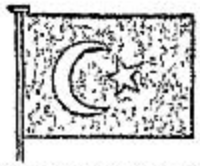
PART VI

OTTOMAN RULE AND INDEPENDENCE



THE FLAG OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER L

THE ARAB LANDS AS TURKISH PROVINCES

FOR about two-thirds of a century after its establishment about 1300 in Anatolia at the expense of the Byzantine empire and on the ruins of the Saljūq kingdom, the Ottoman state was but a *frontier amīrate.*[1] *The state was on a war footing and at times* precarious. Its capital, beginning with 1326, was Brusa (Bursa). By 1366 the amīrate had become more stable, gained a firm foothold on the European mainland and developed into a kingdom with Adrianople (Edirne) as capital.[2] The conquest in 1453 of Constantinople by Muḥammad II the Conqueror (1451–81) formally ushered in a new era, that of the empire. The new giant

[1] Genealogical table of the early Ottoman rulers:

1. 'Uthmān I (1299)
2. Ūrkhān (1326)
3. Murād I (1359)

3 Murād I (1359)
4 Bāyazīd I (1389–1401)

Sulaymān (claimant) (1403–10) | 5. Muḥammad I (1403) (sole ruler 1413) | Mūsa (claimant) (1410–13)

6. Murād II (1421)
7. Muḥammad II (1451)

installed himself astride the Bosporus with one foot in Asia and the other in Europe. His expanding domain made him heir not only to Byzantium but also, through the destruction of the Mamlūk power,[1] to the successor states of the Arab caliphate. The inheritance of lands from both East and West had its counterpart in the inheritance of ideas, and the combined heritage is perhaps the most pregnant fact in the history of Ottoman Turkey.

North Africa

Other Arab states, in North Africa, were in the sixteenth century drawn within the orbit of the rising Turkish crescent. Of these Algeria (al-Jazā'ir, roughly Numidia of the Romans) was the first. In 1518, the year after the conquest of Egypt, Khayr-al-Dīn Barbarossa and his brother, two Ottoman corsairs of Greek birth, invaded the land, warded off Spanish encroachments and bestowed it upon the Sublime Porte. In exchange the Porte bestowed upon Khayr-al-Dīn the title of beylerbey (bey of beys).[2] Khayr-al-Dīn inaugurated a military aristocracy with a corps of Janissaries as its backbone. He also organized for the sultan a well-equipped fleet with seasoned crew, recruited mainly from renegade Christians, Italians and Greeks, and ready to implement aggressive imperial policy throughout the Mediterranean. The fleet carried the terror of the Ottoman name westward to the coasts of Spain, as the Janissaries carried it eastward to the banks of the Tigris. A dangerous neighbour was thereby installed west of Tunisia (Africa of the Romans). Taking advantage of a dispute in the native succession to the Tunisian throne, Khayr-al-Dīn temporarily occupied Tunis in 1534; the country, however, was not reduced to a Turkish province till forty years later. The land forces against it were led by Sinān Pasha, a brilliant general of Albanian descent, who in 1568 as governor of Egypt had conducted a campaign against South Arabia which netted al-Yaman to the house of 'Uthmān.[3] Before Sinān a great Turkish admiral of probable Christian origin, Pīri Re'īs, had operated on the southern and eastern coasts of the peninsula, occupied 'Adan

[1] See above, pp. 704-5.

[2] Tur. *bey*, from Turki (East Turkish) *beg*, a title of honour that is still commonly used, especially by Egyptians.

[3] Cf. Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, vol. iii (Pest, 1828), p. 551; cf. Quṭb-al-Dīn al-Makki, *al-Barq al-Yamānī fi al-Fatḥ al-'Uthmānī*, tr. Silvestre de Sacy in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. iv (Paris, 1791–6), pp. 468 *seq.*; for further on al-Yaman, consult Husayn A. al-'Arshi, *Bulūgh al-Marām fi Sharḥ Sīrat al-Khitām*, ed. A. M. al-Kirmīli (Cairo, 1939), pp. 60-80.

(Aden, 1547) and Masqaṭ (1551) and struck as far as the head of the Persian Gulf. A recently discovered map of his, the so-called Columbus map, shows the Atlantic Ocean and America.[1] First called beys, the governors of Tunisia for over a century after 1705 became known as deys.[2] Even before putting an end to Spanish rule and native dynasties in Tunisia, Sinān Pasha and two other Turkish generals had evicted the Knights of St. John (of Malta) from Tripoli and in 1551 had captured the city. Tripoli (Ṭarābulus al-Gharb) owes its Greek name to three Phoenician-Carthaginian colonies which with the adjoining territory once formed the province of Tripolitania under Rome. In it the Berber element was weakest. Thus did the Barbary[3] states, with the exception of distant mountainous Morocco (al-Maghrib al-Aqṣa, roughly Roman Mauretania), more than half of whose population was of Berber descent, fall within the Ottoman embrace. Generally speaking, the proportion of Berbers in the population increases not only from east to west but also from north to south.

Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers now became seats of provincial governments nominally tributary to the Porte but actually semi-independent, and for a long time each under native or domesticated rulers, many of whom passed on the reins of government to their descendants. All three governments were dominated by military oligarchies. The claims of the Porte were recognized by the annual payment of tribute, which partook more of the nature of a present. Occasionally the states were convulsed by revolts provoked by the extortions of Ottoman agents. From 1711 to 1835 Tripolitania was administered by the Qaramānli house. The deterioration of the Ottoman fleet from the seventeenth century onward loosened the Ottoman grip on the African provinces and gave their governors, whether pashas, beys or deys, the opportunity to practise an even larger measure of local autonomy than their opposite numbers in Egypt and Syria.

The Barbary provinces developed into corsair states. Directed primarily against Christians, piracy partook first of the nature of Pira stat

[1] Paul Kahle in *The Geographical Review*, vol. xxiii (1933), pp. 621-38; cf. Ḥājjī Khalfah, vol. ii, pp. 22-3; consult Pīrī Re'īs, *Baḥriyah*, ed. Paul Kahle, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1926). The Turks had occupied 'Adan once before, 1538.

[2] Tur. *dāy*, maternal uncle.

[3] Land of the Barbarians—a term applied by the Greeks to all peoples living outside the pale of Greek civilization. The Romans applied "Barbary" to the region west of Egypt.

a *jihād*. Like soldiering, it became a profession. The industry was profitable to government and people alike. A fixed duty was levied on the captives and the booty; captives were held for ransom or sold as slaves. For about three centuries the income therefrom was the main source of revenue to the state treasury. Piratical ships took their place at times as units in the Ottoman fleet. Exiles from Moslem Spain[1] swelled the ranks of Mediterranean freebooters whose ravages became the scourge of the sea.[2] The activity reached its height in the first half of the seventeenth century, imperilling the coasts of Italy, France and Spain. In the latter half of that century the naval operations of the British and French compelled respect for their respective flags, but minor powers continued to purchase immunity for their nationals and trade by the payment of annual tribute, an immunity that remained at best precarious. Such was the case with Holland, Denmark and Sweden. Even the United States sought safety in tribute and was in 1783 involved in a war with Algeria, headquarters of the sea robbers. In 1801 the Qaramānli dey of Tripoli insisted on an increase on the $83,000 which the United States had been paying annually since 1796 and a four-year war ensued. In 1815 another hostile naval force from America visited Tripoli. It was these naval engagements with the Barbary states that in part stimulated the development of the American fleet.

The splendour that was Constantinople

Most of the North African conquests were achieved during the reign of Sulaymān I (1520–66), son of the conqueror of Syria and Egypt and the man under whom the Ottoman empire hit the zenith of its might.[3] In Sulaymān's reign the greater part of Hungary was reduced, Vienna was besieged and Rhodes was occupied. The Ottoman sway then extended from Budapest on

[1] See above, p 556

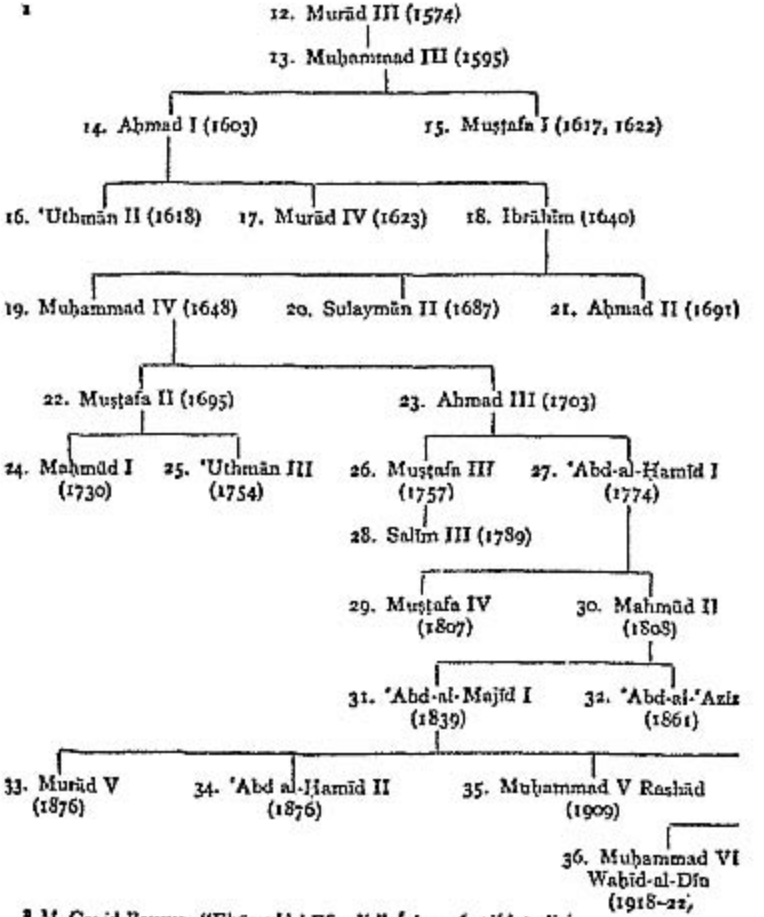
[2] For more on this consult Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Barbary Corsairs* (New York, 1891).

[3]

7. Muḥammad II (1451)
8. Bāyazīd II (1481)
9. Salīm I (1512)
10. Sulaymān I (1520)
11. Salīm II (1566)
12. Murād III (1574)

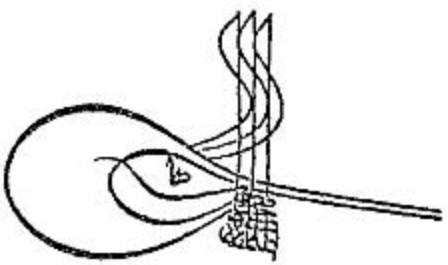
the Danube to Baghdād on the Tigris and from the Crimea to the first cataract of the Nile. This was the greatest Moslem state of modern times; not only that, but one of the most enduring Moslem states of all time. No less than thirty-six sultans, all in the direct male line of 'Uthmān, reigned from 1300 to 1922.[1]

Sulaymān was known to his people by the honorific title of al-Qānūnī (the lawgiver) because of the high esteem in which later generations held the codes which bore his name.[2] He charged Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (of Aleppo, †1549) with the task of compiling



[1] M. Cavid Baysun, "Ebüssu'ûd Efendi," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*.

a book, *Multaqa al-Abhur* (confluence of the seas), which remained the standard work on Ottoman law until the reforms of the nineteenth century.[1] To Europeans, however, Sulaymān was



THE *TUGHRA*, CALLIGRAPHIC EMBLEM, OF SULAYMĀN THE MAGNIFICENT, BEARING HIS NAME

known as the Magnificent, and magnificent he was. His court was certainly one of the most resplendent in Eurasia. Note the style he used in addressing a letter to Francis I, king of France:

> I who am the Sultan of Sultans, the sovereign of sovereigns, the dispenser of crowns to the monarchs on the face of the earth, the shadow of God on earth, the Sultan and sovereign lord of the White Sea and of the Black Sea, of Rumelia and of Anatolia, of Karamania, of the land of Rum, of Zulkadria, of Diarbekir, of Kurdistan, of Azerbaijan, of Persia, of Damascus, of Aleppo, of Cairo, of Mecca, of Medina, of Jerusalem, of all Arabia, of Yemen, and of many other lands which my noble forefathers and my glorious ancestors (may God light up their tombs!) conquered by the force of their arms and which my August Majesty has made subject to my flaming sword and my victorious blade, I, Sultan Suleiman Khan, son of Sultan Selim Khan, son of Sultan Bayezid Khan: To thee, who art Francis, King of the land of France.[2]

Sulaymān equipped and beautified the capital and other cities with mosques, schools, hospitals, palaces, mausoleums, bridges, aqueducts, caravanserais and public baths, two hundred and thirty-five of which are said to have been built by his chief architect Sinān. Originally a Christian from Anatolia, who perhaps found his way into Constantinople with the usual levy of youth,[3] Sinān developed into the most energetic and distinguished

[1] See Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 664.
[2] Roger B. Merriman, *Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, 1944), p. 130.
[3] See above, p. 703, n. 1.

architect that Turkey produced. His masterpiece was the magnificent mosque named Sulaymānīyah, in commemoration of his master's name, and designed to eclipse Santa Sophia. Its majestic dome exceeds that of the Justinian cathedral by about sixteen feet. The *miḥrāb* and rear wall are ornamented with exquisite tile in the Persian style. While the limelight illumined the city on the Bosporus, the once glamorous Madīnah, Damascus, Baghdād, Cairo—former capitals of mighty empires and brilliant seats of culture—were functioning as residences for provincial governors and armed garrisons from Constantinople, the city before whose walls had stood on four historic occasions threatening Arab armies from Damascus and Baghdād.[1]

Turkish culture in its entirety was a striking blend of diverse and disparate elements. From the Persians, with whom the Turks had contacts even before migrating to Western Asia, came artistic motifs, belletristic patterns and such political ideas as the exaltation of the monarch. Among possible bequests from Central Asian nomadism, mention may be made of a predisposition to war and conquest and a hospitable assimilative tendency.[2] The Byzantines, chiefly by way of the Saljūqs of Rūm, provided certain military and governmental institutions. But, above all, the Arabs were the teachers of the Turks, in the same sense as the Greeks were the teachers of the Romans. From the Arabs the Turks acquired their sciences, their religion—with its socio-economic principles and sacred law—and an alphabetic system of writing that lingered till 1928. While still in Central Asia the Turks had but little written literature and, for that, Syriac script, introduced by Christian Syrians,[3] was used. With the adoption of Islam and the Arabic characters thousands of religious, scientific, legal and literary terms were borrowed from Arabic and Persian, and many of them are still embedded in Turkish despite recent nationalistic attempts at linguistic purge. In three fields the Ottomans made original contributions of major significance: statesmanship, architecture, and poetry.

The empire of the Ottomans, like those of the Romans and 'Abbāsids before it, was essentially military and dynastic in

[1] See above, pp. 299-300.

[2] Albert H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 18.

[3] See Hitti, *History of Syria*, pp. 518-19.

character and in organization. The main objective sought was not so much the welfare of its subjects as the welfare of the state personified by the sultan-caliph. The subjects were a conglomeration of nationalities—Arabians, Syrians, 'Irāqis, Egyptians, Berbers, Kurds, Armenians, Slavs, Greeks, Albanians—with diverse creeds, languages and ways of life, held together by the sword of 'Uthmān. Even the peasant Turks—as distinct from the ruling class, members of which preferred to call themselves *'Uthmānli*, Osmanli, Ottoman—could be included among the subject peoples. The Turks themselves were, and remained, a dominant minority group in their vast domain and made no attempt at colonization in the Arab lands. But they kept their blood fresh by marrying non-Moslem women and by admitting to full citizenship any subject who accepted Islam, adopted the Turkish tongue and joined their court. The regular levy of boys, as long as it lasted, enabled them to press into their military and civil service and to assimilate the flower of the male youth of the subject non-Moslem communities. Some of the best talent of the conquered people was sucked and funnelled into the capital, there to be Islamized, Turkicized and utilized to the glory and advancement of the imperial state. Circassians, Greeks, Albanians, Slavs, Italians and even Armenians rose to the highest offices in the empire including the grand vizirate.

Inherent elements of weakness

A state organized primarily for warfare rather than for the welfare of its people and covering a far-flung unwieldy area with under-developed means of communication and a heterogeneous population among whom the line of cleavage was clearly marked between Moslems and Christians—even between Moslem Turks and Moslem Arabs and between one Christian sect and another—had the seeds of decay embedded in its basic structure. Once it was confronted with a world in which nationalism was triumphing, its condition became aggravated. The persistence and elaboration of the millet[1] system whereby each religious community enjoyed a considerable measure of home rule—which was the classic way by which Islam tried to solve its minority problem—the centralization of supreme authority (at least in theory) in the hands of one man—the sultan-caliph—and the ambiguity in the line of succession added to the inherent weaknesses in the imperial

[1] See below, p. 727.



THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
AT ITS HEIGHT
ca. 1550

English Miles

0 200 400 600 800 1000



(Britannica Series 716 and 717)

set-up. The wonder is that disintegration did not set in much earlier than it did.

Shortly after the death of Sulaymān the empire started on its downward course, a course that was both long and tortuous. The failure of the second attempt on Vienna in 1683 may be considered as marking the beginning of the end; Turkey's expansion in Europe made no further progress. After that the problem for the Turks became how to hold what they already got rather than to get more; the rôle of the armed forces was no more one of offence but of defence. To the internal forces of corruption and decay were added external forces in the eighteenth century when France, England, Austria and eventually Russia started their quest for "spheres of influence" and began to cast covetous eyes on some possession of the "sick man" of Europe. Mutual jealousies, however, among the competing powers and lack of concerted action gave the patient more than one lease on life.

Of the Arab lands those of North Africa were the first to be lost to the Ottoman empire. Those lands constitute a block by themselves. Proximity to South Europe, distance from the centre and heart of Islam in Western Asia, the weakness of their Islamic tradition and the high proportion of Berber and European blood made them from the outset pursue a course of their own.

Algeria was the first of the Arab states to be detached from the empire. This was done in 1830, when French troops landed on its shores ostensibly in reprisal for piratical activity and to avenge an insult offered by the ruling dey Ḥusayn to the French consul. Eighteen years later the country was declared French territory with its littoral as an integral part of France. When American troops landed there in November 1942, Laval protested, invoking the decree of 1848 and maintaining that Algeria was a natural prolongation of France.[1] Like any other *département*, it sent representatives to the French parliament. An eight-year-old bloody conflict between French troops and Algerian nationalists ended in 1962 with a peace treaty leading to Algeria's independence.

The eastward expansion of imperial France resulted in 1881 in the occupation of Tunisia, where the same policy was pursued to a hardly less extent. As in Algeria French replaced Arabic as the literary language of the natives. Though its status was

[1] *The New York Times*, November 21, 1942.

that of a protectorate, Tunisia was a French possession in all but name. A French resident-general, installed beside the native bey, controlled all the public services. Its proximity to Egypt, however, has kept the national Moslem tradition in it comparatively strong. In Tunisia as in Algeria thousands of French colonists have been domiciled. The Tunisian situation is complicated by the large number and size of Italian colonies. Both countries admittedly enjoyed a higher measure of security and public health and greater facilities for communication under the French Tunisia was accorded internal autonomy in 1955 and full independence in 1956. Both Tunisia and Algeria are now republics

Tripolitania, being mostly arid desert with a string of oases along the littoral, was the last Turkish outpost in the Barbary states. As a sequel to the Turko-Italian war of 1911–12 Tripolitania was wrested from Ottoman hands, made a colony, and, together with Cyrenaica, incorporated in 1934 into Libia Italiana In the course of the second World War the Italian troops, assisted by Germans, were expelled from Libya by British, French and native forces The country was declared in 1951 an independent sovereign kingdom

In 1901 the French conquest of Morocco, once the seat of two mighty Arab-Berber empires but never a part of the Ottoman empire,[1] began; the French zone was fully acquired between 1907 and 1912. Meantime Spain was busy acquiring her share in the territory just across from its coast In 1956 both France and Spain renounced their protectorates in favour of the sultan, now king. Thus did the entire "white Africa" (generally separated from black Africa by the Sahara), which in the eighty-two years following 1830 lay in the hands of the three Latin states of South Europe, liberate itself after the second World War. Until then it had remained relatively unaffected by nationalistic stirrings.

[1] As noted above, p 711

CHAPTER LI

EGYPT AND THE ARAB CRESCENT

GEOGRAPHICALLY a part of Africa, Egypt has been throughou the ages historically and culturally a part of Western Asia. Wit greater Syria and al-'Irāq it forms one Arab block, distinct fron the North African block, on one hand, and from the Arabiar block (peninsula), on the other.

Other than appointing an Ottoman pasha to act as viceroy ove Egypt and leaving an army of occupation consisting of some fiv thousand Janissaries, Sultan Salīm made few radical changes ir the administration of Egypt. His choice for viceroy fell upon th traitorous Khā'ir Bey, Turkish governor of Aleppo who hac betrayed his Mamlūk master.[1] Salīm spent a few days in Cair enjoying himself and returned to his capital with a shadow play for the entertainment of his son Sulaymān, the crown prince. The twelve sanjāqs [4] into which Egypt was then divided remainec under the old Mamlūks. Each Mamlūk bey surrounded himsel with a coterie of slave warriors who did his bidding and uphel his authority. Mamlūk blood was kept fresh by the importation of slaves mainly from the Caucasus. As in the preceding régime, Mamlūks collected taxes and levied troops, but now they acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty through the payment of annual tribute.

It was not long before the Ottoman pasha sent from Constantinople ceased to exercise any real control over local affairs. His ignorance of the colloquial and of the local scene was a decided handicap. His tenure of office was at best of short duration. In the two hundred and eighty years of direct Turkish rule over Egypt no less than a hundred such pashas succeeded one another.[5] The frequent change in personnel weakened the hold over the army which tended to become unruly and un-

[1] See above, p. 703.
[3] Cf above, p 690.
[3] Ibn-Iyās, vol. v, p. 188.
[4] Tur. *sanjāq* (Ar *sanjaq*), a translation of Ar. *liwā'*, banner,
[5] Cf. list in Zambaur, pp. 166-8.

disciplined. 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 pasha 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 pursued its downward course, respect for its viceroys decreased throughout the empire.

Under the dual form of control the native sank deeper in the abyss of misery and poverty. By pasha and Mamlūk the cultivator of the soil was relentlessly exploited and driven into a state of abjectness unparalleled except perhaps in the preceding era. Corruption and bribery prevailed. Insecurity, famine and pestilence added their quota of misery. One pestilence, that of 1619, is said to have carried away more than a third of a million people; another, that of 1643, left two hundred and thirty villages desolate.[1] A contemporary chronicler al-Ishāqi [2] 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 reached some eight millions, had by the end of the eighteenth century dwindled into one-third its former size.

'Ali Bey declared sultan

The rising Mamlūk power reached its zenith in 1769 when 'Ali Bey, reportedly son of a Christian priest from the Caucasus, who as a boy had fallen into the hands of brigands and been sold into slavery, acquired enough strength to expel the Ottoman pasha and declare himself independent of the Porte. With the army which the sultan, then engaged in a critical struggle against Russia, had ordered him to amass, 'Ali Bey now proceeded to conquer Arabia and Syria for himself. His lieutenant and son-in-law, abu-al-Dhahab,[3] entered Makkah victoriously in July 1770.[4] Its sharīf was replaced by a claimant who in turn bestowed upon 'Ali the pompous title of "sultan of Egypt and ruler of the two seas" (the Mediterranean and Red). The *sharīfate* or government of Makkah was always held by a descendant of the Prophet.[5] 'Ali not only assumed the title but also the prerogatives that

[1] Cf. Jurji Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr al-Ḥadīth*, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1925), vol. ii, pp. 31, 39 40

[2] *Akhbār al-Uwal fi Man Taṣarrafa fi Miṣr min al-Duwal* (Cairo, 1296), p. 258.

[3] "Father of gold", so called because he gave nothing but gold pieces as bakshish

[4] Al-Jabarti, *'Aja'ib al-Āthār fi al-Tarājim w-al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1322), vol. i, pp. 422, 353.

[5] See above, p. 440, n 8.

pertain thereunto, including the striking of coins and the mention of his name in the public worship. In 1771 abu-al-Dhahab at the



British Museum

COIN OF 'ALI BEY

Silver (*yigirmilik*, 20 paras), dated 1183 (1769), struck at Miṣr (Cairo)

head of about thirty thousand men marched against Syria and captured several of its cities, headed by Damascus.[1] In the flush of victory he betrayed his master, entered into secret negotiations with the Porte and turned his troops against Egypt. 'Ali fled (April 1772) to his Palestinian ally and fellow-rebel, Ẓāhir al-Umar,[2] in 'Akka. There he received ammunition and a reinforcement of 3000 Albanians from Russian warships anchored in the harbour and returned to fight for his lost throne. Wounded in battle, he died shortly after that (1773), either as a result of the wound or by poison. Abu-al-Dhahab, his former slave, thereupon combined in his person the title of *shaykh al-balad* (head of the community), a title which had hitherto distinguished the leading Mamlūk, and that of pasha, which he received with his investiture from the Porte. The next highest Mamlūk office after the *shaykh al-balad*'s was that of *amīr al-ḥajj*, held by the official in charge of the annual holy pilgrimage. The rise of 'Ali Bey, ephemeral as it was, exposed the vulnerability of the Ottoman position; the installation of abu-al-Dhahab conceded the right of a Mamlūk to become Ottoman viceroy.

The fight among the leading Mamlūks for the government of Egypt continued until, unexpectedly and as if from nowhere, a strange, mighty invader landed in Alexandria (July 1798), Napoleon Bonaparte. His professed purpose was to punish the Mamlūks, whom he accused in the Arabic proclamation he issued on landing, of being not as good Moslems as he and his

[1] Jabarti, vol. i, p. 367.

[2] See below, pp. 731-2.

fellow-Frenchmen were, and to restore the authority of the Porte.[1] His real purpose was to strike a fatal blow at the British Empire by intercepting her communication with the East and thus make a bid for world dominion. The destruction of the French fleet at Abūqīr Bay (Aboukir, August 1, 1798), the check of the ill-fated expedition at 'Akka (1799)[2] and the defeat in the battle of Alexandria (March 21, 1801) frustrated the Napoleonic ambitions in the East and forced the evacuation of the French troops from Egypt. The land hitherto playing a minor rôle in world events—as a source of tribute for Turkey and a base of operation for maintaining Ottoman dominion over Syria and Arabia—was suddenly drawn into the vortex of international politics as the gateway to India and the rest of the extreme Orient.[3] The Napoleonic expedition turned Europe's eyes to the somewhat forgotten land route to India and set in motion a chain reaction which made the Near East the storm centre of European intrigue and diplomacy.

Muhammad 'Ali: founder of modern Egypt

In the Turkish army that helped to drive Napoleon out of the land was a young officer born in Macedonia named Muhammad 'Ali. The Porte made him pasha in 1805 and he made himself the new master of the valley of the Nile, in nominal subordination to the Porte. The history of Egypt for the first half of the nineteenth century is virtually the story of this one man. Founder of the dynasty that was until 1952 still ruling, Muhammad 'Ali has been rightly called the father of his country—at least in its modern phase. The initiative, energy and vision he displayed and exercised find no parallel among any of his Moslem contemporaries. In peace and in war he stood supreme. By confiscating all land holdings in the hands of private individuals among his subjects he became sole proprietor of the country; by creating a monopoly of the chief products of the land he made himself its only manufacturer and contractor. This was the first attempt at nationalization in the Arab world. In pursuit of his economic policy he excavated canals, promoted scientific agri-

[1] Copy of proclamation in Jabarti, vol iii, pp 4-5, it begins Moslemwise with the formula. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, summarized in al Sharqāwi, *Tuḥfat al-Nāẓirīn fi man Waliya Miṣr min al Walāt w al-Salāṭin* (Cairo, 1286), p 55, English translation in *Copies of the Original Letters from the Army of General Bonaparte in Egypt, Intercepted by the Fleet under the Command of Admiral Lord Nelson*, 11th ed, vol 1 (London, 1798), pp 235-7.

[2] See below, p 733.

[3] On the cultural effects, see below, p 745.

culture and introduced the cultivation of cotton from India and the Sudan (1821–2). Himself an illiterate man, he yet patronized learning, started a ministry of education, created a council of education and founded the first school of engineering in his realm



MUHAMMAD 'ALI, FOUNDER OF MODERN EGYPT

(1816) and the first school of medicine.[1] Professors and physicians he brought mostly from France. He invited missions—military and educational—to train his people, and sent native missions—

[1] Founded in 1827 this school is today included in Fu'ād I University; Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East* (Washington, 1949), p. 80.

military and educational—to study in Europe. Records show that between 1813 and 1849 (the year of his death)[1] three hundred and eleven Egyptian students were sent to Italy, France, England and Austria at an expense to the state of £E273,360.[2] In Paris a special house was maintained for the benefit of these students. The preferred subjects of study were military and naval, engineering, medicine, pharmacy, arts and crafts. Since then the French language has enjoyed a favoured place in the Egyptian curriculum; the French schools in Egypt have even today a higher attendance of students than any other foreign institutions.[3]

A French colonel, Sève, who professed Islam under the name of Sulaymān Pasha, reorganized and modernized the Egyptian army and took part in the invasion of Syria. His name is commemorated in one of Cairo's principal streets and his descendants married into the 'Alid family. Another Frenchman, a naval engineer, constructed the Egyptian navy. The first military venture was in 1811 against Wahhābi Arabia, a war that was not ended till 1818. In honour of the departure of the first troops, some 10,000, under his sixteen-year-old son Ṭūsūn, the viceroy held a reception in the Cairo Citadel to which the Mamlūks were, of course, invited among the honoured guests. The coffee drinking over, the Mamlūks filed out through a narrow passage toward the main gate and were then and there abruptly assailed and slaughtered. Of the four hundred and seventy, very few escaped. The slaughter on the hill was a signal for an indiscriminate one for the rest of them throughout the land. Their properties were confiscated. The almost six-hundred-year-old Mamlūk problem in Egypt was for ever solved.

The second series of military campaigns carried the Egyptian flag triumphantly in 1820 into the eastern Sudan (al-Nūbah). The conquest was continued by Muḥammad 'Alī's successors and bequeathed a problem with which the Egyptians and British are still grappling. In the third venture the Egyptian army and navy collaborated with the forces of the Porte against the Greeks in their struggle for independence. Maḥmūd II (1808-39), celebrated for his bold reforms and the extermination of the Janissary corps,

[1] The centennial of his death was commemorated by founding a university in Asyūṭ bearing his name.

[2] 'Umar Ṭūsūn, *al-Ba'athāt al-'Ilmiyah* (Alexandria, 1934), p. 414.

[3] Matthews and Akrawi, p. 116.

was then the ruling sultan. The Turko-Egyptian fleet was destroyed at Navarino (October 20, 1827) by a combined Anglo-French-Russian fleet. Of the seven hundred and eighty-two vessels only twenty-nine remained afloat. The Porte had promised his Egyptian viceroy the government of Syria and the Morea in consideration of his support, and when the promise was not ful-



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COIN OF MAḤMŪD II

Gold (one-half *sikkah*, sequin), dated in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, 1247 (1831–2), struck at Miṣr (Cairo)



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COIN OF MAḤMŪD II

Copper (five paras), dated in the thirty-first year of his reign, 1253 (1837), struck at Miṣr (Cairo)

filled, Muḥammad ʿAli commissioned his son and "mailed arm", Ibrāhīm, in 1831 to conquer Syria. Ibrāhīm had led the successful 1816 to 1818 campaigns against the Wahhābis and the unsuccessful expedition against the Greeks. This was indeed the last and greatest military enterprise of Muḥammad ʿAli's reign. After occupying Syria for ten years and coming near giving the *coup de grâce* to the entire Ottoman empire, Muḥammad ʿAli at the behest of the European powers had to withdraw his troops to Egyptian soil.[1] Those powers were determined to keep the empire intact, for their own benefit. They considered the rise of a youthful, vigorous state as something endangering their influence and lines of communication in the East. A firman issued February 13, 1841,

[1] See below, pp. 733-7.

made the pashalik of Egypt hereditary in Muḥammad 'Ali's family;[1] another of the same date invested him with the government of the Sudan.[2] The dream of an Egyptian-Asiatic empire thereby came to an inglorious ending.

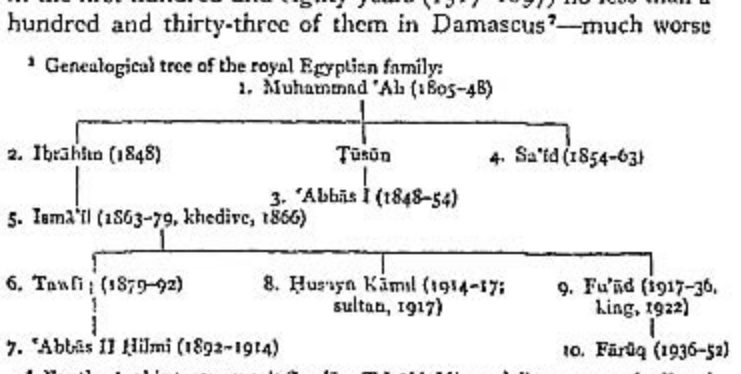
Syria

The conquest of Syria by Salim I[3] (1516) resulted in no major internal changes in the administration or population of the land. The administrative divisions assumed a new name *walāyah*. That of Damascus, enlarged by the addition of Jerusalem, Ṣafad and Ghazzah, was put under Jān-Birdi al-Ghazāli, the treacherous governor of Damascus, who like Khā'ir Bey had betrayed his Mamlūk master al-Ghawri at the decisive battle of Dābiq.[4] This made al-Ghazāli virtual viceroy of Syria.[5] Not satisfied with that, he, on the death of Salīm (1520), proclaimed himself an independent sovereign under the title al-Malik al-Ashraf (most noble monarch), struck coins in his name and invited his Aleppo counterpart, Khā'ir Bey, to do likewise. But Sulaymān was quick to act. His Janissaries demolished a large part of the Syrian capital and its environs, meted out a punishment to the populace reminiscent of Timūr's days[6] and laid the basis for the association between Janissaries and terror which still haunts Syrian memory.

Provincial administration

Turkish pashas now followed one another in rapid succession; in the first hundred and eighty years (1517–1697) no less than a hundred and thirty-three of them in Damascus[7]—much worse

[1] Genealogical tree of the royal Egyptian family:



[1] For the Arabic texts consult Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, vol. ii, pp 172-5; for French translations consult Édouard Driault, *L'Égypte et l'Europe: la crise orientale de 1839–1841*, vol. iv (Rome, 1933), pp. 275-82.

[2] See above, p. 703.

[3] See above, p. 703; Ibn-Iyās, vol. v, pp. 156, 157; Sa'd-al-Dīn, *Tāj al-Tawārīkh*, vol. ii (Constantinople, 1280), pp. 364-5.

[4] Ottoman authorities revived the old name *Sūriyah*; Ar. *al-Shā'm* fell into disuse; see above, pp. 57-8.

[5] Ibn-Iyās, vol. v, pp. 363, 371, 376-8, 418-19.

[6] Lammens, vol. ii, p. 62.

than the Egyptian record [1] Aleppo saw the faces of nine different wālis in the period of three years. Most of these officials had practically bought their appointments and looked upon their office as a means of replenishing their financial resources and glorifying their own selves. At times, even over its imperial officials, the Porte exercised but loose control. The subjects were rayahs,[2] flocks to be shepherded, fleeced and milked. As rayahs they were classified into those religious groups called millets[3] which made of the Syrians a congeries of small self-contained nationalities. Even Europeans residing in the land were treated as millets, subject to the laws of their own religious heads and enjoying other privileges granted by capitulations. The Venetians were the first to be granted capitulations In 1521 Sulaymān



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COIN OF SULAYMĀN I

Gold (*altūn*), dated 926 (1520), struck at Halab (Aleppo)

signed a treaty with them set up in thirty chapters.[4] Fourteen years later the French received theirs and the English in 1580. Weak attempts at ameliorating the condition of the subjects in the empire were made by three bold reformers among the sultans, Salīm III (1789–1807), Mahmūd II (1808–39) and 'Abd-al-Majīd I[5] (1839–61), but the practical results were nil No effective implementation was provided for the *tanzīmāt*, reform regulations, which aimed at removing disabilities under which the rayahs laboured, abolishing the farming out of taxes and guaranteeing the lives, property and honour of all subjects—irrespective of creed or race—who were declared equal before the law. Equally ineffective were the Young Turks' reforms in 1908. Ottoman maladministration could not be held entirely responsible for the steady decline in Syrian economy. The discovery in 1498 of the sea route from Europe to India around the Cape of

[1] See above, p 719

[2] From Ar. *ra'āyah*, herds.

[3] From Ar. *millah*, religion, nationality.

[4] Late Lat. *capitula*, whence "capitulation".

[5] So numbered to distinguish him from the Caliph 'Abd al-Majīd (1922–4).

Good Hope diverted the course of international trade from the Arab East and substituted the Portuguese for the Arabians and Syrians as the middlemen. The Arab lands were thus commercially by-passed. The discovery of the New World in 1492 shifted the centre of gravity in world affairs westward and relegated the Mediterranean, hitherto in name as well as in deed the middle sea, to a side position. That sea had to wait three and a half more centuries before it could regain its position as the great highway of international trade—thanks to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 by a successor of Muḥammad ʿAli, Ismāʿīl.[1] In the depopulated Palestine of the eighteenth century the revenue from pilgrims constituted the main item. By the middle of that century the once fertile, sufficiently irrigated plains between Aleppo and the Euphrates had become what they are today, a desert.[2] By the end of that century the entire population of Syria had estimatedly shrunk to about a million and a half, of whom perhaps less than a couple of hundred thousand lived in Palestine.[3] Jerusalem in the early nineteenth century had an estimated population of 12,000; in the mid-nineteenth Damascus had 150,000, Beirūt 15,000 and Aleppo 77,000.[4]

As Syrian merchants developed overland trade in the first century under Ottoman rule, Aleppo came to be the terminus of the route connecting with al-ʿIrāq and ultimately Persia and India. Several European colonies grew in Aleppo, first among which was the Venetian. The French colony capitalized on the capitulations granted Francis I by Sulaymān in 1535 and on the treaty signed in 1740 by Maḥmūd I and Louis XV, putting all Christian visitors to the Ottoman empire under French protection.[5] Soon French settlements (factories) were spread into other Syrian towns. English merchants followed the French. They all tried to meet the Western demand for Eastern luxuries and products promoted in the Crusading period. All foreigners, being considered by Moslems as inferior to them, had in the early period to wear native dress and thus reduce the chances of personal insult or harm. In the wake of European businessmen came European missionaries, teachers, travellers, explorers. The

[1] See below, p. 750.
[2] Christina P. Grant, *The Syrian Desert* (New York, 1938), p. 161, n. 1.
[3] Cf. Alfred Bonné, *The Economic Development of the Near East* (New York, 1945), p. 10.
[4] Bonné, p. 11
[5] F. Charles-Roux, *France et chrétiens d'orient* (Paris, [1939]), pp. 68-77.

Christian missionary activity, mostly Jesuit, Capuchin and Lazarist, resulted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the founding of Uniat churches—Syrian (using Syriac in the ritual) and Greek (using Greek). The enlightened and liberal régime of a Lebanese prince, Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Ma'ni II (1590-1635), opened the door wide to Western cultural influences.

This prince was named after his grandfather Fakhr-al-Dīn I (†1544), who, when the battle raged at Dābiq between Turk and Mamlūk for the mastery of Syria, advised his people to stay on the fence and then leap to the winning side as soon as that was determined. When Salīm emerged victorious, Fakhr-al-Dīn presented himself with his coterie of Lebanese leaders, kissed the ground before the conqueror and delivered such an impassionately eloquent oration [1] that the sultan confirmed him and his fellow-amīrs and shaykhs in their Lebanese fiefs, allowing them the same autonomous privileges enjoyed under the preceding régime and imposing on them a comparatively light tribute. The Turks realized at the outset that Lebanon with its hardy mountaineers of Druzes and Maronites was entitled to a different treatment from Syria. The Turkish wāli in Damascus normally acted as liaison between the Porte and the Lebanese feudal lords, who on the whole acted independently in internal affairs, transmitted their fiefs to their progeny, exacted taxes and duties and rendered no military service to the sultan.

Under Fakhr-al-Dīn II the power of the house of Ma'n, originally an Arab tribe, reached its apogee. The most energetic and fascinating figure in the history of Ottoman Lebanon if not of all Syria, this diminutive man, from "whose pocket should an egg fall it wouldn't break", cherished a threefold ambition: creating a greater Lebanon, severing all relations between it and the Porte and setting it on the road of progress—and he came near realizing his dream. From the Porte he received the sanjāqs of Beirūt and Sidon, from his neighbours to the north he wrested Tripoli, Ba'labakk and al-Biqā', from his neighbours to the south he received the homage of Ṣafad, Tiberias and Nazareth. He then began to look beyond the seas. In 1608 he signed with Ferdinand, the Medici grand duke of Tuscany, a treaty containing

[1] Quoted in Haydar, 561; Isṭifān al-Duwayhi, *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Mārūnīyah*, ed. Rashīd K. al-Shartūni (Beirūt, 1890), p. 152; Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq, *Ta'rīkh al-A'yān fi Jabal Lubnān* (Beirūt, 1859), p. 251; see Hitti, *History of Syria*, pp. 665-6.

a secret military article clearly directed against the Porte.[1] A Turkish army from Damascus succeeded in chasing him out of the land, and he, with his family and suite, had to seek haven in Florence, capital of his Italian ally. After a sojourn of five years in Europe (1613–18) he returned to his hereditary domain more determined than ever to enlarge and modernize it. In 1624 the



From Giovanni Mariti "Istoria di Faccardino grand emir des Druzi" (Liv. 1787)

FAKHR AL-DĪN AL-MA'NĪ II, AMĪR OF LEBANON 1590–1635

Porte recognized him as the lord of *'Arabistān*, from Aleppo to the frontiers of Egypt. He imported from Italy architects, engineers and agricultural experts and encouraged improved methods of tilling the soil among his farmer subjects.[2] One of his projects was draining the swampy part of al-Biqā'. More than that, he welcomed Christian missionaries, mainly French Catholic, who now established centres in Beirūt, Sidon, Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus and even in Lebanese villages. Professing Islam before the

[1] For this and other treaties consult P. Paolo Carali (Qarā'lī), *Fakhr ad Din II e la corte di Toscana* (Rome, 1936–8), vol I, pp 146 *seq*., vol II, pp 159 *seq*; G Mariti, *Istoria di Faccardino grand' emir des Druzi* (Livorno, 1787), pp 74 *seq*

[2] Carali, vol II, pp 52 *seq*.

Ottoman authorities, Druzism before his people, Fakhr manifested such sympathetic interest in Christianity that he was reported to have been baptized.[1] In his amīrate Druzes and Christians lived in harmony. His sympathy with Christianity turned once more the suspicious eye of the Porte towards him. Again an army from Damascus marched against him. After offering some resistance he fled to a cave in the mountain near Jazzīn, where he was discovered and led in chains to Constantinople in February 1635.[2] There he was beheaded, with his sons, who accompanied him, and his corpse was exhibited for three days in front of a mosque. The independent greater Lebanon which he envisaged and for which he laboured was attempted again by another amīr, Bashīr al-Shihābi (1788–1840), but was not fully realized until 1943. The Shihābs, who in 1697 succeeded the Ma'ns, trace their pedigree to one of the noblest Arabian tribes, the Quraysh. The founder of the Lebanese ruling family was the son-in-law of the last Ma'nid ruler.

Syrian local governors did not begin to assert themselves until the eighteenth century. First among these was Ismā'īl Pasha al-'Azm, a Damascene who in 1724 was made wāli over his home town. More distinguished than Ismā'īl was his son and successor, whose palaces in Ḥamāh and Damascus are still among the show places of those cities. Other members of the 'Aẓm family were appointed over Sidon and Tripoli, but, unlike the Lebanese amīrs, remained loyal to the Porte, despite maltreatment from those quarters. Ismā'īl was jailed before his death and As'ad was treacherously killed (1757) in the bath by orders from Constantinople.[3]

As the Ottoman empire throughout the eighteenth century speedily declined in authority, dignity and prestige, the number of local chieftains who sought or achieved independence progressively increased. Palestine, like Lebanon and Egypt, was the scene of the activity of such men, one of the most colourful among whom was al-Shaykh Ẓāhir al-[Āl] 'Umar. A Bedouin whose father was installed by the Shihābi governor of Lebanon as shaykh over the Ṣafad district, young Zāhir made his political

[1] Carali, vol ii, pp. 640 *seq.*
[2] Dunaykī, pp 204-5; Shidyāq, pp 330-35; Carab, vol II, pp 340-56
[3] Muḥammad Kurd 'Ali, *Khiṭaṭ al-Sha'm*, vol II (Damascus, 1925), pp 289, 290 01; Ḥaydar al-Shihābi, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Na' 'ūm Maghabghab (Cairo, 1900), p. 769.

debut about 1737 by adding Tiberais to his shaykhdom.[1] Other cities submitted to him, and by 1750 the usurper had established his seat in 'Akka. This city, which had been in partial ruin since Crusading days, was fortified and developed into an important trade centre. Its new lord ruled with an iron hand. He stamped out brigandage and lawlessness, encouraged the raising of wheat and the industry of silk and cotton and treated with toleration his Christian subjects. In the words of his biographer: [2] "Even a woman could travel around carrying gold in her hand with no fear of being molested".

Feeling secure in his dictatorial seat Ẓāhir entered into alliance with 'Alī Bey of Egypt. With the co-operation of Russian ships then manœuvring in the eastern Mediterranean, Russia at that time being embroiled in a bitter struggle with Turkey, he occupied in 1772 Sidon [3] at the foot of Lebanon. Three years later the Shihābi amīr of Lebanon allied himself with the wālī of Damascus and with a contingent from Constantinople attacked Ẓāhir in his capital. In the course of the siege Ẓāhir was killed by one of his men hired to do it. In the Syrian army that had tried to defend Sidon was a petty officer, named Aḥmad al-Jazzār, who then succeeded Ẓāhir and played an even more dramatic rôle.

Originally a Christian from Bosnia, the boy, later to be called Ahmad, committed a sex crime, fled to Constantinople, sold himself to a Jewish slave dealer and landed in the possession of 'Alī Bey in Cairo. The distinguished service he rendered as executioner to his master earned him the epithet *al-jazzār*, the butcher. From Egypt al-Jazzār fled to Syria and, in recognition of his performance in Sidon against Ẓāhir, was made governor of the city.[4] Gradually he extended his authority northward into Lebanon and southward into Palestine, where he succeeded Ẓāhir in 'Akka. Here he surrounded himself with a cavalry corps of Bosnians and Albanians and an infantry corps of Maghribis, fortified the city by forced labour and constructed a small fleet in its harbour. In 1780 the Porte deemed it expedient to bestow on its vassal the wilāyah of Damascus, making him virtually the viceroy of Syria

[1] Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1787), vol. ii, p. 85; Shidyāq, p. 360, Ḥaydar, p. 801; Mikhā'īl Ṣabbāgh (al-'Akkāwī), *Ta'rīkh al Shaykh Ẓāhir al-'Umar al-Zaydānī*, ed Qusṭanṭīn al-Bāsha (Ḥarīṣa), pp. 31-3.

[2] Ṣabbāgh, p. 50

[3] Ṣabbāgh, p. 115; Shidyāq, p. 389.

[4] Ḥaydar, pp. 811, 827.

and the arbiter of Lebanon. Though acknowledging the nominal authority of the Porte, he put Sultan Salīm III's messenger to death with impunity. It was this Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār who, with the aid of an English fleet under Sir Sidney Smith, successfully withstood and repelled Napoleon's onslaught on 'Akka.[1] A usurper and dictator, al-Jazzār was ruthless in the treatment of enemies and suspects. He had a reputation to uphold associated with his name and uphold it he did. A native chronicler [2] reports how al-Jazzār on one occasion had all thirty-seven of his harem, on a suspicion of infidelity on the part of certain ones among them, dragged to a burning pyre by his eunuchs. His name still lives throughout the land as a synonym of terror and cruelty. In 1804 a career unmarred by failure or defeat came to an end through natural death—an unusual phenomenon.

The lord of Lebanon in the days of al-Jazzār was the Amīr Bashīr II (1788–1840), who on the occasion of Napoleon's invasion had failed to rush aid to the lord of 'Akka and had thereby incurred his disfavour. Bashīr had then to withdraw to Cyprus on a British ship. In 1821 he fled to Egypt, after having reattached al-Biqā' to Lebanon and got involved in disputes with the wālis of Damascus and Tripoli. While in Egypt he struck up a friendship with its viceroy Muḥammad 'Alī. When Egyptian troops in 1831 under Ibrāhīm invaded Syria,[3] they found in Bashīr and his men a ready ally. Lebanese assisted Egyptian troops in storming 'Akka, which Ibrāhīm besieged after occupying Jaffa and Jerusalem. Druzes stood before the walls of Damascus, when it surrendered. With the routing of the Turkish army at Ḥimṣ, the way was open to Asia Minor. The pass in the Taurus had to be in places widened to enable the Egyptian artillery to go through. With the victory at Konieh (Qūniyah, 1832) the road was clear to Constantinople. The Egyptian camp was at last pitched at Kutahiah (Kūtāhiyah), almost within sight of the Bosphorus. This aroused Russia. Suspicious of her, England as well as France, the latter of which had up to this time encouraged Muḥammad 'Alī in his expansive ambitions, were forced to act—all in behalf of the sultan. Thus was the Egyptian ambition frustrated.

[1] See above, p. 722.

[2] Mīkhā'il Mushāqah, *Mashhad al-'Ayān bi-Ḥawādith Sūriya wa-Lubnān*, ed. Mulḥim K. 'Abdoh and Andarāwus H. Shahīshīn (Cairo, 1908), p. 54.

[3] See above, p. 725.

Ibrāhīm first wooed the favour of his Syrian subjects, especially the Christians among them, by establishing security and justice and introducing social reforms. Hitherto no Christian in such a city as Damascus could appear in public riding on a horse or wearing a white, red or green turban. No Christian could hold a responsible position in government. All these disabilities were now removed. But later, acting on instructions from his father, Ibrāhīm raised the taxes to about three times of what they had been, established a state monopoly over silk and other native products—following the Egyptian precedent[1]—and worst of all insisted on disarmament and conscription. Nothing could have outraged the Syrians, particularly the Lebanese, more than that last measure. The uprising which started in Palestine in 1834 spread into all other parts of Syria. In the manifesto issued June 8, 1840, the Lebanese rebels listed disarmament and conscription first among their grievances.[2] Lebanon was at that time accorded a privileged treatment under its friendly amīr. From its forests Muhammad 'Ali hoped to rebuild his navy, almost annihilated at Navarino.[3] Traces of Egyptian exploitation of coal at Qarnāyil and iron at Marjaba, in the district of al-Matn, are still noticeable. Tempted by these uprisings Sultan Mahmūd dared again in 1839 to send an army which was crushed at Nizrīb (Nezib, north Syria), putting the empire once more at the feet of its vassal. But again the powers intervened and forced Muḥammad 'Ali on November 22, 1840, to evacuate Syria. Ibrāhīm started on his way back from Damascus December 29 via Ghazzah. Bashīr was carried on a British ship to Malta.[4] On the international level the Syro-Egyptian episode resulted in strengthening British interest in the East at French expense.

Autonomy of Lebanon internationally recognized

The Ottoman authorities were now convinced that the only way to bring Lebanon under their direct control was to stir up strife between Maronites and Druzes, among whom the general

[1] See above, p. 722. The first modern silk factory was established in a Lebanese village, Baṭātir, by a Frenchman in 1841.

[2] Asad J. Rustum, *al-Uṣūl al-'Arabīyah li-Ta'rīkh Sūrīyah fī 'Ahd Muḥammad 'Alī*, vol. II (Beirūt, 1933), pp. 101-3; do., *The Royal Archives of Egypt and the Disturbances in Palestine 1834* (Beirūt, 1938), pp. 47-51; Sulaymān abu-'Izz-al-Dīn, *Ibrāhīm Bāsha fī Sūrīya* (Beirūt, 1929), pp. 313 *seq.*

[3] Asad J. Rustum, *The Royal Archives of Egypt and the Origins of the Egyptian Expedition to Syria* (Beirūt, 1936), pp. 63-6. See above, p. 725.

[4] Shidyāq, p. 620; Mushāqah, pp. 132-4; al-Jam'īyah al-Malakīyah al-Jughrāfīyah, *Dhikra al-Bafal al-Fātiḥ Ibrāhīm Bāsha* (Cairo, 1948), pp. 372 *seq.*

alignment under Bashīr as under Fakhr-al-Dīn had followed party rather than sectarian lines; Lebanon's intermittent intestine warfare has up till now been feudal rather than religious. The Turks were no novices in the application of the maxim—old as Rome—of "divide and rule". Then this was the time in which they were launching a new policy, that of centralization, in the control of the provinces. The masses among both Christians and Druzes—particularly Christians—were in a state of unrest, cherishing discontent toward their feudal aristocracy. North Lebanese peasants, urged by their Maronite clergy, rose in 1858 against their local lords and planned to divide up their large estates among themselves. Bashīr, one of the strongest governors Lebanon ever had, had maintained high standards of public safety and equity, opened new roads and encouraged Western cultural and educational influences, but his namesake and successor was of different stuff.[1]

Civil disturbances between Druzes and Maronites, which under Turkish stimulation began in 1841, culminated in the massacre of 1860, a year which will remain infamous for all time in the annals of the land. 'Abd-al-Majīd I was then sultan. In



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COIN OF 'ABD-AL-MAJĪD I

Silver (10 *ghurūsh*, piastres), dated 1255 (1839), struck at Miṣr (Cairo)

this massacre eleven thousand Christians, mostly Maronites, are estimated to have perished and a hundred and fifty villages burned. Lebanese peasants still date local events in their history from this *sanat al-ḥ rabak* (the year of the strife).[2] The massacre

[1] Following the Egyptian example, Bashīr I and his sons doffed the turbans in favour of the Maghribi fez (*tarbush*), short with thick tassel, still worn by some of the old generation in Lebanon and Syria. Cf Haydar, pp 1035 6.

[2] See Hitti, *History of Syria*, pp 694-5.

invited European intervention and the occupation of Lebanon by French troops. Consequently the mountain received in 1861 a statute, revised three years later, in which it was allowed an autonomy under a Christian governor-general (*mutaṣarrif*) appointed, for a renewable term of five years, with the approval of the signatory powers. All the governors were Catholics. The new Mutasarrifiyat Jabal Lubnān, had no Turkish garrison, paid no tribute to Constantinople and its citizens rendered no military service. The name of its first mutaṣarrif, Dāwūd Pasha (1861–8), has been borne by a college for boys in 'Abayh, founded in 1862 and supported as a Druze institution from the waqf.

Under its mutaṣarrif and its elected administrative council Lebanon prospered as no other neighbouring province prospered; it was regarded as "the most useful example of autonomy applied to a Turkish province".[1] In it "public security and standards of social and political life advanced to a point not nearly reached by any other province of the Ottoman Empire".[2] The increase in its population found an outlet through emigration to Egypt, the Americas and Australia, where descendants of Lebanese colonists still flourish. Lebanon's autonomy continued until the first World War, when it was destroyed by the Turks. To autonomous Lebanon, Western teachers, preachers, physicians and merchants were drawn as to no other land of the Near East. The fact that its population was preponderantly Christian rendered it more hospitable to European and American ideas and practices. More than in the days of Bashīr and Fakhr it became the window through which the Arab quadrangle looked westward into the outside world.

Al-'Irāq

The Ottoman career of the valley of the Euphrates, which began in 1534, paralleled that of the valley of the Nile. Turkish pashas and local lords and Mamlūks struggled for ascendancy, while the masses suffered from corruption, insecurity and miscarriage of justice. Here as elsewhere the authority of the provincial governors began to weaken at the end of the sixteenth century, after the brief noontide of the empire had passed. The historical theme revolved on personalities and intrigues in Baghdād, the most important of the three walāyahs into which

[1] William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire, 1801–1927* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 366

[2] *Syria and Palestine* (handbook under the direction of the historical section of the Foreign Office) (London, 1920), p. 37.

the country was divided, the other two being al-Baṣrah and al-Mawṣil (Mosul). The land of ancient renown under Hammurabi and Nebuchadnezzar and of medieval splendour under Hārūn and al-Ma'mūn faded under the Ottomans to a degree of unprecedented and perhaps unparalleled obscurity.

The distinctive features of the 'Irāqi situation stemmed from the preponderance of the Shī'ite element in its population, difficulty of communication with headquarters in Constantinople, proximity to Shī'ite Persia and cleavage between town and tribe Now, as in Byzantine days, the possession of the country was disputed between Constantinople and Persia. As the seat of the holiest shrines of the Shī'ah—those of al-Ḥusayn in Karbalā', of 'Alī in al-Najaf and of the seventh and ninth imāms in al-Kāẓimayn—al-'Irāq was a stronghold of Shī'ism, many of whose adherents looked upon Sunnite caliphs, like the Ottoman sultans, as usurpers. Meanwhile they considered the Persians as friends and allies. The Shī'ah cause constituted a strong bond between al-'Irāq and Persia. Throughout the sixteenth century Turkey and Persia were in a state of passive if not active hostility. In 1508 Shāh Ismā'īl occupied and held Baghdād till after Salīm's victory.[1] In November 1623 Shāh 'Abbās occupied Baghdād again, thanks to the betrayal by a Janissary rebel. For fifteen years al-'Irāq remained a province of the Ṣafawid kingdom. Turkish interest, aside from tribute, centred in the use of the country as a base against the eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula, which, however, the Turks were never able to hold firmly. The Turko-Persian wars adversely affected the economy of the land and interfered with pilgrimage to the Shī'ite shrines—an important source of national income. The rise of the English East India Company in the early seventeenth century placed al-'Irāq in a strategic position on the overland route between East and West. By the end of that century the British had won the race for maritime trade supremacy over their Portuguese and Dutch rivals in the Persian Gulf. The discovery of oil in 'Irāqi soil enhanced the strategic importance of the country. The oil concession was obtained by the 'Irāq Petroleum Company in 1925 for a period of seventy-five years.

Bedouins by their raids, undiscipline and lawlessness were a perennial source of trouble. Turkish communications between

[1] See above, p 703.

the federal capital and the provincial capital lay at the mercy of wanderers from the desert and tribesmen from the hills. About the mid-eighteenth century several Bedouin tribes of the lower Euphrates who had banded themselves into a federation, al-Muntafiq, brought recurring headaches not only to the pashas of Baghdād but also to the local Mamlūks and townspeople.

The Mamlūks, whose government was one of autonomous vassalage rather than viceroyalty, were mostly imported Circassian (Cherkes) slaves, the first of whom, Sulaymān Agha[1] (later Pasha) abu-Layla, rose to power in 1747. The last Mamlūk was Dāwūd (†1830), who was enlightened enough to build schools in Baghdād. For over eighty years the land was in the grip of a Mamlūk oligarchy. After the Crimean War (1853–6) Constantinople endeavoured to assert its authority more pronouncedly and planted a strong garrison in Baghdād. It sent in 1869 one of its most progressive and liberal statesmen, Midhat Pasha, as wāli. Midhat tried to check lawlessness, settle the Bedouins as peasants, improve irrigation and introduce a system of land registration. So honest was this Turkish official that he had reportedly to sell his watch to meet his travelling expenses back to Constantinople.[2] His brief administration stands out as the only bright spot in an otherwise dark picture. He won further laurels by writing the first constitution of his land,[3] abolished in 1877 by 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd.

Arabia

The Arabian peninsula stands as a block by itself, distinct from the North African and the Egyptian-Fertile Crescent blocks. As the cradle of Islam, Arabia has a halo of sacredness around it and holds a unique place in the hearts and minds of believers throughout the world. Its sacred association, geographic isolation and underdeveloped communications stamped it with a medieval feature which it still maintains. Especially isolated and insulated against Western ideas and influences have been al-Ḥijāz and al-Yaman, the most self-contained parts of the Near East.

Though it never formed an integral part of the scene of the activity of the Prophet, al-Yaman, nevertheless, has been equally as self-contained as al-Ḥijāz, if not more. Its people are followers of Zayd, grandson of al-Ḥusayn, who was killed about 740 in an

[1] Originally a Turki word meaning elder brother *agha* was used by Ottoman Turks first for *master, lord*, and later as a title for any army officer up to the grade of captain

[2] Stephen H Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq* (Oxford, 1925), p 300.

[3] See Hitti, *History of Syria*, p 670

uprising against the Umayyads. Though an offshoot of the Shī'ah the Zaydis (Zuyūd) do not emphasize Shī'ite tenets and come close to being Sunnites. One of them, Qāsim by name, succeeded in 1633 in expelling the Turkish wāli and establishing a native imāmate which endured with many vicissitudes till 1871. Beginning with 1849, however, the country was again administered as a Turkish walāyah until the rise of the Imām Yaḥya in 1904. In the following year the imām occupied Ṣan'ā', later to become his capital, but the autonomy of his state was not recognized by the Porte until 1911. In fact the Turks did not entirely withdraw from the country until the last year of the first World War. Yahya fell victim to a palace conspiracy in February 1948. A recent visitor to al-Yaman, himself a Moslem from Damascus and accompanied by a special guard from the imām, came near being attacked by natives at Ma'rib simply because he looked *gharīb*, foreign.[1] A Lebanese American writer, Ameen Rihani, met in the early 1920s theologians in al-Yaman who would put dark glasses on their eyes to avert defilement by the sight of a Christian.

Aside from the fully independent Su'ūdī Arabia and al-Yaman, the peninsula prior to 1960 consisted politically of the Aden colony and Aden protectorate, the sultanate of Masqaṭ (Muscat) and 'Umān, the trucial shaykhdoms, and the autonomous shaykhdoms of Qaṭar and al-Baḥrayn, all dependent in varying degrees on Great Britain, and under her protection. Another Persian Gulf shaykhdom, al-Kuwayt, was declared by the British autonomous in 1914 and an independent amirate in 1961. This oil-rich country is perhaps the most affluent in the world in per capita income terms. 'Umān and the south-eastern coast of Arabia came early under Portuguese, and later British, influence and, unlike al-Ḥijāz, Najd and al-Yaman, were never brought under Turkish control.[2] For nearly a century and a half its sultanate, nominally independent with its seat at Masqaṭ, had maintained close ties with the British government, ties that were reaffirmed in a treaty signed as late as 1939. From the south-eastern end of the peninsula of Qaṭar to a distance of three hundred and sixty miles south-eastward, the coast of the Gulf, formerly known as the Pirate Coast, belongs to the trucial shaykhs. After a period of hostility with the East India Company

[1] Nazih M. al-'Aẓm, *Riḥlah fi Bilād al-'Arab al-Sa'īdah* (Cairo, 1937?), p. 20

[2] Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Middle East* (London, 1950), pp. 110-13 Cf. above, pp. 710-11

these shaykhs signed (1820) with the British government a general treaty prescribing peace and abstention from piracy and slave trade. Qatar's relation to the British government was similar to that of the shaykhdoms to its south and was regulated by a treaty signed in 1916. Al-Bahrayn's status is practically the same. To the island's world-famous but declining pearl-fishing industry was added in 1932 a much more remunerative industry —that of oil.

In 1968 the British government announced plans to withdraw in three years all military forces in the Persian Gulf. Representatives of al-Baḥrayn, Qatar and the seven trucial states then began planning the creation of a federation of Arabian amirates.

The Aden ('Adan) protectorate extended eastward from the Aden colony and included Lahaj, Ḥadramawt, Mahrah and Suquṭra (Socotra). Until the mid-eighteenth century the region was under the imām of Ṣan'ā'. Aden, the seaport-fortress and capital, was acquired in 1839. In 1967 the entire area became independent and formed the Republic of Southern Yaman.

Wahhābis

The modern history of Arabia does not begin till the rise of the Muwaḥḥidūn (unitarians) in the mid-eighteenth century. This was a puritan revival inaugurated by a Najdi from al-'Uyaynah named Muhammad ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb (†1792). After travelling in al-Ḥijāz, al-'Irāq and Syria, ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb returned home impressed with the idea that Islam, as practised by his contemporaries, had deviated widely from the orthodox practice and theory as prescribed by the Prophet and the Koran, and he himself determined to purge it and restore it to its primitive strictness. His inspiration he obviously drew from ibn-Ḥanbal as interpreted by ibn-Taymīyah.[1] The new prophet found in Muḥammad ibn-Su'ūd (†1765), who was then a petty chief in Central Arabia, an ally and son-in-law. This was another case of marriage between religion and the sword, resulting in the speedy spread of religion and of the authority of ibn-Su'ūd throughout Central and Eastern Arabia. The followers of ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb were called Wahhābis by their opponents. In their zeal to rid Islam of its cult of saints and other innovations (sing. *bid'ah*) they sacked Karbalā' in 1801, captured Makkah in 1803 and al-Madīnah the following year, destroyed venerated tombs and purged these cities of all

[1] See above, p 689.

that savoured of idolatry.[1] In the following year they invaded Syria and al-'Irāq and extended their domain from Palmyra to 'Umān, the largest in the peninsula since the Prophet's days. Their success was interpreted as a token of displeasure on the part of God with the innovations of Salīm III.[2] Alarmed, the Porte requested Muḥammad 'Ali to conduct the series of campaigns which ended in 1818 with the destruction of the Wahhābi power and the razing of their capital al-Dir'īyah to the ground.[3] Wahhābi tenets, however, continued to spread, and their influence was felt from Sumatra in the east to Nigeria in the west.

Except for a short period of restoration beginning in 1833, the Ibn movement remained in a state of eclipse until resuscitated by its present head 'Abd-al-'Azīz ibn-Su'ūd, the restorer of the Wahhābi state and Wahhābi dynasty. Starting his career as an exile in al-Kuwayt, 'Abd-al-'Azīz in the first quarter of the twentieth century carved for himself a kingdom, at the expense of the ibn-Rashīd family in Ḥā'il and the Sharīf Ḥusayn family in Makkah, extending from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. Ḥusayn had, at the instigation of the British, declared himself "king of the Arabs" in 1916, and in 1924 he assumed the title of "caliph of the Moslems".[4] 'Abd-al-'Azīz put an end to the Rashīd dynasty in 1921, occupied Makkah in 1924, al-Madīnah and Juddah in 1925, and in 1932 created the Su'ūdi Arabian kingdom with himself at its head.[5] Ibn-Su'ūd declared tribal raids illegal, regulated fees for the transport of pilgrims, established a high standard of public safety, introduced the radio, wireless telegraphy, telephone and motor-car to certain localities and tried, but not very successfully, to establish his nomadic subjects as *Ikhwān* (brethren) in agricultural settlements.[6] More than the holy pilgrimage, the Arabian American Oil Company, which received its first concession in 1933, has become the greatest source of income to both government and people. Its contribution to the modernization of Arabia is still progressing.

No intellectual work of high order could be expected under the Int ual

[1] 'Uthmān ibn-Bishr, *'Unwān al-Majd fi Ta'rikh Najd* (Makkah, 1349), vol. i, pp 121-3; Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, pp 261-7.

[2] See above, p. 727.

[3] See above, p 727; ibn-Bishr, vol. i, pp. 155-207.

[4] For his uprising against the Turks, see Amīn Sa'īd, *al-Thawrah al-'Arabīyah al-Kubra*, vol. i (Cairo, 1934), pp. 120 *seq.*

[5] For details, consult H. St. J. B Philby, *Arabia* (London, 1930), pp. 160 *seq.*

[6] K. S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 121 *seq.*

political and concomitant social and economic conditions that prevailed in Arab states under Ottoman rule. But the source of evil went deeper. The Islamic creative spark had faded away centuries before the advent of the Turks.[1] The complete victory of scholastic theology beginning with the thirteenth century, the ascendancy of the orthodox and the mystics in the spiritual realm, the decay of the scientific spirit and the prevalence of uncritical reverence for the past and adherence to tradition militated against scholarly investigation and productivity. The fetters which bound Arab intellect did not begin to loosen until the early nineteenth century under the impact of the West.[2]

The writers of the period were by and large commentators, compilers and abridgers. Literary formalism and intellectual rigidity characterized their works. Among the Arabic-writing Turks the name of Ḥājji Khalfah († 1657) stands supreme. Called by the Turks Kātib Chelebi (young scribe), this Constantinopolitan started his career as a military clerk in the army operating in Baghdād and Damascus. His *Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan al-Asāmi w-al-Funūn*[3] (removing of doubts relating to titles and sciences) is one of the greatest and most valuable bibliographic and encyclopædic treatises in the Arabic language

The literary activity in Egypt was exemplified in ʿAbd-al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrāni († 1565), a mystic whose works embraced not only Sufism but also koranic and linguistic sciences. Al-Shaʿrāni conversed with angels and prophets,[4] was tried for impiety by conservative theologians and left a long list of works,[5] some of which became popular despite their lack of originality. In his *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubra*[6] (the great classes) the lives of the most famous mystics are sketched.[7] Egypt was the scene of the scholarly activity of a noted lexicographer, al-Sayyid Murtada al-Zabīdi, who was born in 1732 in north-west India. While pensioned by the government, al-Zabīdi produced in Cairo a voluminous commentary on al-Fīrūzābādi's monumental *al-*

[1] See above, p 683. [2] See below, pp 745 *seq.*

[3] Ed and tr. Gustav Flügel, 7 vols. (Leipzig and London, 1835-58)

[4] *Al Anwār al Qudsīyah fi Bayān Ādāb al-ʿUbūdīyah*, on margin of his *al-Ṭabaqāt al Kubra* (Cairo, 1035), vol 1, pp 2 *seq*

[5] For this, consult Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, vol. II, pp 336 ff.

[6] 2 vols (Cairo, 1925)

[7] For Sufism as the dominant feature of Islam in Ottoman Egypt consult Tawfīq al Tawīl, *al-Taṣawwuf fi Miṣr zaman al-ʿAṣr al-ʿUthmāni* (Cairo, 1946), pp 6 51, 200 232

Qāmūs[1] entitled *Tāj al-'Arūs* (the bride's tiara).[2] He also wrote a massive commentary on al-Ghazzālī's *Iḥyā'*. Al-Zabīdi was a victim of the plague of 1791. Of the Egyptian chroniclers used in the composition of this chapter the most important is 'Abd-al-Raḥmān ibn-Ḥasan al-Jabarti († 1822), whose ancestors had come to Cairo from Jabart in Abyssinia. Al-Jabarti held the chair of astronomy in al-Azhar and was appointed by Napoleon member of the grand council (*dīwān*), through which the French invader hoped to rule the country. That al-Jabarti was murdered on his way home on orders from Muḥammad 'Alī, of whom the historian was critical, has no basis in fact. His *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fi al-Tarājim w-al-Akhbār*[3] (the marvels of relics concerning biographies and news) is partly a chronicle and partly a necrology.

Of the Lebanese chroniclers cited in this chapter three were Maronites. Isṭifān al-Duwayhi[4] († 1704) was educated in the seminary established by Pope Gregory XIII in 1584 in Rome for training Maronite students for clerical careers. Al-Duwayhi rose to the highest office in his church, the patriarchate. Al-Amīr Ḥaydar[5] († 1835) was a member of the aristocratic Shihāb family, which provided Lebanon with many of its feudal governors. Ṭannūs al-Shidyāq[6] († 1859) was born near Beirūt and held a judgeship under the Shihābi amīrs. But the most distinguished Maronite—in fact, Lebanese—scholar of the age was undoubtedly Yūsuf Sim'ān al-Sim'āni (Assemani, 1687–1768), another product of the seminary in Rome. It was mainly through the efforts of this erudite Lebanese that Oriental studies, especially as they relate to Christian sects, were somewhat popularized in the West. His work at the Vatican Library resulted in the addition of a large number of Oriental manuscripts to the collection now considered one of the richest in the world. Al-Sam'āni's masterpiece *Bibliotheca Orientalis*[7] embodies his researches on these manuscripts in Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Turkish, Ethiopic and Armenian, and is still a major source of information on the churches of the East.

[1] Originally meaning ocean, this word has become synonymous with dictionary.
[2] 10 vols., Cairo, 1307.
[3] The edition used here is in 4 vols. (Cairo, 1322).
[4] *Ta'rikh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Mārūniyah*, ed. Rashid K. al-Shārtūni (Beirūt, 1890).
[5] *Ta'rikh*, ed. Na'ūm Mughabghab (Cairo, 1900).
[6] *Akhbār al-A'yān fi Jabal Lubnān* (Beirūt, 1859).
[7] 4 vols. (Rome, 1719–28).

In Syria two authors may be considered as typifying the literary spirit of the age, al-Muḥibbi and al-Nābulusi. Both were Damascenes and wrote prolifically. Muḥammad al-Muḥibbi († 1699) received his education at Constantinople and was for a time assistant judge in Makkah and professor in his native city. His principal work[1] is a collection of twelve hundred and ninety biographies of celebrities who died in the eleventh Moslem century (1591–1688). 'Abd-al-Ghani al-Nābulusi († 1731), whose family, as the name indicates, was originally Palestinian, was a Sufi and traveller. He produced a large number of works, most of which remain unpublished.[2] Mysticism lay at the centre of his interest, but his travel reports, though emphasizing holy shrines and legends connected with them, constitute his main contribution to knowledge.

[1] *Khulāṣat al-Athar fi A'yān al Qarn al Ḥadi-'Ashar*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1284).

[2] One of his last works to be published deals with tradition, *Dhakhā'ir al Mawārīth fi al Dalālah 'ala Mawāḍi' al-Ḥadith*, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1934).

CHAPTER LII

THE CHANGING SCENE: IMPACT OF THE WEST

NAPOLEON'S descent on 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 the Vatican. This press was the first of its kind in the valley of the Nile. It developed into the renowned Maṭba'at Būlāq, still the official printing institution of the government. The French conqueror used it for issuing a propaganda sheet in Arabic. He moreover inaugurated a sort of *académie littéraire* with a library. Until that time the people of the Arab world were generally leading a self-contained, traditional, conventional life, achieving no progress and unmindful of the progress of the world outside. Change did not interest them. This abrupt 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 to set a corner of the Moslem world on fire.

Recognizing the possibilities of this preliminary cultural contact, Muhammad 'Ali started the process of inviting French and other European officers to train his army. He went beyond that and sent student missions to be trained in Europe.[1] In this he followed the precedent established by the Ottoman Turks. In both cases the point of departure was the military. But language, a prerequisite for military training, once acquired, holds the key for unlocking an entire treasure house of thought—in this case Western thought with its nationalistic, democratic, scientific, secular and other explosive ideas. The founder of modern Egypt proceeded to establish on the soil of his own land schools not only for military science but for medicine, pharmacy, engineering and agriculture. Unfortunately, however, of the multitude of educational institutions then founded by Muhammad 'Ali only a few survived his death. His grandson 'Abbās (1848–54) dismissed

[1] See above, pp 723 4

all foreign advisers and abolished all foreign schools as well as most other institutions of European character; his successor Sa'īd (1854–63) was equally opposed to Western ways. Nor did many of the institutions founded by Ismā'īl (1863–79) live long. Ismā'īl, who employed American officers in his military academy, was the first to establish schools for girls in Egypt. His sympathetic attitude toward the West found expression in the alleged declaration that Egypt was part and parcel of Europe. These schools were not adequately equipped or effectively implemented, had no special endowments, no continuous supply of trained scholars from whom to choose the staff, and could count on no uninterrupted output of text-books in Arabic, the language of instruction. One institution, however, founded by Ismā'īl achieved permanency, the national library, which he started with a few books from palaces and mosques and now contains half a million volumes. The Royal Geographical Society of Egypt, also founded by him, celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1950 to 1951.

During Ismā'īl's reign an American college was founded at Asyūṭ (1865) and is still in operation. The American College for Girls at Cairo began as a primary school in 1861. Seven years earlier the American United Presbyterian Mission had launched its work in Egypt.

Syria and Lebanon

The decade of Egyptian occupation of Syria (1831–40)[1] was epoch making in the cultural history of that land. Ibrāhīm undermined the powers of local lords (sing. *muqāṭi'ji*), enforced regular taxation, and compelled recognition of the rights of non-Moslems to hold office in the local government.[2] Unlike earlier proclamations by sultans,[3] his proclamation in 1839 of equality before the law of members of all religious denominations was immediately implemented and put into effect. Against the Moslems of Damascus and Safad who objected to the changed status of their dhimmi fellow-citizens, he did not hesitate to use force. Four years before the issuance of his proclamation the British consul had to be closely guarded as he entered Damascus riding; the year following the issuance he could go where he pleased unattended.[4]

The evidence of a new liberal policy and of public security attracted Europeans as never before. The Jesuits, whose order had been suspended by the pope in 1773, returned in force.[5]

[1] See above, p 725. [2] See above, p 734. [3] See above, p 727.
[4] *Syria and Palestine*, p 27. [5] Cf. above, pp 730–31.

Protestant missionaries—British and American—established a firm foothold on Lebanese soil. In 1838 the native Protestant Church of Syria was founded. In the same year an American archaeologist, Edward Robinson, made an exploratory tour of Palestine, the first in a chain of events that ultimately resulted in unearthing, interpreting and publicizing the region's priceless treasures of the past. Three years before that the American mission press was moved from Malta to Beirūt. The Imprimerie Catholique of the Jesuits was founded in 1853 on the other side of the town. These two are still the outstanding Arabic presses of Western Asia. Translations of the Bible into modern Arabic were issued by both establishments. Syria had its first Arabic press before this time, in 1702 at Aleppo, to which it was introduced by Christians. Moslem conservatism as it relates to the treatment of the word of God may have retarded the admission of the printing industry; even today the Koran may be handwritten or lithographed but not printed. The origin of the Aleppine press, the first of its kind in the East, is still shrouded in mystery. Very likely it stemmed from some European antecedent. The earliest Arabic press in Europe made its appearance in Fano, Italy, evidently under papal aegis. From its output there has survived a book of prayer dated 1514. Lebanon had, in one of its monasteries, Qazhayya, a Syriac press which may have been introduced from Rome by one of those Maronite scholars who studied there.[1] From this press we have copies of the Psalms not only in the Syriac language but also in Arabic printed in Syriac characters.[2] Syriac, it should be remembered, was still spoken in North Lebanon as late as the end of the seventeenth century.[3]

American educational enterprise crowned its efforts in 1866 by the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College, now the American University of Beirūt. Jesuit educational activity, which had its start in the early seventeenth century,[4] culminated in the founding in 1881 of the Université Saint-Joseph in Beirūt. These two universities have maintained their educational leadership in that part of the world.

Earlier than the American University came the American

[1] See above, p. 743.

[2] *Garshūnī*; see Hitti, *History of Syria*, p. 546. Consult Louis Cheikho, "Ta'rīkh Fann al-Ṭibā'ah fi al-Mashriq", *al-Mashriq*, vol. III (1900), pp. 251 ff., 355 ff.

[3] Cf. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1735), vol. II, p. 407; above, p. 361.

[4] See above, p. 730.

School for Girls in Beirūt (1830), which has continued to the present day. The Lazarist mission, inaugurated in Damascus as early as 1755, started about two decades later a school for boys, the oldest modern school still in existence in that city. These schools preceded any modernized government schools and served as models for later institutions, whether public or private. Until the present day the study of foreign languages is emphasized, even in native schools, and either French or English is often the medium of instruction on the higher and professional levels. The personnel enjoyed special privileges, including protection by virtue of the capitulations

Native schools, presses, newspapers, magazines and literary societies, following Western patterns, soon began to make their appearance Egypt witnessed its first Arabic paper in 1828, when Muhammad 'Ali founded *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīyah* (Egyptian events), still the official organ of the government. Syria had its first newspaper in 1858, when Khalīl al-Khūri founded in Beirūt *Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār* (orchard of news). Twelve years later Butrus al-Bustāni (1819–83), who headed a native school and collaborated with American missionaries, started in Beirūt a political, scientific and literary fortnightly, *al-Jinān* (gardens), one of many periodicals founded by him. The motto he chose for his new publication, "Patriotism is an article of faith", gave the formula a new meaning in the Arabic language. In 1876 al-Bustāni began publication of an Arabic encyclopaedia (*Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif*) of which he himself completed the first six volumes.[1] The writings of this Christian scholar, which also included a dictionary and several text-books in mathematics and grammar, prepared the way for arousing national consciousness and starting the Arab national movement Lebanon has achieved the highest rate of literacy among Arab states largely through the efforts of foreign and private institutions of learning rather than through publicly supported schools.[2] Even today the highest type of education is conducted in American and French institutions. Lebanon as well as other Arab lands proved hospitable to this cultural migration from the West chiefly because their two civilizations, while differing in certain important respects, still

[1] For more on him consult Jurji Zaydān, *Tarājim Mashāhīr al-Sharq fi al-Qarn al-Tāsi' 'Ashar* (Cairo, 1903), vol. II, pp 24-31.

[2] Matthews and Akrawi, p 407.

belong to the same main stream. Both European and Near Eastern civilizations share in a common heritage of Judaeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions. Social and commercial contacts were maintained, with varying degrees of closeness, from the earliest of days. In fact, up to the fourteenth century, the early Mamlūk era, distinction between East and West was more artificial than real. It was not until the sixteenth century, the dawn of the Ottoman age, that the paths of the two began seriously to diverge, the West exploiting the scientific method with its adjunct of experimentation and developing technical knowledge with the resultant greater control over physical nature, while the East remained unmindful of all that. By the end of the eighteenth century the divergence had reached its limit and the two cultures began to come together again.[1]

In this process of cultural cross-fertilization al-'Irāq had no significant share. Catholic missionaries had been admitted to Baghdād and al-Baṣrah as early as the seventeenth century but had left no dent on its Moslem society. Of the 'Irāqis hardly any but officers and functionaries trained in Constantinople were exposed to modern ideas, and those were of a special brand. But the country was wide open to commercial penetration. As the British consolidated their position in the Persian Gulf, commercial infiltration led eventually to political penetration and the country was drawn into the orbit of world affairs.

Ibrāhīm's invasion of Syria and Napoleon's invasion of Egypt produced in a sense the same results: they closed the ancient order of decentralized authority in both lands and ushered in a new era of centralized dependence. More than that, they threw these lands into the cockpit of foreign imperial machinations. The expansionist trends of the Great Powers began to clash there as nowhere else. Especially keen was the rivalry between England and France, each endeavouring to obtain for herself a preponderating influence in Egyptian and Syrian affairs for the same reason: securing the fullest measure of advantage for her trade with India and the Far East. Many of the wars of the nineteenth century may be traced to some origin in the Near East. The Crimean War (1854–6) had as one of its causes conflicting claims on the part of France and Russia for the protection of the holy places in Palestine.

[1] Sarton, *Introduction*, vol. III, pp. 21-2.

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 enhanced the strategic importance of these lands and accelerated their re-entry upon the scene of world trade and world affairs. The canal soon became an integral part of the life-line of international communication and compensated for the loss sustained through the discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope.[1] The digging of the canal, a hundred miles long, cost about £20,000,000, most of which was raised by public subscription in Europe, chiefly in France. The khedivial shares were 176,602 at £20 each, which in 1875 were purchased by the British government.

The British occupy Egypt

In Egypt the extravagance of Ismā'īl, in whose reign the canal was opened, led to state bankruptcy and eventually to European intervention. In consideration of Ismā'īl's generous offer to double Egypt's tribute, the Porte bestowed upon him (1866 and 1873) the right of primogeniture for his family and the title of khedive,[2] which amounted almost to an acknowledgment of sovereignty. In 1879 a dual control by England and France was established over the land, and the khedive was deposed. Meantime the grievances of the army, which was officered mostly by Circassians, and of the peasantry, which suffered under heavy taxation, conscription and a system of *corvée* by which the government could force any able-bodied male to work for little or no pay on public projects often of doubtful utility, found a champion in an army officer, Aḥmad 'Arābi, who was himself of peasant stock.[3] The insurrection was brought to a sudden end by the British victory at al-Tall al-Kabīr (Tell el-Kebir) on September 13, 1882, and the banishment of 'Arābi.[4] The occasion provided the British with a chance to occupy the land which, however, remained under nominal Turkish suzerainty until shortly after the outbreak of the first World War, when England declared a protectorate over Egypt. The Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmi was then deported and his uncle Ḥusayn Kāmil, with the title of sultan, succeeded.[5] Fu'ād, who in 1917 followed his brother Ḥusayn, was proclaimed *malik* (king) in February 1922, at which time the protectorate

[1] See above, pp. 727-8.

[2] Per. *khadīw*, lord, ruler. For the Arabic text of the firman consult Zaydān, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, vol. ii, pp. 206-8

[3] For more on him consult Zaydān, *Tarājim*, vol. i, pp. 229-52.

[4] For a defence of the 'Arābi case by an Englishman, consult Wilfrid S Blunt, *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* (New York, 1922), pp 323-63.

[5] Consult table above, p. 726, n. 1.

was terminated, Egypt was declared independent and a constitution was promulgated. This concession by England was not made without struggle on the part of the natives. The nationalist leader, Sa'd Zaghlūl, was a follower of 'Arābi and, like him, the son of a peasant, but more capable and more highly educated. In 1919 this fiery lawyer, a pupil of Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Afghāni and a former editor of *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīyah* under Muḥammad 'Abduh,[1] sought permission from the British to leave the country with a delegation (*wafd*) to plead its cause before the Peace Conference in Paris and in London but was rebuffed and sent to Malta, an act which immediately made a national hero of him. His and his party's efforts were crowned with success when, in 1936, an Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed stipulating the withdrawal of the British troops of occupation to the Canal zone, the relinquishing of British responsibility for the life and property of foreigners in favour of the Egyptian government and the rendition of reciprocal aid against enemies involving the use of ports, aerodromes and means of communication. A bloodless military coup in 1952 dethroned Fu'ād's son, King Fārūq (Farouk), abolished the monarchy and led, in 1954, to a republic headed by Colonel Jamāl 'Abd-al-Nāṣir (Nasser), whose bold stand against Israeli, British and French invaders in 1956 raised him to the rank of a Pan-Arab hero. He has since introduced political and economic reforms of the socialistic type.

In the Arab Crescent political intervention took the form of mandates, with the British established in Palestine and al-'Irāq, and the French in Syria and Lebanon subsequent to the first World War. France's interest rested on economic considerations, a policy of prestige as a counterbalance to British influence and *amitié traditionnelle* going back to Crusading days[2] and sanctioned by the capitulations granted by Sulaymān the Magnificent to Francis I.[3] It was French troops who, in 1860, were landed, with the consent of the great powers, on the Lebanese shore as a measure of security against further massacre.[4]

The administration of these mandates, termed class A, fell short of the ideal set in the covenant of the League of Nations that the well-being of the mandated peoples formed "a sacred trust of civilization" and that the chief concern of the mandatory power

[1] See below, pp 753-5
[2] Cf above, p 728
[3] See above, p 594.
[4] See above, pp 735-6

was to provide such advice and assistance as might be necessary to achieve their full independence. Especially provoking were the grievances felt by the Syrians who charged French officials with employing the same colonial methods as in North Africa, use of the native government as a façade, failure to take cognizance of the rising national spirit, discouragement of the use of Arabic, depreciating the native currency by tying it to the franc, playing one party or sect against another and resorting to repressive measures involving espionage, imprisonment and exile.[1] Dividing the country into several *états* for administrative purposes and ceding the sanjāq of Alexandretta to Turkey on the eve of the second World War were other major complaints. Any benefits that might have accrued to the mandated territories by way of maintaining law and order, improving communications, widening areas of cultivation, extending facilities of education and setting up the framework of a modern government and modernized society were not enough to stem the tide of rising discontent. Rebellion broke out in Jabal al-Durūz in July 1925. It soon spread to Damascus and neighbouring towns. The reaction thus set off did not cease until the last French troops were expelled in 1945 from Syrian soil. That was two years after Lebanon, which had started with amicable relations with the French mandate, had succeeded in freeing itself from it and proclaiming itself a republic.

Al-'Irāq had even earlier begun to pursue a hostile course against the British mandate. The rebellion of 1920, which started among the tribes on the lower Euphrates and in the holy cities of al-Najaf and Karbalā',[2] led the British to substitute indirect for direct rule. Fayṣal, second son of King Ḥusayn,[3] was crowned in August 1921 constitutional king over al-'Irāq after occupying the improvised Syrian throne from March 8 to July 25, 1920. Several treaties followed, in one of the most important of which, that of

[1] George Antonius, *Arab Awakening* (Philadelphia, 1939), pp. 372-6; Albert H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (Oxford, 1946), pp 176-8.

[2] Philip W. Ireland, *'Irāq: A Study in Political Development* (New York, 1938), pp 266-76.

[3]

Ḥusayn of al-Ḥijāz

'Abdullāh of Transjordan

1. Fayṣal of al-'Irāq († 1933)
2. Ghāzī († 1939)
3. Fayṣal II (b 1935; 1939-58)

December 1927, Britain recognized al-'Irāq as independent and entered into a twenty-five-year alliance with it. The treaty of June 1930 was decisive: Britain renounced its mandatory rights and recognized the full sovereignty of al-'Irāq.[1] Credit for this achievement should be given to the statesmanship of King Faysal I (1921–33), whose régime, however, became discredited under his second successor. In a military coup in 1958 Faysal II (1939–58) was slaughtered with his regent uncle and prime minister, and a socialist republic was established

The Arab peoples at this time presented a seeming paradox: resisting with one arm European advances while with the other receiving and adopting European ideas and techniques. The new acquisitions from Europe were utilized in the fight against Europeans. Of the numberless novel ideas imported from the West, nationalism and political democracy were undoubtedly the most powerful. The espousal of nationalism encouraged the principle of self-determination and both led to the struggle for independence from foreign rule. Meantime the new ideology from the West, with its stress on secular and material values and the importance it attaches to ethnic limitations and geographic boundaries, ran counter to the most cherished traditions of Islam, with its concepts of religious universality, political theocracy and exclusive sovereignty. Pan-Islam rather than Pan-Arabism would be the ideal toward which Moslems should strive. The conflict was on internal as well as external levels. In Egypt of the late nineteenth century the intellectual climate was rendered congenial for the reception and growth of the new concepts mainly through the writings and speeches of the liberal reformer Muhammad 'Abduh (1849–1905), who rose to the highest religious position of his land, that of mufti. Muhammad 'Abduh had for teacher Jamāl-al-Dīn al-Afghāni (1839–97), the first chief agent in the inception of modernism in Islam.[2] Born in Afghanistan, Jamāl-al-Dīn sojourned in India, Makkah and Constantinople before taking up his residence in Egypt, where he identified himself with the movement which culminated in the 'Arābi uprising [3]

An Eg ref

[1] Ireland, pp 409 18, for Arabic text of the treaty consult 'Abd-al Razzāq al-Hasani, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq al Siyāsi* (Baghdād, 1948), vol II, pp 197 204

[2] On modernism in Islam consult H. A R Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago, 1945), pp 39 *seq.*

[3] See above, p 750. For more on Jamāl al-Dīn consult Charles C Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (London, 1933), pp 4 *seq.* Zaydān, *Tarājim*, vol II, pp 5 56.

Muhammad 'Abduh was exiled to Syria for complicity in this uprising. The decadent condition of Islam weighed heavily on his heart and mind. He followed ibn-Taymiyah[1] in the condemnation of superstitions and accretions that had contaminated the faith. His prescription embraced intellectual and political revivification of religion together with political unification under one supreme head The man who had studied and taught at al-Azhar and



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edited with Jamāl-al-Dīn an Arabic paper in Paris, maintained that basically there was no conflict between Islam and science. He interpreted certain koranic passages rationally and recognized the insufficiency of Islamic scholasticism.[2] While Jamāl-al-Dīn advocated political revolution, Muhammad 'Abduh advocated religious awakening to bring about reform. More than any other modern writers, these two contributed to the breaking of the scholastic shell which had encased Islam since medieval times. While neither achieved fully what he set out to do, yet both left an intellectual progeny which counted in its membership Qāsim Amīn († 1908), the first to attack vehemently polygamy, divorce

[1] See above, p 689

[2] For more on him consult Muhammad Rashīd Rida, *Ta'rikh al Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh*, 3 vols (Cairo, 1324), Adams, pp 106-10.

and the use of the veil[1] and Muhammad Rashīd Riḍa († 1935), born in al-Qalamūn, North Lebanon, who went to Egypt in 1897, edited Muhammad 'Abduh's works,[2] wrote his biography and carried on in the magazine *al-Manār* his tradition. Reconstructing Arab society on a democratic political basis and reconciling Islam and the modern world remain the greatest tasks confronting the contemporary generation.

Arab nationalism started from a wide base—the thesis that all Arabic-speaking peoples were one nation. It began as a purely intellectual movement having for pioneers mostly Syrian intellectuals, more specifically Christian Lebanese, educated at the American University of Beirūt and operating in Egypt.[3] Its early manifestations in the 1870s were revived interest in the Arabic classics and research in Islamic history. A consciousness of the past glory of the Moslem empire and of the brilliant cultural achievements of the Arabs suggested a future possibility. Political awakening came in the wake of intellectual awakening. Political passivity gave way to political activity; for once in centuries change became a desideratum. Everywhere the movement fed upon resistance to Western imperialism.

Before long this nascent Pan-Arab movement was confronted with varied local problems. In Egypt the main hurdle was British occupation. Opposition to British rule began to absorb Egyptian interest. Then and there Egyptian nationalism was born, parting company with Arab nationalism and developing provincial aspects. Egypt for the Egyptians became the battle cry of the new order. With the further fragmentation of the Arab East, consequent upon the first World War, Arab nationalism suffered further fragmentation. In Syria it concentrated its force against the imposition of the French mandate. Lebanon, which was first favourably disposed toward the French mandate, became in the second World War equally bitter. Likewise in Palestine hostility to the British mandate and to its adjunct, political Zionism—which has since eventuated in the birth of Israel—generated a local type of national feeling. Even tiny Transjordan, which was amputated by the British in February 1921 from South Syria and

[1] His *Taḥrīr al-Mar'ah* (emancipation of woman) (Cairo, 1316) was translated by O. Rescher into German (Stuttgart, 1928).

[2] Chief among which was *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al Ḥakīm*, 8 vols (Cairo, 1346).

[3] Antonius, pp. 79 86

made a new state under the Amīr 'Abdullāh, developed a measure of nationhood of its own. Its creation was meant to appease 'Abdullāh, who had resented the dethronement of his brother Faysal, and to act as buffer against the Bedouins. The amīr became, in 1946, king of Transjordan and in 1949 head of the Hāshimite Kingdom of Jordan (*al-Mamlakah al-Urdunnīyah al-Hāshimīyah*). A pronounced 'Irāqi nationalism was born in the 1920s largely as a reaction against British imperialism.

As nationalism struggled against foreign powers, political democracy contended with native feudalism. Liberty had internal as well as external opponents. Throughout the Arab East feudalism continued to be a dominant social feature with political complications. The system centred on chiefs who held power by virtue of descent and the accumulation of extensive land property. It was at first supported by a vassalage not of birth so much as by appointment, a hierarchy of *muqāṭi'jī's*,[1] as called in Lebanon and Syria, to whom taxes were farmed out and who exercised even penal powers. As these vassals acquired wealth, their office became hereditary, too. The institution and functioning of a democratic form of government against such a background was not an easy task. The search for a new political structure has not yet ended. Politically, no less than socially and economically, the entire Arab East is still in a state of transition.

Trend toward union

If the first World War severed the Arab components of the Ottoman empire and set them on the way to full or semi-nationhood, the second World War, combined with the threat of political Zionism, which was viewed by Arabs everywhere as an intrusive movement, contributed to bringing those parts closer together. Common interest and the rising feeling of solidarity found expression in the pact of the League of Arab States, signed in Cairo, March 1945. The pact indicates a firm intention to promote co-operation among member states in matters relating to education, trade and communication. It provides for consultation in case of aggression against any member state and forbids the use of force in settlement of disputes among them To the membership of the League, consisting of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, al-'Irāq, Transjordan, Su'ūdi Arabia and al-Yaman, were added the newly declared independent states of Morocco, Tunisia,

[1] See above, p 746

Libya, Sudan, al-Kuwayt and Algeria. A bloodless military coup in 1961 broke off the weak three-year-old chain connecting Syria with Egypt and forming the United Arab Republic. Al-Yaman, which had related itself loosely to the union, soon followed suit, and in the autumn of 1962 experienced another one of those military coups current in the Near East, aiming at replacing the imamate-kingdom by a republic with socialist leanings. The record in such coups is held by Syria, which in twenty years ending February 1966 experienced no less than thirteen coups—some unsuccessful. Of all the Arab republics of the area, Lebanon has been the most stable.

Originators of the third monotheistic religion, beneficiaries of the other two, co-sharers with the West of the Greco-Roman cultural tradition, holders aloft of the torch of enlightenment throughout medieval times, generous contributors to European renaissance, the Arabic-speaking peoples have taken their place among the awakened, forward-marching independent nations of the modern world. With their rich heritage and unmatched natural resource of oil, they should be able to make a significant contribution to the material and spiritual progress of mankind.