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**IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIO-STRUCTURAL
DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUMRAN ASSOCIATION
AS SUGGESTED BY INTERNAL EVIDENCE
OF DEAD SEA SCROLLS**

Part II

Assorting the Bulk of the Remainder of
Scrolls and Fragments found in the Area of Caves I-XI

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In the first volume of his *IDEOLOGICAL AND SOCIO-STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUMRAN ASSOCIATION AS SUGGESTED BY INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF DEAD SEA SCROLLS* (The Enigma Press, Kraków 1994) Professor Bruno W. W. Dombrowski investigated the state of real or merely possible interrelationships of Dead Sea Scrolls with the intent to find out what bearing they have on the historiography regarding the Qumran Association.

Dr Dombrowski attempts now, in the second volume, to continue his examination and, in particular, to assort the bulk of scrolls and fragments from Qumran Caves I to XI, and to further clarify what materials have been produced or used by members of the Association and what not. As his guide he separates the texts showing traits of the ideology of this group as having become manifest most impressively in the so-called Manual of Discipline (QS) which he interpreted in his two-volume *WIDER DIE HELLENISIERUNG JÜDISCHER RELIGION: HELLENISIERUNG JÜDISCHEN ERBES UND LEBENS. DIE QUMRAN ASSOZIATION NACH DEM 'MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE' (QS)*, (Qumranica Mogilanensia 16), The Enigma Press, Kraków 1998.

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LIFE OF AHMAD TUSUN PASHA (1793 - 1816)*

Introduction

Muhammad 'Ali (1769-1849), Albanian officer of the Ottoman army who between 1801 and 1805 managed to establish himself as a virtually independent governor of Cairo, is still a very controversial person. So-called "nationalist" school of traditional Egyptian scholars tends to see in him exclusively the founder of modern, independent Egypt. It is still widespread and quasi-official belief that although a foreigner he developed genuine Egyptian patriotism and that his actions were invariably motivated by his sincere will to lead the Egyptians in their alleged struggle to throw out the Ottoman yoke. Thus in order to justify this kind of wishful thinking the historical facts are often interpreted at one's will. Never mind Muhammad 'Ali's as late as toward the end of 1830th loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan, nor the fact that until his death he didn't manage to learn the language of the very people whom allegedly he wanted to grant independence. Never mind too, that during his various military engagements Muhammad 'Ali deeply mistrusted Egyptian soldiers' combat abilities never ever allowing non-Turkish speakers to occupy an officer's post. These contradictions between the historical facts and the leading current of the national history interpretation in Egypt pose unsolvable problems when one comes to examine the possible motives behind Muhammad 'Ali's military expansion in such different directions as: Arabian Peninsula, the Sudan, Peloponnese and Syria. Were they actions of a statesman who planned to safeguard the Egyptian independence in-making? Or was Muhammad 'Ali rather the most

* The following article is a modified version of Appendix 3. to the Sabil-Kuttab Muhammad 'Ali Pasha Conservation Project Progress Report 2000, submitted to American Research Center in Egypt.

successful example of local imperialist carving out his private domain at the expense of the crumbling Ottoman Empire? Thus he was not the only one to try. The end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century saw several – typically Balkan – self-made rulers (*a'yan*) who tried their fortunes in gaining virtual independence from Istanbul while officially recognizing the sultan's sovereignty. Ğezzar Pasha of Acre, 'Ali Pasha of Janina, Pazvandoğlu of Vidin – to name only few – tried (and failed) to control over their particular domains and secure their sons' rights to inherit their posts and revenues. Muhammad 'Ali was the only one to succeed. Relative remoteness of Egypt, the fact that the war-torn province was already since long isolated from the Empire's network and last but not least – extraordinary organizing and coercive abilities of Muhammad 'Ali himself – helped him in establishing himself in Cairo's citadel.

But was there really a plan behind his early movements? Or rather he took advantage of arising occasion, perhaps looking back to his compatriot – 'Ali Pasha in Janina – and snatched the power as the others in Egypt were engaged in heavy fighting for the same purpose. My point is to suggest that – in line with few contemporary works – if Muhammad 'Ali became the founder of modern, independent Egypt, he did it rather by coincidence. His real aims remain unclear to us, but the enormous concentration of forces and funds allocated for his son Ibrahim's campaign that openly aimed at overthrowing the Ottoman government and occupying Istanbul gives us a broad space for speculation. We cannot exclude the option that Muhammad 'Ali's real aim was to rule over the entire Empire (taking Egypt as a starting-point and of source of revenues) and only the Great Powers intervention forced him to abandon imperial plans and confine himself to hereditary Egyptian governorship.

We must be aware of the fact that the rule he established was a Turkish rule. Turkish was the official language of the court and higher echelons of Egyptian army. The dynasty he initiated was an Albanian one but saturated with Turkish, Ottoman culture always trying to imitate and emulate the Istanbul pattern. Even when engaged in deadly combat with Istanbul Muhammad 'Ali was turning to the Imperial Court as a point of reference to his, meanwhile rebellious rule.

Childhood and Early Years in Egypt

Tusun was the second son of the Ottoman officer Muhammad 'Ali who was to become famous for his quite unexpected career as the all but in name independent governor (*vali*) of Egypt. As such Tusun Pasha was Al-

banian by origin and Ottoman-Turk by culture. He was born in 1793, in Nusretli near to his father's hometown Kavala in the Aegean northern coast (presently in Greece). He was 4 years younger than the future Pasha's first son – Ibrahim and 3 years older than Isma'il. At the same time Muhammad 'Ali was given a rank of company's commander or captain (*bolukbashi*) in the local squad of the Ottoman police after he had distinguished himself as a brave soldier in expedition against "Praousta" (Preveza?). In 1787 Muhammad Pasha had married Emine, a rich widow who bore him the three above mentioned sons.¹

Two sons of Muhammad 'Ali – Tusun and Ibrahim – arrived in Egypt on 28 August 1805. It was an indicator of the Pasha's growing power and his will to settle down in Egypt. After their arrival the Pasha's wife and the youngest son Isma'il came.² Probably their joining with father was a matter of delicate and sinister intrigue, because the Ottomans originally were not happy with his usurpation of the Cairo governor's post. At least Ibrahim was kept hostage in Istanbul until his father agreed to pay 1.500.000 of annual tribute to the Porte. However the arrival to Egypt of both of them was not possible until Muhammad 'Ali succumbed to the Porte's financial demands.³

After al-Jabarti Tusun appears to us for the first time in on 22 September (Monday) 1806, when his father, Muhammad 'Ali Pasha sent him with horses to greet the *qapudan's katkhuda*⁴ who had just arrived in Bulaq. His arrival at night had been splendidly celebrated "with a salute of cannons and fireworks". Tusun appeared with a group made up of "chief members of the government, the *agha*⁵, the *wali*, and the *aghas* of the military corps". In a great parade they entered the city "through Bab al-Nasr and

¹ General Weygand, *Histoire Militaire de Mohammed 'Ali et de Ses Fils*, p. 52.

² Muhammad Husam al-Din Isma'il, *Madinat al-Qahira min Wilayat Muhammad 'Ali ila Isma'il 1805-1879*, p. 57.

³ General Weygand, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴ *katkhuda* – a Persian term, "master of the house, head of the family." In Ottoman usage, he was an official who looked after the affairs of an important government official or influential person. Among the *mamluks* of Egypt the *katkhuda* was a *mamluk* who acted as the chief executive of his master. *Katkhudas* were also assigned to officers of units of the Ottoman bureaucracy. In the Ottoman *ojaks* the *katkhudas* were second in command, behind the *aghas*, al-Jabarti, Guide, p. 344.

⁵ *agha* – Turkish: *agha*, referred to a petty gentleman or a head male servant. In these sense, the *agha* is a minor official, a messenger carrying the order or charged with a specific task. It does not refer in this usage to the commander (*agha*) of an *ojak*. But in the present text reference is often to "the *agha*" which usually means the *agha* of the *mustahfizan* – al-Jabarti, Guide, p. 317.

processed through the middle of the city”⁶.

For the second time we meet with a mention about Tusun in August, 1807. On 21st (Friday) “the Nile crested”. It caused a great concern among the people of Egypt since it had stopped rising periodically a number of days before the inundation. Prices went up because the grain was taken out of the market. But when the flood finally came, the people “were calmed and reassured, and the grain was put back into the open”. On the next day morning “*katkhusa* rode out with *qadi*, Tusun, the Pasha’s son, and *sayyid* ‘Umar, the *naqib*”⁷. They pierced the dam at the Canal, and the water ran into it”⁸.

In the years of 1806-1807 Muhammad ‘Ali used to assign command over chosen troops to his sons: Ibrahim or Tusun in his warfare against different *mamluk* factions.⁹

In the beginning of December 1807, Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha “decided to repair the palace in Jiza for Shahin Bey al-Alfi to live in”. So, on 4 December he “arrived in Jiza and stayed the night at the palace”. “The Pasha made him *kashif*”¹⁰ of al-Fayyum and (...) of 30 villages in al-Bahnasa and 10 villages of his choosing in Jiza and (...) of al-Buhayra up to Alexandria”.

“On Wednesday (6th) morning (...) *sayyid* ‘Umar Efendi, the *naqib*, and the *shaykhs* rode up to the Citadel having been sent for the night before. When they reached the Citadel, the Pasha’s son, Tusun Bey joined them and they rode down together to Old Cairo. Shahin Bey headed for the east bank with a group of his *kashifs*, *mamluks* and cavalry. They greeted him. He was accompanied by a troop of *dalat*”¹¹ who were in front playing their

⁶ al-Jabarti’s History of Egypt, t. IV, p. 26

⁷ *naqib al-ashraf* – was the marshal of the *ashraf*. Descendants of the Prophet were known as *ashraf* (sing. *sharif*) or *sadat* (sing. *sayyid*). They formed a nobility in Islamic society and were organized under the loose leadership of the *naqib*. In Egypt the *naqib* was usually a Turk sent from Istanbul, but in the latter part of 18th century the *shaykh as-sadat al-wafa’iya* was in control of this office, which administered funds set aside for the *ashraf*. Under Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha the office was assigned to the *shaykh* al-Bakri. Shaw 1964, p. 104.

⁸ al-Jabarti..., p. 90.

⁹ Muhammad Husam al-Din Isma’il, p. 64.

¹⁰ *kashif* – the subordinate of an *amir* or his freed slave, held a rank just below a *sanjaq beyi*; provincial governors were generally of the rank of *kashif*. al-Jabarti, Guide, p. 343.

¹¹ *dalat* – *dali* is the arabized form of Turkish *deliler* (lit. madmen). Light cavalry corps established in the late 15th century. Armed with short swords they preceded the regular troops. They and their horses were adorned with leopard, tiger and wolf pelts. Gibb/Bowen, I, 153.

drums and flutes. Behind them were the beduin cavalry and behind them the *kashifs* and *mamluks*. *Sayyid* ‘Umar, the *naqib*, and the *shaykhs* came next followed by Shahin Bey and next to him the Pasha’s son. Behind them were servants and retainers followed by musicians. They went to al-Qarafa Cemetery and visited the tomb of the *imam* al-Shafi’i. Then they rode to the Citadel and went up through Bab al-‘Azab to the *diwan* building. The *shaykhs* left them and returned home. They met the Pasha, and Shahin Bey greeted him. The Pasha presented him with a costly sable robe and a jewel studded dagger and sword. He also gave him some horses with saddles. The Pasha’s son invited him to dinner, and with the Pasha’s permission he went and dined with him in the palace”¹².

In the beginning of September 1809, Muhammad ‘Ali sent an expedition under command of Agha Lazoghlu, Salih Agha Aq Qoch, Hasan Pasha and others to put an end to the mutiny of the *Muradi amirs* in Upper Egypt. On 8 September (Saturday), “news came from the expedition which so troubled the Pasha that he decided to go himself. All the officers were alerted to move out. No one was excluded, not even his sons, Ibrahim Bey, the *daftardar*, and Tusun Bey who preceded them on Thursday”¹³.

On 23 September (Saturday) 1809, the expedition against *Muradi beys* in Upper Egypt was still in progress. That day “Hasan Pasha and the Albanian soldiers set out in successive stages. Several stories circulated among the people about the Pasha and the Egyptian *amirs*, and that he had made a truce with them. Some said that ‘Uthman Bey Hasan, Muhammad Bey al-Manfukh and Muhammad Bey al-Ibrahimi had met with Pasha. Some said that he had sent his son Tusun Pasha to Ibrahim Bey al-Kabir, who had received him courteously and had also sent his young son to the Pasha, who had treated him well. Some of his wives and those of the *amirs* arrived in Cairo”¹⁴.

Then, on 28 November (Tuesday), “the Pasha arrived suddenly in Cairo. He had come from Asyut to Old Cairo in 30 hours accompanied only by his son Tusun, Bonaparte al-Khazindar and Sulayman Agha, the former *wakil*. From there they went on donkeys to the Citadel without being recognized on the mountain side and entered through the Bab al-Jabal. On disembarking from the ship the Pasha had ordered the sailors not to tell anyone of his arrival until they heard the cannons fired from the Citadel. (...) Three days

¹² al-Jabarti’s..., pp. 103-104.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

after the Pasha's arrival the soldiers and their officers arrived with their booty".¹⁵

On 6 May 1810, "the *amirs* of Upper Egypt arrived in Ruquq in Jiza. Some went ahead to Dahshur. Their friends and retainers went out from their houses to meet them. Mustafa Agha al-Wakil, 'Ali Kashif al-Sabunji and Diwan Efendi went to them, then the Pasha and then his son Tusun followed after them. Ibrahim Bey gave him a present and he stayed in his camp for several days. Then they returned and many letters were exchanged regarding differences concerning the conditions of the truce".¹⁶

During 1810 the warfare continued to rage between Albanian troops who reached Sul and al-Burunbul under the command of Hasan Pasha, Salih Agha Aq Qoch and 'Abidin Bey. After initial success Albanians were dispersed in ambush and the troops escaped in different directions: to Bani Suwayf, eastern Atfih and Jiza. Meanwhile the *amirs*' troops dared to penetrate the southern outskirts of Jiza.

On 20 Wednesday 1810, in the night, "the Pasha crossed over to Cairo (from Jiza - S.G.) and went up to the Citadel. During the night a detachment of the *amirs*' troops surrounded the sentries and captured them. The camp was thrown into an uproar. There was such pandemonium that Tusun Pasha sent for his father. He came down from the Citadel in the sixth hour after sunset and crossed to the west bank. I heard, that when the Pasha boarded the ferry and set out on the water, he heard someone saying to another: "Advance until we kill the *amirs* and utterly disperse them" and it was repeated. The Pasha ordered some of his attendants to take a boat and look for those people to find out why they were on the river at this time. But when they went to the place the voices had been heard, they found no one. They searched, but found nothing. Then some believed the two were saints and that the Pasha had help from the supernatural."¹⁷

Massacre in the Cairene Citadadel. Investiture with Command in the Hijaz Campaign (1811)

In the end of February 1811, the Pasha was supervising the preparations for his first cross-border expedition to the Hijaz, against the Wahhabis.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹⁸ As early as 1804 the Pashas of Syria and Baghdad were ordered by the Sultan to undertake a campaign against the Wahhabis. Such a campaign - needless to say - never took place. J.B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795 - 1880*, p. 105.

Ostensibly the campaign was a response to the Sultan's order dated 1804 to subdue the Wahhabi rebellion. Secondly it presented for the Pasha a chance of riddance of the turbulent and undisciplined Albanian and *mamluk* troops in his army. Thirdly - Muhammad 'Ali surely had hoped to get the long desired Syria as a reward for helping the Sultan in his war against the Wahhabi rebels. Last but not least - he was motivated by another kind of desire to win fame and prestige in the Muslim world for capturing holy cities of Islam from the rebellious Wahhabis who were seen in Istanbul as heretics and whose rising power in Arabia had already caused the annual pilgrimage to cease.¹⁹

The Pasha went to Suez accompanied by *sayyid* al-Mahruqi who supplied the provisions for the planned campaign. "At that time the Pasha appointed his son Tusun Pasha commander in chief of the expedition to the Hijaz. They took their soldiers to Qubbat al-'Azab and set up camp".²⁰

On Friday, 2 February 2 1811, the Pasha invited the *amirs* to the Citadel for the celebration of Tusun Pasha's investiture. He plotted with Hasan Pasha, Salih Agha Aq Qoch and Katkhuda Bey to betray the *amirs* and kill them. It was to be the famous massacre of *mamluks*. Before the ceremony the *mamluks* were, one by one, flocking to the Pasha and exchanging with him formulas of honor and respect²¹. Then they head the morning coffee with Muhammad 'Ali.²² After that Tusun Pasha was given the standard of the expedition commander so the guests mounted their horses.²³ The *amirs* were about to descend to their houses when the historical carnage began. Among others Shahin Bey was killed. During the massacre "many fled to

¹⁹ Khalid Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men*, pp. 40-44, after: Dodwell, *Founder of Modern Egypt*, pp. 41-42. Kelly, p. 105. Al-Jabarti however, sees this as only an excuse to fight the Wahhabis who, far from being heretics, were only forbidding the pilgrims from carrying the weapons or musical instruments while performing the *hajj*, t. IV, p. 85. In addition to this cause of the campaign, al-Raf'i claims that as early as that time, the Pasha was thinking of asking the independence from the Ottoman Empire and saw this war as an opportunity to force the Sultan to treat him as an equal or an ally and not as a mere vassal, al-Raf'i, p. 119. Lawson argues that the Hijaz campaign was additionally influenced by the Pasha's desire to redirect some of the profits of the Red Sea trade towards Egypt.

²⁰ al-Jabarti's..., p. 178.

²¹ The *mamluks* were additionally cheated by the kind and personal welcome offered them at the entrance by Muhammad 'Ali. He passed to them the feelings of privilege on behalf of his son, Tusun, from the fact that they had so numerously (470) come - Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Abu 'l-Fadl, *al-Sahwa al-Misriya fi 'Ahd Muhammad 'Ali*, p. 54.

²² rather than "banquet" as is usually and baselessly stated, in: Ehud Toledano, *Muhammad 'Ali Pasha or Muhammad 'Ali Basha*, p. 148.

²³ 'Abd al-Rahman al-Raf'i, *Asr Muhammad 'Ali*, p. 109.

the house of Tusun Pasha seeking refuge with him, but they were killed".²⁴ Other chronicler relates that "some of the *mamluks* managed to reach the place where Tusun Pasha, sitting on the horse, was awaiting the end of the massacre. They threw themselves before him begging for his mercy, but he remained unimpressed and did not display any interest in their lot. The soldiers soon finished them all."²⁵

After the carnage of the *mamluks*, the Albanian troops went down to the city pillaging the property of the *amirs*. The looting went on for two days and soon the neighboring houses too – not belonging to the *mamluks* – became the target of their savagery. *Mamluk* women – as well – became free game for the Albanians. Number of the plundered hoses reached 500. On Saturday morning the Pasha with some troops and his entourage descended from Citadel with his retinue to put an end to the spreading riots. They passed through the most important districts endangered by rioters. He ordered executions of some ravaging soldiers. Tusun followed his father.²⁶ "The Pasha's son Tusun had gone down into the city that day at the same time as his father and had also killed a looter. Then the looting stopped and the soldiers desisted. Had the Pasha and his son not come down that morning, the soldiers would have pillaged the rest of the city and caused great damage".²⁷

On 31 March (Sunday) 1811, "the Pasha organized a great procession for his son Tusun"²⁸. The night before the soldiers had been alerted to gather in the morning. The Pasha went with Hasan Pasha down to the mosque of al-Ghawriya to view the procession. *Sayyid* al-Mahruqi had prepared the mosque for him with carpets and cushions. The procession passed by headed by a troop of *dalat*. They were followed by 10 large cannons on carts and two carts carrying two mortars. Behind these were the foot soldiers, Albanians, Turks and *saqman* all mixed together without distinction, followed by their officers on horseback with their troops. Then came the *wali*, the *muhtasib* and the *agha* of the *mustahfizan*²⁹.

²⁴ al-Jabarti's..., pp. 179-180.

²⁵ 'Abd al-Rahman al-Raf'i, pp. 110-111.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

²⁷ al-Jabarti's..., p. 182.

²⁸ Muhammad Husam al-Din Isma'il mentions that Muhammad 'Ali entrusted the command-in-chief over the Hijaz campaign to Tusun in Februry 26, 1811, p. 72.

²⁹ *agha* of the *mustahfizan* – the *agha* of the *musathfizan* corps was the chief of the Cairo police, leader of the army of Egypt and, according to Shaw 1994, 91, "the most powerful single individual in the country aside from the governor and the *shaykh al-balad*." The latter was the leading *mamluk* "boss", Shaw 1964, 10f. *Mustahfizan* – Janissary troops

These were followed by the units of the one whom the procession was honoring. His horses were led by, as well as his racing camels. Then came the Jawishiya and couriers and aides. Then came Tusun Pasha followed by his retinue, then the *kathhuda*, that is Muhammad Katkhuda, known as al-Bardisi. He used to be the *kathhuda* of al-Alfi, accompanied by the *khazindar*, and behind them the Turkish musicians. When the procession passed al-Mahruqi invited Pasha to his house, where the Pasha and his retinue had lunch".³⁰

During the spring and summer of 1811 Muhammad 'Ali Pasha had been gathering troops and provisions for his son's expeditions to the Hijaz. Finally in August the first troops were sent by land and sea. He placed the main camp for the departing army in al-Oubba. Because of the above-mentioned massacre the real take-over in command-in-chief by his son Tusun took place only in March, 30. From that they on, the camp of Tusun Pasha in al-Qubba started to fill with soldiers. Until August the army reached its planned force of 8000 soldiers: 6000 in infantry and 2000 in cavalry troops. The latter was composed in a greater part of beduins acquainted with desert conditions.³¹

Warfare in the Hijaz: First Phase (1811-1812)

On Thursday (20 August 1811) bulk of the army with its commander in chief – Tusun Pasha – "went from al-Haswa to al-Hagg Pond. On Sunday (23 August) (...) they left the pond. They spent almost six and a half months in the camp from the day of the procession until the day they left from the pond. During this time the people were in constant turmoil.

That day *sayyid* Muhammad al-Mahruqi set out in a great procession to accompany the ships. He had been chosen to join the leadership of the expedition and to supply the necessary provisions. He was also to take care of beduin affairs and their *shaykhs*. The Pasha recommended to his son Tusun (...) to do nothing without consulting al-Mahruqi, to keep him informed and not to carry out anything until he had reviewed it.^{32 33}

in Cairo. The term *mustahfizan* ("Guardians") was applied to this corps because it performed the police functions of guarding the major cities in Egypt. The Ottomans used the term *yenicheri* ("new troops") corrupted then to the Janissary. It was the dominant Ottoman corps in Egypt. Shaw, 1962a, 189; 1964, 90ff.

³⁰ al-Jabarti's..., p. 186.

³¹ Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Abu 'l-Fadl, p. 69.

³² *Sayyid* Muhammad al-Mahruqi was also entrusted by Muhammad 'Ali with solving all the possible problems ensuing from conducting the war in area of two holy cities of

That day news arrived that the soldiers going by sea had seized coastal Yanbu' and had looted the goods the merchants had stored there. This happened because at this time there were a number of ships in the harbor at Yanbu'. The *sharif* Gh'Alib, *amir* of Mecca, maintained a correspondence with the Pasha declaring his friendship and sincerity.³⁴ The Pasha also wrote to him many times and had sent *sayyid* Salama al-Najjari and *sayyid* Ahmad al-Manala, the interpreter of al-Mahruqi, with messages and replies. In every letter the *sharif* promised the Pasha to give his soldiers the victory when they arrived.

Meanwhile he was duping and leading on both sides, the Ottomans and the Wahhabis. Since he was afraid of Sa'ud bin 'Abd al-'Aziz and powerless against him he outwardly agreed with him and complied with the promises he had made to abandon injustice, turn away from religious innovations and the like. Inwardly he favored the Ottomans because he was one of them and believed as they did. He had made an agreement with the Pasha that when his troops arrived he would give them the victory and help them with all his resources. He ordered the ships at Yanbu' to unload whatever merchandise and other cargo they were carrying and deposit it in the citadel there with his vizier. He left him 500 soldiers. Then he took the ships, loaded them with his goods, spices and coffee and sent them to Suez to be sold in Egypt. There they were loaded with the equipment of the soldiers going by sea. When these ships with the soldiers arrived at Yanbu' and dropped anchor, they needed water. They were not given any water so a detail of soldiers went ashore to search for a spring. However, those who were posted on guard there fought with them and chased them away, keeping them from the water. As soon as they returned, they were fired on from the citadel. The situation was unclear for both sides. The soldiers prepared to storm the citadel. They surrounded it and under the cover of cannon fire

Islam. Previously this function was to be bestowed upon Diwan Efendi on 2 July 1810. Instead of him al-Mahruqi was given responsibility in this issue when the preparations for the campaign were already under way. Beside this new function al-Mahruqi was also the master of Cairene traders (*shah bandar li-tuggar*), Ahmad al-Rajabi, *Tarikh al-Wazir Muhammad 'Ali Pasha*, p. 130.

³³ "When the Pasha dispatched his troops to the Hijaz under his son Tusun Pasha, he picked *shaykh* al-Mahdi and *sayyid* Ahmad al-Tahtawi as '*ulama*' to accompany them, providing purses and expenses for the journey. *Shaykh* al-Mahdi was among the evacuees who returned after the defeat at al-Safra", al-Jabarti's..., p. 331.

³⁴ *Sharif* Gh'Alib had surrendered to the Wahhabis in Mecca after a long siege in 1806 and obeyed their following rule. However, he could not prevent their harassing of the population - al-*shaykh* Khalil bin Ahmad al-Rajabi, p. 125.

they fixed ladders on the walls and scaled them without regard for the bullets raining down on them. They took the citadel and killed everyone there except the vizier and six men with him, who escaped on horseback. They pillaged all the goods, money, cloth and coffee in Yanbu' and captured the women and girls living in the town and sold them among themselves".

On 31 August, "the messengers brought the news of this. They held a celebration and many cannons were fired from the Citadel. (...) A special messenger was sent to Istanbul to inform the officials and the Sultan of Islam".

On 3 November, 1811, "some camel riders arrived with letters from the soldiers traveling by land telling of their arrival at Bandar al-Muwaylih (...) (on the 25 October - S.G.). They had celebrated the feast day on Saturday in the Magha'ir al-Shu'ayb".

On 5 December 1811, "riders came with letters for the Pasha and others containing the news that the land army had joined with the seaborne army. They had taken the inland town of Yanbu' without a fight. The beduins had flocked to them and had met with Tusun Pasha. He had given them robes and clothing."

Close to the beginning of new year "riders arrived with heads and letters dated (on the turn of November) saying that they had reached Yanbu' (...) (on 8 November) and the two groups of soldiers had met there. They had taken the village of Ibn Jabbara, called al-Suwayq, from the Wahhabis. Ibn Jabbara had escaped. Many beduins had come and met the Pasha's son. At the time of the writing they were waiting in Yanbu' for ammunition. The ships had been delayed by the unfavorable winter winds. It also said that on the night of 29 November a group of Wahhabi chiefs were coming with around 7000 horsemen, including 'Abdallah ibn Mas'ud, 'Uthman al-Mada'ifi and also foot soldiers, intending to take the camp by surprise. So Shadid, *shaykh* of Huwaytat, went out to meet them with some of the *dalat* troops and others. They overtook them before sunrise. A battle took place during which the Wahhabis called out to them "O you polytheists." The battle lasted two hours and ended in defeat for the Wahhabis. About 70 good camels loaded with equipment were taken from them."

On Friday, 10 January 1812, "a caravan arrived from Suez with Chavush Pasha carrying letters. (...) They said that the army had moved from Yanbu' (...) (on 3 December - S.G.) and had come to Manzilat al-Sufara' and al-Jadida and they set up the camp near the mountains. They had encountered entrenchments and barricades there. They attacked the first line of fortifications and took them. Then they took the second line and the soldiers reached the summit. However, they became terrified with the size of the

opposing army. As the battle waged at the top the cavalry advanced into the mountain narrows. The battle lasted a day and a night until the afternoon of Wednesday (...) (29 November – S.G.). Suddenly the soldiers at the bottom saw those on top fleeing down the mountain. Then all of them turned tail and ran leaving their tents, baggage and ammunition. They began looting the belongings of their officers, taking only what was light enough to carry. The stronger would take his weaker comrade's belongings and his mount. Sometimes he would kill him to take his mount. They wanted to reach the ships at al-Burayk which had been readied as a precaution. They were so terror stricken they thought they were being pursued. In truth no one was following them because it was not their custom to go after those who ran. Had they followed them, none would have survived. So they were screaming for the boats, but when a boat with a limited capacity would come they all tried to crowd on board at the same time. Those who did get on kept the rest of their brothers from boarding with muskets. (...) When many of the soldiers and servants saw the crush at al-Burayk they went on foot to the port of Yanbu', so the animals, baggage and servants were all scattered. Tusun Pasha returned to Yanbu' after a day's absence from camp causing them to think he had been lost. Al-Mahruqi and Diwan Efendi also returned and stayed on in Yanbu'. Al-Mahruqi had left behind his tent with everything in it. A group of the routed soldiers, exhausted with hunger and thirst, entered it. (...) The army stayed in inland Yanbu' 24 days.

The cavalry regrouped and went to al-Muwaylih. They were worn out and lacked provisions and fodder. They said that before the battle they had given the camels one half *qadah* of wheat their provender for each day being 450 *ardabbs*. As for al-Mahruqi, the officers rouse against him, insulted him and nearly killed him. He boarded a ship and escaped from them returning by way of al-Qusayr. Many of his retinue and servants returned to Egypt by different routes. Those who went to al-Muwaylih included Tamir Kashif, Husain Bey, Deli Pasha and others. They remained there waiting for the Pasha's permission to return to Egypt. As for Salih Agha Aq Qoch, when he boarded the ship he retreated and returned to al-Qusayr on his own authority. Because he was arrogant and considered himself the most worthy to command, he took lightly the opinions of al-Mahruqi and Tusun Pasha saying "They are too young to conduct the war," and other such words. Yet he was the first to be routed. The Pasha knew all that through letters from his son Tusun, and he despised him for it. This was strengthened by Salih Agha Aq Qoch's speedy return to al-Qusayr without waiting for permission.

The events did not shake the Pasha and he continued zealously to prepare more soldiers".³⁵

The Pasha forbade the soldiers who had escaped from the Hijaz from entering Cairo. He was angry with them. On 25 January 1812, "many of the officers who had stayed behind in al-Muwaylih arrived (in Cairo – S.G.) including Husain Bey and Deli Pasha. They stopped at Qubbat Nasr in 'Adiliya". They blamed each other in front of the Pasha for the rout. Some of the officers ascribed the defeat to the lack of religious zeal among their soldiers: "How could we win when most of our soldiers are from different communities, and some even profess no religion and believe in nothing. Boxes of liquor were brought along with us. The call to prayer was not heard in our camps and religious duties were not performed. They had no notion of any religious practices."

Meanwhile "the soldiers came to Badr and seized it as well as the villages and surrounding areas. Good and virtuous people lived there. They plundered them and took their women, daughters, their children and their books. They deposed of them and sold them to each other. (...) When some of the upright men of Badr came to demand their wives from the soldiers they were told: "She will spend the night with me and I will give her to you tomorrow."

At that time troops commanded by Bonaparte al-Khazindar left for Suez to help Tusun Pasha hold Yanbu'".³⁶

On 23 April 1812, "Tamir Kashif, Mahu Bey and 'Abdallah Agha arrived. They (were – S.G.) the ones who had gone (in fact – deserted – S.G.) to al-Muwaylih after the defeat. They had stayed there a while and then gone on to Tusun Pasha in Yanbu' on the coast. Now they were recalled by the Pasha (to Egypt – S.G.)".³⁷

On 10 July (Thursday) 1812, "Salih Agha Aq Qoch, Mahu Bey, Sulayman Agha and Khalil Agha arrived from Yanbu' via al-Qusayr in the south and they went to their homes."

On 13 July "the new arrivals went up to the Citadel and greeted the Pasha. He was irritated with them because although he had ordered them to come alone without their soldiers to confer, they had brought all their soldiers. He was convinced that it was they who had been the cause of the defeat through their opposition to his son, their clash of opinions, their stinting on the soldiers' full pay and their quickness to flee on meeting the

³⁵ al-Jabarti's..., pp. 189-193.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-196.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

enemy, especially their retreating to the boats, as well as their arguments with his son Tusun Pasha. They stayed in their houses in Bulaq and Cairo for 20 days with no communication between them and the Pasha. They were shaking with fear, surrounded by their soldiers. Then the Pasha ordered their rations and stipends cut off. With that they were sure of the break with him".³⁸

Muhammad 'Ali's Direct Intervention in the Hijaz; Tusun Declared Pasha

On the turn of August 1812, the Pasha decide to go to the Hijaz himself. His tents appeared outside Bab al-Nasr. He was relaxed since the departure of Sulayman Agha, Mahu Bey and Salih Agha Aq Qoch. On August 30, "the soldiers assembled and the procession set out in the morning. The *dalat* were at the head followed by the soldiers and their officers, Hasan Pasha and his brother 'Abidin Bey (...). Then came the Pasha and Katkhuda Bey, their *Sigilliya aghas* and their troops followed by the drummers. (...) In the front they dragged along 18 cannons and three mortars".

On 1 October, "camel riders arrived with news the Turks had occupied 'Aqabat al-Safra' and al-Jadida. It was accomplished without a fight, through the trickery and help of the beduins by arrangement of the *sharif* of Mecca. They had not found any Wahhabis".

"That night (...) Salih Agha Aq Qoch, Sulayman Agha, Mahu Bey and others had gathered at Ahmad Agha's and secretly decided that if they found the Pasha ill disposed toward them or if he ordered them to return to the Hijaz, they would resist". (...) They believed that many of the Albanians living in Cairo, such as 'Abidin Bey and Hasan Pasha and others would join with their soldiers because they were compatriots".³⁹

In the beginning of October 1812, after arrival of the fresh troops, transports of ammunition, supply and considerable financial provisions from Egypt, Tusun Pasha in coalition with at least two beduin tribes: Juhayna and Harb, advanced again towards Wadi al-Safra' and had it taken without fighting.

Egyptian expedition continued its march until it reached the walls of Medina. The army's advance was negatively affected by increasing temperature, so it marched only at night and rest during the day. Then the siege began. The city was encircled by army and mines were laid under the cho-

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.

sen fragments of the walls.⁴⁰ In the same times special envoys were sent to the city's population to ensure their friendly, or at least neutral, reaction in case of Tusun army's attack. Only after that the mines were detonated and invaders from Egypt could enter the city. Medina's Wahhabi garrison surrendered after heavy fighting in the citadel in the end of December 1812⁴¹. After a short rest Tusun's troops moved north-eastward taking al-Hanakiya lying on the important road leading to Najd.

Then Tusun Pasha returned to the port of Yanbu', from where he moved with ship to Jidda, that he took without clash. Here he met for the first time with *sharif* Ghaliib. Soon he advanced towards Mecca which was captured – also peacefully – in January 1813. From there he went along to al-Ta'if (taken on 29 January). The news about these successes arrived in Cairo on 9 February 1813 and were enthusiastically celebrated for 5 days.

However, the Wahhabis still had at their disposal considerable number of troops highly experienced in desert warfare. On the other hand they did not want to run a risk of staging on all-out battle with Egyptian army. Even then, after Tusun Pasha had captured Mecca and al-Ta'if, *amir* Sa'ud bin 'Abd al-'Aziz preserved his army in a good shape and now decided to divide it into two separate corps: advancing against Mecca and Medina respectively. In the same time beduin tribes allied to Wahhabis cut off communication lines between the two holy cities, thus isolating two wings of Egyptian army. Understanding seriousness of the situation Tusun Pasha ordered Mustafa Bey to move against the southern corps under command of the *amir*'s son – Faysal. On their way Egyptian troops found an important strategic point – the town of Turaba – considered as a key to Najd and Yemen. Its Wahhabi garrison was commanded by a woman called Ghaliya. While attacking Turaba, Mustafa Bey's troops were flanked by the main Faysal's forces. In such circumstances they withdrew in panic to al-Ta'if leaving behind their artillery, light weapons and ammunition.

In the same time Egyptian troops in the Medina front were attacked by Wahhabis at al-Hanakiya where they kept their positions under command of 'Uthman Bey al-Kashif. *Amir* Sa'ud ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz came close with forces estimated to 20000 warriors. Wahhabis forced the garrison of al-Hanakiya to surrender and advanced towards Medina. After the defeats at

⁴⁰ However – far enough from the Prophet's sanctuary. Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Abu 'l-Fadl, p. 71.

⁴¹ The commander of Medina's garrison was ibn Madyan. He was captured already in November and Tusun sent him to Cairo, from where he was transported to Istanbul accompanied by Latif Bey. Ahmad al-Rajabi, p. 124.

Turaba and al-Hanakiya Wahhabis gained the upper hand and kept pushing exhausted Tusun's troops back to Red Sea. Diseases were abound among Egyptian soldiers and the scarcity of medical care added to the poor performance in the battlefield. Until that time 35000 *kis* was spent on the campaign that roughly equals 175000 pounds.

Tusun Pasha was thus forced to accept a defensive plan based on his still kept outposts in Mecca, Medina and Yanbu' while waiting for an aid from his father.

Muhammad 'Ali, after having heard of the defeats, drafted new troops whom he personally led to the Hijaz in August 1813. He arrived in Jidda immediately rising already fallen morale of the Tusun's army. Then he advanced to Mecca where he performed the rituals of pilgrimage.⁴²

In the second part of November 1813, "word came that *amir* Sa'ud bin 'Abd al-'Aziz had sent his envoys to Jidda, where they met with Tusun Pasha. *Sharif* Ghalib gave them robes of honor and took them to Tusun's father, who asked them why they had come. "The *amir* Sa'ud bin 'Abd al-'Aziz seeks the release of al-Mada'ifi" they said, "and will ransom him with 100,000 French *riyals*. In addition he wants to establish peace with you and to stop the fighting."

"He has already left for the Porte," the Pasha replied. "But we will not reject peace, provided the following conditions are met. Sa'ud ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz is to pay us all that we have spent on our armies from the outbreak of war until its conclusion; he is to produce all the jewels and treasures that he took or received from the *ka'ba*, and compensation for those items that were destroyed. After fulfilling these conditions he is to come to me for a meeting in which I shall make a compact with him and conclude peace with him. If he refuses the conditions and does not come, we shall go to him." The envoys asked him to write a letter to Sa'ud bin 'Abd al-'Aziz but the Pasha said, "I will not, because he sent no letter or anything else in writing with you. Return to him as he sent you, with the spoken word alone."⁴³

Meanwhile, late in 1813, the Ottoman Sultan – Mahmud II. – invested Tusun with the title of Pasha as a gratitude for "liberation" of Medina, which keys had been sent to Istanbul. Thus Tusun was given the traditionally related to this rank standard with three tails. It seemed to be a Sultan's ploy to flatter Tusun and by this way oust Muhammad 'Ali himself, while inciting his son to take his post in Cairo. In the same time Mahmud II. sent to Cairo a loyal Pasha to depose Muhammad 'Ali and become governor in

⁴² Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Abu 'l-Fadl, p. 73.

⁴³ al-Jabarti's..., p. 251.

his place. But the Pasha's *kathhuda* – Muhammad Bey Lazoghlu did not hesitate awaiting the clear-cut orders from Muhammad 'Ali in the Hijaz and killed the Sultan's schemer. Tusun himself did not present any sign of disloyalty throughout the period of the ongoing intrigue.⁴⁴

Deposition of *sharif* Ghalib

Although *sharif* Ghalib helped Tusun Pasha in the first phase of the campaign by clearing the way before his forces advancing towards Jidda and Mecca and convincing some beduin tribes to the Tusun's cause, he was eventually arrested by Muhammad 'Ali on 9 November 1813. The Pasha saw in him a great obstacle to his plans of subduing of the Hijaz to his rule. The Pasha confiscated all his property, domains and house.⁴⁵

On 6 January (Sunday) 1814, "*sayyid* Ghalib, *sharif* of Mecca, arrived in al-Fustat. A sailboat had brought him from Qulzum to the port of al-Qusayr. Ibrahim Pasha met him there and escorted him to Qina and Ous, where with his sons and the black slaves and troops that had accompanied him, he sailed on the Nile to Old Cairo"⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ Sheldon Watts, unpublished report, p. 10.

⁴⁵ al-*shaykh* Kh'Alil bin Ahmad al-Rajabi, p. 125.

⁴⁶ al-Jabarti describes his capture as follows: "When the Pasha went to Mecca, he and his son Tusun Pasha remained on friendly, peaceful and cordial terms with *sharif* Ghalib and met with him inside the *ka'ba* to renew pacts and oaths which pledged that neither would betray the other. For 15 days of *dhu 'l-qa'da* (October 26 – November 24, 1813) the Pasha went to him with only a small escort and *sayyid* Ghalib did the same when visiting the Pasha or his son. Finally, one day Tusun Pasha invited him to his quarters and he went, as usual, with a small escort, but found on arrival many soldiers at the house. Once the company had been seated, 'Abidin Bey arrived with a large company, went up to the assembly and approaching *sayyid* Ghalib, took his dagger from his girdle and said: "You are summoned by the Porte."

"Your word is my command," he said, "but I need three days in which to settle my affairs before I depart."

'Abidin Bey replied, "This is not possible. A ship awaits you."

This shocked the *sharif*'s men, both free and slave. They climbed the towers of his palace, intent on war, but the Pasha sent the messenger to say, "If you do battle, I shall burn the town and kill your master." He also sent the *sharif* to dissuade them. Finally, one of the *sharif*'s intimate friends, *shaykh* Ahmad Turki, told the three sons who were in the palace, "Never fear! Your father is being summoned for consultation with the state and he shall return safely. His Excellency the Pasha wants to appoint the senior of you as your father's deputy until his return."

He persisted until the eldest was duped into going under escort with his brothers to a place of detention other than their father's. At the same time, the Pasha summoned *sharif* Yahya ibn Surur, *sharif* Ghalib's nephew and invested him as *amir* of Mecca with a robe of

Second Phase of Warfare in the Hijaz (1814)

Muhammad 'Ali tried to improve the poor situation of Tusun's army. He prepared Mecca for an impending siege. The city was fortified. He ordered his son, Tusun, to move towards the long desired Turaba and take it. Unfortunately his son's army did not have enough provisions for such a march and was soon forced to retreated.⁴⁷

Meanwhile Muhammad 'Ali sent another dispatch of troops to the southern port of Qunfudha. 1200 of his soldiers captured the town but did not manage to ensure access to portable water from a well, that was controlled by beduins. After some skirmishes this expedition was forced to return to Jidda too. These chain of unfortunate defeats made Muhammad 'Ali make up his mind and stop any offensive moves. Now he had in the Hijaz his new 7000 soldiers from Egypt – his first draft of native troops.⁴⁸ Nevertheless they were not ready to face the Wahhabis before the middle of 1814. Simultaneously he decided to remove from the battlefield undisciplined Albanian troops.

honor. His appointment and the deposition of *sharif* Ghalib in accordance with the Sultan's order were proclaimed throughout the city. The *sharif* remained with Tusun Pasha for four days, at the end of which he and his sons were sent under military escort on horseback to the port of Jidda. There they were put aboard ship and sent to Cairo, as already mentioned, by way of al-Qusayr in Upper Egypt", pp. 279-280. *Shaykh* Ghalib entered Cairo on 9 January 1814. Then he was exiled to Salonika. He came back to Cairo on 6 August 1814 and died of plague in 1816 – interestingly: like Tusun Pasha – Ahmad al-Rajabi, p. 125.

⁴⁷ Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Abu 'I-Fadl, p. 73-74, al-Jabarti describes this failed operation as follows: On 23 April 1814, "Hasan Pasha left with his troops and camped in the tents (...) in al-'Adiliya (...)" On 24 April 1814, "camel couriers arrived from the Hijaz summoning Husain Bey Deli Pasha to bring wood, camels and other necessities. Regarding the Pasha and his troops, the messengers reported that Tusun Pasha and 'Abidin Bey had ridden out with their troops toward Turaba, the headquarters of the woman called Ghaliya. After an eight-day battle they returned in defeat. They were unsuccessful because the beduins had been offended by the Pasha's capture of the *sharif* of Mecca, so that many other *sharifs* had defected, dispersing to join the Pasha's adversaries in the outlying areas. Among them was a person called *sharif* Rajih. When the battle broke out, he attacked the army from the rear, plundering the stores and baggage and cutting off their supplies. It was reported that since the Pasha had only a few camels he had to buy more at the highest prices from the beduins who had made peace with him. It was also reported that prices were inflated in the Two Holy Cities because there were no imports and the Pasha monopolized the grain that did arrive from Egypt. This he sold at the highest price, even to his own army. Travelers, including pilgrims, were forbidden to have corn or flour; their baggage was inspected at Suez and if any such provisions for their travel were found, they were confiscated. French *riyals* in their possession for their expenses were also taken, in exchange for *piasters*, pp. 287-289.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

In April 1814, the powerful Wahhabi leader, *amir* Sa'ud bin 'Abd al-'Aziz died in his headquarters in al-Dir'iya. He was succeeded by his son, *amir* 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud. He could not have children, the fact that in the following years was to help the plans of Muhammad 'Ali. After his ascension to power the Wahhabi troops successfully attacked Egyptians in Wadi Zahran on the border dividing Yemen and the Hijaz. The Egyptian troops, followed by Wahhabis, withdrew to al-Ta'if. Meanwhile Muhammad 'Ali sent Tusun on patrol to al-Ta'if, while himself got back to Jidda to await reinforcements. Wahhabis besieged the city and Tusun Pasha who found shelter inside its walls.

Muhammad 'Ali invented a strategem to save his besieged son and his troops. He sent a Wahhabi POW with deceitful information – ostensibly for Tusun Pasha – that his father was about to set for al-Ta'if with formidable force, strong enough to break out the siege and save its garrison. Muhammad 'Ali was pretty sure that his envoy would be caught by Wahhabis, that in fact came true and frightened Wahhabis terminated the siege and retreated to Turaba on 14 June 1814. In the aftermath the Pasha took his son and in the same month they returned together to Mecca and Jidda.

On 4 May 1814, a caravan arrived from Suez with a number of sick soldiers and about 10 officers who had been banished to Egypt by the Pasha including Hajjioghlu, Deli Hasan, 'Ali Agha Daramanli, Tarjuwa, Hasan Agha Azarjanli⁴⁹, Mustafa Misuwa and Ahmad Agha Qambur.

On the same day Maghribi troops and those of other origins in this corps marched out to Old Cairo to embark for the Hijaz by way of al-Qusayr. Mahu Bey was still in Qina because of the shortage of ships in al-Qusayr to transport troops to the Hijaz.⁵⁰

In the late autumn of 1814, Tusun's mother Emine came from Egypt to join Muhammad 'Ali and perform the *hajj*. Her enormous baggage was brought on 500 camels and after disembarking in Jidda she proceeded to Mecca where she met Muhammad 'Ali and they could perform the rituals. After long prayer in the mosque, built on the very place where the Prophet also used to devote himself to the observances, she rested in the nearby house and Tusun paid her a visit. As Burckhardt narrates: "(Tusun) then left her to repose, while he himself ordered the carpet to be spread in the

⁴⁹ Maybe: Hasan Agha Arzinkani (i.e. from Erzincan in eastern Anatolia) – a founder of *sabil* once standing on the *khalig*'s bank in Bab al-Kharq, then transported to Darb al-Ahmar Street, between Ahmad Mahir Square and Bab Zuwayla.

⁵⁰ al-Jabarti's..., p. 289.

street and there slept, at the threshold of his mother's dwelling; offering a testimony of the respect and humility which does as much honor to the son, as to the character of the mother who could inspire him with such sentiments."⁵¹

Joint Operations of Muhammad 'Ali and Tusun against Wahhabis (1815)

"On 18 December 1814, a camel courier arrived from the Hijaz bearing dispatches with news that the Pasha and the other pilgrims had completed all the rites of pilgrimage, including standing on 'Arafa.

On 22 December night a chamberlain arrived with a report of the Pasha's return from the Hijaz by way of al-Qusayr".

"On 6 January 1815, letters arrived from the Pasha and others in the Hijaz dated 16 November 1814, mentioning that the Pasha stationed in Mecca, that his son Tusun Pasha was in Medina and that Hasan Pasha, his brother 'Abidin Bey and others were in al-Kalkha (or al-Kulakh – S.G.), between Ta'if and Turaba".⁵²

Muhammad 'Ali insisted on proper training of the arriving Egyptian recruits whom he wanted to use in subduing a rebellion ignited by beduin tribes living between Yanbu' and Medina. They stood up particularly against the Medina garrison, that allegedly tyrannized them. In the meantime Muhammad 'Ali proposed them a truce by removing the Egyptian commander in Medina. The *shaykhs* accepted this move and in consequence joined their forces with the Pasha. In that year Muhammad 'Ali was finally able to guarantee safety of the pilgrimage and he himself performed – for the second time – all the prescribed rituals of the *hajj*. It played an important role in his portraying himself as a guardian of the holy places of Islam.

Immediately after the end of the *hajj* Muhammad 'Ali carried out military manoeuvres and renewed the warfare. With 4000 soldiers he advanced towards Bal, where having defeated Wahhabis, he opened for his army the gates of long coveted Turaba and then – Ranya and Bisha. His other troops recaptured in the same time the port of Qunfudha.

Tusun Pasha moved out of Medina towards the northern Najd where he succeeded in capturing al-Rass, one of the regions most important towns.

⁵¹ Sheldon Watts, p. 11, after: John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia: Comprehending an Account of Those Territories in Hedjaz which the Mohammedans Regard as Sacred*, p. 387.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 303-304.

Then he advanced to al-Shubaykiya lying on the way to Wahhabi capital – al-Dir'iya. Both the armies were preparing themselves for the ultimate battle.

That time Wahhabites had 20000 warriors under command of *amir* Faysal bin Sa'ud, and about 10000 auxiliaries. After capturing al-Shubaykiya Tusun Pasha decided to allow the army to rest after tiring campaign in the desert. He was afraid of fighting the Wahhabi army surpassing his in number, equipment and knowledge of the battlefield.

Unwanted Truce with 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud

Just then Tusun Pasha was surprised by arrival of envoys of *amir* 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud, who proposed him truce. Tusun Pasha felt compelled to consult his father in this matter. Meanwhile, however, Tusun Pasha presented to the Wahhabi delegation his own conditions of the would-be truce: occupation of al-Dir'iya by the Egyptian forces, restitution by 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud of all the jewels and valuables taken by Wahhabis from the Prophet's sanctuary in Medina. Then, 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud had to become a hostage of Tusun Pasha and guarantee security of pilgrimage on the roads leading to Mecca. After Tusun Pasha had dispatched his envoys to his father, 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud sent (September 1815) his own delegation to Cairo, proposing immediate signing of truce to Muhammad 'Ali.

But Muhammad 'Ali Pasha did not approve the conditions in the form proposed by his son. He reacted with anger and decided to keep on fighting the Wahhabis until the very end. He wanted to treat 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud like a POW, but also insisted on his arrival to Egypt to proclaim his capitulation personally. Then the Pasha wanted to send him to Istanbul at the mercy of the Ottoman Sultan.

But the *amir* refused accepting the conditions of Muhammad 'Ali, because otherwise he would have put an end to the Wahhabi suzerainty and himself, especially when brought to Istanbul. Having been informed of the rejection the Pasha threatened the Wahhabis with renewal of war. Muhammad 'Ali devoted himself to prepare new expedition under the command of his oldest son – Ibrahim Pasha.

Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Abu 'l-Fadl not convincingly writes that then Tusun Pasha heard about mutiny of the Albanian troops against his father⁵³,

⁵³ In fact even earlier there had been rumors among the expedition's soldiery in Jidda and Medina that Muhammad 'Ali had been killed in a coup and that the riots spread all over Cairo. It was clear to Tusun that the situation could easily slip out of his control. At the moment the negotiations with 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud were still in progress and in order

so he could not stand waiting in Najd and returned to Egypt leaving the command over campaign in Ibrahim's (apparently more skillful – S.G.) hands. This justification of the change in command of the campaign seems to me to be a later invention.⁵⁴

Return to Egypt

On 15 May 1815, "troops landed in Suez and proceeded to Cairo, wearing silver aigrettes on their heads signifying that they were warriors of the faith returning from the campaign against unbelievers and that they had conquered the land of the two sacred shrines and expelled the violators of their religion. Tusun Pasha and Hasan Pasha even added the title "*al-mughazi*" to their signatures. God knows His creatures best!"⁵⁵

"On Thursday (10 August 1815) "Najib Efendi, the representative of the Pasha's *kathhuda* at the Porte, arrived in Bulaq. There he was met on horseback by Katkhuda Bey and other dignitaries of the state, including the *agha* and the chief of police and was conducted in a procession from Bulaq to the Citadel, entering the city through Bab al-Nasr. For the Pasha and his son Tusun Pasha he had brought robes of honor, swords, prayer rugs and other gifts, including jewel snuff boxes. To mark his arrival cannon were fired from the Citadel and Bulaq".⁵⁶

"Dispatches and letters arrived by camel from the Hijaz with news of peace concluded between Tusun Pasha and 'Abdallah bin Sa'ud. After his father's death 'Abdallah had become leader of the Wahhabis, renounced war and bloodshed and pledged his obedience. Two of the 20 Wahhabis who had presented themselves to Tusun Pasha came to Cairo. But this settlement was not to the Pasha's liking and he showed no signs of satisfaction.⁵⁷ Nor did he approve of the arrival of the two Wahhabis, so that

not to jeopardize them Tusun "fabricated a letter which it was claimed came straight from the Citadel of Cairo via Jidda assuring Tusun and his audience that Cairo was peaceful and that his father and family were all flourishing (though in fact there had been a revolt against the Pasha). Tusun's phony letter was widely publicized in Medina and Jidda and the cannon were fired off to show that Tusun was celebrating his family's health and good fortune. The ruse worked. (...) Tusun had successfully snuffed off dissent and was able to leave Arabia in good order", Sheldon Watts, p. 12.

⁵⁴ Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Abu 'l-Fadl, p. 78.

⁵⁵ al-Jabarti's..., p. 308.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁵⁷ Khalid Fahmy: "The way the Hijaz campaign was conducted (...) with serious logistical problems and a badly trained soldiery which was a mixture of Maghribis, Sudanese, Greeks and Armenians (? – S.G.), contrasts sharply with the superb logistical organization

when he met with them he rebuked them for their previous opposition."⁵⁸

On the turn of October, 1815, "news arrived of the arrival of Tusun Pasha at Sinai. Dignitaries and notables made haste to receive him with suitable gifts. Ladies in all ranks rode in wanes to the Citadel in order to congratulate his mother on his coming. On (...) 3 November Tusun Pasha arrived in Suez. Cannon were fired to announce his coming and Najib Efendi in his capacity of *qapi katkhuda* to the Sultan and the Pasha returned from Alexandria to meet him".⁵⁹

On Monday (November 7, 1815) "it was proclaimed that the main street of the city was to be decorated in celebration of Tusun Pasha's arrival. On the morning of Tuesday the fifth the people set about decorating the shops along the street and a festive procession was held". Before entering the city he met his wife – Pembe Qadin ("Pink Woman"). "Tusun Pasha, wearing a *talkhan* on his head and other emblems of the vizierate, entered the city through Bab al-Nasr and ascended to the Citadel. On that day many cannon were fired and fireworks were set off.

On Thursday night, November 17, 1815, Tusun Pasha traveled to Alexandria to pay his respects to his father and to see a son named 'Abbas Bey who had been born in 1813 during his absence.⁶⁰ This son and his nursemaid the Pasha had taken with him to Alexandria. It is said that the Pasha had intended to send the boy, not yet two years old, to Istanbul, but this would have been too hard for his father to bear, especially since he had not seen him. Najib Efendi returned to Alexandria in Tusun Pasha's company.

On Saturday, November 23, Tusun Pasha arrived with his son in Cairo, returning from Alexandria fleeing, having been absent eight days. He went up to the Citadel but began spending his time in a palace which Katkhuda Bey had built in a garden on Bulaq Road, behind al-Tabbana. There he stayed most of the time that he remained in Cairo".⁶¹

and the well-trained, disciplined troops under the command of Ibrahim Pasha in the Moroccan and the Syrian wars. (...) Years later Muhammad 'Ali could still remember the difficulties encountered during this campaign" – in his letter to Muharram Agha dated 12.06.1835 in Amin Sami, *Taqwim al-Nil*, Vol. II, 'Asr Muhammad "Ali", p. 408., p. 46.

⁵⁸ al-Jabarti's..., p. 321.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 322.

⁶⁰ On the other hand Sheldon Watts argues that Tusun Pasha met his wife and son already at his arrival to the outskirts of Cairo, at the now dried Birkat al-Hajj (Lake of the Pilgrims). His "another son, 'Uthman, had already died; it is not known when the three daughters who died in 1817 had been born", p. 12.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

In a kind of recapitulation summarizing the achievements of Muhammad 'Ali, his family and supporters, al-Jabarti mentions also his three sons: "Of the Pasha's sons, Ibrahim Pasha, was governor of Upper Egypt; Tusun Pasha was conqueror of the Hijaz; and the third son, Isma'il Pasha, was in Bulaq".⁶²

Redeployment of Albanian Troops (1816)

"On 12 December, 1815, the Pasha returned from Alexandria. His first action was to dispatch troops with their officers to Lower Egypt, al-Buhayra and the port cities. They pitched camp on both sides of the Nile, facing al-Rahmaniya. With them they took cannon, rifles and other military equipment. Their march out of the city lasted days. This was all a strategem to remove them from Cairo, to punish them for their recent deeds (mutiny and riots - S.G.). They went out in droves. (...)"

On 13 January 1816, Tusun Pasha and his brother Isma'il left for Rosetta and set up camp near al-Hammad and Abu Mandur, while Husain Bey Deli Pasha and others including Hasan Agha Azarjanli, Mahu Bey, 'Abdallah Agha Sari Julla and Hajji Bey set out for al-Buhayra. All this was designed to reassure and deceive the troops and sending out the Pasha's beloved sons was an additional safeguard. The same is true of the many high officials who were sent to the eastern branch of the Nile and to Damietta.⁶³

During march of 1816 "the army continued to march out for Lower Egypt. In various meetings the Pasha spoke plainly about the real reason for removing it from the city, namely that the increased number of troops would cause harm, ruin and hardship to the population if so many of them remained in town when they were not needed. It would be wiser, then and more prudent to station them outside and around the city as frontier guards to protect the ports from surprise attack whether internal or external. They needed only their pay and stipends, he said and these could be sent to them wherever they might be. But the hidden reason was to remove those who had planned to betray him and had caused the looting and turmoil at the beginning of August of the previous year (1815). He had begun by removing his sons and confidants, one by one, as a ruse, though he had revealed the purpose to his sons. With his son Tusun Pasha he sent one of his confidants named Ahmad Agha al-Bakhurgi al-Midalilli.⁶⁴ Tusun Pasha him-

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 340.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 341 and Ahmad al-Rajabi, p. 132.

⁶⁴ Probably: al-Midillili - i.e. originating from Midilli on Lesbos island - S.G.

self planned to bring down certain individuals, starting with Mahu Bey, because he was the most important officer and had the most troops. Tusun proceeded to win over these troops until only a few held out. He then summoned Mahu Bey for consultation. But the above-mentioned Ahmad Agha al-Midalilli disclosed the plot to him and advised him not to go. Mahu Bey rode out at once to the *dalat* corps. They sent a messenger to Mustafa Bey, chief of one of their detachment and brother-in-law to the Pasha and to the governor Isma'il Pasha, the Pasha's son, asking them to act as intermediaries in reconciling the Pasha with Mahu Bey, so that he would pardon him and allow him to return to his homeland. These two sent a report to the Pasha, including an account of what Ahmad Agha al-Midalilli had told Mahu Bey. The Pasha ridiculed Mahu Bey for believing this report and for fleeing to the *dalat* but said, "If there were no treachery in Mahu Bey's soul he would not have believed what he heard and fled."

When Tusun Pasha learned what Ahmad Agha had confided to Mahu Bey, he arrested Ahmad Agha and notified the Pasha. The Pasha ordered him brought to Cairo, where he rebuked and chastised him, saying, "You are causing discord between the chiefs of the army and my sons!" Then he ordered his execution. Ahmad Agha was taken down to Bab Zuwayla, where his head was cut off and his corpse was left exposed the whole day before it was taken to his home. The next morning the funeral service was held and he was buried.

Isma'il Pasha and Mustafa Bey arrived in Cairo."⁶⁵

Death of Plague and Burial

"Ahmad Pasha, known as Tusun, the honorable excellency and master, son of His Honor the Vizier Muhammad 'Ali Pasha, ruler of Egypt, the Hijaz, the frontiers and dependent lands. We have already mentioned Tusun's return from the Hijaz, his trip to Alexandria and back to Cairo, then his return to the vicinity of Rosetta, where he set up a camp for the army at al-Hammad. From this camp he circulated in Rosetta, Barnabal, Abu Mandur and rural estates. The last time he came to Cairo he took back with him singers and musicians proficient in playing the lute, the *qanun*, the flute and the *kemenche*. These persons included Ibrahim al-Warraq, al-Hababi, Qashwa and their colleagues. In the company of his intimates and this troupe of musicians he spent several days in Rosetta, where he also

⁶⁵ al-Jabarti's..., pp. 345-346.

assembled dancing slave girls and boys from Turkey, all of whom he took with him to Barnabal Palace. On the night of their arrival fate visited him with the plague and he lingered for only 10 hours or so before he died on Saturday night, 28 September 1816. The governor of Rosetta, Khalil Efendi Kuleli was in attendance.

When Tusun died, his body swelled up and turned blue. After it had been washed and shrouded, it was placed in a wooden box and taken by boat to Cairo, arriving at midnight on 1 October 1816 (Tuesday). Though his father was at Jiza, no one dared inform him until Ahmad Agha, the brother of Katkhuda Bey, went to him. But when the Pasha learned of his arrival he rebuked him for coming at that time of night, so Ahmad Agha told him that Tusun was sick in Shubra. The Pasha set out immediately by a Nile boat for Shubra and once inside the palace began passing through the bedchambers asking, "Where is he?" No one dared say that Tusun was dead. The boat bearing his body had been brought to Bulaq and anchored at the shipyard. When Katkhuda Bey approached, the Pasha saw his tears. Greatly alarmed, he almost fell on the ground, but went by boat to Bulaq, arriving at the end of night. Messengers were dispatched to notify the notables, all of whom rode to Bulaq, including the *qadi*, the *shaykhs* and *sayyid* al-Mahruqi. A screen was set up on the ship and the coffin was removed with blood and pus dripping from it. Therefore caulkers were summoned to close up the cracks and air holes. At the head of the coffin a pole was placed with the crown of the vizierate, called *talkhan*, on top. The funeral procession marched along without any set order; every one went on foot, ahead and behind, but without any of the usual troops of mourners, such as Koran reciters, their pupils and other groups. Starting from the Nile bank at Bulaq the procession went by way of al-Madabigh Road, Bab al-Kharq, al-Ahmar Street and al-Tabbana to al-Rumayla. Prayers were recited for him at Musalla al-Mu'minin and then he was taken to the tomb that the Pasha had prepared for himself and his family. For this whole distance Tusun's father walked behind the bier, gazing at it and weeping. In the procession there were four donkeys bearing *piasters* and small denominations of gold and silver coins which were cast on the ground and on refuse piles. At the *katkhuda's* right and left there were two persons from whom he took little bags of silver to distribute to the poor and children whom he chanced to meet on the way. When these persons crowded around him he would scatter the coins remaining in his hand so that they would disperse to pick them up from what was on the ground. The total number of *paras* that were distributed in small coins alone was 25 purses, i.e. 500,000 pieces of silver, apart from the *piasters* and 25 *piasters* in gold. At the

head of the procession six large water buffaloes were led, the meat of which was given to the employees of the tomb and their associates and to the servants of the mausoleum of the *imam* al-Shafi'i; only the leftovers were given to the poor. Forty-five purses for the poor of al-Azhar were produced at the prayers for the deceased. These were distributed capriciously at al-Fakahani Mosque, the rich receiving twice the share of the poor; most of the poor scholars got nothing at all. When the funeral procession reached the burial ground, the tomb had to be destroyed and the body lowered in its wooden coffin because of the difficulty in removing the swollen, decomposed corpse. Incense was released around the coffin in golden censers but the stench prevailed. Nevertheless, no one took warning or heed.

No one notified his mother of his death until after the burial. She mourned him grievously. She and all the women and retainers of the family wore black garments and they dyed their veils black and blue. Certain hypocrites in Bulaq and elsewhere even smeared doors of their houses with mud. For 40 days it was absolutely forbidden to celebrate weddings or to beat drums. This included the bands of the Pasha, Isma'il Pasha and Tahir Pasha and even the *mevlevi* dervishes could not play the flute and drum in their convents when they met. At the grave, mourning was maintained for 40 days with readers alternating in reciting the Koran. They were provided with food, including meat and everything else they needed. So many gifts accumulated from the deceased's mother, sisters and other relatives, that I was reminded of the words: "The misfortunes of some are the benefits of others."

Tusun died young, when not yet 20 years old. He was fair skinned and corpulent and had a full beard. Brave, valiant and magnanimous, he was fond of Arabs⁶⁶ and loyal to Islam. He sometimes opposed his father's acts and the army feared and respected him, for he would kill whoever committed a slight offence, though he was generous to those who were obedient as well as to his officers. Accordingly, most people liked him and used to wish that he would succeed his father as ruler. But God denies all that He does not wish".⁶⁷

⁶⁶ and conversely: as Wilkinson describes him briefly as an "amicable young man who had made himself beloved by all classes" – not a very revealing account really. John Gardner Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt*, vol. II, p. 536.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 372-373.

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EVLIYA ÇELEBI ON 'ALEVISTÂN:
AN UNIDENTIFIED REGION OF THE SUDAN (1672).

Evliya Çelebi (called further Evliya) in the tenth volume of his "Book of Travels" (*Seyahatname*)¹ mentions the region/territory (*vilāyet*), or country/land (*diyār*), or kingdom of (the) 'Alevī, otherwise called 'Alevistān, meaning the same: 'the region/country of (the) 'Alevī'. After the description of Asvān (Aswan), comes a paragraph, 28 lines long, entitled *Vilāyet-i 'Alevī*, of which only 8 lines are devoted to that country:

„The region (*vilāyet*) on the southern side of Asvān is called the region of (the) 'Alevī. It is a vast country stretching as far as *Habeş* and *Dembistān*.² There, too, because of the mild climate, are desirable girls, with hind-like, and gazelle-like eyes and nicely spoken. Each of them has a bright pretty face like Varaka,³ Gülşah,⁴ Leylā,⁵ Züleyhā,⁶ and 'Azrā.⁷ The notables of Asvān take from the region of (the) 'Alevī these stars[-like] pure maidens for wives. Some of them as virgins are excised

¹ Evliya Çelebi *Seyahatnamesi - Mısır, Sudan, Habeş (1672-1680)*, Onuncu cilt. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1938. Cited further as *Seyahatname*.

² The Turkish editor reads *Dumbistan/Dumbiye* and Prokosch *Dümbistan/Dümbiye*. Erich Prokosch, *Ins Land der geheimnisvollen Func: des türkischen Weltenbummlers Evliya Çelebi Reise durch Oberägypten und den Sudan nebst der Osmanischen Provinz Habeş in den Jahren 1672/73*. Graz; Wien; Köln: Verl. Styria, 1994. (Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber; N.F., Bd.3). This reading is warranted whenever Evliya writes this name with long u (ü). He writes it also with a short vowel, hence reading *Dembistan/Dembiye*, which is more appropriate. Long u (ü) in this toponym is not unique to Evliya as 'Dumbea' is mentioned in one of the letters written (1630-1698) by Antonio da Pescopagano. C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX*. 1903-17, I, p. 395.

³ The male hero of a Persian romantic poem entitled "Varaka and Gulshah" by 'Ayyukī.

⁴ Sweetheart of Varaka.

⁵ Sweetheart of Majnun.

⁶ Zeliha, wife of Potiphar.

⁷ Vamik's sweetheart in the epic poem of Vamik and Azra by the Persian poet 'Unsurī.