WESTERN IMPACT ON THE MODERN EGYPTIAN SOCIETY AFTER NAPOLEON'S INVASION OF EGYPT

ABSTRACT

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
ISLAMIC STUDIES

By
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1972
of their country. The science and technology shook Egyptians from their traditional rigidity. It showed them that there was another world outside their own which had certain things to offer. With Napoleon's expedition marked the beginning of a new era. Egyptians started to have national consciousness. The impact of the brief three-year occupation was gradual and indirect and lasted long after the French had evacuated Egypt. It sowed the seed of modern civilization in Egypt.

After short British occupation Muhammed 'Ali ruled Egypt in the name of the Ottoman Sultan from 1805. But practically he detached Egypt from Turkey, especially after he had destroyed the Mamluk Beys and their power between 1805 and 1812. He had continuous efforts to reform the administration, develop agriculture, irrigation, public works and industry. He established order and tranquility in the country. He introduced massive European method and technology in all the activities and functions
of Muhammad 'Abduh and Muṣṭafā Kāmil and others were essentially Islamic response to European growing influences on Egypt. Jamal al-Dīn al Afghani asserted that the study of modern science, history and religion of Europe was necessary to know the reasons of the progress of the West. He wanted to unite all Muslim countries under one Islamic government. However, Muhammad 'Abduh wanted the progress and prosperity of the Muslim countries through education and purification of religion.

Western culture had great influence on Arabic language. Hundreds of books were translated into Arabic from European languages. The art of modern novel developed under the influence of Western literature. Similarly the drama in Egypt was born under the Western influence.

Journalism also flourished in Egypt and other Arab countries. The early start was given to press by Napoleon. He brought with
him not only a printing press but also inaugurated an official periodical press in order to keep the troops informed about events. Press in Egypt has served as a medium for the propagation of new ideas and movements for social, economic and political reform. The rise and development of the Egyptian press constitutes an important mirror of the evolution of modern Egypt. The press became a school for the evolution of a modern literary Arabic language.
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to study and analyse the impact of the West on the Modern Egyptian Society after Napoleon's invasion of Egypt.

It is an interesting if not a remarkable fact that none of the well known-contemporary authors who wrote the history of modern Egypt devotes more than a few pages to the subject of our study.

The study is divided into nine chapters. First chapter attempts to deal with the condition of Egypt at the time of Napoleon's invasion. Second chapter has advent of Napoleon and next chapter has the effects of his invasion. Next two chapters are about the modernisation of Egypt during Muhammad 'Ali and Isma'il Pasha. Similarly in the next three chapters I have discussed western influence on religion, Egyptian
The last is the concluding chapter.

I am particularly indebted to my supervisor Dr. Amjad Alī under whose supervision the study was made. His valuable remarks and suggestions concerning the subject and the organization of the matter helped me a great deal to prepare the thesis.

I also express my thanks to His Excellency Umar bin Abu Risha, Syrian Ambassador to India who gave me kind guidance and took special interest in going through the thesis.

Special thanks are due to the staff of libraries at Beirut, Cairo, London and Aligarh Muslim University for full cooperation. Further, I am thankful to my friends who have been constantly encouraging me in my work.
Chapter One

EGYPT AT THE TIME OF NAPOLEON’S INVASION.
Since ancient times, Egypt has maintained a prominent place in the history of civilization in the Middle East. She acted, on the one hand, as a connecting link between the countries of the East and the West; on the other, as refuge for civilization whenever it faced danger.(1)

Egypt in the middle ages linked the Islamic civilization with the European countries on the Mediterranean littoral, at the same time it became the very home of this Islamic civilization and preserved it from peril when other Islamic

(1) Dr. Shawaki Qaif: al-Adab al-‘Arabī al-Mu‘āṣir, p.20
countries collapsed before the Mongol invasions and the Ottoman spread their power over the Islamic lands of the Middle East.

Geographically a part of Africa, Egypt has been throughout the ages historically and culturally a part of Western Asia. With greater Syria and Iraq it forms one Arab block.

The most populous and one of the most important countries of the modern Middle East, Egypt was one of the first to come under direct European influence. Egypt was the first country in the Middle East to fall under foreign domination (1882) and one of the last to regain its complete sovereignty (1954).

In 1796, at the time of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, the population of Egypt consisted of about 2,500,000, (1) divided into four classes. Two of these i.e. Copts and Turks, did not number more than 200,000 each, the majority of the population was the Arabs. They numbered more than 2,000,000.

(1) 'Abd al-Rehman al-Rafi'i, Tarikh al-Harakat al-Qawmiyya, p.43, Vol.1
(a) **Geographical and Physical Condition of Egypt**:

Egypt is situated at the junction of Africa and Asia. Superficially, Egypt covers a large territory, 386,196 square miles, (1) almost as large an area as Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan combined. But the real Egypt, the land upon which the Egyptians live and work, is only a tiny part of the whole, less than 4 per cent. Most Egyptians are directly or indirectly dependant upon agriculture. (2) As the Nile rises the flood water is admitted to the basins to a depth of up to 6 feet via canals leading from the river, and the water lies on the land for a period up to two months. Fertile silt is deposited by the flood and the ground is thoroughly soaked before the water is allowed to drain back to the river when the level of the flood is falling (3).

Egypt has attracted the great state-builders and conquerors of the past. Egypt's strategic significance was immensely increased with the

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(1) Lucile Carlson: *Africa’s lands and Nations*, p.116

(2) In Egypt cotton alone provides about 80 per cent of agricultural income and 16 per cent of the total national income.

(3) H.R. Jarrett: *Africa*, p.147
construction in 1869 of the Suez Canal. (1) The canal was opened in 1869, internationally owned by a French Company in which Great Britain was the major shareholder, it was to allow passage to ships of all nations. The Suez canal was one of the most remarkable changes that man has imposed upon geography.

(b) Political condition:

The first quarter of the sixteenth century saw the fall of the Arab World within the orbit of Ottoman rule and influence while Europe was disengaging itself from the spiritual hold of Rome and embarking upon the hazardous yet challenging road of freedom, the Arab world was being isolated and insulated against almost all outside influences and changes. The process of isolation and insulation continued unabated for almost three centuries coming to an abrupt end at the time of the Napoleon expedition against Egypt in 1798.

George Baldwin, (2) describing the political

(1) Dr. Shawqi Daif: *Al-Adab al-'Arabi al-Mu'asir*, p. 15

(2) He was the Consul-General of His Majesty George III, and attached to the Commander-in-Chief during the campaign.
structure of Egypt at that time relates: "I am puzzled to define its governments. Who has ever defined it? It is neither a dependent nor independent state; yet, it is nominally subject to the Ottoman Porte, and virtually independent."

Egypt, consisting of some five thousand Janissaries, (2) was under a viceroy, entitled Pasha, but it had twelve districts which were administered by Mamluk governors. No radical changes were introduced into the administration then or later. Even the Mamluk governor or Bey, to use his title, had his own troops and slaves but acknowledged Turkish suzerainty by payment of annual tribute.

Powerful Pashas among them made puppets of the Ottoman viceroys and defied Constantinople by failing to remit what was due. (3) Though

(1) George Baldwins Political Recollections Relative to Egypt, p. 43

(2) also Janizary, one of the body of Turkish infantry forming Sultan's guard (It was abolished in 1826).

(3) Hitti: The Near East in History, p. 430
a caste by themselves, replenished by the
importation of fresh slaves from the Caucasus,
the beys had some advantages over the Pashas
who were temporarily appointed, remote from
the base, and ignorant of the language and
customs of the people governed. At best a
Pasha's tenure of office, which he had very
likely bought, was of short duration. His
chief concern was often how to replenish his
own resources. During the two hundred and
eighty years ending with the conquest of
Napoleon and the rise of Muhammad Cali no less
than a hundred pashas succeeded one after another.

Egypt's communications with the outside
world enabled her profit by the contribution
of other peoples in the realm of art and
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The empire of the Ottomans, like those
of the Romans and Abbasides before it, was
essentially military and dynastic in character
and in organization with no deep support coming
from the loyalty of its subject peoples. The
main objective sought was not so much the welfare
a caste by themselves, replenished by the importation of fresh slaves from the Caucasus, the boys had some advantages over the Pashas who were temporarily appointed, remote from the base, and ignorant of the language and customs of the people governed. At best a pasha's tenure of office, which he had very likely bought, was of short duration. His chief concern was often how to replenish his own resources. During the two hundred and eighty years ending with the conquest of Napoleon and the rise of Muhammad Ali, no less than a hundred pashas succeeded one after another.

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of its subject as the welfare of the state was personified in the sultan-caliph. He was more interested in his welfare than that of his peoples.

After Sulaiman, one Sultan succeeded the other, and as one brief reign gave place to another, the decadence of the ruling race became more and more obvious. Anarchy reigned in the capital and corruption became common from Constantinople to the remotest corners of the empire. It was felt everywhere that the Turks were no longer invincible at sea.

Marriot, giving the causes of the decadence of the Ottoman Empire states: "The most palpable symptom of Ottoman decadence is afforded by the deterioration in the personal character of the Sultans. Excluding Mustafâ no less than thirteen sovereigns occupied the throne between 1566-1718. Not one led any army to victory; most of them devoted all the time they could spare from the neglect of their duties to the pleasure of the harem." (1)

Another historian Sharabi writes: "Throughout the nineteenth century revolutions shook the Balkan possessions of the Caliph, and by 1878 they are reduced to a small area west of Constantinople. Only British intervention and the repeated promises of reforms saved the empire from total collapse before the turn of the twentieth century. (1)

It was long before the Ottoman pasha sent to Egypt and Syria from the Constantinople ceased to exercise real control over local affairs. His ignorance of the colloquial language and of the local scene was a decided handicap. His tenure of office was at best of short duration. The frequent change in the personnel weakened the hold over the army which tended to become unruly and undisciplined. Beginning with the seventeenth century, mutinies became common. Conflicts between pashas and beys became a recurring theme in the political history of the land, with the pashas getting his chance when mutual jealousies and the struggle for supremacy among the beys themselves reached an acute stage. As the central authority in Constantinople weakened, respect for its viceroys decreased throughout.

(1) Sharabi: Governments and Politics of the Middle East, pp. 22-23
the empire.

As the centuries passed, Ottoman power crumbled and the Sultan's control from Constantinople became more and more nominal, until by the end of the eighteenth century all real power had passed once again into the hands of the Mamluks to whom the Sultan had surrendered the responsibility of local government under the nominal control of his viceroy or pasha.

The rising Mamluk power reached its zenith in 1769 when ʻAlî Bey, reportedly a son of a Christian priest from the Caucasus who acquired enough strength to expel the Ottoman pasha, declared himself independent of the Porte. (1)

The fight among the leading Mamluks for the government of Egypt continued until, unexpectedly and as if from nowhere, Napoleon Bonaparte, a mighty invader landed in Alexandria (July 1798). His outward purpose was to punish the Mamluk. But his real aim was to strike a fatal blow at the

(1) After declaring himself independent, ʻAlî Bey struck coins in his name, had it mentioned in the Friday noon sermon, and launched a double-attack on Arabic Syria. He was murdered in 1873.

Ritti: The Near East in History, p. 431
British Empire by intercepting her communication with the East and thus make a bid for world domination. The destruction of the French fleet at Aboukir Bay (1st August, 1798), the check of the ill-fated expedition of Acre (‘Akka, 1799), and defeat in the battle of Alexandria (21st March 1801), defeated Napoleon’s designs in the East and forced the evacuation of the French troops from Egypt. The land hitherto playing a minor role in world events, as source of tribute for Turkey and a base of operation for maintaining the Ottoman dominion over Syria and Arabia, was suddenly drawn into the vortex of international politics as the gateway to India and the lands further east. The Napoleonic expedition turned Europe’s eyes to somewhat forgotten land route to India and set in motion a chain of reaction which made the Middle East the storm centre of European intrigue and diplomacy.

(c) **Economic condition**

At the time of Napoleonic expedition, Egypt’s economy was at a low ebb. Its system was so rigid that it could not meet successfully the rising power of Europe, the commercial
activities of Europeans, and the potential effect of the new maritime empires that began to appear at that time. Ottoman ruler, neglected irrigation and related agricultural developments thus causing a deterioration in the country's economic conditions. Similarly, trade and industry, arts and crafts suffered as a result of the general political conditions in the country.

The financial system of Egypt was disruptive. Although initially the Sultan considered all lands in Egypt his property, ownership gradually passed to the various beys. The peasant cultivator was at the mercy of the tax-farmer, who, in turn, was at the mercy of the Beys.

(d) Social condition:

Before Napoleon's invasion, the native masses of both Egypt and Syria were in the grip of poverty and misery. Poor sanitary conditions and low human vitality made of the area a playground for famine and pestilence.

(1) ʿUmar al-Dasūqī: Fiʿ Adab al-Ḥadīth, p.17 Vol.1
Deprived of the daily means of sustenance, beaten and oppressed by overlords, villagers deserted their farms and turned to a life of brigandage on waste lands between the settlements. Thus was the valley of the Nile, once a granary of Rome and supporter of a ten million people, barely able to support two and half million people by the mid-eighteenth century. (1)

The Ottoman Empire was forced to withdraw to within her own narrow boundaries. Her people were reduced to a life of misery and fear. Injustice disturbed not only individuals and groups but the nation as a whole.

The cultivator of the soil was relentlessly exploited by Pasha and Mamluk and driven into a state of abjectness unparalleled except perhaps in the preceding era. Corruption and bribery prevailed. Insecurity, famine and plague added their quota of misery. One pestilence, i.e., that of 1619, is said to have carried away

(1) Hitti: The Near East in History, p.430
more than a third of a million people, another, that of 1643, left two hundred and thirty villages desolate. A contemporary chronicler al-Ishaqī states that while the 1619 plague raged, most of the shops of Cairo were closed, with the exception of those which dealt in shrouds and which remained open day and night. The population of the land, which under the Romans had reached some eight millions, had by the end of the eighteenth century dwindled into the one-third of its former size.

The early success of the French expedition was, in a large measure, due to the fact that Egypt had been torn by internal troubles brought about by the Mamluk misrule. (1)

In an age when mechanical industry was profoundly affecting most European countries, consolidating and democratizing their governments and enabling them to strengthen their arguments, the Ottoman Empire remained exceptionally backward in her economic development. (2)

(1) Mustafa al-Ḥafnāwī: Brief Survey of Egyptian Problem, p.1
(2) Dr. Shawkī Dāfī: al-Adab al-ʿArabī al-Muʿaqir fī Mīgr, p.19
The Ottoman Empire was utterly unable to furnish the financial resources necessary to have political and military progress of the industrial nations.

In the Middle East, the social awakening began only at the end of the nineteenth century or late; in the Yemen and other remote regions it has yet to come. The riches and power of urban landowners and merchants stand in marked contrast to poverty and political feebleness in the countryside and, although a professional middle class was growing, it was much too small to provide adequate administrative and technical skill or to bridge the gulf between the wealthy and the very poor.

The natural resources of the Middle East had been scanty and there was inadequate rainfall over much of the area. Equally important was the shortage of industrial raw materials.

The Mongol, late Mamluk, and Ottoman Governments did not provide the strongly centralized administration necessary for agricultural developments. Under such conditions the irrigation system broke down, settled peasants were forced to leave their farms and trade was
hampered. A decisive development took place in the sixteenth century when the Cape route to India replaced the Middle Eastern route. From then till the nineteenth century, the Middle East remained backward in the world's trade while the greater powers of the West were developing their industrial and commercial power. During these centuries of comparative stagnation, the Middle East peoples lost economic power they possessed to develop their own resources and fell still further behind when the West became industrialized. The most significant attempt to make up this lost ground was made by Muhammad 'Ali at the beginning of the last century in Egypt. He laid the foundations of a modern administrative system. The countries of the Middle East have in the past not developed economically on independent lines, but largely in relation to the economies of the countries which assisted them.

Social conditions in the Middle East reflect the backwardness of the region. The standard of living was on the whole very poor. Economic development had not kept pace with the increase in population.
The great majority of the Middle East population were peasants. The rural standard of living was generally low and most of the peasants were subsistence farmers living on their produce.

The Middle East has been in a process of swift but uneven economic change, agricultural and industrial development and income from natural resources and trade were unevenly distributed. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the strength of the Ottoman rule decayed, security declined, and nomads began to operate into the settled land, rural production diminished and many peasants left their villages. But the great cities still flourished, and the semi-autonomous life of the mountains went on. Even when Ottoman rule had been strong, it had scarcely extended to Lebanon, whose local ruling families controlled the mountain community, subject to the collection of taxes for the Ottoman Government, and to some control by the governors of Tripoli.

The Turks themselves were and remained a dominant minority group in their vast domain and
and made no attempt at colonization in the Arab lands. But they kept their blood fresh by marrying non-Muslim women and by admitting to full citizenship any subject who accepted Islam, adopted the Turkish language and joined their court. The regular levy of boys, as long as it lasted, enabled them to press into military and civil service and to assimilate the flower of the male youth of the non-Muslim subject. Some of the best talent of the conquered peoples was sucked and funnelled into the capital, there to be Islamized, Turkished and utilized to the glory and advancement of the imperial state.

(e) Intellectual condition:

Before Napoleon's invasion of Egypt the area of the Arabic speaking countries had been continuously becoming smaller. By the end of the eighteenth century, only Iraq, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, the Sudan and al-Maghrib remained on the map of the Middle East. And even in these countries Arabic language was passing through its lamentable stage.

Even schools established for training the slaves of the Sultan's household surpassed madrasas
in the richness of the curriculum and the quality of teaching. They included instruction in Arabic and Persian and offered courses in calligraphy, music, architecture, painting and sculpture.

Throughout the then Muslim world, elementary education was carried out in mosques and was restricted to the study of language, the Qur'ān in Arabic, and the sciences related to it. Advanced work was done largely in private homes of learned men who offered courses in theology, linguistics, and mathematical sciences. Then there were madrasas initiated by Sunni rulers to combat Shi'a propaganda, which became specially strong under the Fatimids.

At the time when contemporary Europe was making its basic advances in science, technology, and industry, the Middle East insisted to remain under the shadow of its traditional misgivings. The imports of printed books were banned. A French advisor to the Porte in the late eighteenth century reports that the ministers were so ignorant of European geography as to suppose that Russian ships could not enter the Mediterranean
from the West. (1)

In the past the foreign missionary schools played the largest part in raising the level of culture, and they are still of great importance, particularly in Lebanon where mostly the higher education is still in their hands.

In the early stages of the spread of arabisation, a divergence had appeared in the Arabic language itself, one (simple in construction and unburdened with literary niceties) spoken in rural or tribal districts and the other full of more grammatical idioms used by the literate classes in the town. With the passage of the centuries, the cleavage had become more marked and had led to the growth of a set of spoken idioms showing considerable deviations from the standard forms. This process was a natural one and harmless enough so long as Arabic culture remained active and flourishing and the traditions of the classical age alive. But with the decay of Arab power and civilization, which received their death-blow with the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Syria, those traditions were lost.

(1) Hitti: The Near East in History, p.359
In the beginning of the eighteenth century, damage wrought to the literary Arabic had taken such proportions, particularly in Syria, as to cause a serious degeneracy in the Arabic language commonly used by Christians. The genius of the literary expression was lost as if not to return and the spiritual influence of a great culture once dominating over the region vanished for ever. and, however, missionaries might exert themselves to teach, minds remained starved and ideas stagnant on account of decay in the Arabic culture.

Napoleon describing the intellectual condition of the Middle East at the time of his invasion says in his Memoirs:

"The arts and sciences in Egypt are in their infancy. At Jemit Azar (University of Azhar) they teach Philosophy of Aristotle, the rules of the Arabian language, writing, and a little arithmetic, the different chapters of the Koran are explained and discussed; and that part of the Koran are explained and discussed; and that part of the history of the caliphs which is necessary for understanding and judging of the different Mahometan sects is taught. But the Arabs are completely ignorant of the antiquities of their country, and their notions on geography and the spheres are very superficial and erroneous. There were a few astronomers at Cairo, whose knowledge went no further than to enable them to make out the alamanak." (1)

(1) Napoleon's Memoirs, edited by Somerset de Chair, p.324
Chapter Two

NAPOLEON'S INVASION
Colonial European Power in the East.

We must bear in mind that the West Asia was the cradle of civilization, and that the civilization of the Middle East is several times older than that of the West Europe. At a time when Western Europe was sunk in the Dark ages, the Arab world was sophisticated and prosperous.

But at the time of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt as I stated in the previous chapter, the condition of the Western Asia was not the same. For three and a half centuries behind the shield of the Ottoman Empire, the Egyptians in their
isolation had not realized the changed circumstances. The most significant difference between the West and the Middle East during the time when modern industry was developing was a difference in political climate. The West offered great incentives to private enterprises and a security of property and person while the Middle East was stagnating and oppressed under the Ottoman rule.

**Advent of Napoleon.**

The French revolution, which started in 1789 was regarded by the European monarchies to be a threat to the established orders. A great coalition of European powers, therefore, attempted to suppress the Revolution, but by 1796 the armies of the French Republic had triumphantly overthrown the coalition and forced all the continental enemies of France to make peace; Britain alone, secure on her island behind the shield of the Royal Navy, remained in arms against France. (1)

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(1) Walter N. Birk: *A Short History of Islamic Egypt*, p. 80
To Portuguese belong the honours of pioneers. In the great Western movements for world trade they were the first Europeans to make contacts. (1) These days saw their penetration into the Persian Gulf. By the seventeenth century the British and Dutch traders had appeared upon the scene to share with the Portuguese trade. In the Indian Ocean the French next came to share the Dutch trade, but in the eighteenth century both were eclipsed by the British in the race for the great market of India.

Realising the impossibility of striking a direct blow at his enemy due to British sea power, Napoleon Bonaparte, conceived the plan of an expedition to Egypt as a means of establishing a sphere of French cultural and commercial influence in the Middle East, of reopening the old direct trade route to the Far East and of threatening the British position in India. (2) In this sense, Napoleon's invasion was an attempt

(1) Bertram Thomas: *The Arabs*, p.255
to gain the upper hand in this imperialistic contest by hitting directly at the English economic and strategic interests short of invading the British Isles.

Another cause of invasion was that the East always fascinated Napoleon. He used to say: "Only in East can one do great things." The historian, al- Rif′i, says: "Reading and reflection had convinced him that Egypt was one of the keys of the world. He planned to strike the power of England through Egypt and the route to India, and to move the imagination of his own country-men." (1)

The Egyptian expedition was thus indirectly to be the means of forcing the British Government to recognize the territorial acquisition of the Revolution. The weakness of this plan, weakness inherent in the whole struggle with England, was that France had no navy. (2)

(1) al-Rif′i: Tarikh al-Harakat, p. 56, Vol.I
Moreover the condition of the Middle East, which has already been described, encouraged his idea of invading Egypt. "He sensed the situation well." (1) In destroying the military power of the amluks, Napoleon was anxious to stabilize his occupation of Egypt. On the next day of his occupation of Alexandria, Napoleon issued a proclamation in Arabic: "...... the Turks have ruined Egypt by their greed. Now the French nation have come forward to free Egypt from her

(1) Ibid., p.56

Hitti: The Near East in History, p.431

The great historian, al-Jabarti (1753-1825) was living in Egypt when Bonaparte's army landed, and in his description of the French we can see clearly the whole ambivalent relationship of modern Egypt and modern Europe. He describes how one day English ships arrived off Alexandria. A small boat was lowered and ten Englishmen came ashore. They met the notables of the city and told them they were searching for the French fleet. "You will not", they said, "be able to drive them off. We shall stay here with our fleet to defend your port, and we want nothing from you except water and food." But the notables replied, "This is the Sultan's country, neither the French nor any other people have any right in it. Please go away." Their defiant spirit was echoed by the Mamluk Amir when the news came to Cairo. They received it with indifference, saying: "Let all the Franks come; we shall crush them beneath our horses' hooves."

present state and give her people rest from the oppression of this government." (1)

The main appeal was mixed with religious sentiments: "It has been said to you that I have only come to this country in order to destroy your religion. This is a clear lie; do not believe it ........... I worship God far more than the Mamluks do, and respect his prophet and the glorious Qur'an .... C shaykh, judges and imams, officers and notables of the town, tell your people that the French also are sincere Muslims." (2)

"........ On landing in Egypt in 1798, Napoleon said that he was there to punish the Mamluks, who were not as good Muslims as he and his fellow-men were and to restore the authority of the Sublime Porte." (3)

Whether his real purpose was to strike a mortal blow at the British Empire by interrupting

(1) al-Jabarti: op.cit., p.23
(2) al-Jabarti: Ibid., p.4 Vol.III
(3) Hitti: The Near East in the History, p.431
her communication with the Orient or to fight his way through western Asia into Constantinople and the Balkans remains undetermined.

In Cairo he demanded from the Shaikh of al-zhar a fatwa enjoining submission to his rule. The Shaikh requested prior submission to Islam to which Napoleon offered only two objections: lack of circumcision and addition to wine. (1)

Napoleon framed laws which are still in operation, and led his country to wonderful heights of glory. He was well versed in the knowledge of art and literature. "The unparalleled amount of literature that surrounds his name teems with concise, vivid sentences on every conceivable subject," says Rupecman. (2)

**End of French Occupation.**

The French occupation of Egypt was very brief. Napoleon's ultimate aim was the colonization of Egypt for the benefit of France.

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(1) Hitti: The Near East in the History, p.431
(2) Sir Walter Rupecman: Drake, Nelson, and Napoleon, p.124.
Certain harsh measures of taxation to raise funds for the support of the French occupation forces were taken. The rebellious mood of the Egyptians was encouraged by the proclamations emanating from the Ottoman forts against the "infidel" French. The Ottoman government condemned French revolutionary doctrine as anti-religious and evil. (1)

An Albanian soldier named Muḥammad ʿAlī, came to Egypt, as an officer, in 1799 to put an end to Bonaparte's invasion. He was then a young man of thirty. The French were driven out in 1801 by an alliance of British and Turkish forces and a short British occupation followed. Muḥammad ʿAlī remained after the British defeat (1805) and withdrawal to seize supreme power in Egypt, to eradicate the tyranny of the Mamluks, and to be recognized by the Sultan as Viceroy of Egypt.

The French occupation of Egypt was perhaps disappointing in its consequences to France.

None of its objectives were fulfilled. Yet their brief occupation left a permanent mark upon Egypt. French invasion had influenced Egypt for the next hundred and fifty years in as much as to form the basis of her cultural renaissance and national development.
Chapter Three

AFTER-EFFECTS OF NAPOLEON'S INVASION OVER EGYPT.
Although the French occupation of Egypt lasted only three years, it marks a turning point in the history of the country and its effects were enduring. (1) The most important effect was the re-introduction of Egypt to the outside world after a long period of isolation and stagnation.

The French military occupation of Egypt was in itself of little significance as compared to the consequences that resulted from

(1) 'Umar al-Dasawqi: Fi'l-Adab al Hadith, p. 16, Vol. I.
it. Until the last years of the 18th century, the people of the Middle East were living a self-contained life unmindful of Europe. In fact, there remained an entire unawareness of Europe throughout the world of Islam. With the occupation, a new era dawned, "and the end of the eighteenth century witnessed the beginning of the impact of European culture and civilization on the Arab World." (1)

Referring to the invasion of the Nile Valley by Napoleon, Hitti says: "The first impact of the West, the first contact in modern times between the West and this part of the East, was a military contact." (2) The occupation provided the first 'knock', which awakened the Middle East from its medieval slumber.

"...... The French occupation came like a breath of fresh air opening the windows of Egypt to the world; and it sowed the first seeds

(1) Ibid., p.16

of a national consciousness which made the work of Muhammad ʿAlī possible." (1)

The effect of the Western domination of Arab political life from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the middle of the present has been contradictory, although the intention was consistent. By deliberate policy and sheer example, the West introduced ideas and technology which have considerably changed the basis of social relation in the Arab world and have had profound political effects as well. At the same time, however, the Western powers studiously pursued a conservative policy regarding the political life itself, seeking in effect to prevent the social and economic consequences of their presence from altering the existing political institutions. They introduced revolutionary concessions, but tried to keep them from making revolution in the Arab political structure.

The Napoleonic invasion in the Middle East

(1) Walter N. Birks: *A Short History of Islamic Egypt*, p. 62
set a continuous reaction that has not yet ceased. The year 1798 may be marked as the year in which western powers perhaps discovered the Arab East leaving to their rivalry for domination or spheres of influence. They influence of the West in the following century and a half was reckoned as a phenomenon with far-reaching consequences in the recent history of the area.

Political effects.

Politically and militarily, Napoleon's expedition ultimately turned out to be more than a transitional adventure, though it failed to establish France in the East.

One remarkable consequence of the French expedition was the appearance of national consciousness in Egypt. Napoleon in order to offset the prestige and authority of the Mamluks, and later, of the Turks, tried to appeal to the Egyptians to seek their cooperation in the governance of their country. By the time the Arabs began to desire freedom from the Ottoman Turks and European imperial power. (1)

Egypt was consequently divided into provinces and was placed under the governors but each of them was also to have a divan of local shaikhs to advise and assist, while it was further planned that these provinces should send deputies to a national consultative assembly. These were new and very strange ideas to the Egyptians who had for centuries been accustomed only to obeying the orders of their rulers. (1)

In 1801 the French in Egypt surrendered to the British. A temporary British occupation followed, but in 1802 the country was restored to the sultan. The evacuation of French forces from Ottoman territory made possible a gradual restoration of the traditionally friendly feelings between the two countries. French ascendancy in the Ottoman capital was re-established, and by 1806 Napoleon was able to induce the Porte to take arms against Russia, with whom France was

(1) Walter N. Birk: A short History of Islamic Egypt, p. 82.
then at war. The Turks, who helped her to get rid of the Russian danger by collaborating with the French Emperor, were sorely disappointed when Napoleon after spectacular victories over the Russians concluded the Treaty of Tilsit, (1) with Tsar Alexander I in 1807.

In 1812, Napoleon's ill-starred expedition to Moscow closed the chapter of forceful French intervention in the affairs of the Middle East.

**Economic and Social Effects.**

Middle East is mostly populated by the Arabs, Armenians, Egyptians, Greeks, Slavs and Turks. It began early in the nineteenth century to feel increasingly the impact of the modern western world. Their contacts with western ideas and institutions were through a variety of medium-American, Austrian, British, German and Russian generally and French particularly. There was no uniformity of cultural diffusion in all parts of the Ottoman Empire and among all segments of

(1) The alliance finally ended with Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812.
its varied people. In the urban centres of Egypt, in many parts of Balkans, Beirut and Damascus, intercourse with the West was far more frequent and intimate than in the rural areas. The contact of the peasants and nomads in the Asiatic parts of the Ottoman Empire with the western world was practically nil.

We find that Western ideas, manners, customs and dress tended to be adopted more rapidly by the Christians of the middle class in the urban centres than by the Muslims. Nevertheless, this foreign culture of western and Christian origin began to spread among the educated Muslims. Foreign missionaries in their schools and colleges, foreign businessmen introducing modern goods, services, and methods contributed much to the dissemination of western culture. Young men of the upper classes went to Europe to complete their education. Foreign tutors were employed by wealthy families and became acquainted with European culture in its all phases.

Chief among the points raised by the French scholars was the problem of

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Sea to the Mediterranean with a canal. But after calculations, it was wrongly thought that the water level in the Red Sea was thirty-three feet higher than the water level in the Mediterranean. The project was thus given up for the time being.

Later in 1869, the opening of the Suez canal for maritime traffic led to the penetration of French culture and commercial influence in Egypt. It seemed that it would be important as a spearhead of French influence.

**Educational Effects.**

The French expedition against Egypt in 1798 was not of a purely military composition; it had with it a group of French savants whose main purpose was to conduct the scientific research necessary for the maintenance of the French rule. Those scholars founded *l'Institut Français*, and immortalized its name by a number of important academic and scientific achievements which were the basis of other valuable and
lasting works produced by later scholars. (1)
The Institute had a large library of Arabic books.
Shaikh al-Jabarti, who was himself well known as a mathematician, expressed his admiration for the French enthusiasm for learning; he used to visit the library and attend lectures given by French scholars on electricity and chemistry. (2)

Until Napoleonic armed inroad into Arab territory, the people of the Arab world were generally leading a self-contained and traditional life with no progress and being unmindful of the progress of the world outside. "Change did not interest them. This sudden contact with the West gave them the first knock that helped to awaken them from their medieval slumber. It kindled the intellectual spark that was set to corner the Muslim world on fire." (3)

(1) The Institute made a complete study of the country from almost every point of view, which culminated in La Description d'Egypte (Paris, 1809-1815). Even the history of Egyptology owes to the beginning of its advancement to the discovery of the Rosetta stone by an officer in the army, Boussard by name.
(2) Gordon: Egypt. p.70.
(3) Hitti: History of the Arabs. p.745
The result was that some intellectuals among the different peoples of the Ottoman Empire, propagated western culture within their own communities. They formed centres of revolt against the backwardness, the ignorance, and the darkness which prevailed in the Middle East. They became heroes of the new knowledge. They sought to destroy the old and to introduce the new. With satire and ridicule, they attacked the old regime. By the translation of western literature and scientific books and by the publication of magazines and pamphlets they endeavoured to introduce the western thought and knowledge to their communities. In the Middle East they performed a function somewhat similar to that of the intellectual leaders of the Renaissance in Europe in the fifteenth century.

The French expedition was of a great importance in introducing western cultural impact to the Middle East. The impact of the brief three year occupation (1798-1801) was gradual and indirect, and lasted long after the French had evacuated Egypt.
With the first contact between the Western and Arabic thought and culture in Egypt began the awakening of the Arab scholars from their medieval slumber and apathy to the light of new science and material civilization. In his chronicle "Ajā'ib al-Āthār", al-Jabarti expresses his wonder at some chemical experiments which were conducted at the laboratory of the institute. (1) He describes them as follows:

"Among the strangest things I saw in that place (the laboratory) was that one of the people in-charge took one of the bottles containing distilled water he poured a little from another bottle. The two liquids rose, and a coloured cloud ascended thence, until it disappeared. The contents of the tube dried up, and became a yellow stone ... a dry stone which we handled and examined. This he did again using different waters, then produced a blue stone. Repeating the experiment a third time with other waters, he produced a ruby red stone. Further, he took a pinch of white powder, put it on an anvil and struck it gently with a hammer, then a terrific sound ensued, a sound similar to that of a gun, which gave us a shock. So they laughed at us". (2)

(1) i.e. L'Institut Francais. Its name was immortalized by a number of important and scientific achievements which were the foundation of more and lasting works produced by later scholars.

(2) al-Jabarti: "Ajā'ib al-Āthār, pp.36-37, Vol.III
Napoleon brought with him a band of scholars in various fields consisting of one hundred and sixty-seven mathematicians, engineers, architects, hydrologists, historians, Egyptologists, authors and archaeologists, who promptly began to study the ancient Egyptian monuments, language, history and geography. Their work left an indelible trace marks on Egypt and together with subsequent French commercial penetration, laid a firm foundation for cultural links between France and the Land of the Nile. (1)

The missionaries from the western countries had a great contribution in the development of the cultural literary aspects of Arab countries. These missionaries realised that what the country needed above all was a system of education and a nation's lost inheritance might not be recovered except through its literature. So the first requisite was a supply of Arabic text-books and school manuals. Within a few years they had printed enough books to supply the schools they had founded and other schools

(1) Gordon: Egypt, p.69
besides their own.

"There was a tendency among the Christians: an awakening of their eastern Christian self-consciousness, a conviction that although they must refuse to become Islamicized and must recreate their spiritual life with the aid of Europe, they had nevertheless a special part to play in the Moslem Orient." (1)

The missionaries rapidly opened schools in various parts of Syria. Their first foundations were in Beirut and Jerusalem. Having remedied the shortage of books, they turned their attention to the problem of training qualified teachers, which they did by converting the high school they had found at Abbey in Lebanon into a training College for teachers. By 1660 they had established thirty-three schools attended by approximately one thousand pupils, of whom nearly one-fifth were girls.

Their growing work in the educational field came in 1866, when they founded the

(1) A.H.Hourani: *Minorities in the Arab World* p.25
stirrings of the Arab revival owes most to their labours.

Among missionaries, the Jesuits had re-opened two of their former establishments in the Lebanon in 1831. (1)

They founded schools in Beirut (1839), Ghazir (1843), and Zahla (1844), and then extended their range as fast as their resources permitted to neighbouring localities, and eventually to more distant centres like Damascus (1872) and Aleppo (1873), where they had previously worked.

In the field of printing, the Jesuits established their first lithographic press in 1847; but its output was very limited.

The missionaries, thus, had indeed done

(1) Jesuit and other Catholic schools had existed since the seventeenth century, but it was only in the eighteen-thirties that conditions arose in which their numbers and influence could increase; and it was during the same decade that American Protestant schools became important.

Hourani: The History of Syria, pp. 35-36
notable work for the development of Arabic literature. The activities of the Catholic missions in those early days (creditable though they were in the circumstances) remained localised and restricted in their influence. Several of their establishments were, if not actually ravaged, at any rate compelled to be closed in the disturbances which intermittently shook the country, notably in 1860. Their contribution to the general progress of education was indeed valuable.

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt was epoch-making in more than one way. It marked the beginning of the break with the past. Along with his other equipment the French invader brought to Cairo an Arabic press which he had plundered from Vatican (in Rome). This press was the first of its kind in the valley of the Nile. The French conqueror used it for issuing a propaganda sheet in Arabic. It developed into the renowned Maṭba‘t Būlāq (Bulaq Press). The director of the new press was a Syrian, Niqūla al-Masabikī who had spent four years
in Italy, particularly at Milan, where he cast type. In its first twenty years (1822-42) the Bulaq press put out two hundred and forty-three books mostly texts. In this press, translations of French works were also published.

European professors were invited to Egypt, and promising young Egyptians were sent to France, Italy and Austria to pursue their higher studies. Between 1813 and 1849 (the year of Muhammad 'Ali's death) three hundred and eleven such students were sent to Europe at the expense of the State.

Napoleon founded a medical school at Cairo, which is still a going concern. This was headed by a French physician, Clot Bey. Napoleon started a sort of academy of science with a library in Cairo. It has survived upto the present days. Napoleon, moreover, laid the foundation of a literature of academic importance.

(1) Hitti: History of Arabs, p.745
In the field of translation, Rifāʿī at-Ṭaḥṭāwī's work has the greatest importance. (1) He was one of the early scholars to go to France, chief translator of the school of medicine founded by Napoleon, and editor of "al Waqqāʾī al-Misriyya" (Egyptian Events). He pioneered the transmission of western scientific thought to the Arab world. (2) The translation of numerous European books presented many difficulties in its way. The necessity of finding expression for a host of foreign ideas was first felt in Egypt and then in other countries. Foreign ideas for which at first only foreign words were frequently used.

Among the early translators, even in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's work, we find numerous foreign words used taken over indiscriminately, side by side with pure Arabic words and phrases to express western concepts. (3) Thus the Arabic language had been rendered more

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(2) Hitti: The Near East in History, p. 436
(3) Al-Dusūqī: Tastawwur al-Waqal al Adabī in "Arabic and Islamic Studies", Massachusetts 1963
adequate and flexible for expressing technical terms.

In Egypt the principal sources from which European thought radiated were the technical schools founded by Muḥammad ʿAlī, and the educational missions which he despatched to Europe. These schools, modelled on European lines, often under European supervision, had as their first aim the training of physicians, administrators, lawyers and technical experts of all kinds, who were necessary for the carrying out of the Pasha's ambitious projects.

Many European travellers began to visit the East, and an ever-increasing number of Egyptian students entered the universities of Western Europe, studying the culture and technique of the West, and at the same time arousing a new interest in Arabic culture among the Westerners.

Medical Education.

During the reign of the Mamluks science and art in Egypt fell to their lowest ebb.
Medicine in particular degenerated into a combination of charlatanism and superstition. The Egyptians at that time appeared to have lost all connection with their brilliant past.

Lane (1) speaks of the Egyptians Physicians in the following words:

"The Egyptian Medical and Surgical practitioners are mostly barbers, miserably ignorant of the sciences which they profess, and unskilful in their practice. Many of the Egyptians, in illness, neglect medical aid; placing their whole reliance on Providence or on Charms." (2)

During the three years of occupation of Egypt by the army of Napoleon, French savants were given great facilities to explore Egypt scientifically. A commission was delegated to prepare a plan for organising a civil hospital. This scheme was implemented.

About the effect of Napoleon's invasion

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(1) Edward William Lane (1801-76) is called the Grand Master of Arabic Studies.

(2) Lane: The Manners and Customs of the Egyptians, p.229
on the medical education, Lane writes:

"....... a number of young men, natives of Egypt are now receiving European instruction in medicine, anatomy, surgery, and other sciences, for the service of the government."

Now discussing the effects of Napoleon's invasion in the field of literature, it could be safely assessed that Napoleon sowed the seed of modern civilization in Egypt. He established two schools, one theatre, one library, one academy for research, one press, a large number of laboratories and started two magazines viz.

(1) al-Asḥūr al-Miṣrī, Weekly (2)
(2) Barīd Miṣrī

The adoption of innumerable elements of western civilization had far-reaching effects on the development of Arabic literature. Ahmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt, the famous literateur says:

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(1) Lane: The Manners and Customs of the Egyptians, p. 223
(2) This weekly magazine was called al-Asḥūr because it was weekly and a week in French democratic calendar had ten days.
"What a lamp can do to remove darkness was done by Napoleon in Egypt. The dark clouds were removed from the horizon of Egypt and people became able to realize that "they were in the 19th century but the West was in regard to Egypt like a learned man standing before a dumb animal looking at it with contempt. (1)

The French brought with them an Arabic printing press. The French leader considered the written words as more powerful than armament and gunpowder. The Arabic printing press thus introduced was the first to be used in Egypt. (2) It was a real starting point of a new phase in Egypt's culture. It had a wide impact upon the intellectual and political evolution of Egypt in the nineteenth century. "The French savants did researches in their different branches and wrote such a detailed description of Egypt that

(1)

Ahmad Hasan al-Zayyāt: Tārīkh al-Adab al-Arabiyya, p.416

(2) al-Rafi'i: Tārīkh al-Marakat al-Qawwāliyya, p.120
their combined work still remains a valuable source of knowledge.” (1)

The development of the journalistic press in Egypt, from 1626 onward, played an important role in the transformation of Arabic prose, and in the introduction of a new, simple, and clear style. Scientific works were translated followed by literary ones, and the Arabic classics were published in accordance with modern European methods.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the creative use of the classical Arabic language had almost entirely ceased. (2) The medieval writer scorned simplicity, and repelled the simple by adopting a style, strewn with obscurities and graced with literary allusions and

(1) Dhaki Najib Mahmud: The Land and People of Egypt, p.66

The French established an official press and started publishing the “Courrier de L’Egypte, a monthly scientific and economic journal which reported findings and discussions of the members of the Institute.”

(2) A.H.Hourani: Syria and Lebanon, p.36
erudite wit. But the spread of education and increasing literacy of the population itself created a demand for simple, easily intelligible and interesting books. The problem was essentially the same, though more complicated than that which confronted English writers at the beginning of the eighteenth century, which Defoe, Addison and Steele successfully solved and led the way in breaking up the stately periods of Caroline press.

The student who begins the study of Arabic and a foreign language simultaneously finds that he can make more progress with the latter, and embrace its cultural heritage and neglects Arabic. In the western literature he finds intellectual vigour and conformity with the present, and a spirit, a life, and a virility which he does not find in Arabic.

Thus considering the effects of invasion, we can say that "the French expedition was more academic than military." (1)

(1)

Muhammad Rifāʿat: Tarīkh Misr al-Siyāsī, p. 39
It can ultimately be judged a military failure. The scientific and educational consequences of his adventure for Egypt and Europe both were monumental.
Chapter Four

MUHAMMAD ALI'S MODERNISATION OF EGYPT.
Muḥammad ʿAlī deserves our admiration. He is certainly one of the most remarkable of his age, and considering the chaos and disorder from which he delivered his country, his creative genius is to be much appreciated. He turned a largely feudalistic community into a dynastic state, modern in many of its aspects. Egypt, under Muḥammad ʿAlī was the first non-western country to attempt, with some small signs of success, a judicious use of western knowledge and method to better its position and influence.

Very little is known of Muḥammad ʿAlī's
life before his arrival in Egypt. According to a common report, he had originally been a slave in a Turkish household. But of this report there is no confirmation. What seems more creditable is that he was an Albanian Muslim, probably with no Turkish or Semitic blood in his veins at least on his father's side. In all countries, however, where the harem system prevails, questions of a maternity cannot be easily solved.

At last, after four years of factional fights during which the ordinary inhabitants of the country suffered the worst miseries, the Shaikhs and ulama in the name of the people proclaimed deposition of the Turkish Pasha and called upon the man who was capable of restoring order to take control of the country. This man was Muhammad 'Ali, commander of the Albanian contingent of Turkish troops who had skilfully played off one Turkish party against another and waited for his turn until the favourable moment to seize power presented itself. After some hesitation the Sultan accepted the decision
of the shaikhs, and Muḥammad ʿAlī was appointed Viceroy of Egypt in 1805. (1)

The significant and important fact to note in coming to power of Muḥammad ʿAlī is that perhaps for the first time in the Muslim history the voice of the people had, however indirectly, made itself heard in the choice of a ruler of Egypt. In this event we can detect one of the glaring examples of the French political impact on the country and the first awakening of the Egyptian people towards the understanding of their role in the political life of their country. On the day when Muḥammad ʿAlī was installed in office, modern Egypt was born (2).

"Muḥammad ʿAlī has never been wholly understood in Europe, and that towering far above ordinary mortals, inadequate weights have been

(1) Rāfī, Tarīkh al-Ḥarakat al-Qawmiyya. Vol.II pp.369-70

(2) Walter N.Birks: A short History of Islamic Egypt. p.83
applied to measure his genius.” (1)

Muḥammad Ṭālī belongs to the category of empire builders who can hardly be judged, either for good or evil, by the standards of ordinary human beings. If I even attempt to form an estimate of his character it is because his policy, his tradition, his aspirations, and his ideas, have influenced in no small degree the character of his successors. (2)

At the time of appointment of Muḥammad Ṭālī as Viceroy of Egypt in 1805, the country was in an awful state of anarchy. It took him some time to establish order and tranquility in the country. This object achieved, and having become the incontestable master of Egypt, he

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(1) Baron de Malortie: Egypt: Native Rulers and Foreign Interference, p.27

Many western and even Egyptian writers have claimed Muḥammad Ṭālī did nothing for Egypt. Muḥammad Ābdūh has gone to the extent of proving that he was the sole cause of all miseries of the Egyptian people, and that did no good to the people.


(2) Edward Dicey: The Story of the Khedivate, p.10
began to think of methodically reorganising the country. His object was to develop all its resources, material as well as moral. To attain this object he had to employ foreigners of all nationalities as teachers, engineers, doctors and artisans.

Those who look upon his character without favour or malevolence must admire the fertility of his intellect and his rare talents for command. "He created a new era for Egypt; he raised a State sunk in unexampled misery into one of comparative happiness and prosperity. No other Muhammadan country was so enlightened or so well governed." (1) Like most men who are born with strong passions and tried by strong temptations, he committed great faults. The name of Muhammad 'Ali stands high in the roll of conquerors; but it is found in a still better list, among those who have done much for the happiness of a people. "As a soldier,

(1) Charles Augustus Murray: A short Memoir of Muhammad Ali, p.60
history will confirm upon him a place in the same rank as Ẓāriq and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1)

He had some interest in books but only to the extent to which they taught him the art of government. Books about Napoleon were translated and read to him, and he had Ibn Khaldūn’s Muzādāma copied from North African manuscripts and translated into Turkish. (2)

The first achievement of Muḥammad Ḥāli was the establishment of Egypt as a distinct national entity, a power in its own rule and not, a mere province of the Ottoman Empire. Although Muḥammad Ḥāli was nominally the Viceroy of the Turkish Sultan, he was virtually independent since he had been able to create a more efficient army, and the Sultan, unless supported by foreign powers, could neither control nor coerce Egypt. Muḥammad Ḥāli was therefore able to build up a

(1) Ibid., p.60

stable administration and establish a native
dynasty which continued until the days of his
great-grandson, king Faruq.

Secondly, by his energy and ability,
Muhammad 'Ali thoroughly reorganized and
modernized the country, gave it internal peace,
order and stability and restored its prosperity.
To achieve this he had first to crush the power
of the Mamluks and this he did by two measures
which, though ruthless and drastic, were
indispensably necessary. The first was the
massacre of the leading Mamluk beys and the
second the expropriation of their vested
interests in the land.

Very soon Egypt, in the period of
Muhammad 'Ali, regained her position in the
Muslim world. Not only did she preserve its
ancient civilization for the East but also to
transmit it to modern Europe. (1)

(1) "Islam Today", edited by A.J. Arberry and
Ron Landau, Chapter VI.
Muhammad 'Ali's Military Reforms.

With the departure of the French and their British conquerors Egypt relapsed once again into anarchy. The Turks, having sent troops into the country to help in driving out the French were determined to make Egypt once more an effective province of the Empire. The Mamluks were equally determined to regain their former control. There ensued a struggle which was both grim and indecisive, as the Mamluks were themselves divided into rival parties, while the Turkish troops, composed of contingents from many races and in arrears of pay, were disaffected to the Turkish Pasha and ready to support anyone who would pay them.

Immediately after taking over the office of Viceroy, Muhammad 'Ali devoted his attention to the building of a large army which later overran the Sudan, Arabia and advanced into Asia Minor. As Ibrahim, son of Muhammad 'Ali had occupied the Morea in Greece, thanks to the military achievements of Muhammad 'Ali, Egypt became a great power - shining testimony to the vitality of the Egyptians.
Muḥammad 'Alī who was himself illiterate, sent missions not only to study military science and art in Europe, but also to study medicine, pharmacy and engineering. He also invited missions particularly from France, and from England and other European countries in order to help him develop his military strength, to advise him to harness the natural resources of his country and especially to sow the seeds of modern European sciences on the fertile soil of Egypt. His son, Ibrāhīm Pāsha, established a comparatively beneficent regime in Syria which lasted from 1631 to 1840, opening the door for new cultural influences. It was during this time that the first American missionaries formed a permanent foothold on the soil of Lebanon.

French officers were employed to train the cadres of this new army but, like all the foreign experts whom Muḥammad 'Alī called upon

(1) He could not write his own name.
Sir Alfred Milner: England in Egypt p. 298
to help him re-organize and modernize the country, the army was the servants of the governments and not its masters. This he accomplished on the French model. French officers were employed of whom the most famous was Colonel Seve, who adopted Egyptian nationality and professed Muslim religion and is very well known under the name of Sulaiman Pasha. His statue stands at Cairo in the Square called after his name. Another famous French adviser was doctor Clot Bey who will be discussed later.

Oriental politics are a fearful game. Muḥammad ʿAlī was not only struggling for fame, but for life and liberty. It is only surprising how one man could have left so many noble works behind him. He made canals. He founded hospitals, created large military and naval establishments, and held out the highest rewards to merit of all kinds. He had to struggle against the most extraordinary difficulties set in his way, prejudices of religion, and ignorance. His anatomical schools met with the
fiercest opposition even to be imagined. The doctors of the Muslim Law held that dissection of a human body was against the tenets of their faith. Parents would not permit their children to be taught by French professors, European languages and sciences were declared to be an abomination of the infidel. A mother cut off the foreigner of her child's right hand to prevent his being able to write, rather than have him clothed, taught, fed, and paid in the Pasha's schools. (1)

Muhammad Ali always spoke with the greatest animation of the young, related what he had done in this direction, and what he intended to do. "It is difficult to believe the good that has been done in so short a time." Baron de Malortie says, "I have seen it with my own eyes, and he must be blind who would deny that Mehemet Ali has frequently taken upon himself the appearance of brutal selfishness in order thus to become the benefactor of his people for centuries.

(1) Charles Augustus Murray: A Short Memoir of Muhammad Ali, p. 47
to come." (1)

Economic Reforms.

He caused manufactories, foundaries, and arsenals to spring up; he encouraged commerce and industry. "He was the nerve, the heart, the soul of his country." (2) He enriched his people with trophies more solid and more rare than those which had been vulgarised for centuries by conquest. He resuscitated "the ancient glories of the reign of the pharaohs." (3)

An English contemporary well sums up Muhammad 'Ali's purpose and attitude. Whereas Sultan Mahmu'd's sudden, violent reforms had weakened the allegiance of the Turks, Muhammad 'Ali had always maintained a high character among Muslims "by adopting the only wise course to be pursued with a nation in so low a scale of civilization. By a system of gradual

(1) Baron de Malortie: Egypt: Native Rulers and Foreign Interference, p.60.
(2) Baron de Malortie: p.61
(3) Ibid., p.62
ameliorations, without violating religious
prejudices, he has laid the foundation of permanent
reforms in the institutions of the nation, trusting
to the progress of knowledge from the general
establishment of public schools throughout his
government for the final establishment of his plans
of reform." (1)

Professor Henry Dodwell concludes his study
with a great deal of admiration for the Pasha as
a ruler. He calls him universal master, universal
landlord, universal merchant." (2)

Muḥammad ʿAlī was an autocratic ruler motivated by strong personal ambitions. His wars
in Asia and Africa and Europe were designed to
secure power and glory and a permanent kingdom
for himself, but his heirs exhausted Egypt and


(2) Dodwell credits Muḥammad ʿAlī with having brought Egyptians into closer touch with
Europe through his military, educational, economic, and other measures, and thus
having laid the foundations of a modern Egyptian state.

Dodwell: The Founder of Modern Egypt.
weighed heavily on the Egyptians. His economic policy was conceived primarily to insure the revenues needed for his military undertakings. Hence the monopoly imposed on practically all the resources of the country, whereby Muhammed 'Ali became the owner of the land and the only merchant and industrialist. Lane, who lived in Egypt when it was governed by Muhammed 'Ali, criticized his monopolistic economic system and agricultural policy which impoverished the people.

Muhammed 'Ali attended to the material prosperity of the country with characteristic energy and ability. He developed agriculture, backbone of the country's economy, by the extension of irrigation and the introduction of new crops. The irrigation system was improved and expanded. The significance of his rule and reforms gain greater value if we keep in mind the spirit of his time and circumstances which surrounded him.

Notwithstanding his reforms chiefly in the beginning of a military nature, he fully
understood that civil instruction was the most powerful auxiliary of military training. He did not want to make machines, he wanted to form men, that is to produce human materials, and in that direction he has perhaps done more for Egypt than any of its rulers since the days of Salah al-Din.

**Educational Reforms.**

To improve the condition of the fallah, education of the masses presented itself as the first necessity; and this was one of the chief preoccupation of the Viceroy. "The difficulties to overcome were innumerable; though he opened schools all over the country, parents could not be brought to send their children, not even with the inducement of having them clothed and fed at the expense of the State, nay, Muhammad 'Ali decreed that all children attending school should receive monthly a sum in cash, in fact pocket money, as a sort of bribe. Notwithstanding that children had frequently to be brought in chains to school, he began by establishing fifty primary schools in the centres of the various districts.
accommodating about 9000 children." (1) The college where his own sons were brought up numbered 1500 and was called the School of the Princes; he established the following sixteen outstanding schools: (2)

- School of Military Music established in 1824
- Preparatory Military
- School at Qasr al Aini established in 1825
- School of Chemistry established in 1826
- School of Medicine at Abu Za bal established in 1826
- School of Infantry established in 1831
- School of Cavalry established in 1831
- School of Artillery established in 1831

School of Navy established in 1831
School of Veterinary established in 1831
School of Mining established in 1834
School of Engineering established in 1834
School of Agriculture established in 1837
School of Midwifery established in 1837
School of Accountancy established in 1837
School of Languages and Translation established in 1837
School of Industry and Arts established in 1839

(1) 
(2) 

(1) الأدابهة العربية

(2) الصناعات والفنون
In order to broaden the basis of instruction, a considerable number of young Egyptians were sent to France, and a few to England to be educated at the Pasha's expense. The fruits of this were born in 1833 when a Polytechnic was established as a training school for the officers' colleges. The teaching staff included two Europeans only, one for chemistry and one for mathematics. Beside them there were four Armenians, one of whom had spent ten years at Stoneyhurst, and six Muslims, three of whom had been educated at Paris and three in England. This expansion was followed up by the establishment of several primary schools, in each mudirliq, with two large preparatory schools, one at Cairo and one at Alexandria designed to feed the Polytechnic.

Egypt thus became the first country in which a regular system of westernized education was established. It was not his intention that the masses should acquire more than necessary skill;
they were kept under strict educational control. (1)

He patronised immigration on a large scale, and attracted the Europeans, often at high cost, to assist him in his work, and to train the natives. Moreover, he sent hundreds of Egyptians to Europe, and established in 1826 the Egyptian mission in Paris, where most of the leading men of the time were educated. (2) No effort was spared to promote the development and regeneration of the country. To transform his people and shape them into useful instruments, generations were required. Many of his creative achievements collapsed perhaps for want of competent men to uphold them. It has been truly remarked that, "a permanent and uncontested power could only complete the liberty of action. His forty years of incessant labour and effort in the direction of delivering goods to Egypt could have acquired a greater significance in the pages of history if his successors had proved themselves worthy of the job begun by

(1) Heyworth-Dunne: Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, p.166.

(2) Like Khedive Isma'il, Prince Ahmad, Prince Mustafâ Fazîl, Prince Halîm, Sharîf Pasha, Muâhid Pasha, 'Ali Pasha Mubarak etc.
Muḥammad ʿAlī. However, he would not have reforms of his country in his hand if he had no conviction that his task would be continued by his family in its true spirit. At any rate, he was convinced in his heart that he was working for the prosperity of his people. (1)

One of the most singular traits in that remarkable man's character was that, though he himself was uneducated, could not write and learnt to read at the age of forty-seven (2) and that too imperfectly, he placed a high value on European knowledge. Muḥammad ʿAlī was, however, in some respects in advance of his time. Western education was then so unpopular that mothers blinded their children in order to keep them away from school. (3)

Earl of Cromer writes about his visit to a very remote village in Upper Egypt and

(1) Heyworth-Dunne: Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, p.166.
(2) Albert Hourani: Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, p.92
(3) Earl of Cromer: Modern Egypt, p.530, Vol.II
remarks, "The Egyptians have, in fact, made
one great step forward in the race for a national
existence. They have learnt that they are
ignorant. They wish to be taught." (1)

Muhammad 'Ali's educational measures
afford the most remarkable evidence of his
policy of reform. Cairo was of course one of
the great centres of Islamic culture. To its
great university housed in the old al—Azhar
mosque, students used to come from all corners
of Muslim World.' But its organisation and
studies were medieval and outmoded. It produced
ecclesiastical lawyers. It had no programme
to produce statesmen and administrators. All
western knowledge was completely excluded from
its curricula. New schools were needed to
provide the wider outlook which the Pasha's
administrative ideas required. While
Muhammad 'Ali continued to protect and maintain
the ancient university, he set up beside it

(1) Ibid., Vol.II. p.532.
a whole series of institutions designed indirectly to modify and modernise the popular mind. (1) The names of such institutions have already been mentioned.

This policy seems to date from about 1620 and was in origin the natural corollary of the reform of the army. The introduction of European methods of military organization and training obviously demanded officers capable of studying European military science, engineering and mathematics. "The first indication that this was recognized seems to be the employment of an Italian, Costi by name, in the citadel of Cairo, to teach drawing and mathematics. Then came orders for teaching Italian, the lingua franca of the Levant and orders for teachers of French and Turkish, and a capable engineer. From this simple beginning arose schools designed to train officers for the five branches of the Pasha's service, the artillery, engineering, cavalry, infantry and

(1) Henry Dodwell: The Founder of Modern Egypt, p.237
marin, under European directions." (1)

The foundation of schools and colleges was accompanied by the establishment of printing presses and the appearance of a newspaper and a gazette. "By the end of 1837 seventy-three oriental works had been printed at the press set up at Bulaq, in the suburb of Cairo. These included translations of a good many technical works for the use of the new schools." (2)

The Bulaq press was founded in 1621. Since the French carried back to France the Arabic press which they had brought with them at the end of the eighteenth century, the Bulaq press was thus the oldest press in the Arab world. (3)

European learning was sought in the countries of Europe itself where eleven successive missions of students were sent.

(1) Henry Dodwell: The Founder of Modern Egypt, p.238
(2) Ibid., p.239
beginning as early as 1813, and continuing until 1847. (1) Three hundred and nineteen young Egyptians in all went to Europe in these missions. They studied medicine, law, civil administration, physical science, chemistry mathematics, engineering, mechanics, printing, mineralogy, agriculture and irrigation, textile and dyeing industries, military science and the manufacture of arms, navigation and ship building. Most of the students were sent to France; the rest studied in England, Italy and Austria. Muhammad Ali watched anxiously the work of this young blood or potential experts. He required them to send regular reports on the progress of their studies and personally read them and directly corresponded with the students. He told them exactly and emphatically what he expected of them, rebuked them when the occasion arose, and urged them strongly to acquire all the knowledge they could and not waste their time.

(1) Nejla Izzeddin. The Arab World, p.69.
Medical and Scientific Education.

Medicine is one of the oldest sciences. It arose in the remote ages, was clouded by superstitions, and was in closest association with magic and religion. Indeed it had formed a part of them at the beginning. The complete dissociation of medicine from magic was the achievement of the Greeks, of course with a marked process of slow transition and gradual evolution.

During the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, "The school of medicine which was the first founded technical school, opened in 1827 with a hundred students chosen from al-Azhar and teaching staff of eight physicians, all French who held post in the army." (1) The professors were assisted by interpreters who attended the courses and translated the lectures into Arabic. The programme of the French medical education was followed by the

(1) 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi‘ī, 'Aṣr Muḥammad 'Ālī p.468
Cairo school. The course was of six years as in Paris. The school was provided with a hospital, a library, a museum, and a botanical garden for medical plants and herbs.

Other schools dealing with the medical sciences - a School of Midwifery, a School of Pharmacy and another of Veterinary science were founded within a decade, as mentioned above.

The first medical mission, composed of twelve students, sailed for Paris in 1832 accompanied by Clot Bey, the Director of the Medical School. The students spent eight years of study in Paris. On their return, some were appointed professors in the school of Medicine while others were placed in the army and hospitals. These first medical pioneers assiduously laboured in the urgent task of translation. Within two decades a considerable number of important medical books were translated into Arabic.

During the first two years of his service (1825-27) Clot Bey was occupied with
reorganising the medical service. He found it imperative to employ more doctors to supply the needs of an army composed of 150,000 and to cope with the ravages of cholera and small-pox. It was difficult to import physicians, sanitary officers and pharmacists from Europe on account of their ignorance of Arabic and the necessity of attaching to them interpreters who understood French but they were not easily available.

Two serious difficulties arose; the first was the language of teaching and the other regarding the practice of dissection.

To solve the first question a special commission was composed and entrusted with the translation into Arabic of the necessary textbooks of medicine. (1) Fifty two books were translated. The following quotation taken from a speech by one of the later directors of

(1) 'Abd al-Rahmān al Rāfī'ī: Āsr Muḥammad ʿAlī, p.470
the School on the occasion of reopening the School of Medicine in 1869, shows the difficulties they had to face in having these books translated:

"When Muhammad 'Ali entrusted to Clot Bey the foundation of the School of Medicine, Clot Bey accepted the glorious mission, and unhesitatingly set himself to work, without the face of obstacles of all kinds which stood in the way of this great enterprise. The difficulties were at that time almost insurmountable. The Egyptian population were then mostly illiterate. No one could be found who knew an European language except one Syrian (Monsieur Anhoury) who knew Italian. He was employed for this purpose, and all the French text-books were first translated to him into Arabic."

(1)

Lectures in medical school were given by the professors in French and translated to the students into Arabic by competent interpreters and then dictated to them. Clot Bey, finding this method limited and cumbersome and realising that the students thus taught were cut off from all medical literature and could not therefore

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(1) Najib Bay Mahfuz: The History of Medical Education in Egypt, p.29
progress beyond a certain point, made the teaching of French compulsory to all students of Medicine. A small school was built near the hospital where Monsieur Ucelli taught French to students. The difficulty he had to contend with was more serious than the first and might have cost him his life. (1)

The number of students for higher studies sent to Europe reached 319, from 1813 to 1848. (2) "The number of students that obtained their diplomas from the School of Medicine during the reign of Muhammad ʿAlī was 1,500. During this period fifty-two standard works on medicine were translated from French into Arabic at the rate of a thousand copies per issue, and printed at the Bulaq press. Copies of these works were sent to Constantinople, Algiers, Tunis, Morocco, Syria, and Persia." (3)

(1) Najib Bey Mahfūz: The History of Medical Education in Egypt, p.30
(2) ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Rafiʿī: ʿAṣr Muhammad ʿAlī, p.479
(3) Najib Bey Mahfūz: History of Medical Education in Egypt, p.38.
It may be inferred from what has been said in the above that Muḥammad ʻAlī thought of modernizing Egypt as a device to organize and maintain his army which has been the best guarantee of his independence. The first Medical School opened under the supervision of Clot Bey was originally intended to train doctors and other medical aids for the armed forces. Similarly the extensive development of industry was also meant to fill primarily the needs of the armed forces.

Muḥammad ʻAlī showed a great admiration for the blessings of European civilization. In spite of all the short coming of his egotistic policies, to Muḥammad ʻAlī goes the credit of having opened the country to the influence of modern European civilization.

The process of modernization produced able men in all the sphere of life. Here a few noble persons may be mentioned who took part in modernization of Egypt during Muḥammad ʻAlī's period.
Rifa'a Bey al-Tahtawi (1901-73):

One of the fascinating personalities included in these missions was of Rifa'a al-Tahtawi who accompanied as Imam of the mission of forty students to Paris in 1826. Al-Tahtawi was one of the principal creators of the modern Arabic Renaissance (1). Rifa'a came from a poor family in Upper Egypt and had gone through the traditional religious education imparted at al-Azhar. (2) Paris opened a new world before his eyes, a world which filled him with admiration and enthusiasm, and yet did not upset his values or loosen his traditional moorings. In his prodigious diligence and passion for study, he was a student entirely after Muhammad 'Ali's heart. "In Paris he set a number of its outstanding men of learning, among them was Silvestre de Sacy, the leading orientalist of the time." (3) He visited the various

(2) al-Rafi'i: 'Asr Muhammad 'Ali, p.498
institutions and historical monuments of the French capital and recorded his observations in a delightful account which reveals in him a keen and accurate observer. (1) He described with enthusiasm the Paris Revolution of 1830 and the triumph of the middle class. After his return to Egypt Rifāʿa maintained his habit of working persistently and with enthusiasm. He was an ardent patriot and understood patriotism as a life of service to the country. (2)

Al-Ṭahtāwī was one of the most important Arabic writers of the nineteenth century and his name is closely associated with the brilliant revival of literary and scientific activity in the modern East. He left behind him a considerable amount of work in all the fields: history, geography, grammar, law, literature, medicine etc.

Among the most important works of al-Ṭahtāwī


is a lively and interesting account entitled Takhlis al-Ibris fi Talkhis Paris (1) marked with a charming description of the manifold aspects of French life and culture as realized by a young mind visiting Paris for the first time. (2)

As a result of his works and activity and the phalanx of experts and translators inspired by him, Hifa'a accomplished the task of popularising European science, among his country-men and opening the East to modern European culture. He not only enlightened the minds of his contemporaries but also awakened the dormant energies required for building up the future. (3)

(1) Bulaq, 1323 A.H. This book achieved great fame. It contains many interesting and accurate observations of the manners and customs of the modern French.

(2) al-Rafi'i: 'Aar Muhammad Ali, p. 541.

Before concluding, Tahtawi's views about Muhammad 'Ali may be mentioned to assess his achievements. He credits him with destroying the isolation of Egypt and her insularity from the world by linking her to Europe and helping her develop towards modernity. He with Isma'il Pasha cured her of her ignorance. He remarks, "Muhammad 'Ali rendered Egyptian community knowledgeable, awakened it through the educational missions to France and other European countries". (1)

\[ \text{Ali Mubarak Pasha (d.1893)}; \]

Among other famous literatures who contributed to the development of Arabic literature during the reign of Muhammad 'Ali, the name of 'Ali Mubarak Pasha, comes on the top. He was an Egyptian statesman, educational organizer and man of letters. His reputation rests on his reforms of the Egyptian system of

(1) al-Tahtawi: Manahij albub al-Misriyya, p.245, Cairo, 1912
education which was up to that time almost completely under the spell of dogmatic convention and medieval scholasticism. He is perhaps one of the great administrative reformers in the modern history of Egypt. He separated the military from the civilian schools for purposes of administration. (1)

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Chapter Five

ISMA'IL FASHA’S AMBITIOUS PROGRAMMES TO BRING EGYPT CLOSER TO EUROPE AND ITS EFFECTS ON EGYPTIAN SOCIETY.
Egypt's vigorous life under Muhammad 'Ali, shrank to narrow dimensions after he died in 1849. She was reduced to a modest share of independence. The progress made during his time in the different fields of life came to a point of stagnation for want of his able successors.

During the period between Muhammad 'Ali and Isma'il reign three successive Pashas:
Ibrahim Pasha (1789 - 1848).

Ibrahim Pasha reigned for a mere six months. Ibrahim, the successor of Muhammad ‘Ali was a distinguished soldier and a man of great courage. He was one of the most attractive figures of his time, brave, upright, clever, just and had flashed through Egypt like a shining meteor. Having proved himself in Syria not only a first-rate soldier but an able administrator, his coming to power was full of promises but he only reigned two months. His memory is untarnished and his name ever pronounced with pride and veneration. (1)

He played an important part in the history of Egypt at the time of Muhammad ‘Ali. He has been called the mailed arm of his father, and as a matter of fact the successes of his father’s policy would have been impossible

(1) Baron De Malortie; Egypt: Native Rulers and Foreign Interference, p.69
without his military achievements. (1)

'Abbas I (d.1854).

'Abbas who succeeded Muḥammad ʿAlī as Viceroy proved himself no better than an Oriental despot of the medieval time. He was particularly suspicious of western cultural ties with Egypt. (2) Grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī reversed the process of reforms undertaken during the preceding period. He considered as dangerous and blameworthy the previous innovations and they should be abandoned for the best. Consequently most of the schools opened by Muḥammad ʿAlī were closed, as well as the factories, workshops and sanitary institutions. Aggressive policies were curtailed and the army was halved. He had no interest in continuing the policies

and works of his predecessors. He suspected and disliked his half-brothers and brother to intensely as to compel them to leave the country for Istanbul and European capitals for the duration of his reign. He tried to change the law regarding the succession to the Egyptian viceregal throne so that his own son Ilhami Pasha would succeed him. As a result of his policies he was murdered in 1854.

\[ \text{Sa'id Pasha (d.1863)} \]

\[ \text{Sa'id (1) who succeeded Abbas was a bold, frank, fearless and reckless man, fond of foreign society and "speaking French like a Parisian". (2) One day when his old tutor Koenig Bey, implored him to reopen the schools closed by Abbas, Sa'id replied, "why open the} \]

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(1) Youngest son of Muhammad 'Ali, Sa'id was Viceroy of Egypt from 1854 to 1863.

(2) Edwin de Leon: The Khedive's Egypt, p.85
eyes of the people, they will only be more difficult to rule." (1) "It was Saʿid, " says Cromer, "who first invited European adventurers to prey on Egypt." (2)

**Ismaʿīl Pasha (1863-79).**  
The Khedive Ismaʿīl ruled Egypt from 1863 to 1879. He was the grandson of Muhammad ʿAli, and the grandfather of Faruq, the last of that dynasty to rule.

Ismaʿīl (1830-93), carried out an ambitious programme to bring the country closer to Europe. During his reign came the "second wave of Occidentalism." (3) with the increase of modern education, growth of communication with Europe, development of

(1) Baron de Malertia: *Egypt: Native Rulers and Foreign Interference*, p.69


(3) Gibb: *Contemporary Arabic Literature*, p.748
Publishing and the press, and the forming of literary and other learned societies, the gates of Egypt were opened to the tide of European ideas and systems had become the ideal models for the progressive reforms. (1)

After becoming Khedive of Egypt, the ambitious Isma'īl set about restoring the country's political independence. (2) Consequently prosperity returned. The individual began to enjoy a fair degree of freedom. Schools which had been closed reopened; mission which had been stopped

(1) Dr. Shawqi Daif: *al-Adab al-`Arabī al-Muṣābir*, p.15.

(2) During the period between Muhammad `Alī and Isma'īl Pāshā, there were no public men, there was no public spirit, the bureaucracy was servile and corrupt. The people specially the agricultural classes were subjected to every kind of injustice and oppression and were not only without the means of redress but were completely ignorant of political rights, even the more enlightened elements in the population were politically ignorant.

Dedewell: *The Founder of Egypt*, p.343
London 1931.
The achievement of the reign of Isma'il can be summed up in three sentences: great projects, great results, and great expenditures. "On his accession he found nothing but the ruins of Muhammad 'Ali's work, everything had to be commenced afresh and new life infused into the great undertakings of the founder of his dynasty." (2)

Educated himself in Europe and deeply impressed with the necessity of educating the masses in order to prepare Egypt for other reforms, Isma'il, unlike Muhammad 'Ali who had founded schools chiefly to supply his want of officers and officials, worked to educate to see Egypt as a part of Europe. (3)

(3) 'Umar al-Dasūqī: Fī'īl Adab al-Hadīth, p.69
Isma'il was deeply fond of European ways of life. He was seen most active in leading the way for his subjects to acquire western manners and habits of life. European dress was adopted in his period by the educated Egyptians in the professions and government services.

Isma'il Pasha was a man of ability. Realizing the importance of western civilization, he wished to turn his country into some European land and proved himself to be a ruler such as Egypt had scarcely seen since the Arab conquest. (1)

Although it is true that Isma'il in person was much to blame for the situation of bankruptcy created in the country, it can also not be ignored that he was surrounded by

(1) Ibid., p.69. "My country is no longer in Africa, it is in Europe". Isma'il is reported to have said to one of the members of the European control commission.*

* Vitikities: The Modern History of Egypt, p.74
flattering Europeans having one thing in common that is bright ideas on spending Isma'il's money in such a way as to transfer it from his pocket to theirs.

However, Isma'il tried his best to establish the economic conditions of his country on a sound basis. "The Suez canal was opened, and Egypt regained her former important position between the East and the West." (1) The most spectacular achievements of the Khedive lay in the development of communications. He extended the railway system throughout Egypt, rationalized and reorganized the collection of customs and the postal service in 1865 and placed their administration under the control of English officials. In Sudan he introduced telegraphs in 1866 and a short railway in 1875.

(1) Dr. Shawqi Daif: al-Adab al-'Arabi al-Mu'asir fi Miar, p.15
The land was cultivated, canals (1) were dug, irrigation was so organized that agriculture prospered. (2) The governmental instrument was reformed upon the economic side. Egypt became once and for all safe from the perils of poverty and starvation to which she had hitherto been subjected. Personal freedom was enlarged and soon it was guaranteed by law and the constitution. The inhabitant of Egypt was set free to live as he liked, to learn as he chose, to express his views on different subjects as he himself decided; nothing restrained his freedom but the law of the land.

(1) Of these the largest was the Ibrahimiyya Canal, leaving the Nile at Assiut in upper Egypt and thus bringing wider areas of that part of the country under cultivation.

(2) A leading farmer himself, and owner of a large part of the arable lands of Egypt, he managed by personal action, initiative, and an imaginative programme to render Egypt one of the leading producers in the world and the essential one for the provision of the European cotton industry. *

* Vithiosti: The Modern History of Egypt, p.83
In Egypt could be found a liberty unknown in the Ottoman lands. Many Syrians emigrated to Egypt in search not only of wealth but also of mental and political freedom. (1) Thus was brought about a great revival in science, literature, and politics. Although the last days of Isma‘īl saw Egypt passing through a series of political and financial crises, effecting her revival in both science and art for the time being, the renaissance was always gaining strength. Mental progress was neither stopped nor recoiled. While the revival sometimes slackened in speed; it nevertheless continued, fast or slow, until the last war came. (2) As a result of that war and the declaration of Egypt's Independence which followed, the renaissance gained further impetus.


Isma'il secured the services of a number of able specialists such as Dor Bey, Cloty Bey, Rogers Bey and some alternative ministers to further the cause of renaissance in Egypt. (1)

The names of Sharīf Pāshā, (2) Nūber Pāshā, (3) Mūṣā Pāshā (4) and ʿAlī Pāshā Mūbarak (5) may be mentioned as foremost among those who contributed to further the cause of education in the masses.

Isma'il was a man of ideas, with extensive schemes of reform. He encouraged education, established the first schools in

(1) Baron de Malortie: op.cit., p.98
(2) 1823-67, an Egyptian statesman in the reign of Isma'il. He sincerely endeavoured to make Egypt a constitutional state under the Khedive dynasty.
(3) 1825-99, a statesman who played the most prominent part in Egyptian politics in the nineteenth century.
(4) 1835-1911, a statesman; he was discovered by Isma'il who made him one of his ministers.
(5) 1823-93, a statesman and man of letter. To him is due the establishment of printing offices and the printing of text-books, of Dar al-ʿUlūm, a teacher's training college and Khedivial library (1870).
Egypt for girls (1), the polytechnic for the training of military officers and the medical college. On his accession there were only 185 public schools but during his reign the number rose to 4,617. (2) "Fully to relate all that the Khedive has done for education would require a volume instead of a chapter," remarked the contemporary writer, de Leon. (3)

In accordance with the statistics published in 1870, there were 40,000 public gratuitously taught, fed, and clothed, in addition to a small pay.

here is a list of schools of different

(1) Isma’il was the first ruler in Egypt to bring the education of girls under government supervision and eventually integrate it with the general state school system.


(3) Edwin de Leon: The Khedive’s Egypt, p.271
branches of knowledge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School of Law</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Medicine Car al-Aini</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Polytechnic</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Chemistry</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veterinary School</td>
<td>50</td>
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<tr>
<td>School of Midwifery</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arts et Metiers Bulaq</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>School of Observatory</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Infantry 'Abbasiyya</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Cavalry</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Artillery</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Engineering</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Staff College</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School of Navy Alexandria</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above, the government used to keep abroad, 100 pupils at the military school, Paris, besides 40 civilians - 50 at Turin, and 3 in England.

There were further, important primary schools at Cairo, Alexandria, Damanhour, Tanta,
Zagazig, Mansura, Jiza, Banisuaif, Madinat at Fayyum, Minya, Sayuf etc. These schools were all attached to mosques, about half of them kept by the mosques themselves with a very trifling school fee.

During the reign of Isma'il, historian Baron de Malortie writes: "Education is voluntary and in fact it need not be made compulsory now that the people seem as eager to learn as they were disinclined to it in Muhammad 'Ali's days." "We don't want schools, nor do we want pupils." said an Egyptian minister to the author, "for both we have more than we require, but what we want is method and school-masters; and to form this class of men is the great object of the present day." (1)

The leading idea of Isma'il's organic law was to ensure all over the country the

(1) Baron de Malortie: op. cit., p.99
same kind of instruction and a solidarity of teaching limiting it in the primary schools to the rudiments of reading and writing. It aimed at creating no confessional difference and maintained an absolute tolerance among the various elements of the society.

In higher schools, all the branches of knowledge were to be taught including languages, the choice of which was generally left to the pupils, though they were obliged to learn at least one besides Arabic and Turkish. (1) This law with its forty articles had largely placed the educational reforms on a solid ground, yet the paucity of funds on one side and the dearth of men on the other had hampered the progress one might have otherwise expected. Possibly there might have been some flaw in the system. The State had

(1) Until 1917, the official language of Egypt was Turkish.

Halford L.Hoskins: The Middle East.
undertaken too much upon itself. Even free schooling had its own drawbacks. Over and above, the children were frequently clothed, had as a rule one meal a day, and received a small amount in all public schools as monthly attendance-fee.

If thus the entire care of educating their wards was taken out of the hands of those guardians who had the means to contribute towards the expenses of schooling, the consequence of such steps was too obvious. The parents naturally took no interest in the matter. However, considering the backward state of the fallah, it might have been difficult to burden him with school fees. He was too poor to pay the expenses of education. If compelled, he would have kept his children uneducated at home. It may thus be concluded that the expansion of education was in his view more necessary than money considerations.

For all these various schemes, Isma'il had
borrowed and squandered money recklessly both for public purposes and personal ostentation. As a result by 1876 the debt of Egypt to foreign financiers had risen to nearly one hundred million pounds and the country grew so impoverished that its ordinary resources were no longer sufficient for the most urgent needs of the administration.

In this connection de Malaretie relates: "The system introduced by Isma'il of primary schools, preparatory schools, and special schools, answers all purposes. It does in the beginning overburden the children with useless and lumbering matter, and only those who really wish to push forward need avail themselves of the preparatory schools, whilst the students of the special schools, if educated at the expense of the State, are obliged to serve their country, not gratuitously however, for a number of years corresponding to the time they have spent at school; the best pupils being as a rule
selected for the polytechnical and medical classes, whilst the 'fruits secs' are invariably to be found in the military schools." (1)

In the preparatory schools the boys were mostly boarders as invariably in the higher classes. Harem education was largely discouraged as it perpetuated a parallel outmoded system of education creating a distinctive class in the Society. So to induce the upper classes to send their boys into the public schools, the Khedive himself set the example.

An insurmountable difficulty was the scarcity of European teachers possessing the sufficient knowledge of Arabic as lectures through interpreters were unsatisfactory. As for the native teachers, though kind and national in outlook, they lacked method, and seemed to lay stress on learning by heart the books which they taught. To make their pupils

(1) Baron de Malortie: op.cit., p.101
understand the genius of foreign languages was probably beyond their strength.

The process was purely mechanical.

"I have seen a boy who knew a book by heart without being able to grasp the meaning of a single sentence," de Malortie states, "However, it helps them," he continues.

"In learning languages, and it is marvellous in what a short time they master the rudiments of English, French, or German. They also have great aptitude for drawing and unequalled initiative powers." (1)

In addition to the schools mentioned above in the chapter, there were a number of independent establishments either belonging to mosques or endowed by bequests. And there were also some denominational schools established by the various nationalities. Among all the native institutions, al-Azhar University enjoyed a unique position. More

(1) Ibid., p.103
than a thousand students were on its roll. The lectures delivered at the University were admirable as they satisfied a particular type of thirst of knowledge, but at the same time the emphasis was especially laid on memorising the traditional religious knowledge without applying the critical faculty of mind.

al-Azhar University (1) deserves here a special mention for the great and constant impact which it has been making upon the religious, intellectual, social and political life of the country. In the period of Isma'il, al-Azhar remained a dormant institution as it obstinately refused to see the dawn of modern knowledge on the horizon of Egypt. The only

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(1) al-Azhar University, the highly renowned seat of theological learning in the world of Islam, was built in 970 A.D. during the reign of the fourth of the Fatimide Caliphs. For centuries the curricula of al-Azhar remained practically unchanged. The conditions of entrance were that candidates must be between ten and sixteen years of age, they should be able to read and write well, and to repeat the whole of the Qur'an from memory.
thing which was making some progress at al-Azhar in those days was the study of the classical Arabic language. Yet the influence of this traditional university was still felt on the religious and intellectual life of the country. The courses at al-Azhar University varied from a minimum of forty years up to lifetime. Notwithstanding its merits and deserts al-Azhar university stood outside the purview of the present regime. There was no occasion for the government to interfere in its organisation.

However, the zeal to acquire traditional religious learning among the people may be corroborated by the narration of de Malartic in 1880. He writes: "Most of the students are kept at the expense of religious bodies some at that of their villages, and but few have private means. However, I heard of two young men who had not the needful to pay for their daily pittance of rice and bread, so one of them assisted at the lectures, while the
broke stones on the road; in the evening his mate repeated to him the day's lesson, and thus alternately one always earned the needful for both, whilst the other crammed learning for two. " (1)

The Khedive will always be remembered in the educational history of Egypt for his remarkable contribution to female education. He founded in 1873 the first girls' school to further the cause of women's education (2) Adopting the policy of educating women he dealt a direct blow at the harem system as well as at slavery. One school of that type was started under the patronage and at the expense of the third Princess. Its main

(1) Baron de Malertie; op.cit., p.104

(2) He established the first school for girls in 1873. In the third year of its establishment, the number of girl students rose to 400. They were fed and clothed.

(Umar al-Dasūqī; Fī Ḥadīth, Vol.I, p.71.)
purpose was to train the female children of the fallah to domestic duties, with a view to replace slave girls with these educated and free girls in the palace of Khedive. The slavery became a great nuisance in the Khedive's own words.

This idea was in reality to creating a class of female servants orderly and trained. It aimed at improving the mind of the woman, preparing her for a taste of order, cleanliness and comfort. Once accustomed to more civilized ways of life it could be anticipated that the girl would greatly improve the mud hovel of the fallah. In other words, women trained to a more refined and orderly mode of living would indirectly make the fallah conscious of leading a better life in the villages.

Commencing with the lower classes of the society Isma'il gradually hoped, to expand the orbit of female education. The
education of the women of the middle and upper classes made them intellectually equal to men. With this process he contemplated gradual abolition of harem life.

Now it is sufficient to say that Isma'il cultured the fields of education for the future. These fields yielded fruits (1) for the coming generation in the shape of modern civilized life.

While treating the subject of public instruction, it may also be mentioned that the library at Cairo, (2) owes its existence in its present form to Isma'il. He enriched it by collecting a large number of previous manuscript and documents of the early times of Arabic writing on leather, stone and bark scattered all over the country. The

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(1) Dr. Shawqi Daif: al-Adab al-'Arabi al-Mu'asir, p.15

(2) Dar al-Kutub, or National Egyptian Library (al-Maktaha al-Khidiqliyya). It possesses some 300,000 volumes in Arabic and occidental languages. Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization, p.328
collection became unrivalled. Some of the Persian specimens in the library were rare. Ismail purchased the collection of books and manuscripts of Mustafa Pashe Fadil (after his brother's death) for about 40,000 pounds and presented it most generously to the National Library. (1)

Ismail also encouraged men of letters and offered them suitable jobs. Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, a famous writer of the last century, returned to Egypt from France. Said Pashe appointed him director of the Military School for a very brief period. The school for some reason was closed and Rifa'a found himself unemployed. In the reign of Ismail in 1863, the School was reopened and al-Tahtawi again was appointed the Director of the Translation Office. (2)


(2) Tahtawi's students translated in all more than two thousand works into Arabic and Turkish.

In 1970, he became the editor in chief of the educational review Rawdat al-Mudarris. (1)

He died in 1873. (2)

(1) Fortnightly, it was founded by ʿAli Fāshā Mubarak in 1868. Dr. Khalil Sabat: article al TabQA al-ʿArabiyya in Dairat Maʿārif al Shāb”, No. 58, 1951

(2) Dr. Shawqī Daif: al-Adab al-ʿArabi al-Muʿāṣir, p. 34
Chapter Six

RELIGION AND THE WEST.
The leading Muslim Leaders in the century, being influenced by the Western culture and sciences, began to question the utility of Islamic institutions and seek to reform them in such a way as to render them viable and useful in the modern age.

Al-Sayyid Jamāl Al-Dīn Al-Afghānī

Al-Afghānī (1839–97), the chief agent in the beginning of the modern movement in Egypt, was born in Asūdabad (1) near Kabul.

(1) Asūdabad is also known as Saʿdabad.
Al-Afghāni is one of the most outstanding figures of the nineteenth century. He was a thinker as well as a man of action. He was endowed with a penetrating intelligence and a large heart. His rare intellectual gifts and his high moral qualities gave his personality the magnetism peculiar to all great leaders who attracted people towards them. By virtue of his deep erudition and moral character, al-Afghāni proved himself to be a religious reformer, a political leader and a great thinker in the entire Muslim World. (1)

Prof. E.G. Browne says of him that he was a man of "enormous force of character, prodigious learning, untiring activity, dauntless courage, extraordinary eloquence both in speech and in writing, and an appearance equally striking and majestic.

(1) 'Uthman Amin, article Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghāni, in Darʾirat Maʿarif al-Saḥb, No. 38, 1939
He was at once philosopher, writer, orator, and journalist, but above all politician, and was regarded by his admirers as a great patriot and by his antagonists as a dangerous agitator." (1)

He became guide and unofficial teacher of a group of young men, mainly from the Azhar University, who were destined to play an important part in the Egyptian life and could never shake off the influence of al-Afghānī. The group included Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Saʿīd Zugħlūl who, fifty years later, was to become the leader of the Egyptian nation. He taught them, mainly in his own home, what he conceived to be the true Islamic theology, jurisprudence, mysticism, and philosophy. (2)

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(1) E.G. Browne: The Persian Revolution, Biography of Jamal al-Dīn, Chapter I.

See also Jurjī Zādān, Nashāḥīr al-Shakīq, Vol.II, p.52, 281.

(2) Ahmad Amīn: Zuʿamā al-Īslām, pp.64-65
Al-Afghani was the great Muslim teacher of the nineteenth century. His conception was to unite the entire Muslim world under one Islamic government and to require for Islam the same greatness and prestige once attained by the caliphs of Damascus and Baghdad or by the Muslim Empire in Spain. He desired to see the happy days of the Ayubite Dynasty when Salah al-Din confronted the Crusaders with superior knowledge, higher culture and finally a great force of power.(1)

Al-Afghani, feeling the pulse of future, realized that a continuous action towards right direction and a drastic change into the medieval thinking could only save the people of the Middle-East from foreign domination. This change, he felt, could not be brought about without political revolution.

(1) Mary Rowlatt: Founders of Modern Egypt p.23
The change in ideas and circumstances could demand the sacrifice of blood. The man who gave this call greatly influenced his followers who eagerly listened to his public conversation and discourse. (1) & (2)

Though neither an Egyptian nor an Arab, he left a deep impact on the minds and lives of his followers who later became the leaders of modern Egypt. He won the position of a religious reformer, an enlightened thinker and a political leader not only in relation to Egypt but the entire Muslim world. (3)

Al-Afghānī was sore to see the decline of the Muslim people and worked for their spiritual and moral rebirth. It became, in his view, the basis of social and cultural

(3) Dr. Uthmān Amīn: article Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī, in Dā‘īrat Ma‘ārif al-Shā‘b, No. 58, 1939.
progress and a necessary condition for the
Muslims to regain their political-emancipation
and to participate once again in the creative
work of civilization. Religious refer, to
Al-Afghāni, meant a thorough understanding
of Islam and a sincere conformity to its
truths and fundamental principles.

It was the effect of his teachings, as
Muḥammad ʿAbduh asserts, that "people awoke
and intelligence stirred itself. The shroud
of neglect began to be lifted in many parts
of the country, specially at Cairo."
Al-Afghāni began by entrusting the scholars
and literati who attended his lectures with
the task of writing literary and scientific
articles. Writers and scholars responded
to his call; signs of intellectual freedom
began to appear in the newspapers. The
readers found themselves in a state of dream.

(1)

(1) ʿUthmān Amin: Muḥammad ʿAbduh, p.26
He also left a deep impression upon the trend of literature current in those days. Al-Afghani taught that the primary aim of a particular literature should be the service of the people as to express their needs and defend their rights. Consequently a new type of literature developed for the cause of the people and dwell on the subject of the people's rights and the duties of the ruler. (1)

He was eloquent, knew many languages and was fond of talking endlessly to his friends into cafes at Cairo but he wrote little. However, he encouraged his disciples to write, to publish newspapers to form public opinion. With the help of his faithful disciples he played a part in bringing about the first signs of national consciousness under Isma'il.

His teaching is given at the close of his

book, "al-Radd 'Ala al-Dahriyyin". (Refutation of the Materialists), (1) in a section entitled "The means by which the happiness of nations may be attained."

The concept of education given by Al-Afghānī in this book is too generalized and nothing concrete has been described regarding the principles of education. Muhammad 'Abduh, taking some clue from Al-Afghānī's ideals made it one of his main objects to improve the educational system especially at the Muslim University of al-Azhar. He asserted in one of his earliest articles

(1) Translated from Persian into Arabic by Shaikh 'Abduh. 1st edition Beirut 1883 under the title Risala fi ibtal madhab al-dahriyyin wa bayan mafasidhim wa ithbat 'anna al-Din asās al-madaniyya wa'l-kufr fasad al-'Umran, then 2nd edition Caire 1902, under the title "al-Radd 'ala al-Dahriyyin"
contributed to "al-Ahram" in 1876, that the students at al-Azhar should not only study the classical Arabic works of orthodox theology for the defence of the faith but also the modern sciences, the history and religion of Europe in order to know the reasons for the progress of the West. In later years, as an active member of the Administrative Committee of al-Azhar set up in 1895, he succeeded in introducing some useful administrative reforms but all his efforts to secure a widening of the curricula met with the opposition of dogmatic ulama. The influence which he had over the young generation was immense and it continued even after his death. During the course of time the authorities of al-Azhar have been gradually moved or compelled to reorganize the methods of teaching and introduce history, geography and the elements of the physical sciences to the syllabi of the university. The credit of this consequential change into the syllabi goes in reality to the progressive
ideas which 'Abduh inculcated into the minds of the succeeding generation. (1)

Jurji Zaidan remarks that Al-Afghani opened their eyes, for they had been in darkness. He brought a light that they took from him apart from philosophy and science, a spiritual awareness that showed them their true condition. Once the veils of illusion had been torn from their minds, they went energetically to work, and wrote literary, philosophical and theological treatises." (2)

Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh

Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) (3) among all the disciples of Al-Afghani felt the necessity of separating politics from religion.

(2) 'Uthman Amin: Muhammad 'Abduh, p.24
(3) 'Abduh was born in a village near Tanta, into a family with a long tradition of learning and piety.
As such the nature of reforms in both the fields must be different. He is generally considered as the founder of the modern reformist movement in Islam. (1) As a young teacher in al-Azhar, he tried to introduce a broader and more philosophical conception of religious education. While in exile, he collaborated with Al-Afghānī in editing a semi-religious and semi-political Arabic weekly called al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā (2) with the object of arousing the Muslim peoples to the need of uniting their forces against western aggression and exploitation. (3) In 1880 he returned to Egypt, and there, in spite of strong opposition from the conservative Ulama and political leaders, he had been

(1) Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization, p. 385

(2) French sub-title, Le Lien Indissoluble. The title of the journal was taken from the Quranic verse, “So whosoever disbelieves in the devil and believes in Allah, he indeed lays hold on the firmest handle which shall never break.” (The Qur'an 2: 256, Translation by Muhammad 'Ali)

(3) Vicomte Filib di Taiari; History of Arabic Journalism (Tariikh al-Sahafa al-'Arabiyya), p. 293, Beirut 1913.
endeavouring for a change in the attitude of al-Azhar university. He and his writings formed a shield and a support for those social and political reformers of whom Qāsim Bey Amin was the chief.

'Abduh was al-Afghānī's ablest pupil and remained closest to him. He was sympathetic towards his views. On the day of his departure from Egypt for the last time in 1879, al-Afghānī uttered the famous words: "I have left you Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh. Your wisdom will suffice for Egypt." (1)

'Abduh was a systematic thinker and had a lasting influence on the Muslim mind not only in Egypt but in the entire Muslim world. His origin was different from that of al-Afghānī. Al-Afghānī came from a distant place and passed like a meteor from one country to another while 'Abduh was firmly rooted in the country.

(1) Dr. 'Uthmān Amin: Muhammad 'Abduh, p.26
where he worked for the good of the people.

He was commonly known as "al-Ustādh al-Imām", i.e. the Master and the Guide. The principal object of al-Imām's entire endeavours was to modernize Muslim religious thought.

Jurji Zaidān, in his book Mashāhir al-Shārqi, noted that al-Afghānī and Muhammad ʿAbduh aimed at the same thing, namely, to unite the Muslims and ameliorate their conditions but they differed in adopting the means to attain the objective. (1)

al-Afghānī considered to unite all Muslim countries under one Islamic government while by political means. Muhammad ʿAbduh was convinced that political methods would not bring about the desired effects. He, therefore, strove for this objective by means of education, purification of religion and preparation of the Muslim nations to take

(1) Jurji Zaidān: Mashāhir al-Shārqi, p.281
to take their due place among the nations of
the world and share their progress and prosperity.
It may be noted that Muhammad 'Abdulh and his
closest associates did not consider the Islamic
formula of political salvation feasible or
useful. On the basis of events at home and
abroad they showed a mistrust at the Pan-Islamic
ideal.

The programme of reform associated with
the writings and activities of Shaikh Muhammad
'Abdulh is the reformation of Muslim higher
education and the reformulation of Islamic
doctrines in modern terminology intelligible
to modern men. Basically these two points
form two aspects of the same problem. They
complement each other. The purification of
Islam in his view, was a necessary condition
to the reforms to be carried on in the sphere
of higher Islamic education. So he aimed at
reformulation of Islamic doctrine with a view to
prevent Islam to modern men as a suitable religion
in the modern age.
Muhammad 'Abduh was rightly called by a recent biographer Mustafa 'Abd al-Raziq, as "one of the creators of modern Egypt," and "one of the founders of modern Islam." (1) since his efforts to reconcile the fundamental ideas of Islam with the scientific thought of the West were significant for the Islamic world.

"Muhammadan Modernism in Egypt, "remarks Charles Adams, "may be said to have taken form as a definite movement during the last quarter of the preceding century, under the leadership of the late Grand Mufti of Egypt, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh. It constitutes an attempt to free the religion of Islam from the shackles of too rigid orthodoxy and to accomplish reforms which will render it adaptable to the complex demands of modern life." (2)

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(2) Charles C. Adams; Islam and Modernism in Egypt, p.'b' Introduction.
Dhaki M. Hasen, an Egyptian historian, says: "The effect of 'Abduh's lifework was to remove the paralyzing inhibitions that were holding back Islam, and to create fresh energies for the task of bringing its teachings and institutions into harmony, with the new life of the Muslim countries. He formulated a basis for the reinterpretation of Islam without breaking with its historic past and as reactor of al-Azhar he began the process of religious instruction by the introduction of modern subjects in the curriculum." (1)

Al-Räziq says of Muhammad 'Abduh's lectures: "I once attended one of his lectures just to see how distorted the faces of atheists were, like their minds and hearts. But when I saw the man and heard his interpretation of the Book of God, I said to myself, Good God, if that he called atheism, then I am the arch-atheist." (2)

(1) Dr. Dhaki M. Hasen: Meslem Egypt, and its contribution to Islamic Civilization, p. 41
(2) 'Uthman Amin: Muhammad 'Abduh, p. 124
Mustafa 'Abd al-Raziq: op.cit., p. 9
He introduced to his pupils the new subjects such as history, geography, philosophy, politics and sociology through Arabic translations which widened their mental horizon. He also trained them in the art of public speaking and taught them how to express their thoughts in lucid prose for the contemporary Arabic press.

'Abduh expressed his views on the reform of the law regarding educational policy in a memorandum written during his years of exile in Beirut. There should be a different type of religious education for each class in the society. Those, meant for being employed as government officials, should be taught logic and philosophy and Islamic doctrines with the emphasis on their application into their life. Those, choosing their career as teachers and spiritual directors, should be more thoroughly trained in the religious sciences. They should master the classical
Arabic language. They should study the Qur'an taking into account the customs, traditions, language and thoughts of the Arabs especially in the pre-Islamic age.

The political importance of Muḥammad Ḥasan ʿAbduh lies in the fact that he has been the founder of a school of thought in Egypt similar to that established in India by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Aligarh Muslim University. The avowed object of both the persons has been throughout their lives to uplift Muslims by means of modern western education.

The task of reformation through education was difficult and it could not be accomplished within one or two generations. It required continuous efforts in this direction for many decades to come. The crux of problem posed before Muḥammad ʿAbduh was on the one hand to prepare the Muslim mind to imbibe the
scientific spirit of the West and free Islam from rigidity, and on the other to guard Muslims from the evil tendencies of European culture and foreign mental domination. The Shaikh remained successful in freeing Islam from undue rigidity and giving Muslim a scientific outlook and a spirit of free enquiry but met with utter failure in keeping the Egyptian Muslims away from the evil influence of the modern European culture based on materialism. The political conditions during the days of Isma'il helped much to transplant the sapling of Western culture on the Egyptian soil. Muḥammad ʿAbduh struggled hard to fortify his religion and country against foreign cultural domination.

Being the editor in chief of al-Waqaʾi al-Misriyya (Egyptian Events), Muḥammad ʿAbduh also filled the post of Director of the Department of Publication. One of the duties of the Director was to censor all the newspapers printed in Egypt including the foreign ones.
If a paper brought charges against any government official, these charges were investigated by the government. And if no evidence could be found against the official the paper was warned for its first offence, suspended for further offences and suppressed for ever if it proved obstinate.

He also gave a call for the better use of Arabic language. One leading journal which used language below the standard was informed that its publication might be suspended if it did not find for itself an editor with literary ability by a specified date. These drastic measures certainly brought fruitful results. Gifted men found their way to the top of the government departments. Consequently the administration became efficient.

Though al-Waqā'ī al-Miṣriyya was a government organ, Muḥammad ʿAbduh sometimes was very outspoken in his criticisms of government officials through the medium of his own editorials. "Muḥammad ʿAbduh contributed
more than anyone else to modify the social environments, the mentality and the spiritual life of his country." (1) He attained the "rank of leader in the widest sense," as 'Uthmān Amīn says. (2) He continues, "What sort of Shaikh is this? He speaks French, travels about in Europe, translates their books, quotes from their philosophers, holds discussions with their scholars, and issues fatwas on things that not one of the ancients could have known about, takes part in benevolent organizations and collects money for the poor and unfortunate. If he is a doctor of religion, let him spend his life between his home and the mosque. If he belongs to the secular world, we are of the opinion that he is more active in that sphere than all the rest of mankind." (3)

(1) 'Uthmān Amīn: The Modernist Movement in Egypt, p.165
(2) 'Uthmān Amīn: Muḥammad ʿAbdūh, p.135
(3) Ibid., p.135
Like the great medieval scholars, Muhammad ‘Abduläh expounded his thought in the form of a commentary on the Qur'an though he did not live long to complete it. He was a modernist in the sense that he urged the pursuit of modern thought. He was confident enough that it could not undermine the basic foundation of the religious truth; on the contrary the spirit of free enquiry should lead to the same truth advocated by science and revealed by Islam; he was no more innovator. He did not say a word for which he could not provide proof from the book of Allah. He restored the right of reason in the domain of religious thought. He advocated for the flexibility in place of undue rigidity in religious matters and formulated in confidence Islamic doctrines in modern terminology to be understood by modern men.

"In 1876 Muhammad ‘Abduläh, when he was a young student, began to write articles on various topics of general cultural interest."(1)

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(1) ‘Uthman Amin: Muhammad ‘Abduläh, p. 26
He put faith at that time in his article on ethical and social subjects a clear demand for intellectual freedom in the educational sphere. He wrote summaries of two lectures of Al-Afghani on the philosophy of education and the philosophy of the arts for the newspaper "Miṣr". He contributed to the weekly "al-Ahrām" articles entitled _Writing and the Writer, The Human Counsellor_ and _The Spiritual Counsellor_ and _Theology and the Demand for Modern Science_. These articles earned him a wide fame among his fellow students. (1)

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(1) ʿUthmān Amin: Muhammad ʿAbduh, p.26

ʿAbduh was deeply rooted in the traditions of his own country, and the nationalist element was apparent in his thought from the very beginning. His first article published in _al-Ahrām_ talks of the greatness of "the kingdom of Egypt".

Muhammad Rashid Rida: Ṭārīkh al-Ustādī al-Imām al-Shaikh ʿAbduh, p.31

This article dwelt on the glorious past of Egypt when she was reckoned to be one of the greatest in the world with a mature civilization.
After Al-Afghānī's return to Cairo from Constantinople in 1871, Muḥammad ʿAbdūh used to read to his "students selected passages from medieval Arabic writings and European works translated into Arabic on various branches of philosophy, mysticism, history, politics and sociology. The teaching of these subjects was a new triumph in itself and a departure from the accepted tradition up to that time. (1) He was intellectually honest and did not hesitate to express his views. His first book Risalat al-Waridat was published in 1874. (2) It is a theological treatise embodying his earliest ideas on mysticism and pantheistic vision of God. (3)

(1) ʿUthmān Amīn: Muḥammad ʿAbdūh, p.24
(2) This work was first published in 1874, Cairo, and was later included in the first edition of Rashīd Rādā al-Tārikh al-Ustādh al-Imām, Vol.1, (1906) pp.1-25. In the later editions of Tārikh, however, the work was dropped.
(3) ʿUthmān Amīn: Muḥammad ʿAbdūh, p.24
As Muhammad 'Abduh gained fame in the Azhari circles his fellow students gathered round him to repeat their lessons for better understanding of the subjects taught in the classes. He answered their questions to the best of their satisfaction and also gave them instruction in philosophy and orthodox theology. This naturally led him to work for hours in al-Azhar library on books not much connected with the lessons given by the professors in the class. The Arabic language, he maintained, is the basis of the Islamic religion.

(1) الأمة العربية هي أساس الدين

It is not possible for the Muslims (the Arabs) to be flourishing unless their language is flourishing. He says:

(2) حياة المسلمين ينبع من لغتهم

The language, therefore, must be reformed as a means to the reform of religion. "In the reform of our language," he had said in an

(2) al-Manâr, Vol.VIII, p.491
address to the scholars of Tunis, "lies the only means to the reform of our religious beliefs." The ignorance of the language prevented the Arabs from understanding the genius of the religion contained in the earlier religious books. On the contrary, consummate mastery over the classical Arabic language facilitated for them to grasp the learning and acquire the treasures of culture contained in medieval Arabic literature.\(^{(1)}\)

The revival of the language, in his view, through the books taught at al-Azhar was almost impossible. It was necessary, therefore, to revive the works of the great Imams and scholars written in the happy days of Muslim learning.\(^{(2)}\)

Especially with this purpose a society was founded in 1900 called "The Society for the

\(^{(1)}\) *Tafsir Surat al-'Asr wa Khitab Am fi al-Farbiyya wa'l Ta'lim*, p.91, second edition.

\(^{(2)}\) Charles C. Adams: *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, p.31.
Revival of the Arabic Sciences", of which Muhammad 'Abduh was the president. (1)

The characteristics of his book Risālāt al-Tawḥīd have been well summed up by Muhammad Rashīd Rida when he says: "The centuries have passed, and there has been no work which was suitable for the presentation of Islam in the form required by the dogmatic theologians until Muhammad 'Abduh came and wrote Risālāt al Tawḥīd." (2)

Muhammad 'Abduh and his assistants on the staff of al-Waqqā'ī al-Misriyya were directing their efforts to bring about a literary revival in the style of Arabic writing. It is evident from his writing in "al-Waqqā'ī" that Muhammad 'Abduh had emancipated Arabic

(1) Risālāt al-Tawḥīd, Publisher's Preface, p. 'Y'
(2) Uthmān Amin: Muḥammad ʿAbduh, p. 46
prose from the artificiality of rhymed prose widely in use at that time. His purpose was to express his ideas in simple and lucid prose that could be easily understood by the readers without taking their mind for the hidden meaning closed in a complicated style.

Muhammad ʿAbduh contributed much to enable the Arabic language to serve as a language of journals by his writing in al-Waqqāʾi al-Miqriyya and al-Urwat al-Wuthqā. Thus his writing served as model for other journals of the Arab World. Through all his literary activities he sought to propagate and popularize a simple and direct style of writing and a sound literary taste.

To sum up I quote what the newspaper, al-Muqattam wrote about Muhammad ʿAbduh's character on the day of his funeral. "In the heart of the East, he was a man of courageous character, inwardly free, he openly expressed his convictions and acted upon fearing no harm
from anyone in authority and unwavering by the
strength of some powerful person. And his
strong convictions, his courage and his lack
of fear drew down upon him many terrible
experiences, numerous misfortunes and
difficulties." (1)

Muhammad 'Abduh's Disciples:

Muhammad Rashid Ridā.

Rashid Ridā, editor of al-Manār (2) wrote
a number of books. Some of them were collections
of articles first published in al-Manār. His
other books including the life of 'Abduh (3)
were important from different points of view.
The life of 'Abduh is an important source of the
history of the Muslim Arab mind in the late

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(1) Uthman Amin: Muhammad 'Abduh, p.137.
(2) Rashid Ridā founded al-Manār in 1897.
(3) i.e. Tarikh al-Ustādhi al-Imām al-Shaykh
Muhammad 'Abduh. It contains all the articles
published in al-Urwat al-Buthqa and the
journal Miṣr. An account of 'Abduh's
life and thought given by his Egyptian
disciples together with several quotations
of his religious views is also included in
the book.
nineteenth century. He put into practice the ideas advocated by 'Abduh and founded a seminary to train Muslim missionaries and spiritual directors. As a faithful pupil of Muhammad 'Abduh he wrote his biography, edited his posthumous works, carried on his tradition and interpreted his doctrines. So Rashid Ridā acquired much importance in the modern Egyptian reformist movement led by Muhammad 'Abduh. al-Manār was founded by Rashid Rida as an organ for the propagation of Abdūh's doctrines and his reforms. (1) This journal gradually gained a wide circulation from Morocco to Java. (2)

Muhammad Rashīd Ridā was Syrian by nationality. His teacher in his country was

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(1) al-Manār served as an organ of the "Salafiyya" movement. This movement preached the return to the early principles of Islam as laid down by the Prophet and as practised by his immediate successors.

(2) H.A.R.Gibb: Mohammadanism, p.176
Shaikh Musaín al-Jisr, a Syrian scholar who wrote a book in defence of Islam and dedicated it to the Sultan, ʿAbd al-Hamid of Turkey. The book was entitled al-Risālat al-Hamidiyya. The book was particularly significant as it described the changed attitude of Muslim scholars towards western thought. The commentary on the Qurʾan begun by Muḥammad ʿAbduh continued and was completed by Rashīd Riḍā. Rashīd Riḍā wrote the "Commentary" on the model of his master. It is said that during ʿAbduh's lifetime Rashīd Riḍā helped him much in writing the commentary and sometimes he wrote passages after passages in his name. However, Rashīd Riḍā completed the commentary on the model of his teacher, and said, "If he had lived and read it he would have approved it."

In addition to the commentary on the Qurʾān written in al-Manār he wrote the history of the spiritual movement in Egypt and several treatises on the pilgrimage, the significance of the Kaʿba and the Wahhabis. In short he
Qasim Amin

Qasim Amin (1865-1908), educated in France and a Cairo Judge was 'Abduh's one of the younger followers. He published in 1899 a book, Tahrir al-Mar'a (Emancipation of Woman) in which he tried to read liberal ideas into the relevant Qur'anic passages and reinterpret traditional opinions in the light of modern thought. His attack aimed at polygamy, divorce, and the practice of veiling.

His attempt was well received in the educated and enlightened circles. This book was followed in a year or two by his second book, al-Mar'a al-Jadida (The new Woman) which was in defence of his first book and a reply to his critics. These two books,

(1) Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization, p.449.

(2) Dr. Khalil Sabat: article Qasim Amin in Da'irat Ma'arif al-Sha'b, No.118, 1951.
produced a greater impact on the public mind than any other recent book. The author was maligned and attacked from all sides because it was thought that his teaching would undermine the foundations of Muslim society. (1)

And in a very short time it had been discovered that no less than thirty books and pamphlets were written to refute his books as well as to attack him personally. Yet today he is known as the hero of the feminist awakening in Egypt.

Qasim Amin writes, "The work of women in society is to form the morals of the nation. But in Muslim countries neither men nor women are properly educated to build a real family life. The Muslim woman has neither freedom nor status necessary to play her proper role in the Society". (2)

(1) Wadad Sakakini: Qasim Amin, p. 44
(2) Qasim Amin: Tahrir al-Mar'a, p. 116
Qāsim Amin belonged to a group of men who were mutual friends and followers of Muḥammad ʻAbduh. His death occurred not long after that of their leader. That he was primarily a thinker is the judgment of al-Manār.

Qasim Amin’s limpid and effortless style has all the simplicity of a great art. He sought solely to convey his feelings and ideas to the reader’s mind in the most natural and appropriate words without sacrificing the elegance and grace of the language. There are passages in his works that take their place in the rank of the masterpiece of modern writing.

Mustafa Pasha Kamīl

Mustafa Kamīl (1874–1908) who was the reorganizer of Egyptian nationalism, gained some success in his mission. His speeches and writings aimed at how the Egyptian society should be organized for the better. He used to quote the famous phrase of the Khedive Ismaʻīl
that Egypt was a part of Europe. (1) He emphasized the importance of adopting what was of value in the western civilization. "But Egypt," he believed, "must not imitate Europe slavishly. She must remain true to the principles of Islam correctly interpreted by true Muslim scholars. The real Islam is patriotism and justice, activity and union, equality and tolerance, and it can be the basis of a new Islamic life which draws its strength from science and a broad and elevated thought."

(2)

(1) 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, Mustafa Kāmil, p.442.

(2) 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, Mustafa Kāmil, p.212.
Chapter Seven

EGYPTIAN LITERATURE AND THE WEST.
The renaissance of Arabic literature has similarity in some respects to that of Europe. The movement was caused by the influence of western culture in the same way as the renaissance in Europe was indebted to the scholastic movement of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries resulting from the influence of the Islamic civilization.

The beginning of the renaissance of Arabic literature marked the editions of classical
works with modern critical notes and commentaries. Since the second half of the nineteenth century important Arabic works on history, geography and literature have been published with critical editions. This movement is still going on and several literary centres in the Arab World have been publishing Arabic classical works.

**ARABIC PROSE IN EGYPT**

Rifa'a Bey Al-Tahtawi (1801-1873)

Rifa'a Bey al-Tahtawi, one of the champions of the renaissance of Arabic literature, (1) undertook numerous studies and wrote articles on various subjects related to the modernisation of Arabic language. He himself translated from French

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(1) Jurji Zeidan: Tarikh Adab al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya, p.268
into Arabic (1) and more than two thousand works on various fields of European Literature were translated into Arabic and Turkish under his able guidance and supervision. (2)

During his visit to Paris al-Tahtawi plunged into his work reading, writing and translating incessantly. He recorded his observations in a delightful account (3) the reading of which reveals that he was a keen and accurate observer endowed with insight and an open mind. (4) Al-Tahtawi mainly emphasizes that Muslims should enter into the main stream

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(1) He wrote and translated more than twenty-five works in a variety of fields ranging from history to mathematics and poetry. Vatikiotis: The Modern History of Egypt, p.115.


(3) i.e. Takhlis al-Ibriz fi Talkhiz Bariz, Dr. Shawqi Daifi, al-Adab al-'Arabi al-Mu'assir, p.171

(4) Al-Dasuqi (d.1228): F'il Adab al-Hadith
of modern civilization by way of studying European sciences and adopting their paths to progress. He had sympathy with liberal movements and constitutional government. (1)

Faris Al-Shidyaq (1805–1887)

Faris al-Shidyaq exercised a great influence on the formation of modern Arabic prose. (2) His articles are less noteworthy for their contents than for the simplicity and vigour of their style, in sharp contrast to the artificial and outmoded manner of writing used by the majority of Arab journalists during his days. (3)

Jurji Zaidan (1861–1914)

Following the current of national awakening

(1) Dr. Shawaqi Daif: al-Adab al-'Arabi al-Mu'asir, p. 172.

(2) al-Zayyāt: Tārīkh Adab al-'Arabi, p. 471

towards Arab heritage, Jurji Zaidān turned to the Arab history and literature. He published a five-volume history of Islamic civilization, 
Tarīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islām (1) two volume History of Modern Egypt, (2) a four volume History of Arabic Literature (3) and numerous other smaller studies on Arabic language, culture and history. He popularized the subject of Arab history and culture in a series of twenty historical romances. (4)

Zaidān was one of the first to use in his writings the results of the researches of European Orientalists, and thus he acquainted the wider circles of the Arab public at least

(1) Cairo 1902
(2) Tarīkh Misr al-Hadīth, biography of the most famous personalities of the Orient in the Nineteenth Century.
(4) Shawqi Daif: al-Adab al-`Arabī al-Mu`ālam, p.188.
with their names and the titles of their works.

Although Zaidān's style of writing met with severe criticism from conservative quarters, (1) his books enjoyed the favour of a large number of Arab and non-Arab readers and exercised a decisive influence on the development of Arabic language along with the modern lines. He may serve an example of prodigious energy and wide knowledge. (2) The list of his works and the variety of subjects treated by him have a great importance in modern Arabic literature. (3)

Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-97)

Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghānī inspired a school of writers with his charming personality.

(1) Dr. Saiūd al-Dahān: Qudama wa Muḥasirūn, p.163.
He encouraged promising young men to found newspapers and infused them with ideas of national significance. Around him was formed the nucleus of Arab journalism. Young writers were trained to respond to the cause of the people.

Al-Afghānī's influence left a deep impression upon the trend of literature. Al-Afghānī taught that the primary aim of literature was to serve the people by expressing their needs and defending their rights. A new literature developed which looked to the people for its matter and content and dwelt on the subjects of the people's rights and the duties of the ruler.

Muhammad ʿAbdūh (1849–1905)

The Arabic language in Muhammad ʿAbdūh's time was in a bad state. (1) Writers trained

in Al Azhar University wrote in florid style of rhymed prose and being sometimes verbose and pedantic were more concerned with the form than the matter. Official publications were written in a corrupt and confused language. His most important book was Risalat al Tawhid - a systematic treatise on theology based on his lectures in Beirut.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh directed his efforts to bring about a literary renaissance advocating for a simple and expressive style in writing. (1) He rose to teach the writers of his age that writing was the clarification of meaningful ideas; and that the basis of eloquence should be purposeful expression and precise exposition. (2) In the second half of his life he learnt to read French and thus read widely the European philosophical thought current in his age. He had some contact with the European thinker. He wrote a letter to Tolstoy and

(1) Dr.‘Uthmān Amin: Muḥammad ʿAbduh, p.46
(2) Ibid., p.47
original works consisted of treatises on law and a collection of articles on day to day problems at that time. These articles first appeared in the daily press. He mainly concentrated his efforts on the translation of European classics on law, politics, history, geography and philosophy. He intended to introduce Egyptians to the ideas which had guided Europe to modern economic and political achievements.

'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi (1849-1902)

A Syrian who came to Egypt to breathe free air was 'Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakibi. He descended of a noble and learned Aleppo family. (1) The fine qualities which al-Kawakibi inherited were enhanced by his upbringing. Al-Kawakibi, though unfamiliar with European thought through translations and travelling. He was aware of the sad state of the Arabs.

He deplored for the ignorance of the masses and attacked the abscueritism of theologians who dominated the field education. (1) He took up the fight on behalf of the people and stood bravely in the face of tyranny and oppression. He was keenly sensitive to the poverty and misery of the masses. He treated the poor and weak with kindness and humility, and defended the oppressed by his words and deeds. (2)

Al-Kawākibi wrote two books. In the first book entitled Tabā‘ī al-Istibdād, (3) he analysed the tendencies of the home government and its utterly ruinous effect upon the people. (4) Al-Kawākibi advocated a mild form of

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(1) Sydney H. Fisher: The Middle East, p.352
(2) Dr. Sami al-Dahhām: article "Za‘īm al-Arabi" in "al-Majalla", No.31, July 1959
(3) i.e. Attributes of Tyranny
(4) Sami al-Kiyani: al-Adab al-‘Arabi al- Mu‘āṣir fi Suriyya, p.68
socialism under which the strong would help
the weak and the rich share with the poor, and
people would be brought closer to each other
in all their social relations.

His other book is Umm al-Qura after the
name of Mecca. It is the story of a group of
Muslims gathered together for the pilgrimage
from every part of the Muslim world. They are
concerned over the general apathy which has
overcome the Muslims (1) and seek to find its
cause. After an exchange of views, they agree
that the causes are religious, intellectual
and political. Religion has ceased to be a
living force in people's lives. The peoples
are soaked in ignorance. Moral cowardice
prevents them from demanding their rights
and despair has deadened their spirits.

These two books, thought provoking,

(1) Jurji Zaidan: Tarikh Adab al-Lugha
al-'Arabiyya, p.280 Vol.IV
are written with clarity and charm. They were published in Cairo and were widely read and admired. Al-Kawakibi's writings as well as the example of his personal life left a deep impression upon his contemporaries for he was truly noble, compassionate and brave.

Ibrahim 'Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini (d.1949)

Al-Mazini is known for his scholarly essays and criticism. He is considered one of the most learned writers. He delved into the past of Arabic classics and presented them into new forms in modern terminology. (1) He was deeply influenced by English literature. (2) He took Mark Twain as a model for his short stories. Later on he also came under...

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(1) Dr. Jamal al-Din al-Ra'edi: "Ibrahim al-Mazini" in "Da'irat Ma'arif al-Sha'b" No.114, 1961.

(2) Dr. Shawqi Daif: al-Adab al-'Arabi al-Ma'arif, p.263
the influence of Artovybeshev. He combined his power of observation with an effective and forceful language with a tinge of human...

Salama Musa

Salama Musa (1887-1956), a sociologist who detected in Darwin and Spencer the apostles of evolution fought with his pen for revolutionary ideas. (1) Well read in European philosophical and scientific literature he believed that mankind could be made happy by means of rational thinking.

'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqād (1880-1964)

Al-'Aqqād (d. March 1964) was known as an essayist, poet and critic recognised by both his disciples and adversaries. (2)

(1) Dr. Jamal al-Din al-Ramadi: article "Salama Musa" in itirat al-Ma'arif al-Sha'b', No. 58, 1959
(2) Mahmūd Hamza al-Shurbājī: article "al-Mamlīka al-Fiqhiyya 'inda'l 'Aqqab."
He was more than seventy years old when he died and even at that old age he was perhaps the only literary figure who used to inspire awe and respect mixed together. The respect he commanded was due to the eighty books he had written and the awe he inspired was due to his unrivalled power of criticism. Under the Nasser regime, he criticised the new younger radical modernist through his literature particularly poetry. He also received the State Appreciation Prize for Literature.

He is a prolific author. His book, "Mutālsat Bāln al-Kutub" is a collection of articles. He emerges from the boundaries of Islamic world (1) and criticizes the works of great European writers such as Marx Nordau, Anatole France, etc. (2)

(1) ʿĀzīz Abaza: articles: "al-ʿAqqud: al-Kutib wa-l Fāilsyf wa al-Šaʾir".
(2) Shawqī Daīf: Maʿal-ʿAqqud, p.82
He presents the philosophy of Emmanuel Kant, the German philosopher, with lucidity. His style is the style of a savant. He demands arguments from the critic and rejects personal taste in judging the literary works.

Al'Aqqad writing on a variety of subjects proves himself to be a writer of high calibre. (1)

Taha Hussain (1889 -

Taha Hussain is an outstanding figure known as contemporary historian, literary critic and commentator on the classics.

He is blind but widely read in French, Greek and Arabic literatures. He is well reputed as essayist and literary critic in the entire Arab world.

Taha Hussain is a modernist. Educated at first in al-Ashar, then in the Egyptian University and later on in France, he has acquired the leadership of the Modernist School within Islam. His book on pre-Islamic poetry, (1) which appeared in 1926 was so critical of the subject that it raised a storm of bitter controversy in the local press and finally had to be suppressed. He is an idol of the students at the university. (2)

The life of such a man is naturally of great interest. In 1929 he published a thin volume in Arabic entitled al-Ayyām,

(1) i.e. Fi al-Shīr al-Jahili, published in 1927, republished slightly revised as a concession to public opinion and considerably enlarged under a different title Fi’l-Adab al-Jahili.

(2) His other works like Abu al-‘Alā‘al-Ma‘arrī, a study of the great freethinker poet of the Arabs and works on the history of Arabic literature for colleges, are considered masterpieces throughout the Arab world.
(The Days) (1) which gave the first instalment of his autobiography. (2) It speaks of his earliest recollections beginning from the days when he lost his sight as a small child up to the time when at the age of thirteen he began to attend classes at al-Azhar University. This literary autobiography is justly praised for its depth of feeling and remarkable style.

Al-Ayyām is a unique book in Arabic.
The author has broken with all the past traditions of Arabic style of writing in telling us his story with all the simplicity and exquisite artistry of the best French

(1) This volume was translated by E.H. Paxton, London 1932 into English. Afterwards, it has also been translated into French, Russian, Chinese and Hebrew.

Shawqi Dail: al-Adab al-'Arabi al-Muṣārir, p.286

(2) Ibid., p.281
prose. It gives us a wonderful picture of Egyptian country life seen through a child's eyes.

As a piece of psychological document 
al-Ayyam deserves our admiration in the sense that Taha Hussein has succeeded in really making us feel the struggle of a little blind child for higher and better things. Perhaps it is not going too far to say that it is the most natural unaffected piece of autobiography in modern Arabic literature.

The Arab Academy whose members are eminent Arab scholars and orientalists carefully watches the growth of the Arabic language and its development. The Academy has studied and confirmed the use of some 10,000 terms in the various branches of sciences and arts.

The process of modernizing, simplifying, and popularizing classical Arabic has been
going on during the greater part of the century outside the hall of literary academies. Scientists, professionals and technicians, all of them have made their contribution to mould the classical language into a form intelligible to the modern man. Current and urgent problems of modern life could hardly be treated in a florid style and rhymed prose. National leaders being aware of the importance of persuasion to win the popular support for their cause, spoke and wrote with simplicity and precision.

Modern Arabic literature, though of much value, is still lacking in originality. So it is not of much interest to the more advanced nations. The Arabs themselves are conscious of the fact. They are working hard for originality in the field of literature, science and industry.
II

EGYPTIAN SHORT STORY

The short story undoubtedly has been more successful in modern Egypt's literature than the novel or drama. Dozens of young writers try their hand at this form with excellent results. No aspect of their social life is left undepicted in the short stories. Nevertheless, short story writers are chiefly preoccupied with the life of the peasants and the working class of the society. Their themes are taken from every day life of ordinary people. The features of their life, their work and amusements, their joys and sorrows are realistically described. They faithfully picture the nature and society of modern Egypt.

The history of the Short Story has been divided into three periods:

(i) From the beginning of the 19th century to the World War I.

(ii) From the World War I to the World War II.

(iii) From the World War II to the present day.
The First Period

Muhammad Taimūr (1892-1921)

Muhammad Taimūr is known as the originator of the Egyptian short story in modern Arabic literature. (1) His short stories are marked by a sense of realism and local colour. In his short stories he seems to be under the literary influence of G. de Maupassant.

Mustafa Lutfi al-Manfalūti (1876-1924).

Though al-Manfalūti did not know any European language and European literature was known to him only through translation, all his writings reflected the conflict between the oriental and the occidental concepts and ideas which was the main characteristic of his epoch. In view of the

(1) Muhāmid Taimūr: al-Shaikh Jumā' wa Aqṣā' Suhrā, Introduction p.8
fact and the fact that he made no reference to the source from which he quoted or translated, it would be difficult for his readers to trace the origin of the translated or adopted short stories. So one could never know to what extent he adhered to the original. But it is generally accepted that the French short stories serve for him as a model. The materials of al-Manfalūṭī's short stories were chiefly drawn from the French literature. But looking into the French romances (1) which he turned into Arabic, it seems that he took absolute liberty to omit, add, or change whatever incidents or characters to be deemed unpalatable to his Arab readers. (2)

(1) Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*, A Karr's *Sous les Tilleuls*, Coppée's *Pour la Couronne*, and Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*.

(2) Dr. Shewqi Daif: *al-Adab al-'Arabī al-Mu'ṣābir*, p.229.

A critical review of the Arabic translation of Karr's "Sous les Tilleuls" under the title of *Maḥdalin* appeared in "al-Mīlāl" Vol.26, p.370, in which al-Manfalūṭī is openly criticized for mutilating the French text and obliterating the original framework of the story. The critic disapproves of calling this work a translation. "In my opinion," he says, "This method does not conform to the principles of translation and results in the disfiguring of the original text."
The two translated short stories, "Yama al–Id" and "Fi Akwākh al–Fuqara" (2) are examples of the kind of stories in which al-Manfalūtī was mainly interested. They are the stories with a moral or social lesson to teach to his young readers. They may be called at best a sermonette in a narrative form.

When we analyse the development of Arabic short story in the first period, we find that most of the translated short stories are published without reference to their original source. It is impossible to know for a literary critic to find out how accurate or inaccurate the translation or the adoption is.

The Second Period

The period after war saw in the

structure of the modern short story, the development of modern Arabic fiction. World War I was followed by a partial emancipation of women, a strong feeling of nationalism and a moral and social awakening. The short story tinged with romantic feelings received a considerable recognition on account of its being short, true to life and revealing the nature of human behaviour.

Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān (1883-1931)

From the U.S.A., we hear the voice of two Lebanese Arabs who are distinguished for their writing, Jibrān Khalīl Jibrān (1) and Mikha'īl Nu'aima (1889 - ). Here I shall discuss the former.

The high mountains of Lebanon have been Jibrān's birthplace. (2) He left his home

(1) He is known as Jubran Khalil Jubran to his Arabic readers.

(2) He was buried in his native village Basharrah, (also called Basharri) in a natural grotto in the rock, transformed into a chapel.
for the U.S.A. where he founded together with a group of other Lebanese emigrants the first Arabic literary circle (1)

Khalīl Jibrīn spent his early life in drawing, reading and attempting to write. He was primarily a writer who represented a new school in the history of Arabic literature though living in the U.S.A. (2) His countrymen took pride in his reputation as a writer of eminence.

His book, al-Nabī (The Prophet, 1923), analyses the nature of human relations. In this book he presented himself as a teacher looking upon all the world with contempt and as a missionary preacher calling for righteousness as the only way to lead life.

(1) Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization, p.226

(2) 'Īsā al-Naʿūrī: Adab al-Mahjar, p.356
This book, though a small one, is a complete picture of Jibrān's personality. (1) säAllāh his experiences are depicted in it. He speaks of his emotions, opinions, philosophy and his reading of the Muslim mystical poets. (2) He describes his past experiences and his past attitudes towards himself and towards life. In the book we feel the depth of the Orient and the speed of the West. The both have made their impact on the human soul. He is unique in his ideas and style of writing. The following passage of Jibrān in translation is given here to show his ideas and style:

"Love gives naught but itself, and takes naught but from itself. Love possesses not, nor would it be possessed, for love is sufficient by itself." (3)

(1) Mīḵā’īl Nu’ṣīma: Jibrān Ḥalīl Jibrān, p.21B.
(2) Ibid., p.221
(3) Jibrān: al-Naqdātā.
After the publication of 'al-Nabi' Jibrān seems to have developed higher ideals. He, in his other book Rasāl wa Zabād (Sand and Foam, 1926), admits, "I am ignorant of the absolute truth, but I am humble before my ignorance and therein lies my honour and my reward." (1) He affirms, "I have no enemies, O God, but if I am to have an enemy, let his strength be equal to that of mine so that truth alone may be the victor." (2)

In this period, translation from French, English and Russian literatures became increasingly popular, and publication of the translated material continued to appear
in magazines and books. (1) It may be acknowledged here that most of the short story writers were greatly influenced by the French literature. (2) It may also be noted that writing a story for the purpose of its moral effect had gradually diminished and a literature simply for entertainment began to appear increasingly. (3)

The Third Period

After the Second World War, one of the most outstanding figures among short story writers of the Arab World is Mahmud Taimur. He is well received in the Arab world and Europe by his readers and critics alike.

(1) Such as the periodicals "Musawwarat al-Sha'b, al-Rawi al-Riwayat al-Musawwarat", al-Riwayat al-A Orthodox.

Tawfiq 'Abd Allah's translation of some French short stories by Maupassant, Francois Coppée and Marcel Brivaud 1923 and 'Abd al-'Aziz Amin's translation of some of Tolstoy's short stories 1921.

(2) al-Milāl, Vol.29, pp.32-33

(3) al-Milāl, Vol.30, p.478
He is today the recognized master of short story writing in the Arab world. The art of writing Arabic short stories through his genius has developed from the stage of copying and translating stories from the West to that of excellence comparable favourably with the short story in the western literature.

Statements and reviews may be quoted to show that he was the father of the modern Arabic short story.

At a party given in honour of Taimur, Salama Mussa (1) said: "In writing the short story, Mahmud is making a modern literature. I do not deny that the Arabs are acquainted with narrative literature, but it has been different in type and aim from the modern type of narrative which derives its theme from every-day life. In this respect Taimur is an innovator, for he makes Egyptian life the basis of his theme, describes and criticises it, thus letting the narrated events themselves indirectly guide us. Mahmud Taimur has distinguished himself as the

(1) A famous Egyptian story-writer,
Russian story-teller ........ in his application of the psycho-analytical theories of Freud and his followers."

(1)

Mahmūd Taimūr, as a writer of short and long stories, was awarded in 1949 the literary prize of the Arabic Academy, Cairo (Majma' Īlād al Awwal li'Lughā al-'Arabiyya) and in 1950 was elected a member of the same academy. In his speech welcoming him to the Academy, Tāhā Hūsain said: "You have been a pioneer in a field in which I do not know anybody in the whole of Arabic Orient who can claim partnership with you. If in the future, however, some one else were to do what you have done, he would never have superiority over you, because it is you who have paved the way before him, thus enabling him to produce and excel. This field in which you have distinguished yourself and won for yourself undying fame in the history of Arabic literature is story-telling in the modern way adopted in the western world." (2)

The periodical "al-Muqtataf" wrote: "We have mentioned more than once that the short story is an art of

(1) al-Hilāl, Vol.37, pp.277-78
(2) Taimūr: Malāmīh wa Ghudūn, pp.6-7
western literature ....... Taimūr, the son of the great scholar Ahmad Taimūr, the son of the great scholar Ahmad Taimūr, has shown a particular interest in writing it. In the beginning of this year, he published, "al-Shaikh Jum'a", a collection of short stories picturing Egyptian life in town and village" (1)

The Egyptian Gazette wrote: "Mahmud Taimūr has just published a collection of short stories .... These stories reflect great credit on the author, not only as a story-teller but also as a descriptive writer...." (2)

A weekly periodical with a wide circulation "Royal Yusuf", commenting on Mahmud Taimūr's stories wrote:

"We might be mistaken if we stated that Arabic literature has neglected the story, for there are surely the stories of the love poets in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, and those of "Alf Laila wa Laila", "Amīr", etc. .... But these are quite different from those which we have read by Taimūr...... The latter are the type which deserves the name 'Short Story' because of its size; it pictures without affectation or exaggeration the ordinary scenes of life, which

(1) "al-Maqtataf", 5/12/1925
(2) "Egyptian Gazette", 29/10/1925
the observant eye usually sees. His characters are so drawn that you imagine and conceive them alive." (1)

Replying to critics, in his preface to al-Sheikh June'a wa Aqsa'a Ukhra (2) (second edition), Talmaur says: "the reason of some of my stories being realistic is that I wish to depict facts as they are, not as they are imagined."

III

EGYPTIAN NOVEL

The earlier novels and plays were translated from Shakespeare, Moliere and Sir Walter Scott. Nevertheless, they are considered in their translated forms as a part of modern Arabic literature in as much as they helped to introduce new literary expressions into the language. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that western fiction was translated and

(1) "Rozaa Yusuf", 7/12/1925
(2) First published in 1925, Cairo
published in Arabic.

Muhammad Hussain Haikal (d. Dec. 1906)

Like the first English novel, Richardson's *Fameia*, the first Arabic novel *Zainab* (1) was born in a romantic atmosphere as is evident from the author's preface to the second edition of the book in 1929. He himself describes circumstances under which he composed the book. As a student in Paris and overcome by strong homesickness, he deliberately set himself to recall every aspect of country life in Egypt. This effort of affectionate recollection betrays itself on nearly every page of the book in the form of lengthy description of natural scenery, sun, moon, stars, crops, streams and ponds. He sometimes

(1) "Zainab" was written in 1910-11 during Haikal's stay in Paris and appeared in 1914 before the war. It was presented afterwards on the screen.

being emotional rises to lyrical eloquence.

Taha Hussain (1889 - ) (1)

Taha Hussain has several novels to his credit, some of them are about his own friends and some are connected with him personally.

Taha Hussain's Adib (Man of Letters), published in 1938 at Cairo, is an admirable work. In this novel he speaks about one of his colleagues who is also his friend. It could be considered as a good piece of modern Egyptian literature. The hero, an official obtains a fellowship to study at the Sorbonne. He is but gifted at the same time unstable. He suffers from the mental illness and has long been committed to the West before he leaves Egypt. The Adib has no argument for his preference of foreign culture for which he passionately yearns. The style of its

(1) See pages 167-170
presentation and the language both are remarkable. The Adib has been accorded full freedom to have his say regarding European culture. The reader does not learn much from Adib’s eloquent tongue regarding the orient and occident cultures.

'Usama Husain excels more as a gifted writer than as a thinker. He dwells more on the style of writing than on ideas with the result that his novels lack action and life. He is an admirer of the western culture and advocates for its adaptation in his writings.

Faraž, Antūn: (1874-1922)

Faraž, Antūn used the novel to expound his own philosophy of life. (1) He was influenced in his writing by Rousseau (1) and the French romanticists.

He is mainly one of the psychological

(1) al-Mujāz fi'1-Adab al-'Arabī, p.114
(2) Marūn 'Abbud: Jududūn wa Qudama, p.22
novel writers. He was a Syrian who started his studies and literary activity in politics. He defended democracy through his forceful writing. (1) In 1897 he emigrated to Egypt, which was at that time outside the direct administration of Ottoman rule. His famous novels are *Yurushalam al-Jadida* (New Jerusalem, based on the Arab conquest of the Holy City), (2) *al-wahash al-wahsh al-wahsh*, (3) *al-Dīn wa'l-ilm wa'l-Māl* (a novel dealing with social problems). Farah Antūn lacked convincing arguments when he expounds his philosophy but he considerably influenced his contemporaries. He studied at school level

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(1) *al-Mujaz fi'1 Adab 'Arabi* p.114.  
(2) Marūn 'Abbūd, *Jūdūdun wa Qudama*, p.22  
(3) "Fathu'1-’Arab Baitu’1-Mugaddas", published 1904 *al-Mujaz*, p.113  
"New Jerusalem", though it suffers from lengthy ideological monologues, has a place in the history of the novel in Arabic, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, under "Farah Antūn.  
(4) "Al-Waḥash, al-wahash, al-Waḥash", a moral and psychological story
Tawfiq al-Hakim (1898-1962)

Tawfiq al-Hakim chose to present his concept of the Western culture and its influence on the East in the form of novels. His *Usufūrmin al-Shārq* (1) could hardly be considered as a work of art. It provides the author with the opportunity for unrestrained speeches which perhaps relieves him of his obligation as a meaningful writer. Al-Hakim himself is particularly influenced by the French sophisticated culture as he got interested in music while he was at Paris.

Ahmad Shawqi's "Şhadat al-Hind" (The Damsel of India) and Ibrahim al-Muwailih's "Hadith 'Isha bin Hisnām" may be considered as long narratives bordering modern novels.

(1) Appeared in 1938.
Just as in the eighteenth century, the French and English writers sought in supernatural tales of Oriental origin a means of social satire, the Arab novelists imagined an old Pasha or prince coming back to life and criticising the blind imitation of the West as Mu'awil did in his 'Madīth 'Isa bīn Hisām'.

The art of novel in the modern Egyptian literature is comparatively young. It developed under the influence of western literature especially French. The art is developing though it lacks originality.

The following types of novels are mostly current in the modern Egyptian literature:

(a) The emotional sex stories mostly read by teenagers;

(b) The social novels advocating for social reforms with the help of depicting miserable conditions of the poor peasants and other
(c) The political novels which portray the political conditions in the country, the opposition of the people and their demonstrations against the drastic measures of the government.

IV.

EGYPTIAN DRAMA

The drama in Egypt was born together with the stage under the western influence. Hence we find that the actor, the producer and the playwright were all combined in one man. The earliest plays served as tools of social reform, but lacked much in artistic set up. The poor middle classes were sympathetically shown and staged. (1) The rich class was shown as dishonest and immoral.

(1) Dr. Shiqi Daif: Al-Adab al Mu'asir fi Mier, p.216.
In the history of drama, the first theatre, "Opera House" (1) was founded by Khedive Isma'il in Egypt in 1869 and an European party was invited to stage plays. (2) The first opera "Å’ida" was staged in French. (3)

At early stages of its development, however, the drama took a great step forward; plays in poetry and prose were written by gifted writers in no small number.

Marun al-Naqqash (1817-53)

Marun al-Naqqash, a Simeon-born writer (4) is the founder of this branch of Arabic

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(1) It was specially built for the inauguration of the Suez Canal. Here adaptations of the French classics, and a few English, German, Italian and Scandinavian plays were staged.

(2) In his usual extravagant manner, Isma'il paid the composer Verdi 150,000 francs for the composition of the famous opera "Å’ida".

(3) al-Zayyat: Tarikh al-Adab al-'Arabi, p. 117
(4) Philip K. Hitti: The Near East in History, p. 496.
literature in modern times. (1) After spending a couple of years in Italy, he composed three comedies in the style of Molières. Two of these deal with the Syrian contemporary society.

The first drama he wrote and staged was "al-Bakhil". It was an imitation of "L'Avaré" (2) i.e. the miser written by Molières. (3) "al-Bakhil" with his other dramas was staged successfully in 1948 before the selected guests, in his house at Beirut. (4) The presentation of Marun's dramas has a unique place in the History of Arabic literature. (5) Though by present day standards they appear lifeless, most of his contemporaries at that time denounced them as an inducement to sin. The result was that for the

(2) He transposed it into a local environment.
(3) al-Zayyât: op.cit., p.427
(4) Jurjì Zaidàn: op.cit., p.139
(5) Ibid., p.139
following twenty years nobody ventured again to try his hands at writing a play. (1)

It is interesting to note that as an emblem for his theatre Marun chose the cedar tree which in 1943 was adopted as the emblem of the Lebanese Republic. (2)

Najib al-Haddad (1887-99)

Al-Naqqaš was followed by Najib al-Haddad. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that western drama was translated and published in Arabic. Al-Haddad freely in Arabic translation more than ten masterpieces of European writers including Corneille, Hugo, Alexandre Dumas and Shakespeare. (3)

(1) Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization, p. 148
(2) Hitti: The Near East in History, p. 498
Muhammad 'Uthman Jalal (1829-98)

Al-Naqqaṣah was followed more successfully by Muhammad 'Uthman Jalal (1829-98) who inaugurated the comedy of manners. He adapted with great genius the themes of the comedies of Moliere, (1) describing in Egyptian colloquial language. Scenes and costumes of his country were remarkably employed at the state. He also produced an excellent adaptation in literary Arabic of "Paul et Virginie". (2)

Tawfīq Al-Makki

Tawfīq al-Makki (1898-1962) of Alexandria is considered as one of the leading drama writer in Egypt. (3) Like Taimūr he belongs to

(1) Encyclopaedia of Islam, p.597, under "Arabiyya".
(2) Ibid., p.597
(3) Dr. Muhammad Mandūr al-Masrah, p.109
the upper class and writes as an observer.

His Arabic style is a happy compromise between dictionary and colloquial Arabic. Critics remark that many of Tawfiq al-Hakim's plays are meant for reading and not acting because of their extreme sophistication. (1) He borrows his technique of writing dramas from French and Spanish Literature. (2) As for drama, he had before him the western standard as his model. (3)

He began writing plays since 1923. For his material he studied Bible as well as Greek and Arab history.

EGYPTIAN POETRY

The new era of Arabic poetry began with the advent of Napoleon. The impact of western

(1) Ibid., pp.166, 114.


(3) Two of his major works were published in 1933. They were 'Awdat al-Ruh (The Return of the Soul) and Ahl al-Kahf (The People of the Cave).
culture and French literature on Arabic language made itself felt in many ways. As it brought novels, drama and short stories, it also brought a new type of poetry well demarcated from the classical one. The western influence could not change the form of Arabic poetry though it changed its matter. To say in short the form of Arabic poetry remains unchanged and the ideas expressed in the modern poetry are indeed changed. This is no wonder - the change in culture entails a change in ideas. If ideas are changed, the style of writing, the diction and similes and metaphors are necessarily changed.

The modern Arabic poetry exhibits in general an organic unity and a unity of purpose in its poems. Now the modern poet is not aimless; he has a definite purpose to pursue, a set goal to reach and a message to give and preach. The poets in the Arab world and the emigrated countries played important
roles in the Renaissance of Arabic poetry in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At first, the trend was a departure from the artificiality of the literary decline and a return to the classical style of pre-Islamic Arabia and the golden age of the Abbasids. (1) By this call they meant to bring back the essential value of literature upheld by the poets of pagan Arabia. The return to the art of the ancient classics was similar to that of European scholars and poets of the Renaissance to their Greco-Roman heritage.

In the modern Arabic poetry the classical tradition outweighed the literary influences coming from the western literatures. With the rise of Arab nationalism, the range of Arabic poetry included patriotic themes.

(1) "al-Mujaz Fi’l-Adab al’Arabi wa Tarikhii", Vol.5, p.129.
developed by Mahmūd Samī al-Bārūdī, (1) Ahmad Shawqī (1868-1932), (2) and Muhammad Ḥāfiz ʻIbrahim (1872-1932). They were early practitioners of the Abbasid style. But neither the new themes, whether patriotic or social or individual, nor the techniques of western poetry affected to any marked extent the long-established structure, genres, and modes of expression of Arabic poetry. (3)

Shawqī's poetry is all music. The delicate nuances that he acquired during his stay in France as a student of law appear in his 'Shauqiyat'. Hence we find the Christian, the Roman Catholic and French

(1) 1840-1904. He composed many fine odes during his exile in Ceylon (1882-1900), and played a leading part in the renaissance of Arabic literature.

(2) In 1911 Shawqī called on Muslims to unite with the Sultan in fighting the infidel Italian invaders of Tripoli.

influences prominent in his poetry, e.g.,
"Ala Obbr Napoleon, Maidan al-Kunkurd" (1)
"Ma arad Paris" etc.

He introduced new ideas in the old classical forms and composed poems and tragedies which vibrate with emotion and are animated by his lofty ideals.

The current of modern poetry kept on dealing with political movements and at the same time awakened political tendencies among the Egyptians. Sometimes the poet speaks of the beauty and wealth of Egypt. Sometimes he sings of the glory of the ancient Egypt. The river Nile was sung by all the poets with emotion. Egyptian antiquities specially the Sphinx and the Pyramids, the beauty of the villages with their green land and the moderate climate of Egypt are the main themes of the modern Egyptian poetry.

(1) "Place de la Concorde"
An analysis of the various themes of the modern Arabic poetry gives an evidence that the poetry has been brought closer to the masses. The poetry in the classical period was the affair of the upper classes of the people. In one time it has become the affair of the middle classes. The western democratic ideas have also democratized the poetry. The feeling and hopes of masses are freely sung in the poetry. Thus the people are inspired to hope for the best in future. The poet, the poetry and the people, through the influence of the western literature, have been bound together by a unity of purpose.
Chapter Eight

WESTERN IMPACT ON THE EGYPTIAN PRESS AND JOURNALISM.
Bulaq Press, an important cultural institution too, was founded by Muhammad 'Ali in 1821. (1) Since the French carried back

(1) Ahmad Hasan al-Zayyat: Tarikh al-Adab al-'Arabi, p.424

According to Jurji Zaidan the first Arabic press was established in Italy in 1514 during Pope Lyon the X and the first book published in this press was a religious book. Later on hundreds of Arabic books were published in Europe.

Jurji Zaidan: Tarikh adab al-lugha al-'Arabiyya, p.44 vol.4 IV
to France the Arabic press (1) which they had brought with them at the end of the eighteenth century, (2) the Bulaq Press continued to function. Thus it is the oldest in the Arab world. (3) This Press is still serving the useful purpose of spreading education in the country. During its first twenty years from 1822 to 1842 (4) the Bulaq Press published two hundred

(1) Napoleon brought with him a press which was called "al-Maktaba al-Ahâlyya", and this was carried back by them.  
"Abd al-Rahmân al-Râfî'î: Tarîkh al-Harakat al-Qawmiyya" p.140  
For this press Bonaparte imported from Italy Arabic letters and printing machines from the "Imprimerie Nationale de France".  
F.Charles-Rous: Bonaparte Gouverneur d'Egypt, p.138  
According to Hitti, a press with Arabic characters was set up in Aleppo in 1702.  
(2) This press worked under the management of Marshal, the French orientalist.  
Ahmad Hasan al-Zayyât: Tarîkh al-Adab al-Arabî, p.44  
(3) Ibid., 424.  
(4) The first book published in 1822 was the Italian - Arabic dictionary prepared by Father Rajad Zakhir.
and forty three books, mostly text books.

(1)

The new periodical press in Egypt was first established under the Syrian direction; But it was soon followed by the native Egyptian press managed by the Egyptians themselves. (2) The Press served as a medium for the propagation of new ideas and movements for social, economic and political reforms.

"Jarida" in the twentieth century is more frequently applied to reviews and learned publications. (3) Periodical literature

(1) Hitti: The Near East in History, p.432

(2) Encyclopaedia of Islam, p.597, under "Arabiyya".

(3) "Journal" a word imported into English from late Latin "diurnalis", through French "journal" with the original meaning of "daily".

So journalism includes writing and editing of newspapers and periodicals. Ibid, p.137
displays a great variety of subjects. Science, philosophy, religion, literature, fine arts and social and economic problems form the contents of the more serious publications. (1) Weekly magazines were published in abundance. A striking feature of these weeklies is the gradual development of cartoon art.

The growth of the periodical press took place in the 1860's. Up to that period the important newspapers were only published by the government in Cairo and Constantinople. (2) They contained mainly official news. There had also been published a few papers in French, Greek

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(1) Dr. Shawqi Daif: *Fi al-Naqd al-Adabi*, p. 206

(2) Albert Hourani: *Arabic Thought in Liberal Ages*, p. 97
and Armenian languages. Since 1860's, the increase in the number of printing presses, the availability of competent Arabic writers, the public demand of reading materials and the comparative liberalism of the Turkish and Egyptian regimes made possible the establishment of private newspapers and periodicals. (1)

The first political and non-official newspaper Mir at Al Ahwal, appeared in Beirut in 1855 founded by Hasan. (2) It only lasted for a short period of just over a year. (3) Then appeared HADIQAT AL-AKBAR in Beirut in 1858, founded by Khalil al-Khuri (4) but two years later it became a

(1) Albert Hourani: Arabic Thought in Liberal Ages, p.97.
(2) Zurji Zaidan: Tarikh, p.53
(3) Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition under "Djarida".
(4) It was founded by Khalil al-Khuri. "Hadiqat al-Akhbar" (Orchard of News) may be identified as the first real Arabic newspaper in the world.
Despite the fact that Arabic newspapers did not exist in Egypt before Muhammad Ali, some historians, like Philip di Tarazi, believed that Bonaparte issued an Arabic newspaper, AL-MAWADITH AL QAMAIYYA (The Daily News), (2)

"al-Jawa'ib"

Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq (3), in 1961 founded an Arabic newspaper in Constantinople entitled al-Jawa'ib, (4) which continued to appear up to 1884. (5)

(1) Jurjî Zaidîn: Tarîkh Adab al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya, pp.53-54.

(2) Philip di Tarazi: Tarîkh al-Sahâfa al-'Arabiyya, p.48

(3) 1801-87, Prominent Arabic Journalist and author, born in Beirut in 1804 and educated at Cairo 'Umar al-Dasûqi: Fi'l-Adab al-Madîth, p.77


(5) Jurjî Zaidîn: op.cit., p.54
During its publication under Shidyaq's direction, al-Jawa'ib maintained a leading position in the Arabic press, but after his death it soon disappeared.
al-Jawaib, the Arabic weekly. (1) Indeed was the first important Arabic newspaper which had a very wide circulation among the Arabic readers. (2) It mainly aimed at explaining the important issues of the world politics. (3) Regarding its wide circulation Doughty writes, "I have found it in the Najd Merchants' houses at Bombay."

Al-Shidyaq gave his encouragement to Adib Ishaq who founded the review "Miss" and afterwards the daily al-Tijawa. He also contributed to the establishment of "Mir'at al-Sharq". He often wrote in these journals.

"al-Waqi'i al-Miariyya"

Al-Afghani played a prominent part in the

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(1) *al-Jawaib* was subsidised by the Turkish government and took up the cause of Islam but also gave Muslims a knowledge of Europe. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p.66, under "Faris al-Shidyaq".

(2) "*al-Jawaib*" was the first Arabic paper based on modern journalistic principles with a well organized information service. Concise *Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization*, p.499.

development of journalism in the Arab world. He inspired a school of writers with his own Islamic ideals. He encouraged promising and resourceful young men to found newspapers and insculpted into their minds the ideas of national significance. (1) Around him a nucleus of Arab journalism was formed and writers were trained to respond to the cause of the people and the nation.

al-Waqā'ī al-Misriyya (2) which was founded in 1928 by Muḥammad ʿĀli Pasha with the help of Rifaʿa Bey Tahtāwī, is considered to be the oldest newspaper in Arabic. (3) First, it was published only in Turkish, then


(2) It is also called "Journal Official" in French.

in Arabic and Turkish both and afterwards in Arabic only. (1)

"al-Waqa'ī al-Misriyya" engaged the attention of Al-Afghānī in 1880. To improve its standard and quality he occupied himself with problem of its editorship with the purpose of getting people interested in its development.

Riyād Pāshā appointed the Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAbduh as the editor-in-Chief of the paper. He was empowered to hire competent and able assistants whose pens could sway people and arouse their interest in what they were saying. Muḥammad ʿAbduh chose a few of al-Afghānī's pupils in whom he had confidence, and who were trained in writing and editorial work. (2)

(2) Dr. Muḥammad ʿUthmān: Muḥammad ʿAbduh, p.38
It is interesting to note what 'Abduh himself has stated while describing the state of al-Waqā'i al-Miṣriyya before he assumed the post of its editor-in-chief. He writes: "The official journal used to be distributed among the officials and village headmen in the same fashion as taxes were appertioned. It was sent to its recipient without any request on his part, and he was compelled to pay its rates in the same way as property owners were compelled to pay their taxes. (1)

Riyāḍ Pasha wanted the journal to have its own value. If it gained some worth, people would read it without any compulsion on their part. He wanted that the journal should acquaint the Egyptian people with the government decrees and proposals so that they

(1) Ibid., p.39
should be able to arrive at an understanding of what the government wanted to do for them. In the meantime the impact of the Western democracy made the Egyptian people demand a free press with improved language and sound criticism. (1) But the official journal contained nothing to satisfy the demand of the people. It, of course, contained eulogies of His Highness the Khedive and the higher officials written in the outmoded style. All these affairs were not liked by 'Abduh. (2)

The proposals for the reform of al-Waqai'ī al-Miṣriyya which Muhammad 'Abduh submitted, called for the imposition of certain obligations on all the departments and bureaus of the government. It was also made obligatory for the courts to send

(1) Ibid., p.38
(2) Ibid., p.40
the results of their legal decisions for publication. Moreover, it gave the editor-in-chief the right of constructive criticism of any official action or proclamation. He was further empowered to supervise all the newspapers published in Egypt in Arabic or in foreign language, to issue warnings to them and to punish them by suspending their activities for a specific period or even permanently. They were obliged to keep whatever they published within the bounds of good taste and dignity. They enjoyed freedom for the dissemination of truth and the appraisal of the right and wrong without fear. (1)

As a result of Muhammad 'Abduh's energetic leadership and his criticism of government officials, the standard of the journal improved in respect of the language

(1) Dr 'Uthman Amin: Muhammad 'Abduh, p.40
and the editing of the news and the
government departments realized the urgency
of reform in their system of work. (1) As
Rashīd Riḍā (2) himself admits, "the
authority of the official journal supersedes
the authority of the provincial administra-
tion." (3)

Muḥammad ʿAbduh contributed much
through al-Wāṣiʿ al-Misriyya to sow the
seeds of patriotism among the Egyptians.(4)
Moreover, Muḥammad ʿAbduh and his assistants
on the staff of al-Wāṣiʿ al-Misriyya were
directing their efforts to bring about a
literary renaissance in the style of Arabic
writing and journalism. To a very great extent

(1) Ibid. p.41.
(2) (1886-1935) a theologian, philosopher
and political writer, exercised great
influence upon the movement of
modernism in Islamic theology.
(3) Dr. ʿUthmān ʿAmin: Muḥammad ʿAbduh, p.42
(4) Ibid., p.45
they achieved success in this respect. The standard of Arabic journalism and the style of Arabic writing both got improved in comparison to previous days. (1)

"al-'Urwat al-Muthqa"

Al-Afghāni, soon after reaching Paris in 1883, became well known in the French political and intellectual circles. It helped him to publish his articles against the English domination in the influential papers especially in the "Journal des Debats". But it was al-'Urwat al-Muthqa (2) an Arabic periodical financed by the contribution of Indian Muslims, which

(1) Ibid., p.46
(2) The major interests of the periodical could be summed up in two points; the first to free the Muslims land from British occupation, and the second to awaken the Muslims to the reality and guide them to face the facts of the age in which they lived.
al-Afghānī started at Paris in 1884 to direct with the collaboration of Muḥammad ʿAbdūh his anti-British campaign. Muḥammad ʿAbdūh also served the cause of Arabic language as a journalist writing in al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqa. (1) Through all his journalistic literary activities, he sought to propagate a simple and direct style and cultivate a sound literary taste.

The language of the periodical was of Abdūh while the thought was of al-Afghānī. (2)

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(2) Although coming from the pen of Muḥammad ʿAbdūh, the views contained in the articles are obviously those of al-Afghānī. Only one article entitled “al-Shārāf”, gives its author's name as Muḥammad Najīb al-Husaynī al-Iṣkandāzi, a pseudonym of Muḥammad ʿAbdūh.

Rashīd Rīsāl: Tarīkh al-Uṣūl, p.367, Vol.II.

Most of the articles are without any title and begin with the verses of the Qurʾān or quotations from Ṣadīqa.
And both for its thought and its language it became in a short time one of the influential Arabic periodicals. *Al-Urwat al-Wuthqa* from the beginning took the line of attacking British policy in Orient generally and in Egypt particularly. It helped in forming a public opinion in Egypt and India against the British imperialism. It advocated that they had no right, legal or moral, to occupy Egypt or India and they should immediately leave them. (1)

The first number of *al-Urwat al-Wuthqa* appeared in March 13, 1884. The British government became anxious, for the character of al-Afghani and the force of his arguments, were quite familiar to them. With the utmost celerity, the British went to work to prevent the paper from entering into India, Egypt and

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(1) Dr. 'Uthman Amin: Muhammad Ābdūh, p. 70
Sudan. (1) As a result the Egyptian Council of Ministers met and issued a decree forbidding the entry of the periodical into Egypt and imposing a fine of five to fifteen Egyptian pounds on anyone caught with a copy in his possession. (2)

Al-Afghani and his friends went on with their work not hesitating to use all sorts of clever tricks to get the paper into Egypt and other parts of the East. (3) But the forceful measures adopted by the British government against it resulted in such serious interference with its proper functioning, that the paper was unable to prolong its existence beyond eight months, (4) when the last number

(1) Jurjı Zaidan: Mashahir al-Sharg, p.57, Vol.II.
(2) Dr. Uthman AmIn: Muhammed (Abduh, p.79
(3) Ibid., p.79
dated October 18, 1884, was published. (1)

Al-\textsuperscript{1}Urwat al-Wuthqa, in spite of its short life, had a far-reaching effect on the minds of the Western people. It imbued them with the desire for freedom, inspired them with the feeling of patriotism and revived their will to fight their oppressors strengthening the quality of their moral fibre. (2)

During the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, the press was the theatre in which literary Arabic was adapted to write about the modern social themes and currents of ideas. (3)

\textbf{Al-Ahr\textemdash m}

\textbf{Al-Ahr\textemdash m} is one of the oldest Arabic newspapers in the whole of the Middle East

(1) In total, eighteen numbers of Al-\textsuperscript{1}Urwat al-Wuthqa were published in Paris.

(2) Dr. \textsuperscript{2}Uthman Amin: \textit{Muhammad \textsuperscript{3}Abdul, p.79}

(3) \textit{Encyclopaedia of Islam}, p.997, under "Arabiyya".
and was founded in 1875. (1) It was established in Alexandria by the late Salim Taqla Bey, a Syrian who was teacher of Arabic in Beirut before he came to Egypt. Later on his brother, Bishara Taqla joined him and helped him greatly in the affairs of the press. At first, al-Ahrām was published in Alexandria in the form of a four-page weekly but was, a few years later, transferred to Cairo. On the death of Salim, his brother Bashara took sole charge of the paper. It was later issued daily.

On its appearance, al-Ahrām's sympathies were both French and Turkish, but after the War it adopted a policy more in keeping with the altered conditions of the country. (2)

(1) Al-Ahrām introduced modern methods of journalism and printing.
Since the beginning of this Century, it has a special telegraph service. (1) The news are being sent to it by the Havas Agency. It is published in the large pages of seven columns, and is a morning paper in the right sense of the word as it goes to press after 2 a.m. (2) It also introduced extensive advertisements on its pages.

Today its editor-in-chief, Muhammad Hussain Haikal enjoys an outstanding place among the Arab journalists. His editorials and influential articles which appear on Fridays are reproduced in a number of other papers. Haikal is considered to be a mouth-piece of the present Egyptian revolutionary regime. (3)

(1) It was the first newspaper to use the telegraph for the gathering of external news. P.J. Vatikiotis: The Modern History of Egypt, p. 171.
(3) At present there is a vigorous press activity in Egypt; in scope, quality, technical set-up, and news coverage it compared favourably with the press in Western Europe and the United States.
Al-Muqtataf

The second oldest paper is perhaps al-Muqtataf (1) which was founded in Beirut by Messrs. Ya'qub Sarruf, Faris Namr (2) and Shahin Macarius (3) in 1876. It was the most important newspaper of the time giving general support to the Cromer's policy. (4) When they began publishing al Muqtataf, they divided their work in the following way.

Dr. Namr took complete charge of political affairs and Dr. Sarruf of the scientific. Both of them were experts in political affairs and Dr. Sarruf of the scientific. Both of them were experts in

(1) "al-Muqtataf" was rich in translations from European languages and well-edited.
(2) Ya'qub Sarruf (1852-1227) and Faris Namr, Lebanese Christians, were teachers in the American college in Beirut before they adopted journalism as their profession.
(3) Jurji Zaidan: Tarikh Adab al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya, p.62
their specific fields. The readers of their periodicals approved of this division and appreciated their efforts. (1)

Al-Muqattam

al-Muqattam was founded in 1889. Al-Muqattam, a daily political paper, was pro-British. (2) It was the first Arabic paper to receive the special regular telegrams from abroad and its correspondents were the members of the editorial board of the Daily Mail. It was published in eight pages of six columns and is said to have a large circulation. (3)

(1) Later in 1886, they moved to Cairo where al-Muqattatf continued to be published and in essence it remained unchanged. Jurji-Zaidan: Tarih Adab al-Lughat al-\( \text{Arabiyya}, \) Vol.IV, p.62.

(2) Encyclopaedia of Islam New edition under "Dajrida"

(3) al-Muqattam was also published by Ya qub Sarruf and Faris Namar. At the turn of the century it had a wide circulation.
Al-Ahrām and al-Mugattas both the newspapers have achieved a high standard of Arabic journalism in Egypt and have brought credit to their proprietors, editors and managers. They could be compared favourably with the standard newspapers of European countries.

Al-Manār

Al-Manār, a reputed periodical was founded by Rashīd Rida in 1898 as an organ for the propagation of ʿAbdullāh’s Islamic doctrines and the advocacy of his religious reforms. After the “Salafiyya” movement (1) came into existence al-Manār, gradually became a fundamentalist journal.

(1) The “Salafiyya” movement was founded after 1905 by Shaikh Rashīd Rida, a Syrian by nationality, to carry forward the religious reformation inaugurated by Muḥammad ʿAbdullāh.
Rashid Rida continued to publish it in a regularly way until he died in 1935. (1) Rashid Rida had a mission in his life and al-Manar served him as a means to the end. He published into al-Manar, his reflections on the spiritual life, his endless polemics, all the news that came to him from the four corners of the Muslim world, his thought on world politics, and the great commentary on the Qur'an, Tafsir al-Manar. (2)

During the 1870's the press activities in Egypt increased to a great extent. (3) The independent political newspapers and the literary and scientific periodicals were being established to educate the masses in

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(1) Muhammad Rashid Rida is distinguished as one of the protagonists for Arab independence, firstly against the Ottoman regime and secondly against the British and French Mandates of Iraq and Syria.

(2) The commentary was based on 'Abdulh's lectures and writings but never finished.
in the various fields of life. It is interesting to note that the most of these periodicals were edited by Lebanese Christians educated in the French or American schools. So it may be concluded that the Western education and culture contributed much to the development of journalism in the Middle East.

**Al-Jinan.**

Al-Jinan, scientifically orientated, political and literary journal, first appeared under the name of Butrus al Bustani but was largely edited by his son Salim. It was published for sixteen years from 1870 to 1886 and finally ceased to appear because of the growing difficulties of writing freely under the rule of 'Abd al-Hamid.

**Al-Milal.**

The monthly journal, al-Milal which appeared in 1892 was founded by Jurji Zaidan.
Since its publication he has been very closely connected with its editorial work. He displayed tremendous ability of writing with a facile pen. Besides a majority of articles written by him in al-Miṣrī, he wrote a new novel almost every year. al-Miṣrī gradually became a widely circulated Arabic periodical and Zaidān's name was known throughout the Muslim world. Zaidān brought to journalism an advanced technique through his long experience. He was a self-taught historian and paid much attention to the contemporary educational and social problems in the Arab world. The articles published in al Miṣrī were more connected with ethics, sociology, world politics, geography, history, Arabic language and literature and antiquities of the Arabs. al Miṣrī played an important role in the process of assimilation of the western thought by the young Arab intellectuals as its matter appeared to the masses. (1)

(1) It is still published and is largely circulated in all the Arab countries.
It is still one of the leading Arabic periodicals in the Middle East.

During the period 1892-1900, about 150 periodicals and daily newspapers appeared in Egypt, a number equal to the total of all the journals which were issued before 1792. (1)

It may be mentioned here that almost all the publicists and editors who founded al-Ahram, al-Muqattam and al-Hilal were Syrians. (2) They enriched Arabic prose

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By 1892, Beirut had seen the birth of twenty-eight papers and periodicals. Hitti: The Near East in History, p.427.
And in 1893 there were fifty newspapers in Cairo alone.
Landau: Parliaments and Parties in Egypt, p.74
A 1929 census lists 3023 Arabic newspapers and periodicals extant or extinct in the world. Hitti: The Near East in History, p.427

with technical terms and it is Lebanese Journalism which made Arabic a language capable of expressing modern European thoughts in a simple style.

Al-Mahruse

Al-Mahruse was another old newspaper founded at Alexandria in 1879 under the editorship of Adib Ishaq (1) but it changed hands more than once. (2) It represented no special political trends. It often published articles of interest on local problems. Though it was called a morning

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(1) al-Zayyat: Tarikh, p.426

Adib Ishaq (1866-85) played an important part in Arabic journalism. Notwithstanding his premature death Ishaq Adib left a lasting influence on the development of Arabic journalism. He introduced a simple and forceful language to Arabic journalism. He also served the cause of Arab nationalism through his learned articles.

newspaper it was really published late in the afternoon.

**Al-Akhbar**

Among the existing newspapers, al-Akhbar occupies a prominent place in the Arab world. It was founded in 1896 by Shaikh Yusuf al-Khazin, a Maronite of Mount Lebanon. He was a scholar of considerable literary abilities and used to contribute daily an article in various subjects to his paper. He had left the editorship of his paper to a young Copt who had long experience in journalism. At one time al Akhbar was a well written Arabic newspaper and its trenchant criticism and sarcasm have brought it into trouble more than once.

**Al-Afsar, al-Sha'b and al-Muayyad**

Al-Afsar made an effort to replace al-Sha'b which was the organ of the defunct Nationalist party adopting a moderate tone. It was owned by a Muslim named 'Abd al-'Ainiaz Badr, and edited by a member of
of al-Sha'b. Its special feature was to publish articles on local problems. It remained for some time the only Muslim paper in Cairo after al-Sha'b and al-Muayyad (1) had ceased to exist.

**Miṣr**

**Miṣr** was one of the two Coptic organs which safeguarded the interests of the Coptic community. It was founded by Tadrat Bey Shanuda al-Mawqabadi, an official of the Mudiriyya of Assiut. His long experience of the life in the provinces and the fact that he was the founder of the Coptic Reform Society gave his paper a particular importance.

**al-Watan**

**al-Watan** was also the organ of the Coptic community and was founded by Mikha'il (Abd al-) Sayyid, one of the pioneers of journalism in

(1) Al-Muayyad was founded in about 1890 to advocate for traditional Islam under the remarkable direction of Shaikh A. Yusuf.
Egypt in 1877. (1)

al-Siyasa

Muhammad Husain Haikal enjoyed influential position in Egypt as the chief editor of al Siyasa, a journal of liberal constitutional views. He held a degree in political economy from the Paris University and appeared deeply conscious of the conflict existing between the western and Islamic civilisations. (2) Al-Wafd al-Misri, an influential political party (3) owned or controlled four daily newspapers.


(2) The Coptic minority was encouraged to publish its own newspapers al Watan. Foreign language newspapers, mainly French, were also founded, such as Progres, L Egypte. Haikal: Hayat Muhammad, 1935, 2nd edition.

(3) Al-Wafd al-Misri, a strong and solid party in Egypt played an important role on the political stage of the country between the end of the first World War and the overthrow of the Monarchy in 1952. The slogan of the party was "Egypt for the Egyptians".
Al-Misri (1) and other four weeklies widely circulated in Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon, (2) impressed the Wafd party.

The newspapers of Cairo were mainly owned by the Lebanese and the establishment of an Egyptian press was due to the efforts of two men: 'Ali Yusuf, who founded al-Musawwad in 1889. (3) and Mustafa Kamal (1874-1906) who founded al-Liwa in 1900 and later on its English and French versions were added for the benefit of non-Arabs. Mustafa Kamal through his leading articles demanded freedom from the British rule. (4) He aimed at the

(1) 100,000 copies of the paper were approximately published. "Al-Misri" was founded by Ahmad 'Arabi, who is regarded as one of the heroes of Egyptian nationalism.

(2) Concise Encyclopaedia of Arabic Civilization, p.557.

(3) Albert Hourani: Arabic Thought in Liberal Ages, p.200.

(4) Zaidan: Tarikh, Vol.IV, p.59
complete political freedom of his country. He desired the cultural development of the Egyptian nation but based on the progress of the Western sciences and in accordance with the fundamental principles of Islam. He appealed to the intellectual circles through his articles published in al-Liwa.

Today, most of the old newspapers and periodicals have disappeared. Among daily newspapers of Egypt the following are important:-

"al-Akhbār",
"al-Ahram",
"al-Jumhuriyya",

The following are the important Weekly Journals:

"al-Risāla",
"Akhbār al-Yawm" (Egypt's closest equivalent to London's "Sunday Express" in style and tone.
"al-Muṣawwar",
"akhir al-Saʿa",

The following are the important monthly journals:

"al-Tahrīr",
"al-Muqṭatatf",
"al-Hilāl",
"al-Risāla", under the editorship of Hasar al-Zayyāt,
"al-Kitāb"
"Majāla Majma al-Lugha al-ʿArabiyya."
Chapter Nine

CONCLUSION.
The campaign of Napoleon opened the gates of Egypt towards the West. In his learned essay Prof. Gibb has pointed out that "all social changes in the Near East during the past century or so have arisen, directly or indirectly, from the impact of our Western society and the penetration of western techniques and ideas into what used to be the Ottoman Empire." (1)

The westernization of social life in the Middle East was accompanied by the gradual assimilation of western culture through travel, commerce, emigration and schools. Its immediate effect was also to increase the gap between Muslims on the one hand and Christians and Jews on the other. The latter became westernized in mind more quickly than the Muslims. (1)

The contact with Europe had enabled Muslims to escape from decadence by breaking up their rigid social order and freeing them from belief in occult forces and fantasies. "But western civilization", says an Algerian thinker of formed in French culture, "being itself in decline could not give Muslims what they needed, a basis for the social virtues.

This could come only from a restoration of the true Islamic doctrine of man." (1)

The intimate relationship between the West and the Arabs had paradoxical results. The Arabs resent the West politically but reflect Western social ideological influences. Every Arab and every Muslim is compelled to live at least partly in the West: to speak Western language, to wear Western clothes, to employ Western techniques and to profess Western concepts in the modern social movements. He is forced to concede in his life, if not in his thought and speech, the superiority of the West in the modern civilizations.

For centuries Muslim Arabs had generally regarded Western Europe as the land of barbarians from which the world of Islam had

nothing to learn. The language of the Qur'an and Arabic poetry responded to the challenge of philosophical and scientific ideas coming from Greece, Persia and India.

By the early twentieth century the intellectual renaissance of the Arab East had reached such dimensions as the European renaissance in the early sixteenth.

Taha Hussain remarks: "Egypt takes the essence of the European civilization, assimilates it, and moulds it into a shape adoptable to the oriental temperament."(1) But it cannot be denied that westernization has produced serious social strains. (2)


(2) Morris Berman: _The Arab World Today_, p.11.
Kurd 'Ali, a nationalist in his views wrote in 1948, "The contact of Easterners with the West has taught them nothing but extravagance and ostentation ....... We could have copied (from the West) their painstaking perseverances, their industry, and their care for the material and economic features of life. We could have learned from them to be self-reliant and dependent on personal effort and merit instead of on our ancestors and property." (1)

Ta'ha Husain says, "If one day the Arab peoples and the entire Islamic East come to forget the ancient enmities that existed between the Orient and the Occident and speak to cooperate in raising the standard of human culture, it should never be forgotten that the the vigorous culture of Egypt played its

important part in this achievement."

Taha Husain published a book entitled *Mustaqbal al-Tahqafa fi Migr* in 1938 expounding his thesis that Egyptian culture is not a part of Asiatic culture, but rather part of the Mediterranean. He writes that Egyptians feel much more at home in the presence of an Englishman or an American than in the presence of an Indian or a Chinese or a Japanese. He continues, "Our educational system is exclusively based on European methods which are applied throughout our primary, secondary, and higher schools. If for the sake of argument we suppose that the mentality of our fathers and grandfathers may have been eastern and essentially antithetic to the Europeans, we must see that our children are quite different. We have been putting into their heads the modes of thought and ideas that are almost
completely European. (1)

The Arabs want change but they differ on the degree and method of change. The aim is agreed upon, the methods to achieve the aim are the points of difference. "I can conceive of nobody, writes Taha Musta'in, "seriously advocating for the abandonment of the European system in our schools and the revival of techniques used by our ancestors. As a matter of fact, the European borrowed the methods (to be employed to achieve a higher culture) that prevailed in the Islamic world during the Middle Ages. They did then just what we are doing now. It is essentially a matter of time." (2)

Taha Musta'in suggests: "In order to become equal partners in civilization with the Europeans, we must literally and forthrightly

(1) Taha Musta'in: Mustaqbal al-Thaqafa fi Misr, p.36
(2) Ibid, p.36, see also al-Bustani,………
Nurur al-Bustani in his book Khutba fi Adab al-'Arabi, p.31, Beirut 1899
do everything that they do: We must share with them the present civilization with all its pleasant and unpleasant sides." (1)

"Europe is ahead of us in every way," Qasim Amin assumes his reader, "it is comforting to think that while they are materially better than we, we are morally better, but it is not true. The Europeans are morally more advanced. (2)

In the Arabic literature during the nineteenth century, special emphasis was deliberately laid on the two aspects of the subject—the struggle between the old and the new conceptions and the gradual emergence of a simplified Arabic prose style.

(1) Ibid p.49.
(2) Qasim Amin: al-Mar' at al-Jadīda, p.196, Cairo.
The question of how to meet the ever-growing need for literary diction in Arabic became one of the major problems of the intellectual life. In the Arabic language, the striking feature in our time is the infiltration of English and French phraseology translated into Arabic (so-called borrowed translation). The language of daily communication (press and radio) and of writers with little or no classical education has particularly a distinct European touch. (1)

Hamilton A. R. Gibb says:

"........It must be admitted that the literary productions of the century (19th) were of little merit in themselves, and important only for the influence which they exerted in one or the other directions. There are few young men in Egypt and Syria today who know even the names of the writers of the seventies and eighties, and practically none to whom their work would make any appeal. With the single exception of Nasif al Yaziji, who was in reality a belated representative of medieval Arabic literature, the writers of the nineteenth century faithfully, follow the ideas, conditions and problems of their own days and community, and with the gradual change which these have undergone have lost all but a historical value." (2)

Gibb seems to be right when we see that at this stage no original literary work could be expected of Arabic speaking peoples still suffering from the bewilderment of European civilization and lack of mental adjustment caused by the suddenness of cultural revolution. Moreover western ideas had been too rapidly acquired to have any conclusive effect.

About the literature of the nineteenth century, Gibb writes at another place in the same book: "The earlier literature of the nineteenth century, swaying between a lifeless reproduction of medieval Arabic models, and on imitation of western models, without sufficient intellectual life of the people was thrown into confusion by the contradiction in principle between the old system of thought with its dogmatic basis and intellectual freedom of western
And we find that in Egypt this confusion continued throughout the century and has yet not been eradicated. Its seeds are sown in the schools where Sheikhs from the theological colleges and graduates of European universities teach side by side. Down to 1914, at least, only a small proportion of serious students succeeded in overcoming the handicap imposed upon them by their early training. "It is largely owing to this that Syrian writers educated from the outset on consistent western lines, became the leaders of the movement of emancipation in the last decades of the century." (2)

The spread of western ideas, the edition and publication of the Arab

(2) Ibid., p.259.
classics by western orientalists, the introduction of the printing press and establishment of newspapers and periodicals led to a revival of Arabic literature.

II.

The Arabic language has been the carrier of a mighty culture for fourteen centuries and in the middle ages it was, besides Latin, the language of learning in Europe and the East. (1)

Western ideas have been spread through translations and works of popularization. (2)

(1) Dr. 'Abd al Karim Germaine: article Linguistic Foundation of the Unity of the Arabic Speaking Peoples in "Islamic Review", March, 1950.

(2) A.H. Hourani: Syria and Lebanon: p.37
New literary forms such as the poetic drama, the novel, romantic autobiography have been introduced to the Arabic literature, (1) and at the same time some old forms have been revived with new ideas.

The culture of the Arab East has begun to be built up like the pyramids of Egypt on the solid foundations of Arabic language and Islamic traditions, and is rising towards the sky in the bold outlines. (2)

After the end of the first World War the need was felt in the former Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire to replace by Arabic equivalents the Turkish works hitherto used

(1) M.M. Musahrrafi Cultural Survey of Modern Egypt, p.58, part 2.

in public administration and other branches of public life.

Until the second half of the nineteenth century Arabic literature had no adequate terminology for such terms as nation, nationalism, fatherland, patriotism. French provided the concepts and served as a guide. (1)

The Academy of Arabic language in Cairo was created as a part of the Ministry of Education in 1932 and had twenty members. It began by compiling one Arabic dictionary, The Wasit, for the use of secondary schools, an English-Arabic dictionary for scientific terms for almost all the fields of knowledge, and a historical dictionary for the Arabic

language. In this way a number of scientific terms were formed from Arabic roots. About the work of Arabic academies, Hans Wehr writes: "They have greatly understood the difficulties of artificial regulation of language. The problem lies not so much in inventing terms as it does in assuring that they gain acceptance." (1)

II.

Once Prof. Germanus during his visit to Egypt put a question to 'Abbās Muḥammad al-'Aqqād: "How will the Arabic language again become a vivid medium for the people, when today it is only spoken by scholars? His answer was none the less straight and short. "By the school," he retorted.(2)

(1) A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, Hans Wehr, New York Introduction.
He meant that formerly Arabic language was clear and comprehensive, then the Arabs lost their political independence and foreigners ruled over them. The people remained illiterate. But now schools will gradually teach people Arabic grammar, education will lend them good taste, eventually they will speak as the literate beings should do.

Dr. Hussain Haikal (1) in his book Thawrat fil-Adab (2) boldly criticizes the trend which Arabic language is showing. He rebukes the Egyptian writers for the fact that they derive observations not from life but from books, and consequently the literature cannot rise to reality. He rebukes the writers for their hypocrisy and

(1) Dr. Muhammad Hussain Haikal: 1886 -1956
(2) Published 1933.
want of sincerity.

For Taha Hussain, the Arabic language is the common good of Egyptians which they have inherited from the past. Unlike the Islamic reformer, he does not emphasise the importance of language as a means to religious awakening but as the basis of a sound national life. He consistently regards it as no less important for Copts than for Muslims. The Arabic is not the language of the Muslims only but the language of all those who speak it though they may differ in faith.
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