

the many monuments that still dominated the streets of Cairo.

In November 1184/1770 he launched the campaign in Syria by dispatching forces to secure Gaza and Palestine in collaboration with Shaykh Zāhir al-'Umar. In June 1185/1771, Damascus surrendered to these forces, led by Ismā'īl Bey, his *khushdāsh*, and Muḥammad Bey, but after a few days they abandoned their conquest and returned in haste to Cairo. Six months later Muḥammad Bey fled to Upper Egypt, where he rallied the dissident *amīrs*. 'Alī Bey's fate was sealed when Ismā'īl Bey, too, joined the dissidents. In April 1186/1772 Muḥammad Bey entered Cairo as 'Alī Bey sought refuge with Shaykh Zāhir. Impatient in exile and expecting aid from his Russian ally, 'Alī Bey returned to Lower Egypt in April 1187/1773, where he was wounded, defeated, and captured. He was given great honours by Muḥammad Bey and carried back to Cairo, where he died on 15 Safar/8 May. He was buried in the Qarāfa al-Ṣuḡhrā, near the shrine of Imām al-Shāfi'ī and next to his master, Ibrāhīm Katkhudā.

'Alī Bey set Egypt on a new course that sought to reclaim, under neo-Mamlūk rule, Egypt's mediaeval greatness. Acclaimed for bringing stability, prosperity, and prominence to Egypt, he was also despised for his ferocity, his tyranny and extortions, his reliance on Christian advisers, and his alliance with the Russian Empire. He set the course that his Qazdughlī successors and Muḥammad 'Alī would follow in the nineteenth century. In addition to his repair of the dome of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī mosque, he is remembered for the large endowment (*waqf*) he made in favour of the tomb complex of Egypt's most important saint, Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī, in Tanṭā, and for the large commercial complex he built

on the bank of the Nile in Būlāq, adjacent to the mosque of Sinān Pasha.

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D. CRECECIUS

Ali Haji, Raja

Ali Haji b. Raja Ahmad, **Raja** (c. 1809–c. 1873), of Riau was the best known 19th-century Malay scholar of Islam. He influenced European views of "correct" Malay language, and this influence, in turn, has shaped the formation of the national language policies of both Malaysia and Indonesia. Although he wrote extensively on language, traditional Malay custom, and Islam, he is remembered in Indonesia and Malaysia for his epic *Tuhfat al-Nafis* (*TN*), a history of the diaspora of the Bugis from South Sulawesi through the Malayo-Indonesian archipelago from the early 18th to the late 19th century.

Aggressive fighters and successful traders, many Bugis leaders married into the royal families of the coastal kingdoms of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Borneo to found mixed lineages, with the result that their descendants, of whom Raja Ali Haji was one, had status, aristocratic blood, and money. Some of this wealth was devoted to religious purposes: funding the building of mosques, establishing collections of religious texts, commissioning teaching texts on Islam, and bringing scholars from the Middle East to live and work in Riau. Raja Ali Haji became the doyen of the local literati and inspired a tradition of Islamic learning and scholarship that lasted well into the 20th century.

1. BACKGROUND

Raja Ali was grandson of Raja Haji, a Bugis Underking (Yang Dipertuan Muda) of the Riau-Johor sultanate, who had died in an attack on the Dutch fort of Melaka in 1784. As this was considered a Holy War, Raja Haji was deemed a *shahīd* and greatly revered. His son, Raja Ahmad (father of Raja Ali), was a scholar, adviser, and envoy for his brothers, who were successive rulers of Riau-Johor. In 1828, Raja Ahmad led a small group (which included his son) to Mecca and Medina, the first group from the Johor-Riau region to perform the *hajj*. On arrival, he was greeted by local dignitaries and received a message from "Sheikh Daud" (*TN* 249: this may well have been the famous Patani scholar Daud Patani). Before Raja Ahmad returned, he purchased several *waqf* properties: one in Medina for the descendants of the Sūfi scholar Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1718–75) and two in Mecca, which were overseen by the Shāfi'ī *mufī* there.

The young Raja Ali (now Raja Ali Haji) returned to Riau and settled on the

small island of Penyengat (offshore from Tanjung Pinang, Bintan), which was being developed by his cousins, the Underkings of Riau, as the centre of administration and religious teaching for east Sumatra and the Riau-Lingga archipelago. Financed by tin mines in Selangor, opium sales, investments, and property in Singapore and the east coast of Malaya, Raja Ahmad and Raja Ali were supported by their relatives to teach Arabic and the basics of religion and to bring scholars from the Middle East to live and teach on Penyengat. During the 1840s the Naqshbandī order was introduced into Penyengat and supported by Raja Ali Haji and his relatives.

The *TN* lists the texts Raja Ali used for his teaching, each a standard work from the repertoire of classical Islam, to provide a grounding in grammar and theology. They include al-Zawzanī's *Kutāb al-Maṣādir*; al-Jurjānī's *al-'Awāmil al-mi'a*, and Ibn 'Ajurrūm's *al-Muqaddima*; al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*; al-Laḡānī's *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* and al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-hidāya* and *Minḥāj al-'ābidīn*. Raja Ali Haji's reputation as a scholar attracted pupils from the surrounding regions and several Dutch administrators and missionaries from Batavia. His letters to Hermann von de Wall, who used him as an adviser for his authoritative Malay-Dutch dictionary, have survived (van der Putten and Azhar, *Letters*) and reveal his circumstances and his method of working. In 1862, for example, he wrote that he would like to withdraw from his busy life and devote himself to fulfilling his religious duties to God but was prevented from doing so by his sense of responsibility to his 67 dependents. He was able to retreat for brief periods to tend his cattle on a small island, where he had set up a study centre for his pupils. In the evenings when free from teaching, he did

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