

Napoleon in Egypt

AL-JABARTI'S CHRONICLE OF THE FRENCH OCCUPATION, 1798

Introduction by
Robert L. Tignor

Translation by
Shmuel Moreh

*Expanded edition in honor of
Al-Jabarti's 250th birthday*



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CONTENTS

Introduction by Robert L. Tignor

— 1 —

Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the First Seven Months
of the French Occupation of Egypt,
June–December, 1798

— 17 —

NOTES ON EDITING AND TRANSLATION

— 119 —

The French View of the Events in Egypt:
Memoirs by Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne,
Private Secretary to General Bonaparte

— 133 —

Orientalism: The Cultural Consequences
of the French Preoccupation with Egypt

By Edward W. Said

— 167 —

Napoleon and the French Impact on Egyptian
Society in the Eyes of Al-Jabarti

By Shmuel Moreh

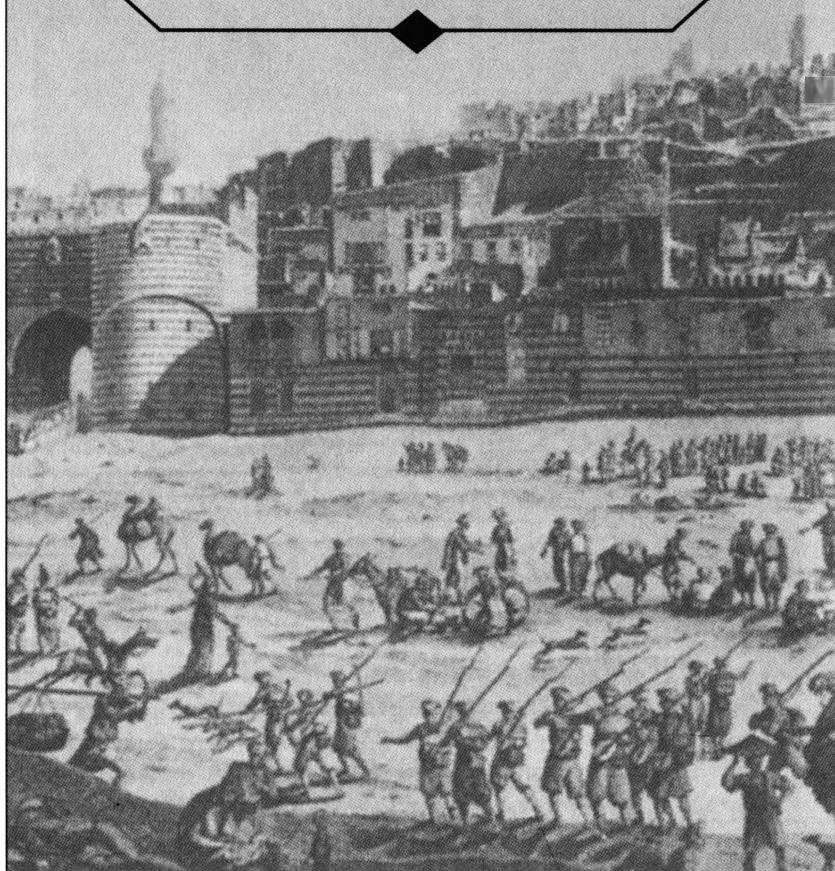
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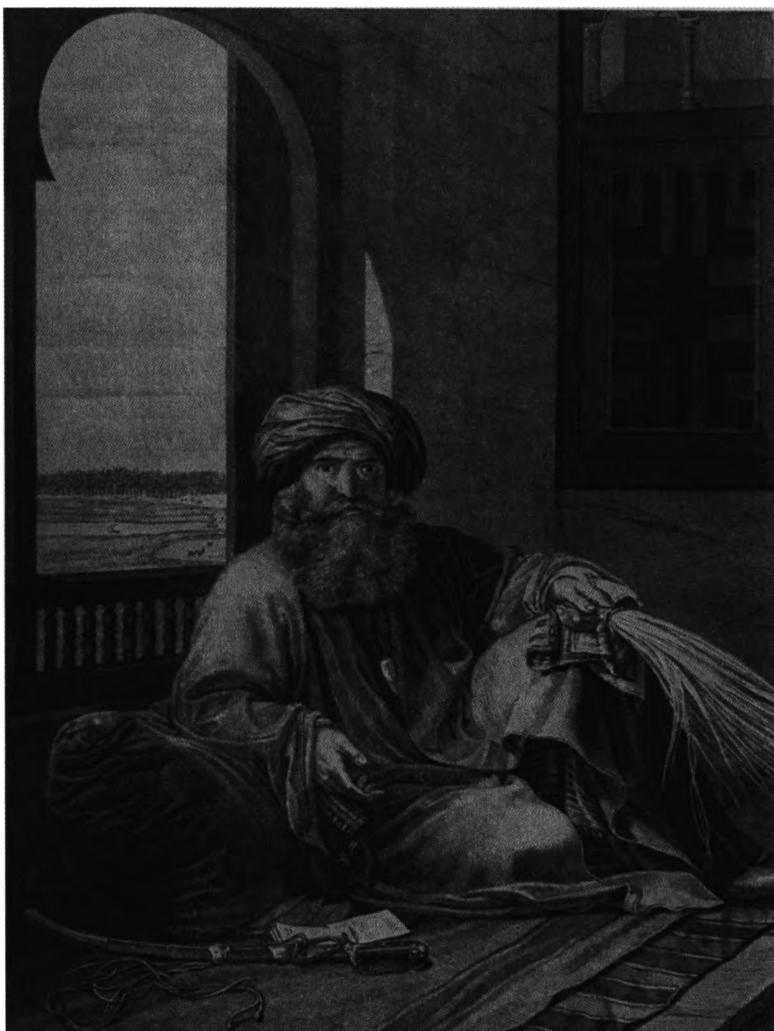
About the Contributors

— 205 —

AL-JABARTI'S CHRONICLE
OF THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS
OF THE FRENCH
OCCUPATION OF EGYPT,
JUNE-DECEMBER 1798
MUHARRAM-RAJAB 1213

TRANSLATED BY S. MOREH





Mourad Bey, head of the Mameluks
(Drawing by Dutertre in "Description de l'Egypte")



THE TRANSLATED TEXT

This is the history of the period of the French in Egypt from the year [A.H.] 1213 until [A.H.] 1216 by the most learned 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Jabartī al-Miṣrī, in his own handwriting, may God have mercy on him.

The year [A.H.] one thousand
two hundred and thirteen [/A.D. 1798]

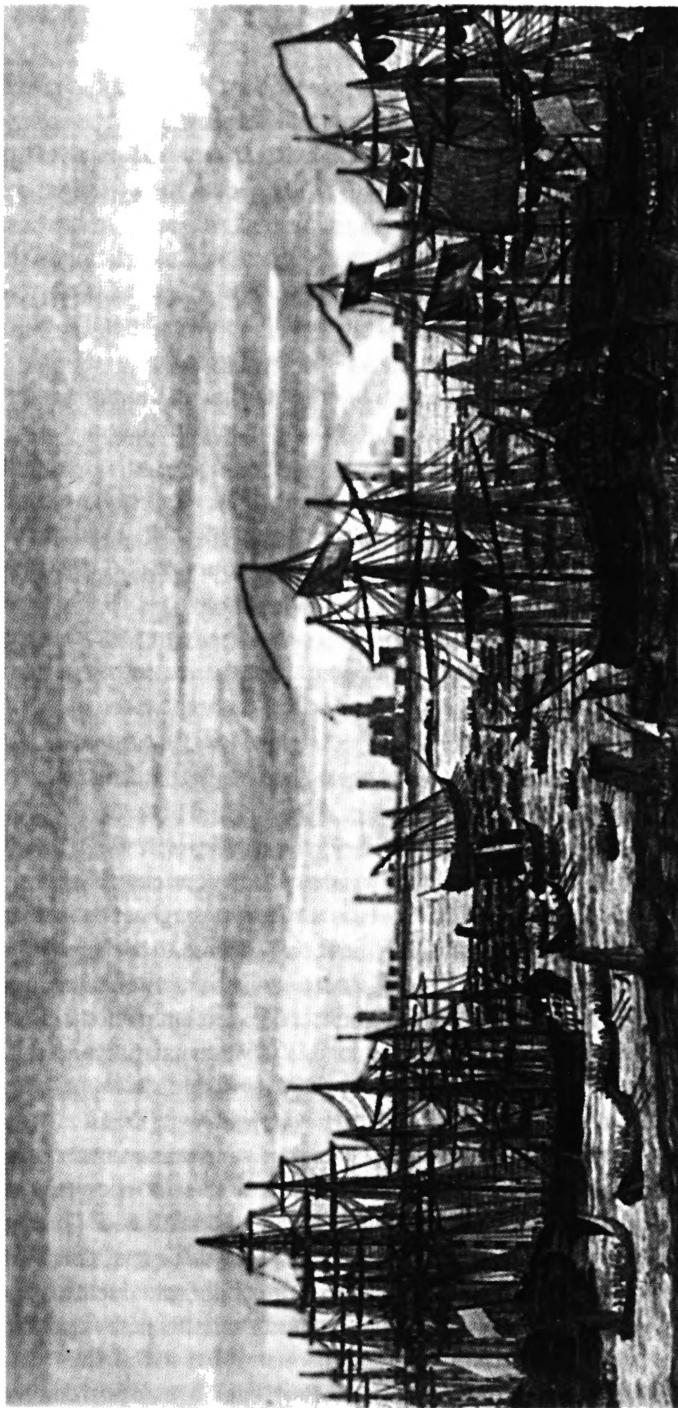
At the beginning of this year the Sultan of Islam was the Sultan Salim ibn Muṣṭafā the Ottoman, and the Pasha of Egypt was Bakr Pasha, the Pasha of al-Shām was 'Abd Allāh Pasha ibn al-'Aḍm and Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār who had been dismissed¹ from al-Shām had fortified himself in Acre, the Grand Vizier was Muḥammad Pasha 'Izzat, the Amirs of Egypt were Ibrāhim Bey² and Murād Bey³ and their Khushdāshs (comrades) who were Sulaymān Bey al-Aghā,⁴ Ibrāhim Bey al-Wāli,⁵ 'Uthmān Bey al-Sharqāwī,⁶ Ayyūb Bey al-Kabīr⁷ (the elder), Ayyūb Bey al-Daftardār,⁸ Aḥmad Bey al-Kilārji,⁹ Muṣṭafā Bey,¹⁰ Şālih Bey¹¹ Amir of the Pilgrimage, and Qāsim Bey Abū Sayf.¹² The Şanjaqs of Ibrāhim Bey were 'Uthmān Bey al-Ashqar,¹³ Marzūq Bey¹⁴ the son of Ibrāhim Bey, 'Abd al-Rahmān Bey,¹⁵ Qāsim Bey al-Mūsquwā,¹⁶ Qāsim Bey¹⁷ Amin al-Bahrayn (the holder of the two ports, old Cairo and Būlāq), Murād Bey al-Şaghīr¹⁸ (the younger), and Rashwān Bey.¹⁹ The Şanjaqs of Murād Bey were Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi,²⁰ 'Uthmān Bey al-Jūkhadār,²¹ 'Uthmān Bey al-Bardisi,²² Salim Bey Abū 'l-Diyāb,²³ Muḥammad Bey al-Manfūkh,²⁴ their Amirs and Kāshifs being too many to list. Moreover, each Kāshif had about fifty *mamlūks*. The deposed Şanjaqs were 'Uthmān Bey Ṭabl al-İsmā'ili,²⁵ Muḥammad Bey al-Mabdūl,²⁶ Bikīr Bey,²⁷ Muḥammad Bey Kishkish, Ḥasan Bey Qaṣaba Riḍwān, Zayn al-Fiqār Bey,²⁸ and others; as well as the rest of the government officials and the Ujāqs.²⁹

Among this year's events: on Sunday the tenth of Muḥarram messengers arrived with letters bearing word that ten European ships had reached the port of Alexandria on Thursday the eighth, and had stopped at such a distance that the inhabitants of the port could see them. A short while later another fifteen ships had appeared. The inhabitants of the port had been awaiting their messenger when suddenly a caique came from these ships bearing ten men. When they reached the shore the people of the town spoke with them asking them who they were. They replied that they were English who had come to enquire about the French. The people of the town told them: 'No French are with us except those who reside in the port'. The English informed them that the French had set out from their country with a great fleet. They further said: 'We are their enemies and do not know in which direction they intend to sail. Perhaps they will attack you suddenly and you will not be able to repel them'. However, al-Sayyid Muḥammad Kurayyim did not believe their words and thought them to be trickery. The English thereupon requested: 'Sell us water and provisions according to their value and we shall stay in our ships lying in wait for them. When they come we shall take care of the matter and save you the trouble'. The above-mentioned Muḥammad Kurayyim declined their offer and said: 'We do not accept what you say nor will we give you anything'. Then he expelled them that God's will might be fulfilled.

Ten days had passed when suddenly the French came. Since the English had come to them, questioned them, and departed from their midst, anxiety and doubts had seized the people of the port, so they sent letters to the Kāshif of al-Buhayra and the bedouin asking that they come and protect them. This letter [sic] was read out before the people and they discussed its [sic] contents among themselves.

On the third day more letters arrived with words that the ships were no longer visible so people calmed down and their prattlings ceased. As for the Amirs, they neither cared nor bothered themselves with this matter.

On Wednesday, the twentieth of Muḥarram, news and letters arrived from the ports of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Damanhūr with word that on Monday the eighteenth, the people of the port suddenly realized that the French and their ships had reached al-‘Ajāmi, and were advancing on the town at daybreak³⁰ by land like a swarm of locusts. The people were excited and their shouts filled the air. Then the inhabitants of the port, the Kāshif of al-Buhayra, and the bedouin who were with him attacked the French and fought them fiercely. As a result



Arrival of the French fleet off the Egyptian coast

a great number of the people of the port were killed and the rest fled. The Kāshif also fled and saved himself. Meanwhile the French continuously increased in number. They scaled the ruined parts of the wall surrounding the port and entered it. The people looked about and suddenly found the French behind them, and withdrew in haste seeking their homes only to discover that the French had occupied the new Manshiyya and had surrounded the walls. The people took refuge in the inns, khāns, and houses and locked themselves in. Others fortified themselves and locked themselves in the big tower and the Citadel, firing continuously for some time from the tops of the houses and windows with bullets, but their gunpowder ran out and they were not at all prepared. The Citadel and tower also were devoid of ammunition. Furthermore they saw / the fire coming at them from every side so they asked for safe-conduct (*amān*) and were granted it. Then the French stopped the fighting and proclaimed safe-conduct. Soon afterwards, the notables of the town went out to the French who received them. Then they raised their flags which are known among them as *bandirāt* (*bandiera*), disarmed the populace, and had them sew their emblem (*cocarde*) on their breasts. Furthermore the French levied impost for the upkeep of the military (*kulaf*) and demanded money.

When the news of these events reached Cairo, alarm took hold of the populace. Ibrāhim Bey thereupon set out on horseback to Qaṣr al-‘Ayni where he met with Murād Bey, the Amirs, the Qādī, and the Shaykhs who came to him, and together they discussed these events. One of the Shaykhs said: ‘All this is a result of negligence in managing the ports and letting things slide, to such a degree that the enemy could occupy the port of Islam’. Murād Bey exclaimed: ‘What can we do, for whenever we want to rebuild and fortify you claim: “their intention is rebellion against the Sultan”, and this is what has prevented us from acting’. Such were their excuses, as frail as a spider’s web,³¹ for since the time of ‘Ali Bey not only did they not pay sufficient attention to the port but even removed what weapons and cannons were already there! Furthermore they stopped the flow of the salaries (*murattabāt*) due to the garrisons (*murābiṭin*), and soldiers stationed (*al-‘askar al-mutaqayyidin*) at the port, took their wages (*‘alūfāt*) and cut off their revenues (*‘awāyid*). As for the weapons, nothing remained except some broken-down cannons which were useless. It happened once that they needed gunpowder to fire the cannon on the Feast but they could not even find enough to load it once so they had to buy powder from the

druggist. All this after Alexandria and its towers had once been extremely well built and fortified with an excellent wall surrounding her; a wall which had been maintained by former generations. Three hundred and sixty towers were incorporated into this wall, corresponding to the days of the year. Every tower had its own ammunition depot, supplies, and garrison. All these were neglected until nothing remained while the wall and its towers fell into ruin, until in some places the walls became level with the ground.

Then they agreed to write a report about what had happened and send it to the government (in Constantinople). They wrote it and the Pasha sent it with his own messenger by land. They believed that the ailing or sick man who had been bitten by a snake would remain in his present state until the antidote would arrive from Iraq.³²

Finally they agreed that an army should set out against the French with Murād Bey as Ṣāri 'Askar (commander-in-chief). People were saying that the moment that Murād Bey arrived at his destination, victory would be theirs. At this point they hastily started preparing and organizing themselves and soon found that they had few supplies so they began to raid the storehouses for water-skins and other things.

On Friday after prayer Murād Bey set out on horseback to al-Jisr al-Aswad and stayed there for two days until his troops, his Amirs, and Ṣanqas had all arrived. Accompanying Murād Bey were 'Ali Pasha al-Ṭarābulī and Naṣūḥ Pasha.

He took a great number of cannons, grenades, and bombs with him as well as a store of gunpowder and cannon balls. In addition a great number of galleon-men and cannoneers set out with Murād Bey's army together with several ships, sea soldiers, and small galleons³³ which he had built. He had built seven galleons, three of which were large ones, imitating the Sultan, and had spent enormous sums of money upon them. He had also manned them with troops and sailors, providing them with supplies and high pay. He had them stationed in front of his palace at Jiza for a long time as decoration to glorify himself before his own people and others. The big galleons which the water could not carry he left behind, and took the small ones, the dhahabiyyas,³⁴ the qanjas,³⁵ and ghurābs.³⁶ Upon reaching al-Jisr al-Aswad he sent to Cairo ordering that an iron chain of great thickness and strength should be made, of a length of one hundred and thirty cubits. He ordered that this chain should be set up at the inlet of Rosetta at the two towers of Mughayzal, stretching from bank to bank so that the French ships

would be prevented from passing into the Nile, this being on the advice of 'Ali Pasha. In addition he commanded that a bridge of boats with barricades and cannons should be erected, on the assumption that the French would not dare to advance rapidly or at least that they could hold them off and endure until they would be able to carry out their plans.

During the course of these events gloom spread among the populace and was felt in the market-places and people withdrew / to their homes from sunset onward. As a result the Aghā and the Wāli publicly called for the reopening of the markets and the coffee-houses and ordered that lamps outside the houses and shops be lit once again. This was done for two reasons: firstly, to dispel the gloom and create an atmosphere of ease and comfort and secondly, out of fear that an alien might have free rein in the town.

On Monday news arrived that the French had reached Damanhūr and Rosetta, bringing about the flight of their inhabitants to Fuwwa and its surroundings. Contained in this news was mention of the French sending notices throughout the country demanding impost for the upkeep of the military. Furthermore they printed a large proclamation in Arabic, calling on the people to obey them and to raise their 'Bandiera'. In this proclamation were inducements, warnings, all manner of wiliness and stipulations. Some copies were sent from the provinces to Cairo and its text is:³⁷

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but God. He has no son, nor has He an associate in His Dominion.

On behalf of the French Republic which is based upon the foundation of liberty and equality, General Bonaparté, Commander-in-Chief of the French armies makes known to all the Egyptian people that for a long time the Ḫanqas who lorded it over Egypt have treated the French community basely and contemptuously and have persecuted its merchants with all manner of extortion and violence. Therefore the hour of punishment has now come.

Unfortunately this group of Mamlūks, imported from the mountains of Circassia and Georgia have acted corruptly for ages in the fairest land that is to be found upon the face of the globe. However, the Lord of the Universe, the Almighty, has decreed the end of their power

O ye Egyptians, they may say to you that I have not made an expedition hither for any other object than that of abolishing your religion; but this is a pure falsehood and you must not give credit to it, but tell the slanderers that I have not come to you except for the purpose of



Bey Mameluk (Lithography by Carle Vernet)

restoring your rights from the hands of the oppressors and that I more than the Mamlüks, serve God — may He be praised and exalted — and revere His Prophet Muḥammad and the glorious Qur’ān.

And tell them also that all people are equal in the eyes of God and the only circumstances which distinguish one from the other are reason, virtue, and knowledge. But amongst the Mamlüks, what is there of reason, virtue, and knowledge, which would distinguish them from others and qualify them alone to possess everything which sweetens life in this world? Wherever fertile land is found it is appropriated to the Mamlüks; and the handsomest female slaves, and the best horses, and the most desirable dwelling-places, all these belong to them exclusively. If the land of Egypt is a fief of the Mamlüks, let them then produce the title-deed, which God conferred upon them. But the Lord of the Universe is compassionate and equitable toward mankind, and with the help of the Exalted, from this day forward no Egyptian shall be excluded from admission to eminent positions nor from acquiring high ranks, therefore the intelligent and virtuous and learned (*‘ulamā’*) amongst them, will regulate / their affairs, and thus the state of the whole population will be rightly adjusted.

Formerly, in the lands of Egypt there were great cities, and wide canals and extensive commerce and nothing ruined all this but the avarice and the tyranny of the Mamlüks.

O ye Qādīs, Shaykhs and Imāms; O ye Shurbājiyya and men of circumstance tell your nation that the French are also faithful Muslims, and in confirmation of this they invaded Rome and destroyed there the Papal See, which was always exhorting the Christians to make war with Islam. And then they went to the island of Malta, from where they expelled the Knights, who claimed that God the Exalted required them to fight the Muslims. Furthermore, the French at all times have declared themselves to be the most sincere friends of the Ottoman Sultan and the enemy of his enemies, may God ever perpetuate his empire! And on the contrary the Mamlüks have withheld their obeisance from the Sultan, and have not followed his orders. Indeed they never obeyed anything but their own greed!

Blessing on blessing to the Egyptians who will act in concert with us, without any delay, for their condition shall be rightly adjusted, and their rank raised. Blessing also, upon those who will abide in their habitations, not siding with either of the two hostile parties, yet when they know us better, they will hasten to us with all their hearts. But woe

upon woe to those who will unite with the Mamlüks and assist them in the war against us, for they will not find the way of escape, and no trace of them shall remain.

First Article

All the villages, situated within three hours' distance from the places through which the French army passes, are required to send to the Commander-in-Chief some persons, deputed by them, to announce to the aforesaid, that they submit and that they have hoisted the French flag, which is white, blue, and red.

Second Article

Every village that shall rise against the French army, shall be burnt down.

Third Article

Every village that submits to the French army must hoist the French flag and also the flag of our friend the Ottoman Sultan, may he continue for ever.

Fourth Article

The Shaykh of each village must immediately seal all property, houses, and possessions, belonging to the Mamlüks, making the most strenuous effort that not the least thing be lost.

Fifth Article

The Shaykhs, Qādis, and Imāms must remain / at their posts, and every countryman shall remain peaceably in his dwelling, and also prayers shall be performed in the mosques as customary and the Egyptians, all of them shall render thanks for God's graciousness, praise be to Him and may He be exalted, in extirpating the power of the Mamlüks, saying with a loud voice, May God perpetuate the glory of the Ottoman Sultan! May God preserve the glory of the French army! May God curse the Mamlüks and rightly adjust the condition of the Egyptian people.

Written in the Camp at Alexandria on the 13th of the month Messidor [the 6th year] of the founding of the French Republic, that is to say toward the end of the month Muḥarram in the year [1213] of the Hijra [2 July 1798].

It ends here word for word. Here is an explanation of the incoherent words and vulgar constructions which he put into this miserable letter.

His statement 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but God. He has no son, nor has He an associate in

His Dominion'. In mentioning these three sentences there is an indication that the French agree with the three religions, but at the same time they do not agree with them, nor with any religion. They are consistent with the Muslims in stating the formula 'In the name of God', in denying that He has a son or an associate. They disagree with the Muslims in not mentioning the two Articles of Faith, in rejecting the mission of Muhammad, and the legal words and deeds which are necessarily recognized by religion. They agree with the Christians in most of their words and deeds, but disagree with them by not mentioning the Trinity, and denying the mission and furthermore in rejecting their beliefs, killing the priests, and destroying the churches. Then, their statement 'On behalf of the French Republic, etc.', that is, this proclamation is sent from their Republic, that means their body politic, because they have no chief or sultan with whom they all agree, like others, whose function is to speak on their behalf. For when they rebelled against their sultan six years ago and killed him, the people agreed unanimously that there was not to be a single ruler but that their state, territories, laws, and administration of their affairs, should be in the hands of the intelligent and wise men among them. They appointed persons chosen by them and made them heads of the army, and below them generals and commanders of thousands, two hundreds, and tens, administrators and advisers, on condition that they were all to be equal and none superior to any other in view of the equality of creation and nature. They made this the foundation and basis of their system. This is the meaning of their statement 'based upon the foundation of liberty and equality'. Their term 'liberty' means that they are not slaves like the Mamlüks; 'equality' has the aforesaid meaning. Their officials are distinguished by the cleanliness of their garments. They wear emblems on their uniforms and upon their heads. For example an Amir of ten has a large rosette³⁸ of silk upon his head / like a big rose. If he is a commander of twenty-five his rosette is of two colours, and if he is a commander of a hundred his rosette is of three colours. His hat which is known as *burnayfa* (It. *borreta*) is embroidered with gold brocade, or he may bear upon his shoulders an emblem of the same. If he has a reputation for daring and is well-known for his heroism and has been wounded several times he receives two badges on his shoulder. They follow this rule: great and small, high and low, male and female are all equal. Sometimes they break this rule according to their whims and inclinations or reasoning. Their women do not veil themselves and have no modesty; they do not

care whether they uncover their private parts. Whenever a Frenchman has to perform an act of nature he does so wherever he happens to be, even in full view of people, and he goes away as he is, without washing his private parts after defecation. If he is a man of taste and refinement³⁹ he wipes himself with whatever he finds, even with a paper with writing on it, otherwise he remains as he is. They have intercourse with any woman who pleases them and vice versa. Sometimes one of their women goes into a barber's shop, and invites him to shave her pubic hair.⁴⁰ If he wishes he can take his fee in kind. It is their custom to shave both their moustaches and beard. Some of them leave the hair of their cheeks only.

They do not shave their heads nor their pubic hair. They mix their foods. Some might even put together in one dish coffee, sugar, arrack,⁴¹ raw eggs, limes, and so on. As for the name 'Bonaparté' this is the title of their general, it is not a name. Its meaning is 'the pleasant gathering', because *Bona* (*Būnā*) means 'pleasant' and *parté* means 'gathering'. His statement 'for a long time' is a redundant adverb (*zarf laghw*) connected with his saying 'have treated' and the implication underlying the statement is that the Ḫanqāqs who are ruling over Egypt have been treating for a long time, etc. *Ḩanājīq* is the plural of *Ḩanājāq*, he is so called with reference to the banner which is displayed over his head. Sometimes the *sād* is changed into *sīn*. The correct form of '*yatasalṭanū*' is *yatasalṭanūn* (to rule), because there is no reason to omit the *nūn*. The same applies to *yata'āmalū* (to treat). His statement 'basely and contemptuously' is connected with an elision which again is connected with his statement *fī ḥaqq*, and the implication is that 'they give treatment with baseness and contempt'. But if he were to say *yū'āmilūn al-Faransāwiyya bi 'l-dhull wa 'l-iḥtiqār* (they treat the French basely and contemptuously), it would be most excellently and succinctly expressed. In fact the French are more deserving of such a treatment. His statement *Fahādara* (Therefore has come) there is no reason for this *fā* here. Good style would require *wa-qad ḥadara* (it has come). The word *al-ān* (now) is in the accusative, being an adverb modifying the verb *ḥadara* (has come) and *sā'a* (the hour) is a subject. So the meaning is: 'the hour of their punishment has now come'. It is much better to delete the word now (*al-ān*), the adverb being redundant, because *al-ān* is a noun denoting present time, and it is the same as the hour of punishment. It requires some constraint to turn it into a simple adverb of time, may God afflict them with every calamity. His statement *Wā hasratān* (Un-

fortunately), probably it is *wa-khuşuşan* (especially), because this word has no place here, / for *wā hasratān* is a word expressing affliction and the context does not permit it here. Its occurrence here is like animal droppings on the road or a boulder in a mountain pass, may God afflict the man who composed it with break-bone fever⁴² and may God expose him to all sorts of destruction. His statement 'for ages' is connected with his statement 'have acted corruptly' (*yufsidū*) which is corrupt like all former and later verbs in the imperfect, because the *nūn* has been omitted. The expression should be read as *yufsidūn min muddat 'uṣūr* (they have been corrupting for ages). He qualifies the ages as long in order to clarify and explain. However, '*uṣūr*' is the plural of '*āṣr*' (age), '*āṣr*' means time, and so if they are numerous ages they are long. The correct form of *al-majlūbīn* is *al-majlūbūn* (imported), because it is an adjective qualifying the *zumra* (group), or it is *na't maqṭū'* (an adjective cut off from its qualified noun).

His statement *alladhi yūwjad* (that is to be found) should be *alladhi lā yūwjad* (that is not to be found). The expression is not complete without *lā*.

His statement *fa-ammā Rabb al-ālamīn* (However the Lord of the Universe) is recommencement: 'the Almighty', (indeed He is), and one aspect and clear sign of His great power is bringing these devils to the fertile land of the kings and sultans, and their discomfiture and their destruction.

His saying *qad ḥattama* etc. (has decreed) shows that they are appointing themselves controllers of God's secrets, but there is no disgrace worse than disbelief. *Yā ayyuhā 'l-Misriyyīn* should be *al-Misriyyūn*, because it is a vocative.

His statement '*qad yaqūlū lakum*' (they may say) refers to those who fabricate lies against us.

His saying *fī hādhā 'l-taraf* (hither), means 'this part of the earth'. His statement *wa-qūlū li 'l-muftariyīn* (but tell the slanderers) is the plural of *muftari* (slanderer) which means liar, and how worthy of this description they are. The proof of that is his saying 'I have not come to you except for the purpose of restoring your rights from the hands of the oppressors', which is the first lie he uttered and a falsehood which he invented. Then he proceeds to something even worse than that, may God cast him into perdition, with his words: 'I more than the Mamlūks serve God ...'. There is no doubt that this is a derangement of his mind, and an excess of foolishness. What a worship he is speaking about,

however great its intensity, *kufr* (disbelief) had dulled his heart, and prevented him from reaching the way of his salvation. There is inversion in the words which should read *innanī a'budu Allāh akthar min al-Mamālik* (I serve God more than the Mamlūks do). However, it is possible that there is no inversion, and that the meaning is 'I have more troops or more money than the Mamlūks' and that 'the accusative of specification has been omitted. So his words 'I serve God' are a new sentence and a new lie.

His statement '[I] revere His Prophet' is conjoined to what goes before, as one lie joined to another, because if he respected him he would believe in him, accept his truth, and respect his nation. His statement *al-Qur'ān al-'azīm* (the glorious Qur'ān) is joined to 'His Prophet', that is, 'I respect the glorious Qur'ān', and this too is a lie, because to respect the Qur'ān means to glorify it, and one glorifies it by believing / in what it contains. The Qur'ān is one of the miracles of the Prophet which proves his truth, and that he is the Prophet to the end of time, and that his nation is the most noble of all nations. These people deny all that and lie in every thing they enumerate, 'And many as are the signs in the Heavens and on the Earth, yet they will pass them by, and turn aside from them'.⁴³

His saying '[all people] are equal in the eyes of God' the Almighty, this is a lie and stupidity. How can this be when God has made some superior to others as is testified by the dwellers in the Heavens and on the Earth?

In his statement *fa-huwa al-'aql* (it is the reason), there is no place for the *fā*, except that it is put in through the ignorance of the writer.

His statement *wa-bayn al-Mamālik*, the word *bayn* is out of place and makes the language even more corrupt.

His saying *mā 'l-'aql* (what is there of reason), is a subject and predicate, and a rhetorical question. In this sentence there is an omission, that is 'to them', and the meaning is that the Mamlūks have no Reason.

His statement *kamā yahlū* (everything which sweetens) is an object to his word *yatamallakū* (to possess). His statement *Haythumā* (wherever) is a new sentence, mentioned to enumerate the favours which the Mamlūks obtained.

His statement *fa 'l-yuwarrūnā* (let them then produce), this is a colloquial word which is not in accordance with Arabic style. His saying 'the title-deed, which God conferred upon them': this is base ignorance

and *kufr* (heresy), because God does not give men possession of anything by writing a title-deed. What he means is that the people pass the country from hand to hand from their masters as these Mamlūks did, or from their masters' successors, or by conquest and compulsion. Prefixing *lākin* with *fa* is proof of ungrammatical language. The word *lākin* is as ungrammatical language as is the prefixing of *fa*.

As for his statement '*alā 'l-bashar* (toward mankind), it is more correct to say *bi 'l-bashar*, because the verb *ra'afa* (to show mercy) introduces its object with *bi*, but the verb '*adala* is intransitive.

His saying *bi-'awnih* (with the help of) is connected with his statement *lā yustathnā aḥad* (no one shall be excluded from) and so is his saying *min al-yawm* (from this day).

His statement *al-manāṣib al-sāmiya* (eminent positions), that means *al-murtafi'a* (elevated). This is in order to avert blame from themselves by giving high posts of authority to the low and vulgar people among them, as for example their appointment of Barṭulmān (Barthélémy) the artilleryman to the post of Katkhudā Mustahfīzān. He says 'and thus the state of the whole population will be rightly adjusted'. Yes, that is to say, under the administration of wise and intelligent men. But they did not appoint them. The word *Muslimīn* should be *Muslimūn* in the nominative. The point of putting the word in the *naṣb* (accusative) has already been mentioned. There is another point namely: that their Islam is *naṣb* (fraud).

As for his statement 'and destroyed there the Papal See', by this deed they have gone against the Christians as has already been pointed out. So those people are opposed to both Christians and Muslims, and do not hold fast to any religion. You see that they are materialists, who deny all God's attributes, the Hereafter and Resurrection, and who reject Prophethood and Messengership. They believe that the world was not created, and that the heavenly bodies and the occurrences of the Universe are influenced by the movement of the stars, and that nations appear and states decline, according to the nature of the conjunctions and the aspects of the moon. Some believe in transmigration of souls, or other fantasies. For this reason they do not slaughter ritually any animal they eat / or behead any man, before having killed them, so that the parts of his soul may not be separated and scattered, so as not to be whole in another body, and similar nonsense and erroneous beliefs. The word *sanjāq* should be *sanjaq* without the *ā*.

His statement *btā' al-Mamālik* (belonging to the Mamlūks) is des-

picable and a banal and trite word. The word *muṣma'in* should be *muṣma'inan* because it is *ḥāl* (circumstantial expression), and converting it to the nominative (*rafi'*) incorrectly is an indication of their state, and their insignificance. May God hurry misfortune and punishment upon them, may He strike their tongues with dumbness, may He scatter their hosts, and disperse them, confound their intelligence, and cause their breath to cease. He has the power to do that, and it is up to Him to answer.

On Thursday the twenty-eighth, news arrived that the French had advanced towards Fuwwa and then al-Rāḥmāniyya.

On Sunday the first of Ṣafar, news came that on Friday the twenty-ninth the Egyptian army had encountered that of the French but after a short while Murād Bey and his army were routed for they were not able to hold their ground. However only a small number of men from both armies were killed. The *dhayabiyya* of Murād Bey went up in flames, arsenal, equipment, and all. The commander of the artillery was also burnt to death. When Murād Bey saw what had happened, he ran away, leaving all his belongings and a number of cannons. His soldiers immediately followed suit and indeed there was a great number with him. Once news of these events spread, great alarm took hold of the people and Ibrāhim Bey set out on horseback for Būlāq, where the Shaykhs and men of distinction gathered around him. There they discussed this event, and arrived at a joint decision to erect fortifications extending from Būlāq to Shubrā. Ibrāhim Bey and the Pasha were to take position behind these barricades together with their Ṣanqaqs: Ibrāhim Bey the younger, Sulaymān Bey, Ayyūb Bey the elder, Qāsim Bey, Qāsim Bey the second, Marzūq Bey, 'Uthmān Bey al-Ashqar, and others bringing with them their Kāshifs and Amirs.

On Monday, Murād Bey disembarked at the Jiza, where he began setting up entrenchments on the west bank, extending from Bashtil to the end of Inbāba. He undertook this task with his Ṣanqaqs, Amirs, and a group of his Khushdāshs, attending personally to the management and organization of affairs together with 'Ali Pasha al-Tarābulsi. He began to pay the soldiers out of his own pocket. Naṣūḥ Pasha was also with him. All the while they moved their household effects from their large houses to smaller ones, and on to ships bearing southward. They sent for camels to bear their loads. On Tuesday, a general call to arms was proclaimed, and the people were summoned to the entrenchments. This call was repeated / time and time again. People closed their shops and markets, and everyone was in an uproar. The noise and confusion were very great. Some of the people said that this was by Imperial



The battle of the Pyramids: Mourad Bey leading the Dugua division
(Detail of a picture by Vivant Denon)

order and that the French were accompanied by Pashas sent by the Sultan. Most of the rural population and fallahin believed this because of the proclamation mentioned above which the French distributed throughout the country. The Shaykhs, the dignitaries, and the common people set out with clubs and arms. The price of arms, gunpowder, and bullets increased greatly.

The price of a *rafl* of gunpowder rose to sixty *paras* (*nisf fidda*), and that of bullets ninety *dirhams*; the same applied even to clubs.

People set up at Büläq, some in houses, some in mosques, and some in tents. As for the common people, and those who couldn't find a place to stay, they would retire to their own houses at night, returning to the camp in the morning. Ibrāhim Bey sent for the bedouin such as the tribes of Bili, al-Huwaytāt, al-Şawāliha, al-Habāyba and others. He commanded them to take the front positions. In addition the bedouin of al-Hannādī, some of the bedouin of Upper Egypt, al-Khabīrī, Ṭarhūna, and others, came to Murād Bey's camp. Thus every day the throng increased and the terror with them. The city was vacated, the dust accumulated in the market-places, because there was no one to sweep them or to splash water, and the shops were abandoned. Gangs of thugs looting, as well as other hooligans, thieves, pickpockets, robbers, highwaymen, all having a field day. Relations between people ceased, and all dealings and business came to a standstill. The roads in the city became insecure, not to mention those outside it. Violence flared up in the countryside, and people began to kill each other. They stole cattle and plundered fields. They set fire to the barns and sought to avenge old hatreds and blood feuds, and so on.

Moreover, in the same month, they sought out the Europeans who were living in Egypt, such as the French and Austrians, and then imprisoned some of them in the Citadel, and others in the houses of the Amirs. They began to search for arms in places belonging to the Europeans. They repeated the proclamation that everyone was to go to the entrenchments while every day the news and rumours increased about the advancing French. And on Friday the sixth of the month, the French reached al-Jisr al-Aswad. The people gathered on the banks, but most of the crowd formed on that of Büläq. Meanwhile, the religious orders of mendicants (*saqirs*) and the dervish banner-bearers also set out with their banners, flags, and clamour.

When Saturday morning dawned, and the French reached Umm Dinār, the crowds thickened and the alarm increased, and an innumerable throng surpassing all description gathered at Büläq and on its outskirts

and in the southern and northern districts. A crowd also formed on the bank of Inbāba, but smaller in number. The Ghuzz, the soldiers, and the Mamlūks gathered on the two banks, but they were irresolute, and were at odds with one another, being divided in opinion, envious of each other, frightened / for their lives, their well-being, and their comforts; immersed in their ignorance and self-delusion; arrogant and haughty in their attire and presumptuousness; afraid of decreasing in number, and pompous in their finery, heedless of the results of their action; contemptuous of their enemy, unbalanced in their reasoning and judgement. They were unlike the other group, that is the French, who were a complete contrast in everything mentioned above. They acted as if they were following the tradition of the Community (of Muḥammad) in early Islam and saw themselves as fighters in a holy war. They never considered the number of their enemy too high, nor did they care who among them was killed. Indeed they considered anyone who fled a traitor to his community, and an apostate to his faith and creed. They follow the orders of their commander and faithfully obey their leader. Their only shade is the hat on their head and their only mount their own two feet. Their food and drink is but a morsel and a sip, hanging under their arms. Their baggage and change of clothing hang on their backs like a pillow and when they sleep they lie on it as is usual. They have signs and signals among themselves which they all obey to the letter.

The assumption was that they would approach from both banks of the river, but during the midday rest of the above-mentioned Saturday a band of Egyptian soldiers rode in the direction of Bashtil and met the French, charging upon them, so the French fired at them in successive volleys. Then the Egyptians retreated to the area of the entrenchments. The cannons were fired from both sides. So a group of Amirs on horseback began to cross to the western bank. They jostled each other on the ferry-boats. There was only one crossing-place, but it was filled with beams of timber. Also some *qawāwis* and *harāiq* boats were there, ready for pleasure trips, but because of their bad planning and mismanagement, they had not prepared themselves for crossing. Moreover, a side wind increased in force, and the waves reached a peak of turmoil. The sand rose in clouds, which the wind blew into the faces of the Egyptian soldiers. Some crossed and waited for the horses, but others were kept back by the wind, and their boats got stuck in the sand-bank which was in the middle of the river, hidden by the height of the water. As for the French, a troop of them approached the Egyptian entrench-

ment from the front. The Egyptians mounted their horses and fought them. While they were engaged with this troop of French soldiers they did not notice that suddenly another group infiltrated the western channel and appeared behind the entrenchments, firing cannons.

The Egyptians went back and fought with them for about three-quarters of an hour and the rifles of the French were like a boiling pot on a fierce fire. Then the Egyptians were defeated and fled back to al-Jiza. Murād Bey went up to his place and attended to his affairs for about a quarter of an hour; then he rode southwards, his soldiers and his Mamlūks following him. Meanwhile, the bank of Būlāq had become a seething mass of people of every description, high and low. They formed into groups, chewing their fingers out of distress and sorrow because they could not cross in the absence of ferry-boats. All that they were able to do was to raise cries of 'O God, O God', and 'Our sufficiency is God, and He is an excellent protector',⁴⁴ and the like. Their clamour and tumult / reached such a peak that it seemed as if they were fighting a battle of noise and yells.

When Ibrāhim Bey, the Pasha, and those who were with them at the entrenchments saw that the people on the western bank were defeated not only did they not stand firm in their positions, but they took to flight on horseback abandoning the entrenchments, tents, cannons, and all, setting out in the direction of al-‘Ādiliyya. Then the French, once they had captured the western entrenchments and the galleons of Murād Bey, immediately directed the mouths of the cannons towards the eastern bank and furthermore shot at the Egyptians with bullets. When the people saw that Ibrāhim Bey and his followers had fled and that the continuous barrages of fire were directed towards them, they themselves fled to Būlāq and towards Cairo. In their great alarm they took to their heels and ran like the waves of the sea in such a way that the cleverest among them became he who ran faster than his neighbour. Most of the notables abandoned their [field] kitchens, tents, and furnishings. The dust which covered the area thickened around them because of the force of their tramping, their great number, and the strength of the wind, blinding them and throwing them into confusion. Their cries and lamentings rose up from far and near. They entered the city crowd after crowd and the women, singly and in pairs, wailed from the windows. People bumped into one another, the yelling, clamour, and rage becoming tremendous. Most of them made up their minds to vacate the city and leave Cairo. Some of them exclaimed: 'Let us go to al-Shām', others

cried out: 'Let us go to Upper Egypt or the Suez!'. When Ibrāhīm Bey reached al-Ādiliyya he sent for his womenfolk and those of the Amirs and others who were with him. Most of the Mamlūks left on foot, leading their women on horses. Some of them rode bareback. Two or three young Mamlūks could be seen riding on one horse. When the sun set that day the French were in al-Jīza. Glory be to God, the Doer, the Almighty.

Nobody died in that battle except Ayyūb Bey al-Daftardār and Ibrāhīm Bey al-Wāli, who threw himself with his horse into the river and was drowned. In addition three Kāshifs and about twenty Mamlūks perished, and a number of them were taken prisoner. Some of the galleon soldiers ('askar ghaylūnjiyya), and common people died as well. So the Egyptian army altogether disappointed whatever hopes had been placed in it and brought upon themselves both the fires of Hell and disgrace; 'judgement is with God, the One, the Almighty'.⁴⁵

Night fell and the inhabitants of the city were in a great confusion and a fantastic uproar, moving things from place to place, carrying and transporting. In the evening, a rumour spread among the people that the French had crossed to Būlāq and had put it to the torch, as well as al-Jīza. The fear and terror of the populace waxed greater than ever, the reason being that some of the sailors had set fire to one of the three galleons belonging to Murād Bey, on the bank of Inbāba. When Murād Bey left al-Jīza he ordered that the big galleon be towed southward but south of al-Jīza the Nile was muddy for the water was shallow there. There was a great number of war-machines and much ammunition in this galleon, and for this reason he ordered it to be set on fire. The flames swelled up towards the clouds, and when the people of the city beheld the blaze of the fire from the direction of al-Jīza and Būlāq, they thought, or rather, were certain that the French had set fire to both places. So the people were in great confusion and perplexity in addition to the fear, panic, and alarm which possessed them. Some made up their minds to move and took counsel to this effect. Some were determined to leave, while others decided to stay where they were. Still others concealed their decision from their friends and neighbours, trying to escape from their relatives and companions, fearing lest they say: 'Take me' or 'Carry me with you'. Thus they deceived their fellows and travelled with those who were leaving. / When the first watch of the night had elapsed one of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwi's⁴⁶ friends advised him to depart, because the French had reached Bāb al-Hadid,

crossed it, and set it on fire, and were at that moment looting there, killing the residents of that quarter, and raping their women. He went on to say 'If we hesitate, they will reach us within two hours'. So Shaykh 'Abd Allāh sent someone to Shaykh al-Sādāt to alarm him, and arouse his anxiety, and urge him to ride away quickly. So he carried [with him] those possessions which were portable and necessary, and set out with him on horseback from Bāb al-Barqiyya. Others who rode out that night were Shaykh 'Umar al-Naqib, Shaykh al-Amir,⁴⁷ Shaykh al-Bakri,⁴⁸ the Ruzmānji⁴⁹ (Controller), a number of effendis, grandees, notables and merchants and the like, taking their womenfolk with them. When the news spread among the common people about their riding off they became even more anxious and frightened than before and they determined to escape and follow them in their flight. But the fact remained that the notables did not know which road to take, in which direction to go, or in which place to settle. Meanwhile the common people vied with one another in leaving their homes, residences, and living quarters, appearing from all directions and calling out to each other. One would exclaim 'Come down, O Ḥajj Muḥammad', or 'Come along, Abū 'Ali!'. In a like manner the women shouted to their friends and acquaintances, addressing them by name and *kunya*. One of them would say: 'Come down, Umm Ḥasan!', 'Come along Umm 'Aisha! Bring your daughter and come on!', and things of this kind, as if they thought that the people were going on an outing to al-Rawḍa and the Nilometer. A large number of people left in this way; those who found no mount on which to ride or on which to load their household possessions, left on foot, carrying their baggage on their heads. Those who had the means and could find a donkey or some other beast, bought it at several times its value. Some went on foot themselves while their wives or daughters rode! Most of the women left unveiled, carrying their children in the darkness of night, and continued in this fashion all through Sunday night and the next morning. They took with them all the money, baggage, and household furnishings they could carry, but once they had left the gates of Cairo behind, and were in the open countryside the bedouin and fallaḥin confronted them, plundering most of them, robbing them of their possessions, their camels, and their money, in such great quantities as to be innumerable and incalculable: so much that without a doubt the property which left Cairo on that night was greater than that which remained in it. This was because most of the property was in the possession of the Amīrs, grandees, and

notables, together with their womenfolk; and in the heat of their excitement they had taken it all.

Most of those who were of modest means and those who were well off also left with whatever they had, while others who were hindered by disability or were too lazy to depart and who had any money or jewellery which was dear to them gave it to a neighbour or friend among those escaping. And the same applied to deposits and trusts belonging to the North African pilgrims and travellers, all of which were lost. Sometimes they killed anyone they could, or whoever did not easily surrender his clothing and possessions. They stripped the women of their clothing and violated them, including ladies and noblewomen. Some of the people returned home very soon after, and those were the ones who had delayed and heard what befell the first group. Others took a chance and went on, relying on their great numbers, supporters and guards, either surviving or perishing. During that night, things happened the like of which had never occurred in Cairo, neither did we ever hear of anything which resembled any of them in the earlier histories. As for Shaykh al-Sādāt⁵⁰ and Shaykh al-Sharqāwī, / when they saw this state of affairs and when the bedouin took two camels with their loads from the latter, they turned to al-Maṭariyya and sent for Abū Ṭawila who arrived and warded off the bedouin who were surrounding them from all sides, and then continued to protect the two Shaykhs. Meanwhile Sayyid ‘Umar al-Naqib, Shaykh al-Amīr, and Shaykh Sālim Mas‘ūd, the chief of the Maghrib residence (at al-Azhar), all went to the camp of Ibrāhīm Bey, after (the bedouin) had taken the possessions of Shaykh Sālim and those of his womenfolk as well as deposits which they had with them, all of which were lost. Sunday morning found the people surging like waves against each other, expecting disaster to strike, but it became clear that the French had not crossed over to the eastern bank, and that the fire came from the ships which were mentioned before. At this point a group of scholars and others assembled at al-Azhar and deliberated amongst themselves. They agreed to send a letter to the French and await the reply. So they sent for one of the notables of Tripoli, a man called ‘Ali Bey, who was resident in Cairo and knew the French language and with him they sent another man from the Maghrib residence in al-Azhar and yet another from among the ‘ulamā’ (*min al-muta‘ammimīn*).⁵¹ They went to Būlāq with the intention of boarding a boat to the western bank. But it happened that the French fired some cannons by accident, so they did not dare to cross, and went

back. But that Maghribi, known as Abū 'l-Qāsim, took the letter and crossed to the opposite bank where he met with their chief and gave him the letter. The chief then asked through the translator 'Why didn't one of your Shaykhs come to us?'. He answered 'I came here to get permission for them to come and obtain safe-conduct both for them and for the people'. The chief replied: 'We have already sent you a letter which should suffice, and we won't write another one'. So the above-mentioned Abū 'l-Qāsim went back and informed the Shaykhs, saying 'A group of your notables must surely go'. So the Shaykhs Muṣṭafā al-Ṣāwī, Sulaymān al-Fayyūmī,⁵² and others went and crossed to the bank of Inbāba. But they found that the French had gone to the palace of Murād Bey in al-Jiza. So they went after them and met their chief who received them very honourably and smiled at them, giving assurances of safe-conduct. They said 'We want you to write an assurance of safe-conduct for the people'. He replied 'We have already sent it to you'. They reiterated 'It is essential that we get it so that the people and the subject be set at ease'. So they wrote another paper for them, saying 'From the camp of al-Jiza, addressed to the people of Cairo. We have already sent you a letter which should suffice. We stated that we came here only for the purpose of exterminating the Mamlūks who treated the French in a humiliating manner and contemptuously, and who robbed the merchants and the Sultan of their property. When we reached the western bank, they came out against us, so we received them as befitted them. We killed some of them and imprisoned others, who are now with us. Some of them escaped and we are searching for them and will continue until not a single one of them remains in Egypt. But the Shaykhs, the '*ulamā'*, the people of rank, and the subjects will be left in peace', and thus the letter went on until the end with their twisted words and pompous expressions. Then he told them: 'I want seven of you to become advisers and administrators, who will appear every day before the man in charge of the *Diwān*; and another two to act as couriers and to carry out various tasks. You must also appoint people to be in charge of the various functions of government and administration'. They told him 'Our leading Shaykhs panicked and left Cairo'. He asked 'What for? Write to them and call them back'. So they wrote several letters of safe-conduct, on his authority ordering them to present themselves, and that meeting continued until sunset. Meanwhile, the people were saying 'We wonder what has happened to them'. When the Shaykhs returned in the evening with those messages and in

front of them a herald declaring safe-conduct, the people felt somewhat reassured. Next morning they sent those letters of safe-conduct to the Shaykhs with the result that Shaykh al-Sādāt and al-Sharqāwī arrived / from al-Maṭariyya, as well as al-Bakrī who came from where he had been last Thursday. But al-Naqīb did not trust the letter, and went with Ibrāhīm Bey. The same happened with Shaykh Sālim and the Ruznāmji and those who were with them, such as 'Uthmān Efendi al-'Abbāsī, Muḥammad Efendi the second *qalfa*,⁵³ and others. Shaykh al-Amīr did not arrive either.

On that day the loafers and the rabble gathered into a mob and plundered the house of Ibrāhīm Bey, as well as that of Murād Bey in Qaysūn which they burned down. They also plundered several houses of the Amīrs and stole their contents, such as bedding, copper vessels, furniture, and other things, selling them at the cheapest prices.

On Thursday 13 Ṣafar they convened with the chief of the Diwān and appointed for the presidency of the Diwān ten persons, namely Shaykh al-Sharqāwī, Shaykh al-Bakrī, Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Ṣawī, Shaykh Sulaymān al-Fayyūmī, Shaykh Mūsā al-Sīrsī,⁵⁴ Shaykh Muḥammad al-Mahdī,⁵⁵ Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Damānhūrī,⁵⁶ Shaykh Aḥmad al-'Arīshī,⁵⁷ Shaykh Yūsuf al-Shubrakhītī, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Dawākhīlī. However, Shaykh al-Sādāt did not come with them because of a slight indisposition resulting from this affair and related events. The Katkhudā (deputy, lieutenant) al-Bāshā and the Qādī al-'Askar also came. They made Muḥammad Aghā al-Muṣlimānī Katkhudā Muṣtaḥfiẓān, 'Ali Aghā al-Sha'rāwī the Wāli, and Ḥasan Aghā Muḥarram the Muḥtasib (market superintendent), this after a long argument in which the French said that no one of Mamlūk stock could hold a position. The Shaykhs replied that the people of Cairo feared only the Mamlūk race and that the above-mentioned were of the veteran Shūrbajis⁵⁸ and the old (Mamlūk) houses.⁵⁹ They appointed as Katkhudā⁶⁰ to the Ṣāri 'Askar Zayn al-Fiqār the Katkhudā of Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi. Among the French counsellors Caffé and Geloī⁶¹ and the deputy of the *dawāwīn al-mukūs* (customs duty bureaux) was Ḥanna Benoît.⁶² On that day, General Bonaparte crossed to the Cairo side and settled in al-Azbakiyya in the house of Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi, who had built and constructed it in al-Sākit district that same year. Moreover he had furnished it splendidly and has laid down fine carpets. The women left, abandoning all that it contained. The French entered it, stepping on the carpets with their shoes and sandals as was their custom, since they never take off their



Bonaparte entering Cairo (Engraving by Raffet)

shoes with which they tread upon filth, not even when they sleep! Among their repulsive habits also is their practice of spitting and blowing their noses upon the furnishings. Their etiquette, however, is such that whenever one of them blows his nose or spits he rubs it with his shoes and so on.

During that day the members of the *Diwān* went to the house of the chief of the *Diwān*, wherein he told them about the plundering of houses which had taken place. They replied 'Those who acted thus are mere rabble and riff-raff'. The French asked 'Why are they doing this after we ordered you to guard the houses, to seal off the property of the Mamlūks, and to stop those who oppose this effectively?'. They replied 'This is a matter which we had not the power to prevent, for indeed it is the business of the rulers'. So the *Wāli* and the *Aghā* went

and declared safe-conduct, and asked the people to open the shops and to stop the plundering. But they did not stop and the shops continued to be closed, the markets empty, and the roads dusty. The French started to open the houses of the Amirs, to enter and loot them to their hearts' content, then depart, leaving the doors open. After them the rabble entered and cleaned out what remained. This went on for several days. Then they sought out the houses of the Amirs and their *mamlüks* (*atbā'*)⁶³ sealing off some of them and occupying others. The members of the corps of Ujāqs and inhabitants who feared for their houses hung a flag on their doors and got a handwritten paper (from the French) which they posted on their doors, without knowing what was written on it.

In that month they invested Barthélemy, the European soldier, as Katkhudā Mustahfiżān. He was one of the lowliest of the European soldiers living in Cairo. He served with the artillerymen of Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi. He had a shop in al-Mūski where he sold long-necked glass bottles in his spare time. He was known as *Farf al-Rummān* (Pomegranate Seeds). When he was invested with this post at the house of the Ṣāri 'Askar, he went out in a procession / riding a horse with its saddle decked with a decorated cover (*qallā'iyya*).⁶⁴ In front of him marched a great number of soldiers whom they had assigned to him; among these were the Ghuzz, unemployed soldiers, and the Ilqashāt,⁶⁵ all of them Muslims. Upon his head he wore a rose of silk, and servants with silver lances surrounded him. He had a Biyuk Bāshi and guards and every senior had several soldiers under him. Then they allocated places to them in which they were to live. All of them were under his supreme authority. He took the house of Yahyā Kāshif al-Kabīr which belonged to Ibrāhīm Bey and occupied it with all the furniture, household effects, and slave girls in it. They appointed another Frenchman and made him Amin al-Baḥrāyn (the holder of the two ports of Old Cairo and Būlāq), and another whom they appointed *Aghāt al-Risāla* (delivery Aghā), and others to Sawāhil al-Ghilla (the river banks of the granaries), and the special *Diwān*. The chief of the *Diwān* occupied the house of Qāyit Aghā in al-Azbakiyya, where the *Diwān* meets, and the Shaykhs and others attend. The Governor (Qā'im Maqām) of Cairo known as Dupuy settled in the house of Ibrāhīm Bey al-Wāli, Shaykh al-Balad,⁶⁶ in the house of Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr, Magallon in that of Murād Bey at the quay of al-Khashshāb and the Ruznāmji in the old house of Shaykh al-Bakrī. The Copts used to assemble at his place. They asked for the

registers of the Ruznāma and kept them. The Daftardār and others also (used to assemble there). All of them were Europeans. Moreover their soldiers entered the city gradually, until the streets were full of them. They lived in the houses and the quarters stank of them, but they did not disturb anybody, and they used to buy goods at artificially high prices. They sold one egg for one *para*, while before they had been four at one *para*. The people opened several shops next to them for all kinds of foodstuffs such as pastry, cakes, fried fish, and the like. The Greek Christian grocers opened several shops for selling alcoholic beverages such as wine and arrack, and several taverns and coffee-houses, and pedlars (also came). This became very excessive.

In that (month) the Shaykhs pleaded for the prisoners of the Mamlüks. They accepted their plea and released them. The prisoners, who numbered about twelve, entered the Mosque of al-Azhar in the worst condition, wearing torn blue clothes. They remained there living on the charitable gifts of the students of al-Azhar and begging from the passers-by. In that there is a moral for those who pay heed.

On Saturday they held the Diwān. The outcome was a request for a loan amounting to five hundred thousand *riyāls*: two hundred thousand from the coffee merchants, one hundred thousand from the Shāmi Christians, the same from the European merchants, and the same from the Copt secretaries. They asked for a reduction but it was impossible; so they began to collect the amount.

And on that day, they called upon anyone who had taken goods from the looted houses ordering him to bring the stolen property to the residence of the Qā'im Maqām lest most unfortunate consequences befall him. In addition they proclaimed a safe-conduct for the wives of the Amirs, telling them to return to live in their own houses and declare what they held of their husbands' property. In case they did not hold any of their husbands' property, they should come to settle the terms of their return so that they then might reside safely in their homes. Consequently, Nafisa, the wife of Murād Bey appeared out of hiding and came to a settlement (*ṣālahat*) on behalf of herself and her followers among the wives of the Amirs and Kāshifs, at a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand [*riyāl*] *farānsa* of which two hundred thousand *riyāls* were on her own behalf.

She began to raise the required funds from other women as well as from her own means. The French directed their request for money to her and in the same way to the rest of the women through intermediaries,

and in this manner they collected a great deal. As a result the function of the Diwān became simply the prevention of criminal acts, financial settlements, and the writing of letters of safe-conduct for the Ghuzz who were hiding in the villages so that they would present themselves and come to a settlement. Many of those who acted as intermediaries profited from this situation, as for example the Shāmi Christians, resident Europeans, and the like, who soon started making promises and dire threats, playing tricks, and so on, actions which are too diverse to be described at length.

On Sunday they demanded horses, camels, and weapons and thus collected a good number of these, even cows / and oxen, and as in the case of the settlements they collected a great deal.

They extended the search for the stock requested to the extent of breaking into many shops in the market of the armourers and the like, appropriating weapons without paying. Every day they would carry off household goods, upholstery, chests, saddles, and other things which are too many to be accounted for, on camels and donkeys. They would also discover and take away things which were hidden. They further engaged the services of builders, architects, and servants who knew the houses of their lords, so that they might reveal the places of hidden goods and treasures. On the same day they arrested Shaykh al-Ju‘aydiyya (the chief of the ruffians) and another one with him, having them both shot in the Birkat al-Azbakiyya, as well as other persons at al-Rumayla. They brought back much loot.

On Tuesday they summoned the guilds of merchantmen in the bazaars and imposed upon them a large sum which they were unable to pay claiming that this was to be a loan to be repaid after sixty days. So they raised hue and cry and asked for help, going to the Mosque of al-Azhar and the shrine of al-Husayni where they called upon the Shaykhs who spoke with (the French) interceding on their behalf. As a result the loan was reduced to half, and they also extended the time of payment.

On the same day they ordered that the by-streets and gates leading to the alleys be opened, and scattered groups of their soldiers set out to pull down and break to pieces the gates of the by-streets and lanes. And so they continued for many a day in this activity in spite of the peoples' anxiety and the rumours that the French soldiers were intent upon killing the people during the Friday prayer or other fantasies of this kind.

That happened after they had achieved a certain degree of security

and some shops had already opened. With the occurrence of these two episodes they withdrew into themselves once more.

On the twentieth of the same month the letters of the pilgrims arrived from al-'Aqaba, so the members of the *Diwān* went to the *Bāsh 'Askar* (chief of staff) and informed him about this matter asking for safe-conduct for the *Amir al-Hājj*. He refused, saying 'I will only grant him safe-conduct on condition that he comes without *Mamlūks*, as an ordinary person'. They asked him 'Who then will escort the pilgrims?'. He replied 'We will send them four thousand soldiers who will escort them to Egypt'. And so they wrote courteous letters requesting the *Amir al-Hājj* to escort the pilgrims to *Dār al-Hamra* and as for afterwards all would be well. The letters had hardly reached the pilgrims before those of *Ibrāhim Bey* arrived bearing exaggerated warnings and calling upon them to come to *Bilbays*.

So they directed themselves to *Bilbays* and spent some days there. Meanwhile *Ibrāhim Bey* and those who were with him departed for *Şuwwa* and sent the women to *al-Qurayn*.

On the twenty-third of that month a group of French soldiers set out in the direction of *al-'Ādiliyya* and every day another group set out for the East. On Wednesday evening of the twenty-sixth the *Bāsh 'Askar* set out while the first groups reached *al-Khānkah* and *Abū Za'bal*. These groups, having arrived demanded impost for the upkeep of the military from *Abū Za'bal*. The inhabitants refused so (the soldiers) attacked and defeated them and looted the city, setting it on fire, then passing on to *Bilbays*. As for the pilgrims, during their stay in *Bilbays*, some of the *fallāḥīn* among them hired *bedouin* to deliver them to their districts of residence such as *al-Gharbiyya* and *al-Manūfiyya*. Others, who were not *fallāḥīn*, engaged the services of *bedouin* to bring them to *Sharqiyat al-Manṣūra* / and *al-Manūfiyya*. Thus they dispersed throughout the land with their women, others staying at *Bilbays*. *Şālih Bey* joined *Ibrāhim Bey* with a group of merchants and other companions.

On the twenty-eighth the French took *Bilbays* where there was still a number of pilgrims left. They did not disturb them, but sent them to Cairo accompanied by a group of their soldiers.

Late Sunday night the messenger reached the Amirs who were at *Şuwwa*, informing them that the French were coming upon them. So they rode out at midnight and went up in the direction of *al-Qurayn*, and abandoned the merchants and owners of goods. At daybreak a number of *bedouin* *Shaykhs* came to (the merchants) and made an

agreement with them that they would deliver them to al-Qurayn, giving an oath to them that they would not betray them. Once they reached half-way they broke their oath and betrayed them, plundered their loads, dividing the goods among themselves, and stripped them of their clothes. Among these merchants was Sayyid Ahmād al-Mahrūqī, the merchants' Shāh Bandar, whose property was worth about three hundred thousand *riyāl farānsa* in cash and goods. The bedouin greatly mistreated them most evilly. When the French soldiers overtook them Sayyid Ahmād al-Mahrūqī went accompanied by a group of hypocritical bedouin and met the Ṣāri 'Askar and complained to him of what had befallen him and his companions. The Ṣāri 'Askar in turn rebuked them for their travelling and relying upon the Mamlūks and the bedouin. Then he arrested Abū Khashaba, the Shaykh of al-Qurayn, and commanded him 'Inform me of the whereabouts of the stolen goods'. The Shaykh replied 'Send a group to al-Qurayn with me'. When he arrived at al-Qurayn with the group he led them to some loads which the French took and divided among themselves. Then they followed him to another place where he had them believe that he would enter a certain spot from which he would bring them more loads, but he escaped from them without returning, and those soldiers returned with one load and a half, saying 'This is what we found and the man escaped from us'. The Ṣāri 'Askar replied 'We must get hold of this property'. They (the merchants) then asked for permission to return to Cairo and he sent with them a number of soldiers to accompany them and deliver them (safely) to Cairo and the merchants were at this point in the worst state possible. In addition there was with them a group of women who had set out on the night of the incident and they were in a heartrending condition as French soldiers dragged them to the city.

The month of Rabi' al-Awwal

On the second of this month the French arrived at the outskirts of eastern Qurayn while Ibrāhim Bey and those accompanying him had already reached al-Sālihiyya (where they) left their loads and women, and placed the responsibility for their safety with the bedouin. However, some of the bedouin informed the French where the loads were placed, so the Ṣāri 'Askar set out taking with him the cavalry, intending to take the loads out of his over-confidence. Ibrāhim and the Ghuzz learned of this, so he and Ṣāliḥ Bey plus a number of Amirs and *mamlūks* set out riding and encountered (the French) with whom they battled with

swords for a short time, after which the French were on the verge of defeat. Suddenly the news reached Ibrâhim Bey that the bedouin had made for the loads (at once) and started to plunder them. So he and those who were with him returned to where he came from and caught up with the bedouin and attacked them chasing them away from his property and killing many of them. After this he journeyed to Qaṭiyya while the leader of the French army returned to Cairo, leaving a number of his troops dispersed throughout the country. He arrived at Cairo during the night, that being the night of Thursday, the fourth of the month.

On Friday the fifth, / coinciding with the thirteenth of Misrā (the twelfth month of the) Coptic calendar, the blessed Nile reached its full flood and the French leader gave orders to make the usual preparations and decorate (the boat called) *al-‘Aqaba* and a number of ships and galleons. They called upon the people to go outside and to stroll along the Nile and to the Nilometer as was customary demanding this in spite of what had suddenly come upon them, as for example poll-taxes, unrelenting demands, looting of homes, harassing women, and girls, arresting and imprisoning them, and making financial settlements (*muṣālahāt*) which exceeded all bounds. The (French) Ṣāri ‘Askar sent instructions to the Katkhudā ‘l-Bāshā and the Qādī and to the Shaykhs who were members of the Council and high officials and so forth, to present themselves the next morning. He rode forth with them accompanied by his procession, decorations, troops, drums and pipes, to the palace of Qanṭarat al-Sadd, and the dam was cut in their presence. Then they celebrated with fireworks and shooting of cannons until the waters flowed into the canal (of Cairo), then the Ṣāri ‘Askar rode with those accompanying him and returned to his house. And not a single person went out that night for pleasure excursions in boats as was customary except for Shāmī Christians, Copts, Europeans with their wives, and a few idlers⁶⁷ who went as onlookers in the morning, broken-hearted and despondent.

On that day the news repeated itself, in that a number of English ships reached the port of Alexandria and fought a naval battle with the French soldiers. Several days had passed since the news spread and it had already been discussed by the people, which embarrassed the French. And it happened that some Shāmī Christian merchants quoted someone by the name of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Zarw a merchant belonging to the Khān of Soap Merchants situated at al-Jamāliyya, as having

discussed this affair. So the French ordered that he be brought before them and reminded him of what he had said but he denied it saying 'I heard it from So-and-so, the Christian', with the result that they also brought him before them and ordered that both of them have their tongues cut out, or that each one pay one hundred *riyāl farānsa*. The Shaykhs interceded on their behalf but the French would not accept. So some of the Shaykhs asked, 'Set them free and we will bring you the money'. He said 'Non, non', and so Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Ṣāwi sent for and received two hundred *riyāls farānsa* and paid them on the spot. After the head of the Dīwān had counted out the money he returned it to the Shaykhs, saying 'Distribute the money among your poor'. So the original possessor of the money got it back and pretended that he had distributed it as (the head of the Diwān) had ordered. So the people ceased to talk about this affair (of the French defeat).

The story of these English is that they are enemies of the French people, and that the French, when they attacked the Banādiqa, the Wandik, and al-Jūrṇa (the Venetians, Venice, and Leghorn) and other places, also intended to attack the English but they could not reach them by land. So they fought them on the sea but were unable to withstand them, for the English are known for their strength and valour in sea battles, while the French are just the opposite. So the French knew that they could not achieve their ends against the English except on land, and there was no way for them to achieve this except through India, and (of course) there is passage to India only through the Red Sea, and the English are aware of this, and when they found that the French had taken possession of Alexandria and had crossed Egyptian territory, they were certain that the French would get to them afterwards from that direction and then they would undoubtedly be in constant need of supplies and soldiers (to India). So the English followed them immediately with many ships bearing troops to Alexandria and attacked the ships which they found outside the port and Abū Qīr. They defeated them and burnt a great ship of theirs called *Nisf al-Dunyā* (*la Moitié du Monde*)⁶⁸ which was armour-plated in brass and which bore their munitions and the riches which they removed from Rome and Malta. They also burnt a great powder-magazine, then remained in their ships in front of Alexandria, coming and going freely / eastwards and westward, lying in wait for the supplies coming to the French or those which they sent to their country and intercepting them.

On that day the French despatched many troops to the port of Alexan-

dria and also to al-Sharqiyya and when the water flowed in the canal, (the French General) ordered that the dam of al-Azbakiyya be shut and in this way prevented the water from entering the pool, this because their camp, troops, and cannons were situated there.

And on that day the Ṣāri 'Askar asked the Shaykhs about the Mawlid al-Nabawi (the Prophet's Birthday) and why they had not started preparing the implements and requirements as usual. So Shaykh al-Bakri excused himself, saying that the situation was stagnant (at present) and that funds were lacking. However the Ṣāri 'Askar did not accept this (excuse) and replied 'This must be done', and thereupon provided Shaykh al-Bakri with three hundred *riyāl farānsa* to help. So Shaykh al-Bakri erected poles and set up ropes for the lamps. In the same manner the Ṣāri 'Askar set up many poles and ropes for lamps out of his own funds, in front of his house, and when Thursday arrived, which was the Yawm al-Mawlid, the Ṣāri 'Askar sent his band of drummers to the house of al-Bakri, beating their drums throughout the day. All the French soldiers were present and did their drills from just before evening until sunset. Shaykh al-Bakri invited the Ṣāri 'Askar, who came to his house and dined there, with his senior officers. After dinner, they went down to the house of the Ṣāri 'Askar with about fifty torchbearers preceding them. When the Ṣāri 'Askar reached his house, they displayed before him fire-crackers, fireworks (*harāqat bārūd wa-nufūl*), and rockets which shot into the air, and fired cannons and the like for a good part of the night.

On that day, the Ṣāri 'Askar attired the Shaykh in a garment of furs and appointed him Naqib al-Ashraf (Head of the descendants of the Prophet), and this was proclaimed in the presence of the Wāli of Cairo. In addition it was proclaimed that he who has a claim against a Sharif or a Sharif against him must go to the house of the Naqib al-Ashraf.

And on that day news arrived that Ibrāhīm Bey and those who were with him had established themselves in Gaza.

On the fifteenth a great number of French soldiers set out southward, among them a senior officer who was placed in charge of Dajirjā and the Mu'allim (Master) Ya'qūb al-Qubtī, the secretary of Sulaymān Bey who was to manage their affairs, show them the way, and devise for them all types of traps and deceptions. For example, when they sent a group of Europeans demanding taxes or the like he would have two or three of them change their attire and have them dress like Ottomans. He included in his letters to the populace a warning against disobedience

since this was an Imperial decree. So these ruses deceived many of the country-folk and they would obey the orders.

And on that day the messenger whom the French had sent with a letter and a present to Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār in Acre arrived, this being when they had settled in Cairo. The messenger was accompanied by two or three Shāmi Christians in the capacity of merchants bearing a quantity of rice. The story that spread about them was that they disembarked from the port of Damietta on one of Aḥmad Pasha's ships and when they arrived at Acre and Aḥmad Pasha learned of this, he ordered that the European messenger be transferred to one of the corvettes (*naqāyir*) and would neither grant him audience nor accept anything from him, and ordered him to return. However, he detained the Shāmi Christians who came with him.

On the same day a group of Europeans arrived at the house of Riḍwān Kāshif al-Sha‘rāwī accompanied by an architect. His wife was alarmed by them, because a few days previously she had made a settlement for her house and for her person at a sum of one thousand and three hundred *riyāls*, taking a letter (of confirmation to this effect) and sticking it to the door of her house. She had just brought back the property which she had kept (hidden) in various places and felt at ease once more. So when this group came to her she asked them 'What do you want now that I have already paid in full the agreed sum?'. They answered her 'It has reached us that you have in your possession arms and clothing belonging to the Mamlūks'. She denied this, so they said 'We will search'. She answered 'Search'. So they searched and went up to a place and discovered a secret chamber wherein they found twenty-four *shalwārs* (Turkish baggy trousers) of the costume of the Ghuzz, as well as *yeleks* (long vests), household goods, and the like. Under the first hiding-place they found another which contained many weapons, rifles, pistols and crates of gunpowder and the like. So they removed all these. Then they went underneath the stairs and dug up the earth and extracted two copper pots and a leather bag all filled with *riyāls farānsa* and a gold container inside which were gold *dīnārs*, all of which they removed. Then they went upstairs and brought the landlady down who was accompanied by a white slave girl. They took both of them together with their black slave girls bringing them to the house of the Qā'im Maqām, where she spent three nights. They robbed her of whatever / property, furnishings, and the like they found. They then imposed upon her (a further fine of) four thousand *riyāls* which she paid to them and then

they freed her. So she returned to her house.

Because of this event they intensified the search for weapons and announced this publicly and also that they would search the houses after three days and kill anyone found in possession of weapons. As a result the people were frightened of these searches and said 'This is a trick designed merely for robbing the houses'. Afterwards they stopped it.

On the twentieth of that month it was agreed unanimously that Muṣṭafā Aghā, who was the Katkhudā 'l-Bāshā should be invested as Amir al-Ḥajj. He presented himself at the house of the Qāḍi and was invested there in the presence of the Shaykhs. Moreover, the Ṣāri 'Askar took upon himself the obligation of expediting the requirements of the ḥajj and of constructing a new *māhmal* and other matters.

And on that day the Shaykhs asked that they receive their salaries from the Mint. They had requested this previously a number of times and the French had promised it to them over and over again. This time the interpreter told them 'Write up a list informing us of what is allotted to you'. So they wrote up a list, and what was allotted to them and to some others, came to about one thousand *fiddas* (*para*) daily. When they had examined the list and had promised to fulfil its requirements several times, they said to them 'This time we shall give you instead *iltizām* (the right to collect taxes for a commission)'. But they replied 'So what are we going to do with this tax business when we all have different portions? Among us there are some who have fifty *fiddas*, some thirty, and others twenty'. So the French replied 'Let one of you take charge of the matter, collect the money, and distribute it among his colleagues annually'. However, the Shaykhs did not accept this. So finally they shunned the whole matter, being convinced of the miserliness of the French in this matter. Before the French came, the salaries (*murattabāt*) were more than thirty-two thousand *fiddas* daily.

On that day the holders of shares (of *iltizām*) asked for a renewal of their *iltizām* over the *taṣarruf* lands,⁶⁹ and in return the French demanded payment of the usual advance (*hulwān*) exceeding the stipulation of the law. However, they refused. So the French promised them that this would be dealt with after they had completed the recording and registration of the shares. They said 'Let anyone who has a tax-farming concession and whose legal deed (*taqṣīt*)⁷⁰ is valid produce it and register it'. So within a number of days they acted accordingly but matters remained as they were.

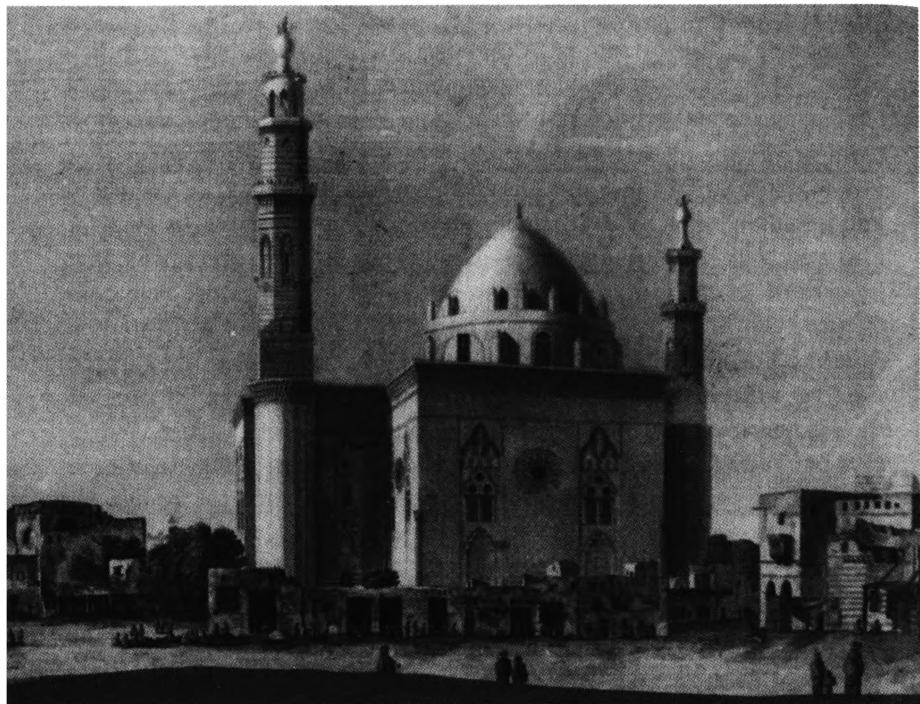
And on that day the French levied taxes including *kulaf* (impost for

the upkeep of the military) and *tafārīd* (appointed taxes) of the country and issued edicts to this effect in which they stated that the above should be deduced from the total imposts of tax land (*al-māl*). In implementation of this they appointed tax collectors (*sarrāfs*) from among the Copts who went into the country like rulers wreaking havoc among the Muslims with arrests, beatings, insults, and ceaseless harassment in their demands for money. Furthermore they terrorized them with threats of bringing in the French soldiers if they did not pay up the determined amount quickly; all this occurred by means of Coptic planning and trickery.

On Thursday the twenty-fifth of the month, the French killed a Sharif (descendant of Muhammad) in al-Rumayla, an inhabitant of Alexandria, called al-Sayyid Muhammad Kurayyim.⁷¹ And the story of this executed man is that he was a public weigher (*qabbāni*) who weighed goods with a steelyard at a shop situated in the port. He was very agile of movement and friendly in social relations, ceaselessly endearing himself to people by virtue of his friendly disposition. He also sought to satisfy the civil servants and others, such as Muslim and Christian merchants, in addition to the notables among his own people. In this way he gained the love of the people and became famous and well known in the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta and Cairo. He became close to Şālih Bey when the latter was the deputy (*wakil*) of Dār al-Sa'āda (the House of Felicity — the Porte) at the time when his word was influential in the port of Rosetta but not in Alexandria, so that he made Rosetta and its suburbs as if they were his own tax concession (*iltizām*) and he ruled in it as he wished and appointed a Greek from Crete called 'Uthmān Khojā who ruled arbitrarily and devised all sorts of ways to seize and confiscate the property of its people, and he brought wealth to his lord by all possible tricks. So this above-mentioned Sayyid Muhammad came to an accord with him and through him and others reached Şālih Bey and through the latter also Murād Bey. Consequently he entered his confidence concerning matters relating to the port and came into his favour. This man was suitable to the aims which Murād Bey desired — because the port of Alexandria was respected and its people were united and in complete agreement. For this reason the orders that came from the Amirs in Cairo had no influence and they could not rule freely in Alexandria as they did in other places and they could not confiscate money or property from any one of its inhabitants. The Sirdār (commander-in-chief) who was appointed by the Amirs, as well as the Mu'al-

him (Master) of the *Diwān*, could only act within the confines of the established laws.

Among the inhabitants of Alexandria dwelt a *faqīh* (Muslim jurist) of the Mālikis called Shaykh Muḥammad al-Masīrī who gave them lessons and explained *fiqh* (the theory and practice of jurisprudence) to them according to the Imām Mālik, showing no interest in what they owned, refraining from committing any act which would raise suspicion, and avoiding what was forbidden, and their hearts united in love for him and they devoted themselves to obeying him in such a way that he became an authority for them in all matters. When a problem confronted them suddenly, they would hasten to him and put it before him awaiting his opinion on the particular matter at hand. And they would heed his word and the view that he had expressed. Whatever he ordered they would obey and whatever he prohibited they would avoid. Whenever one of the rulers or others / wished to interfere with the life of even the lowliest of them in an unlawful manner, and when the people informed this *faqīh* about it he would hand down a decision, and they would all hasten together to the violator and might even beat him up and they would expel him from among them. The Amīrs of Cairo had concealed their hatred for the people of the port and this man, awaiting an opportunity to achieve their desires and disrupt the unity that was in the hearts of the people until the aforementioned Sayyid Muḥammad appeared and made contact with Ṣāliḥ Bey and Murād Bey and their adjutants. He became close to them and as a result they raised him above his companions with regard to his status, and put him in charge of the *Diwān* and the *Gamārik* (customs-house) of the port. As a result his status rose and his word became powerful and he came to be the most influential in the management of affairs. He increased the duties and customs and became very crafty in confiscating goods especially with regard to European merchants, whom he singled out in particular when it came to increasing the duties to be paid on their merchandise. After he had collected what taxes he had imposed he would send to Murād Bey and inform him of what merchandise had arrived, such as broadcloth (*jūkh*) and the like and tell him where it was situated and that such and such merchandise was on the way to Cairo aboard such and such a ship. Then Murād Bey would send someone to watch for the arrival of the ship and take whatever he wanted from the ship itself or from the storehouses at the price in the merchants' register but without paying. The Amīrs of Murād Bey followed his example. It also



Sultan Hassan Mosque of Cairo

happened that a European ship arrived in which there were a number of barrels containing a great quantity of Venetian gold all of which the above-mentioned Sayyid Muḥammad took, and sent to Murād Bey.

All these dealings were one of the most important reasons for the French military action, this action which spread over us and infested us. In the previous year the above-mentioned Sayyid Muḥammad went to Cairo intending to set out on the Hajj, and the highest as well as the lowest welcomed him with celebrations and festivities, presenting him with gifts and escorting him a great length of the way. Similarly when he returned by way of al-Qulzum (the Red Sea) the people awaited him expectantly for several days in the tents of the bedouin. Some even set out each day and came back. When he reached the tents of the bedouin, Ṣāliḥ Bey and many notables went out to meet him and also the notables of Alexandria and Rosetta and all of them met him there and returned

to Cairo with him riding on a nimble mule which was given to him, riding beside the mount of Şâlih Bey, and they received him and set him up in large house. In addition presents and gifts were bestowed upon him. He himself filled many bundles and packs with all kinds of cloths which he brought with him from the Ḥijāz to Murād Bey, Şâlih Bey, Muḥammad Bey al-Alfi, Ibrāhim Katkhudā al-Sinnāri, and other eminent merchants, famous people, and notables, each person according to his station. When he went to greet Murād Bey he bestowed upon him a valuable fur of sable and he also brought a fur garment and a long piece of cloth which he had purchased for him at a price of one thousand *riyāls*. Then he returned to the city of Alexandria, and once he set his foot there he began to raise a sum of money to send to Murād Bey. The first thing he did was to have Sayyid Aḥmad Abū Shuhba, the Naqib al-Ashrāf and his deputy in the Diwān, come before him and give an account of his income and expenditure and (found) that a sum of money due to him from his deputy was late in coming, for the above-mentioned Sayyid Aḥmad was benevolent toward the people and treated them kindly in matters of customs and duties, and it happened that twenty sacks containing raw silk arrived at the port destined for a certain merchant, but the deputy registered them in the register as four sacks of silk and sixteen of broad beans. Sayyid Muḥammad was informed of this matter and asked Sayyid Aḥmad about it. He replied 'There was nothing other than what was recorded'. Sayyid Muḥammad went to the warehouse of this merchant and removed the sacks of silk and denounced Sayyid Aḥmad and forced him to pay the customs (*maks*) on the sacks. He also demanded that he should pay for the discrepancy in the former account and dealt severely with him; as a result the quarrelling and tension between them mounted, and Shaykh al-Masīrī, to whom the people of the port turned, took his side, so the people split into three factions, one of them behind Sayyid Muḥammad Kurayyim, another with al-Masīrī and Abū Shuhba, backing truth, and yet another renouncing both sides out of fear of the consequences. However, the majority were behind Sayyid Muḥammad. The latter sent to his master (*makhdūm*) complaining about the people of the port, asking him to send a *kāshif* (a sub-provincial governor) who would strengthen him and give him support. The people then mediated between them and brought them to reconciliation. However, Sayyid Muḥammad was unable to prevent his request from being fulfilled. Immediately afterward Murād Bey sent Ḥasan Aghā his former *khāzin dār* (treasurer), a cun-

ning man, and he reached the port. /Abū Shuhba knew that he would be the first to be called; his fear increased and he felt anxious, so he went into hiding. He was looked for but he was not to be found. Some days later he was found dead in the cistern of his house. Then they took everything they found there and revised the accounts in which Abū Shuhba had reduced the (expected) income or those with which he had tampered, and collected it from those people.

Then the plague spread in the port until Hasan Agha died of it. Thus the days passed one after another and the French troops arrived and took possession of the port. They arrested the above-mentioned Sayyid Muḥammad Kurayyim and demanded that he return the money and harassed him. Then they imprisoned him in a ship. When they reached Cairo and entered the palace of Murād Bey they also found in his meeting room (*majlis*) Muhammad's letters with information about them urging and inciting Murād Bey to fight them and disparaging them. So they became furious with him and had him brought to Cairo where he was imprisoned in the (house) of the Qā'im Maqām (the Governor of Cairo). Then the Shaykhs of the Diwān went to intercede several times, but the French answered them with procrastination. They then asked that he might be transferred to the keeping of one of them, but the French would not allow this until, on the above-mentioned Wednesday evening, Magallon, the greatest criminal of them all, came to him and said to him 'What is demanded from you is such and such a sum'. He gave him a respite of twelve hours, telling him that he would be executed if he had not paid by the time this period expired. The next morning (Sayyid Muḥammad) sent to the Shaykhs begging that they help him. So some of them came to him, in the company of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Maḥrūqi, the head of the merchants (*kabir al-tujjār*) and others to whom he pleaded and begged, seeking their help, crying out 'Ransom my life, O Muslims'. But they had not the means at hand to ransom him, for everyone was preoccupied with himself expecting that some evil might fall on his own head. So they dispersed, leaving him to himself. And just before noon when the period of respite expired they brought him down and set him upon an ass, several soldiers holding unsheathed swords surrounding him, beating a drum in front of them. So they passed through al-Šaliba his hands tied behind his back, until they reached al-Rumayla. Then they tied him with his arms stretched out and fired upon him with rifles as was their practice with those whom they executed. Then they decapitated him, raising his head on a quarter-

staff. Then they rode about al-Rumayla with it while the town-crier proclaimed 'This is the punishment of those who disobey the French'. Afterwards his slaves took his head and buried it with his body. Thus his story ends, and this day coincided with that of the year before in which he rode in great pomp and splendour, when he was entering Cairo, returning from the Ḥijāz as was mentioned above when the people shouted while he was riding with the Amīrs and notables surrounding him — and behind him those who came out to receive him together with his *mamlūks* and black slaves — 'Praised be the Mysterious, the Generous'. And on the day of his execution 'Praised be He who raises and debases'.⁷² Indeed the wise man is he who is content with what God has granted him of worldly things and who is satisfied with a small portion and who lives securely in obscurity and does not meddle in affairs and who clings only to his Lord and who avoids anybody except Him.

On that day the members of the Diwān went to the head of the Diwān and they were invited to go to the Ṣāri 'Askar. Shaykh al-Sharqāwi, al-Ṣāwi, and those who were present went to him. After sitting for a while, the Ṣāri 'Askar got up from his seat and brought a three-piece *faylasān* (a shawl-like garment) of red, white, and blue and put it on Shaykh al-Sharqāwi's shoulder. The latter removed it with his hand and put it on the floor, asking to be excused from wearing it. The interpreter said 'Oh Shaykhs! You have become dear friends of the Ṣāri 'Askar, and his intention is to glorify you and to honour you with his attire and token, because if you are thus marked, the soldiers and the people will extol you and you will fill a great place in their hearts. They answered 'But our esteem may fail in the eyes of our Muslim brothers'. The Ṣāri 'Askar became angry with Shaykh al-Sharqāwi and said 'This man is unsuited for leadership' and some other words in his own language which have the same meaning. The rest of the group treated them politely and asked to be excused from wearing this shawl. The interpreter said 'If you don't do this, you must put the emblem (*al-'alāma*) on your breast'. They answered 'Grant us time to think it over', and they agreed on a respite of twelve days. Meanwhile Shaykh al-Sādāt arrived, answering an official summons. He met them while they were leaving. After sitting for a while, the Ṣāri 'Askar began to flatter him with pleasantries which were translated by the interpreter, laughing and kissing his hand at times, his knee at others, displaying affection and friendship. He presented a jewelled ring to him and asked

him to come the following day. He left with great honour. On that day the corps of the guards (*qulluqāt*) called on the people to wear the emblems, known as the rose (*warda*), which consists of three circles of cloth or something else, joined together in three colours, blue, white, and red, about as big as the curve of the palm. The circles are of diminishing sizes. The second is smaller than the first and the third is smaller than the second in such a way that the three colours remain distinct. They sometimes fringed the edges of the circles and embellished it, and they were versatile in decorating it. It signifies obedience and submission and among them it is a sign of affection. The people became clamorous and most of them crowded to the tailors. Snips which were in accordance with these colours found a good market. But there were others who disdained that and found it repulsive. During the evening of that day they announced that (the wearing of) it should be abolished among the common people.

On the morning of that day Shaykh al-Sādāt visited the Ṣāri 'Askar. The latter greeted him and made some overtures to the former to wear the emblem. Because of the good nature of the Shaykh he complied with him and did not decline. He was very pleased with this and brought a rose (of the three colours) and pinned it with a fine pin on the garment of the Shaykh who smiled at him, and the other was very happy. The rest of the Shaykhs arrived, and the Shaykh and the interpreter told them 'You also oblige the Ṣāri 'Askar and don't oppose him in pinning on the rose, and when you leave, remove it'. So they said nothing. The Ṣāri 'Askar got up and pinned a rose on everyone while they were expressing contentment and he was happy with that. They were unable to refuse, especially when they saw the rose in the garment of the Shaykh. When the party was finished and they left his presence they removed it from their garments. Later on they used to put it on when they entered his reception room and when they left they removed it, and thus was their situation.

At the end of that month the French began to prepare for their feast at Birkat al-Azbaikiyya. That is because when they killed their Sultan, and their republic was proclaimed according to the order they invented and the rule which they created, as was mentioned before, they made that day the beginning of their calendar and a feast. This day corresponds to the autumn equinox, in which the sun enters the *Domicilium* of Libra. They started to transport wood and to dig many pits. They brought an extremely large and thick pole, dug a big pit for it, lined

the inside of it with mud and stone, and around it piled great quantities of earth. They erected that pole in its centre with instruments and shear-legs (*maqassāt*)⁷³ of wood, pulleys with gauges and ropes. They constructed upon the pole a wooden form pointed at the top with a square base. They covered its remaining part from top to bottom with thick cloth and painted it with paint similar to plaster. At its lower part there was a base in which there were drawings in black and white. Opposite Bāb al-Hawā in the Birka (pool) they also made a structure in the shape of a great gate of lattice-work wood. They covered it with a painted cloth like the one mentioned before, and the upper part of the basket was painted in white with drawings in black representing their soldiers fighting the Egyptians. Parallel to it, in the direction of the vaulted bridge from which the water enters the Birka there was another gate which was different in shape from the first designated for fireworks (*harāqat bārūd*). They erected many wooden poles from that gate to the other, like a wide circle which surrounded most of the Birka, in such a way that the big pole was situated in the centre. Between these poles, they stretched ropes. They also suspended on them two rows of lamps and lamps arranged in the likeness of various figures (*ta'māthil*)⁷⁴ between the poles and the fireworks. They accomplished all this in a few days.

The month of Rabī' al-Thāni

This month started on a Wednesday, on which day the news arrived that when the Ghuzz of Upper Egypt, that is, Murād Bey and his company, heard that the French were approaching, they retreated in the direction of al-Fayyūm, while 'Uthmān Bey al-Ashqar crossed to the eastern bank and went to his master (*sayyid*) from behind the mountain to Gaza. A group of French soldiers went out eastward with / several camels and loads. The Ghuzz and the bedouin, who were with them, attacked them and took from them several camels with their loads but the French did not pursue them.

On the third of the month a letter directed to the Shaykhs and others arrived from Ibrāhim Bey, saying 'You have to be calm and safeguard yourselves and the people. His Majesty the Sultan sent soldiers to us from land and sea; God willing, we shall soon come to you'. When this message arrived, the Ṣāri 'Askar enquired about it, so it was sent to him and read in his presence, he said 'The Mamlūks are liars'. It

Notes on the Editing of Ms Mudda

In editing the text of MS *Mudda* I adhered to the principle of presenting the original as the author wrote it without stylistic, grammatical, or calligraphic changes, except in the following instances.

(a) The insertion of the words *nūdiya* and 'askar where the author had clearly forgotten to write them.

(b) The addition of the letters *alif* (ā) to the word *umarā* and at the end of some verbs in the masculine plural, and of *dāl* (d) to the word *Murād* where the author had clearly forgotten to write them.

The above-mentioned corrections are indicated by small square brackets [...].

(c) The date at the bottom of the French proclamation in the Arabic language was wrongly copied by the author and is corrected in this edition by reference to the original French document now in the possession of the British Museum (see plate XIII).

(d) The author did not use any punctuation at all and for this reason it has been added in this edition only when felt to be absolutely necessary for the understanding of the text.

(e) In order to give the reader an idea of the original format of the text, the author's additions are indicated as follows:

(1) Additions given between lines in the original text indicated by vertical lines [...] in this edition.

(2) Marginal additions ended by the word — are indicated by large square brackets [...].

(f) Quotations from the Qur'ān are given fully vowelled, with case endings.

(g) The folios of MS *Mudda* are given in the margin of this Arabic printed edition and its translation. The sign / denotes the beginning of a new folio. Both Arabic and English indexes contain the number of the folio of *Mudda* preceded by the letter f. If the reference is to research on the text, the number of the page is given preceded by the letter p.

In comparing *Mudda* with the other editions and manuscripts of *Maz.*, and *'Aj.*, the following abbreviations are used for purposes of identification:

الخطوطة	: MS <i>Mudda</i> Leiden.
مك	: MS <i>Maz.</i> Cam.
عك	: MS <i>'Aj.</i> Cam.
منظ	: <i>Maz.</i> 1.
عج	: <i>'Aj.</i> III, Būlāq edition.
المصادر	: denotes the above editions of <i>'Aj.</i> III, <i>Maz.</i> 1 and the two MSS <i>Maz.</i> Cam. and <i>'Aj.</i> Cam.
ص	: page

Within the footnotes the version of *Maz.* Cam. is mainly given. Any other version is indicated by round brackets with the name of the source.

· Minor differences in the printed editions which do not appear in the manuscripts themselves are not mentioned.

When there is a difference between MS *'Aj.* Cam. and the Būlāq edition, the former is given because the printed edition is available whereas the manuscript is not.

Two passages in MS *Mudda*, one in the margin (f. 17a) and the other in the text (f. 25b) are crossed out by the author; they are not included in the text given in this book but they are given in the footnotes with their English translation because of their importance.

Notes on the English Translation

This edition of *Tārikh muddat al-Faransīs bi-Miṣr* aims at providing as precise a translation as possible. However, certain terms, appellations, and titles for which no direct English equivalent was found, are given in Arabic followed by an explanation in round brackets. Those calling for further elaboration, in the opinion of the translator, are more fully explained in the footnotes. For some other terms it was deemed necessary to present the various sources at the disposal of the translator which provide detailed explanations for the further interest of the reader. Words appearing in the text which are European in origin are given in the language from which they are derived or in English if they are acknowledged in English usage. Certain Arabic terms which have become part of the English vocabulary, for example 'Pasha', are given in their English form.

In preparing this translation it was often necessary to compare carefully *Mudda* with *'Ajā'ib* and *Maṣhar* in order to identify or clarify the meaning of various terms as used by al-Jabarti, particularly for the purpose of understanding the many vague and obscure passages in *Mudda*.

The sources referred to in identifying various administrative, religious, and military terms are signified as follows.

- (1) Ayalon, D.: 'The historian al-Jabarti and his background', *BSOAS*, xxiii, 2, 1960, 217-49 (hereafter referred to as Ayalon).
- (2) Ayalon, D.: 'Studies in al-Jabarti', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, iii, 2-3, 1960, 148-74, 275-325 (hereafter 'Studies').
- (3) Ayalon, D.: *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom: a challenge to a mediaeval society*, London, 1956.
- (4) Baer, G.: *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, Jerusalem, 1964.

(5) Baer, G.: *A history of landownership in modern Egypt, 1800–1950*, London, 1962.

(6) Baer, G.: *Studies in the social history of modern Egypt*, Chicago, 1969.

(7) Belliard, A. D. et al.: *Histoire scientifique et militaire de l'expédition française en Égypte*, 10 vols., Paris, 1830–6.

(8) *Description de l'Égypte, ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, Paris, 1809–28.

(9) Dozy, R.: *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2ème éd., Leiden–Paris, 1927, 2 vols. (hereafter Dozy, I, II).

(10) Dozy, R.: *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*, Amsterdam, 1845.

(11) Gibb, H. A. R. and Bowen, H.: *Islamic society and the West*, London, 1960. Vol. I, pt. I–II (hereafter Gibb, I, I, I, II).

(12) Holt, P. M.: *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922: a political history*, London, 1966 (hereafter Holt).

(13) al-Jabarti, 'Abd al-Rahmān: *Journal d'Abdurrahman Gabarti, pendant l'occupation française en Égypte, suivi d'un précis de la même campagne*, par Mou'allem Nicolas El-Turki, Secrétaire de prince des Druzes: traduits de l'arabe, par Alexandre Cardin, drogman chancelier du consulat général de France en Égypte, edited by T. X. Bianchi, Paris, 1838 (hereafter Cardin).

(14) al-Jabarti, 'Abd al-Rahmān: *Merveilles biographiques et historiques, ou chroniques du Cheikh Abd-el-Rahman el-Djabarti*, traduites de l'arabe par Chefik Mansour Bey, Abdulaziz Kahil Bey, Gebriel Nicolas Kahil Bey et Iskender Ammoun Effendi, Cairo, Tom. VI, 1891 (hereafter Merveilles).

(15) Lane, E. W.: *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, introduction by M. Saad el-Din, London, Everyman's Library, 1954 (hereafter Lane).

(16) Mayer, L. A.: *Mamluk costume*, Genève, 1952.

(17) Redhouse, J. W.: *A Turkish and English lexicon*, Constantinople, 1921 (hereafter Redhouse).

(18) Salamé, A.: *A narrative of the expedition to Algiers in the year 1816, under the command of ... Admiral Lord Viscount Exmouth ...*, London, John Murray, 1819.*

* I am grateful to Professor Gabriel Stein for drawing my attention to this interesting book and for supplying me with a xerox copy.

(19) Serjeant, R. B.: *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coast: Hadrami chronicles*, Oxford, 1963.

(20) Shaw, S. J.: *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton, 1962 (hereafter Shaw).

(21) al-Turk, Niqūlā: *Chronique d'Égypte 1798-1804, éditée et traduite par Gaston Wiet*, Cairo, 1950 (hereafter Wiet).

These sources were of great help in this translation. The Cardin and Merveilles translations were referred to from time to time but they were of no real value since they offer only a free translation of 'Ajā'ib al-āthār, glossing over or deleting many important passages and in many instances avoiding precise translations of terms.



French proclamation by Kléber on the plague

First French proclamation in Egypt

Endnotes

¹ The term *munfasil* is used by al-Jabarti as a synonym for *ma'zūl* 'deposed' or 'dismissed from office'. In speaking about 'Ali Pasha ibn al-Hakim, al-Jabarti said in 'Aj., III, 321: *infaṣala 'an wilāyat Miṣr*, while in 'Aj., I, 221, al-Jabarti said: *wa-tawallā 'l-Sulṭān Muṣṭafā ... wa-'azala 'Ali Bāshā ibn al-Hakim*. Cf. also 'Aj., III, 211, 230, 317; IV, 164, 196, 201. See the biography of al-Jazzār in 'Aj., III, 321–3.

² See his biography in 'Aj., IV, 263–4, 279, and Salamé, Ixiii–iv.

³ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 167–71.

⁴ See his biography in *ibid.*, 173. Al-Aghā was his title which he received after having served as *Aghāt Mustahfiżān* (commanding officer of the Janissaries) and his appellation remained with him even after he was promoted to the rank of *Amīr* and later on *Şanqaq*. See 'Aj., III, 173, where al-Jabarti said of him: *al-ma'rūf bi 'l-Aghā*, and that he served once as *Aghāt Mustahfiżān* (*ibid.*, 63). He was the brother of Ibrāhīm Bey al-Şaghīr.

⁵ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 64–4. He was known as Ibrāhīm Bey al-Şaghīr and al-Wāli was his title which he received after having served as *Wāli 'l-Shurṭa* (chief of police) (*ibid.*, 173). This appellation remained with him even after he was promoted to the rank of *Amīr* and later on to *Şanqaq*. He was the brother of Sulaymān Bey al-Aghā.

⁶ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 172.

⁷ See his biography in *ibid.*, 172–3.

⁸ See his biography in *ibid.*, 66. The title *al-Daftardār* (chief financial official or register-keeper) remained with him even after he was promoted to other offices.

⁹ *Kılārji*, in Turkish *Kılārci* 'Butler' (see Gibb, I, I, p. 332, n. 4). He was slaughtered by Muḥammad 'Ali during the Mamlūk massacre 1226/1811, see 'Aj., IV, 128, 131.

¹⁰ The fate of Muṣṭafā Bey is unknown, see 'Aj., III, 56. See also *ibid.*, 11, 16, 21, 28–9, 45, 49, 54.

¹¹ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 66–7. He was appointed *Amīr al-Hajj* in 1212/1797. Salamé (p. xciv) translated the term 'Emir Hadge' as 'escorting of the caravan of Pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre of Mohammed', and in p. xcvi translated it 'Prince of Pilgrims'.

¹² See his biography in 'Aj., III, 217–18.

¹³ See his biography in *ibid.*, 217–18.

¹⁴ He was slaughtered by Muḥammad 'Ali in 1811, see 'Aj., IV, 131.

¹⁵ Known as 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ibrāhīmī, see 'Aj., III, 171, 218, 252, 285–6, 306.

¹⁶ See his biography in *ibid.*, 174.

¹⁷ Killed in a battle with the French near al-'Arīsh citadel in 1213/1798, see 'Aj.,

III, 46. Wiet, p. 52, n. 1, called him 'Kasim bey émir des deux mers'. For a definition of the term *Amin al-Bahrayn* see Shaw, 123-5, under *Emin-i Bahrayn*.

¹⁸ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 218.

¹⁹ Killed in the massacre of 1811, see 'Aj., IV, 131, and Wiet, p. 16, n. 6.

²⁰ See his biography in 'Aj., IV, 26-42, and Salamé, pp. lxiv-xi.

²¹ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 218. In Turkish it is *Çokadâr* 'Valet' (see Gibb, I, I, 352, Redhouse, 738a, Wiet, 297).

²² See his biography in 'Aj., IV, 42-3.

²³ His death is mentioned very briefly in 'Aj., IV, 43.

²⁴ Known as Muhammâd Bey Muhammâd al-Manfûkh al-Murâdî. His name is not mentioned by al-Jabartî during the French occupation. Muhammâd 'All put him in charge of the customs of Bûlâq in 1225/1810 ('Aj., IV, 110, where he is last mentioned in 'Aj.).

²⁵ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 172.

²⁶ His name was Murâd Kâshif and when he was appointed Şanjaq he was given the name Muhammâd Bey al-Mabdûl since the name Murâd was detestable to his group, see 'Aj., III, 65.

²⁷ See his biography in ibid., 176.

²⁸ Mentioned in MS 'Aj. Cam. and in the printed editions of 'Ajâ'ib al-âthâr as Dhû 'l-Fiqâr, see for instance n. 140 of the Arabic text of *Mudda*. His biography is in 'Aj., IV, 25-6.

²⁹ In Turkish *Ocaâk*, active military troops of the Janissaries, cf. Gibb, I, I, 351-5; Shaw, 189; Dozy, I, 43b.

³⁰ In *Mudda*: *fi şalât al-Shâfi'i*, i.e. during the morning prayer at daybreak (*fajr* or *subh*) which takes place at the first faint appearance of light in the east. Among the Muslims of the four sects it is the earliest morning prayer, cf. *Kitâb al-fiqh 'alâ 'l-madhâhib al-arba'a*, *Qism al-'ibâdât*, Cairo, 1347/1928, 158-61. In 'Aj., IV, 315, I. 21, al-Jabartî referred to *şalât al-Shâfi'i* as the earliest time in the morning:

وَلَا يُطَافِلُ لِفَتْلَةَ الرَّوَاحِ بِلِ يَحْبِبُهُمْ عَلَى الدَّوَامِ إِلَى بَاكِرِ الصَّبَاحِ وَيَوْقَنُهُمْ مِنْ آخِرِ اللَّيلِ بِالصَّرْبِ
وَيَبْتَدُونَ فِي الْعَمَلِ مِنْ وَقْتِ صَلَاتِ الشَّافِعِيِّ إِلَى قَبْلِ التَّرْوِيْبِ حَتَّى فِي شَدَّةِ الْحَرَّ فِي رَمَضَانَ . . .

In 'Aj., III, 331, *şalât al-Hanâfi* is also referred to as a definite time in the morning when al-Jabartî spoke about *subh yawm al-Sâbi* 'the dawn of Saturday'; cf. also Lane, 74.

³¹ cf. Qur'ân xxix, 41.

³² This is a saying which is mentioned in *Gulistân*, see Sa'dî, *The Gulistan of Shaik Sady, a complete analysis of the entire Persian text*, by R. P. Anderson, Calcutta, 1861, 68-9 and is translated as follows: 'And before the antidote can be brought from Irak, he who was bitten by the snake may be dead'. The saying means that the help will arrive too late to remedy the situation.

³³ *Ghalyûn*, pl. *ghalâyîn*, *ghalâwin* also written *qalyûn*: a galleon, a heavily built high-boarded sailing ship with fortified forecastle usually with three decks used for commerce or war. Al-Jabartî distinguishes between a big galleon ('Aj., III, 9; *Mudda*, 2a) and a small one ('Aj., II, 146; *Mudda*, 2a). In 'Aj., II, 163, I. 27, al-Jabartî mentions a *ghalyûn* with 21 cannons and others with less than that. Concerning the galleons of Murâd Bey, al-Jabartî said that they were with cannons and instruments of war,

see 'Aj., III, 168. Cf. Dozy, II, 226a; Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the south Arabian coast*, 134; Wiet, 306; Ḥabib al-Zayyāt, 'Mu'jam al-marākib wa 'l-sufūn fi 'l-Islām', *al-Machriq*, XLIII, 3-4, 1949, 354-5.

³⁴ *Dhahabiyya*, pl. -āt. A Nile excursion-boat with a big cabin at its poop capable of bearing six travellers. It is also used as a house-boat. Cf. Ahmād Amin, *Qāmūs al-ādāt wa 'l-taqālid wa 'l-ta'ābir al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo, 1953, 23b; Dozy, I, 490b; al-Zayyāt, *al-Machriq*, XLIII, 3-4, 1949, 321-64; Shawqi Dayf mentioned in his book *al-Adab al-'Arabi 'l-mu'āṣir fi Miṣr*, third ed., Cairo [1961?], 101, that the Egyptian poet Hāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1870?-1932) was born in a *dhahabiyya* on the Nile in Dayrūt in Upper Egypt. Al-Jabartī mentioned also a *dhahabiyya* used for freight, see 'Aj., III, 280.

³⁵ *Qanja*, pl. -āt, *qināj*, *qunj*, *qunaj*: a swift galliot moved both by sails and oars used mainly for freight and sometimes for excursions, see 'Aj., III, 59, 119, 163, 244, 280, 281; IV, 199; cf. also G. Baer, *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, 98; Dozy, II, 409b.

³⁶ *Ghurāb*, pl. -āt, *aghriba*, *ghirbān*. Grab: a coasting ship of broad beam usually with two masts used for freight and sometimes for excursion, see 'Aj., III, 163, 280. Cf. Dozy, II, 204b-205a; Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the south Arabian coast*, 134-5; al-Zayyāt, *al-Machriq*, XLIII, 3-4, 1949, 350.

³⁷ See the French text of this proclamation in, *Pièces diverses et correspondance relatives aux opérations de l'armée d'Orient en Égypte*, Paris. Messidor An IX [1801], 152-4.

³⁸ In Cardin, 20, and *Merveilles*, VI, 25, *plumet*, but according to the description of al-Jabartī the *khashsha* is 'like a big rose'. However, in *Mudda* and *Maz. Cam.* 16b, it appears as *khashsha* as previously mentioned while in 'Aj. *Cam.* and *Maz. I*, 59, it is given as *khashisha* and in 'Aj., III, 16, it is *hashisha*. The word *khashsha* could not be found in any of the dictionaries referred to. It seems that al-Jabartī's description of the *khashsha* is more suitable to that of the rosette rather than to that of *plumet*.

³⁹ See Redhouse, 1153a.

⁴⁰ cf. Usāma ibn Munqidh, *Usamah's memoirs entitled Kitāb al-i'tibār*, Arabic text edited by Philip K. Hitti, Princeton, 1930, 135-6, where the author mentioned a similar case.

⁴¹ The Arabic term is '*Araqī*'. Salamé (p. xii) gave a definition of this drink: '... a kind of very strong spirit, called "Aráki" or *aqua vitae*, distilled from *dates* or from *raisins*'.

⁴² On the illness *waja'* *al-rukab*, see 'Aj., II, 51.

⁴³ Qur'ān XII, 105.

⁴⁴ Qur'ān III, 173.

⁴⁵ cf. Qur'ān XL, 16.

⁴⁶ See his biography in 'Aj., IV, 150-65.

⁴⁷ See his biography in *ibid.*, 284-6.

⁴⁸ See his biography in *ibid.*, 86-8.

⁴⁹ More commonly written *Ruznāmjī*. On his duties see Shaw, 340-1.

⁵⁰ See his biography in 'Aj., IV, 185-97.

⁵¹ The term *muta'ammimin* is used by al-Jabartī as a synonym for '*ulamā'*, e.g. MS *Maz. Cam.*, 15b, *ba'd al-muta'ammimin wa 'l-mashāyikh*, while the same sentence

became in MS 'Aj. Cam., 8a, and 'Aj., III, 10, *ba'q al-'ulamā' wa 'l-mashāyikh.*

⁵² See his biography in 'Aj., III, 105-7.

⁵³ cf. Shaw, 340-1.

⁵⁴ See his biography in 'Aj., IV, 320-1.

⁵⁵ See his biography in *ibid.*, 233-7.

⁵⁶ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 67.

⁵⁷ See his biography in *ibid.*, 289.

⁵⁸ In Turkish *Curbaci*, a member of a cavalry corps of Mamlük origin; cf. Gibb, I, II, 193; Shaw, 196-7; Wiet, 303.

⁵⁹ cf. 'Studies', 292.

⁶⁰ cf. Gibb, I, I, 60, n. 3, 201, 284; Shaw, 184; Wiet, 310.

⁶¹ The transcription of the names is according to Cardin, 19.

⁶² The transcription of this name is according to Cardin, 19.

⁶³ cf. 'Studies', 278-83, where he proved that *tābi'* means 'slave' and 'Mamlük'.

⁶⁴ The only dictionary which mentions the term *qallā'iyya* is *Mu'jam matn al-lugha*, by Ahmad Riḍā, Beirut, 1379/1960, IV, 363a, where it is defined as follows: *ghishā' mansūj yughaffā bihi 'l-sarj* 'a fabric with which the saddle is covered'. It was impossible to find another use of this term in 'Ajā'ib al-āthār, but in all other cases al-Jabarti uses the word '*abā'*, pl. '*ubiy* (literally 'cloak'), which is a saddle-cover of cloth or velvet richly embroidered and ornamented, and he emphasizes that this is the Egyptian method of covering the saddle; See 'Aj., II, 180, III, 53, 310. Cf. Lane, 143.

⁶⁵ In Turkish *Yoldaş* or *Ildas*, Janissary or fellow-wayfarer, comrade, militiaman; cf. Gibb, I, I, 59, n. 1, 184, 295; Wiet, 313.

⁶⁶ According to Holt, 92-3, 'it seems to signify the senior grandee of Cairo'.

⁶⁷ See *sanādīla* in Dozy, I, 693b, and n. 134 in the Arabic text.

⁶⁸ See Cardin, 26. In the note he mentions that the name of the ship was *l'Orient*. In *Merveilles*, VI, 33, the translation is *Demi-Monde*, and in the note the name *Orient* is given with a question-mark.

⁶⁹ Land on which its owner has the usufruct rights only; cf. Gibb, I, I, 238 ff., and Baer, 5, 7, 9-11, 17, 38, 40, 52, 154-5, 157.

⁷⁰ On *taqṣīt* see Shaw, 53, and al-Jabarti's description of the old *taqṣīt* in 'Aj., IV, 95.

⁷¹ See his biography in 'Aj., III, 62-4.

⁷² cf. Qur'ān LXIII, 8.

⁷³ See Dozy, II, 605a-b; Redhouse, 1944b.

⁷⁴ *Tamāthil* is not mentioned in the dictionaries in this sense, but al-Jabarti describes in 'Aj., IV, 198, I, 2, certain arrangements of lamps set in the likeness of various figures such as a ship, two lions facing each other, a tree, or a *maḥmal* on a camel, set in Birkat al-Azbaikyya during the marriage of Ismā'il Pasha:

ونصبوا بوسط البركة عدة صواري لاجل الرقدات والقناديل التي تعمل عليها تصاوير من القناديل فترى على البعد صورة مركب او سفين متقابلين او شجرة او محمل على جمل او كتابة مثل ما شاء الله ونحو ذلك . . . and the term *tamāthil* may be used here for this kind of lights. Cf. also Lane, 501.

⁷⁵ cf. Gibb, I, I, 181, n. 4, 192.

⁷⁶ *Aḥmāl* is a shorter form of *aḥmāl qanādil* which is used by al-Jabarti in 'Aj., I,

365: *waqdat wa-ahmāl qanādil wa-shumū'*.... See also the description of *heml kandeel* (*heml qandil*) in Lane 167.

⁷⁷ This term is used several times in 'Aj., III, 195, *ra'āliq al-qanādil*; 'Aj., IV, 309, *ra'āliq nafasat al-ballūr*; see also 'Aj., III, 197; Dozy, I, 327.

⁷⁸ Al-Jabarti mentioned several times cannons on wheels, cf. 'Aj., II, 114, I. 21, *وَكَسَرُوا عَجْلَ الدَّافِعِ* and in I. 23 of the same page he says, *وَاحْسَرُوا جَمْلَةً دَافَعَ عَلَى عَجْلٍ*. Cf. also *ibid.*, 154.

⁷⁹ See Gibb, I, I, 87-8.

⁸⁰ See Shaw, 137.

⁸¹ See Dozy, I, 290b. A department administers the inheritances of absentee heirs.

⁸² On al-Jaddāwi see Salamé, p. lxii.

⁸³ Cardin translated *ukar al-fidāwiyya* as 'les boules de fer avec leur chaîne (elles étaient attachées au poignet; on les lançaient à l'ennemi et on les ramenaient à soi). On *fidāwi* see Lane, 418; Dozy, II, 246a-b. In 'Alī 'l-Rā'i's book, *al-Kumidāya 'l-murtajala fi 'l-masrah al-Miṣrī*, [Cairo], 1968, 148, the colloquial text of an Egyptian comedy uses the word *fidāwi* in the expression *rajul fidāwi jabbār* and a synonym in the same sense, i.e. a cavalier or hero, on pp. 146-7 (*rajul fārls jabbār*).

⁸⁴ In the MS, *al-Bahr al-Aswad* (the Black Sea).

⁸⁵ In MS *Mudda* the following passage is written in the margin (*takhrīj*) but crossed out by the author: 'Once again they rearranged the Diwān, making the Special Diwān a body of fourteen and the General Diwān forty-six, altogether the Diwān being composed of sixty members. The members of the Special Diwān met daily while the members of the General Diwān convened according to necessity. Secretaries and interpreters were assigned to them. Among the fourteen members assigned to the Special Diwān were five *'ulamā'* (*muta'ammimīn*) and they were al-Sharqāwi, al-Bakri, al-Šāwi, al-Fayyūmī, and al-Mahdi. Each of these received eighty [riyāls] *farānsa* monthly. The remaining nine of these fourteen included Muslim and Christian merchants and Ujāqs. The members of the General Diwān did not receive a monthly salary. As for the secretaries, they received less than the above-mentioned, some receiving twenty-five [riyāls] *farānsa*, others thirty. The above-mentioned Diwān had in its service a steward (*muqaddam*), and ten guards (*qawwāsa*) who also received monthly wages. These regulations and appointments were printed on a roll of which several copies were written [sic] and distributed and posted in the markets as usual'.

⁸⁶ See Qur'ān VIII, 42, 44.

⁸⁷ cf. also 'Aj., I, 373-4, III, 304, 308.

⁸⁸ The literal translation of this proverb is, 'he returned with the pair of shoes of Hunayn'. On the origin of this proverb see G. W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1838-43, I, 539, no. 49; al-Maydāni, *Majma' al-amthāl*, Beirut, 1960, I, 414-15.

⁸⁹ This is an allusion to a verse by Tarafa ibn al-'Abd (sixth century A.D.):

يَا لَكَ مِنْ قُبْرَةِ بَعْرٍ خَلَّا لَكَ الْجَوْفُ فِي بَعْرٍ

رَنَقَرِي مَا شَيْتَ أَنْ تَنْقَرِي قَدْ رَجَلُ الصِّيَادِ عَنْكَ قَابْشَرِي

See al-Maydāni; *Majma' al-amthāl*, Beirut, 1960, I, 333.

⁹⁰ Another version of this proverb is أَعْرَ الدَّاءَ الْكَيْ, cf. *al-Munjid*, Beirut, 1960, 932.

⁹¹ See *ibid.*, I, 298. The saying *al-Harb sjāl* is attributed to Abū Sufyān. Cf. also Freytag, 384, no. 133. The proverb *al-Harb khad'a*, is a tradition of Muḥammad, see al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Jihād*, bāb 157; cf. Freytag, I, 394, no. 28.

⁹² See Gibb, I, I, 60–1.

⁹³ Another allusion to the above-mentioned verse by Tarafa ibn al-'Abd, see p. 97, n. 89 above.

⁹⁴ Students at al-Azhar living within the mosque or its vicinity. See Lane, 216.

⁹⁵ See his biography in *'Aj.*, III, 61–2.

⁹⁶ See his biography in *ibid.*, 61.

⁹⁷ See his biography in *ibid.*, 61.

⁹⁸ See his biography in *ibid.*, 61.

⁹⁹ See his biography in *ibid.*, 62.

¹⁰⁰ cf. *ibid.*, 62.

¹⁰¹ cf. Qur'ān II, 247.

¹⁰² Qur'ān V, 1.

¹⁰³ A tradition of Muḥammad, see al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-iymān*, bāb 42; Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-adab*, bāb 59; Muslim, *al-Jāmi' al-sahīh*, Cairo, 1329/[1911], I, 53, I. 19; al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb al-sahīh*, Cairo, 1292/[1875], I, 350, I. 14. See also al-Maydānī, *Majma'*, I, 377; Freytag, I, 487, no. 51.

¹⁰⁴ Qur'ān xxvi, 151–2.

¹⁰⁵ Qur'ān XLIX, 6.

¹⁰⁶ See Ismā'il ibn Muḥammad al-Jarrāḥī, *Kashf al-khafā' wa-muzil al-ilbās 'ammā ishtabah min al-ahādīth 'alā alsinat al-nās*, Beirut, 1351/[1932], II, 83, no. 1817.

¹⁰⁷ In the text of MS *Mudda* the following passage is crossed out by the author: 'in an ingenious manner. And this is how it worked: they put a mirror of glass at the firing-hole opposite the sun. When the sun approached its zenith and reached its peak on that mirror the powder would ignite by means of the reflection of the rays whereupon the cannon would fire by itself without anyone handling it. And thus one knew it was noon'.

¹⁰⁸ See Qur'ān XL, 19.

¹⁰⁹ cf. Qur'ān XII, 40.

¹¹⁰ cf. Qur'ān XII, 39; XIII, 16.

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