

The Painter and the Princess: Constructing Feminism/Decentering Orientalism between Copenhagen, Istanbul, Cairo and Tunis

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In 1869 the Danish-Polish painter Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann visited a harem for the first time. She was on one of her many professional trips as a painter, this time to the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul. Her aim was to depict oriental topoi and particularly scenes of private life, so popular in the European art market at the time.¹ The European penchant for harem women in their interiors, exemplified by the success of Eugène Delacroix's famous painting *Femmes d'Alger dans leurs appartements* (1834), was informed by stereotypes about the Orient.

Jerichau-Baumann came into close contact with the women she painted. She slept in their apartments, listened to their music, smelled their tobacco, showed them her paintings and engaged in conversation with them. Her encounter with Nazli Fadhel, the great-grandchild of the Egyptian statesman and modernizer Mohammed Ali, profoundly marked her engagement with the Orient. For although Jerichau-Baumann reiterates oriental topoi in her paintings and travelogue, her travelogue also attests to her and Nazli Fadhel's shared interests. The travelogue provides evidence of communicative exchange and a mutual fascination. In this article I therefore argue against the main tenet of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, namely that the Orient was constructed first and foremost as Europe's other: that the Orient and Occident mirror each other, but still remain two sides of an irreducible dichotomy.² I focus, rather, on networks that connected people, lifestyles and ideas; thereby demonstrating that the dichotomies of *Orientalism* are truly constructions. To stress my point, I focus on the contentious issues of women's roles and family models, which are so often used – even today – to contrast Europe and America with the Muslim and Arab world. In the nineteenth century,

I argue, women's lives were constrained by similar mechanisms whether they lived in New York, Copenhagen, Paris, Istanbul or Tunis. The issue at hand is not so much a question of the West and the other, of orientalism. It is rather a question of women's condition and their shared experiences in a globalized, late nineteenth-century society. My aim in this article is to prove that orientalist binaries are less sustainable once they are questioned.

In this article I first review the academic literature concerning Nazli Fadhel and Jerichau-Baumann, in order to contextualize the meeting between the painter and the princess and provide a sketch of their historical setting. I then delve into a particular question that their encounter calls attention to, namely that of the position of women in Scandinavia and the Ottoman Empire in the second part of the nineteenth century. During this period of increased cultural contact between Europe and the Turkish and Arabic worlds, the question of women's role in society was often employed to underscore differences between 'East' and 'West'. Women – perceived as bearers or protectors of cultural, national or religious identities – incarnated the core values of society, and could be used in arguments about civilizational progress or decline. Concurrently, new ideals of middle-class domesticity spread globally and contributed to reducing such perceived differences between 'East' and 'West' – a subject matter I return to in the conclusion of this article.

The perception of women's different roles in 'East' and 'West' most certainly underpins Jerichau-Baumann's entire artistic project. Were it not for the attractiveness of the imaginary constructs enveloping the oriental woman in Europe, Jerichau-Baumann would not have insisted on entering a harem and would probably never even have met Nazli Fadhel. As I will demonstrate, however, even if the pull of imaginary representations incited the encounter between the painter and the princess, both women played more substantial roles with regard to women's position in society and their emancipation than a focus on imaginaries would suggest. Indeed, Jerichau-Baumann and Nazli Fadhel were particularly enterprising women, and their

actions widened the scope of permissible behaviour for women of their time by breaching cultural and religious prescriptions.

Contexts

Jerichau-Baumann's resolute character was noticed by the Norwegian Professor of Art History Lorentz Dietrichson, whom she met in Istanbul. In conversation with Dietrichson, she affirmed that the sole motivation for her journey was economic: 'This important Oriental Journey, which also led her to Egypt, she undertook, as she frankly told us, exclusively in order to, by her art, earn the money she needed in order to keep her family together.'³ With an introductory letter from Alexandra, Princess of Wales, whose portrait Jerichau-Baumann had painted,⁴ Jerichau-Baumann was invited into the harem of Mustapha Fadhel Pasha, son of the Viceroy of Egypt, Ibrahim Pasha, and grandson of Mohamed Ali Pasha.⁵ In her travelogue, *Brogede Reisebilleder* (Colourful travel pictures), Jerichau-Baumann presents a detailed description of harem life. She dwells in particular upon on her encounter with Princess Nazli Fadhel, the daughter of Mustapha Fadhel Pasha and Del Azad Hanim. Nazli Fadhel made a profound impression on the European artist, who wrote home to her family, 'Yesterday, I ... fell in love with a beautiful Turkish princess.'⁶ She painted at least three portraits of Nazli Fadhel, as well as a canvas characterized by critics as an oriental fantasy or an indecent painting in which Nazli Fadhel is depicted as a seductive odalisque.⁷ After their first encounter, the two women remained in contact, and Jerichau-Baumann visited Nazli Fadhel on important occasions such as Aid al-Kabir. She was also informed about the Princess's first marriage to Khalil Pasha Sherif, an Ottoman minister and ambassador to several European countries.

Jerichau-Baumann's acquaintance with Nazli Fadhel is the subject of several studies within the fields of art history, cultural studies and comparative literature. For example, in her important monograph *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation*, Reina

Lewis underscores the ‘masculine gaze’ that, in Lewis’s opinion, characterizes Jerichau-Baumann’s harem representations. These distinguish themselves as astonishingly erotic for a European female painter of the nineteenth century,⁸ compared, for example, to Henrietta Brown’s sober depiction of a harem scene.⁹

Within the field of comparative literature, Elisabeth Oxfeldt has analysed Jerichau-Baumann’s *Brogede Reisebilleder* as an example of what we may call ‘decentred Orientalism’. In fact, Oxfeldt argues that Jerichau-Baumann’s position as a writer situated in the European periphery – Denmark – who, in addition, inhabited a ‘hyphenated’ identity – being of Polish origin yet adopting Denmark as her home country – conditioned her approach to the Orient. Moreover, Oxfeldt emphasizes the tension or ambiguity between Jerichau-Baumann’s paintings from the Orient and the text of her travelogue. Indeed, the travelogue explicitly describes how the oriental scenes are constructions, undermining, to a certain extent, the author’s own pictorial project.¹⁰ For example, Jerichau-Baumann often has to persuade her models to wear traditional clothing when they prefer the latest Parisian fashion; she sometimes acquires old, folkloric fabrics to use as props for her paintings; and she is always in search of the perfect oriental model, referring to this activity as the ‘man hunt’.¹¹ According to Oxfeldt, these factors demonstrate that Jerichau-Baumann was aware of the constructed nature of her art, and that her art did not truthfully represent what she experienced in the Orient. Oxfeldt furthermore reveals the inherent ambiguity in Jerichau-Baumann’s written descriptions of the harem women: ‘Jerichau-Baumann’s standard Orientalism, however, loses some of its credibility, as she is also critical of the Oriental women’s harem situation. Alternating between a view of the Oriental woman as the “lazy, indolent, Oriental being” and as an enterprising and freedom-loving human being, Jerichau-Baumann’s argument turns unstable.’¹²

The art historian Mary Roberts also underscores the unreal aspects of Jerichau-Baumann’s oriental paintings. An example provided by Roberts is the representation of Nazli

Fadhel as an odalisque. Contrary to Oxfeldt, however, Roberts does not emphasize Jerichau-Baumann's awareness of the constructed character of her oriental tableaux. Instead, mirroring Lewis's argument about the painter's masculine gaze, Roberts suggests that Jerichau-Baumann had interiorized the values of male orientalism:

Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann's fantasy of the Orient fundamentally challenges Western gender categories because the artist is positioned as a desiring subject and yet Jerichau-Baumann achieves this through works which are surprisingly similar to the familiar trope of the languid odalisque. This is an instance where women's orientalism is, to quote Yeğenoğlu, 'inevitably implicated and caught within the masculinist and imperialist act of subject constitution'.¹³

Still, according to Roberts, their relationship was more than an encounter between a European subject and an oriental object. Roberts emphasizes their mutual influence on one another and refers to Nazli Fadhel's short career as a still-life painter, as well as to the correspondence between the two women after their initial meeting.¹⁴ Moreover, in her analysis of photography representing Nazli Fadhel dressed as a man, accompanied by another woman posturing as a pottery seller, Roberts suggests a reversal of roles. She interprets this photo as a mocking comment upon contemporary orientalist art, and, in particular, perhaps, upon Jerichau-Baumann's painting *An Egyptian Pottery Seller near Gizeh*.¹⁵

In addition to the studies mentioned, Jerichau-Baumann's art has been explored within the context of Danish orientalism and Denmark's connections to the Muslim world.¹⁶ In recent years Jerichau-Baumann has received increased attention outside of academic circles. In 1996 Birgit Pouplier published a novel, *Lisinka*, inspired by the painter's life, and in 2011 the Women's Museum in Aarhus, Denmark, dedicated an exhibition to her artworks.¹⁷ In connection with this exhibition, Max Bendixen published a biography of her in Danish.¹⁸

Academic writing on Nazli Fadhel includes studies in English, French and Arabic. Anglophone scholarship often refers to her as the hostess of one of the first literary salons in the Arab world, frequented by Egyptian modernists, Muslim reformers and British colonial officials in Cairo.¹⁹ This scholarship appears unaware of her connection to the Scandinavian artist. Mary Roberts, however, establishes a connection. Still, Roberts does not trace Nazli Fadhel's biography beyond the Princess's stay in Cairo and does not mention that she lived in Tunis for more than thirteen years. This period of her life, in contrast, is covered in francophone and Arabic scholarship. For example, Aboukacem Karrou has written a biography of the Princess in Arabic, in which he concerns himself especially with her life in Tunis and her impact on modernist circles there.²⁰ Andreas Tunger-Zanetti underscores the importance of her salon in Tunis for the exchange of modernist and reformist ideas among Tunis, Cairo and Istanbul, an aspect also mentioned by Bechir Tlili.²¹ In 2010 Nazli Hafsia published the Princess's biography in French, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel en Tunisie 1896–1913*, and in 2011 Hatem El Karoui made her a protagonist in a historical novel, *Lady Zeineb*.²² None of these authors, however, mention the Princess's connection to Scandinavia.²³

In this article I establish the missing links among the French, English, Arabic and Scandinavian works concerning the Princess's life, thereby providing a more complete picture. More important, I suggest that the encounter between Nazli Fadhel and Jerichau-Baumann can be viewed as an intersection in which different identity-shaping discourses such as orientalism, modernism and Islamic reformism, as well as their respective academic traditions, meet and interact. In addition, I argue that the life stories of both women testify to the burgeoning international importance of the women's movement in the nineteenth century. In short, the encounter between the painter and the Princess is emblematic of how the nineteenth-century world became increasingly interrelated across cultural, linguistic and religious boundaries.

A Geographical detour

Jerichau-Baumann and Nazli Fadhel first met in Istanbul, and their story might thus be presented as an encounter between the Ottoman Empire and Europe. As their life stories unfold, the difference between the two women narrows, however. At the same time, the geography expands: Cairo and Tunis are central, as is Paris, where Nazli Fadhel lived together with her first husband, and where she probably made the acquaintances of the Tunisian students she would later receive in her residence in the Marsa district of Tunis.²⁴ Nazli Fadhel continued to visit Paris throughout her life – at least once in the company of the important Islamic reformer Mohammed Abduh.²⁵ In the second part of her life, she divided her time among France, Italy, Tunis and Cairo.²⁶

The geographical reach of their lives also comprises Warsaw, where Jerichau-Baumann was born; Düsseldorf, where she undertook art studies; and St Petersburg, Athens and London, where she painted members of the different European royal houses. In London she also participated in several art exhibits – once with the portraits of Nazli Fadhel.²⁷ More important, Rome stands out as Jerichau-Baumann's second home, the centre of her creative activities and her artistic and intellectual friendships, as well as the scene of her marriage to the Danish sculptor Adolph Jerichau in 1846. In his company the tour continues to Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, Jerichau-Baumann's adopted country, and the axis of her family life. Here she raised seven children in the company of several 'aunts' who took care of her large family while she was away on her numerous trips as a professional artist and the main breadwinner of the family.²⁸ Other Nordic countries also became part of this expanded geography: in Rome Jerichau-Baumann encountered Scandinavian artists, such as the Danish writer J. P. Jacobsen and the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen.²⁹ At the end of her career, she was honoured by her Scandinavian art colleagues in Gothenburg,³⁰ but she also kept in contact with the East. At least once she visited her daughter in Tehran, who was married to a Danish officer, a 'major in

the army of the Shah of Persia'.³¹ Indeed, Jerichau-Baumann and Nazli Fadhel were privileged women on the move, cosmopolitan travellers in an age of growing nationalism and European imperial expansion.

Their world was one of profound changes – in technological, geopolitical and ideological terms. To begin with, technological innovations modified the world of travel. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, travelling was reserved mainly for young men from European noble families on educational journeys, or 'Grand Tours', through Europe. The nineteenth century, however, saw a growth in travel also for the middle classes.³² Jerichau-Baumann is part of this trend, and she is also an example of what was labelled 'unprotected females': a pejorative term coined in the early nineteenth century and used ironically, for example by Anthony Trollope, to refer to women who flouted convention and toured on their own.³³ As an experienced traveller, Jerichau-Baumann paid detailed attention to the means of transportation she used. She disliked trains and missed the horse carriages of her youth, yet took pleasure in steamboat voyages – be it on the Danube or the Mediterranean Sea. In the company of a growing number of European tourists to the Orient, she profited from the efficiency of this new form of transportation.³⁴ Indeed, whereas a sailing ship took weeks to cross the Mediterranean from Tunis to Marseille at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the same distance took thirty-eight hours 'on the fastest steamer' in 1877.³⁵ In addition to innovations that facilitated physical mobility, the nineteenth century also saw a revolution in means of communication. In 1858 the first transatlantic telegraph cable was installed; one year later a line connected several Tunisian towns to Algeria. The inauguration of a direct cable between Tunis and Marseille took place in 1893.³⁶ At the turn of the century, telephone services were also established in North African cities. Nazli Fadhel, for example, had two lines installed in her residence in the Marsa district of Tunis.³⁷ Still, correspondence by letter remained important

as postal services also improved.³⁸ Throughout her life Jerichau-Baumann sent copious letters to her family, and one of her daughters exchanged letters with Nazli Fadhel.³⁹

The technological innovations of the nineteenth century implied transformations in geopolitics. Europe's technological advances, also in the military domain, contributed to the European powers' expansion into Ottoman lands, and eventually the creation of European colonies in former Ottoman provinces. In May 1881, the Bey of Tunis signed the Treaty of Bardo, thereby ceding his authority over the regency of Tunis to French protectorate authorities (which had been well installed in neighbouring Algeria since the 1830s), and in 1882 Egypt became de facto a British protectorate.⁴⁰ These profound changes impacted the lives of Jerichau-Baumann and Nazli Fadhel. As already stated, Jerichau-Baumann's artistic project, to paint scenes from the Orient, has often been understood within the framework of European orientalism, and as closely connected to European material interests in the Ottoman world.⁴¹ Her artworks as well as her writings from Istanbul and Cairo often reflect feelings of cultural superiority, although she occasionally admits that elderly Turkish women from the ruling classes probably looked down at her.⁴² Still, I argue that her texts reveal more than mere prejudices, thereby opening the discussion to questions beyond the cultural-religious dichotomy informing orientalism as a theoretical paradigm.

The geopolitical framework of the late nineteenth century might have influenced Nazli Fadhel's life even more. As a member of the Khedival family of Egypt, with close ties to the Sultan in Istanbul, she was involved in dynastic rivalries,⁴³ but, more important, argued in favour of implementing modern political institutions in the Ottoman Empire. For example, in commissioning a translation of one of her father's writings, she supported his cause of constitutional reform.⁴⁴ Furthermore, she participated in a congress organized by the Young Ottomans in Paris in 1896. This action drew the wrath of Sultan Abdulhamid II, to which she responded with a courageous letter. Here she reminds the sultan about the importance of

speaking the truth, before defending the mission of the Young Ottomans in a diplomatic manner. Moreover, she describes the poverty and misery that she had witnessed in Istanbul four years earlier.⁴⁵

Nazli Fadhel's salon in Cairo, which attracted intellectuals, politicians and diplomats, also became an arena for political debate.⁴⁶ Lord Cromer and Field Marshal Kitchener visited her salon regularly,⁴⁷ which might explain why she was accused of favouring British colonial rule in Egypt. Muhammed Farid, the Egyptian nationalist leader, accused her of being Europeanized and painted a very negative picture of her in his memoirs: 'She received a European education, then married Khalīl Sharīf Pāshā ..., the Ottoman ambassador to Paris, and lived a purely European life there with him for many years.' Furthermore, she was too interested in men: 'When he [her first husband] died she returned to Egypt and remained unmarried for a time, during which she was a female companion (*ṣāḥiba*) of many foreigners and Egyptians, and had a special passion for Egyptian British officers.' She drank too much: 'She used to receive men in European fashion and arrange musical evenings at her home, and would drink lots of wine and especially champagne during the meal or indeed even before every meal.' Finally, Farid accused her of being a spy and working against the cause of the Egyptians: 'She involved herself in intrigues, and used to spy for 'Abd al-Ḥamīd against the Khedive and on him likewise for the British. She used to address the journalists and publish her views in newspapers, and she always wrote against the Egyptians.'⁴⁸ In Farid's view, Nazli Fadhel incorporated a series of vices: she was westernized and collaborated with the colonizer, and she received foreign men in her home, thereby infringing upon what Farid indirectly defined as the decorum expected of a Muslim woman. Farid insinuated a lack of womanhood, upon mention of her childless second marriage: '[S]he was introduced to as-Sayyid Khalil Abu Hajib, married him and remained with him until she died without having any children.'⁴⁹ Finally, Farid took

issue with the fact that she addressed journalists and published her views in the press. He was displeased, apparently, about the Princess taking on a public role in society.

Contrary to Farid's one-sided assessment, other sources emphasize Nazli Fadhel's friendship with Mohammed Abduh, a defender of pan-Islamism and self-rule for Egypt.⁵⁰ Tunger-Zanetti likewise suggests that although Nazli Fadhel and her Tunisian husband, Khalil Bouhajib, accepted 'foreign domination in their countries without discussion',⁵¹ the Princess's salon in Tunis also represented an intellectual and political meeting place that might have concerned the French protectorate authorities.⁵² In fact, archival sources at the National Library in Tunis demonstrate that Nazli Fadhel's movements while in Tunis were monitored by French protectorate authorities, who also kept an eye on her travels among Tunis, Cairo and Alger – a topic I will return to in a future article.

Nazli Fadhel in Tunis

If one walks down the main path of the medina in Tunis – symbolically leading from the Zaituna Mosque to the Porte de France, thus from the emblematic centre of traditional Islamic learning to the gate of the colonial city of the protectorate period (1881–1956) – there is a small side alley leading up to the Khaldounia, today an auxiliary of the National Library. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Khaldounia was an association promoting modern scientific education to supplement the traditional Islamic curriculum students were initiated into at the Zaituna Mosque.⁵³ Today photos of many important intellectuals and scholars from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – almost all men – decorate the walls of the library of the Khaldounia. One photo stands out, however: that of an elegant woman with a piercing gaze directed at the spectator.

This woman is no other than the Princess Nazli Fadhel. In the second part of her life, she moved to Tunis, married the much younger Khalil Bouhajib from the learned and influential

Bouhajib family, and for more than thirteen years spent part of the year in the Tunisian capital.⁵⁴ In addition to her sister Rukaya, already installed in Tunis and married to a Tunisian dignitary, the Princess could probably rely on acquaintances made in France in the company of her first husband. These acquaintances included Tunisian students who were members of the most influential families of the capital.⁵⁵ According to secondary sources expressing a positive attitude towards the Princess, Nazli Fadhel contributed extensively to the intellectual, cultural and political life of Tunis.⁵⁶ At her residence in the Marsa district, her salon hosted Tunisian scholars, intellectuals and politicians, many of them graduates from the Sadiqi College, the first modern educational institution of Tunisia, founded by the important reformer Kheireddine in 1875.⁵⁷ Others were sheikhs of the Zaituna Mosque and thus representatives of the traditional Islamic establishment.⁵⁸ Most of those frequenting her salon favoured modernist reforms of the political system of the regency of Tunis, as well as the educational system, and many of them were founding members of the Khaldounia.⁵⁹ In addition, the sheikhs in Nazli Fadhel's circle were inspired by Islamic reformist views and pan-Islamic ideas as formulated by Al-Afghani, Mohammed Abduh and Rachid Rida. Many of them read *al-'Urwa al-wuthqa* and later *al-Manar*,⁶⁰ the first published by Abduh and Afghani in Paris in 1884, the second by Rida from 1898 onwards.⁶¹ It is noteworthy that when Abduh visited Tunis in 1903 and gave a speech at the Khaldounia, he stayed at the residence of Nazli Fadhel and Khalil Bouhajib.⁶² This suggests that their home was an important meeting place for the modernist and reformist circles of both Cairo and Tunis.⁶³ Indeed, Karrou describes the Princess's activities as a major contribution to the Egyptian and Tunisian renaissance, known as the Nahda.⁶⁴

In Tunis, Nazli Fadhel took part in the activities of the intellectuals and decision-makers frequenting her salon. She was, for example, involved in the establishment of the Khaldounia in 1896. According to Nazli Hafsia, the Princess wanted to be a founding member of the association, but its secretary, Mohamed Belhodja, did not agree 'for religious reasons'. The

steering committee therefore chose to accept her as a ‘membre bienfaiteur’ (benefactor member).⁶⁵ Still, in his report on the Khaldounia from 1906, the President of the Association, Mohamed Lasram, includes the name of Princess Nazli in the list of founding members.⁶⁶ In addition to playing an active role in the establishment of the association, she also donated a substantial amount of money, as well as several books by the English philosopher Herbert Spencer.⁶⁷ For our purposes, it is worth noting that Spencer was read by Abduh,⁶⁸ and his ideas of social Darwinism were probably also discussed by the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen and the Danish author L. P. Jacobsen in Rome.⁶⁹ An analysis of Ibsen’s play *Peer Gynt*, by Comte M. Prozor, also figures on the list of donations to the Khaldounia, further strengthening the Nordic connection to the Khaldounia.⁷⁰ In addition, the list includes a study of Sweden given to the association by the Swedish and Norwegian consul in Tunis.⁷¹ The intellectual world of the late nineteenth century was indeed connected.

Despite the important role which Nazli Fadhel played with regard to the Khaldounia, she does not appear in the photograph of the members of the association, which was probably taken in 1903 during Abduh’s second visit to Tunis. She is represented by her secretary.⁷² This semi-absence of the Princess from an official photograph may be explained in terms of the traditional gendered division of space within Arab-Islamic societies, but it does not necessarily signal a lesser degree of influence in comparison to the men who are present. Indeed, commentators emphasize the Princess’s contribution to the establishment of modern educational institutions, such as the Khaldounia in Tunis or the secular university in Cairo (1908), transformed into Cairo University in 1925.⁷³ In addition, Hafsia strongly believes that Nazli Fadhel was one of the initiators behind the first school for Muslim girls in Tunis.⁷⁴ In fact, in line with other Tunisian scholars, Hafsia views Nazli Fadhel as a promoter of modern education and of women’s rights, and as one of the foremothers of the Tunisian modernist project.⁷⁵

Nazli Fadhel's views on female emancipation

But what do we actually know about Nazli Fadhel's own views on female emancipation? Did she express her personal opinions directly in writing, or did she chiefly play the role of hostess of influential salons, where she stimulated intellectual debate on various subjects, including the women's issue? According to the journal *al-Muqtataf* (January 1897), she authored a book on the women's question that was translated into Arabic (from which language is not mentioned) and published it in the journal *al-Muqattam* in December 1896.⁷⁶ According to many secondary sources, Nazli Fadhel influenced Qasim Amin and managed to change his views about women as a result of their debates in her salon in Cairo. Nazli Fadhel, finding the image of Egyptian women in Amin's first book, *Les Egyptiens: réponse à M. Le Duc d'Harcourt*,⁷⁷ too pessimistic, asked Abduh to invite Amin to her salon: '[A]nd it was this, it is said, that changed Amin. He began, subsequently, to call for the emancipation of women, publishing, in 1899, a series of articles in the paper *al-Mu'ayyad*, which he collected in the same year in his famous book *Tahrir al-mar'a* (The Liberation of Women).'⁷⁸ Zakia Belhachmi supports this claim, but underscores that in a later publication Amin returned to a more conservative position on women's rights. According to Belhachmi, this demonstrates that Amin was more attached to Islamic principles than to the modernist and westernized opinions of Nazli Fadhel.⁷⁹

Nazli Fadhel's own family situation provides clues to her views on gender and gender roles. Her father, Mustapha Fadhel Pasha, as mentioned above, was a modernist and a founding member of the movement of the Young Ottomans. He provided his daughters with a liberal education. In fact, European travellers and diplomats to Istanbul during Nazli Fadhel's youth observed that she and her sister spoke several languages fluently, had French and English governesses and occasionally left the harem for promenades, visits or horse rides in the outskirts of Istanbul.⁸⁰ Still, Sir Horace Rumbold, an English diplomat, recalled a conversation about

female seclusion with Nazli Fadhel's father in which he was supposedly in favour of seclusion, arguing that 'there would be no trusting the women when once they were freed from their bondage'.⁸¹ Rumbold found Nazli Fadhel's upbringing somewhat contradictory; he noted 'the strange mixture of emancipation and captivity, of civilization and barbarism, that made up the life of this Moslem princess of eighteen'.⁸²

Rumbold's description echoes that of Jerichau-Baumann, who emphasized Nazli Fadhel's 'hybrid nature', caught as she was between a European education and traditional harem life. Jerichau-Baumann thought it a tragedy that the Princess, as a well-informed young woman, was confined to harem life.⁸³ Contrary to this report, Lady Brassey, who visited Istanbul in the company of her husband in 1874 and 1878,⁸⁴ mentions how Nazli Fadhel once travelled alone from Cairo to Istanbul, accompanied only by her English maid.⁸⁵ Thus, the Princess, not unlike Jerichau-Baumann, travelled as an 'unprotected female' at the end of the nineteenth century, in sharp contrast to Jerichau-Baumann's description of her, only some years before, as an imprisoned rosebud surrounded by thorns.⁸⁶

Lady Brassey not only noted Nazli Fadhel's voyage, but provided descriptions of several encounters with the Egyptian princess and her female relatives during her visits to Istanbul that demonstrated a general change in social customs. 'The last four years', Brassey writes, 'seem to have added greatly to the amount of liberty they enjoy. They are now much less particular about seeing gentlemen, and, once in the cabin, laughed and talked with the greatest freedom and enjoyment.'⁸⁷ The late nineteenth century saw important changes in the institution of the harem.⁸⁸ This transformation is also noted by Jerichau-Baumann, who juxtaposes the 'old harems' of Nazli Fadhel's aunt to Nazli Fadhel's own household, and underlines the modernity of the family life of Nazli Fadhel's uncle, Prince Halim Pasha.⁸⁹ Moreover, she observes a generational gap within the harem in which Nazli Fadhel was living – between the educated,

polyglot young princess and her mother, who did not speak any language that Jerichau-Baumann could understand, although Jerichau-Baumann is said to have spoken nine languages.⁹⁰

Jerichau-Baumann describes social change in the harems she visits, and also notes how some women, such as Madame Cebouli Pasha, a minister's wife and defender of women's liberation, played a semi-official role at official gatherings. Still, the oriental topos of the female prisoner in the harem remains one of her favourite themes. This focus might be a conscious choice, for by contributing to the imaginary construct of the Orient, she conforms to the taste and expectations of the European art market. Moreover, in emphasizing the passive and inert posture of the odalisque, she is able to make explicit her own active, moving self. This strategy of representation is already explicit on the cover page of *Brogede Reisebilleder*, where Jerichau-Baumann has drawn her own portrait in the middle of twelve minor sketches representing different scenes from her travelogue.⁹¹ In the upper left corner there is a replica of the painting of Nazli Fadhel as an indolent odalisque, whereas Jerichau-Baumann herself is depicted as either writing or painting in the two lower corners. As such, her own active self is contrasted to the reclining oriental woman. Indeed, the theme of the passive oriental beauty poses a sharp contrast to Jerichau-Baumann's own individual project of emancipation.

Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann on (female) emancipation

In the epilogue of *Brogede Reisebilleder*, Jerichau-Baumann addresses the issue of emancipation and women's liberation directly. In her usual style, the ideological reflection on gender roles surfaces in a chain of associations that begins with a subject related to travel and mobility. Jerichau-Baumann recalls her challenges while travelling (bad sleeping conditions, fleas, cockroaches – in Cairo she counted seventy-five of the latter!), affirming that these difficulties turned her into a free human being: 'The best of it all, is that in such conditions, one

becomes completely independent of exterior conditions and thereby, in truth, becomes emancipated in the true meaning of the word.’⁹²

Emancipation is first, then, independence from exterior conditions, understood in terms of material comfort. It further consists of ‘the desire to use one’s talents’,⁹³ to work assiduously to explore and realize one’s God-given gifts. It is necessary to realize these gifts from God in order to serve others and not only one’s own interests. Jerichau-Baumann is full of reproach for egocentrism, which she views as one of the scourges of her contemporary society, devoured as it is by the raw competition of industrialized capitalism.⁹⁴ In short, in Jerichau-Baumann’s opinion, emancipation consists in realizing one’s God-given potential in the service of others. This is the ethical side of emancipation. On the practical side, by working hard, one strengthens the body in addition to strengthening the spirit.⁹⁵ The most important conclusion reached by Jerichau-Baumann, though, is that emancipation is a human project which includes women as well as men, regardless of their gender. Therefore, she criticizes women who dress like men, wear hats and nose clips and carry walking sticks, as if imitating men would lead to more freedom for women. That Jerichau-Baumann’s masculine qualities were often noted by her acquaintances adds more flavour to her comment. Dietrichson, for example, reported how ‘Old Cornelius had once, while she studied in Düsseldorf, from his Throne in Munich, issued the following attestation to her: “In the entire Düsseldorf-school there is but one man, and that is Elisabeth Baumann.”’⁹⁶ Dietrichson further added his own thoughts about her robust and energetic nature, strong will and sometimes impolite manners; although he also underscored her generosity and warm-heartedness.⁹⁷ Regardless, Jerichau-Baumann argues that women who imitate men will not reach true emancipation, in her opinion: ‘For me, they are all like wandering empty phrases, like falsehoods, like infectious matter, that suffocate the original great idea.’⁹⁸

Jerichau-Baumann does not define 'the original great idea' in the epilogue of her travelogue, but her views on gender and gender roles can be further discerned by analysing female portraits in different parts of her travelogue as well as in other texts.⁹⁹ Together, these texts provide three cases or examples of female roles, which are connected to different family patterns.

First, there is Klara, a representative of 'these emancipated females'¹⁰⁰ whom Jerichau-Baumann disdains. In fact, in *Ungdomserindringer* (Memories of my youth) she describes a female friend, nicknamed Klara, whom she met and spent time with in Rome. Klara is depicted as a strong, independent writer who at first fascinates Jerichau-Baumann. Her writings, characterized by 'an almost masculine sharpness',¹⁰¹ reveal her extensive knowledge, intelligence and clarity of mind. Moreover, Jerichau-Baumann approves of Klara's views on democracy and social justice, but rejects her pantheistic ideas, her denial of Christianity, and what Jerichau-Baumann defines as questionable morals and lack of femininity. This last assessment may be ascribed to jealousy, for Klara is also described as a celebrated person in the artistic and intellectual circles of Rome: 'Every eye shone when she opened her lips. "Charmant! Delicieux! Brava! Bravissima!" resonated in the spacious hall; indeed, Klara's Italian worshippers could not in their enthusiasm avoid giving her resounding applause.'¹⁰² In contrast, at these gatherings Jerichau-Baumann represents herself as preferring to sit in one of the auxiliary rooms, talking calmly with one man, her future husband. As such, she juxtaposes Klara's popularity and need of attention from many men with her own withdrawal in the company of one man.

The description of this scene, a man and a woman in private conversation devoted to each other, announces the second female role described by Jerichau-Baumann, which corresponds to what she sees as the ideal form of family life: namely the conjugal household where the woman plays the role of devoted wife and mother. In Jerichau-Baumann's corpus,

the most brilliant example of such a woman is Maria, married to Jerichau-Baumann's favourite son, Harald. Maria is described at length in *Til erindring om Harald Jerichau* (In memory of Harald Jerichau). While waiting for Harald to complete his art studies, Maria learns his language, Danish, before following him to Istanbul, where she creates a cosy and welcoming home for him while he pursues his career as a landscape painter.

In *Brogede Reisebilleder* Jerichau-Baumann also refers to the ideal of the devoted wife in a conjugal household, although in an indirect manner. When critiquing Ottoman society, and women's role within that society in particular, she singles out the Turkish woman's relationship to her children as the only feature which elevates her status: 'For the Turkish woman has no part in Religion, or in the interests and activities of her husband, nor in his thoughts or in his coming salvation.'¹⁰³ It follows that, in contrast to the Turkish woman, a true wife supports the activities of her husband, participates in his inner life through dialogue and is concerned with his religious well-being.

Jerichau-Baumann's ideal is the committed wife in a couple, in sharp contrast to the third type of female role delineated in her narrative, namely the role of harem women. In the traditional harems of Istanbul visited by Jerichau-Baumann, several generations of women lived together segregated from men, often in the company of their female slaves. These women, who depended on men for their livelihood, still formed a separate female community with its own internal rules of behaviour. Hence, their way of life challenged Jerichau-Baumann's ideal family model, which was founded on an intimate relationship between one man and one woman. Only in the household of Prince Halim Pacha (Nazli Fadhel's uncle) does Jerichau-Baumann find an example of what she qualifies as happy family life in Turkey. As a matter of fact, Prince Halim Pacha and his wife, Viduar, practise 'that exchange of thought' which, according to Jerichau-Baumann, is characteristic of a 'true couple'. Again, in describing what she sees and experiences in Turkey, her own ideals surface: 'At nine o'clock, I retired to my own spacious

room together with the children and the governess, while husband and wife, in true European fashion, engaged in confidential conversation.’¹⁰⁴ This ‘confidential conversation’ between Halim Pacha and his wife has intertextual echoes in *Ungdomserindringer*, referring back to her own intimate talk with her future husband in Rome.

Jerichau-Baumann’s own life, however, strained her imagined and described family ideal. She did not fulfil the womanly duties of married life as she herself defined them. She would never become the dedicated wife making a cosy home for her husband. Her care took place at a distance, as a travelling artist. She would often leave her children with other guardians, and her husband alone in Copenhagen or in the countryside. This tension was already detectable in her fascination with and simultaneous rejection of Klara’s way of life in *Ungdomserindringer*. In many ways Klara’s independence resembles Jerichau-Baumann’s own life as a traveller. Finally, in the epilogue of *Brogede Reisebilleder*, Jerichau-Baumann acknowledged the ambivalence of her life. Aware of the contradictory relationship between her ideals and lived life, she reached a solution in her analyses of emancipation: if emancipation lay in the individual’s striving to realize his or her God-given potential, then Jerichau-Baumann’s duty resided in her ability to realize her potential as an artist. In contrast, in her earlier work *Ungdomserindringer*, she claimed that the fulfilment of her talents – also, one would imagine, as an artist – was fully possible only within a relationship with a man, as part of a couple.

The conscious or unconscious discrepancies in Jerichau-Baumann’s autobiographical accounts may explain why her attitude towards woman’s emancipation has been assessed so differently in the secondary literature.

Was Jerichau-Baumann a champion of women’s liberation?

According to Jerichau-Baumann's Danish biographer, Max Bendixen, she was a true supporter and advocate of women's liberation. Shortly after her arrival in Copenhagen in 1847, she became acquainted with Mathilde Fibiger, a Danish author who at the age of twenty wrote the novel *Klara Raphael: Tolv Breve* (Clara Raphael: Twelve letters). Here the main character, a young woman, asked, 'Is it just that half the people should be excluded from all intellectual pursuits?'¹⁰⁵ To avoid this destiny, she refused marriage and devoted herself to a life of learning. In arguing in favour of women's equality with men, *Klara Raphael* was innovative and provocative for its time, stirring serious debate in Denmark and beyond.¹⁰⁶ In *European Feminisms, 1700–1950*, Karen Offen affirms that 'it was a harbinger of things to come, as individual women of intellect and ambition began to articulate their desires not in terms of sexual complementarity, but in terms of self-realization outside and beyond the highly disadvantageous constraints of marriage and family.'¹⁰⁷

Jerichau-Baumann's autobiographical writings are testament to such a process of self-realization. Still, she adhered to the female ideal of the devoted wife. Hence, her texts demonstrate her vacillation between contradictory ideals and demands, as is made explicit in her simultaneous admiration for and rejection of the character Klara in *Ungdomserindringer*. It may not be a coincidence that the nickname she gave her friend in Rome echoes the title of Fibiger's novel. In addition to Jerichau-Baumann's acquaintance with Fibiger, Bendixen underlined how she spent time with liberal artists, such as the Norwegian playwright Henrik Ibsen and the Danish author L. P. Jacobsen, at the Scandinavian Association in Rome. Both were promoters of women's rights. Finally, he mentions Jerichau-Baumann's friendship with the Norwegian novelist and advocate of women's liberation Camilla Collett. Collett, known for denouncing patriarchal family structures in her novels and political writings, was one of the guests of honour at a great party that Jerichau-Baumann gave in Rome in 1880, a year and a half before she died.¹⁰⁸

In contrast to Bendixen, the art historian Mary Roberts presents a rather negative assessment of Jerichau-Baumann's engagement in the female cause. In addressing the artist's view on the possibility of social reform in Turkey, Roberts comments, 'Reflecting an attitude that is consistent with her distaste for feminism in Europe, Jerichau-Baumann dismisses aspirations for reform as entirely misguided. Rather than reconciling her praise for Nazli with any call for general social reform, Jerichau-Baumann's individualism, which colours her attitude to harem life, is instead channelled towards her artistic aspirations.'¹⁰⁹ Jerichau-Baumann was negative about women dressing as men, and Madame Cebouli Pasha, a defender of women's rights whom she met in Istanbul, did not merit full approval. Still, Jerichau-Baumann's call for individual emancipation, reminiscent of Fibiger's, constituted, as Offen argues in her comments on Fibiger's novel, an important breakthrough in the history of women's liberation. Jerichau-Baumann's life was marked by a degree of individual freedom and freedom of movement that was unusual for women of her time. In *Ungdomserindringer*, she recalls how she, as early as the 1830s, travelled unaccompanied from Warsaw to study art in Düsseldorf and Rome with the approval of her parents. Later, her independent artistic career – which opposed the desires of her husband as well as her own ideal of harmonious family life – demonstrated what Oxfeldt characterizes as “‘the rebellion of a radical individual’” under a conventional discourse of Orientalism and traditional gender roles'.¹¹⁰ Perhaps Jerichau-Baumann recognized the young princess's rebellious nature when they met in Istanbul. Perhaps she perceived Nazli Fadhel as a twin soul. Might this explain her fascination?

Comparison

Comparing the life stories of Jerichau-Baumann and Nazli Fadhel yields many commonalities. Both were strong personalities engaged in the cultural and political debates of their time. Both

were considered controversial by their contemporaries and challenged contemporary gender roles through their travels and actions.

A new family ideal arose in Europe and the Middle East in the course of the nineteenth century.¹¹¹ The reorganization of work and production, as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, enhanced the division between private and public spheres. Men's arena became associated more and more with the nascent public sphere (the economy, politics), as the family changed from a production unit to a domain ruled over mainly by women (education of children, good morals and a neat home).¹¹² From this ensued an ideal of middle-class domesticity allocating women the roles of house managers, educators of children and devoted wives.¹¹³ Older types of family arrangements – the extended family sharing a roof or a common yard in the Scandinavian countryside, or the patriarchal polygamous households in the Middle East and North Africa – were gradually displaced by this new ideal, particularly in the upper classes.¹¹⁴ Jerichau-Baumann witnessed these transformations in the Ottoman Empire when she compared the conjugal family of Nazli Fadhel's uncle to the traditional harem of the Princess's father. She left undisclosed, however, that this family model was rather new in Europe too.

Jerichau-Baumann endorsed the family pattern *à la mode* in her writings, yet discarded it in real life. Nazli Fadhel did not comply either. While Jerichau-Baumann was the main breadwinner of her family, rather than prioritizing motherhood, Nazli Fadhel's class and economic independence enabled her transgressions of the decorum that compatriots such as Farid demanded of women. Nazli Fadhel never became a mother, although Jerichau-Baumann hints at her loss of an infant, and Hafsia noted her care for her first husband's daughter from his previous relationship. Also, Nazli Fadhel married a much younger man, which was unusual. With her second husband, however, she appears to have realized a rather modern form of conjugal marriage, perhaps closer to the ideal Jerichau-Baumann describes.

Another feature that unites these two women is their fathers (and mothers), who encouraged their education and had the means to pay for it. Jerichau-Baumann's parents sent her at an early age to one of Europe's best art academies, while Nazli Fahdel's father engaged private tutors who instructed his daughters in several languages, as well as art and music – an education denied his wife, Nazli Fahdel's mother, if Jerichau-Baumann's observations are to be relied upon. Economic means and fluency in several languages made travel easier, and although the adult Jerichau-Baumann repeatedly writes about her economic hardships and the weight of her financial responsibilities, she came from a wealthy family for whom the world lay open to be discovered. Nazli Fahdel could also permit herself the joy of independent travel; she appears, at least later in life, to have evaded the male control of her father and first husband.

Moreover, Nazli Fahdel and Jerichau-Baumann were both creative women. Jerichau-Baumann wrote and painted to ensure her livelihood, thereby realizing her artistic potential, whereas Nazli Fahdel was probably not motivated by material concerns. Her contribution to the world of art, literature and politics was ensured through her own creations, but even more so through her role as the hostess of several influential intellectual salons. Finally, Nazli Fahdel and Jerichau-Baumann were women committed to the politics of their day. Nazli Fahdel's imperial ancestry led to her direct involvement in Ottoman politics, whereas Jerichau-Baumann was engaged in the Danish nationalist project. Jerichau-Baumann's biographers stress that she made great efforts to become Danish and to adopt the identity and nationality of her husband. Many of her paintings belong to the current of national romanticism, not least her famous *Mother Denmark* – which is a somewhat ironic contribution from a cosmopolite of Polish origin who preferred an artistic career to motherhood.

The most important insight gleaned from comparing the lives of two travelling nineteenth-century women born on different sides of the East-West dichotomy – so cherished by postcolonial scholarship in the wake of Edward Said – is that in light of their life stories, the

dichotomy crumbles. These women travelled back and forth among the European, Asian and African continents. They were polyglot cosmopolitans who shared several similarities – gender, class (to a certain extent), interests and skills. These similarities outweigh the claim of orientalism, even in reworked forms, that has framed their life stories in secondary literature so far – from Lewis’s ‘gendering orientalism’, or Oxfeldt’s decentring of orientalism from the Nordic periphery, to Roberts’s ‘intimate outsiders’.

Postlude

In recent years the biographies of the painter and the Princess have received increased attention, both in academic works and in more popularly oriented publications. Their life stories are part of today’s debates and discourses about cultural identity. Jerichau-Baumann’s cosmopolitanism, combined with her ardent wish to be accepted as Danish, makes her relevant to current debates about Danish identity, multiculturalism and globalization, as the text accompanying the exposition of her artworks at the Women’s Museum in Aarhus in the summer of 2011 demonstrates:

Baumann’s history is highly interesting today. She is a historical role model breaking down barriers and creating connections between the challenges of her time. The exhibition will present her life through paintings borrowed from other museums and from private collections. You can visit an art exhibition and at the same time step into cultural history and through Baumann’s life story and works find food for thought about present day views on immigration, motherhood, female artists and international networks.¹¹⁵

In a similar vein, Nazli Fadhel’s life story has received increased attention in Tunisia at the beginning of the twenty-first century, at a time when the country’s cultural identity and affiliations are being hotly debated and where dividing lines between religious conservatives

and self-labelled modernists or progressives are making headlines. In this context Nazli Fadhel is presented as a progressive, modernist woman who through her salons, as well as her other engagements, promoted the ideals of enlightenment and education. She is described as an important advocate of women's rights and as part of an important line of modernist reformers marked by Tahar Haddad's defence of women's rights as well as Habib Bourguiba's promulgation of the Code of Personal Status.¹¹⁶ Finally, Nazli Fadhel's cosmopolitanism is underscored to emphasize Tunisia's character as an intersection of civilizations situated on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, in contrast to voices claiming that it belongs primarily to the Arabic-Islamic cultural orbit, with a centre of gravity further east.

Indeed, the painter and the Princess were strong personalities who not only triggered commentary and critique from their contemporaries but still fascinate readers, academics and art critics today.

¹ Elisabeth Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia: Travelogues of Africa, Asia, and South America, 1840–2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), p. 2.

² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

³ 'Denne store orientalske Reise, der ogsaa førte henne til Ægypten, gjorde hun, som hun ligefrem fortalte os, udelukkende for ved sin Kunst at tjene de Penge, hun behøvede for at holde Familien sammen.' Lorentz Dietrichson, *Svundne tider: Anden del* (Christiania: J. W. Cappelens Forlag, 1899), p. 271.

⁴ Alexandra (1844–1925) was a Danish princess, daughter of King Christian IX. She had visited Istanbul earlier that year and made her acquaintance with Mustapha Fadhel Pasha's daughters. See Mary Roberts, 'Harem Portraiture: Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann and Egyptian Princess Nazli Hanim', in Deborah Cherry and Janice Helland (eds), *Local/Global: Women Artists in the Nineteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 77–98 (79).

⁵ For a clear overview of Nazli Fadhel's pedigree, see Aboukacem Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel: Raïda al-Nahda fi Misr wa Tunis* [The princess Nazli Fadhel: Avant-garde of the Nahda (Renaissance) in Tunisia and Egypt] (Tunis: Dar al-Maghreb al-'Arabi, 2002), p. 51.

⁶ Roberts, 'Harem Portraiture', p. 79.

⁷ See Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity, and Representation*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2003), p. 119; Julia Kuehn, 'Exotic Harem Paintings: Gender, Documentation, and Imagination', *Frontiers – a Journal of Women's Studies*, 32:2 (2011), pp. 31–63 (45–54); and Roberts, 'Harem Portraiture', p. 83.

⁸ Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, p. 119.

⁹ Kuehn, 'Exotic Harem Paintings', pp. 52–3.

¹⁰ Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*, p. 39.

¹¹ Ibid. pp. 41–2. The Danish original uses 'Menneskejagt'; Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder* (Copenhagen: Forlagsbureauet, 1881), p. 45.

¹² Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*, p. 39.

¹³ Roberts, 'Harem Portraiture', pp. 86–7. Roberts points to the contradiction between the travelogue and the painting: the travelogue bespeaks social change in the harem, yet the painting – a fantasy – reiterates orientalist stereotypes. See Mary Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 139. Quote from Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 82.

¹⁴ Roberts, 'Harem Portraiture', pp. 87–90.

¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 90–4. Roberts suggests that the photo was taken in one of Cairo's new photo studios. I propose, however, that it was taken in Tunis: the woman dressed up as the pottery seller resembles one of Nazli Fadhel's Tunisian acquaintances, namely Lalla Féridé, daughter of General Hussein and married to Ali Bach Hamda. See photo section in Nazli Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel en Tunisie, 1896–1913* (Tunis: Sagittaire Editions, 2010), p. 74.

¹⁶ Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*, p. 31.

¹⁷ Birgit Pouplier, *Lisinka* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard/Rosinante, 1996). For the website of the exhibition, see *Elisabeth Jerichau Baumann – en verdensdame*, 19 May – 14 August 2011. Kvindemuseet.dk. <http://kvindemuseet.dk/udstilling/elisabeth-gerichau-baumann-en-verdensdame/> (accessed 16 December January 2019).

¹⁸ Max Bendixen, *Verdensdamen Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann* [A cultured woman: Elisabeth Jerichau Baumann] (Højbjerg: Forlaget Saxo, 2011).

¹⁹ Roger Allen, 'Writings of Members of "the Nāzī Circle"', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 8 (1969–70), pp. 79–84; Ghada Hasham Talhami, *The Mobilization of Muslim Women in Egypt* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); and Salma Khadra Jayussi, 'Modernist Arab Women Writers: A Historical Overview', in Lisa Suhair Majaj et al. (eds), *Intersections: Gender, Nation, and Community in Arab Women's Novels* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002), pp. 1–30.

²⁰ Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel*.

²¹ Andreas Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication entre Tunis et Istanbul 1860–1913: Province et métropole* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); and Bechir Tlili, *Les rapports culturels et idéologiques entre l'orient et l'occident en Tunisie au XIXème siècle (1830–1880)*, Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de Tunis, Quatrième Série: Histoire (Tunis: Publications de l'Université de Tunis, 1974), pp. 663–5.

²² Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*; and Hatem El Karoui, *Lady Zeineb: Roman historique* (Tunis: Maghreb Média Editions, 2011).

²³ The portrait of a beautiful woman on the cover of Karoui's novel might be one of Jerichau-Baumann's portraits of the Princess, given that the style is similar to Jerichau-Baumann's and that one of the portraits she painted of Nazli Fadhel was owned by the Princess. See Roberts, 'Harem Portraiture', p. 83. The Princess could have brought it along to Tunis, where Karoui later reproduced it on the cover of his book. Unfortunately, I have not been able to verify this hypothesis.

²⁴ Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication*, p. 168.

²⁵ As evidenced by this photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/37232142@N06/3482179903>, (accessed 19 December 2019). Owner of flickr stream: Qasim-Amin. The inscription on the photo reads:

'Historic photo of the Professor Imam Cheikh Abduh during his visit in Paris. To his right the Princess Nazli and seated in front of them the Turkish journalist Ali Kamel Bey who was hanged by the Kemalists'.

²⁶ Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, pp. 94–5.

²⁷ Roberts, 'Harem Portraiture', p. 83; and Kuehn, 'Exotic Harem Paintings', p. 51.

²⁸ Jerichau-Baumann's husband was a famous sculptor, but at times too depressed to work. It was therefore Jerichau-Baumann who saw to the economic well-being of her family. Her financial responsibilities constitute a recurrent theme in her travelogue.

²⁹ Bendixen, *Verdensdamen Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann*, pp. 19–22.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 161.

³¹ Ellen C. Clayton, *English Female Artists*, vol. 2 (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876), p. 102.

³² Anne Eriksen, *Minner fra den evige stad: Skandinavers reiser til Roma 1850–1900* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 1997), p. 11; Margaret H. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The*

Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism, 3rd edn (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2009), pp. 38–40; and Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*.

³³ McFadden, *Golden Cables*, p. 41.

³⁴ Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*, pp. 116–17.

³⁵ Julia A. Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans: North Africa and Europe in an Age of Migration, c. 1800–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), p. 27.

³⁶ Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication*, pp. 189–90.

³⁷ Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, p. 56.

³⁸ McFadden, *Golden Cables*, pp. 36–7.

³⁹ Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, pp. 152–3.

⁴⁰ The reasons for and responses to European colonization of the Arab world are too complex to be dealt with here in a responsible manner. The following references provide insightful perspectives on how local Tunisian elites dealt with the colonial question: Chebbi Moncef, *L'image de l'occident chez les intellectuels tunisiens au XIX^e siècle* (Tunis: Arabesques Edition, 2010); Ahmed Abdesslem, *Les historiens tunisiens de XVII^e, XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles: Essai d'histoire culturelle*, Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 4^e série: Histoire, vol. 11 (Tunis: Publications de l'Université de Tunis, 1973); and Arnold H. Green, *The Tunisian Ulama, 1873–1915: Social Structure and Response to Ideological Currents* (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

⁴¹ Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*; Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism*; and Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*.

⁴² Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, p. 133.

⁴³ Reportedly, she was hostile towards her cousin Tawfiq, the son of Khedive Ismael. Tawfiq came to power at the expense of her father, Mustapha Fadhel, because Sultan Abdulaziz modified the law of succession in 1866 in favour of the direct descendants of Ismael. Prior to

this change, the succession was horizontal, including the younger brothers of the Khedive in power. See Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations* (London: John Murrey, 1968), p. 95; and Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, pp. 32–3.

⁴⁴ Karoui, *Lady Zeineb*, pp. 62–3.

⁴⁵ Maribel Lázaro Durán, ‘Carta de la princesa Nāzilī al Sultán ‘Abd al-Ḥamid II’, *Misceláneade estudios árabes y hebraicos (MEHA): Sección Árabe-Islam*, 53 (2004), pp. 321–3.

⁴⁶ Al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer*, p. 95; and Allen, ‘Writings’, p. 79.

⁴⁷ Al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer*, p. 95.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Allen, ‘Writings’, p. 79.

⁴⁹ Quoted in *ibid.* pp. 70–9.

⁵⁰ Al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer*, pp. 92, 95; Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel*; and Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*.

⁵¹ ‘sans discussion la domination étrangère sur leur pays’. Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication*, p. 168.

⁵² *Ibid.* pp. 168–70.

⁵³ David C. Kinsey, ‘Efforts for Educational Synthesis under Colonial Rule: Egypt and Tunisia’, *Comparative Education Review*, 15:2 (1971), pp. 172–87 (180); Nouredine Sraïeb, ‘Le collège Sadiki de Tunis et les nouvelles élites’, *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 72 (1994), pp. 37–52 (48–9); and Green, *Tunisian Ulama*, p. 167.

⁵⁴ Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel*.

⁵⁵ Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, p. 57; Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication*, p. 168; and Tlili, *Les rapports culturels*, p. 663.

⁵⁶ Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel*.

⁵⁷ Clancy-Smith, *Mediterraneans*, pp. 332–4; and Abdesselem, *Les historiens tunisiens*, p. 131.

⁵⁸ Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, p. 63.

⁵⁹ Regular visitors to Nazli Fadhel's salon in Tunis included Ali Bach Hamda, As-Sadik Azmerli, Bachir Sfar, Ali Bouchoucha, Mohamed Ben Al-Khochha, Abd Al-Khalil Al-Zaouash, Mohamed Lasram, Al-Bakosh and Tahar Ibn Ashour, as well as the sons of the Sheikh Salim Bouhajib. See Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel*, p. 6.

⁶⁰ *Al-'Urwa al-wuthqa* (published between March and October 1884) and *Al-Manar* (published regularly between 1898 and 1935) were periodicals defending modernist ideas and Pan-Islamism. They were widely read and had an important impact on the political and ideological climate in the Middle East and North Africa. Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication*, pp. 162–4.

⁶¹ Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication*, pp. 162–3; and Green, *Tunisian Ulama*, p. 177.

⁶² Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication*, p. 169. This was Abduh's second visit to Tunis. He had already been there in 1884–5.

⁶³ Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel*; and Tunger-Zanetti, *La communication*, pp. 168–70.

⁶⁴ Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel*, p. 6.

⁶⁵ Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, p. 83.

⁶⁶ Mohamed Lasram, *La Khaldounia: Une association en Tunisie* (Tunis: Société anonyme de l'imprimerie rapide, 1906), p. 27.

⁶⁷ *Les Donateurs de la Khaldounia: Catalogue d'exposition* (Tunis: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1997), pp. 19–21; and Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, p. 83.

⁶⁸ Ahmed Fouad El-Ehwany, 'Present Day Philosophy in Egypt', *Philosophy East and West*, 5:4 (1956), pp. 339–47 (340); and Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), pp. 161–218.

⁶⁹ Bendixen, *Verdensdamen Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann*, p. 21.

⁷⁰ *Les Donateurs*, pp. 9–10. For a study of Ibsen's connections to the Arab world, see Frode Helland, 'Empire and Culture in Ibsen: Some Notes on the Dangers and Ambiguities of Interculturalism', *Ibsen Studies*, 9:2 (2009), pp. 136–59.

⁷¹ Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, p. 83.

⁷² *Ibid.* p. 73.

⁷³ El-Ehwany, 'Present Day Philosophy', p. 340; Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, p. 96; and Karrou, *Al-Amira Nazli Fadhel*.

⁷⁴ The school in question was L'école des Filles de la rue de Pacha, founded by Louise René Millet, wife of the Resident-general, René Millet.

⁷⁵ Hafsia, *La princesse Nazli Fadhel*, pp. 79–85; Souad Bakalti, *La femme tunisienne au temps de la colonisation, 1881–1956* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), p. 44; Tlili, *Les rapports culturels*, p. 663; and Karoui, *Lady Zeineb*.

⁷⁶ I have not been able to locate this source.

⁷⁷ Qasim Amin, *Les Egyptiens: réponse à M. le Duc d'Harcourt* (Cairo: J. Barbier, 1894). This book was written in response to Le Duc d'Harcourt's attacks on Islam and what he labelled the inferior position of women in Egyptian society. According to Zakia Belhachmi, in *Les Egyptiens* 'Amin not only defends the veiling and segregation, but he also criticises the Westernisation of Egyptian women who were becoming liberal and unveiled.' See Zakia Belhachmi, 'Al-salafiyya, Feminism, and Reforms in the Nineteenth-Century Arab-Islamic Society', *The Journal of North-African Studies*, 9:4 (2004), pp. 63–90 (80).

⁷⁸ Jayussi, 'Modernist Arab Women Writers', p. 8.

⁷⁹ Belhachmi, 'Al-salafiyya', p. 81.

⁸⁰ Sir Horace Rumbold, *Recollections of a Diplomatist*, vol. 1 (London: Edward Arnold Publisher to the India Office, 1902), p. 331; Lady Annie Brassey, extract from *A Voyage in*

the 'Sunbeam', our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months (1878), in Reina Lewis and Nancy Micklewright (eds), *Gender, Modernity, and Liberty: Middle Eastern and Western Women's Writings: A Critical Sourcebook* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), pp. 123–33 (125–31).

⁸¹ Rumbold, *Recollections*, pp. 329–30.

⁸² Ibid. p. 331. Rumbold, who had no access to the harem of Fadhel Pasha himself, based his judgements on the accounts of his wife.

⁸³ Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, pp. 20–6; and Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*, pp. 44–5.

⁸⁴ In her travelogue, Jerichau-Baumann described a visit on board the yacht *Sunbeam* owned by a certain Mr Br. She remembered dinners in the company of him and his lovely wife – probably Mr and Mrs Brassey. Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, pp. 104–5. Lady Brassey authored *A Voyage in the 'Sunbeam', our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months*.

⁸⁵ Brassey, *Voyage*, p. 129. Mustapha Fadhel Pasha died in 1875. Hence, in 1878, when Lady Brassey made her second visit to Istanbul, his views on women's confinement (reported by Rumbold) would no longer have prevented his daughters from being more active outside of the harem. Lady Brassey dates the voyage of Nazli Fadhel to the same year: 'A few months ago, Princess Nazli went to Egypt, and was not allowed to return to Constantinople. She put on a thick yashmak and feridjee, borrowed a thousand francs, and travelled back with her English maid, who has now been with her for five years. As soon as they had made a clear start, they threw off yashmak and feridjee and travelled as two English ladies, until they reached Constantinople, when they again resumed the Oriental costume.' Brassey, *Voyage*, p. 129. It is not easy to determine if Nazli Fadhel's first husband, Kahlil Sherif Pasha, restricted her. According to Jerichau-Baumann, he did, whereas Muhammed Farid, for example, qualified her life with her first husband in Paris as thoroughly European (see note 19). Moreover, if Lady Brassey's dating of Nazli Fadhel's independent travel from Cairo to

Istanbul is correct, it happened before Khalil Pasha died in 1879. Rumbold, similarly to Jerichau-Baumann, dates Nazli Fahdel's increased independence to the period after the death of her first husband. See Bendixen, *Verdensdamen Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann*, p. 148. After first having lamented the case of Nazli Fahdel, who had to marry a much older man, Rumbold writes, 'Of late years she has settled at Cairo, where she has, I believe, a pleasant European salon, having long thrown off the Oriental trammels of her youth.' See Rumbold, *Recollections*, p. 332.

⁸⁶ Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, p. 24; and Bendixen, *Verdensdamen Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann*, p. 146.

⁸⁷ Brassey, *Voyage*, p. 129.

⁸⁸ Roberts, *Intimate Outsiders*, p. 139.

⁸⁹ Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, pp. 123–30.

⁹⁰ Bendixen, *Verdensdamen Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann*, p. 38.

⁹¹ For an analysis of the relationship between text and image in Jerichau-Baumann's oeuvre, see Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*, pp. 35–7.

⁹² 'Det Bedste ved det Hele er, at man ved saadanne Leiligheder bliver aldeles uafhænging av ydre Forhold og derved i Sandhed bliver emanciperet i Ordets rette Forstand.' Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, p. 149.

⁹³ Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, p. 149.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 150–1.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 149.

⁹⁶ 'Gamle Cornelius havde engang, medens hun studerede i Düsseldorf, fra sin Trone i Munchen utstedt følgende Attest for hende: "I hele Düsseldorferskolen er der kun én Mand, og det er Elisabeth Baumann.'" Dietrichson, *Svundne tider*, p. 270.

⁹⁷ Dietrichson, *Svundne tider*, pp. 270, 276.

⁹⁸ ‘de ere alle for mig som omvankende Fraser, som Usandheder, som Smitstoffer, der kvæle den oprindeligt store Tanke.’ Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, p. 150.

⁹⁹ Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, *Ungdomserindringer* (Copenhagen: Fr. Wøldikes Forlag, 1874); and Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, *Til erindring om Harald Jerichau* (Copenhagen: Andr. Schous Forlag, 1879).

¹⁰⁰ ‘disse kvindelige Emanciperede’. Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, p. 150.

¹⁰¹ ‘ved en næsten mandig Skarpsindighet’. Jerichau-Baumann, *Ungdomserindringer*, p. 118-19.

¹⁰² ‘Alles Øjne straaede, når hun aabnede Læberne. “Charmant! Delicieux! Brava! Bravissima!” lød det i den store Sal; ja, Klaras italienske Tilbedere kunde i deres Begejstring ikke undlate at tilklappe hende stormende Bifald.’ Jerichau-Baumann, *Ungdomserindringer*, pp. 121–2.

¹⁰³ ‘thi den tyriske Kvinde har ingen Del i Religionen, i Mandens Interesser og Gjerninger, i hans Tanke, hans tilkommende Salighed.’ Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Klokken 9 trak jeg mig stedse tilbage til mit eget, store Gemak med Børnene og Gouvernanten, mens Mand og Hustru, paa ægte evropæisk Vis, fortroligt Samtaledede.’ Jerichau-Baumann, *Brogede Reisebilleder*, p. 126.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 126.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 126.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 126.

¹⁰⁸ Bendixen, *Verdensdamen Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁹ Roberts, ‘Harem Portraiture’, p. 81.

¹¹⁰ Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia*, p. 37.

¹¹¹ Kenneth M. Cuno, *Modernizing Marriage: Family, Ideology, and Law in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Egypt* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2015).

¹¹² Linda Peterson, 'Public and Private: The Fault Lines between Public and Private Selves in Women's Autobiographical Writings', in Teresa Magnum (ed.), *A Cultural History of Women: In the Age of Empire* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 115–40 (116–17); and Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, *A Taste for Home: The Modern Middle Class in Ottoman Beirut* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017), pp. 107–9.

¹¹³ Working-class women who were responsible for the maintenance of themselves and their families took work in the new factories or became maids in bourgeois homes.

¹¹⁴ Cuno, *Modernizing Marriage*, p. 11.

¹¹⁵ See *Elisabeth Jerichau Baumann – en verdensdame*, 19 May – 14 August 2011.

Kvindemuseet.dk. <http://kvindemuseet.dk/udstilling/elisabeth-jerichau-baumann-en-verdensdame/> (accessed 16 December January 2019).

¹¹⁶ Haddad was the first Tunisian author to address the issue of female emancipation in a systematic manner. He published his seminal book, *Muslim Women in Law and Society*, in 1930; in it, he addressed the issue of gender roles as social reality and in legal terms. He was highly critical of both and proposed a reform of Islamic law to amend what he qualified as the 'social misery' of Tunisian women. Haddad's book caused an uproar, and he was severely criticized by the religious establishment of the day. Over twenty years later, Bourguiba aimed to reform Tunisian society, and reforming the family constituted an important part of this programme. Hence, Haddad's name was restored, and many of his ideas implemented in law. The Tunisian Code of Personal Status, dating from 1956, prohibits polygamy, abrogates men's unilateral right to divorce and gives women easier access to the same. Tahar Haddad, *Muslim Women in Law and Society*. Annotated translation of *al-Tahir al-Haddad's Imra'tuna*

fi 'l-shari'a wa 'l-mujtama', with an introduction by Ronak Husni and Daniel L. Newman
(London: Routledge, 2007).