The study of education and

The deficiencies referred to in these two orders may have been, of course, the outcome of the constant drain by the Preparatory and Special Schools; the "conscription" in the provinces could not keep up with the demand from the capital. Muhammad 'Ali was, at this time, involved in his last campaign in Syria and the demand for men was probably excessive.

The regulations stipulated that there should be four primary schools in Cairo, but, according to Bowring, the four schools were united into one establishment at al-Khanqah where there were eight hundred students. This school was opened in June, 1837, but was transferred to as-Sayyidah Zainab in January, 1839; the names of the NAzirs of the school were as follows:

while at al-Khanqah Mahmud Ef., June, 1837 to December, 1837 Abdal-Kadir Ef., January, 1838 to January, 1839

at as-Sayyidah Zainab Abdal-Kadir Ef., January, 1839 to July, 1850.

An efendi was placed in charge owing to the size of the establishment and possibly for better control.

There is no record of any other primary school in Cairo nor in Alexandria, where it was stipulated that one should be set up; but the Naval School probably served the purpose of both Primary and Preparatory Schools.

The table on p. 217 shows the number of teachers and administrative staff and students in 1255 (1839-1840) according to the budget of that year.

The list shows forty-seven schools (counting Cairo as four and each of Ashmun Garis, Farsakh, al-Mansurah, Mit Ghamr, and al-Minya as two as other schools had been attached to them), i.e., three short of the stipulated fifty; there were 559 pupils short of the required number of 3,500. Although Cairo shows 506 pupils short of its full complement of 800, yet Asyut, Bani Suef, Bish, Kalyub, Manfalut and Sohag are well above the regulation number; allowing ten per cent. for normal absence, only eight schools are below ninety; the average monthly cost of each student was P.T. 15.24 (about 38 zd.).

---

1 Ibid., p. 127.
2 Sallal, AL-Ta'lim, app. III, p. 44; Arion, op. cit., p. 180; TA'KWIN, II: 486.
3 Sallal, loc. cit.; Arion, ibid., p. 180, and TA'KWIN, II: 494.
4 Nadim, AL-UNSHUB, Year 1, 31st Part, 31st March, 1893, p. 731 sqq.

210

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Administrative Staff</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Monthly cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abū Tīg</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>13 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashmun Garis (with)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>27 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asyūt</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>25 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-'Aziziyah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bani Suef</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>27 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīlás</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>14 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bīsh</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>35 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fāraskūr</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>25 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fūh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>14 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Ga'farīyah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>15 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gīrgā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Gizāh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>14 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥulwān</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥayyār</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>14 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikhmūn</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>11 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isnā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>14 09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kālyūb</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>24 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmūlah</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>13 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šnā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>16 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufūr Nīgān</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>14 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Māhālāl al-Kūbrā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manfalūt</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>21 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mānsūrāh</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>28 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mit Ghamr</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>27 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Minya</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>25 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mit al-Izz</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>15 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahābū</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>14 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-Nagālāh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>14 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar-Rāhāmānīyāh</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>14 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as-Sābi'ī</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>12 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīkīyāh Mūsā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>13 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shībīn al-Kaum</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>15 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shunbrākhīt (not given)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohāg</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>21 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taḥtā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>14 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanṭā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>17 02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>az-Zākāzīk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>14 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zīftā</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>15 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>4537</td>
<td>665 954</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

as-Sayyidah Zainab

(Cairo)          | 12       | 59                   | 434      | 91 68        |

Total            | 149      | 601                  | 4071     | 757 63       |

1 and 4 Both figures are taken from the list given by Nadim; they appear to be wrong, however, probably owing to printer's errors.
2 Nadim's list contains a printer's error—93 instead of 14.
3 Nadim's lists contain several inaccuracies which have been amended here.

217
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

The Preparatory School

The name given to this type of school was al-Tajhiziyyah, i.e., preparatory; there appears to have been one in Cairo, but none in Alexandria, although it was laid down in the Divan Regulations that there should be one in Alexandria, one third of the size of that of Cairo. The Preparatory School at Cairo existed long before the reorganisation of the school system; its transfer from Kasr al-'Ami to Abn Za'bal in October, 1836, under Ibrahim Ra'fat has already been mentioned.1

According to Hamont, the school contained from 1200 to 1500 students,2 but the statistics available for the year 1865 (1839-40) give 606 only.3 This school drew on the Primary Schools, but it also had to provide students for the other Special Schools which accommodated 2,111 pupils in 1255.4

No report or evidence is available for this school during the period under examination, but the most obvious defect was the ambitious four to five year syllabus for students who had only a kullab training. In such a short period the Preparatory School could hardly furnish very promising material for the Special Schools.

The Special Schools

The regulations provided for seven special schools (v. supra), but several attempts were made to set up others.

In February, 1837, a School of Accountancy was opened at as-Sayyidah Zainab, but it was closed down in September, 1837; Salim Ef. was the Nazir in charge of it.6

A School of Arts and Crafts (Mudrasat al-'Amaliyyah) was opened in March, 1839,7 under Hekekyan Efendi; in 1839-40, there were only four teachers and twenty-nine students, but this school was to develop later under the able Hekekyan and will be referred to in a subsequent chapter.

In 1840, a School of Administrative Law was opened under M. Solon; he was given five students and at the end of the first year's study, Muhammad 'Ali appointed the best of them to be manager of a laundry.8

1 Supra, p. 118 and p. 207.
2 Hamont, op. cit., II/372; also Poujoulat, op. cit., II/511.
3 Nadim, op. cit., p. 729.
4 Ibid., pp. 733-34.
5 Ibid., ibid., p. 46.
6 Nadim, p. 207.
7 School of, op. cit., II/318; Gisquet, op. cit., I/189 and II/83.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

The School of Music was still in existence although no reference is made to it in the regulations as one of the Special Schools.

The Naval School was also still in use at Alexandria although very little is heard of it during this period except for occasional drafts of students from it to form Schools of Accountancy (v. supra, p. 208).

The following table shows the number of teachers, administrative staff and students in the Preparatory, Agricultural and Special Schools in 1255 (1839-40).1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Administrative Staff</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Monthly cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preparatory</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>307 PT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture (Nabroh)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>50 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>148 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infantry (Damieta)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>304 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>66 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>356 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterinary and Agriculture</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>233 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artillery</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>238 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavalry</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>570 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts and Crafts</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>22 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>214 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>140</strong></td>
<td><strong>1152</strong></td>
<td><strong>2762</strong></td>
<td><strong>2570 48</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above list shows that the average monthly cost of each student was PT. 93.145 (about 19.64), and that there were approximately twenty students to one teacher. The Naval School is not included in these statistics, its expenditure probably came under the budget of the Divan al-Bahriyyah.

It is impossible to give the number of European teachers in these schools, or the number of natives; most of the schools had a sprinkling of Europeans for Muhammad 'Ali continued to complain about the cost of them.2 Natives were appointed where possible, for example, there is evidence of the appointment of 'Abdar-Kazi Kind. Abi's-Su'ud Ef., Mahfud Ef., and Muhammad Ef. Mustafa as teachers in the School of Languages with the rank

1 Nadim, op. cit., pp. 723-3; Sãmi, op. cit., p. 10. The latter gives the Budget figures for 1839 and the annual expenses for 31 Primary, "Secondary," and Special Schools; he does not name the Primary School and apparently uses the term "secondary" for the Preparatory Schools although this term did not come into use until much later. Poujoulat (op. cit., II/310-322) gives some figures for the Special Schools during this period, but they do not agree with those given above.
2 Olin, op. cit., II/313.

219
The Study of Education and
of Mulāṣim. The above lists of mission students give the names of the schools to which some of them were posted.

There is an interesting order in the Taẖwīl regarding the appointment of the Egyptian medical students who had returned from Europe. Apparently it was suggested that they should become teachers in the Māristān, where some attempt had been made to set up a Medical Preparatory School; but Clot Bey opposed this idea and caused Muḥammad 'All to close the Māristān altogether. From the text of the order, it would appear that it had been decided to appoint the Egyptians as professors of medicine and the other allied subjects, and to nominate the European staff as inspectors, the idea being that the Egyptians would be in a better position to impart the knowledge of medicine in Arabic without the aid of the services of interpreters. Clot Bey opposed this plan also, on the ground that the students had not finished their courses in Europe, and proposed that they should be appointed as assistants to the Europeans, to which plan Muḥammad 'All appears to have agreed.

The following details are given by Poujoulat whose account is the fullest for this period. Perron was now on the staff of the Medical School, having arrived in Egypt, in 1838; he taught chemistry and physics and was assisted by one of the mission students who had translated medical and scientific works into Arabic. Poujoulat gives the number of students as 300 and states that the religious heads were still against the study of anatomy.

The Polytechnic had 225 students, 22 in one section, 36 in another and 157 in the third; the school provided 75 students every year for the artillery, naval, roads and bridges, and mining services. There were five native teachers on the staff who had been educated in Europe.

The School of Languages had 150 students; Poujoulat reports that they made good progress in French. The Artillery School had 300 students; the Cavalry School, which had received so much praise, now admitted many Egyptian students who were allowed to be promoted to the rank of battalion commander (chef de bataillon). The Infantry at School Damietta had 400 students who, according to Poujoulat, had come from the Primary Schools; 127 officers graduated from this school in 1837, and 48 in 1838.

Education Missions to Europe, 1837-1843

During this period, Muḥammad 'All still continued to send students to Europe, but the source of information regarding numbers and names is less reliable as it emanates from an-Nadim, who, although he does not quote his authority, used official records which have since been lost. His information has been accepted by Sāmī and Ṭūsūn who both used official registers and documents; the only conclusion that can be arrived at is that the registers and documents were borrowed during a period when less care was given to the valuable archives which were then preserved in the Citadel, and at a time when the value of such archives was not fully appreciated.

It must be remembered, however, that the period, 1837-1843, was a particularly troublesome one. From 1837 to 1841, Muḥammad 'All was in conflict with the Sublime Porte and became involved with the European Powers; from 1841 to 1843, there was a period of retrenchment and reaction, and, comparatively speaking, only a few students were sent to Europe. Their names may be scattered over a large number of registers, the perusal of which has been made more difficult by the somewhat careless method of preservation.

An-Nadim gives the number of Mission students sent as thirteen in 1836, and twenty-seven during the period, 1837-1841, i.e., forty in all; he also gives the amount spent on these students, but the financial details of Muḥammad 'All's educational policy will be dealt with elsewhere. An-Nadim does not give any names, but Ṭūsūn has been most painstaking in endeavouring to trace them.

Four of the forty have already been given above, viz., those who were sent to England to learn coal-mining; there remain thirty-six others, eleven of whom were artisans sent to England with Adham in order to learn silk-weaving in November, 1837.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
An interesting sidelight is thrown on the character of both Muhammad 'Ali and Adham in connection with this mission. Adham had been sent in order to make a tour of English factories to acquire some practical knowledge which he might apply to Muhammad 'Ali's factory system in Egypt. Adham, on arriving in England, adopted the clothes and customs of English people. No Egyptian or Turk had dared to do this previously, and when Muhammad 'Ali heard about it, he lost his temper, had Adham brought back in disgrace and severely reprimanded him, stating that he had been sent to England, not to adapt himself to English habits and customs, but to learn how to manage factories. 'Abbás interceded on his behalf, whereupon Muhammad 'Ali pardoned him and made him Nāẓir of the Diwān al-Madāris.¹

At the time of Adham's departure, he was director of the arsenal and munition factories, and he kept this post even after he had been given the Diwān al-Madāris.

Of the thirty-six students sent during this period, the following names have been traced:

<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</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Ali al-Baqli</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ubaid</td>
<td></td>
<td>Subjects</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-13—eleven silk-weavers sent to England in Adham's company whose names are unknown.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-26—names and subjects unknown.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This period brings the total number of students sent to Europe between 1809 and 1843 to 216.

Biographical Remarks:

1.—Brother of Muhammad 'Ali al-Baqli, the medical man; had studied in Muhammad 'Ali's schools before he was sent to Europe and became a teacher at the Medical School and the Engineering School; he had already been promoted to Sākhāb Aghā before going to France. He had studied Botany and his contribution to the formation of the technical vocabulary was of great importance for he helped Sh. Muhammad 'Umar at-Tūmās in the preparation of the great work entitled, Kitāb as-Sinā'ār al-Mu’jam fi al-Tibb (p. 4 of copy in my possession). On his return to Egypt, he was appointed Shāshān (minister) he freed the ball-mark in Egypt for jewelry, gold and silver; he was made Nāẓir of the mint in the Citadel and Chief Mint-Assayer to the Government; died 1893. The Baqli family was very poor as we have seen with his brother who used to allow his mother a part of his salary while he was in France. Ḥasanain provides a good illustration of how this new class of official became rich; when he died, he had 130 faḍlān of land at Tanta-Marg (between Mit Ghamr and al-Sin-balqain) and thirty-three at Zawiya al-Baqli; he had a house at Kantarāt 'Umar which was bought by Sh. Hasan an-Nawāwī from his heirs. Besides Ṭārīkh, see also al-Kāfī of Muharak, Vol. XI, p. 89; Muharak gives his death date as 1894, his own relations as 1895.

2. Born at Tahtā, friend of ar-Rif'ā'ah; became Mutasalī in the army. He was sent on an important military mission by Imam al-Pasha to France in 1863 in order to bring about reforms in the Egyptian Army. Later on, he was selected for the Egyptian judicature. He wrote three useful military works and a translation of the History of Peter the Great.

carrier in his employ beaten to death by the kürbāğ 1; this happened in December, 1837 and after that date, he does not appear to have been re-employed. Artin reports that he was Nāṣir until November, 1838, and that he died in 1838 2; Ṭūsūn gives his death-date as 1839. 3 Several contemporaries testify to the fact that he was a drunkard. 4 The Taḥwīm gives the text of an order from Muḥammad ‘Alli dated the end of Ṣāḥibān, 1254 (October, 1838), to the effect that he was deprived of the Nāṣirship of the Dīwān al-Madāris 5 so that officially he was Nāṣir of that Dīwān for nineteen months; the date given by Artin does not agree with that of the Taḥwīm. No mention is made in the Taḥwīm of Muḥtār’s imprisonment; it looks as though Muḥammad ‘Alli did punish him in 1837 as stated in the Russian archives, but that he was not dismissed until Muḥammad ‘Alli realised that he was no longer fit for service.

Muḥammad ‘Alli did not appoint a new Nāṣir immediately; the Wākīl of the Dīwān carried on the duties of director for we have already quoted an order from Muḥammad ‘Alli to him dated 20th Muharram, 1255 (5th April, 1839). 6 Adham Bey was the next Nāṣir; Artin gives his date of appointment as 17th May, 1839, 7 the Taḥwīm gives 3rd Rabī‘ I, 1255 (17th May, 1839). 8 This appointment indicates that the Dīwān was without a Nāṣir for about eight months, and Hamont reports that the duties of Wākīl were performed, firstly, by Colonel Sa[l]îm Bey, then by Colonel Ahmad Bey. 9 Hamont states that Adham was nominated to the post of Nāṣir of the Dīwān al-Madāris while he was in England, 10 but the official sources show that he was ordered to return from England to be reprimanded and was not given the post until afterwards. 11

Adham was a gifted and progressive man; his talents were recognised by all and his services were in great demand in all

1 Cattau, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 7; Lavison to Ruckman, 17th December, 1837.
2 Artin, op. cit., p. 169; C. Ralif, op. cit., III/329.
3 Ṭūsūn, op. cit., p. 36.
4 Marzin, Événements et aventures en Égypte en 1839, Paris, 1840, I/38; Puckler-Muskau, op. cit., I/391; Hamont, op. cit., II/226, who states that he "s’ennuie souvent, et cette habitude qu’il a contractée en France, lui ôte parfois la raison." Mukhtar’s dossier appears to be missing from the official archives in Cairo.
5 Taḥwīm, II/492.
6 v. supra, p. 215, and Taḥwīm, II/494 and II/496.
7 C. Ralif, op. cit., p. 169.
8 Taḥwīm, II/495-6.
9 Hamont, op. cit., II/327.
11 v. supra, p. 322.

224

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

departments. It seems to have been the tendency, probably owing to the lack of first class men with initiative, to overwork the few who were really capable. In addition to his duties as Inspector-General of the factories, workshops and arsenals, he seems to have been consulted by everybody. 1

These various duties prevented Adham from attending at the Dīwān al-Madāris; Ahmad Bey, the Wākīl, carried on the administration with the help of the permanent members of the Dīwān who had, by now, divided the administration into several departments, each with its chief. One dealt with personnel another with supplies and a third with the treasury. Correspondence was dealt with by Ahmad Bey and the chief clerk who distributed it to the departments concerned; when a department had answered a letter or request, it was then passed back to the Wākīl for signature, and it often happened that the Wākīl signed a document without knowing what the letter referred to. 2

Hamont compares the administration of the Schools under the Dīwān al-Jihādīyah with that of the Madāris. 3 Under the Jihādīyah, in spite of the obstacles, intrigues and opposition, the schools seem to have been better organised and to have received their supplies and the students their allowances with a certain regularity; the discipline was severe but much more in keeping with the type of student and employee. 4 Under the Madāris, in spite of the elaborate regulations, the organisation was inferior. The delegates sent by the Dīwān to the schools were far too easy-going. 5 Supplies to the schools were not made until after long investigations, the schools had to suffer through these long delays and the students could not work without stationery and books. The students’ rations and allowances were cut down, they were badly fed and badly clothed; the schools’ stores were empty for the most part and the students, not finding enough to eat, were obliged to get what they wanted on credit from the tradesmen outside the schools, who, in turn, claimed payment for their bills at the Dīwān. The bills were settled from the allowances

1 Hamont, op. cit., II/328. "... il semblait qu’aucune affaire importante ne pouvait être examinée sans la présence du Général Ethem-Bey."
2 Hamont, op. cit., II/332.
3 Hamont, op. cit., II/332-334.
5 Ibid., II/336. "Le délégué du ministre se rendait aux écoles pour s’envoyer chez les directeurs." 225
made to the students who found themselves in straitened circumstances, for they had to pay also for the books and the instruments they used at school. 1

Discipline seems to have been completely undermined. The directors of the schools lost their authority over the junior employees, while the students and even the servants denounced their superiors to the Diwān without recourse to an intermediary, a practice which was encouraged as by this method, the administration imagined that it was being kept well-informed of all that was going on. Under the Jihādiyyah, the system was impeded by the intrigues of the directors, under the Madārīs, the intrigues included, not only the directors, but the whole of the personnel, from the meanest scullion to the Wali himself. 2

Instruction did not improve as it might have done for the Diwān officials opposed any progress 3; orders for books were turned down and also the suggestion that each school should have its own library.

The administration itself was no model to the schools under its jurisdiction; a multitude of inefficient clerks vied with one another in producing the greatest amount of noise; none of them knew exactly what his duties were; registers were in disorder and if any person had any business with the Diwān, he was sent from department to department without achieving any result.

The principal accountants of the Diwān schools were appointed by the chief clerk of the administration who sold the vacancies to the highest bidders. 4 Deficiencies in the accounts were put right for a consideration and graduates from schools had to agree to pay a certain sum to the Director of Personnel before they could be posted with a grade, while the Director, in turn, shared the proceeds with the Wali. 5 The latter cared little for the welfare of the schools; instructions issued one day were in complete contradiction to those of the previous day. 6

The men who did not conform to this system were subjected

1 Ibid., II/329–330.
3 Ibid., II/331. “Les fonctionnaires qui dirigeaient le ministère s’opposaient aux progrès, ils n’en voulaient pas, afin d’être seuls en Égypte, des hommes instruits.”
4 Ibid., II/332.
5 Ibid., II/333.
6 Ibid., II/332–3.

225

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

to all sorts of tyrannies; the satisfactory performance of one’s duties did not necessarily ensure immunity from bad treatment, generally the contrary was the case. 5 It was bad policy for a conscientious Nāẓir of a school to punish a clerk, for example; the latter would take his revenge by reporting to the Diwān distorted facts about the school accounts which would be followed by an investigation and almost certain dismissal, to make room for a favourite of one of the senior officials in the Diwān.

The materials and supplies of a school were under the responsibility of the school storekeeper who kept the keys, but any deterioration or loss was recovered from the salary of the unfortunate director. 6

The Diwān al-Madārīs had not the dignity of the other administrations; it was probably through the bad reputation of Mulkār and the personal habits of its members that the Diwān al-Madārīs was not respected by the rest of the Diwāns, and also on account of its employing many of the men who had been educated abroad who were looked upon with suspicion and dislike by the older school. The Schools Administration had such a bad name that it became the saying for any piece of work done badly that it was done comme à l’instruction publique. 2

If such was the atmosphere of the Diwān al-Madārīs, what can be expected of the students? The Egyptian student, while young, has a great facility for learning, especially by memory. During this period, he spent his early years in a maktab learning the Korān by heart, or at least, a part of it, which was of little value as a preparation for the Preparatory and Special schools. The subjects that had to be studied were different from anything that had ever been attempted before. There is no evidence that the teaching methods of the shai‘kh-teacher were ever considered applicable to the new learning, nor does it appear that the teaching methods of the new school were taken seriously. The outcome of this was that the students still kept to their old method of learning by memory (hifž); they looked upon their school learning purely from the vocational point of view, i.e., subsequent employment in the government services. Once a post was secured, the student not only forgot everything he had learnt so superficially but never turned a thought towards study, he disposed of his school

1 Ibid., II/333.
2 Ibid., II/334.
3 Ibid., II/335.
4 Ibid., II/336.
5 Loc. cit.
6 Ibid., II/338.
7 Ibid., II/339.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

books and gave himself up to the pleasures of life. The military discipline that the student had been subjected to during his school-days counted for nothing once he left school for he simply reverted to his national habits.

In order to counteract the evil effects of the intellectual inactivity to which the students reverted, a resolution was made, probably suggested to Muhammad 'Ali by some European, to the effect that the graduates to whom employment had been given, should present themselves periodically in order to be re-examined in their school subjects, their promotions depending upon the results of these examinations. It was hoped that this system would maintain some intellectual standard but, as can be imagined, the employees to be examined revised their books a fortnight before the date of the examination which, once over, was soon forgotten. The problem was more deep-rooted than the mere maintenance of an intellectual standard. The system employed by Muhammad 'Ali aimed at a complete change in the life of the people, but the methods employed were destructive of the old habits without giving them any new ones. If it was expected that the products of Muhammad 'Ali's schools were to take up new intellectual pursuits compatible with his western institutions, then it was only natural that disappointment should follow. The books printed and circulated by the Bālāk Press were unsuitable for general reading; the education given in the schools was superficial; the haste employed throughout did not give the students a chance to let it take root. The result was that out of school, it was found useless, and those who happened to be intellectually inclined could only fall back on the old literary habits of the people which have been discussed in the first part of this work; few knew European languages well enough to enjoy their literature. The element of compulsion used by Muhammad 'Ali could hardly have produced spontaneity in the pursuit of culture.

Already by 1840, several of the professional schools had been in existence sometime; did the native population make use of the services of Egyptian doctors and veterinary surgeons of their own free will? The barber and shoeing-smith were still preferred.

Do we ever hear of an Egyptian doctor opening up a private practice during these early years? The Egyptian had learnt to depend upon the firm hand of Muhammad 'Ali to send him

1 Hamont, op. cit., II/335. 2 Hamont, op. cit., II/335-6. 3ibid., II/335.

THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND
1849-1854. The following facts will show that very few schools were open when Abbâs took over the reins of government and what few did exist were not worth keeping on.

Schoelcher, who was in Egypt in 1844,1 tells us that "les écoles n'étaient pour M'hémêet-Ali que des instruments de guerre ; il y renonce aujourd'hui que son rôle d'agresseur est fini, et qu'il a dû perdre l'espérance de conquérir le trône du Sultan. Il n'a plus besoin d'armée, il ne veut plus d'école."2

But let us trace events from the end of the war in the year 1841 to the time of Schoelcher's writing.

With the signature of the peace treaty, it became obvious that a period of economic retrenchment had to follow. In the year 1841 (the exact month cannot be given, but it must have been between the months of July and October), Ibrâhîm, Abbâs and Sharîf Pashas met in the Citadel and worked out together a new scheme for the schools and presented it to Muḥammad 'Ali for signature;3 they gave him to understand that it was a plan for the introduction of some economy. According to Hamont, this plan abolished the Primary, Preparatory and Special Schools;4 he mentions in particular the closing of the Schools of Agriculture and Music and that the number of teachers and students was diminished in the schools that were still kept on and that Europeans were dismissed and their posts given to Egyptians and Turks.5

Ibrâhîm Pasha was the author of this plan of reorganisation,6 in other words, the leader of the reactionary policy, or was he simply urging his father to adopt a more reasonable policy compatible with the new requirements?

If, indeed, Ibrâhîm Pasha was leading the reactionaries, he did not do so without rousing the feelings of both Sulaimân Pasha and Adham Bey who represented the most progressive elements in the country.7 Sulaimân was a Frenchman and Adham a Turk, each of whom had made his career and a name through Muḥammad 'Ali's expansionist policy. It was only natural that men of such calibre were not going to accept

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT
Ibrâhîm's plans without some demur, especially in view of the fact that personal feelings had entered into it as both Ibrâhîm and Sharîf disliked Sulaimân.1

There was another important aspect to be considered regarding the sudden closing of the schools. Muḥammad 'Ali had always had in mind that the fact that he was posing as the enlightened leader taking up the cause of education in his domains would have a favourable reaction in Europe. French propaganda work had done much to further this point of view. Adham Bey had an interview with Muḥammad 'Ali and insisted on this aspect of the situation, hoping to get Muḥammad 'Ali to change his mind; he was told to confer with Sulaimân Pasha and that they were to endeavour to introduce some modifications into Ibrâhîm's plans.2 Their position was very delicate for Ibrâhîm was their superior and a man of very firm resolution. Both Sulaimân and Adham wanted to modify the plans and to maintain Muḥammad 'Ali's school, but up to January, 1842, they seem to have had very little success for Ibrâhîm Pasha soon had a very large following in favour of the plan and in opposition to Sulaimân and Adham.3

Such is Hamont's account; it is worth while investigating the sequence of events to find out to what extent Muḥammad 'Ali did agree to Ibrâhîm Pasha's plan, especially in view of the fact that Hamont's account of Muḥammad 'Ali and Egypt has not yet been given the place it deserves.

Hamont states that up to January, 1842, nothing had been done to modify Ibrâhîm's plan; he also stated that Ibrâhîm, 'Abbâs and Sharîf met some time after the signing of the treaty and drew up their plan of reorganisation. In turning to the unpublished papers of Hekekyân,4 we read for the 10th Ramadân, 1257 (1st November, 1841), "Yesterday, I assisted in grand council composed of Soleyman Pasha, Adham Bey, Kiany Bey, Ahmad Bey, Bruneau, Clot Bey, Lambert, Linant, Figari and the Directors of the Schools, Varin being also present. The orders of the Pasha were that the schools should be organised so as to economize 50 per cent. of their former annual expenses. H. H. not approved of the hasty and barbarous measures of Shereef Pasha and his Diwan. Arty Bey who was present on the part of the Pasha could not then inform us of the number

---

1 Carré, op. cit., 1/590.
4 Hamont, op. cit., II/514.
5 Ibid., II/514-5.
6 Ibid., II/515.
8 Hamont, op. cit., II/515.
9 Ibid., p. 516.
10 Vol. II, period 1844-44, folios 5-6.
of troops the Government would wish to fill up the deficiencies with better instructed officers so that we were deprived of a foundation to build on. Wasil proposed certain reductions in the Cavalry School." He further refers to the dismissal of Europeans in a general way without giving any names.

This entry by Heckekyan, who was a member of the Council, and apparently in sympathy with Sulaiman and Adham, confirms Hamont's statement that the proposal for the abolition of the schools did not emanate from Muhammad 'Ali and that Sharif Pasha was implicated in this new move.1

Sharif Pasha was Nāṣir of the Finance Department at the time and is reputed to have been a good business man; Ibrāhim's capacity for looking after his own private finances is well known as also is the case with 'Abbās. The consideration that the three Pashas had in mind may have been purely financial; they probably wished to make the maximum economies and now that the army had been disbanded, they probably felt justified in abolishing the schools, and in keeping up establishments that would just produce sufficient officers for the new standing army. Heckekyan's statement shows plainly that the needs of the army were to decide how many students were required in the schools.

We have so far only used Hamont and Heckekyan but official sources prove that Ibrāhim's will to close the schools was obeyed. The Council meeting attended by Heckekyan took place in November, 1841; at this meeting, it was decided to reduce the budget of the schools by fifty per cent. This decision could have affected only some dozen schools as already most of the schools had been closed. The Primary Schools appear to have been the first to suffer; sixteen of the primary schools had been closed or transferred before the signing of the treaty; the following is a complete list with dates:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Last appointment of Nāṣir</th>
<th>Closed</th>
<th>Transferred</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Banī Mazār</td>
<td>Sept. 1837</td>
<td>Sept. 1837</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dāmanūr</td>
<td>Dec. 1839</td>
<td>May 1837</td>
<td>ar-Raḥmāniyyah,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Fārsūr</td>
<td>Mar. 1838</td>
<td>April 1838</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Sharif had been Governor of Syria. He was a nephew of Muhammad 'Ali; Guesnair gives a short account of him, e. op. cit., pp. 262-3, note 66.

These twenty-seven schools were without Nāṣirs from September, 1841. The following schools were closed in November, 1841:—
44 Ibyār, 45 Manfalūt, 46 an-Nagahil, 47 Shubrākhit, 48 Tantā.

The above lists show that only three Primary Schools were kept open after November, 1841, that of ar-Raḥmāniyyah, which was closed in October, 1844, of as-Sayyidah Zainab (Cairo), which was closed in August, 1850, and of al-Gīzah, which was transferred to Abū Zayd in September, 1844, and then closed in November, 1849.5

The position of the Preparatory and Special Schools was

1 Satt, al-Ta'ātim, app. III, pp. 34-44.
2 Loc. cit.
3 Loc. cit.
4 v. infra p. 292.
5 v. infra p. 292. The order from Muhammad 'Ali closing these Primary Schools and other Schools in Cairo is dated 24th Shabān, 1237 (11th October, 1841); see Register No. 2072, page 4, 'Abdin Archives.
also considerably affected by this change of policy; the Cairo Preparatory School was closed in January, 1842; the School of Agriculture at Shubrá is reported to have been closed as early as May, 1839, about two years before the signing of the treaty; according to Hamont, it would appear that it was closed later, about October, 1841. The Infantry School at Damietta was closed down in January, 1841, and transferred to Abū Za’bal in the following month. The Artillery School was closed down in April, 1847, about five years after the treaty; the only schools left in use after January, 1842 were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Opening Date</th>
<th>Closing Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>ar-Rahmaniyyah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>as-Sayyidah Zainab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>al-Gizah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Artillery, Turā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Infantry, Abū Za’bal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Cavalry, al-Gizah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Naval, Alexandria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Languages, Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Veterinary, Shubrá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>High School, al-Khānkhān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Engineering, Bülāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special</td>
<td>1842</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Arts and Crafts, Bülāk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the official records, it would appear that Adham made some attempt to counteract the drastic plans of İbrahim Paşa for the following four madrasas opened by him:

- School
  - Opened: 1842
  - Closed: 1849
  - Location: Nāṣīrs

- School
  - Opened: 1842
  - Closed: 1849

- School
  - Opened: 1842
  - Closed: 1849
  - Location: Muḥammad Ef. al-Faiyūmī.

- School
  - Opened: 1842
  - Closed: 1849
  - Location: Sh. Ḥusain al-‘Aḵkād to Feb. 1846; Muḥammad Ef. al-Mahdīwī to Dec. 1846.

- School
  - Opened: 1842
  - Closed: 1849
  - Location: Muḥammad al-Mahdīwī to Mar. 1847; Ḥamādi Ef. Ḥamdi to March 1848.

(Transferred from Mūt Ghamr.)

Hekekyān states that Adham had opened about May, 1843, "the first Arab school established in Cairo after the plan of the famous English Schools"; Adham was helped by ‘Abdar-

---

1 Hekekyān, ibid., p. 45.
3 In addition to the order quoted under note 2, the official registers in the 'Abdin Archives point to the closing of eleven other schools. See Register No. 2071, pp. 3, 8, 11 and 44; Register No. 2072, pp. 34, 35, 39 and 42; Register No. 862, pp. 118 and 119; these registers belong to the period 1840 to 1842.
no more than a translation office where no students were formed; he states that the School of Agriculture was closed almost as soon as it was opened in order to be replaced by a model farm out of which Muhammad 'Ali hoped to make money; he also maintains that the School of Arts and Crafts was closed on the ground that there were already too many educated men for whom employment could not be found. According to Hekekyán and the official records, this last mentioned school was still functioning. Under the date 8th January, 1843, Hekekyán gives an account of arrangement into which he and Lambert were endeavouring to enter regarding the transfer of suitable students for the 'Amaliyát; Hekekyán also gives a reference to a letter dated the 6th January, 1843 addressed to Briggs asking for seven professional men to teach, they were to be a civil engineer and surveyor, an architect and builder, a civil engineer and machinist, a practical machinist and draughtsman, a boat builder in iron and timber, a chemist, metallurgist and mineralogist and a mathematical instrument maker. There seems to have been some friction between Lambert and Hekekyán because the latter preferred English methods. 'Abbás also criticised Hekekyán for his 'Englishman like manner of acting and expressing himself.' The School of Arts and Crafts under Hekekyán seems to have been less of a school than a workshop where work was undertaken for the administrations for on the 6th January, 1841, Hekekyán wrote a letter 'complaining of being too hard pressed by all the administrations by orders for work at the Ameliat which was incompatible with its organisation as a school of instruction.' In March, 1843, reports that 'no arrangement was made for the payment of workmen in the Ameliat.'

Scholcher reports in 1844 that the Polytechnic, the Schools of Medicine and Cavalry were still maintained; he found only 150 students in the School of Cavalry although it had room for 350; he remarks that they were 'très mal tenus, faute d’équipement; ils n’ont pas assez de chameaux; et, malgré la bonne contenance qu’a toujours faite le colonel devant nous, nous savons que l’on fournit de très mauvaise grâce aux indispensables besoins de l’établissement qu’il dirige.' At the Polytechnic, he found 125 students between the ages of twelve and twenty who were taught French, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, architectural and linear drawing in order to become engineers for roads and bridges, mines and naval construction; he makes the observation that the students were allowed five years to complete their education, while in Europe, a student had to spend from ten to twelve years before he could qualify. He found the students well below standard, that they had no primary education to begin with, and that the teachers who were nearly all natives were *loin d’être assez forts.*

He found the School of Medicine in a comparatively better state than the other Special Schools; the standard of education of the native teachers was higher than that of their colleagues at the other schools, but he criticises the policy of the withdrawal of Europeans on the ground that it was they alone who could maintain any organisation and standard of training. The number of students had been reduced from 312 to 130 after the signing of the treaty.

Gisquet, who was in Egypt early in 1844, states that the Schools of Agriculture and of Arts and Crafts had disappeared and that the School of Languages no longer had any students and n’existe guère que de nom. He reports that the Egyptian teachers of the Polytechnic were not well-educated and taught subjects in which they were not qualified; he states that the School of Cavalry was not properly maintained simply because Muhammad 'Ali had no war to wage.

The French Government sent M. Pelissier to Egypt at the beginning of 1849 to report on the state of the schools created by Muhammad 'Ali. His report consists of two letters, one written the 30th April, 1849 from Cairo, and the other written the 3rd June, 1849 from Berlin.

The first letter contains a synopsis of the plan of organisation drawn up by the *Commission* of 1835-6; he adds the criticism that the *Commission* had copied the French system too closely without taking into consideration the special needs of the

---

1 Schoolcher, op. cit., p. 59; Hekekyán, Papers (II/159) where he states that an examination was held on the 8th March, 1843.
2 Schoolcher, loc. cit.
3 Hekekyán, ibid., II/72.
4 Ibid., II/77-3.
5 Ibid., II/172.
6 Hekekyán, ibid., II/112.
7 Ibid., II/193.
8 Ibid., II/106.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

country; he emphasizes the important fact that the creation of a training school for teachers had been entirely overlooked. He strongly criticizes the transfer of the military schools from the Diwan al-Tahārīyah to the Diwan al-Madāris and points out that the latter Diwan still had to depend upon the former for its supplies.

The second letter deals with several of the schools and, apart from the generalizations on the Turks and Egyptians, a special feature of French writers of the nineteenth century when writing about Egypt, contains much that confirms the accounts of Hamont, Schoelcher, Gisquet and others.

It begins ominously with the words, "Une révolution récente fait de ce rapport l'historie complète d'une des créations les plus remarquables de Mihāmūt-Ali. Elle aura été aussi la plus éphémère; il n'y a plus d'établissement d'instruction publique." The author goes on to state that ten years were necessary for a student to pass through the three types of schools, but the fickleness of Muhammad 'Ali and unforeseen events did not allow this to happen for at the end of five years (i.e., in 1841), ibrāhīm Pasha, embittered and discouraged by his reverses in Syria, proposed to his father the "destruction d'établissements ruineux selon loi." The report continues to state that it was with great difficulty that Muhammad 'Ali was persuaded to allow some of the schools to be kept on; it was held that the reduction of the army and the decreased importance of Egypt in the international political arena did not justify the maintenance of establishments which were originally destined to provide officers for a large fighting service.

Pellissier suggests that it was due to European influence that the school regulations contained the provision for popular education: the regulations do, in fact, contain a vague statement to this effect, but such education was never contemplated. He goes on to state that the number of Primary Schools was reduced to five and the number of students in these schools was 1,000. He maintains that only one Preparatory School continued to be kept up, viz., that of Cairo, but the official records give the date of the abolition of this school as January,

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

1842. In the registers preserved in 'Abdin Palace, the name at-Tahārīyah, i.e., Preparatory, is used frequently and rather loosely for a number of schools. Pellissier gives the name of students in this Preparatory School as 500; they were trained for the Special Schools, the number of students of which had been considerably diminished.

The report then deals with the various Special Schools, the first being the Polytechnic, situated in Būlāk and the only one not subject to military discipline; it had eighty students under Lambert. The school had been planned to copy the Polytechnique at Paris, but in the recent reforms, it had been reorganised on the lines of the Ecole centrale des arts et manufactures which was more suitable to the country. From 1844, the principal subjects of study were geometry, physics, mechanics and architecture. Lambert seems to have made the most of his experience and was using teaching methods which were inclined to develop the practical abilities of the students. There was a workshop in which instruments and tools were made and repaired in order to avoid importing them from Europe. Pellissier speaks highly of the chemical laboratory and states that it had done great service for the country. During the four years preceding Pellissier's report, the school had provided 108 engineers for the roads and bridges department, 62 directors for various workshops, 28 science teachers, 21 mining engineers, 18 factory directors, inspectors and others; about two dozen technical works had been translated by members of the school and had been lithographed in the School press.

Lambert had also set up an observatory with fourteen of his students in a fort which had been built by the French; the instruments that were not available locally were imported from Paris and London.

The development of the Polytechnic

1 Loc. cit.
2 Pellissier, op. cit., p. 7.
3 Pellissier, op. cit., p. 6.
4 Pellissier, op. cit., p. 7.
5 Pellissier, op. cit., p. 6.
6 Pellissier, op. cit., p. 7.
7 Ibid., pp. 7-8. See also Tābāsimm, II/190, orders dated 15th Ramadan, 1255 (9th November, 1839), and 20th Shawwal, 1255 (6th December, 1839).
and its annexes during the post-war period seems to have been on very practical lines for the benefit of industrial and economic independence. Lambert was director until April, 1849, and was then succeeded by 'Ali Mubarakh. Pellissier speaks more highly of this school than any other he visited; he gives the impression that the work of the students and Lambert was not properly appreciated.

The report on the School of Languages, however, is not so satisfactory. Pellissier seems to have called on the school at rather an inopportune moment, for apparently Muhammad 'Ali had suspended the classes and only the Translation Office was functioning with twenty of the best students who were translating French works into Turkish and Arabic. Pellissier compares the well-administered Polytechnic under a European to the School of Languages "dirigée par un Arabe," and states that "il est impossible de ne pas frappé d’une différence flatteuse pour l’amour-propre européen. Bien que la discipline de l’école soit toute militaire, on y regrette la propreté, l’ordre, la régularité; conditions extérieures qui sont indispensables à la prospérité d’un grand établissement."

The Cavalry School is not dealt with very fully in the report; Pellissier states that its results had been good because it had had a special attraction to the Turks in that it appealed to their military tastes. The Infantry School at Abū Za‘bal was in a state of complete disorganisation. The School of Artillery appears to have been reorganised by Captain Princetou, with the help of M. Hippolyte; Pellissier gives a good account of the plan of studies and of the cleanliness of the rooms and dormitories. This school had been closed in April, 1847, but re-opened in 1848 under Princetou who had arrived on mission from France.

The School of Medicine receives some praise in the report; he appreciates the difficulties that had to be faced in establishing the modern medical school in Egypt, the ignorance of the students, their prejudices, the absence of a suitable technical language and the necessity of a completely new organisation; Pellissier quotes Professor Lallemant of Montpellier who spoke highly of the school.

The report does not deal with each individual school very penetratingly; its author appears to be rather partial towards his own patriots. Summing up, he states that the schools were satisfactorily run but, whenever an educated officer, a capable engineer or a reliable doctor was wanted in Egypt, he had to be sought from Europe. He maintains that the Egyptians were not up to their task and that their bearing and conduct brought upon them the ill-will of others and made their countrymen have their doubts about the benefits of the professions they represented. Pellissier puts their failure down to two main reasons; firstly, that the French language had not a sufficiently large place in the curriculum of the schools, and, secondly, because the students, fallaha, for the most part, were not allowed promotion beyond a junior rank and that their constant contact with the uneducated elements soon made them forget the knowledge they had acquired superficially. These two reasons, the one linguistic and the other social, are equally important; the linguistic problem, only touched upon by Pellissier, who does not even consider the position of Arabic and who seems to think that French should have been adopted as the medium of instruction, will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

The report gives some account of the treatment meted out to the students of the Polytechnic on their being posted under junior engineers in the service; the latter, instead of lending them their support and advice often had them disgraced by taking advantage of their inexperience in order that they should not be considered capable of replacing them; the mistakes of these graduates often brought upon them severe punishment and the reputation of the school to which they belonged was affected thereby.

Regarding the School of Medicine, Pellissier lays stress on two points; the Egyptian’s distrust of and repugnance to European medicine and his solid belief in his own empiricism, which did not encourage medical studies, and the mistake of giving professorial chairs to natives before they were yet qualified and experienced for such responsibility. Those Egyptians who were given recognition as doctors of medicine were not yet in a position to understand the dignity of their profession and were often obliged to compromise themselves through necessity owing to their

---

1 Sāmi, al-Tā'īm, App. III, p. 47.
2 Pellissier, op. cit., p. 8.
3 Loc. cit.
4 Loc. cit. This School is dealt with in detail below; v. pp. 264 sqq.
5 Ibid., p. 9.
6 Ibid., p. 9.
7 Guémard, op. cit., pp. 29 and 423.
8 Pellissier, op. cit., p. 9.
small emoluments; at the end of Muḥammad ‘Ali’s reign, an Egyptian Medical Service had still to be created.\footnote{The School of Maternity appears to have been reorganised in 1838 under Mlle. Lewellin; v. Sharaf, op. cit., p. 137, in the years 1846 and 1847, Dr. Franco, Professor of Medicine at Montpellier, is reported to have conducted the examinations in the School of Medicine; in 1846, they were conducted by Dr. Willermain, who had been sent out to Egypt by the French Government in an advisory capacity, v. Sharaf, ibid., p. 18, Professor Lallemann, who had been sent out in 1848-9 to report on the School of Medicine, spoke of it in high terms. He found 177 students in the medical section and 25 in the pharmaceutical section, v. Sharaf, ibid., p. 18.} Pellisssier goes on to generalise about the character of the Egyptian, maintaining that this had a great deal to do with the failure of the educational system; he is thinking in terms of the European and indicates, among other things, that there were many obstacles resulting from the despotic government of Muḥammad ‘Ali,\footnote{Ibid., p. 12.} a statement which needs further qualification as, without the despotic government of Muḥammad ‘Ali, there would not have been any educational system other than the old one of the mosque. He gives a sorry description of certain social practices of the Egyptian which suggest that he was not yet ready to accept these exotic creations of Muḥammad ‘Ali;\footnote{Ibid., pp. 13-14.} Pellisssier is of the opinion that improvements could have been made to the old kutāba' and mosque system; he thinks that the memorizing of the Qur'ān at an early age only had the effect of dulling the intellect of the Egyptian student\footnote{Ibid., p. 13.} ; he deplores the absence of the feeling of nationality and approves of the creation of an Egyptian Army in order to arouse patriotic ideals\footnote{Ibid., p. 14.} but forgets that it was officered by non-Egyptians whose language was not even that of the Egyptian. In common with his contemporaries, he does not realise that the world in which Muḥammad ‘Ali lived consisted of two camps, the Frankish or European and a non-national Moslem one. When ‘Abbās I became regent in November, 1848, the following schools were still in use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As-Sayyidah Zainah</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aṣyūf</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Būḥā</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaqāzīk</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A ṣū Zā’bal</td>
<td>Infantry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A ṣū Zā’bal</td>
<td>Cavalry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Gizah</td>
<td>Artillery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṭūrā</td>
<td>Naval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anything like accurate figures for the numbers of students in these schools are not available beyond what we have seen in the various accounts given by contemporary writers which prove, of course, that the prosperity of Muḥammad ‘Ali’s educational establishments in 1849 was nothing compared to the earlier periods. ‘Abbās I did not succeed to the rule of the country until August, 1849; the fate of these remaining establishments will be dealt with in the chapters on this ruler and his successor, Sa’īd Pasha.

\textit{Education Missions to Europe, 1844-1849}

In 1844, Muḥammad ‘Ali sent to Paris another large mission of students chosen by Sulaimān Pasha, included in which were two of Muḥammad ‘Ali’s own sons, Ḥusayn Bey and Hafīz Bey, and two of his grandsons, Ahmad Bey and Ismā‘īl Bey. For this reason, this particular mission was called the \textit{Bi’at al-Anjāl}, the “Mission of the Sons of (Muḥammad ‘Ali).”\footnote{Ṭūsān, op. cit., p. 172 sqq.; Mubārak, op. cit., I, 188, IX, 190 and XII, 70.}

The mission, which consisted of the sons of high officials and the pick of the schools, was under the \textit{nadhir}ship of Eṣṭeфан Bey and the second in charge was Khalīl Ef. Jarākyān, both Armenians; the first had been a student of the 1826 mission, and it appears that the second had been a member of an earlier mission, probably sent about the same time as Ḫūṣyn Nūraddīn.\footnote{Ṭūsān, ibid., p. 174.} The \textit{nadhir} received PT. 5,560 a month, the assistant \textit{nadhir}’s salary was probably about PT. 2,700.\footnote{Ṭūsān, ibid., p. 174.} The \textit{imām} of the mission was Shāhkh Naṣr Abū’l-Walā’ al-Hūrūfī, whose salary was PT. 483-12 fillah of which he received half, the other half being paid to his son, Muḥammad Naṣr.\footnote{ṭūsān, ibid., p. 175.} The students were housed together in a special building which was given the name of the Egyptian Military School and the chief object of sending this group of students was to teach them military subjects. The mission was placed under the supreme directorship of the French Minister of War and all the teachers were Frenchmen. In order to ensure full control over the
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

students, a special code of regulations was drawn up and brought into use on the 20th October, 1844. The code consisted of twenty-five articles:

articles 1–3 dealt with the method of saluting teachers, roll call, and punishment of absentees from parade;
article 4, stated that no book or drawing was to be brought into the school without special permission;
article 5, forbade all games of chance;
article 6, forbade any student to enter into any division to which he did not belong;
article 7, stipulated that every student was to wear his special uniform;
article 8, laid down that no servants were to be employed for any function outside the school except with special permission;
article 9, stipulated that all parcels and packets brought to the school for any student must be inspected by the porter;
article 10, forbade the introduction of any chemical, nourishment or alcoholic drink into the school;
article 11, ruled that students were allowed out from 10 a.m. on Sundays and 3 p.m. on Thursdays, but they must return by 10 p.m.; on their return they must sign a register stating the time of their return; no student was to be allowed out at any other time except with permission;
article 12, ruled that no student could introduce a stranger into the school;
article 13, forbade the students from hiring rooms outside the school under any pretext;
article 14, laid down that students were to be punished according to the offence, either by refusal of permission to be let out, by confinement or by paying a fine;
article 15, dealt with the hours of study on Sundays and Thursdays;
article 16, stipulated that students' requests were to be brought before the director through the sergeants;
article 17, ruled that silence was to be kept in the class rooms and that the rooms were to be chosen by casting lots;
article 18, forbade any student to change his private room or class room without permission;
article 19, forbade any student to play or to make any noise during class hours and ruled that all efforts were to be spent at study;
articles 20 and 21, forbade any student to leave his class during lessons in order to go to his room or to walk in the yards or garden;
article 22, ruled that all documents dealing with school formalities were to be signed by the student first, then by the teacher;
article 23, forbade any student to spoil anything that was distributed to him or to use it for any purpose but for that to which it was designed;
article 24, ruled that students were to be held responsible for all furniture, books and instruments in their charge and in their rooms: all repairs and renewals must be made at their cost;
article 25, ruled that any Frenchman employed in the school guilty of misconduct could be dismissed by the director.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

The first French Minister of War in command of the Egyptian Military School appears to have been M. Poisnct who, with the help of Eștefan Bey and M. Jomard, drew up the above code, arranged the students' time-tables and attended to other administrative matters. The students were divided into two classes according to their capacity; four students of the first class were made sergeants; they were 'Uthmān Ef. Șabri, Hanafi Hind, Shahātah Ef. Ɂisā, Muḥammad Bey Sharif1; the sergeants had the same control over the other students as army non-commissioned officers. On the 17th October, 1844, Poisnct delivered a speech to the students, welcoming them to France and encouraging them in their studies.

The day's time-table was at first arranged as follows:

5.30 a.m. ... ... réveillé.
6 a.m. to 7 a.m. ... ... roll call and study.
7 a.m. to 8 a.m. ... ... breakfast.
8 a.m. to 10 a.m. ... ... French and calligraphy.
10.15 a.m. to 11.15 a.m. ... ... lunch and recreation.
11.30 a.m. to 1.15 p.m. ... ... maths, geography and history.
2 p.m. to 3 p.m. ... ... drawing.
3.15 p.m. to 5 p.m. ... ... study.
5 p.m. to 6.45 p.m. ... ... dinner and recreation.
6.45 p.m. to 7.45 p.m. ... ... military exercises.
8 p.m. to 9.15 p.m. ... ... study and fencing.
10 p.m. ... ... lights out.

The subjects were taught by the following instructors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educator</th>
<th>Subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latellier</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dibiet</td>
<td>calligraphy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganot</td>
<td>maths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baskans</td>
<td>geography and history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapie</td>
<td>drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gérard</td>
<td>in charge of study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bissew</td>
<td>storekeeper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There appears to have been some distinction made in the treatment and discipline of the sons and grandsons of Muḥammad 'Aīl and the relations of the high officials during the first month or so after their arrival in Paris, but, in due course, the distinctions were removed and they had to fall in with the general discipline.

1 Ibid., p. 179.
2 Tāsin, op. cit., pp. 187–8. The time tables given above and below have been taken from Tāsin's work on the Missions.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

The subjects of study were then arranged on a somewhat different basis in order to bring them nearer the original plan of specialisation in military science:

calligraphy (afterwards dropped by some of the students and military science given instead),
French, geography, history, maths, drawing, topography, military science, fortification, gunnery, military exercises,

and the following officers were appointed to the school for the purpose of instructions:

Capt. Conus appointed, 1st Dec., 1844, as School Officer,
Capt. Rivery appointed 5th Jan., 1845, gunnery and fortification instructor,
Col. Gloux appointed 20th Jan., 1845, gunnery and fortification instructor,
Capt. Leveret appointed 20th Jan., 1845, military science.

A School Committee was formed with M. Poinçot as President, Estèfan, Gloux, Rivery, Lapie and Conus as members.¹

The time-table for summer was arranged as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.15 a.m.</td>
<td>réveillé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.15 a.m. to 6.45 a.m.</td>
<td>study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.45 a.m. to 7.45 a.m.</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon., Tues. and Th.</td>
<td>military Science.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.45 a.m. to 9.45 a.m.</td>
<td>fortification, 1st cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.45 a.m. to 9.45 a.m.</td>
<td>study, 2nd cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 a.m. to 10.45 a.m.</td>
<td>lunch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.50 a.m.</td>
<td>roll call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 a.m. to 1 p.m.</td>
<td>maths, geography, history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tues., Wed. and Sat.</td>
<td>French.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.15 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.</td>
<td>drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon. and Fri.</td>
<td>gunnery, 1st cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.15 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.</td>
<td>study, 2nd cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon. and Fri.</td>
<td>dinner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.15 p.m. to 6.45 p.m.</td>
<td>military exercises.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mon., Wed. and Fri.</td>
<td>study or theoretical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 p.m. to 9 p.m.</td>
<td>lessons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tues. and Sat.</td>
<td>lights out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 p.m. to 9 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The students were allowed one month's holiday every year but even then they had to undertake a certain amount of work and had a special time-table arranged for them as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 a.m.</td>
<td>roll call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.45 a.m.</td>
<td>breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.15 a.m. to 9.15 a.m.</td>
<td>military exercises.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ Tüsün, pp. 190–1. Poinçot died January, 1846.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 a.m. to 10.50 a.m.</td>
<td>lunch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.50 a.m.</td>
<td>roll call.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 a.m. to 1 p.m.</td>
<td>topography, fortification, 1st cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 a.m. to 1 p.m.</td>
<td>drawing and study, 2nd cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.</td>
<td>calligraphy, 3rd cl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.45 p.m.</td>
<td>no classes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.45 p.m. to 7 p.m.</td>
<td>roll call.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 p.m. to 9 p.m.</td>
<td>dinner and recreation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 p.m.</td>
<td>study, lights out.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the holiday, the first class sometimes spent an hour at military exercises from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m. while the 2nd and 3rd classes visited places of interest once or twice a week.² Muhammad ‘Ali’s relations were allowed to visit Cherbourg, Compiègne and Fontainebleau and other towns during their first holiday³ and other summer holidays were used for visiting public buildings and institutions.⁴

A hospital was attached to the school under Subervic and Boudé.⁵

On the 15th December, 1844, four other students who were already studying in France in a private school were attached to this Military School; three of them were sons of Sharif Pasha, the Nâşir of the Finance Department, one of them had been in France for two years and the other two for one year. İsmâ’il Bey, İbrahim Pasha’s second son, who had not yet joined the school as he had been to Vienna for eye treatment, came to Paris in April, 1845.⁶ On the 20th June, 1845, Halim Bey, another of Muhammad ‘Ali’s sons arrived at the school with twenty-two other students, in the care of Khursan Ef. another Armenian and Muhammad ‘Ali’s private secretary; they were examined and five were attached to the second class and the rest formed a third class in which were taught calligraphy, French and geography.⁷ Several of the original students were rather backward and so they were also attached to this new class; they included Fattâh Bey, ‘Ali Bey, Rashâd Ef., İsmâ’il Bey,

¹ A third class had been added.
² Tüsün, ibid., p. 199.
³ Ibid., p. 215.
⁴ Ibid., pp. 186 and 191.
⁵ Ibid., pp. 199–200.
⁶ Ibid., p. 191.
⁷ Ibid., p. 197.
The Study of Education and
Muhammad Bey and Khalil Bey; the last three were weak-sighted. The new arrivals were all younger than the students already sent to Paris.

The number of students belonging to this mission is usually given as seventy, but as shown above, they did not all arrive at once. Up to June, 1845, there were only sixty-two at the school; the first batch consisted of thirty-nine (including Isma'il Bey) and the second batch of twenty-three. Khursanu Bey only stayed in France a few months for he returned to Egypt in November, 1845. On the 7th January, 1846, the following students were promoted on account of their progress and good conduct:

- Hammâd Ef. 'Abdal-'Aṭī, to Sergt.-Major,
- al-Amīr Aḥmad Bey, to Sergeant,
- 'Alī Ef. Mubârak, to Corporal,
- 'Alī Ef. Ibrâhîm, to Corporal,
- Muḥammad Ef. Ismā'il, to Corporal,
- Kâṭûk Husayn Bey, to Corporal,
- Murâd Ef. Hâlim, to Corporal,
- Ḥusayn Ef. Sulaimân, to Corporal,
- Muḥammad Ef. 'Arîf, to Corporal,
- Aḥmad Ef. Râšîd, to Corporal.

The school was visited by the Duc de Nemours, accompanied by Boyer, in May, 1845, and by Ibrâhîm Pasha himself who was very interested in this new experiment. He arrived in Paris on the 22nd April, 1846, and the Princes were allowed to go and meet him; his visit to the school was used as an occasion for gathering together many eminent people at the school and a number of books was distributed to the best students. In August, 1846, the Egyptian mission was invited to attend the manoeuvres of the French army.

In June, 1846, Muhammad 'Ali gave orders that nine of the students should be chosen to study civil administration and amongst those selected for this course were the weak-sighted mentioned above; they were detached from the other classes but appear to have continued to receive a certain amount of military training. The course of civil administration was given by a special teacher. The school then had four classes, three military

Literature in Modern Egypt
and one civil; both Isma'il Bey and Ḥalim Bey joined the class for civil administration.

On the 6th October, 1846, Muḥammad 'Ali had a letter sent through Artûn Bey to the effect that a number of new students was to be dispatched in January, 1847, and that arrangements were to be made for their reception at the Paris school. He expected that the students in the first class would succeed in their final examinations and would then be attached to French schools in order to complete their training. Already Aḥmad Bey had declared his intention of joining the Polytechnique in Paris, a plan which was not only approved by Muḥammad 'Ali but suggested to him that other students might be desirous of doing the same thing. A letter was sent to Paris inviting students to put their names down for admission to the Polytechnique; twelve wished to follow Aḥmad Bey, two from the first class, two from the second and eight from the third, but the French Minister objected to the idea and as a result of this opposition, only seven were allowed to go excluding Aḥmad Bey.

Three examinations were held in the Egyptian School in December, 1846, one for each class. The number of students in the first class was sixteen; one, Muṣṭafâ Bey Khûrshîd, had died and another, Ibrâhîm Ef. fell ill and had to be returned to Egypt. Four fell ill and could not sit for the examination; they were Manṣūr Ef. 'Aṭîyâh, Muḥammad Ef. Ismâ'il, Ḥasan Ef. Aḥfâṭîn and Aḥmad Ef. As'ad; there remained ten only who could sit for the examination which was held as follows:

1st-4th Dec. 9th-12th Dec. 17th-23rd Dec.
- trigonometry - chemistry - topography
- descriptive geometry - physics - temporary fortifications
- statistics - French - gunnery
- hydraulics - history - military science
- - - theory
- - - military law

There were several additional subjects in which the students had to be prepared such as algebra, geometry, geography, military administration, strategy, military training, cavalry exercises, law and regimental duties.

The ten candidates succeeded in the examination and were distributed in the French schools as follows:

- 1st-4th Dec. 9th-12th Dec. 17th-23rd Dec.

- The study of education and
- The number of students belonging to this mission is usually given as seventy, but as shown above, they did not all arrive at once. Up to June, 1845, there were only sixty-two at the school; the first batch consisted of thirty-nine (including Isma'il Bey) and the second batch of twenty-three. Khursanu Bey only stayed in France a few months for he returned to Egypt in November, 1845. On the 7th January, 1846, the following students were promoted on account of their progress and good conduct:

- Hammâd Ef. 'Abdal-'Aṭī, to Sergt.-Major,
- al-Amīr Aḥmad Bey, to Sergeant,
- 'Alī Ef. Mubârak, to Corporal,
- 'Alī Ef. Ibrâhîm, to Corporal,
- Muḥammad Ef. Ismā'il, to Corporal,
- Kâṭûk Husayn Bey, to Corporal,
- Murâd Ef. Hâlim, to Corporal,
- Ḥusayn Ef. Sulaimân, to Corporal,
- Muḥammad Ef. 'Arîf, to Corporal,
- Aḥmad Ef. Râšîd, to Corporal.

The school was visited by the Duc de Nemours, accompanied by Boyer, in May, 1845, and by Ibrâhîm Pasha himself who was very interested in this new experiment. He arrived in Paris on the 22nd April, 1846, and the Princes were allowed to go and meet him; his visit to the school was used as an occasion for gathering together many eminent people at the school and a number of books was distributed to the best students. In August, 1846, the Egyptian mission was invited to attend the manoeuvres of the French army.

In June, 1846, Muhammad 'Ali gave orders that nine of the students should be chosen to study civil administration and amongst those selected for this course were the weak-sighted mentioned above; they were detached from the other classes but appear to have continued to receive a certain amount of military training. The course of civil administration was given by a special teacher. The school then had four classes, three military

- trigonometry - chemistry - topography
- descriptive geometry - physics - temporary fortifications
- statistics - French - gunnery
- hydraulics - history - military science
- - - theory
- - - military law

There were several additional subjects in which the students had to be prepared such as algebra, geometry, geography, military administration, strategy, military training, cavalry exercises, law and regimental duties.

The ten candidates succeeded in the examination and were distributed in the French schools as follows:
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

École de
Metz:
École
d'État
major:
Saumur:

Hammâd Ef. 'Abdal-'Åfî, 'All Ef. Ibrâhîm,
'Mobârak,
Hanaî Ef. Hind.
Sulaimân Ef. Najjâtî,
'Uṭmân Ef. Şâbî,
Shaîkh Ef. Rahîm,
Amâd Ef. as-Subkî,

for training as artillery officers and military engineers.
for training as staff officers.
for training as cavalry officers.

Shâhâtah Ef. 'Isâ was recommended to stay in the Egyptian School for another year although he wished to go to the Cavalry School.\(^1\)

The nine students were attached to these schools with the rank of 2nd lieutenant. The Egyptian authorities wanted them all to live in the schools to which they were attached but the French Minister of War, while agreeing to this condition for the École de Metz and the École d'État major, did not do so for Saumur; he recommended that they should live in a private house outside the school and that they should use their own horses which were to be kept at the cost of the Egyptian Government. The Egyptian director (Estefan Bey) opposed this idea on the ground that Muhammad 'Ali would not allow the students to take up private quarters; the result of the correspondence which followed between the Egyptian Government and the French Minister of War is not known.

The second class was examined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arithmetic</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>gunnery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>algebras</td>
<td>history</td>
<td>fortifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elementary geometry</td>
<td>geography</td>
<td>military science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trigonometry</td>
<td>descriptive geometry</td>
<td>military exercises</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third class and the civil administration class were examined together in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4th-7th Dec.</th>
<th>21st-23rd Dec.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>arithmetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geography</td>
<td>elementary geometry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second class had consisted of twenty-four students; by the end of 1846, two had dropped out, Fattâh Bey and 'Uṭmân Bey, they appear to have left the school; Şâkir Ef. had joined the School of Agriculture and Amâd Bey had joined

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

the Polytechnique; six others had joined the class for civil administration which left fourteen who passed the examination and were transferred to the first class.

There had originally been twenty-five students in the third section, three had joined the class for civil administration and seven had joined the Polytechnique with Amâd Bey, the remaining fifteen passed the examination and were attached to the second class.\(^3\)

These figures show the number of students who had joined the mission from 1844 to the end of 1849 to be sixty-five.\(^2\) As mentioned above,\(^4\) the number is usually given as seventy but probably others have been included who had already been sent to France for the study of veterinary science, medicines and pharmacetics but who were accommodated in the school for the sake of convenience.\(^4\)

The following is a list of the students who went to France during this period:—

1. Hammâd Ef. 'Abdal-'Åfî.
2. 'All Ef. Ibrâhîm.
3. 'All Ef. Mobârak.
5. Muhammad Bey Sharîf.
7. 'Uṭmân Ef. Şâbî.
10. Shâhâtah Ef. 'Isâ.
11. Mansûr Ef. 'Aṭîyah.
17. Amâd Bey Rif'at.
22. 'Uṭmân Bey Sharîf.
23. Muhammad Ef. Şâkir.
27. Wall Bey Hîlîmî.
28. Amâd Bey Najjâtî.
30. Küçük 'All Ef.
31. Muhammad Ef. Şâdîk.
34. Aḥân Ef. Esfâfân.
36. Şâhî Bey.
37. Şâdîk Ef. Salîm Shânân.
38. Muhammad Bey Râshîd.
39. 'All Ef. Felîmî.
40. Muṣṭâfâ Bey Muṣṭâfâ Muhâbîr.
41. 'Uṭmân Ef. Nûrî.
42. Ismâ'îl Ef.
43. Muhammad 'Abdal-'Åfîm Bey.
44. Shaîkh Ef. Sharîf.
45. 'All Ef. Sharîf.
47. Muṣṭâfâ Ef. Zuhûrî.
48. Muhammad Ef. Ârif.
49. Husein Ef. Şâhîk.
50. Bêtro Ef.
51. Nûbâr Ef.

\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 220-4.
\(^2\) v. supra, p. 248.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 226.
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 226.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

54. Būlus Ef. Lābi.
56. Muhammad Ef.
57. 'Alī Bey.
58. Muhammad Ef. Ḥasan.
60. Muḥtafā Ef. Ḥalim.
61. 'Abdarr-Rahmān Bey Maḥū.
63. Luṭfi Ef.
64. Muḥammad Ef. Shawkī.

Mission sent to France in 1847:


Others who were accommodated in the Egyptian School but who did not belong to the Military Mission:

69. ‘Abdallāh Ef. as-Sa‘īdī.
70. Ibrāhīm Ef. as-Su‘ābī.
72. Muhammad Ef. al-Fāhāmī.
73. Muḥtafā Ef. al-Wa‘īfī.
74. Uḥmān Ef. Ibrāhīm.
75. Ḥasan Ef. as-Sa‘īdī.
76. ‘Abdallāḥ Ef. Yūnus.
77. Muhammad Ef. as-Sa‘īdī.
78. Maḥmūd Ef. Yūnus.
79. Ḥasan Ef. Ḥāshim.

Mission sent to Austria in 1845:

81. Ibrāhīm Ef. ad-Dāsūkī.

Mission sent to France to study Law in 1847:

82.

Mission sent to England to study Mechanics in 1847:

83.

Mission of Carpenters sent to England in 1848:

113 to 133. names unknown.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Resumé of missions sent to Europe 1809 to 1849:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Names known</th>
<th>Names unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1809 to 1826</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827 to 1836</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1837 to 1843</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844 to 1849</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Biographical Notes:

1. Born in Dair al-Junadah near Asyūt, 15th April, 1834; sent to local kutlūb then to Muhammad 'Alī's maktab at Abū Tig in 1833; transferred to Cairo Preparatory School while Muḥtafā was Nāẓīr of the Diwan al-Mašāri‘; transferred to Engineering School under Lambert; chosen for mission in 1844 and made Fākhūr (qāt-māl) in Paris on account of his good conduct and progress; he was top of the school in Paris and received three prizes. Joined École de Métz in 1847 with rank of 2nd Lieut.; stayed there two years then posted to the French Army with the rank of 1st Lieut. in order to get a year's service for experience. Ibrāhīm Pasha wanted him and his colleagues to stay a longer period in the French Army but the death of the Pasha prevented this. On his return to Egypt in 1849, he entered the army and was rapidly promoted. He was engaged with other officers in several engineering works and worked with Mougel Bey. Knew French, German, English, Turkish besides his own language. After holding many posts in the engineering services and in the army, he was appointed a judge in 1875; died 1904.

2. Born Fazārah near Asyūt, 1826; was chosen from the Artillery School for mission to France; second in the examination in 1846; sent to École de Métz. Returned to Egypt, 1849. Held several appointments in the army and War office. Under Ismā‘īl Pasha, he was made Nāẓīr of the Preparatory School; made Inspector of the Suez Canal in 1867, then held a post in the Public Works Dept. Made Minister of Education during Taufīk Pasha's reign. Made Minister of Justice in 1882; died 11th August, 1889.

Note.—These biographies are given in various Arabic works, the names of which will be found in the bibliography; they are given here only briefly as an indication of the positions held by the mission men.
also given to him; he did good work for the education of the Egyptians which will be discussed in the appropriate place; in 1871, he was made Nāzir of the Education Department and the other departments were given to various officials; he appears to have been in charge of them all again later; he continued to hold many administrative and ministerial posts until he died in October, 1893. He wrote several works in Arabic the most important of which is his al-Khulāṣ al-Tauhifīyyah in twenty volumes.

4. Chosen from the Artillery School; sent to École d’État major; entered French Army for a year; returned to Egypt, 1849; employed in the Egyptian Army on his return.

5. Born Cairo, 1823 (or 1826); his father had been the Chief Judge in Cairo and was a friend of Muhammad ‘Ali; he was sent to the High School (École des Princes) at al-Khānākh and to Paris in 1844; he was fifth in the examination in 1846; sent to École d’État major; returned to Egypt in 1849; held high posts in the Army and married a daughter of Sulaimān Pasha; he is the grandfather of Queen Nazli; in 1858, he was made Nāzir of Foreign Affairs; he was made President of the Legislative Council in Ismail Pasha’s reign and Nāzir of the Education Dept. in July, 1863; in August of the same year, he was made Nāzir of both the Interior and Foreign Affairs; in 1866, he was made President of the Private Council and then the Chamber of Deputies. He was Regent while Ismail Pasha was in Europe and Turkey in 1867. He held Ministerial posts for some time and was also Prime Minister several times. He died, 1888.

6. Chosen from the Cavalry School for mission to France; sent to École d’État major; returned to Egypt in 1849; became Director of the Military School at Alexandria under Sa‘id Pasha; appointed to an administrative post in the Military Schools in al-Abbasiyah, Cairo, under Ismail Pasha; he was arrested in connection with the Arabī rebellion and confined to his house for some time; he was afterwards pardoned and appointed as a judge in the Mixed Courts.

7. His father was an officer in the service of Muhammad ‘Ali; he had emigrated from Turkey; ‘Uthmān was apparently born in Cairo; sent to Paris in 1844, returned in October, 1849; he was crippled by a fall from his horse and compelled to accept civil appointments instead of serving in the army; he was employed in the Finance Department at first and then was employed as a private tutor in French and mathematics for the sons of the ruling family; under Taufiq Pasha, he was made Director of a special school opened for the sons of the Khedive, the Princes and members of the aristocracy. In 1886, he was appointed as a judge in the Mixed Courts and in 1889, he was made President of the Mixed Court of Appeal; died February, 1904.

8. Born in the province of Bani Suef, 26th Sept., 1828; entered the maktab of Būch; transferred to Abū Za‘bal, then to Muḥāndis Mū’asseb in 1840; sent to Paris in 1844; sent to Saumur where he served for three years; he was made Nāzir of the Financial Department and given the Legion d’Honneur; returned to Egypt in July, 1848; ‘Abbās I sent him on exploration in Upper Egypt and in 1852, he was made a cavalry instructor; Sa‘id Pasha made him a surveying engineer in the provinces of Bani Suef and al-Faiyum in 1854; in 1855, he was employed as an engineer on the Suez Canal; he was later employed on other engineering works connected with irrigation; in 1868, he was appointed as an engineer in the Public Works Department; amongst other offices, he was placed in charge of the Customs at Damietta, later governor of Ismailiyah, then Wākil of the Governorate of Alexandria; he held other posts for a number of days at a time; he retired in April, 1885, and died in December, 1902.

9. His father was in Subk ad-Dahhak in the province of al-Manfīl; sent to the maktab of Manfīl in 1833; transferred to Kasr al ‘Ain then to the Muḥāndis Mū’asseb; sent to Paris in 1844; afterwards to Saumur; appointed as cavalry officer on his return to Egypt; employed with Muhammad al-Falaki at map-making in Lower Egypt; later given a post as an engineer in the Public Works Dept.; he also served on other surveying projects connected with the railways and irrigation.

10. Chosen from the Artillery School and sent to Paris in 1844; he had intended to join Saumur, but changed his mind and appears to have joined the École d’État major; he was employed in the army on his return and during the military reforms undertaken by Ismail Pasha with the help of a French Military Mission, he was put in charge of the Staff College at al-Abbasiyah.

11. Chosen from the Muḥāndis Mū’asseb and sent to Paris in 1844; died in Paris, August, 1844.

12. Born, 1820; had studied in the High School at al-Khānākh and was then sent to the Artillery School from which he was sent to Paris in 1844; fell ill while in Paris, but was cured and sent to the École de Mèta; he was appointed as an artillery officer on his return to Egypt; under Sa‘id Pasha, he was made Director of the Military Workshops and in 1896, Ismail Pasha sent him to England to purchase war materials; he became Wākil of the War Department. Sent during two ministries; after the ‘Arabī affair, he became Nāzir of the War Office; died, 1905.

13. Chosen from the Artillery School and sent to Paris in 1844; fell ill while in Paris; returned to Egypt about 1847 and was appointed as a teacher in the Artillery School, probably under Prince Charles; very little is known about him.

14. His father was Khārid Pasha who served under Muhammad ‘Ali; Mustafa did not leave Egypt until three months after his colleagues; he died in Cairo as a result of an accident in April, 1845.

15. Sent to Paris, 1844, but had to return in 1846 on account of bad health.

16. Sent to Paris, 1844; entered the French Army somewhat later than his colleagues owing to bad health.

17. Son of Ibrahim Pasha; educated at the High School at al-Khānākh; sent to Paris in 1844; won several prizes at the school but was attached to the Polytechnique before the final examinations in 1846; he returned to Egypt at the beginning of the reign of Abbas I, but was made a cavalry commander to the disbanded bodyguard and the rest of the family. Ahmad played no part in public life; he was the heir apparent during the reign of Sa‘id Pasha but was drowned 14th May, 1858, at Kafr az-Zayyāt; he was the father of Ibrahim
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

Pasha Ahmad (father of Shevkiār Hānum, the late King Fu'a'd's first wife), Ahmad Pasha Kāmil (father of Prince Yusuf Kāmil) and 'Ain al-Ḥāyat Hānum (wife of Sulfān Hāsin Kāmil).

18. Muhammad 'Ali's son; studies at the High School at al-Khānikā; transferred to the Cavalry School from where he was chosen for mission to France; he died in Paris at the beginning of 1847 and was buried in Alexandria; his mother built a sahi in his memory in Cairo in 1848 (in Shārī 'Jāmiʿ 'I-Banāt, between Kanṭarat Mūṣāt and Kanṭarat al-ʾAmīr Ḥusain) and the Wāḥf endowed by Ḥusain's mother in his name is famous for its charity.

19. Chosen from the Artillery School for mission to Paris; entered the French Army for a time; returned to Egypt and remained in the Egyptian Army until he became a Ḥājij; he then entered the civil service and was appointed Governor of the province of al-Faiyum; he was Nāṣir of the Department of Justice under Sharīf Pasha in 1879, but only for a few days; in 1881, he was appointed President of the Mixed Court of Appeal; died, 22d August, 1884.

20. Born Mīnyat 'Āyāh in the province of al-Minūfāyah; was chosen from the Muḥāndis khānah for mission to Europe; he joined the French Army for a time for practical experience like most of his colleagues; on his return to Egypt, he was not given employment immediately, but eventually he became a teacher in the military schools; under ʾIsāʾīl Pasha, he had a reputation as a teacher of mathematics, military works and topography; he assisted Lāmmī Bey (Pasha) in the reorganisation of the military schools during the reign of ʾIsāʾīl.

21. Born 1822, in Sanhār al-Madinah in the province of al-Gharbiyyah; sent to the government mahdāb then to Kaṣr al-'Ainī; was chosen from the Muḥāndis khānah in 1844 for mission to France; he undertook intensive engineering studies while in France and did not return to Egypt until 1844; he was employed on the railways in Egypt and was responsible for the lines laid to Dāsūq and as-Salihiyah; under ʾIsāʾīl Pasha, in 1873, he appears to have been disgraced but was re-employed in the Finance department and then the Public Works.

22. Son of Sharīf Pasha (s.o. supra, p. 232); appears to have been sent to Paris with his two brothers, Ḥašāli and 'Alī, before the opening of the Egyptian School, they were attached to the school in 1844; 'Ummān was not a diligent student and was attached to the class for civil administration; he wished to join the School of Agriculture, but when permission was refused, he escaped one Sunday (1st October, 1845) and probably went to Syria where his father had friends and property.

23. Chosen from the Cavalry School in 1844 for mission to France; he changed his mind about military studies while in Paris and took up agriculture instead; he fell ill and died, 21st Mar., 1848.

24. Sometimes referred to as Fattāh Bey; chosen from Cavalry School 1844; does not appear to have been successful either at his studies or in private life; he was nearly imprisoned for debt while in France; he returned to Egypt 8th Oct., 1846.

25. Chosen from the Cavalry School for the 1844 mission; the

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Literary authorities are somewhat confusing regarding Ahmad Ḥašāli, both Sarhan and Mubābrak refer to a Ahmad Ḥašāli, connected with the navy and the other with the engineering services.

26. Became known as Ḥusain Pasha Fāmī, son of ʿAbdal-Karim Bey who was a brother of Muḥarram Bey, the Governor of Alexandria; Ḥusain was chosen from the Cavalry School and sent to Paris; studied in the Civil Administration class at Paris and then joined the Engineering School there; he returned to Egypt during the reign of 'Abbāṣ I, and he was still on 22 years of age; he had artistic tastes and was very keen on Moslem Architecture; he drew up the plans for the Aufār Mosque, built the school opposite the Aufār ʿAynā Mosque in Cairo and was responsible for the building of other government buildings; amongst other posts which he held was the wāḥf of the Wāḥf of the Mādīnā al-ʾAqṣāf, wāḥf of the Ministers at Alexandria and Governor of Suez; when the Dar al-Kudūb was opened, it was decided to have the manuscripts bound in modern bindings, Ḥusain bought up all the old bindings and kept them on show at his house in al-Labūnāyah which was more like an Arab Museum.

27. Son of 'Ali Ahmad Aghā, Shāhīm Pasha's Khāzinah-dār; was chosen from the Cavalry School in 1844; he held several posts in the government both in the Finance Department and in the Palace; he retired before ʾIsāʾīl Pasha was deposed. His three sons have distinguished themselves in Egypt; Žāfār Pasha Wālī has been Minister several times, another is a professor in the Medical School and the third is a professor of natural history in the Egyptian University.

28. Brother of 27; sent to France, 1844; he stayed in France some time after the Egyptian School was closed; during the reign of ʾIsāʾīl Pasha, he was sent to Constantinople where he was promoted to a high rank; ʾIsāʾīl Pasha recalled him and gave him a high post, but he died soon after his return.

29. Chosen from the Cavalry School in 1844; returned at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbbāṣ I, and was employed in the army but very little is known about him.

30. Son of Muḥṣāfālī, a Qāṣī of 'Ali's army; he was already employed when he was chosen for the 1844 mission; he appears to have spent a time in the French Army for experience and returned at the beginning of the reign of ʿAbbāṣ; he was employed in the police and later in the Palace under ʾIsāʾīl Pasha.

31. Sent on mission in 1844 and spent some time with the French Army; he was employed in the Army on his return in which he was promoted to a high rank. Sādīk (Pasha) is famous for his books on travels to the Holy Cities and another to Constantinople; he died in 1902.

32. Born at Damānīhir; sent to France in 1844 and on his return, held several administrative posts until he was made a judge in the Mixed Courts at Alexandria; he died in 1847.

33. Sent to France in 1844 and was attached to the class for Civil Administration; he did not return from France until 1862 when he was employed in the Jihādīyah; he was engaged in translating military codes.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

34. Brother of 33; sent to France 1844, and then to London 1845; returned to Egypt in November, 1850; he studied civil administration.

35. Sent to France, 1844, and studied civil administration; returned, 1849; amongst the posts he held was the editorship of the Wahbit Misriyyah; he had an excellent command of French and Turkish. Died, 1855.

36. Sent to France in 1844 and studied civil administration and later; in 1849, his full name appears to have been Sahib (Pasha) Sharmi and he held several important administrative posts in many departments.

37. Sent to France, 1844, and returned in 1857; he was appointed Nasir of the Primary School in An-Nasiriyah and then the Preparatory School in Darb al-Gamid and in 1876 and the Muhandis Khairal in 1887. He translated a book from French with Isma'il Pasha al-Falaki.

38. Son of Hasan Pasha Haidar; born, 1825; sent to France in 1844; stayed in France until 1855; in the meantime, his father had returned to Constantinople with many other dignitaries owing to their disagreement with Abbâs, Rishid; followed his father to Constantinople when he finished his studies; and was given employment in the Turkish Government; became Governor of several provinces, including Syria and Bosnia; died, 1876.

39. The authorities are not certain as to whom this 'Ali Fahmi was.

40. Son of the famous Mustafa Mukhtar, Nasir Dâwân al-Madâris; sent to France in 1844; held several important posts on his return including the wakibship of the Interior; in 1873, he was made madir of the Gharibiyah province; he later was made inspector of Upper Egypt and then Lower Egypt.

41. Brother of Kâmi Bey (Pasha) whose name has been met in connection with the members of the Council of the Schools Administration; 'Uthman was already an employee when he was chosen for the mission of 1844; Kâmi returned to Constantinople during the reign of Abbâs and 'Uthman followed him on completion of his studies; on his arrival in Constantinople, he was given employment in the Turkish Army and rose to a high rank; he was sent on a special mission to Egypt in 1864 and died on his return to Constantinople in 1865.

42. Second son of Ibrahim Pasha; born, 1830; was educated in the High School at al-Khanqah; went to Vienna before he joined the Egyptian School in Paris; he became the Khedive of Egypt in 1869.

43. Son of Muhammad 'Ali; born, 1831, and educated at the High School with Isma'il; he was involved with the rest of the family with Abbâs I, mostly over the inheritance; he held several high posts during the reign of Sa'id Pasha, including the nasirship of the Dâwan al-Sifâhiyyah and Habimdar of the Sudan; he became involved with Isma'il in the succession to the throne of Egypt and went to Constantinople in order to put his case before the Sultan but without any success; he stayed there for the rest of his life and died in 1894.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

44. Brother of 22; studied civil administration; went to Constantinople and was employed in the diplomatic service; he became ambassador at Athens, St. Petersberg, Vienna and Paris, the latter post he was unable to take up; he also filled several ministerial posts; he married Nazill Hanoum, the daughter of Mustafa Fadil; Nazill Hanoum was reputed to have become involved with politicians, especially in Egypt. Khâlid Pasha died in 1879.

45. Brother of 22 and 44; returned to Egypt after having completed his studies and was appointed on the staff of the Army; he retired early but was elected as President of the Legislative Assembly in 1884; he became involved with Mahmud Pasha ash-Shawari, a member of the same council, Husain Wasi Pasha, Governor of the Canal, Doctor Abdal-Hamid ash-Shari, and other individuals in connection with the slave trade; they were all brought before a High Court of Discipline and were imprisoned; Sharif was able to avoid imprisonment on account of ill-health, but he had to resign his Presidency. He died in 1897.

46. Chosen from the Artillery School and sent to France in 1844; the authorities were not satisfied with him in Paris and he was returned to Egypt in 1848 on account of bad behaviour; he was disgraced on his return.

47. Was sent back with 46 for the same reason.

48. Was already an employee before being sent to France in 1844; he did well in France and received a prize for his progress; he returned to Egypt in March, 1855, and filled many posts in the government. 'Arif (Pasha) is best known in Egypt on account of his literary tastes and his excellent work for the revival of Arabic classical studies; he was responsible for the society called the Society for the Publication of Useful Books which also had a press called the Mabûl al-Madâris and which published many works; the society was under the patronage of Taufik Pasha and the Presidency of 'Arif Pasha. Unfortunately, 'Arif Pasha became involved in a political scandal on behalf of Hallam Pasha and had to leave the country for Constantinople where he died.

49. Son of Ahmad Agha who was employed in the Dâwan al-Khadim; sent to Paris in 1844; on his return, he was employed in the administration and in 1874, was governor of Damietta.

50. Chosen in 1844 and did well in his studies in the Egyptian School; stayed in France until June, 1861; he also studied medicine and on his return to Egypt, was attached to the medical service of the Egyptian Army; according to Amin Salm, he was the brother of Boghos Bey (Pasha); a 'Dûn does not agree that Botro was connected with Muhammad 'Ali's Nâsir of Commerce and Foreign Affairs.

51. He was related to Boghos and brought to Egypt by him and given employment; sent to Paris in 1844 and attached to the 3rd class where he received a prize; returned to Egypt in 1849 and was rapidly promoted to high posts in the railways and commerce departments and in 1855, was made Nâsir of Public Works; in 1866, he was made Nâsir of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister in 1878; he was Prime Minister again in 1884 until 1886 and for the third time in 1891 until 1895; died 1899.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

53. Sent to France in 1844 and returned 1856; appears to have been employed in the civil administration.

54. Probably a brother of 52 and appears to have been employed in the same way. (Armenian as 51 and 52).

55. As with Betrô, Nûbûr, and the two Khashdûrûs, he did not arrive until June, 1845; returned to Egypt in 1856; probably employed in the administration on his return but little is known of him.

56. Arrived in Paris, June, 1845; appears to have returned in September, 1849; in 1861, he was mudir of al-Buhairah; in 1862, he was employed in the Legislative Assembly; in the registers, he is confused with other officials.

57. Studied at the High School at al-Shâkhâb before going to Paris in June, 1845; returned in 1849, but little is known about him after that.

58. Sent in 1844, but nothing else is known about him.

59. Sent in 1844; stayed in France until 1852 and was then sent to England, he returned to Egypt in 1856; little is known of his activities after his return.

60. Sent in 1844 and returned in 1849; he was Nâṣîr of the Military School opened by Sa'id Pasha in the Citadel from 1850 to 1861; he was later employed in the Foreign Affairs Department.

61. Sent in 1844; his father was a shâlihzâ and lived in Darb al-Ahmar; he returned in 1849, but little is known about his work except that he was given the title of Bey.

62. His father, Mahû Bey, was Husânine of the Sûdân under Muhammâd 'Ali in 1824; sent to Paris in June, 1845; fell ill and returned in 1847; he died soon after his return.

63. Arrived in Paris in June, 1845; appears to have returned in 1849; little is known of him except that he was a good Turkish and French scholar.

64. Sent to Paris in June, 1845; returned in 1849; nothing else is known about him.

65. Sent in June, 1845 and returned in March, 1855; he was employed in the army and in 1866, was promoted to the rank of Biebekshé.

66. Sent to France in June, 1845; returned in 1856; was employed in the army until about 1859 and then made wâshî of the governorate of Musawwa; nothing else is known about him.

67. He was the son of the Imâm of the mission, and was sent to France in 1837 while he was only eight years of age; he was sent to St. Louis School and later to Saint Cyr; he was attached to the French army and was promoted to the rank of Captain; he returned to Egypt in 1861; he was employed in the Military School until 1864, then the railways until 1865; from 1865 to 1866, he was in the Public Works Department and then from 1866 to 1879, he was an instructor in the Military School; from 1879 to 1886, he was in charge of the Translation Bureau in the Finance Department; he was made European Secretary to the Governor of the Red Sea Coast until 1887 and then appointed professor of French at the Military School for a couple of months in the same year; in 1881, he was made a judge in the Mixed Courts and in 1903, was

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

made Honorary President of the same Courts and was made a Pasha; he died in 1905.

68. Sent to France in 1845 and returned in 1847; he had studied in the School of Pharmaceutics before leaving for France and was sent to study chemistry and soap making; on his return, he was made a teacher in his old school.

69. As with 67, he had studied at the same school, and was sent to France to study for the same purpose; he returned in 1847; he was employed as a teacher at various schools, the Medical School, the Muhandisîshân, the Military School and later, the Agricultural School under Isma'il Pasha. He translated a number of works on Botany, Zoology, Chemistry and Physics besides writing for the Raudût al-Madâris; died, 1897.

70. His father was a shâlihzâ (Sevîyç Idris) who lived near al-Fushûn; he was first of all sent to al-Azhar and then chosen for the School of Languages and sent to Paris to learn civil administration; he stayed about six years in France and on his return was attached to the translation department of Schools Administration; under Sa'id Pasha, he was employed in the Finance Department and under Isma'il Pasha, was made President of the Chamber of Commerce in Alexandria; in 1875, he was made an adviser in the Court of Appeal in the same town, but he died in 1876.

71. Was already an employee when chosen for mission in 1845; he returned in July, 1848, and was employed in Veterinary School. He was already an employee when sent to Paris in 1845; on his return in July, 1848, he was given a post in the Veterinary School; under Isma'il Pasha, he was made Nâṣîr of the Veterinary School; he wrote a book on his subject, for the use of Cavalry and Artillery Officers.

72. Studied at the School of Medicine in Cairo before being sent to France to study the same subject; sent in 1845 and returned in 1847; he was probably employed at his old school.

73. Studied at the School of Medicine; in 1842, he was a Yâbedshish in charge of a translation department under Rifâ'î; in 1845, he was sent to France to study medicine and returned in 1847 and was attached to the School of Medicine and eventually became wâshî of the School; but in 1858, he was disgraced on account of neglect of duty; he was re-employed in the following year and died in April, 1864.

74. Had studied medicine before going to France to specialise in dentistry; he was sent in 1845 and returned in 1847 and appointed as teacher at his old school.

75. Had studied under Rifâ'î in the School of Languages; was sent to France in 1844 to study civil administration; he stayed in France until 1849; on his return, he was appointed as a teacher of his subject in the School of Languages.

76. Had studied in the School of Pharmaceutics and was sent to France in 1845 in order to study Physics and Chemistry; he did not return until 1863 and was employed in the Health Department; he was later given employment in the mint and then made Nâṣîr of the gunpowder factory in Old Cairo.

77. Studied medicine and was sent to France in 1847; returned
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

in March, 1855; probably employed at the School of Medicine on
his return.
78. Had studied at the School of Pharmaceutics; sent to
France in 1847 to study the same subject; died in 1862.
79. Studied Medicine and was sent to France in 1847 for the
same subject; returned in 1855; on his return, he was made
teacher of physiology and skin diseases; became wakil of the School
of Medicine in 1880; died, 1906.
80. Born in Cairo, 1825; studied in the School of Pharmaceutics
and sent to France in 1847 for the same subject; he later took up
medicine, specialising in obstetrics; he returned to Egypt in 1862
and was given various posts in the School of Medicine and was
eventually made wakil of the school; he was sent on special missions
to the Sudan and to the Hijaz; died in 1879.

The Egyptian School was closed in May, 1849, by ‘Abbās
Pasha in order to effect some economy in the budget; by this
time, the Egyptian students who were still studying in France
were working in French schools. From the biographical notes
on the students who were attached to this mission, the experi-
ment seems to have been more successful than any previously
made; the students were all under one control and they were
allowed more liberty in the choice of subjects of study. Many
of the students still appear to have been Turkish or Armenian.
The School received the full support of ‘Ībrāhīm Pasha who was
undoubtedly interested in it from the point of view of producing
good officers; he had made up his mind to send another mission
of very young students but he died before he could do so.

The following biographical notes are given for the other
students who were sent to Austria and England during the
same period:—

81. Studied medicine and surgery in Cairo and sent to Austria
in January, 1845; he studied ophthalmology and when he returned
to Cairo in 1849, he was made a teacher of his subject; he died
in 1883.
82. He was sent to Austria for the same purpose as 81 and
when he returned to Egypt was employed as a teacher in the same
school.
83 to 87. Five Azharis were sent to France to study law in 1847
but their names are not known.
88. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah in 1847 to learn mechanics;
returned about 1850 and was employed on the railways.
89. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah and sent to England in
1847 as 88; returned in 1852; employed for some time looking
for gold in the Sudan and was later probably employed on the
railways; his name is most likely ‘Arna‘ūṭ instead of ‘Arnabūṭ as given
in the official registers.

1Tāṣfin, op. cit., p. 370. 2Loc. cit.

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

90. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah and sent to England in
1847 and was probably employed on the railways on his return
in 1852.
91. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah and sent to England to
learn mechanics in 1847; he returned in 1850 and was employed
on the railways; he was master of several stations, then wakil of
the Dīwān al-Kurmāh (Customs) then appointed judge in the Mixed
Courts in Alexandria in June, 1875; in August, 1882, he was made
Prefect of Police in Alexandria and in February, 1883, Governor
of Alexandria until May, 1883, when he was put on pension with
the title of Pasha; he died in 1907.
92. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah and sent to England in
1847 to study mechanics and railway administration and manage-
ment; returned in 1853; on his return, he was employed on the
railways; he was master of several stations and eventually became
General Manager of the Railways; in June, 1876, he became Governor
of Cairo; he then was made General Manager of Railways which
were then being built in the Sudan (in 1876) and then Mu‘āmir of
the Finance Department in the same country; in September, 1877, he
was made Mu‘āmir of the Alexandrian Police; he was then chosen
for the Khedive’s Muḥrār and made President of the Committee
of Investigation into the ‘Arābī rebellion; in 1882, he was Nāẓir
of the Finance Department; he died in 1890.
93. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah in 1847 for the same
purpose as the above, but was sent back from England in July, 1848
for disobedience to his teacher for which he was given five years’
hard labour on his return “as a lesson to himself and an example
to others.”
94. He was an engineer in the Dīwān al-Mudāris when he was
chosen to go to England to study mechanics in 1847; he returned
in 1853 and was at first given employment in the Railways Depart-
ment and then in the workshop of the ‘Amaliyyat; he went back
to the Railways after a time and was promoted in 1866 to ‘Amir al-
‘Abd; died, 1897.
95. He was a draughtsman in the Dīwān al-Mudāris when he
was chosen for mission to England in 1847; returned to Egypt,
1853, and was appointed in the Carriage Building Department of the
Railways; he built one particular carriage for Sa‘d Pasha which
was called after him as ‘Arabat ‘Uthmān Yāsiji.
96. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah in 1847 and sent to
England to study mechanics; returned to Egypt in 1855; he was
appointed in the Telegraph Dept. of the Railways; he was replaced
by an Englishman during the reign of Ismā‘il Pasha and placed on
pension.
97. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah in 1847 and sent to
England; returned in 1853 and was employed on the Railways.
Married to an Englishwoman.
98. Chosen from the ‘Muhandiskhānah in 1847 and sent to
England; returned in 1856; he was employed on the Railways
and then in the Carriage Building Department for a long time; he
had bad eye trouble and resigned to settle down in England where
he had an English wife. He died in England.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

99. Chosen from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and sent to England from where he returned in 1856; he was an engineer in the Carriage Building Dept. and then a Carriage Inspector; he married to an Englishwoman.

100. Was chosen from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and sent to England from where he returned in 1851; nothing is known about him.

101. Chosen from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and sent to England from where he returned in 1853; nothing else is known about him.

102. Chosen from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and sent to England; his date of return is not known; he was employed on the Railways.

103. Chosen from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and sent to England, but his date of return is not known; he was first of all employed on the Railways but he suffered from diabetes and had to retire.

104. Was chosen from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1848 and sent to England from where he returned in 1856; he was employed in the Railways Administration.

105. Was chosen from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and when he returned from England, he was employed as a translator in the Railways Administration.

106. Was chosen from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and sent to England; when he returned in 1852, he was appointed as a teacher in the Madrasat al-Amaliyyīt.

107. Sent to England from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and when he returned in 1852, was appointed in the Madrasat al-Amaliyyīt; he was later made an engineer in the Sugar Factories at Armant.

108. Sent to England from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 and returned in 1856; was employed on the Railways.

109. Sent to England in 1847 from the Muhandishkhānāh and returned in 1856; nothing else is known about him.

110. Sent to England in 1847 from the Muhandishkhānāh and returned in 1851 but nothing else is known about him.

111. Sent to England in 1847 from the Muhandishkhānāh and returned in 1852 when he was employed in the Railways Administration.

112. Sent from the Muhandishkhānāh in 1847 to England and returned in 1856; on his return, he was employed as a telegraph engineer.

113–133. The carpenters were chosen from among the artisans of the Alexandria Dockyards and were sent on the Sharkiyāh, an Egyptian frigate built in these dockyards.

The School of Languages

This school, already referred to above in various places, deserves special attention. It was placed under the director-

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

ship of Rifā‘ah who had been called upon to share in the re-organisation of the schools.1 Rifā‘ah had been a student and a teacher of al-Azhar before being employed by Muhammad 'Ali. He had studied under the best Azhari teachers2 and was particularly attached to Shaikh Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār who used to give him lessons in history, geography and literature. Poverty forced him to seek employment, for when Muhammad 'Ali had confiscated the Itisamāl in the early years of his reign, the family of Rifā‘ah had been affected thereby, and while Rifā‘ah was studying at al-Azhar, his mother had had to sell a part of her jewellery and private property in order to help him.3

Muhammad 'Ali gave him a post as Imām and preacher to one of the regiments and he was later chosen for the education mission of 1826 to serve in the same capacity.4 Immediately he was appointed, he began to learn French, and during his stay in France, he attracted the attention of Jomard and de Sacy who encouraged him to take up the study of literature, geography and history and to specialise in the art of translation. He could never pronounce French very well, probably, according to Majdī,5 because he began to study it late in life or because he gave too much attention to writing his translations, his principal object being the understanding of the French texts in order to translate them rather than the reproduction of a perfect French accent. It is doubtful whether he was able to make sufficient contacts with French speaking people while in France and so acquire fluency. Even while he was in France, he began his translations from French into Arabic; he translated several works on history, geography, mineralogy, geometry, astronomy, law, mythology, hygiene and other subjects, which suggests that he must have read a great deal and much more than the other members of the mission who had been set to work on military and purely technical studies. Rifā‘ah read Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and Racine, and wrote, in addition to his translations, the only human document of his age, namely his Taḥḥīs al-Ibrīs fi Taḥḥīs Bāris, generally referred to as the Rihlah or "Journey (to Paris)."6

1 v. supra, p. 191 sqq.
2 Among his best teachers can be named Shaikh al-Fadlālī, Ḥasan al-Kawāsimī, ad-Danāḥū, an-Najājī, ‘Abd al-Ghanī ad-Dunyāyī, Iḥābīm al-Bījārī, Muhammad Hubaysī and ad-Danāḥū.
3 Majdī, Rīḥat al-Zaman, MS. p. 15.
4 Ibid., p. 17, and supra, pp. 162, 167.
6 Published by the Būlāk Press in 1834.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

It is the most interesting of his literary efforts, for it reflects the mentality of the Azharī preacher in his comparisons, criticisms and exhortations. This work was translated into Turkish by Rustum Ef. under the title of Siyahat Nâmeh and had a wider circulation in Turkish than in Arabic, for Muḥammad ‘Alī had it distributed to all his officials and had copies sent to Constantinople.

Some of his translations were probably sent off to Egypt for, on his return to Egypt in 1831, he was appointed chief translator in the School of Medicine in the place ‘Anṣūrī. He did not contribute much towards the translation work done in the School of Medicine, and was transferred to the Artillery School at Tūrā in 1833 where he translated several works on military science and engineering. In 1834, he went to Taḥṭā to avoid the plague which had broken out in Cairo and during his stay in his native town, he finished a translation of a part of Malibrun’s work on geography for which Muḥammad ‘Alī promoted him to the rank of Şāhābūl Aḵāsī. He continued at the Artillery School but he does not appear to have been satisfied with his position. In 1836, probably in connection with his work on the Councils that were deliberating on the reorganisation of the school’s administration, he drew up a plan for the opening of the School of Translation which Muḥammad ‘Alī accepted and the school was set up in the palace of Alī Bey in al-Azbaḵiyah in June, 1836, under the nāṣirīshīp of a certain Ibrāhīm Ef. but Rifa‘īah took over in January of the following year. With the reorganisation of the schools in 1836–37, the School of Translation was now called the School of Languages but it would be misleading to think of this school merely as an institution where languages were taught. In spite of Pellissier’s adverse opinion on Rifa‘īah’s school, it seems to have been the most useful and most appropriate type of school since it was produced who could render a certain amount of good service to their country and who could fit in to the newly created administrations without being altogether divorced from their old cultural surroundings and without becoming so thoroughly ottomanised as were the graduates of the purely military schools. Rifa‘īah was an Azharī of the best type

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

and so represented the old school; he had also drawn on the West that knowledge which was best suited to widen the intellectual outlook of his compatriots without forcing them to specialise too narrowly in subjects which were only useful for war. With a school under his control, and he was the only pure Egyptian to be in such a position, he chose his students from Upper Egypt; they were his own provincials whom he could understand and who spoke his language. At the beginning, there were only fifty of them but their numbers were soon increased to three times that number and were recruited from all over Egypt. At first, Arabic, Turkish, French, mathematics, history and geography were taught; later, Italian and English were added to the curriculum, but in 1842, when the system broke down and Muḥammad ‘Alī was forced to cut down the number of schools, Rifa‘īah was given further responsibilities.

The Preparatory School at Abū Za‘bal had been closed down in January, 1842, and, according to Sāliḥ Majd, the students were transferred to the palace in which Rifa‘īah was directing the School of Languages and were placed under his control, probably still forming a Preparatory School. This may have been the one which Pellissier visited in 1849, although it is not referred to in the official records as a Preparatory School. About the same time, another important school or branch was opened under Rifa‘īah in the same building, viz., the School of Islamic Law and Jurisprudence, and, still further, a School of Accountancy. Probably the various attempts to open such schools were now amalgamated into one, and a School of European Administration, probably that which had been functioning in the Citadel under Artūn and Solon’s School of Administrative Law, were now combined. All these schools were placed under Rifa‘īah with the name of Madrasat Al-ʿAlam wa l-Mahāsābah, i.e., the School of Languages and Accountancy, and in 1849, on the accession of Ḩabīb I, it had 320 students altogether, whereas, in 1839–40, as the School of Languages, it had only 137.

Contemporary writers record nothing of this developmental state but state that the School of Languages no longer existed as such and had become a mere Translation Bureau. Actually what happened in 1842 was that a Translation Bureau was formed from the best students and others were posted either as teachers

---

1 Published by the Bālāk Press in 1840.
2 Majd, op. cit., pp. 33–34. The work was eventually published in three large volumes in 1834 (1838).
3 v. supra, p. 198.
4 v. supra, p. 240.
6 v. supra, p. 140.
7 v. supra, p. 15.
8 v. supra, pp. 235–6 and 240.
9 v. supra, pp. 207–8, 218–9.
10 v. supra, p. 179.
11 Ibid., p. 10.
12 Majd, op. cit., p. 25.
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND TO THE REMAINING SCHOOLS OR TO ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS. THE SCHOOL AS A WHOLE REMAINED OPEN UNTIL MAY, 1857, AND PROBABLY THE LANGUAGE TEACHING SIDE OF IT WAS LESS IMPORTANT, BUT DURING THE EARLIER PERIOD, I.E., UP TO 1842, RİF'AĤ PRODUCED MANY YOUNG MEN WHO, LATER ON, CONTRIBUTED CONSIDERABLY TOWARDS THE CREATION OF NEW CULTURAL ÉLITES IN EGYPTIAN SOCIETY. THE MERE FACT THAT THE SCHOOL WAS UNDER THE CAPABLE AND LEARNED RİF'AĤ, A MAN WHO APPRECIATED HIS OWN RELIGIOUS CULTURE TO THE FULL BUT ALSO REALISED THAT IT HAD MANY FAULTS AND GAPS WHICH COULD ONLY BE REMEDIED AND FILLED IN BY BORROWING FROM THE BEST, MEANT THAT SOME EFFORT WOULD BE MADE AT THIS SCHOOL TO TEACH A COMBINATION OF ISLAMIC AND WESTERN LEARNING THAT WOULD BENEFIT THE STUDENTS.


Fortunately, we have the names of some of RİF'AĤ'S students preserved in the work left by ŞĀŶĪH MAĞĪ and they seem to have been as proud to have studied under him as the mosque students in former times when they had read under a particularly good and universally known teacher. The following list of the more important names will suffice to show RİF'AĤ's influence. It is comparatively easy to trace a fuller history of many of them; some were sent to Europe to specialise but the list will show that much praise is due to RİF'AĤ not only for his efforts in the field of literature and translation, but for his very large share in

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

Helping to form a type of man who could take part in the administration of the country and of which Egypt had such great need.

Amongst the Students who entered the School in 1836–7:—

Name
Muḥammad Muṣṭaḏā al-Bayyā. European correspondence departments.
Khalīfah Muḥāmād. Translator.
Abū's-Suṭṭāl. Writer, translator, editor of the Wādī-an-Nī newspaper founded in 1866; history teacher.
Muḥammad ʿAbdār-Razzāk. Translator.
ʿAbdāl-Jaḥī. Translator. Private secretary to ʿImām al-Paḥa.
 Hóaāi Ḥanāfī. v. supra, p. 251, No. 10.
Muḥammad al-Qaḥārī. v. supra, p. 251, No. 4.
Hasan Ḥanāfī. Translator.
Maḥmūd al-Jułānī. v. supra, p. 222, No. 2.
Ṣād Maḏjī. Translator.
Maḥmūd al-Kūṣī. Translator. Employed Passport Dept. (European.)
Ḥāṣānaḥ ʿAbād-Dīk. Teacher and translator.
Maḥmūd al-Ṭāḥāī. Writer and judge.
Hasan as-Sīmār. v. supra, p. 252, No. 75.
Maḥmūd ʿAyyād. Translator.
Atiyāh Rādānī. Teacher and translator.
Maḥmūd Zahrān. Teacher.

Amongst the Students who entered the School in 1837
ʿAbdālīlāh as-Sayyād. v. supra, p. 252, No. 69.
Muṣṭaḏā as-Sārāj. Translator. Employed Foreign correspondence dept.
Ṣāʾīḥ Maḏjī. Teacher, writer, poet, translator.
Maḥmūd Ruṣūdī. Translator. Foreign correspondence dept.
Muḥammad at-Tāḥāi. Teacher and translator; one of the first to specialise in English.
Maḥmūd al-Ṣūḥāḥī. v. supra, p. 252, No. 62.
Khāṣār Ḥamān. Went to Constantinople.
## THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Abbas-Salām Sulmī</td>
<td>Translator. Foreign correspondence dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ali Shukri</td>
<td>Translator and teacher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muḥammad Lāz</td>
<td>Translator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṣṭafā ʿAṭāwlat</td>
<td>Knew Greek, Arabic, French and Turkish. Translator. Employed in Palace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṣṭafā al-Karīḍāli</td>
<td>Translator and employed in Palace.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Zayyūr al-Labīb.</td>
<td>Translator and employed on Railways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥmad Ṣaft-addin</td>
<td>Administrator. Translator and employed in Public Works Dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿUṯmān Faūzī</td>
<td>Knew Italian and French; employed in schools dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as-Ṣayyid ʿImārāh</td>
<td>Translator. Employed in Health Dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahṣr Aḥmad</td>
<td>Translator and famous calligraphist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥasām Kāsim</td>
<td>Accountant. Teacher and translator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāsim Asʿād</td>
<td>School director; knew Greek, French, Turkish and Arabic; famous calligraphist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ismāʿīl Sīrī</td>
<td>Calligraphist and employed in Washington dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥasān ʿIṣwāl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muṣṭafā Abū Zaid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murād Muḥtrūr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥasān Wafāʾī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names of some of the students who entered the school shortly after 1837:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad Shīmī</td>
<td>Accountant. Worked on Railways. Translator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad ʿAẓmī</td>
<td>The most important translator of law books and writer on the same subject. His voluminous works are still in use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAbbas-Samī 'Abdar-Raḥīm.</td>
<td>Writer and translator on law. Translator and employed in Alexandria Governorate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥmad Muḥfrūd</td>
<td>Translator.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

## LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baḥr ʿAbdallāh</td>
<td>Chief Clerk in Foreign Affairs dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿUbadillāh Maḥfūz</td>
<td>Arabic correspondence dept. al-Gizārah madīrisāyah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥasan ʿOṣūf</td>
<td>Storekeeper. Employed on the Railways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿUmar ʿṢāḥīb</td>
<td>Employed on the Railways.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAlī Raschidād</td>
<td>Translator and employed in the Foreign Affairs dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥmad Huīmī</td>
<td>Translator, Accountant and employed in the Foreign Affairs dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿAbdallāh ʿOṣūf</td>
<td>Translator and employed in the Foreign Affairs dept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿImām</td>
<td>Translator and employed in the Customs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matwallī Maḥmūd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While directing this combined school of languages, law, administration and accountancy, Rūfaḥ was rapidly promoted to the rank of Amīralāṭī; his fate under the successors of Muḥammad ʿAlī will be dealt with in the subsequent chapters.

### Non-Governmental Education Work

During Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, several attempts were made to set up schools either by private persons or by missionaries. Missionary and non-Egyptian schools had already been in existence in Egypt during the eighteenth century but during the first two decades of Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign, very little is heard about them, and apparently little effort was made to develop them.

### The Armenian School

The first private school set up under Muḥammad ʿAlī was that of the Armenians in 1828; it was attached to the Orthodox Church at Būlāk and appears to have been an elementary school. It was undoubtedly due to the influential position of the Armenian community at Court that it was encouraged to give some attention to the education of its children. We have only to mention the names of Boghos, Arūn, Estēfēn, Hekeyēn and ʿOṣūf Ef. who were all in good positions and who received Muḥammad ʿAlī's favour and marked attention.

### The School of Languages

On the 30th November, 1829, a certain Uwais as-Samānī
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

ar-Rumānī opened a school in al-Mūskī in which he taught Arabic, French and Italian; he also taught in private houses.1 Uwais is called a European in the authorities quoted but he was probably a Syrian who had lived in Italy or France for some time and had returned to Egypt to seek his fortune; the school appears to have taught nothing else but languages and it is significant that there was a private demand for language instruction.

The Jewish Schools

In 1840, Adolphe Crémieux, Sir Moses Montefiore and Solomon Munk went to Syria and Egypt in connection with the alleged ritual murder of the Catholic priest, Père Thomas, at Damascus, and a Christian child by Elyakim de Léon at Rhodes in the same year. These two incidents seem to have been the result of anti-Jewish feelings and were followed by a considerable persecution of the Jews, especially in Syria. Through the joint efforts of Crémieux, Montefiore and Munk, a firman was issued by the Sultān on the 28th October, 1841,2 which settled the dispute for the time being. While Crémieux was in Egypt, his public spirit led him to the conclusion that much could be done for the moral and material improvement of the condition of his co-religionists and he decided to make some attempt to establish schools for them. Solomon Munk, who was a Hebrew and Arabic scholar, was asked to make an appeal to the Jews of the two towns, Cairo and Alexandria, to assemble in order to discuss the matter with him.3

Two schools were set up in Cairo on the 4th October, 1840,4 one for boys and the other for girls; the schools were called Écoles Crémieux but the Jews declared that they could not afford to maintain them themselves, whereupon Crémieux promised them pecuniary aid which he at first provided himself.5 This attempt to set up schools for the Jews is mentioned by Hamont,6 who was struck by the bearing of the children. It would appear that other children were allowed to attend these schools as the Jewish children were made to distinguish themselves by wearing badges on their breasts on which was stamped the name of the school.7

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

These schools were badly needed for the Jewish community which was growing very rapidly; by the middle of the nineteenth century, there were 6,000 indigenous Jews and 200 Italian Jews in Cairo alone;8 after the digging of the Mahmūdīyah Canal, there was a great movement of Jews to Alexandria but no mention is made of any modern school of their own at this period.

The Greek Schools

The Greek Schools of Cairo and Alexandria that were in use up to the beginning of the nineteenth century have been described as far as possible in an earlier chapter of this work.9 Politis proves by notes written by the Patriarchs that the schools not only existed in Cairo up to 182510 but gradually developed on a larger scale.11 Politis makes no attempt to give an account of the activities of the school between 1825 and 1848, the school had probably closed down and was reopened in 1843 under the name of the Hyppapanti Greek Orthodox School.12 During the interval, the Greeks probably went to Muḥammad 'Alī's schools; St. John mentions that the Καστάλιος school had many Greek pupils accommodated in it.13

During the period under discussion, the Greek colony in Cairo did not develop with the rapidity and progress of that of Alexandria; Politis puts it down to the fact that the Cairo colony was of old standing and that the Cairene Greeks had not the energy of the new arrivals who settled in Alexandria for the most part; the Cairene Greeks were generally of modest means and had not such opportunities for making money as at Alexandria.14 He maintains that they had the only Greek school in Egypt until that of Alexandria was established in 1843.15 The Cairo Greek Orthodox Community did not organise itself until during the reign of Sa'id Pasha.16

To return to the Greek school in Cairo, it appears that it was situated in the Hamāāwī quarter17 and by 1848 had two classes on account of the large number of students, but the staff does not

2 Chittim, II/1357, and Wahābi Misriyyah, No. 89, 3rd Jamādā II, 1345.
7 Hamont, op. cit., Vol. I/382.
8 These schools were badly needed for the Jewish community which was growing very rapidly; by the middle of the nineteenth century, there were 6,000 indigenous Jews and 200 Italian Jews in Cairo alone; after the digging of the Mahmūdīyah Canal, there was a great movement of Jews to Alexandria but no mention is made of any modern school of their own at this period.
9 The Greek Schools of Cairo and Alexandria that were in use up to the beginning of the nineteenth century have been described as far as possible in an earlier chapter of this work. Politis proves by notes written by the Patriarchs that the schools not only existed in Cairo up to 1825 but gradually developed on a larger scale. Politis makes no attempt to give an account of the activities of the school between 1825 and 1848, the school had probably closed down and was reopened in 1843 under the name of the Hyppapanti Greek Orthodox School. During the interval, the Greeks probably went to Muḥammad 'Alī's schools; St. John mentions that the Καστάλιος school had many Greek pupils accommodated in it.
10 During the period under discussion, the Greek colony in Cairo did not develop with the rapidity and progress of that of Alexandria; Politis puts it down to the fact that the Cairo colony was of old standing and that the Cairene Greeks had not the energy of the new arrivals who settled in Alexandria for the most part; the Cairene Greeks were generally of modest means and had not such opportunities for making money as at Alexandria. He maintains that they had the only Greek school in Egypt until that of Alexandria was established in 1843. The Cairo Greek Orthodox Community did not organise itself until during the reign of Sa'id Pasha.
11 To return to the Greek school in Cairo, it appears that it was situated in the Hamāāwī quarter and by 1848 had two classes on account of the large number of students, but the staff does not
THE STUDY OF EDUCATION AND

appear to have been very large. The classes are said to have been divided into an elementary, a Greek primary and a French school with three teachers, though how this was affected with only two classes is not quite clear; in 1848, there is mention of an additional teacher for Arabic. The financial means of the school were insufficient to maintain it on a proper basis. The Patriarch accordingly appealed to the Cairene Greeks for donations, but as this appeal did not achieve much success, he had recourse to the richer Greeks of Alexandria, including Michel Tossizza, Constantin Tossizza, Jean d’Anastasy and Etienne Zizinia, for a supply of books to form a school library for the use of both teachers and students. The Cairo school appears to have continued under the care of the Patriarch of Alexandria until 1856, the date of the formation of the Greek Orthodox Community in Cairo.

The Alexandrian Greeks had a much better opportunity of forming an organised community and must have had greater vitality and initiative than their Cairene compatriots who had to depend on the charity of the former for the maintenance of their school. The Alexandrian community was founded in 1843 and eventually became the model for similar organisations all over Egypt. As the community grew, the necessity was felt for a hospital and a school; a general meeting was held in February, 1843, the proceedings of which are available, and subscription lists were opened with a view to establishing both the school and the hospital. Forty-five Greeks gave the total amount of PT.9,425 for the hospital, while one hundred and seventy-six gave PT.25,934 for the school; the names of the Tossizza brothers, Anastasy, Stournara and Zizinia are prominent in the list of subscribers. Politis points out that a school was already in existence before 1843 but that of 1843 was a regular school established by the community on a sound basis; the earlier one was most probably connected with the church or perhaps established by the Tossizza brothers and Stournara as suggested by Politis.

The new “communal” school had its first set of regulations

LITERATURE IN MODERN EGYPT

on the 31st May, 1843, drawn up by Stanatios Proios, Georges Minotto and Jean Iuos. It was still relatively small and it had only two masters, Samaripas and Coroneos, and a supervisor; it did not yet possess its own buildings but had to rent a house. A proper school building was not erected until 1854 on a site given by Michel Tossizza. The expenses of the school for the year 1844 were PT.24,525, and in 1855, PT.53,200; these figures do not point to a rapid growth or to extensive activities. With the exception of religion, all the subjects were obligatory; children who did not belong to the Orthodox Church were not allowed to follow the lessons on religion unless their parents or guardians requested it. This sensible principle was laid down in the regulations that were drawn up in May, 1843 and says much for the broad-mindedness of the Greeks. At first, the school syllabus appears to have been arranged on the same lines as the schools in Greece and to have followed a strictly classical programme; it was not until several decades later that the studies were made more practical and adapted to local requirements.

Catholic Missionary Schools

The pioneer work attempted by the Franciscans and others during the pre-Muhammad ‘Ali period has already been dealt with in the first part of this work.

During the first decades of Muhammad ‘Ali’s reign, there was hardly any opportunity for peaceful penetration by any foreign educational or religious body; real efforts were not made until after 1840 for a Catholic girls’ school was set up in Cairo in 1845 when the Maison du Bon Pasteur extended its activities to the Egyptian field. The movement had been started by the mother of M. de Neuville who had died in 1827 and had left a large sum of money for the establishment of homes and monasteries; by the end of the 19th century, there were about one hundred and forty monasteries all over the world attached to the Bon Pasteur mission of which five were in Asia and seven in Africa.

The Cairo establishment of the Bon Pasteur seems to have been the result of an invitation sent by the French colony itself to the mission headquarters through the French consul, M. de Laporte, and Mgr. Perpetuo Guasco asking them to start work there. The need for a school for French children was probably very great

1 Ibid., I/404-5.
2 Ibid., I/430.
3 Ibid., I/430-1.
4 Ibid., I/430.
5 Ibid., I/430.
6 Ibid., I/430.
7 Ibid., I/430.
8 Ibid., I/430.
9 Ibid., I/430.
10 Ibid., I/430.
11 Ibid., I/430.
12 Ibid., I/430.
13 Ibid., I/430.
14 Ibid., I/430.
15 Ibid., I/430.
16 Ibid., I/430.
17 Ibid., I/430.
18 Ibid., I/430.
19 Ibid., I/430.
20 Ibid., I/430.
21 Ibid., I/430.
22 Ibid., I/430.
23 Ibid., I/430.
24 Ibid., I/430.
25 Ibid., I/430.
26 Ibid., I/430.