

SOME SOURCES DEALING WITH THE EGYPTIAN REIGN OF SYRIA

(1831-1841) AN ANALYTIC & CRITICAL STUDY

ABDELLATIF M. AL SABBAGH

Faculty of Arts, Banha University, Egypt

ABSTRACT

Muhammad Ali Pasha managed to seize Sham from the grasp of the Ottoman Empire during the period (1831-1841), within his expansionist project to establish an empire in the Arab region. There were different views on the experience of Muhammad Ali. Some of these views considered it a renaissance project that led Egypt to recover its leading role in the region, while the other views saw it as an expansionist project that sapped the country's wealth for personal purposes. However, no one can deny that the era of Mohammed Ali Pasha was the brightest era of Egypt in recording events and the heavy use of archival material. Therefore, a large number of the sources of the Egyptian rule of Syria were kept in the National Archives in Cairo, on which most Historians depended in studying the history of that period. In addition, there are some contemporary sources and other modern sources represented by the writings of historians.

This research includes three key elements and a conclusion. Its methodology is to define each source separately and its role in providing the historical material, and then displaying the criticism of the source in terms of form and content. The form analysis process consists of indexing, classification, and presentation. Hence, the present study could be a guide for researchers who could go back to that period for further investigations.

KEYWORDS: Egyptian Reign, Syria

INTRODUCTION

The sources of the Egyptian rule of Syria are divided into three types:

First: The Original Sources at the National Archives in Cairo

- **Sham Research Portfolios**

The documents are collected, translated, and copied from the original documents in Abdeen documents. There are 20 of Sham research portfolios; they are chronologically ordered, and begin by portfolio no. 65/Research (1 Sham) and they cover from June 1830 to February 1841, in addition to other 7 portfolios from no. 85 to no. 91/Research (Sham/Translated). The translated documents available in research portfolios give the researcher the opportunity to take advantage while preserving the assets from tampering, theft, and loss. One of the positive aspects is that the translator added to each document its origin and place in the Abdeen portfolios, which gives easy access to the researcher to investigate or to photocopy.

The researcher has noted that the documentaries, during the first two years, were very abundant, as they reached nine portfolios. Meanwhile, the documents in the following years contained almost one portfolio for each

year from beginning to end. The abundance of the documents in the first two years has been due to the attempt to form a database of the region. One of the problems that the researcher faced with the research portfolios is that the files are not numbered. What is only mentioned is the historical period in the file. Therefore, many researchers had to ignore such files when documenting them.

Sham research portfolios introduce rich documents about the administrative, military, economic, and religious activity. They also highlight the conditions of consuls and their activity, including the correspondence exchanged between the central administration [civilian & military] and the rulers of the provinces and territories in Sham as well as the services provided by the administration to the army and their role in the collection of fees and returns. All of this has been written in daily periodic reports called "Journal Proceedings of Interest", which were issued by the Office of the Governor of Sham in three forms: Arabic report on incoming & outgoing correspondence; Arabic report and another Turkish one about daily financial and administrative affairs. **(Arabic document No. 119, from Journal Waqaa. Written by Hanna Bahary, 1831, research portfolio No. 66)**

As for the military activities, there were daily reports of military developments issued by the general camp in Sham led by Ibrahim Pasha. Such reports are sent closed and sealed with red wax to the office of the Khedive, distributed to the competent offices & councils, and raised in a summary form to Muhammad Ali Pasha. Each group provides a periodic report on its activities and conditions, and the military starter had to formulate a final report. Military reports provide rich material

For military activity on the Egyptian army in Sham, such as the details of the battles, the number of troops, their conditions, financing the army, their victories, and losses and injuries. For example, a document reported about the 15th Infantry Brigade, 19th Ramadan 1247 H: it consists of (2131 soldiers) divided into a public leadership and four other (parts). From the report, it is perceived that the Brigade includes medical staff, a preacher, Imams, Moaznis and an orchestra, the matter that is known in contemporary armies as moral guidance. **(The Egyptian military report, Feb, 1832, research portfolio No. 66)**

Concerning the economic activities, the portfolios are rich of documents about economic Egyptian activity in Sham, including digging canals, land reclamation, reconstruction of abandoned villages which, providing new crops and encouraging and developing local industries them in addition to providing new industries. The material sheds light on the taxes and fees imposed under Egyptian rule and balance sheets. For example, a whole budget of 1252 H (1836 A.D) gives an account of revenue and another one of expenses. The revenue section revealed a schedule of amounts received from each state separately. Then, the total was 1.122.050 Pounds, while the expenses section totaled 803835 Pounds. **(Document No. 26, Sherief Pasha to Husain Pasha, 13th April 1839, research portfolio No. 81)**

There is also material about Muhammad Ali's mining activity in Sham. **(More information in As-Sabbagh, 2000, 365- 396)** The reports included historical material about Muhammad Ali's exploitation of wood he needed to renovate both two fleets [military & commercial] especially after the war fleet crash in the Battle of Navarino 1827. **(Salem, L., 1983, 20)**

On the religious level, Muhammad Ali Pasha ordered his men in Sham to be fair with the people and cancel the fees and additional revenues that were imposed on Christians, Armenians, Romans, Franks and Jews, and facilitate their desire to build and restore their own worship houses all over Sham except Jerusalem. Perhaps this equality emboldened Jews to raise their complaints to Muhammad Ali Pasha against the governor of Safed, claiming that he enslaved them in government business without salary. Hence, Muhammad Ali Pasha responded that this is contrary to Egyptian Provisions. **(The Egyptian military report, Feb, 1832, research portfolio No. 66)**

As for the consular cases, we find rich material in the research portfolio about activity of European consuls in the exploitation of the privileges they had obtained from the Ottoman Empire and Muhammad Ali Pasha, where the two sides raced to gain the satisfaction of the European countries. The consuls opened pubs without permission, refused to pay fees for their imports on the ground that it was for personal use, and allowed their followers and protectors to assault the Egyptian administration and to attack the people. They were like a headache to the Egyptian administration, which prompted Ibrahim Pasha to say, " These people (consuls) are the source of pain, they obstruct every step taken by the government, the Sultan and the plague together are nothing compared to those consuls ... They bother me and I can't defend myself in front of them" (**Document No. 174, Ibrahim Pasha to Mohammad Ali, July 1833. Research portfolio No. 74**)

It is noted that the Egyptian administration reports in the research portfolios did not focus on the revolutionary events in Sham and their causes, i.e. the reasons of the mistakes committed by the Egyptian administration, like monopoly, forced recruitment and the disarming of Sham people. This silence is probably due to the administration considering these revolutions the Achilles' heel in Sham. But in fact the Sham people were used to anarchy and lack of order, so they were wary of any systematic government. (**Kard Ali, M., 1969, Vol. III, 86**)

ARABIC & TURKISH DOCUMENTS

Documents of Maia Sania Dewan

They include two case display portfolios, and Turkish Ma'ia Records that incoming and outgoing under numbers 40- 88. They also include another 120 translated portfolios of summary of Ma'ia Sania Records, each of which contains 56 portfolios related to this period; everyone holding 500 documents. This kind of documents introduces material about the relation between Muhammad Ali Pasha and Sham princes, since Amir Beshir's visit to Egypt 1820 to the time Muhammad Ali forced him to co-operate with the Egyptian administration. **(Document No. 766, Mohammad, Dec.183, Record No. 40 Maia Turkish)** Concerning the news of Sham wars and their effects and providing military supplies, they are scattered in the records no. (40-52). It is noteworthy that all the researchers depended on these

Summaries, while they said it is "Ma'ia Sania portfolios," either to feel relieved or because they believed that the summaries reduce the importance of the source.

Abdeen Records (Turkish)

This provides rich material about correspondence between Muhammad Ali Pasha and his son, Ibrahim Pasha, as well as correspondence with the administration in Istanbul. It also includes consulate affairs from appointments to definition of the powers of labor and protection. When Ibrahim Pasha felt insulted by the violations of the consuls,

Muhammad Ali Pasha alerted the administration in Sham to secretly and firmly deal with the demands of the consuls so that he could personally express his displeasure to their superiors in Egypt. **(Document No. 709, Order from Mohammad Ali to Ibrahim Pasha, Nov. 1833, Record No. 10 Abdeen Turkish)**

Records of Dewan khedive (Turkish)

They are 16 records, within the documents of Khedive Dewan which served as the Secretariat of Muhammad Ali Pasha. It served as a linkage between the central administration and provinces all over Egypt, including Sham. It was concerned with revealing the incoming correspondence, distributing them to the competent authorities in order to make decisions. It also informs the Pasha of the content of important correspondence, and finally copying the correspondence issued by Muhammad Ali Pasha and Higher council to various agencies, offices and managers. 11 summary portfolios translated into Arabic were extracted from those records. They offer an easy material to researchers but they are not chronologically or objectively ordered. Therefore, the researcher should revise all of them, a matter that takes more time.

Roznama Records (As Lyla Abdellatif, 1980, 20: Roznama office is a Part of a Financial System, Introduced by Ottomans in Egypt by Nama Egypt Act of 1525, and Specializes Collect Revenue and Supervision Expenses)

They are part of the financial archives unit of the Secretariat of production. We found by chance two records of this kind as a miscellaneous group

- "Record of Sham Sharif, Saida, Halab Shahba and Adana 1248/ 1249 AH".
- Statement records of Egypt and Sham provinces and other obligations incomes at the treasury 1249 AH.

No researcher has used these two records. The first record shows that Muhammad Ali Pasha entrusted someone to collect the state funds from the villages (contractor) to collect and pay the fund every year, and the record shows the villages in the provinces mentioned. The second record shows Ibrahim Pasha's pledge to some villages in Sham, e.g., he paid 40 Pounds as fees of coffee of Java, Gaza, Ramallah, and Jerusalem and other 60 pounds for Sham Tripoli 1249

AH. (Document No. 1046/ 42, Record of statement from provinces of Egypt and Sham to the treasury, 1833, Roznama records)

These two records cover only two years of the Egyptian rule of Sham. Despite the fact that the respected woman responsible for the preservation of production documents conclusively confirmed the absence of other records, the rest of the group maybe discovered later. Anyway, the two records represent an obvious sample of the treasury income from Sham. It is a source useful for studying the economic history of Egyptian rule of Sham, including tax system, nature of trade, and industries in Sham at the time.

• Bahrbarra (Exterior) Portfolios

They are 18 portfolio of chronologically ordered exterior correspondence between the people and the administration, two of them (17, 18) show the period of Egyptian rule. They are available for researchers only in a microfilm form. Yet later researchers were prevented from previewing the original documents, under number 215 and

216. Some of the documents are in Turkish; hence investigation needs more time, but they are seen as a source of personal issues like petitions of increasing salaries or rehabilitating houses.

- **Records of Royal Council (Turkish)**

They belong to secretary of sovereignty. The records of Egyptian rule of Sham are divided into two groups: the first one includes the outgoing orders of the royal council, symbolized as (S1/51) and includes the records covering the period (1826- 1836). The second group includes information about the incoming and outgoing royalties, symbolized as (S1/111) and includes 7 records covering the period (1837-1843). There are no documents other than the ones showing the conditions of the consuls and their relationship with Muhammad Ali Pasha and the unrest they caused to the Egyptian rule of Sham. For example it reported that Muhammad Ali refused the British request to purchase wood from Sham to implement a project on the Euphrates River, and asked his men to inform Colonel du Hamel the Russian Consul of his rejection. **(Document No. 596, Mohammad Ali to Boghos Bey, Nov. 1835, The Royal Council)**

- **Military Portfolios (Ibrahim Pasha Soldiers)**

They belong to the military secretary of sovereignty, which include more than 50 portfolios without an indexing archive. So, we cannot define the period covered in these documents. This archive introduces rich documents about Ibrahim Pasha's army including divisions, armament, sections, and supply, in addition to Ibrahim Pasha's administrative efforts. The present researcher wants to point out that he did not preview these portfolios during the preparation of

This study, as it has been located in the Abdeen Hejaz store, where a number of documents disappeared, a matter which is now under investigation. A comprehensive inventory and register process then started, which hinders the researchers from previewing them.

THE EUROPEAN ARCHIVES IN THE EGYPTIAN NATIONAL LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES

In the second decade of the twentieth century, King Ahmed Fouad asked a group of European Historians to collect the documents related to Egypt from the Western Archives, in order to rewrite the history of Muhammad Ali Pasha's family. Whatever the motive behind this movement, it served the Egyptian Historiography of the nineteenth century, as it enriched the Egyptian National Library and Archives, even if most of the documents were chosen and handwritten. This Archive is divided into three sections:

Documents of Foreign Office

They are documents that have been preserved in 62 portfolios. They cover the period (1800-1877) and are concerned with the second half of nineteenth century. These documents are handwritten by pencils as copies derived from the Foreign Office original documents. The documents of the Egyptian rule of Sham are numbered FO. 27 & FO. 28. This source gives material to the attitude of European states towards Egyptian Rule of Sham, and the role of their councils watching political, military, economic activity of Muhammad Ali Pasha. The British council reports introduce a rich material about the European competition in the region and shows the British efforts to prevent Russia from entering the region. Portfolio No. 5 sheds light on the last scene of the Egyptian rule of Sham as Muhammad Ali Pasha

was forced to surrender the property of the Ottoman Empire and limit his powers only to monarchic rule of Egypt, the matter which London Treaty put into effect. **(FO. 27/ 463, No. 30, Stone Granville to Palmer, 21st Jan. 1833)**

Portfolios of this archive are not chronologically or objectively ordered, and have no index in the Egyptian National Library and Archives; the matter which makes it a difficult task for the researcher. It is positive that the collector put with every document an Arabic card about the document data, which facilitates the task of the researcher. The researcher believes that this was the first step of indexing the project to this archive, but it is not complete.

Documents from the French Archives

They are documents that have been preserved in 13 portfolios. They cover the period (1784-1841); the material of the Egyptian rule

In Syria scattered in all portfolio of this archive, specially no. 5, 7, 8, and 9. This archive gives an image of commercial relation between France and Muhammad Ali Pasha's property, and the special relationship between Muhammad Ali Pasha and France. However, this relationship did not prevent representatives of France (Consuls) from putting Muhammad Ali Pasha's activity in Sham under control. For example, the French consul writes to his Foreign Office, recording his worry of convergence between Egypt and Russia. He justifies this friendship by their coverts in ottoman property. **(Document No. 11, Boonville au Le Minister, Aleppo, 24th Mars 1836, French Archive, portfolio No. 8)** The portfolios of this archive are neither chronologically nor objectively ordered as well.

Documents from USA Archives

They are documents that have been preserved in 16 portfolios. They cover the period (1779-1835), and are chronologically organized. But there are not index in this archive, which makes it a difficult task for the researcher. Only one portfolio (No.1) covers the period (28th August 1835- 17th November 1953). This archive includes reports and correspondence from the consuls of the United States in Alexandria and Cairo to their respective government in Washington, in two numbered volumes. USA was busy with its interior affairs and

Governed by the Monroe Doctrine. So, consuls only monitored events, except of American mission in Sham, which took the advantage of religious tolerance of the Egyptian government. The American evangelist, G. B. Witting, asked the American consul in Cairo to mediate with Egypt's Pasha to issue license of building a church for the mission in Jerusalem and protect them as well. **(Consular Agent of USA at Alex. To the Dep. Of state, Washington, 28th Aug. 1835, USA Archive, portfolio No. 1, vol. 1, 7- 9)**

Published documents about the Egyptian Archives

Orders & Corresponds Issued by Muhammad Ali and His Son Ibrahim: This Includes copies of documents from records of Ma'ia and Khedive office. They are sorted in a chronological order, and include orders issued to Sham and all other territories. There are many copies from the original document, located in the Egyptian General Book Organization, and recorded in a microfilm copy under No. 4279, on which researchers depend. The orders and corresponds show Muhammad Ali Pasha's policy in the preparation of the Egyptian rule of Sham, his attention of his troops in Sham, and rewards given to his army leaders. However, the collector and reason

Behind collecting such documents are still unknown. Among the shortages of this source is that the place of the document is not mentioned, which makes it a difficult task for the researcher to trace the original document or investigate about it.

The Royal Egyptian Archives "Statement of Sham Documents and what Helps to Understand it and Shows the Aims of Muhammad Ali Pasha"

They are collected and translated under the supervision of Asad Rostum. After he published the first group of "Arabian Origins" in the third decade of the twentieth century, Rostum managed to collect the Syrian documents preserved in "the Royal Egyptian Archives" in Abdeen Palace, after he seeks to obtain permission from King Farouk. Rostum then managed to collect 6671 documents from Abdeen portfolios and Turkish Abdeen records. It is noteworthy that he gave a comprehensive summary of the Turkish documents, in the same way used for the summaries portfolios. The American University in Beirut published these documents in the first half of fourth decade in four volumes of large size, up to 500 pages for each.

Rostum published his documents in a chronological order, gave a serial number to every document, and collected the documents in Hijri calendar together and their correspondent documents in Georgian Calendar. In the beginning of every document, Rostum provided a definition of the sender and receiver and the date of the correspondence. In the end of the document, he mentioned its source and serial number; the matter which made it easier for the researcher to access to the original documents. The historical significance of this source is best served by indexes, which Asad Rostum initiated. Yet he was busy with his serving as eastern adviser of the US Commission in Beirut. However, Rostum assigned the completion of the indexes to his disciple, Sobhy Abou Shaqra, after being encouraged by the Egyptian historian, Shafeq Ghorbal, and a grant from the Royal Egyptian Society for Historical Studies; the matter that is seen as a deep confidence in the education of researchers. Indeed, the indexes were finished and published in 1950.

Rostum committed with a straight historical approach, in which he published various unselected documents without intervention. Among the mistakes he committed was the absence of mentioning the source language of every document, whether Arabic or Turkish. Nevertheless, it is an integrated work that deserves recognition, and provides the researchers with an easy service despite the fact that it would be better if it is available to access to the original documents in the National Archives in order to avoid errors of publishing.

Second: Contemporary Events Sources

- **The Origins of the Syrian History in the Reign of Muhammad Ali Pasha (political papers)**

They are collected, adjusted, indexed, and published in five volumes by AUB in 1930-1934. By Asad Rostum from court registers in main cities of Sham and are also available at the British Consulate in Beirut, records of Maronite Patriarchate in Bkirki, Lebanon, library of AUB which collected copies of 4000 official and nonofficial message, and papers of famous families. Rostum arranged these documents chronologically. He managed to demarcate an approximate date to the undated document and mentioned the place of the document, kind of paper, the sender and receiver.

As for the historical material, the documents of Sharia court records provide material about social and economic treatment of various sects, a record of Sultan and governmental decrees related to taxes, recruitment and administration, and finally how to appoint the governors of provinces, their removal causes, and also their tasks. Special papers provide a historical vision that is different from the official one. For example, there was a message from Ahmed Agha from Nablus, Palestine, to his son Abdel Fattah, who was accompanying Ibrahim Pasha, from which we understand that Ibrahim Pasha after defeating the Palestinian Revolution 1250 H, brought captives from the famous families to ensure their calm and loyalty. (**Asad Rostum, The origins of Syrian history, 1932, Vol. II, 167-170**) The documents collected from monasteries provide comprehensive material about Muhammad Ali Pasha's policy towards Jews and Christians. For example, there was a letter from Ibrahim Pasha to the Governor of Jerusalem to cancel the tasks of the guards appointed to watch Jerusalem roads. This prevented Jews and Christians from visiting their holy places, and cancel taxes imposed on churches and monasteries and all Christian communities. (**Asad Rostum, The Origins of Syrian history, 1930- 1934, Vol. I, 87, 88**)

The original documents of Sham history is deemed important to the Egyptian rule of Sham; they are seen as a complete source complementary to the documents preserved at the National Library in Cairo. There is no doubt that taking care of these original documents before disappearance is worthy, as it serves the movement of history and reflects the cultural awareness. Finally, Rostum classified these papers as political, but who reads them well figures out that they include administrative,

Religious, economic, taxes, customs affairs, battles and military issues, so it is unjust to call them "political papers" as in the title

The Conquests of Ibrahim Pasha in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria, "Cited by Anton Ctavako, Consul of Austria in Acre and Sidon" (1831-1841)

They are translated and commented on by Al Khoury Poles Quraly, and are published by Science Press, 1937. They are a collection of selected and translated documents from French and taken from the records of the aforementioned consul, during the Egyptian rule, including his reports and correspondences with his superiors and colleagues in Turkey, Egypt, and Austria. The original documents were preserved at the Lebanese National Library. The translator selected 61 documents and added 7 documents from the treasury of Bkirki Monastery, so they reached 69 documents, published and translated into Arabic by the publisher without commentary or modification. The publisher mentioned the original language of the document and its place in Ctavako's record. The indexing process is simple and clear, by giving a serial number and title to every document. Eventhough, it is better to publish all documents of Ctavako to help the researchers.

This source provides a serial historical material of events from the conquer achieved by the Egyptian troops and the siege of Acre, then the invasion of Sham Anatolia, and events of revolutions of Palestine, Druze, Lebanon Mountains, and the international intervention. It also provides an image of economic activity, religious equality, and the issues of monopoly, recruitment, and the confiscation of weapons. Finally, it was the consul opinion when he said: "I do not think that Ibrahim Pasha will succeed in confiscation of weapons ... it is easier for them to hand over their wives to hand over their weapons, and I see that he will face a problematic difficulty in recruiting a large number".(**Al Khoury Poles Quraly, 1937, 40- 42**)

The Conquests of Ibrahim Pasha in Sham Provinces and Mentioning the Egyptian Rulers up to this Time

It is a manuscript of Alexander Ibkarios, located at the manuscripts store in the General Egyptian Book Organization, under No. 1820 Talaat history, and recorded in the form of a microfilm copy No. 13522. Yet the author did not mention the date of its writing. It could be get from the material that it was written during the reign Khedive Tawfiq (1879-1892), and that the writer, Alexander ben Yaquob ben Abkar,

Named Ibkarios is an Armenian Christian, who died in 1303 AH (1886). So, the manuscript is regarded to be written before 1886, featuring a manuscript style of the nineteenth century and its language in writing, assonance, excessive praise. It divides the manuscript into short sections that reached 19 sections, in which Ibrahim Pasha Conquests in Syria reached 12 sections of them, from 3rd to 14th section.

Concerning the historical material, the author was interested in the military events and conquests of Ibrahim Pasha in Sham. Therefore, he devoted a chapter to the administrative regulations of Ibrahim pasha and his deal with the Emir Bashir Shehabi. Then, he devoted another chapter to the rebellion of Druze of Huran and defeating their revolution.

The manuscript shall neither be considered chronicling nor eyewitness of events, yet it is an attempt to collect the military and political events despite the absence of different events. The author neglected many political events like the Palestinian revolution, Lebanon Mountain revolution, and the British role in raising the rebellion. The manuscript is a compliment to Muhammad Ali Pasha's family, and I think that it is prepared to be a gift to Muhammad Ali Pasha and his family.

Constantine Mikhailovich Basile, Consul of Russia: Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine under Turkish Rule from Political and Historical Perspectives

The importance of the book comes from its author, Constantine Mikhailovich Basile, the Russian consul in Beirut (1839-1853). He is the only diplomatic to write about the history of such vital period. Basile collected his material from Arabic manuscripts and writings of preceding western travelers. In addition, he takes advantage of his position in communicating with the rulers, decision makers and other close European consuls. Basile had finished writing this book in August 1847; it had been translated by Yosr Gaber, and published in Beirut 1988.

It is clear from the book that Basile was a diplomatic and a Historian with a connoisseur military mind that he has been aware of everything inside the Ottoman Empire, especially in Sham. However, he did not limit his work to the period during which he worked in Sham, he also wrote about the Sham society and history, and focused on the Egyptian Rule period and the European attitude. Hence, if he wrote only about his time in Sham, his book would have become more important.

Basile relies in writing his book on an orthodox ideology and a hostile attitude to the Ottoman Empire. His father lived in Istanbul and was sentenced to death because

He engaged in a Greek movement against the Turkish rule. However, he was saved and returned to Russia with his family, after the mediation of the Russian ambassador. Basile despises Muhammad Ali Pasha's experience; he considers him as just a Turkish Pasha who usurps power. Yet, Basile's attitude was based on a personal motive and a

Russian orientalist vision far from true history. Basile followed the mistakes of the Egyptian rule of Sham, including forced recruitment, disarming people, monopoly, and the fact that the civil administration which was in the hands of Sherif Pasha was unreal, while the real civil and military authority were concentrated in hands of Ibrahim Pasha. (Basile, 1988, 179)

Historical Memoir by a Damascene Government Employee

It had been published and commented on its footnotes by Khouri Constantine Pasha in Lebanon 1926. It is a manuscript preserved in Berlin Museum with a copy at AUB. The author is unknown, but from the original documents, the editor figured out that the author was one of the government writers in Muhammad Ali era. Then, he worked in the Ottoman administration in Damascus, and he was a member of a Greek Orthodox community. The memoir's language is closer to vernacular. Concerning the approach of the study, the editor preserved the original document, yet his modification was limited to adding a comment in the footnotes or a small title to save the text.

This source provides material about the situation in Damascus ahead of the arrival of Ibrahim Pasha's forces, and the events of Palestine, Huran, Mount Lebanon revolutions, and how the government handled the rebels, then the most important economic and social events under the Egyptian rule. This source provides some details, including the causes of Lebanon Mountain revolution and defeating it, in which he said:

"Muhammad Ali Pasha sent an order to Amir Bashir for the purpose of confiscating weapons of the mountain, after he gave them 16000 guns forever as a gift, then Amir Basher sent troops to execute the order ... the war broke up between the people and government. Most of the soldiers sent to the battle died side by side with few numbers of inhabitants, the war lasted for 40 days. Amir Bashir succeeded in discording the population by bribing some of them ... he arrested 95 of leaders of rebel from Druze and Christians and sent them as Captives to Muhammad Ali Pasha, who exiled them to Sennar in Sudan"(Khouri Constantine,1926, 205,206)

The importance of this source relies on being contemporary to the events, the matter that confirms that the author was the investigator in killing the Italian messenger, Al Badri Toma, by the Jews. Comparing the information mentioned in this document (Khouri Constantine,1926, 186- 205) and the information mentioned in the document of this event in the National Library, (Doc. No. 87/29 Feb. 1840, Research portfolio No. 90) it is revealed that the details of investigations do not mention that the Jews did not commit any murder crimes. There is no doubt that the absence of the Author reduces the historical value of the source, the absence of the author's name maybe due to his fear of Jews revenge, because he is the only contemporary source mentioning the details of killing Toma.

Wars of Ibrahim Pasha in Syria and Anatolia

This is collected by an unknown historian, with Asad Rostum to comment on its footnotes and wrote its indexes. Rostum then annexed them to some documents of Khouri Paul Qrali, and published by Syrian Press in Cairo, 1927. These documents are collected in a small manuscript in the form of a diary found in library of Maronite Patriarchate in Bkirki, found by Khouri Police Qrali among the paper of Patriarch, Paul Mossad, 1925, who gave it to Rostum to study and comment on. Its original title was "News of Ibrahim Pasha's seizure of Arabstan land and territories of Turkstan up to Boughaz Kolek". From the type of paper, writing style, vocabulary, events, Asad Rostum indicated that the Author recorded the events during their occurrence, and that their author is a Christian Lebanese; he maybe

the Priest Anton Halabi, who worked with Amir Basher. Rostum used his usual style of study and commentary; so, he did not interfere in the text.

As for the historical material in this source, during the events of Palestine revolution, the author said:

"Ibrahim Pasha came in Muharram from Jerusalem to Java and demanded youths from Nablus and Hebron to join recruitment, but they refused, the matter which made him very angry. He also brought the soldiers from different cities, because most of his soldiers returned to Egypt ... meanwhile the residents of Nablus Mountain blocked roads between Acre and Jerusalem,

While Ibrahim Pasha holed in Dair Alefring, Java, because of the few number of troops. Hence, Major General Salem Pasha sent a message to Muhammad Ali Pasha telling him that his son defeated and he is under siege because of few number of troops". (**Asad Rostum, Wars of Ibrahim Pasha, 1927, 39**)

Rostum noticed that the author is regarded as a three persons in one, all of them witnessed the events. This was proved by the fact that one of them used Islamic date, and the other one used Christian date, and some of events were repeated, and its date was conflicted. Most of documents attached to the book were derived from Katafako, and this means that they are just repetition of what was published before. If the absence of identification of the author makes the document unimportant, then publishing such a manuscript indicates cultural awareness, as it offers another vision.

Mashhad Al Aian (Eyesight) in the Events of Syria and Lebanon

These events are collected by Mikhail Mashaka, and published by Melhem Abdo and Andraws Hanna Shakhateri, in Egypt, 1908. Mashaka grew in Lebanon, and wrote about the period he lived (1799-1873) including the Egyptian rule of Sham. This takes place when he was young in the thirteenth, as he was interested in written history of his family. He wrote a manuscript that included the events of that period, but the publishers added a historical background about Lebanon since beginning of its historical ages, geographic nature of Lebanon and the origin of its tribes.

This source provides a rich material about the Egyptian rule of Sham in small chapters from (94) up to (120). It focuses on the smugness of Abdulla Pasha who prevented the Egyptian farmers, who escaped from recruitment, ignored the threats of Muhammad Ali Pasha, and ends with Chapter (120) which focuses on the pros of the Egyptian administration. This source also talks about the political events from the Egyptian troops' conquer of Sham cities to the revolutions. It also talks about the pros of Egyptian rule, including the reformation of the dirty swamps, which caused disease outbreak. The Egyptian rule pays the costs of reforming the dirty swamps, and did not accept any help from residents; reduces the price of meet and forms a committee to supervise the slaughtering and sales in addition to justice and equality between the different social layers of different beliefs. (**Mikhail Mashaka, 1908, 125**)

There is no doubt that the intervention during the publishing process including the use of correct language and adding some chapters is thought to be a kind of correction of an error or a completion of a shortage. This procedure makes the book

Losses its historical importance in terms of form. It turns from being a source of a certain era to a general book of Lebanon history, and it would be better to publish the source in the same text and title, provided that the intervention shall be limited to clarifying what is mysterious, repairing what is believed to be a mistake, only in footnote. It is obvious that publishing the source in this form is an attempt to prove the separation of Lebanon and its privacy; that is a trend used by the intellectuals of Christians of Lebanon from the beginning on the second half of 19th century, who learned in scholarship school and was assured later by the French occupation.

History of Syria and Lebanon or History of Mikhail Damascene (1782-1841)

It was written by an unknown Author; investigated and introduced by Ahmad Ghassan Sabano, and published by priest Louis Maalouf Jesuit in Dar Qutaiba, Beirut 1912, in the form of a manuscript. The editor confirmed that the author was an Ottoman official in Damascus, who called himself Mikhail Damascene, but it is believed to be an unreal name. The first part shows the religion (Catholics), the family name that shows the place of residence. The author then handed the manuscript to the British Authority that preserved it in the British Museum as a historical document.

However, the absence of the Author's name may return to the intimidation of the authority or the major families, which he mentioned their defects in details.

This source provided materials in matters related to the situation before the Egyptian rule, but the words about the Egyptian rule are few and in the form of a brief speech in little pages, that focused on the British efforts against the Egyptian rule in 1840.

The investigation approach of Ghassan Sabano shall not be seen as a real investigation, it is just to try to publish the manuscript. The investigation needs a historian not a lawyer, most of the papers passed without investigation or commentary. The detailed Index in the end of the book helps an easy access to the subjects.

La Mission de Baron de Boislecomte, L'Égypte et La Syria en 1833

It has included papers of Baron de Boislecomte about his mission to Egypt and Syria in May 1833, after Kutahya Treaty on 8th April 1833. He met Muhammad Ali Pasha and his administration; negotiated with them about the French trade interests and insured the French protectorate to Catholics, especially in the Holy Land. The source was published by Georges Douin, 1927, in the Egyptian Royal Geographical society in a special edition. The source includes reports and correspondents related to

The Egyptian rule of Sham from May to August 1833. Douin used the French approach in indexing, in which he arranged the documents chronologically, with a summary of every document, its title and date. He divided the documents into three parts under the title "La Mission de Boislecomte, Egypt 1833, Syria 1833".

Concerning the historical material, this source observed the political and economic developments, races of inhabitants and their sects, social and economic conditions, and political status in Syria. Remarkably, it refers to the activity of the Bedouin looting against agricultural and urban areas, and cutting off roads. It seems that the short duration of the mission of de Boislecomte, which was nearly four months, and being limited to the coastal regions, may have a negative impact in the evaluation of matters. These crimes become quite rare under Egyptian rule, in which

the British consul in Damascus monitored the efforts of the Egyptian administration in stabilizing the situation, and reconstruction of villages abandoned, and forcing Bedouin to respect the authority, population become safe from Bedouin attacks. (**Kard Ali, M., 1969, Vol. III. 69**)

The researcher notices that most of the reports introduced to the minister without determining the name of the minister. It maybe because he is the Minister of Foreign Office in France that has the same style of the documents of the French Archive in the National Library in Cairo. The deep interest of Georges Duane, who was a member of French Navy in the First World War, has been in publishing this source, showing historical and cultural awareness. In addition, it is worth mention that this is not only work published by him; he published in twentieth correspondents of French consuls in Egypt after French company, in four Volumes of Documents, and many others books.

Le Conflit Turco –Égyptien (1838-1841) et le Dernières Années du Règne de Mohamed Aly D'après Les Documents Diplomatiques Grecs

This is a group of Greek diplomatic documents that include reports and correspondents of Greek Consuls in Alexandria, Beirut, Tripoli, Crete with the Greek Foreign Office. It has been translated into French, indexed by Athanase Politis and published by Egyptian Royal Geographical Society, in special edition 1931. The translator put an analytic index that included a simple summary of every document, with its title, sender and receiver, and were arranged chronologically. There are about 115 document of this source related to the present study.

This source provides a political material that focuses on revolutions and troubles arose against the Egyptian rule of Sham, this attitude maybe based on the Greeks affected by the conditions in their country, which rebelled against the Turkish rule. The reports monitored the governmental actions to suppress the revolts, when revolution rises in Druze Mountain; Mustafa Pasha arrived with 6000 Albanian and Cretan soldiers from Crete, to participate in defeating the rebellion. (**Le Conflit Turco – Égyptien, 1931, 5**) Sometimes these reports depended on the official reports of the Egyptian army, for example, the report issued about Druze rebellion in Hasbia and Rashia of Belan, April 1838, preparations of the sixth Brigade, and battles details for five days. (**Le Conflit Turco –Égyptien, 1931, 12, 13**)

There is no doubt that translation of that source from Greek to French helps the researchers. This source only records events without analysis or investigation.

LE RÉGN DE MOHAMED ALY d`Après Les Archives Russes en Égypte

Rene Cattai published the Russian Archive in Cairo in three parts in French: the first part included the consul's reports from (1819-1833), and was published by Egyptian Royal Geographical society, 1931. It covered the first three years of Egyptian rule of Sham, Russia have a consulate agency since 1819. Then the consulate supervision was assigned one of the European consulates in Egypt. The second part included the consul's paper of Duhamel's period (1834-1837) and was published by the Italian Geographical Society in Rome 1935. The third part included papers of Medem (1837-1841) and papers of Krehmer (1841-1844) and was published by Italian Geographical Society in Rome, 1936. The documents of this archive include original papers of the Russian consuls in Cairo and Alexandria and their Correspondents with their colleges in Sham, and their daily reports and correspondents with their respective government in Moscow.

The material of this Archive introduces a view of the Russian consuls concerning Muhammad Ali Pasha's experience. It was a hostile view, in which such experience is just a Turkish pasha adventure, and it was in same time observant eye of military, political, and economic events in the region. The Russian consul mediated between Muhammad Ali Pasha and the Ottoman Sultan, for example in his report, the Russian consul in Alexandria, 24 Nov. 1837, asked Muhammad Ali Pasha about the Egyptian military movements against the tribes of Anaiza in the frontier between Syria and Iraq, and expressed Istanbul's concern of these movements. Muhammad Ali wondered and replied: "our people are working to develop agriculture and industry not for war, we know who mobilize his military forces on our border in Anatolia, we work for peace, and others work for war. The consul replied that the Turkish military is has been camping in Diyarbakir from three years, and I did not send any complaint to you about these troops. Muhammad Ali Pasha said: "I did not mean that military, but there are other military movements." (Cattai, R., 1935, Tom II, 501- 507)

The Russian consul reports recorded all military & diplomatic movements to end Eastern issue, for example, there were details about Mohammad Ali Pasha who refused decisions of London Conference sent by the consuls of Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia in Egypt, and French consul efforts to convince Muhammad Ali Pasha to accept decisions of London Treaty on 15th July 1840. (Cattai, R., 1935, Tom II, 501- 507)

Renee Qattawi wrote an index of celebrities, and index of subjects, which mentioned title, date, and summary of every document. So, the index included 100 page of the third volume, from 806-906, it is a great way to indexing, the matter which facilitates the task of researcher, Qattawi rearranged documents chronologically, and tried to investigate the dates of undated documents. There is no doubt that the publication of this source indicates historical consciousness.

Third: The Writings of Modern Historians

Al-desdar document and Buraq issue

It has been analyzed by Asad Rostum and published by the American Press in Beirut 1930. It is an analytic study of a document from the Egyptian administration period, dated 26th May 1840, and showed by Amin Al-Husseini in the conflict between Muslims and Jews related to the right of Jews to seize Buraq Wall, which is known by Jews as the Wailing Wall. The document is an order issued by

Muhammad Sherif Pasha, the Governor of Sham, based on the orders of Ibrahim Pasha to Ahmed Agha Dezdar, the Governor of Jerusalem, to prevent Jews from flooring the Buraq region, warn them of raising voice in praying, and give them the chance to just visit their holy places as it was before.

The study adopts a critical approach to the document in terms of the kind of paper, ink, font, administrative terminology, sender and receiver details, and historical circumstances. As Rostum listed a number of foreign travelers evidences, who visit

Jerusalem. (Asad Rostum, Aldesdar document, 1930, 11, 12) He tended to compare Jews' conditions with what is mentioned and stated in the document; this is a sound approach in historical criticism. (Ghonem, A. & Hagar, G., 1999, 52- 55) He reported another seven administrative documents from this period to compare, he concluded that the document is correct, and then there is no right for Jews to reconstruct the location. Though the

study had been small (14 pages), it has been a model for external and internal criticism; it tackles an important issue, shows the importance of documents of this period, and makes the preservation of these documents necessary.

Latifa Salem, the Egyptian Rule of Sham

It is the first integrated study about the Egyptian rule of Sham, published by Madbouly Press, 1982. It contains eight chapters as well as an introduction, and a conclusion. It traced the stages of the Egyptian presence in Sham. It also studied the administration, judiciary, finance, economic, religious, and consulate affairs, and studied the rebels and revolutions against Egyptian rule. The study depended on the original documents, especially the British documents.

CONCLUSIONS

There are different views concerning Muhammad Ali Pasha's experience. Some of these views considered it a renaissance project that returned to Egypt its leading role in the region, while the others saw it as an expansionist project that sapped the country's wealth for personal purposes. However, nobody can deny that the era of Mohammed Ali Pasha was the brightest era in Egypt's history in terms of recording events and the richness of archival material. So, most of the sources of the Egyptian rule in Sham were located at the National Library in Cairo.

Most documents of the Egyptian rule of Sham were located at Abdeen Archive, many of which are in Turkish language and are translated into Arabic, the matter which flourished in the translation movement in the era of Fouad and Farouk who produced a new comprehensive source in Arabic. It was research portfolios that include 27 ones concerning the Egyptian rule in Syria, records of summary portfolios, in addition to orders and correspondences issued by Muhammad Ali Pasha and his son Ibrahim.

The foreign unpublished documents consist of the European archive, embedded also in the National Library. This archive includes three sections, the Foreign Office

Archive, the French archive, and the American archive. It consists of consuls' correspondences and reports. It provides a historical material about the European states' attitude towards the Egyptian rule of Sham, and the consuls' role in watching and raising troubles. One of the problems of this archive is that its documents are selected and do not include all consuls' correspondences and reports. Some of them are copied by hand writing, and some are carbon copied on old run-down papers.

The most important of the published documents is "the Arabic Original Documents" which exclusively published personal papers. Some documents related to monasteries, and the records of Sharia Courts. Hence, they provided the point of view of the people under the Sham rule. None of them is saved at any other archives. It is important to note, with regard to the published documents, that the American University in Beirut had a role in spreading cultural awareness among Christians of Lebanon. However, they produced brilliant persons, like Asad Rostume, who published three groups of documents in this context, one of which is in English. Rostume also verified the Desdar Document.

The French School has a long role in the increasing the awareness of the importance of publishing these documents especially in the territories most relevant to it. The Egyptian Royal Geographical Society cooperated with

French institute of Oriental Monuments in Cairo to play a big role in publishing French documents in the form of groups in special publications, and on the other hand there is no role played by the Egyptian Historical Society. Anonymous writings, with unknown authors, are seen as a phenomenon that deserves attention. This is a form of passive resistance, but it is also an evidence of cultural awareness. They are geared towards the benefit of Syrian Christians.

Sources of the Research

Unpublished Documents

- Documents of Research Portfolios (Sham) No. 65- 85, Jan. 1931- Feb. 1840
- FO Documents in the Egyptian Archive, Portfolios No. 1- 4
- French Documents in the Egyptian Archive, Portfolios No. 5- 9
- Roznama records, sporadic group, record of statement from provinces of Egypt and Sham to the treasury, 1833, No. 1046/ 42
- The Royal Council, Record No. 139
- USA Documents in the Egyptian Archive, Portfolio No. 1

Sources

- **Aldesdar document and Buraq issue:** analyze by Asad Rostum, (American press in Beirut 1930)
- **Basile, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine under Turkish Rule, political & historical sides,** translated by Yosr Gaber (Beirut, 1988)
- Cattau, R., **LE RÉGN DE MOHAMED ALY d`après Les Archives Russes en Égypte,** en 3 Tome (Caire, 1931, 1935, 1936)
- Georges Douin, **La Mission de Baron de Boislecomte, L'Égypte et La Syrie en 1833** (Society Royal de Géographie d` Égypt. 1927)
- **Historical memoir by a Damascene government employ,** published and commented on its footnotes Khouri Constantine Pasha (Lebanon 1926)
- **Le Conflit Turco –Égyptien (1838-1841) et le dernières années du Règne de Mohamed Aly D`après les Documents Diplomatiques Grecs** (Cairo, 1931)
- **Mashhad Al Aian (eye- sight) in events of Syria & Lebanon,** collected its events Mikhail Mashaka, published by Melhem Abdo & Andraws Hanna Shakhateri (Egypt 1908)
- **The conquests of Ibrahim Pasha, the Egyptian in Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, "citing Anton Ctavako reports Consul of Austria in Acre and Sidon" (1831- 1841):** translated and commented by Al Khoury Poles Quraly, (Science Press, Lebanon, 1937)
- **The origins of Syrian history in the reign of Muhammad Ali (political papers),** collected & adjusted its reading Asad Rostum, in three vol. (Birut, 1930- 1934)

- **Wars of Ibrahim Pasha, the Egyptian, in Syria & Anatolia**, by unknown historian, comment on its footnotes and wrote its indexes Asad Rostum, who caught some documents of Khouri Police Qrali, (Syrian press, Cairo, 1927)

REFERENCES

1. Abdellatif, Layla, **studies in history and historians of Egypt & Syria in the Ottoman age** (Cairo, 1980)
2. As-Sabbagh, A., Mohammad Ali efforts in mining in Syria, published in Raouf Abbas, Egypt in Mohammad Ali reign Repair or renovation. (Cairo, 2000)
3. Ghonem, A. & Hagar, G., Historical Methodology (university knowledge house, 1999)
4. Kard Ali, M., **Sham plans**,(Beirut, 1969) Part III
5. Salem, Latifa, Egypt rule in Syria 1831- 1841 (Cairo, 1983)

