



The Politicisation of Early Egyptian Tourism

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Abstract

Egypt's excellent geographical location has long made it an important link between Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Indian Ocean world. The country's history and achievements remain alive and modern and include innumerable cultural activities ranging from the arts to music and theatre. Egypt owes the richness of its present artistic and cultural landscape and modern infrastructure to Ismail Pasha (Khedive of Egypt and Sudan from 1863 to 1879), who aspired to modernise Egypt and introduce Egyptian society to Western culture. With the assistance of French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette, Khedive Ismail organised a tourist programme to introduce foreign guests to Egyptian culture during the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869. This article investigates this tourist programme and its itinerary, both of which were designed to provide guests with a sense of continuity between ancient Egypt and the Khedive's large-scale modernisation projects.

Introduction

Egypt is located at the crossroads of Africa, Asia, and Europe—a central location that has enabled Egyptian rulers to exert influence across a wide geopolitical domain. Consequently, Egypt has attracted the attention of great powers for centuries and has endured extensive foreign invasions and colonisation from ancient Greece and Rome, the Ottoman empire, and the French and British empires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹

This paper examines the politicisation of tourism in Egypt over the past century and a half. It suggests that Khedive Ismail Pasha attempted to present Egypt to foreign guests as a modern nation of religious tolerance and demonstrate his achievements as Khedive. The article also explores the conflict between Great Britain and France over tourism in Egypt during the nineteenth century. Before the inauguration of the Suez Canal, France directed tourism activities in Egypt; thus, French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette prepared an itinerary for foreign attendees of the inauguration. However, a few months after the inauguration, Britain gained control of tourism activities. There were many reasons for the transition from French to British control. The primary and most concerning reason was the debt accumulated by Khedive Ismail who had inherited some external debt from his predecessor, Said Pasha. During Khedive Ismail's reign, efforts to modernise Egypt generated enormous debts to both Britain and France that Egypt could not possibly pay off.² These debts led to increased scrutiny by his foreign creditors and, eventually, to direct intervention. Pursued by its creditors, the Egyptian government gave up its shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British government in 1875; as a result, the British government became a direct creditor of Egypt. In short, Egypt's sovereignty became compromised due to 15 years (1862–1875) of massive external debt.

For these reasons, Khedive Ismail was compelled to accept British control over tourism in Egypt. Unlike France, however, Britain had little interest in organising tourist trips in Egypt. Despite this, Khedive Ismail endeavoured to expand the industry and attempted to maintain some measure of authority over tourism in the country. In the nineteenth century, an international road transport competition was planned across Egypt, causing a conflict between France and Great Britain over the Suez Canal. Britain considered the canal a matter of vital political and economic interest to its empire and believed that no other European power should control Egypt. If the canal had been constructed based on the terms of the original concession, it would have granted France a foothold in Egypt, giving it much more power and influence in Cairo. Since Great Britain could not terminate the canal's construction directly, it opposed its creation through diplomatic means. The British openly questioned the successful completion of the canal on technical and scientific grounds, and argued that the workmen on the project were treated as slaves. However, all legal attempts to hinder the construction failed, and the Suez Canal was completed and inaugurated on 17 November 1869.³ Many studies have explored the origin and development of the Suez Canal. Ferdinand De Lesseps⁴ oversaw the completion of the canal and left ample records on his achievement in his *Origines du Canal de Suez*. Fortunately, the project took a firm hold on De Lesseps, stimulating him mentally and giving him an impressive objective worth to live and strive for.⁵ By the time of its completion, the Suez Canal had become a symbol of progress and of coexistence and cooperation between the East and the West.

Materials and methods

This article will explore the politicisation of early Egyptian tourism through an analysis of the tourist programme and itinerary developed by Egyptian authorities during the opening of the Suez Canal. Three specific periods of time will be examined—the period prior to, during, and after the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869. These three periods are closely examined in the following corresponding three segments of this paper.

History of tourism in Egypt prior to the inauguration of the Suez Canal

Prior to the opening of the Suez Canal, international travellers and Muslims on pilgrimage often passed through Egypt on their way to Mecca. Many of these travellers recorded their visits to sites in Egypt.

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 brought with it a large-scale scientific investigation of Egyptian antiquities by Western scholars, resulting in the significant discovery of the Rosetta Stone. Reports by French scholars prompted a revival of Egyptian art and architecture across Europe and North America and dramatically increased tourism in Egypt.

Foreign tourism in Egypt continued throughout the nineteenth century, as upper-class British, French, and German travellers visited Egypt to see ancient monuments and enjoy the country's warm and dry climate, sometimes for curative purposes.⁶ However, the foreign presence in Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century was noticeably different from the foreign presence in the latter half of the century. During the first half, most visitors had economic reasons for visiting Egypt; during the second half, most visitors were interested in studying monuments and collecting artefacts. The second wave of tourists came during the period of French and British colonialism.

In 1830, both a sea route and a land route were established from London to India through Egypt, inciting Egyptian leader Mohamed Ali to establish the Egyptian *Maslhit Al Murur* (traffic agency) in 1845. Further, on 8 May 1849, during the reign of Abbas Pasha I, Egypt issued the first decree to organise and regulate tourists and *turgmans* (interpreters). Egyptians and foreigners were permitted to work as guides; however, they were required to

procure a signed statement from tourists at the end of their visit to determine how satisfied guests had been with their guides' services. Thus, prior to the reign of Khedive Ismail, although the state itself did not facilitate tourist experiences, Egyptian leaders undertook great effort to develop tourism in Egypt.

During this period, English businessman Thomas Cook built his own tourism empire. His enterprise reflected how colonial expansion interwove business and politics during the nineteenth century. Cook first journeyed to Egypt in 1868, when he undertook an exploratory trip to the Middle East and visited Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. In the spring of 1869,⁷ he decided to conduct his first personally led tour, which consisted of ten travellers.⁸ The travellers were divided into two groups and toured on two Egyptian steamers, the *Benha* and the *Benisuef*, which were the personal properties of Khedive Ismail.⁹ The success of this first tour gave Cook the opportunity to lead the first grand tour to the Middle East later that year.¹⁰ During this trip he brought with him 60 eager travellers and a travelling camp, complete with 21 sleeping tents, 87 pack horses, 65 saddle horses, field kitchens, thick carpets for flooring, and metal bedsteads.¹¹ The trip was a huge success and led to immense popularity for Cook and his trips. Three years after his first trip to Egypt, Cook embarked on an around-the-world adventure, which may have inspired Jules Verne's novel, *Around the World in 80 Days*, published approximately six months after Cook began advertising his trip.¹²

Despite Cook's success, Khedive Ismail did not employ him to arrange the itinerary for the inauguration guests; instead, he entrusted the itinerary to French Egyptologist Auguste Mariette. Mariette was sent to Egypt by the French government in 1850 to collect Egyptian antiquities for the Louvre in Paris. Mariette was well-known in his field and had several important excavations to his name, including the Serapeum at Saqqara. In 1858, August Mariette persuaded the Egyptian government to establish its own antiquities service and the Egyptian Museum. Exploiting its leverage as a major imperial power, France dominated the service and museum for 94 years.¹³ In time, in recognition of his services to Egypt, Khedive Ismail appointed Mariette the curator of the ancient artefacts of the antiquities service and later conferred on him the title of Pasha.¹⁴ Mariette maintained a close affiliation with Khedive Ismail and planned all of his archaeological decrees. Moreover, the Egyptologist discovered 35 archaeological sites and employed approximately 3,000 workers annually. To stem the flow of antiquities from Egypt, Mariette forbade anyone except himself from performing excavations and attempted to prevent the vandalism of important sites by tourists and the destruction of artefacts by treasure hunters.¹⁵ Khedive Ismail trusted Mariette greatly and, in recognition of his contributions to Egyptian culture, had a commemorative statue erected in the façade of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. On 21 April 1863, Ismail issued a series of laws addressing the inspectors of antiquities, stipulating that Mariette's demands for assistance in his excavations in Upper Egypt should be met by the administration. Further, the laws specified that the workers on the site should be paid and forbade the destruction of monuments or the use of stones from monuments to erect governmental or private buildings. Under Mariette's influence, the number of European travellers arriving in Egypt continued to increase.¹⁶

The Suez Canal undoubtedly increased the flow of tourists coming to Egypt even before its inauguration. These visitors included curiosity seekers taking a detour from Nile and the Holy Land, European and American journalists, and business leaders forecasting the canal's future profitability. The canal attracted high-profile tourists even before it opened—in the spring of 1869, the then-Prince of Wales (and future King Edward VII) and his wife toured the Isthmus. Their visit took place before the inauguration because Great Britain planned to boycott the inauguration itself. After a brief stay in Cairo, the Prince and Princess of Wales sailed up the Nile for a six-week trip on the Khedival *Dahabiya*.¹⁷

Marketing of Egyptian Antiquities prior to the Suez Canal's Inauguration

Khedive Ismail ruled Egypt from 1863 to 1879 and was the grandson of Mohamed Ali, widely recognised as the founder of modern Egypt. Khedive Ismail sought to modernise Egypt, and thus Egypt underwent significant transformations during his rule.¹⁸ His 16-year rule saw the construction of modern infrastructure across Egypt—the extension of railway networks, bridges, and roads, construction of canals, planning and construction of new cities, establishment of palaces, museums, and theatres, and the beautification of streets. In short, Khedive Ismail modernised Egypt's transportation infrastructure and laid the foundation for a more unified Egyptian culture.¹⁹

Notwithstanding, Khedive Ismail wanted to integrate Egyptians into the field of Egyptology; he wanted to produce Egyptologists to work alongside Europeans in the Egyptian museum and Antiquities service in place of Europeans. Towards this end, he set up a specialised school of Egyptology to introduce Egyptians to the field for the first time in the history of Modern Egypt. His minister of education, Ali Mubarak, wrote the topographical encyclopaedia *Al Khitat Al Tawfiyyia* in which he paid careful attention to pharaonic sites. From 1867 to 1914, every Egyptian postage stamp featured a pyramid and a sphinx.²⁰ This reflects Khedive Ismail's attempts to present Egypt as a tourist destination. Notably, Egyptians appeared in the field of Egyptology for the first time during his reign. It is worth mentioning here that the Frenchman Mariette became concerned that the Khedive might have a secret plan to appoint his Egyptian apprentices familiar with hieroglyphic studies as museum officials. He thus ordered museum attendants not to permit any Egyptian students to copy hieroglyphic inscriptions. This was an inconceivable way for a foreigner to treat an Egyptian.

Through these modernisation projects, Khedive Ismail attempted to develop a tourism industry in Egypt. In 1867, he asserted his country's global stature as a cultural treasure at the Paris Exposition Universelle by marketing Egyptian monuments. The French assumed leadership in designing and executing the Egyptian section of the exposition; they were so successful in this regard that Mariette opined that the pavilions attracted significant media coverage.²¹

Mariette was in charge of overseeing the archaeological portion of the exhibition. Towards the end of 1866, he went to Paris to supervise the work, which involved 300 models, scenes, and inscriptions from temples in Upper Egypt. The other members of the exhibition staff—mainly French people living and working in Egypt—were charged with overseeing the various scientific, agricultural, and commercial exhibits.²² Following the exposition, Khedive Ismail accelerated his modernisation programmes. These included the initialisation of massive urban development projects and preparations for the inauguration of the Suez Canal. However, the 1867 exposition was a watershed moment for Egyptians; it marked the beginning of the transformation of their national identity. Thus, the Egyptian display embodied Ismail's attempts to place Egypt as an heir to the glories of ancient and medieval Islamic civilisation, and as a modern, civilised, and secular state.

From the end of 1867 onwards, Ismail began preparing Egypt for the Suez Canal inauguration celebrations. The opening ceremony required substantial preparation and investment which, eventually, led to foreign intervention into Egyptian affairs. Festivities associated with the Suez Canal inauguration were designed to promote foreign tourism and travel as integral aspects of the Egyptian economy. Numerous travellers attended the inaugural ceremony as the Khedive's guests. Some came to assist with planning the celebrations while others were tourists visiting ancient, Coptic, and Islamic sites in Egypt. The celebrations around the canal were a way for Egypt to symbolically reclaim the canal

and establish it as a sign of Egyptian modernity. In short, the canal was an opportunity to market Egypt as a country that tourists could visit not only to see antiquities, but also to travel to and within via a modern travel infrastructure. The Khedive ensured the accommodations and comfort of his guests—Egyptian officials were given instructions to pay close attention to visitors' carriages and donkeys, and dragomen (interpreters/guides) were provided to guests free of charge.²³ For their approximately two-month stay, the Khedive's guests did not have to pay for anything except personal expenses.²⁴ In short, Ismail's hospitality during the inauguration festivities increased his favour and popularity in European courts.²⁵ As we shall see below, the inauguration itself instated modern-day foreign tourism in Egypt.²⁶

Tourism in Egypt during the Inauguration of the Suez Canal

The Suez Canal has a complex legacy. Many would say that it's the most significant of all modern Egyptian public works, yet it also represents a distinct and largely permanent loss to Egypt. The canal's construction cost the national treasury more than 17,000,000 EGP in financial outlay²⁷ and diverted substantial and ever-increasing revenue from Egyptian ports to a project that ended up profiting a foreign power. The Egyptian government is entitled to only a 15 per cent royalty on the canal's profits. The canal's benefits to colonial powers were much more substantial; it more than halved the distance between Europe and India and thus facilitated increased trade across the British empire. British commentators of the time argued that, in exchange, Egypt gained significant political compensation from the canal, thus elevating its geopolitical significance and increasing its cosmopolitan importance and value.²⁸

From the summer of 1869 and thereafter, Khedive Ismail visited Europe and invited various rulers to attend the coming inauguration celebrations.²⁹ He invited up to 6,000 kings, ambassadors, princes, and similar guests, and a further 1,000 servants and 500 cooks from Italy and France.³⁰ The massive celebrations cost the treasury 1.5 million EGP. In addition, Khedive Ismail invited press from around the world, dignitaries in the fields of arts and science, and tourists from Russia, Spain, and Germany.³¹ He wanted to show off the glory of Egypt to his guests as well as to use the Suez Canal festivities to promote foreign tourism and travel as an integral part of the Egyptian economy.

On 13 November 1869, Khedive Ismail travelled to Ismailia to begin the inauguration ceremonies. Prince Frederick (the then-crown prince of Prussia) and ambassadors from Britain and Russia attended the reception. At the honorary reception, each guest was welcomed as per official protocol to signify peace between nations, and the guests each in turn greeted the Khedive. This reception took place separately from the opulent inauguration ceremony that was attended by various distinguished dignitaries, prominent princes, spiritualists, and scientists.³²

On 17 November 1869, the Suez Canal officially opened. The momentous event was also celebrated by the greatest figures in European arts, literature, and politics. The first vessel to pass through the canal was a yacht named *Aigle* and various steamers that carried the attending kings and princes.³³

The key to take into consideration was the Egyptian itinerary. The first of its kind to be created by an Egyptian ruler under his direct orders, it reflected the Khedive's Egyptian perspective on presenting his country to foreigners. This shaped the history of tourism in Egypt. A month before the opening, the itinerary began with 200 of Khedive Ismail's distinguished guests venturing out on an extended Nile cruise.³⁴ The Khedive also accompanied Empress Eugenie on her journey to the pyramids,³⁵ which was organised by Mariette.³⁶ It is evident from the tourist programme arranged by Mariette that he had

conducted field studies in advance and identified what he considered to be the most important and attractive archaeological sites in Upper Egypt, developed a detailed travel itinerary, and studied the travel conditions to ease their journey. For example, Mariette accounted for the flooding of the Nile by arranging the itinerary so that the visitors could visit important sites between Bulaq and Aswan in just 24 days.

Worth mentioning is the fact that Cook received an invitation to attend the inauguration from his close friend Ferdinand De Lesseps.³⁷ After receiving the invitation, Cook announced his intention to lead a group to attend the ceremony, which was to take place six months after the completion of this first tour to Egypt and Palestine.³⁸

On Tuesday, 9 November 1869, Cook and his small group joined the other guests at Trieste and arrived in Egypt five days later. Cook described his passage through the Canal as ‘one of the red-letter days of my life’, and this journey provided his rapidly growing business with new opportunities.³⁹ Surprisingly, Cook perceived his treatment as an injustice, because he and his troupe had not been invited as guests on the Nile cruise.⁴⁰ This incident suggests that not all guests were treated equally well during the celebrations and that Cook was not personally invited by the Khedive. It is possible that Cook was not invited on the cruise because another English tour operator, Henry Gaze, had preceded Cook to Egypt. Having an intense rivalry with Cook, Gaze may have curried favour with Egyptian authorities in advance and ensured that Cook would not be invited on the cruise.⁴¹

Mariette’s intimate involvement with the inauguration celebrations hints at the significant role played by the French in the creation of the Suez Canal. Indeed, the canal’s construction was widely considered to be an impossible undertaking before De Lesseps launched a private initiative, following the prevention of French occupation along the Canal (which was De Lesseps’ intention) and the subsequent colonisation.⁴² Although the British lacked direct control over the canal, they quickly recognised its monumental importance, both strategically and economically. Thus, by 1875, the Suez Canal Company had become an Anglo-French concern.⁴³

France’s involvement caused the canal project to accrue an enormous amount of debt—although De Lesseps persuaded many French capitalists to invest in the Suez Canal Company, the costs of building the canal exceeded his estimates, and British investors were eventually brought in to help fund the project. These debts led Britain and France to share ownership of the canal in 1876 and culminated with Khedive Ismail’s abdication in 1879 and British occupation of Egypt in 1882.

France’s involvement in the canal meant that the inauguration itinerary was written in French. The itinerary was included in a guidebook, and thus followed the tradition of guidebooks written by Europeans. These guidebooks prepared fellow European travellers for their journeys throughout Egypt. The first modern guidebook was written by Murray,⁴⁴ Baedeker,⁴⁵ and Joanne⁴⁶ in 1830. Later editions followed in 1835, 1840 (which saw the publication of five guidebooks), and 1850 (six guidebooks). Wilkinson’s first edition in 1835 included several features that would soon become common in Egyptian guidebooks—a section on English–Arabic vocabulary, a section on hieroglyphics, a list of pharaoh’s cartouches, and a chronology of rulers since the Ottoman conquest.⁴⁷ Mariette mentioned Murray, Joanne, and Isambert⁴⁸ in the introduction of the itinerary and described the guidebook that accompanied the itinerary as ‘excellent’.⁴⁹

Murray’s guidebook to Egypt detailed many possible routes, including those from Cairo to the Convents of St. Anthony and St. Paul, Cairo to Fayoum, and Luxor to Aswan, the First Cataract, and Philae. Conversely, Baedeker’s guidebook was organised around

specific locations where travellers were likely to stay, and provided possible itineraries for each location. Whereas both guidebooks gave travellers an idea of where to travel and what to see, Murray's advised travellers on how to appreciate their travel experience.⁵⁰ This may explain why Murray's name appeared in the introduction of the inauguration guidebook.

To clarify, there were many guidebooks written about Egypt prior to the Egyptian one, but the Khedive chose not to use them. Instead, he ordered a custom guidebook to be created and printed for the event because he wanted to introduce the guests to what he wanted them to remember about Egypt. His choice illustrates the crucial importance of the itinerary.

Although the inauguration guidebook did not credit Mariette as its author, a copy of the guidebook stored in Alexandria's municipal library contains handwritten notes by the owner which indicate that Mariette was indeed the author of the book. Further, Mariette was formally asked by the Khedive to organise the dignitaries' journey.⁵¹ We will now delve into the itinerary itself in further detail.

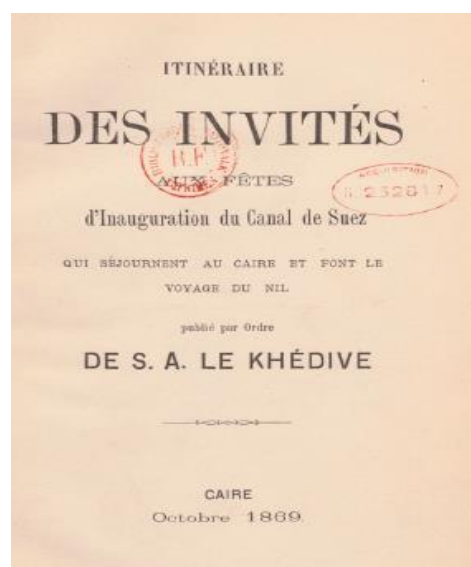


Fig. 1. *Itineraire des invites aux fetes d'inauguration du canal de Suez* (Front Cover).

Details of the Itinerary

Itineraries require detailed and careful planning, an important duty of a travel agency. Mariette incorporated suggestions made by previous guidebooks and listed the locations to be visited and relevant activities tourists could perform while there. However, it did not list or recommend accommodations; these were provided by the Khedive.

The itinerary purposely tied Egypt's present and past together and attempted to portray Khedive Ismail's modernising leadership in a positive light. It provided guests with descriptions of the victories of historical Egyptian kings and included a visit to the factories and quarries at Mount Series. By combining trips to Egypt's famous monuments with visits to its modern infrastructure, the itinerary intended to show foreign guests Egypt's progress and development and to laud the Khedive's efforts to modernise the country. The organisation of the Nile cruise was similar to that of an exhibition at a world's fair, where specific countries honoured their unique culture, history, and modern futures in dazzling displays (which were also meant to foment foreign investment). Ismail followed this same strategy by having dignitaries tour Egypt rather than having them stay in Cairo. The inauguration itinerary was unique because, unlike previous guidebooks that focused on Egypt's ancient past, it focused on Egypt's past as well as its present-day modernisation.

Mariette appointed guides to accompany the guests to facilitate their exploration of important monuments and tombs. German Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch, the director of the first Egyptian school of Egyptology (the *madrast El Lesan Al Masry Al Qadeem*), was among these guides. During the visit, provincial governors supervised the reception of guests and provincials, cleaned the streets, and held celebrations to entertain them. Mariette emphasised the Khedive's role in strengthening archaeological investigations and exploration by ordering the removal of debris in Edfu, the largest archaeological site excavated during his reign. In Edfu, the modern village covered the ancient temple, and debris was buried inside the temple.⁵² This showed the effectiveness of Khedive's efforts in both understanding ancient Egypt and constructing modern Egypt.

Mariette's guidebook was distributed to guests upon their arrival and before the start of the journey. Their passage to Upper Egypt took place via steamboat, which did not sail at night out of respect for sudden changes in the Nile's course and the difficulties this might pose. Thus, the ships stopped at night and were anchored to the nearest beach.⁵³



Fig. 2. Map for the guests' voyage.

After: *Itineraire des invites aux fetes d'inauguration du canal de Suez*, p. 179

The journey started approximately one month before the canal's inauguration and included a five-day stay in Cairo and 24 days travelling along the Nile.⁵⁴ Although Mariette found it difficult to schedule the itinerary for Cairo based upon the varied interests of the guests, he suggested the following activities for their five-day stay (Table 1):⁵⁵

Table 1

The Activities of the journey in Cairo

First day	Visiting markets and bazaars.
Second day	Visiting select mosques and the citadel.
Third day	Visiting the Holy Virgin tree and the ruins of New Cairo, then visiting Boulaq Museum in the evening. ⁵⁶
Fourth day	Visiting Old Cairo, then visiting the Mamluk's Cemetery in the evening.
The fifth and last day in Cairo	Visiting the fossilised forest, then walking around the city in the evening.

The first day in Cairo began with a free tour around the city and visits to markets, particularly Khan El Khalili.⁵⁷ The second day included visiting the mosques of Amr ibn al-Aas, Ahmad ibn Tulun, Al Azhar, Qalawun, Sheikho, and the madrasa of Sultan Hassan

Rumaila. On the third day, the guests visited the mosque of Al-Barqouqi, the Al-Ghouri complex, Cairo's citadel, the tree of Mary, the obelisk of Heliopolis, Boulaq Museum, the Pharaoh's Canal, and the Palace of Wax.

Mariette carefully and thoughtfully selected these attractions from among Cairo's thousand-plus mosques. The chosen mosques had historical significance in relation to the Khedive's objective to market Egypt as a modernising nation. For example, the Amr ibn Alas mosque is the first mosque built in Egypt during 641-642 AD, following the Arab conquest. Thus, it was among the most significant mosques in Egyptian history and represented a connection between the Khedive and early Islam, and afforded him greater legitimacy in the eyes of his guests. Likewise, the selection of this mosque emphasised the length of Islamic presence and rule in Egypt, highlighting a richness of tradition and faith. Likewise, the Ahmed ibn Tulun mosque (built by ibn Tulun between 835-884 AD) is the oldest mosque that had survived in Cairo with most of its features intact, particularly its external staircase minaret.⁵⁸ The selection of this mosque demonstrated that even older religious buildings were widely respected in Egypt. The Khedive's itinerary did not neglect Christian churches in old Cairo. Indeed, it explained the historical importance of these churches, particularly Saint Sergius church (Abu Serga). The fourth day of the group's visit to old Cairo included a stop at the religious complex that marked the southern boundaries of historic Cairo, including historical sites of Jewish and Christian worship.⁵⁹ Visits to mosques and churches were calculated to emphasise the Khedive's tolerance towards other religions. However, it should be noted that he intentionally had his guests visit mosques before any other house of worship to assert that Egypt is an Islamic country.

The complex of Sultan Hassan, encompassing a mosque, madrasa, and tomb, was considered the fourth pyramid due to its importance; thus, the Khedive developed the nearby Rumaila Square, turning it into a small garden with trees and springs, demonstrating further continuity between the past and the present.

Likewise, Azhar mosque was among the most celebrated mosques in Egypt because it is the only mosque which later became a university; in fact, it was considered the first modern university in the world.⁶⁰ During the reign of Khedive Ismail, the mosque was used as a shelter for the blind and had wide arenas where pilgrims and the elderly were housed in refuge. The Khedive had Mariette include this site on the itinerary to demonstrate to his guests that Egypt was at the centre of Islamic learning, and to emphasise his great generosity and charity.

The group also visited Cairo's citadel, built by Salah Eldin during the Ayyubid period to face the crusaders on the Moqattam hills.⁶¹ This complex featured many structural additions, including the highly significant Mohamed Ali mosque, which was and still is considered a masterpiece of Islamic art and architecture. The citadel remained the centre of rule until Khedive Ismail constructed the Abdeen palace in 1863. The citadel was at that time undergoing repairs so that it could house various ministries and public administration organisations; thus, it was further evidence of the Khedive's modernising rule.

The pre-inauguration journey in Cairo can be summarised in the following points. First, the Khedive wanted to show his guests that Egypt was the centre of Islam and that he was the patron of Islam. Second, he wanted his guests to see the progress of Egypt's modernisation under his direction. Third, he wanted his guests to witness his charity, and fourth he wanted to demonstrate his religious tolerance.

Cruise of the Nile

Mohammad Ali's establishment of a robust central government enabled Upper Egypt to be accessed by travellers and tourists as far away as Aswan.⁶² Mariette listed the distances between cities on the Nile in a table along with the refuelling points for vessels.⁶³

Table 2

The journey up the Nile was detailed as follows:⁶⁴

1 st day	Pyramids, Al Badrashin.
2 nd day	Saqqara, Memphis, and Zawyat Al Maslop.
3 rd day	Minia.
4 th day	Bani Hassan to Roda.
5 th day	Asuit.
6 th day	Sohag to Gerga.
7 th day	Balina to Abydos.
8 th day	Balina to Qena.
9 th day	Dandara, then returning to Qena.
10 th day	Thebes–Karnak.
11 th day	Qurna, Al-Ramssum, Deir El Madina, Madinat Habu.
12 th day	Drac Abu El Naja–Assassif–El Deir El Bahry.
13 th day	The Valley of the Kings and the Tomb of Ramses III, Citi II, and Ramses IV.
14 th day	Esna.
15 th day	Edfu.
16 th day	Gebel El Silsila.
17 th day	El Phantine.
18 th day	First Cataract.
19 th day	Aswan to Thebes.
20 th day	Thebes to Sohag.
21 st day	Sohag to Asuit.
22 nd day	Asuit to Minia.
23 rd day	Minia to Badrashin.
24 th day	From Badrashin to Cairo, then to Suez to attend the celebrations.

According to Mariette, a distance of 17km separated Banisuief and Al Roda; hence, the group stayed the night at Al Roda after visiting the factory that the Khedive had built there. Mariette insisted that the achievements of the Khedive should be pointed out along the journey, because Khedive Ismail had ordered Roda to be established on the west bank of the Nile.⁶⁵ Roda, with its factory, was among the Khedive's greatest achievements.

Mariette provided detailed explanations of the monuments at Serapeum, Dandara, and Edfu temple, because the Khedive had modernised the villages housing some of these temples, including Edfu, Karnak, and Dandara.⁶⁶ Mariette also appears to have been interested in promoting his own excavations within Egypt. He emphasised the monuments he had explored under the Khedive's orders, including Abydos, Madienat Habu, and the Valley of the Kings, where he excavated four tombs under the reign of Khedive Ismail.

Karabell Zachary writes that these tours were not connected to the inauguration itself: The temples of Karnak and the tombs of Luxor had nothing to do with a canal, the company, however, understood the power of indirect advertising, the canal benefited from its

association with ancient Egypt, however tenuous that may have been the romance with Egypt throughout Europe meant that people sometimes supported the canal because they were drawn to the pharaohs, and not because they had given serious thought to the cheaper shipment of goods.⁶⁷

However, I disagree with Zachary's argument that, if the company had wanted to benefit from the canal's association with ancient Egypt, the pyramids at Giza would have attracted many more European tourists. If this were true, then they might have only journeyed to Cairo and Giza and not travelled to Upper Egypt in an arranged journey. Contrary to Zachary's argument, which focuses on the canal itself, I submit that Khedive Ismail was promoting all of Egypt as a tourist destination, including sites in both Lower and Upper Egypt. Neither Zachary nor any other historians have mentioned the guests' impressions regarding their arranged journey.

Based on the above mentioned, it clearly appears that the Khedive wanted to show his guests both of his achievements—discovering ancient Egypt and modernising the country. Along similar lines Donald Malcolm Reid argues:

Eager to project himself as an enlightened European-style ruler, Ismail tried to do everything at once—expand his African empire, finish the Suez Canal, remake Cairo a la Parisienne, erect Abdin and other palaces, dig irrigation canals, build railroads, elaborate a state school system, and overhaul the courts.⁶⁸

Tourism in Egypt after the inauguration of the Suez Canal

Improvements in transportation and tourist infrastructure—including an increase in railway and steamship traffic and in the number of Egyptian hotels and resorts—caused an increase in the number of tourists in Egypt following the Suez Canal's inauguration. However, this was not the only change that the canal brought to Egyptian tourism—it also coincided with a shift in colonial power from France to Great Britain.

As mentioned above, the canal's construction was extremely costly. As his government amassed huge debts, Ismail approached European powers for assistance. In so doing, he opened the door for further European interference in internal Egyptian affairs. To oversee the repayment of Egypt's debts, two controllers (one British and one French) were appointed to supervise the state's revenue and expenditures. This system came to be known as dual control. These measures proved insufficient to repay Egypt's debt, and consequently Britain and France urged the Khedive to relinquish the reins of governance to a ministry containing a British and a French representative, who would control the state's income and expenditure.⁶⁹

France had a great deal of influence over Khedive Ismail due to its investment in the canal and his own French education. However, French influence over Egypt diminished after its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war. In contrast, although the British were not involved in the canal's construction, British agents became important to Egyptian tourism after 1869 in a variety of ways. For example, in 1870 the Khedive appointed Cook's son, John Mason, as an agent of his government and put him in charge of overseeing passenger traffic on the Nile.⁷⁰ This is just one example of the dramatic increase in British influence over Egypt after 1869, which culminated in colonial occupation.

The Khedive's support for Cook's business was the result of Western expansionism and his debt to British stockholders. By extending support, the Khedive paid the interest due on his loans. Much of the firm's success in Egypt depended on Cook's close relationships with both the ruling dynasty in Egypt, who valued his ability to provide them with necessary income, and British officials who viewed his efforts as part of colonisation.⁷¹ In 1872, the

Khedive authorised Cook to open his first Middle East office inside Cairo's Shepherd Hotel. Three years later, impressed by the success of Cook's business, he extended the firm's Nile passenger service concession to Sudanese borders and gave it exclusive rights to transport government mail on the Nile.⁷²

The Suez Canal Company operated only two boats; however, for the season 1872-1873, the Egyptian administration agreed to provide four small steamers and one large *Beherah*.⁷³ Following British occupation, British investors sought economic opportunities in Egypt because the country was increasingly friendly to British, and indeed global, capitalist investment.

In 1876 Cook's company published its own Cook's tourist Handbook for Egypt, 'The Nile and the Desert'.⁷⁴ In a comparison of the Egyptian itinerary, Cook's later itinerary differs in that it's considered a guidebook because it contains geographical and geological information and details pertaining to local climate, history, crafts, habits and traditions, and entertainment. However, the Egyptian itinerary solely discussed history. Cook mentioned Mariette as an Egyptologist in the introduction to his *Tourist's Handbook for Egypt, the Nile, and the Desert*, in 1896. Regarding the description of the monuments, there are similarities between the guidebooks of Mariette and Cook; however, Mariette's writings expressed greater admiration of (and loyalty to) these monuments than the writings of Cook. The Egyptian itinerary listed the achievements of Khedive, who wanted his guests to be aware of his accomplishments.

Furthermore, Cook's influence over Nile transportation fostered the construction of multiple tourism businesses and hotels in Egypt. In 1880, Cook signed a 10-year contract with Ismail's son and successor, Khedive Tewfik, who gave him complete control over Egyptian steamers along the Nile. Cook became an ardent supporter of British colonisation; following the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, his ships helped transport the British military and suppress the Urabi revolution.⁷⁵ From 1882 onward, Cook opened hotels in Aswan and Luxor, some providing medical care to attract the therapeutic winter sunshine visitors.⁷⁶ By the end of the nineteenth century, Cook had created a tourism and travel empire on the Nile. His success in Egypt was largely attributable to the support of British and Egyptian rulers. Clearly, he helped ensure the success of a colonial economic policy that aimed at strengthening British control over Egypt.⁷⁷

Results and discussion

Today, the Suez Canal is a popular stop for cruise ships and continues to significantly impact travel, trade, and tourism in and through Egypt.⁷⁸ The first itineraries and guidebooks significantly affected the later history of tourism by attracting large numbers of tourists to Egypt and fomenting foreign investment. Mariette masterfully designed the tour such that it would emphasise the historic significance of Egypt while also demonstrating the success of the Khedive's modernising projects—the construction of factories, roads, and other economic infrastructure and gardens. He also emphasised the Khedive's tolerance of all religions by highlighting newly discovered temples and other religious sites. The Khedive himself wanted to present his achievements to guests in all fields, and thus designed much of the itinerary to illustrate his accomplishments. The itinerary purposely tied Egypt's present and past together and attempted to portray Khedive Ismail's modernising leadership in a positive light. It provided guests with descriptions of the victories of historical Egyptian kings and included a visit to the factories and quarries at Mount Series. By combining trips to Egypt's famous ancient monuments with visits to its modern infrastructure, the itinerary intended to show foreign guests Egypt's progress and development and to applaud the Khedive's efforts to modernise the country.

It must be noted that, although Thomas Cook, who was a guest, had experience staying in Egypt a year before the opening of the Canal, the Egyptian government did not ask Cook to organise the inauguration ceremony. Instead, Khedive Ismail left the arrangements to Mariette Pasha. It appears that Khedive Ismail trusted Mariette as a part of the Egyptian government and in every aspect of tourism and archaeology. Because the Canal project was a French undertaking, the British did not attend the celebrations; thus, Cook did not arrange the tour. However, upon seeing it, the British quickly recognised the Canal's importance—in 1870, following the inauguration, Cook's position in Egypt changed, signalling Great Britain's change in position on Egypt during the corresponding periods. Cook cleverly gained the Khedive's support within a few months of the inaugural celebrations, and, from 1870 onwards, he assumed sole responsibility for tourism in Egypt.

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تسييس السياحة المصرية في مهدها

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المخلص

تتميز مصر بموقعها الجغرافي المتميز والذي يجعل منها حلقة وصل مهمة بين إفريقيا وآسيا وأوروبا. وتحوي العديد من المناطق الأثرية والحضارية التي تجعلها وجهة مثالية للسياحة. وتدين مصر بثناء المشهد الفني والثقافي الحالي والبنية التحتية الحديثة إلى أعمال الخديوي إسماعيل الذي حكم مصر منذ عام 1863 إلى 1879، وكان يتطلع إلى تحديث مصر ووضعها على الخريطة العالمية. وحانت الفرصة إبان الحدث الأعظم في تاريخ مصر الحديثة ألا وهو افتتاح قناة السويس عام 1869 لإظهار مصر الحضارية. وتعددت مظاهر الاحتفال التي سطرها التاريخ بأشكال وأوجه عديدة. وعلي هامش هذا الاحتفال تم تنظيم أول برنامج سياحي في تاريخ مصر الحديث، حيث تم دعوة ضيوف الخديوي قبل افتتاح القناة بشهر لزيارة المناطق الأثرية والسياحية في مصر بمساعدة عالم المصريات الفرنسي أوغست مارييت. يناقش المقال هذا البرنامج السياحي ومسار رحلته، وتكمن أهمية هذا البرنامج في كونه البرنامج السياحي الأول في تاريخ مصر الحديث والذي تقوم على تنظيمه وترتيبه الحكومة المصرية، وتعتمد المقالة بالمقام الأول على الوثيقة الأصلية للرحلة والتي كتبها عالم الآثار مارييت باشا، ذلك المسار المخطط والمرتب لإظهار أوجه محددة من حضارة مصر وشخصية الخديوي إسماعيل وتقوم الدراسة على تحليل مسار الرحلة والإجابة على التساؤلات التي فرضها المسار لماذا تلك المناطق تحديدا التي قرر الخديوي إسماعيل إبرازها لزواره: إنه تسييس السياحة وتوجيهها لخدمة الحاكم فقد تم تصميمها لإيصال رسالة لضيوف الخديوي بالاستمرارية بين مصر القديمة ومشاريع التحديث الكبيرة. وهذه هي الدراسة الأولى من نوعها التي تناقش البرنامج السياحي المصري الأول ولأهمية الحدث توصي الدراسة بضرورة تنظيم حدث سنوي عن طريق وزارة السياحة بشهر أكتوبر من كل عام تنظم به نفس الرحلة التي قام الخديوي بتصميمها وتسمي "على خطى الخديوي".

معلومات المقالة

الكلمات المفتاحية

الخديوي إسماعيل؛
توماس كوك؛ قناة
السويس؛ السياحة
الاستعمارية.

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