THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
were not very successful. There is evidence to show, however, that doctors were sent to provincial schools by an order dated 22nd Jam. II., 1251—15th October, 1835, i.e., six months after the date of closure according to Śāmī; the doctors' services were required owing to an outbreak of scabies among the students. ¹ There is still another order dated 18th Ramadan, 1251—20th December, 1835—regarding the bad state of repair of the provincial maktabs at the following towns and villages:—

*Atfîh
*Bânhā
*al-Gizah
*al-Kalyâbîyâh
al-'Azîzîyâh
az-Zağâţîk

*Hîyâ
*Kūfūr Nîm
*Ablâ Kabîr
*al-Wâdî
*Bîblâs ²

The latter order mentions a Mufattîsh al-Makhtûb—Impettor of Maktabs. This was Sulâmân Pasha al-Fransawî, who had inspected these schools and found them falling into ruin, which confirms the observations made by Michaud and Olmi. He also reports on the "complete delay of the supply of provisions, furniture, uniforms, kit and yearly allowances made to the students," thus confirming, in the absence of evidence to the contrary to show that other maktabs had been set up, that the old kuttâbs or maktabs had been turned to Muhammad 'Ali's use and made part of his new military system. It should be noted, too, that the students of these schools were treated in the same way as those of the higher and special schools in regard to rations, clothing and allowances. Of the eleven maktabs mentioned in this order, seven of them (marked *) have not been given in the lists of primary schools opened by Muhammad 'Ali and so must have belonged to the old system.

There is no evidence as to the names of those in charge of these schools and there is no reason to suppose that it was not the old fîshî; he probably came under the stricter jurisdiction of the Mâwarîs and Muthârs. The type of student attending these schools had probably changed and it is more than likely that only the poorest were recruited to them for the sake of material benefits; mothers whose husbands were on active service and who were without support were probably too glad to let the government take over their sons.

¹ Ibid., II/452; this seems to have been a very common complaint among the students—see St. John, op. cit., II/398.
² Tahâwîm, II/457.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

No reference is made to the syllabus of these schools; it was undoubtedly limited to reading and writing and the recitation of the Ko'ren; all the "requisitions" for students on the provinces demanded a knowledge of reading and writing. It is interesting to note that Muhammad 'Ali issued an order on 10th Shawâbî, 1250—12th December, 1834—for the printing of the Alîfâyâ of Ibn Mâlik with its commentary ² and for its distribution to the makhtab of al-Mansûrah and the rest of the provincial maktabs ³; this is the first printed text used by the Egyptian kuttâb.

Education Missions to Europe, 1826-1836

Reference has already been made to the earliest missions sent by Muhammad 'Ali to Europe between the years 1809 and 1818. Between 1818 and 1826, Muhammad 'Ali appears to have refrained from sending any more men abroad and concentrated on making as full a use as possible of the various missions sent from France, particularly those under Boyer, Rey and Letellier. ⁴

The despatch of the first large mission to France in July, 1826, coincides with the period during which Muhammad 'Ali's enthusiasm for Boyer had cooled down and during which the General himself felt disappointed with his environment. The reasons for his eventual retirement have been set forth above (v. supra, pp. 115 and 117).

It was due to Drovetti that Muhammad 'Ali determined to send his students to France, ⁷ where they were placed under the care of Jomard. ⁸ This new move suggests rather an abrupt change of policy and the main reason for sending some forty students to France in order to acquire qualifications must be attributed to Muhammad 'Ali's desire to dispense with the services of the Europeans who cost so much. To have had his own qualified subjects in charge of the various establishments would have been preferable, in his opinion, than the employment of Europeans who, with rare exception, had no particular tie

¹ Tahâwîm, II/431.
² Journal assiutique, 1843, p. 47. The commentary was Ibn 'Akkâ's.
³ According to Perron, the Alîfâyâ was first printed at Bulâk in 1256 (Journal assiutique, 1843, p. 47), but Sarks, Mus'alam, I/233, gives the date of the first edition as 1251 and the second 1253.
⁴ Boyer states, however, that thirty or forty students were sent to Europe, mostly to Fisa, every year—Dequin, Une mission militaire auprès de Mouhammad Ali, Cairo, 1923, pp. 40-1.
⁵ Dequin, ibid., p. 110.
⁶ Dequin, ibid., pp. 125 and 132.
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in the country, and who, with the support of their Consuls, could hardly have been as pliable as the Turks and Egyptians. The employment of a relatively large number of Europeans by a Moslem ruler represented an altogether new factor in an Islamic administration. The susceptibility of the Moslem subjects did not allow the employment of these Europeans in other than subordinate positions although they were, of course, superior in knowledge and experience; whenever a European was appointed to a school, a Turk was always given supreme command with the title of Nāṣīr. Muḥammad ʿAli tried to win over several Europeans to his cause by inviting them to embrace Islam as was the case with Sève and Mary 1 but, generally speaking, there were few converts. The European official, as a rule, refused to learn Arabic or Turkish 2 thus making it necessary for Muḥammad ʿAli either to supply large numbers of interpreters who were inefficient, or else to oblige the Turks and Egyptians to learn foreign languages. The individuality and independence of the majority of his European officials must have been a constant problem; obstinacy and inadaptability on both sides were often the cause of trouble between employer and employee; we have seen the causes of the misunderstandings between Boyer and Muḥammad ʿAli, the same kind of thing happened to Cérisy, Segoua, Hamont and others. As time went on, it became more and more evident that determined efforts were to be made to get rid of the European altogether and to replace him by the Turk.

The idea of sending a large mission to France is attributed to Jomard who is supposed to have proposed the plan to Muḥammad ʿAli through ʿUṭmān Nūr-ʿaddin when this officer returned from France in 1827, 3 but Muḥammad ʿAli disapproved of it on the ground that it was premature; this statement may contain the truth concerning Muḥammad ʿAli’s opinion but it appears also that ʿUṭmān Nūr-ʿaddin was not in favour of the proposal. 4

Much ado has been made about the cultural gain to France as a result of Muḥammad ʿAli’s being urged to make use of that country for the education of his young men, but this was only accidental. Muḥammad ʿAli sent Turks and Armenians to France merely to acquire certain qualifications so that they could aid him in his work of military conquest. At this stage he made use of French enthusiasm for the project thereby hoping to take as full advantage of it as possible for the improvement of his own enterprises. The ruler was not interested in any cultural tie between France and Egypt.

There was, however, a certain amount of good sense in having a large number of students in one country under one direction rather than having them scattered about all over Europe. The official interest taken in the mission in Paris was of great use to Muḥammad ʿAli who could rely on the good offices of the French authorities to see that his subjects would get as much as possible out of their mission.

Forty-four students were sent from Egypt on this 1826 mission; to what extent it was Turkish in composition and character rather than Egyptian is borne out by the following table and figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Course studied</th>
<th>Monthly Salary</th>
<th>Date returned</th>
<th>Remarks and subsequent posts held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muḥurdiṣr 'Abdī Ef. al-Shakrī</td>
<td>Constantinople</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Civil Administration</td>
<td>P.T. 2500 from 3/8/18</td>
<td>January 1831</td>
<td>Son of Habīb El. Kalb of Muḥammad ʿAli. 'Abdī was the first of the three chiefs of this mission until 3/10/18; appointed Wāzīl to his father in 1834 and made a member of the Mājlis al-ʿAlī; became Mājlis al-Mudarris in 1859; d. 1864.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arṭīn Ef. Sikyas</td>
<td>Constantinople</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Civil Administration</td>
<td>P.T. 300</td>
<td>December 1831</td>
<td>Helped organise Muḥandis al-Maḥānā; Director Madrasa al-Idrāk (p. 149) in 1835; member of Mājlis al-ʿAlī; Member of School Council, 1836; Muḥammad ʿAlī’s secretary, 1839; succeeded Boghos, 1844; retired, 1850; d. 1859.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salīm Ef. al-Kurī</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Civil Administration</td>
<td>P.T. 400</td>
<td>December 1835</td>
<td>Fell ill while in France; died soon after he returned to Egypt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥāmmad Ef.</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Civil Administration</td>
<td>P.T. 500</td>
<td>December 1832</td>
<td>Made Būmālāḥī with rank of Bey, May, 1834; and sent to Syria as aide-de-camp to Ibrahim Pasha 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davidīdār</td>
<td>Cavala</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Military Administration</td>
<td>P.T. 2916</td>
<td>1st August 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Ṣūrūbī, II/341. 2 Dodin, La mission du baron de Boislecomte, pp. 241, 244, 248 and 249.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<th>Monthly Salary</th>
<th>Date returned</th>
<th>Remarks and subsequent posts held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Rashid</td>
<td>Abázar</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Military Administration</td>
<td>PT. 500</td>
<td>1st August 1832</td>
<td>made Nášir al-Mählis al-Álī then Dīnār al-Mádhārīs, 1837 (see below), died 1839.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ahmad</td>
<td>Cavala</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Military Administration</td>
<td>PT. 500</td>
<td>1st August 1832</td>
<td>had a good library of military works.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sulaimán</td>
<td>Circassia</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Military Administration</td>
<td>PT. 500</td>
<td>1st August 1832</td>
<td>expenses ceased from July, 1830.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Hasan Ef.</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Naval Administration</td>
<td>PT. 4160</td>
<td>1st July 1833</td>
<td>studied at Brest then went to England with 10 and 11 where they stayed one year—their stay in England cost over PT. 39,747-76 jídāh; became Nášir Alexandria Dockyards and Nášir al-Bahrāwī; made Pasha; drowned in the Miftākh jídāh in the Crimean War, 1855; became Captain of al-Iskandarīyyah; made Governor of Beyrut during Syrian Wars, from 1853 to 1859; after Muḥammad al-Ḥamād’s death, he joined the civil service and became Nášir of the Finance Dept. which post he kept until 1859; made Pasha; (grandfather of Ahmad Bey Nāṣr; a former Prime Minister of Syria). became Captain of al-Bahrāwī; drowned in the Crimea, 1855; worked with Arīn Ef. in Madrasat al-Jāhāra; became Director of Egyptian School in Paris; Nášir of Foreign Affairs in 1856; retired 1857; died, 1859. Arīn’s brother; became second Secretary then first to Muḥammad al-Ḥamād; then to ‘Abbās I; d. 1873, went to England, Oct., 1855; became known as Bahgat (Pasha) and had some reputation as an engineer; became Nášir of Public Instruction and Public works; died 1872.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Muḥammad</td>
<td>Circassia</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Naval Administration</td>
<td>PT. 500</td>
<td>beg. June 1833</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Muḥammad</td>
<td>Circassia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Naval Administration</td>
<td>PT. 400</td>
<td>beg. June 1833</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Es-Sebbāh</td>
<td>Sebastia</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Diplomacy</td>
<td>PT. 900</td>
<td>December 1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Aḥsan</td>
<td>Constantin</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Diplomacy</td>
<td>PT. 350</td>
<td>December 1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Miṣṣṭafā</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Hydraulics</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>end 1835</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Course studied</th>
<th>Monthly Salary</th>
<th>Date returned</th>
<th>Remarks and subsequent posts held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15. Muḥammad</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Hydraulics</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. 1835</td>
<td>had good library of engineering and mathematical works; became professor Muḥammad al-ʾAṣʿad; wrote several works; d. 1853.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Aḥmad</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Mechanics</td>
<td>PT. 30</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Muḥammad</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Military Engineering</td>
<td>PT. 400</td>
<td>end 1835</td>
<td>went to England, 1855; filled several teaching posts on his return; colleague of Moussá’s; built Alexandria Lighthouse and helped with Delta Barrage; became Nášir of Public Works; d. 1873; apparently changed over from military engineering to agriculture at Kóvillé.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Sulaimán</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Military Engineering</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Aḥmad Ef.</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Military Engineering</td>
<td>PT. 500</td>
<td>December 1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Umar Ef.</td>
<td>Circassia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Artilery</td>
<td>PT. 300</td>
<td>December 1830</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Suḥayl</td>
<td>Trebizond</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Artilery</td>
<td>PT. 500</td>
<td>end 1833</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Aḥmad Ef.</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Metal-making</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. Sept. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Suḥayl</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Printing, Lithography and Engraving</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. 1835</td>
<td>became teacher of Engraving; pensioned off March, 1865; fell sick in France.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Muḥammad</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Printing, Lithography and Engraving</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>end 1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Muḥammad</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td>also studied distillery and sugar refining; later went to America to study sugar refining, given employment in the mint and was also sent gold-mining in Fārābī. also learned dyeing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Aḥmad Ef.</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Aḥmad Ef.</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Aḥmad Ef.</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<th>Monthly Salary</th>
<th>Date returned</th>
<th>Remarks and subsequent posts held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30. 'Abd El-Haiḥah</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>December 1833</td>
<td>Translated two medical works from the French: d. 1839.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. ash-Shaikh Muḥammad ad-Dašṭaṭṭ</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Physiology and Hygiene</td>
<td>PT. 150</td>
<td>end 1831</td>
<td>Became director of School of Agriculture at Nābah, then assistant Hamont at Shubah; then made director of Muḥammad 'Ali's gardens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Ya'qūb Ef. al-Armānt</td>
<td>Armenia</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>PT. 500</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Khūṭlī Ef. Maḥmūd</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. 'Alī Ef. Ḫusain</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Natural History and Mining</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>December 1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Ahmad Ef. an-Najḍaṭṭ</td>
<td>Cairo</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Natural History and Mining</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>beg. Sept. 1832</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Ahmad Ef.</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Natural History and Mining</td>
<td>PT. 500</td>
<td>end 1834</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. ash-Shaikh Rifa'ah Rāfi'</td>
<td>Taḥtā</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>PT. 250</td>
<td>end 1831</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Kāṣīm Ef. al-Jindī</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably Printing, Lithography and Engraving</td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>end 1831</td>
<td>Studied at Marseilles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Muḥammad Ef. Amīn</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Civil Administration and Print</td>
<td>PT. 750</td>
<td>end 1836</td>
<td>Studies started in Jan., 1828; apparently joined the mission nearly two years after the others; became Nāẓīr of the mission in place of 'Abd Ef. 4/10/1831; fell ill in 1831.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Course studied</th>
<th>Monthly salary</th>
<th>Date returned</th>
<th>Remarks and subsequent posts held</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41. Husain Ef.</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Probably ship-building at Toula</td>
<td>PT. 400</td>
<td>July 1828</td>
<td>Returned on account of unsuitability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. ash-Shaikh Muḥammad ar-Rakkāṣyāḥ</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 400</td>
<td>August 1828</td>
<td>Returned on account of unsuitability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Ḥaḍīm Ef. Wahbāh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 100</td>
<td>August 1827</td>
<td>Returned on account of unsuitability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. ash-Shaikh Ahmad al-'Ālī</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 400</td>
<td>July 1828</td>
<td>Returned on account of unsuitability.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the forty-four students, the birth-places of thirty-seven are known; seventeen were born in Cairo and one in Taḥtā in Upper Egypt, while nineteen were born outside Egypt in the following places:—

Constantinople | 4 | Armenia | 1
Circassia | 4 | Abazia | 1
Georgia | 3 | Sebastia | 1
Cavala | 2 | Trebizond | 1
Greece | 1 | Turkey | 1

Of the remaining seventeen, at least three were Egyptian. Forty of the mission were Moslems and four were Armenian Christians; five of the party had the title of shaikh, three were connected with officers of State, while eighteen of them were Osmanli by origin, and twelve were Osmanli who had come to Cairo as adults.

If we classify the students according to age, we have the following results:—

one was 15  
two were 22
one was 16  
two were 23
five were 17  
three were 24
ten were 18  
two were 25
one was 19  
one was 27
four were 20  
one was 29
two were 21  
one was 38  
(eight unknown)

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and according to the period spent in Europe:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>One stayed 1 year</th>
<th>Two stayed 2 years</th>
<th>One stayed 4 years</th>
<th>Twelve stayed 5 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fifteen stayed 6 years</td>
<td>five stayed 7 years</td>
<td>two stayed 8 years</td>
<td>four stayed 9 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(One unknown)

Twenty-five of the students had studied at Bülük and at Kaşar al-Ainî, three at al-Azhar and five in special schools; the maternal tongue of the majority was Turkish; those who had studied at Bülük and Kaşar al-Ainî had probably studied a little Italian in addition to Arabic and mathematics which meant, of course, that they had to spend some time learning French before they could be expected to take up any serious course of study.

The mission consisted of picked men, not necessarily on account of their abilities, however, but chosen on account of the fact that they belonged to the ruling caste. They were kept under strict military discipline while in France under three of themselves, ‘Abdî Ef., Muğtîr Ef., and Hasan Ef. al-Iskandarînî who were in constant correspondence with Muhammad ‘Ali. Jomard who was, in reality, a kind of liaison officer between the students and the French authorities, arranged the courses of study. After they had spent rather more than one year studying French, calligraphy, arithmetic, geometry, drawing, history and geography at their headquarters in a small hotel in the Luxembourg quarter, an examination was held in February 1828, under a body of eminent French scholars and officials.

Two papers were set at the examination, a one hour paper for French and an hour and a quarter paper for mathematics and drawing; Jomard gives the questions of the latter paper which show that very little was expected of the candidates and emphasize the fact that they were about to start their advanced studies with a very weak foundation on which to build.

The advanced studies started on the 10th April, 1828 and, according to Jomard, the students were allowed free choice in the subjects they wished to take up, but it would appear that Jomard himself had a considerable amount to say regarding that choice. The courses which are shown in the above list

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were given by well-known French professors, Lacour taught military administration, Macarel taught civil administration, laws, etc., Olivier taught engineering and gunnery, and Gauthier de Chaubry taught chemistry.

While the students were engaged at their elementary French studies, they were all lodged in the one house, but after the examination, they were sent to various pensions and schools or to the special teacher’s own residence at the expense of Muhammad ‘Ali. During the first period, they were not allowed to go out except on Sunday, and then only with the written permission signed by ‘Abdî Ef.; once they had started on the special courses, discipline was less severe, they were allowed to go out on Sundays, Thursday evenings, public holidays, and on any evening if they had no preparation, but even then, their movements were regulated by a code of regulations (Kânûn-nâmah) which aimed at keeping them from going out at night-time, at making them go out in parties of three and four, at discouraging them from keeping company with the fair sex, etc. According to the code, they were to have a monthly examination the results of which had to be communicated to headquarters when they would be forwarded to the over-watchful Muhammad ‘Ali. The set of rules dealt with the supply of stationery and books and the relationship between the student and his teacher.

In addition to this code, Muhammad ‘Ali used to send letters to the students of the mission exhorting them to complete their studies as soon as possible and rebuking them for their slackness, carelessness and bad results; in one of these letters, besides emphasizing their laziness, he insists on their making out a monthly list of all the work they had done and the names of all the books they had read.

While Jomard seems to have had the direction of studies, all other problems were dealt with by Muhammad ‘Ali whose decisions were communicated to ‘Abdî Ef. through ‘Uthmân Nûr-Adînî or one of his other high officials. ‘Abdî Ef. apparently had control of the mission funds for by an order dated 26th Dîl-l-Ka’dah, 1246—9th May, 1831—he is instructed to

1 Jomard, Journal scientifique, 1828, II/173.
2 Jomard, ibid., p. 98.
3 Ibid., p. 105.
4 Ramon, op. cit., II/192 “... le savant directeur de la mission égyptienne a eu l’initiative dans le choix des matières à faire apprendre.”
5 Jomard, ibid., p. 106.
6 Riṣâlah, Râhîb, pp. 147-148.
7 Jomard, ibid., p. 148.
8 Riṣâlah, ibid., pp. 148-150; the writer gives the whole of the code in his work.
9 Riṣâlah, ibid., pp. 151-2; letter dated 5th Rabi‘I, 1245-4th October, 1829.
10 Tahâweh, II/270, order dated 10th Rajab, 1246—5th December, 1830—regarding the sending of ‘Umar Ef. al-Kûfî to learn sugar refining.
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attach Henri Rûš to the mission at his expense and to pay him at the same rate of pay as the Egyptians.¹

Regarding the practical work that students were to perform,² the Ṭakwûm gives the translation of an order of the same date as the previous one, which expresses Muḥammad ‘Alî’s view on the matter and also emphasizes the haste and imperfection of many of his plans.³

‘Abdî Ef. had written a letter asking permission for the students who had finished their studies to make a tour of the country in order to get practical knowledge and experience in the various factories and institutions. In the order Muḥammad ‘Alî definitely refuses to allow them to do so, adding that he himself had established various factories and institutions where he would appoint the mission students and where they could get their practical experience in order to save time; he also ordered ‘Abdî Ef. to inform Jomard that he order the students to complete their studies as soon as possible and that he was to arrange the return of two students, who had been sent out late, on account of their bad conduct.

The question must be asked to what extent these oriental students were able to adapt themselves to their new surroundings. The fact that they did not change their garments for those of the west must have greatly inconvenienced them; when they went out, they seem to have been accompanied by one of their teachers who probably took them sight-seeing according to a pre-arranged plan with Jomard. Most of their time must have been taken up with their studies and if the code of rules was obeyed, their liberties must have been very restricted. The following poem composed by Barthélemy and Méry ⁴ in 1827, seems to have reflected the thoughts of some Frenchmen concerning their guests:—

Le vigilant Osmin, dans l’intrigue blanchi,
A fait choix d’un palais au quartier de Clichy,
C’est là qu’il établit les cinquante Sédès ;
Rien loin de les soustraire à des regards avides,
Il veut que chaque Turc, par son goût excité,
Se promène d’abord dans la vaste cité,

¹ Ṭakwûm, II 1881; see Tâsûn, op. cit., pp. 70, 72, 91–2, Rûš was a European whose father was in charge of a tannery at Rosetta; his name is spelt in various ways.
³ Ṭakwûm, II 1860.
⁴ La Escrâlade, poème héroï-comique, Paris, 1827; the above extract is from pages 43–45.

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Fière de leur séjour, la France hospitalière
Caresse ces héros d’une main familiale ;
Chaque jour pour complaire à ces fils de visirs,
Elle invente des jeux et de nouveaux plaisirs ;
Ils sortent escortés de doctes interprètes ;
L’Institut les reçoit aux réunions secrètes ;
Gulbért-Pixeřécourt, si pauvres en nouveautés,
A défait de public, les a tous invités ;
Au faubourg Saint-Germain la sultane tirée ;
De son noble salon leur accorde l’entrée ;
Puymaurin veut couler leur profil africain,
Et Guyon les invite à Saint-Thomas d’Aquino.
Mais rien ne peut charmer leur vague inquiétude,
Leur âme tout entière est à la solitude ;
Sur les bords de la Seine ils pleurent leur exil, ils cherchent autour d’eux les cascades du Nil, etc.

Muḥammad ‘Alî has been criticised for sending students to Europe who were too old to study; Jomard remarked that it was regrettable that there were only a few who were young,⁵ but the main objection seems to have been the fact that they lacked anything like a sufficiently strong elementary training even in their maternal tongue or in Arabic. About two-thirds of the first mission stayed in France for five or six years which must have sufficed for the acquisition of the French language, but hardly so for the purpose of specialisation in one or more of the branches of higher training especially in view of the fact that the students not only had to start with the most elementary studies, but even had to acquire an entirely new language which was to be the vehicle of their studies. It seems as though it would have been far more advantageous had the students been made to follow a more uniform course of study, far less pretentious, more easily acquired, where they might have been useful as teachers rather than to have attempted the whole field of science and learning without the necessary equipment and background. The most successful of the batch from an Egyptian point of view was Shaikh Rifa‘ah who had never been sent to study, but to serve the mission as the Imam. He was twenty-four when he went to France, he had already passed through al-Azhar and had a natural inclination towards study, especially literature; in France he read historical, geographical and literary works and began to translate them while he was still in France. It was sheer accident that gave to Egypt a revivalist, a reformer and the father of modern Arabic literature; to

⁵ Jomard, ibid., p. 105 note and Guémard, op. cit., p. 391.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

have made Rifā‘ah take up pure science or military studies
would probably have changed the whole of his career.

The students began to return from about 1831 and they
naturally had an interview with Muḥammad ‘Ali who questioned
them as to their studies in France. Both ruler and students
were mutually disappointed, the latter at Muḥammad ‘Ali’s
disapproval and lack of understanding and appreciation of what
they had done. One, on being asked what he had studied,
replied, “Civil Administration,” “And what is that?” asked
Muḥammad ‘Ali, to which the unfortunate student replied
“the study of the government of affairs” ; “What!” exclaims
Muḥammad ‘Ali, “you are not going to get mixed up in
the administration! what a waste of time! It is I who
govern. Go to Cairo and translate military works.”
The student, on remonstrating that he had not studied military
subjects, was cut short with the statement that he knew
Turkish and French which were quite sufficient to be able to
translate.1

Another student, who had studied agriculture, on being
interrogated, was asked by one of Muḥammad ‘Ali’s astonished
secretaries whether agriculture was looked upon as a science
in France and told the student that he should have studied
medicine or how to make war.2

The students had been made to specialise in France, but on
their return, were misemployed. Muḥtār and Aḥmad who had
both studied military administration were both eventually
given posts in the civil administration ;3 Maḥmūd who had
studied for the navy was placed in the Finance Department;
Eṣṭofān, who had studied diplomacy, was put in charge of
material and supplies in the Dīwān al-Mādāris ; Bāyūmī, who
had studied hydraulics, was made a teacher of chemistry and
Amn, who had been made to take up metal-founding, was put
into a powder-factory.4

Artān reports that, when the students were interviewed on
their return, each was given a book on the subject he had studied;
they were then locked in the Citadel for three months until they

1 Hamont, op. cit., II/192-3.
2 Hamont, ibid., II/193; other cases of this kind are given by the same
writer.
3 Muḥtār does not appear to have been Ibrāhīm Pasha’s aide-de-camp
for long, e. supra, pp. 159-166.
4 Hamont, ibid., II/194-5; Gisquet, L‘Égypte, les Turcs et les Arabes,
Paris, 1848, II/84; Merriman, L‘Égypte contemporaine de Muḥammad
All à Sa‘īd Pacha, Paris, 1858, p. 89 and Bréhier, op. cit., p. 115.

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had translated the books into Turkish; the translations were then
printed and used in the special schools.1

The return of these mission students seems to have had
temporarily, an adverse effect on the existing order of things,
for, instead of being welcomed on all sides, they were criticised
and hated by the old Turkish school who were jealous of them ;
they were insufficiently strong in numbers to have any immediate
appreciable effect on current thought and ideas, and worse still,
the Europeans who should have encouraged them, were afraid
of losing their posts to these arrivals.2 The young men naturally
expected to be given responsible positions, many of which were
in the hands of the Europeans; it was obviously for this reason
that they had been sent to France and in spite of the fact that
there were many Europeans who were superior to them in
knowledge, qualifications and experience, yet they considered
themselves their equals and fit to take over the administrations
and schools.

The members of the mission who seem to have made the most
of their sojourn in France were the Armenians, materially,
because they belonged to the immediate entourage of Muḥammad
‘Ali, morally, because they were Christians and their upbringing
and environment undoubtedly helped them to appreciate the
West in a way that the Moslems could not.

It must be insisted that, in spite of any adverse criticisms,
with the despatch of this mission, the policy of sending students
abroad for training either as technical experts or as teachers,
remained fixed for all time. Ever since Muḥammad ‘Ali began
his organised missions which seemed the only solution to Egypt’s
cultural difficulties, it has always been a feature of Egyptian
educational policy to send and maintain a number of men
(and later women) in various European countries, particularly
France.

There is still one other important aspect of this educational
policy; in spite of the hostility to these earlier missions on
their return to Egypt, the very fact that most of them were
Muḥammad ‘Ali’s picked men, whether Turk, Armenian or
Egyptian, gradually forced the idea in official administrative

1 Artān, op. cit., p. 73 also Ayyūb, op. cit., 1/212 (quoting Artān); see
also Revue d‘Égypte, II/146.
2 Hamont, op. cit., II/193.
3 Lane, Modern Egyptians, p. 228; Paton, op. cit., II/249; Vincenzi,
4 Merriman, op. cit., p. 38.
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Education Missions, 1828-1836

The authorities dealing with Muhammad 'Ali's foreign educational missions generally refer to that of 1826 as the first, to another of 1828 as the second, to the one sent in 1829 as the third, to that of 1832 as the fourth and to the largest of 1844, as the fifth, but this suggests a method of organisation that did not really exist. As has been seen, the first period covered the years 1809 to 1820 and the second period 1826 to 1844. During this second period, Muhammad 'Ali, it is true, sent several large missions, but it must be borne in mind that the flow of students during the whole period was more or less continuous, and that in between the dates on which the large batches were sent, Muhammad 'Ali also sent individuals and smaller groups, many of whose names it has been impossible to trace. Even in the 1826 mission, we find the names of two students who did not leave Egypt until 1828, but were attached to this mission, probably instead of the two who returned in that year.

The following lists are an attempt to give some information as to names, dates of departure and return, subjects studied and rates of pay of the students sent on missions to Europe; where the names of the students have not been traced, numbers have been given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Subject studied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47. Muhammad</td>
<td>Toulon</td>
<td>Naval construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar-Ra'i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. 'Israil Jid</td>
<td>Toulon</td>
<td>Naval construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Muhammad</td>
<td>Toulon</td>
<td>Naval construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yahya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. 'Arif El.</td>
<td>Toulon</td>
<td>Naval construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>drawing, carpenter, engineering, maths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Mu‘asfa Nār-</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Veterinary science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(brother of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uffahān Nār-</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>addin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Avad Zdah</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Sh.‘Abdallah</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Making of Bees’ wax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Sh Muhammad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Making of Bees’ wax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. ‘Ali Hasan</td>
<td>Elberf</td>
<td>Making of broadcloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Hasan al-</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Civil administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarkas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Hassain al-</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Civil administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jarkas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58. Muhammad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Making of surgical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abd al’-</td>
<td></td>
<td>instruments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ala‘</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Hassan ad-</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Descr. geometry,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dumsyati</td>
<td></td>
<td>algebra and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59. Taught in Alexandria schools.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>60. Ibrahim Kam-</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyons</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61. Assistant to Matar El. at School of Artillery, then teacher Muhandis-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>62. Ahmad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63. Dakalah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64. ‘Abdul of Muhandis-i-khan, taught algebra and hydraulics same school,</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>65. Ahmad Ta’il</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. Assistant to Baitun, then teacher of mechanics and algebra.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. Ahmad Fikild Lyons Engineering London maths and chemistry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Assistant to Bakhsh in artillery school, then teacher Muhandis-i-khan of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physics and chemistry, became second of this school, became Chief Engineer of</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Railways, the railway station at Suez was originally named after him,</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhafizat Fikild, made Pasha.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. Muhammad</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td>Veterinary science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aflat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. ‘Aflat Fattah</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Maths and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. Translated several works in connection with his subject.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. Muhammad</td>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td>Maths and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. ‘Aflat</td>
<td></td>
<td>Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Najah</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Through these gifts, many Egyptians and Turks became very wealthy; many were able to buy up land at a very low rate per fudud and with the development of the irrigation system, this land became very fertile and rose in price. Those officials in the Public Works Dept., made a special point of buying up waste land where they knew that irrigation works were contemplated and thus became very rich.
### THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Subject studied</th>
<th>Date of Departure</th>
<th>Date of Return</th>
<th>Rate of pay p.m.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>66 to 123.</td>
<td>Mission for the study of arts, crafts and industries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. 'Abd al-Rahmān</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Surgical instr.</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>end 1835</td>
<td>PT. 24 then</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 48 then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67. Muhammad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Surgical instr.</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>end 1835</td>
<td>PT. 74 then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Anānī</td>
<td></td>
<td>ments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68. Muhammad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Watch-making</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>beg. 1836</td>
<td>PT. 74 then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hākīm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 48 then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69. 'Abd al-Dādhi</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Watch-making</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>beg. 1836</td>
<td>PT. 48 then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. 'Abd al-Ḥādī</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Goldsmithery</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>end 1835</td>
<td>PT. 48 then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and Jewellery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. Hasan az-Zarārī</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Goldsmithery</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>end 1835</td>
<td>PT. 48 then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and Jewellery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>as 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72. Husain</td>
<td>Muhammad</td>
<td>Candle-making</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td>PT. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73. Muhammad</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Candle-making</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>beg. 1832</td>
<td>PT. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lyons)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>75. Abūl-Ma'ārī</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Silk-weaving</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>Aug. 1834</td>
<td>PT. 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76. Muhammad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Ornamental painting</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>April 1836</td>
<td>as 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iskālī</td>
<td></td>
<td>and sculpture for building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77. Muhammad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Ornamental painting</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>beg. 1836</td>
<td>as 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūrīd</td>
<td></td>
<td>and sculpture for building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78. Sulaymān</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Saddlery</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>end 1834</td>
<td>PT. 24 then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Bahānī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PT. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79. Muhammad</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Saddlery</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>end 1834</td>
<td>PT. 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Azāb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80. Muhammad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Sword making</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>end 1835</td>
<td>as 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramādān</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81. Jād Ghaṣṣāf</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Sword making</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>end 1835</td>
<td>as 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82. Muhammad</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Shoe making</td>
<td>Oct. 1829</td>
<td>12 April</td>
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Remarks:—These numbers agree with those given by 'Abdār-Rahmān ar-Raṣīfī (v. op. cit., III/456-457) who, for the four missions of 1826, 1828, 1829 and 1832, gives 144 students; he does not mention the last eight. The following additional references should be noted: Mission for Arts, Crafts and Industries (v. Taḥwīl, II/337 and II/335), Naval Mission to England (v. ibid., II/345, the four students for fish-drying (v. ibid., II/382) and the four students for coal mining (v. ibid., II/473).

100. Mustafā al-Majdālī | Austria    | Making of Brocade | Oct. 1829          |         |                  |
101. unknown            | Austria    |                |                   |         |                  |
102. unknown            | Austria    |                |                   |         |                  |
103. unknown            | Austria    |                |                   |         |                  |
104. 'Umar EI.          | England    | Making of en-   | c. 1829          | May 1837      |                  |
                           |               | gineering instru- |               |               |                  |
                           |               | ments, telescopes, |               |               |                  |
                           |               | compasses, etc.   |               |               |                  |
105. Muḥammad            | England     | Making of en-   | c. 1829          | May 1837      |                  |
                           | EI.          | gineering instru- |               |               |                  |
                           |              | ments, telescopes, |               |               |                  |
                           |              | compasses, etc.   |               |               |                  |
106. Muḥammad            | England     | Engineering     | c. 1829          | Sept. 1836    |                  |
                           | EI.          |                 |                 |               |                  |
106. —Made Bey, became one of the Nāṣīrīs of the Alexandria Dockyards with Sarīn (no. 46), in 1847, he made a journey in the Shahrīyās to England, which was built in Alexandria, to have her fitted out with steam engines.
107. Ismā'īl         | England     | Furniture and c. 1829 |               |               |                  |
108. another unknown    | England     |                |                   |               |                  |
109. 'Alī al-          | England     |                |                   |               |                  |
Faraqāl                |              |                |                   |               |                  |
110. another unknown    | England     |                |                   |               |                  |
111. Sayyid            | England     | Mechanics      | May 1829         | June 1839     |                  |
112. 'Abd al-Jawāb      | England     | Making of Gun   | May 1829         | Aug. 1839     |                  |
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<td>May 1829</td>
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<td>116 to 123.</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Mechanics, etc.</td>
<td>c. 1829</td>
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<td>124. Yüsuf Hekeşyân</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>Engineering, etc.</td>
<td>1835</td>
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124. Yüsuf Hekeşyân was born in Constantinople where he was taught Armenian and Greek; he was put under the care of an Italian priest; in 1816 his parents moved to Hay Qoğhlu and took him with them where a Frenchman was engaged to teach him French; his father was called to Egypt where he was employed by Muhammad 'Ali, but returned from Egypt and sent him off to England in 1817. He stayed at the Clapham Academy for three years where he studied English, French, Latin, Geography, Elocution, Arithmetic and Geometry; he received a prize for painting and drawing was the best at military exercises and became bugler to the Academy. His father died about this time and so Muhammad 'Ali became his protector and maintained him in England. He was then sent to Stonyhurst College by Brggs, Muhammad 'Ali's agent in England, where he stayed another three years and from there he went to the Catholic School at Carlston in November, 1824. From this time, he seems to have been attracted by military studies and he gradually abandoned his classical studies in order to read military works, history, works on fortifications, mathematics. Muhammad 'Ali sent orders that he was to have a practical training and to study mechanics, he was then sent to Pamlico for this training. He was also allowed to go to Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and other places for practical purposes such as the visiting of textile works and other factories. During the latter part of his stay in England, he learnt French and Italian well and studied other subjects of his own accord such as Hydrostatics and Hydraulics. In July, 1829, he was introduced to the four Turks who were sent to England to be trained for the Navy (nos. 125 to 128), whom describes as "dirty and filthy beyond measure". He was also introduced to several other Turks in England, Sultan Ağbâ (name not given by Tüsin), 'Umar Ef., Muhammad Ef., who used to translate Hekeşyân's Turkish letters from his relations into English as he had forgotten Turkish. He appears to have gone to Egypt (for the first time) in 1830, where he was given a post as teacher in the Muhâfiz-i-Kâanî which he helped to organise with Arif and of which he eventually became Nâez. He was also a consultative member of the School Council and became Nâez of the Medressa-i-Âmâliyyi. See Hekeşyân Papers, Vol. I, folio 29-216, for his autobiography; Tüsin, op. cit., p. 105; et passim (although incomplete and misleading); and Senior, op. cit., passim.

125 to 128. Naval Mission to England

125. 'Abd-Allah Ef. Naval training Mar. 1829 July 1835
125. —Was the brother of Muhammad Bey, Muhammad 'Ali's son-in-law, who was the head of the Egyptian fleet and Governor of Alexandria, made Bey.
126. 'Abd-Allah Ef. Naval training Mar. 1829 July 1835 mûd diyâr-

126. Became captain of one of the warships; served in the Crimean War as captain of the Nil.

127. Yüsuf Ağa Ef. Naval training Mar. 1829 July 1835
127. —Became captain of one of the warships; became involved in the "Abbâs-Sa'di intrigues and eventually fled to Constantinople where he became connected with the "Young Turks."

129 to 132. Abyssinians sent to France.
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The above list shows the following divisions:—

69 students sent for the industries.
14 for the navy.
8 for the study of engineering, mathematics, chemistry, etc.
12 for the medical services.
2 for the veterinary services.
2 for civil administration.
1 unknown but probably for the industries.
268 total.

Many of the above students were pure Egyptians and were marked out for employment in the factories or else to teach in the schools; the naval missions were partly for employment as officers, one or two were intended for ship-building. The medical mission is worthy of some consideration; twelve students were sent with a view to forming Egyptian teachers and so do away with the tiresome method of interpreters and translators. Clot Bey also made use of the mission to refute the allegations against him and his school; for on arrival, the twelve Egyptians were subjected to an examination on medicine, anatomy and surgery, with special reference to what they had been taught and to diseases common to Egypt; they passed the examination which was conducted by a learned body of French medical men and much publicity was made of the fact that the Egyptians had done so well; Clot Bey also used this to reply to some of his calumniators in his Aperçu général.

The twelve students seemed to have been the pick of the school who had been allowed to complete the five years’ course; Clot Bey maintains that there were twenty who had distinguished themselves at the final examination, the other eight had been retained for teaching purposes. The students returned in March, 1836, but owing to an error, for they had not acquired their doctorates from the Faculty of Medicine in Paris and Muhammad Ali obliged them to return in September of the same year in order to do so. They are reported to have returned in 1838, but Mahfouz gives an official document to

1 It should be noted that one student had already been sent to France in order to study medicine, viz., 'Abd Haibah (No. 36).
2 Clot Bey, Aperçu général, II/414, and Hamont, op. cit., II/107.
3 Clot Bey, loc. cit.
4 Clot Bey, Compte rendu, pp. 219–230, and Mahfouz, op. cit., pp. 32–34.
5 Loc. cit.
6 Clot Bey, Aperçu général, II/414. He states that they were kept as répéti-
teurs.
7 Tāshon, op. cit., p. 123.
8 Tāshon, II/414.

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the effect that Muhammad ash-Shāfi‘i, Muhammad ash-Shabāsī, Muhammad as-Sukkārī, Muṣṭafā as-Sabkī and Muhammad 'Ali al-Balādī did not return until 1840; if this is true then these students took just as long to write a doctoral thesis as they had taken over their medical studies in Paris. Unfortunately, it has not been possible at this stage to find out exactly where the students undertook their studies in Paris and the actual courses they followed. It is interesting to note that three of these medical students married French women during their stay in France, viz.: ʿUsāin al-Hiyāwī, Ibrāhīm an-Nabārāwī and Aḥmad Bakhtī; this appears to be the first recorded instance of Egyptians inter-married with Europeans in modern times.

These twelve Egyptians, eleven of whom were Aṣzharīs, must be credited with having contributed a major share in the development and nationalising of medical studies in Egypt and in the formation of the governmental health services, although it must be admitted that neither the School of Medicine nor the health services was placed upon a sound footing until after the British occupation; the vicissitudes of the former, however, will be dealt with in due course. The scientific and medical literature built up by these Egyptian doctors and their colleagues will be discussed in a separate volume. In the meantime, it is interesting to note that during their stay in France, Muhammad 'Ali sent them an order through Boghos Bey to the effect that each medical student was to translate into Arabic each medical book that he read and that the translation was to be sent to Cairo; the main object of this was to provide text-books for the students of the medical school in Cairo.

The following biographical details of the above students might be of interest:—

Ibrāhīm an-Nabārāwī

He was born at Nabārūkh in the Ghārbiyyah province and began his education in the local húdūb, when he left school, he went in for commerce in Cairo at which he was not successful whereupon he gave it up and entered al-Aṣzhar and was among the students who were chosen for the Medical School at Abī Zaʿbal. He was given the rank of Mūdāsim and attached to the medical mission in 1832 and, on his return, was promoted Yūbāshī and made a teacher of surgery in the school. He
was promoted to Şâghâbül Aghâsî and then Amûralâî and accompanied Muḥammad ‘Alî on his trip to Europe in 1848. He became first physician to ‘Abbâs I, and accompanied the prince’s mother on her pilgrimage who, on her return, presented him with one of the women of her household as a wife, as his French wife had died during his absence. He died in 1862, leaving behind a good reputation as a surgeon; he translated three medical works into Arabic.

Muḥammad ash-Shâbâsî

On his return, he was made a teacher of anatomy and given the extra duty of visiting the civil and military hospitals. He became one of the medical men who attended the working and employees engaged on the Suez Canal. He died in 1894; he wrote two works on anatomy.

Muṣṭafâ as-Sûkhî

During his stay in France, he specialised in ophthalmology, and when he returned from France, he was made a teacher of that subject until 1849 when he was transferred to Ḳârṭûm where Rîfâ‘î had been appointed Ṣâţîr to a new school opened by ‘Abbâs I, although it is not clear what he was delegated to teach. In 1854, the Ḳârṭûm school was closed, but on his return to Cairo, it appears that he was not given employment immediately, for his resumption of duties at the School of Medicine did not take place until 1856; during the interval, he is reported to have practised medicine in a private capacity; he died in 1860.

As-Sayyîd Ahmad ar-Rashîdî

On his return from France, he was made a teacher of physics and chemistry, but he is particularly important for the large output of translations and original works attributed to him, one of which is still sought after on account of its encyclopaedic nature. He died in 1865.

‘Īsâwî an-Nahârawî

He was made a teacher of general anatomy in the school after he had finished his studies in France. He was very active

As-Sayyîd Ḥasan Ghânîm ar-Rashîdî

Before he went to France, he had been employed as a corrector on the medical works translated in the Medical School on account of his expert knowledge of Arabic. During his stay in France, he specialised in pharmaceutics and when he returned to Cairo, he taught this subject and materia medica. He left translations and works on his two subjects.

Muḥammad ‘Alî al-Bâkî

This man seems to have been the brightest star of the constellation. He was born in Zâwiyyat al-Bâkî, a village in the province of al-Mınûfîyah which, according to ‘Alî Mubârah, was famous for producing great scholars and eminent men. In any case, he was the only member of this mission to receive the title of Pasha, though several of his colleagues were made Beys. He first of all went to the local kullûb and from there to Muḥammad ‘Alî’s new schools at Abû Za‘bal. He was then sent to the School of Medicine and is the only member of this mission who was not an Azhari. His inclusion in this mission seems to have been by accident for he was not chosen until another member by the name of Rîhân, who had been selected with the others, happened to die shortly before the departure from Egypt.

He was the youngest of the mission and received the smallest allowance of which he used to allot one-third to his mother. He received credit for being the most accomplished in medical studies and this can only be attributed to the fact that he had started his education young and went to the new schools thus making contact with the new learning at an early age instead of continuing at al-Azhar. He probably had a better knowledge of French than his colleagues; he wrote a thesis entitled Purulent Ophthalmia in Egypt. On his return to Cairo, he was made a teacher of surgery and surgical anatomy with the rank of Şâghâbül Aghâsî and was soon promoted Başbâsî. During the reign of ‘Abbâs I, he had a quarrel with his European

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1 Mahfouz, loc. cit., leaves out Ḥasan ar-Rashîdî.
3 Tahâwîn, II/396, and Wâhîbî Misriyyah, No. 399.
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colleagues and was transferred as Health Officer in the Kūsūn district of Cairo which post he kept for five years. Sa'id Pasha made him Director of Medical Services of the Army with the rank of Kā'im-makām; he shortly became wāhil of the Medical School and Hospital with the rank of Amrālāl and private physician to Sa'id Pasha. In 1863, during the reign of Ismā'il Pasha, he was promoted to the Directorship of the School and Hospital in succession to Arnoux Bey and in 1873, was made Pasha.1 In 1875, he had to retire to private life for some reason, but in 1876, he volunteered for the Abyssinian campaign under Prince Ḥasan Pasha and Rāṭib Pasha and it was there that he died.

He was the translator and author of several works on surgery and other subjects, but perhaps the most important contribution he made to modern Arabic technical literature was the monthly medical periodical called Ya'sūb al-Ṭibb, the "Queen Bee of Medical Science" which he started in 1865 with the help of ash-Shaikh Ḳirāhīm ad-Desūkī, a corrector in the Būlāk Printing Press.

Muḥammad ash-Shāfi‘ī

On his return, he was made a teacher of internal diseases; he became wāhil and then Director of the School and Hospital for a short while in between 1849 and 1850 and was the first Egyptian to hold this post. He held the same post for about ten months in 1870-712 and died in 1877. He translated and wrote several important medical works.

Ḥusayn al-Hīyāwī

He was appointed at the Naval Hospital in Alexandria where there appears to have been some provisions made for teaching. He died in 1840.

Muḥammad Maḥṣūr, Ahmad Bakhtīt and Muḥammad as-Sukkārī

Maḥṣūr fell ill in France and returned to Egypt in 1833 and nothing else is known about him. Both Bakhtīt and as-Sukkārī were appointed as teachers in the School, the former appears to have taught biology.3

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The Divān al-Mādāris

It has been seen that as early as 1826, some need was felt for a consultative body for the administration and development of the few schools that then existed and for this purpose, a commission was set up under the Divān al-Ǧihādiyyah. The schools are generally described as being under the authority of this Divān,1 the Civil Schools, however, were controlled by the Divān al-ʿĀlī.2 The School of Medicine with the military hospitals were administered by the Divān al-Ǧihādiyyah although the civil hospitals were under the Divān al-ʿĀlī.3 The questions of supplies and the movements of teaching personnel, administrative staff and students were effected through the Divān al-Ǧihādiyyah where there was a council set up in 1830 called the Māljīs Shārā al-Ǧihādiyyah.4 The schools were not subject to any general fixed plan of studies and examination system; they had been created as required and in so far as actual instruction is concerned, those in charge of the schools were allowed to arrange their own programmes.

Most of the orders dealing with the recruiting or transfer of students and with the appointment of teachers were sent from the Divān al-ʿĀlī to the Divān al-Ǧihādiyyah irrespective of the school affected by the movement5; when the orders dealt with students recruited from the provinces, they were generally sent to the district Māʾmūrī6 by Ḥābib Ef. Muḥammad Ḥāfiz's first secretary. Those students intended for missions abroad, once they had been chosen, were transferred to the care of Boghūṣ Bey who arranged their departure for Europe,7 and thereafter the correspondence between the missions and Muḥammad Ḥāfiz.

1Hamoun, op. cit., II/195. "Les écoles continuaient d'exister sous l'autorité immédiate du divān de la guerre."

2Ibn supras, p. 148 no. 15. Also Cott Bey, Apêre général, II/337, and Deny, op. cit., p. 107.

3Deny, ibid., p. 115. They were probably supervised by the Māljīs al-Shārā al-Ǧihādiyyah set up in 1825—1826—(Takhtimi, II/256, and of Muḥammad, p. 199) which is not mentioned by Deny. Cott Bey seems to have belonged to this body for in addition to being Director of the School of Medicine, he was General Medical Inspector of the Divān al-Ǧihādiyyah, the Divān al-Ǧihādiyyah, and a member (afterwards President) of the Māljīs Shārā al-Ǧihādiyyah, and the supervisor of Medical Officers and Pharmacists: T. Takhtimi, II/173.

4al-Mukkāb, p. 165, 1246 a.h. Deny does not give the date of the establishment of this Māljīs but mentions it as the Chubb al-Ǧihādi for the year 1832—1839—9, op. cit., p. 454.

5Takhtimi, II/145, 1299; II/37, 1820; II/293, 1814; II/293, 1814; II/293, 1814; II/293, 1814; II/293, 1814; II/293, 1814.

6Takhtimi, II/348, 1829, and II/355, 1829.

7Takhtimi, II/413, 1833.

8Ibid., II/355, 1829.
and the latter's orders were sent through the Divan al-'Ali; letters in European languages to Jomard and Briggs were sent by Boghos.

Actually, the extent to which the Divan al-Jihâdiyyah had any real voice in the control of the schools, teachers and students was very limited. The Divan al-Jihâdiyyah, like the other Divans, has been translated by French writers as Ministère de la guerre, but the Divan, in common with the rest of the Divans, had few of the characteristics of a ministry as understood either by Muhammad 'Ali's European contemporaries or during the present day; these Divans were no more than Secretariats through which Muhammad 'Ali himself controlled affairs. The employees of the Divans were no more than secretaries and clerks, even the Nâzir was no more than a secretary to whom Muhammad 'Ali issued his orders and who was supposed to see that they were carried out in his department. Every order emanated from Muhammad 'Ali and it is quite clear that he did not let his subordinates use any initiative.

Deny, at the beginning of his work on the Turkish Archives of Cairo, gives two principles that governed Muhammad 'Ali's administration:

1. all matters had to be examined in council and regulated by a majority vote; great importance was attached to deliberation and,
2. all matters had to be under the control of Muhammad 'Ali who centralised everything and who could decide on any problem according to his will. Deny describes these two principles as contradictory in appearance, the first being liberal and the second domineering and tries to explain them by stating that Muhammad 'Ali wished to encourage his officials to use their own initiative and reasoning powers, but that the system required a strong ruler to supervise everything. It would appear, however, that there is no contradiction in these two principles from Muhammad 'Ali's point of view; they represent a sequence of ideas the explanation of which can be best sought in the fact that as ruler of Egypt, he was determined to introduce reforms which affected every activity of social and economic life; Muhammad 'Ali himself

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Literature in Modern Egypt

was ignorant of the working of western institutions that he wished to introduce into his country and did not know that many of them were incompatible with autocratic rule. It was this ignorance that made him have recourse to majlis or councils before which administrative problems and new plans were discussed; on some of these councils, especially on that of the Divan al-Jihādiyyah, European experts sat under the presidency of a Turk; thus, for the most part, the new enterprises were discussed and voted upon in council at the order of Muhammad 'Ali only because he himself was incapable of fully understanding the inner workings of them; he had to rely on his subordinates, who were advised by Europeans, for the drawing of the plans which Muhammad 'Ali alone brought into effect.

Muhammad 'Ali as we have seen with Boyer and those students who had studied the theory of government while in France, objected to anyone sharing in the government of the country. His attitude towards governing can be best illustrated by the following reports: Artin was once asked to translate Machiavelli's II Principe which he did so at the rate of ten pages a day; on the fourth day, Muhammad 'Ali commented on the work in the following way: "I have read all that you have given me of Machiavelli. I did not find much that was new in your first ten pages, but I hoped that it might improve; but the next ten pages were not better, and the last are commonplace. I see clearly that I have nothing to learn from Machiavelli. I know many more tricks than he knew. You need not translate any more of him." When he was told that a School of Administration would be a useful establishment, he accepted the idea, but on finding that the examination papers contained questions on the incidence of taxation, he promptly stopped the examination and had the school closed.

Hamont expresses the view that the Divans were not ministries in the following terms: "Il n'a jamais existé, à proprement parler, de ministères ou de ministres en Égypte. Les Européens, seuls, ont donné ce nom aux administrations et aux chefs qui les dirigent"; the Nâzirs he calls secretaries and states that "aucun d'eux ne peut prendre l'initiative."
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Hekekyán, a competent observer, stated to Senior that "he (Muḥammad 'Ali) liked able men, but not superior men; he wished for instruments, not advisers" which is not altogether true, he really wanted advisers who were also instruments. His ideas for the establishment of schools in particular could only have been inspired by those in his entourage and by foreigners from whom he sought advice; but once the establishment had been established, it was he who controlled it. This accounts for the rather impetuous way one establishment after another was opened, sometimes resulting in duplication, without any pause to consider whether he had the material from which he could hope to make them a success; neither the pupils were satisfactory as they were entirely unprepared and were not naturally inclined towards his innovations, nor were there any teachers or administrators upon whom he could depend. Muḥammad 'Ali himself had no idea of any kind of required standard that would make his schemes worth while. He had not only the institution to create, but also the man, the spirit and the tradition.

The beginning of his reforms between 1818 and 1824 was promising because they were on a relatively small scale and the personnel was available; from 1824 to 1836, the feverish rush to make use of all resources, both in material and men, could only make for quantity with ever-diminishing quality; the chief drawback of the whole system was the lack of good officers.

After the first campaign in Syria, the retirement of Cérisy and the desertion of Uṭḥmân Nūr-ād-dīn, his most trusted officer after Ibrāhīm Pasha, the army had begun to deteriorate rapidly. General Dembinsky, a Pole of some reputation, had arrived in Egypt with some exiles and had elaborated an important plan for the reorganisation of the army and the military schools, but, unfortunately for Dembinsky, he showed too high-handed an attitude, and Muḥammad 'Ali, only too glad to rid himself of him, paid for his passage and for that of his colleagues to France. Muḥammad 'Ali made use of the plan, however, the carrying out of which fell to Sūlāmān Bey (Sève) who was now to fill the place that Uṭḥmān Nūr-ād-dīn had filled and who was supported by his Saint-Simonite friends and Adham Ef. (later Bey), who had also been attracted by the ideas of that group; Marmont's interest had also been roused by the flattering attentions paid to him and his advice was sought regarding the reorganisation.

The path had now been cleared for the rise of Sūlāmān by the desertion of Uṭḥmān and one of his first promotions was to the post of Inspector-General of the military schools in April, 1834, a post which had not previously existed although Uṭḥmān Nūr-ād-dīn as Major-General of the Staff appeared to have the supervision of the schools entrusted to him in addition to most of the other innovations.

Serious attention was paid to the organisation of the schools and the army from the first half of the year 1834 and by February, 1835, the proposed plan for the new army was prepared.

The most interesting feature of this new promotion of Sūlāmān's as Inspector-General was his intention to convoke a Commission of Public Instruction, an expression entirely French as we shall presently see, composed of men who, "ont le plus de lumières, et en même temps le plus d'affinité avec la France;" amongst the men earmarked for the commission by Enfantine who supported the plan most enthusiastically, were Husain Bey, Kānī Bey, Muhktār Bey, Artin Efendi and others, most of whom had been to France as mission students.

At this particular period, the Saint-Simonites were in great

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1 Senior, op. cit., I/249.
2 Cassani, op. cit., II, Pt. II, p. 77; Duhamel to Nesselrode, 9/5/1834, Hecqueylän Papers, Vol. I, folio 350, where he compares English officers and men of the Navy with Muḥammad 'Alī's. He states that the former "have respect for laws and are humane," and that such conduct could not be expected from Muḥammad 'Alī's officers, "who were all barbarians brought in the market without education or humanity," and that "our great misfortune was that the Government, Army and Navy were in the hands of Circassians, Abyssinians, and stolen Colmen and Tartars," and further that "until we abolish slavery we should never alter our position." Hekekyán had been brought up in England and had an entirely different background and was liable to judge his colleagues according to European standards, yet his remarks throw some light on the type of officer Muḥammad 'Ali was obliged to use.
3 Loc. cit.
5 Oeuvres d'Enfantine, Vol. XXIX, p. 182, 188.
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favour; there were over fifty of them in Egypt, several of whom were employed as doctors, engineers and teachers, and there was great hope of a further demand for Frenchmen after the completion of the reorganisation, which Sulaimân was undertaking in connection with the educational system and of which he was considered to be the director.

The Commission of Public Instruction, the ambition of Sulaimân Bey and the Saint-Simonites, was to be independent of the Councils of the Diwân al-Jihādiyyah and other Diwâns and, as a step towards this creation, Sulaimân was made a Pasha in May, 1834, and a firmân was issued by Muhammad 'Ali making him Inspector-General of all the schools in Egypt; this was an occasion of great joy on the part of Enfantin and his followers.

It would appear that this second stage in the development of Muhammad 'Ali's educational policy consisted of the institution of a Commission of Inspection of the schools, arsenals, etc., and that Sulaimân Pasha was made the chief inspector, but so far, it has not been possible to trace the names of all the members. Segueria, the Spanish Colonel in charge of the Artillery School, was one of the members, as also Adham Ef.

The material available does not offer sufficient data to help one to fix the exact duties of this Commission of Inspection, but from the evidence at hand, the Commission must have been set up shortly after the date Sulaimân was promoted to Inspector-General in May, 1834. Enfantin wrote a letter in May, 1834, expressing his hopes that "le projet de Sulaiman pour organiser une commission de l' instruction publique..." would be realized soon.10 Zaghlûl gives us a date for the opening of a Kalam al-Madâris (Department of Schools) on the 11th Jan., 1250—15th September, 1834,11 and it was probably this Kalam that

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was under Sulaimân Pasha but, of course, it was still attached to the Diwân al-Jihādiyyah at that time.

This Commission was certainly functioning from an early date for we have the text of an order dated Dhu'l-Ka'bah—March, 1835—addressed to Sulaimân Pasha instructing him to open a School of Mineralogy in al-Azâbâkiyat in conjunction with Adham which confirms the connection with the Saint-Simonite group with whom both Sulaimân and Adham were friendly. Lambert, a Saint-Simonite, was made its director (v. supra, p. 142). Adham had already been made head of the Cairo Arsenal.

The letter written by Bokty to Duhamel dated 18th December, 1835 (v. supra, p. 186, note 9), points to its continuity and to Segueria being one of the members, but, while the most convincing evidence, however, that the Department of Schools was a separate department from 1820—1834, although still attached to the Diwân al-Jihâdiyyah owing to its military character and to Sulaimân's rank in the army, lies in the fact that it had its own registers from that year,12 which coincides with the date of the year of Sulaimân's appointment as Inspector-General and Zaghlûl's date for the opening of the Kalam al-Madâris.

The above data is sufficient to enable one to conclude that the school system had its first recognized administration in 1834 and that the first director was a Frenchman, namely, Sulaimân Pasha. During the period that the schools were under the Commission of Inspection, certain improvements can be attributed to it, or perhaps more directly to Sulaimân Pasha. The attention given to the infantry schools had some bearing, of course, on the plan for the reorganisation and improvement of the army; the idea of developing the Damietta Infantry School, where the Khânkhâh School had been transferred in June, 1834, was on account of its proximity to Syria. There is evidence, too, that some improvements were made on the teaching staff.

The School of Mines or Mineralogy at Old Cairo may have been opened through Sulaimân's influence but certainly the

1 Taḥyât, II/433.
2 Deny, op. cit., p. 435; Register No. 1999 onwards of the Official Archives in 'Abdun Palace, Cairo.
3 Hamout, op. cit., II/50, testifies to the zeal Sulaimân showed in carrying out his duties as Inspector-General: "Pendant la paix, le vice-roi l'a nommé inspecteur général des écoles. Dans l'une comme dans l'autre, Sultan-Pacha a déployé un jugement supérieur, et il a été le défenseur zélé des institutions utiles que son souverain a introduites en Égypte."
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School of Mines under Lambert mentioned above, was due to the Inspector-General. Perhaps the most important development of all was the reorganisation of the School of Engineering owing to the support of the Saint-Simonite group which undoubtedly had a great deal to do with Sulaiman’s plans and accounted for the growth of French cultural influence at the time.

Although no attention was given to the further development of any kind of primary education by Sulaiman, yet his beneficial care can be traced in the dispatch of doctors to the provincial schools in October, 1835, to treat students for scabies; it was also due to his report that Muhammad ‘Ali gave orders that certain provincial schools that were falling into ruin should be rebuilt and the students thereof should receive their allowances, rations and clothes.

Unfortunately, the war in Syria did not allow Muhammad ‘Ali to spare Sulaiman for the business of reorganisation, and he was sent to command the Egyptian armies in that country on 4th December, 1835. It is quite clear that the Commission deprived of its Inspector soon showed signs that it lacked the power to keep things in order and events following which obliged Muhammed ‘Ali to reorganise the administration on an entirely different basis.

The trouble can be traced back to the usual intrigues and the clashes of ideas and selfish motives of the various interested groups and individuals. Seguera Bey, one of the best European officers employed during this period, had been made a general by Muhammad ‘Ali during the course of an inspection, so much did he appreciate him, but Seguera disliked his French colleagues and was averse to their influence and interference; he claimed that he was employed by Muhammad ‘Ali and would not take orders but from him directly.

Seguera’s anti-French feelings were directed particularly against Sulaiman Pasha, who, in spite of his conversion to Islam and his promotion to high rank in the service of Muhammad ‘Ali, was nevertheless still attached to his mother country although his loyalty to Muhammad ‘Ali cannot for a moment

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be doubted. Many of his contemporaries criticised him on account of his being a renegade, their feelings can easily be understood, but in spite of his position with the Turks, he always kept open house for his French friends, and his attachment to the Enfantin group caused him to give them all possible help. Sulaiman was particularly favourable to the mission students who had been to France.

Mulhtur was also one of Seguera’s enemies; he had been to France and was well-connected; his feelings were distinctly pro-French; he was a friend and a favourite of the Saint-Simonites, but, unfortunately, he was also a bad character, inefficient in his work and a drunkard to boot.

At this period, Mulhtur was Nazir of the Majlis al-Mulkiyah, it is possible also that he was one of the members of the Commission of Inspection for the schools, he is already mentioned in several orders that affect the schools. His close connection with Muhammad ‘Ali, his training in Paris, his experience as aide-de-camp to Ibrahim Pasha in Syria and friendly relations with the Saint-Simonites and Sulaiman Pasha would suggest that he could hardly have been left out of any council or commission that was considering the future of the schools. Tusun suggests that he was Mudir of the Diwan al-Harbiyah in 1835, meaning probably the Diwan al-Jihadiyah, but this could hardly have been so.

Clot Bey approves of the lack of uniformity in the educational system of this period in these terms: “Il y eut en effet entre elles (the schools) une heureuse émulation, et chacune fut poussée par son directeur avec rapidité, sans être astreinte à un développement dont les progrès eussent été ralentis si on les eût calculés d’avance et si l’on eût empêché leur libre essor.” This statement suggests a state of affairs that was absolutely non-existent. The inefficiency of the Diwan al-Jihadiyah, the struggle that was going on with the various school directors and the perpetual intrigues reached a climax in the autumn of 1835.

Seguera, Hamont and Clot, all three being of pronounced views regarding the working of the schools in their charge, refused to accept certain individuals sent by the Diwan al-

1 Ibid., II/452.
2 Taheun, II/457.
3 Cattani, op. cit., II, Pt. I, p. 428; Duhamel to Bouteiloff, 9th December, 1835.
4 St. John, op. cit., II/398; Hamont, op. cit., II/164; and Clot Bey, op. cit., II/231.
6 Puckler Muskau, op. cit., II/197.
7 Taheun, II/457 and II/471.
8 Tusun, op. cit., p. 36.
9 Clot Bey, op. cit., II/337.
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Jihādiyyah to their establishments. In the case of Seguera and Hamont, it appears that these individuals were inspectors to whom they objected on the grounds that they were hostile either to them personally or to their schools. From the evidence available, one cannot but conclude that these intrigues were the combined machinations of the Saint-Simonites and the ex-commision students against three officials who were not of their way of thinking, as neither Clot nor Hamont belonged to that group and Seguera was altogether anti-French. The mission men were of the opinion that they had the qualifications necessary to fill their posts; they sought to create a situation by their intrigues whereby they might bring about the elimination of these officials for their own advantage and advancement.

Muhammad 'Ali heard of this conflict and called a Council in December, 1835, to investigate the reasons for the insubordination of these directors. The Council consisted of Ḥabib Efendi, Adham Bey, Kiānī Bey, Ahmad Pasha (Nāẓir of the Diwān al-Jihādiyyah), Multār Bey (Nāẓir of the Majlis al-Mulkiyyah), the directors of the schools and several others; 'Muhammad 'Ali remained in an adjoining room.

Seguera, in his defence, stated quite frankly that the affair was the outcome of an intrigue to bring about the dismissal of Hamont, Clot and himself in order to put the mission men in their places; when his statements were carried to Muhammad 'Ali, he decided to dismiss him on the spot. Clot did not turn up to defend himself, a move for which no explanation is offered; when Hamont was called upon to answer the charge, he turned the case against the Diwān al-Jihādiyyah and accused the members thereof of violating regulations. These accusations were reported to Muhammad 'Ali who immediately ordered the setting up of a Commission to investigate school matters and the possibilities of reorganisation.

The decree issued by Muhammad 'Ali in which he ordered a General Council to sit and to investigate educational problems was dated 19th Ramadān, 1251—11th January, 1836. This Council was held in a room of the Majlis al-Mulkiyyah (Mutlār's department) and was composed of the following members under the Presidency of Multār Bey:—

Clot Bey, Director, School of Medicine.
Kiānī Bey, Colonel.
Arīn Bey, Muhammad 'Ali's 2nd Secretary and Director: School of Administration.
Estēfān Efendi, School of Administration.
Varīn, Director, School of Cavalry.
Rekekyān, Director, School of Engineering.
Riā'āh, Director, School of Languages.
Baiyūmī, Teacher, School of Engineering.
Lambert, Director, School of Mines.
Hamont, Director, School of Veterinary Science.
Dozol as secretary, Teacher of Muhammad 'Ali Bey, the youngest son of the ruler.

Ḥabib Efendi, Muhammad 'Ali's first secretary, Ahmad Pasha (Nāẓir of the Diwān al-Jihādiyyah), the Khaṣīnah-Dār Bey, Husain Bey, Khaṣīnah-Dār of the Diwān al-Jihādiyyah, were also invited to attend the Council, Ḥabib Efendi probably to report to Muhammad 'Ali the progress of the Council meetings and the others to offer suggestions.

The text of the decree containing Muhammad 'Ali's instructions is an interesting example of the way he used to order the members of a council how to carry out their duties as such. They were to investigate educational problems and to examine the connection between them and the Diwān al-Jihādiyyah. Each member was to write down his suggestions which were to be considered by a special committee (lajūn) which was to form from among the members of this Council. Muhammad 'Ali made special reference in his orders to Multār Bey, Arīn Bey, Estēfān Efendi, and Shaiḳh Riā'āh who had to be members of the new committee; he also insisted that the other members should be drawn from among those who had graduated from European schools, a fact which points to a decided change of policy, undoubtedly already contemplated, but finally determined by Seguera's insubordination and Hamont's attack on the Diwān al-Jihādiyyah. The incident also confirms that Muhammad 'Ali had strong objections to his subordinates showing any lack of adaptability to his system, and, in spite

\[1\] Siyāṣ 213, Abdīn, p. 30, Document No. 177.
\[2\] Also Hamont, op. cit., II/156-9.
of the qualities of Seguera and the splendid services he had rendered, the ruler did not hesitate to get rid of him.

The question may be asked at this point regarding the source of Muḥammad ʿAli's inspiration in his new idea of reorganisation; the Seguera incident could only have been one of many. Up to this point, he could not conceive of the schools' department being severed from the Diwan al-fihādiyyah simply because he looked upon them as being a necessary part of his military organisation. It is recorded that Artin Bey was responsible for the suggestion of the formation of a Council of Public Instruction, but it is more than likely that it was the combined idea of the Saint-Simonites and the mission students and that Artin, on account of his close association with Muḥammad ʿAli as his secretary, was able to act as their spokesman and to press the idea upon Muḥammad ʿAli.

Both parties had something to gain from this new administrative development; the Saint-Simonites held the idea that it offered further possibilities of the employment of a number of their party, in addition, of course, to the certainty of extending and strengthening French cultural contacts in general and their own doctrines and ideas in particular. The mission students had much to gain from this new move; they would find themselves under a separate administration with a Nāṣir who had himself been a mission student and who also had another more important post as Nāṣir of the Majlis al-Mulkīyah, which probably kept him in close contact with the ruler. The new administration could serve as a rallying point for these new men around which they could build up a position not previously possible under the old Turks.

The new committee of investigation was under the presidency (Nāṣirship) of Mukhtar Bey, with the following members:—

Clot Bey, Hamont, Kian Bey, Artin Bey, Estefan Efendi, Varin, Hekekyan, Rifāḥ, Bāyiūmī, Lambert, Bruneau, Linant, Dozol, secretary.

After it had drawn up its report and plan of reorganisation,

1 *Revue d’Égypte*, 11/426. In French, *Conseil d'instruction publique* (see Artin, op. cit., pp. 78-9, or *Comité*).


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both Muḥammad ʿAli and Ibrāhim Pasha had to approve of the scheme; this was done during the first half of the month Dhul-Qa‘dah, 1251—February, 1836, i.e., less than two months after the first order convoking the council of investigation, for an order was issued by Mukhtar Bey on the 17th of that month, i.e., 6th March, 1836, to the Nāṣir of the Medical, Veterinary and Cavalry schools, informing them that he had been made Nāṣir of the Majlis Shūrā’-l-Madāris wal-Mahāṭeb on the 9th Dhul-Qa‘dah, i.e., 26th February, 1836, and that all business connected with the schools would be dealt with by this Majlis.

The committee in deliberation at the Majlis al-Mulkīyah had, in fact, produced a plan of some length giving elaborate details of the types of schools required, and dealing with all questions affecting school administration such as the rations, salaries of teachers, staff, students, admission of students, teaching method, inspection, examinations, text-books, discipline, holidays, school equipment, etc., and for the purposes of control, a *Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique* was created with a president and three permanent members; six other consultative members with the right to vote and a secretary made up the rest of the Council. This *Conseil supérieur de l'instruction publique* is the French title for the Majlis Shūrā’-l-Madāris, the Nāṣir of which was Mukhtar Bey and the three permanent members, Artin Bey, Estefan Efendi and M. Lubbert, who had been director of the French Opera in Paris.

Attempts have been made to give a complete list of both permanent and consulting members by Amin Sāmī, Artin, and ar Rāfiʾi; they have, unfortunately, confused the names of the members of the various commissions, committees, councils and the subsequent Diwan al-Madāris. They all mention Clot Bey, Hamont and Hekeyyan as being members; they were probably invited to attend occasionally when matters affecting their schools were to be discussed, but neither Hamont nor Clot state that they were members; Hekeyyan states at a later date that he attended the meetings. In one of the

1 *Daftar 2001*, Document No. 2; this is the third *Madāris* register.

2 *Arabia*, 50, 52, 54 and 55 of the regulations.


4 *al-Turīm*, p. 9.


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official registers,¹ the following interesting list is given at the end of the minutes of a meeting:—

Mukhtar Bey,
Estefan Efendi,
Lambert
Lambert
Mazhar Efendi,
Brahai
Brahai
Muhammad Amin Bey,
Wasil Bey,
Linant
Adham Bey.

Six of these members are Turks or Circassians, four are French and one is Armenian, there was no Egyptian representative at this particular meeting; Mukhtar, Estefan, Mazhar, Brahah and Amin were all mission students; Lambert, Linant and Brahie were Saint-Simonites and Adham was sympathetic to both groups; the list indicates the extent to which these two parties had co-operated and had taken over the control of the schools.

As an example of the application of the new policy, it is significant that the Nazirship of the School of Artillery was given to Mustafa Ef. Brahah in February, 1836 with Captain Brahie as Ta‘limi.⁴

An interesting incident illustrating Muhammad ‘Ali’s method of treating his subordinates is found in his dismissal of Mukhtar Bey from his post as Nazir of the Majlis al-Mulkihiyah on account of his arrogance, tyranny, inefficiency and general unfitness for such a high post. Muhammad ‘Ali hoped that the disgrace would be a lesson to him and, in order to give him another chance, he retained him in his post as Nazir of the Majlis Shihâr-al-Madâris, and in the text of the order threatened him with further disgrace should he be reported on account of

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any other misbehaviour.¹ This can hardly be called a propitious beginning for the budding administration.

The new organisation was an excellent one on paper and gives the impression that some real effort was to be made for the improvement of the existing schools and for the spread of education in the country.

Three types of schools were to be organised; primary, preparatory and special. There were to be fifty primary schools in the towns and provinces which were to provide students for the preparatory schools and were to spread elementary education in the country. Four of them were to be situated in Cairo and one in Alexandria with two hundred students in each; the remaining forty-five were to accommodate one hundred students each thus making a total of 5,590 primary students.

The system of discipline, teaching and administration was to be uniform in all the primary schools; the students had to be between the ages of seven and twelve years, in good health and without any physical deformity. The course of instruction was to be of three years’ duration with an extra year at the discretion of the inspector. Each school was to have three classes, for first, second and third year students and in order to be promoted from one class to another, the student had to pass an examination. The subjects of study were to be:—(1) reading and writing, (2) Arabic, (3) elementary rules of arithmetic, and (4) religious instruction.

Each school was to have a Nazir who also had to teach and two other teachers in addition to the following staff: a bursar, a clerk, a cook, a scullion, a tailor, two laundresses, two servants, two water-carriers and a door-keeper; a surgeon-barber was also to be in attendance. The students were to be fed, lodged and clothed in the school; discipline was to be strictly military and punishments were to be graded according to the misdemeanour; a student could be reprimanded in the presence of the whole school, confined to school, imprisoned and given bread and water, beaten with the kûrbâg or dismissed from the school.

The schools were to be inspected every three months by a delegate of the Majlis; the inspectors had to report on the students’ progress, the teachers’ zeal and the administration of the school;

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they were also to suggest any improvements to be made. The results of the final examination, which was to be held under the staff teachers and the Majlis delegate, decided which students were to be drafted into the preparatory schools.

The Preparatory Schools were intended for the continuance of the instruction of those who had passed out of the primary schools with the object of preparing them for the special schools. There were to be two, one in Cairo and the other in Alexandria, the former to accommodate 1,500 pupils and the latter, 500. Both were to be run on similar lines. The course was to be of four years' duration with the possibility of a fifth year at the discretion of the teaching committee of the school; there were to be four classes in which the following subjects were to be taught:

(a) Arabic, (f) elementary geometry.
(b) Turkish, (g) general notions of history.
(c) Persian, (h) general notions of geography.
(d) arithmetic, (i) calligraphy.
(e) elementary algebra, (j) drawing (linear, figure and landscape).

The division of the subjects among the teachers was to be decided by the teaching committee of the school for the final approval of the Majlis.

The teaching staff of the Preparatory School in Cairo was to consist of the Na'zir, the Wākil, three prefects, twelve assistant masters, twelve teachers of Arabic, Turkish and Persian, one history teacher, one geography teacher, three drawing teachers, four calligraphy teachers (two for sulüs (thuluth) and two for rik'a). The teachers and prefects were to serve under the direct orders of the Nāzir and the Wākil; the assistant masters were to help the teachers but their special functions were to consist of the supervision of the students out of class-hours during their walks, recreation and in the dormitories.

The administrative staff was to serve under a separate Na'zir and to consist of one accountant, two clerks, one bursar, one storekeeper for linen, one storekeeper for school equipment, two stewards, cooks and scullions, one weigher, tailors, boot-makers, laundrymen, barbers, dormitory servants, refectory servants, lighting servants, drummers and fifers, doorkapers, and wood-breakers. The Preparatory Schools were also to have their own medical staff consisting of twenty-two members, three doctors, two pharmacists, seven orderlies, a barber and others.

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The Alexandria Preparatory School was to have the same kind of staff in proportion to the number of students accommodated.

The Preparatory Schools were to be essentially military establishments; the students were to be subject to severe military discipline and were to be barracked like soldiers; they were to form three battalions in the Cairo school, each company consisting of four companies with one hundred and twenty-five students in each company; the junior officers and corporals were to be chosen from among the students, the assistant masters were to command the companies, and the prefects the battalions.

Punishments were of twelve different degrees, which ranged from public reprimand to dismissal from school; a student could lose his rank if he were a junior officer or a corporal or be withheld from promotion by way of punishment; the kārbāg also figures in the list of punishments.

At the Preparatory Schools, a board of instruction and discipline was to be formed which had to meet once a month and to send its minutes and suggestions to the Majlis, the board was to consist of the Na'zir of the teaching staff, the Wākil, one prefect, two teachers, and one assistant master as secretary without the right to vote; it was to deal with school discipline, with the methods of teaching and with the progress made at the school; it had the right to dismiss a student in the last resort and a student thus dismissed was to be given an inferior post in one of the administrations.

Inspection was to be carried out every quarter by a delegate sent by the Majlis in the same way as with the primary schools; at the end of the scholastic year, examinations were to be held for each class to determine class promotions; the final examination results were to decide which students were to be sent to the special schools. They were to be conducted by a delegate sent by the Majlis and the School Board; the results were to be sent to the Majlis. Students who failed were to be employed in inferior posts in the government.

The existing system of Special School was to be entirely reorganised and in place of the numerous schools then functioning, seven special schools were to be recognised as sufficient for the needs of the State. They were to be:

(1) The School of Languages which was to form translators from French into Arabic and Turkish and to provide students knowing these languages for the other special schools.
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(2) The Polytechnic School which was destined to form students for the Artillery School, naval engineering, roads and bridges construction, for mining and for all other services where a knowledge of mathematics and the physical sciences was deemed necessary.

(3) The School of Artillery for the training of artillery officers.

(4) The School of Cavalry for the training of cavalry officers.

(5) The School of Infantry for the training of infantry officers.

(6) The School of Medicine was to supply health officers, doctors and pharmacists both for the army and for the administrations.

(7) The Veterinary School for the training of veterinary doctors for the army.

All these Special Schools were to be subject to uniform discipline and to the same administration, but the teaching syllabus of each school was to be regulated by its own Board for its own special purposes and needs. Special arrangements were to be made for the practical application of technical studies in schools called écoles d’application; it appears that these schools were to be attached to the actual relevant service.

The arrangements in the special schools were as follows:

The School of Languages

The course of instruction was to be of five years’ duration with the possibility of the extension of another year; there were to be five classes and yearly examinations were to be held for the promotion of the students from class to class. The subjects to be taught were Arabic, Turkish, French, elementary mathematics, history and geography. The school was to have its own Council which could modify the syllabus.

The teachers were to consist of a Nâsir, two assistant masters, two Arabic teachers, one Turkish teacher, three French teachers; the French teachers were also to give the lectures in history, geography and mathematics while the two assistant masters were to take care of the students out of school hours. The organisation of the school was to be military, there were to be one hundred and fifty students divided into two companies of seventy-five each under an assistant master.

*The regulations do not give the details for the Special Schools; they are given by Bowring in his Parliamentary Report, pp. 127–135.

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The Polytechnic School

The Polytechnic was to be formed on the model of that at Paris; there were to be three departments, a Central Department, a Mining Department and a Public Works Department. The course was to take three years; in the Central Department, the following subjects were to be taught:

- higher geometry, physics,
- higher algebra, chemistry,
- rectilinear and spherical trigonometry, astronomy,
- descriptive geometry, mineralogy,
- statics, architecture,
- analytical geometry, geology,
- differential and integral outlines and construction of machines,
- calculus, plan drawing,
- mechanics, linear and topographical drawing.

In the Mining Department, the following subjects were to be taught:

- industrial chemistry applied to manufactures, raw materials, and machines and the management of mines;
- to useful objects found in or imported into Egypt; the pupils were expected to do practical work and to attend the factories; drawing of machines and furnaces, etc.; minerology and geology; the students were to go out into the open:
- drawing of quarries, construction of models; and acquire practical experience;
- manufacturing of tools and turnery.

In the Public Works Department, the following subjects were to be taught:

- hydraulic constructions, bridges, sluices, jetties, dykes, canals, descriptive geometry as applied to roofing and stone-cutting;
- roads, etc.; minerology.

Provision was to be made for two hundred and twenty-five students and the teaching staff was to be made up of the Nâsir, the Wâbi, two professors of mathematics, two assistants, one professor of physics, chemistry and astronomy and one assistant, one professor of geodesy, plan making and linear drawing, one professor of mining, geology, mineralogy, and a cabinet keeper, one professor of architecture, constructions, and hydraulic...
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
works, one professor of machine-making, a keeper of the models, one model-maker and two turners.

The Artillery School

The students were to be taught the following subjects:---

- mathematics,
- linear topography and plan-drawing,
- theory of infantry and cavalry manœuvres,
- theory of artillery manœuvres,
- the construction of batteries,
- making of fireworks of war,
- artillery service in regiments, in the field and in forts,
- transitory and permanent fortifications, attack and defence of fortresses,
- bridge building,
- construction of fascines, saucissons, gabions, clay sand-bags, etc.

The students were to be drawn from the Polytechnic and should there not be enough, then they could be drawn from the Preparatory School; there was to be accommodation for three hundred pupils divided up into four classes of seventy-five each. The teaching staff was to consist of the Nâṣîr, the Wakîl, two artillery captains, two lieutenants, one professor of mathematics, one for fortifications, one for the theory of manœuvres and artillery, a master of arms, a provost of arms, and three assistant junior officers.

The Cavalry School

The students were to be taught cavalry service in campaigns, forts and quarters, riding, foot and horse exercises, rifle and pistol shooting, manœuvres, knowledge of and management of horses; the teaching staff was to consist of the following:---the Nâṣîr, the Wakîl, two squadron leaders, eight captains, one master of the stables, a secondary master of the stables, a master of the horse, a riding master, a drawing master, a music master, a fencing master, two provosts, a veterinary teacher, and three junior officers.

This school had to receive officers from the regiments who were destined to become instructors, each regiment of cavalry and horse artillery was to send an officer every year, the squadrons of train artillery were to send one every two years; the officers chosen for this service were to be thirty years of age at least and to be of the rank of lieutenant, were to be of good conduct and recommended by the Inspector-General; they were to stay at the school two years or at most three. The school could also receive students from the Preparatory Schools; these had to pass a preliminary examination and were to stay for at least three years and no more than four, they were then to be posted to the different regiments. There was also to be a special department for the training of young soldiers as non-commissioned officers, bombardiers and trumpeters.

The cavalry pupils were to be divided into two squadrons, each one to contain one hundred and twelve students, sixteen bombardiers, eight sergeants, four trumpeters, one farrier and the sergeant major in charge; the junior officers and the bombardiers were to be chosen from the pupils.

The Infantry School

This was to contain three classes for students drawn from the Preparatory School who were to undertake a three years' course; they were to be taught elementary fortifications, attack and defence of forts; topography and plan drawing; theory and manœuvres of infantry, and exercise of the bayonet; duties of home service, police, discipline of garrisons, quarters and campaigns.

The staff was to consist of the Nâṣîr, a Wakîl, a sub-commandant, a teacher of topography and plan making, a teacher of fortifications, attack, and defence, four infantry captains, four lieutenants, a master of arms, a provost of arms and a master of gymnastics.

The Medical School

The students were to be provided by the Preparatory Schools; the course of study was to be extended over a term of five years and, in some cases, six. There were to be five classes representing the years of study and the subjects to be studied were as follows:---

- anatomy, chemical surgery,
- physiology, chemical medicine,
- surgical pathology, pharmaceutical chemistry,
- medical pathology, physics,
- hygiene, botany,
- zoology, materia medica,
- pharmacy, midwifery.

The teaching staff was to be made up of the following:---a director who would also give lectures, six professors, three
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auxiliary professors, seven assistants to be taken from the
students who have finished their studies, one drawing master,
two translators, and two revisers. The students were to follow
military discipline; they were to make up three companies
with one hundred students in each company; the junior officers
were to be chosen from among the students.

The Veterinary School

This school was to receive its students from the Preparatory
School and the School of Languages; the course was to be
over a period of five years with an extra year if it was deemed
necessary. The subjects to be studied were:

- anatomy
- surgical pathology
- hygiene
- chemical medicine
- physiology
- medical pathology
- chemical surgery
- botany
- physics
- farriery

and they were to be taught by the director, three professors,
two auxiliary professors, four répétiteurs, two translators, two
revisers, and one master farrier.

These special schools were also to be provided with an
administrative and medical staff similar to that of the Preparatory
School in Cairo. The Majlis was thus aiming at making each
establishment self-sufficient in regard to staff, services and
supplies, responsible only to the Majlis in much the same way
as a military garrison or barracks is administered and is dependent
on general headquarters. The system of discipline and examinations,
too, was the same as for the Preparatory Schools; students
who were recommended for dismissal were referred to the
Majlis and those who failed in the final school examinations
were to be given inferior posts or else made to join the army
as privates.

The programme of reorganisation was, indeed, a very ambitious
one, the military character of which cannot be disguised. The
fact that no provision was made for the teaching of French in
any of the schools denotes another important change. It
was expected that the School of Languages would provide
enough translations for the schools to use Arabic and Turkish as
the linguistic mediums for teaching and that the ex-mission students
would be able to carry on the instruction thus eliminating the

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foreign teacher altogether. The linguistic question will be dealt
with in a subsequent chapter. The more immediate question
of the administration of the schools will be considered at present.

The Mukhtar party imagined that it had succeeded in getting
the schools under its control, but, unfortunately for the schools,
the new Majlis had placed itself in an entirely false position.
It would hardly appear conceivable that Muhammad 'Ali could
have allowed this to happen, for according to the wording of
the new regulations, the Diwan al-Jihadiyyah was placed in a
subordinate position to the newly created Majlis in regard to
a number of important institutions for which the Diwan itself
had been brought into existence. It is possible to draw one of
two conclusions, either that the new men were trying to force
Muhammad 'Ali's hand into creating a new department in
which they would have a free hand, but that they had to tread
warily with the jealous ruler and to give the new Majlis a trial,
or that Muhammad 'Ali had given instructions for a reorganisation,
the full import of which he could not understand. For
this latter view, we have the support of the Russian Consul-
General, Colonel Duhamel,¹ whose valuable reports and corre-
spendence have been so useful in writing this work; his opinion
bears out the point of view suggested at the beginning of this
chapter regarding the principles of Muhammad 'Ali's method
of government.

Most of the schools were essentially military establishments;
if one or two of them were not called military, they were either
recruiting depots for the military services or else they were
destined to provide for the technical needs of the army as in the
case of the Medical, Veterinary, and Polytechnic Schools.

According to the new regulations, the Diwans had to corres-
pond with the new Majlis regarding any observations they had
to make about the schools while the Majlis had to send its
decisions to the Diwans regarding personnel and material with
which the Diwans were expected to comply.² Thus, if the
Diwan al-Jihadiyyah had some suggestion to make about the
Schools of Cavalry, Infantry or Artillery, schools which should
have been under this Diwan, it had to correspond with the Majlis,
while the Majlis, with no supplies under its control, had to
send requisitions to the Diwan al-Jihadiyyah for these very

¹ Cattani, op. cit., II, Pt. II, p. 314; Duhamel to Nesselrod, 24th May,
1837.
² Regulations, Arts. 46-47.
same schools. All the material, equipment, horses, etc., were supplied from the stores of the Ḍiwān al-Jihādīyāh, now that the schools were no longer under its authority, their requirements were not given any attention until after those of the army had been dealt with, even though it was bound to affect the efficiency of the officers posted to the Ḍiwān al-Jihādīyāh in the long run.

When the Majlis made requisitions for supplies, the Ḍiwān al-Jihādīyāh raised all sorts of objections with the result that the Majlis was rendered incapable of carrying out the reorganisation, and, if anything, the schools deteriorated more than ever. The Saint-Simonites by now, seemed to have lost a great deal of their enthusiasm, for Père Enfantin returned to France in October 1836; many of the Saint-Simonites still remained in the service of the ruler, and although Saint-Simonism still continued in Egypt, yet it no longer had the influence of the previously organised group. They had also lost Sulaimān Pasha's support owing to the fact that he was away in Syria while Adham, another supporter of the movement, had fallen into disgrace and was on the unemployed list for the greater part of 1836.

The climax of all this came while Muhammad 'Ali was on a tour in the provinces south of Cairo; the case must have been put to him while he was travelling and he had no alternative but to turn the Majlis Shūrāl-Madāris into a Diwān with the name of Ḍiwān al-Madāris as an independent administration with its own Ḍiwān staff of Nāṣir, clerks and storekeepers. Muhktār automatically became Nāṣir of the newly created Diwān.

The date of the establishment of the Diwān al-Madāris is given by Deny and Amin Sami, who both made use of the official documents at present in 'Abdin Palace, as 12th Dhūl-Hijjah, 1252-i.e., 9th March, 1837; several other writers refer

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1 Hamont, op. cit., II/202.
2 Carre, op. cit., I/968.
3 Guémaré, op. cit., p. 295, maintains that Sulaimān Pasha was entrusted with the inspection under the new arrangement; Sulaimān's promotion to Inspector-General was made in May, 1834, twenty months earlier; at the time of this organisation, he was in Syria.
4 Ta'awun, II/456, and Rāḍī, op. cit., III/135.
6 Deny, op. cit., p. 122.
7 al-Talūn, p. 179.

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to the Diwān, but as there appears to have been some confusion regarding this date, only an examination of the official documents dealing with the schools can be expected to give us the desired information.

It would appear that the lāʾīḥah (regulation) in Turkish which Muhammad 'Ali had written separating the whole of school administrative affairs from the Diwān al-Jihādīyāh and transferring them to the newly established Diwān al-Madāris was registered in Cairo on Saturday, 5th Dhūl-Ka'dah, 1252, i.e., 19th February, 1837, after it had been received from Muhammad 'Ali while he was on a tour of inspection between Bani Suef and al-Fashn. The lāʾīḥah was possibly received during the previous week and not registered until Saturday, Friday being a holiday. In another register, however, the last date on which Muhktār signs as Nāṣir Shūrāl-Madāris is the 25th Shawwāl, 1252; his next signature in the same register is at the end of the minutes of the meeting held on the 26th of the same month and here he signs as Nāṣir Diwān al-Madāris. The order given by Muhammad 'Ali establishing the Diwān may have been verbal and confirmed by his lāʾīḥah of the 5th Dhūl-Ka'dah, but since this document is missing, nothing more accurate can be given.

Two further orders were sent by Muhammad 'Ali while at al-Fashn on the 10th Dhūl-Ka'dah one to the Wāṣl of the Diwān al-Jihādīyāh, confirming the fact that the Diwān al-Madāris was now an independent administration; the other was sent to the Diwān al-Madāris; both orders refer to the sealing and comment on future decisions (khuldās) of the new Diwān.

The contents of the missing lāʾīḥah may have thrown some extra light on the development of this administrative change, but in view of the above evidence, it cannot but be concluded that the Diwān al-Madāris came into existence on the 28th Shawwāl, 1252, i.e., 6th February, 1837, the first recorded date on which Muhktār signed as its Nāṣir.

1 Dastar No. 2009, Führer Kai al-Khalīṣī, p. 33, Document No. 1. The original lāʾīḥah is missing from the archives.
2 Sūrā, 1252.
3 The last order traceable to Muhktār from Muhammad 'Ali addressed to him as Nāṣir Shūrāl-Madāris is dated 25th Shawwāl, 1252; see Ta'awun, II/400.
4 Carton (Mabūyāh) No. 1, Jihādīyāh, Document No. 7.
5 Carton No. 1, Madāris; see also Dastar No. 904, loc. cit.
6 See also Diwān Shīlāb-adīn, Cairo, 1277, pp. 71-73, poem addressed to Muhktār on his appointment; the poem ends with the chronogram 1253.
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Educational Developments under the Majlis Shurāl-Madāris

The preceding pages dealt with the years 1834-1837 which might conveniently be called the transitional period; they refer to the work of Sulaimān as Inspector-General, the intrigues which led to the creation of the Majlis Shurāl-Madāris, then the Diwān al-Madāris and the plan of organisation of the latter. A few words might be added here regarding the several changes which occurred during the transitional stage under Muḥkār, some of which have already been touched upon.

In 1251 (1835-6), Muḥammad ‘Alī opened a library which was called al-Kutubkhānah al-Khiṭābīyyah, referred to by Amin Šāmi as al-Maktabat al-Khiṭābīyyah;1 this was probably for the use of the translators. The school of languages was opened in June, 1836.2 The Maktab al-‘Ālī is also reported to have been opened in the same year, but evidence pointing to its having been in existence before that date has already been dealt with;3 Artūn had attended this school and during the period under consideration, was a member of the Majlis. It is quite probable that Muḥammad ‘Alī had asked him to find out something about similar institutions in France and that in 1836, there was some kind of reorganisation and perhaps a new name given to the school. A reference is made in the Waḥābi Miṣriyyah of the 8th July,4 1832, to a certain ‘Abdār-Raḥmān Efendi, librarian and teacher of ghismān Efendīna (i.e., Muḥammad ‘Alī’s slaves) who was to have an increase of pay. The library was kept in the Citadel and the ghismān were probably Muḥammad ‘Alī’s private attendants who were also kept in the Citadel with him and accompanied him on his travels; they were not connected with the Maktab al-‘Ālī, although some of the ghismān were probably sent there when they grew older. The maintenance of slaves as private attendants appears to have been a relic of the old system of chambrées des pages which was still in use under Muḥammad ‘Alī.5

Muḥkār was ordered on the 18th Rabī‘, 1252 (2nd August, 1836), to choose one hundred students from the Madrasat al-Tajḥīṣiyah for the purpose of learning book-keeping so that they might be dispatched to Alexandria where administrative affairs had increased considerably.6 This is an example of the ever-increasing demand for personnel for employment in the administrations, a demand which must have aggravated the difficulties of finding a sufficient supply of trained men.

In August, 1836, the School of Agriculture at Nabārūd was reorganised and transferred in part to Shubrá where it was placed under Hamūnt.7 The Nabūrūd establishment was kept on as kind of model farm; a plan of reorganisation appears to have been drawn up by Muḥkār, probably with the help of Hamūnt and Yūsuf Efendi. Muḥkār suggested that Turks should be sent to the school to learn agriculture, but Muḥammad ‘Alī turned down the idea on the ground that Turks do not like agriculture.8 An order dated 18th Jam‘ al-‘I’ī, 1252 (1st October, 1836), refers to the despatch of thirty students from the Madrasat al-Tajḥīṣiyah at Kaṣr al-‘Ainī to the Nabūrūd establishment which indicates that the school or farm was still in use for the purposes of instruction.9

At the end of Jam‘ al-‘I’ī, 1252 (October, 1836), an order was sent to the Nāṣir Shurāl-Madāris regarding the building of the Madrasat al-‘Amaliyyah or School of Arts and Crafts in the Azbakiyah quarter. The planning of it was carried out by Aḥmad Bey, Nāṣir al-‘Amiliyyah (‘Ebnīyya-maṣāḥibāt) and Hekekīyan Efendi.10 The school was not opened until a later date.

In October, 1836, the Madrasat al-Tajḥīṣiyah at Kaṣr al-‘Ainī was transferred to Abū Za‘bal and the Medical School from Abū Za‘bal to Kaṣr al-‘Ainī.11

About the same time, another order was issued appointing a French doctor as inspector over the Egyptian doctors who had been sent previously to the provincial schools in connection with the outbreak of scabies.12 The appointment was made on the recommendation of Jomard and Clot.13

In December, 1836, another scheme was drawn up for a School of Accountancy; the order was sent to a certain Zākī Efendi regarding the establishment of a Maktab Ra‘is al-Muhāsabah in which fourteen capable clerks were to have twenty pupils each. When the Bāshkātī al-Maṣāḥīḥ found out about the arrangement, he and his staff also wished to participate in the

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1 Tāḥṣīm, 11/464.
2 95, supra, pp. 150, and Tāḥṣīm, 11/470.
3 Tāḥṣīm, 11/470.
4 95, supra, p. 139.
5 No. 901, 9th Sāfār, 1248 (7th July, 1832), and Tāḥṣīm, 11/308.
6 Artūn, op. cit., pp. 69-70. Olin, Travels in Egypt, New York, 1843, Vol. I, p. 34: "The practice of educating Cairene slaves is still continued, though it is no longer the exclusive policy. A gentleman of high respectability told me that he says, only a few days previous to our visit, twenty-three boys presented for sale to the Pasha, who purchased them in his presence."
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND teaching and so eight students were given to each of his subordinates for instruction. A similar kind of arrangement was made at Alexandria where Muḥammad ʿAli had previously chosen one hundred and twenty students from the Naval School in order to learn accountancy; Šīrīk Ėf. and another official of the Diwān al-ʿAbhrīyāh were sent to inspect them and to report on their progress; the usual speed in learning is urged by Muḥammad ʿAli.  

The foregoing changes and developments point to very little change in policy but rather to the continued lack of method; it is to the next period that we must turn in order to investigate the responsibilities of the new Diwān and its efforts to carry out the elaborate plan of centralisation.

Educational Developments under the Diwān al-Madārīs, 1837-1849

The reorganisation of the School system and the creation of a separate Diwān took place between the two Syrian campaigns.

The official documents quoted above do not specify what other branches were placed under the administration of the Diwān al-Madārīs but the Kātān as-Swāṣat-Nāmah promulgated in Rabiʿ I, 1253 (June, 1837), 2 gives the following list of departments 3:

(1) The Primary, Preparatory and Special Schools.
(2) the Libraries, Laboratories and Museums;
(3) the Delta Barrage;
(4) The Bālāk Printing Press;
(5) the Waḥāʾi Miṣrīyāh or Official Journal;
(6) the Engineering Services;
(7) the Shubrā Stables;
(8) the Merino Sheep-farms.

The Delta Barrage and the Engineering Services were attached to the Diwān al-Madārīs on account of their obvious dependence on the Polytechnic School; it was this sphere of activity in which the Saint-Simonites were interested and Lambert and Linant took a leading part. The inclusion of these services

1 Takwīm, II/470.

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in the Diwān under Muḥārīr is sufficient to show that he was Nāẓir of the combined administration of Schools and Public Works; the Diwān, in fact, is often rightly called the Ministère de l'Instruction et des travaux publics by Duhamel. 1 The Department of Public Works was originally opened in 1245 (1829) 2 and, until 1837, was included in the departments administered by the Diwān al-Khāṣīwī. 3 The Shubrā Stables and Merino Sheep farms were under the management and inspection of Hamont, who was director of the Veterinary School to which these services were subsidiary; this seems to be the only reason for their inclusion in the newly created Diwān.

The Darūkhanā 4 was abolished, the older students being distributed among the various administrations both in the capital and the provinces, and the younger ones sent to the other schools. 5

If the new policy was to employ Turks and Egyptians in the schools instead of Europeans and all the schools were to be run on western lines, then much had to be done yet before a sufficient number of teachers could be trained to take over the posts. 6 As the mission students returned from Europe, they were given employment by Muḥārīr in the schools under his authority. 7 The number of students sent to Europe to study subjects that would enable them to teach was far less than the number of teachers required; counting in Nāẓirs, Waḥāls and teachers of all grades for the three types of schools, over three hundred would have been required and, excluding the number of students who had been sent to Europe for the study of industrial subjects between 1824 and 1836, there were only about seventy or eighty who could have been used as teachers. Of this number, several had been given purely administrative duties to perform and so were not eligible for teaching.

Whether at this time there was an exodus of Europeans from Egypt due to Muhammad ʿAli’s desire to replace them by his own subjects, as Hamont declares, 8 cannot be confirmed as

2 Zaghīlūl, al-Muḥānāh, p. 166; and Deny, op. cit., p. 123.
3 Deny, op. cit., p. 115. It was not made a separate Diwān until 1281 (1864-5) with the name of Diwān al-Dārūkhanā.
4 v. sufra, p. 148 sqq.
5 Zaghīlūl, op. cit., p. 178.
7 Hamont, op. cit., II/203; Cattau, ibid., p. 393.
8 Hamont, ibid., II/203-4.
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there are no names recorded of those who were replaced in this way, but, simultaneously with this supposed change of policy, we have evidence of Muhammad 'Ali's growing coolness towards the Saint-Simonists,¹ and what was still more unfortunate, the terrible plague that broke out in Cairo, so graphically described by Kinglake.² This caused the death of many Europeans,³ and made others withdraw from the capital,⁴ if not from the country altogether.

The question of the provision of qualified teachers must have been serious although it was not dealt with as such by Muhammad 'Ali's amateur administrators. References will be made to this problem in dealing with the various schools which were either created or brought under the Divān.

The New Primary Schools.

Almost the first change attempted by the Divān was the creation of the primary schools in Cairo and in the provinces. In the official regulations, they are called by the new name of musābdīyān,⁵ i.e., primary, although in practice, this name seems to have been confined to two only, that of Cairo and the other at al-Gizāh.⁶

According to the lists of provincial malākahs, for such is the name still given to them, forty-one were opened or reopened in February, 1837.⁷ The following is a complete list of them with the names of the Nāẓirs and the dates of appointment:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Nāẓir</th>
<th>Date of appointment</th>
<th>Date of removal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Abū Til</td>
<td>Sh. 'Abdul-Ḥalīm Abūl-Jaud</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Sept.-Oct. 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashmūn Gāriš</td>
<td>Sh. Darwīsh Muṣṭawā'</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Oct. 1837</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Jādahāli al-Munir</td>
<td>Nov. 1837</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Aṣyūṭ</td>
<td>Sh. Muhammad Muṣṭafā</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>July 1839</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Ahmad 'Ali</td>
<td>Aug. 1839</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banāh⁸</td>
<td>Sayyid Ahmad Ibrāhīm</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Dec. 1837</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zaḳīrūn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bāni Mazār⁹</td>
<td>Sh. Muṣṭafā as-Subkī</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Mar. 1837</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Khalīl Isā</td>
<td>April 1837</td>
<td>June 1837</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sh. Ahmad ash-Shāwī</td>
<td>July 1837</td>
<td>Sept. 1837</td>
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<th>Nāzir</th>
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<th>Date of removal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>al-Mināyā</td>
<td>Sh. Ahmad Maḥmūd</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Oct. 1838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sh. Muṣṭafā as-Subkī</td>
<td>Nov. 1838</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mit al-Īzz</td>
<td>Sh. 'Alī al-Baghdādī</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nabārūt</td>
<td>Sh. al-Ḥusayn Isā</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-Naγalah</td>
<td>Sh. 'Alī Nūḥ</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Nov. 1841</td>
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<tr>
<td>as-Sāhīl</td>
<td>Sh. 'Ashārī Farqalī</td>
<td>Aug. 1837</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
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<td>Şahrīct 1</td>
<td>Sh. Ahmad Bakr</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Mar. 1837</td>
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<td>Şanbīn</td>
<td>Sh. 'Abdār-Rahmān Yūsuf</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Mar. 1839</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shībīn al-</td>
<td>Sh. Abū-Ṭālib al-Jazzār</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Dec. 1838</td>
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<tr>
<td>Koam</td>
<td>Sh. as-Sayyid Sufyān</td>
<td>Jan. 1839</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
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<td>Shīrbīn 2</td>
<td>Sh. Muḥammad al-Kaftān</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Mar. 1837</td>
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<td>Shubrālīḥt</td>
<td>Sh. Ǧaḥīn Sālim</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Nov. 1841</td>
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<td>Şhāḥg</td>
<td>Sh. 'Alī 'Abdār-Rahmān</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
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<td>Taḥītā</td>
<td>Sh. Ahmād Yahyā</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Sept. 1841</td>
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<td>Taņţā</td>
<td>Sh. Abīn-Ṭālib al-Bārāwī</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>June 1839</td>
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<td>Sh. Yūsuf al-Ḥifnāwī</td>
<td>June 1839</td>
<td>Mar. 1840</td>
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<td>Sh. Muḥammad Shinār</td>
<td>Mar. 1840</td>
<td>Oct. 1841</td>
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<td>Ziftā</td>
<td>Sh. 'Alī Zaydān</td>
<td>Feb. 1837</td>
<td>Jan. 1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sh. Wāḥib Muṣṭafā</td>
<td>Feb. 1841</td>
<td>Sept. 1842</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five other maḥlabs were opened in April, 1837, as follows:—

- **al-'Aṣīzyāh**: Sh. 'Alī al-Ṭālīm, April 1837; Dec. 1837.
- **Sh. Ja'dah Muṣṭafā**: Jan. 1838; Sept. 1841.
- **Fūrāskir 4**: Sh. 'Alī Maṣrūq, April 1837; Dec. 1839.
- **Huľwān 5**: Sh. 'Alī Sālim al-Muṣṭafā, April 1837; Nov. 1840.
- **Kūfūr Niğm**: Sh. Muṣṭafā 'Ali, April 1837; July 1837.
- **Sh. Yūsuf al-Ḥifnāwī**: Aug. 1837; Feb. 1839.
- **Kūfūr Niğm**: Mar. 1839; Sept. 1841.
- **az-Zākāzīk**: Sh. Muḥammad 'Abdār-Rahmān, April 1837; Oct. 1841.

**Damanāḥ maḥlab** was opened in May, 1837, with Sh. al-Ḥājj Ahmad 'Aṣāir as Nāzīr, but the school was transferred to ar-Rahmānīyah in June of the same year with Sh. Khālīf al-Khwānīk as Nāzīr, until October, 1844; another maḥlab was opened at Sākīyāh Mūsā in November, 1838, with Sh. Ahmad Maḥmūd as Nāzīr until December, 1840, and Sh. Jālahā Ismā'īl from January, 1841, until September, 1841.

The most important observation to make on this list is the

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1 Transferred to Mit Ghannar.
2 Closed March, 1837.
3 Closed January, 1840.
4 Taṣelām, II/494.
5 Taṣelām, II/482.
6 Smīt, ibid., p. 34, gives the month of February instead of May. This school was transferred to al-Rahmānīyah.
7 Smīt, ibid., p. 34, and Taṣelām, II/496.
8 Smīt, ibid., p. 49, and Taṣelām, II/493.

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Employment of Azhari sheikhs as Nāzīrs of nearly every school; it is also possible that Ibrāhīm Jārakh of Manfūlūt and Muṣṭafā as-Ziyād of Mānūf were sheikhs and their titles have been carelessly dropped by the compilers of the lists used as the authority. The names of the other teachers that were supposed to have been allotted to each school are unknown, but they, too, were most probably sheikhs.

The fact that the Diwān had to fall back on the Azhari in order to find teachers for the new schools is of importance for several reasons. The employment of this type of man suggests in itself that no improvement or change on the old kutṭāb system could be expected unless, of course, these sheikhs were to be given some kind of training that would enable them to undertake a programme of primary studies consistent with the new system; no evidence is available that they were given such training.

The employment of the Azhari sheikh indirectly affected the linguistic medium of teaching. They were only qualified to teach Arabic according to their own rigid principles; no new method was yet thought out for the teaching of Arabic; and their employment definitely fixed for all time that the teaching of Arabic, for better or for worse, was to remain the prerogative of the Azhari.

The only way in which to find out something of the work done at these schools is to turn to contemporary writers, although very few have any account of their activities. Hamont's criticism of the system is probably the most valuable. Bowring visited four of these primary schools, Huľwān, Gīrā, Isnā and Kenān; at Huľwān, he found ninety-seven students, at Gīrā, about a hundred, at Isnā, there were ninety-six and at Kenān, one hundred and forty-five. The Nāzīrs stated that the students attended willingly, or were sent willingly by the fallāḥān, and that, in the case of Huľwān, if accommodation had been available, there would have been more students.

The students were better clad than the rest of the inhabitants of the places visited. A two-storey school building at Huľwān was already in existence, with unplanked floors, dark and badly ventilated rooms, but, with all that, more comfortable than the mud huts of the people. Bowring states that forty-seven special school buildings were either built or about to be built.

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1 Hamont, op. cit., II/319–320, discusses the quality of these primary teachers in very disparaging terms.
2 Hamont, ibid., II/319–322.
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Everything was provided by the government, food, light, clothing and money; the boys received six piastres, eight piastres and ten piastres a month, according to the class they belonged to; at Čenā, they received eight, ten and twelve piastres respectively. The Nāṣir at Hulwān received one hundred piastres a month, at Čenā, he received seventy-five; at Hulwān, there were two teachers who received seventy-five piastres each a month, at Čenā, there were three who received forty. The clerk at Čenā was paid fifty piastres a month. The Nāṣir received captain’s rations, the teachers, lieutenant’s. The boys were allowed two shirts, one upper garment and one pair of shoes a year.

The instruction given was limited to reading and writing, the Korān being the book universally used for instruction. At Girgā, Bowring examined the students and "found that they read and wrote Arabic tolerably well"; Bowring says nothing about the nature of his test, nor do we know what were his qualifications as an examiner in Arabic. The students used tin plates as slates, the writing on which could be washed off. Bowring states that "the mode of teaching is the same as is adopted throughout the Ottoman empire. While the lesson is given, the master’s head is in a state of perpetual vibration backwards and forwards, in which he is imitated by all the children." There was a total lack of elementary books which Bowring recognised as a "great defect" and, "until they are provided, the means afforded by the state must fail of producing the end in view." Bowring makes no observations on how arithmetic was taught although he includes it in the curriculum.1 Rochfort Scott also visited the Čenā school, but, beyond stating that education "extends only to reading and writing in Arabic and arithmetic," has no other criticism to offer than that "an almost insuperable objection to a finished education in any Mohammedan state is the early age at which marriages are contracted" which can throw very little light on our immediate problems. Poujolat in April, 1838,2 states that the Korān was taught in all the primary schools.

These descriptions of the provincial schools point only to the fact that the Divān al-Madāris had not succeeded in changing the old system a great deal. The new schools were still Korān schools; the only essential difference was that instead of being

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maintained by the wakfs or charitable institutions, they were maintained from Muḥammad ‘Ali’s budget.

One point, however, remains to be cleared up. Bowring states that the students of the four schools he visited attended willingly; Madden1 states that the students were "forced to school"; Olin2 states that the Egyptians were repugnant to the school system and, quoting a Frenchman,3 reports that the students were brought to school by force and only learnt by compulsion. Bowring brings out the fact elsewhere that compulsion was used in the system; he states that "the machinery...is wholly coercive, for the system of compulsion stands even to education. A certain number of children are required to be furnished by the different districts, and those are sent to the public schools to be fed, clothed, lodged, and instructed at the government expense. If often happens that the number taken exceeds the amount exacted. In some districts there is an overflowing in the schools from voluntary attendance. In one instance, where one hundred was the number provided for, I found one hundred and thirty under the school roof. As the wants of the children are provided for, their parents sometimes consent to send them to school; though in many cases much repugnance is felt lest the children should be detained as soldiers."4 This seems to state the case fairly clearly but reference should be made to an official order dated 14th Muharram, 1254 (8th April, 1838), i.e., some fourteen months after the primary schools had been opened. The order, which is addressed to the Mudirs of the provinces of Upper Egypt, is to the effect that the complement of students of the schools had not yet been made up and that the exigencies of the service (lawāzim al-maṣlaḥah) demanded their full complement according to the arrangements already made.5 Approximately a year later, 20th Muharram, 1255 (5th April, 1839), we have another order addressed to the Wakil of the Divān al-Madāris regarding a memorandum drawn up by the Wakil dated 27th Dhu’l-Hijjah, 1254 (8th March, 1839), which informed the ruler that 957 students were required to make up the full complement of the provincial makābūs; Muḥammad ‘Ali then ordered the mudirs to "collect" the required number from the various districts; they were to be fit and between the ages of seven and twelve.6

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1 Ib., p. 126.
2 Rochfort Scott, op. cit., II/285.
3 Poujolat, op. cit., II/317.
4 214
5 Ibid., I/373.
6 Ib., II/490.
7 Taḥkīmat, II/490.
9 Ibid., p. 135.
10 Ibid., II/494.