

THE FIRST CULTURAL CONTACTS BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE WEST IN THE 19th CENTURY

(A Study of their Origins, Trends
and Effects on the Egyptian Society)

By

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When *Mohammed Ali* came to Egypt for the first time he was a young officer in the Anglo-Turkish Expedition which was sent in March 1801 to drive the French out of Egypt. *Mohammed Ali* participated in several battles with the armies of three countries : One of them was an oriental country, but it was a rotten one, whose armies consisted of a very strange mixture of nationalities that lacked homogeneity, modern organization, and, above all, good leadership. That country was Turkey. The other two countries were occidentals, each competing with the other to gain hold of Egypt, because due to its excellent geographical location, it was the key to the East — the land of their dreams. The armies of these two nations were very well-organized, equipped with the most modern weapons of the time, and above all, had good competent leadership. These two Countries were England and France.

After the French withdrawal from Egypt in 1801 *Mohammed Ali* remained in Egypt as an officer in the Turkish army and closely watched the struggle that arose between three other powers : the Turks, the Mamluka, and the British. It was very evident to him that these three powers were struggling for their own benefit without any due regard for the welfare of the Egyptian people. He also saw another power that lurked behind the scenes for three centuries, and which was finally awakened by the French expedition. This was the Egyptian people. *Mohammed Ali* believed that the future of Egypt rested with this power, provided it had a good leader to lead it and organize it.

The Egyptians soon recognized the superior talents of *Mohammed Ali*, and when the conflict between the Egyptians and the

Ottoman Pasha reached a crisis, the leaders of the Egyptian people approached *Mohammed Ali* and told him that this Pasha should be removed, and asked him to lead them provided that he accepted certain conditions that they set down. *Mohammed Ali* at first hesitated, but soon accepted the offer. The Ottoman Pasha was soon removed, and the Sultan was forced to confirm the choice of the Egyptian people.

From that time on *Mohammed Ali* began to plan for his future reforms, which may be considered to be to a certain extent a continuation to what the French had already begun during their brief sojourn in Egypt. In his reforms, *Mohammed Ali* chose a moderate approach. He was not a fanatic and did not insist on the old traditions and methods because he believed, ever since his first contact with the west, that the best way to institute reform is by imitating the west. However, he did not copy everything from the West, and did not look to the western civilization as a complete stockpile of reserves to draw upon in order to inaugurate these reforms, but rather combined the things that he thought best to suit his plans together with the heritage of Egypt as a working context.

Some biographers of *Mohammed Ali* such as Macaulay, pointed to *Mohammed Ali* as an example that in order for a nation to progress it is necessary for it to assimilate and teach the western sciences. Others, however, have also pointed to *Mohammed Ali*, that in order for a nation to progress it is necessary that it should not only copy the west, but not to cut off its past from its present. In other words, it must tie-up the past with the present. To illustrate this they said that the Egyptian reformer taught the modern sciences in his schools, but that he taught them in Arabic.

When *Mohammed Ali* began his rule the only educational institutions were *Al-Azhar* University, a few other mosques in Cairo and the big cities, and the elementary schools in the villages. When *Al-Azhar* was flourishing in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, it taught all the sciences; but in the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries all the activities of the *'Ulema* were concentrated in the teaching of religion and linguistics.

This brief contact with the west immediately left its impact on Egypt, and even the enlightened *Sheik of Al-Azhar* — *Sheikh Hasan Al-'Attar* by name — admired the French methods of science

and began to regard the studies given at *Al-Azhar* as essentially useless and of no practical value. Together with his students he began reading new western books translated into Arabic and began to have a more enforced belief that the country must change its values of knowledge, and that new things must be studied to replenish what Egypt lacked.

Mohammed Ali subscribed whole-heartedly to this view and began opening new schools, but chose the students and the teachers from the old institute of *Al-Azhar*. *Mohammed Ali* began a new era, but the relations with the *Sultan* were not yet settled, and he faced several pressing problems:

The army which he found in Egypt was a strange mixture of *Mamluks*, *Albanians*, *Circassians*, and so on. He was planning to revive the Ottoman Empire from its decadent slumber, but believed that such a thing could not be accomplished without the help of a good strong army, and a powerful fleet modelled according to the western ways. He also found that the Egyptian economy and the former policies to be quite inefficient and decadent.

But with hard work he soon began to get some results. This economic reform was mainly based upon the nationalization of all sources of production and the governmental monopolization of most economic units within the country. That way reforms were relatively easier. But he was greatly in need of administrative officials who could understand the pressing needs for reforms, and who would have a feeling for his desires and hopes, and who would know the western reforms that would most efficiently fit in Egypt.

But Egypt lacked such a group of administrators, and *Mohammed Ali* had to solicit the services of foreigners. However he was quite hesitant to obtain a great deal of foreign help, and believed it not right to have so many foreigners working in his offices. Many of them despite their military and economic qualifications couldn't quite recognize the aims of the Egyptian Government, and they might have willingly, or unwillingly hampered his activities and delayed the achievement of his objectives. They also might not have been able to recognize the military and economic organizations that Egypt was badly in need of. This might have been due to their ignorance of the Arabic language and the manners and customs of the people concerned.

Apart from that, *Mohammed Ali* did not trust many of the foreigners for he believed that they had their own personal interest before that of Egypt which paid their salaries; and above all each of these foreigners used to recommend his compatriots, who also used to draw very high salaries. Since they did not know the Arabic language, there was the additional expense of paying for interpreters to help them in performing their work.

These were some of the reasons which enforced *Mohammed Ali's* belief that the number of these foreigners should be limited and that they should be replaced as soon as possible by Egyptian officials. There were other reasons, of course, paramount among them was the fact that many of these foreigners proved to be charlatans. To illustrate this point we quote Edward Guain who while speaking of the Egyptian Expedition in the Sudan had this to say about these foreign physicians :

“There were a number of Greek and Italian vagabonds accompanying the army while moving from one place to another. They claimed to have knowledge of medicine while in fact knew nothing about even the rudimentary principles of medicines. Instead they were simply a bunch of deceitful men who exploited the people through their pretense to be doctors.

In fact six of those physicians died due to their ignorance of the illnesses of that part of the world, which is indicative of their lack of knowledge about medicine.”

Monsieur Hamont, the director of the Egyptian veterinary school at the time of *Mohammed Ali*, said in his book, “L’Egypte sous Mehemet Ali” about the physicians and pharmacists who were appointed to work in the health department which was newly built :

“Two thirds of them were not qualified; they did not have any scientific or medical diplomas or certificates, but on the contrary, one of them was simply a nurse, a second was a director of a telegraph office, a third was a shoemaker, and a fourth was a waiter in a coffee shop in Cairo.”

Mr. Hamont continues to say: "that any foreigner who used to land in Egypt and didn't have a job was appointed a pharmacist or a physician."

Mohammed Ali saw very well those things and soon began to think of some methods to get rid of those foreigners, at least the unfit part of them, and to replace them with Egyptians. For this he took several steps.

At first he paved the way for the translation of many of the European books into Arabic or Turkish in order to enable the Egyptians to study them and benefit from them. At first he asked some of the foreigners, living in Egypt to translate some of the important works, but they proved careless and lazy. It is said that one of those translators took five years to translate a work that could have easily been done in six months. Being eager to achieve this reforms as quickly as possible *Mohammed Ali* was not satisfied with this method especially if we bear in mind that many mistakes were committed in choosing books and in the inaccuracy of the translations due to either their ignorance of the language they were translating from or to, or through their ignorance of the material translated.

The second method he followed was to send some Egyptian missions to the different countries of Europe to study the sciences which he wanted to transmit to Egypt, in order that they may be able to replace the foreigners when they come back, and in order to translate whatever Egypt needs of these scientific works.

This method proved very fruitful, and many of those Egyptians did take in fact the place of those foreigners, and they were very industrious and sincere in their works. Yet *Mohammed Ali* made sure that these Egyptians were competent in their fields before he allowed them to practise, and he used to ask each one of them before practising to translate a work in his own field from one of the European languages into Arabic or Turkish. But despite the fact that this method was fruitful, yet it wasn't a method that fitted into *Mohammed Ali's* scheme of achieving reforms in the shortest possible time. It took a long time for those Egyptian men to get their training and he was in pressing need for effective reforms.

His new army and fleet were in need of hundreds of officers; his new factories needed thousands of skilled labourers; the irrigation problems and plans, the need for construction and the building of barrages needed many well-trained engineers. The new schools needed hundreds of teachers specialized in the different sciences. The health departments needed an army of good physicians, and so on. Could *Mohammed Ali* send these thousands of Egyptians on missions to study in Europe, and if so did the Budget of Egypt at that time enable him to do so ? This, however, was not the most practical way, and so he tried another experiment.

He therefore, asked the foreigners working in Egypt to supplement their work with the teaching of Egyptians the sciences and the arts they knew, in order that in the long run they may be able to take their places. One of the orders issued at the time required the foreign officers to organize the army and train the Egyptian officers and soldiers; the foreign physicians to work in the hospitals as well as to teach; the foreign men of industry to work in the Egyptian factories and also train the Egyptian artisans.

Secondly, *Mohammed Ali* began to build new schools to teach the Egyptians in Egypt. He built different medical, engineering agricultural, and military schools, as well as a school for languages. With these colleges built, he found it necessary to expand his elementary and secondary schools to prepare more young men for these colleges and universities.

Through all those methods *Mohammed Ali* was able to transport some of the western civilization to Egypt in order to fulfill his ideas and plans of reform. But although he transmitted the west to Egypt, he did not swing Egypt to the west, but strongly preserved the Egyptian spirit and tradition. Many times he mixed the good of both, and thereby built Egyptian renaissance on strong and correct foundations.

Now we can ask the question: to which country in Europe did *Mohammed Ali* look for help when he attempted to westernize Egypt ?

If we can answer this question we can recognize the kind of European culture which influenced Egyptian culture during the whole of the 19th century. The leading countries in Europe during the late middle ages and in the beginning of the modern time were: England, France, and the Italian Republics.

As regards England, we know that she didn't think much of having relations, politically speaking, with Egypt until, at least, the second half of the 18th century. We can take as an exception the role played by King Richard the Lion Heart during the Crusades and the friendly relations between him and *Saladin*, for this kind of relation was inspired mainly by the spirit of the age and the ideals of chivalry.

After this third crusade, the relations between England and Egypt were completely cut off. By the second half of the 18th century we hear again of some attempts by the British to renew the relations with Egypt in order to use the old land routs across Egypt to reach India. This rout had many advantages, and one of them is that it was by far the shortest, and this fitted into the love for speed which permeated the spirit of the nineteenth century, especially after the industrial revolution.

At this same time France began to sense the importance of Egypt, and thereby an undercurrent competition developed between those two countries over the colonization of Egypt. The most striking part of this competition appeared clearly in that struggle which ended with the evacuation of the French from Egypt in the year 1801. After this evacuation, the British troops hesitated to withdraw, but were forced to do so after a short time. These two attempts may explain why *Mohammed Ali* did not look toward Britain for help while achieving his reforms.

We mentioned earlier that *Mohammed Ali* took part in the battles which ended in driving the French out of Egypt, and after succeeding them in the rule of Egypt he no doubt appreciated what they were trying to accomplish in re-forming Egypt. However, he was still suspicious of them especially since the number of French civilians living in Egypt greatly diminished in numbers after the withdrawal of the French Expedition. It was natural, therefore, that *Mohammed Ali* did not turn to the French at first. But we shall see later on that he greatly depended on them.

Mohammed Ali then did not look to either France or England at first, but turned to the Italians on whom he depended greatly in his first years of ascendancy. There were many reasons that compelled him to do so.

The commercial relations between Italy and Egypt flourished even from the times of the middle ages. Up to the time of *Mohammed Ali* there were many Italians living in Egypt, especially in the Egyptian and Syrian ports, and the Italian language was spread throughout Egypt. Moreover it was the lingua franca, and it was the official language even of the non-Italian consulates. Also, the Italians who lived in Egypt knew Arabic, and the Egyptian people in the ports spoke Italian. *Rifa'a At-Tahtawi* says while speaking of Alexandria in his "Journey to Paris": "Most of the people in markets of the city speak Italian."

When *Mohammed Ali* began his first step to reform the army, he opened a school in the citadel to teach and train the sons of the Mamluks, and besides the military arts that were being taught in that school, instruction was given in certain languages such as Arabic, Turkish, and Italian. Thus the Italian language was the first European language that was being taught in the new schools of *Mohammed Ali*.

We shall see later also, that the Italian language was taught in some other schools such as the schools of *Bulak*, *Oasr el-Ain*, the school of engineering and some of the other military schools.

And when *Mohammed Ali* began to send his missions to Europe his first two missions in the year 1809 and 1813 were sent to the different Italian cities such as: Livorno, Milan, Florence, and Rome. The students of those missions were sent to learn printing, the art of manufacturing of prints, the military arts, building ships and political science.

It was from Italy also that *Mohammed Ali* first invited the teachers of his schools, and the military officers to train his army, and from there that he bought the first printing press, and the Italian books were the first books that he ordered to be translated into Arabic and Turkish.

Clot Bey said in a report submitted in December 1837 to Dr. Bowring, the British delegate to Egypt, that when he began working in Egypt the health department was directed in general by Italians. He gave some statistics in which he mentioned that the physicians and pharmacists who were working in the army and military hospitals could be classified as follows: 105 Italians, 32 French, 6 English, 5 Poles, and 2 Spanish.

When *Mohammed Ali* invited a military mission from France to help train his army, General Boyer, the head of the mission, wrote to his friend Monsieur Jomard, the member of the French Institute, and the supervisor of the Egyptian missions sent by *Mohammed Ali* to Paris, saying :

"I have found that all the administrations in Egypt are in the hands of Italians, and that the French language is in second place. They do not teach in the military schools except the Italian language, and they do not translate but the simple Italian books. The teachers of mathematics, languages, science and arts are all Italians. Every year 30 or 40 Egyptian young men are sent to Italy to study. They go to Pisa even to study the military arts. The Wali is astonished by this Italian superiority, and they try to frighten him always by the French designs, and assure him that there is no danger from the Italians."

We can surmise from this quotation the bitterness that was felt by the French due to the superior hand that the Italians had in the teaching of their own language and the administration of the schools and the armies of *Mohammed Ali*. And from this we notice that the French did all that they could to eliminate this superiority and supplant it with the superiority of their own language and administration. This attempt was greatly enhanced by the fact that the first Italian groups employed in Egypt were not of superior calibre, but rather were of the physicians whose calibre was already mentioned, and described by Edward Guan as from the scum of the Greeks and Italians, and by the fact that the few French officials such as colonel Seve and Clot Bey manifested great superiority that pleased the ruler of Egypt, *Mohammed Ali*.

Finally, it must be remembered that France at that time enjoyed a great deal of prestige and reputation as one of the Mediterranean countries, which appealed greatly to *Mohammed Ali* and made him shy away from Italy toward France in his policies of reform.

France succeeded in this competition, and the Italian language was gradually eliminated from the schools, and the Italian officials were eventually reduced in numbers, and the French language and the French officials and administrators replaced them. The Italian missions were cancelled, and most of the new missions were sent to France, and the translation of French works assumed the dominating role.

This left a great imprint on Egypt as we have already noticed; for Egypt remained tainted with French influence throughout the 19th century in both its thought and practise.

In conclusion, however, it is necessary for us to point out that *Mohammed Ali* was not fully a captive of French admiration of intellect, but rather sought the help of the men whose countries were most famous for certain fields, and we find that some of his missions were sent to Austria and England, and that some of the administrators and teachers of his schools were Spaniards, and others.

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I do not wish to dwell on the history of the schools and missions, or in the history of the movement of translations in Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century, but I would like to devote some time to the effects of this movement upon the Egyptian society.

The main purpose of this movement for translations was to provide textbooks and material to the students for the study of the arts and sciences. Thus, many books were translated in medicine, engineering, chemistry, physics, mathematics, geography, history, and military science. It was the practise of the time that one thousand copies were printed of the translations. Most of these copies were delivered to the students of these schools, and most of those books, therefore, were of a scientific and technical nature. Moreover, the circulation of these books was limited to the schools.

It is true, of course, that there was another circle, the circle of *Al-Azhar* university, with its teachers and students, but their benefit from these new books was limited. Not only did they not get these books, but very few of them did have the inclination to read them, especially the group of editors and correctors, who have effectively participated in the translation of those books. In addition to this group we can add another number of *Sheiks* such as *Sheik Hassan Al-Attar*, the *Sheikh of Al-Azhar*, whose student *Rifa'a* said that he used to read the translated books in history and other subjects, and that he was very fond of the different humanities.

The majority of the *Sheiks* and students of *Al-Azhar*, however, maintained either a neutral or a negative attitude toward the movement of translation in general. They used to ridicule the translators who studied in Europe, and used to hold that they got a superficial education. This attitude, contrary to certain European writings, was not in any way due to the tenets of Islamic religion but was merely a manifestation of narrow mindedness, their dogged respect and love for the old books that they have studied, and sheer conservatism.

A French Orientalist who lived in Egypt at the time of *Mohammed Ali*, Dr. Perron by name, described the position held by most of the *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar* toward the translated books, in a letter that he wrote to his friend Jul Mohl, secretary of the Asiatic Society, a letter about the schools and press of *Mohammed Ali*. He said:

"Do you believe my friend that the *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar* read our translated books? No, they simply avoid them. But it is easy for a person to accuse before knowing. I believe that they regard it the same as they do the Bible and the Torah. They speak so much about them without even having read a single line from either of them."

Once Perron relates an episode when he was invited to a banquet in *Sheikh Jauchary's* house, where he had gone accompanied by his professor and friend *Sheikh Mohamuned 'Omar Al-Tunisi*. Some other *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar* were present, and an interesting

discussion arose between Dr. Perron and the other *Sheikhs* about their ideas of the translated books. This is how Perron described it. He said :

"After taking supper and while drinking coffee and smoking *Shubuk*, we began to speak about the studies in the new schools. My *Sheikh Al-Tunisi* said some words about the books which he is correcting in the school of medicine. Then one of the *Sheikhs* asked me what is present chemistry in Europe, because here they don't understand other things about chemistry except the art of transferring the other minerals into gold. So I gave them a brief description of present day chemistry. Then one of the *Sheikhs* said: "what is the use of all these secular sciences; to think of God and fear him is all that human beings should do. In answer I said: what do you mean by these words which are very far from religion, and why do you insult all these *'Ulemas* present, and all the *'Ulemas* that Islam is proud of since it began? Do you regard all the non-religious sciences as useless? Then if this is the case, it is useless to study the old poets and the pre-Islamic period, and you consider it as being very dangerous. Thank you very much indeed for your praise of ignorance. Tell me, do you know what is God? Isn't God the Almighty the real knowledge, and would you please tell me also who is nearer to God, the ignorant or the learned? "

The *Sheikh* answered: But the study of humanities leads to sin.

I said, that the study of the humanities leads the thinking man to praise the deeds of God and the wonders of the world and of the human mind. Do you think that the *'Ulemas of Islam* have lost their time or committed sin when they devoted all their time to the study of the pre-Islamic poets in order to be able to interpret the Koran? If they were to have followed your advice who could understand the Koran now? In addition, this learned man who carried the same

name as our host, and who spent most of his life span moving in the desert among the different Arab tribes to collect the vocabulary of the Arabic language and to write his dictionary, *Al-Sihah*. This *Jauchary*, was he mad or non-muslim or nonbeliever?"

At last Perron added that his host *Sheikh Jauchary* admired his speech, and was looking all the time at that *Sheikh* without saying one single word. But this debator didn't comment on the rest of Perron's speech, but retreated to red to the end of the room stealthily.

Perhaps Perron has exaggerated, in describing what happened, and he may have been degrading the *Sheikhs* for the purpose of elevating himself. In fact, I accuse him of this exaggeration because he said in another letter sent to the same friend in which he told him of his plans for publishing the Arabic dictionary — *Al Kamus Al-Muhit* — in *Budak Press*, he for the second time exaggerated in describing the *Sheikhs'* ignorance. He said:

"There is not in Cairo, not even in the whole of Egypt ten *'Ulemas* who own this dictionary, and there aren't even ten *'Ulemas* who know how to use this dictionary."

He ended his letter with a sentence of bitter sarcasm. He said: "let us then give a dictionary to the *Ulemas*". (*Donnons donc un dictionnaire aux Ulemas*).

This is an exaggeration of Perron's that the fact clearly denies, because when he first came to Egypt he studied under two outstanding *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar*; *Sheikh Mohammed 'Ayyad Al-Tantawi*, and *Sheikh Mohammed 'Omar Al-Tunisi*. Through them his knowledge of Arabic became advanced. And when he thought of publishing the Arabic dictionary, his reliance was mainly on *Sheikh Tunisi* to revise it with him.

Also when the British orientalist Mr. Lane began to translate this dictionary into English, he didn't find anyone to help him to understand the dictionary and to revise it except one of the *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar* whose name was *Sheikh Ibrahim Al-Dusuki*.

We mentioned before that *Sheikh Al-Attar* and his students and disciples admired the movement greatly and used to read the translated books, and the most outstanding students of the new schools and missions were chosen from the students and *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar*.

The group of editors and correctors of the translated works were all *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar*. Nor did the *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar* avoid these new schools as Perron had said, but it is astonishing to know that many of the sons of the *Sheikhs of Al-Azhar* did not send their sons to *Al-Azhar*, but sent them to the new schools. For example, *Sheikh Salem Awad Al-Kanayatt* sent his son *Saleh Salem* to the school of medicine, and became in the future the famous doctor *Saleh Pasha Salem*. *Sheikh Nasr Al-Hurini* also accompanied his son *Said* to study in Paris, and became later on *Dr. Said Pasha Nasr*.

These are different examples which do not refute the accusations of Perron, but simply lessen their severity.

To summarise this we can say that the old learned circle of *Al-Azhar* and its *Sheikhs* did not incline to benefit greatly from the translated books, but only a few groups of those *Sheikhs* who appreciated those books enjoyed reading them. The majority however, turned away from them either out of suspicion, or dislike, a common social phenomenon found in every society towards every thing new.

We can excuse those *Sheikhs*, however, since most of the books translated were of a scientific and technical nature in the true sense of the word, dealing with anatomy, sicknesses and their remedies, descriptive and analytical geometry, chemistry, physics, etc. And for the understanding of those books it was necessary that they should have some scientific background which they lacked.

Now we can ask some questions :

Was *Muhammed Ali* right when he left the old educational institutes as they were, and when he built the new modern schools ?

And if he were right also in keeping the old educational system as it was, or was it better to flavour it with some of the new modern curricula and studies? in order that those old institutes might gradually run parallel to the new ones?

At last would *Mohammed Ali* have been successful if he had tried one of these two attempts?

These are certain questions that arise with research, but to be answered one would have to search for what could be rather than for what happened in fact.

This conservatism of the *Sheikh of Al-Azhar* prevented this institute from coping with the new developments of the time. Thus the interest in the new sciences and the translated books was concentrated in the modern schools, its students, teachers and graduates. And they began to play the leading role in the cultural life of Egypt.

Dr. Perron says: "And now there emerges from among our students a scientific force, and if it is destined that this force can live for some time, it could overcome the wrong scientific beliefs of the *'Ulema*, and put an end to their old scholastic methods. As a result of the faith that the students have in their experimentalist studies in real science, they have begun to refute the old books and the decadent ideas of *Al-'Ulema* who still believe that the last word in science is what is mentioned in the Arabic books."

The modern schools then, and the movement of translations in particular, paved the way for the *Affendiyya* to take the place of the *Sheikhs* in the intellectual leadership of Egypt. But what did the *Affendiyyah* do to spread knowledge and culture among the Egyptian peoples?

The movement of translation during the reign of *Mohammed Ali* lasted for twenty years during which all the efforts were directed towards translation, and during which the students and the teachers of these schools did not creatively respond to this assimilation and take the next logical step in this process, namely to write original works of their own. Apart from that their translations were quite

formal, having the letter but not the spirit, because these translators translated what they were ordered to translate, not what they wanted to translate. And what they were ordered to translate was in general pure science, which the average reader, few as they were, couldn't read and assimilate, and even if they had tried to read those books they couldn't possibly have understood them.

The *Affendiyya* then should have written or translated books for the people. But they didn't do so for reasons previously given.

Due to this, the effect of this translation movement during the reign of *Mohammed Ali*, on the Egyptian society was very little, if anything at all. Only once did *Mohammed Ali* take steps to educate the people by printing a book on medical hygiene, and the Egyptian people favored it so much to the extent that it was printed for several times. But this was the only attempt and it was not followed by another one.

And when the school of languages was opened many books in the humanities were translated by its members such as history, travels, geography, and literature. These books were nearer to the understanding of the average reader. This school would have been greatly capable of influencing Egyptian culture if it had lived for longer time. But it was closed just after the death of *Mohammed Ali* and its graduates were scattered among the different administrations, and it was a relapse that lasted during the times of *Abbas I*, and *Said*.

But this important effect of the school did not die, but remained hidden in the hearts and minds of the students, who were its pillars when the school reopened during the time of *Ismat'il*, and the continuation of the Renaissance.

They began to translate again, and the second logical step of original writing was begun. Their old professor *Rifa'a* was reappointed the headmaster of the school, and through collaboration with him they translated together the Code of Napoleon. Some of the students, *Abu Al-Sa'ud*, *Khalifa Mahmud*, and *Suleh Magdi* wrote books in history and geography. Another one *'Osman Galal* wrote in literature. *Kadri Pasha* wrote his excellent books in the field of law. At last *Abu Al Sa'ud* published the first national

Egyptian newspaper which was called *Wadi Al-Nil*. It was also at the time of *Isma'il* that *Rifa'a* wrote his different books in history, civics, and language.

History, literature, philosophy, law, and journalism, these are the methods through which the leaders of thought can always penetrate into the souls and minds of the people in order to spread the general culture, and to create a powerful spirit. The old graduates of the school of languages performed this duty not during the time of *Mohammed Ali*, but during the time of *Isma'il*. In fact, this effect, however delayed, was the result of the movement of translations at the time of *Mohammed Ali*, if not the most effective of these results.

A GENERAL DEBLOGRAPHY

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