

An Islamic Response to 'Enlightened Despotism': The Socio-Political Role of the 'Ulama' in Egypt (1805-49)

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Muhammad 'Ali (Pasha) was an 'enlightened despot' who had the modern Western model of development in his mind for Egypt, the country he liberated (from a European colonial power i.e. the Napoleonic France) in the name of Islam and with a reference to Khilafah (Ottoman Caliphate). The response of the representatives of Islam and leaders of the populace—'ulama'— to this predicament is worked out below.

a) Muhammad 'Ali and His Meteoric Ascent

Muhammad 'Ali, an exact contemporary of Napoleon Bonaparte (both were born in 1769), like the latter was of European stock. Originally belonging to the different parts of the Mediterranean, the Corsican Napoleon and the Albanian Muhammad 'Ali played equally important role in Egypt at the turn of the century. The former closed the 18th whileas the latter ushered in the 19th century. In many ways a "barbarian", Muhammad 'Ali, with a touch of genius, initiated and promoted the 'modernisation' of Egypt. Himself an illiterate who only learned to read and write at the age of forty, he proved a catalyst in introducing and developing learning on the modern and Western lines in Egypt.

"This most important man in the history of modern Islam",¹ who was of Persian and Turkish ancestry² was born in January, 1769 at Kavala (in Albania) on the Macedonian coast. Orphaned at any early age he had no schooling. He had a practical introduction to affairs in the Diwan of his uncle, who was *mutasallim* (vice-governor) there. At the age of twenty he was successfully speculating in tobacco, the chief commercial produce there.

The French occupation (1798) of Egypt, one of the most important provinces (*wilayah*) of the Ottoman Khilafah, regarded as an encorachment on

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his sovereign rights, could not be taken easy by Ottomon Khalifah Sultan Salim-III. In 1799, he sent out a few ships with troops to Egypt. Muhammad 'Ali was second in command in the contingent of three hundred men provided by his uncle to the Sultan. On their arrival in Egypt, he assumed the formal command of the contingent. He distinguished himself in the very first battle and he was put in command of all the Albanian troops who formed a part of the Ottoman expeditionary army in Egypt. He took advantage of the political and military anarchy and "set the course of his meteoric ascent"³. His rise was of great significance for the Middle East. The defeat and evacuation of the British expedition by Muhammad 'Ali won him "deserved renown".⁴ He had become a power to be reckoned with. He was no longer a foreign Albanian, but a native patriot, the defender of Muslim Egypt against the infidels. His victory over the British doomed the Mamluks and branded them as public enemies and *munafiqun* (hypocrites) who had called in foreign infidel (the British) to help them against the Ottoman Pasha.⁵

Muhammad 'Ali, whose every act, according to French agent Drovetti revealed a Machiavellian mind and had "a stronger head than the most Turks have",⁶ obtained power through the favour of the '*ulama*' and the people. He had aided the Mamluks to overthrow the Ottomon Pasha Khusraw, then helped one Mamluk faction against the other, then helped Khurshid, new Ottoman Pasha against the Mamluks and finally supported the Cairenes against Khurshid. Thereby he had weakened Turks and Mamluks carefully keeping himself in background seeking for himself the sanction of the Sultan. "... while he was always a great man, we can scarcely speak of him as a good man, and it stands to his credit that he made little pretensions to virtue."⁷

Muhammad 'Ali's rise to power was a direct outcome of the role played by the '*ulama*' in Egypt. The Cairo uprising against the Mamluk lords in 1804-1805 was led by the '*ulama*', particularly the shaykhs of al-Azhar. The tax-collectors were killed ensuing a fierce fighting. The court of the Mamluk bay, 'Uthman Bardisi, was besieged and he fled from Cairo. Muhammad 'Ali recognised the power of the growing popular movement led by the '*ulama*.' He sided with it and promised

a gathering of the shaykhs of al-Azhar to abolish taxes. He declared himself as the defender of the Egyptian people's rights and led his troops against the Mamluk lords. Shaykh al-Sharqawi, the Rector of al-Azhar (*Shaykh al-Azhar*), and Sayyid 'Umar Makram, the head of the religious notability (*Naqib-al-Ashraf*), followed by the '*ulama*', notables and the chiefs of the city-guilds, as the representatives of the Egyptian movement brought the people of Cairo out on strike and organised demonstrations against the Turks. Prior to this, Syakh al-Sharqawi and 'Umar Makram had led a delegation to the Chief Qadi to present a list of grievances against the Pasha. His failure to reply promptly led to this mass mobility. These leaders declared the deposition of the Pasha and elected Muhammad 'Ali as *qa'im maqam*, (the Pasha's deputy). Khurshid, the Turkish Governor of Alexandria was elected Pasha.⁸

The banished Mamluks laid siege to the city of Cairo for four months. A popular resistance movement forced the Mamluks to retreat to Upper Egypt. Muhammad 'Ali's popularity grew. The Porte⁹ viewed this with fear and annoyance. The Khalifah (Sultan) ordered his return. This caused discontent in Cairo. The city shops were closed and popular processions began to come out as a mark of protest. The Porte had to annul its decree. Muhammad 'Ali pursued the Mamluks in the Upper Egypt throughout the winter of 1804-1805. Meanwhile Khurshid Pasha and his janissaries¹⁰ revived horrors of the Mamluks. In May, 1805 Cairo once again rose in rebellion. The janissaries were driven out, Khurshid was dethroned and the '*ulama*' declared Muhammad 'Ali ruler of Egypt. The Ottoman Khalifah, Sultan Salim-III was forced to recognise him as the Pasha of Egypt.

The Porte tried more than once to uproot Muhammad 'Ali from Egypt and replace him with the old type governors. In July, 1806 the Khalifah (Ottoman Sultan) sent a new governor, Musa Pasha to Egypt and issued a decree nominating Muhammad 'Ali governor of Salonica. The Porte had agreed to leave the Mamluks to govern the country as of old against the payment of an annual tribute while the new Pasha was to reside in the Citadel. The '*ulama*', as the leaders of Egyptian masses, prepared a manifesto in writing against the Mamluks and the transfer of

Muhammad ‘Ali and sent it to the Sultan. Having assured himself of the Shaykhs and the soldiers, Muhammad ‘Ali decided to resist the Sultan by force if the need arose. In November 1806, Muhammad ‘Ali was confirmed in his office as the Pasha of Egypt¹¹ when he accepted this honour, given to him by the ‘*ulāma*’ and acknowledged full submission to Khalifah, Sultan Salim-III.

b) The ‘Ulama’ and Their Expulsion from “Olympus”

Once Muhammad ‘Ali was well saddled on the throne of the Pashalik of Egypt and he had laid down the foundation of “modern Egypt”, he was looked at with suspicion for he had failed to fulfil the ambitions of the Egyptian ‘*ulama*’. These leaders of the Egyptian masses had called him to power to emancipate the people. He had recognized the strength of the masses and their leaders and at the turn of the century had used it for his own purpose. But to the end, he remained an alien autocrate. The popular ‘*alim* and the Rector of al-Azhar, Shaykh al-Sharqawi intended to Islamise the country, to be rid of the infidels and the foreigners. Muhammad ‘Ali turned more and more to foreigners to train his army, build and manage his industries.¹² Egypt was falling more and more into the hands of the Western imperialists.

Muhammad ‘Ali realised the power of the ‘*ulama*’. Due to their influence over the masses they could become a potential opposition. He set to neutralize their influence by confiscating *iltizams*¹³ and *awqāf* (sing, *waqf* i.e. endowment) and by directly interfering in the affairs of al-Azhar. Shaykh al-Sharqawi was put under house arrest. ‘Umar Makram and Shaykh al-Mahdi were exiled. Shaykh al-Shanawani, a pious and harmless ‘*alim*, was made the Syakh al-Azhar in place of the able politician, Shaykh al-Mahdi. The rector was appointed to the *diwan* and ‘*ulāma*’ were occasionally asked to recite *al-Bukhāri* in times of stress while for all other purposes Muhammad ‘Ali ignored al-Azhar.¹⁴

The system of justice was closely connected with the Shari‘ah, the Sacred Law. The Pasha would touch it with great care and caution. In all the matters of religious law, marriage, divorce and inheritance etc., the only competent authority

was the Grand *Qadi* appointed annually by the Porte — one of the very few remaining relics of the Ottoman Caliphal dominion. As with the other offices held by the '*ulamā*', this sphere of the influence of '*ulama*' too was trampled by Muhammad 'Ali. He limited its effects and set up two new courts at Cairo and Alexandria. These courts were officered by merchants and not the '*ulamā*' and decided the commercial disputes according to non-Shari'ah regulations. Criminal justice was administered by the executive authorities.¹⁵

Thus when Muhammad 'Ali had made himself the master of Egypt and inaugurated a new regime, compared with which the rule of the sternest of the Mamluks was mildness itself,¹⁶ the evil days had started for the '*ulamā*'. "The Golden Age of the Ulama"¹⁷ (1798-1805) was over and 1806 saw their "Expulsion from Olypums".¹⁸ A glimpse of this is shown by Stanely Lane- Poole, renowned historian, with regard to the confiscation of the waqfs in following words:

It was Muhammad Ali who in 1808-1810, laid hands on the Waqfs or religious endowments, which the piety of many centuries had placed in trust for the maintenance of the mosques and colleges of Egypt, and amidst tears and curses of all the '*ulamā*' of Cairo, deprived them the right to control the sacred monuments confided to their charge. From this act of confiscation, when title-deeds were lost or destroyed, and trust funds confused and malversed, dates the most serious decay of the monuments of Cairo.¹⁹

Not only the '*ulamā*' but even their followers, the poor *fallahin* (peasants) were tyrannised. Muhammad 'Ali, the autocratic despot, monopolised almost all the means of production and trade. The *fallahin* were heavily taxed. They were flung on their faces and flogged on the soles of their feet. The lash was a potent means of government. For some thirty years "Kurbash" (the lash) was used by the Pasha to exploit the poor Egyptians. "Deprive Muhammad 'Ali of the lash, and what he called his 'government' falls to pieces".²⁰ The '*ulamā*', the only spokesmen

and “the accredited leaders of the populace”,²¹ had also been crushed and exiled. The poor Egyptians had none to help or lead against this tyranny.

c) Extermination of the Mamluks

The ‘*ulamā*’ had been suppressed by Muhammad ‘Ali by exiling the more prominent among them and confiscating the waqfs in 1808. The French intervention was impossible and the English intervention had already failed (1807). Now the only contenders to power in Egypt could be the Mamluks. Muhammad ‘Ali resolved to make an end of these fallen tyrants who had ruled the Egyptian heads from 1250. A.D. as the independent monarchs and indirectly as feudal lords from the Ottoman takeover in of 1517.

In February 1811 a picked force of 4,000 men assembled at Cairo under the Pasha’s second son Tusun, a teenager, who had been appointed to command the Egyptian expedition against the “Wahhabis” in Central Arabia. On Friday March 1st he was to be invested with robes of honour as Pasha of Jiddah and Commandar of the expedition. All the inhabitants were summoned to the Citadel. The Mamluk beys were also invited and trapped to death. Some of them faced their assailants sword in hand and others accepted their destiny performing their last *salah* as pious devout Muslims. Nearly 500 fell in the Citadel.²² Only one man is said to have survived. The chasing of Mamluks in the Upper Egypt and putting them to sword is remarkable. Thus the Mamluks who lived by the sword perished by the sword²³ and these Cromwellian measures left the Pasha for the first time undisputed master of the country. Some years later Muhammad ‘Ali said, “what would the world profit by the recital of this interminable tissue of combat and misery, cunning and bloodshed to which circumstances imperatively compelled me?... My history shall not commence till the period when, free from all restraint, I could arouse this land... from the sleep of ages.”²⁴

d) Muhammad ‘Ali’s Reforms and the ‘Ulamā’

Muhammad ‘Ali, who was himself an unlettered and illiterate man and started

learning the alphabet at the age of more than forty, realised that the type of men he required to work for the building of his Egyptian Empire could not be the '*ulama*' following the strict Islamic traditions. He needed men trained in Western imperial learning. He sent students on educational missions to European countries, especially France. Most of these students were erstwhile students of al-Azhar, too steeped in Arab-Islamic culture. Almost all of them were Muslims. These students in Paris even had an *imām* along with them. This was Rifa'a al-Tahtawi. Al-Azhar has profoundly affected all Egyptian education and "even the modern Europeanized system could not wholly escape its influence."²⁵ Muhammad 'Ali cleverly employed '*ulamā*' in some of his new educational institutions.

The main programme of reform designed by Muhammad 'Ali, was in the field of military as was the case with the Ottoman Sultans. This has been called defensive modernization. His goal was certainly to redress the balance of power between Egypt and Europe.²⁶ With this very view he encouraged and promoted Western education. "The development of Western education as a key to the State employment affected adversely the traditional religious education and the status of the '*ulamā*' who purveyed it."²⁷

His modernising plans aimed at building a stronger Egypt which would be the base of his Arab Empire for which he strived. There was no "nationalism" or intellectualism behind these reforms. He was a simple Muslim ruler "with a strong instinct for domination and command."²⁸

The students sent on educational missions (1804-49) to Europe returned with new Western ideas. However, the education of the masses was still very much the concern of the institutions under the influence of the '*ulamā*' of al-Azhar. The European-returned students could not affect the educational field to any large extent. Their work was mainly limited to translations from the European languages into Arabic. Education was affected by 'modernisation' only during the period of Muhammad 'Ali's successors.²⁹ To suit his plans, Muhammad 'Ali turned the *kuttabs*,³⁰ that provided religious knowledge for salvation, into elementary schools preparing students for further schooling and eventual service in the government.³¹

The people would not tolerate change in any sphere if it was not backed by their leaders, i.e., the *'ulamā'*. For example Muhammad 'Ali could not purchase the support of the *'ulamā'* for his plans that made him the sole landlord of each and every piece of land and monopolist of every commodity. He abolished the old system of electing the Shaykh al-Azhar. Any *'ālim* who could be favourable to him would be appointed by him to this post. With the support of such a Shaykh al-Azhar any innovation could be introduced independent of the *'ulamā'* and even against them. Shaykh Hasan al-'Attar, according to Jamaluddin (Jamal al-Din) Heyworth Dunne, was such a Shaykh al-Azhar (1630-34).³² He was among the few *'ulamā'* who had contacts with and benefited from the French savants accompanying Napoleon. He taught them the Arabic language. Shaykh al-Tantawi and Rafi'al Tahtawi were among his students.

Muhammad 'Ali seems to be the first Muslim ruler to employ a relatively large number of Europeans in his administration. To neutralise the reaction of his subjects he invited these officers to embrace Islam. However, here he had a negligible success.³⁴ The French and the English presence in Egypt, in the early years of the nineteenth century, had taught the Egyptians caution and consciousness in this regard. So Muhammad 'Ali had to make the presence of these officers palatable to the *'ulamā'*-led populace. He needed these foreign 'infidels' like anything to build his empire that could vie with those of Europe and succeed the declining "Ottoman Empire". His conquests in the Sudan and Hijaz had this very aim. Only those of natives who fell in line with the thinking of Muhammad 'Ali would have access to him. Throughout his reign he showed an open contempt for the *'ulamā'*, disregarded their opposition and found a way around it.³⁵

Like all the governments interested in secularisation, Muhammad 'Ali, as an early example, first secularised education and produced a new "educated" elite to counter the influence of the *'ulamā'*. The first challenge of 'modernisation' was posed for the *'ulamā'* and it meant for them an agonizing and constant retreat from political power and social pre-eminence.³⁶ They were able at the most to obstruct, delay or undermine, new programmes "but were not able completely to

turn back, halt or deflect their progress.”³⁷ Muhammad ‘Ali, as led by his secular and imperialistic policies, tried his utmost to delimit and confine the role of the ‘*ulamā*’ to mere religious sphere. Thus this Caesar of Modern Egypt separated religion from politics and social organisation. Once the lash of this autocrat died along with him, the open clash between the West and the East ensued in Egypt in the second half of the 19th century, especially during its last quarter.

c) The End of Muhammad ‘Ali’s Era

From 1805 to 1825 Muhammad ‘Ali was establishing himself in Egypt and working for the creation of a powerful practically independent Egyptian Pashalik. To achieve this end he exterminated the Mamluks, cowed down the *fallahin* (peasants) and ignored the ‘*ulamā*’. From 1825 to 1840 he used Egypt as a means of winning an Arab Empire in the East. He subdued “the Wahhabis”, overran Syria, touched the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula, conquered the Sudan and threatened the very existence of the Sickman of Europe. (Ottoman Caliphate). His reforms, factories and arsenals were designed for this very purpose.

The Western imperial powers glorified and praised Muhammad ‘Ali as far as he was the master of Egypt and “Egypt was falling more and more into the hands of foreigners”, which was “neither desired nor understood by the Egyptians”.³⁸ Once this Egyptian pashadom tended to transfer into an empire and emerge as a formidable power, “the Super Powers” of the age saw a threat being posed to their interests not only in West Asia but in the world of Islam as a whole. They conspired against it and joined together. The London Conference of Austria, France, Britain, Prussia and Russia was held on Britain’s initiative to discuss and decide about the Egyptian question. It put a final curb on Muhammad ‘Ali’s ambitions. He was forced to abandon even Syria.³⁹ Only then the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt was conferred in 1841 upon Muhammad ‘Ali and his descendants in order of primogeniture. This too was under the pressure from the Powers. His army was reduced and its higher officers were to be appointed by the Ottoman Sultan. The Pasha (Wali or Viceroy), however, was to pay the Sultan an annual

tribute.⁴⁰

When Muhammad 'Ali was cut to size he no more troubled the European diplomacy. The crisis brought his active career to a close. He was a recluse now ruling for about a decade more. "The strain had been too great, the disappointment too severe for this old man of seventy to resist", states his biographer, Dodwell.⁴¹ "I never had a master". Thus spoke this ambitious man of the century to Mr. Barker glancing his eye at the roll containing the Imperial *firmān* recognising Barker as British Consul in Alexandria.⁴² And now the master had been reduced to the status of a pasha, a governor of a province of the Ottoman Caliphate, a viceroy in the service of the Porte', being dictated to by the Powers. The result was natural, the pasha had at last fallen into real senility. The administration of the country from 1847 onwards was virtually in the hands of his eldest son, Ibrahim.⁴³ After his return from Istanbul (Constantinople) and last visit to his birth place, Kavala, Muhammad 'Ali soon resigned the control of affairs not to Ibrahim, whose state of health had rendered him incapable, but to 'Abbas, his grandson by Tusun.⁴⁴

A Council of Regency was formed and in July 1848 Ibrahim read the *hatti-sharīf* (khatt-i-sharif, noble edict) by which the Porte recognised him as lawful heir to the pashalik.⁴⁵ He paid homage at Istanbul (Constantinople). On his return he was officially invested with the firman of office in October, 1948. He died on 10 November.⁴⁶ 'Abbas was recalled from Makkah and proceeded to Istanbul for the firman of investiture. Thus 'Abbas, the first successor of Muhammad 'Ali, the son of his beloved son Tusun, over whose corpse the founder of this last ruling dynasty of Egypt had wept, took over as Pasha and treated the founder of the Khedieval dynasty (Muhammad 'Ali) with contemptuous scorn.⁴⁷

And thus dies this epoch-maker at the age of eighty, about noon on August 2, 1849 at Alexandria. Carried from the palace up the Nile to *Bulaq*, his body was received by all the surviving members of his family except 'Abbas.⁴⁸, who despised the fallen autocrat for the plans that helped the Western colonisers.⁴⁹

APPENDIX-I
Prominent Rectors
(Shaykhs) of al-Azhar
in the 19th Century A.D.

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Shaykh 'Abdullah al-Sharqawi | 1793-1812 |
| Shaykh Hasan al-'Attar | 1830-34 |
| Shaykh Ibrahim al-Bajuri (al-Shafi'i) | 1847-60 |
| A Board of four <i>Wakils</i> (replaces the Rector) | |
| under the Presidency of Shaykh Mustafa al-'Arusi | 1860-64 |
| Syaykh Mustafa al-'Arusi (al-Shafi'i) | 1864-70 |
| Shaykh Muhammad al-Mahdi (al-Hanafi) | 1870-86 |

APPENDIX-II
Hereditary Rulers of Egypt
from the 19th Century A.D.

PASHAS / WALIS

| S.No. | Name | Born | Died | Reigned |
|-----------------|--|------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. | Muhammad 'Ali | 1769 | 1849 | 1805-1848 |
| 2. | Ibrahim (Son of M.'Ali) | 1789 | 1848 | (June-Nov. 1848) |
| 3. | 'Abbas I (Son of Tusun and grandson of M.'Ali) | 1813 | 1854 (murdered) | 1848-1854 |
| 4. | Sa'id (son of M. 'Ali) | 1822 | 1863 | 1854-1863 |
| 5. | Isma'il (son of Ibrahim) | 1830 | 1895 Pasha | 1863-1865 Khedive 1866-79 |
| KHEDIVES | | | | |
| 6. | Tawfiq (son of Isma'il) | 1852 | 1892 | 1879-1892 |
| 7. | 'Abbas II Hilmi (son of Tawfiq) | | | 1892-1914 |
| SULTANS | | | | |
| 8. | Husayn Kamil | | | 1914-1917 |
| 9. | Ahmad Fu'ad | | Sultan King | 1917-1922 1922- 36 |
| KINGS | | | | |
| 10. | King Faruq I | | (abdicated 1952) | 1936-1952 |
| 11. | King Fu'ad II | | | 1952-53 |

'Republican' regime established 1953

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4. D.A Cameron, *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1898), p. 80.
5. *Idem*.
6. H. Dodwell, *The Founder of Modern Egypt: A Study of Muhammad Ali* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 20
7. Cameron, *op. cit.*, p.122.
8. V.Lutsky, *Modern History of the Arab Countries*, Trans, Lika Nasser ed. by R. Duglish (Moscow, 1969), p. 30
9. The Porte, *The Sublime Porte: Bab-i-'Ali: The Ottoman Grand Wazir's official residence*.
10. Janissary (from Turkish *Yeni cheri*, "New Troops), An elite military corps within the Ottoman Sultanate, selected out of the *devshirme*, the boy-levy of Christian children from the Balkans who entered Islam for a brilliant future and were raised and trained to be soldiers or officials according to their aptitudes. The Turks fought formally as mounted horsemen, but warfare against fortresses called for different kinds of military skills and in infantry had to be formed. The beginnings of janisaries may date back as far as 731/1330. (Cyril Glasse, *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Islam*, London, 1989, pp. 96, 206)
11. Rifaat Bey, *The Awakening of Modern Egypt*, (London, 1947), pp. 20-22
12. Tom Little, *Modern Egypt*, (London, 1967), p. 35.
13. *iltizam*: monopolies, concessions or contracts granted by the government.
14. Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, "The Beginnings of Modernization among the Rectors of al-Azhar, 1798-1879", *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, ed. W.R. Polk and R.L. Chambers (Chicago, 1963), pp.270-271.
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18. D. Crecelius, *ibid.*, p. 180.
19. Lane-Poole, *loc.cit.*
20. Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 168.
21. Rifaat Bey, *op.cit.*, p. 8.
22. Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-95
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26. R.O. Collins and R.L. Tignor, *Egypt and the Sudan* (New Jersey, 1969), p. 154.
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28. P.J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Egypt*, (London, 1960), p. 69.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
30. *Kuttab*: The Quranic school Traditionally the first schooling a child receives in Islamic societies. The *kuttab* is being replaced by modern system of education but is still found in many places..... these schools are often called *kuttab* or *maktab* (pl. *makātib*), and here children from four or five years of age learn to read and write, and are sometimes taught arithmetic. The full course of such a school (*kuttab* or *maktab*) culminates in the complete memorization (*hifz* or *tahfīz*) of the holy Qur'an. When the holy Book is memorized in its entirety, the student's education is finished unless he goes on to *madrasah* (upper schools). see Cyril Glasse, *op.cit.*, p.241.
31. N. Safran, *Egypt in Search of Political Community: An Analysis of the Intellectual and Political Evolution of Egypt, 1804-1952* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981 & London, O.U.P. 1961), p. 232.
32. J. Heyworth- Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt*, (London, 1939), p. 155.
33. Mahmud Sharqawi, *Misr fi'l Qam al-Thamīn 'ashr: Dirasat fi tarikh al-Jabarti* (Cairo, 1957), Vol. I, p. 46.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
35. Crecelius, *op. cit.*, pp 182-183.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 185.
38. Tom Little, *loc. cit.*
39. P. Mansfield, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors*, (London), 1976, p. 10.
40. W. Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors, 1801-1927* (London, 1927), p. 151.
41. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
42. J. Augustus St. John, *Egypt and Mohammad Ali*, Vol. I (London, 1834), p. 544.
43. Dodwell, *loc. cit.*
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45. Dodwell, *op.cit.*, p. 261.
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47. Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
48. Dodwell, *op. cit.*, p. 262.
49. For more and further details on the role of 'ulama' in Egypt, see present author's article "The Socio-Political Role of Intellectuals: A Study of the Leading Egyptian 'Ulama' (1798-1870)", in the *Insight Islamicus*, vol. 2 (2002) and the forthcoming works.

