

The Egyptian Rural Society in the Mid-Nineteenth Century as Reflected in the Documents on Petition for the Exemption from Military Service

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Introduction

The mid-nineteenth century is so-called forgotten age in the history of modern Egypt between the ages of two well-known rulers, that is the age of Muḥammad ‘Alīnm , founder of modern Egypt, and that of Ismā‘īl, champion of modernization. However, this age is the decisive turning epoch in the formation of modern Egypt from the state oriented by monopolistic policy to the state managed under capitalistic system.

The aim of this essay is to introduce unpublished documents possessed in the Egyptian National Archives (*Dār al-Wathā’iq al-Qawmīya al-Miṣrīya*) which contain informations on the state control over Egyptian peasants and the structure of Egyptian village in mid-nineteenth century, and to point out some characteristics of Egyptian rural society in this important epoch, by analysing the form and content of these documents.

The source materials under study are thirty six documents on the petition, dated from 1853 to 1866, got up by Egyptian peasants to the Viceroy (*wālī*) of Egypt for the exemption from military service.¹ Of course, these petitions, which I could find in documents titled “Documents of the Vice-royal Cabinet, Turkish Department (*maḥāfiẓ ma‘īya sanīya turkī*),” are only small part of many petitions which might be issued in mid-nineteenth century.

1 Document of Carton No.1 [I], Document No. 65, dated 20 Muḥarram A.H. 1270 (A.D. 1853) (*maḥfaẓa raqm 1 [I], wathīqa raqm 65*).

Document of Carton No. 2 [II], Document No. 301, 319, 337, 349, 364, 391, 392, 399, 410, 412, 430, 459, 482, 495, 497, 504, 505, 554, 561, 562, 563, 565, dated 29 Jumādā II–29 Shawwāl A.H. 1270 (A.D. 1854) (*maḥfaẓa raqm 2 [II], wathīqa raqm 301, 319, 337, 349, 364, 391, 392, 399, 410, 412, 430, 459, 482, 495, 497, 504, 505, 554, 561, 562, 563, 565*).

Document of Carton No. 9 [I], Document No. 198, dated 22 Rabī’ I A.H. 1272 (A.D. 1855) (*maḥfaẓa raqm 9 [I], wathīqa raqm 198*).

Document of Carton No. 22 [I], Document No. 36, dated 6 Rabī’ I A.H. 1275 (A.D. 1858) (*maḥfaẓa raqm 22 [I], wathīqa raqm 36*).

Document of Carton No. 22 [II], Document No. 286, 299, dated 27, 28 Rabī’ II A.H. 1275 (A.D. 1858) (*maḥfaẓa raqm 22 [II], wathīqa raqm 286, 299*).

Document of Carton No.37 [I], Document No. 142, 143, 148, 210, dated 18–29 Shawwāl A.H. 1282 (A.D. 1866) (*maḥfaẓa raqm 37 [I], wathīqa raqm 142, 143, 148, 210*).

Document of Carton No. 37 [II], Document No. 215, 224, 228, 281, 283, dated 1–13 Dhū-l-qa’da A.H. 1282 (A.D. 1866) (*maḥfaẓa raqm 37 [II], wathīqa raqm 215, 224, 228, 281, 283*).

1. The Form of Petition

Al-ma'īya al-sanīya, the title of the documents in which the above mentioned petitions are collected, literally means those close to the Viceroy of Egypt, and was also called *shūrā al-mu'āwana* (Assistant Counsel). As its naming obviously shows, this organization, translated as the Vice-royal Cabinet, was a kind of private counsel, being close to the Viceroy of Egypt and assisting him, together with such the private legal and administrative counsels to the Viceroy of Egypt set up also under his direct control as the Legislative Committee (*majlis al-aḥkām*) and the Office of Local Supervision (*dīwān al-taftīsh*).²

In this organization, two linguistic departments, that is the Turkish and Arabic Departments, were set up for the translation of Arabic into Turkish and vice versa, according to Turkish and Arabic bi-linguistic situation in those days.³ The petitions under study are the documents which were issued, collected and classified by the Turkish Department.

Among the works of the Vice-royal Cabinet, the most important is to generally administer the affairs of state and totally supervise the regular administrative and judicial organizations. It also dealt with the urgent judicial, administrative and legislative affairs with which the regular organizations could not temporarily cope. In other words, the Vice-royal Cabinet filled the role of stabilizer for Egyptian society, functioning as an effective machinery to transmit the supreme orders of the Viceroy of Egypt to the lower administrative units on the one hand, and as a direct channel to pump up the complaints and discontents among inhabitants living in the lower administrative units to the Viceroy of Egypt as a form of appeal (*shakwā*) or petition (*'arḍ, i'rād*) on the other.

As for the "Documents of the Vice-royal Cabinet, Turkish Department", these are the collected Turkish and Arabic documents exchanged between the Vice-royal Cabinet and local administrators on the subjects concerning the urgent affairs and themes about which the state should immediately investigate and get informations. As could be easily expected from the role of the Vice-royal Cabinet, they can be distinguished into two categories of documents by their contents.

The first is the documents concerning the necessary informations for the state to urgently get, when the state would plan to introduce new system or execute new policy.⁴ And the second is the documents concerning the petitions from common people, got up against the system or policy which the state had already introduced or executed. The documents on the petition by Egyptian peasants to the Viceroy of Egypt for the exemption from military service are typical ones among the documents of the second category.

2 J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques du Caire*, Le Caire, 1930, pp. 123-124, 126-129.

3 J. Deny, *Sommaire des archives turques*, pp. 90-104. H. Rivlin, *The Agricultural Policy of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt*, Harvard Univ. Press, 1961, pp. 85-86. A. al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984, pp. 102-103.

4 The following essay is based on this kind of documents. H. Kato, "Urban and Rural Societies in Mid-19th Century Egypt—as reflected in some unpublished documents relating to taxation system—", *The Proceedings of International Conference on Urbanism in Islam*, vol. 3, The Middle Eastern Culture Center, Tokyo, 1989.

The system of direct petition to the Viceroy of Egypt is the legacy of the administrative or secular court (*maḥkamat al-mazālim*) in the Middle Ages. The administrative court, as is well known, was distinguished from the normal Islamic court (*al-maḥkama al-shar'īya*) in the Islamic world to the effect that the former dealt with lawsuits of public nature such as the abuses of state administrators through the procedure of petition within the special judicial right of the state, while the latter dealt with the lawsuits of private nature by the hands of judge (*qāḍī*) who was appointed by the state, but sentenced according to the Law of the God, that is the Islamic Law.⁵

In Egypt, the system of direct petition continued to be effective in nineteenth century until the modernization of judicial system at the end of the century. The conscription is one of the most disliked subjects on which Egyptian peasants got up direct petitions in mid-nineteenth century, for the draft for military service, which functioned the fundamental system for the formation of national consciousness besides the educational system, was the policy which Egyptian peasants hated as blood tax for its robbing them of their agricultural labour.⁶ This is the reason why a lot of petitions were issued against the injustice of local administrators, almost of whom were village officials,⁷ demanding the invalidity of unfair recruitment for military service.

The document on petition is composed of the text of petition and the documented records on the procedure of investigation made by authorities whether the claim of petitioner is correct or not. The text of petition is copied down by scrivener on the prescribed form of 26 cm. in width and 40 cm. in length. The records on the procedure of investigation by authorities and its results are scribbled one after another, sometimes as a form of report and résumé, and sometimes in a style of questions and answers, firstly in the margins of the prescribed form on which the text of petition is copied down, secondly on the opposite side of the prescribed form, and finally on supplementary papers if the space is not enough.

The concrete items of records are the confirmation by the authority on the acceptance of petition, the order from the authority to local administrators on the investigation whether the claim of petitioner is correct or not, and the results of investigation by local administrators. The investigation was made into the composition of petitioner's family, based upon the register of inhabitants (*daftar al-ta'dād*) and the register of the deads (*daftar qayd al-mutawwafīn*), and into the date of conscription of the soldier whose exemption from military service the petition demanded, based upon the register of recruitment for military service (*quyūdāt 'asākir al-jihādīya*). In addition if necessary, the answer of question to doctor on

5 On the *maḥkamat al-mazālim* in the Middle Ages, see J. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Mazālim under the Bahārī Mamlūks*, 662/1264–789/1387, Leiden, 1985.

6 The classical work on this subject is H. Rivlin, *The Agricultural Policy of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt*. But, the following excellent book was recently published. 'Alī Shalabī, *al-miṣriyūn wa al-jundīya fī al-qarn al-tāsi'* 'ashar, Cairo, 1988.

7 The village officials in this context mean village seniors (*shaykh*, pl. *mashāykh*). They made efforts to exempt their relatives (*aqārib*) and followers (*itibā'*) from military service by appealing to their authorities as seen in the petition of Document of Carton No. 2 [II], Document No. 391 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 2 [II]*, *wathīqa raqm 391*), and offered the convenience to exempt villagers from military service in compensation of bribe (*rashwa*) as seen in the petitions of Documents of Carton No. 1 [II], Document No. 65 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 1 [II]*, *wathīqa raqm 65*) and Carton No. 1 [II], Document No. 497 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 1 [II]*, *wathīqa raqm 497*).

the age of the persons concerned and the opinions of village notables on the claims of petitioner were recorded.

For reference, we pick up a document on petition, and explain the above mentioned procedure of making it out. This document is titled "Documents of the Vice-royal Cabinet, Turkish Department, Carton No. 2 [II], Document No. 554 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 2 [III], wathīqa raqm 554*)", one of the shortest documents in which the documented records of petition are completed only on the surface of the prescribed form.

① is the text of petition in Arabic. ② is the confirmation in Turkish by the authority on the acceptance of petition (dated 8 Shawwāl A.H. 1270). ③④⑤ are the results in Arabic of investigation by local administrators on the contents of petition, of which ③ is the result of investigation on the composition of petitioner's family, based upon the register of inhabitants (dated 18 Shawwāl), ④ is the result of investigation on the date of conscription of the soldier whose exemption from military service the petition demands, based upon the register of recruitment for military service (without date), and ⑤ is the result of investigation on the claim of petitioner to the effect that the head of his family was dead, based upon the register of the deads (dated 21 Shawwāl). And ⑥ is the report of progress in Turkish by the authority on the above mentioned procedure (dated 21 Shawwāl).

2. The Content of Petition

At any rate, in mid-nineteenth century in Egypt the direct petition to the Viceroy of Egypt was allowed. In principal, Egyptian people, even though they were peasants, could directly complain to him, if they could pay for the tax fee (90 piastre)⁸ of the prescribed form and the reward to scrivener who wrote down the petition in stead of them. Their petitions were accepted by the authorities, and the favor was done for them by the Viceroy of Egypt if their appeals were investigated to be correct. However in practice, the direct petition could be got up only when the petitioner himself was a member of notable families or under their patronage, so long as the petition entailed the accusation to the local staffs, especially village officials who were charged with the daily life of petitioner.

Then, let's translate two texts of petition, one of which was picked out above as a sample of document, when we tried to introduce the form of the documents on petition.

Translation (1) Document of Carton No. 2 [II]
Document No. 554 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 2 [III], wathīqa raqm 554*),
dated Shawwāl A.H. 1270 (A.D. 1854)

The petition to His Highest Excellency, the Viceroy of the Egypt. This is presented by your subject 'Alī 'Aṭā, inhabitant of village Simabay, Buhaira Prefecture. We, four brothers, had been living in one household. But, one of us was recruited for military service last year,

⁸ Except the prescribed form in Document of Carton No. 2 [II], Document No. 430 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 22 [III], wathīqa raqm 430*), of which the tax fee is 45 *fiḍḍā*.

and another died leaving five daughters and their mother behind him. The result was that two remainder (brothers) of us were forced to nurture our family and our dead brother's family, namely ten women and children (*walāya*). However, when the order on the recruitment for military service was pronounced in (the month of) Ramaḍān, the authorities recruited and registered my (remainder) brother for military service. He was our breadwinner and our livelihood was supported by his work. Since his recruitment by authorities for military service, we were left all alone and unable to nurture the families of the dead (brother), the recruited (brothers) for military service, and myself. In our village, there are families with a lot of members. When the authorities recruited forty seven (villagers) fifteen years ago and twenty (villagers) twelve years ago, they did not recruit anyone from the families (with a lot of members). This is contradictory to the justice (*'adāla*) of His Highest Excellency, the Viceroy of the Egypt, for this causes the destruction of households in (our) village with eighty four families. So, in 22 Ramaḍān we presented a petition (*'arḍ*) on this matter to His Excellency, but the petition has not been taken up until now. His Excellency, please consider our sole breadwinner. We, hereupon, are audacious to present this (petition) and ask in it for the publication of the Imperial order to the effect of the exemption of my beloved brother (from military service). If we are treated according to the laws and regulations promulgated based on the unique truth, the blessing and mercy will not be interrupted to be on the Highest Viceroy of the Egypt.

Translation (2) Document of Carton No. 22 [II]

Document No. 299 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 22 [II], wathīqa raqm 299*),
dated Rabī' II A.H. 1275 (A.D. 1858)

This is the petition to His Excellency, presented by your female slave Gamīla, inhabitant of village Maṣūriya al-Farastaq, Rawda al-Bahrain Prefecture. Once we, namely my husband, my son (and myself), lived in village Ṭūkh al-Naṣāra, Rawda al-Bahrain Prefecture. At that time, I became sick and lost my sight. Some years ago, I formally divorced my husband by this reason. We had only one son named Yūsif 'Alī. He could read and write, and after his father abandoned us, he has nurtured us. He was only breadwinner for us. However, 'Aṭā Allā, village *shaykh* (senior) in Maṣūriya al-Farastaq, acted unjustly to us because of our poverty, and recruited our son and sent him from village for military service, although we were registered only as temporary residents (*aghārib*) in the register of temporary villagers (*daftar al-aghārib*) of this village. As for myself, your female slave, I lost my sight and have no one to depend on except this son. The unjust act to one of the subjects (of the Viceroy of the Egypt) is contradictory to the justice (*'adāla*). So we audaciously presented petition (*i'rāḍ*) to His Excellency, and in it asked his high mercy to expose the injustice in this matter and to exempt my son (from military service) after investigation or take measures for the livelihood of your female slave, because I can not stand the living of beggar after the loss of my son.

As is expected from the contents of two texts, almost all of petitions are the complaints about the illegal recruitment of the sole breadwinner of petitioner's family and the appeals

for his exemption from military service for the security of their livelihood. The Egyptian government could not refuse to accept the petitions to this effect, since they gratified the wishes of the state, which pursued to maintain the military powers by conscription in one hand, and to secure the agricultural labours on the other. In other words, in mid-nineteenth century when the manpower was scant relatively to the cultivated land, it was the supreme order for the state to secure one breadwinner at least in one family in order to avoid the destruction of farmer's household and the impoverishment of rural society.

While sixty is apparently mentioned in a text of document on petition to be the highest limit of age for breadwinner, thirteen is supposed to be its lowest limit, so long as we judge from a document of questions and answers between the authorities and petitioner which refers to an order to the effect that young people from thirteen to thirty three years old should be recruited for military service.⁹ We can also expect from the order to this effect that the young people of second or third son in a family were the main target of recruitment for military service. However, in practice the consideration of the age for draft by the state was often ignored by village officials who abused their authority over the recruitment of villagers for military service. This was the reason why so many petitions for the exemption from military service were drawn up in those days.

3. The State Control over Egyptian Peasants

The contents of petitions reveal part of the control system over the rural society by the Egyptian state in mid-nineteenth century. The most important device for the rural control is the drawing up of three registers mentioned before, that is the register of inhabitants (*daftar al-ta'dād*), the register of the deads (*daftar qayd al-mutawwafīn*) and the register of recruitment for military service (*quyūdāt 'asākir al-jihādīya*).

The date when the register of inhabitants was introduced as a means of the control over peasants is not clear. However, it is certainly expected from an order dated 24 Ramaḍān A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847) that this register might be made out in every village at least until around 1847. The order from the Viceroy of Egypt (Muḥammad 'Alī) to a chief of Ḍu'afā nomadic tribe, which urged this nomadic chief to execute the population survey (*ta'dād al-nufūs*) of his tribe,¹⁰ contains in its outset an account to the effect that "as well known, the population survey has been executed for long in Egyptian provinces, and until now, the execution of population survey has already been done in many provinces". We can easily confirm from this account that in 1847, the execution of population survey has been

⁹ Under the reigns of Muḥammad 'Alī and 'Abbās, the age for draft was regulated from eighteen to twenty two. But in fact, the recruitment of the youth from thirteen to twenty seven was confirmed in the documents in the epoch of 'Abbās. See Shalabī, *al-miṣriyyūn wa al-jundīya*, pp. 60, 63-65.

¹⁰ *maḥāfiẓ abḥāth (maḥfaza 131), maḥfaza mudīriyāt wajh qiblī. šūra al-wathīqa al-'arabīya bi-dūn raqm.* The following two appeals without date, but probably drawn up in the same epoch, also contain the similar effect. An appeal from Ḍu'afā nomadic tribe to the Governor of Fayyum and Beni Sweif without date in *maḥāfiẓ abḥāth (maḥfaza 131), maḥfaza mudīriyāt wajh qiblī. šūra al-wathīqa al-'arabīya bi-dūn raqm*, and an appeal from Ḥukūta and Farjān nomadic tribes to the Governor of Fayyum and Beni Sweif without date in *maḥāfiẓ abḥāth (maḥfaza 131), maḥfaza mudīriyāt wajh qiblī. šūra al-wathīqa al-'arabīya bi-dūn raqm.*

extended even to nomadic society, and the register of inhabitants (*daftar al-ta'dād*) was made out, based upon this population survey (*ta'dād al-nufūs*).

The date when the register of the deads was introduced is clear. In the beginning of A.H. 1253 (A.D. 1837), the first law on birth and death was promulgated in modern Egypt, and in 1 Muḥarram A.H. 1254 (March A.D. 1838) it came to be in effect as part of the modernization of public health administration on the central and local levels since 1820s. However, this law ordered only to register the burial of deads, but did not oblige to draw up the death certificate containing such an information as reason of death. An Imperial order dated 30 August 1841 is the first law ordering to draw up death certificate. By this order, the male and female sanitary administrators (*muwazzafūn khufarā'*), who were responsible for drawing up death certificate on their own authorities if public health doctor would be in absence, were appointed.

In addition, in Law dated 22 August 1847 on the sanitary supervision in the provinces of Lower Egypt (*lā'iḥat al-taftīsh al-ṣiḥḥī bi-mudīrīyāt al-wajh al-baḥrī*), it was regulated that the registers on death, birth and inoculation in the seats of Districts (*dafātir al-mutawwafiyīn wa al-mawālīd wa al-taṭ'īm al-khāṣṣa bi-l-bandar*), which had been hitherto in the keeping of village officials (*mashāykh aw 'umad al-bilād*), should be transferred to the central care of the head of sanitary bureau (*ḥakīm bāshī*) who was assigned to every Province (*mudīrīya*).¹¹ It is obvious that the register of the deads mentioned in the documents of petition was the copy of the register which was in custody of the head of sanitary bureau.

On the contrary, the date when the register of recruitment for military service was introduced cannot be confirmed in laws and regulations, or other official documents. However, it is reasonable conjecture that the arrangement of the register of recruitment for military service was made at the same epoch when the register of inhabitants and the register of the deads were drawn up, since, to begin with, the accurate register as a means of the draft, which was inaugurated in 1822 in Egypt, could not be made out without the informations about death and birth of village inhabitants, based upon the register of inhabitants and the deads. In fact, the recruitment of peasants for military service and other public works is pointed out as an object of population survey in the above mentioned order dated 24 Ramaḍān A.H. 1263 (A.D. 1847) from the Viceroy of Egypt to a chief of Ḍu'afā nomadic tribe on the execution of population survey in nomadic society.

We conclude, from the above argument of determining the date when the registers of inhabitants, the deads and recruitment for military service were introduced in Egyptian rural society, that these three registers were drawn up at the same epoch and interconnectedly. And, this epoch is 1840s, when the reorganization of Egyptian rural society was executed, the most important of which was the foundation of village chief (*'umda*), the representative of the lowest unit in local administration.¹²

11 Aḥmad Kamāl, *majmū'at al-qawānīn wa al-lawā'ih al-ṣiḥḥīya al-ma'mūl bi-hā fī miṣr*, Cairo, 1935, pp. 1-15.

12 The word "*umda*" was firstly appeared in 1843 in public documents. 'Alī Barakāt, *taṭawwūr al-milkīya al-zirā'iya fī miṣr 1813-1914 wa athar-hu 'alā al-ḥaraka al-siyāsīya*, Cairo, 1977, p. 231.

4. *The Structure of Egyptian Village*

Then, we will consider the nature of three registers in some details. In this respect, it is very interesting to point out that the registers of inhabitants, the deads and recruitment for military service were in the keeping of different persons, namely village tax collector (*ṣarrāf al-nāḥiya*), the head of sanitary bureau (*ḥakīm bāshī*), and village senior (*shaykh al-balad*)¹³ respectively.

It shows that the state ordered to make out each register for the purpose peculiar to it, although three registers were arranged at the same epoch and interconnectedly. The register of inhabitants was drawn up for the work of tax collection before everything, as is shown from the fact that its keeper was village tax collector. The register of recruitment for military service was literally made out for the enrollment of peasants for military service. As for the register of the deads, it was to supervise the registration of peasants' death and birth, that is to say, to control peasants' lives in themselves, for which both registers of inhabitants and recruitment for military service were arranged.

As we observed before, the maintenance of peasants' labour was the best concern in which the state had in mid-nineteenth century, for not only the recruitment of soldier, but also the collection of tax. Just now, tax and blood tax appeared together in front of Egyptian peasants. However, the way of control by the state over peasants was not same, but subtly different by the field of administration, and this difference reflects part of village structure in those days. So, we will discuss a little in this point, paying attention to the centralization in the field of administration.

As pointed out before, the process of arranging the register of the deads was the process in which the authority of sanitary supervision over peasants transferred from village officials to the head of sanitary bureau in Province. This process typically expresses the intention of the Egyptian state in the policy toward the rural society in 1840s, that is the centralization of rural administration. The centralization by the Egyptian state in the field of public health administration produced strong influence not only on rural administration system in itself, but also on rural marketing system, through the legal regulation on drugs that prohibited their sale by village druggist (*'aṭṭārīn al-bilād*), and permitted their dealings only in the seats of District (*bandar*) and under the supervision of the official of sanitary bureau (*ḥakīm*) and the public health official (*ma'mūr al-ṣiḥḥa*).¹⁴

However, whether the policy of administrative centralization by the state could be in effect or not was dependent on the social structure in the field to which the policy was applied. The aspects of conflict between state policy and traditional social structure were different by the field of administration. We can observe the most interesting conflict between

13 For example, refer to Document of Carton No. 2 [II], Document No. 554 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 2 [II], wathīqa raqm 554*) and Carton No. 22 [II], Document No. 299 (*maḥfaẓa raqm 2 [II], wathīqa raqm 299*).

14 See the item 23 of "New Law (*al-lā'iḥa*) of *ḥamla* Tax" in 14 Muḥarram 1275 (24 August 1858). Hiroshi Kato, "Ḥamla Tax (Market Duties) in the Middle of Nineteenth Century in Egypt" (in Japanese), *The Memoirs of the Institute of Oriental Culture*, no. 103, 1987, pp. 38-39.

them in the administrations of tax and draft, which were the main poles of the state control over rural society.

The mid-nineteenth century, when the policy of centralization was carried out in rural administration, was the epoch of transition from the system of state ownership of land by Muḥammad 'Alī to the system of private ownership of land in the history of Egyptian landholding system. This was also the epoch of transition of the place where the state grasped peasants for taxation from domicile to residence from the viewpoint of taxation system. In a word, the system of state ownership under the rule of Muḥammad 'Alī was the policy by which the state bound up peasants with specific villages and brought their labour under its direct control. The word *aşl*, which ordinarily means ancestor, meant the *balad aşlī* (original village), that is domicile in the context of Egyptian rural society in those days. In this domicile system, the real villagers were meant the peasants bound with *balad aşlī*, and the village seniors (*mashāykh al-balad*) were responsible as the *ḍāmins* (guarantors) for the supervision of their villagers.¹⁵ As shown in the petition translated above (no. 2), the real villagers were normally distinguished from the *gharībs*, which literally means outsiders, that is the temporary residents for whom the specific register called the register of temporary villagers (*daftar al-aghārib*) was made out.

But, the system of direct control over peasants through domicile system, presupposed by state ownership of land, failed in 1840s, and instead of it, the system of indirect control over peasants through residence (*iqāma*) system, presupposed by private ownership of land, was adopted.¹⁶ Now, the tax was imposed on the peasants whom the state grasped in their resident spots, and at least from the viewpoint of taxation, the guarantee system of village seniors over their villagers came to be gradually unnecessary. In this situation since 1840s, the post of 'umda (village chief) came to the front in village administration. The 'umda was the responsible for taxation in his village in stead of village seniors, and it is the village tax collector who supported 'umda in the works of taxation and kept the register of inhabitants.

We have argued above that the concept of domicile and the guarantee system came to be gradually weakened along with the change of control system over peasants. However, this argument is correct only from the viewpoint of tax administration. The situation is different in the administration of draft, in which the concept of domicile and the guarantee system continued to be in effect after 1840s. In this case, the guarantee was a measure to avoid the evasion and escape of peasants from military service, and for this purpose, the village seniors were assigned as the guarantors of their villagers, who had the joint responsibility for the escape of recruited soldiers of their village's origin from military service.¹⁷ They were also responsible for the draft of villagers. This is the reason why village seniors kept the register

15 The farmers had to acquire the traffic pass (*tadhkira*) issued from the Governor of District (*hākim al-khuṭṭ*) after their certification by village shaykh, when they went out their domicile village. H. Rivlin, *The Agricultural Policy of Muḥammad 'Alī in Egypt*, pp. 94-95.

16 This is so-called the process of the establishment of the private ownership of land.

17 See Shalabī, *al-miṣriyūn wa al-jundīya*, pp. 141-170. A lot of documents on the escape of recruited soldiers in the "Documents of the Vice-royal Cabinet, Turkish Department" in mid-nineteenth century show that this problem was one of the biggest concerns for Egyptian government in those days.

of recruitment for military service, and were so frequently accused of in the petitions for the exemption from military service.

The difference in the nature of control system between tax and draft administrations overlapped the difference in the nature of official post between the *'umda* (village chief) and the *shaykh al-balad* (village senior). In the reorganization of Egyptian rural society carried out in mid-nineteenth century, the tax administration could be easily centralized than the draft administration, since the latter dealt with blood tax, that is peasants in themselves, who were embodied in social structure and caught in net of human relations.

This is the reason why the responsible for tax administration was the *'umda*, and the responsible for draft administration was the *shaykh al-balad*, for the *'umda*, whose post was founded in the process of rural reorganization in mid-nineteenth century, was literally the responsible for village control under the direct supervision of the state, while the *shaykh al-balad* was the traditional leader in village society who was the representative of villagers against the state more than the state official, although both of them were the village officials standing between the state and village society.

5. The View of Egyptian Peasants against the State

Besides the state control over Egyptian peasants and the structure of Egyptian village, we can analyze part of the relationship between the state and Egyptian peasants, and the view of Egyptian peasants against the state, based upon the petitions for the exemption from military service. In this respect, the key words are the three words of *'arḍ*, *'adl* and *ẓulm*, which frequently appear in the texts of petition.

In texts, the word *'arḍ* or *i'raḍ* which means appeal is used in parallel with the word *shakwā* which denotes complaint. It implicates the act of "direct petition" from the weak to the strong. It is needless to say that the weak is Egyptian peasant and the strong is the Viceroy of Egypt in this context. The word *'adl* or *'adāla* and the word *ẓulm* or *tazallum* are usually used in pairs, and respectively mean justice and injustice.

These three words are utilized in one context, that is the patronage relationship between peasants and the state. It means that the *'adl* is the situation in which peasants feel that they receive the sufficient "protection" from the state in compensation for the "service" they present. The opposite situation is the *ẓulm*. The act of protest by peasants to the state against this unjust situation is the *'arḍ*, and if the state responds to the protest of peasants and acts to protect their traditionally vested interests, the state is appreciated as the *'adl*, and if not, the state is reproached as the *ẓulm*.

We can deduce from the above interpretation of three key words that the relationship between Egyptian peasants and the state in mid-nineteenth century is basically the patronage relationship. In fact, peasants emphasize their status of the protégé, repeatedly calling themselves "blind", "old" and "poor" in the texts of petition, while they insist the status of the Viceroy of Egypt as the protector, ornamenting his title with the words of "highest", "powerful" and "kind", and straightly calling him "master (*rabb*)" and "protector (*mawlā*)".

However, it is absolutely wrong to interpret this patronage relationship as the simple private and emotional connection for the following two reasons. The first is that the words '*adl* and *zulm*' implicated a wider relationship than an individual connection between a peasant and the Viceroy of Egypt, for they were the words connected with the public norm of social order in the Islamic world, that is the Islamic Law (*sharī'a*), and their implication in social life was beyond the range of the state. In other words, the ideas of '*adl* and *zulm*' were not only the base of peasants' claim to the state, but also the foothold of peasants' resistance to the state. In fact, we can read in the text of petition translated above (no. 1) that it was the justice ('*adl*) of the Viceroy of Egypt as well as the wish of the God to protect the hitherto life of old petitioner.

The second is that an element of public contract can be observed in the petition from peasants to the state. It is true at a glance that the act of petition by peasants seems to be an action for begging the mercy of the Viceroy of Egypt. But, the analysis in detail of the text leads us to the conclusion that it was not always the direct protection, but arbitration or intercession about lawsuits that peasants asked to the state, and even if the direct protection was invoked by the state, it was not the motive but the result of the petition from peasants to the state.

In fact, almost all of petitions collected in "Documents of the Vice-royal Cabinet, Turkish Department" in mid-nineteenth century were drawn up by the inhabitants in Lower Egypt where the administrative centralization had progressed and the state came to the front of inhabitants as a strong arbitrator about their disputes. On the contrary, in Upper Egypt where the inhabitants did not trust the state as an arbitrator about their disputes because of the lack of administrative centralization and continued to resort to such a traditional means of settlement for disputes as blood revenge (*tha'r*) within their regional community.

In conclusion, the patronage is the basic relationship between Egyptian peasants and the state in mid-nineteenth century. But, it included an element of public contract, being different from the simple image of patronage as a private and emotional relationship. From this complicated nature of mentality, we can observe the ambivalent attitude of Egyptian peasants against the state, which was the combination of their distrust, hate and fear against the state on the one hand, and their submission, flattery and dependence on the state on the other.