AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MODERN EGYPT
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IN MODERN EGYPT

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I dedicate this work to my wife FĀTIMAH without whose inspiration and loyalty it would not have been written.
CONTENTS

PREFACE - xiii

CHAPTER I
An Introduction to the Study of Education and Arabic Literature in the Eighteenth Century (1700-1798) - 1
The Knutab System - 2
The Place of the Mosque in Education - 7
The Religious Orders - 8
Literary Education - 13
Women and Education - 14
Higher Education - 15
Madrasah Students - 25
The Cultivation of Learning - 36
The Curricula - 41
Scientific Studies - 77
Non-Moslem Communities—The Copts - 84
The Franciscans - 87
The Moravians - 91
The Greeks - 91
The Jews - 92
Education of the Military Classes - 92

CHAPTER II
Education and the Penetration of Western Culture in Egypt from 1798 to 1848 - 96
The French Occupation - 96
French Schools - 97
Military Reforms under the French - 98
Printing - 99
Newspapers - 100
Egyptian Learning and the Occupation - 101
Muhammad 'Ali's advent to Power - 102
Muhammad 'Ali's First Education Missions and Schools - 104
| CONTENTS |
|-------------------|------------------|
| THE PERIOD OF EXPANSION, 1824-1837 | PAGE |
| The French Military Mission | 115 |
| Military Schools | 115 |
| The School of Medicine | 117 |
| School of Pharmaceutics | 122 |
| School of Maternity | 131 |
| The Veterinary School | 132 |
| OTHER MILITARY SCHOOLS | 132 |
| The Schools of Music | 134 |
| The Cavalry School | 134 |
| The Artillery School | 135 |
| The Infantry Schools | 137 |
| The High School | 138 |
| The Naval Schools | 139 |
| OTHER TECHNICAL SCHOOLS | 141 |
| The School of War Munitions | 141 |
| The School of Mineralogy | 142 |
| The School of Engineering | 142 |
| The School of Applied Chemistry | 145 |
| Other Schools | 149 |
| The School of Signalling | 150 |
| The School of Arts and Crafts | 150 |
| The School of Irrigation | 150 |
| The School of Transliteration | 150 |
| The School of Agriculture | 151 |
| The Mosque and Kulubah System and Primary Education, 1824-1836 | 152 |
| Education Missions to Europe, 1826-1836 | 157 |
| Education Missions to Europe, 1828-1836 | 170 |
| THE DIWAN AL-MAADARIS | 181 |
| The School of Languages | 198 |
| The Polytechnic School | 199 |
| The Artillery School | 200 |
| The Infantry School | 201 |
| The Medical School | 201 |
| The Veterinary School | 202 |
| Educational Developments under the Majlis Shurah-Madaris | 206 |
| Educational Developments under the Dwân al-Madâris, 1837-1849 | 208 |
| The New Primary Schools | 210 |
| The Preparatory School | 210 |
| The Special Schools | 210 |
| Education Missions to Europe, 1837-1843 | 221 |

| CONTENTS |
|-------------------|------------------|
| The Breakdown of the Education System | PAGE |
| Education Missions to Europe, 1844-1849 | 223 |
| The School of Languages | 243 |
| Non-Governmental Education Work | 264 |
| The Armenian School | 271 |
| The School of Languages | 271 |
| The Jewish Schools | 272 |
| The Greek Schools | 273 |
| Catholic Missionary Schools | 275 |
| Other Early Mission Schools | 278 |
| The Reign of Ibrahim Pasha | 285 |

CHAPTER III

ABBAS I (1849-1854) | 288 |
Education Missions to Europe during the reign of Abbas I | 301 |
NON-GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION WORK | 308 |
Catholic Missionary Schools | 308 |
The Copts | 309 |
The Greeks | 311 |
Other Communities | 311 |

CHAPTER IV

MUHAMMAD SA'D (1854-1863) | 373 |
Education Missions to Europe during the reign of Sa'id Pasha | 373 |
NON-GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION WORK | 330 |
Catholic Missionary Schools | 330 |
Cairo : The Frères | 330 |
Maison des Soeurs franciscaines | 331 |
The Soeurs du Bon Pasteur | 332 |
Alexandria: The Lazarists and the Filles de la Charité | 332 |
Other Franciscan activities | 333 |
The American Missionary Schools | 333 |
The Greeks | 334 |
Caire | 334 |
CONTENTS

OTHER GREEK COMMUNITIES
- 335
Alexandria
- 335
Al-Manṣūrah
- 336
Tantā
- 336
The Italian Schools
- 336
Private Schools
- 336
The Jews
- 336
The Copts
- 336
Other Coptic Schools
- 336
The Position of Education in 1863
- 339

CHAPTER V

THE REIGN OF ISMĀ'IL PASHA (1863–1879)
- 342
Education under Ismā'īl Pasha
- 346
The Dīwān al-Madārīs
- 347
Primary and Preparatory Schools
- 348
The Reorganisation of the Army and Navy and their appropriate Schools
- 348
The Civil Schools
- 352
The School of Medicine
- 355
Industrial Schools
- 357
Elementary and Primary Education
- 357
The Law of the 10th Ḥijrī 1284–7th November, 1867
- 362
The Application of the Law
- 369
The Girls' Schools
- 374
The Training of Teachers
- 375
Reorganisation of the Schools, 1873–4
- 380
Statistics and the State of Education during the period 1868–1878
- 383
Al-Azhar
- 395
Statistics of Al-Azhar and other Madrasahs
- 405
NON-GOVERNMENTAL EDUCATION WORK UNDER ISMĀ'IL PASHA
- 406
(a) The Catholic Schools
- 406
The Fères Missionnaires de la Haute Égypte
- 406
The Lazarists
- 407
The Sœurs du Bon Pasteur
- 407
The Franciscans
- 408
The Frères
- 409
The Jesuits
- 409

CONTENTS

(b) The American Missionaries
- 410
(c) The English Missionaries Schools
- 412
(d) Greeks
- 412
Cairo
- 412
Alexandria
- 413
Port Sa'id
- 414
Suez
- 414
Zagīzūk
- 414
Other Greek Communities
- 414
(e) The Italians
- 414
(f) The Germans
- 415
(g) Ecoles gratuites, libres et universelles
- 415
(h) Private Schools
- 419
(i) The Copts
- 420
(j) The Jewish Schools
- 422
(k) Other Communities
- 422
Statistics of the European and Community Schools
- 423

CHAPTER VI

TAUFĪK PASHA AND THE BRITISH OCCUPATION (1879–1883)
- 425
The Report of 'All Pasha Ibrahim
- 426
Special Schools
- 432
Education Boards
- 434
Language Teaching
- 434
Other Subjects
- 435
General Remarks
- 435
Education Missions to Europe
- 436
European Schools
- 436
Finance and Administration
- 437
The Reports of Lord Dufferin and Mr. H. Cunynghame
- 440
APPENDIX A. Statistics for Schools, 1873
- 443
APPENDIX B. Statistics for Schools, 1878
- 449
GLOSSARY
- 456
BIBLIOGRAPHY
- 461
INDEX
A. General
- 466
B. Names of Persons
- 488
C. Names of Places
PREFACE

My connections with Egypt go back as far as 1919, but it was not until 1933 when I was offered an Arabic Studentship in the School of Oriental Studies that I began to collect the materials for this work. It was originally intended to make a study of the language and literature of the Modern Egyptians, but it was soon realised that, before any serious work could be done in this field, it would be essential to investigate the channels through which the Egyptians received European education and culture. This volume begins with the education of the Egyptians before the French Occupation and goes on to show the effects of the French Invasion and the work done by Muhammed ‘Ali and his successors up to the accession of Taufik Pasha and the British Occupation. An attempt has been made to collect all available sources, Eastern and Western, printed and manuscript, in order to give as full an account as possible of all the education reforms undertaken in Egypt.

This is but the first volume of a series of four on the History of Culture in Modern Egypt; the second volume will continue the study of education from the British Occupation to the present day, while the third and fourth volumes will deal with the language, literature and music for the whole of the period covered by the study of Education.

A remark must be made about the transliteration used in this work. The accepted Arabic transliteration, with one or two minor modifications, has been used throughout for the sake of uniformity and convenience, in spite of the fact that many of the names mentioned are those of Turks.

My sincere thanks are due to many friends both in Egypt and elsewhere who have helped and encouraged me in my research work, particularly to Muṣṭafā Bey Rifat, a generous host during my many visits to Cairo; also to Professors H. H. Dodwell, H. A. R. Gibb, D. M. Margoliouth, A. S. Tritton, R. L. Turner, Sir Denison Ross and Mr. J. R. Firth. I should like to express my appreciation of the librarians of the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo for their services and kindness, especially Ḫalīfah Eλendī Kandil.
and Shaikh 'Abdar-Rasul. I must also thank Gallid Bey of the European Department of 'Abdin Palace for having helped me gain access to the Royal Archives preserved there.

I owe a great debt of gratitude both to the University of London Publication Committee and to the Trustees of the Forlong Bequest Fund for their generosity in providing me with the opportunity of publishing this work.

London,
September, 1938.

Chapter 1

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND ARABIC LITERATURE IN EGYPT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1700-1798)

In this chapter an attempt will be made to show as far as possible the intellectual and cultural state of Egypt during the eighteenth century to serve as the background for a similar study of the nineteenth century.

The eighteenth century gives an Egypt predominantly Islamic in culture and at the tail end of a period where Islamic thought had gradually become stagnant through the fact that it was in the hands of a body of scholars still with the mediæval outlook on life, practically isolated from the rest of the civilised world, and out of touch with the new cultural developments of the West. Whatever intellectual activity existed in Egypt was almost their own monopoly, unquestioned by the rest of the community, and it was from this body of scholars that the rest drew their intellectual and spiritual requirements.

A study of the eighteenth century is essential in order to understand the following century as it is in the nineteenth that we get, not exactly a complete change in the social and intellectual life of Egypt, but the introduction of another culture, quite new to Egypt, the growth of which was encouraged at the expense of the old system. The methods and ideas of the old intellectual world were not only still used, however, but largely determined the new methods and the conflict between the two cultures became the dominant feature of the nineteenth century, especially from the reign of Ismail Pasha.

The new century started with the occupation by the French, a momentous event, the results of which will be discussed in their proper place. This was followed up almost immediately by the period of innovations effected by Muhammad 'Ali.

Most of Muhammad 'Ali's reforms were inspired, either directly or indirectly, by influences derived from the West,
but in order to understand how these changes affected education and other intellectual aspects of social life and their results on the language and literature, we must endeavour to give as clear a picture of Egypt as possible before the arrival of the French, so that subsequent changes may be thoroughly analysed and judgment passed on their relative merits and demerits.

Education in Egypt was centred upon Cairo, since it was the college-mosque of al-Azhar, the cultural home of Islam, that served as a guide to the Moslem community, who formed the major part of the population of Egypt. The reputation enjoyed by the college-mosque of al-Azhar in all parts of the Moslem world gave Cairo an outstanding position as an educational centre. But although al-Azhar was undoubtedly at the centre of, and dominated the entire educational organisation, it was by no means—as is still frequently asserted—the only institution, for the majority of the Moslem population received such education as it had from other institutions, namely, the kutāb, the mosque, the madrasah and the religious orders.

The Kutāb System.1

In the kutāb, the young pupil learnt the orthography of the Arabic language mainly through memorising the Korān, the whole task taking two or three years; it meant the learning of the text by heart, no matter how indeterminate, the ideal being the recitation of the sacred verses without a single mistake in pronunciation. The shorter chapters were committed to memory first and then the longer ones. The meaning of the text and its grammatical analysis were definitely not included in the syllabus; it is to be doubted whether many of the kutāb masters, called fidās, could venture to discuss the meaning of the sacred words, the function of the fidā was merely to perform a task handed down to him by tradition, namely, teaching the young student how to recite the Korān—hifz-al-Korān—in return for a very meagre pecuniary consideration and some payment in kind from the parents of the pupils in the nature of a turban, a knifān and a pair of shoes (marballā) at the time of the festivals which generally coincided with the khatmān or completion of the course of a part of his

Literature in Modern Egypt
class of young followers when they would recite the text they had acquired by heart through the care and rod of their teacher.2 fidās attached to kutābs that formed a part of a public building (mosque, sābih, banād) received articles of clothing and cloth annually from its waṣf funds3 while parents who sent their children to such schools and who could afford it, paid the fidā from ten to sixty medins (paras) a month.4

The fidā was assisted by an 'arif or monitor who probably did a fair share of the work, the final touches being left to the fidā who drew the rewards for the services rendered at his kutāb. It is not clear what the 'arif's share of the rewards was but it was undoubtedly determined by traditional usage, the means and liberality of the fidā and the class of students that attended the school. Often the 'arif took the fidā's place after the latter's death or became fidā at another kutāb when he had gained sufficient experience.

Elementary ideas of arithmetic were not taught at the kutāb by the fidā but the student was sent to the khalīlah4 or public weigher in the market-place at the termination of his Korānic studies. He was most likely taught something of weights and measures, mental arithmetic and a knowledge of currency which seems to have been quite a complicated business from the references in al-Jabarti.

The kutāb was either an institution functioning under the auspices of the waṣf of some generous or pious donor, in which case it was sometimes part and parcel of a mosque, sābih (public fountain), or banād (drinking place for cattle), or it was a kind of schoolroom set up by some fidā if there were sufficient demand for such an enterprise. During the eighteenth century, however, the kutābs owed their existence mainly to the waṣf-system. Sometimes the schools were added to public buildings by later benefactors.5

As regards the number of kutābs in Egypt at this period, it is impossible to give anything like exact figures especially for the towns and villages outside Cairo. There were many in

1 See E. W. Lane's The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London, 1833, pp. 60-64; also T. Husain’s Rīḍā-al-Ayyām, Cairo, 1929, tr. by E. H. Pinto and called An Egyptian Childhood, London, 1930; also S. Lane-Poole, Social Life in Egypt, pp. 55-56.
2 Lane, op. cit., p. 91.
4 Lane, op. cit., p. 62.
5 There were two kinds of waṣf endowments, the riḍāk waṣfīyah and those set up by private individuals.
6 See al-Jabarti's account of 'Abd-ar-Rahmān Kuttāb, Vol. II (57-171)./244.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Cairo and they were to be found in other towns and villages. In this connection, Chabrol, while admitting that the knātābās owed their existence to charity, gives the impression that the villages lacked such schools and states that parents who desired to send their children to school had to have recourse to the shāhil of the local mosque; he overlooks the fact that the mosque itself is the result of some charitable donation and that teaching the Korān and the elements of the Islamic faith was one of the reasons for such pious foundations. The function of the mosque in the national culture, however, is discussed below.

The equipment of the knātāb was very limited and much depended on the status of the foundation. The teacher and students sat on the floor of the room, the latter forming a rough semi-circle round their master. The boys used a kind of tablet for writing out the alphabet; the master may have had a copy of the Korān, but as copies of the holy text were in manuscript form and consequently expensive, and the method was one of memorising, most knātābās in all probability did not possess a copy. An essential part of the school equipment was a palm-branch which the master used fairly frequently to facilitate his task.

The hours of attendance were from dawn to midday; Friday was a holiday, while there was no work during the month of Ramadan, the month of the fast, although the fiṣās were generally occupied elsewhere. As to regularity of attendance, there is no evidence for no registers were kept.

The knātāb was liable to the inspection by the local fiṣās.

3 See Desor, De l'Égypte, ed. Paris, 1829, Vol. XVIII, Pt. 2, p. 336. Jomard actually visited 245, sahības and gives another estimate of 225 of these foundations and remarks that "assez souvent les citernes sont remontées d'un étage où se trouvent une école gratuite (knātābā), fondée par le même benefacteur qui a fait bâti la fontaine, et portent aussi son nom," and further, p. 330, note. 3 D'après un relevé général des écoles de la ville, leur nombre mondéral à plus de cent." Jomard apparently includes madrasas as well as knātābās. See Le Propre d'Égypte, 22e Relévede la villลา d'Egypte, No. 12, 16th September, 1808. Regarding these knātābās, it states, "Ces écoles sont fort nombreuses en Egypte et il n'est pas de village un peu peuplé qui n'ait son knātābā," and further, "l'édifice de sous-professeurs avait été attachés à quelques knātābās, dont un certain nombre avaient été richement dotés, afin de propager autant que possible, la connaissance de la langue arabe. Mais les diverses vicissitudes qu'a subies le pays, jointes à l'avarsie et à la cupidité des règeurs des biens Waqf, ont fait endurer, presque partout, la perte à leurrians certains.


4 These tablets were little wooden boards about the size of ordinary school slates. Painted while the lessons being written upon them in ink by the master and renewed from time to time. See Art Journal, London, 1880, Vol. X, p. 177, article "The Tadpole," and V. Dehen, Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, London, 1833, Vol. III, p. 245, note to Plate XLVII.


LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

but his inspection seems to have been limited to the scrutiny of the waṭf accounts and funds in order to see that there was no misappropriation or other irregularities that would not be in accordance with the proper working and application of the waṭf conditions; it is doubtful whether the judge ever interfered with the actual teaching of the fiṣās.

The social status of the fiṣās was much higher than it is at the present day. He was held in great respect by the people chiefly on account of his possessing the Korān by heart. He may have acquired his experience as 'arīf or have learnt the profession from his father; it is to be doubted if the fiṣās at this period ever obtained a diploma from the collegiate-mosque of al-Azhar although there may have been cases of the fiṣās having belonged to one of the riwāţās before finally entering upon his career. He probably attended lessons at local mosques for his own enlightenment but not for the benefit of his pupils whose studies would not be affected by his doing so. The standard of the fiṣās general learning seems to have been so low that cases of illiteracy have been reported.

In addition to his ordinary knātāb work, the fiṣās fulfilled many other duties all bound up with the religious, social and educational practices of the Egyptians. Amongst these duties was that of private teaching when parents could afford such a luxury. The private student was not only taught the Korān but also the correct method of reciting his prayers, performing ablutions and elementary calligraphy.

The fiṣās was also called upon to recite the Korān during festivals, at mālāds, at wedding, funeral and circumcision ceremonies, at graves and in mausoleums, remuneration being given according to the quality of the reciter's voice as great value was and is still placed on good chanting. Provision was generally made from waṭf funds for the payment of fiṣās who recited in mausoleums and mosques and during mālāds. The Korān was also recited at private houses and in shops such recitations being looked upon as bringing barakah (blessing). Ramadan was the best month for the fiṣās as he was engaged by private individuals to lead the prayers and to recite the Korān during
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
the evenings; for this he was not only well paid but well fed. The fāti’s advice was sought in many ways; he supplied amulets in order to keep away the evil eye and to aver had luck in all kinds of dealings and enterprises; his advice was and is still sought by women seeking husbands or by those who had either lost or were afraid of losing their husband’s affection; he also gave advice in cases of sterility. There were also women who were fakîyâhs but the position of women in the sphere of education will be discussed under a separate heading.

The fâti thus occupied a rank in Egyptian society which made him important for two main reasons, firstly, because he had the monopoly of the education of the younger members of the community and, secondly, because of the numerous social services which he performed and which kept him in constant contact with the people.

Kuttab-education, including that of elementary private education, fulfilled the task demanded of it by the people. According to the eighteenth century Egyptian standard of requirements for an elementary education, this system gave the young student all he was expected to know, namely, the recitation of the Koran by heart, the recitation of prayers and the correct performance of the movements that went with them. The method of memorising the Koran introduced the student to the system in use in the more advanced circles of education, the basis of which was the memorising of certain compendiums (ma’âni-—pl. mutaf). It also familiarised him with the classical tongue without, of course, giving him any working knowledge of that language.

The kuttab-discipline brought the student into line with the rest of the Moslem community, the main ideal was moral and religious, preparing him for good citizenship in accordance with Moslem ethics and making him part of the religious system which controlled almost every act of life.

The student having completed his kuttab studies was considered ready to enter on his career; if he belonged to the shaik class, he would go to al-Azhar and in due course became a shaik and would probably take over his father’s charges; if he intended joining some trade or was destined for commerce, he would become an apprentice to a member of the particular corporation (haifa or sirf) which had control of his calling. The whole system was

settled according to traditional usage, in most cases the son followed his father’s trade or profession and very often went through the period of apprenticeship under his father.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

The Place of the Mosque in Education
During the young boy’s apprenticeship, he seems not to have attended the mosques as young boys were not allowed in them; apparently from the beginning of his apprenticeship until the day of his initiation into a guild, there was no kind of school training. It was with manhood that he began to attend the mosque, the importance of which as an educational centre cannot be neglected.

One of the most important institutions in Islam is the Friday prayer in the mosque. Every Moslem is expected to share in these, as prayers recited with the community have more credit than those recited alone. The Friday congregational prayer gave an opportunity of social gathering; whereas in the guilds and religious orders the fraternising was more exclusive, in the mosques all Moslems met on common ground. It also enabled the authorities to keep in close touch with the people; the latter were kept informed of local and other news especially during troubled times, the congregational prayers thus fulfilling the task of the press of modern times.

It was at the mosque gatherings that the social leaders were able to mould public opinion, and in this connection, it is worth noting that it has nearly always been the mosque that has been the centre of any reactionary movement.

The khatib or Friday sermon used to be a more serious affair than it appears to have been during the eighteenth century, though there are no collections of sermons for this period as far as can be ascertained. In addition to the khatib, there were the preachings of the wakil or preacher between the midday and afternoon prayers on Fridays and other special days when he would admonish the congregation on all kinds of subjects connected with the faith.

The endowments settled on large mosques

1. See Lane, op. cit., p. 83.
2. Called shaful-ul-walad: ibid., pp. 515-6, and article in Encyclopedia of Islam on shaful and jirf.
4. Ibid., p. 17.
5. The wakil must of necessity have spoken to a great extent in the colloquial in order to adapt his matter to his hearers. Lessons would be given in colloquial with frequent quotations from the Koran and Hadith.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
provided for a khatif who's main function was the Friday sermon, for an imām who conducted the prayers at all times and for a wādī or preacher, a bāṭir or reader of the Korān and a mu'ādhkhīn or caller to prayers, and servants. In the smaller mosques, one shahīkh would fill the joint offices of khatif and imām. In the larger and richer mosques, in addition to the usual offices, provision was made for the foundation of one or more lecturerships, the lecturers generally being 'ulama' from al-Azhar²; the lectures were usually given after the afternoon ('ayr) prayers and on Friday morning.³ In the smaller mosques, the imām gave lessons daily after prayer times, especially after the 'asr prayers to those of the congregation who desired enlightenment; these lessons took the form of simple explanations of the Korān, the hadith and ethics and were an essential part of mosque life. Ramadan being set aside for the fast and extra religious devotions, the Moslem community did very little work, and it was the habit to rest during a part of the day and to attend at the mosques to listen to the shahīkh's lessons.

The mosque thus formed a common rallying point for the Moslems irrespective of class or religious order from which they acquired, besides spiritual consolation, moral education and instruction according to the accepted ideas of the Moslem community.

The Religious Orders

In addition to the mosque, however, the people had the religious orders which were very strongly supported and through which the shahīkh was able to exert still greater influence.

The local mosque cannot be compared with the parish church as the member of any locality did not feel any particular tie with the local mosque, the choice, subject to habit and environment, being his to pray where he liked. But with the farihāh, it was different; here there was a very strong bond as a man could not belong to a farihāh unless he had been properly admitted and

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¹ Imām shahīkh, Lane, op. cit., p. 84.
² This will be dealt with under higher education.
⁴ See MacDonald, Aspects of Islam, New York, 1911, p. 178.
⁵ Certain mosques are used more than others during religious fasts and festivals. The prayers recited at the imām's and khatif's Mosque on the last Friday of the month of Ramadan were sure to be answered (ah-Jumā'ah al-Yatimāh).
⁶ T. f. jāb, called also fātā'yāh, pl. wābā'yī', see al-Jabarti, fatimāh.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
madrasas were used mainly for the training of shāikhs of farīkhahs and munshids. In the case of family orders such as the Babriyān and Wafāyīyah where the shaikhship of the order (ṣayyidah) was hereditary, it appears that the shaikh of the order took part in the meetings and dākhir only during the religious feasts and the mukhtār. The relationship of eighteenth century taṣawwuf to religion and to all classes of Muslim society cannot be under-rated. By this time, few seem to have been able to call themselves Moslems without belonging to one or more of the religious orders, and, as we have seen, even the orthodox shaikhs and 'ulama' had their own special order; religious life was no longer governed by the simple tenets of Islam but rather by the various ṣafī-inter-
pretations of religious law and texts. Moral guidance was sought from and given by the shaikhs through the channels of this huge superstructure of ṣaḥāfa rather than through direct reference to orthodox Islamic principles. Ritual, prayer, mode of life and general behaviour were governed in the main by the rules of the Islamic faith but in detail by those of the farīkhah, the authority of which was the shaikh, and it was the detail that mattered. The learned devoted much time and energy to the reading of ṣaḥīfa literature and by far the greatest proportion of the literary output consisted of this kind of writing and of ṣaḥīfa poetry while the rank and file followed the example and guidance of their intellectual and spiritual leaders.

The value of the educational work done through the religious orders is worthy of attention, although the emphasis laid on the physical side through the dākhir and other ecstatic religious exercises may be criticised.

To what extent the people were literate is hard to say; Chabrol states that from one third to a quarter of the male population of Cairo was literate. A large part of that group was made up of merchants, petty shopkeepers and artisans, most of whom had probably gone through the usual ḥadīth training and belonged to one of the religious orders. Their reading consisted mostly of ṣaḥīfa tracts and literature with some ṣaḥīfa colouring obtainable in some kind of manuscript form from the copyists or booksellers, and, judging from the quantity in libraries and still available in the book-markets, the supply must have been fairly extensive. Undoubtedly the religious orders had largely determined popular literary taste, and since the introduction of printing, vast numbers of these ṣaḥīfa pamphlets and works have been turned out and abounded in the bookshops. The followers also learnt litanies and invocations which were recited at the meetings of the fraternities.

It must be maintained that the religious orders held the people together and subordinated them to the authority of the shaikh class, who were their leaders. The result was a general stability in all ranks of society and a contentment with one's lot which began to disappear at a later period.

Hand in hand with this side of religious life went the practice of saint-worship, which had a thorough grip of the people and about which our sources of information give plenty of information. It was probably the credulity of the people that encouraged charlatantry and imposture and the poet shaikh Ḥasan al-Badri al-Fiṣṭār (d. 1718) pillories the charlatans and hypocrites in several bitter poems.

This popular belief in saints and their miracles and the relationship between superstition and religion are explained in considerable detail by Lane. The colloquial language also gives endless proof of the important place of all this among the Egyptians, but even in the eighteenth century there were people who were alive to its evils.

1 A certain class of readers still indulges in this kind of literature alone.

2 See articles in Encyclopedia of Islam: taṣawwuf, farīkhah, ward, hizb, ṣafī, etc.

3 G.A.L., I, 180; al-Jah, I, 72-83, I, 140-149.See also a poem on the impostor of Fayyum, I, 69-70, 177-180.

4 Lane, op. cit., 228-232; also Encyclopedia of Islam, articles, wallā, ṣafī, ʿālī, etc.

5 See Burckhardt, Arabic Proverbs, London, 1870, Nos. 113, p. 106, 82, and 21, p. 142, but these proverbs cannot be taken too seriously. Even at the present day, saint-worship and superstition have still a considerable hold on the people. A visit to any of the principal masjads during festivals will suffice to prove that all classes of people continue to believe in saints. Regarding charlatans, for example, I was told by a Muḥarrār shaikh who lives in Shariʿ Darb as-Janāinā in Cairo that his clientele includes fashionable actrees and teachers and even an Egyptian airman who sought a charm from him before he attempted to fly from Rome to Egyt and sent him his thanks when he succeeded.

10
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

In regard to saint-worship, al-Jabarti gives an account of a Turkish preacher who came to Cairo in the month of Ramaḍān 1123 (1711) and began to preach to a congregation which consisted mostly of Turks in the Mosque al-Mu‘āyяд against saint-worship, their miracles, beggary and other practices. The sermon was reported to the ‘ulamā and two of them, Shaikhs Ahmad an-Nafārāwī and Ahmad al-Khalīfī, issued a fatwāa declaring, inter alia, that saints could perform miracles after death. The outcome was the escape of the preacher and the punishment of those who attended his sermons. The narrative ends with a poem by Hassan al-Hāfīz which approves of the fate of the preacher probably because he had roused the soldiers against the ‘ulamā, for elsewhere he disapproves of the worship of demented men as “saints” and still more of the ‘ulamā who encouraged it.

Regarding the literature on saints and occultism, there is an extensive list of the former under the headings of ṣabābū (biographies), ṣaramāt (miracles) and manīlaš (virtues) much of which is closely connected with ṣama‘ or, while on the latter, MacDonald gives a long list of works in his article on ṣīrāq. Under this heading there are a series of sciences (ṣawā‘im), the names of which are as follows: ‘īm ar-rumal (geomancy), ‘īm an-niyām (astrology), ‘īm al-fa‘īr (divination), this is also known as ‘īm al-burūf, al-nimāyā (alchemy), ‘īm ar-ra‘ib (the science of the distasteful), ẓar-ra‘ib (spiritual magic), ẓar-shāma (natural magic), ‘īm al-mu‘āf (magic squares) and ẓār-br ar-ra‘īya (interpretation of dreams). Shaikhs who wrote on these subjects were highly esteemed as scholars. All these occult sciences were very popular and the various arts connected with them were practised very extensively by many shaikhs. Those best versed in these sciences were Mustahūlīs but every village fiqh even had some knowledge of them and could provide charms. As a rule, a shaikh learnt the art from his father or some other relation


LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

after a long period of apprenticeship; many of them had private collections of writings, formulae and squares in manuscript form for private use and guarded with the utmost secrecy; the greater the secrecy, the more the shaikh was held in esteem.

Literary Education

Before proceeding to the study of higher education proper some mention should be made of the fact that in certain classes it was still customary to receive a literary education. An education of this kind, which was regarded as essential in higher society, meant an acquaintance with one or two of the favourite poets, and the learning by heart of some verses and proverbs which could be used in polite conversation on appropriate occasions. One of the favourite works read and sometimes learnt by heart was the Maṣā‘m al-Burīrī, which was occasionally taught in the mosques as well. Most of this teaching however must have been undertaken in private houses.

The works most preferred were the so-called Rūmānīs which were purely for entertainment; these were not, as a rule, read by the people, but were recited in public by professional narrators. There were the Shu‘hair or Hālīh who recited the Sirat Abī Zaid; the Muhḥādīn who recited the Sirat al-Ma‘āzīrāh which is based on the history of the Būbars, and the Anḍariyāh who recited the Sirat ʿAntar and also the Sirat Dā‘īr-Hīmmah, Sirat Sa‘īf Dā‘īr-Yazān and the Thousand and One Nights.

The first of these stories was read or recited in the popular manner, that is to say, without inflexion and the metres of the poems were not classical; the second were entirely in colloquial and best suited to the lower classes while the third, which included poetry not understood by the people, were listened to by the educated. There were also numerous other shorter stories some of which have been collected, but a close study of the literature of Egyptian colloquial Arabic has yet to be made.

2. Lane, Modern Egyptians, pp. 307–43.
3. Ibn Miskīkhīmīn.
5. S. Takandari has made an attempt to write a history of colloquial literature (as far unpublished) but he makes no mention of these stories.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Women and Education.

So far, practically no reference has been made to the education of the women of the Modern community and, in fact, the authorities give us very little information on the subject.1

Girls were admitted in the khatibah but few seemed to have taken advantage of this privilege.2 Some seem to have been taught by special teachers called shaikhs and probably by old shaikhs. In addition to the usual teaching of the prayers, the young girls were also made to learn certain chapters of the Koran by heart, but tradition forbade the teaching of some stanzas particularly Siraat Yisa. Girls did not learn how to read and write as there was (and still is, among certain classes), a very strong prejudice against their learning to do so. The girls of the middle and upper classes were taught the art of embroidery and artistic needlework by a special teacher called the mu'allimah and once they had become proficient in the work, their finished articles were taken to the market by the taldalah, a female broker to be sold. The poorer women used to learn the use of the spindle.

There was probably a number of women who learnt the Koran by heart and became professional fikiyah or shaikhs. It has been seen above that Shaikh Sharqawī had a blind fikiyah as one of his students in al-Azhar; there is also mention of a certain Shaikhah Aminah who became attached to as-Sayyid 'Ali al-Bakrī; Shaikh 'Abdal-Ghani as-Nabulsi relates that while he was visiting the mausoleum of as-Sayyidah Na'fisah some time after 1360 (1654), he found a woman ḥabibah reciting the Koran to a number of her sex. Women were not forbidden to listen to lectures for we read in al-Jabarti that while Shaikh Murtaza was giving a lecture on the hadith at the house of a certain amir, women, girls and children listened to him behind a curtain.3

2 Hanna El-Abdal-Wahhab of Cairo informs me that the wālifa of the Khalīq khatibah provided for 400 boys and 400 girls.
3 See Burkehardt, op. cit., Proverb No. 715, p. 316. Used by women who were the ma'allimah.
5 al-Jabarti, IV (643-644) 1354.
6 ibid., II, p. 249.
7 See his al-Bakrī.
8 al-Jabarti, II, 1159-1160.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Shaikhahs also had special functions such as those connected with the zār, a practice which was probably introduced about this time into Egypt.1

Domestic duties were probably taught to young girls by their mothers and slaves. In the case of the better classes, such duties could not have been irksome on account of the number of slaves in the house.

Slave women were more often than not already educated before they were bought; but the difficulty of training slaves was proverbial.2

The arts of music and singing were not taught to women as they were considered incompatible with decency; these arts were left to the professional ʿuṣmān.

Higher Education.

Higher education in the Modern community was reserved for a special class, viz., the 'ulama and shaikhs who had their seat of learning in the college-mosque of al-Azhar called Jamīʿ al-Azhar or Madrasah-al-Azhar.

Besides this madrasah, there were others functioning in Cairo and the provinces during the eighteenth century each with a resident shaikh, while the number of students being determined by the extent of the means of the waḥf endowment at its disposal. The attraction of students to a madrasah depended on two things, the material provisions of the school in the first place and the reputation of some teacher or teachers in the second. The chief reasons for the popularity of al-Azhar were that it was rich and supplied the best professors. At one time these other madrasahs were in a more flourishing state, but even at a much earlier date not all of them were well attended. The learning in Egypt in the eighteenth century was in a state of decadence cannot be denied, and the decadence had been accelerated by the conquest of the country by the Turks and its reduction to the status of a province. The country had to part with a large amount of money by way of tribute, money

1 See the article in the Encyc. of Islam on the zār. See also Zwemer, op. cit., pp. 227-224; Blackman, op. cit., pp. 198-200.
2 Burkehardt, op. cit., p. 99, Proverb No. 147. "The purchase of a slave, but not the training of him."
3 See Amna Pasha Shah, al-Ta'lim fi Mīṣr, Cairo, 1937, Section 3 of the Supplements, where he gives the names of 125 madrasahs with a brief history of each.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

which would otherwise have stayed in the country for the benefit of the people; many of the higher posts were now occupied by Turks and the continual opposition of the Mamlûk Beys to the Turkish Governor and their own mutual jealousies engaged too much of their attention. Many of the madrasas

and mosques had possessed libraries which, however, gradually disappeared, but the main reason for the madrasas not being as no longer used as such was probably that they fell into ruins or, at least, that part where the teachers and students lived and studied. Many of the schools then came to be used simply as mosques, šâhiyyahs and ḫāhiyyahs. Whether the waqf property of a school was ever confiscated is hard to say, though Arminjon states that it was usurped. Lack of funds from badly managed property may have resulted in lack of interest and neglect; teachers and students would soon withdraw from a school the quarters of which were badly kept and which had no proper kitchen arrangements. Material prosperity and with it intellectual development seemed to have been transferred to Constantino-

ple.3

1) Al-Jub, I.61-110. The books were lost by the readers, sold by the admin-

istrators and transferred to the Mâ Habid and the Sûkh.

2) Amîn Pasha Dîrück gives the names of the schools that were so transformed. Madrasât al-Dîrück was eventually called Madrasât al-Jub. Jâmi’ al-Sûkh went to Haydarî, and Madrasât al-Kuwarîs and Madrasât al-Abyad were transformed into the Semây. See also, Aîmîn Pasha Mîlûdar, op. cit., Cairo, 1889, passim; see article

Arminjon, op. cit., pp. 37-8. Ce département, dont il est difficile de dé

celer les causes multiples et transâverses, se manifeste dans la dissipation et

dans l'insouciance des ouvriers, le désordre des bâtiments, spécialement

chez les étudiants.

3) The material side of the madrasah system cannot be overlooked. Many

schools were poorly maintained and were often closed. The maintenance of

the madrasahs was often neglected. The following anecdote is illustrative of popular opinion on the subject. When the Shahîjî Mosque was built, no one ever went on of the walls:

Gulîr b. 'Abî Bûnîya. Fâlîh.

Why should a mosque be built without the provision of bread?

To which another replied:

Bûnîya b. âlî Bûtî b. al-Ibây.

It was built for prayer. O shameful one.

When they look for bread they add the bread-caster added

As-îbî b. 'Abî Bûnîya. Fâlîh.

Yâhûhî b. 'Abî Bûnîya. Fâlîh.

Prayer can be performed in the open air. May the mosque fall into ruins upon the founder!

1) See Unâîdî. Usûlû, I.224-225. It has been transformed to a house of residence.

2) See Unâîdî. Usûlû, I.224-225. It has been transformed to a house of residence.

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LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

There seem to have been too many schools in Cairo even in earlier times owing to the practice of the Mamlûk Amîrs of building madrasas and mosques in order to perpetuate their names in history. New institutions had a better chance of being more advantageously administered than old ones and schools built and put into use during the founder’s life were almost sure to be well-patronised by students.

Islamic learning and scholarship have nearly always flourished best under the patronage of the rulers and the great. In spite of the provision of schools, the Beys, on account of the political and economic reasons stated above, had neither the leisure nor the means to offer patronage to any extent; and, with the decadence of intellectual life in Egypt, the schools that were still used lost their personality while that of al-Azhar grew. While the minor institutions were becoming impoverished, al-Azhar gradually became larger and richer on account of the endowments that were settled on it from time to time; it was occasionally renovated and new buildings added to it. Gradually the other schools became as it was annexes or dependencies of this huge college-mosque, at least, for the purposes of teaching.

The centripetal movement, however, was not so pronounced in Cairo as maintained by Arminjon and as al-Jarbûrî ‘Abû ‘Abîdî, as he was named, in his History of Egypt, 1790-1881, pp. 872. See also, Aîmîn Pasha Mîlûdar, op. cit., Cairo, 1889, passim; see article

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THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
mosques1 where courses were given in both Al-Jabarti and some
of these schools were by no means insignificant; the ʻUṣūnayn
is mentioned thirteen times in the Al-Jabarti with the names of
the teachers who taught there and who were often the best that
al-Azhar could produce such as Shaikh Ahmad ad-Damamshi,8
Shaikh Ahmad al-ʻArūdī,9 Shaikh Muhammad al-Buhālī,10 Shaikh
Muhammad al-ʻKhalīfī al-Jauhari11 and others. No less a scholar
than Shaikh Murtaḍa taught at the Ḥanafī Mosque,6 and at the
Shaikhaynî7; and we read of one case where a teacher preferred
to teach at an institution other than the mosque of al-Azhar, this was the pious old shaikh Muhammad ash-Shanawānī9 who gave his courses at the mosque of al-Fakhrāb

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT
(or al-Fakhrāb), and cleaned the mosque out himself; even
after he was made Shaikh of al-Azhar, he still insisted on keeping
up his work at his old mosque.

Some schools seemed to have been colleges for dervishes,1
the shaikhs or teachers of which were appointed either with the
knowledge and approval of the local authorities at al-Azhar
or by an order from Constantinople.2 As in Cairo, there still
existed a network of higher teaching establishments around
al-Azhar, so in the provinces there was still functioning a number
of institutions which were dependent to a certain degree, on
al-Azhar for the supply of professors. These institutions were
wholly independent as regards administration, but no provincial
establishment seems to have a body of ‘ulamā’ which did not look
to al-Azhar as its cultural home. Diplomas enabling shaikhs to teach may have been given locally, but the hall-mark of learning was attendance at al-Azhar and acquisition of
diplomas from its ‘ulamā’, and for this reason the most important
shaikhs who held chairs in provincial mosques had passed through
al-Azhar as young men.

According to al-Jabarti, the following towns2 had establish-
ments where teaching work was carried out: Asyūṭ,4 Bīrīmī,5
Damietta,6 Dārūgū,7 Fayyūm,8 Gīrāh,9 Mahābāh,10 Mānsūrāb,11
Manfūr,12 Rosetta,13 Taḥta,14 Ṭanṭā,15 One may also add

1 See mufîd-i Ṭūrālī, No. 55, 18th Rajab, 1245 (18th Jan., 1829). In the
case of the Ḥanfīyya and Sahānaqyayn schools, they seem to have been
reserved for Turks. The teacher appointed in 1306 (1921) was Hasan Efendi of
Akkara and at that time there were twenty-four teachers in the Ḥanfīyya school;
the names of four are given which show that they were Turks. Two of them were
80 years of age.

2 See also the articles in the Encyclopedia of Islam on the following:—Asyūṭ;
Bīrīmī, Damietta, Dārūgū, Fayyūm, Gīrāh, Mahābāh, Mānsūrāb, Manfūr,
Rosetta, Taḥta, Ṭanṭā. All these were within the city limits of Alexandria.

3 al-Jabarti, II, 235-IV, 750, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

4 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 751, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

5 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 752, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

6 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 753, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

7 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 754, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

8 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 755, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

9 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 756, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

10 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 757, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

11 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 758, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

12 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 759, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

13 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 760, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.

14 Ibid., II, 235-IV, 761, d. 1778, was Shaikh of al-Azhar.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
Alexandria, Giza, Kalyûb, Kenâ, Kûs and Manflût, which all seem to have been provided with educational facilities beyond the hatâbûn.

Of Alexandria’s numerous mosques, that of Sayyidî Abu'l-'Abbâs al-Mursî and another called Mursidî al-Madrûsah were college-mosques.1 At Asyûtî, some half dozen mosques are mentioned as being used for teaching,2 but we have only one case in al-Jabarît of a teacher preparing a student before he went to al-Azhar.3 Bîrmû does not appear to have been so important, but several members of this town became 'ulamâ' while Shaikh al-Ma'âjinî taught there.4 Damûtta was a much greater centre of learning; of its many mosques,5 al-Badrî,6 al-Mas'ûlidî,7 Shaûtta lÎbîl-Hâmîlî and Abu'l-Mâjîbî were college-mosques.

Several important 'ulamâ' taught in this town;8 it appears that the family to which the poet Muţfînî al-Lâkîmî belonged had a permanent interest in one of the mosques.9

Dâsûk had three large mosques, the foremost being that of the famous saint ad-Daşûqî,10 the founder of the Daşûqîyûn (or Barâhîmîyûn or Bârâhîmîyûn) order which had its centre here. This town is only mentioned once in al-Jabarît in connection with schools, the reference being to the students of some mosque

1 The first was connected with the Şabdûlî order, see ‘All Pasha Murshak, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 69; for the second see p. 69. When ‘All Pasha Murshak wrote his work, this town had seven congregational mosques and 90 madrasas.


3 Shaikh Hassan al-Jabrî taught Muhammad Hâshim às-Saçûfî before he went to al-Azhar; see al-Jabrî, II/155-155.

4 See ‘All Pasha Murshak, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 34 and al-Jabrî, IV/156-Ma'sûlî.

5 See ‘All Pasha Murshak, op. cit., Vol. IX, pp. 35-35, pp. 35-35, which deal with the mosque and schools.


8 See ‘All Pasha Murshak, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 52.


10 This is the school of Sharif b. ‘Abdûl al-Daşûqî that maintained eleven madrassas or ba'dâs."
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Shaikh Mansur al-Manafi studied several compendiums at Manafi before he went to Cairo; most of the mosques seem to have been in a dilapidated state and it is not clear which were collegiate.

Rosetta had quite a large number of mosques. One, called al-Jami\'al-Kabir, resembled, according to 'Ali Pasha Mustafakir, the Mosque of al-Azhar; this, together with the mosques of al-Mahallawi and az-Zaghil, was used for the purposes of instruction. Shaikh Husain b. Salamah at-Tibi (d. 1762) who belonged to the Barhamiyyah taught at the Zaghil mosque; Shaikh 'Ali al-Khuffari (d. 1772) taught at the Mahallawi mosque and was even visited by teachers from Cairo on account of his great reputation; Shaikh Husain ar-Rashid, whose father was al-Kashif, began his studies at Rosetta and afterwards became a teacher at al-Azhar. The Barhamiyyah order seemed to have a strong footing in this town and probably the Zaghil mosque was used for its teachings; we read, too, in Lane that dervishes were sent from Rosetta to the Dasiq fair.

Tanta had seven college mosques, while Tanta ranked next in importance after Cairo as an educational centre. The Mosque of Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi was the headquarters of the Almudiyyah (or Badeawiyah) order and there was held a religious fair bi-annually which was attended by huge crowds from all over Egypt. The mosque must have had a very large number of students and teachers, the shaikh of which was also shaikh of the 'ilm.

'All Bey al-Kabir* rebuilt the mosque, schools, sabil, minarets and other offices, but they were again rebuilt by 'Abb\'as I. Al-Jabarti gives the name of Shaikh 'Ali al-Amin who taught at another mosque to begin with (probably that called al-Biyah) but he eventually became chief shaikh of Tanta.

There is also a reference to Shaikh Ahmad as-Samihiji, 1

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

who taught at the Mosque of Sayyid al-Badawi and who had a reputation for settling disputes of the whole town.

The above sketch of the distribution of teaching establishments cannot be considered complete as al-Jabarti, our main source for the period, only gives the names of the most important scholars and the names of the various schools or college-mosques en passant; their number suffices to show, however, that the Moslem community was not lacking in educational centres and that the system which had been handed down was maintained at a standard compatible with the political and economic standard of the time.

It can be definitely stated at this stage that the general all-round deterioration in the buildings and their disuse did not begin in the eighteenth century and that the Turkish governors and Mamluk Amirs can be exonerated for the decay, which did not set in until after the first decade of the nineteenth century and that for reasons which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

It has been stated above that Mamluk Amirs and others had the habit of building new schools and mosques; this remark applies equally to the eighteenth century, for right up to the French occupation we have records of new constructions and renovations; in contradiction to the usual opinion, the rulers still gave a considerable amount of attention to the spiritual and intellectual welfare of the people.

In 1655 (1167), Ismail Pasha built a madrasah called after his name; it was situated near the Diwan of Kaitbawi and was intended to accommodate twelve students of all four rites; 'Uljumah Kakhounda al-Kasughli built a mosque, school and fountain in al-Ashkiyah near the Ra\'if al-Khurbish in the year 1734 (1147); in 1735 (1148), Ahmad Kakhounda al-Khurbish built the Zafir mosque which was renamed al-Fahabani; Sultan Mahmut I had a school built in 1750 (1164) in Siari al-Habbaniyah now known as Tahriy al-Habbaniyah-; there was also the large school built by Muhammad Bey Abu Dibab in 1774 (1188) opposite al-Azhar. Mention has been made of 'All Bey al-Kabir's building of schools at Tanta; but

1 See Lane-Poole, The Story of Cairo, London, 1914, pp. 295-302.
3 al-Jab., I, 1768-69 et seq.
7 See Lane-Poole, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 2-3.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

the greatest builder of all was the famous 'Abdar-Rahman Kitabuddin al-Kashghili (d. 1176–1190) who devoted much of his wealth to the founding, enlarging and rebuilding of kuttabs, mosques and schools besides undertaking such social reforms as the closing of the wine-taverns in the Jewish quarter and the relieving of the poor. He built a kuttab and a fountain in Bajn al-Ka'zarin also the Jam' al-Maghribi which contain kuttab, fountain and ablution place. He built another mosque opposite Bab al-Futuh with a minaret, cistern and a kuttab. He constructed the mausoleum over as-Sayyidah u. Sahibah. Near the Azkabiyah cemetery, he erected a huge reservoir for the water-carriers, a trough for animals and another kuttab. He set up similar edifices in Shair al-Hasana and near the Dushetnil mosque. This Amir also rebuilt and enlarged the mosque of al-Azhar, he added fifty columns surrounded with ornamental groins in carved wood and stone, he bestowed on it a new mihrab and pulpit and completed it by building a huge gateway in Harat Katamah over which he opened another kuttab for orphan; to this monument, he added a court, cistern and a fountain for public use and in the court he built his own tomb with a beautiful cupola over it. He had dormitories, studies, libraries, kitchens and other amenities built for the poor students of Upper Egypt. He also renovated the Tibrasayyab and Abgahishiyah schools which were attached to the mosque of al-Azhar.

Not all 'Abdar-Rahman's architectural works have been named, nor has any attempt been made to include those kuttabs which were always being founded by the lesser lights, the foundation of which used to be a special feature of Islamic society and always ensured sufficient schools for the young. The above picture is ample proof however, that the spirit for building new schools and mosques had by no means disappeared.


2. In the article on 'Abdar-Rahman in the Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol. I, p. 515, col. 5, it is stated on the authority of 'Abd al-Jabbar that most of 'Abdar-Rahman's mosques that the residences of the villages of Bab el-Silsila, Del and Hayat Katemah were no longer

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Maoressah Students

While the activities of the provincial college-mosques were limited to local needs, those of Cairo were considerably wider as they admitted not only local and provincial students, but also students who came from other Islamic countries. The Asharites were arranged according to their place of origin, each province or country having its own riwaq or barah; where the students were lodged, fed and taught. The other Cairo madrasas mentioned above were not large enough to admit of any such division.

The number of riwaq during the eighteenth century has to be about twenty-five and there were about nine barah; al-Jabarti does not mentions nearly as many as this; he gives references to the riwaq of the Turks, the Syrians, the North Africans, of Jabart and some of the provincial riwaq, but it is impossible to make a complete list from his Annals. We find complete lists in later works, and apart from one or two that were added during Muhammad Ali's reign, there was no re-organisation of the riwaq system between the end of the eighteenth century and the date of the earliest authority to produce a list.

The division into riwaq and barah was chiefly territorial, two riwaq alone were deliberately set aside for sects; although

1. Riwaq—Hosted or Lodging. Barah—quarter.


3. The Riwaq as-Samayyab, for example, for students from Susse and probably one or two other small ones from students coming from the Sudan. See Encycl. d'Asie, article on Azhar and Ali Pasha Moulkab, Vol. IV, p. 22.

4. The Riwaq al-Janouwiyeh, mentioned below, and the Riwaq al-Mohandis, the number of students of the latter riwaq was never very great. The number of the students is as follows:—Al-Mohandis (for provinces of Al-Mohandis and Al-Minshiyah), Al-Khayri (for Khayri, Al-Minshiyah for N.W. Delta, Al-Hashimi (for Bilbain), Al-Rabi (for Balken), Al-Mini (for Minia), Al-Fitrar (for Formia, and North-town), Al-Dahr (for Fekra), Al-Husayn (for Al-Husayn), Al-Janouwiyeh (for Janoubi, Al-Mahmoud (for Mahmoud and al-Mahmoud), Al-Janouwiyeh (for Janoubi), Al-Minshiyah (for Minshiyeh, etc.), Al-Mahmoud (for Mahmoud, etc.).
of course, it happened that the students of one district or country and so belonging to one ra'is were all of the same sect as, for example, the Sa'diyyah who were Mlikis and the Turks who were Hanafis, but we never find a ra'is or bakhah created by a single foundation or called by the name of the founder of a pious foundation. Benefactors who endowed al-Azhar with a wa'af always stipulated the ra'is to receive the benefit and it is worth noting that it is nearly always the non-Egyptian ra'isbs that were the best endowed. One ra'is, viz., that of Ibn Ma'mun, was set aside for all nationalities while the Hanafis only occupied it, reserved for those who belonged to the Hanafi rite, but who had no special ra'is for their place of origin. The fact that al-Azhar gathered so many different nationalities within its walls might lead us to believe that there was a considerable amount of mutual contact between the different elements, but actually a closer examination proves almost the contrary. Each ra'is had its shahih, wa'af teachers and own living arrangements; the shahih was responsible to the shahivs of the four rites and to the Shii-Ummah and acted as a kind of spokesman for the students under his care. Each ra'is was really a separate college and it is very much to be doubted if there was any mobility on the part of the junior students within the mosque itself in order to attend lessons. It would appear that it was the teachers who were mobile for we have the names of several who taught at different ra'isbs.

There was considerable rivalry between some of the ra'isbs; the provincial students were very unruly, the faction, for example, between the Dakhirah and the Shafi'is being of very old standing; the Upper Egyptians was noted for his short temper and quarrelsome habits; the Maghrabis were the most hated on account of their obstinacy, bad manners and pride, while

| LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT |

The blind students who formed a very large ra'is were the most fanatical and were very unmanageable. Apart from troubles which occurred on account of differences of nationality and sect, there were also demonstrations against unjust administrators and riots when an unpopular shahih was appointed in a ra'is.

Food and money were provided for the students besides their lodgings, provision being made out of the incomes of the wa'af endowments, some providing bread and money, others only bread. There were many poor students who lived in the ra'is, sleeping in the sahn (courtyard) of the mosque in summer and in the muhajarans (crossroads) in winter, but before a student could enjoy these privileges, he had to have his name inscribed in the register (defarat) which was kept by the muhajar of the ra'is. It would appear that the Upper Egyptians who were in easier circumstances used to bring supplies of food with them from their villages and lived in the houses, wa'alahs, or bakhahs around al-Azhar and in the quarter of Bitlak (where there is still a Sa'diyyah quarter with its shahih), but they also enjoyed the broad ration from their ra'is; so also with the students from Lower Egypt, but these had the advantage of being nearer their villages and so could obtain supplies more regularly. Many of the poorer students must have added to their modest means by copying short manuscripts and recting the Koran in private houses, shops and museums. Some students were also in receipt of a daily allowance from public funds granted by decree from Constantinople probably as the result of some local recommendation.

No statistics are available for the number of students in al-Azhar during the eighteenth century; Lane in 1835 reckoned the number at 2,500, but states that some put the figure at 4,000, others at 3,000; Rif'ah in 1838, states that there were only 1,200 although there had been 12,000 in former

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1 See above, and de Borchgrave, op. cit., Proverbes, No. 310, p. 154: It was asked, "What is the wish of the blind?" "A basket full of bread," they replied, "if he does not see he may bite it." See also, 2, see above, pp. 109-10 and 110, 110.

2 See also De Borchgrave, op. cit., p. 119, where the word was in common use in Egypt meaning the daily allowance of victuals given to soldiers, labourers, servants, etc. See Borchgrave, op. cit., p. 122.

3 Rif'ah, ed. Cairo, 1934, p. 123.

4 Lane, Modern Egyptians, p. 217.
times. Both these authors were writing at a period when Egypt had had a very hard time as a result of the French occupation and Muhammad 'Ali's vigorous treatment of the people, and these forty years must have seriously affected student life in al-Azhar, causing a very big drop in the number of students. The figure must have been much higher than in the eighteen thirties; exactly how many were non-Egyptian is also a difficult matter to decide because of the lack of statistics, but in view of the large number of foreign risisbah, the percentage must have been somewhat higher than a century later. There were certainly a large number of Turks, Syrians and Maghribis. Any political troubles or warfare always reacted on the movements of scholars and students and undoubtedly the latter half of the nineteenth century was not favourable to any extensive travelling.

Generally speaking, the type of man that went to al-Azhar was of the shahih class whether he was an Egyptian or otherwise; this applies especially to those who completed their studies in the mosque. Some students of al-Azhar were the sons of merchants; many came to the college for a couple of years and then left in order to learn some trade and eventually joined some corporation.

The 'Ulama' and Shaikhs

The number of 'ulama' in al-Azhar during the French occupa-

8 See Encycl. Bibl., ed. 13th, Vol. XXVI, p. 304, col. 2 and note 4. The information contained therein is very misleading as to the percentage of foreign students in al-Azhar. Admittedly by the date given (1820) there were less foreigners in al-Azhar, but even then the percentage was still fairly high—the total figure for all students was 7,595 and not 5,709 and the number of foreigners students, there were 1,145 foreigners (see Annuaire d'Egypte, 1875, and Essai de Statistique); this is approximately to per cent. of the total. Van Kerner, op. cit., states that in 1862 the Syrian risisbah had not less than 1,000 students.

9 al-Jabarti gives a statement from another shahih who is being addressed by Ahmad Pasha the Governor to the effect that most of the students were poor and a mixture of all sorts from the villages and distant ports, 1/197, lines 17-18.

10 The father of Shiah Hasan al-'Attar (d. 1289) was an apothecary. Shiah Ahmad al-Jamhiri (d. 1609) was the son of a jeweller; see al-Jab., IV/125-127, IX/108. Most of the rasisbah (d. 1609) was the son of a dawlat al-hajj; see al-Jab., IV/125-127, IX/108.

11 See al-Jab., IV/128-IX/158. Even 'ulamah al-shahihah seem to have joined al-Azhar with the express purpose of acquiring the special knowledge that would enable him to work as an expert in the courts (shahih). See also el-Arseb, No. 1773, dated 17th April, 1834, an article of a series on education in Egypt by Ahmad 'Issa, Abd al-Rahim, p. 13.

12 According to Chabrol was from forty to fifty shahih; Chauvin gives it at 60; before the French came, the number would appear to have been somewhat greater as many of the shahih left Cairo as the French were approaching the capital and others left during the occupation; some were executed by the French. Besides the body of senior 'ulama' there were many others who were not so important and who taught both in al-Azhar and in the other mosques and schools. There were also shahih in charge of the rasisbah, nafis and teachers; and in addition, there were the officials of mosques such as the khatifes, imams and others.

13 The 'ulama' and shahih al-Azhar and the other schools were supported by voluntary contributions and the receipts from various pious foundations which provided funds for teaching; only in one case do we read in al-Jabarti of a shahih who insisted on being paid by his students for the lessons he gave them, a practice which would appear to have been very unusual judging by the tone of the writer. Some 'ulama' were in receipt of a daily allowance from public funds granted by decrees from the authorities at Constantinople; others were appointed as administrators (naafir) or superintendents (mutawalli) of waqf estates, these appointments being occasionally made by the

*Chabrol, op. cit., p. 62.
1 Chauvin, La Legende Egyptienne de Bonaparte, Mons, 1902, p. 23, quoting Commissaire du Napoleon, Tome II, pp. 302-371. On p. 33, however, quoting Tyne, he mentions too shahih who were present at some ceremony at al-Azhar.
2 The abundance of names of 'ulama' in the Annals of al-Jabarti leads one to think that their number has been underestimated. He gives nearly one biography: at a party given by Shiah Mustafa (II/190-3); (r) al-Jabarti gives a long list of the guests and includes some two dozens of the 'ulama'. See also II/190-3; when under the biographer of Shiah Ahmad al-Jamhiri, nine 'ulama'; and ten Mamluk 'ulama' amongst his teachers. See also Mamluk IV/32, where ever 200 too teachers used to attend al-Balad.
3 al-Jab., III/3-6; VI/191-194.
4 Jeanard, op. cit., p. 304, states that it is impossible to count the number of 'ulama', shahih, 'madores de de', 'ijamis and medinawis separately and gives the figure of 5,000.
5 See above, pp. 8-9.
6 al-Jab., I/197-200; II/195-6, Shiah Hussein al-Mahali.
7 Revue d'Egypte, op. cit., pp. 9-10, 24th Majde, 1250 (1835). - Ayant été décédé de ne plus participer à la rédaction de moitié sur les papiers journaliers de quelques professeurs a la mosquée d'El-Azhar, dont se justifient les titres, il est détecté le présent héroï en faveur de l'un d'eux, le Cheikh Hassan, afin qu'il soit versé la pente entière de 33 paras et un tiers sur le gouvern d'Egypte.
8 See also p. 20, where Sayyid Muhammad received 13 paras a day, and p. 13, where Sayyid Muhammad received a pension of 23 paras a day, and p. 14, regarding Sayyid Muhammad Kallani. See also II/50-V/111; at the recom-
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

authorities at Constantinople. There were sheikhs who were not altogether models of uprightness in their charges and their selfishness led them to seek riches for themselves. Many of the 'ulama' and sheikhs were poor, but plenty of opportunities of acquiring wealth were offered to some of them in the course of their career. Higher posts as teachers in the madrasahs and in al-Azhari, as administrators and superintendents of rich waqfs, and other positions of trust brought various kinds of remuneration and as the youth of the average shaikh had been spent in the utmost frugality, any gain was saved and turned into property. Poor sheikhs who were considered especially pious and devout often had presents of food, clothing and money made to them by the people; some of them supplemented their meagre allowances in much the same way as the students, viz., by copying manuscripts, reciting the Koran and private teaching. We read of one sheikh who was a tailor. The practice of literating teaching posts, the shaikhs'hip of a religious order and the administration of waqf estates was not at all unusual. Many of the 'ulama' and sheikhs sought connections with the ruling Turks or Mamluk Amirs, there are cases of intermarriage with the women of the Mamluk families

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

al-Jabarti occasionally mentions a sheikh who did not seek the favour of the Mamluk notables, and probably one of the main reasons for seeking the favour of the Mamluk Amirs was to obtain some kind of influence when a high post was to be filled.

There was a great deal of petty jealousy among the 'ulama' and sheikhs and of rivalry for the best and most lucrative posts. The biography of Shaikh ash-Sharkawi offers a very detailed picture of life among the senior 'ulama' during the latter half of the eighteenth century. When ash-Sharkawi was trying to press his candidacy for the shaikhs'hip of al-Azhari, his principal rival was Shaikh Mustafa as-Sawi. The former sought not only the help of the most important sheikhs, but also that of Ayyub Bey ad-Daifardar, while the latter was supported by the Amir Ra'ifwan, the lieutenant of Ibrahim Bey al-Kabir.

As we have cases of sheikhs who sought the company and favour of the Mamluks, so we have examples of Mamluks who made friends of sheikhs; some attended the lectures at al-Azhari and held learned discussions at their houses in which sheikhs took part; they were expected to build mosques and other useful monuments if only as an atonement for their sins.

Although we cannot call the Egyptian 'ulama' leaders in the political sense, yet we occasionally find them stepping outside the fields of learning and religion and playing an important role in public affairs especially during the last three decades of the eighteenth century. Both the Mamluk Amirs and the people acknowledged that the 'ulama' were the carriers of the ancient tradition and the exponents of Islamic law. The Mamluks also appreciated the very strong tie between the 'ulama' and the people, that they had much in common, and that every part of Egypt had its representatives at the mosque of al-Azhari. This had the effect of acting as a check on their actions and method

See al-Jabari, IV, 194-5; VIII, 232-3, Shaikh 'Abd Allah al-Amimi al-Ash'at (d. 1650) and Amuni, 2.


THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
of governing; it forced their respect and obliged them to main-
tain friendly relations with the shahkh classes. The people
looked up to the shahkhs with the greatest respect and veneration;
the shahkhs were indeed the natural leaders of the people,
but they had neither the initiative nor the experience required
to make use of their position for the sake of political advantage;
they could and occasionally did obstruct the policy of the Amir
but they could not evolve a policy of their own. When they
did assert themselves, it was always at the request of someone
who was oppressed or wronged and they never offered their help
of their own free will. The result was that the purely Egyptian
community had no political leaders and so were at the mercy
of their conquerors.

When the people were oppressed, they always went to their
shahkhs; al-Jabarti gives us several instances of shahkhs
using their influence on behalf of the people in order to regain
some lost right or to indemnify some act of violence. Shahkh
ad-Dardir's biography is particularly interesting in this respect;
a case is given in al-Jabarti where the Maghribib students
rioted over a house which had been given as a part of an endow-
ment for their rīwāh and the possession of which was now being
disputed by a certain Amir Yūsuf. The case went to court
and the Maghribib won it much to the annoyance of the Amir
who then tried to use force in order to get the legal decision
changed in his favour. Shahkh ad-Dardir heard of the case
and wrote to the Amir asking him to refrain from interfering
with the course of justice; Yūsuf Bey maltreated the messengers
and imprisoned them which exasperated the Shahkh to such an
extent that he had al-Azhari closed and all prayers and studies
in the mosque suspended. The affair, after having involved
the governor, the rest of the Amir's, the soldiers, students and
the populace, ended in the defeat of the Amir and the success
of the Shahkh.

Another instance is given in the Annals where the people
gathered in the Husainiyah quarter and then repaired to Shahkh
ad-Dardir in order to protest against Husain Bey's pillages and
to claim damages.

Sulaimān Bey once confiscated a boat-load of produce that
had come from Upper Egypt for the students of the rīwāh

[Note the poem written by al-Shahshahī to Shahkh al-'Arus in al-Jab.
II 1434-V 1755-3.
II 1432-V 1754-6.
II 1431-V 1753-9.
II 1430-V 1752-5 in the year 1784.] 32

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT
as-Ṣaʿīdah, on the pretext that the produce belonged to the
Wāfi tribe who were in arrears with their taxes. Immediately
the students learned of the confiscation, they refused to attend
the mosque and complained to ad-Dardir; joined by al-'Arus
and al-Muṣalihī, ad-Dardir, in turn, complained to Ibrahim Bey
in the presence of Sulaimān Bey who eventually returned a
part of the stolen produce.1

The kāshuf of the province of Gharibiyah once tried to impose
a tax on camels at Ṭantā during a mābuṭ; ad-Dardir happened
to be visiting the town and was asked to intervene. His protest
led to a riot during which the kāshuf's khitbūdah was hurt and
also one of ad-Dardir's servants whomupon the shahkh retired.
When the trouble ended and ad-Dardir had returned to Cairo,
the Amir went to his house and apologized.2

The intervention of Shahkh as-Sādāt, ad-Dardir, al-Ḥarīrī
and al-'Arus regarding the selling of free women as slaves by
Kāḍūn Hasan Pasha is also worthy of notice.3

The most outstanding case of antagonism between the
Mamlūks and the shahkhs was that of the Amir Yūsuf Bey
al-Kabīr (d. 1777) and Shahkh 'All as-Ṣaʿīd. Yūsuf Bey had
objected to a legal decision made by the shahkh according to
the Mālikī rite on a question of divorce; a quarrel ensued
between the Amir and several of the shahkhs, and the former,
after threatening to break as-Ṣaʿīd's head, was cursed in the
following terms by the offended shahkh, "May God curse the
slave-dealer who brought you here and sold you, and the person
who bought you and who made you an Amir."1 The Amir
also had trouble with Shahkh Ayman al-Shāhābī whom he put
to death, as well as with Shahkh Abdal-Rahmān al-'Arusi
over the guardianship of some children and with others.

When Kāḍūn Hasan Pasha came to Egypt with a Turkish
army in 1785, a deputation was sent from Cairo consisting of
the three shahkhs al-'Arūs, Muhammad al-'Arūs and Muhammad
al-Ḥarīrī, two Ujaks, Ismā'īl Efendi al-Khalwati and Ibrahim
Agha al-Wardārī and a sixth person, by name Sulaimān Bey
Ash-Shāhātī.4 They were to interview the Pasha, and inter-
rogate him as to his intentions, to assure him of the Amir's
complete submission, of their obedience and of their resolution
not to fall into their old errors. The delegates were also to

1 Ibid. II 1437-4-V 1765.
2 Ibid. II 1439-1-V 1767-5.
3 Ibid. II 1439-3-V 1766-6.
5 See above, p. 6, and al-Jab, II 119-172 [1766-7].
6 Ibid. II 1439-1-V 1764-6.
describe the situation of the people and to point out the inconveniences that a war might bring about. The Amirs probably sent the shaikhs to show the Turkish general that the Egyptians were satisfied with their government. Hassan Pasha tried to stir them up against the Mamluk Amirs, but with no success, as they did nothing but confess to their weakness and the strength of the Amirs. On their return to Cairo, messages were sent from Hassan Pasha to the shaikhs which aroused the suspicion of Ibrahim Bey, who was afraid there would be a popular movement against the Mamluk Amirs, and in order to win them over, he went to each one personally and asked them to maintain order and to prevent the people from rising.

This is not the only case of the Amirs using Shaikhs as emissaries; Shaikh 'Umar at-Tablawi (d. 1762) was sent to Constantinople on some business of theirs, so also was Shaikh Sulaiman al-Faiyyumi (d. 1808).

In the biography of Shaikh al-Hifnawi, al-Jabarti shows us that he was so influential that no problem connected with the government of the country was decided solved unless al-Hifnawi had first of all given his consent to the solution. An interesting case is given where the Amirs decided to turn down his views regarding the expedition of forces against 'Ali Bey and Sulayh Bey; the eventual defeat of the Amirs and the success of 'Ali Bey and the latter's tyranny over the Egyptians are attributed to their treatment of al-Hifnawi and regarded as a just punishment from God.

The following names are worth recording:

Shaikh 'Abdallah ai-Nabil, d. 1770, al-Jah, 1, 154-5; II, 159-39.

Syrian.


Makkah.

Shaikh Shams ad-Din al-Nasafi, d. 1759, al-Jab, 1, 134-44; II, 139-43.

Syrian.

Shaikh Zein ad-Din Abul-Makki, d. 1762, al-Jab, 1, 139-44; II, 143-44.

Makkah.

Shaikh 'Hasb b. Muhi, d. 1762, al-Jab, 1, 126-124.

Moroccan.

Shaikh 'Umar ai-Fatih al-Tunisi, d. 1761, al-Jab, 1, 126-124.

Tunisian.

Shaikh 'Abd al-Kadir Kadhil Zidhi, d. 1767, al-Jab, 1, 139-44; II, 143-44.

Turkish.

Shaikh Hassan al-Jabarti, d. 1774, al-Jab, 1, 159-49; II, 167-201.

Aburhan.

Shaikh Muhi Murata, d. 1799, al-Jab, 1, 173-123; II, 167-201.

Yamanite.

Shaikh Mustapha b. Shidk ibn al-Maliki, d. 1791, al-Jab, 1, 144-145; II, 156-159.

Turkish.

Shaikh Shadih Ahmad ibn Ramdad, d. 1799, al-Jab, 1, 114; II, 167-201.

Tripolitan.

Shaikh Abdallah al-Majhlih Abi Sibylah, d. 1792, al-Jab, 1, 126-127; II, 167-201.

Turkish.

Shaikh 'Abdallah al-Majhlih Abi Sibylah, d. 1792, al-Jab, 1, 126-127; II, 167-201.

Turkish.

Shaikh 'Abdallah al-Majhlih Abi Sibylah, d. 1792, al-Jab, 1, 126-127; II, 167-201.

Turkish.

Shaikh 'Abdallah al-Majhlih Abi Sibylah, d. 1792, al-Jab, 1, 126-127; II, 167-201.