that;

Sykes, however, elected to membership of the RGS Council in 1852, was keenly interested in seeing a new and accurate map of Arabia drawn up, and was grateful to use the results of Wallin's latest discoveries.

The project's inception was when Burton (1852, 318) passed a letter to James Melville, Secretary, India House, requesting authorisation to carry out a pilgrimage mission to the Islamic holy cities, citing his superior abilities in oriental languages (including

Arabic and Arabic literature), disguise and espionage, medicine and his military service as qualifications for the undertaking. Towards the end of this letter, Burton explained some strategic issues he had already considered to conceal his identity⁽¹⁾.

The quote mentioned in the footnote indicates Burton's deep knowledge of the Arab-Islamic culture (according to him), and that he intended to use these talents in the service of British national and imperial endeavour (to commend himself to the sponsors). He was consequently granted a one-year sponsorship to leave the East Indian Company Army and India to embark on an expedition of British espionage.

Godsall (1993) mentioned that Burton explained the imperial strategy in an official letter to the Court on 6th November 1852 outlining the plan that he intended to use to collect useful and very specific information about the Arabian Peninsula and its citizens, mentioning his imperial goals in a footnote.⁽²⁾ The previous letter obviously explains how Burton was eager and thirsty to explore the Arabian Peninsula and serve his nationalism by bringing undoubtedly politically and economically helpful information for his Empire, concentrating on the value of the valleys and the area's geographical importance to Suez.

In 1853, Burton shaved his head and grew a beard as the beginning of his disguise (Brodie, 1967). As Brodie and others have observed, Burton was not the first European visitor to Islamic holy places; the earliest cited travellers include Ludovico de Varthema (Italian) in 1503, Joseph Pitts (English) in the early eighteenth century, the Spanish geologist Domingo Francisco Badia Leblich in 1807 and the Swiss ethnologist Johann Ludwig Burckhardt in 1813. The work of the latter was a guide for Burton's voyage. Burckhardt was mentioned many times in Burton's Pilgrimage footnotes. Nevertheless, despite competition between the rival Western imperial countries to discover and colonize the Arabia from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, resulting in numerous works (notably those of William Palgrave and Charles Doughty in English), Burton's account was the most important. Because he was sponsored by the Royal Geographical Society to penetrate into the two Islamic holy places performing pilgrimage Hajj which reflects the explicit British imperial aim of his expedition. Burton in his ability to disguise was more brave than them to visit the two Islamic forbidden cities while the two could not.

Burton's Pilgrimage was affected by many factors. In terms of content, it was heavily influenced by the political intentions of his sponsors, who required geographical and scientific knowledge of Arabia. This dovetailed into Burton's own ethnographical interest, and his own curiosity. Thus, Pilgrimage covers many areas, including science, literature, orientalism, anthropology, geography and others.

Burton divided his text into three parts; Al-Misr (Egypt), Al-Madinah and Meccah, to show and clarify the importance and the value of each region, including its culture. The fine organisation and perfect linguistic style in writing the text, originally intended as a political despatch, led to it being prepared for publication after editing for the general public in 1855-6 (Godsall, 1993). The work achieved immediate and great commercial success in England and Europe. The European dimension should be noted; it was not a merely British phenomenon, and it also had an impact in the East, throughout the Islamic world. The book was republished many times in many editions.

Godsall (1993) argued that Burton originally planned to explore the peninsula by crossing it from the Hejaz to Muscat, but once he heard about the hazards of travelling to Hadramaut and knew he would have to walk he changed his mind, citing Burton's own

(1) I have devoted eight years to the study of the oriental manners, customs & literature, I served nearly four years in the Scinde Survey, can sketch & model, speak the Arabic language and have a superficial knowledge of medicine, besides which I possess the bodily strength and activity necessary for a traveller in wild countries....I propose to pass for a petty trader & physician, the safest character that can be assumed in those regions. Moreover, I doubt not that by virtue of my knowledge of the Muslim Faith and personal appearance, I should be mistaken for an Arab even in the midst of Mecca. (cited in Kennedy, 2005, 58-59; Burton, 1852, 318)

(2) No traveller, I believe, has ever penetrated into the interior of that part of Arabia which extends from Muskat to Aden, including the provinces of Shayr and Shakr, Hazramaut the Region of frankincense and the Himyaritic land of ancient fame. The meagre details which I have gathered from various sources lead me to suppose that the long belt of mountains which lines the coast, is intersected by rich and fertile valleys which support large and powerful tribes. Should the Honourable Court of Directors think proper to grant me permission to explore this interesting region, I would use my best endeavours to make as accurate a survey of it as circumstances permit. I would also ascertain the nature and extent of its resources, and attempt to remove the obstructions which the ignorance or the apathy of the natives may have opposed to the establishment of direct commercial relations with the western coast of our Indian Empire. Finally, I might investigate the Natural History of this Unknown Region, define the limits of that vast tract described by "Great Sandy Desert" in our maps, compile an extensive vocabulary of the Mahri or modern Himyaritic dialect, (Burton, 1852) cited by (Godsall, 1993, 338)

narration (1854, 209).⁽³⁾ However, it could be, he got some instructions from his sponsor to concentrate on the two Islamic places rather than facing danger that may cause losing the information that Burton collected during his journey until he stopped in El-Medina.

In 1853 Burton reached Alexandria, and came to Cairo disguised as a Persian to make preparations for the pilgrimage (Burton, 1855; Godsall, 1993). He stayed in Egypt for a while, learning about Islamic culture, Arabic language and dialect to prepare himself for the fifth pillar of Islam, Al-Hajj (pilgrimage). Burton performed all Islamic requirements in Egypt, such as the five daily prayers, fasting in Ramadan and giving charity (Zakat). Burton (1855, 23) stated that "to pass through the Moslem's Holy Land, you must either be born believer, or have become one, in the latter path is ready prepared for you." However, Burton later realised that the dangers of the expedition would be much greater if he went as a Persian doctor due to the anti-Shiah ethos of the Ottoman Empire, who then held nominal suzerainty over Egypt and the Hejaz. Thus, he changed his disguise to appear as an Afghan doctor (Shaykh Abdullah) from India. Burton realized that in this way he could interact deeply with the Islamic culture and acquire the desired knowledge, penetrating the region with a depth impossible for a non-Muslim European.

Burton left Cairo with two Bedouins by camel caravan crossing the Nile Delta until they reached Suez, to sail through the Red Sea via Al-Tur and Al Wajeh to anchor in Yanbu. From Yanbu they travelled to Al-Madinah and thence to Mecca, with the caravan. Burton described his journey and adventures in very specific details. He found a lot of contradictions between the Muslims and their culture with the harmonic and strong system of Islamic religious instructions. Though in his description of Mecca he found little that he could add to that of Burckhardt, his personal impressions of the place and the pilgrimage have permanent value. He expatiates on the extravagance with which the Meccans expended their easily won gains from the pilgrimage season, and on their pride, immorality and irreligiousness, though he has words of praise for their courage. Having finished the rituals of pilgrimage, he returned to Jeddah to leave the Arabian Peninsula, returning to Egypt (Burton, 1855).

Tidrick (2010) argued that when Burton was in India he suffered the angst of the dichotomy between his imperialism and English patriotism and his rejection of the Victorian lifestyle, which led him to offend all British sensibilities in a yearning for complete freedom. She added that his rebelling of British imperialism corresponded with democracy. However, some critics agree that Burton had an open mind, which made him admire the Bedouins' desert environment and customs, especially their generosity and courage, which is clearly showing in his text to the normal reader. In contradiction, his imperialism and patriotism to the British Empire affected his work which led him to portray Bedouins as savages and backwards who needed to be controlled (in his point of view). In addition, he admired Mohammad Ali's dictatorship in his way of ruling Egyptians and Bedouins (Burton, 1855). On the other hand, Burton did not like to be ruled by a strict regime which made him lived far away from Britain touring most of Asia and Africa looking for new lands for the mother Britain (Burton, 1855)⁽⁴⁾.

Burton experienced Bedouins when he left Cairo for Suez, judging that they deserved respect because of their courage and hard life. Tidrick (2010) mentioned that Burton's entire expedition from Suez onwards was in the company of Bedouins. The journey formed the mainstay of the Pilgrimage, and he gave relatively little attention to Al-Madinah and Meccah and other urban settlements that he passed. Burton admired the Bedouins' characters and their lifestyle, and how they coped with the heat of the sun, thirst, and the attacks of wild animals and Arab bandits. Burton was obsessive about the uncivilized desert and its people, which formed the crux of his Pilgrimage. Burton saw in this lifestyle the echo of an older (and nobler) European tradition that had vanished due to the crassness of modernity (Tidrick 2010).⁽⁵⁾

Burton conceptualised the Arab Bedouins as noble savages who manifested their inner and pure character and nature (Tidrick, 2010). Tidrick's analysis of Burton's psyche held that he was looking for a world that gave him respect, but he never got it; this led to his appreciation of Bedouin chivalry. They acquired for themselves the dignity of self that led others respect them unconsciously. In addition to that, Burton was fascinated by the primitive and uncivilized nature of the Arab desert and Bedouin origins. Thus, in the

(3) At El Medina I heard a tradition that in days of yore a high road ran from the city, passing through this wild region to Hadramaut. It had, however, been deserted for ages, and my informants considered me demented when I talked of travelling by it.

(4) I could not help casting one wistful look upon the British flag floating over the Consulate. But the momentary regret was stifled by the heart-bounding which prospects of an adventure excite, and by the real pleasure of leaving Egypt. (Burton, 1855, I, 194)

(5) The loom and the file do not conserve courtesy and chivalry like the sword and spear; man "extends his tongue," to use an Arab phrase, when a cuff and not a stab is to be the consequence of an injurious expression. Even the ruffian become polite in California, where his brother-ruffian carries his revolver, and those European nations who were most polished when every gentleman wore rapier, have become the rudest since civilization disarmed them. (Burton, 1855, II, 10)

following extract, he tried to portray the nature of the desert and beauty of the desert and the views that satisfy the desires of modern men bored of civilized cities in Britain.

We inhaled the fine air of the Desert, inspiriting as a cordial, when star-light and dew-mists diversified a scene, which, by day, is one broad sea of yellow loam with billows of chalk rock, thinly covered by a film-like spray of sand surging and floating in the fiery wind (Burton, 1855, I, 84-85)

Burton's Pilgrimage reflects his interests in taxonomy of race, such as his differentiation between the desert-dwelling Bedouins and townsmen, which led to many Arab race researchers exalting Burton's contribution in this field (Nash, 2009; Nash, 2005). Burton's interest in race and Arab origins is evinced in many instances throughout the text. He explained the characters and the traits of the Arab citizens of every city that he crossed or passed by. For example, in describing Suez, he wrote (Burton, 1855, I, 183):

The people of Suez are a finer and fairer race than the Cairenes. The former have more the appearance of Arabs: their dress is more picturesque, their eyes are carefully darkened with Khol, and they wear sandals, not slippers.

Such observations are made many times, each time Burton encounters a new people, including Egyptians, Turkish officials and Bedouins (the latter of whom were divided between those from the Hejaz and from Najd). In the context of the Victorian period, such observations were ethnographic, not merely the musings of a traveller, reflecting the scientific goals of Burton's expedition. Burton's commentary on race, nature and cultural attributes thus simultaneously reflected his own covert rejection of the modern world and the romanticism he attributed to the Arabs, and his contribution to ethnographic and geographical sciences. The question that arises is whether this contribution was in the name of imperialism, which is explored below.

The following section discusses the imperial theme in Burton's A Pilgrimage text by giving a brief introduction to imperialism in the nineteenth century and the most important figures and factors that helped in spreading this concept among the Western Empires.

3.2 Imperialism in Burton's Pilgrimage:

The term 'imperialism' is attributed to the 1840s and to the political, neo-Napoleonic aspirations of world dominance espoused by the French elite, specifically Prince Louis Napoleon and the Emperor Napoleon III. The first instance of the term in English was in 1868 in *The Spectator*, and was popularized from the 1870s by Disraeli's imperial project of establishing the British 'Empire' de jure (Eldridge, 1973). The European imperialism of the Nineteenth Century, in contrast to the Napoleonic period, referred to the process of discovering backward, primitive and warring societies outside the European arcadia and penetrating these regions to bring law, morality and religion instead of living in continuous war and darkness, seen as cover by anti-imperialists like Eldridge as a scheme "to molest any weaker nations" and to exploit other nations' wealth for the benefit of the European metropolis the British Empire lands and exploit other nations' wealth (Eldridge, 1973, xv-xvii). Of course, the joint-stock proto-imperialist companies (such as the British East India Company and the Dutch East Indies company, VOC) had got along perfectly well for centuries before the high imperialism of the Nineteenth Century; the imposition of direct imperial rule was seen as a purely governance-related move, to alleviate the blundering of the private companies (direct British control of India was established in response to the disastrous precipitation of the Indian 'Mutiny' by the East India Company, in the 'Act for the Better Government of India' (www.parliament.co.uk, 2012). Thus, Professors J. A. Gallagher and R. E. Robinson proposed the thesis that twentieth-century decolonisation was a mechanism whereby European states freed themselves of the burden of administering imperial possessions while leaving Western corporations and interests to dominate the economy of post-colonial societies, which they termed "informal empire" (Gallagher and Robinson, 1953). Gallagher and Robinson referred panoramically to imperialism, but Morrell focussed specifically on Burton's period (c. 1852-1872) in *British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age* to refer to the period between 1852-72 (Morrell, 1969), outlining that this was the inception of direct and more intensive colonial control of colonial or proto-colonial regions; thus Burton's mission came at a time of increasing imperialism.

Eldridge (1973) and Platt (1973) concur in the view that early Victorian free trade induced British governments to enlarge British possessions to benefit from the resources of primitive countries. Platt's model (1973) classes the early and mid-Victorian epoch as one of formal empire, during which the British Empire workshop industrially, politically and economically dominated colonial regions. Burton could be seen as paving the way for proto-colonial economic involvement in Arabia, as he himself (1855, I, 3) stated: "I was desirous to find out if any market for horses could be opened between Central Arabia and India."

Thus, given his roots in imperial India, Burton's consideration of developing equestrian trade between Arabia and India, especially given the extraordinary circumstances of his presence in Arabia on a "Secret Pilgrimage", can be cited as evidence of his imperial motivation; or perhaps it was a concession to his sponsors, although the bizarre prospect of such an enterprise suggests

otherwise. However, India was always at least as important as a market for British goods as it was a source of raw materials for the British Empire, and the implication of the text – the establishment of horse trading between Arabia and India is perhaps not so far-fetched, probably with Aden (under British influence) as the hub, which Burton originally intended to visit (as outlined above).

Tidrick (2010) suggested that Burton's imperialism was very weak when he was in India, but the cultural mores of the time compelled Europeans engaging with "natives" to adopt superior and condescending attitudes, the familiar colonial stereotype citing a quotation of Burton "I am convinced that the natives of India cannot respect a European who mixes with them familiarly, or especially who imitates their customs, manners, and dress." (Burton, 1855, i, 40). He also explained and stressed the importance of imperial attitudes in the Arab world, applying a similar perspective to Arabs as that he applied to Indians, in order to benefit from the potentially vast financial capacity of Egypt and their nature that like to be controlled. (Burton, 1855, I, 111-113)

Burton's imperial approach is implicit in Pilgrimage in three areas; the geographical information, the economic information and the customs and behaviours of Arab people towards strangers. Said (1978, 195) stated that "No man who did not know Arabic and Islam as well as Burton could have gone as far as he did". For all travellers to the Arabian Peninsula, Burton's text was comprehensive to cover all fields of Arab life, language and their secrets. Thus, he could give very specific details about every city he passed through, their routes and the weather. Importantly, Burton drew maps and used a sextant instrument which he was supported with to measure the distances between cities and places to show their importance positions geographically and economically. Significantly, Suez was given very explicit details, which was well-known to be a crucial hub of international trade and essential to all Western countries. As a consequence, he earmarked a section for it, noting that its inhabitants were very developed in the field of shipbuilding, which he attributed to Greeks:

The Suez ship-builders are an influential body of men, originally Candiots and Alexandrians. When Mohammed Ali fitted out his fleet for the Hijaz war, he transported a number of Greeks to Suez, and the children now exercise their fathers' craft. There are at present three great builders at this place. Their principal difficulty is the want of material. (Burton, 1855, I, 177-178)

The well-known importance of Suez was summarised by Eldridge (1973) as its strategic and geographical position for European steam ships that connected the West with India and Australia. The completion of the Suez Canal in 1869 reduced the journey between the mother country and Australia to seven weeks. The Suez Canal Company was spearheaded by Disraeli, the architect of British high imperialism, on the pretext of the failure of the Khedive to pay Egyptian debt (Eldridge, 1973; Nash, 2005). Consideration of the importance of Suez was already well understood when Burton passed through, and explained the detail he devoted to his description of the region, but he wrote equally about Mecca, Al-Madinah, Yanbu and Jeddah, the latter of which was in an important strategic position for British seaways.

However, alongside these overtly imperialist gestures in Burton's text, it is imbued with a general liberal and even romantic ethos, reflecting Burton's personality and interest in the unknown and exotic. His descriptions of wildlife and his colourful portrayal of human society is deeper than that required for imperial concerns; his rich details of Arabian culture, religion and people betray a deeper interest, and indeed the internal, deeply personal feelings of Burton himself, as in the following reflection;

But in such a country every slight modification of form or colour rivets observation: the senses are sharpened, and the perceptive faculties, prone to sleep over a confused mass of natural objects, act vigorously when excited by the capability of embracing each detail. (Burton, 1855, I, 148)

Burton's elaborate ethnographic details reflect his own interest in this scientific field, and cannot be easily ascribed to imperial motivations. He wrote extensively about "the Semitic race" and their traits, and went deep into the genealogy of Arab tribes (a preoccupation of the Arabs themselves) that he encountered in Cairo, Suez and the Arabian Peninsula. Nash (2009) argued that within all the most important motivations behind Burton's journey, there was a great alacrity to discover the origins of the Arab Bedouin races and to document these scientifically. Burton's generally romantic portrayal of the Bedouin as a noble savage is peppered with derogatory observations about them and others. Said (1993) argued that the discourse of Western culture of practicing imperial politics, economics and sociology was reflected and represented in the discourse of the historians, ethnographers, sociologists, philologists and novelists interested in ruling the oriental Islamic world.

Islam was also critically and provocatively appraised by Burton. He described the Islamic religion as a religion of superstitions. His knowledge of cultures and religions such as Hinduism, Judaism and Christianity led to his rejection of all religions, declaring "The more I study religions the more I am convinced that man never worshiped anything but himself" (Farwell, 1963, 378). Albeit, Burton's appraisal of Islam was favourable compared to his native Christianity (as mentioned above), his imperialism overcame

his other religious opinions and he could never take an oriental religion – including Islam – seriously. Said (1997) argued that the religious encounter of orientalism was not one of Christianity and Islam, but one of self and other, West and East, in which paradigm the Islamic religion was doomed to a subordinate position in the latter camp as far as most Victorian intellectuals, writers, novelists and essayists were concerned. Burton's generally condescending attitude to Islam is evinced in the following quotation:

under which lies all that makes life worth living through- surely it is a venial superstition to sleep with your eyes towards that Kiblah!- you fall into oblivion. (Burton, 1855, I, 209).

Burton's implicit condescension towards those he encountered runs throughout Pilgrimage, easily fitting into Said's (1997, 10) view concerning the orientalist, imperialist "notions about bringing civilization to primitive or barbaric peoples". Thus, Burton was a stereotype of his Western intellectual colleagues, novelists and fiction writers who represented Islam and Muslims as inherently inferior, matching their internal imperialist paradigm. Burton compares the Arabs with animals, especially camels and Arabic horses, lions and so on which indicates his influence of Darwinism⁽⁶⁾; while this may not be directly derogatory, the implicit inference is that Arabs are bestial. Although admiring of the chivalry and generosity he attributed to the Arabs, Burton paradoxically characterised the Arabs as avaricious, backward and barbarian, in line with classical British imperialism; "The valour of the Badawi is fitful and uncertain. Man is by nature an animal of prey," and "Savages and semi-barbarians are always cautious, because they have nothing valuable but their lives and limbs." (Burton, 1855, II, 78)

Consequently, Said (1978, 195) cited Assad's view (1964), that "Burton was an imperialist, for all his sympathetic self-association with Arabs". Indeed, even in the more favourable passages in which Burton praises the Bedouins, he is projecting romanticism onto them which he himself desires to see; for Burton, the Arabs are a canvass on which to project his own ambiguous passions, his abhorrence of modernity and his innate imperialist condescension. The "noble savage" is constructed to sate European ennui and disenchantment with modernity, not to reflect to reality of the people thus used.

To conclude this section, it is clear that Burton's plan to explore the Arabian Peninsula was practically for imperial goals, which is clear from the sponsorship of the venture, regardless of Burton's own confused imperialism. His interaction with Arab Muslims led to a nuanced point of view concerning the latter, exhibiting some sympathy, but fundamentally his Victorian imperialism is the prevalent theme that imbues all of his ethnographic and scientific considerations. Nevertheless, Burton's own highly personal account, particularly his detailed narration of the minutia of life in the course of a pilgrimage from Egypt to the Hejaz during the Victorian era, has proven to be a mine of fascinating and useful information not found elsewhere, and Pilgrimage is universally considered a fertile and prodigal environment for all types of researchers, regardless of the motivation behind the expedition.

Section (4) Conclusion.

The Victorian period is one of great importance to world history and to literature due to it being the critical era in the birth of the recognisably modern and globalised world. Victorian theorists, writers, novelists, technicians and scientists in all the fields of life are important for the contributions they made, and in terms of the context in which they arose, reflecting the prevailing trends of the time. This was the age of steam, reformation, communications and rationality, during which European material progress enabled the creation of vast empires and the domination of world resources (including people) by the governing and corporate elites of Europe. The imperial machine, driven mainly by economic considerations and corporations, was allied to an ideological justification in the form of the civilizing mission to bring European technology and enlightened government and culture to the backward regions of the world; innumerable writers were affected by this ethos, whether intentionally or not. One of these was Burton.

4.1 Study Results:

- A maverick and an outsider to conventional Victorian society in Western Europe, Burton became in his incarnation as an explorer of the Orient a patriotic son of Empire, serving its aims in his expeditions, funded on the understanding that he was contributing to the interests of Britain (ultimately earning him a knighthood), and permeated by his intrinsic notions of the cultural superiority of the West (a standard feature of imperialism). His voyages were "explorations" and "discoveries"; thus in his venture to Egypt and the Hejaz he "discovered" what his nature and education as a British man of letters conditioned him to find – a race of semi-barbarian savages, who could be compared to the wild animals that inhabited their barren deserts, albeit imbued with the

(6) The voice is strong and clear, but rather than bass: in anger it becomes a shrill chattering like the cry of a wild animal. (Burton, 1855, ii, 80)

projected virtues attributed to the Arab Semitic race of chivalry and generosity. Burton's representation of Islam was similarly paradoxical; he portrayed it simultaneously as a preferable alternative to Christianity in many ways, but fundamentally a backward and superstitious religion.

- Burton was escaping from the stifling atmosphere of the Victorian metropolis, but his travelogue was no mere recollection of an idle sojourn; it was (according to the time) an ethnographic work reflecting his own scientific interest in the taxonomy of race, and feeding the intellectual market for such science in Europe. The context of the work itself – a proto-imperial survey of the Arabian Peninsula in proximity to the strategic nexus of Suez – and the implicitly superior and condescending tone that runs throughout *Pilgrimage* establishes Burton firmly as an orientalist in the paradigm of Said, albeit he could equally be characterised as a liberal dissenter from Victorian bourgeois respectability.

4.2 Study Limitations:

The limitations of this study fall under two main categories: the structural limitations of a published article limitations, and content limitations, as outlined in the following points:

- As a research article, this study has a limited word length; Burton's *Pilgrimage* is a vast and rich text which cannot be easily summarised and analysed in the confines of a study.
- Time limitations prevented more in-depth research in specific areas, particularly with reference to other works contemporaneous with *Pilgrimage*.
- Although *Pilgrimage* was famous (both notorious and useful) in the Arab world, with its diverse information on politics, geography, economy, population and society, the chief Arabic analyses of Burton's work are not readily available in modern editions. Thus, despite the author being a native speaker of Arabic, it proved impossible to include Arabic texts relating to *Pilgrimage* for inclusion in this study.

4.3 Study Recommendations:

This study highlighted many important points which are very interesting for further studies. Numerous recommendations can be made for prospective researchers interested in Burton and his expedition to the Arabian Peninsula, namely to:

1. To Investigate the fidelity of Burton's claims about the Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) and his grave, and the third Caliph, Othman.
2. To investigate the fidelity of Burton's account of the Maliki school of jurisprudence as practiced in Cairo at the time.
3. To compare Burton's pilgrimage in 1853 with the Hajj historically, and considering the geographical route from Alexandria, Cairo, the Nile, Suez, Al-Taur, Alwajh, Yanbu, Al-Madinah, Mecca and Jeddah.
4. To conduct a thematic analysis of Burton's Pilgrimage and identify the Victorian cultural themes within the text.

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