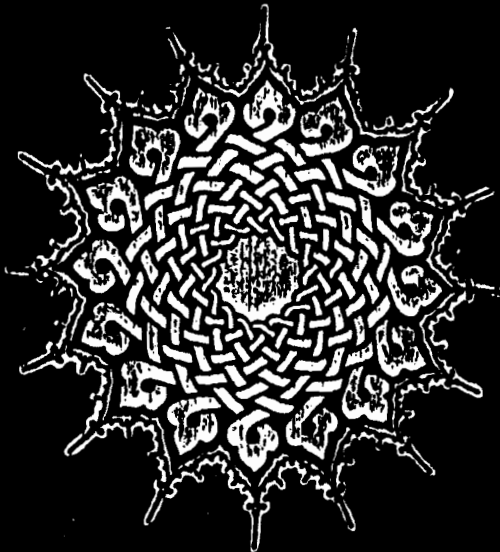


Vol. 24
ISSN 0020-7438

February 1992

No. 1

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES



THE MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Donald Malcolm Reid

**CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND NATIONALISM:
THE STRUGGLE TO DEFINE AND CONTROL
THE HERITAGE OF ARAB ART IN EGYPT**

It was Europeans who started in Egypt a historic preservationist movement for Arab (or Islamic) art.¹ It was they who persuaded Khedive Tawfiq to decree, in December 1881, the founding of the Committee for the Conservation of Monuments of Arab Art (hereafter "the Comité," the usual French designation). It was the European-dominated Comité that opened the Museum of Arab Art three years later, and it was an Englishman, K. A. C. Creswell, who established the Institute of Islamic Archaeology at the Egyptian (later Cairo) University. Why did the Europeans care? In 19th-century Europe, romanticism gave a strong impetus to writers and painters, scholars, and collectors to search for a lost past, the unusual, the exotic, the "Oriental." This inquiry into the past, at home and abroad, was intimately bound up with Westerners' search for their own identities and with the triumph of the idea of the nation-state. Historic preservationists and museums selected, conserved, and displayed buildings and objects defined as valuable to their national heritages. Romanticism, in part a revolt against classical styles, also spurred a Gothic revival movement and a fascination with various Oriental styles.

Meanwhile, the dynamism of the industrial revolution was spreading Western enterprise throughout the globe, with outright Western control often following up on exploration and trade. Whether scholars thought about it consciously or not, their investigations of Middle Eastern, Asian, and African pasts complemented the spread of Western power.

Egypt lay at a crossroads of East and West, particularly after the Suez Canal opened in 1869. While the rival European powers were pushing their individual claims to dominate the present in Egypt, Westerners were also staking a claim to the Egyptian past. Ancient Egypt caught the West's eye first, for it was perceived as a pre-Greek ancestor of Western civilization. Individuals and museums scurried to carry off pharaonic antiquities until Auguste Mariette partially checked the rush in 1858 by persuading the Egyptian government to found its own Antiquities Service and Egyptian Museum. Exploiting the leverage of a great imperial power, France would dominate the service and museum for ninety-four years.

Western admiration for Arab art emerged more slowly and in narrower circles, for it was seen as representing not the West's own past but that of a long-time enemy, the Oriental "other." As the century wore on and European intrusion in

Specific interest
in to collect
total domain after
I had a
Othmanica
just that

Egypt increased, Western appreciation for Arab art grew. As Mariette had done for the pharaonic era, the Comité and their museum worked to explain, preserve, display, and possess the Arab aspect of Egypt's past.

But where were the modern Egyptians? The European officials, architects, Orientalists, and amateurs of Islamic art on the Comité tended to blame Egyptians for neglecting their monuments while assuming that their own motives were self-evident, scientific, and pure. Things were not so simple, however. Egyptians from many walks of life were devoted to the shrines of al-Azhar, Sayyidna Husayn, Sayyida Zaynab, Imam al-Shafi'i, and Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi. These attachments were more to the religious associations of a holy site, however, than to the artistic or historical value of particular structures. Devotion to the text and message of the Qur'an and other Islamic classics outshone attachment to the specific architecture or decoration of a building, however old or beautiful it might be. Such mosques were living centers of worship and study, not museums to represent a dead past for Western tourists.

In mosques—as in Western churches—addition, demolition, and reconstruction had been going on for centuries. Why preserve forever a structure that had outgrown the historical moment and purpose it expressed? The water jugs, textiles, lattice-work screens, and jewelry set aside in the Museum of Arab Art had once been objects of everyday use among rich or poor. Now, with Egyptians caught up in a rage for Western fashions and building styles, Europeans rushed in to preserve "traditional" objects that they thought exotic and beautiful. Perhaps preservationism, not its inverse, is what cries out for explanation.

In their rush to modernize, many Egyptians were ready to sacrifice old mosques and artifacts. There were, or came to be, Egyptians who cared for preserving Arab art. But they had to fight hard, and on three fronts at once. They had to develop professional expertise, to assert themselves vis-à-vis the dominant Europeans, and to convince their countrymen that Arab art was a vital part of the national heritage. Full independence from Western control, in the Comité and the museum as in national politics, was not finally won until the 1950s. Other battles—against cultural dependency on Western scholars, for popular commitment to historic preservation, and for the resources to carry it out—still rage, but postindependence developments cannot be treated here.

Although the struggle to define, preserve, and control the heritage of Arab art in Egypt is over a century old, it has received little attention from modern historians. The prime source for this study is the proceedings of the Comité, hitherto utilized only by historians of art and architecture. Europeans kept the Comité's minutes for most of its history, so one must read between the lines and enlist other sources for the Egyptian side of the picture.²

PRELUDE TO PRESERVATION: DESTRUCTION IN MEDIEVAL CAIRO

As late as 1863 "the city of Cairo was still intact," wrote a French litterateur, "at least in the sense that its monuments continued to fall quietly into ruin following the eternal way of the Orient; at least nothing was attempted in the way of works called 'improvement' and 'restoration.'"³

Khedive Isma'il changed all that. Dazzled by the Paris he saw during the Exposition Universelle of 1867, Isma'il enlisted engineer 'Ali Mubarak to play Baron Haussmann to his own Napoleon III. Isma'il's renewal plan for Cairo had traffic hubs, radiating boulevards, formal gardens, gas streetlights, a water system, a Nile-spanning bridge, a tourist road out to the Giza pyramids, and even an opera house. When he hosted European dignitaries at the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Isma'il proudly displayed his considerable start on remaking Cairo.⁴

Leaving behind the old city where he had been born, Isma'il erected a grand European-style palace in the new quarter of Abdin. The crowded old city rapidly deteriorated as the upper classes followed him in moving out. Lured by Parisian fashion, and needing to ease the flow of traffic, Isma'il demanded broad boulevards instead of the irregular lanes of medieval Cairo. The lanes had been fine for pack animals and pedestrians, but by 1875 Cairo had 900 passenger carriages and twice as many goods carts.⁵ Fifty years earlier, Isma'il's grandfather Muhammad 'Ali had had the only European-style carriage in Cairo.

European preservationists reacted scathingly to Isma'il's vision:

One of the great "improvements" of Cairo, one in which there was the most pride, is the Boulevard of Muhammad Ali. It took off like a shot one fine day from Ezbekiyah, without knowing where it was going, and found itself two kilometers later bumping into the formidable corner of the mosque of Sultan Hasan, which it couldn't avoid. In leaving, it had carried away a hill full of houses and mosques. . . . To conclude on the high spirits of this boulevard, it still had the force, after this escapade, to carry off an enormous corner of the mosque of Emir Koussoun, one of the largest and most beautiful.⁶

HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND APPRECIATION OF ARAB ART IN THE WEST

Behind this caustic assessment lay the emergence, back in Europe, of a historic preservation movement and a taste for Arab art. France's Commission des Monuments Historiques, a model for the Egyptian Comité, had been founded in 1837 with the backing of romantics like Victor Hugo, novelist Prosper Merimée (the Commission's chief inspector), and Viollet-le-Duc (its chief architect). They championed historic preservation and the Gothic revival style against the neoclassicists entrenched in the Ecole des Beaux Arts and the state building council. By the 1850s even "the Attila of the straight line"⁷—Haussmann—had to respect existing monuments.

European romantics also led the way to appreciation of Arab art. Enthusiasm for biblical, classical, and pharaonic Egypt—defined as part of the West's own past—came earlier and more easily. Napoleon's savants were thrilled with pharaonic and classical ruins, but they "took so little account of the value of the monuments of Cairo," sniffed journalist Gabriel Charney in 1881, "that in the plate . . . where they reproduced the mosque of Sultan Hasan they only forgot one thing, the splendid cornice which crowns the edifice!"⁸ The telescopic Nile view of the *Description de l'Egypte's* frontispiece teems with ancient ruins but shows not a single Arab monument or present-day city.⁹

From the 1840s on, lavishly illustrated books brought Arab art home to Europeans. Owen Jones revealed the Alhambra and drew on Arab art for his Crystal Palace interior of 1851 and his *Grammar of Ornament*. Pascal Coste, David Roberts, Prisse d'Avennes, Robert Hay, and John Frederick Lewis similarly made Islamic Cairo visually familiar. The new rage had its price; by 1880 "overly enthusiastic amateurs of Arab art"¹⁰ were stripping Cairo's mosques of old glass lamps and ivory pulpit inlays. The age of Thomas Cook, Baedeker, and mass tourism was at hand, and Egypt's Arab monuments were wide open for destruction.

THE PRESERVATIONIST ARGUMENT FOR IMPERIALISM

Shortly before the British occupation of 1882, Gabriel Charms was working his way toward the conclusion that European control might be the best way to preserve Arab monuments from destruction: "No race has the genius for stonework to as high a degree as the Arab race; its rage to build is matched only by its lack of concern for keeping up what has been built. . . . As soon as a mosque, as soon as a palace is finished, they let it fall apart. . . ." ^{BR}

In the usual racial idiom of the day, Charms condemned the Turks, including the reigning dynasty, as

one of the least artistic races that ever existed. . . . May the curse of the god of arts be on them! Mehmed Ali, Abbas Pasha, Said Pasha, Ismail Pasha have built more walls than almost all their predecessors together, but what walls, good God! If one of them had only had the inspired idea to build an Arab palace!

That which Ismail Pasha, in particular, took for the most refined art was a disgraceful compound of the most vulgar European style and of the most grotesque Turkish style.¹²

Even when Isma'il spruced up monuments, he could not win:

Destruction pure and simple would be a hundred times better! One can see at the mosque of Sultan Hasan marbles of rare fineness covered with crude painting representing false marbles. . . .

It was to receive the guests at the fetes of the Suez canal that the ministers of Ismail had this abominable painting carried out on the principal monuments of Arab art. My God, forgive them; they know not what they do!¹³

Charms even welcomed Isma'il's catastrophic bankruptcy, concluding that a country that neglects antiquities does not deserve independence:

It is clear that if Egypt wants to escape the shocks with which the Orient is menaced, his [Isma'il's successor Tawfiq's] first duty is to link up the new power of the dynasty of Muhammad Ali to a long and glorious national tradition. . . . The Greeks spare nothing to make one believe they are the descendants of Pericles and Phidias; why don't the Egyptians try to persuade the world that they are the descendants of Saladin, of Qait Bey, and of Sultan Hasan? The Acropolis has done more for the independence of Greece than all the exploits . . . of Canaris and Lord Byron; it is the best title of the small hellenic kingdom to the protection and the favors of Europe; why shouldn't the mosques of Cairo render the same kind of service for Egypt? The day when they are restored . . . it will be impossible to deny the right to independence to a country capable of understanding and conserving such works.¹⁴

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMITÉ AND THE MUSEUM OF ARAB ART

Two abortive proposals preceded the establishment of the Comité in 1881. During the urban renewal frenzy of 1869, Isma'il had approved an abortive proposal by a European official in the *awqāf* (Muslim religious endowment) administration for a museum of Arab art in the mosque of al-Zahir Baybars.¹⁵ In 1874, British diplomat E. T. Rogers urged the International Congress of Orientalists to appoint a committee to preserve, restore, and record "Oriental" monuments and art. Orientalist Stanley Lane-Poole feared, however, that Isma'il would "perhaps ask whether Parisian boulevards and Italian villas planted in the historical soil of Egypt were not more artistic than tumble down mosques and ruined houses? And would it be possible, even with the temper of an angel, to answer such a question?"¹⁶

The timing of the December 1881 decree that created the Comité was no accident. Isma'il's successor Tawfiq was under siege from 'Urabi's army officers, who were challenging both European encroachment and the privileges of the Turco-Circassian elite. Tawfiq needed all the support he could muster; perhaps satisfying this small European demand would help. "How curious!" wrote Charms, "the ideal of control and surveillance by Europe, applied directly to finances, has extended indirectly to everything else, even to art."¹⁷ Tawfiq initially named eight Egyptians to the Comité along with three European preservationists: E. T. Rogers (later director at the Egyptian Ministry of Finance), French architect Ambroise Baudry, and Julius Franz, the Austro-Hungarian head of the Ministry of *Awqāf*'s technical bureau.

The Comité managed only one meeting, on February 1, 1882, before the 'Urabiist storm broke.¹⁸ Minister of *Awqāf* Muhammad Zaki presided, for the Comité was attached to his ministry. The level of representation was all a preservationist could have wished; even Minister of War Sami al-Barudi and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mustafa Fahmi were on the Comité. But the cabinet fell three days later, and Barudi moved up to the prime ministry with 'Urabi as minister of war. Riots broke out in Alexandria that summer; Britain bombarded the city, landed troops, routed 'Urabi, and occupied all of Egypt.

Five of the eight original Egyptians attended the Comité's second meeting in December 1882. Involvement with 'Urabi had ruined the public career of Barudi, Mustafa Fahmi was temporarily under a cloud, and Mahmud al-Falaki (the engineer who had drafted Isma'il's 1867 Cairo master plan) was absent.¹⁹

The Comité set up a "First Commission" to list monuments worth preserving and a "Second Commission" (later the "Technical Section") to oversee repairs and select relics for a museum. The Comité decided that early and unique monuments like the mosques of Ibn Tulun and the Fatimidids would be stabilized in their present condition, but the more numerous Mamluk and Ottoman buildings could also be reconstructed.²⁰

In 1885, £E 3,651 of the Comité's meager budget of £E 3,889 went for repairs on some forty monuments. The *awqāf* administration put up all the money, but a few years later after Cromer's "race against bankruptcy" had been won, other state funds became available. The Comité took care to include among its members officials from the powerful finance and public works ministries and from the

Caisse de la Dette Publique (the watchdog for Egypt's European creditors). There was never enough, however, and inflation during the world wars and cuts during the great depression ravaged the budget.²¹

Sometimes the Comité lost out to the ministry of public works' demolition-minded *tanzim* department (which built the city streets). Nor could the Comité halt the destruction of buildings not on its list, as the case of George Pangalo shows. Giovanni Belzoni, the legendary buccaneer-collector of pharaonic relics for the British Museum earlier in the century, had nothing on Pangalo. Pangalo organized a "Streets of Cairo" exhibit for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. He rounded up 250 Egyptians—from belly dancers and donkey boys to a muezzin—to populate his exhibit, and went to work on Cairo's buildings. "For the past thirty years," he explained,

merchants in antiquities have been despoiling old Cairo of its treasures for the benefit of tourists, artists and museums.

It was now my turn to join the ranks of the despoilers . . . and although I blush in saying it, I went to work with a vim that would have done credit to a vandal. . . .

In many instances it was necessary to agree to pay a certain sum in cash and to replace the old lattice windows, balconies and doors bought by new ones of modern design; in others, a whole building would have to be bought, stripped of its mousharabich and then resold.

Thus, in about nine months, over fifteen residences had been despoiled of their entire old woodwork, and over fifty others had contributed their share of carved panels, doors, etc.²²

Remarkably, Pangalo even hired as a consultant the Comité's Max Herz, the main guardian of Egypt's Arab art.

The Comité opened its Museum of Arab Art in the ruined mosque of al-Hakim in 1884. A *bawwāb* (doorkeeper) was the only staff, but he had neither "suitable dress nor manners for showing visitors around," and the Comité hoped to hire "an effendi of good education, with the necessary qualifications and speaking French."²³

In 1903, the museum finally left its makeshift quarters for a "handsome new building in the Arabic style."²⁴ But ancient Egypt still held pride of place with the government and the tourist industry. The new Egyptian Museum (pharaonic) built at the same time cost over four times as much, and the Museum of Arab Art had to share its building with the National Library. The 1908 Baedeker gave the Egyptian Museum twenty-four pages, the Museum of Arab Art two and a half.²⁵

CULTURAL SPHERES OF INFLUENCE AND EUROPEAN DOMINANCE OF THE COMITÉ

Just as England ruled Egypt with a "veiled protectorate," Europeans did not need the presidency or a majority of seats to dominate the Comité. The minister of *awqāf* was president ex-officio, and except for a few years around 1890 Egyptian members outnumbered Europeans. In 1927, twelve Egyptians sat with six Europeans; in the 1940s, the Europeans dwindled to four.

The Europeans dominated by a mix of political influence, expertise, and activism. E. T. Rogers became first secretary and Julius Franz archivist at the start. At first few Egyptian members showed much interest. Officials with other duties, they

received no extra pay for Comité service. As on the Mixed Courts, having French as the working language handicapped Egyptians. The Comité tried publishing an Arabic translation of its proceedings, but after 1909 the effort faltered.

The Comité met only five or six times a year, whereas the Technical Section's frequent and on-site meetings kept it in closer touch with the work. Until the turn of the century Franz and Herz, the engineer-architects of the *awqāf* administration and the Technical Section, were almost the only ones who worked daily with Arab art and architecture. Even without Franz, at least three of the four other Europeans first named to the Comité had come with a deep interest in Arab art.²⁶ In 1894 and 1895, the five Europeans on the Technical Section had a total of 97 meeting attendances, compared to only 35 for the four Egyptians.²⁷ Other commitments, indifference, timidity in the face of foreign expertise, and passive resistance to foreign domination probably all contributed to poorer Egyptian attendance.

The Europeans on the Comité were not just Europeans, but citizens of powers that were endlessly maneuvering for advantage in Egypt. Austria-Hungary's prominence on the Comité, represented by Franz and then Herz from 1881 to 1914, may have been accidental at first. Her eye was on the Balkans, not the Nile. Still, 'Abbas II had studied at the Theresianum in Vienna,²⁸ and the empire was still a great power.

Franz retired in 1887, making way for Max Herz, who had taught music before joining his compatriot at the *awqāf* administration. Both were Jews, and Austria-Hungary happened to be a prominent protector of Jews in Egypt. One wonders if Muslims resented Jewish prominence in the administration which handled Muslim pious endowments.²⁹ In addition to his preservationist activities, Herz contributed as an architect to the Western craze for hybrid "Arab," "Islamic," or "Moorish" buildings. The final design of the mosque of al-Rifa'i was his. Western architects in turn-of-the-century Istanbul were similarly employing "Islamic" embellishments on their buildings. An Egyptian member of the Comité pronounced the style alien and false.³⁰ In 1914, the British expelled Herz as an enemy alien, bringing Austro-Hungarian leadership of the Comité and the museum to an end.

Germans on the Comité included K. Vollers and B. Mortiz, two of the five German Orientalists who directed the Egyptian National Library from its founding by 'Ali Mubarak in 1870 until the last was expelled as an enemy alien in 1914.³¹

Since Italy joined the Allies in the war, Italian architect A. Patricolo was able to succeed Herz as head of the Comité's Technical Section. Unlike Herz, however, he did not direct the museum, and he had no Comité seat at first. With more citizens in Egypt than any European country but Greece, Italy had the Greco-Roman Museum at Alexandria as part of her sphere of cultural influence. Founded at Alexandria in 1892, it had Italian directors until the 1950s, except for an interruption due to World War II.³²

The working language and three of the first five Europeans on the Comité were French. France fought tooth and nail to maintain her cultural influence throughout the British occupation, and French Comité members outnumbered Britons until the 1930s. Early French members included Ambroise Baudry, who had built an Arab-style house that Charmes hailed as one of the sights of Cairo, and architect J. Bourgoïn, author of *Eléments de l'Art arabe: le trait des entrelacs* (Paris, 1879).

Successive French directors of the Antiquities Service and Egyptian Museum all had Comité seats. As director of the Museum of Arab Art, Gaston Wiet was the most influential French member of all.³³

British authorities in Egypt resented French cultural proselytizing but realized that the Comité was hardly the fulcrum of power in Egypt. Early British members of the Comité included E. T. Rogers, honorary member Stanley Lane-Poole, and architect Somers-Clarke, all of whom were chosen for their interest in Islamic art. Most other English Comité members before 1914 were chosen for their influence in government and finance. In the 1940s, Sir Robert Greg, with his British embassy connections, and Captain Creswell, with his unrivaled expertise in Islamic architecture, finally balanced French influence on the Comité.

Finally, two Armenian allies helped maintain European predominance on the Comité: Foreign Minister Tigrane Pasha, a nephew of Prime Minister Nubar Pasha, and Ya'qub Artin. The son of a high adviser to Muhammad 'Ali, Artin was raised a Catholic and schooled in France. Long an undersecretary at the Ministry of Education, he crops up everywhere in Egypt's Western-inspired cultural institutions—the Institut de l'Égypte (he was president for nearly twenty years), the Geographical Society, the Egyptian University, and the Society of Political Economy, Statistics, and Legislation. Artin welcomed Orientalists to his 10,000-volume library and was an avid collector of Islamic art.³⁴

Appropriately, Artin joined the Comité in November 1882 on the heels of the British occupation. His first initiative was to force open the inner sancta of Islam in the name of art or science. He complained of difficulties certain members (read "Christians") had in entering mosques, and the Comité agreed to furnish its members bronze identity tokens good for entry into any mosque.³⁵

Artin's death in 1916 after over thirty years on the Comité, brought Armenian representation to an end. Armenians had left the cabinet twenty years earlier with Tigrane's and Nubar's retirements, opening the way for Coptic representation. Opportunities for Armenian (and Syrian Christian) middlemen in official posts narrowed as Egyptian nationalism grew. Artin had resigned from the Ministry of Education in 1906 rather than serve under future national hero Sa'd Zaghlul.³⁶

EGYPTIAN RESISTANCE TO THE COMITÉ

Egyptians resisted the European-dominated Comité on two levels, the popular level in the affected neighborhoods and the elite level within the government and the Comité itself. This resistance rarely expressed itself in explicitly nationalist terms. But in occupied Egypt, even an apparently trivial disagreement over technical procedures could have undertones of religious and nationalist resistance.

On the popular level, people resented the Comité's demolition of houses and shops cluttering the walls of monuments like the Mosque of Ibn Tulun.³⁷ (Here, ironically, the "preservationists" turned demolitionist.) The Comité also turned down proposals for new construction which would encroach on monuments. Torn from living neighborhoods and isolated in lonely splendor, the monuments became easier for tourists to visit and photograph but lost their close ties to the urban fab-

ric. The idea of preserving entire historic districts and giving neighborhoods a stake in preservation had not yet emerged, in the West or elsewhere.

On the elite level, 'Ali Mubarak was the first to challenge the Comité's dominant European preservationists. It was he who had implemented Isma'îl's urban renewal plan, driving Muhammad 'Ali Boulevard through the old city and demolishing some 400 buildings in its path.³⁸ In the wake of the British conquest, he once again became minister of public works and was named to the Comité.

At his very first Comité meeting, in December 1882, Mubarak bluntly proposed the removal of a fountain near Bab Zuwayla on the grounds that it obstructed carriage and pack-animal traffic. Others shot back that their mandate was preservation, not demolition. The minutes show only that Mubarak came to another meeting or two—no comments by him are recorded—and then resigned, ostensibly because of the press of ministerial work. Perhaps he was getting even years later when, as minister of education, he refused the Comité's request to move the museum to vacant rooms in his ministry.³⁹

European preservationists probably took Mubarak's proposal as one more proof that Egyptians did not care for their monuments. But Mubarak was no philistine, indifferent to the Islamic past. He compiled *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyya*, a twenty-volume topography of Egypt modeled on al-Maqrizi's 15th-century work. Mubarak may also have seen his work as a riposte to the Napoleonic scholars' *Description de l'Égypte*, which had staked the French claim to Egypt past and present.⁴⁰ Emphasizing mosques and religious buildings, Mubarak wanted to familiarize his people with the monuments of neighborhoods in which they lived. Like Western romantics contemplating Roman ruins or Gothic cathedrals, he felt nostalgic for vanished greatness as he gazed out over the mounds of Fustat from the minaret of the mosque of 'Amr.⁴¹

European romantics wanted to preserve relics of vanished Oriental splendor, but they owed their privileged position in Egypt to power based on the industrial ugliness they had fled back home. Mubarak, living in a colonized and underdeveloped country, refused to let his affection for the past stand in the way of the present. The French-educated engineer won out over the antiquarian in him: "Does one need so many monuments? When one preserves a sample, isn't that enough?" Bab Zuwayla had once been used for hanging criminals: "We don't want to keep those memories; we ought to destroy them as the French destroyed the Bastille."⁴² No one yet had found a way for preservation and modernization to work hand in hand.

The *awqāf* officials who resisted the dominant Europeans on the Comité after Mubarak's resignation were protégés of the Khedive, bureaucrats defending their turf, and officials responsible for the upkeep of living mosques. Self-interest shines through their arguments, but like Mubarak they were obliquely resisting foreign domination.

Like revenue-hungry Henry VIII, Muhammad 'Ali had confiscated many religious endowments. He tried to centralize the remaining *awqāf* under a government department, which Isma'îl upgraded to a ministry. In 1884, Tawfiq reduced it once more to an "administration" and attached it to the palace. This kept him a source of patronage separate from the cabinet ministries, where the British were tightening

Henry Mubarak to
has they want own
list of resistance. He

12

3

3

12

12

12

their grip. It was no accident that future prime ministers Husayn Rushdi, 'Adli Yakan, Ziwar, and Isma'îl Sidqi all headed the *awqāf* administration (and thus, incidentally, chaired the Comité) on their way up. Cromer interfered little in *awqāf* or al-Azhar affairs, fearing a religious storm. Kitchener made *awqāf* a ministry once more in 1913, but he had to concede it a separate budget and leave it under palace control.⁴³

Since the Comité was attached to the *awqāf* administration, the head of *awqāf* presided at Comité meetings. Four of the Comité's initial members were *awqāf* officials. Nevertheless, the Europeans and their allies outvoted them and carved out considerable autonomy for the Comité. The Comité set up its own technical bureau for repairing monuments and fought off khedivial attempts to roll back the change. *Awqāf* engineer Sabir Sabri and Isma'îl al-Falaki sided with the director of *awqāf*, but four Europeans joined Artin and former Prime Minister Husayn Fakhri in voting down the roll-back motion.⁴⁴

French-educated Fakhri, like many Turco-Circassian aristocrats, had made his peace with the British. Like his friend Artin, Fakhri felt at home in the French-speaking Comité, the Geographical Society, and the Institut de l'Égypte.⁴⁵

Defeated, the "*awqāf* opposition" adopted Fabian tactics. The Europeans were home on their usual summer leave in 1893 when Sabri and Falaki called a meeting and voted to add four Egyptian engineers to the Technical Section, ostensibly so it could carry on in the summer. In 1897, Sabri and two others protested the cleaning of stonework with a potassium solution, advocating instead vigorous scraping to remove all traces of dirt. The majority explicitly rebuked them by prohibiting the "plastering or scraping of any stone." A month later the Technical Section reprimanded Sabri for altering a report on repair work after members had signed it.⁴⁶

The same minority balked when Fakhri and the Europeans negotiated the extension of Comité protection to old Coptic churches and monasteries. The patriarchate was to contribute to repair costs on Coptic monuments, and Muslims were assured that no *awqāf* money would be diverted to churches. Five Europeans, Fakhri, and two Armenians voted to add two Copts to the Comité, overriding President Faizi, Sabir Sabri, and Isma'îl al-Falaki, who said one was enough. But a proposal to change the name to "Comité de Conservation des Monuments des Arts Arabe et Copte" went too far and was voted down.⁴⁷

As the Armenian presence on the Comité waned and the Copts came in, contested votes became less predictable. Unlike the Armenians, the Copts were indigenous and had a stake in Egyptian nationalism. The most prominent Copt on the Comité was Murqus Simaika, who in 1908 persuaded his patriarch to sponsor a Coptic Museum.⁴⁸ In the 1940s, Simaika's successors at the Coptic Museum inherited his seat, and Mirrit Butrus Ghali of the Coptic Archaeological Society joined them.

THE EGYPTIAN FOUNDING FATHER: 'ALI BAHGAT AND THE MUSEUM OF ARAB ART

Herz's forced departure in 1914 gave 'Ali Bahgat (1858–1924) his long-awaited chance to become curator of the museum. (Similarly, liberal nationalist Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid took over from the last German director of the National Library.)

Patricolo succeeded Herz as Comité architect-in-chief but had no interest in the museum; he called the past combination of the two posts an anomaly unheard of in Europe.⁴⁹

At fifty-six, Bahgat had surely paid his dues. A graduate of the engineering and language schools, he was working in the Ministry of Education when Ya'qub Artin recommended him to the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale to help with Arabic translation. This changed his life; an Armenian Christian had opened the world of Islamic art and archaeology to a Muslim Turk! Learning his new field informally at the institute, Bahgat worked a good deal with Arabic epigrapher Max van Berchem, who considered him as much a colleague as an assistant.⁵⁰

Bahgat soon fell afoul of Douglas Dunlop, the martinet who rode herd on the Ministry of Education for Cromer. But Minister Husayn Fakhri and Undersecretary Artin rescued their protégé, transferring him to the Comité and pushing him for curator of the Museum of Arab Art.

Herz insisted that if there was to be a formal curator, it should be he. The issue split the Comité for a year.⁵¹ Artin was of Armenian, Fakhri of Circassian, and Bahgat of Turkish descent. Though hardly Egyptian nationalists, they were challenging the assumption that choice posts should automatically go to Europeans. The time was not yet ripe, however. Herz became conservator in 1902, with Bahgat as his assistant. Artin and Fakhri continued to help Bahgat build up his credentials, bringing him into the Institut d'Égypte and the Geographical Society. Bahgat published a number of scholarly articles and translations.

Bahgat's reputation rests not on his museum work, but on his excavations at Fustat: "Amr [Ibn al-'As, the Arab general who conquered Egypt] founded al-Fustat under the banner of Islam. Ali Bahgat discovered al-Fustat under the banner of Science."⁵² The Museum of Arab Art took over surveillance of Fustat in 1912. It put Bahgat in charge but gave him no budget for excavations. All he could do was loosely oversee the fertilizer contractors who were ravaging the site. Bahgat reported that there was something for everyone: his museum got Arab antiquities, stones with hieroglyphics went to the Egyptian Museum, scholars learned something of the layout of Fustat, fertilizer companies made their profit, cultivators got fertilizer, and the state got leveled land suitable for other purposes. Bahgat coauthored two books on his results, one of which came out posthumously.⁵³

Tragically, charges of incompetence and corruption marred Bahgat's last years. In 1918, Assyriologist Archibald Sayce warned in the *Egyptian Gazette* that "a new article has been added to the list of archaeological disasters which have befallen Egypt during the British occupation. . . ." The Fustat excavation is "filling our museums with undated and unclassified pottery,"⁵⁴ squandering a rare chance to develop a pottery sequence from the Arab conquest through the late Middle Ages. Sayce suggested that the site be turned over to Flinders Petrie or George Reisner, Egyptological masters of scientific excavation.

Creswell, the emerging expert on Islamic architecture, defended "the marvelous results" of "the capable and energetic Director of the Arab Museum,"⁵⁵ and put any blame on Europeans who had long known of the ravaging of the site and had done nothing. The Comité's Harry Farnall hailed Bahgat as an "eminent . . . eologist,"⁵⁶

In 1902, Herz
 & the Comité
 carry charges
 of Fabian tactics

said that Fustat's mounds were unstratified, and noted that fertilizer digging had to continue while imports were cut off during the war.

Bahgat's methods were indeed rather like those of Mariette, half a century earlier. Both men salvaged many museum pieces and paid attention to architectural remains. But after Mariette's death in 1881 Hinders Petrie and then George Reisner revolutionized excavation techniques, meticulously recording the locus and stratigraphy of every item uncovered and using pottery sequence for dating.

Despite this progress in Egyptology, however, Islamic archaeology was still in its infancy in Bahgat's day. His was a salvage operation, without funds. Forty years after his death, an American expedition under George Scanlon would properly excavate part of Fustat.⁵⁷

In 1920, charges were made of financial corruption at Fustat and the museum. Conceding "grave irregularities" and poor bookkeeping, the Comité transferred one museum official and fired assistant conservator Muhammad Khalil. They packed Bahgat off to Europe on unpaid leave to write while Patricolo sorted things out at Fustat and the museum.⁵⁸

Bahgat had one last satisfaction, being promoted from conservator to museum director in January 1924, four days after Zaghul's nationalist government came in. The government neglected to send anyone to Bahgat's funeral two months later,⁵⁹ however, and the Fustat scandal was far from over.

Muhammad Khalil petitioned for reinstatement at the museum. Apparently 'Ali Bahgat's son Mahmud, the museum's secretary-accountant from 1915 until his premature death in 1918, had illegally worked a Fustat fertilizer concession in the name of a maidservant. 'Ali Bahgat seems to have persuaded Khalil to take the rap for his deceased son. Khalil's appeal split the Comité's Technical Section, and, ominously, on European/Egyptian lines. Lacau and Farnall suspected Khalil of speculation as well as of covering up. Simaika and two other Egyptians believed that Khalil had lied only out of loyalty to 'Ali Bahgat and should be reinstated. Khalil is an excellent museum man, declared Simaika, and "one of the rare Egyptians who love archaeology."⁶⁰

A SETBACK FOR NATIONALISTS: THE MUSEUM REVERTS TO EUROPEAN CONTROL

The beleaguered Bahgat left no heir. When the Comité reassembled in January 1926, Zaghul and the Wafd had fallen and Britain and King Fu'ad were ruling with a heavy hand. In this atmosphere the Comité reaffirmed European leadership, naming Pierre Lacau, Maspero's successor at the Antiquities Service, as secretary and Harry Farnall as president of the Technical Section.⁶¹

King Fu'ad had just outmaneuvered the British by hiring French-speaking professors at the university, part of his assertion of royal power after the 1922 declaration of Egyptian independence. Now Fu'ad wanted Gaston Wiet, whom he had met before the war at the private Egyptian University, to direct the Museum of Arab Art.⁶²

Ex-Minister of Public Works 'Abd al-Hamid Sulayman resisted, making the nationalist case. He called for an Egyptian director in his early thirties, backed up by

a European specialist to publish the catalogue and do other "technical" tasks. No one seconded Sulayman, and he excused himself and walked out. The four Europeans and eight Egyptians remaining settled on Wiet.

But times had changed since 1896, when the Comité had suggested that Herzgroom a European architect or two as possible successors; no one had suggested an Egyptian. Now Antiquities Director Pierre Lacau carefully regretted the absence of qualified Egyptians, agreed that Wiet must recruit and train them, and noted that Wiet's two- or three-year contract would not tie up the post for long. In the event, the able and politically adroit Wiet would lock up the post for twenty-five years.⁶³

An able scholar confident of the king's backing, Wiet set to work with gusto. Lacau had complained that the Comité had published only two scholarly works in forty years, compared to scores of volumes by his own Antiquities Service.⁶⁴ By 1939, Wiet's Museum of Arab Art had published ten volumes of its general catalogue and thirteen other volumes. Wiet wrote several of these himself and also published widely on Arab epigraphy, art, and history. The versatile Wiet edited *La Revue du Caire*, with authors ranging from Jean-Paul Sartre to Taha Husayn; hosted André Gide and Jean Cocteau in Cairo;⁶⁵ and organized a Free French committee in Cairo.

In 1936 Wiet welcomed the transfer of the Comité to the education ministry. The minister of *awqaf* resisted, but Wiet loftily intoned:

In all countries where art occupies a preponderant place, the services of historic monuments, which include numerous churches and cathedrals, are linked to the ministry of national education, where their activity is pursued without prejudice from interested religious authorities. It should be the same for Egypt, where Muslim art attained its apogee, [and] all the more so because the Comité des Monuments arabes, in the course of its long career has contributed to the revival of worship in several mosques which time had [otherwise] condemned.⁶⁶

In another reshuffle in 1939, the Conseil Supérieur pour le Service de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe (hereafter "Conseil Supérieur") replaced the Comité, and the Technical Section became the Comité Permanent.⁶⁷

CAPTAIN KEPPEL ARCHIBALD CAMERON CRESWELL AND THE COMITÉ

Wiet's great rival on the Comité was Creswell. Originally an electrical engineer, he had begun reading on Islamic art in 1910. Wartime service brought him to the Middle East, and after the war King Fu'ad agreed to subsidize his research on Islamic architecture for three years. The Comité took over as his patron, but when the first volume had still not appeared by 1929, they cut him off, promising only a £E 100 bonus for each finished volume. An Egyptian University post saved the day, and in 1931 the first volume of *Early Muslim Architecture* appeared. Other massive, authoritative volumes followed. In 1933, Creswell set up the Islamic part of the university's Institute of Archaeology, making it possible for the first time to study Islamic art without going abroad.⁶⁸

Creswell was so anti-French that he sometimes embarrassed his own embassy.⁶⁹ He complained that he had supported Wiet for the museum directorship, only to

have the Frenchman scheme to have Creswell's university post reduced from a chair to a lectureship. Wiet may have tried to keep Creswell off the Comité; not until 1938 did the crusty but expert Englishman join its Technical Section. Creswell asserted that Wiet

has done all he can to keep me off committees, to prevent my students from filling openings in his museum, to get control of the Arabic Monuments although he knows nothing about architecture, to control my activities at the University by means of a committee chosen by himself and T. H. [Dean Taha Husayn?], and finally to boost F. as a candidate for my post. Tuesday's outrageous incident is simply the culmination of ten years of underground hostility against an interloper in a field which he thinks ought to be entirely French. [He] is the spearhead of French anti-British influence here, and he is helped by numerous Egyptians with French wives. . . .⁷⁰

"A brusque imperialist of the old school," Creswell was abrasive with Egyptians too.

[He] was something of a dandy . . . moving with military swagger in impeccably tailored close-fitting suits and hat jauntily set just right. . . . He was the master of casual encounters in the streets, of which his stick was the symbol if not the instrument. He would not be obstructed by lesser breeds.⁷¹

Yet on one occasion, *awqāf* officials on the Comité ended up on the same side of an issue as Creswell. In 1949, Egyptologists revived their long-standing attempt to demolish the mosque of local saint Abu al-Hajjaj because it obstructed a corner of the Temple of Luxor. An *awqāf* official protested on political and religious grounds, warning of popular disturbances, while Creswell argued that the mosque must be preserved for its Fatimid minaret.⁷² For once Islamists won over Egyptologists; the mosque still stands today.

EGYPTIANIZATION OF THE MUSEUM AND THE COMITÉ PERMANENT

Two of Creswell's and Wiet's understudies—Zaki Muhammad Hasan and Muhammad Mustafa—took the lead in Egyptianizing the museum, the Comité, and the Institute of Islamic Archaeology. Hasan was one of two candidates whom Wiet selected by public examination and put through two years of history at the university and simultaneous apprenticeships at the museum.⁷³ Hasan went on for his Paris doctorate in 1934 and a museum apprenticeship in Berlin, then joined Wiet at the Museum of Arab Art. But with Wiet ensconced as director, Hasan moved in 1939 to the university's Institute of Archaeology. His minor arts specialty complemented Creswell's architectural interests. Hasan was only forty in 1948 when he leap-frogged Creswell to become dean of Arts.⁷⁴ Muhammad Mustafa studied seven years in Germany, where he met and married a German woman, then took a post under Wiet in 1936. He then added the Egyptian University's Islamic archaeology diploma to his credentials.

Despite Creswell's assertion, Wiet did take an interest in the university's Islamic archaeology graduates. Wiet recommended that two of the seven graduates of 1936 be hired at the museum and two at the Service des Monuments.⁷⁵ The Comité sent

one of these, Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Hilmi, to England for three months to report back on historic preservation and archaeology. Already by the mid-1940s Hilmi was director of the Service des Monuments Arabes.⁷⁶ The university awarded an average of six graduate diplomas a year in Islamic art between 1936 and 1950, its first doctorate in 1943, two more doctorates in the 1940s, and six in the 1950s.⁷⁷

As the 1940s wore on, only two Frenchmen and two Englishmen were left on the Conseil Supérieur: Etienne Drioton, Wiet, Creswell, and Robert Greg. Drioton had followed Lacau as director of the Antiquities Service; he had a formidable scholarly reputation and close ties to King Faruq. Greg had been a British diplomat before joining the Caisse de la Dette Publique in 1929. Like Farnall, his predecessor on the Caisse and the Comité, Greg was an amateur of Islamic art. He became vice president of the Comité Permanent and later moved up to president.⁷⁸

By the 1940s, the Egyptians on the Comité Permanent, were becoming increasingly professional. Zaki Muhammad Hasan had a doctorate in the field, while Muhammad 'Abd al-Fattah Hilmi and Col. 'Abd al-Rahman Zaki (director of the Military Museum) both had graduate diplomas. Simaika's successors at the Coptic Museum—Togo Mina and Egyptologist Pahor Labib—were members, as was Mirrit Butrus Ghali, of the Coptic Archeological Society. Irrigation engineer Kamel Osman Ghaleb, like Greg, was an enthusiastic amateur. Even with such expertise, however, the Egyptians felt awed by senior foreign scholars like Creswell, Wiet, and Drioton.

Egyptianization, when it came, was sudden. Soon after his last Comité Permanent meeting in February 1951, Wiet abruptly left Egypt, taking up a chair at the Collège de France. Claude Cahen says Wiet left for political reasons; could it have been his wife's Jewish background in the tense time after the first Arab-Israeli war? Upon Wiet's death in 1971, an Egyptian historian compared him admiringly to the 15th-century writer al-Suyuti; on the other side of the fence, Israeli scholars dedicated a memorial volume to him.⁷⁹

No mystery surrounds Creswell's fall some months later. In October 1951, Egypt abrogated her treaty with England. The Wafd could not control the ensuing turbulence as volunteers confronted the British at the Canal. Few university classes met that fall. Creswell attended the Comité Permanent meeting on October 31; on December 9 he and all other British employees of the Egyptian government were fired.⁸⁰

British troops massacred Egyptian policemen at the Canal in January 1952, and the ensuing Black Saturday riots brought down the government. Only Egyptians showed up when the Comité Permanent met on March 12 after a five-month hiatus. They sent Creswell a kind, if not frank, farewell:

The mandate of Professor Creswell having terminated by the resignation of his functions as Professor at the Fuad I University, the Comité charges Mr. Abdel Fattah Bey to send him a letter in its name to express its appreciation for the numerous services which he has rendered to the Comité and to the cause of Arab monuments in a spirit of perfect collaboration with the members of the Comité, through the whole time of his mandate.⁸¹

Creswell found a new home at the American University of Cairo. After the Suez War—while still officially an enemy alien—he was restored to the Comité Permanent.

the only foreigner so honored.²² He died in 1974 at ninety-five, leaving his incomparable library to the American University for the use of Egyptian and foreign scholars alike.

Drioton's fall came a few months after Creswell's. He was summering in France when the Free Officers struck in July 1952, and as a friend of ex-King Faruq he could not return. After ninety-four years, Egyptians had gained control of their Antiquities Service.

Not a state employee who could be dismissed, Greg was the last to go. In April 1952, the Comité Permanent announced his resignation as president due to poor health. He stayed on as a member, even presiding in the president's absence in January 1953. Later that year he died.

The abruptness of Wiet's and Creswell's departures took the museum and the university by surprise. Zaki Muhammad Hasan took over the museum while still dean of arts. But in December 1952, he and Arabic professor Amin al-Khuli, with whom he was quarreling, were fired. The new regime was flexing its muscles; this was apparently not yet an ideological purge. Hasan fled to the University of Baghdad, where he set up an Islamic art program and died in 1957, not yet fifty.

Muhammad Mustafa succeeded Hasan at the museum and the Comité Permanent. Ironically, the museum became the "Museum of Islamic Art,"²³ dropping the "Arab" just as Nasser was about to sweep Egypt into Arab nationalism. Rather than foreshadowing the religious rival of the 1970s, the "Islamic" merely reflected the need to encompass the museum's Turkish and Persian holdings. The Islamists of the 1970s and 1980s would make mosques the center of their activities, but historic preservation and the Museum of Islamic Art were not their concerns. Mustafa retired from the museum in the early 1960s, passing the torch to Creswell's and Hasan's students.

At the university, the back-to-back losses of Creswell and Hasan devastated the Islamic archaeology program. Their students—Jamal Mahriz, Farid Shafi'i, and Muhammad 'Abd al-'Aziz Marzuq—were only assistant professors. But they set up an undergraduate program in Islamic archaeology in 1954 and slowly rebuilt.

When the new regime united the Antiquities Service, the Service des Monuments Arabes, and their respective museums under a single administration in 1953, the Comité Permanent's statement of assent hinted at misgivings: "The members of the Comité insist on maintaining the personality of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe, which is the oldest administrative committee for safeguarding monuments."²⁴ An era had ended. The last published minutes of the Comité Permanent and the Conseil Supérieur date from April 1953. Thereafter outsiders could catch only occasional glimpses of their activities.

CONCLUSION

Napoleon's conquest and the birth of Egyptology had gone hand in hand at the beginning of the 19th century, and the British occupation came in with the Comité and the Museum of Arab Art toward its close. Other Europeans were also competing for influence in Egypt, however, and a general European impulse rather than British action had brought the Comité and the museum into being. Europe

was staking its claim not only to the pharaonic, biblical, and classical pasts, but to the Arab and Islamic past as well.

Egyptian responses to the West's appropriation of Arab art were diffuse and sometimes contradictory at first, like the nationalist movement generally. We catch glimpses of religious and nationalist resistance in neighborhood opposition to the clearing of shops and houses adjacent to mosques, in Mubarak's willingness to sacrifice monuments for improved traffic flow, and in the *awqaf* officials' obstructionism on the Comité.

With 'Ali Bahgat, Egyptian self-assertion became more effective. The nationalist movement was also intensifying, first with Mustafa Kamil and then with Sa'ad Zaghlul. Bahgat made the Europeans' preservationist ethic his own, developed hard-won expertise in his field, and tried to show that Egyptians could run their own cultural institutions.

Wiet's and Creswell's long reigns at the museum and the university show that imperialism, with intermittent palace support, still had staying power between 1919 and 1950. The principle of Egyptian independence had already been conceded in 1922, however, and Creswell and Wiet were training men like Mustafa and Hasan as their eventual successors.

In the denouement at mid-century, national politics and the specialists' world of Arab art were as interlocked as they had been at the beginning of the story in the 1880s. Foreign domination of the Comité, the museum, and the Institute of Islamic Archaeology outlasted neither the British occupation nor the monarchy. The first Arab-Israeli War, the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the Black Saturday riots, the 1952 revolution, the end of the monarchy, and the British evacuation followed in quick succession. Wiet, Creswell, and Drioton were swept away, leaving Egyptians in charge at last.

Nationalism had triumphed, but not without cost. No Egyptian in the field has yet matched the stature of Wiet and Creswell. Issues of cultural dependency and authenticity persist. Popular and government commitment to the preservation of Islamic sites, except as a tourist resource, remains in doubt in a hard-pressed country. The tension between mosques as monuments and as living centers of faith and learning remains. But that is another story.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY

NOTES

Author's note: This paper was read at the "Processes of Arab Self-Definition" conference in honor of Dr. C. Ernest Dawn, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Nov. 11-12, 1989. For helpful comments, I am indebted to the conference participants, John and Caroline Williams, Timothy Crimmins, and the editor and anonymous readers for *IJMES*. Research was funded by the Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Abroad Program and Georgia State University. The Binational Fulbright Commission, the American Research Center in Egypt, and Cairo and Ayn Shams universities sponsored me in Egypt.

²²"Arab art" and "Islamic art" are used interchangeably here. As noted in the text, the "Museum of Arab Art" became the "Museum of Islamic Art" in the 1950s.

²³Caroline Williams, "Islamic Cairo: Endangered Legacy," *The Middle East Journal*, 29 (1985), 231-46, reviews recent developments.

³Arthur Rhoné, "Coup d'Oeil sur l'état présent du Caire ancien et moderne," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 24 (Année 23, 1881), 420; Janet Abu-Lughod, *Cairo, 1001 Years of the City Victorious* (Princeton, 1971), pp. 83-103.

⁴Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, pp. 103-13.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 95-97, 110, 112-13. See also Richard Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975).

⁶Rhoné, *Gazette*, 25 (Année 24, 1882), 62.

⁷Victor Fournel, *Paris nouveau et Paris futur* (Paris, 1865), p. 220, quoted in Françoise Choay, *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century* (New York, 1969), p. 15. For this paragraph generally, see Hans Huth, "The Evolution of Preservationism in Europe," *Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians* (July/Oct. 1941), 5-12; Paul Leon, *La vie des monuments français: Destruction et restauration* (Paris, 1951).

⁸Gabriel Charmes, "L'Art arabe au Caire," *Journal des Débats*, Aug. 2, 1881.

⁹Juan Eduardo Campo, "Mubarak's Khatat: An Egyptian Nationalist Valuation of Religious Space," unpublished paper, Middle East Studies Association, Beverly Hills, California, November 1988, p. 13, notes the absence of people and settlements. *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités, Planches*, 1 (Paris, 1809), frontispiece.

¹⁰Charmes, *Cinq mois au Caire et dans la Basse-Egypte* (Cairo, 1880), p. 120. For this paragraph, see Owen Jones, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* (London, 1842-45) and *The Grammar of Ornament* (London, 1856); Pascal Coate, *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Caire mesurés et dessinés, de 1818 à 1825* (Paris, 1839); Robert Hay, *Illustrations of Cairo* (London, 1840); David Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia*, 3 vols. (London, 1846); Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art arabe d'après les monuments du Caire depuis le VIII^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1877); John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500-1920* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988).

¹¹Charmes, *Cinq Mois*, pp. 46-47.

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 111, 57-58; Charmes, *Journal*, Aug. 2, 1881.

¹³Charmes, *Cinq Mois*, p. 130.

¹⁴Charmes, *Journal*, Aug. 2, 1881.

¹⁵Rhoné, *Gazette*, 24 (Année 25, 1882), 63-64; Zaki M. Hasan, "al-¹⁵Ināya bi-al-¹⁵Āthār," in *Ismā'īl bi-Mundāsabat Murūr Khamṣin Āman 'alā Wafā'ih* (Kingdom of Egypt, Ministry of Education; Cairo, 1945), p. 315. This is probably the same Auguste Salzmann who published *Jerusalem: étude et reproduction photographique des monuments de la Ville Sainte* (Paris, 1856). See also Françoise Heilbron, "Photographie de la Terre Sainte par Auguste Salzmann," *F. de Saulcy et la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1982), pp. 114-32.

¹⁶Stanley Lane-Poole, "Arab Art Monuments," *The Academy*, 6 (1874), 361.

¹⁷Charmes, *Journal*, Aug. 2, 1881.

¹⁸C 1, 1882-83, PVS 1 (Feb. 1, 1882), 5. This citation refers to Comité, *Exercice 1882-1883, Procès-verbaux des Séances*, fasc. 1, meeting number 1, on Feb. 1, 1882, p. 5. "R" instead of "PVS" refers to the *Rapports*, in a separate series, of the Second Commission (later renamed the Technical Section). Generalizations on Comité membership are based on PVS and R, *passim*. Observations on membership in Egyptian cabinets are based on Fu'ād Karam, *al-Niẓārāt wa-al-Wizārat al-Miṣriyya*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1969).

¹⁹C 1, 1882-83, PVS 2 (Dec. 16, 1882), 12. On Mahmud al-Falaki, see Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, p. 109; Alexander Schölch, *Egypt for the Egyptians! The Sociopolitical Crisis in Egypt 1878-82* (London, 1981), p. 336, n. 123.

²⁰C 13, 1896, PVS 71 (Nov. 14, 1896), 104-11.

²¹C 4, 1886, PVS 21 (Mar. 10, 1886), xv; 25, 1908, R 390 (Oct. 15, 1908), 80.

²²Georges Pangalo, "The Story of Some Old Friends," *The Cosmopolitan*, 23 (1897), 283. See also Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, Eng., 1988) on Egypt, world exhibitions, and orientalism.

²³C 11, 1894, R 165, 53-54.

²⁴Karl Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 6th ed. (Leipzig, 1908), p. 88.

²⁵Roger Owen, "The Cairo Building Industry and the Building Boom of 1897 to 1907," in Ministry of Culture of the U.A.R., *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire, 27 Mars-5 Avril 1969* (Cairo, n.d.), p. 348; Baedeker's *Egypt*, pp. 58-60, 75-99.

²⁶J. T. Rogers, Ambroise Baudry, and Jules Bourgoïn, "The Protection of the Monuments of Cairo,"

²⁷Comité 13, 1896, PVS 69, pp. 35-36.

²⁸The Earl of Cromer, *Modern Egypt* (London, 1911), p. 650; Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations* (New York, 1968), p. 98.

²⁹On Franz, see Warren R. Dawson and Eric Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd ed. (London, 1972), p. 109; C 32, 1915-19, PVS 218 (Apr. 22, 1915), 326. On Herz, see Tawfiq Iskārūs, "Maks Hirts Bāshā," *al-Hilāl* 27, 10 (July 1, 1919), 921-28; Dawson, *Who Was Who*, p. 140. Jacob M. Landau, *The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (New York, 1969), pp. 26, 145, mentions Austro-Hungarian protection of Jews.

³⁰Max Herz Bey, *La Mosquée El-Rifa' où Caire paru à l'occasion de la consécration de la mosquée* (Milan, ca. 1912); Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, *Modern Turkish Architecture* (Philadelphia, 1984); Ahmed Zēki Pacha, "Le Passé et l'avenir de l'art musulman en Egypte," *L'Égypte Contemporaine* 4, 13 (1913), 1-32.

³¹On Germans at the library, see Baedeker's *Egypt*, p. 69; Najib al-³¹Aqlq, *al-Mustashriqān* (Cairo, 1980), vol. 2, pp. 398, 399, 403, 406; *The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs* (New York, 1937), pp. 134-35.

³²L. A. Balboni, *Gli Italiani nella Civiltà Egiziana de Sécolo XIX*, 3 vols. (Alexandria, 1906); *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie, passim*. On Patricolo, see British Foreign Office archives in the Public Record Office, FO 371/3202/137229, Herbert to Balfour, 14 July 1918; C 31, 1914, PVS 215 (Jan. 4, 1915), p. 135.

³³Charmes, *Cinq Mois*, pp. 58-59; Donald M. Reid, "Indigenous Egyptology: The Decolonization of a Profession?," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, 2 (1985), 233-46.

³⁴On Artin, see David Chapin Kinsey, "Egyptian Education under Cromer: A Study of East-West Encounter in Educational Administration and Policy, 1883-1922," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, pp. 101-4, 545-55.

³⁵C 1, 1882-83, PVS 7 (Nov. 23, 1883), pp. 30-31.

³⁶*The Times* (London), Nov. 13, 1906, p. 5.

³⁷C 6, 1890, R 69, pp. 121-28.

³⁸See Campo, "Mubarak's Khatat," p. 8, for the total: *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadida li-Miṣr al-Qāhira wa-Mudunihā wa-Bilādihā al-Qadima wa-al-Shuhira*, 20 vols. (Bulaq [Cairo], 1304-6/1886-88), 3: 69.

³⁹C 1, 1882-83, PVS 2 (Dec. 16, 1882), 16; PVS 6 (June 3, 1883), 27; C 7, 1891, PVS 46 (Feb. 14, 1891), 12.

⁴⁰Campo, "Mubarak's Khatat."

⁴¹Jacques Berque, *Egypt: Imperialism and Revolution* (New York, 1972), pp. 72-73.

⁴²Quoted in Marcel Clerget, *Le Caire*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1934), p. 337.

⁴³Gabriel Baer, "Waqf Reform," in his *Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 83-84.

⁴⁴C 10, 1893, PVS 58 (June 13, 1893), 40, 44-45; PVS 59 (Nov. 27, 1893), 46.

⁴⁵On Fakhri, see Yūsuf Āṣāf, *Dall Miṣr* (Cairo, 1890), pp. 249-52.

⁴⁶C 10, 1893, R 153 (Aug. 16, 1893), 75; 14, 1897, PVS 74 (Mar. 9, 1897), 48; PVS 75 (Apr. 6, 1897), 73-75.

⁴⁷C 13, 1896, PVS 69 (Spring 1896), 30, 33-35; C 15, 1898, PVS 80 (Jan. 4, 1898), 39.

⁴⁸C 23, 1906, PVS 147 (Nov. 27, 1906), 113. The best biographical source is "Memoirs of Marcus II. Simaika Pasha, C.B.E., F.S.A. [1864-1944] Founder and Director of the Coptic Museum," typescript in the possession of Dr. Samir Simaika. On the Coptic Archaeological Society and Ghali's activities, see the *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* (title varies, vol. 1, 1935-).

⁴⁹C 32, 1915-19, A. Patricolo, "Service de Conservation des Monuments. Compte rendu," pp. 1-2.

⁵⁰Cheikh Moustafa Abd El-Raziq, "Aly Bey Bahgat (1858-1924)," *Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Égypte*, 6 (1923-24), 103-13; Tawfiq Iskārūs, "Ali Bahjat Bak wa-Faḍluhu 'alā 'Ilm al-⁵⁰Āthār al-⁵⁰Arabiyya Miṣr," *al-Hilāl*, 32, 8 (May 1, 1924), 856-61; *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, pt. 1 [Max Van Berchem], *Inscriptions de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1903), p. 17.

⁵¹Abd El-Raziq, *Bulletin*, p. 106.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁵³C 30, 1913, "Rapport sur les Services de Musée de l'Art Arabe," pp. 115-17; Aly Bahgat Bey and Albert Gabriel, *Émile Patricolo* (Paris, 1931), pp. 115-17.

³⁴A. H. Sayce, *Egyptian Gazette*, May 30, 1918, as quoted in H. Farnall letter to *Gazette* and in French translation in C 32, 1915-19, "Polémique de press au sujet des fouilles à Foustât mai-juin 1918," pp. 284, 280. Entire "Polémique," pp. 279-300.

³⁵K. A. C. Creswell, in "Polémique," pp. 281-82.

³⁶H. Farnall, in "Polémique," pp. 284-85, 288, 291-92.

³⁷George T. Scanlon, "Fustat: Archaeological Reconsiderations," in Ministry of Culture of the U.A.R., *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire, 27 mars-5 avril 1969*, pp. 416-17. Scanlon has published on Fustat in the *Newsletter and Journal* of the American Research Center in Egypt and elsewhere. See also Władysław B. Kubiak, *Al-Fustat: Its Foundation and Early Urban Development* (Cairo, 1987).

³⁸C 33, 1920-24, R 560 (Mar. 30, 1920); PVC (July 10, 1920), 10-12.

³⁹Abd El-Raziq, *Bulletin*, p. 112.

⁴⁰Quotation from C 34, 1925-26, R 608 (June 25, 1925), p. 27. For the paragraph generally, see pp. 23-28.

⁴¹C 34, 1925-26, PVS 265 (Jan. 5, 1926), pp. 55-62, on the meeting.

⁴²Donald Malcolm Reid, *Cairo University and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge, Eng., 1990), pp. 87-89. On Wiet, aside from the Comité records, see Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, ed., *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. ix-xii.

⁴³C 13, 1896, PVS 71 (Nov. 14, 1896), 111; 34, 1925-26, R 616 (May 11, 1926), p. 80.

⁴⁴C 33, 1920-24, R 565 (Aug. 12, 1920), 79-80. G. Wiet, *Musée National de l'Art Arabe. Guide sommaire* (Cairo, 1939), pp. 75-76, lists publications.

⁴⁵Jean Cocteau, *Maalesh: A Theatrical Tour in the Middle East*, trans. Mary C. Hoek (London, 1956), p. 32.

⁴⁶C 38, 1936-40, PVS 287 (Mar. 1, 1938), 136.

⁴⁷C 38, 1936-40, PVS 289 (Dec. 18, 1939), 242-48.

⁴⁸R. W. Hamilton, "Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell, 1879-1974," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 60 (1974), 1-20; C 34, 1925-26, R 607 (May 9, 1925), 1-4; and 35, 1927-29, PVS 272 (Apr. 10, 1929), 145-49.

⁴⁹For example, FO 371/23352/J2809, Lampson to Kelly, July 18, 1939; FO 371/24632/J798, Lampson to Norton, Mar. 1, 1940.

⁵⁰Memorandum, as quoted by Hamilton, *Proceedings*, p. 16.

⁵¹Hamilton, *Proceedings*, pp. 15-16.

⁵²C 40, 1946-53, PVS 298 (Apr. 30, 1949), 38.

⁵³C 35, 1927-29, R 624 (Nov. 19, 1927), 29-32.

⁵⁴On Hasan, see Jāmi'at Fu'ūd al-Awwal, *al-Kitāb al-Fiqdī li-Kulliyat al-Ādāb 1925-1950* (Cairo, 1950), pp. 32-57; Ernat Kühnel, "In Memoriam Zaky Hassan," *Kunst des Orients*, 3 (1959), 95-96. On Mustafa, Fouad I National Research Council, *Guide to Scientific and Technical Workers in Egypt* (Cairo, 1951), p. 390; interview, Abdel Raouf Ali Yousef, Cairo, Apr. 18, 1988.

⁵⁵C 37, 1933-35, R (Jan. 14, 1936), 317, 321.

⁵⁶C 38, 1936-40, R 730 (Dec. 21, 1937), 97; R 741 (1938), 19; 180-97; PVS 854 (Mar. 27, 1946), 361.

⁵⁷Jāmi'at al-Qāhira, *al-Rasā'il al-'Ilmiyya li-Darajatay al-Majīstr wa-al-Duktūrāh 1932-1966* (Cairo, 1967), pp. 71-72; Kulliyat al-Āthār, *al-Dall al-Dhahab li-Asā'idhah wa-Khārij al-Āthār mundhu Sanat 1925* (Cairo, ca. 1975).

⁵⁸On Drioton, see *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 16 (1961-62), 335-42. On Greg, *Who Was Who 5 (1951-60)* (London, 1961), p. 453.

⁵⁹Claude Cahen, "Gaston Wiet," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 14 (1971), 223; Ahmad Darrāj, "Gaston Wiet wa-A'māluhu al-'Ilmiyya," *al-Majallat al-Tārikhiyya al-Miṣriyya*, 19 (1972), 92; Rosen-Ayalon, *Studies*.

⁶⁰C 40, 1946-53, PVS 905 (Oct. 31, 1951), 314; *al-Ahrām*, Dec. 10, 1951.

⁶¹C 40, 1946-53, PVS (Mar. 12, 1952), 317.

⁶²John A. Williams, letter of Jan. 28, 1958, in American Research Center in Egypt, *Newsletter*, 27 (Feb. 1958); Nicholas B. Millet, "Dr. K. A. C. Creswell," *Newsletter*, 53 (Dec. 1964), p. 15.

⁶³Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, *Maḥaf al-Fann al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1958), p. 9.

⁶⁴C 40, 1946-53, PVS 914 (Jan. 21, 1953), 408.