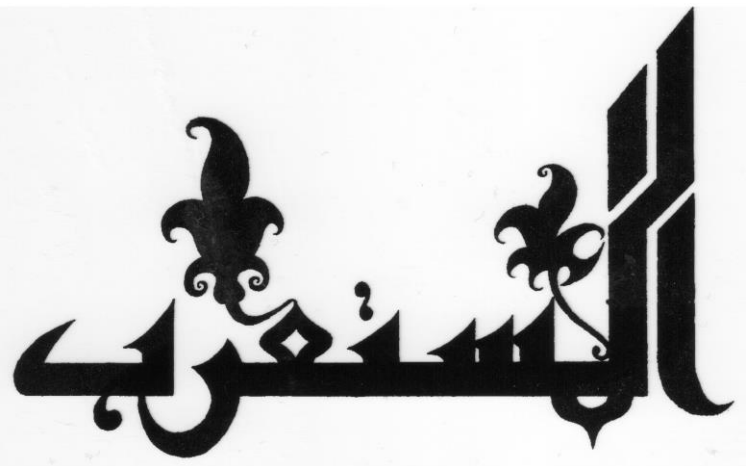
Papers Presented to István Ormos On His Seventieth Birthday

EDITED BY

K. DÉVÉNYI and P. T. NAGY



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EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY CHAIR FOR ARABIC STUDIES

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CONTENTS

"*La pluma es la lengua del alma.*"
(Miguel de Cervantes)

ISTVÁN ORMOS: AN ACADEMIC PROFILE

István Ormos was born on 15 June 1950 in Szeged, South Hungary, into a family of physicians of two generations. Thus, not surprisingly, after finishing secondary school in 1968, he became a medical student in his hometown. However, after five years of diligent studies, his juvenile interest in the Semitic languages made him abandon the profession of his parents and grandparents. He decided to continue his studies first in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Szeged, and then, from 1974 on, at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, in the only department of Arabic and Semitic philology in Hungary at the time.

Apart from his major subject, he also took classes in a whole range of Semitic languages. In 1977 he spent a year with a scholarship in Baghdad furthering his knowledge of the Arabic language, then obtained his MA degree in the next year. The following two years found him in Cairo, where he also attended classes of Ethiopian languages, Ge'ez and Amharic.

In 1980, he embarked upon his career as a university lecturer, which has continued to this day, educating generations of students. Over the past four decades, he has taught a wide range of subjects, including the analysis of various texts in Classical Arabic, other Semitic languages such as Hebrew and Syriac, comparative Semitic linguistics, and Arabic sources for the prehistory of the Hungarian people. He was appointed to the professorship of Arabic and Semitic studies in 2012, also being the head of the department between 2010 and 2015.

By virtue of his former studies at the faculty of medicine, the history of mediaeval Arabic medicine remained one of his main fields of interest in the following years, leading to his doctoral dissertation on Avicenna's treatise on phonetics in the early eighties. In particular, he examined Avicenna's theory of sound and voice production, as well as his views on the structure of the larynx and the tongue. He then conducted further research on this subject, as a result of which he published several articles on Avicenna and other medical topics, alongside many book reviews concerning the history of Arabic medicine.

István Ormos's interest in the Semitic languages urged him to visit Ethiopia in 1984 for the sake of furthering his studies in Ge'ez and Amharic. This research eventually resulted in several of his publications, among others the translation of a selection from *The life of Saint Täklä Haymanot*, followed by an article on his life as a source for the popular religious practices in Ethiopia.

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Ormos joined the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as part-time curator of Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts in the mid-1980s, from which post he resigned after twenty years of service at the end of 2003. His employment at the library gave him the opportunity to organise colloquia and publish several volumes and articles on the basis of the Oriental Collection.

From the eighties onwards, István Ormos has carried out thorough research on the Arabic sources concerning the early history of the Hungarian people. This resulted in his profound intimacy not only with the primary sources but also with the relevant scholarly literature on the subject. This is shown by a series of long review articles – or, better said, collections of meticulous essays – in which he attempted to provide a comprehensive analysis of the relevant geographical and historical sources.

In the mid-nineties, he became acquainted with a prominent figure in Egypt at the turn of the 20th century, the Hungarian architect Max Herz – or, as known in Egypt, Herz Pasha – through his correspondence with the Hungarian scholar of Islamic Studies, Ignaz Goldziher. Subsequently, István Ormos's extensive research in Hungary, Vienna, Cairo, and elsewhere led him to a comprehensive knowledge of the life and career of Max Herz, with particular attention to his various activities in Egypt as an architect, conservator, museum director, and architectural historian. His research on the subject resulted first in his habilitation dissertation in 2003, and then, six years later, in his fascinating two-volume monograph on the life and activities of Max Herz Pasha. Since this publication, Professor Ormos has continued his research in the field, mainly by further exploring a particular sphere of Herz Pasha's career: the planning and implementation of the Cairo Street at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 at Chicago. After several thought-provoking articles, he has now completed a monograph on the topic, which is to be published later this year.

Last but not least, mention must be made of another territory in István Ormos's manifold scholarly projects: he wrote the biography of two previous heads of the Arabic Department. After a series of articles, he also published a book on one of them, Mihály Kmoskó, in which he not only draws a sensible portrayal of the private and public life of Kmoskó but also provides a detailed insight to the society of Hungary in the aftermath of the First World War. In this brilliant book enriched by extensive notes and illustrations, the author also presents a special gem to the readers in the appendices: the edited report by Kmoskó on his official travels in Greater Syria in 1916.

In tribute to Professor Ormos's erudite and enduring contributions to the wide-ranging fields of scholarship described above, his colleagues, friends, and former students offer the following papers to celebrate the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

Budapest, 21 May 2020 Tamás Iványi

PUBLICATIONS OF ISTVÁN ORMOS

A. Books

1985

A törzsek származásáról, avagy A kincsesbarlang [On the Origin of Tribes or the Cave of Treasures]. Budapest: Helikon Kiadó. [Translated from Syriac].

1986

Csodatévő Takla Hájmánót [Saint Täklä Haymanot]. Budapest: Helikon Kiadó. [Translated from Ethiopic].

1992

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1995

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2005

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2009

Max Herz Pasha (1856–1919): His Life and Career. 2 vols. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

2010

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2017

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2020 (in press)

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1985

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1986

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1987

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1988

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1991

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1992

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1993

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2009

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2015

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2016

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2017

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ORIENTALISM AND THE ARTISANAL REVIVAL IN 19TH- AND 20TH-CENTURY EGYPT

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When the Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon (r. 1899–1905), restored the Taj Mahal in 1905, he asked the Consul-General of Egypt, Lord Cromer (r. 1883–1907), to send him a lamp made in Cairo for the mausoleum.[1] It was still hanging there until very recently (fig. 1).

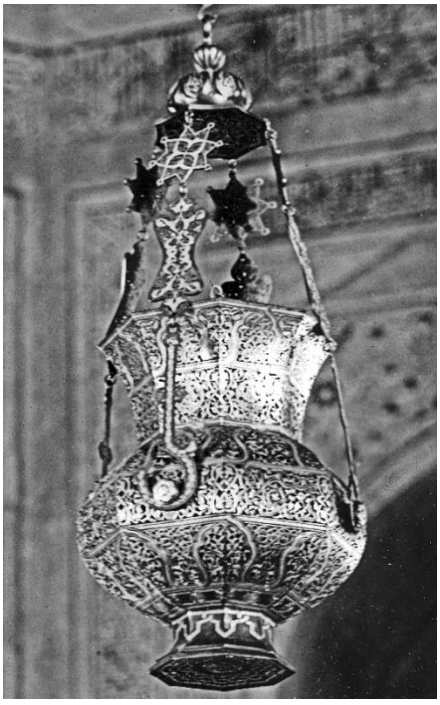

Fig. 1. Lamp of Lord Curzon in the Taj Mahal. Image courtesy of the British Library.

[1] See Vernoit 1997: 239 and Khare 2003.

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The lamp for the Taj Mahal was made of brass and inlaid with silver and gold in the Baḥrī Mamluk style. No lamps or other metalware are known to have been made in this style in Egypt or Syria during the period following the fall of the Mamluk sultanate (1517). The lamp for the Taj Mahal was a copy of one depicted in an engraving by Prisse d'Avennes and attributed to the mausoleum of Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars (r. 1309–1310), which is now lost (fig. 2).[2] While this lamp was inscribed with the name of Sultan Baybars, the one made for the Taj Mahal was inscribed with Curzon's name.

Fig. 2. Lamp of the mausoleum of Baybars. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art arabe*, III, pl. CLVIII.

The lamp depicted by Prisse d'Avennes was attributed by Stanley Lane-Poole to al-Muẓaffar Baybars, the second sultan to be called by this name, rather than aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 1260–1277), whose mausoleum is in Damascus. However, Gaston Wiet published the inscription of this lamp, attributing it indeed to aẓ-Ẓāhir Baybars's mausoleum (Wiet 1932: 184, no. 89). It is not clear how and where it came to Prisse d'Avennes's attention. The lamp ended up in France in the collection of Charles Schefer before it was acquired by a member of the Rothschild family

[2] Prisse d'Avennes, *L'Art arabe*, III, pl. CLVIII. A similar piece is today in the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar; Allan 2002: 70, cat. no. 20.

(Behrens-Abouseif 1995: 26–27; Lane-Poole 1886: 191, fig. 76). From that point on, no information is available concerning its whereabouts.

The lamp copied from Prisse d'Avennes's engraving was produced by the workshop of the Copt Tadros Badir, who worked in restoration projects for the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. He must have been a contractor working with different workshops rather than a metalworker himself.

1 Revival in metalwork and architecture

By the end of the 19th century, international pressure and initiatives for the rescue of Egypt's Islamic legacy led to the foundation of the Comité in 1881, and shortly afterwards, in 1883, to the establishment of the Museum of Islamic Art, then called the Museum of Arab Art (Reid 2002: 237–239; Ormos 2009: 313–333). In the course of their colossal endeavour to preserve and restore the monuments of Cairo, which is well documented, the Comité contributed to the revival of traditional crafts that also included portable artefacts and furnishings.

Among the members of the Comité was the British historian Stanley Lane-Poole, who also worked in the British Museum, and whose pioneering book *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt* published in 1886 deals extensively with the decorative arts. Lane-Poole attested that Egyptian artisans were now able to reproduce artefacts in metal- and woodwork that could not be distinguished from the original (Lane-Poole 1886: 309–310). Indeed, the recent study by I. Ormos on the metal doors of Sultan Barqūq, critically based on a study began by G. Fehérvári, reveals the problems of distinguishing between Mamluk and Revival metalwork (Ormos 2018). The metalwork revival in Cairo was associated with the Comité's task of preserving the city's architectural heritage, and was supported by the publication of studies on the Islamic decorative arts, as well as by the foundation of the Museum of Islamic Art.

A separate wave of metalwork revival was taking place about the same time in Damascus, however, under different circumstances. It was mainly commercial, stimulated by the increasing demand of European museums and collectors in response to Damascus's fame and uninterrupted tradition in the production of artistic metalware. This revival was essentially concerned with the technique of silver-inlay, which had flourished in the Mamluk period but nearly vanished subsequently. The Syrian craftsmen now applied this technique in combination with a new style that was distinct from the medieval one, representing a new aesthetic trend with novel shapes, calligraphic styles, and decorative motifs. The Revival production is characterised by heavy silver-inlay and the use of silver and copper wire-work to outline and enhance the decorative elements (fig. 3).[3]

[3] On the technique, see Vernoit 1997: 238, citing Hildburgh, "Inlaid brasswork". Hildburgh mentions that Syrian wares were largely imported to Cairo.

Fig. 3. Revival basin, Damascus, c. 1900–1910. Private Collection.

According to al-Qāsimī who, towards the end of the 19th century, wrote about Syrian crafts, the work of the *naqqāsh* (decorator) in 19th century Damascus was separate from that of the coppersmith, consisting merely of decorating metal vessels produced by others. People would buy their vessels from the coppersmiths and bring them to the decorators for embellishment. The *naqqāsh* craft, which was practised exclusively by Jews, was lucrative, being mainly associated with an international market of antiquities. Their products were dedicated to be exported to Europe, as well as to Egypt, by specialised dealers. Al-Qāsimī adds that the Syrians themselves were not inclined to this kind of decoration (al-Qāsimī, *Qāmūs*, II, 486–487). This may be explained by the fact that in the 19th century, the aesthetics of Syrian residential culture were becoming increasingly Ottomanised and influenced by Baroque art (Weber 2009: I, 240–330).

Syrian Revival wares were imported in large quantities in Cairo where they may have had an impact on the local production. The Syrian Revival had an offshoot in Jerusalem, probably thanks to the migration of Jewish craftsmen. The Jewish Museum in New York has a collection of Mamluk Revival artefacts from Damascus, some of which include Jewish symbols and Hebrew letters, and some are dated either to the first or second decade of the 20th century (Whelan 1982). According to E. Whelan, a Jewish migrant to Palestine called A. Bar-Adon went to Damascus in 1909 to learn the inlay technique from the Damascene revival artisan B. Asfar, and eventually introduced it to the Bezalel Art School in Jerusalem, launching revival production there, with Jewish features and Hebrew inscriptions. The ‘classical’ period of the metalwork Revival style seems to have come to an end with the outbreak of World War I, and was followed by an eclectic production aimed at the bazaar clientele.

Being connected to the Comité activities, the revival of metalwork cannot be dissociated from the creation of the neo-Mamluk style in architecture. Much has been written on this chapter of Cairo's architectural heritage in the age of colonialism, which, however, is not the main concern of this paper.[4] It should merely be recalled that although the first idea of a revival of Mamluk architecture had been proposed already in the first quarter of the 19th century when the French architect Pascal Coste presented his design for the projected mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī that was eventually rejected, it was not before the late 19th century that it came into fashion. The inspiration that Coste took from Mamluk architecture reflected his individual experience with the Islamic architecture of Cairo, which he was the first to document in an exclusively dedicated album.[5] Its adoption in mosque architecture as well as in some public buildings was realised later by architects who were members of the Comité.[6]

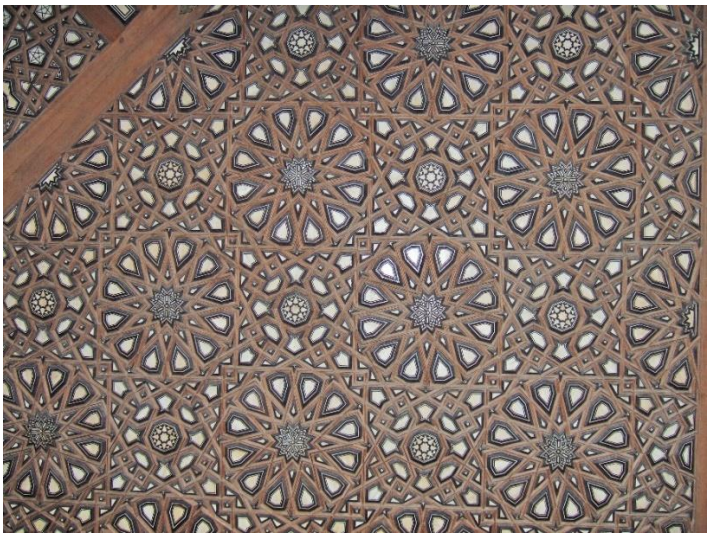

Fig. 4. Minbar of the mosque of ar-Rifāʿī, detail. Photo by the author.

The most iconic neo-Mamluk monument is the mosque of al-Rifāʿī, built as a royal dynastic mausoleum for the Muḥammad ʿAlī family. Situated beside the monumental Mamluk mosque of Sultan Ḥasan (built between 1356 and 1363), today it features on all tourist itineraries and is a major attraction. Begun in 1869 by the

[4] See, for instance, Volait 2006; Rabbat 2010; Sanders 2008: 46–57. The best documentation is by Reid 2002: 239–242; 2015: 167–195.

[5] Coste, *Architecture arabe*. See also Conti and Jacobi 1998.

[6] The new building for the Museum of Islamic Art, then called Museum of Arab Art, built in 1903, was designed in the Neo-Mamluk style by the Italian Comité member Alfonso Manescalo.

Egyptian architect Ḥusayn Fahmī, who had studied in France, it was not completed until 1912, after an interruption following the architect's death, by the Hungarian head of the Comité, Max Herz Pasha together with the Italian Carlo Virgilio Salvagni. A pastiche of Mamluk elements, its design forms a symmetrical counterpart to the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, as part of Cairo's modernisation following Haussmann's plans for Paris. Much has been written that needs not be repeated here, and diverging views have been expressed about this monument.[7] Suffice it to say, today it is a landmark in the history of Cairene architecture, much loved by the general public.

However, while most academic debate about the mosque has focused on its architecture, little attention has been dedicated to the fact that this monument also embodies the artisanal revival of the period. The lavishness and high-quality craftsmanship of its decoration is probably the main reason for its popularity and the pride taken in showing it to visitors. Although Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb dedicates much of his description and praise to the decoration and its precious materials (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb 1946: 363–371), little is known about the workshops involved in its unprecedented ornamentation.

Fig. 5. Marble panel in the mosque of al-Rifāʿī. Photo by the author.

Max Herz and ʿAlī Pāšā Mubārak mention that palace workshops had been involved in the first building phase, and Herz names the woodwork master Badir Wahba from Asyut in Upper Egypt, who began the work on the *minbar*, and his son, Tadros Badir, who completed it (fig. 4). This was the same person who also produced the lamp for the Taj Mahal (Herz 1911: 56). The glass lamps came from Bohemia, while the metal lamps were local imitations of medieval prototypes. Herz adds that

[7] al-Asad 1993; Ormos 2009: 430–445; Mubārak, *al-Ḫiṭaṭ*, IV, 114–119; Herz 1911.

his personal experience, fieldwork, and love for Arab art had been his sources of inspiration for the interior decoration of the mosque (Herz 1911: 48). These words suggest that he was predominantly involved in the decorative design. However, here the devil is in the detail, and more research is needed in this area. Who designed the more than seventy rectangular panels of carved marble adorning the bases of the piers, each with a different geometric or arabesque pattern combining conventional with novel patterns (fig. 5)? As emphasised by Mohammad al-Asad, the mosque was conceived by European architects, and is an entirely Orientalist creation (al-Asad 1993: 118–119). This also applies to its decoration and furnishings. Archival exploration is now necessary to elucidate Herz's contribution and the identity and significance of the workshops involved.

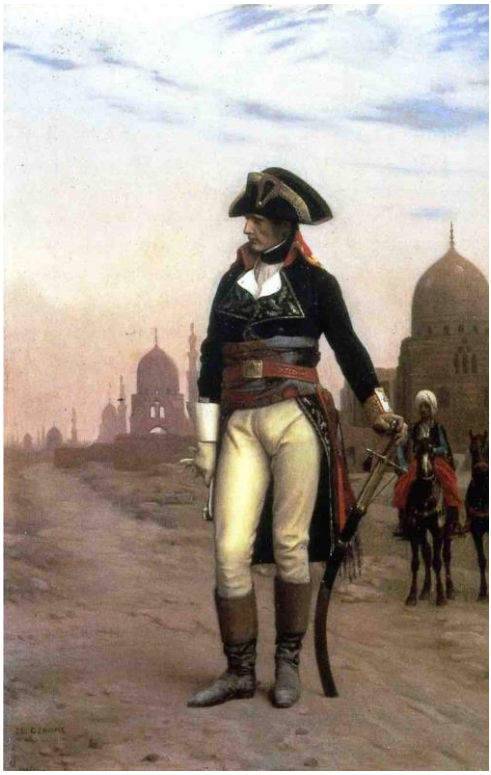

Fig. 6. Jeon-Léon Gerôme, *Napoleon in Egypt*, c. 1863, Princeton University Art Museum. Image in public domain.

2 Between 'Orient' and 'Occident'

Orientalism, both in its academic and artistic form, was instrumental in the revival of traditional crafts in late 19th-century Egypt. Although Napoleon's *Description de l'Egypte* has been criticised for not emphasising the significance of Islamic art as a cultural legacy with the same status accorded to antiquity (Reid 2002: 219), its documentation of Islamic monuments was a groundbreaking contribution to the conventional view of Egypt, and had a major impact on the ensuing wave of Egyptomania. Half a century later, the French Orientalist painter Jean-Léon Gérôme depicted Napoleon facing the Sphinx in a most dramatic composition. He also painted an image of the young Napoleon with Cairo as background and the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan right behind him, and another one showing him against a background with Mamluk domed mausolea (fig. 6). Gérôme thus recalled that the French exploration of Egypt embraced all periods of her history. He himself, the epitome of Orientalist art, dedicated much of his oeuvre to Islamic Cairo.

When, following the example of the Ottoman sultans, Muḥammad ʿAlī opened Egypt to European technology and expertise, the growth of tourism and the influx of European scholars, architects, archaeologists, photographers, literati, artists, collectors, antiquarians, and other aficionados led to an increasing literary production dealing with Egypt's past and present. With Prisse d'Avennes, Jules Bourgoin and Stanley Lane-Poole, the decorative arts acquired an increasing proportion of the focus of academic interest.

While scholars were studying Islamic artefacts, Orientalist artists were celebrating them in their paintings. As backgrounds for their 'Orient', painters filled their canvasses with the traditional artefacts that were widely and avidly collected in Europe by individuals and museums at that time. In the plethora of Orientalist paintings depicting Cairo and other cities, the attention dedicated to the representation of traditional crafts is remarkable (fig. 7). When photography began to spread, it adopted the same subjects used in paintings (fig. 8). Some painters, working in their studios in Europe, depicted collected artefacts in pictures, based on photographs recalling their travels. The market for Oriental antiquities flourished, while experts and aficionados designed their residences with Islamic decoration and furnished them with antiques.

However, the taste for neo-Mamluk residences furnished with Islamic artefacts was not widely shared by the Egyptian elite at that time. In the first half of the 19th century, while many Europeans such as Edward Lane were deploring the disappearance of traditional domestic architecture in Egypt in favour of the European mode, the Egyptian intellectual and modernist Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī, who accompanied the first student delegation sent by Muḥammad ʿAlī to study in France, was fascinated by Paris, which he saw as a model, praising its architecture and housing

for being 'civilised'.[8] Later in the century, ʿAlī Pāšā Mubārak, the minister of public works and historian who documented the historic monuments of Cairo, expressed clearly his preference for modern housing and urban planning over the traditional narrow lanes with houses lit by windows of lattice wood so cherished by Orientalists. His ideas combined the conservation of major monuments with the demolition of traditional urbanism and domestic architecture for the sake of modernisation.[9]

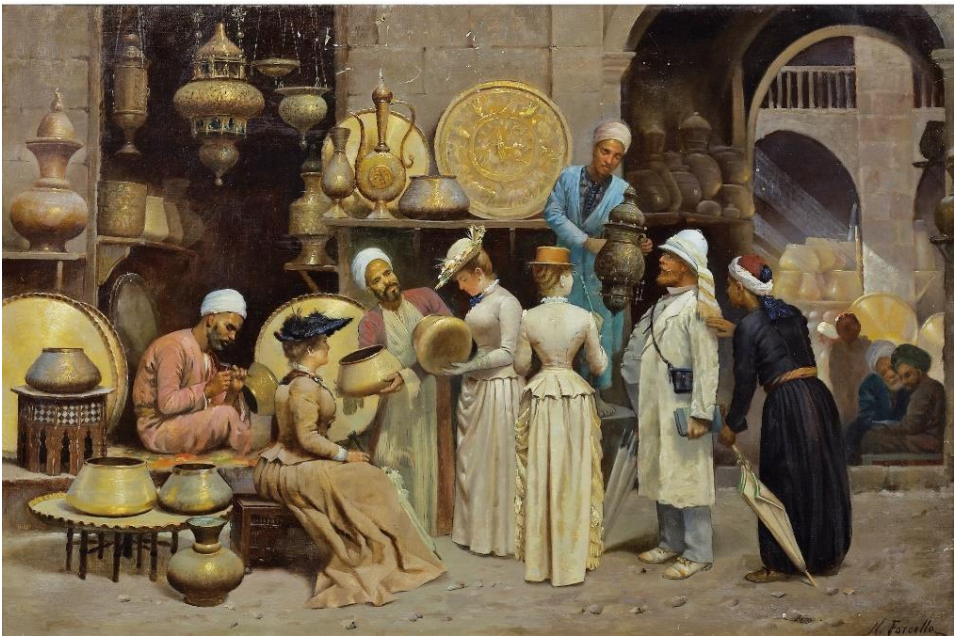

Fig. 7. Nicola Forcella, *Dans le souk au cuivre*, before 1868. © www.sothebys.com.

[8] al-Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 231; Reid 2002: 50–52, 240. See also Lane 1896: 116.
[9] Reid 2002: 230–234; al-Asad 1993: 115–116; Mubārak, *al-Ḫiṭaṭ*, I, 77–88.

Fig. 8. Coppersmith shop in Cairo, photo by Gabriel Lekegian, between 1887–1908. Image courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

To some, an 'Orient' filtered through Orientalism was evidently more appealing than the traditional one that represented what the pursuit of progress should leave behind. In Egypt as in Turkey, the Orientalist passion for the Alhambresque style that Owen Johns and others made popular in Europe was adopted in princely residences (Yenişehirlioğlu 2006: 70–71). During a visit to the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, Khedive Ismāʿīl was delighted by the sight of the Moorish Pavilion designed by the German architect Carl von Diebitsch. He invited him to come to Cairo, where he worked together with the Austrian member of the Comité, Julius Franz Pasha, on the design of Ismāʿīl's Gezira Palace to host Napoleon III and his wife Eugénie during the Suez Canal inauguration festivities. The palace was partially decorated in the Andalusī style, with wrought iron and stucco elements brought from Germany to be assembled in Cairo.[10]

[10] Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2003. See also Nasser Rabbat's contribution to the present volume.

Fig. 9. Clock in the shape of a Mamluk candlestick, probably by the workshop of Giuseppe Parvis. Khalili Collection. Image courtesy of the Nour Foundation.

Giuseppe Parvis (1831–1909), the famous Italian cabinet-maker and the khedive's Orientalist designer, provided some of the furniture. Parvis, who had studied at the Albertine Academy in Turin where the oldest major collection of ancient Egyptian art is housed, travelled to the land of the pharaohs, but soon discovered its Islamic heritage as well, and was particularly inspired by traditional objects of furnishings. He designed high quality furniture and other artefacts in a fusion of styles, combining Islamic or ancient Egyptian decorative elements with European forms and aesthetics (fig. 9), and was so successful that Ismāʿīl appointed him in his service. Thanks to the khedive's patronage, Parvis was commissioned with tasks for the universal exhibition of 1867 in Paris and other exhibitions that made him famous worldwide.[11] His workshop also produced imitations of artefacts from the Museum of Islamic Art for the government to offer as diplomatic gifts. The Khalili collection includes such a Qurʾān box made after a Mamluk prototype (fig. 10).[12]

[11] Selvafolta 2015: 68–77. See also Mercedes Volait's contribution to the present volume.

[12] On the metalwork revival in Egypt and Syria, see Vernoit 1997, 228–239; Whelan 1982; Behrens-Abouseif 2020.

Fig. 10. Copy of a 14th-century Mamluk Qurʾān box by Giuseppe Parvis. Khalili Collection. Image courtesy of the Nour Foundation.

In this trend, the adoption of Orientalist ornament and artefacts, rather than architectural concepts, were the main subjects of interest. Khedive Ismāʿīl, who expressed his aspiration to make Egypt part of Europe, was a major figure in the adoption of Orientalism, which, in this context, should be rather labelled 'Occidentalism', following S.Vernoit's book on the impact of European fashions that had emerged under royal patronage in Iran and Turkey as an expression of modernity. The inauguration ceremony of the Suez Canal in 1869, with a new opera house and the projected performance of Verdi's Aida, was the Egyptian celebration of Occidentalism par excellence.

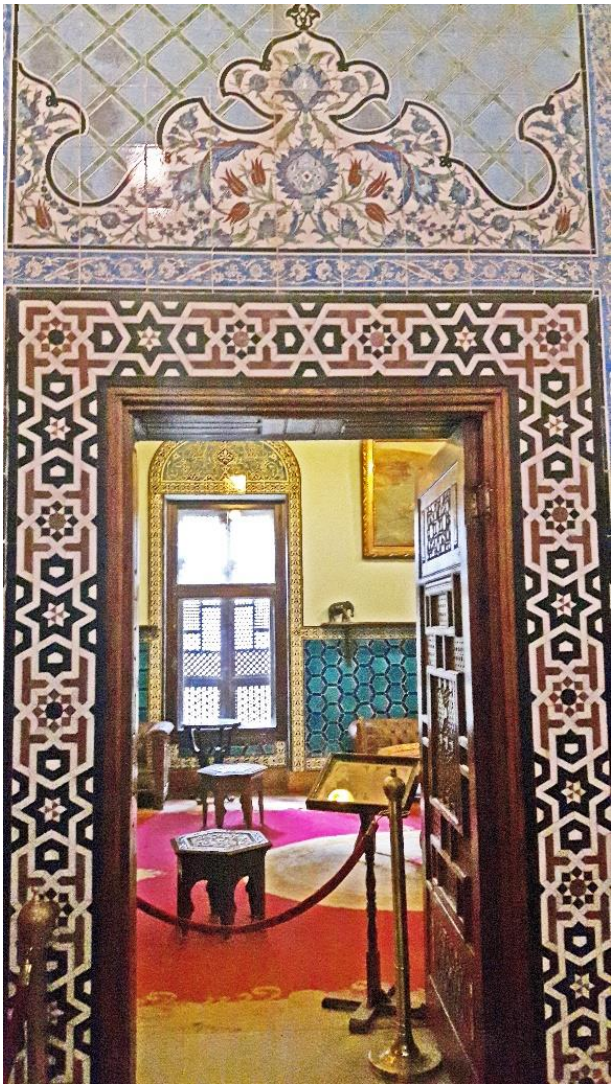

Fig. 11. View in the Manial Palace. Photo by the author.

In the early 20th century, Egyptians joined the circles of art collectors, scholars, and connoisseurs, establishing a new culture of museum patronage, the first among them being members of the royal aristocracy. In 1929, Prince Muḥammad ʿAlī Tawfīq completed his palace at Manial on the island of Rawḍa (fig. 11). The inscription above its entrance states that it was dedicated to the revival and glorification of Islamic arts: *iḥyāʾan li-l-funūn al-islāmiyya wa-iğlālan lahā*. The foundation inscription of the palace mosque states that the prince himself designed it following inspirations gathered from his travels around the world. The pride in the

artistic revival is further emphasised in the panel near the main entrance of the building, inscribed with a list of craftsmen involved in the works. Indeed, the quality of the various crafts displayed in the decoration of this building is exquisite. To what extent it was a continuity of the artisanal revival of the mosque of al-Rifāʿī is a question that still needs to be explored. The building displays rather a bold mixture of decorative styles that include elements of Mamluk, Andalusian, and late Ottoman origin, alongside artefacts from East and West set in a European residential interior. Rather than styles or concepts, ornament and craftsmanship seem to be the intent of the revival advertised in the foundation inscription. Although its sources of inspiration are more disparate, it is the Egyptian Occidentalist echo of the European Orientalist residences designed decades earlier by the French architect and Comité member Ambroise Baudry.[13]

The impact of Occidentalist aesthetics on intellectuals was a more complex matter. In 1880, Gabriel Charmes, an advocate of Egypt's Islamic legacy, scorned Cairo's half-European culture and ridiculed the performances of Verdi's Aida by the khedive's musicians as 'scorching' (Charmes, *Cinq mois*, 54–56). He noted that the Egyptians had no appreciation for their traditional arts, and held the Turks responsible for the decadence and bad taste that destroyed the Arab genius of the past. To him the Arab genius lay in architecture and poetry. Ironically, Charmes's words converge with the satirical observations made a couple of decades later by the Egyptian writer and social critic Muḥammad al-Muwayliḥī (1858–1930), who ridiculed his countrymen for blindly following European fashions. He described Egyptian reality at this time as neither East nor West, based on people's ignorance of their own culture, as well as their misunderstanding of what European culture was about. Deploring the fact that the books of the great Arab thinkers and poets lay in the National Library forgotten and neglected under heaps of dust, he thought the Egyptians should rather be concerned with reviving their literary heritage (Allen 1992: 367, 378–379).

It is highly significant that al-Muwayliḥī's critique of the neglect of the Arab intellectual and literary legacy did not involve a reference to its artistic legacy. This attitude reflects the traditional cultural focus on literature and the literary discourse rather than the visual arts. Al-Muwayliḥī's teacher, the great modernist theologian Muḥammad ʿAbduh, saw the visual arts as the distinction between Arab and European culture. During his travels in Europe, he commented that the significance of painting there was equivalent to that of poetry in Arab culture.[14]

[13] See Baudry's design of houses for a European clientele in Volait 1998.

[14] ʿAbduh, *al-Aʿmāl al-kāmila*, II, 207. I am grateful to Silvia Naef for drawing my attention to this text.

3 Conclusion

Ironically, although the Orientalist vision of the 'Orient' has been much scorned, being seen as offensive to Middle Eastern culture in what has almost become a discipline in its own right, it nevertheless has a tremendous appeal in today's Islamic world. Orientalist paintings are reproduced everywhere in the Egyptian media dealing with art, heritage, and traditions, as well as in hotels, restaurants, shops, and cafés. They have become ubiquitous icons of heritage. Revival artefacts have risen in value on the art market, and the Cairo bazaar has responded with a new production in the Revival style. In recent decades, collections of Orientalist paintings have been established in Qatar, Egypt, Morocco, and Malaysia, reviving a market that had lost its significance in Europe. One of these collections is owned by the Egyptian businessman Shafik Gabr, who vehemently defends Orientalist artists against Western critique. In an interview, he said:

> We owe the Orientalists a great debt, because although much of what they painted lives on today in our streets and villages, we constantly need to be reminded of the richness and value of our culture. For many years we Arabs did not reconcile ourselves with Orientalism. Now from those paintings we're getting to know about our own traditions and we are owning them.[15]

This remark might be interpreted as a naive misunderstanding, and it can raise quite a few eyebrows among scholars who view Orientalism as colonial, Euro-centric, and having little to do with the reality of the Middle East and the Arab world. However, in today's Middle East, Orientalist art in its various forms inspires nostalgia for an imaginary past in a radically changing environment.

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[15] Highet 2012. On the collection, see Rafif 2012.

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REMEDIES FOR THE HEAD OF THE MAMLUK CHANCERY: DATING AN ARABIC MEDICAL TREATISE

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The present study addresses the circumstances in which a little-known Arabic medical treatise, written for travellers and titled *al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār*, was compiled. I first examine the three manuscripts of the treatise known today. Based on the data gathered from the manuscripts, I identify the author and the patron of the work: Muẓaffar ad-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAntābī (or al-ʿAyntābī) al-Amšāṭī and Kamāl ad-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad al-Bārizī. Even though some of the sources for the author's life have yet to be analysed, the biographical accounts for the patron make it possible to establish a timeframe for the compilation of the treatise, securing its date around the year 850/1446–7.

1 The treatise and its manuscripts

The genre of health guides written for travellers can be traced back to the 4th century BC, to the works of Dieuches and Diocles of Carystus, from which only fragments survive today. These were used by Oribasius (d. 403),[1] whose discussion was copied by Paul of Aegina (d. ca. 690). According to Arab authors, Rufus of Ephesus (d. ca. 110) wrote a regimen for travellers, which is now lost. The Arabic medical tradition also features some specimens of such health guides. These are either treatises solely dedicated to this topic, such as Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's *Risāla fī tadbīr safar al-ḥağğ*,[2] or chapters in encyclopaedias, such as the works of aṭ-Ṭabarī, ar-Rāzī, or Ibn Sīnā.[3]

Another example of this genre is the hitherto unedited treatise *al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār*. The incipit and the preface proper are rendered in rhymed prose (*sağʿ*) with *-ār* ending. The regimen is arranged into an introduction, eight core chapters, and an epilogue in two parts. While the introduction details the reasons for its compilation,

[1] Single dates are given according to AD, while in the case of double dates, the first is given according to AH, while the second according to AD.

[2] For its critical edition, English translation, and commentary, see Bos 1992.

[3] For a more detailed discussion, see Horden 2005: 190–195; Bos 1992: 5–6.

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the core chapters deal with the following issues: general concerns of travelling, travelling in hot weather, burning winds, travelling during winter, preservation of limbs, preservation of complexion, waters, and travelling on the sea. The epilogue is on simple and compound remedies that one might need during one's travels. It seems that at least three manuscripts of the treatise survive today: one in Cairo,[4] one in Mosul (the only MS noted in Brockelmann 2012: II, 93), and one in Tarīm (Yemen).[5]

1.1 MS Dār al-Kutub maǧāmīʿ 210/16 (henceforth: Cairo MS)

The manuscript and its contents are described briefly in the catalogues of the Khedivial Library and the Egyptian National Library. The former catalogue's entry lists all 16 treatises of the collection, from which seven are dated, and one is an autograph. Their dates range from 607 to 882 (1210–1477/8) (*Fihrist al-kutub*: VII/1, 258–261; al-Halwaji 2011: I, 154).

The 16th treatise (ff.254v–269v) bears the title *al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār* (f.255r, with the word *ḥikam* vocalised). No name of author, scribe, copyist, owner, or date of copying is recorded in the manuscript; the only, though anonym, reference to them can be found in the colophon (f.269v, 'may God grant forgiveness to its scribe, its owner, its author, and who read to them').[6] To the right of the colophon's text is the stamp of the Khedivial Library, and to the left is a note on the volume's number of pages.

1.2 MS Madrasat Yaḥyā Bāšā 175/9 (henceforth: Mosul MS)

Al-Ǧalabī's catalogue of the manuscripts in Mosul does not describe the collection in detail, but only lists the contained treatises, 11 in total (al-Ǧalabī 1927: 237). The same author has published an article on two of these treatises. In the catalogue, he attributes the 7th and 8th treatises to Šams ad-Dīn al-Qūṣūnī, but he corrects this in his article: in fact, al-Qūṣūnī's son wrote the 8th treatise. He also quotes the biography of the son, written under the title of the 8th treatise (al-Ǧalabī 1930a). In another article written a month later, he demonstrates that there are two additional biographies included in the collection, written in the same style and by the same hand: one for the author of the 9th treatise, and one for that of the 11th treatise (al-Ǧalabī 1930b).

The 9th treatise (ff. 1r–9r) bears the title *Kitāb al-isfār ʿan ḥukm al-asfār* (f.1r, vocalised). The name of the author is given immediately after the title: *aš-šayḫ al-*

[4] I am indebted to the Embassy of Hungary in Cairo, the Office of the Hungarian Cultural Counsellor in Cairo, and the Avicenna Institute of Middle Eastern Studies for their help with acquiring a digital copy of this manuscript.

[5] I was supplied with digitalised microfilm copies of the Mosul and Tarīm manuscripts, made by the Maʿhad al-Maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya (Institute of Arabic Manuscripts), Cairo.

[6] *Ġafara Allāh li-kātibihi wa-li-ṣāḥibihi wa-li-muṣannifihi wa-li-man qaraʾa lahum*.

imām al-ʿallāma Muẓaffar ad-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAntābī, known as al-Amšāṭī. The name of the copyist is given in the colophon (f. 9r): Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Q.l.t.y al-Azharī. The date of copying is recorded in the colophon: 16 Rabīʿ I 976 (8 September 1568). The text generally follows the Cairo manuscript, only some parts of the preface differ, and a short biography of the author was added between the title and the actual text of the treatise. I shall return to this biography below in detail.

1.3 MS Maktabat al-Aḥqāf maǧmūʿ Āl Yaḥyā 123 (henceforth: Tarīm MS)

The manuscript is described in the catalogue of the Yemeni manuscripts of the Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, as well as the other ten treatises of the collection.[7] The treatise (ff. 100r–110r) bears the title *Iršādāt li-man arāda as-safar* (underlined thrice), and *Kitāb al-isfār ʿan ḥ.k.m al-asfār* (f. 100r, not vocalised except the *hamza*s) written below the underlining. The name of the author is given immediately after the title: *al-ʿallāma* Muẓaffar ad-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAntābī, known as al-Amšāṭī. The name of the copyist and the date of copying are recorded in the colophon (f. 110r): Abū ṣ-Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, 17 Ǧumādā I 1083 (10 September 1672). The text follows the Cairo manuscript in general, but the preface seems to be a slightly modified version of that of the Mosul manuscript.

2 The author: Muẓaffar ad-Dīn al-Amšāṭī

As noted above, the Cairo manuscript does not contain the name of the author, whereas the Mosul and Tarīm manuscripts mention it as (*aš-šayḫ al-imām*) *al-ʿallāma* Muẓaffar ad-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAntābī, known as al-Amšāṭī.

Since the Mosul manuscript is supplemented by a short biography of the author (f. 1r), it is worth transcribing it here. The text below follows the original orthography; the ends of the lines are marked with vertical slashes (|), and an interlinear insertion is marked with parenthesis.

كتَاب الإسْفَار عن حُكْمِ الأَسْفار | للشيْخ الامام العَلّامه مُظَفّر الدين مَحْمُود | العنتَابى المعْرُوف بالامشَاطى[8] | تغمدَهُ الله تعين برحمَته |

مولفه محمود بن احمد بن حسن بن اسمعيل بن يعقوب بن اسمعيل الشيخ مظفر الدين بن الامام شهاب الدين الامشاطى | العنتابي الحنفى القاهرى اخو قاضى القضاه بمصر محمد الامشاطى الحنفى ولد فى حدود سنه اثني عشر | وثمانمايه وكان فقيها طبيبا فاضلا مفننا فى جميع العلوم

[7] Al-ʿAydarūs 2009: II, 1601–1605 (nos 3842–3853, no. 3852 being the treatise discussed here). I would like to thank Kinga Dévényi and Anne Regourd for having called my attention to this catalogue.

[8] The two dots of the *yāʾ* are on top of the letter's shape as indicated, but above each other.

درس وافتى وحدث والف شرحا | على النقايه فى الفقه وشرحا على الموجر (فى الطب) لابن النفيس حسنا جامعا حافلا في مجلدين كبيرين وشرحا | على اللمحه فى الطب ايضا لابن امين الدوله وكتب عدّه رسايل فى الطب منها تاسيس الاتقان | والمتانه فى علل الكلى والمثانه ومنها القول السديد فى اختيار الاما والعبيد | ومنها رساله في ما يحتاج اليه المسافر كتبها لابن البارزى وكان صالحا خيرا حسن الاعتقاد | ذكر انه راي وهو دون البلوغ رجلا يمشى فى الغمام لا شك فى ذلك وكان على طرتقه حسنة | وعمر واسن فنزل عن وظائفه واقبل على الله تعالى وعمل عدة من الخيرات والآثار الي | توفى سنه اثنتين وتعمام بالقاهره رحمه الله تعالى نقلت ذلك من الضو وغيره|

From this short biography, we can gather that Muẓaffar ad-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAntābī al-Amšāṭī was the brother of the chief judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāt*) of Egypt. Born in early 812/1409, he was primarily a jurist (*faqīh*) and a physician, though also learned in some other sciences. He wrote three commentaries and numerous medical treatises. He was known to be a devout and virtuous man, a firm believer. An anecdote recorded from his childhood says that he once saw a man walking in the clouds. He grew old and resigned from his positions, turning to God and performing good deeds until he died in 902/1496–7 in Cairo. According to al-Ǧalabī, the name of the person copying this biography is not recorded, although the script is different from those of the other treatises in the collection (al-Ǧalabī 1930a: 165). The anonymous scribe acknowledges among his sources *aḍ-Ḍawʾ* of as-Saḫāwī, a late Mamluk historian who died in 902/1497.

Turning to as-Saḫāwī's *aḍ-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, it is clear that the above-quoted biographical passage in the Mosul manuscript is a summary of as-Saḫāwī's account. The original biography provides many interesting details about the life of al-Amšāṭī (as-Saḫāwī, *aḍ-Ḍawʾ* X, 128–129). One of them is the origin of his name: his maternal grandfather was a comb trader (*amšāṭī*), and so the family was named after him.[9] As-Saḫāwī enumerates various sciences in which al-Amšāṭī was educated (memorising the Qurʾān, *fiqh*, medicine, grammar, and time-keeping), listing his teachers as well as the books from which he learnt, and mentions some detailed and intriguing episodes of his life. Al-Amšāṭī travelled to Damascus many times, went on pilgrimage more than once, and visited aṭ-Ṭāʾif in the company of al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480), a religious scholar.[10] He also waged *ǧihād*, devoted his attention to various activities (such as swimming, archery and bookbinding), and also healed patients. Besides, he took up teaching *fiqh* and medicine, the latter subject in the Ibn Ṭūlūn Mosque and the Manṣūriyya Madrasa in the funerary complex of Sultan Qalāwūn. Later in his life, he abandoned all his positions except for practising medicine. While as-Saḫāwī lists three commentaries by al-Amšāṭī, he only names his *Kurrāsa yaḥtāǧ ilayhā fī s-safar*, with no mention of the two other medical treatises by the same author. Then, among some details on his character, we read that as-Saḫāwī and al-Amšāṭī were close friends, the latter visiting the former weekly for dictating his new works. The

[9] That is, the family's *nisba* al-Amšātī derives from *mušṭ* (pl. *amšāṭ*) meaning 'comb'.
[10] For more on his life, see Saleh 2010.

anecdote about the man walking in the clouds was told by al-Amšāṭī directly to as-Saḫāwī. For al-Amšāṭī's birth, the author provides an alternative date, 810/1407. The account ends by mentioning that in 899/1493–4 al-Amšāṭī was staying in his home because he was unable to move.

According to Brockelmann (2012: II, 93) and az-Ziriklī (2005: VII, 163), our second source for the life of al-Amšāṭī is the Yemeni jurist aš-Šawkānī's (d. 1250/1834) *al-Badr aṭ-ṭāliʿ*. His account for al-Amšāṭī's life is an abridgement of as-Saḫāwī's biography with two addenda. Aš-Šawkānī explains the anecdote by writing that al-Amšāṭī probably saw a man-shaped cloud, and gives his place and date of death: Cairo, Rabīʿ I 902 (November–December 1496) (aš-Šawkānī, *al-Badr* II, 292–293). These details strongly suggest that there were, in fact, other sources for the life of al-Amšāṭī.[11] This means that further research may hope to find those additional sources and compile a more accurate and comprehensive bibliographical study of the author of the medical treatise. Nonetheless, it is clear that the author of this treatise was a highly regarded scholar working in 15th-century Cairo.

3 The patron: Abū l-Maʿālī Muḥammad al-Ǧuhanī al-Bārizī aš-Šāfiʿī

Another point to investigate is the person to whom the treatise *al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār* was dedicated, which may shed further light on the date of the work itself.

In accordance with *ḥusn al-ibtidāʾ*, the author praises God for commanding to travel, and for 'making medicine hold secrets' (*wa-ǧaʿala fī ṭ-ṭibb min al-asrār*) that preserve health and cure harms. The preface proper after *wa-baʿdu* describes preparing oneself with humbleness and restraint for visiting ritual sites while anticipating God's forgiveness at the end of times. Here the book's patron is eulogised as the *imām* whose qualities are praised, followed by his titles and name: *al-muqirr* ('the excellent'), *al-ašraf* ('the noblest'), *al-karīm* ('the beneficent'), *al-ʿālī* ('the sublime'), *al-amāmī* ('the foremost'), *al-ʿālamī* ('the renowned'), *al-ʿallāmī* ('the insightful'), *al-kamālī* ('the perfect', also short for Kamāl ad-Dīn), Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad al-Ǧuhanī al-Bārizī aš-Šāfiʿī, *nāẓir dawāwīn al-inšāʾ aš-šarīfa bi-d-diyār al-Miṣriyya wa-sāʾir al-mamālik al-Islāmiyya* ('the superintendent of the noble chancery of Egypt and the rest of the Muslim countries'). Following this, the author elaborates on his motives for writing this treatise for its patron, writes the title of the treatise, and, after expressing his hopes that his work will be appreciated, gives the table of contents. The *-ār* ending of the *sagʿ* is changed only twice for the sake of including the patron's praise and titles.

[11] I would like to thank Peter Nagy for bringing it to my attention that Behrens-Abouseif 2018: 118 mentions al-Amšāṭī, referencing as-Saḫāwī's *Rafʿ al-asr* besides his *aḍ-Ḍawʾ*. She also refers to Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Bārizī and his father in the same work.

The last title mentioned in the treatise – 'the superintendent of the noble chancery of Egypt…' – means that the patron was a high-ranking official in the Mamluk Sultanate. Since the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā fī ṣināʿat al-inšāʾ* by al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418) is considered "the culmination of the secretarial manuals and encyclopaedias of the Mamlūk period" (Bosworth 1997: 510), it is a fundamental source to look for 'the superintendent of the noble chancery'. In the introductory section, al-Qalqašandī writes about the office of *ṣāḥib ad-dīwān* – i.e. *dīwān al-inšāʾ* – ('head of the chancery') at length (al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ* I, 101–129). However, when writing about the *kātib as-sirr* ('secretary'), al-Qalqašandī records that besides the *kātib as-sirr*'s numerous tasks, the *kuttāb ad-dast* ('scribes of the pedestal', the higher-ranking scribes) and *kuttāb ad-darǧ* ('secretarial scribes') are all under the supervision of his *dīwān*. This indicates that the *kātib as-sirr* is the same person as the *ṣāḥib ad-dīwān*, that is, the head of the chancery. As al-Qalqašandī explains, some of these titles were used synonymously: in his time, the superintendent is called *ṣāḥib dīwān al-inšāʾ* in Egypt. But if one wants to address the officeholder in a more exalted way, one may call him *ṣāḥib dawāwīn al-inšāʾ* (by using the plural) or *nāẓir dawāwīn al-inšāʾ* (since *nāẓir* is higher than *ṣāḥib*). Elaborating it even further, the expression *bi-d-diyār al-Miṣriyya* and *bi-l-mamālik al-Islāmiyya* may also be added (al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ* I, 103). In short, the patron of the treatise bore the title *kātib as-sirr*, and the author used the most exalted designation for dedicating the work.

One of the *nisba*s of the patron was al-Bārizī, indicating that he belonged to a well-known family of officeholders in the Mamluk state. They lived in Ḥamā for many generations, occupying the judgeship for around 120 years with only one interruption (Hirschler 2008: 106–108).[12] It was Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad (769–823/1368–1420) who, after various events, ended up in Cairo with ties to no other than Sultan al-Muʾayyad Šayḫ (r. 815–824/1412–1421), becoming his *kātib as-sirr*, in addition to holding some other positions (Martel-Thoumian 1991: 250–251; Hirschler 2008: 108–107). Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad had two sons: Šihāb ad-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 822/1419), whose funeral was attended by Sultan al-Muʾayyad Šayḫ,[13] and Kamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad, who followed his father as *kātib as-sirr*, and to whom the treatise *al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār* was dedicated. One of their sisters, Muġul, married the future sultan aẓ-Ẓāhir Ǧaqmaq (r. 842–854/1438–1453) (Martel-Thoumian 1991: 255).

The second son, Kamāl ad-Dīn Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir ad-Dīn, was born on 11 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 796 (7 October 1394) in Ḥamā.[14] He grew up under the wings

[12] For a comprehensive discussion of the family, see Martel-Thoumian 1991: 248–266.

[13] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nujūm* XIV, 159; Martel-Thoumian 1991: 254; Hirschler 2008: 108.

[14] As recorded by Ibn Taġrī Birdī (*an-Nuǧūm* XIV, 13), listing ʿUṯmān twice in the genealogy, as opposed to all other sources listing him only once; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal* XI, 10; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar* III, 247; as-Saḫāwī, *aḍ-Ḍawʾ* VIII, 236; as-Suyūṭī, *Naẓm*, 168. The

of his father, memorizing the Qurʾān. Travelling around the Middle East, he first went to Cairo in 809 (1406/7), then returned to Syria and lived in Ḥamā, Aleppo, and Damascus, following the positions of his father. Meanwhile, Kamāl ad-Dīn pursued his studies in the fields of law, grammar, literature, and rhetoric.[15] In 815/ 1412, they moved to Cairo, where Nāṣir ad-Dīn first became *muwaqqiʿ* ('signer'), after which he held the position of *kātib as-sirr* from 3 Šawwāl 815 (6 January 1413).[16] Due to Kamāl ad-Dīn's skills in free prose, poetry, letter writing, and composition, he became his father's deputy.

After his father died, Kamāl ad-Dīn paid 40,000 dinars to Sultan al-Muʾayyad Šayḫ to become the new *kātib as-sirr*.[17] However, only 17 days after the death of the sultan,[18] he left this position and was appointed *nāẓir al-ǧayš* ('superintendent of the army') by the *amīr* Ṭaṭar, who was to become Sultan aẓ-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar briefly for three months.[19] Kamāl ad-Dīn lost his position after the death of aẓ-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, and, in between holding offices, he returned to his studies. Later, when Barsbāy (r. 825–840/1422–1438) was enthroned as sultan, he re-employed Kamāl ad-Dīn as *kātib as-sirr* of Damascus,[20] while he also served as the *qāḍī l-quḍāt* of the Shāfiʿī School of law there.

After the *kātib as-sirr* of Cairo was discharged, Barsbāy summoned Kamāl ad-Dīn to Cairo as *kātib as-sirr* on 20 Rabīʿ II 836 (14 December 1432). However, he lost his office again on 7 Raǧab 839 (26 January 1436).[21] About a year later,[22] he returned to Damascus as *qāḍī l-quḍāt* and *ḫaṭīb* ('preacher') of the Umayyad mosque. Then, after Ǧaqmaq secured the throne for himself, his brother-in-law, Kamāl ad-Dīn, was summoned back to Cairo as *kātib as-sirr* once again on 17 Rabīʿ II 842 (7 September 1438)[23] and remained in this position until his death on 26 Ṣafar

last two sources include Šams ad-Dīn Ibrāhīm in the genealogy and also associate the family with one of the companions of the Prophet.

[15] For a detailed list of the works he studied and his teachers, see Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm* XIV, 13–14; as-Saḫāwī, *aḍ-Ḍawʾ* VIII, 237.

[16] For an account of his life and career, see Martel-Thoumian 1991: 250–251, 262.

[17] On 25 Šawwāl 823 (2 November 1420). Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal* XI, 11: 25 Šawwāl 823; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm* XIV, 15: 25 Šawwāl 823; as-Saḫāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ* VIII, 237: Šawwāl 823.

[18] On 26 Muḥarram 824 (31 January 1421). Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal* XI, 11: 26 Muḥarram 824; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm* XIV, 15: Muḥarram 824; as-Saḫāwī, *aḍ-Ḍawʾ* VIII, 237: Muḥarram 824.

[19] Between 29 Šaʿbān 824 (29 August 1421) and 4 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 824 (30 November 1421).

[20] On 7 Raǧab 831 (22 April 1428).

[21] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal* XI, 13; *an-Nuǧūm* XIV, 15–16.

[22] On 1 Raǧab 840 (9 January 1437).

[23] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal* XI, 13: Rabīʿ II 842; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *an-Nuǧūm* XIV, 16: 17 Rabīʿ II 842; as-Saḫāwī, *aḍ-Ḍawʾ* VIII, 238: *"fī awwal salṭanat aẓ-Ẓāhir"*.

856 (18 March 1452).[24] The biographers also record that Kamāl ad-Dīn performed the *ḥaǧǧ* in 850 (1447).[25] According to contemporary sources, he was widely admired and often portrayed as the embodiment of the ideal *kātib*.[26]

4 Dating the treatise

Since the treatise *al-Isfār ʿan ḥikam al-asfār* was dedicated to Kamāl ad-Dīn as *kātib as-sirr*, it must have been compiled during one of periods when he held that position. As demonstrated above, he was *kātib as-sirr* of the Mamluk Sultanate three times: first, between 823/1420 and 824/1421; second, between 836/1432 and 839/1436; and third, between 842/1438 and 856/1452. The first two periods were brief. Considering the fact that the author al-Amšāṭī was born in 810 or 812 (1407 or 1409), the first period can certainly be rejected – and even the second one is unlikely – because of his age. This suggests that the treatise was likely written during Kamāl ad-Dīn's third period in office, between 842/1438 and 856/1452. Notably, the most reasonable motive behind commissioning such a medical treatise for travellers is the preparation for the *ḥaǧǧ*, and the discussion of travelling for religious purposes in the preface corroborates this assumption. Since we know that Kamāl al-Dīn performed the *ḥaǧǧ* on the apex of his career in 850/1447, all known evidence suggests that the treatise was compiled for that occasion.

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[25] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal* XI, 14; *an-Nuǧūm* XIV, 17; as-Saḫāwī, *aḍ-Ḍawʾ* VIII, 239.

[26] For the list of his biographies and positions, see Martel-Thoumian 1991: 262, 264.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE TRADITIONS ON THE FĀṬIMID GENEALOGY AS REFLECTED IN TWO DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF *AT-TARĀTĪB AS-SABʿA*

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The treatise known by the title *at-Tarātīb as-sabʿa*, which may have originally been part of a longer work, was – to the best of our knowledge – written in Syrian Ismāʿīlī circles, describing the history of the Ismāʿīlī hidden Imāms, the ancestors of the later Fāṭimid imām-caliphs.[1] According to the bibliographies of Ismāʿīlī literature, its author was probably Muḥammad ibn al-Faḍl ibn ʿAlī al-Bazāʿī, a nearly unknown individual of the Ismāʿīlī mission (*daʿwa*). He appears to have been a contemporary chronicler of the Fāṭimid state founded in 297/909, and probably also of earlier events within the secret mission. Unfortunately, nothing else is known about his life and works.[2]

The reason that made this short treatise the focus of our earlier study (Hajnal 2001) is that it provides a brief yet remarkable insight into the early period of the Ismāʿīlī movement, in particular into the history of the hidden Imāms. However, its statements sometimes contradict Ismāʿīlī and other Muslim sources already familiar to scholars, which have so far informed the complex and contradictory views of scholarly research on the subject of Fāṭimid genealogy.

Since then, we have come across a later, but complete version of *at-Tarātīb as-sabʿa* among the writings of Abū Firās al-Maynaqī (d. 937/1530), a Syrian chief missionary of the post-Alamūt period. Published by ʿĀrif Tāmir, this text includes a passage on the history of the hidden Imāms, which is quite significant for our study, given that its contents almost completely correspond to the statements al-Bazāʿī made almost six centuries earlier (al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 49–53).

All we know about Abū Firās al-Maynaqī's career is that he was active in Syria during the leadership of the 31st Muḥammad-šāhī Nizārī Imām, Ṭāhir Šāh al-Ḥusaynī (d. 956/1549), as the chief missionary (*dāʿī akbar*) of the Nizārī community around the settlement of al-Maynaqa. Traditions mention his historical encounter with the Ottoman Sultan Selim I (918–926/1512–1520) in Hama, Syria, after the

[1] al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb*. The two editions contain a collection of historical sources on the early Ismāʿīlī (Qarmaṭī) movement.

[2] See Ivanow 1963: 173; Poonawala 1977: 297; Cf. Zakkār 1980: 38–39, 1987: I, 164.

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Ottoman victory in the battle of Marǧ Dābiq over the Mamluk armies (al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb*, Intr., 15–16).

The prolific author's works mainly concern theology and are listed in the bibliographies of Ismāʿīlī literature,[3] which, however, do not mention the variant of *Risālat at-tarātīb as-sabʿa*.

Comparing the text to the narrative attributed to al-Bazāʿī reveals a considerable degree of correspondence. Nevertheless, one may also note differences and alterations in the text of al-Maynaqī on the ancestors of the Fāṭimid imām-caliphs, some details that are worthy of comparison with the earlier account and other sources on the subject, and of examination in the context of the Fāṭimid genealogical traditions. This may help refine our knowledge of the subject, and perhaps alter our assessment of the events of the relevant historical period, and also change our views on the underlying motives of the tradition in question.

1 Historical background

The beginnings of the Ismāʿīlī movement can be traced back to the controversies surrounding the succession of the sixth Šīʿī Imām, Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), which ultimately led to the separation of proto-Ismāʿīlī groups.

However, we have little knowledge of the history of the early Ismāʿīlīs until the unified movement appeared around the middle of the 3rd/9th century. By that time, they already formed a well-organised and centralised revolutionary movement with a well-developed doctrinal system. The leading figures of the movement, however, were unknown.-The first stage in their history is known as 'the period of concealment' (*dawr as-satr*), in which the Imāms were forced to hide from their opponents.[4]

Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq's grandson, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, was recognised by the early Ismāʿīlīs as 'God's rightly-guided Imām' (al-Mahdī), whose advent is imminent (al-Qāʾim). According to their beliefs at that time, he was hiding and would return in the near future to restore truth on Earth and initiate the final, seventh period of human history, as envisioned in the elaborate cyclical worldview of the early Ismāʿīlīs.[5]

The Ismāʿīliyya appeared as a religious, political, and ideological movement, whose leaders claimed descent from the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter, Fāṭima, and nephew, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. The mission's aim was to overthrow the ʿAbbāsid dynasty and restore the power of the ʿAlids.

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[3] Poonawala 1977: 294–295; Daftary, 2004: 106. Cf. al-Maynaqī, *Šāfiya,* Intr., 13–19.

[4] Halm (1988: 194) argues that the movement went through several crises in its history, and, while its original tenet involved the idea of concealment (*ġayba*), it later vacillated between recognising a present, corporeal Imām or the early notion of the absent, hidden Imām.

[5] an-Nawbaḫtī, *Firaq aš-šīʿa* 62.8–11. Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *Zahr* 206.21–207. 8. See also Daftary 1990: 104–106, 136–143.

Regarding the origins of the Ismāʿīlī Imāms, the pedigree accepted in their traditions is the one that was proclaimed by the Fāṭimids at the time of the caliph al-ʿAzīz (365/975–386/996). According to this view, the first seven Imāms were the Prophet's early descendants, through his grandson al-Ḥusayn and great-grandson Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq, the last one among them was Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl (d. around 184/800), the real 'Mahdī' figure of the early Ismāʿīlīs. Before the establishment of the Fāṭimid dynasty, he was expected to return, and after a schism in the movement in 286/889, the 'renegade' Qarmaṭīs rejected the imām-caliphs who appeared as the head of the community, and continued hoping for the Mahdī's return (Appendix, Chart 1).

With the establishment of the Fāṭimid state, however, the early teachings on the expected arrival of the Mahdī were radically changed; even their revised genealogy, publicised within the milieu of their adherents at that time, revealed strikingly new information. The ideology of the movement, which promised its followers to overthrow the existing religio-political system and create a new, ideal order, was now transformed into the official doctrine of a new statehood. The concept of the rightly guided Savior (Mahdī/Qāʾim) was replaced by that of 'the theocratic dynasty' (*dawlat ad-dīn*), originating from the Prophet's family. As a result of these changes, Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, the awaited Mahdī, lost his eschatological role, while the early leaders of the movement seem to have lost their status as descendants of Ismāʿīl.[6]

Later on, however, the Fāṭimid caliphs would again regard Ismāʿīl as their ancestor and trace their family back to him. According to the Ismāʿīlī traditions accepted in this form, the founder of the mission (*daʿwa*) was the son of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, the eighth Imām ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar. He was followed by the trustees or hidden Imāms, who, during the early period of the mission, organised the movement and directed its secret propaganda from Salamiyya in Syria. After the establishment of their state, a series of Fāṭimid imām-caliphs followed the 11th Imām (Halm 2003: 159).

2 The claim of the ʿAlid lineage and the skeptics

The claim of the Fāṭimid caliphs that they were descendants of the Prophet's House *(ahl al-bayt)* and therefore entitled to the Imāmate has been questioned early on by medieval authors and later by modern scholarly research too. The matter remains subject to divergent opinions and debates.

Many scholars affirm that the lineage of the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, ʿAbdallāh (or ʿUbaydallāh) al-Mahdī (297/909–322/934), goes back to the ʿAlid family. In essence, this view was derived from the Ismāʿīlī writings of various periods, which naturally support this genealogy. Nonetheless, this claim has been questioned early on by medieval authors and later by modern scholars. Many scholars

[6] Madelung 1961: 59–60; cf. Hamdani and de Blois 1982: 186.

argue that, having no genuine link to the Imām ʿAlī and his offspring, the Fāṭimids were, in fact, adventurers in the guise of Imāms who wanted to overthrow the ʿAbbāsid state. This seems to have been a predominant view, based on a substantial amount of evidence and on reasonable arguments, and also supported by modern historical research (ʿInān 1959: 48).

Through slander and fictional accounts, anti-Ismāʿīlī authors created the so-called 'black legend' of Ismāʿīlīs in the 4th/10th century. In this view, the Ismāʿīliyya was presented as an anti-Islamic ideology invented by non-ʿAlid swindlers, such as ʿAbdallāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, so as to destroy the Muslim state from within (Daftary 1990: 106, 109).

The oldest recorded narrative, which proposes such a non-ʿAlid origin for the Fāṭimids and identifies ʿAbdallāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ as their ancestor, comes from Ibn Rizām, a polemicist from al-Kūfa, who wrote it as part of his anti-Ismāʿīlī treatise *(radd)*. It probably dates from the late 4th/10th century, from the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph, al-ʿAzīz. The original work has been lost but parts of it have been preserved by other authors, in particular Ibn an-Nadīm (d. 364/995) and al-Maqrīzī (d. 648/1442).[7]

As recorded by Ibn an-Nadīm, Ibn Rizām says that ʿAbdallāh, the founder of the mission, and his father, Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, who originally lived near the city al-Ahwāz in Ḫūzistān and to whom the group known Maymūniyya was related, were Bardesanes (*dayṣāniyyūn*).[8] ʿAbdallāh moved to live in ʿAskar Mukram, but then, finding little welcome there, soon fled to al-Baṣra to dwell among the descendants of the Hāšimid ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib. Facing harassment there too, he fled to Salamiyya near Ḥimṣ, Syria, where he purchased an estate. He dispatched propagandists to the Sawād of al-Kūfa, and assigned one of his sons to aṭ-Ṭāliqān, from where he kept in touch with the followers in ʿIrāq.

When ʿAbdallāh died, his son, Muḥammad, succeeded him, and, upon the latter's death, a disagreement arose among his missionaries and the members of their community (*ahl niḥla*). Some thought that his brother, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdallāh, should be the successor, while others favoured the latter's son, also called Aḥmad and known by the nickname Abū š-Šalaʿlaʿ (or Abū š-Šalaġlaġ), after whom Saʿīd ibn al-Ḥusayn took over the mission, whose father had died while his grandfather was still alive. Ibn Rizām points out that after leaving al-Baṣra, ʿAbdallāh and his son continued to press the claim that they descended from ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib and had this genealogy confirmed at al- Baṣra.

Then Saʿīd ibn al-Ḥusayn went to Egypt, claiming to be a descendant of ʿAlī and Fāṭima, by the name ʿAbdallāh (ʿUbaydallāh), but had to flee from the ʿAbbāsid

[7] Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 238–239; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* I, 22–29, *idem*. *Ḫiṭaṭ* I, 248, *idem*. *Muqaffā* 75–81.

[8] Bar Dayṣān (d. 222 AD), a Syriac Gnostic in Edessa (ar-Ruhāʾ), who preached Manichean views.

authorities to the Maġrib. As his claim of descent from the ʿAlid lineage was not accepted there, he introduced a young man whom he asserted to be a descendant of the hidden (al-Maktūm) Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. This was al-Ḥasan Abū l-Qāsim, following in his footsteps as an imām-caliph, under the name al-Qāʾim (Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 238–239).

Another early work questioning the ʿAlid descent of the Fāṭimids is a refutation by the Damascene *šarīf*, Aḫū Muḥsin Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (d. 375/985) (al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* I, 17–29). This work too has been lost, but ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Baġdādī (d. 429/1037), Ibn ad-Dawādārī (d. 713/1313), an-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333) and al-Maqrīzī have preserved details of it, the latter also mentioning that the source upon which Aḫū Muḥsin relied upon was Ibn Rizām.[9]

According to Daftary, recent research has shown that, despite its hostile sentiment and false accusations, the account of Ibn Rizām and Aḫū Muḥsin, sheds light on important details regarding the early Ismāʿīliyya (Daftary 1990: 111).

It is noteworthy that the Qaddāḥid genealogy postulated by those who refused the ʿAlid descent of the Fāṭimids is essentially the same as the accepted Ismāʿīlī lineage of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī's ancestors. The only difference is that it considers them to be the descendants of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and not Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl.[10]

Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn (d. 872/1468), the Ṭayyibī chief missionary (*dāʿī muṭlaq*) and historian, mentions a letter (*siǧill*) from the fourth Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz to a missionary in Sind, denying his descent from Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and confirming the ʿAlid origin of the Fāṭimids.[11] In this letter, the caliph says that his true ancestor was ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, sometimes called Ibn al-Maymūn ('fortunate') or Ibn an-Naqība ('one with happy disposition') (Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* (ed. Ġālib) V, 161). This term was also used in reference to Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, expressing the high position he occupied within the Ismāʿīlī mission. (This is why the sixth Imām, Ismāʿīl ibn Ǧaʿfar, was called al-Mubārak.) This statement by the imām-caliph is the earliest text that rejects of the Qaddāḥid legend.

The caliph also mentions that, in order to protect the Imāms, the missionaries sometimes used pseudonyms when referring to them. That is why ʿAbdallāh, the son and heir of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, came to be called Ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, while the Imāms following ʿAbdallāh used similar names, which thus became a source of misunderstanding and confusion.[12] Similarly, the Fāṭimid scholar al-Qāḍī an-

[9] See an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XXVIII, 42–44; Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* VI, 6–21; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* I, 22.

[10] The sequence of 'hidden' Imāms, according to Ibn Rizām, were ʿAbdallāh, Muḥammad, Aḥmad [Abū š-Šalaġlaġ] (Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 238), while according to Aḫū Muḥsin, ʿAbdallāh, Aḥmad, Muḥammad [Abū š-Šalaġlaġ] (Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* 17–19).

[11] See Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* (ed. Ġālib) V, 160–162; Cf. Ivanow 1940: 74–76; Stern 1955: 11–13 and 26–27.

[12] Idrīs Imād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* (ed. Ġālib) IV, 393.23–394.3, V, 161. 13–14, *idem*. *Zahr* 209. 1–6. See also ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 9.16–10.11.

Nuʿmān (d. 363/974), also recorded a conversation between the caliph al-Muʿizz and the emissaries of his missionary, confirming the content of the above-mentioned letter.[13] According to this, the Fāṭimid caliph also emphasised that the name ʿAbdallāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ stood for the hidden Imām, ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, while the names al-Maymūn and al-Qādiḥ were commonly used pseudonyms of the real Imāms (Stern 1955: 18–22).

The refutation of the ʿAlid descent of the Fāṭimids not only occupies a considerable place in the books of heresiographers, but was also capitalised on by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, who published it when the Fāṭimids enjoyed success and thus damaged their reputation within the Muslim world. The questioning of the Fāṭimids' ʿAlid descent later gained an official, political aspect as the growing influence of Fāṭimids in ʿIrāq became threatening.

During this period, the second half of the 4th/10th century, two major events occurredʿthat affected the Ismāʿīlī movement: the Fāṭimid power was consolidated in Egypt, and the forces of the Qarmaṭīs in Baḥrayn who rejected the Fāṭimid Imāms as leaders of the Ismāʿīlī community appeared in Syria and thus threatened Egypt as well. Meanwhile, in the Muslim world, a violent dispute arose concerning the origin of the Fāṭimids, happily utilised by the ʿAbbāsids to question the descent of the Fāṭimids and the legitimacy of their rule and thereby discredit their dynasty.

In 402/1011, during the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Qādir (381/991–422/1031), the court in Baghdad issued an official manifesto *(maḥḍar)* and distributed it throughout the empire. The document refuted the ʿAlid descent of Fāṭimid caliphs and stated that they had originated from Maymūn bar Dayṣān, and thus were Bardesanes, unbelievers and freethinkers *(kuffār zanādiqa)* and godless heretics *(fussāq malāḥida)* who curse the prophets and claim divine status. It is noteworthy, though, that the announcement does not mention Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ or his son, ʿAbdallāh. The Baghdad manifesto was signed by a number of the most prominent Sunnī jurists and scholars, famous *šarīf*s and Šīʿī scholars.[14] The document was published in the time of the sixth Fāṭimid caliph, al-Ḥākim (386/966–411/1021), whose reign and extreme behaviour as a ruler provided ample evidence for such accusations.

Then, in 444/1052, a new manifesto was published in Baghdad, essentially reiterating the earlier slanders and adding the statement that the Fāṭimids were of Jewish or Mazdakite origin. Although both documents were motivated by the tensions of a contemporary political strife within the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, and some sentiments that the Shīʿī caliphate threatened their secular and spiritual power, yet they were signed

[13] See al-Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān, *Maǧālis* 371–378. Cf. Stern 1955: 15–17, Arabic text: 28–33.

[14] Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* VII, 255; Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* IX, 236; Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* VI,17. Among the signatories there were also the *šarīf*s al-Murtaḍā and ar-Raḍī, and the Šīʿī scholar aš-Šayḫ al-Mufīd. Cf. ʿInān 1959: 55–56. See also Jiwa 2017.

by significant scholars at the time, including Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāyinī (d. 406/1015), and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Qudūrī (d. 482/1089).[15]

The Qaddāḥid legend was eventually refuted by W. Ivanow, who denies allegations of heresy concerning ʿAbdallāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, and demonstrates that Maymūn and his son ʿAbdallāh had nothing to do with the Ismāʿīliyya (Ivanow 1957: 75–76, 170–174). These two Imāmī traditionalist *(rāwī)* lived in Mecca in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and were adherents of the Imāms Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq. ʿAbdallāh ibn Maymūn was thus wrongly identified with ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar, founder of the Ismāʿīliyya who lived almost a hundred years later. In addition, Ivanow denies that either Maymūn or his son ʿAbdallāh had been chosen as depositary *(mustawdaʿ)* of the Imām and would have taken over his activities in his absence or when he was hindered, as this system was not yet current at that time, related views becoming known only in the 4th/10th century.[16]

Daftary notes that the idea of the Qaddāḥid descent of the Fāṭimids may have been formed within Ismāʿīlī circles under the influence of dissident Qarmaṭīs. They would have affirmed that the leadership of the Ismāʿīlī movement slipped into the hands of ʿAbdallāh ibn Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and his descendants, only to be later reclaimed by the Fāṭimid caliphs.[17]

3 The evolution of the Ismāʿīlī tradition of the Fāṭimids' descent

According to the sources, the Fāṭimid caliphs rarely declared their descent, and neither did their adherents *(awliyāʾ)*, because mentioning the hidden Imāms was a forbidden and harmful act, while "concealment" *(satr)* was considered to be a command from God just like the period of "manifestation" *(ẓuhūr)*. Thus the existence of the hidden Imāms, who created a gap in the genealogy of Fāṭimids, was unknown, to the extent that even their names were not mentioned.[18]

According to a Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī tradition written by Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn at the end of the 9th/15th century, ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī was preceded by a series of hidden

[15] Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Muntaẓam* VIII, 154–155; Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Kāmil* IX, 591; see Jiwa 2017.

[16] Halm 1988: 196, note. 9, suggests that the reason for the confusion may be the fact that the Ismāʿīlīs were at one time called al-Maymūniyya. The name al-Maymūn ('happy') was borne by Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, who was expected by the Maymūniyya group as Mahdī.

[17] Daftary 1990: 113. This idea later appears in medieval sources as well as in modern academic research. See Lewis 1942: 54–67, 71–73; Cf. Ḥasan and Šaraf 1947: 47–91, 143–169; Ġālib 1964: 348–352; Naššār 1977: II, 279.

[18] This view is expressed by a tradition attributed to Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq: "Caution (*taqiyya*) is [the essence] of my faith and the religion of my fathers. He who is not careful, has no faith"; ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 9.8–9. See also Ivanow 1942: 128, 130, 141, 142.

Imāms, but the Ismāʿīlī sources refrain from mentioning their real names.[19] The Fāṭimid caliphs did not attempt to counteract the accusation that their opponents had directed at them, nor did they respond to them, insisting that no official genealogy of their origin should be disclosed. They did so on the grounds of a principle well known in Šīʿī circles that asserts: "one ought not to reveal those who have been hid by God" (*ʿadam kašf ūlāʾika allaḏīna satarahum Allāh*).[20] Consequently, most of the accounts on the hidden Imāms have survived from a later period, for instance in the writings of missionaries such as al-Ḫaṭṭāb al-Hamdānī (d. 533/1138), Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn (d. 872/1486), and al-Ḥasan al-Bharūǧī (d. 939/1533), who were active in remote regions in India, Fārs and Yemen. The fact that these works are predominantly very late manuscripts may have contributed to the uncertain, contradictory messages they contain.

The late Ismāʿīlī and the Ṭayyibī authors who came after the Fāṭimid period mention the three hidden Imāms as ʿAbdallāh – Aḥmad – al-Ḥusayn. The Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs also recognise the three hidden Imāms but give them different names.[21]

We can highlight three reports on the Fāṭimids' genealogy, representing different stages in the evolution of their accepted traditions. The earliest one that names all three hidden Imams is the *Istitār al-imām*, composed by Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm an-Nīsābūrī during the reign of the caliph al-ʿAzīz. This early official version, endorsed by the Fāṭimids, is a short treatise on the history of the Ismāʿīlī movement up to the time of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, including the story of the hidden Imāms. It describes that ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar, the founder of the Ismāʿīlī mission, moved from Ahwāz to Salamiyya. The author also states that two sons, Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm, were born to Imām ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar in Salamiyya. The Imāmate was then inherited by Aḥmad. Aḥmad also had a son, the later Imām al-Ḥusayn, who was the father of al-Mahdī and had another son as well, called Saʿīd al-Ḫayr. Al-Ḥusayn died early, and as his death approached, he put his own brother, Saʿīd al-Ḫayr, in charge of his position,

[19] Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* (ed. M. Ġālib) IV, 393.23–24.3, (ed. M. aṣ-Ṣāġarǧī) IV, 563.13–16: "*wa-kānat ad-duʿāt ayyām al-aʾimma al-mastūrīn munḏu istitār al-imām Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl yusammūnahum bi-ġayr asmāʾihim, wa-yaḫtalifūna fī l-asmāʾ iḫfāʾan li-ʾamr Allāh, wa-satran li-awliyāʾihi li-taġallub al-aḍdād, wa-quwwat ahl al-ʿināḏ, wa-liḏālika waqaʿa l-iḫtilāf fī l-aʾimma al-mastūrīn* […]".

[20] Ivanow 1942:28, Cf. Sayyid 1992: 32.

[21] The Syrian Ismāʿīlī author, Abū l-Maʿālī (d. 497–8/1103–5), similarly to the Fāṭimid and Ṭayyibī authors, gives the names ʿAbdallāh, Aḥmad, and al-Ḥusayn (*Risāla* 107). The Iranian Nizārī *dāʿī*, Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī (d. after 904/1498), mentions all the three imāms as Aḥmad (*Haft bāb* 23). Another Persian Nizārī *dāʿī*, Ḫayrḫwāh-i Harātī, (d. after 960/1553), enlists the names Aḥmad ar-Raḍī, Muḥammad al-Wafī, and Muḥammad at-Taqī (*Kalām-i pīr* 50). The 10th/16th century Indian Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, al-Bharūǧī, mentions the names ʿAbdallāh, Aḥmad at-Taqī, al-Ḥusayn az-Zakī (*Azhār* 335.15–336.3). The officially accepted version by the Qāsim-šāhī Nizārīs is ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī, Aḥmad al-Wafī, and Muḥammad at-Taqī, was first mentioned by Sayyid Imām Šāh (d. 919/1513), see Hamdani and de Blois 1982: 205, note 86.

because his son al-Mahdī was still a child. His uncle, however, usurped the Imāmate from al-Mahdī. He had ten sons, whom he appointed as his successors one after another, but all of them died, because the Imāmate can only belong to the man who has the right to it. Regretful, his uncle would later return the Imāmate to al-Mahdī.[22]

The *Letter to the* [*Ismāʿīlī*] *community in Yemen (Kitāb ilā nāḥiya bi-l-Yaman*) written by the first Fāṭimid Imām ʿAbdallāh (or ʿUbaydallāh) al-Mahdī is also considered to be an early document of the Fāṭimid genealogy. In this letter the Imām provides information on his ancestors. This statement was recorded one generation later by Ǧaʿfar ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman (d. after 365/975) on the basis of recollections (al-Hamdani 1958: 9–14). However, this explanation of the descent of the Fāṭimid caliphs has led to one of the most serious complications that is still present.

The letter states that Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq left behind four sons: ʿAbdallāh [al-Afṭaḥ], Ismāʿīl [al-Mubārak], Mūsā [al-Kāẓim] and Muḥammad [ad-Dībāǧ]. The legitimate heir (*ṣāḥib al-ḥaqq*) to the Imāmate among them was ʿAbdallāh al-Afṭaḥ.[23] The author also asserts that, when the Imāms from among the progeny of Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq decided to reorganise the "mission of truth" (*daʿwat al-ḥaqq),* they were extremely cautious and wary of being pursued by the ʿAbbāsids. Therefore, they assumed pseudonyms different from their real names, while for missionary purposes they assigned their real names to officials having the rank of trustee (*ḥuǧǧa*). Hence they called themselves Mubārak ('blessed'), Maymūn ('fortuneate'), and Saʿīd ('happy'), on account of the good omen associated with these names.[24]

In this letter, ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī also states that his ancestor was Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādīq's eldest son and Ismāʿīl's brother, ʿAbdallāh al-Afṭaḥ (d. 149/766). It is ʿAbdallāh al-Afṭaḥ, and not Ismāʿīl, that was appointed as his legal heir (ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 9–11).

Regarding the Imāmate, ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī further states that the mission would allude to ʿAbdallāh when using the name Ismāʿīl, and their propaganda maintained that the Mahdī was named Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, for he was called Muḥammad and was the offspring of ʿAbdallāh, also called Ismāʿīl. When an Imām took his office, he would be called Muḥammad, and in the propaganda on behalf of the Mahdī the reference would be Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. What was meant by Ismāʿīl was in fact ʿAbdallāh. And what was meant by Muḥammad was each one who served as Imām in his own age, until the time when "the master of the manifestation" (*ṣāḥib*

[22] an-Nīsābūrī, *Istitār* (ed. Ivanow) 95.16–96.3, (ed. Zakkār) 116.13–117.4; Hamdani and de Blois (1982: 194) assume that this report already bears some of the signs of rearranging the Ismāʿīlī genealogy following ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī's appearance.

[23] ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 9.12: "*wa-kāna ṣāḥib al-ḥaqq minhum ʿAbdallāh [al-Afṭaḥ] ibn Ǧaʿfar* [*aṣ-Ṣādiq*]".

[24] ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 9.15–10.2: "*fa-lammā arāda l-aʾimma min wuld Ǧaʿfar* [*aṣ-Ṣādiq*] *iḫyāʾ daʿwat al-ḥaqq ḫāfū min nifāq al-munāfiqīn, fa-tasammaw bi-ġayr asmāʾihim, fa-ǧaʿalū asmāʾahum li-d-daʿwati fī maqām al-ḥuǧağ, wa-tasammaw bi-Mubārak wa-Maymūn wa-Saʿīd li-l-faʾl al-ḥasan fī hāḏihi l-asmāʾi.*"

aẓ-ẓuhūr) would appear, who would in fact be called Muḥammad when the obligatory caution (*taqiyya*) ceased. In the spirit of the principle of *taqiyya*, by concealing the names of the Imāms, a series of hidden Imāms (*al-aʾimma al-masturūn*) was created.

According to ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, the Imām first was the son of Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq, ʿAbdallāh [al-Aftaḥ], then ʿAbdallāh's son, Muḥammad [al-Mubārak/al-Maktūm], then Muḥammad's son ʿAbdallāh [ad-Raḍī/al-Maymūn], then ʿAbdallāh's son, Aḥmad [al-Wafī], and then Ahmad's son, Muḥammad [al-Ḥabīb] (!). However each of them was referred to as Muhammad except for ʿAbdallāḥ [al-Aftaḥ], because the latter was called Ismāʿīl. Then the author specifies his own descent as follows:

> "The current holder of the office, (*al-walī al-ān*), – that is himself – ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn [!] ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdallāh [II] ibn [Muḥammad] ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Ǧaʿfar [aṣ-Ṣādiq] ibn Muḥammad [al-Bāqir] ibn ʿAlī [Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn] ibn al-Ḥusayn [aš-Šahīd] ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib" (ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 10–12).

Ǧaʿfar ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman, who preserved the letter of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī in his work, *Kitāb farāʾiḍ wa-ḥudūd ad-dīn*, refers to the third hidden Imām, Aḥmad's son, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, who appointed the son of his brother al-Ḥusayn, ʿAlī (or Saʿīd) as his successor. He bestowed all his authority upon him, in accordance with God's choice.[25] Then the propaganda was carried out for a while on behalf of his nephew, ʿAlī (or Saʿīd) ibn al-Ḥusayn. When the 'manifestation' (*ẓuhūr*) took place, ʿAlī (or Saʿīd) appeared in public, made his rank (*maqāmahu*) known and revealed his real name, ʿAbdallāh. His son, Abū l-Qāsim, named Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, came and appeared with him in public. "Thus was verified the prediction (*išāra*) concerning the Qāʾim, the Mahdī [that] he is Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, 'the awaited Imām' (*al-imām al-muntaẓar*)" (ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 11–12).

According to the letter of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, the line of the hidden Imāms is as follows: ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī, Aḥmad [al-Wafī], and Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb. In his writing, three points are especially notable: [1] He confirms the fact that Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq has appointed ʿAbdallāh al-Afṭaḥ, not Ismāʿīl, as his successor. [2] ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī belonged to the Prophet's House, and came from the Prophet's family, and was an esoteric nephew of the man [Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb] who at that time inherited the Imāmate. [3] ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī [ʿAlī/Saʿīd] may have been a depositary Imām

[25] ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 11.6–7, 12.2–3: *"ṯumma awṣā Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ilā ibn aḫīhi, wa-aʿṭāhu bi-ḫtiyār Allāh amra-hu kullahu, wa-tasammā Saʿīd ibn al-Ḥusayn* […] *wa-smuhu aẓ-ẓāhir ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad li-ʾannahu ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad fī l-bāṭin*". Hamdani and de Blois (1988: 182–185), believe that Muḥammad (al-Ḥabīb), ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī's father in an esoteric sense, was not a descendant of ʿAbdallāh al-Afṭaḥ as was ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī himself, but might have been the great-grandson of Ismāʿīl al-Mubārak and thus the line of the 'hidden' Imāms as declared by ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, comes from two parallel lineages from Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq. See also Sayyid 1992: 37.

(*imām mustawdaʿ*) of his son, al-Qāʾim [Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad], with whom the period of actual 'manifestation' (*dawr aẓ-ẓuhūr*) began, as he was the Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh to whom the mission referred, and by whom the obligatory caution (*taqiyya*) would cease.[26]

The later official Fāṭimid genealogy named Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl's son, ʿAbdallāh, as the ancestor of the Fāṭimids. According to the Ṭayyibī chief missionary and historian in Yemen, Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, the first hidden Imām was Muḥammad al-Maktūm's son ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī, succeeded by Aḥmad at-Taqī – who moved to Salamiyya –, al-Ḥusayn az-Zakī, and ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī. The author also mentions that an uncle, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad [Saʿīd al-Ḫayr] tried to usurp the imāmate from his nephew.[27] However, in his official account of the life of the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty, the same author reports that ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, when still a minor, was taken by his father al-Ḥusayn from ʿAskar Mukram to Salamiyya, and from that time he was raised by his uncle Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm, also known as Muḥammad Abū š-Šalaġlaġ or Saʿīd al-Ḫayr. Then ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī married the daughter of his uncle, who gave birth to his son al-Qāʾim.[28] Thus, according to Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, the three hidden Imāms were ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī [al-Akbar], Aḥmad at-Taqī [al-Wafī], and al-Ḥusayn az-Zakī.

As noted above with regard to the ancestors of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, the Qaddāḥid genealogy is essentially the same as that of the official Ismāʿīlī family tree, with the only difference that they are considered descendants of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, and not Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl. However, both genealogies differ from the one that was written by ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī in his letter.[29]

In the light of these sources, we observe that there is a contradiction between the official Fāṭimid genealogy and the reports of their opponents. The latter group associate the Fāṭimids with Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ and his son. It should also be noted that the different lineages based on the late Fāṭimid traditions further complicate the issue. Another problem is that, in the Ismāʿīlī sources, the sequence of Imāms preceding ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī and the names of the hidden Imāms may differ from account to account. Furthermore, doubts arise regarding the family relationship among

[26] ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 11–12. See also Sayyid 1992: 37.

[27] Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* IV, 356, 366, 394, 402–403, *idem*. *Zahr* 208, 211–212, 216.

[28] Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* V, 89. The author apparently tells contradictory traditions about the uncle of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī. See also Hamdani and de Blois 1982: 190.

[29] The family tree portrayed by Ibn Ḫaldūn and al-Maqrīzī also differs from these. According to them, there was a line of Imāms after Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl (al-Maktūm): Ǧafar al-Muṣaddiq, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, and ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī (Ibn Ḫaldūn, *ʿIbar* III, 360.12–13, al-Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* II, 175.15–17, al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* 55.13–14). Hamdani and de Blois (1982: 195, note 110) suggest that this particular genealogy would have spread during the reign of al-Qāʾim (322–334/934–946) in the Maġrib, and may have been one of the stages in the rearrangements of the Fāṭimid genealogy.

ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb [Abū š-Šalaġlaġ], and the second Fāṭimid caliph, Muḥammad al-Qāʾim (Canard 1965).

Hamdani and de Blois (1983: 193) point out that one of the noteworthy features of Ismāʿīlī writings is the way in which old and apparently already abandoned teachings, ideas 'in fossilised' form reappear in later works, where they are inextricably linked with 'official' teachings that have since replaced them.[30]

Madelung demonstrates that ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī's claim to the Imāmate was based on his spiritual descent from Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, as attested in his letter (ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, Kitāb, 11.6–9, 12.2–3). But according to the strict Ismāʿīlī teachings on the inheritance of Imāmate, this was not possible, not even the inheritance of his son Abū l-Qāsim, because the Imāmate could only pass from father to son and not to a daughter (i.e. al-Qāʾim's mother).[31] Subsequent official reports on the early history of the Fāṭimids suggest that the caliphs purposefully rearranged their family tree, during which ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī's father, al-Husayn ibn Aḥmad, was elevated to the status of a legitimate Imām while his brother, Muḥammad Abū š-Šalaġlaġ was demoted, stigmatised and denigrated as a 'usurper'.[32]

Halm also states that the family tree of the Fāṭimids has been smoothed out over time, and al-Mahdī's uncle and predecessor Muḥammad Abū š-Šalaġlaġ fell into oblivion. However, al-Mahdī's father al-Husayn, who had never been in that position, then came to be mentioned as a legitimate Imām (Halm, 2003: 159). Hamdani and de Blois argue that the transformation of the ideological characteristics of the Ismāʿīlī movement progressed in parallel with the changes in its religious and genealogical justification, while the leadership of the community has shifted from one branch of the family to another in the House of the Prophet (Hamdani and de Blois 1983: 186–189).

4 The Fāṭimid genealogical tradition in the mirror of two versions of *at-Tarātīb as-sabʿa*

According to the text attributed to al-Bazāʿī (*Tarātīb* 137.9, 13–14), the hidden (al-Maktūm) Imām Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl was succeeded by his son, Aḥmad ar-Raḍī, who was the *first* among the hidden Imāms (*al-aʾimma al-mastūrūn*). He himself hid behind a personality he used cautiously to obscure his own. His 'veil' (*ḥiǧāb*)

[30] This statement is corroborated by the contradictory statements of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, see Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* IV, 356, 366, 394, 402– 403, *idem*. *Tārīḫ* 143, 144, *idem*. *Zahr* 208, 211–212, 216.

[31] This is emphasised by a tradition attributed to Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq, *ʿUyūn al-aḫbār* V, 160. 23–24: "*al-imāma fī l-ʿaqb taǧrī fī wāḥidin ʿan wāḥidin, lā tarǧiʿu l-qahqarā wa-lā taʿūdu ilā l-warāʾ*."

[32] Madelung 1961:73 sqq. Cf. an-Nīsābūrī, *Istitār* (ed. Ivanow) Arabic text: 95.19–96.3, (ed. Zakkār) 116.15–117.4, ʿIdrīs Imād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* (ed. Ġālib) IV, 402.18–403.4.

or *alter ego*, behind whom he concealed himself and to whom he entrusted his position, was Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ,[33] who was instructed by the Imām to make people swear allegiance to himself. He acted as instructed by the Imām, exercising his authority up to the time when Aḥmad was about to die. Upon Aḥmad's death the Imāmate was inherited by his son, Muḥammad. The Imām then ordered ʿAbdallāh, the son of Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, to act as his 'veil' and to take over his role (*an yaqūma maqāmahu*) (al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 138.6–7). He did not cease to exercise control by appointment from the Imām until his death. Thereupon the Imāmate was handed over to his son Aḥmad, who died early, but before his death he ordered his unnamed brother[34] to substitute for his son, thereby concealing his son Muḥammad [!] al-Mahdī. Thus the uncle of al-Mahdī was only a temporary rather than a permanent successor of the late Imām (*ḫalīfatu l-imām mustawdaʿan lā mustaqarran*). Muḥammad al-Mahdī assumed the duties of the Imām, whereas his paternal uncle acted as a temporary successor (*qāma ʿammuhu bi-l-ḫilāfa*) (al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 137.15– 138.16).

Al-Bazāʿī adds that this temporary successor, who had ten sons, grew ambitious and decided to grab the leadership (*ṭamaʿa fī l-amr*) and to pass it on later to one of his sons, dispossessing his nephew. However, the successive deaths of his sons prevented him from doing so. Finally, he returned the authority to its rightful possessor (*ilā mustaḥiqqihi*) Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who, after the death of his unnamed uncle, entrusted his brother, ʿAbdallāh, with the duty of depositary (*mustawdaʿ*) Imām (al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 138.17–139.2).

From al-Baẓāʿī's statements we also learn that Muḥammad al-Mahdī before his death handed over the Imamate to his son al-Qāʾim, while his brother ʿAbdallāh (ʿUbaydallāh) was ordered to substitute for him (*an yaqūma maqāmahu*), act on his behalf (*yanūba manābahu*), take his name (*yatasammā bi-smihi*), pretend to be the same person (*wa-yanʿatu nafsahu bi-naʿtihi*), and adopt al-Qāʾim as his own son (*yansibuhu waladahu*), in order to strengthen the latter's authority (*kaymā taʿlū kalimatuhu*) and stabilise his mission, for he (al-Mahdī) should be the 'master of the unveiling' (*ṣāḥib al-kašf*) who would accomplish the manifestation, bring salvation (*ʿalā yadihi yakūnu ẓ-ẓuhūr wa-l-farağ*), and make the esoteric meanings of religion revealed (*wa-burūz kulli amrin min ad-dīn mastūr*) (al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 139.8–13). The manifestation had begun earlier, during the Imāmate of Muḥammad al-Mahdī, but had been interrupted by his sudden death (*Ibid.* 139.6–8).

According to al-Bazāʿī, the usual sequence of three hidden Imāms after Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl is as follows: Aḥmad ar-Raḍī, Muḥammad, and Aḥmad. The content

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[33] al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 137.16.-138.2: "*Fa-qāma Aḥmad bi-l-imāma wa-kāna ḥiğābuhu llaḏī ḥtağaba bihi wa-satruhu llaḏī satarahu wa-ʾaqāma maqāmahu, Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ*".

[34] The anonymous brother of Imām Aḥmad is elsewhere referred to as Muḥammad, or Saʿīd al-Ḫayr, or Abū š-Šalağlağ; an-Nīsābūrī, *Istitār*, ed. Ivanow 1936: 95.19, ed. Zakkār 116.17; ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 10–11; Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* IV, 402, 404; Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* VI, 19, 21; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ* I, 26.

of the excerpt of *at-Tarātīb* written by him is essentially the same as the one provided by other Ismāʿīlī sources. Al-Bazāʾī's above account is also comparable with the narratives reported by an-Nīsābūrī,[35] al-Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān,[36] as well as in a letter (*siğill*) by the fourth Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz.[37]

In al-Bazāʿī's report, the uncle with many sons who usurped the Imāmate from al-Mahdī remains anonymous, and is referred to as a depositary Imām. It is evident that the anonymous "usurper" mentioned by him and in the caliph al-Muʿizz's letter, in the *Šarḥ al-aḫbār* and in the *Istitār al-imām* as well as in the Ismāʿīlī writings as Saʿīd al-Ḫayr later on, is the same person, namely the paternal uncle of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, Muḥammad Abū š-Šalaġlaġ, or Imām al-Ḥabīb, who is designated as permanent (*mustaqarr*) Imām in the *Letter to the community in Yemen* by ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī and in the earlier Ismāʿīlī sources. Discussing the activities of the trustee (*ḥuğğa*), Ğafar ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman says in his *Kitāb al-Kašf* that in the time of the third hidden Imām Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad [*sic*!] he initially withheld his identity from the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*) by way of precaution (*li-t-taqiyya*) and surrendered himself to the position of trustee. Whenever referring to the Imām, he would actually mean himself.[38]

Interestingly enough we are dealing with exactly the same account in four sources, confirming that his uncle seized the Imāmate from al-Mahdī, an allegation supported by the quotation of the same two lines from a poem.[39]

According to Hamdani and de Blois, the official version of the history of the dynasty emerging through the rearrangement of the family tree, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, or Abū š-Šalaġlaġ, was replaced as the legitimate Imām by his brother, al-Ḥusayn, while the former was relegated to the position of depositary or temporary Imām so that the post should go strictly from father to son as officially required (Hamdani and de Blois 1983: 188–189).

Compared to the other Ismāʿīlī sources, a major difference in al-Bazāʿī's report is that he names the real al-Mahdī Muḥammad, as opposed to the generally accepted name Saʿīd/ʿAbdallāh (or ʿUbaydallāh). He further states that with the termination of his unnamed uncle's service as trustee, his brother ʿAbdallāh, was to fulfil the

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[35] an-Nīsābūrī, *Istitār*, ed. Ivanow 1936: 95.20–96.1; ed. Zakkār, 116.17–117.1.

[36] al-Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān, *Aḫbār* III, 384–385. See also Ivanow 1942: 15.

[37] al-Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān, *Maǧālis* 375–378. See also Stern 1955: 10–33.

[38] See Ğaʿfar ibn Manṣūr, *Kašf* 98.1–4; see also ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, *Kitāb* 10.15.

[39] The text of this passage is worded as follows (al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 139. 3–4):
"*Allāh aʿṭāk allatī lā fawqahā / lammā arādū manʿahā wa-ʿawqahā*
ʿanka wa-yaʾbā Allāhu illā sawqahā / ilayka ḥattā ṭawwaqaka fī ṭawqihā."
"God has given you something beyond which there is nothing
when [some people] wanted to block and obstruct
[your path] to it. Yet God would not give [the leadership] to anyone
but you, and he will decorate you with its necklace!"

obligations incumbent upon the Mahdī during the manifestation (*kašf*) (al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 138.14–16, 139.15).

Al-Bazāʿī's work seemingly contradicts the majority of Ismāʿīlī sources. While recording al-Mahdī's name as Muḥammad, the author also describes him as the permanent Imām, and ʿAbdallāh as a depositary. In the case of the anonymous uncle and the brother doubts arise concerning the depositaries to whom he otherwise attributes an ʿAlid descent (*Tarātīb* 138.2, 138.7).

His report ends by saying that the Imām who went to Siğilmāsa was the real Muḥammad al-Mahdī while the person who later appeared in al-Mahdiyya was, in fact, his brother and depositary, ʿAbdallāh. As a temporary successor and deputy (*ḫalīfa*) or depositary (*mustawdaʿ*) Imām and master of the manifestation (*ṣāḥib al-kašf*), he followed the instructions of the permanent (*mustaqarr*) Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī, adopting the name (*laqab*) al-Mahdī and proclaiming himself Imām and ruler (Appendix, Chart 2).[40]

Al-Bazāʿī also concludes that the change of the personality of al-Mahdī in the meantime did not escape the attention of Abū l-ʿAbbās, the brother of the North African missionary Abū ʿAbdallāh aš-Šīʿī, as he personally knew al-Qāʾim's father, the true al-Mahdī. When he recognised this fact, he confided his doubts to his brother and urged him to confront him. Soon thereafter they both rejected the depositary Imām, who then put an untimely end to their earthly careers.[41]

Al-Maynaqī reports that Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl concealed himself behind an *alter ego* (*satara ʿalā nafsihi bi-ḥiğāb*). When Muḥammad felt his death approaching, he gave the leadership to his son, ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī, the *second* of the hidden Imāms (*ṯānī l-aʾimma al-mastūrīn*). ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī took the position of Imām, but one of the trustees (*ḫuğağ*) served as his veil (*ḥiğāb*) behind which he hid. The Imām commanded him to make the devotees to swear an oath on his own name, i.e. ʿAbdallāh. And he did what the Imām ordered him to do, exercising power until the Imām died. When ʿAbdallāh felt that his death was imminent, he called for his son, Aḥmad al-Wafī, and handed the Imāmate over to him (al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 51.15–21).

Imām Aḥmad al-Wafī also took up the position of Imām, but a trustee named Aḥmad covered him (*iḫtağaba*), having been instructed by the Imām ʿAbdallāh to replace his son (*an yaqūma maqāmahu*) and to make the devotees swear an oath on

[40] al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 140.13–141.1: "*kāna* [*Muḥammad*] *al-Mahdī Abū l-Qāʾim, al-muntaqal ilā Siğilmāsa, wa-kāna* [*ʿAbdallāh*] *al-Mahdī, ṣāḥib al-kašf huwa l-mawlūd bi-Salamiyya al-muntaqal bi-l-Mahdiyya*".

[41] al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 141.1–8; Halm (1988: 209) points out that the fact that ʿAbdallāh [ʿUbaydallāh] al-Mahdī was unable to produce the divine signs as expected led to doubts among his followers, which soon escalated into open rebellion. He could only suppress it by killing two leaders of the movement.

his own name. He then exercised the power until Imām Aḥmad felt his death approaching. He then passed the Imāmate on to his son al-Ḥusayn and commanded him to do as his ancestors had done (al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 52.1–4).

In this way, Imām al-Ḥusayn was hiding behind a trustee from the Prophet's House (*ahl al-bayt*). When al-Ḥusayn felt his death approaching, he appointed (*awṣā*) his son ʿAlī (al-Muʿill) as his heir, entitled to the Imāmate, but the latter died young. Then the son of the departed, that is al-Ḥusayn's grandson al-Qāʾim, was appointed as heir to the Imāmate and instructed to hide behind the personality of one of his uncles. His paternal uncle Saʿīd al-Ḫayr acted in his place and took (*tasallama*) the Imāmate from him. This made him famous and he was called al-Mahdī. He issued an order for the 'manifestation' (*ẓuhūr*). When in his turn Saʿīd al-Ḫayr felt his death approaching, he called for his adopted son al-Qāʾim and passed the Imāmate on to him. With the manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) of salvation (*faraǧ*), of complete generosity (*ǧūd kullī*) and of divine emanation (*fayḍ ilāhī*), the period of 'concealment' (*satr*) and of depositary Imāms came to an end.[42]

Saʿīd al-Ḫayr could spread propaganda in his own name and he widened the mission. He was the 'long-awaited' (*maqṣūd*) Imām by whom salvation (*faraǧ*) was brought and all hidden matters of religion were revealed (*wa-burūz kulli amrin min ad-dīn mastūr*). Through his missionaries the mission appeared in Yemen as well as in the West (al-Maġrib). He made his claim for the Imāmate and power (*wa-aẓhara imāmatahu wa-mulkahu*) public, and acted in this position until his death, whereupon he handed over the power to his rightful possessor (*sallama l-amr ilā ṣāḥibihi*) al-Qāʾim.[43]

Similar to al-Bazāʿī, al-Maynaqī states that during the period of al-Mahdī, Abū l-ʿAbbās, the brother of the chief missionary in the West ʿAbdallāh aš-Šīʿī, rejected the former's claim of the Imāmate and raised doubts about al-Mahdī's identity. He then notes that the case of Abū ʿAbdallāh aš-Šīʿī and his brother Abū l-ʿAbbās (i.e. their rebellion) is well known, but there is controversy (*inna l-ḫilāf fīhi*) concerning the manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) of the Mahdī (al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 52.20–53.4).

According to al-Maynaqī, the hidden Imāms after Ismāʿīl's son Muḥammad [al-Maktūm] were as follows: ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī, Aḥmad al-Wafī, and al-Ḥusayn [az-Zakī]. His report differs from that of al-Bazāʿī in that he completely omits the story

[42] al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 52.4–11. According to other sources, ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī used the name Saʿīd, while the name Saʿīd al-Ḫayr might have been used by his uncle, Muḥammad Abū š-Šalaġlaġ.

[43] al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 52.11–20. The original passage is somewhat obscure because on the one hand it does not disclose who was in charge of the propaganda at that time, but the context suggests that it could only be Saʿīd al-Ḫayr. On the other hand, during the transfer of power, the name of the third Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr appears, although the testimony of events well known from most of the Ismāʿīlī sources make it likely that only the name of Saʿīd's adopted son, al-Qāʾim, can be included. Incidentally, the relevant passage from al-Bazāʿī *Tarātīb* (*Aḫbār)* 139.8–13, *Tarātīb* (*Ǧāmiʿ*) 290.9–14, also confirms this assumption.

of the anonymous uncle (al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 116.17–117.4). In his report, the uncle, Saʿīd al-Ḫayr, who was entrusted by the Imām ʿAlī al-Muʿill with the duties of guardian for his son al-Qāʾim, was no other than ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī (Appendix, Chart 3).[44] He also includes a certain ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn in the series of hidden Imāms, whose alleged status is unrecorded in the majority of Ismāʿīlī sources. Al-Maynaqī also reports that al-Qāʾim was not the son of Saʿīd al-Ḫayr [ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī] but a descendant of ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, who died soon after he entrusted one of his uncles, Saʿīd al-Ḫayr, with raising his son al-Qāʾim.

A closely comparable account appears in the work of al-Ḫaṭṭāb ibn al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī (d. 533/1138), a Ṭayyibī Mustaʿlī *dāʿī* in Yemen. This work, the *Ġāyat al-mawālīd*, was written a few years after the murder (524/1130) of the Fāṭimid imām-caliph al-Āmir. The author explains that Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl was one of the Imāms in the 'period of concealment' (*satr*). The Imāmate continued after him among his descendants, passing from father to son, and thus after the Imāms ʿAbdallāh and Aḥmad it was transferred to ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn. The latter sent missionaries, including Ibn Ḥawšab to Yemen and Abū ʿAbdallāh aš-Šīʿī to the Maġrib. With the growing success of the mission in Yemen and the Maġrib, Imām ʿAlī set out to the Maġrib where he declared the manifestation (*aẓhara l-ġayba*), appointing (*istaḫlafa*) his trustee, Saʿīd, also known by the surname (*laqab*) al-Mahdī, as his deputy (*ḫalīfa*). Towards the end of his life, al-Mahdī handed over the deposit (*wadīʿa*), i.e. the leadership, to its permanent owner (*mustaqarrihā*), Muḥammad al-Qāʾim, the son of Imām ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn. This man took over the Imāmate, which thereupon continued among his descendants (*fī ʿaqbihi*) (al-Ḫaṭṭāb, *Ġāyat al-mawālīd* 35–39).

Similar to al-Maynaqī, we discover in al-Ḫaṭṭāb's writing the name ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, inserted into the usual sequence of hidden Imāms. In his narrative he also expresses the view that Abū l-Qāsim al-Qāʾim is not the son of Saʿīd [ʿAbdallāh], but a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl (*Ibid.*).

Al-Ḫaṭṭāb may have drawn inspiration from an older source in which Abū l-Qāsim al-Qāʾim was referred to as Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, without realising that the name ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn referred to ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī.[45] That is why he could have come to the false conclusion that ʿAlī and Saʿīd (ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī) were two different persons. Closely comparable is the relevant passage in al-Maynaqī's account, virtually reflecting, if not directly adopting, al-Ḫaṭṭāb's mistake.[46]

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[44] al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 52.6–7: "*wa-amarahu* [*al-imām*] *an yaḥtağiba* [*ibnuhu*] *bi-aḥad aʿmāmihi, fa-qāma Saʿīd al-Ḫayr, wa-tasallama l-imāma, wa-ištahara bihā, wa-tasammā al-Mahdī*".

[45] It is known from other sources that ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn was the original name of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, see Madelung, 1961: 77.

[46] See al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 52.6–7. Cf. al-Ḫaṭṭāb, *Ġāyat al-mawālīd* 37.2–4.

Three centuries after al-Ḫaṭṭāb, Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn wrote the official version of the early history of the Fāṭimid caliphs. In this exoteric work al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad, al-Mahdī and al-Qāʾim are named as Imāms of the same lineage.[47] In his esoteric work, however, he sought to make his statements conform to the ones contained in al-Ḫattāb's work, which results in irresolvable contradictions in his writing. Thus his statement regarding the Imām who died during his journey to the Maġrib, and whose name he does not identify, indicates the influence of al-Ḫattāb's work, as the Imām in the official version, al-Ḥusayn, whose name Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn does not mention, died earlier. Just like al-Ḫaṭṭāb, Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn writes in his account that the Imām entrusted Saʿīd al-Ḫayr with the custody of his son before his death. Yet in his version Saʿīd al-Ḫayr is the brother of the Imām, which again corresponds to the official Fāṭimid version.[48]

It thus seems that some of the late Ismāʿīlī, as well as several anti-Ismāʿīlī, authors question the father-and-son relationship between ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī and al-Qāʾim, attributing a Qaddāḥid origin to the former, while still accepting the ʿAlid lineage of the latter.[49] As demonstrated by Madelung, these arguments seem to go back to the statements put forward in the *Ġāyat al-mawālīd* (Madelung 1961: 73–80).

5 Conclusion

Regarding the two versions of *at-Tarātīb as-sabʿa* recorded several centuries apart, we must emphasise that we sought to identify similarities and differences between the two narratives as well as the ways in which they relate to relevant reports from other sources and fit into the traditions on the hidden Imāms. Both versions were presumably created at a time when, due to the activities of the Imāms acting as heads of the community (*aʾimma ḥāḍirūn*), the ideas of the early Ismāʿīliyya, including views on the community's leadership and the teachings of the hidden Imāms, underwent changes. Indeed, a major turning point in this process was the change made in the doctrinal field and in its genealogical justification, as stated in ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī's *Letter to the community in Yemen*, as was the later change introduced by his descendants by officially re-fashioning the lineage of Ismāʿīl and making the new version part of their propaganda from the time of the caliph al-ʿAzīz.[50]

These genealogical changes were noted even by the Andalusī scholar, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064):

> "The descendants of ʿAbdallāh [al-Afṭaḥ], now rulers of Egypt, would at the beginning of their rule refer to ʿAbdallāh ibn Ǧaʿfar ibn Muḥammad […]. But when it became evident to them that this ʿAbdallāh only had a girl called

[47] Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* (ed. Ġālib) V, 4–19. See also Madelung 1961: 78.
[48] Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *Zahr* 18.4–17. See also Madelung 1961: 78.
[49] See Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 238.21–25.
[50] See Madelung 1961: 59, 100–101.

Fāṭima as a descendant, they abandoned [this claim], and again derived themselves from Ismāʿīl ibn Ǧaʿfar ibn Muḥammad" (Ibn Ḥazm, *Ǧamhara* 59. 12–15).

As indicated by the series of traditions recorded in the two versions of *at-Tarātīb as-sabʿa*, both were composed at times when the accepted traditions on the hidden Imāms of the Ismāʿīlī lineage had already been officially restored. This is indicated by the series of the hidden Imāms published in the works of al-Bazāʿī[51] and al-Maynaqī;[52] even though they recorded different names for the hidden Imāms, the third real hidden Imām, Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, is equally omitted from their genealogies. Nonetheless, and despite the apparent similarity in the vast majority of their writings, the two authors might have received differing information on related traditions regarding certain aspects and therefore provided different interpretations.

In al-Bazāʿī's writing, the story of the Qaddāḥid trustees shows close resemblance to the other existing texts, the complete version of which was later recorded by Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn in his *Zahr al-maʿānī*. The essence of these traditions is that Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ was portrayed as the guardian (*walī*) and protector (*kafīl*) of Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl in the time of Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq. After that, his son, ʿAbdallāh ibn Maymūn, held this position by ʿAbdallāh ibn Muḥammad's side, and later also became the trustee of his son Aḥmad.[53] Thus this account reflects the influence of Sunnī or Qarmaṭī traditions regarding the disputable relationship between Maymūn, his sonʿAbdallāh, and the Ismāʿīlī Imāms. Similarly, al-Bazāʿī attributes a Qaddāḥid origin to the trustees of the hidden Imāms ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī and Muḥammad al-Mahdī (al-Bazāʿī, *Tarātīb* 138.2, 138.7). Al-Maynaqī's narrative, however, completely omits the Qaddāḥid trustees. Even though the trustees played a decisive role alongside the Imāms in his report, he claims that they were mostly from the ʿAlid family (al-Maynaqī, *Tarātīb* 51.18, 52.1–7).

As the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz stated in a letter, under extraordinary circumstances (*ʿinda ḍ-ḍarūra*) God may temporarily hand over the Imāmate to a member of the Prophet's House who is not a lineal successor, that is to say, a man who does not follow his predecessor according to the father-to-son principle (*min ġayri l-aʿqābi l-muttaṣila*) but only as a depositary, not a permanent, Imām (*mustawdaʿan ʿindahum ġayra mustaqarrin fīhim*) (al-Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān, *Maǧālis* 376.7–9). However contradictory the sources might be, they unanimously show that the leadership of the Ismāʿīlī movement was divided between several members of the ʿAlid family, which then served as a foundation, upon which the mission (*daʿwa*) could strongly build on. Ibn Rizām mentions that in 261/874–5 ʿAbdallāh ibn Maymūn (ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar) ordered one of his sons to go to aṭ-Ṭāliqān and stay in contact from there

[51] The usual sequence after Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl is Aḥmad ar-Raḍī, Muḥammad, and Aḥmad.

[52] The usual sequence after Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl [al-Maktūm] is ʿAbdallāh ar-Raḍī, Aḥmad al-Wafī, and al-Ḥusayn [az-Zakī].

[53] Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *Zahr* 201.12–15, 208.22, 212.1–2.

with the Ismāʿīlī mission (*daʿwa*) in the Sawād. He then states that thanks to the sons of ʿAbdallāh, Ismāʿīlī propaganda spread throughout the region (Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 238.). According to Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, the spirit of family cooperation was already perceptible when ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar instructed his brother al-Ḥusayn to act on his behalf regarding the affairs of the mission (*daʿwa*). He even remarks that this authorisation, which must have been given among a relatively small group of adherents, eventually led to serious disagreements regarding the personality of the real *Imām*.[54]

Identifying which branch, which member of the ʿAlid family, where, when, and in what capacity, participated in the close cooperation within the family, or asserting with certainty that the mission's leadership in the Prophet's House (*ahl al-bayt*) had shifted from one branch of the family to another, are tasks that seem quite impossible for the moment. All the more so because the Šīʿī principle of *taqiyya* was enforced very strictly regarding not only the person of the Imāms but the high ranking officials of the movement as well.

According to both versions of *at-Tarātīb as-sabʿa*, the man who brought an end to the period of the hidden Imāms and their trustees (*ḥuǧaǧ*), the master of the revelation (*ṣāḥib al-kašf*), the performer of the manifestation (*ẓuhūr*), the long-awaited Imām (*imām maqṣūd*), who came to act as head of community (*imām ḥāḍir*), the one who proclaimed himself the ruling Imām and openly claimed power, was ʿAbdallāh (ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī). In al-Bazāʿī's report, after the death of the mysterious legitimate Imām Muḥammad al-Mahdī, ʿAbdallāh/ʿUbaydallāh al-Mahdī, being his brother, replaced him, and being the paternal uncle of his son al-Qāʾim, acted as his temporary successor and deputy *(bi l-ḫilāfa wa-n-niyāba*). In al-Maynaqī's narrative, however, he was appointed by the similarly mysterious fourth hidden Imām ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn as one of his son's uncles, temporarily took over the Imāmate as Saʿīd al-Ḫayr, and acted on behalf of his son al-Qāʾim. However, both versions agree that throughout his office he faithfully performed all duties of service and temporary assignments *(al-ḫidma wa-l-ḫilāfa*) with which he was entrusted and gave back the supreme authority to its legitimate holder *(sallama l-amra li-ṣāḥibi l-amri*), the person lawfully entitled to it *(ilā mustaḥiqqihi*), the true Imām *(al-imām al-ḥaqīqī*) al-Qāʾim [Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad].[55]

We are completely in agreement with Halm's assertion that the doubts about the ʿAlid origin of Ismāʿīlīs should be taken seriously. The contemporaries of the Fāṭimids unanimously disputed their descent from Ǧaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq and also rejected

[54] See Idrīs ʿImād ad-Dīn, *ʿUyūn* IV, 363.14–364.5. There are reports about the emergence of a close relative of Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb (Abū š-Šalaġlaġ) from aṭ-Ṭāliqān (or one of ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī's brothers), who, after the split of the movement, appeared among the separateed Ismāʿīlī communities and then among the Syrian rebels. Cf. an-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya* XXV, 230.18–22; Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz ad-durar*, VI, 69.2; an-Nīsābūrī, *Istitār* 97.20–23, ed. Zakkār, 119.14–17

[55] al-Bazāʿī 139.16–140.12, al-Maynaqī, 52.11–20.

their genealogy that was traced back to the 'Prophet's House' (*ahl al-bayt*). The position of 'spokesman' or 'headman' (*naqīb*) of the ʿAlids was instituted precisely to fulfil the responsibility of preserving the ʿAlid pedigree. Thus, it would be hardly possible to consider a true ʿAlid as an impostor. Although the political claims to power of the real ʿAlids were frequently questioned by their opponents, the authenticity of their genealogy was never doubted (Halm 2003: 158–160).

The *šarīf* Aḫū Muḥsin Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī in Damascus, a descendant of Imām Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl, made a polemical treatise in 374/985 that would be frequently quoted later on, in which he dismissed the claims that there was any relation between the Fāṭimids and his family.[56] However, even the reports of opponents and outsiders note the remarkable fact, also confirmed by the Ismāʿīlī sources, that the founder of the mission, ʿAbdallāh al-Akbar, sought refuge with the family of the Hāšimid ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib and settled down among his descendants for some time. After leaving the city, he and his sons continued to claim that they were descendants of ʿAqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, and this genealogy was confirmed in al-Baṣra.[57]

In sum, we can also add that an essential insight relevant for our study as well is articulated by Hamdani and de Blois, who propose that the contradictory reports on the history of the Fāṭimids' ancestors, the hidden Imāms, cannot simply be a collection of fantasy or deceit. One does indeed observe the way old and abandoned views tend to emerge in later works, along with the official teachings that have replaced them, and the way concepts tend to evolve over time, a process motivated at times by political and religious factors that leaves its mark on the material (Hamdani and de Blois 1983: 193, 201).

[56] His writing is preserved in Ibn ad-Dawādārī, *Kanz* VI, 17–20, 65–66.

[57] Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist* 238.17–18, 26–27; an-Nīsābūrī (*Istitār,* ed. Ivanow 96.18, ed. Zakkār 118.1) records that ʿAbdallāh al-Mahdī, who left the Maġrib, was called by the rebellious Syrian Qarmaṭīs the son of the man of Baṣra (*ibn al-baṣrī*). Halm (1988: 97, 1991: 19-23) emphasises the importance of references in the sources regarding of this kinship and supports the very possibility of the ʿAqīlid descent.

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APPENDIX

Chart 1.
The traditional family-tree of the Ismāʿīlī Imāms

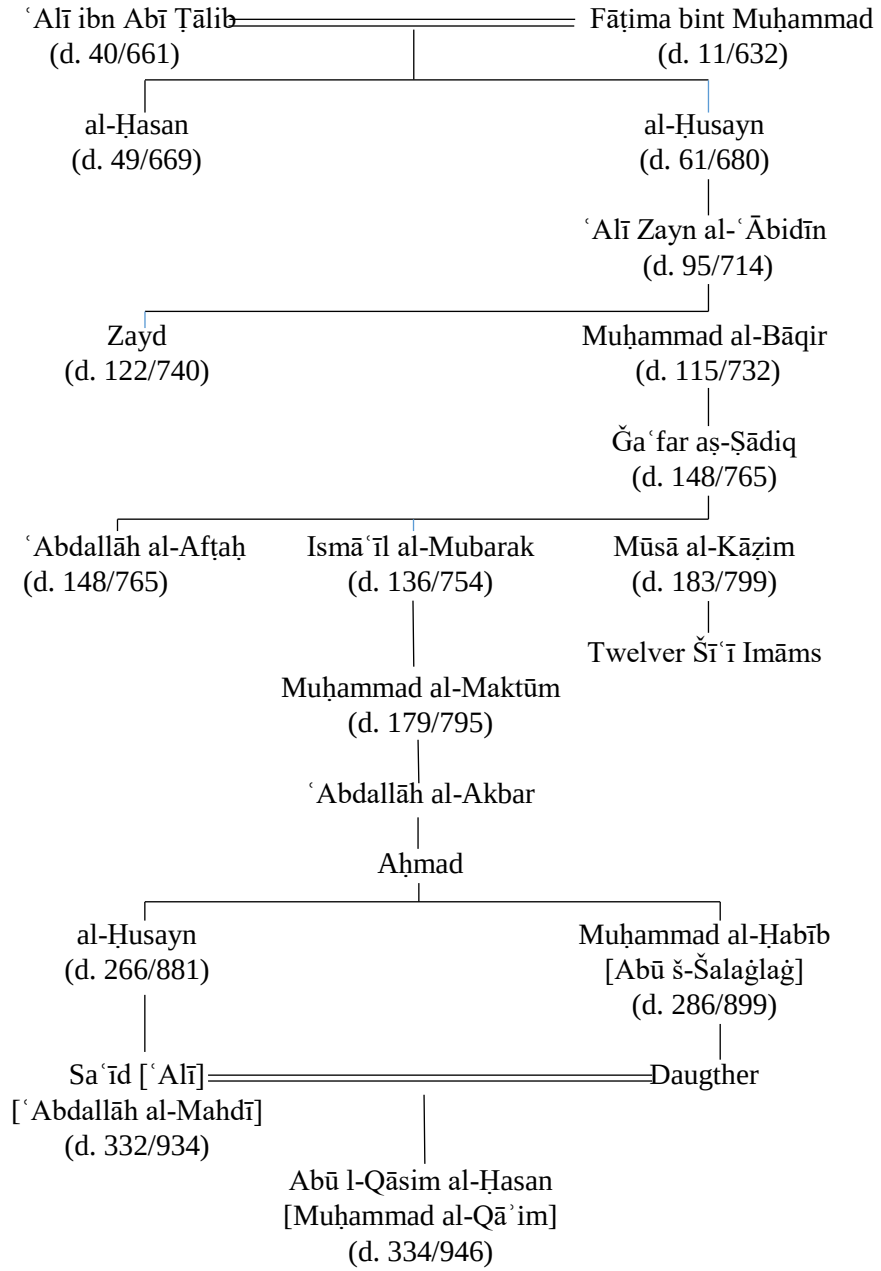
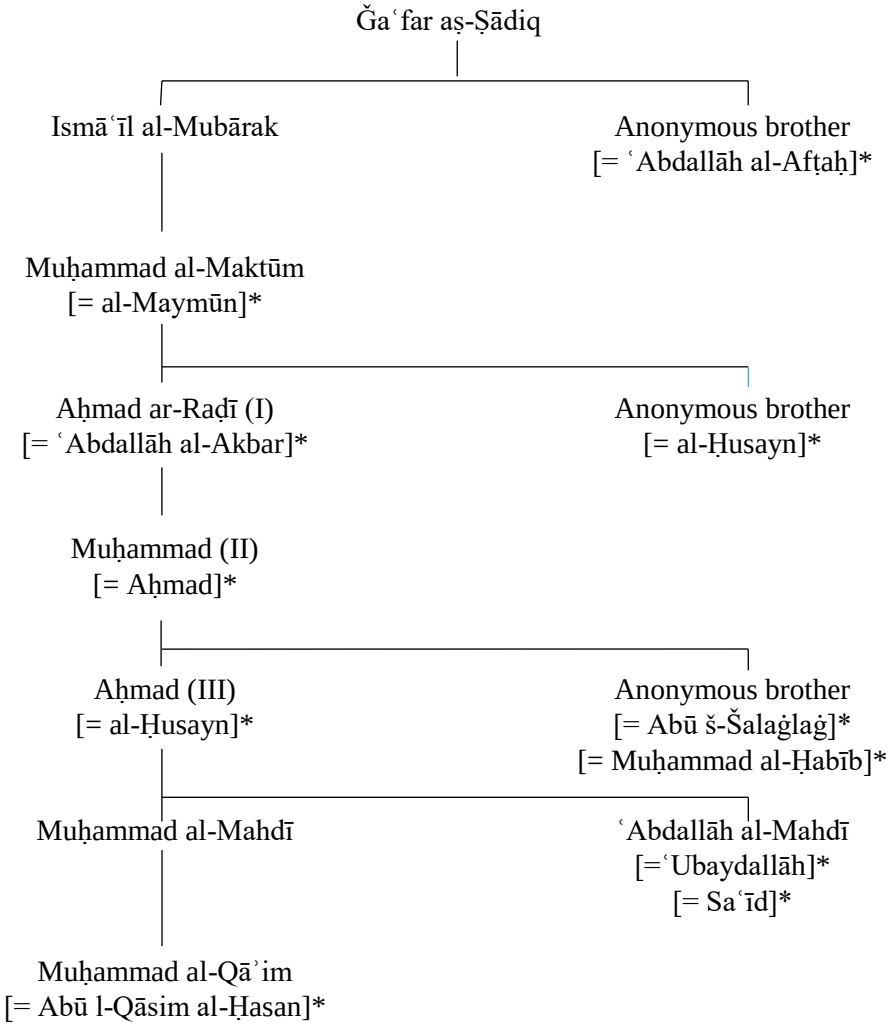
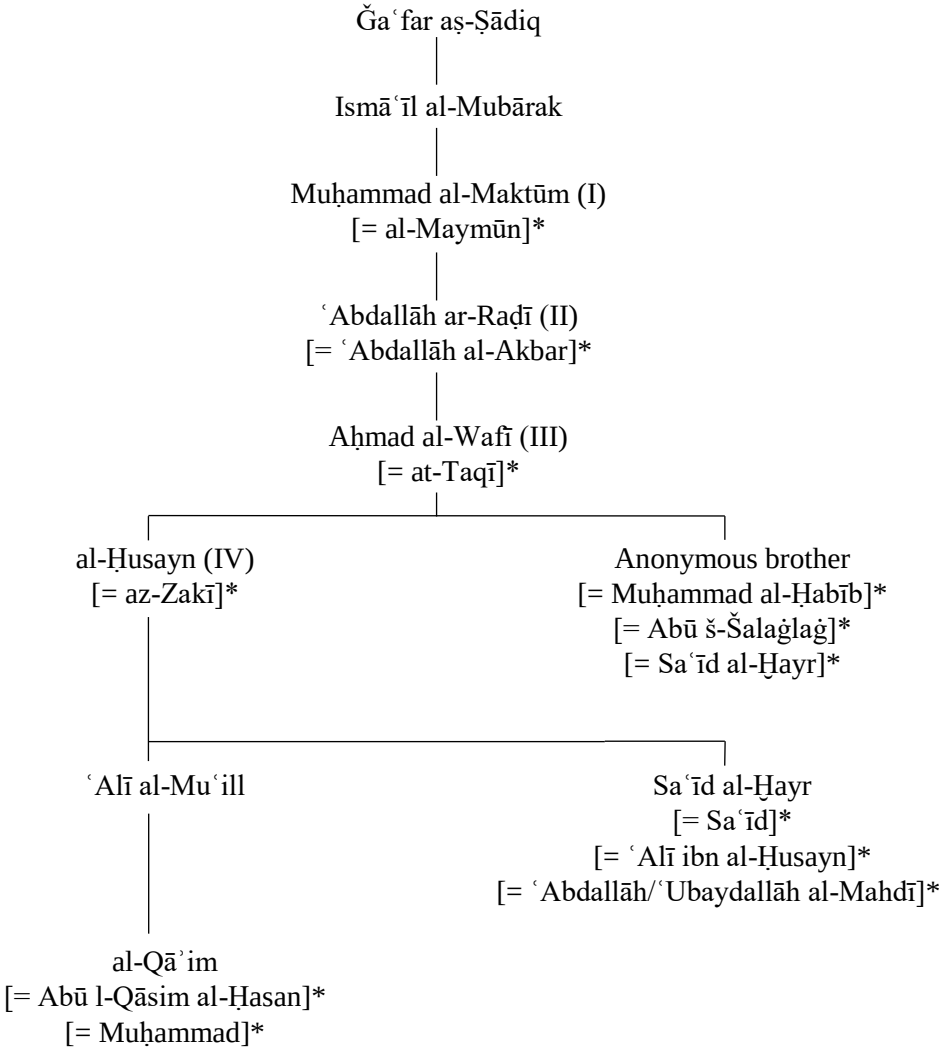


Chart 2.
The family-tree of the Ismāʿīlī hidden Imāms
according to the *Kitāb at-tarātīb as-sabʿa* of al-Bazāʿī



* Same person as recorded in other sources.

Chart 3.
The family-tree of the Ismāʿīlī hidden Imāms
according to the *Risālat at-tarātīb as-sabʿa* of al-Maynaqī



* Same person as recorded in other sources.

COMPETENCE, CORRUPTION, AND PATRONAGE IN MAMLUK EGYPT: THE CAREER OF ZAYN AD-DĪN YAḤYĀ

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In 1881,[1] the Egyptian government launched an ambitious programme of preserving and restoring the rich mediaeval architectural heritage of the country, especially the historic monuments located in its capital. Within the framework of the Ministry of Endowments, Khedive Tawfīq (r. 1879–1892) founded the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. During the following decades – and, between 1890 and 1914, under the direction of Max Herz Pasha (1856–1919) as the Comité's chief architect – many Islamic buildings were conserved and restored.[2] A significant portion of the monuments of Cairo date from the Circassian Mamluk period (1382–1517) during which the sultans, as well as members of the military and civilian elites erected numerous spectacular religious complexes. These buildings were meant to display the patrons' piety and generosity and, alongside various other functions, often housed their tombs. By the end of the 19th century many of the structures became severely dilapidated, and the Comité was put in charge of restoring them to their former beauty.

1 One patron, three buildings

Among the extant Mamluk monuments in Cairo, three were commissioned by Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā (d. 1469), who, as demonstrated below, was a particularly influential officer of the Mamluk state. The earliest in date is the mosque incorporating the patron's mausoleum, completed in 1444. Today, it is located in the unappealing and noisy intersection of Port Said and al-Azhar roads, next to the al-Azhar flyover in the Mūskī quarter. However, it originally stood on the east bank of the Ḫalīǧ canal in the locality called Bayn as-Sūrayn, constituting part of the patron's residential complex that also included a waterwheel, a *sabīl* ('fountain'), and a *ḫānqāh* ('Sufi

[1] For the sake of convenience, in this paper I exclusively use Common Era dates, most of which are converted from the Hiǧrī era dates found in the sources.

[2] On the Comité and Herz's role in it, see Ormos 2009: 49–106.

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lodge'). The heavily damaged mosque was restored by the Comité between 1884 and 1897, with more recent works carried out in 1939–1940 and in 2003.[3]

The second building is the congregational mosque generally known as Ǧāmiʿ al-Maḥkama in Būlāq, dating from 1448. This was the largest of the three complexes established by Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā in Cairo. Despite its dangerously ruinous state in the late 19th century, due to financial constraints, the Comité carried out only minor consolidation works on it. Its more thorough reconstruction had to wait until 1983 and some additional restorations have been completed since then.[4]

The third extant mosque of Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā, completed in 1452, is in the Ḥabbāniyya quarter of Cairo. One of its inscriptions identifies the building as a *ribāṭ* ('hospice'), and it once featured an adjoining *sabīl-maktab* ('public fountain and school'). Today, the mosque is surrounded by residential and commercial buildings in a densely populated neighbourhood, though it originally stood amongst majestic palaces and gardens in the aristocratic Birkat al-Fīl area. The Comité restored it in 1905, with more recent conservations carried out in 1998–1999.[5]

It merits attention that an individual – and, in particular, someone with no military background – could afford to patronise three significant religious complexes in a period that is generally considered to be one of decline and instability. Furthermore, there were several other buildings financed by Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā. In the words of the contemporary historian, Ibn Taġrī Birdī (d. 1470), "he [established] innumerable properties *(amlāk)*, mosques, and drinking fountains outside of Cairo" (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal* XII, 83). The later contemporary, as-Saḫāwī (d. 1497), lists a *ḥammām* ('bathhouse'), a large tent or parasol for the pilgrims *(saḥāba)*, places for washing the deceased, and *ribāṭ*s (as-Saḫāwī, *Ḍawʾ* X, 234). While Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā surely expected his charitable patronage to evoke praise, his expectation was apparently in vain; all historians record that the patron was corrupt and his wealth ill-gotten. A couplet quoted by Ibn Taġrī Birdī summarises contemporary opinion about him quite pointedly:

> He built a mosque for God from the wealth of others,
> Praise be to God, he did not succeed.
> Like a woman, feeding orphans by the toil of her vulva,
> Woe unto you! Fornicate not and do not give alms!
> (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XVI, 8).

[3] Martel-Thoumian 1991: 410; Behrens-Abouseif 2007: 262–263; Williams 2008: 141–142; Ormos 2009: 149–151.

[4] Martel-Thoumian 1991: 410–411; Behrens-Abouseif 2007: 263–264; Williams 2008: 256.

[5] Martel-Thoumian 1991: 410–411; Behrens-Abouseif 2007: 265; Williams 2008: 149.

The present article retraces the career of this controversial figure, Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā. In her comprehensive monograph on the personnel of the late Mamluk civil administration, Bernadette Martel-Thoumian has dedicated a section to Zayn ad-Dīn's life, discussing the main stages of his career along with references to certain events of his life (Martel-Thoumian 1991: 112–115). However, while she has written mainly on the basis of the relevant chronicles, for the purpose of this paper, I have consulted both chronicles and biographical compendia.

2 The beginnings

Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn ʿAbd ar-Razzāq al-Ašqar, also known to his contemporaries as Ibn Kātib Ḥulwān, was born in Cairo around 1397/8 and died there on 1 October 1469.[6] Despite the fact that he held high positions for more than two decades, the first half of his life remains in obscurity. His background, apart from his Coptic origin, is unknown. It is uncertain whether his *laqab* ('honorific'), Ibn Kātib Ḥulwān, refers to his otherwise unknown father. The sources also refer to him as a "relative *(qarīb)* of Ibn Abī l-Faraǧ", which, according to as-Saḫāwī, writing decades after his death, meant that he was a nephew of Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1476), a member of the influential Banū l-Faraǧ family of administrators.[7] In my view, this assertion should be treated with doubt, as all other sources fail to refer to their relationship, even if the two personages are mentioned together; it also seems that their behaviour was extremely hostile to each other. This all does not disprove as-Saḫāwī's claim, but raises some doubt as to its validity.[8]

The first known position held by Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā was that of the *nāẓir Dīwān al-Mufrad* ('overseer of the [sultan's] special office') sometime under the reign of al-Ašraf Barsbāy (r. 1422–1438). This was a prestigious office in the Mamluk state, and its holder also served as deputy of the *ustādār* ('majordomo'), the man running the sultan's household. The *Dīwān al-Mufrad* was in charge of providing monthly wages for the sultan's Mamluks and fodder for their horses. Therefore, many revenues, most notably the rich and fertile areas of Fāraskūr and al-Manzala in the Delta, were allocated to the office along with several other settlements (Martel-Thoumian 1991: 53–54). Since the royal Mamluks constituted the most powerful force in Egypt, the unimpeded functionality of this *dīwān* was pivotal in assuring the stability of the sultanate. Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā had a rival called Tāǧ ad-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm ibn Ṣadaqa, with whom he constantly vied for the office of the *nāẓir*, losing and

[6] Some of the sources name him 'al-Qāḍī' Yaḥyā, even though he was not a religious scholar or jurist. However, this was not unique in the period among high-ranking administrative personnel; see Martel-Thoumian 1991: 364.

[7] On this family, see Martel-Thoumian 1991: 226–237.

[8] One might also find it curious that the uncle was somewhat younger than his nephew. However, this is entirely possible.

regaining it several times. They even shared the position for a while, which did not lessen their enmity. Ibn Taġrī Birdī wittily likens them to two racing horses (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal* XII, 80; as-Saḫāwī, *Ḍawʾ* X, 233).

On 9 September 1438, the atabeg Ǧaqmaq was acclaimed as sultan with the title al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir. As a result of exerting much effort and promising to pay a handsome amount of money, Zayn ad-Dīn soon secured the position of the *nāẓir al-iṣṭabl* ('overseer of the [sultan's] stables') for himself (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 50; idem, *Manhal* XII, 80). His tenure, however, here was unremarkable and rather short-lived, lasting for less than a year in 1438–1439. After him, a certain Šams ad-Dīn Naṣr Allāh al-Wizza was appointed to the office.[9] For some time, Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā's fortune turned for the worse. Since he had run into considerable debt in order to secure his previous appointment as the *nāẓir al-iṣṭabl*, after his dismissal in 1439, he became impoverished and would struggle to find employment.[10] Notably, his supposed uncle, Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad, was the *ustādār* in this period, and yet he would not support the career of Zayn ad-Dīn, let alone re-employ him at the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*.

3 The first steps towards success

On 9 June 1440, Ǧaqmaq deposed his *ustādār*, Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad, and appointed a former *amīr āḫūr* ('high equerry'), the Mamluk *amīr*, Qīz Ṭūġān al-ʿAllānī, to the position.[11] The sources state that Qīz Ṭūġān insisted on the recruitment of Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā as the *nāẓir Dīwān al-Mufrad*. Thus, on 25 June 1440, Zayn ad-Dīn returned to his former office, replacing his greatest rival, ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm ibn Ṣadaqa. The deposed officials were imprisoned, beaten, humiliated, and forced to pay considerable sums.[12] Ibn Ṣadaqa would never be reemployed, while Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad, after being temporarily exiled, was reinstated as the *naqīb al-ǧayš*, the official responsible for musters and military parades, regardless of Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā's scheming against him (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal* X, 116).

As Ibn Taġrī Birdī notes, Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā's appointment as the *nāẓir Dīwān al-Mufrad* marked the beginning of the apogee of his career. He remained in the position for over two years while serving two consecutive *ustādār*s, and soon managed not only to pay off his debts but even to lay the foundations of his immense wealth. He became instrumental in running the office and reportedly imposed an ever-increasing influence on the *ustādār*, Qīz Ṭūġān. The latter spent much of his

[9] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* VII, 434; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 97; idem, *Manhal* XII, 80.

[10] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal* XII, 81; idem, *Nuǧūm* XV, 112; as-Saḫāwī, *Ḍawʾ* X, 233.

[11] His *nisba* ('attribution') is often – and mistakenly – written as al-ʿAlāʾī. Ibn Taġrī Birdī clarifies that it refers to his former owner, ʿAllān al-Yaḥyāwī, a high-ranking officer and governor of Ḥamā; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal* VII, 726–728.

[12] al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* VII, 457–458; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal* XII, 81; idem, *Nuǧūm* XV, 101–102; as-Saḫāwī, *Ḍawʾ* X, 233.

time away from Cairo,[13] and probably lacked the managerial skills required for sophisticated financial matters. According to the sources, it was at Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā's instigation that at the turn of 1440–1441 Qīz Ṭūġān suggested levying land-tax (*ḫarāǧ*) on the hitherto exempted *rizq aḥbāsiyya* and *rizq ǧayšiyya* lands around Cairo and Giza. While the sultan was tempted to act accordingly, he also faced fierce opposition by several notables. As a compromise, he demanded the yearly tax of one hundred dirhams per *faddān* (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* VII, 471). However, a year later Zayn ad-Dīn managed to convince the sultan to confiscate most of the estates. Ibn Taġrī Birdī claims this act to be unprecedented and despicable, and puts the blame on Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā as its purported instigator (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 106; idem, *Manhal* XII, 82–83).

Qīz Ṭūġān seems to have nurtured ambitions other than serving as *ustādār*, an idea perhaps instilled in him by the ambitious and cunning Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā.[14] The *ustādār* requested to be transferred to the Syrian provinces, for which the sultan arrested both him and his deputy on 21 November 1441. This, however, seems to have been little more than a formality, as Qīz Ṭūġān was soon sent off to Aleppo as a high-ranking commander. In the meantime, Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā was reinstated to his office, this time as the deputy of the former governor of Alexandria, the *ustādār* ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Kuwayz, on 30 November. Ibn al-Kuwayz's tenure was short and ineffective, as the *nāẓir* continued to dominate affairs, and the weak *ustādār* was eventually arrested and dismissed in September 1442. On the next day, Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā was appointed as the new *ustādār*. Ibn Taġrī Birdī comments on his promotion in two scathing couplets:

> No rooks remain on the chessboard,
> and the pawns have become the queens;
> The lame donkeys neigh like horses.
> I tell you: this is unprecedented!
> (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 112).

Among the contemporary authors, Ibn Taġrī Birdī is by far the most biased against Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā, nonetheless, his works contain the most detailed account of the activities of the contemporary elite. In the following sections, I summarise some aspects of Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā's tenure as *ustādār*, assessing whether the author's judgement was rightly deserved.

4 A decade in the sultan's favour

[13] For instance, he spent January and February 1441 collecting taxes in Lower and Upper Egypt, reportedly causing misery and suffering to the locals; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* VII, 470, 473.

[14] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal* XII, 81; idem, *Nuǧūm* XV, 112; as-Saḫāwī, *Ḍawʾ* X, 234.

Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā served as the *ustādār* for over ten years, until Sultan Ǧaqmaq's abdication on his deathbed in early 1453. His main duty was to arrange the provisions for the entire royal court and household. He was in charge of the warehouses, workshops, and the kitchen of the citadel, as well as responsible for the servants and craftsmen working there. This also meant that he had ample funds at his disposal (Martel-Thoumian 1991: 69–70). In this period, he equally remained in control of the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, as no *nāẓir* was appointed, and he personally dealt with the tasks of this office (as-Saḫāwī, *Tibr* I, 113).

The sources record some extraordinary duties that Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā, in addition to his regular responsibilities in Cairo, had to complete. In the summer of 1445, he directed a successful campaign against rebellious Bedouins in the area of Bilbays, returning to Cairo with many prisoners. In 1450, he was tasked with collecting the fines imposed on ʿAbd Allāh, the tax collector *(kāšif)* of aš-Šarqiyya province in Lower Egypt. The next year, he was sent to the Delta in the company of a group of high-ranking *amīr*s to supervise the dredging of an estuary there. Later, he spent more than two weeks in the area of al-Manṣūra on an unknown assignment, probably in relation to the revenues of his office. (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 270-1, 273; as-Saḫāwī, *Tibr* III, 39).[15]

Alongside this, he held the office of the *muḥtasib* ('market supervisor') of Cairo for a few months in 1449–1450. This appointment, however, was against his will: he tried to reject the position, and even though he was forced to accept it, he never received the robe of investiture. His tenure was short and unremarkable. At some point, he also became the *ustādār* of Faḫr ad-Dīn ʿUṯmān, the son and heir apparent of Sultan Ǧaqmaq.[16]

The fact that Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā remained the sultan's *ustādār* for such a relatively long time suggests that he was an able administrator, and indeed, despite the recurrent plagues and inflations, no shortages of money and fodder were reported during his tenure. In order to maintain the sultan's favour, the *ustādār* did not hesitate to present him with sumptuous gifts; four such occasions are recorded in the sources. In 1445, Zayn ad-Dīn gave 300 Arabian horses to Sultan Ǧaqmaq, followed by 400 more a year later. In 1448, 600 mounts, many equipped with ornate horse tack, were presented to the sultan (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 111, 123, 164). The herds of horses might be considered as the *ustādār*'s tribute in return for his lucrative office, comparable to similar gifts to the ruler from provincial governors.

However, in 1451, he sent a different set of gifts to the sultan, namely five thousand dinars in coin, hundreds of robes made of precious textiles, eight horses, and also smaller presents such as sugar, sweets and fruits carried by twenty porters. In this case, the gifts meant to express Zayn ad-Dīn's gratitude to Ǧaqmaq, who, as a

[15] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 119–120, 270–271, 273, 323, 327, 329; as-Saḫāwī, *Tibr* III, 39.

[16] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 151, XVI, 7; idem, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 219, 224.

rare sign of high esteem, had visited him in his home while he was recovering from injuries (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 321–322; idem, *Nuǧūm* XV, 178). Notably, the sources record only exceptionally lavish gifts and not the everyday ones that the *ustādār* presumably disbursed to the sultan on a regular basis.

Sultan Ǧaqmaq's favour for Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā manifested itself in various ways. For instance, the sultan gave luxurious robes of honour to him on numerous occasions, four of which are recorded only from the year 1448 (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 168, 176, 180–181). Despite recurring demands of Mamluks and intrigues of his rival administrators, Ǧaqmaq would never dismiss his loyal *ustādār*, and, as a result, Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā wielded considerable influence, which he successfully exerted against his rivals. With the notable exception of Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad, he managed to stunt the careers of all his predecessors. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm ibn Ṣadaqa and al-Wizza died in poverty, while Qīz Ṭūġān's release from imprisonment was revoked thanks to Zayn ad-Dīn's intrigues (1448). Ibn al-Kuwayz remained unemployed in Syria until (1449), when he was named as *ustādār* of Damascus. However, this appointment did not last long: in a few months, he was imprisoned and would never again rise to prominence (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 145, 148). When a former tax collector, a certain aš-Šihābī Aḥmad, aspired to secure the position of the *ustādār* for himself, Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā used his influence to have him sent into exile. Similarly, it was at his behest that the commander of the Mamluk guards *(raʾs nawba)*, Asandamur al-Ǧaqmaqī, was exiled in 1451 (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 195, 338).

5 The *ustādār* and the Mamluks

Although Ǧaqmaq's reign was, especially in comparison with those of his successors, relatively peaceful and stable, the increasingly insubordinate Mamluks would repeatedly express their dissatisfaction with the government. This would manifest itself in assaults on the sultan's administrators, usually on their way between the citadel and their houses in Cairo. Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā was no exception. In November 1446, he was beaten nearly to death when he eventually found refuge in the house of a leading *amīr* (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 135). Two years later, when the Mamluks plotted to attack him and ransack his house, he avoided the threat by staying in the citadel and having his residence safely locked. The sultan himself had to intervene to appease the rebellious Mamluks, and sent someone to escort the *ustādār* to his house. A few days later, when rumours of another such conspiracy against Zayn ad-Dīn spread, it was, once again, Ǧaqmaq who eventually settled the situation (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 180–181).

Nonetheless, the majordomo was assaulted again on 22 June 1450. It seems that this attack was not directed, in particular, against Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā. After some Mamluks had been accused of insubordination and arrested, their fellows threatened

many notables, including the *ustādār*. Caught near the Mosque of al-Māridānī while on his way from the citadel to his house, he had to leap off his mount to avoid the maces of the soldiers, and was able the escape only with the help of the *muḥtasib*. However, the Mamluks directed their anger mainly towards Abū l-Ḫayr an-Naḥḥās, who was the head of the treasury *(wakīl bayt al-māl)* and *nāẓir* of several lesser *dīwān*s. While the Mamluks intended to kill him, they demanded only the dismissal of Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 159; idem, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 266–267). Three weeks later, the sultan deprived Abū l-Ḫayr an-Naḥḥās of his offices, after which he was severely tortured and exiled. At the same time, the sultan reconfirmed the majordomo in his position (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 164; idem, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 275).

Finally, for unknown reasons, Zayn ad-Dīn was again attacked upon leaving the citadel in April 1451. This time the Mamluks injured his head so badly that he needed to be carried home in a critical condition. It was on this occasion that the sultan visited him in his house, and, two days later, reaffirmed him in his office (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XV, 178; idem, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 321–322).

6 Downfall

Sultan Ǧaqmaq fell ill in early 1453 and, on 1 February, abdicated in favour of his son, Faḫr ad-Dīn ʿUṯmān. Upon becoming sultan with the title al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the latter found the treasury empty. This posed a serious problem, especially since it was customary for a new sultan to hand out significant amounts of money to the Mamluks *(nafaqa)*, thereby securing the loyalty of the military. In order to alleviate the situation, a council of high-ranking officials convened on 6 February. After a long debate, they decided that the *nāẓir al-ḫāṣṣ wa-l-ǧayš* ('overseer of the sultan's private treasury and the army'), Ibn Kātib Ǧakam,[17] should pay 100,000 dinars from his personal wealth, while Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā was obliged to hand over 30,000 dinars to the royal treasury (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 403; *Nuǧūm* XVI, 6).

[17] Ǧamāl ad-Dīn Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm, known as Ibn Kātib Ǧakam, was the *nāẓir al-ḫāṣṣ/ḫawāṣṣ* (the official in charge of the sultan's private treasury and of providing clothing for the Mamluks), superintendent of the royal mint *(dār aḍ-ḍarb)*, and later, also *nāẓir al-ǧayš* (in charge of the soldiers' *iqṭāʿ* lands and administrative affairs of the army). For his short biography, see Martel-Thoumian 1991: 285. His high standing in the consecutive courts is underlined in Ibn Taġrī Birdī's works, who repeatedly calls him *ʿaẓīm ad-dawla* and *ṣāḥib al-ʿaqd wa-l-ḥall* (e.g. Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Manhal* XII, 225–22-7; *Nuǧūm* XVI, 169–170). He and Zayn ad-Dīn seem to have been on good terms, as he interceded on the *ustādār*'s behalf several times (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 458, 483). On two occasions, he was in charge of collecting the fines imposed on Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā, which he did rather leniently, probably because of their amicable relationship; Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 458, 483, 503, 588.

According to Ibn Taġrī Birdī, as Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā had already been the personal *ustādār* of the new sultan under Ǧaqmaq's reign, he thought that he could exploit their amicable relationship. When the council demanded 30,000 dinars from him, he, in expectation of the ʿUṯmān's support, persistently refused to pay. However, his enemies persuaded the young ruler to act against him (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XVI, 7). Zayn ad-Dīn was deposed, arrested, and consigned to his freshly appointed successor as *ustādār*, the *amīr* Ǧānibak aẓ-Ẓāhirī, who took him along with some of his relatives and members of his retinue to his palace, while his wealth was impounded. Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā spent four days in the rather lenient custody of the new *ustādār*, who in the end reported the successful confiscation of 97,000 dinars, while his prisoner admitted possessing 100,000 in total (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 403–405; *Nuǧūm* XVI, 7).

On 14 February, Zayn ad-Dīn was transported to the citadel with the demand of an additional 400,000 dinars from him, though this amount was soon reduced to 300,000. This time, the sultan handed him over to his supposed uncle, Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad, who had him severely tortured for days, almost to death, notwithstanding his repeated denials of having any more money. In the meantime, his properties were sold, his charitable foundations were taxed, while his Mamluks – whose number, as a sign of extraordinary affluence, was over 80 – were either attached to the royal household or dismissed. As for the endowments he had established, a council of the four chief judges convened in the presence of the sultan on 28 February, aiming to decide their fate. The pretext for this council was an alleged promise by the former *ustādār* to transfer more than 10,000 dinars to Ǧaqmaq every month. On that basis, the new sultan demandad an exorbitant 1,930,000 dinars. The judges passed the verdict that Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā's *waqf*s were illicit because his debt was over a million dinars at the time of their establishment. As a result, his *waqf*s were nullified and the endowed properties sold (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 406–407, 410–411; *Nuǧūm* XVI, 9–10).

The confiscation process *(muṣādara)* continued until the end of al-Manṣūr ʿUṯmān's short reign, lasting for about seven weeks. And yet, the proceeds were not enough to appease the Mamluks. A revolt broke out, which placed the former commander-in-chief *(atābak)*, al-Ašraf Īnāl on the throne on 19 March 1453. The new sultan soon released the ailing Zayn ad-Dīn, presenting him with robes of honour and a splendid mount. In return, he promised to deliver 100,000 dinars in addition to the sums already taken from him. In total, he was forced to pay a quarter of a million dinars in less than two months after the death of his patron, Ǧaqmaq, beside losing most of his private estate and *waqf*s (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 431). From this time on, he would lose and regain the *ustādār* position several times, while also suffering further trials and tribulations under the consecutive sultans and their increasingly vicious Mamluks.

7 Corruption and competence

The Mamluks greeted Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā's downfall with joy. In their view, he had committed many acts of injustice and oppression *(ẓalama wa-ʿasafa)* against them. He allegedly took *iqṭāʿ* estates and other revenues to allocate those to the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*. Nor did he refrain from seizing *waqf* estates and other properties, probably inheritance, that were to be occupied by profiteering people (*arbāb at-takassub*). Afterwards, the ustādār would buy these properties for a low price and then sell them with a considerable profit (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuǧūm* XVI, 7–8; *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 404). Ibn Taġrī Birdī also recounts that when Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā became *muḥtasib*, he announced selling wheat at a lower price than usual, which soon turned out to be a lie.[18]

However, it is important to note that the Mamluks' rancour against Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā was not because he ever fell short on his duties. No delays in handing out wages or fodder were recorded during the sultanate of Ǧaqmaq, while this would soon become a recurrent problem. Conversely, Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā's competence was always acknowledged by his contemporaries, as demonstrated by his repeated appointments to the position of *ustādār* after 857/1453. The most telling sign of the controversial public opinion about him is an event from early 1454. On his second appointment by Sultan Īnāl, the same soldiers, who had cheered at his downfall a year earlier, celebrated his return to office (Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 483).

There is no reason to doubt that Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā was involved in corruption and used his office for personal gain. He was reportedly bankrupt before becoming *nāẓir Dīwān al-Mufrad* in 1440, and yet, within four years, he completed his funerary complex and delivered 300 horses to the sultan, followed by several other construction projects and lavish gifts. These facts highlight an exceedingly rapid growth of wealth, which understandably provoked the envy of his contemporaries.

The *ustādār*'s corrupt conduct enabled him to finance his ambitious building projects and *waqf*s for their upkeep.[19] Nonetheless, it seems that in a way it also ensured the smooth operation of the state, since many of the unjustly taken revenues were at least partially directed towards the *Dīwān al-Mufrad*, to cover the allowances of the soldiers. Corruption was apparently vital for maintaining the relative stability of the state under Ǧaqmaq's reign. One might also regard Zayn ad-Dīn's extravagant tributes to the sultan as an essential means of helping out the royal treasury to avoid bankruptcy. As a consequence, some of the historic monuments surviving in Cairo might equally be viewed as by-products of the flawed systemic operations of the Mamluk state.

[18] Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Ḥawādiṯ* I, 219. It seems that the author's condemnation of Zayn ad-Dīn Yaḥyā is based on moral and religious grounds, combined with some anti-Coptic and anti-civilian sentiment, while he records no personal conflict between them.

[19] Only one of his *waqf* deeds survives, which attests to the opulence of his residential complex; Behrens-Abouseif 2007: 263.

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A HUNGARIAN ARCHITECT IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY: FERENC HILLINGER (1895–1973)

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Following World War I and the Turkish war of independence, the Republic of Turkey was officially proclaimed on 29 October 1923. In parallel with defining a new Turkish identity, there was an increasing need for creating a modern style of Turkish architecture, as a representation of the new regime. During the early decades of the republic, two 'national architectural movements' can be distinguished, which followed different architectural principles but similar aims. Apart from the introduction of contemporary techniques and materials, architecture and its instruction were explicitly employed by the government as a medium to express its defining identity and ideology. Although the Academy of Fine Arts (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi) and the School of Civil Engineering (Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi) had already been founded under the Ottoman Empire, these institutions provided education for a new generation of Turkish architects under the early republic. They were mainly taught by master-architects from Germany, including Bruno Taut (1880–1938), Ernst Arnold Egli (1893–1974), and Martin Elsaesser (1884–1957), all of whom were followers of the Bauhaus movement.

While renowned Hungarian intellectuals participated in the 'modernisation' of Turkey during the early republican period, lesser known among them is the Hungarian-born architect, Ferenc Hillinger (1895–1973). As a colleague of Bruno Taut, Hillinger arrived in Turkey shortly before the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938, and worked as a designer-architect and as a lecturer at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. Since scholarship in Hungary has so far overlooked these facts, the present paper outlines the life and career of a forgotten Hungarian architect, who took an active role in the education of a new generation of Turkish architects, and thus contributed to the architectural history of the country.

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1 Hillinger's education in Budapest

Ferenc (Ferencz) Hillinger was born in the city of Nagyvárad (Bihar county) on 30 March 1895 to a Jewish family.[1] After his graduation from high school, he applied to the Hungarian Royal Joseph Polytechnicum, and became student of the Faculty of Architecture in the academic year 1914/1915. He studied in the same year as a number of later influential architects, including Pál Csonka (1896–1987), who would work as professor of technical sciences, Alfréd (Füchsl) Forbát (1897–1972), and János Komor (1968–1944), who would become influential designers of modernist movements in Hungary.

Among the archival documents at the Budapest Technical University, Hillinger's name first appears in the yearbooks of 1914/1915[2] and 1915/1916.[3] The graduation record of the university testifies to his education in the subjects of humanities and natural sciences in the first year, and then in the subjects of historical morphology, and historical and contemporary construction studies in the second and third years (figs. 1–2).[4] His name does not appear in the yearbook of 1916/1917, since, on 17 January 1916, Hillinger was conscribed for military service, and so he had to suspend his studies. Then, in the yearbook of 1917/1918, the following remark appears: "he was enrolled in the military supplementary semester from March to May 1918.[5] During this term, he studied contemporary building design, engineering subjects, and arts and sciences of humanities.[6]

[1] Although some Turkish scholars describe Hillinger as a 'German architect', his contract archived in the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Istanbul, makes it clear that he was Hungarian. The document mentions his birthplace Nagyvárad (today: Oradea, Romania), though it reads inaccurately as "Nagynavad"; see Demir 2008: 291–292. Some details on his family are recorded in the Register Book of the Royal Joseph Polytechnicum; BMEL_105/d_G._32.

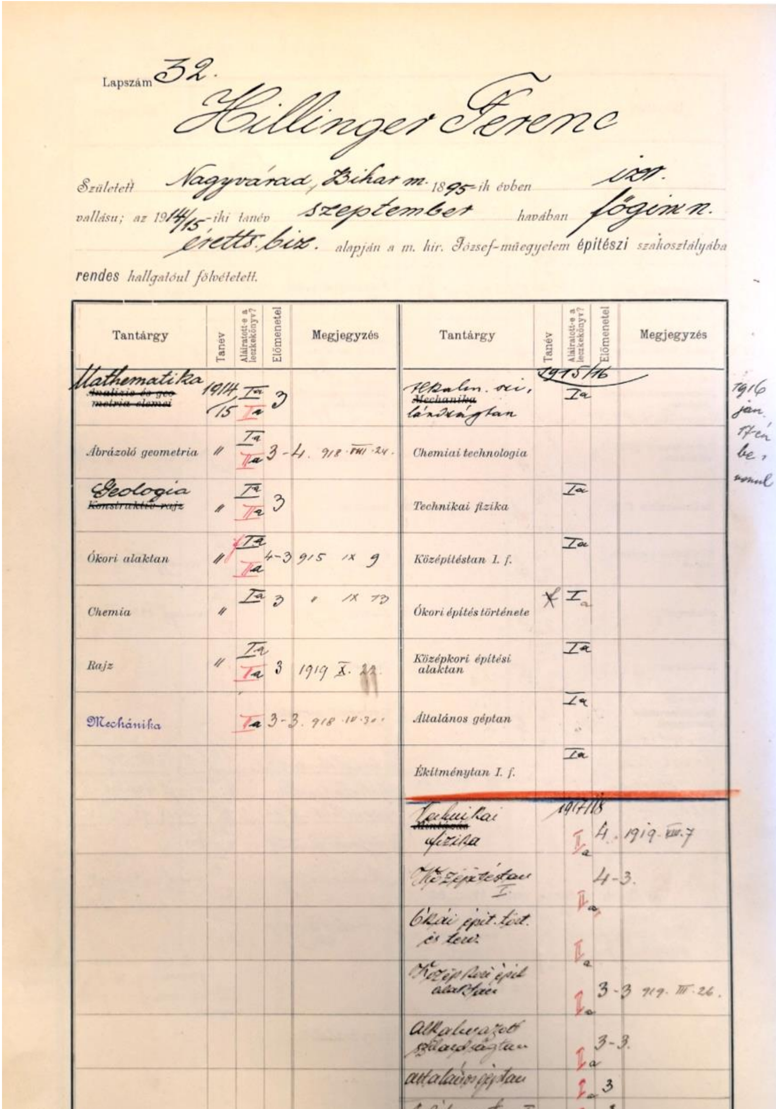
[2] His name, written as "Hillinger Ferencz" under the registration number 633, appears with the comment "ép." (építész = architect); MKJMp 1915/1916.

[3] His name, written as "Hillinger Ferenc" under the registration number 343, appears with the comment "ép." (építész = architect); MKJMp 1916/1917.

[4] He studied in his first year Mathematics, Geometrics, Geology, Ancient Morphology, Chemistry, Drawing, and Mechanics, in his second year Applied Statics, Technical Physics, General Construction Studies, History of Ancient Architecture, Mediaeval Construction Morphology, General Mechanics, and Studies of Decorum, and in his third year Technical Physics, General Construction Studies, History of Ancient Architectural Construction, History of Ancient Architecture, Mediaeval Construction Morphology, Applied Statistics, General Mechanics, Studies of Decorum, and Chemical Techniques.

[5] His name, written as "Hillinger Ferencz" under the registration number 290, appears with the comment "ép." (építész = architect); MKJMp 1918/1919.

[6] His subjects were Design of Buildings, History of Mediaeval Construction, Studies of General Construction, Installation of Public and Residential Buildings, Constructions of Iron and Ferroconcrete Constructions, Renaissance Architectural Morphology, Studies of Decorum, Practices of Aquarelle, Form Drawing, Figuring, Practical Perspectives, and Elements of Geodesy.



Lapszám 32.

Hillinger Ferenc

Született Nagyvárad, Bihar m. 1895-ik évben izr. vallású; az 1914/15-iki tanév szeptember havában főgimn. érett. biz. alapján a m. kir. József-műegyetem építészi szakosztályába rendes hallgatóul fölvétetett.

Tantárgy	Tanév	Aláíratott-e a leczkekönyv?	Előmenetel	Megjegyzés	Tantárgy	Tanév	Aláíratott-e a leczkekönyv?	Előmenetel	Megjegyzés
Mathematika (~~Analizis és geometria elemei~~)	1914/15	Ia Ia	3		(~~Mechanika~~)	1915/16	Ia		
Ábrázoló geometria	"	Ia IIa	3-4.	918 VIII 24.	Chemiai technologia				
Geologia (~~Konstruktiv rajz~~)	"	Ia Ia	3		Technikai fizika		Ia		
Ókori alaktan	"	Ia Ia	4-3	915 IX 9	Középitéstan I. f.		Ia		
Chemia	"	Ia	3	" IX 13	Ókori építés története		Ia		
Rajz	"	Ia Ia	3	1919 X.	Középkori építési alaktan		Ia		
Mechanika		Ia	3-3.	918 10 3	Általános géptan		Ia		
					Épitménytan I. f.		Ia		
					Technikai fizika	1917/18	Ia	4.	1919 VIII 7
					Középitéstan I.		IIa	4-3.	
					Ókori épít. tört. és terv.		Ia		
					Középkori épít. alaktan		Ia	3-3	919. III. 26.
					Alkalmazott szilárdságtan		Ia	3-3.	
					általános géptan		Ia	3	
					Épitménytan I.		Ia	3	
					Chemiai techn.		Ia	3	

Fig. 1. Graduation record of Ferenc Hillinger in the Register Book of the Royal Joseph Polytechnicum, Budapest, 12 November 1919 (BMEL_105/d_G._32. p. 1).

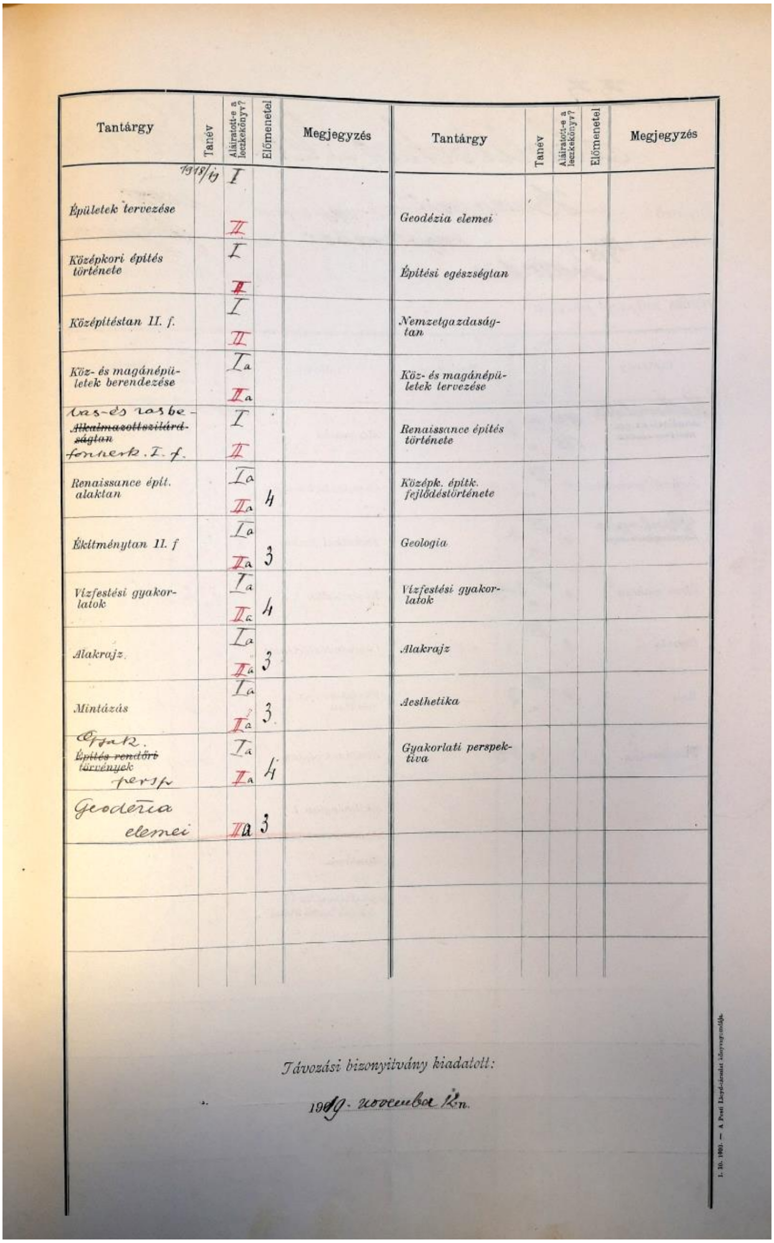

Tantárgy
Tanév
Aláiratott-e a leczkekönyv?
Előmenetel
Megjegyzés
Épületek tervezése
Középkori építés története
Középítéstan II. f.
Köz- és magánépületek berendezése
Renaissance épít. alaktan
Ékítménytan II. f
Vizfestési gyakorlatok
Alakrajz
Mintázás
Geodézia elemei
Építési egészségtan
Nemzetgazdaságtan
Köz- és magánépületek tervezése
Renaissance építés története
Középk. építk. fejlődéstörténete
Geologia
Aesthetika
Gyakorlati perspektiva
Távozási bizonyitvány kiadatott:

Fig. 2. Graduation record of Ferenc Hillinger in the Register Book of the Royal Joseph Polytechnicum, Budapest, 12 November 1919 (BMEL_105/d_G._32. p. 2).

Since its foundation in 1871, the prime institute in Budapest for educating professional architects, known today as Budapest University of Technology and Economics, has seen changes to its system, name, and location several times. Between 1871–1934, including Hillinger's period, it was named the Royal Joseph Polytechnicum (Királyi József Műegyetem), and, since the academic year 1909/1910, it has been located at the campus of Lágymányos on the Buda side of the Danube where it still operates to the present day.[7] In Hillinger's time, architecture was taught in departments divided according to historical eras: antiquity, middle ages, and modern age. This methodology corresponded with the phenomena of historicising architectural practices at the turn of the twentieth century. Hillinger himself was instructed in antiquity by Virgil Nagy (1859–1921), in medieval architecture by István Möller (1860–1934), in architecture from the Renaissance to the 19th century by Dezső Hültl (1870–1945), while other professors including Iván Kotsis (1889–1980) taught modern approaches.[8]

The university results of Hillinger were very much those of an average student, although his particular interest in general construction studies and technical physics were reflected by his exemplary marks in those subjects. His education in Budapest was completed, as recorded in his graduation report, on 12 November 1919 (BMEL_105/d_G._32).

2 Hillinger in Berlin and the 'new objectivity'

Following his education in Budapest, Hillinger moved to Berlin, where, between 1919 and 1922, he was a student at the Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg (renamed as Technische Hochschule zu Berlin in 1920). His supervisor was Professor Bruno Taut (1880–1938), whose main field of research was the architecture of contemporary residential buildings. He conducted construction projects in various countries including Germany, Japan, Turkey, and the Soviet Union. Apart from his practice of teaching and designing, Taut authored nine books in Germany, five in Japan, and one in Turkey, and published about two hundred articles. Working in close relationship with some of the main innovators and thinkers of his age, he was well acquainted with the concurrent intellectual tendencies,[9] and the oeuvre of Camillo Sitte (1843–1903) made a particular impact on his architectural practice. He took up the position of architectural counsellor in Magdeburg in the 1920s, and supervised urban and residential designs at the Technische Hochschule Charlottenburg. He was member of the Prussian Academy of Arts (Preußische

[7] For the architectural history of the campus, see Gyetvainé et al. 2013.

[8] For the history of the university, see Héberger 1979; Karácsony and Vukoszávlyev 2019.

[9] His list of colleagues included Walter Gropius (1883–1969), Peter Behrens (1868–1940), Hans Poelzig (1869–1936), Ernst May (1886–1970), Adolf Behne (1885–1948), and Paul Scheerbart (1863–1915).

Akademie der Künste) along with Erich Mendelsohn (1887–1953), Paul Mebes (1872–1938), Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969), and Martin Wagner (1885–1957), and of the American Institute of Architects.[10]

During the early 1920s, many influential architects in Germany turned their interests to the new theoretical framework emerging from Weimar, known as *Neue Sachlichkeit* ('new objectivity'). As a reaction to expressionist architecture, the functionally minded, matter-of-fact approach to construction came to be known in Germany as *Neues Bauen* ('new building'), and materialised in large-scale urban planning and public housing projects, as well as in experimenting with Bauhaus architecture. Hillinger was a colleague of Martin Wagner at the housing company 'GEHAG' (Gemeinnützige Heimstätten-, Spar- und Bau-Aktiengesellschaft) between 1919 and 1929, focusing on projects related to mass housing in blocks of flats. He also worked together with Taut on designing the Erich Weinert Strasse (former Carmen Sylvia Strasse) in Berlin in 1925, which demonstrates a strong influence of the *Neues Bauen*, and features elements adopted from Dutch architecture (Junghanns 1970: 70).

It appears that following his education in Budapest with a focus on historicism, in Berlin Hillinger became acquainted with a drastically different perspective on architecture. Instead of applying historicising architectural details and designs, the social needs of mass housing became the key factor of his architectural activity. This approach resulted from his education in Berlin, the milieu of post-World War I Germany, and the Bauhaus movement, and accorded well with his political stance: he was a member of the German Social Democratic Party (Erichsen 1994: 32–33). However, when, on Wagner's advice, Taut decided to move to Turkey, Hillinger followed his former professor, and their approach to architecture was warmly welcomed by the new regime of the republic. Therefore, the activities of Hillinger should be discussed in the context of early republican architecture in Turkey.

3 Architecture and its instruction in early republican Turkey

3.1 The First National Movement

When the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed by the Grand National Assembly (Büyük Millet Meclisi) in Ankara in 1923, a secular parliamentary state replaced the Ottoman Empire. The government of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) implemented, and indeed enforced, reform policies covering all areas of life. The movement of nation-building was not only theoretical but also practical, and architecture was an obvious way of expressing the identity and ideology of the new regime (Bozdoğan 2012). The nationalist and étatist policies of the period would

[10] For the life and oeuvre of Taut, see Junghanns 1970; Winkler 1980.

consciously reshape the built environment, arguing that 'national' or 'Turkish' elements should be expressed in architecture, and fiercely opposing the late Ottoman style. However, the principal nature of expressing the 'national' substance of the republican identity changed significantly during the period. Turkish scholars distinguish between two main phases in the architecture of the first half of the 20th century, known as the two national movements, with a transitional period between them. The early republican architects retained the First National Movement that had originated in the early 20th century, though with a significant difference: they eliminated the hitherto popular classical Ottoman elements from their repertoire (Sözen 1984; Aslanoğlu 2010).

Besides the state's ideological programme, architectural innovations appeared also for functional and economic reasons. With the emergence of a new, 'reformed' lifestyle, new types of public, educational, transportation, and administrative buildings – such as ministries and banks – also began to take shape. And these new functions required new architectural solutions, which would nonetheless conform to the needs of both the public taste and the political-ideological expectations of the Atatürk government (Tekeli 1984). Meanwhile, the designing and constructing of the new capital, Ankara, had to meet with the demands of large-scale public and residential architecture. Consequently, the republican architects were to eschew late Ottoman features: their style was rejected for ideological reasons, while their structural elements for economic ones.

These complex factors led to the revival of pre-Ottoman – whether Seljuq, Classical, or Hittite – architectural features on the façades of buildings. This could be achieved, for instance, by applying rigid symmetry emphasising the gates and cornices, out of aesthetic rather than functional motives, or by applying rich Seljuq-style ornaments. Conversely, the interiors adopted functional space formations that were commonly used in Western European architecture. Comparable diversity appeared in the building materials: while ferroconcrete prevailed within the structures, the façades tended to be ornamented, sometimes featuring glazed ceramic tiles. In that respect, this major architectural trend in Turkey, popular until the mid-1930s and known as the First National Movement, was analogous with the historicising tendencies in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century. The most influential architects of the period were Kemalettin Bey (1870–1927), Vedat Tek (1873–1942), and Giulio Mongeri (1873–1951).

This period was also characterised by the appearance of Western European architects in Turkey. Back in 1911, the French-Swiss Le Corbusier (1887–1965) arrived for a study trip in the Ottoman Empire. While travelling through the towns of Edirne, Constantinople, and Bursa, he was fascinated by the architectural and natural qualities of those cities, and particularly appreciated the harmonious relationships between people and nature (Kortan 2013). He even expressed his interest in preparing a settlement plan for Istanbul: he wrote a letter to the Turkish president through the French Embassy, which was then forwarded by the Turkish foreign minister to

Atatürk. In a letter dated 13 March 1933, the foreign minister explained that Le Corbusier had asked for permission to prepare an urban development plan for Istanbul. The task, however, was eventually commissioned from the French architect Henri Prost (1874–1959) (Bilsel 2010).

Six years after Le Corbusier's journey, the Hungarian architect Károly Kós (1883–1977) applied for a scholarship in the Hungarian Scientific Institute in Constantinople, founded in December 1916, and his travels resulted in the publication of a monograph titled *Istanbul: Urban history and architecture* in Hungarian (Kós 1917). The first part of this volume, while strongly reflecting the author's Turanist ideology, analyses the city's architectural history with some excursions to the architecture of the Middle East and Central Asia. In the second chapter of the volume, he provides a sensible, though artistic and partially subjective, discussion of the urban structure, and makes suggestions for its development. Together with Le Corbusier's analysis, this work features among the first contemporary urban development plans for Istanbul, based on the historical and natural qualities of the city.

With the proclamation of the republic, Atatürk and his government commissioned the development of the newly appointed capital, Ankara, in 1924. The project was directed by two German architects, first by Carl Cristoph Lörcher (1884–1966), and then, from 1929 onwards, by Hermann Jansen (1869–1945). At the same time, the president also considered the development and modernisation of Istanbul, and thus invited architects from Western Europe to Turkey. Under the Nazi rule of Germany, a number of architects, especially Jews, were forced to leave their country, and many found employment in the thriving development projects in the new republic.

3.2 The Second National Movement

Foreign, mainly German, architects were the earliest representatives of the Bauhaus movement in Turkey, which initiated the transition to the Second National Movement. Although many of their works concentrated on the capital Ankara, they also led projects in Istanbul and other regional cities. Turkish scholarship generally describes this period of Bauhaus influence as a transitional phase between the two national movements. The German architects' activities overlapped with both movements, and some of them had a strong interest in Ottoman or Anatolian vernacular architecture.[11] What they all clearly rejected was the First National Movement's adaption of historical, mainly pre-Ottoman architectural elements.

Besides designing new buildings, the foreign architects also took an active role in educating local architects, especially since Atatürk encouraged them to teach at

[11] For instance, Ernst Arnold Egli published a seminar monograph on the classical period of Ottoman architecture; Egli 1954.

the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. While the academy, established by Osman Hamdi Bey (1842–1910) in 1883, had a strong connection with European architects from the beginning, the presence of professors from Germany and Austria strengthened significantly before World War II. The foreign architects sheltered in Turkey had a pioneering role in the education of the Second National Movement, which combined spatial principles of the Bauhaus with Anatolian vernacular architectural knowledge. Among the professors of the academy were Hans Poelzig (1869–1936), Ernst Egli (1893–1974), and Bruno Taut (1886–1938).[12] According to his contract, Hillinger was also employed as a lecturer at the academy between 1937 and 1939 (Demir 2008: 291–292). The Turkish journal *Arkitekt* also reveals that, in 1941, Hillinger worked as the technical director of the Construction School in Ankara (Ankara Yapı ve Usta Okulu).[13] In this position, he made a considerable impact on the urban development of the country (Aşkan 2011: 112).

The European architects operating in Turkey were particularly interested in studying Anatolian vernacular architecture, and adopting some of its elements for their own design projects. This approach is attested to by the journal *Türk Yurdu* ('The Turkish Home') in the 1930s, when its chief editor was Ernst Egli. The German professors educated a new generation of Turkish architects, in particular Seyfi Arkan (1903–1966), Sedad (also spelled as Sedat) Hakkı Eldem (1908–1988), Emin Onat (1908–1961), and Şevki Balmumcu (1905–1982). This Second National Movement goes back to the 1930s, and continued mainly until the death of Atatürk in 1938, although its influence can be observed until as late as the mid-1950s. The cultural policy of the period put a great emphasis on the research and systematic identification of 'Turkish' art, which was painstakingly distinguished from 'Persian' and 'Arab' elements. In the community centres known as Halkevleri ('Community houses'), with branches established in several cities across the country, regular lectures and art historical instruction began in the 1930s (Yesilkaya 1999). This institution also curated the first exhibitions on Turkish art, and issued the first art-related magazine, *Güzel Sanatlar* ('Fine arts'), in Turkey.

[12] After fleeing from Nazi-ruled Germany to Switzerland, Bruno Taut worked in several Middle and Far Eastern countries. In Kyoto, he mainly worked as designer in applied arts, then, in 1936, for the recommendation of Martin Wagner, he was invited to the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, received governmental and ministerial assignments, and published a book on constructions in Turkish; Junghanns 1970; Winkler 1980.

[13] His title was *Ankara Yapı ve Usta Okulu teknik şefi, yüksek mimar* ('master architect, technical director of the Construction School in Ankara'); Hillinger 1941.

Fig. 3. Florya Köşkü or Presidential Mansion in Florya, Istanbul, designed by Seyfi Arkan, 1935–1936 (photo by Tuğba Sarsılmaz).

Among the Turkish architects, Seyfi Arkan's main building project was the presidential summer house, known as Florya Köşkü, in Istanbul. In his design, he adopted some typical features of Anatolian residential buildings, such as sliding windows and wide eaves, and used other building types, namely the kiosk (*köşk*) or the bathhouse (*deniz hamamı*) standing on pillars over the Bosphorus, as models for the mansion (Akcan 2012: 74). However, the resulting architectural formation is completely modern. The building uses contemporary materials, such as a ferroconcrete structure with large, steel windows. The spatial formation is functional, and the ornamentation-centred approach of the First National Movement's pre-Ottoman revival is absent here (fig. 3).

The same approach can be seen in the architectural oeuvre of Clemens Holzmeister (1886–1983). While designing the presidential residence of Atatürk, the Çankaya Köşkü, in Ankara, Holzmeister examined some examples of Anatolian vernacular architecture, with special attention to the mode of living in rural houses, and applied the traditional Anatolian design principles in the spatial composition of his new building. Another influential architect in the period was Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who graduated from Istanbul, but also studied in Berlin and Paris (Giray 1981). He met personally with some of the pioneering figures of modernist architecture, including Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959). Upon his return to Turkey, Eldem worked as a modernist architect, while incorporating some traditional Anatolian elements within his designs. According to Eldem, the traditional Anatolian residential houses often bear formal and spatial features that contemporary architects claim to be 'innovations', and, therefore, vernacular Anatolian buildings satisfy the demands of contemporary architecture (Eldem 1983). Indeed, the large, multi-functional interiors that can be freely shaped by portable furniture and open towards its surroundings through the *hayat*-like porch, and the close interaction between garden

and interior find their analogues in Le Corbusier's revolutionary principles of modern housing.

In short, the architects associated with the Second National Movement showed a special interest in Anatolian vernacular architecture. Thus, in their new designs, they would combine Anatolian aesthetics with contemporary materials, technology, and the spatial principles of the Bauhaus, in contrast to the former, pre-Ottoman revival style. In that respect, the two main architectural approaches to which Hillinger was introduced during his formative years – namely, historicism in Budapest and modernist principles and social sensitivity in Berlin – coincided with the two national movements in early republican Turkey.

4 Hillinger in Turkey

Taut's design projects generally featured rational, clear, and functional arrangements, applying few but characteristic elements typical of Anatolian vernacular architecture, such as the large, consoled eave, for instance in the Trabzon Male College. His main projects in Turkey were the Linguistics and Historical Faculty building of the Ankara University in 1937, the Cebeci High School (Cebeci Ortaokulu) in Ankara, and the Republican Maiden Institute (Cumhuriyet Kız Enstitüsü) in Izmir in 1938. In several projects, he worked together with Asim Kömürcüoğlu – one example is the Atatürk High School (Atatürk Lisesi) in Ankara built in 1937–1938. Hillinger also participated in several construction projects, mainly as an associate of more senior colleagues. He worked on the Cebeci High School in 1938, the Trabzon High School (Trabzon Lisesi) in 1938–1941, the Republican Maiden Institute in 1938, and the National Fair Cultural Pavilion in Izmir in 1939 (Demir 2008: 131–132). Besides these projects, he also wrote an article on the construction method of roof structures, published in the journal *Arkitekt* (Hillinger 1941).

Hillinger's close relationship with Taut is evident from a letter written by Taut to the German architect Carl Krayl (1890–1947) in 1938. While discussing a possible collaboration in designing the Ankara Opera House, Taut suggests that Hillinger should also be involved in the project. He adds that Hillinger was in Turkey with his family, and even refers to his 10-year-long experience at GEHAG (Zander 2007: 322). Following the premature death of Taut in the same year, Hillinger finished many of his former professor's projects, including the Atatürk High School in Ankara (Winkler 1980: 19), and also contributed essential material for the first scholarly monograph on Taut (Junghanns 1970: Vorwort).

Among Hillinger's numerous works in Turkey, only one of his designs is known today: the visualisation sketch of a family house on the Bosphorus (Junghanns 1970: 99). This shows a centralised building arranged on two floors, featuring a conical roof, and standing on a massive pillar above the sea. The interior of the building is

accessible from the shore through a closed bridge (fig. 4). Both the bridge and the house itself feature rows of large windows, a characteristic feature of contemporary modernist architecture. In the mass of the building, the form of a classical Ottoman *köşk* ('kiosk') can be identified, whereas its structural and spatial principles follow contemporary, essentially modernist, arrangements. The house has similar features to the residence of Bruno Taut in Istanbul (Akcan 2012: 273). That is, Hillinger's approach followed the characteristics of the Second National Movement, similarly to the works of Arkan, Holzmeister, Eldem and his master, Taut.

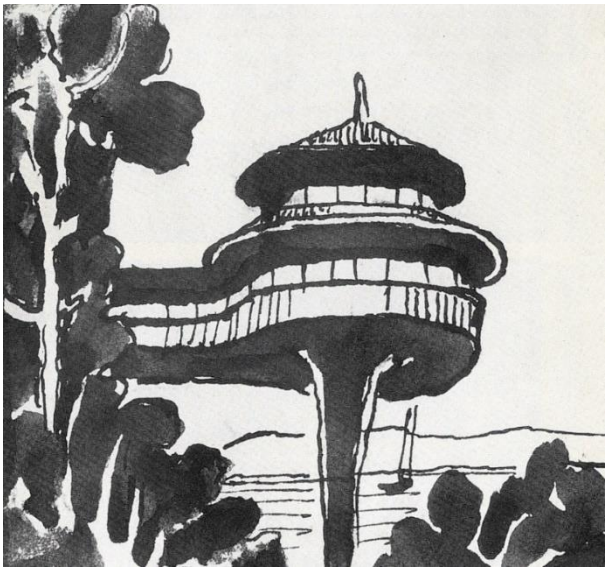


Fig. 4. Family house on the Bosphorus, visualization sketch by Ferenc Hillinger, 1938 (Junghanns 1970: fig. 293).

During the early years of republican Turkey, several Hungarian advisors and scholars were invited to the country.[14] In the field of architecture, the activities of Hungarian builders were particularly noteworthy,[15] with renowned Hungarian architects being involved in both national movements. Although none of their projects

[14] Among them were Antal Réthly (meteorologist), György Tittes (engineer of the infrastructural facilities of several Anatolian cities), Gyula Mészáros (founder of the Museum of Ethnography, Ankara), Imre Ormos (landscape architect of several sites in Ankara), János György (chief director of Atatürk's farm), János Máthé (gardener for Atatürk's house), László Rásonyi (first lecturer of the Institute of Hungarology, Ankara), Oszkár Wellman (agricultural engineer, pioneer of new breeding methods), and Tibor Péterfi (historian); Saral 2017: 597–623.

[15] In the 1920s, a group of Hungarian workmen, engineers, and trained experts arrived in Turkey, and worked in construction projects at numerous sites and with different companies.

came to be realised, the surviving designs by Alfréd Bardon (1904–1986) and Károly Dávid (1903–1973) fit with the First National Movement, whereas those of István Janáky (1901–1966) and his colleagues follow the principles of the Second National Movement. Some of their designs would make an impact on Hungarian architecture in the period (Kovács 2014; Rabb and Kovács 2016). Apart from the newly designed buildings, Hungarian architects also took part in the preservation of historical monuments. The most prominent project was the investigation of Ferenc Rákóczi's dining hall in Tekirdağ (Rodostó) (Fodor, Kovács and Kövecsi-Oláh 2017). Nonetheless, Hillinger's activities in Turkey can be evaluated as a unique case: he was probably the only Hungarian architect who went to Turkey not for temporary projects, but for a longer period.

5 Conclusions

As this short overview of Hillinger's career demonstrates, he was initially educated in historicising architecture in Budapest, after which he was introduced into a novel, modernist approach in Berlin, heavily influenced by the current social and economic considerations. Notably, a comparable process can be observed in the architecture of early republican Turkey: while the First National Movement sought to revive pre-Ottoman features as a form of historicism, the Second National Movement, under the influence of foreign, mainly German, architects, adopted its principle approach from the Bauhaus movement. Hillinger was a representative of this latter trend, as well as an important, though little known, member of the influential group of Hungarian expatriates during the first decades of the Republic of Turkey.

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About 100 people worked in Ankara and its surroundings in 1925, participating in the construction of dwellings, drainage and sewage systems, pavements, electricity, lighting, etc. Other builders worked on the Hotel Erzurum in Ulus, and, notably, several residential building in Ulus feature similar decorations thanks to them; see Cügen, Yılmaz, and Tanrıveren 2013: 130–142; Saral 2017: 597–623.

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PIOUS ENDOWMENTS: LAND AND WOMEN IN LATE OTTOMAN EGYPT: READING THE GRAND MUFTĪ'S OPINIONS FROM 1848–1849

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This essay is a micro-analysis of legal opinions (*fatwā*, pl. *fatāwā*) in 19th-century Egypt, drawing on my research in preparation for a larger project about Egyptian legal-administrative history and, more specifically, land administration. The legal opinions I present here are answers to questions concerning pious endowments (*waqf*, pl. *awqāf*), usually connected to endowed real estate.

Studies about the legal transformation of land administration in modern Egypt are still scarce. The Egyptian security services limit access to 19th-century and even earlier court records, land survey registers, chancellery documents, and administrative orders. Here, I focus on a small number of legal opinions in a limited period from a printed source; as such, the results are not generalisable. Yet they are indicative of problems and questions about endowments and land for further study.

I read the endowment section in the *fatwā*-collection of Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī (1827–1897), the Grand Muftī of Egypt (the Ḥanafī muftī of Cairo) between 1848 and 1897.[1] The Būlāq press finished publishing seven volumes of his selected legal opinions in 1887. The section on endowments (*Kitāb al-waqf*) takes up almost four hundred pages in the second volume (al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 443–836). The arrangement is chronological, with the cases dated according to when the Grand Muftī issued his opinion.

In this article, I report on my reading of opinions related to pious endowments during the first fourteen months of al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī's tenure. These are ninety-two cases in this period, which includes the last two months of the year of 1264 (October–November 1848) and all of 1265 AH (December 1848–October 1849) (al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 443–474).

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[1] See Mubārak, *Ḫiṭaṭ* XVII, 12–13; Delanoue 1982: I, 168–180; Peters 1994; Hilāl 2015: III, 1391–1434.

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This period was an extremely complex moment in the history of Egypt. The Ottoman governor Muḥammad ʿAlī, or Mehmed Ali in Turkish (r. 1805–1848, d. 1849), became senile and unfit to rule in 1848. The Ottoman sultan appointed Muḥammad ʿAlī's oldest son Ibrāhīm (r. 1848–1849), but his other sons and grandsons actively conspired against Ibrāhīm, who soon died. Next, the imperial government attempted to return Egypt to the empire as a directly controlled province, which resulted in a tense political and legal struggle (Toledano 1989; Mestyan 2017). This period was also a sensitive one in the history of pious endowments. Muḥammad ʿAlī had prohibited the creation of new private (*ahlī*) endowments in 1846, and Ibrāhīm maintained this prohibition. But when Ibrāhīm died, his successor ʿAbbās Ḥilmī (r. 1849–1854) immediately rescinded the prohibition. The opinions given in 1848–1849 thus have the potential to provide insight into whether Muḥammad ʿAlī's legendary intervention in endowments actually affected the daily work of jurists and how they implemented the principles of *fiqh* ('jurisprudence').

The opinions of the Grand Muftī might reflect the work of his entire office. The year 1265 AH was the first full year of al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī's tenure as the Grand Muftī in the province of Egypt. He was only twenty-one when he was appointed in the first half of Ḏū al-Qaʿda 1264 (October 1848). His father was also a Ḥanafī muftī and a rich merchant, associated with Ibrāhīm Pasha, but there might be other reasons, such as support from Istanbul, why Ibrāhīm appointed this young man (Delanoue 1982: I, 168). In addition, Ḫalīl ar-Rašīdī, the latter's professor at al-Azhar, was appointed as his executive representative (*amīn*), which was the cause for some jokes among the *ʿulamāʾ* (Mubārak, *Ḫiṭaṭ* XVII, 12; Hilāl 2015: III, 1395). We cannot exclude the possibility that al-Rašīdī guided the young Grand Muftī in the early years of his tenure. The appointment and the extremely long tenure of al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī also meant that a Ḥanafī jurist presided over the legal landscape of the Egyptian province for practically the whole 19th century. This is significant for the history of endowments as Ḥanafī laws on endowments are relatively flexible. In any case, we may understand the institution of the Grand Muftī itself, the highest office of legal interpretation in Egypt, as a type of Ḥanafī collective.

One must also highlight the fact that legal opinions cannot serve as sources for legal history in themselves, as we cannot be sure that the courts and the government actually implemented these opinions. In addition, it is very possible that Muḥammad ʿAlī increased the importance of the Muftī of Cairo's office as a local legal counterweight to the office of Qāḍī Miṣr, the judge appointed and sent from the imperial capital. Still, the Grand Muftī's legal opinions can serve as sources for social history, especially in the case of endowments, because the questions preserve many details about the endower, the assets, the regulatory environment at the time of the endowment act, and the afterlife of the endowment.

My main interest here is whether there were endowments of agricultural land (*ṭīn*, pl. *aṭyān*; in legal terms *arḍ zirāʿa*) before the mid-19th century in Egypt, and if so, how many. My assumption is that endowments of agricultural land, especially by

ordinary individuals, were very rare before the mid-19th century. This is because only things held in absolute ownership (*milk, milkiyya*) could be endowed in Ḥanafī law, but from the 16th century in Ottoman Ḥanafī legal theory peasants had no primordial rights to arable land in Egypt (Johansen 1988: 89–92). I am primarily interested, indirectly through the endowments, in agricultural land tenure in the 19th century.

Second, I am interested in women's positions in relation to endowments. The scholarly discussion about *waqf* emphasises the importance of women, and the role of endowment in designing a family's future in Egypt and the Levantine provinces (Tucker 1985; Doumani 2017). In the case of 19th-century Egypt, the future-design function of the *waqf* is important as well because of slave manumission (*ʿitq*). Freed female slaves, usually from ruling class households, created a significant number of endowments (mostly of urban property) up to the early 20th century, and made themselves the trustee (*nāẓira*). I translate *nāẓir*/*a* as 'trustee' and not as 'administrator,' as it is usually translated, since administrator (*mutawallī*) could actually be a different position. In al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī's opinions, the gender of the endower usually remains hidden, but the trustee's gender is often given. Tucker (1985: 95–96) used these and other opinions to highlight the legal role of women. Her random sample of "Cairo court cases" of endowments between 1801 and 1860 found 180 cases of female trustees (Tucker 1985: 220, n136). The trustee is legally responsible for the endowment, for ensuring that the endower's will is executed, and that those who have right to income from the endowment actually receive that income. The *nāẓir/a* changes over time, of course. A male endower may stipulate himself as the trustee during his lifetime, but designate his daughter as the trustee after his death, and subsequently her children as trustees, according to male seniority; in this way, one could find a *nāẓir-nāẓira-nāẓir* sequence across the three generations. The gender of the trustee thus may not tell us much about the stability of female social positions.

Let me immediately provide the answers to the above two enquiries. Among the ninety-two cases during late 1848 and 1849, sixty-five questions provide the type of asset and among these there are only six endowments whose assets contain agricultural land explicitly. The gender of the trustee is known only in fifty-seven cases and thirteen of these are female. In short, less than ten percent of the known assets are agricultural land and less than a quarter of known trustees are female.

It is important to elaborate briefly on the non-generalisable nature of this data and analysis. First, to repeat, the section dedicated to endowments (*Kitāb al-waqf*) provides only ninety-two opinions during the years of 1848 and 1849 (al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 444–474). There is no information available regarding whether these comprise *all* the endowment-related opinions in this period or only a selection thereof. (My feeling is that these represent the totality of cases.) Second, the asset of the endowment and the trustee's gender are not known in many cases. This is because the Grand Muftī published the court cases in a very abstract form (or perhaps this is how the questions reached him), stripping the cases of the names, addresses, and any

possible identification marks. Rarely do opinions contain full names. The Grand Muftī did not care about the type of asset in the endowment unless this was the subject of the legal problem. He did not investigate the facts of the case (Peters 1994: 78); the muftī is only a legal interpreter and has no authority in jurisdiction. His focus, as a professional jurist, was the abstract legal question. Hence, the assets and the trustees are not identified unless the question explicitly refers to them. Finally, the language describing the endowed asset is often ambiguous. For instance, there are twelve cases that mention *arḍ* (land), without any further qualification, among the endowments' assets. These are most likely land plots for construction, but we cannot exclude the possibility that some were agricultural land. The following description describes even more problems of reading *fatāwā* for social data.

The questions addressed to the Grand Muftī provide a window onto the Ottoman administration during the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī and his sons. Institutions such as the governor's bureau (*Dīwān-i Khidīwi*), the *Ḍarbḫāna* (the mint office) and the *Rūznāma* (the tax administration office) appear from time to time. The Rūznāma (also appearing as Rūznāmacı/Rūznāmağī in administrative documents) is especially important for my purposes. It appears that this office was originally the registration office of the provincial treasury (hence the Ottoman expression *rūz-nāma*, the 'day-book,' 'journal'; and *rūz-nāma-cı*, the scribe in charge of the daily register of income and expenditure) in 16th-century Egypt. However, from the early 17th century the office started to function as the main fiscal administrative unit of real estate taxation and general registry. For instance, upon the order of the governor, the Rūznāma issued the certificates of *iltizām* (tax-farming) and preserved the records of the many types of agricultural lands. During the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī, we can translate Rūznāma into English as the 'Land Administration Office' because it connected the 1814 land survey with the taxation registers (Deny 1930: 131; 187-213; 519-548; Shaw 1962: 338-348; ʿUmar 1983: 21, 221; Mestyan forthcoming).

In addition to the above themes (land and women), the legal opinions provide a window into important socio-legal problems. In the Appendix, I provide translations of three opinions as samples. The first one is a typical case about a rural saint's mausoleum. Here the legal problem is that some want to handle it according to the rules of *waqf* although there was no endowment. The second is a case when the endower's stipulation about the mature responsibility (*aršadiyya*) of the trustee is more important than age (the rules of inheritance). Finally, I translated a typical case of manumitted slaves who worry about their shares from the endowment that their former owner established for their benefit.

To summarise my reading, I have created an analytical table indicating the dates of the opinions, the type of asset in the endowments, and the trustee's gender (Table 1). I have added notes about the cases, for instance, whether there is reference to manumission (*ʿitq*), including claims by descendants of manumitted slaves.

Table 1. The endowment cases submitted to al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī and opinions issued during 1264 and 1265 AH (al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 443–474).

Date of legal opinion (AH)	**Gender of trustee**	**Type of asset(s)**	**Notes**
18 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1264			
24 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1264	male	a fountain, a large land basin (*ḥawḍ*), well, trees	
23 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1264	male	land (*arḍ*), trees, date palms	
2 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1264			Muftī's opinion: the rules of endowment do not apply to a saint's tomb.
2 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1264	male		
25 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1264		real estate	
30 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1264	female to female	a building	
20 Muḥarram 1265		three mansions	
27 Muḥarram 1265		a mansion	
28 Muḥarram 1265			
5 Ṣafar 1265	male	a building	manumitted slaves
9 Ṣafar 1265	male	agricultural land (*ṭīn*)	endowment for the jobs (*waẓāʾif*) related to Sayyid Badawī mosque
11 Ṣafar 1265	male	shops	
11 Ṣafar 1265	male		
12 Ṣafar 1265	male to female		Muftī's opinon: female descendent is the trustee
27 Rabīʿ Ṯānī 1265	male	land (*arḍ*)	exchange as lease (*ḥikr*) is not valid
30 Rabīʿ Ṯānī 1265			problem: two opposing legal opinions
1 Ǧumādā al-Ūlā 1265	male		endowment for jobs related to a mosque

1 Ǧumādā l-Ūlā 1265	male		Muftī's opinion: manumission (*ʿitq*) is not accepted without written proof
1 Ǧumādā l-Ūlā 1265	male	[place, building]	manumitted slaves have the right to *waqf*
2 Ǧumādā l-Ūlā 1265	female	place, building	Explicitly mentioned family endowment (*waqf ahlī*)
2 Ǧumādā l-Ūlā 1265			
3 Ǧumādā l-Ūlā 1265			
? Ǧumādā l-Ūlā 1265	male	real estate	problem: government (*ḥākim as-siyāsa*) confiscated part of family endowment (*waqf ahlī*), what to do with the rest
9 Ǧumādā l-Ūlā 1265	male	building	renovation expenses
3 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	female	[real estates]	three mosques
5 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	male	storehouse	
6 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	female	buildings	
7 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265			mansion and graves are not endowment
8 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	male	[land]	
9 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	female	*rizqa* (endowed small piece of agricultural land)	
10 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	males	mansion	Muftī's opinion: rent of endowed asset for a long period is prohibited
11 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	male	a building made of dried bricks	problem: asset in Fayyūm is not productive

11 Ǧumādā al-Ṯāniya 1265	female	a place, a built structure, land (*arḍ*)	problem: asset in Dumyāṭ not productive
12 Ǧumādā al-Ṯāniya 1265			
12 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	male	shops	
12 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	male	mansion	Muftī's opinion: if endowed house is destroyed the trustee may rent the land out for new construction
13 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265		mansions, date palm trees, trees, fishing ponds, land (*arḍ*)	origin of land: private ownership
16 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	male		missing trustee
18 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	male	places, a building, land (*arḍ*)	
19 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	female	a building	
26 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265			manumitted slaves
26 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265	several trustees	a place	land?
5 Rağab 1265		*arḍ rizqa* (endowed small piece of agricultural land)	
5 Rağab 1265		mansion	
14 Rağab 1265	male	a place [built-up land]	problem: construction
16 Rağab 1265	female	[buildings]	family endowment (*waqf ahlī*), sultanic letter (*berat*) quoted
21 Rağab 1265	several trustees	an oil press	
21 Rağab 1265			mosque

21 Rağab 1265	Female endower/ male trustee	real estate	Problem of generations, once governor (*ḥākim*) destroyed mosque
25 Rağab 1265		mansion	
27 Rağab 1265	several trustees	storehouse	
29 Rağab 1265			
29 Rağab 1265	male	land (*arḍ*)	problem: rent
5 Šaʿbān 1265	male	shop	
9 Šaʿbān 1265	male	a store and other things	
11 Šaʿbān 1265			salary of a mosque's position is paid by the Rūznāma from the proceeds of an endowment
16 Šaʿbān 1265	male		the governor (*walī al-amr*) ordered the destruction of endowed asset
24 Šaʿbān 1265	male	places, building	places destroyed and sold
27 Šaʿbān 1265			manumitted slaves
15 Ramaḍān 1265	female	stores, built-up land	the governor's bureau (*Dīwān*) destroyed the endowed asset, manumitted slaves
19 Ramaḍān 1265			manumitted slaves
19 Ramaḍān 1265		a building	
21 Ramaḍān 1265	male		asset in Alexandria, oral testimony is not accepted in case of rights
22 Ramaḍān 1265		land (*qitʿat arḍ*), drinking water (? *šurb māʾ*)	endowment in oases
9 Šawwāl 1265		agricultural land (*arḍ zirāʿa*)	

21 Šawwāl 1265		*arḍ rizqa* (endowed small piece of agricultural land)	
23 Šawwāl 1265	Female endower/ female trustee	a mill	
3 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male		
3 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male	land (*arḍ*)	construction on the land
6 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male	place	
6 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	several trustees	real estate	
6 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	female		
6 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male	land (*arḍ*)	
13 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265			110-year-old, mentally confused endower
14 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male	storehouse	
15 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265		three houses	data from a list
21 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male	real estate	
22 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male	places	*waqf ahlī*
23 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male	agricultural land (*arḍ zirāʿa*)	
25 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male		trustee acts illegally
26 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265	male		heritable position in mosque maintained by endowemnt
26 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265		a garden	
26 Ḏū l-Qaʿda 1265		a built-up place	
1 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265	female		
3 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265		mosque (?)	Ḍābiṭḫāna
7 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265	several trustees	water wheels, land (*arḍ*)	
7 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265	male	land (*arḍ*)	problem: rent
18 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265	male	land (*arḍ*)	trees are private property
18 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265	male	garden, fountain	the governor (*ḥākim al-siyāsa*) appointed the *nāẓir*

30 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265	male	garden, trees	some trees are private property, some are endowed
30 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265		mansion	endowment certificate dated 1166 AH

There are only six cases of endowed agricultural land without doubt. Three questions mention agricultural land as part of the assets (one question alludes to *qiṭʿat ṭīn zirāʿa*; and two times *arḍ zirāʿa*). Next, in three cases the endowed asset is *rizqa*. We know that *rizqa* (*iḥbāsiyya*) was an old, pre-Ottoman pseudo-endowment category, usually a small amount of agricultural land for the maintenance of a family mosque and mausoleum in a village (Michel 1996). Importantly, *rizqa* land could be endowed in legally valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*) endowments. There are examples of endowing *rizqa* in the 17th century (Badr-Crecelius 1998). This means that Ḥanafī jurists handled *rizqa* similarly to the category of *milk*, since only things held in absolute ownership could be endowed. Muḥammad ʿAlī abolished the category of *rizqa iḥbāsiyya*, but the word *rizqa* continues to appear in legal documents throughout the first half of the 19th century. As late as 1869, there is a case in which an endower refers to *rizqa iḥbāsiyya* land in her endowment (Mestyan forthcoming). Adding the three *rizqa* assets to the three *arḍ zirāʿa* cases, there were only six endowments out of the sixty-five known ones, within the total of ninety-two, which certainly contained agricultural land.

Yet, there might have been more agriculture-related land in endowments. First, there are the fourteen endowments that mention *arḍ* among their assets, and we cannot exclude that some of these refer to agricultural land. Second, there are endowments of trees, palm trees, and gardens. These do not refer to cash-crop-related arable land (*aṭyān*), but to types of horticulture (gardening). Finally, I can assume in some cases that the endowment contained agricultural land, but there is no solid evidence. It is thus entirely possible that there are more cases of endowed agricultural land even within this sample, though likely not significantly more. This would mean that no more than ten percent of the total cases contains agricultural land.

As to the trustee question, there are thirteen female *nāẓira* mentioned among the fifty-seven cases where the gender of the trustee is known. Thus, less than the fourth of the known cases were governed by female trustees. While this ratio cannot be generalised, it does confirm the presence of Muslim women in powerful economic positions in the 19th century (Tucker 1985: 95–96). It is useful to note that, in some cases, the muftī explicitly affirms that females can be trustees. For instance, the question to which the answer is dated 12 Ṣafar 1265 AH (al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 448) is about a case in which all descendants, who had right to trusteeship, died except a girl. The question is whether she can be the *nāẓira*. The very posing of this question implicitly suggests the denial of this right from females. In his answer, the Grand

Muftī makes it clear that only law can decide this case: females have right to trusteeship if the legal evidence establishes such a right. A similar case is the opinion dated 9 Ǧumādā ṯ-Ṯāniya 1265 AH (al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 455), when a group challenges the right of a female trustee. The muftī makes it clear again that if her trusteeship is valid according to the conditions of the endower, then this group cannot challenge her without legal justification. However, in another case, 2 Ǧumādā al-Ūlā 1265 AH (al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 451), when the question is whether two girls have rights to the income of an endowment or only the boys in an older generation, the Grand Muftī establishes that the endower did not make any stipulation in this regard, and thus the boys have right to the income. One must note that this last case has nothing to do with gender but with the Ḥanafī laws of inheritance, which stipulate that the older generation of descendants has the right of inheritance over the younger one.

In addition to the above two issues, my reading provides the following simple observations. A very significant majority of endowments in the court cases in late 1848–1849 in front of the Grand Muftī involved built structures. The cases mention many endowed houses, shops, storehouses, or simply *makān* ('place', likely a built structure). In general, based on my readings of endowment certificates in *Wizārat al-Awqāf* (Ministry of Endowments) in Egypt and in other collections, I can only conclude at this point that this result confirms the pattern that endowments in Egypt before the 1850s were mostly made of built structures in cities and villages.

Constructed buildings lead to a recurring problem in the cases. This is the situation when a renter built a house or a shop on endowed built-up land or *within* an endowed building, in agreement with the trustee. Most often, this was a lease of endowed land for construction (*ḥikr*). This situation led to all kinds of complications since the agreement usually specified that the built structure became the absolute property (*milk*) of the renter. For instance, the renter dies—answer: the building can be inherited according to the laws of property inheritance; or the *nāẓir* wants to sell the renter's building—answer: if the renter pays the rent to the endowment, the *nāẓir* cannot touch the built property (29 Rağab 1265; al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 463).

I also learned in my reading that the muftī's fundamental principle in his opinions is that "the condition of the endower is like the text of the legislator" (*šarṭ al-wāqif ka-naṣṣ aš-šāriʿ*). The Grand Muftī repeats this *fiqh* principle again and again in the opinions, which also means that in all those cases, the questions contradicted the original will of the endower. Another often repeated principle is that "the endowment is not property and cannot be handled according to property rights" (*tamlīk*). This repetition indicates that people often wanted to handle the endowed asset according to property laws (for instance, selling it), which, of course, contradicted not only the endower's conditions but also the very idea of the Muslim pious endowment.

Importantly, the provincial government appears in some cases. For instance, the administrative authority (*ḥākim al-siyāsa* or *walī al-amr*) took part of an endowment

in order to straighten or widen a street, or destroyed a mosque for which an endowment was made (opinion dated 21 Rağab 1265 AH). The laws, however, to which the Grand Muftī referred were purely *šarīʿa* laws and not administrative ordinances. In one opinion (1 Ğumādā al-Ūlā 1265 AH), he upheld that the right of deposing a *nāẓir* belongs to the highest legal authority and not to the administrative government (*wilāyat iqāmat an-nuẓẓār li-qāḍī l-quḍāt*). Some cases indicate the continued Ottoman sovereignty in Egypt, or at least the continuity of 18th-century practices. For instance, in one case, 16 Rağab 1265 AH (al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 460), a sultanic letter (*berat*) proves the right to trusteeship. This might have been an endowment belonging to one member of the Ottoman-Egyptian elite (especially since this case is about a *nāẓira*) because typically female members of this elite could have access to the imperial centre in the early 19th century. In some other cases, there is mention of old local Ottoman administrative offices such as the Rūznāma and the Ḍābiṭḫāna. There are also indications that some endowments have existed for hundreds of years. In the opinion dated 30 Ḏū l-Ḥiğğa 1265 AH, we learn the year of the endowment certificate: 1166/1752–1753. Finally, some cases mention jobs in mosques and shrines (*waẓāʾif*) as financed by *waqf* and as heritable/for sale, which is again the continuity of a much earlier practice (Cuno 1999, 138-9).

A last remark: during a workshop (2–4 May 2019, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo), Ghislaine Alleaume shared with me that she never encountered the category of *waqf ahlī* in the Alexandria *šarīʿa* court records of the 18th century. Yet, four questions addressed to al-ʿAbbāsī al-Mahdī use this category during late 1848 and 1849, and in many later cases. It needs further work to understand the appearance of this category in judicial texts.

In sum, my reading so far has affirmed my assumption that endowments with agricultural land were very rare in the early 19th century. It also reveals that there were many women in trusteeship positions. Although 1848–1849 is a very challenging period in the history of the province of Egypt, the legal opinions concerning endowments appear to be in harmony with earlier Ottoman practices. The doctrine of Islamic land and endowment law, too, shows continuities: the Grand Muftī often cites Ḥanafī legal compendiums from earlier centuries (for instance, answer dated 21 Rağab 1265 mentions the opinion of Abū Naṣr ibn Sallām, a work by Ibn ʿĀbidīn, a study by al-Šurunbulālī etc). The perhaps banal conclusion must be that, at the end of Muḥammad ʿAlī's life, the highest legal interpretation in Egypt was still fully based on *sharīʿa* principles, at least concerning endowments. Among the cases discussed here, there is no reference to the governor's ban on *waqf ahlī* (theoretically in place during these years). The governors tried to centralise the administration of endowments, but did not destabilise the legal architecture. Theoretically, the *ʿulamāʾ* were still in full control of the legal domain of the endowments. The regulations of the government do not appear to constrain their jurisdiction. This situation, however, would soon change.

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APPENDIX

Three Legal Opinions from al-ʿAbbāsī, *al-Fatāwā* II, 443–474.

2 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1264 [30 October 1848], p. 445.

(A question was posed) concerning a group of descendants of a saint (*walī*) who has a mausoleum in a village. All of them mutually agreed to clean it and do similar services. He has no mosque and there are no endowments for this mausoleum. This is merely a tomb of this saint. Everyone in the service of this tomb [has been working] according to conventions and custom agreed upon a long time ago. The one who is in charge of these matters in the mausoleum also agreed to this. But one descendant went to a judge who appointed him to the trusteeship (*niẓāra*) of the tomb. Isn't it the case that the appointment by the judge is invalid because it contradicts what has been mutually understood for a long time and the assurance given by the one who is in charge of these matters?

(He answered): The judge has no authority to appoint one descendant as trustee of his ancestor's tomb because it is neither a mosque nor an endowment, which would make the trustee's appointment legally valid. God Almighty knows best.

21 Raǧab 1265 [12 June 1849], p. 462.

(A question was posed) concerning a woman who built a mosque and endowed a piece of real estate for its benefit. She stipulated that after her descendants, her two brothers have the right to the trusteeship; and after them, their most mature and responsible son; and after them, their most mature and responsible son, and so on and so forth.

However, the mosque became ruined in the lifetime of the two brothers' sons. The office deputy informed the judge about this situation. Thus, the judge ordered the sons of the above-mentioned two brothers and the son of the son of one brother of the endower to appear in front of him. He investigated their circumstances. He

found that the most mature and responsible among them was the son of the son of the [endower's] brother, based on the witnessing from a lot of people whose witnessing was acceptable, excluding the sons of the two brothers. Therefore, the judge appointed him to be the trustee of the mosque and of what belongs to it. The sons of the two brothers claimed that they have more right to the trusteeship than him because they are higher in the descendant generations than the son of the son of the brother. But since the judge had ascertained that the son of the son of the [endower's] brother was the most mature and responsible, he prohibited that they oppose him. The judge wrote a certificate about this for him, and installed him as the trustee. So, he took over all rights to the endowment. He repaired what was defunct [in the mosque], and he took care of the rituals as it is due, according to the revealed law, for a long period. However, the ruler destroyed the above-mentioned mosque when the road was straightened. The trustee nonetheless rebuilt it in an even better shape than it had been first, and took care of its rituals.

Next, the sons of the two brothers died without heirs, except one. This person sued the above-mentioned trustee that he has more right to the endowment because he is older than him. The defendant objected that he [the plaintiff] is not a responsible person because he behaved in a way that proves that he is not responsible. And this is that he [the plaintiff] gained authority over a mansion, which belonged to another endowment and used it for his living quarters despite the fact that he had no right to live in it according its endower's stipulation. What is more, it became ruined by his dwelling in it and he left the building.

The question is, if it is proven that his stay was against the stipulation of the endower and that the ruination of the mansion was due to his living there and leaving it, whether this rules out his claim to mature responsibility because he acted unlawfully according to the revealed law, so he has no right to the above mentioned trusteeship. Also, the question is whether, if the defendant is more knowledgeable in the matters of the endowment, what also gives him priority over the other, then, in this manner, there should be no consideration whether the plaintiff is older. This is because both of them are from the descendants of the above mentioned two brothers, and the plaintiff's mature responsibility was not established, and the present administrator is more mature and responsible by the witnessing of true evidence.

(He answered): If, at the time of its establishment, the stipulation of the endowment was that the trusteeship should belong to the most mature and responsible son and after him to the most mature and responsible son among the sons of the endower's two brothers, their descendants and their progeny, without a preferred order [among generations], and the judge confirmed that the most mature and responsible person was the son of the son of the brother, as opposed to anyone for whom the trusteeship was stipulated (after affirming his claim, against the contending party), [then] the trusteeship and the right of speaking about the matters of the endowment belongs to him, and opposing him in this matter is not possible for whoever belongs to an older generation reasoning only on the basis of age. It is because the measure

of his [the contender's] mature responsibility was not decided based only on time against the measure of responsibility of the one whom the judge appointed.

Even in the case if the one whom the judge appointed does not belong now to those whom the endower stipulated for the trusteeship (and the judge appointed the son of the son of the brother as the trustee in lieu of an appropriate trustee from among those who fall under the scope of the stipulation), his appointment is still valid and no other [member of] the family has the right to challenge him. But if it is not so, then not. God Almighty knows best.

19 Ramaḍān 1265 [8 August 1849], p. 465-466.

(A question was posed) concerning an endower who created his endowment for the benefit of his manumitted slaves and the manumitted slaves of his manumitted slaves, one after the other, as it is mentioned in the endowment's certificate. [The problem] is that there are some manumitted slaves whom the endower freed and made the merit of manumission for his deceased daughter, and wrote the manumission letter in her name and ended it wishing the merits for her. It was, however, established in the legal document [issued by a court] that the endower was the one who freed the above-mentioned slaves, who are now entering in their rights to the proceeds of the endowment. [The question is] whether it is not harmful that the manumission letter was written in the name of the daughter although it is established that the endower was the owner of the mentioned manumitted slaves at the time when he freed them.

(He answered): The proceeds of the endowment are to be paid to the manumitted slaves; to all of those whom the endower freed, while he was alive, from among the slaves he owned when the manumission occurred. The proceeds should be distributed among them according to the stipulation. The writing of the manumission letter in the name of the daughter does not invalidate this, based on what was mentioned. God Almighty knows best.

FROM RABAT TO MARSEILLE: ŠĀLLA AND THE 1922 *EXPOSITION COLONIALE* IN FRANCE

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Arabic geographical sources describing al-Maġrib al-Aqṣā (*circa* today's Morocco) in the 12th century unequivocally depict the site of Šālla (French 'Chellah') as a compound of ruins, some ancient, some Islamic.[1] Since two new urban centres, Rabat and Salé, had come into existence nearby on the Atlantic coast, it appears that Šālla gradually lost its prominent position as well as most of its population. Nonetheless, the first Marīnid sultan, Abū Yūsuf (r. 1258–1286), chose this place to be his dynasty's burial ground, and major building activities took place there during the reigns of Abū l-Ḥasan (r. 1331–1351) and Abū ʿInān (r. 1351–1358).[2] Apart from erecting the royal funerary complex – comprising a mosque, a madrasa, several mausolea, courtyards, and ablution buildings (fig. 1) – the site was also surrounded by ramparts. The construction of the walls began, as recorded by the foundation inscription on the main gate, in 1339. Contemporary sources reveal that the funerary ensemble functioned as a place of pious visitation already in the Marīnid period (1269–1465). In subsequent centuries, however, the identities of the people interred in Šālla faded from public memory, and the site became revered as a sacred place associated with various popular sagas and cults.[3]

Author's note: I am indebted to Professor István Ormos, not only for having shared his wealth of knowledge on a variety of subjects with me as one of his students, but especially for his ever-helpful supervision during my studies in Budapest. I have designed this paper so as to align with some of his research interests, even though substituting 'his' Cairo and Chicago for 'my' Rabat and Marseille. Besides, I am grateful to the staff of the Archives du Maroc à Rabat (henceforth: AMR) and the Archives d'Architecture du XXe siècle (henceforth: AAXX), Paris, for their assistance with my research for this paper.

[1] Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq* 238–239; *al-Istibṣār* 140. The Mashriqī geographer Yāqūt describes Rabat and Salé with no word on Šālla; Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam al-buldān* III, 231. See also al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* 319.

[2] Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-qirṭās* 373, 407. Some of the building activities are mentioned in Ibn Marzūq, *al-Musnad aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ* 243, 247, 307, 402; and an-Numayrī, *Fayḍ al-ʿubāb* 199.

[3] See Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922; Ettahiri and Tuil Leonetti 2014; Iványi 2016; Nagy 2019.

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Fig. 1. Funerary complex of the Marīnid dynasty, Šālla, 14th century, general view. Photo by the author, 2018.

Whereas earlier scholarship has, to varying degrees, investigated the ancient and medieval history of Šālla and its popular rituals in the 20th century, the present paper discusses one of its hitherto overlooked aspects. It focuses on the period beginning in the second half of the 19th century, when travellers and scholars initiated the research on Šālla, and continuing through the first decade of the French protectorate of Morocco (1912–1956). As described in various sources at the time, especially admired was Šālla's main gate, which thus became one of the most widely illustrated buildings in the country. Consequently, the commissioners of the 1922 *Exposition Coloniale* in Marseille chose this gate to be rebuilt amongst numerous other key monuments of the French Empire from West Africa to Indochina. In what follows, I shall outline the history of scholarship on Šālla between 1874 and 1922, describe how research under colonial rule facilitated the reproduction of its main gate in Marseille, and propose an explanation as to the rationale behind this phenomenon. In other words, this paper addresses the modern reception of Šālla's main gate.

1 Discovering Šālla (1874–1912)

Since the first European consulates were opened in Morocco in the second half of the 18th century, the historic monuments of the country aroused the curiosity of many travellers. However, they often complained about the inaccessibility of Šālla

for non-Muslims.[4] The only known exception was the Spanish traveller and spy Domingo Badia, *alias* ʿAlī Bāy al-ʿAbbāsī (1766–1818), who visited the site disguised as a Muslim in 1802.[5] The situation changed significantly in the last quarter of the 19th century, when Christian scholars were first allowed to enter Šālla, and thus the extant architectural and epigraphic evidence began to be explored.

Research on Morocco in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is sometimes construed in modern historiography as a precursor to the French occupation, carried out, in the words of Nadia Erzini, "with the intention of facilitating colonization" (Erzini 2000: 76). In fact, while the systematic geographical or anthropological exploration of the country could, after 1912, aid the French colonial administration, this was hardly the goal of scholars who had begun the work in the 1870s. Deciphering Arabic epigraphy or studying historical chronicles served no such political goal. Spanish academics, as even Edward Said admitted, seem to have had little interest in colonisation, at least in this period.[6] As will be argued below, the rediscovery of Šālla was a scholarly investigation to which several nationalities contributed, even if some of their results were eventually co-opted as part of an imperialist agenda.

In this period, the first known European to enter Šālla openly was the French diplomat and archaeologist Charles-Joseph Tissot (1828–1884), who travelled across Morocco in 1874, exploring mainly its ancient sites. As his first impression of Šālla, he described its main gate as "the most beautiful monument of Arab architecture that Morocco possesses" (Tissot, *Itinéraire* 47). He then descended to the funerary complex and translated some of the epitaphs of the Marīnid sultans found in situ (Tissot, *Itinéraire* 48–50). Similarly, the British traveller Trovey Blackmore made use of the opportunity of being able to visit Šālla, and took rubbings of three tombstones in 1875, which he then gave to Charles Rieu (1820–1902) in the British Museum to translate.[7] The successor of Tissot as France's government-sponsored archaeologist in Morocco, Henri Poisson de la Martinière (1859–1922), took the first known photographs of Šālla, and even collected a piece of a tombstone in the 1880s.[8] The Spanish traveller Saturnino Ximénez (1853–1933) also visited Šālla about the same time. He transcribed some of its Arabic epitaphs, which were then translated into Spanish by two eminent Arabists, Francisco Codera (1836–1917) and Eduardo Saavedra (1829–1912) (Codera and Saavedra 1888). What is evident from the work

[4] See, for instance, Höst, *Nachrichten* 82; de Chénier, *Recherches* I, 28; III, 31, 286–287; Buffa, *Travels* 51; Jackson, *An account* 101–102; Roscoe, *The tourist* 256; Calderón, *Manual del oficial* 35; Vivien de Saint-Martin, *Le nord de l'Afrique* 358.

[5] [Badia], *Voyages* I, 227–228. See also Montaner and Casassas 2004.

[6] Said 2002: 9 (foreword by the author to the Spanish edition of his book); Marín 2009; 2017; cf. Stanard 2016; Fernández Parrilla and Cañete 2018.

[7] Blackmore, "Remains"; "Moorish". Two of the rubbings are catalogued in the British Museum; Rieu 1894: no. 605.

[8] BNF, SGE SG WE-179.3–WE179.5; Ettahiri and Tuil Leonetti 2014: 502, note no. 2.

of this generation of scholars is their realisation that epigraphy was an important key for understanding the history of Šālla.

As for the architecture of Šālla, one early account is that of the American Orientalist painter Edwin Lord Weeks (1849–1903), who repeatedly travelled to Morocco in the 1870s and early 1880s, visiting the country's Islamic monuments to attain subject matter for his paintings.[9] He was particularly impressed by the main gate of Šālla. According to his description, "[i]n artistic beauty and good taste this gateway is unsurpassed by any similar work which Arab art has left us, either in Morocco or in Spain, or the farthest East" (Weeks, "Two centres" 447). Apart from some sketches and drawings, he also made a painting of this gate (fig. 2). Although he was not an academic, his comparisons of the monuments of Šālla with other buildings in Morocco, Spain, and Egypt were both insightful and accurate, thereby contributing greatly to the contemporary understanding of the site.

Fig. 2. Edwin Lord Weeks, *The departure of a caravan from the gate of Shelah*, 1880, depicting the main gate of Šālla, built in 1339. Oil on canvas, 1.55m x 0.90m. Image in public domain.

Scholarship at the turn of the 20th century carried on along the same lines. The Spanish scholar Manuel Pablo Castellanos (1843–1911), who had referred to Šālla already in 1878, summarised its history from Arabic sources in his 1898 *Historia del Marruecos* (Castellanos 1878: 61–62; 1898: 109–110, 311, 317). Another figure of particular interest was the British writer James Edward Budgett-Meakin (1866–1906), who published five books on the language, monuments, history, population, and culture of Morocco. In *The land of the Moors*, he provided a learned description

[9] On Weeks's travels in Morocco, see Garvey 2013: 139–172.

of Šālla, highlighting its "beautiful gate-ways" (Budgett-Meakin 1901: 176–177). In another volume titled *The Moorish empire*, he wrote a history of Morocco, and, within his discussion of the Marīnid dynasty, translated once again some of the epitaphs from Šālla (Budgett-Meakin 1899: 103). About the same time, a sociologist professor at the École des Lettres in Algiers, Edmond Doutté (1867–1926), came to carry out research in Morocco. Upon his visit to Šālla in 1901, he provided a scholarly description of the funerary complex and commissioned the first, though highly schematic, site map from the military commander August Bernaudat.[10] In the eyes of Doutté, the ruinous state of Šālla was a fitting reminder to faithful Muslims that all earthly possessions are perishable (Doutté 1914: 400–405).

Regarding their motivations, Tissot and de la Martinière held the position of minister plenipotentiary of France, but this fact seems to have made little, if any, impact upon their scholarship. They shared a genuine interest in historical sources and archaeological sites, contributing significantly to the general understanding of Šālla. The Franciscan missionary Castellanos was one of many Christians who studied the Arabic language and Islamic history for religious purposes, whereas Doutté was a rare example of an academic who also operated as a spy for French Algeria.[11] Less of a scholar and more of a diplomat and journalist was the British Donald Mackenzie Wallace (1841–1919). His book on Morocco, although it includes a succinct account and valuable photographs of Šālla, is essentially a polemical work arguing that the time was ripe for colonising the country (Mackenzie Wallace 1911). In short, various motivations – or even ideologies – were made manifest in the literature on Šālla prior to the establishment of the Spanish and French protectorates in 1912.

2 Colonising Šālla (1912–1922)

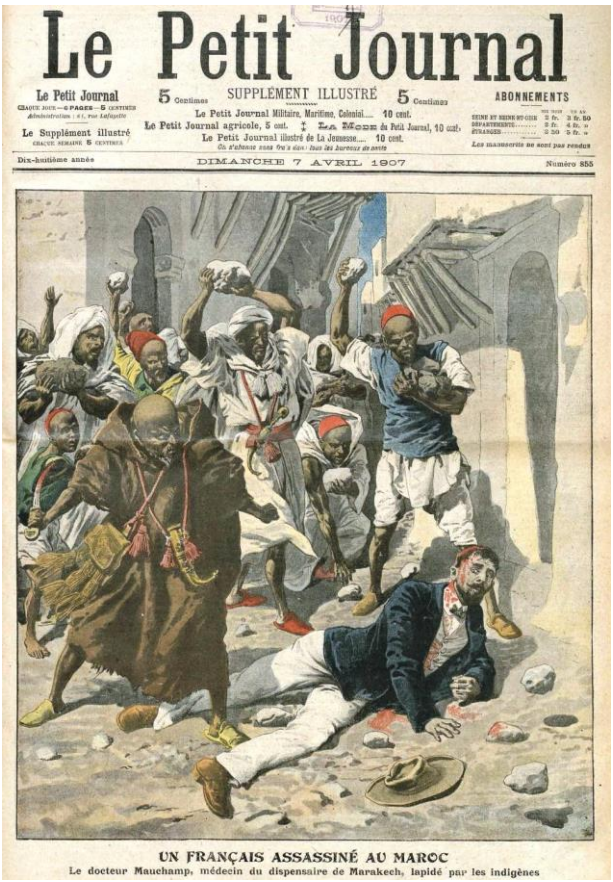
On 19 March 1907, the dead body of Émile Mauchamp was discovered in a street in Marrakesh. The French medical missionary, who had been running a public clinic for locals, was accused of spying for France, and when the rumour spread, an angry mob lynched him. Although Mauchamp was neither the first nor the last victim of the protest against the increasing French influence in Morocco, outrage at this incident gained momentum.[12] The press back in France embarked upon a media campaign of words and images (fig. 3), fuelling the parliament's decision to take control of Morocco. Initially, in 1907, the French army occupied only Oujda in north-eastern Morocco, but then, after the general dissatisfaction with Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ (r.

[10] On Bernaudat, see ANF, Léonore, dossier LH/201/35.

[11] See Pascon 1978; Rachik 2012: 63–66.

[12] For a detailed discussion of the Mauchamp incident and its consequences, see Katz 2006.

1908–1912) escalated into an uprising in April 1911, resumed the military operations. They put down the rebellion, made the sultan sign the Treaty of Fez – which officialised the French suzerainty over Morocco – on 30 March 1912, and soon occupied the country as far south as Agadir.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Le docteur Mauchamp, médecin du dispensaire de Marakech, lapidé par les indigènes

Fig. 3. The murder of Émile Mauchamp in Marrakesh, front page of *Le Petit journal* 855 (7 April 1907). Image in public domain.

While overseeing the French occupation, the first Resident-General of Morocco, Hubert Lyautey (1854–1934), decided to establish his palace in the south-eastern end of Rabat, directly overlooking Šālla (fig. 4). As noted in one of his letters, he would often spend time watching its ramparts from his windows or visiting the Roman and Islamic ruins therein.[13] On Lyautey's initiative, new legislation was created for preserving the historic monuments of the country in 1912, and again, in a heavily

[13] Letter from Lyautey to the director of the Service des Antiquités, Jules Borély (1874–1947); quoted in Borély, *Le tombeau* 124.

revised form, in 1914.[14] The decrees (Fr. sg. *dahir*, Ar. *ẓahīr*) announced the establishment of the Service des Antiquités, Beaux-Arts et Monuments Historiques. Operating under the auspices of the Resident-General, this institution was in charge of assessing, listing (registering as protected), and restoring historic buildings.[15] The reason for such measures was not only Lyautey's fondness for antiquities but also his previous experience in Algeria, where many monuments had become victim to colonialist urbanisation (Abu-Lughod 1980: 142–144; Theilborie 2012: 115). The first director of the Service des Antiquités was Maurice Tranchant de Lunel (1869–1944), while the restoration projects were directed by Edmond Pauty (1887–1980) (Théliol 2011: 188–189). France invested considerably in protecting and restoring Moroccan art and architecture, a phenomenon that Lyautey, among others, described as "a true renaissance" after a long period of decay.[16]

Fig. 4. Map of Rabat *circa* 1920, detail depicting the palace of Lyautey (encircled) and the ramparts of Šālla ('Ruines de Chella'). Drawing by Henri Prost.
AAXX, HP-DES-017-03-01, edited.

[14] *BO* 2 (8 November 1912) 9–10; *BO* 5 (29 November 1912) 25–26; *BO* 70 (27 February 1914) 126–129; see also *BO* 173 (14 February 1916) 169. The institution was reorganised in 1920; see *BO* 426. 2133–2134; and also *Direction générale* 111–116.

[15] Lyautey, *Rapport général* 201–206; Théliol 2012: 2–3; Fadili-Toutain 2010.

[16] Lyautey, "Une lettre" 4. See also *La renaissance*; Vacher 2010.

In the case of Šālla, the Service des Antiquités tabled a proposal for its listing as well as for creating a *non aedificandi* ('not to be built in') zone around it already in 1914.[17] However, they had to deal with several cultivated plots registered as private endowments (Fr. sg. *habous*, Ar. *ḥubūs*) inside its ramparts, which made their intervention problematic. The government exchanged several letters with Rabat's administrator (Fr. *nadir*, Ar. *nāẓir*) of endowments in 1914–1915 in order to clarify the legal status of these properties, and commissioned a land survey from a certain M. Castaing.[18] Then, in 1917–1918, the correspondence between the same parties concerned purchasing some of those properties,[19] without, however, clarifying how the ownership issues were settled. Nonetheless, Šālla's listing was eventually declared on 19 November 1920.[20]

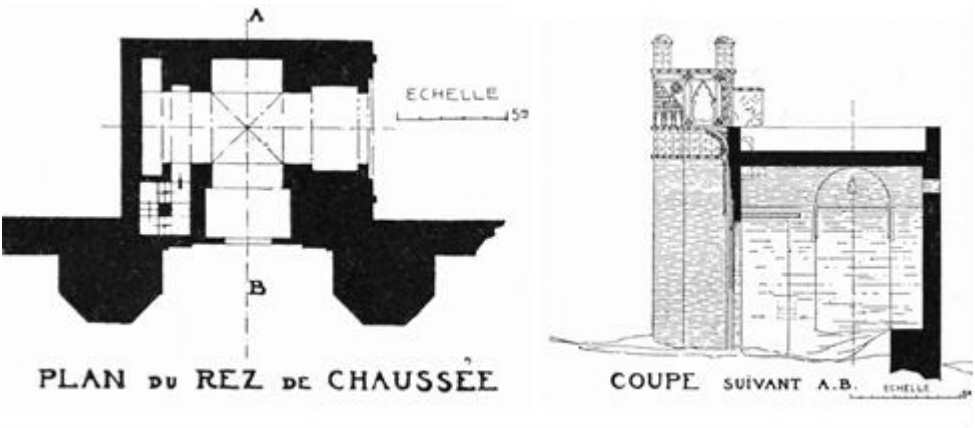

Fig. 5. Site plan and cross section of the main gate of Šālla, built in 1339. Drawings by Jean Hainaut. De la Nézière 1922: figs. 28–29.

In the meantime, between 1915 and 1917, the first restorations of Šālla took place under the direction of Pauty, on which he submitted a short hand-written report to

[17] AMR, D-626, dossier 456–457; see also *BO* 86 (19 June 1914) 456–457. Contrary to the official documents, Lyautey mentions Šālla among the listed sites in 1914; Lyautey, *Rapport général* 204. Another anonymous report in 1917 mentions Šālla both among the listed sites and those submitted for listing; "Les monuments classés" 36.

[18] AMR, H-37, dossier 19, 1–8. During the protectorate, the endowments in each major city belonged to a single administrator, and the government controlled these affairs through the Habous Ministry (initially known as Direction Général des Habous); see Scham 1970: 111–118.

[19] AMR, H-37, dossier 29, 1–8.

[20] *BO* 423 (30 November 1920) 2016. For a complete list of monuments listed up to 1930, see *Direction générale* 272–282.

the Service des Antiquités.[21] He described briefly that they had rescued the funerary complex from the invasive vegetation, stabilised the foundations of Abū l-Ḥasan's mausoleum, cleaned one of the ablution buildings, restored the towers of the main gate, and reconstructed some sections of the ramparts. During these early years of the protectorate, the French began to dominate all investigations of Šālla. Their work soon resulted in the first monographic study on the site by two young professors in Rabat, Henri Basset (1892–1926) and Évariste Lévi-Provençal (1894–1956).[22]

While a considerable volume of French literature was produced on Morocco during the early years of the protectorate, the local historian Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ad-Dukkālī (1868–1945) wrote a pioneering study on Šālla in 1914. He described the extant structures at the site, made numerous insightful historical and archaeological observations, and was the first to read and transcribe the foundation text of its main gate (ad-Dukkālī 2012: 64–65). When this work came into Lyautey's attention, he reportedly had it translated it into French,[23] though only the Arabic version is known today. Four years later, the French Mission Scientifique du Maroc – a scholarly circle operating since the beginning of the century – also discussed the history of Šālla (*Rabat et sa région* 43–47). Although their work lacks any reference to the sources they used, it appears that some of their information might have come from ad-Dukkālī's study or, even more likely, from its French translation.

During the first decade of the protectorate, Basset and Lévi-Provencal carried out the first thorough investigation of Šālla, and, despite the fact that they had to study the site when it was still partially buried and overgrown by vegetation, their publications were exemplary at the time. They discussed all known historical sources referring to Šālla, documented and translated the epigraphic evidence, surveyed the buildings, and recorded the rituals and legends that they witnessed or heard about from local visitors. Their architectural study is elegantly illustrated with picturesque, though somewhat inaccurate, drawings by the painter Jean Hainaut (fig. 5). The elevation and two site-plans of the main gate are supplemented with drawings of its decorative details, clearly overrepresenting this building at the expense of the site's other monuments (Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922: figs. 5–9, 12–18, 20–21). Nonetheless, as a result of the work by Basset and Lévi-Provençal, Šālla became the best-studied Islamic archaeological site in Morocco.

[21] AMR, F-140, dossier titled "Restauration des monuments historiques", document titled "Chellah: Tombeaux et mosquée"; see also Pauty, "Rapport" 452–453; "Les monuments" 411–412; *Direction générale* 118–120.

[22] Basset and Lévi-Provençal 1922 (re-published as a monograph in 1923). Among their earlier publications relevant to Šālla, see Basset 1919; Campardou and Basset 1921; Lévi-Provençal 1920.

[23] See ad-Dukkālī 1996: 7–8; 2012: 34–35 (foreword by ʿAbīr Fahd Šudūd).

Fig. 6. Moroccan Pavilion at the *Exposition Coloniale*, Marseille, 1922, general view. Postcard by Yve Rio. Author's collection.

3 Šālla travels to France

In a similar spirit to the world's fairs held since the mid-19th century, several countries organised colonial exhibitions with the aim of popularising the cultures of their colonies, and, thereby, of enhancing their imperialist agenda. The 1922 *Exposition Coloniale* in Marseille featured, among others, the pavilions of Indochina, West Africa, Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. By this grandiose cultural project, France sought to demonstrate that it had recovered from World War I, and also that the heritage of its colonies had become part of its own culture, unalienable and safely preserved.[24] The exhibition was of particular significance for Morocco, as it coincided with the tenth anniversary of its colonisation. There were, however, still many sceptical voices in France, unconvinced about the sustainability and profitability of the protectorate. As Lyautey openly noted about the Moroccan Pavilion in Marseille, "in one word, our presentation must show to the Metropole the balance sheet, if I dare say it, of our work in Morocco since the installation of the protectorate."[25]

[24] See Régismanset, *L'Exposition* 5–17; Francueil, "L'Exposition" 182.
[25] Quoted in Miller 2018: 55 (here slightly modified).

Surrounded by ramparts and dominated by a 36-metre-tall minaret, the roughly square Moroccan Pavilion at Marseille was designed to evoke the fortified palaces (sg. *qaṣaba*) typical of the Moroccan landscape (figs. 6–7). Its main gate was a nearly faithful, life-size reproduction of that at Šālla. The interior of the pavilion was divided into several units, including a *funduq* (‘caravanserai’), a street with shops alluding to the *madīna* (‘old city’) of Fez, several courtyards with *zillīj* (‘tile mosaic’) decoration, an armoury, and other exhibition spaces. Apart from seeing examples of traditional crafts, the visitors could enjoy the *café maure*, shop in the bazaar, visit the *bergerie* (‘sheep pen’) with imported livestock from Morocco, or marvel at the dioramas and paintings of city-views.[26]

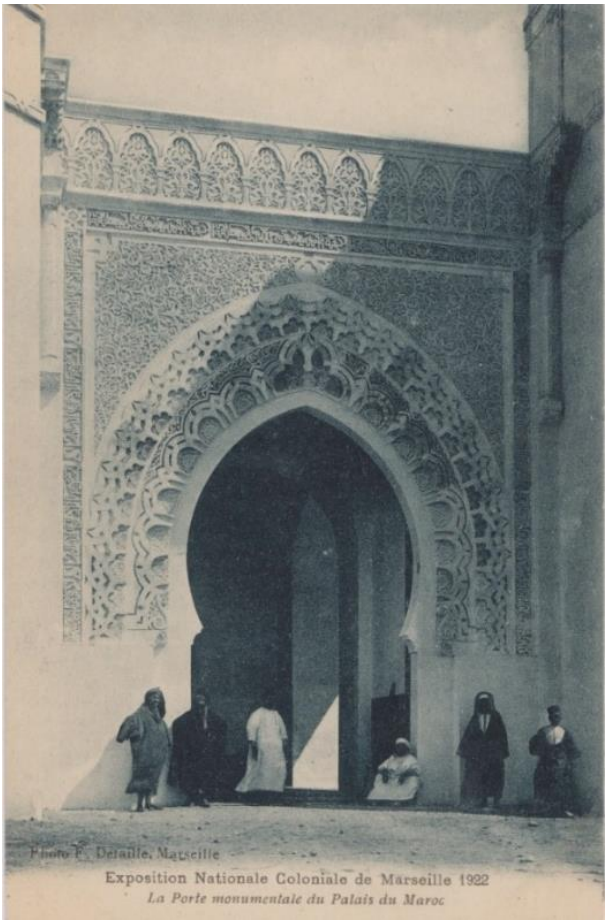

Fig. 7. Moroccan Pavilion at the *Exposition Coloniale*, Marseille, 1922, detail of the main gate. Postcard by F. Detaille. Author’s collection.

[26] See Régismanset, *L’Exposition* 46–48; Artaud, *Rapport général* 116–126; Miller 2018: 55–58.

It seems that the pavilion's architect, Joachim Richard (1869–1960), did not intend to copy and reproduce extant Moroccan buildings, but mainly to take inspiration from the country's historic monuments evoking the atmosphere of a *madīna*. For instance, while the *funduq* with its central courtyard imitated the design of the Naǧǧārīn (1711) in Fez, it reproduced only two of its three floors (fig. 8). Similarly, the minaret at Marseille was inspired by that of the Būʿināniyya Madrasa (1356), also in Fez, but rendered about twice as large as the original.[27] The only building that Richard imitated nearly faithfully was the main gate of Šālla.[28] In this case, he copied the prototype not only in its architectural form but also, though less accurately, in its decorative details, with one ostensible difference: the gate in Marseille had four additional merlons on either of its towers. This was probably because the architect assumed that the towers at Šālla had originally featured complete crenellations, for which there is no evidence. Nevertheless, since this iconic monument of Morocco had been widely described and illustrated in books, paintings, newspapers, postcards, and stamps (fig. 9), its imitation was surely familiar to and recognisable for many visitors in Marseille.

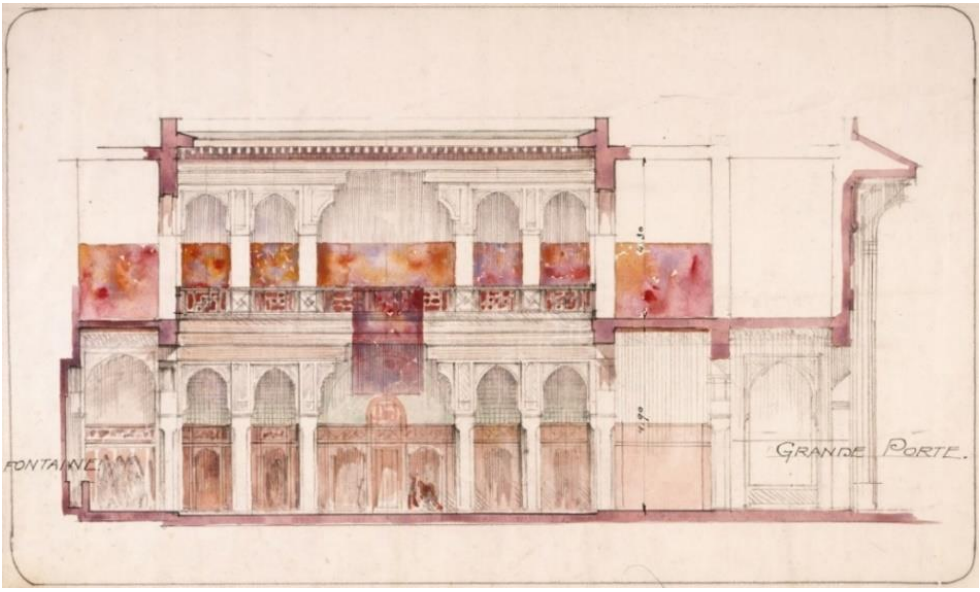

Fig. 8. Cross section design for the *funduq*, Moroccan Pavilion at the *Exposition Coloniale*, Marseille, 1922. Drawing and watercolour by Joachim Richard. AAXX, AR-22-02-07-027.

[27] Cf. Miller 2018: 57. The author describes this minaret as a "direct replica" of that of the Būʿināniyya, despite the fact that they differ in size and decoration.

[28] Notably, the same gate was imitated in the Pavilion of Engineering at the 1915 *Exposition Franco-Marocaine* in Casablanca, however, in a clearly less recognisable form.

The chief commissioner of the Moroccan Pavilion was August Terrier (1873–1932), the head-counsellor of the Office du Protectorate Marocain in Paris, assisted by a group of advisors, one of whom was the painter Joseph de la Nézière (1873–1944).[29] Since he worked, between 1914 and 1923, at the Service des Antiquités in Rabat, de la Nézière was well acquainted with the architecture of Morocco.[30] In 1917, he designed a set of stamps upon the request of Resident-General Lyautey, depicting some of the country's most appreciated monuments including the main gate of Šālla (fig. 9).[31] A few years later, probably in 1922, he published his majestic album *Les monuments mauresques du Maroc*, which contained survey drawings of the same gate by Hainaut, some of which also appeared in the above-mentioned work of Basset and Lévi-Provençal (fig. 4).[32] Similarly, de la Nézière's album also included drawings of the Būʿināniyya Madrasa, whose minaret inspired the tower of the Moroccan Pavilion (de la Nézière 1922: 37–38). Thus it was the most recent and up-to-date research on these monuments that facilitated the re-creation of Moroccan architecture in Marseille.

Fig. 9. Moroccan stamps from 1917, depicting the main gate of Šālla. Design by Joseph de la Nézière. Author's collection.

As part of the publicity of the *Exposition Coloniale*, the popular magazine *L'Illustration* published two issues focusing mainly on this event. In one of them, the renowned writer Ludovic Naudeau (1872–1949) wrote an impressionistic account of

[29] Artaud, *Rapport général* 114–115. On Terrier, see Cooke 1985.

[30] When the Service des Arts Indigènes – a subdivision of the Service des Antiquités – was created in 1918, de la Nézière became its first director; *BO* 274 (21 January 1918) 50–51.

[31] On the stamps designed by de la Nézière, see Théliol 2005.

[32] De la Nézière 1922: figs. 27–28, 31. The book is published with no date, but library catalogues usually give 1921, 1922, or 1923.

his visit, highlighting "the faithful reproduction of one of the most beautiful and celebrated gates in Morocco, the gate of this enceinte of Šālla".[33] Similarly, *The Times*' correspondent in Marseille described:

> […] the Moroccan Palace, with an impressive crenellated enclosure, the front of which represents the famous gate of Chellak (*sic* for Šālla). This section is extremely interesting, with its specimens of native arts and crafts. There is a Moroccan street bordered by shops, as animated as if it were in Morocco ("France's colonizing").

Notably, Naudeau and *The Times* identified the gate of the Moroccan Pavilion with that of Šālla, an observation coinciding directly with the commissioners' intention. The plans for the *Exposition Coloniale* were preliminarily outlined by Charles Régismanset (1873–1945), a civil servant at the Ministry of the Colonies, in his book published the year before the opening. He mentioned the gate of Šālla as the only Moroccan building to be reproduced in Marseille:

> The entrance gate [of the Moroccan Pavilion], elegant and imposing with its hexagonal (*sic*) towers largely covered with arabesque, is the faithful reconstruction of the famous gate of Šālla, one of the purest monuments of 14th-century Marīnid art.[34]

4 Conclusion

Visitors to Rabat in the period discussed in this paper perceived and appreciated the main gate of Šālla in several different ways. For many unfortunate, non-Muslim antiquarians in the 18th and 19th centuries, it represented the closed entrance to a legendary, sacred, and forbidden place. Some marvelled at its structure and decoration, others were keen to decipher its inscription. Notably, the explorations of Morocco in the decades before the protectorate, at least as far as Šālla was concerned, were not simply intended as a prelude to colonisation. Tissot, Budget-Meakin, Weeks, and many others conducted research to pursue their personal or academic interests. Even though Doutté worked on the side as a spy reporting to French Algeria, his description and map of Šālla formed a valuable scholarly contribution at the time. Then, by establishing not only the protectorate but also the Service des Antiquités, Lyautey strongly encouraged research on the historic monuments of Morocco, in particular, on Šālla. Therefore, it is reasonable to suspect Lyautey's enthusiasm for Šālla to be

[33] "[l]a reproduction intégrale de l'une des plus belles et des plus célèbre portes du Maroc, la porte de cette enceinte de Chellah"; Naudeau, "L'Exposition" 394.

[34] "La porte d'entrée, élégante et imposante avec ses tours hexagonales ornées d'arabesques largement traitées, est la reconstitution fidèle de la fameuse porte de Chella, l'un des monuments les plus purs de l'art mérinide du XIV^{e} siècle"; Régismanset, *L'Exposition* 47.

behind the efforts made for its listing and first modern restorations, which also led to unprecedentedly detailed and accurate investigations of the site.

Scholarship on Šālla initially served no colonialist interest. However, this situation changed markedly in 1922, when some outcomes of that research – in particular, Hainaut's drawings – were co-opted by the French state for the *Exposition Coloniale*. After Hainaut surveyed the main gate of Šālla, the architect of the Moroccan Pavilion in Marseille, Richard, most likely on the advice of de la Nézière, decided to make use of those survey drawings for designing the pavilion's gate. The resulting reproduction of this already well-known Moroccan monument reinforced its reputation as an iconic piece of architecture, while its new setting anchored it among other symbols of the French Empire. The main gate of Šālla was thus re-employed in the service of a colonialist agenda, aiming to demonstrate that France had protected, resuscitated, and adopted the tangible heritage of Morocco.

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THE OTTOMANS AT WORLD'S FAIRS: DISPLAYING IMPERIAL PATRIMONY

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The world's fairs were among the most popular international events and worldwide spectacles of the 19th century, at which a wide array of countries would promote their industry, technology, progress, and culture. Starting in 1851 with the Great Exhibition in London, the world's fairs provided stages for displaying industrial and technological developments, raw materials, local products, and cultural heritage. As István Ormos has phrased it,

> "the aspects of public relations, politics, education and even scholarship emerged and gained considerably in importance in the context of world's fairs. World's fairs became important means of spreading the image of a given country all over the world in the aspect which the given country or its leading circles preferred to display themselves" (Ormos 2016: 115).

Consequently, various countries re-discovered, re-defined, and re-presented their identities to be able to display themselves for an international audience. Timothy Mitchell defines these grand spectacles as "the world as exhibition", referring to "the world conceived and grasped as though it were an exhibition", in which the "non-West" was object to the critical gaze of the "West" (Mitchell 1989: 222). Zeynep Çelik brings the notion of the "fair as a microcosm" into the discussion, defining the experience as "an imaginary journey around the world, [in which] foreign and especially non-Western societies were often represented in phantasmagoric images, themselves determined by Western legacies" (Çelik 1992: 2).

The world's fairs that emerged as an outcome of the new imperialist world order were among the most important showcases of progress, development, and self-display. Enhancing peaceful interaction and commercial ties between nations, these exhibitions also fostered economic, cultural, and technological competition. Participation in the world's fairs was equally important for non-European countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, and the Ottoman Empire. Through their contributions to those

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'microcosms', those countries would aim to secure their position in the realms of the 'modern' world, and thus the exhibitions also became an arena of competition among them. The Ottomans took part in most of the early world's fairs with increasing budgets and enthusiasm, including the London Great Exhibition in 1851, the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1867, the Vienna world's fair in 1873, and the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893. In addition, they also organised a national exposition in Istanbul in 1863 and planned another in 1894, though the latter was eventually cancelled due to a devastating earthquake in Istanbul. Their aim with investing in such costly projects was to showcase the image of a long-lasting yet modernising empire, one that was active in the networks of the global economy and thus part of the 'civilised' world.

The Ottomans' participation in world's fairs has been studied from a variety of perspectives by architectural and cultural historians of the 19th century. This article particularly investigates the sources of inspiration for Ottoman pavilions, including how the Ottomans considered their imperial heritage as illustrative of the modernising world. In this respect, I argue that the Topkapı Palace, which was accepted as the architectural, ceremonial, and artistic embodiment of Ottoman patrimony, became a source of reference for self-representation. Therefore, I shall discuss how the imperial pavilions and royal collections of the Topkapı Palace provided inspiration for the repertoire of the imperial imagery.

Even though, the Topkapı Palace was gradually abandoned as the residence of the Ottoman dynasty during the 19th century, the sultanic pavilions, as well as the treasury collections kept within them, became construed as abstract forms of Ottoman heritage reminiscent of a glorious imperial past. Consequently, they were ideal candidates to be decontextualised and recontextualised as part of the spectacle at the world's fairs. I shall argue that the way the Ottomans co-opted their so-called 'classical' architecture demonstrates their conscious policy of self-display, in which the use of their dynastic heritage emerged as a new form of identifying and representing themselves to the outside world. In particular, I shall focus on the General Exposition in Istanbul in 1863 and the world's fairs in Paris (1867) and Vienna (1873).

1 The Ottoman General Exposition in Istanbul

After modest participation in the Great Exhibitions in London in 1851, later in Paris in 1855, and again in London in 1862, the Ottoman government decided to organise a small-scale national exhibition in Istanbul in 1863 (Batur 1995; Akyürek 2011). The Ottoman General Exposition (Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani) was intended to stimulate the national economy and local industry, yet a limited number of international companies were also invited to participate (Yazıcı 2010: 139). The exposition took place at the Hippodrome in Istanbul, which was a central, historically

and politically significant, location within the *intra muros* city. The exhibition hall, designed by the French architect Auguste Bourgeois (1821–1884) and decorated by Léon Parvillée (1830–1885), occupied the northern edge of the Hippodrome, opposite the Sultan Ahmet Mosque (Batur 1995). The Piedmontese architect and painter Pietro Montani (1829–1887) also took part in the project and designed an additional building known as the Imperial Chamber (Daire-i Hümayun), which was attached to the main exhibition space (Yazıcı 2003).

The book *Coup d'œil général sur l'Exposition Nationale à Constantinople*, attributed to Pierre Baragnon (1830–1904),[1] provides detailed information about the exhibition, and suggests that the main hall took early Ottoman architecture as its model. Indeed, it has been argued that the façade of the exhibition hall emulates the Çinili Kösk (Tiled Pavilion), a kiosk located within the outer gardens of the Topkapı Palace (figs. 1–2).[2] The *Illustrated London News*, giving a detailed description of the exhibition hall, praised Bourgeois for designing this "little temple of industry" and defined its style as "*mauresque*". Notably, as Edhem Eldem has demonstrated, the style of the Çinili Kösk was also conceived as "*édifice mauresque*" at the time (Eldem 2018, 334). The architect of the hall, Bourgeois, is known to have had a special interest in the architectural patronage of Mehmed II (r. 1451–1481), who erected the earliest parts of the Topkapı Palace, including the Çinili Kösk (Ergüney and Kara Pilehvarian 2015).

Fig. 1. The exhibition hall, Ottoman General Exposition, Istanbul, 1863 (Abdullah Frères Photography).

[1] Although the book is anonymous, except for the initials S.P.B. at the end of the preface, Edhem Eldem has pointed out that its author was Pierre Baragnon, the editor of *Journal de Constantinople*; Eldem 2018: 334.

[2] *Coup d'œil*, 3–10; Saner 1995: 617–618; Aoki 2002: 135.

Fig. 2. The Çinili Kösk (Tiled Pavilion), garden of the Topkapı Palace. (Photo by Basile Kargopoulo, c. 1870.)

The Ottoman General Exposition in Istanbul was inaugurated by Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) and Khedive Ismāʿīl (r. 1863–1879) on 27 February 1863. Over the five months during which the exposition was open, it attracted around 150,000 visitors. More than 10,000 items were on display, exhibited in separate sections such as architecture, machinery, raw materials, textiles, crafts, and fine arts. According to the local newspaper *Mirʾāt*, items belonging to nine different categories were displayed in the exposition, and one of the categories was defined as "gold and silver products, enamel objects, all kinds of jewellery, coral, gilded and ungilded silver sets, and similar objects."[3] According to a short article published in *Le Monde illustré*, the display of objects brought from the Imperial Arsenal and the Imperial Armoury was popular among the visitors. However, it was the large vitrine displaying the carpets from Smyrna (Izmir), silks from Bursa, jewellery, precious stones, an assortment of stools, elegant bridles, and harnesses that the crowds were most curious to see (*Le Monde illustré*).

Some of the exhibited objects came from the personal "storage" (*gardemeuble*) of the sultan ("Exposition nationale"). Indeed, a special section was dedicated to the display of items from the Imperial Treasury collection. Precious jewellery and other lavish objects, such as necklaces, brooches, bracelets, belts, combs, aigrettes, swords, jugs, and writing sets from the Topkapı Palace were displayed in a special cabinet within the exposition. Notably, even though the treasury collection in the

[3] "Sergi-i Osmani", 15: "Altun ve gümüş mamül ve mineli eşya ve her türlü mücevherat ve envai mercan ve yaldızlı ve yaldızsız gümüş takımları ve emsali".

Topkapı Palace had been displayed for distinguished foreign visitors since the mid-19th century, the Imperial Treasury remained closed for Ottomans (Özlü, 2018, 353–354). Only as an exception, within the scope of the Ottoman General Exposition, were items from the treasury collection brought to a public space and made available for admiration by local and foreign viewers alike.

Even though the exact location of the treasury display is not marked in the exhibition hall's plan published in *Mirʾāt*, the book *Coup d'œil* gives a list of 42 treasury objects displayed in the Ottoman General Exposition (Appendix), and states that those valuables were brought to the exhibition hall every morning, and brought back to the Imperial Treasury in the Topkapı Palace every evening (*Coup d'œil*, 29). The public display of the imperial treasury was an indicator of the importance given to the exposition by Abdülaziz, as well as of the changing meaning of the royal collections. Being a point of attraction for tourists visiting Istanbul, the imperial palace and its collections were positioned as objects of self-display, celebrating the richness and glory of the Ottoman Empire:

> "A few steps further, dazzling irradiations, emanating from the jewels of His Imperial Majesty, fix the gaze. There are riches of which the reveries of Arab poets can scarcely give a faint idea: diadems, necklaces in which the pearls and emeralds vie, in brilliance and size, with diamonds of the most sparkling shine, a box with brilliants of inestimable price and of magical craftsmanship, a *tchibouk* in enameled gold around which ravishing arabesques of jewels run and intertwine in capricious meanders, an emerald mounted in a brooch whose surface could be minimum of 5 centimeters to 4, and under which hangs a pear-shaped pearl that is at least two centimeters in size. In the midst of all these treasures shine the Imperial aigrettes, which seem to be preserved as a reflection of the Imperial Majesty of the Sovereign."[4]

Thus, with the public display of the private collections of the imperial family, the treasury collection began to epitomise a collective Ottoman past, enhancing the image of 'oriental splendour'. The Ottoman General Exposition emphasised not only the financial and historic value of the objects, but also their artistic aspects and craftsmanship – as fine products of the palace artisans (*ehl-i hiref*). That is, the

[4] *Coup d'œil*, 27: "A quelques pas plus loin, d'éblouissantes irradiations, émanées des joyaux de Sa Majesté Impériale, fixent le regard. Là sont des richesses dont les rêveries des poètes arabes peuvent donner à peine une faible idée: des diadèmes, des colliers où les perles et les émeraudes rivalisent d'éclat et de grosseur avec des diamants aux reflets les plus étincelants, une boîte en brillants d'un prix inestimable et d'un travail féerique, un tchibouk en or émaillé autour duquel de ravissantes arabesque de pierreries courent et s'entrelacent en capricieux méandres, une émeraude montée en broche, dont la surface peut avoir au minimum 5 centimètres sur 4, et sous laquelle pend une perle en forme de poire, d'au moins deux centimètres de grosseur. Au milieu de tous ces trésors resplendissent les aigrettes Impériales, qui semblent avoir conservé comme un reflet de l'Auguste Majesté du Souverain."

national exposition in Istanbul provided a chance for experimenting with techniques of displaying the Ottoman artistic heritage, which would then be advanced in the later world's fairs of Paris, Vienna, and Chicago.

2 The sultan in Paris in 1867

One of the world's fairs in which the Ottomans took part was the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris. Sultan Abdülaziz accepted the invitation of Emperor Napoleon III (r. 1852–1870) to attend the opening ceremony. During his one-and-a-half-month journey, the sultan visited France, Belgium, England, Prussia, and Austria, becoming the first Ottoman ruler to pay a diplomatic visit to Europe. In Paris, the sultan attended the ostentatious opening ceremony of the Exposition Universelle together with Khedive Ismāʿīl, and visited the Ottoman pavilion (Çelik 1992: 32–37).

The Ottoman pavilion in Paris was more grandiose and attractive than any of its predecessors, designed as a small neighbourhood reflecting the social and cultural life in the empire. Spurred on by Abdülaziz's attendance, the preparations started months in advance. Thousands of items were sent to Paris, including industrial and commercial products, and a separate section was created for fine arts. In the first gallery of the Ottoman pavilion, valuable arms and armours were on display,[5] while the fine arts section presented paintings by Osman Hamdi (1842–1910) and Amadeo Preziosi (1816–1882) (Karaer 2003: 80; Ersoy 2015: 119). Being the largest among the 'Eastern powers', the Ottoman pavilion attracted the praise of the French artist Adalbert de Beaumont (1809–1869), who wrote that it exceeded expectations.[6]

[5] These objects probably came from the collections of the former St. Irene Church.

[6] De Beaumont 1867: 147: "A côté de la Perse se trouve la Turquie. Cette année, au lieu de la place trop modeste qu'elle occupait en 1855, elle couvre le plus grand espace de toutes les puissances d'Orient. On s'imaginait généralement en France qu'à part les pantoufles et les tuyaux de pipe, l'essence de rose et les pastilles du sérail, il n'y avait plus rien à demander à l'industrie de ces contrées. La Turquie nous prouve que, si ses fabriques ne sont plus aussi nombreuses et aussi occupées qu'elles l'étaient jadis, elles n'ont pas encore perdu complètement ce sens de la couleur et de la ligne qui placera toujours la fabrication orientale, si primitifs qu'en soient d'ailleurs les procédés, au-dessus de tout ce que produit à grand renfort d'inventions et de machines notre Europe civilisée!"

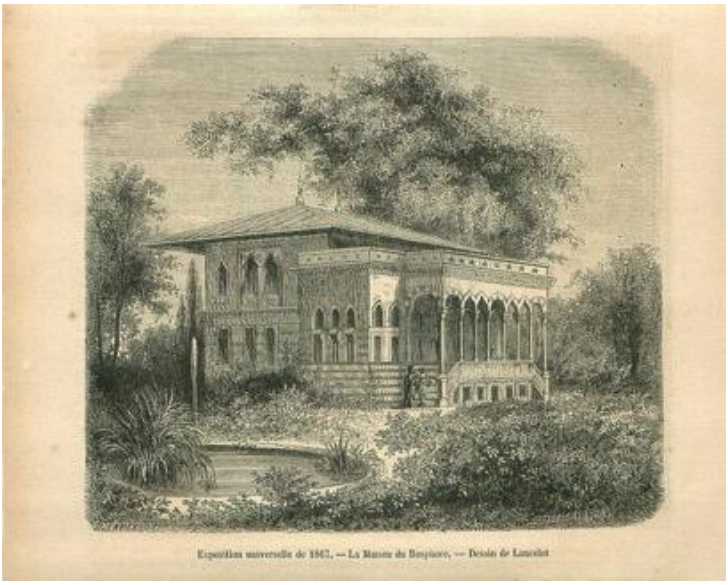

Fig. 3. Engraving of the Bosphorus House, Ottoman pavilion, Exposition Universelle de 1867, drawing by M. Lancelot (*Magasin Pittoresque* 388).

Fig. 4. The triumphal gate erected in honour of the sultan, Ottoman pavilion, Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1867 (*Le Monde illustré* 11).

Fig. 5. The Middle Gate of the Topkapı Palace, early 20th century (author's collection).

Even though the Ottoman Empire was in the process of rapid modernisation, rather than focusing on novel forms of architecture, the commissioners preferred to represent the empire through its traditional building types. In fact, almost all countries attending the world's fairs commissioned pavilions representing their traditional architecture with a sense of historicism (Ormos 2014: 57–58). Leon Parvillée was one of the architects of the Ottoman pavilion, which comprised a mosque, a house (fig. 3), a Turkish bath, and a fountain (Barillari and Godoli 1996: 42; Aoki 2002: 22; Çelik 1992: 61, figs. 24–25). These buildings were influenced by the Green Mosque (Yeşil Cami) in Bursa, the Haseki Bath at the Sultanahmet square of Istanbul, and the Çinili Köşk in the Topkapı Palace, monuments that epitomise the classical Ottoman architecture of the 15th and the 16th centuries. In addition, a triumphal arch was placed at the entrance of the Ottoman section in honour of Sultan Abdülaziz. This imperial gate, depicted on the cover page of *Le Monde illustré*, made a clear reference to the Middle Gate (Bab-ı Selam) of the Topkapı Palace, flanked by two towers with conical caps on either side (figs. 4–5). It also held the imperial *tughra* ('calligraphic monogram') of Abdülaziz, marking the entrance to the domains of the sultan.

Abdülaziz's European tour made a personal impact on the sultan himself. He was greeted with great enthusiasm in Paris, London, Berlin, and Vienna, and attracted huge public interest. Attending numerous exhibitions, concerts, museums, and balls,

Abdülaziz became fully aware of the importance of creating a self-representative 'Ottoman identity' in the new, competitive, and capitalist world order. He surely noticed that even his own image as an 'Oriental ruler' was a representation of his cultural and political identity (Karaer 2003: 76; Çelik 1992: 36).[7]

3 The 1873 Vienna World Exhibition

During the later years of Abdülaziz's reign, in 1873, the Ottoman Empire contributed to the World Exhibition in Vienna. Since the government was not entirely satisfied with their previous display in the 1867 Paris exposition, the Ottoman project in Vienna was highly ambitious, aiming to "create the desired image of technical competence and cultural gravity" (Ersoy 2015: 57). The area of display was three times larger than the previous one, and preparations started as early as 1871 under the supervision of Minister of Public Works İbrahim Edhem Pasha (1819–1893). His son, Osman Hamdi, who would later become a renowned archaeologist and painter, was the exhibition's chief commissioner, while the Piedmontese architect Pietro Montani designed the Ottoman pavilions. A series of correspondence between Vienna and Istanbul shows that the Ottoman government was closely following the preparations taking place in Vienna.[8] According to Ersoy,

> "[t]he Vienna Exhibition was designed with the typical ambition to achieve an exhaustive representation of the world for Western audiences. But due to its geographic location and the historical legacy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, situated "at the center of the world," as the organizers claimed, between the East and West, the exhibition aimed to outshine all prior events of its kind in bringing together a richer and more comprehensive vision of the entire Orient. The Vienna Exhibition, therefore, was envisioned as an intense-encounter arena not only for the western European and the German-speaking lands but also for myriad participants from beyond the eastern banks of the Danube, from the Ottoman Empire and Iran to Russia, China, and Japan" (Ersoy 2015: 31).

Despite the Ottomans' financial struggles at the time, the government decided to emphasise the artistic, cultural, and intellectual heritage of the empire via a series of semi-academic publications. Three volumes – *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani*

[7] According to the European press, the 'Western' appearance and sophisticated manners of Abdülaziz became a point of disappointment among people who were hoping for an Oriental despot in exotic clothes and surrounded by concubines; Karaer 2003: 76.

[8] The Ottoman archives hold the correspondences, mostly written in French, between the commissioner of the exhibition Osman Hamdi, the Ottoman ambassador to Vienna Cabouli Pasha, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Rachid Pasha. See especially BOA. HR.ID.1218.47; BOA.HR.ID.1218.57; BOA.HR.ID.1218.60.

(L'Architecture ottomane), *Elbise-i Osmaniyye (Les Costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873)*, and *Le Bosphore et Constantinople* – were prepared for the Vienna Exhibition, highlighting the cultural diversity and architectural richness of the empire. The production of these volumes was evidence of Ottoman determination to display its cultural and historical assets for an international audience, aiming to create a positive and respectful image in the eyes of Europeans.[9]

Fig. 6. Replica of the Fountain of Ahmed III, Ottoman Pavilion, Vienna World Exhibition, 1873 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 63694-STE).

[9] For an in-depth discussion of these books and the Vienna exhibition, see Ersoy 2013; Eldem 2014a–c, 2015.

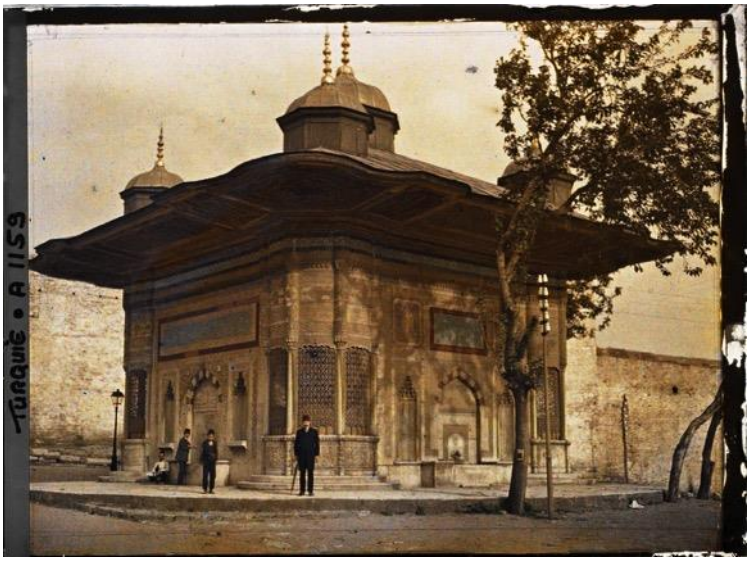

Fig. 7. Fountain of Ahmed III, Istanbul (Musée Albert Kahn, Archives de la Planète, A1159).

The Ottoman pavilion, comprising seven structures, was aimed at reflecting the dynasty's architectural patrimony. Almost all nations participating in the Vienna world's fair designed neighbourhoods representing their traditional culture and identity. According to Ormos,

> "it became popular to erect copies of town quarters as temporary structures made of ephemeral construction materials. As a rule, these copies of town quarters did not aim at full accuracy; rather, they were meant to evoke the atmosphere of a given city. This they hoped to achieve by creating ensembles consisting of true copies of genuinely extant buildings, of buildings assembled from relatively true copies of sections of buildings, or of completely fictitious buildings erected in a given style" (Ormos 2016: 116).

Within the Ottoman neighbourhood, a marketplace (*bedesten*), a coffee house, a Turkish house, and a fountain were erected (Çelik 1992: 63; Ergüney and Kara Pilehvarian, 2015) (fig. 6). While most of the buildings were designed to resemble their originals in a smaller scale, a real-size replica of the fountain of Ahmed III (r. 1703–1730), located across to the Imperial Gate of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul (fig.7), was constructed with painstaking attention to its details, workmanship, and decorative elements. However, one of the most interesting sections of the Ottoman neighbourhood was a small pavilion referred to as the Imperial Treasury (Hazine-i Hassa).

A document dated 1872 details the costs of the aforementioned publications and of the special building that would be constructed to keep the items coming from the

Imperial Treasury.[10] This kiosk, designed by Montani, was modelled after a classical Ottoman mausoleum (*türbe*), combined with an Orientalist repertoire. As seen in its elevation design, today in the Ottoman archives (fig. 8), it was a small, yet elegant structure featuring a polygonal site plan, and a central dome. Its central exhibition space was raised on a shallow basement accessible through stairs on two sides (Ersoy 2015: 82–87). Notably, instead of conventional materials such as wood, plaster, or *papier-maché*, that were generally used for quick and cost-effective construction of the temporary pavilions at world's fairs, Montani preferred to use stone and iron for this building. According to *The Times*, the exhibition space comprised cast iron elements produced in advance and assembled at the site, resting on a stone basement. Even though the opening of the building was delayed due to its costly and time-consuming construction, the use of enduring materials, such as iron and stone, must have provided extra security for the invaluable treasury collection ("The sultan's treasure").

Fig. 8. Elevation of the Imperial Treasury, Ottoman pavilion, Vienna World Exhibition, 1873 (BOA PLK.p.01022)

[10] BOA A.MKT.MHM.443.58 (13 December 1872): "Hazine-i Hümayunda mahfuz olup Viyana'da açılacak sergide ibrazı mukteza-i irade-i seniyyeden olan asar-ı nefisenin muhafazası için ve Fenn-i Mimari-i Osmani namıyla Türk ve Fransız ve Alman lisanlarinca tanzimi iktiza eden ve memalik-i şahanenin her cihetinde mutavattın tebaa-i Müslime ve gayri-Müslimenin kıyafetlerini maruf olmak üzere [...] tertibi mukarrer bulunan kitabın mecmu-i mesarifi olup [...] 120.000 kuruşun Hazine-i Celilece ifası."

A register in the Topkapı Palace Archive provides a list of the treasury items sent from Istanbul to Vienna. According to this document, a total number of 120 items including antique arms and armours, jewelled and gold inlaid objects, shields, the armour of Mehmed II from his mausoleum, and other objects such as plates, pitchers, basins, and metalwork from the Imperial Treasury were sent to Vienna as requested by the Minister of Public Works Edhem Pasha and the exhibition committee (fig. 9).[11] That is, for the first time, items from the Imperial Treasury collection were taken outside of the empire and displayed abroad as a part of a world's fair.

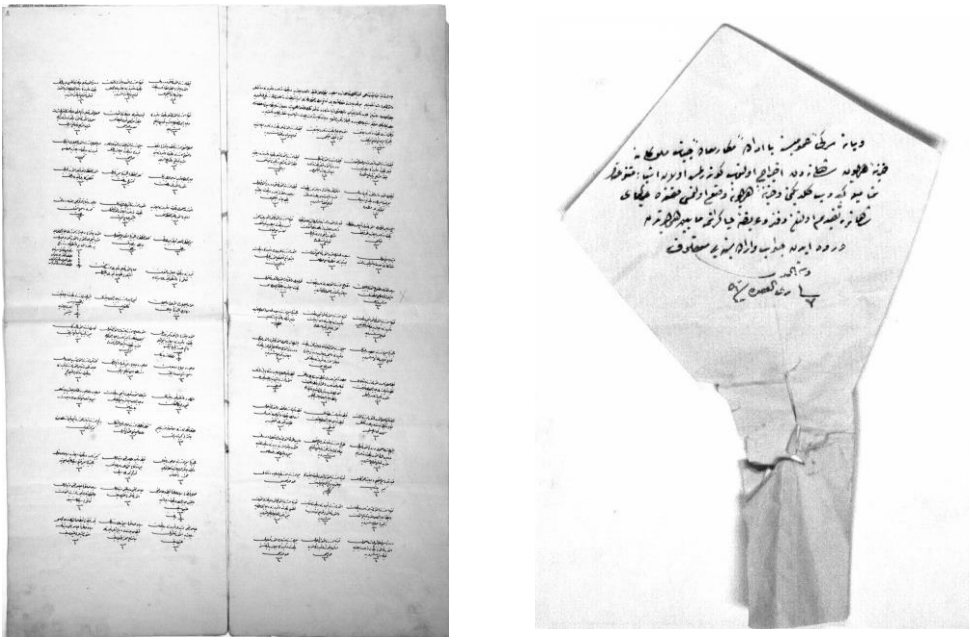

Fig. 9. Listing of the treasury items sent to the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition (BOA.TS.MA.D.993.01)

[11] BOA.TS.MA.d.993.01 (4 June 1873): "Ba-irade-i seniyye-i cenab-ı şehinşahi Hazine-i Hümayun-ı Şahanade mevcut bulunan esliha-i atika ve elmas ile müzeyyen ve yakut ve zümrüt ve firuze [...] ve altın işlemeli eşya-i nefise ile bu defa ba-irade-i hazret-i şehriyari Fatih Sultan Mehmed Han Gazi Türbe-i Şerifesinden gelmiş olan zırh takımları ile bazı eski maden ve mürettebatı ve tabak ve legen ve ibrik gibi buna mumasil eşya-i saireden Nafia Nazıri Devletli Ethem Paşa ve Viyana sergi komisyonu azasından bazı bendelerinin marifetiyle eşya-yı mevcutdan bi'l-ifraz tahrir olunup Viyana sergisine gönderilecek eşyaların miktarı mubeyyin defterdir."

Ceren Göğüş's master's thesis compiles news from the Austrian press about the Ottoman participation in the Vienna Exhibition, and provides detailed information about the transfer of treasury items to Vienna. According to the Austrian newspapers, the collection, which had never before left the Topkapı Palace, was kept in the treasury room of the Hofburg Palace until the completion of the Ottoman pavilion (see Göğüş 2006, 179). Due to some financial burdens and technical problems, the completion of the iron treasury kiosk was delayed, and the opening ceremony was finally held on 9 July 1873, five weeks after the inauguration of the world's fair. According to Ottoman archival documents, the Austro-Hungarian emperor Franz Joseph I (r. 1848–1916) attended the opening ceremony, and expressed his appreciation for the elegance and good taste of the construction. A letter from Osman Hamdi, who was the exhibition's commissioner, describes that

> "the emperor seemed really interested in examining the precious objects contained in the windows of the Imperial Treasury, and was particularly occupied with the fine arms, many of which belonged to our illustrious sovereigns" (fig. 10).[12]

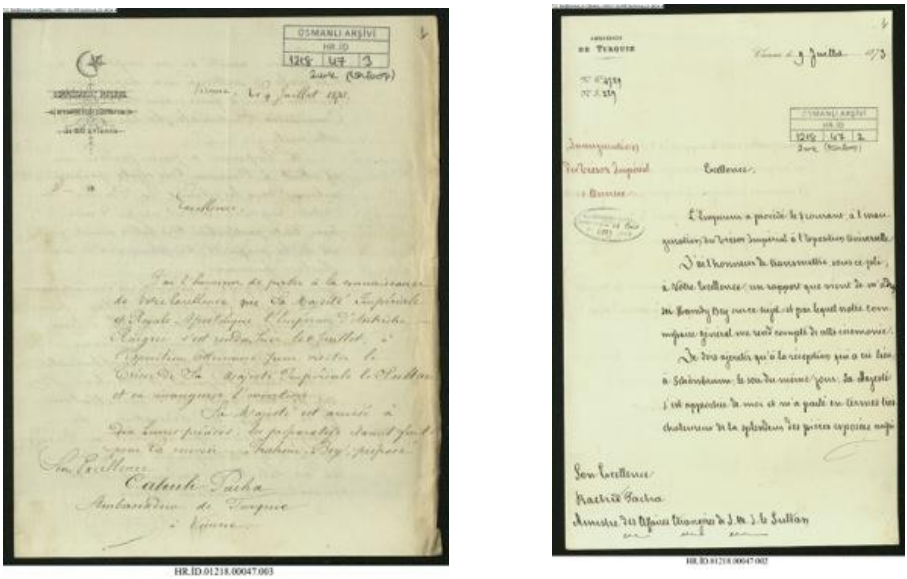

Fig. 10. Letter from Osman Hamdi to Ottoman Ambassador to Vienna Cabouli Pasha (BOA HR.İD.1218.47_03) / Letter from Cabouli Pasha to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Rachid Pasha (BOA HR.İD.1218.47_02)

[12] BOA HR.İD.1218.47 (9 July 1873): "L'Emepereur a paru prendre un virai interèt à l'examen des objects précieux contenues dans les vitrines du Pavillion du Trésor Imperial et s'est occupé d'une façon toute particulierè des belles armes qui ont été la propriété de plussieurs de nos illustres souverains."

The Austrian press celebrates the richness and beauty of the treasury collection with admiration. An article in *Fremdenblatt* emphasises that the display was only a small portion of the actual treasury collection kept in Istanbul. Visitors to the actual Imperial Treasury in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, according to the author, could witness thousands of precious stones, jewellery, helmets adorned with pearls, and little mountains composed of thousands of swords and armour (Göğüş 2006: 183). An article published in *The Times* mentions that the Ottoman treasury was finally displayed after a long period of delay, and gives a detailed description of the items in Vienna, highlighting the chain armour and Persian helmet once owned by the Ottoman sultan Murad I (r. 1362–1389), and the throne of the Persian ruler Nādir Šāh (r. 1736–1747). The author emphasises the difficulty of seeing these valuable objects in the Topkapı Palace, and celebrates their display in Vienna:

> It is not many years since even the most powerful protection could not procure you access to see the Treasury of the Ottoman Sultans in the old Seraglio. It was jealously guarded from the eye of the stranger [...] The restrictions have been relaxed, indeed, of late, for how could they resist the spirit of the times. Still, [...] in spite of the *firman*, [...] there will be a sort of general conspiracy to allow him to see as little as possible [...]. As their jealousy is not confined to the treasury, but is extended even to such harmless things as the library, not to speak of the archives. Under these circumstances, the sending of a portion of the Imperial Treasure to the Exhibition and there exposing it to the gaze of the multitude was a considerable concession to the spirit of the age ("The sultan's treasure").

According to the Austrian press, the opening of the Imperial Treasury display attracted immense attention from the public, and the entrance tickets were sold-out before noon. Indeed, the help of police forces was needed to control the crowds of visitors. The collection was initially kept open only three days a week and only for three hours each day. Hence an article complains that it was not possible to enjoy the beauty of the collection due to the constant crowd of people within the kiosk, demanding the exhibition to be kept open for longer than three hours. Eventually, responding to the general demand of visitors and the Austrian press, the Ottomans decided to keep the treasury exhibition open every day of the week (see Göğüş 2006: 183).

The Ottomans succeeded in attracting international attention by their contribution to the Vienna World Exhibition, displaying their imperial patrimony in various forms. Apart from evoking their imperial identity by replicating traditional Ottoman building types, the three academic volumes also accentuated the deep-rooted cultural, architectural, and ethnographic assets of the empire. The treasury collection, on the other hand, was a powerful manifestation of imperial longevity and prosperity. This renowned collection was exhibited in a unique pavilion, which was, in fact, a bijouterie box, as well as a product of the self-orientalising exhibitory order.

4 Conclusion

The 19th-century world's fairs provided stages for the participating countries not only to exhibit their industrial productions and technological advancements, but also to rediscover and represent their national identities and collective past. The Ottoman Empire "went to considerable pains to fabricate an ideal vision of itself as a world-class empire", that is, to find its cultural and artistic heritage that would appeal to international audiences (Ersoy 2015: 50). In that context, the palatial architecture and imperial collections of the Topkapı were re-evaluated through different lenses, forming a purportedly 'authentic' representation of an idealised past, epitomised in the classical period of Ottoman art and architecture. Thus, while searching for leitmotifs of their own heritage, the Ottomans resorted to their imperial past as an expression of splendour and glory.

The Topkapı Palace, due to its relatively well-preserved architectural features and rich royal collections, became a source of inspiration for the Ottomans. Various kiosks, gates, towers, fountains, decorative and architectural elements, tiles, patterns, artefacts, and the imperial treasures in and around the Topkapı were reproduced, imitated, and displayed at the international exhibitions held in London, Paris, Vienna, and later in Chicago. Consequently, the public interest in the palatial collections – alongside the Ottomans' experience in exhibiting them at worlds' fairs – would eventually encourage setting up their permanent display in Istanbul. That is, the competitive praxis of self-display within an international context laid the foundation for the eventual museumification of the Topkapı Palace.

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APPENDIX

The list of items brought from the Imperial Treasury to the Exposition General in Istanbul in 1863. (*Coup d'œil général sur l'exposition nationale à Constantinople*. Istanbul: n. p. 1863, p. 28–29.)

1. Une émeraude de mille quatre-vingt-dix drachmes, de forme carrée arrondie aux quatre coins.
2. Une autre émeraude de quatre cent quatre-vingt-dix drachmes.
3. Un broche (*kerdanlik*) ornée de deux-cent quatre-vingt gros brillants et ayant au milieu un brillant de trente-quatre carats et deux turquoises.
4. Une broche ornée de brillants ayant au milieu un brillant de trente carats.
5. Une broche ayant au milieu un brillant de trent-six [*sic*] carats.
6. Une broche ayant au milieu un brillant de vingt carats et ornée de deux roses hollandaises et d'un grand poinçon de diamants.
7. Trois broches ornées de brillants et ayant chacune au milieu un brillant de vingt-cinq carats.
8. Une broche en forme d'oiseau ornée de brillants.
9. Une broche en forme du soleil ornée de brillants.
10. Une broche ornée d'une grosse perle et de brillants en poire.
11. Une paire de boucles d'oreilles ornées de perles.
12. Une broche et des boucles d'oreilles ornées de deux émeraudes et de brillants en poire.
13. Une chemisette (*ghiokouchlik*) ornée de brillants et ayant au milieu un brillant de cinquante carats.
14. Une autre chemisette ayant au milieu un brillant de vingt-six carats.
15. Une paire de boucles d'oreilles avec deux brillants de vingt-huit carats.
16. Une chemisette ornée de brillants.
17. Un bracelet orné de brillants et au milieu une hyacinthe.
18. Un bracelet orné d'un gros brillant et de plusieurs autres plus petits.
19. Un brillant chatoyant (*akarsou*).
20. Un poignard orné de brillants et d'une émeraude de trois-cents carats.
21. Un poignard orné de brillants et ayant au milieu un gros saphir.
22. Un poignard orné de brillants et ayant au milieu un rubis.
23. Un poignard monté en ivoire.
24. Un peigne orné de gros brillants.
25. Une porte aigrette (*sarghoutch*) en or, orné de brillants.
26. Deux porte-aigrettes en argent, ornés de six brillants.
27. Neuf porte-aigrettes ornés de rubis, de diamants et d'émeraudes.
28. Trois dagues (*khandjer*) ornées de diamants et d'émeraudes.
29. Une dague montée en corail.
30. Un carquois orné de diamants, de rubis, d'émeraudes et d'améthystes.

31. Deux sabres antiques ornés de diamants.
32. Trois *tchibouks* de cerisier ornés de pierres précieuses.
33. Deux miroirs montés en jaspe et ornés de rubis et de diamants.
34. Deux pendants en émeraudes appartenant au Trône Impérial.
35. Un flacon (*sourahi*) en or, orné de rubis et de diamants.
36. Un flacon et une coupe ornés de rubis et diamants.
37. Un flacon en cristal orné de rubis.
38. Une massue (*topouz*) en jaspe.
39. Une autre massue en cristal.
40. Un *machraba* et une coupe antique en argent.
41. Une écritoire turque en jaspe ornée de rubis et de diamants.

Deux autres écritoires dont une en cristal, ornée de rubis et d'émeraude

THE PALACES OF CAIRO'S BELLE ÉPOQUE

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Many visitors to Cairo, driving from the airport to the city on Salāḥ Sālim Road, would notice a strange stupa-like structure, standing in the middle of a large empty plot on the left of the road in Miṣr al-Ǧadīda (Heliopolis). This is the Palace of Baron Empain (1852–1929), built in 1907 for this rich, eccentric investor, who was in the process of planning a whole new suburb north of Cairo for an exclusively foreign community. His palace is but one of the city's many notable turn-of-the-century palaces spread all over town and into the suburbs, which, despite their run-down state today, still reflect unmistakable majesty and opulence. Together with other splendid but equally neglected architectural gems from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, they constitute the visual remnants of an extraordinary chapter in the life of the Egyptian capital, an era that has been evocatively – and somewhat arrogantly – called "la Belle Époque" in literature about modern Egypt.[1]

The Belle Époque architecture of Cairo is concentrated in what is known today as Wasaṭ al-Balad (Middle of the City or Downtown), and its surrounding early 20th-century residential extensions, such as Ḥilmiyya, ʿĀbdīn, Garden City, Būlāq, Šubra, and Zamālik on the island of al-Gazīra, in addition to the uniquely gracious suburbs of Heliopolis, a few kilometres to the north, and Maʿādī, another few kilometres to the south. These neighbourhoods burst with outstanding structures that cover a panoply of architectural styles from the Neo-Moorish, Neo-Classical, and Neo-Baroque palaces and mansions of the late 19th century, to Art Nouveau, Art Deco, and Neo-Mamluk villas and apartment buildings of the early 20th century, to the rarer modernist villas of the 1940s and 1950s, in addition to a smattering of Rococo, Italian Renaissance, and Neo-Pharaonic religious and commercial buildings.[2]

Until recently, the Belle Époque architecture received little attention in a country where time is measured by millennia, not centuries, and where historical architecture dates back at least to 3000 BC. In fact, only a few hasty studies dealt with it before the *infitāḥ* or the economic opening and shift away from socialism, initiated by President Anwar as-Sādāt (r. 1970–1981) in the 1970s. Since then, the interest in the – now nostalgically remembered – architectural vestiges predating the 1952 revolution

[1] Mostyn 2006: 52–82, 129–59; Volait 2009b (English version: 2014); 2013.

[2] For an off-the-press guide to the modern architecture of Cairo, including that of the Belle Époque, see, Elshahed 2019, which surveys more than 220 buildings and sites.

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has steadily increased.[3] The 1980s and 1990s saw the publication of a couple of beautifully illustrated coffee-table books and a number of scholarly studies.[4] Noteworthy is the passionate work of Samir Raafat, who wrote two books and numerous articles on the architecture of Cairo's 'glory years' (the title of his second book), and has maintained a well-stocked website on the subject, even though he has not added any new material for many years.[5] Of a more academic bent is the work of a small number of Cairo-lovers, like the Egyptian-German scholar Mohamed Scharabi, Suhayr Ḥawwās, and Mohamed El-Shahed, the French scholar Mercedes Volait, and our friend István Ormos, to whom this essay is offered on his 70th birthday.

The pioneering study by Mohamed Scharabi (1989) is a meticulous catalogue raisonné of sorts with plans, façades, and historical blurbs of the main buildings of Cairo during the colonial period (1880s–1940s). It led the way to more sustained architectural investigations of Belle Époque architecture.[6] Two graduate students from the American University in Cairo, Tarek Sakr and Nihal Tamraz, published their award-winning masters' theses in 1993 and 1998, respectively, on the early 20th-century Islamic architecture and the 19th-century mansions of Cairo, many of which fall within the timeframe of the Belle Époque. Then came Suhayr Ḥawwās's book on the architecture of khedivial Cairo in the late 19th century. Published in 2002, it is one of the rare serious studies in Arabic on the architecture of this important, yet still neglected, period.[7]

Among the non-Egyptian scholars, Mercedes Volait is undoubtedly the premier interpreter of the visual and urban milieu of modernising Cairo in the long 19th century. In several published books and numerous articles, she has focused her attention primarily on the work of French architects and scholars, and some Egyptian architects who were active during that time frame.[8] István Ormos, on the other hand, has focused his meticulous research on the work of Max Herz Pasha (1856–1919), the Hungarian architect, conservator, and author, who spent his active career in Egypt. He became the chief architect of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe between 1890 and 1914, responsible for the restoration and preservation of countless Fatimid, Ayyubid, and especially Mamluk monuments. He also ran a private practice in Cairo, and designed a large number of villas, palaces, and mosques, many in a Neo-Mamluk style (Ormos 2002; 2009; 2013; 2016).

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[3] For a discussion of the context of this rising interest, see El Kadi and ElKerdany 2006; Volait 2013.

[4] A good example of the coffee-table books is Myntti 1999.

[5] Raafat 1994; 2003. His website is www.egy.com.

[6] See, for instance, Scharabi 1989.

[7] Sakr 1993; Tamraz 1998, a brief study of the palaces of the suburb of ʿAbbāsiyya; Ḥawwās 2002.

[8] Volait 1988; 2001; 2005; 2009a; 2012; 2013a; 2013b; Crosnier Leconte and Volait 1998.

1 Palaces of the ambitious Khedive

Cairo witnessed two distinct urban booms between 1870 and 1952, a period starting with the reign of Khedive Ismāʿīl (r. 1863–1879), covering the entirety of the British colonial rule, and ending with the Free Officers' Revolution. The first development was prompted by Ismāʿīl's massive modernisation project, which had no less an ambition than to visually transpose Egypt – or at least its two major cities, Cairo and Alexandria – from Africa to Europe.[9] To that end, he created a New Cairo, named al-Ismāʿīliyya after himself, and modelled after Baron Haussmann's Paris, which he greatly admired when he visited the *Exposition Universelle* there in 1867. He was also in a hurry: he wanted his city to be ready for the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869, when many European royals were expected to attend, providing him with an opportunity to grandstand. Hiring designers from all over Europe and Istanbul and spending huge sums of money (most of which he borrowed at exorbitant rates), Ismāʿīl fashioned an alluring architectural spectacle fronting the old city, complete with all the accoutrements of modern urban living.[10] He built bridges, avenues lined with trees, star-shaped *mīdān*s (squares) *à la parisienne*, palaces with vast landscaped grounds, an opera house, a circus, hotels, various public buildings, and one stately mosque, the Rifāʿī Mosque, which was not completed until 1911, many years after Ismāʿīl's death (al-Asad 1993; Rabbat 1997: 376–381). Of his many buildings, only a few altered palaces, such as ʿĀbdīn and Gezira, the Rifāʿī Mosque, and some mausolea of patrician families remain.

As a modern monarch, Ismāʿīl needed a modern seat of government, so he built the Palace of ʿĀbdīn to replace the old Citadel of the Mountain (Qalʿat al-Gabal), which was the main abode of Egypt's rulers since the 12th century. A behemoth of a structure with around 500 rooms, Ismāʿīl wanted the palace to be ready for the inauguration of the Suez Canal, but the project was not finished until 1874.[11] The original, wooden palace was burned down ten years later, then rebuilt of stone, and has been renovated several times since then. Its actual façade, designed by the court architect Antonio Lasciac (1856–1946) between 1909 and 1911, is an imposing neoclassical composition meant to project a sense of modernity and European-style royal dignity (fig 1). Its ceremonial halls, on the other hand, are fascinating exercises in

[9] Abu-Lughod 1965; Ahmed 2005. On Ismāʿīl's personality and his fascination with Europe, see al-Ayyubi 1994, 1: 258–299; a somewhat dramatized and caricatured one is in Mostyn 2006: 42–124; Vatikiotis 1991: 83 calls him the "impatient modernizer."

[10] Abu-Lughod 1971: 98–117; Berque 1972: 84–102; Raymond 2000: 309–338; AlSayyad 2011: 199–228.

[11] El-Gawhary 1954, though pioneering, is really a boastful inventory of the palaces that the 1952 revolution expropriated. For a socio-political and cross-cultural interpretation of the hybrid architecture built during Ismāʿīl's reign, including the ʿĀbdīn Palace, see El-Ashmouni 2014: 373–396.

eclectic, bombastic styles. The most impressive are the Byzantine Hall and the Mamluk Hall, constructed in the 1930s, long after Ismāʿīl's passing. The palace today is an official residence of the president and visiting foreign dignitaries. Its ground floor houses several museums, all opened in the last twenty years, the most interesting of which are the Historical Documents Museum and the Royal Family Museum.[12]

Fig. 1. The ʿĀbdīn Palace, as seen through its iron gate.

If the Palace of ʿĀbdīn is associated in the public mind with state pomp and officialdom, the Gezira Palace, built in Zamālik between 1864 and 1869, evokes a more romantic memory. Designed by several European architects under the direction of the German-born Austrian architect Julius Franz Pasha (1831–1915) and completed in time for the festivities of the Suez Canal's inauguration, it is rumoured that Khedive Ismāʿīl spent lavishly on it to impress the French Empress Eugénie, for whom he allegedly held tender feelings (Naguib 2008; Scham 2013). There is no way to verify this charming tale, but we know that Eugénie used the so-called *selamlık* (men's section) of the palace as her official residence during her visit to Cairo in September 1869. We know also that she was not the only European royal to stay there during that same year: the Prince and Princess of Wales preceded her in March, and the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph I (r. 1848–1916) succeeded her in November 1869. Ismāʿīl enlarged the palace and added new buildings in its vast landscaped grounds, which occupied most of the island of al-Gazīra, for the next ten years. It was the site of many an extraordinary celebration throughout the reign of

[12] For information on the museums, see *ʿAbdine Palace Museums*.

this most extravagant of Egypt's rulers. Sold under duress in 1889 and its grounds diminishing over time, the palace became in turn a fancy hotel, a British military hospital, a British administrative complex, a hotel again, a private residence for the wealthy Luṭfallāh family, then a hotel again after the 1952 revolution, with the evocative name Omar Khayyam, before its *selamlık* was incorporated in the new Cairo Marriott Hotel in the late 1970s.[13]

Refurbished and used as the lobby and eateries complex at the Marriott Hotel today, the *selamlık* of the Gezira Palace still retains many of its architectural and decorative marvels. The most outstanding and inventive are the slender cast-iron porticoes designed in a pronounced Alhambraesque style by the German Carl von Diebitsch (1819–1869), who had them prefabricated in Germany and reassembled on site (fig. 2) (Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 1998: 55–77; 2009: 69–88). Von Diebitsch, today a regrettably little-known figure, was a particularly innovative architect of the mid-19th century.[14] He was fascinated by Moorish architecture after he had spent several years (1844–1848) travelling first in Sicily and then all over Spain, and produced a series of elaborate watercolours of various Andalusī monuments.[15] The impression of Moorish architecture never left him, and he is repeatedly depicted in later surveys of German architecture as the architect of a "Moorish" style inspired by the Alhambra.[16] In the 1850s, he began to experiment with intricate Andalusī patterns in cast iron, a favourite new material of the 'moderns', such as Joseph Paxton (1803–1865), the architect of the Crystal Palace in London (1851), and Gustave Eiffel (1832–1923), the designer of the Eiffel Tower in Paris (1889). Von Diebitsch developed a system of decorative and structural elements based on Moorish geometric patterns, which, he argued, could lend themselves effectively and economically to standardised industrial production.[17] Since the German public did not seem to be ready to have Alhambresque architecture in its homes and public buildings, Von Diebitsch sought his fortunes elsewhere. After receiving a medal for a huge zinc vase he exhibited at the International Fair in London in 1862, he obtained a series of small

[13] Mostyn 2006: 83–88; Raafat 2003: 143–146; El Kadi and ElKerdany 2006: 362; Frizzell 1984: 108–111.

[14] Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz has devoted most of her scholarship to studying the life and work of von Diebitsch from her dissertation (2003), which dealt principally with his work in Egypt, to her many articles on his various projects in Egypt. A recent PhD dissertation from MIT attempted to restore von Diebitsch to his proper place in the historiography of modern German architecture, see Hedrick 2014; and also 2018.

[15] Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2009 discusses in detail von Diebitsch's travels and sketches and their relation to his later designs. For a general discussion of the architectural fascination with the Alhambra in the 19th century and a stylistic distinction between Moorish and Alhambresque, see McSweeney 2015.

[16] Hedrick 2018; Alexis 1857; Koppelkamm 1987: 91.

[17] Pflugradt-Abdelaziz 2004; 1993; 2009: 86–87; Volait 2009a: 202–203; Sazatornil Ruiz 2012.

commissions in Cairo, culminating in the porticoes of the Gezira Palace, and died there in 1869.

Fig. 2. The Gezira Palace, iron portico designed by Von Diebitsch.

Von Diebitsch had other opportunities to display his pioneering Moorish cast-iron architecture in Cairo. The one example still standing is the magnificent mausoleum of Sulaymān Pāšā al-Firansāwī, a.k.a. Colonel Sève (1788–1860), the chief of staff of the Egyptian army under Muḥammad ʿAlī (r. 1805–1848) and the great-grandfather of Queen Nazlī Ṣabrī (1894–1978), the wife of King Fuʾād I (r. 1917–1936) (fig. 3) (Fahmy 2002: 80; Konrad 2013: 89–114). Recently restored, this small and simple cast-iron structure with a zinc sheathed dome and an octagonal, filigreed arcade resting on Alhambresque capitals has a Neo-Gothic feel. Its plan, however, is reminiscent of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. It stands today at the end of a narrow alley on the corniche to Maʿādī, directly opposite the Nilometer.[18]

[18] Guémard 1927: 72–73; Pflugradt Abdel-Aziz 1988: 205–214.

Fig. 3. The Mausoleum of Sulaymān Pāšā al-Firansāwī, designed by Von Diebitsch.

At the Gezira Palace, there was a clear desire for Andalusī touches, for Von Diebitsch's porticoes are not the only Moorish elements surviving today. The opulent Salon Royal with its magnificent staircase in veined white Carrara marble, designed by the Italian architect Pietro Avoscani (1816–1891), who also designed the Cairo Opera House, has a number of Moorish elements (Tagher 1949: 306–314). Most notable among them are the interlacing arches of the marble balustrades, whose form can be traced back to the façade of the Great Mosque of Cordoba. But the most intriguing and potentially important for architectural history are the two magnificent wood coffered, patterned, and coloured ceilings in the present Saraya Café, and various cabinets and pieces of furniture in the different salons of the hotel (fig. 4). John Kresten Jespersen believes them to be the work of Owen Jones (1809–1874), arguably the premier theorist of ornament of the 19th century, and another 'modernist'

architect fascinated by Moorish patterns.[19] Like Von Diebitsch, whom he met in Cairo, Jones spent time studying Andalusī architecture in Spain, and published, with the French architect Jules Goury (1803–1834), the extensive two-volume study *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* (1842–1845). This was one of the earliest chromolithographic publications in England (Ferry 2003). Jones was commissioned by Khedive Ismāʿīl to work on the interior decoration of the Gezira Palace in 1864, which makes Jespersen's assertion very plausible.[20] These delicately composed ceilings indeed bear heavy Moorish traces. But, more importantly, their proportional colouring in blue, red, and gold would be one of the purest manifestations anywhere of Jones's theory of colour, which he propounded in his influential treatise *The Grammar of Ornament* of 1856.[21]

Fig. 4. The Gezira Palace, patterned wooden ceiling designed by Owen Jones.

[19] Jespersen 2008: 143–153; McSweeney 2015: 53–56; Hrvol Flores 2006: 190 suggests that Jones and von Diebitsch knew each other while they were in Cairo.

[20] See Crinson 1996: 176–177, note no. 18 for the commissions of Jones at the Gezira Palace; and Bush 2017: 70–76 for a stylistic comparison between the work of Jones and von Diebitsch at the Gezira Palace.

[21] Jespersen 2008. It is interesting that the work of Jones and von Diebitsch at the Gezira Palace, though clearly "Moorish," does not make it into architectural books that deal with the style, probably because the palace is in the 'Orient'. Cf. Sweetman 1988: 160–168; Danby 1995: 149–199.

2 Stone dreams of princes and entrepreneurs

The second and more accelerated expansion of Cairo came after the privatisation of land ownership, following the sale of the khedivial land holding company *(ad-dāʾira as-saniyya)* at the end of the 19th century, and the incorporation of Colonial Egypt into the international trade network.[22] The new economic opportunities and preferential legal codes privileging non-Egyptians attracted large numbers of European and Levantine merchants, investors, and adventurers, who settled in the city and sought their fortunes there (Toledano 1998: 254–255; Diana Barillari 2001). The successful among them (and they were many), in addition to a handful of major land owners from the Egyptian aristocracy and ruling family, were responsible for the outstanding examples of grand residential architecture that are hard to find gathered together in any other city, even those famous for their Belle Époque architecture like Vienna, Prague, or Paris.[23] The difference is that the Belle Époque architecture of these cities is well-studied, documented, restored, and adaptively reused, whereas the architecture of Belle Époque Cairo is barely known, rundown, and constantly assaulted by developers and speculators, who, unfortunately, have been quite successful in their demolition mission in the last three decades despite the few recent efforts to save that heritage.[24]

Fig. 5. The Palace of Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pāšā, façade.

[22] Hunter 1999: 179–232; Toledano 1998: 252–284. The story of Egypt's prosperity and bankruptcy, and the role of European adventurers in both, is told through the figure of Édouard Dervieu, a special banker to the Khedive in Landes 1958.

[23] Johnston 2007; Claval 1995; Topp 2004; Blau 1999.

[24] Volait 2007; 2013: *passim*; El Kadi and ElKerdany 2006: 362–366; Davidson 2008.

Numerous palaces and villas came up in Cairo around the turn of the 20th century, a period of relative stability and abundant economic openings, especially for the enterprising among the European and Levantine immigrants. Many of these structures have already been bulldozed to make way for large and more profitable buildings. But what is left is still exhilarating in its splendour and variety. The most extravagant palaces predictably belong to members of the royal family, whose wealth derived primarily from huge agricultural properties. Palaces like that of Prince Saʿīd Ḥalīm on Champollion Street (1899), the Palace of Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil in Heliopolis (1908), and the Palace of his son Prince Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥusayn in Qaṣr ad-Dūbāra (1906–1913) (now belonging to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), in addition to the royal palaces, have no equivalent among the palaces of the entrepreneurs and merchants. But what the latter lack in grandeur, they compensate for in character. Original, playful, even funky, they were built as statements both of their owners' business success and their eclectic global perspective. Thus, we find *faux* Rococo, Orientalised Neo-Gothic, Arabian Nights' Neo-Islamic, and even a Neo-Hindu palace, all erected by non-Egyptian tycoons, who made their fortunes in Egypt, and who, in many instances, lived, died, and were buried there (Raafat 2003: 41–44, 71–73, 180–209, 245–297). I will illustrate the variety of palaces with three examples from the dozens still standing today, although many are suffering from prolonged neglect and may, in all likelihood, end up being demolished for real-estate profit, the way many villas and palaces have gone in the last few decades.

The Palace of Saʿīd Ḥalīm

As an outstanding example of princely palaces, the Palace of Saʿīd Ḥalīm surpasses most others in its grandstand poise, despite its derelict status today (fig. 5).[25] Its patron, Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pasha (1865–1921), was a remarkable reformist Islamist thinker and a grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, the founder of modern Egypt. Having followed his father into exile, Ḥalīm lived most of his life in Istanbul, became heavily involved in politics at the heart of the Ottoman Empire, wrote profusely in French on the problems facing the Empire, and attained the position of Grand Vizier in the Empire's waning days (1913–1916), before being sent to exile in Malta after World War I. An Armenian revolutionary nationalist later assassinated him in Rome in 1921 for his role in the Armenian Genocide.[26] His palace in Cairo, designed by the architect of the royal family Antonio Lasciac between 1896 and 1899,[27] nods in the direction of

[25] Raafat 2003: 41–44; also 2001.

[26] Şeyhun 2014: 147–63; Guida 2007; Wasti 2008 offers an analysis of Ḥalīm's essays and thoughts.

[27] On Lasciac and his work in Egypt, see Godoli 2006: 9–18; Volait 1989; Kajfež 2006: 13–18. A fuller biography in Slovenian is Mamič 2008: 71–84. El-Wakil 2016 offers an analysis of the mature "Arab" style of Lasciac, which is totally absent in his earlier work, such the Palace of Saʿīd Ḥalīm. Kuzmin 2015: 198–208 argues that Lasciac was gradually

Baroque palaces in Istanbul, like Çırağan, Dolmabahçe, and Beylerbeyi Sarayı. But its detailing is more carefully Baroque, probably because Saʿīd Ḥalīm, a serious Romanophile, wanted his architect to go back to the source, Rome. This Lasciac did splendidly, although the winds of the rising Art Nouveau style softened his lines in various places, most notably in the elegant interior iron double-staircase (fig. 6), the decorative crenellations on the roof, and the entry portal and fence wall.[28] The rectangular edifice itself, with its colonnaded façades and the two long wings extending on its sides to enclose part of the garden, on the other hand, is executed in a strict Baroque style, contrasted by the vividness of the precious veined pink marble covering all surfaces, which the prince had imported from Italy, along with most building materials and furniture of the palace.

Fig. 6. The Palace of Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pāšā, staircase.

adopting the eclectic Islamic styles popular among architects in Egypt at the time, but was accommodating the taste of his clients among the ruling class, like Saʿīd Ḥalīm, who demanded the prevalent European styles for their buildings.

[28] Chiozza 2005 characterizes Lasciac's architecture in general as an amalgam of Art Nouveau and 'Oriental' styles.

Fig. 7. The Palace of Saʿīd Ḥalīm Pāšā, insignia of the prince on elements of a portal.

Most columns and many decorative reliefs on the façades are monogrammed by superimposed 'S' and 'H', alternating with the Ottoman emblem (fig. 7), a cautionary gesture that did not prevent the palace from being seized by the British in 1915, along with all of Ḥalīm's and his siblings' assets in Egypt. They had been declared enemy subjects on account of their residing in Istanbul and their close association with the Ottomans, who had just entered World War I against Britain and its allies. Saʿīd Ḥalīm never had the chance to live in his Cairene palace. A few years later, the palace was turned into a boys' school, al-Nāṣiriyya, which graduated many famous Egyptian statesmen in its long history before closing down in 2004 (Guida 2007). Now the palace is empty and slowly crumbling, after it had long lost a sizeable part of its garden and its dainty marble fixtures to apartment buildings fronting the main street. Ahmad el-Bendari, a specialist of Cairene Belle Époque architecture, however, has recently discovered that the fanciful Art Nouveau portal, believed to have been demolished when the garden was truncated, survived as the portal of another villa in Garden City, the Villa Boulad, currently occupied by the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs.[29] How the portal moved to Garden City is not known. What is known, however, is that, despite having been listed as a protected monument by the Supreme Council of Antiquities, the palace lingers in negligence. It is now mired in some legal shenanigans that might result in its demolition through a notorious legal trick called *tasqīʿ*, that is, leaving a building deserted and without any maintenance

[29] Personal communication, December 2008.

for a number of years until it can be declared as *āʾil li-s-suqūṭ* ('ramshackle' or 'falling apart'), a condition that warrants its removal to be replaced by more lucrative structures in this central area of Cairo.[30]

Fig. 8. The Sakākīnī Palace, general view.

The Sakākīnī Palace

Two years older than the palace of Saʿīd Ḥalīm, the Sakākīnī Palace follows a style, the Rococo, that emerged historically from the late Baroque, and is much more frou-frou and ostentatious than its ancestor (fig. 8).[31] Built by unnamed Italian architects for Count Gabriel Ḥabīb Sakākīnī Pasha (1841–1923), a Levantine entrepreneur who

[30] For a series of photos showing the pitiable current status of the palace, see "Abandoned Said Halim". Multiple articles give contradictory information about the legal status of the palace, cf. ʿAbd ar-Raʾūf 2015; Riyāḍ 2018.

[31] Raafat 2003: 287–289; also 1997; Lababidi and Sabbahy 2001: 58–61.

gained his wealth working as a contractor for Khedive Ismāʿīl, the palace is said to have been a faithful copy of an unspecified palace that Sakākīnī saw in Italy and adored. Whatever the veracity of this report, it tells us much about the taste of the hero of this rags-to-riches saga, Ḥabīb Sakākīnī, who started life as a daily worker in Port Said after emigrating from Damascus at the age of 16. What the anecdote does not reveal, however, is the steely determination and careful calculation of this shrewd businessman, who planted his fairy-tale palace at the centre of a square, named after himself, where eight roads converge in aẓ-Ẓāhir, a traditional neighbourhood northeast of the Fatimid city, that he was then developing into a modern one, making a fortune in the process (Raafat, 2003: 287).

Fig. 9. The Sakākīnī Palace, corner niche.

Square in plan with four circular turrets cupped with ribbed bulbous domes at the four corners and a central dome high above a tiered octagonal pavilion, the palace cuts a fantastic profile in the skyline of present-day Cairo. With its colourful decoration and diverse statuary comprising around 300 specimens inside and outside the

building, the showy fantasy is carried into every detail of the palace. There are urns, garlands, festoons, and floriated corbelling everywhere. There are busts of Ḥabīb Sakākīnī himself and probably of Mrs Sakākīnī, as well as four pairs of statues of their children, possibly at different ages, perched on the balustrades of the first-floor bedrooms' balconies. But the most eye-catching figures are the four maidens representing the four seasons, each standing on a large urn within a niche with a scalloped conch flanked on each side by a pair of caryatides (fig. 9). The four statues and their niches articulate the bases of the four turrets and soften the square palace's edges, while giving it the effect of an octagon, whose sides command one of the eight roads radiating from the palace. Each niche is also surmounted by a huge stone shield on which are monogrammed the two Latin letters 'H' and 'S' in four different eclectic styles, whereas the full name of Ḥabīb Sakākīnī is inscribed in Arabic script with the date 1897 above the palace's western entrance.

As an exhibitionist domicile, the Sakākīnī Palace blithely recalls the much more famous – and no less eccentric – Neuschwanstein Castle of Ludwig II of Bavaria (1845–1886), the Swan King. It was completed in 1892, only five years before the building of Count Sakākīnī's palace.[32] Like Neuschwanstein, which, because of its fame at the time, may have been its visual archetype, the Sakākīnī Palace may be considered as a precursor to Disneyland's Sleeping Beauty Castle. In fact, they share a quality that Neuschwanstein was not meant to have when it was first constructed. Both the Sakākīnī Palace and the Sleeping Beauty Castle skilfully deploy fanciful architecture in the service of business, one as a real-estate incentive, and the other as a vacation destination for families (Bayless 2012). But the manoeuvre is carried out at a much more spectacular and sustained scale in the American folly, and now that Ludwig's palaces have become premier tourist attractions, in the Bavarian castle as well (Herford 2017).

The Palace of Baron Empain

No less idiosyncratic, though drawing its inspiration from an 'eastern' tradition, is the Palace of Baron Empain in Heliopolis, also known as 'the Hindu Palace' (fig. 10).[33] Commissioned in 1907, the palace, like the Sakākīnī Palace, formed a nodal point in the Baron's bold and visionary project to build a new garden-city in the desert outside Cairo. Baron-General Edouard Louis Joseph Empain (1852–1929), a successful Belgian entrepreneur who arrived in Egypt in 1904 after having made a fortune working in transportation systems, reserved his modern-day oasis of luxury

[32] The Count earned this title from a Roman Pope, Leon XIII, in recognition of his services to the Catholic community in Cairo. On Neuschwanstein Castle, see Knapp 1999; Petzet, Thoma, and Kreisel 1970; Kühler 2011.

[33] Johnston 2006: 125–128; Raafat 2003: 289–291; also 1995. For a description of the current status of the palace, see Elyamani 2018: 53–73.

and leisure for a largely expatriate community.[34] He planned all sorts of services and attractions that would appeal to a wealthy elite, such as a racetrack, a golf course, a sports club, and parks, and introduced a tramway line, the first in Egypt, to provide Heliopolis with a fast connection to Cairo. For the architecture of the city centre, its luxurious hotel, the Heliopolis Palace Hotel (today a presidential palace named al-Ittiḥādiyya), and most of its villas, he favoured an eclectic Neo-Islamic style that he mostly entrusted to the young Belgian architect Ernest Jaspar (1876–1940), although it seems that many other architects contributed to the overall eclecticism of the city's styles.[35] But for his own palace, which he intended as a *pied-à-terre* where he could entertain Egypt's socialites, he chose the French architect Alexandre Marcel (1860–1928).[36] Marcel had already made his fame designing several pavilions at the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris, including the Pavilion of Cambodia, ostensibly based on the 12th-century Angkor Wat Temple (though most probably inspired by south Indian temples),[37] and a Japanese tower.[38] King Leopold II of Belgium (r. 1865–1909) bought the tower and asked Marcel to rebuild it in his estate near Brussels, where Baron Empain first saw it and was taken by it. This was the beginning of his relationship with Marcel.

It is not clear why Empain asked Marcel to build him a mock Indian temple replete with Hindu and Buddhist statues, animal scenes, and Indonesian demons in a city for whose public buildings he had already selected a more suitable Neo- or Baroque-Islamic style (Sakr 1993: 63–66; Van Loo 1994: 350–352). But one possible reason is that the idea was Marcel's, not Empain's, for the architect had just returned from India in 1906, where he had built a French-inspired, eclectic palace, looking like a truncated Fontainebleau, for the Maharaja Jagatjit Singh of Kapurthala (r.

[34] On the planning of Heliopolis, see Garret 2001: 109–19; Volait and Minnaert 2003; Ilbert 1981; Raymond 2000: 329–333.

[35] On the architecture of Heliopolis and the work of Jaspar, see Van Loo 1994: 344–353; 2001; Volait 2008. On the various architects who contributed to the creation of the heavily Neo-Islamic but eclectic styles of Heliopolis's buildings, see Dobrowolska and Dobrowolski 2006: 33–155, esp. 145–55.

[36] Garret 2001: 116-18; Morice, 1929. Morice raises the issue of the extent to which Marcel, who was a mature and well-known architect as opposed to the young Jaspar, was involved in the planning of Heliopolis and in developing several types of the villas and buildings, which were clearly designed by him; see Volait 2019.

[37] Despite what the architect claimed, Cambodia does not seem to have been his inspiration. The arch of the main entry of Empain Palace seem to be copied from the Ajanta caves, the tower from north Indian temples, e.g. Bhubaneswar; see Harle 1994: fig. 92 for the former, and fig. 188 for the latter. The 'Cambodian' pavilion in Paris too does not seem to be at all Cambodian in inspiration, but also south Indian; Harle 1994: figs. 247, 252.

[38] On the phenomenon of freely interpreting Asian architecture in the colonial period and the role the discovery of Angkor Wat Temple played, see Herbelin 2013: 171–188; Flour 2014: 63–82.

1877–1947), who was another one of those 'Oriental' princes initiating new experiments of urban renewal with the aspiration to turn his city into a "Paris in the East", Punjab this time (Raulet 1997: 54–68; Sharma 2012: 277–279).

Fig. 10. The Palace of Baron Empain, general view.

The question becomes more perplexing when we examine the interior of Empain's Palace, designed and decorated by Marcel's colleague Georges-Louis Claude (1879–1963) in a cheerful Baroque style with a magnificent spiralling marble stair (Claude-Scheiber and Camus 2000: 18; Volait, 2019: 31–32). The acute contrast between the interior and exterior of the palace points to a desire on the part of Baron Empain to create a flamboyant landmark in his new city without compromising his own preference for a familiarly conventional European living space. This is a well-known pattern in the 19th-century fascination with 'Oriental' architecture, which was mostly used for spectacle, as stage sets for entertainment, or as thin façades at exhibitions.[39] The interior spaces, with very few notable exceptions, had to accommodate the proper living arrangements for modern Europeans or European-educated 'Oriental' princes.

What probably drew Baron Empain to Marcel and Claude was that their pavilions in 1900 and later in Brussels were exactly what he wanted his Hindu Palace to be: purposefully exotic from the outside and recognisably European from the inside (fig. 11). In fact, the Palace of Baron Empain, one of the first in Egypt built with the

[39] An excellent study is Crinson 1996; see also Sweetman 1988: 112–59; Edwards 2000; Çelik 1992: 1–15.

modern material of concrete, had as its undisputed model not some distant Cambodian or Indian temple, but the fanciful Cambodian Pavilion Marcel built for the 1900 Paris Universal Exhibition.[40] The wow effect was what Baron Empain went after, and Marcel delivered it, especially with the way he planted his lone edifice at the pinnacle of a large, ascending terraced garden excessively adorned with rare exotic plants and even more exotic and risqué statues. The approach was calculated to intensify the sense of wonder as the visitor moves closer to the palace and notices its details.

Fig. 11. The Palace of Baron Empain, tower.

[40] Marcel was to advertise his eclectic exoticised approach in a short illustrated booklet containing most of his designs (but not the Palace of Baron Empain in Cairo): Marcel 1924; Herbelin 2013.

The frivolity and giddiness that the extravagant palace was meant to induce among the elite invited to the Baron's frequent parties turned into macabre overtones after it lay deserted for forty years following its sale by Empain's heirs in 1957. Undoubtedly because of its bizarre architecture and outlandish statuary, wild stories began to circulate among the people of Cairo about secret rooms and tunnels underneath it, loud noise and apparitions at night in its forsaken, dusty garden, probably of youths seeking a quiet place for illicit activities, and meetings of secret cults in its empty rooms. These urban legends were not put to rest until finally, in 2005, the Egyptian government resolved the legal battle over its ownership, put it on the list of protected monuments, and replanted parts of its desolate garden.[41] Today, like the palaces of Saʿīd Ḥalīm, Sakākīnī, and many others, the Hindu Palace is empty and under a protracted operation of restoration that may drag on for years.[42] It too is destined to become a memento of Cairo's Belle Époque.

3 And many more

The story of Belle Époque Cairo is obviously not only that of palaces and their affluent and larger-than-life owners. The rest of the story would require looking at the new city that Khedive Ismāʿīl established, as it metamorphosed from a serene exhibition-like urban frontage of premodern Cairo to a bustling metropolis where the two halves, traditional and modern, have been joined by commerce, infrastructure, and people's movements.[43] The subsequent growth of the unified city created all sorts of opportunities that made the palaces possible in the first place, as expressions of enormous concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, and that sometimes had to remove them to accommodate new functions that reflected the development of a capitalised economy. Thus new Cairo acquired office buildings and banks where business was conducted; villas and apartment buildings where a growing bourgeoisie, some Egyptian but mostly expatriate, dwelt; top-notch foreign and national schools and a university where they were educated; fancy department stores and boutiques where they shopped; cinemas, sports clubs, gardens, and cafés were they were entertained; embassies, ministries, and courthouses were they were represented and governed; mosques, churches, and synagogues were they worshipped; cemeteries were they were buried.

Most of those buildings, however, were inaccessible to the common Cairene people, whose vast majority was Muslim and Arab, except for those who cleaned them and served in them. Moreover, the popular and traditional neighbourhoods, where

[41] Volait 2009c; 2013; Elyamani 2018.

[42] See, for instance, this recent article: al-Kurdī and az-Zāhid 2018.

[43] On the urban development of Cairo between the age of Ismāʿīl and the 1952 Revolution, see Abu-Lughod 1965; 1971: 98–142; Raymond 2000: 333–338; AlSayyad 2011: 222–228; Rodenbeck 1998: 173–188.

most of the common Cairenes lived, were usually left to their own devices with minimal municipal investment. Resentment was slowly brewing until it exploded in 1952, first with the Great Cairo Fire of January 1952, which targeted 'foreign' buildings, and then, more effectively, with the Free Officers' Revolution of 23 July 1952. The new regime that ensued abolished the royal system and ultimately forced many members of the aristocracy, made up of predominantly Turko-Circassian stock, and the Levantine and European magnates who controlled Egypt's economy under colonial rule, out of the country after the Suez War of 1956, and confiscated their properties. Numerous Belle Époque palaces became public schools, government agencies, or were left empty and entangled in legal limbo (Elsheshtawy 2014). Today, the remnants of that era, some salvaged and rehabilitated, have become the embodiment of a bygone, largely re-imagined, cosmopolitan Belle Époque Cairo. The city, as it perched at the confluence of the Nile Delta, has never ceased in its millenarian history to attract all sorts of people, dreams, and ideas, and to remember them in stone (or steel, glass, and concrete).[44]

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IBRĀHĪM IBN YAʿQŪB AṬ-ṬURṬŪŠĪ IN PAVIA: THE 'REGISOLE' (A RE-READING)

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Ibrāhīm ibn Yaʿqūb aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī (fl. 960s) has long been identified as one of the, albeit indirectly used, sources of Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī's geographical dictionary, *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, compiled in 1461. Al-Ḥimyarī's 'Italian' entries – without prejudice to others – present textual composites of clearly heterogeneous provenance, from which at times a noticeably factual, detail-rich strand can be descried. Most recently, Giuseppe Mandalà argued for their attribution to Ibrāhīm (Mandalà 2014: 351–361).[1] In a conference paper of 2017, written before I became aware of Mandalà's study, I reached the same conclusion about a number of al-Ḥimyarī's anonymous quotations concerning places in Italy.[2]

1 Ibrāhīm's entry on Pavia

In the hope of refining my earlier argument, I here want to return to al-Ḥimyarī's, or rather his predecessor Ibrāhīm's, entry on Pavia. It may not be out of order to preface the discussion to follow with al-Ḥimyarī's text (*ar-Rawḍ*, 115b:-11–116a:6):

> Pavia—it is the 'principal' of the cities of Longobardia[3] (*qāʿidat mudun Lunqubardiya*), a city built of stone, brick, and lime-mortar, very big, with a large population; within it water-springs gush forth. It lies on a river which joins another river half a mile below it. In this city there is a beautiful 'castle' (*qaṣr*), at the gate of which the copper image of a rider (*ṣūrat fāris*) stands, of exceeding bulk—in ancient times the king of Constantinople sent it to the country of Longobardia. In this town (*balda*), there are three hundred jurists, Muslims (*faqīh min al-muslimīn*), and before them the people of Longobardia argue their suits against each other; they also settle the bills of their purchases and sales for them. In [the town] live rich Muslim merchants (*min al-muslimīn*

[1] Cf. Ashtor 1983: 665–668; Ducène 2018: 163–194, esp. 192f.

[2] Richter-Bernburg 2019b (in manuscript submitted to the editor[s] in June 2017).

[3] The Arabic grapheme *lnqbrdyh* has here been rendered in historicizing fashion in order to distance it from modern Lombardy.

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tuğğār aġniyā'), whose number exceeds four hundred; they own magnificent buildings and highly profitable merchandise (*matāğir qawiyya*). Therefore the merchants and pilgrims headed for Rome just cannot bypass Pavia.

The points dealt with in my previous study (Richter-Bernburg 2019b), beginning with the identification of the place as Pavia, will not be taken up again,[4] notwithstanding some supplementary comments. Instead, my focus will be trained on the equestrian bronze.

Typically, Ibrāhīm takes note of the city's prevalent building materials and water supply.[5] The fact that a 'beautiful castle' (*qaṣr ḥasan*), which he undoubtedly took to be the seat of the town's lord or governor, was located *intra muros* also drew his attention. His qualification of the structure as 'beautiful' does not permit any inference as to whether or not he had access to its interior. Similarly, Ibrāhīm's apparent silence regarding the respective venues of his audiences with the eponymous Ottonian Otto (I) (r. 936–973) in Merseburg – assuming this was the place instead of Magdeburg – and Rome may just result from the vagaries of transmission. As for Pavia, he cannot serve as witness pro or con on Berengar II's alleged demolition of the palace before his evacuation of the city in 961.[6] However, as Mandalà has aptly emphasised, the salient point in Ibrāhīm's otherwise fairly unexceptional account is his mention of a monumental equestrian bronze before the castle gate. The comment that Ibrāhīm adds on the statue's provenance cannot but reproduce a local tradition.[7] After all, his position was that of a disinterested outsider who merely passed on what he heard, and which can thus be paraphrased: in times of old, an East Roman emperor

[4] However, *pace* Adalgisa De Simone and in her wake, by way of hypothesis, Mandalà 2014: 357, n. 141, the Arabic grapheme of the town's name in al-Ḥimyarī, *bwnyh*, cannot, considering its *rasm* (its undotted 'skeleton'), simply be approximated to the *rasm* of the transmitted *bnbnt* for Benevento. Textual corruption of foreign names in al-Ḥimyarī is graphically illustrated by the two variant renditions of 'Glemona'; in the pertinent lemma, it adequately figures as *ġlmwnh*, whereas in the lemma *'nqwl'yh* (Aquileia), it is distorted to *'lmyh* (*ar-Rawḍ*, 429a:26 and 39b:23). As for an identification of Ibrāhīm's subject as Benevento, it founders on topographical incongruities. Also, the Beneventan equestrian statue, only vaguely localisable, was of marble instead of the Pavian bronze; Rotili 2017: 250a. Further, Mandalà or his sources blithely gloss over Benevento's unsettled conditions in the 9th century – at that a full hundred years before Ibrāhīm's travel – in order to accommodate his observations on the flourishing legal profession and commercial activity; cf. Wolf 2012. However, in a later passage Mandalà too athetizes as *pia fraus* the dual qualifier *mina l-muslimīn* of jurists and merchants; Mandalà 2014: 361.

[5] This is not to imply that the unique position among geographical authors which Ibrāhīm does occupy (as I hope to show elsewhere) derived from his observations of these basic features of urban settlements; on al-Muqaddasī and Nāṣer-e Ḫosrow, to name just two representative writers, cf. Richter-Bernburg 2019a.

[6] [Otto…] *palatium a Berengario destructum reaedificare praecepit* (as noted by others, the damage inflicted cannot have been too bad); [Adalberti] *Continuatio Reginonis*, 171:11f.

[7] Cf. Mandalà 2014: 360: "una tradizione, una diceria più o meno locale".

had the statue transported to Longobardia. Regardless of the final verdict – if such can be achieved at all – on this piece of Pavian urban lore, it articulates a collective perception of the actual 'classical' statue.

2 Ibrāhīm on Pavia's equestrian bronze ('the Regisole')

2.1 The import of his testimony

Before continuing, I may be permitted to restate the basic assumption of my earlier study: on the threshold of the Ottonian period, Ibrāhīm's witness unequivocally attests the presence of Pavia's latterly much-treasured Regisole.[8] If, taking the position of devil's advocate, the identification of 'Ibrāhīm's statue' as the Regisole were rejected, that would effectively cast aside the cumulative evidence of the entire textual tradition. Also, it would mean that an unknown 'cousin' of the Regisole had, as it were, a cameo appearance in Ibrāhīm's account, vanishing without a trace just before a 'successor', of well-nigh identical pedigree, was reported to have entered the scene.[9] Instead of simplifying matters, the task of explanation would be gratuitously redoubled, leaving aside for the moment all consideration of historical verisimilitude once two instead of one, monumental Roman bronzes had to be accounted for. Thus the present argument will proceed on the assumption of the two statues' identity.

[8] In Richter-Bernburg 2019b, I simply took the identity of Ibrāhīm's 'copper' rider and Pavia's renowned Regisole for granted – as Mandalà had done earlier. Generally on the Regisole, see, from a disciplinarily 'Western' – here used as an exclusively descriptive term – perspective, Lomartire 2008. He, in turn, acknowledges his debt to Saletti 1997; cf. Thomas 2018: 170 and Weinryb 2016: 184–187, 255.

[9] In 1551, Girolamo Scaruffo[/i], *vicarius* at the Pavian episcopal court, emphasises the statue's having stood – and being accorded almost sacred honour – before the cathedral for more than five hundred years; for text and discussion see Saletti 1997: 145–147 and 25 (on the basis of Saletti, Scaruffi's text has also been made available online through the "Census of antique works of art and architecture known in the Renaissance [CensusID: 235617]" [accessed 06 January 2020 at http://census.bbaw.de/index]). While the sources or authorities on which Scaruffi based his dating are not known, he deserves credence as witness to an urban tradition which Saletti suggestively relates to the Pavians' destruction of the royal-imperial *palatium* in 1024 (Saletti 1997: 31). Up to this point, Saletti's reasoning appears persuasive; moreover, it is not contingent on his erroneous interpretation of the oft-quoted *placitum* (reign of Berengar I, 906–911) that was issued in the major portico of the palace, the premises called 'underneath Theoderic' (Saletti 1997: 26; see *Reg. Imp*. I, 3, 2:221, no. 1250, and cf. Richter-Bernburg 2019b: 246 with n. 36): reference is to the mosaic recorded by Agnellus Ravennas, *Liber Pontificalis* (see below, fn. 12), and which decorated an upper wall of the, likely apsidal, dais in a ceremonial hall on the *piano nobile*. Clearly, our reading of the *placitum* does not agree with Mandalà's, who localises the Regisole in the palace courtyard; Mandalà 2014: 359.

Pavian collective memory of the Regisole, as transmitted by Ibrāhīm, is a bundle of contradictions if measured against historical reality or plausibility. Admittedly, such a realistic construal of the text under discussion as a, however distorted, reference to actual history might be challenged as fundamentally mistaken. What has just been termed a bundle of contradictions, may be nothing more than a groping attempt to make sense of something wondrous and well-nigh inexplicable – which would also seem to imply the absence of epigraphic evidence; most likely no inscription on the statue base recorded its erection. The text recombines fragments from some vague historical memory into a semblance of plausibility – plausibility by period standards, not by those of contemporary readers. At any rate, it is worth scrutinising Ibrāhīm's or his interpreter's – the blurring effect of translation will be addressed below – rendition once again, not least because it predates all other narrative or visual attestations of the Regisole.

In Ibrāhīm's single sentence three parts call for comment: the subject ('the king of Constantinople'), the prepositional object ('to the country of Longobardia'), and the temporal adverbial phrase (*fī d-dahri l-qadīm*, 'in ancient times'). As noted above, the proposition is counterfactual. Actual relations between the emperor in Constantinople and the Longobard kingdom (568–774) were simply not such as to render possible the transport of a monumental bronze to the Longobard royal city. If, on the other hand, the intended time-frame really was pre-Longobardian 'antiquity', a Longobard nomenclature would be anachronistic – but then, anachronisms abound in popular traditions.

2.2 The Regisole in focus

Although Theoderic (r. 474–526) did construct *a* – or, more likely, restore *the existing* – *palatium* at Ticinum (later Pavia) and attend to urban renewal, the town ceded in importance to Ravenna and Verona, if the enumeration of Theoderic's building activities in the *Theodericiana* suggests an order of precedence.[10] Should Theoderic nevertheless have placed a statue at the gate of his Pavian palace, as he did in Ravenna, in subsequent popular transmission he might have become assimilated to an 'emperor' although, for all his ambition, he did not assume imperial rank.[11]

Agnellus's – negative, i.e. silent – testimony from 837–838 is of limited import; ever the committed Ravennate, he focussed on matters Theoderician at Pavia as

[10] *Theodericiana*, 84f, 172–175/c. 70–72 (= Anonymus Valesianus II, 324:23–31); his building activities at Ravenna and Verona are retailed in this order, whereas, in third place, construction sites at Ticinum are reduced to a mere list; then follows a summary reference to benefices *per alias civitates*. For chronological reasons, the *Theodericiana* have here been given preference to Fredegar (differently handled by Mandalà 2014: 357f, n. 146).

[11] See Wiegartz 2004: 43–45, on the vagaries of attribution of portraits, absent epigraphical identification.

well.[12] Provided that by the time of his visit the Regisole had already been in place, he might well have noticed the statue on his way to the Pavian palace and still have promptly forgotten it if it did not impress itself on him as Theoderic's likeness. If, on the other hand, considering later narrative testimony, the Ravennate provenance of the Regisole were accepted, Agnellus's failure to record its presence at Pavia might approximate a positive denial. Regrettably, this remains pure speculation: undeniably, and especially when confronted with acts of princely or episcopal spoliation, Agnellus displays a certain Ravennate local patriotism (Deliyannis 2004: 79 with n. 40 [ch. 113]), nor is he devoid of some broader art-historical sensibility beyond a merely ecclesiastical focus. Nevertheless, he does not in any discernible way aim at descriptive comprehensiveness (Deliyannis 2004: 66–90, pointedly 67ff).

Proceeding in time from Theoderic's reign to the advent of the Longobards in Northern Italy, during Justinian's protracted wars against the Ostrogoths, Pavia – being in enemy territory – could not have served as stage for a symbolic assertion of imperial authority as expressed by the equestrian bronze.

Returning to the mid-10th-century Pavian tradition recorded by Ibrāhīm, its dating of the statue's advent to a distant, conceivably pre-Longobard past cannot, taken at face value, be categorically rejected. However, its alleged 'antiquity' would seem to make much better sense if taken as a reflection of the Regisole's unmistakably 'classical' size and style. The oddly vague phrase 'country of Longobardia' for the statue's destination, instead of naming Pavia itself,[13] possibly reflects a similar loss of concrete historical record and a concomitant sense of bewilderment, as if adumbrating the – centuries-later – tradition that the transport of the Regisole on Charlemagne's orders had accidentally come to an end in Pavia (Saletti 1997: 19-22; cf. Deliyannis 2004: 74ff). At first sight, the 'Caroline' tradition, to borrow Saletti's term, would appear to be a mere doublet of a corresponding, yet factual, Ravennate tradition related by Agnellus (as in note 12 above); here the equestrian bronze which Theoderic put up in front of his palace in Ravenna so impresses Charlemagne that

[12] Judiciously observed by Saletti 1997: 18 (cf. *ibid*., 28: [Agnello,] *da buon ravennate*); reference is to Agnellus Ravennas, *Liber pontificalis*, ch. 94 (ed. Holder-Egger 337:15f [cf. 338:17–21 for chronology]; ed. Deliyannis 258:21ff, 259f:55–62; [transl.] Deliyannis 2004:74ff, 78, 205ff, 299).

[13] *Balad Lunqubardiya*; *balad* can – conveniently or in-, as the case may be – cover either meaning, 'town' and 'country', but here, given the contrast to *qāʿidat* mudun *Lunqubardiya* in the opening sentence, the context supports the meaning 'country'. Further, unless territorial names denote the respective capitals or central places at the same time, the latter are often simply distinguished by prefixing *madīnat* to the territorial name; merely by way of example, see *madīnat as-Suġd* in al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad's *Kitāb al-ʿayn* VI, 261:6 (cf. his definition of *madīna* as a 'country's central enceinte' [*wa-kullu arḍin yubnā bi-hā ḥiṣnun fī uṣṭummatihā fa-huwa madīnatuhā*], *ibid*. VIII, 53:11) and *madīnat Miṣr* in Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿğam al-buldān* IV, 454:1 – 455:4, 551:5f, 675:14f, 1044:15–17.

he orders it removed to his own favourite residence at Aachen.[14] What must have felt like a void in Pavian historical memory was conveniently filled with recourse to the Ravennate Caroline tradition – up to a point, since the statue's arrival precisely at Pavia was attributed to freak chance, as also intimated by Ibrāhīm. In either version, an emperor is the primary agent, be it the Charlemagne of the contrafactual Pavian tradition or the anonymous sovereign in Ibrāhīm's rendition. As regards the latter, the unanswerable question presents itself of whether he was already anonymous in Ibrāhīm's oral source or only had his name suppressed in translation, possibly in order to accommodate ignorant foreigners.

2.3 'The king of Constantinople'

At this juncture, and especially in view of the thus-termed Caroline tradition, it is worth addressing a further doubtful point in Ibrāhīm's report, namely the alleged seat of the mentioned emperor. Medieval Arabic authors, not just Ibrāhīm or his fellow countrymen from al-Andalus, frequently referred to the *basileus* as 'king of Constantinople', when they did not call him 'king of the Romans' (*malik ar-Rūm*) or simply 'master (*ṣāḥib*) of Constantinople'.[15] However, as I pointed out (Richter-

[14] Walahfrid Strabo (writing in 829), *De imagine Tetrici* vv. 28–88, 258ff (ed. Dümmler 371ff, 378; ed. Herren 123ff, 139; Goltz 2008: 600–604; Smolak 2001: 92–95; Falkenstein 1966: 53–61.

[15] Generally, see at www.alwaraq.net; (not only) concerning al-Andalus, numerous passages, whether by way of direct or indirect transmission, from writers contemporaneous with or only slightly later than, Ibrāhīm, attest the variant usages. Here only a few examples will be cited, roughly in chronological order by author, but without tracing the remote sources of every single secondary testimony: Ibn Ǧulǧul, *at-Tafsīr* Arab. 7:5 (*Armāniyūs* [sic lege] *al-malik, malik Qusṭanṭīniyya*, *s. a*. 337/948, quoted by ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān Badawī in *Ūrūsiyūs – Ta'rīkh al-'ālam*, 11:2; Ibn Ḥayyān *apud* al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 366:13ff: *mulūk ar-Rūm wa-l-Ifranǧ wa-l-Maǧūs… wa-min ǧumlatihim ṣāḥib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya al-'uẓmā*; Ibn Ġālib al-Ġarnāṭī [fl. c. 553/1158] *apud* Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Muġrib* I, 222:10: *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya* (but *ṣāḥib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*, *ibid.* I, 48:10 [*s. a*. 210/825-826]; II, 57:12 [*s. l(emmate)* al-Ġazāl, fl. c. 230/845]; but in the same context *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*, *apud* al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 346:15]); Ibn ʿIḏārī, *al-Bayān* I, 17:5 (*Hiraql, malik al-Qusṭanṭīna* [sic] *al-'uẓmā wa-Rūma*); *ibid.* II, 213:5f, *s. a*. 334/945-946: *malik ar-Rūm al-akbar Qusṭanṭīn b. Liyūn, ṣāḥib al-Qusṭanṭīna* [sic] *al-'uẓmā* (cf. *kitāb malikihim* [i. e. *malik ar-Rūm*] *ṣāḥibi l-Qusṭanṭīniyyati l-'uẓmā Qusṭanṭīn b. Liyūn, apud* al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 367:15f); nearly identically Ibn Iḏārī, *al-Bayān* II, 215:15, *s. a*. 338/949-950: *malik ar-Rūm al-akbar, ṣāḥib al-Qusṭanṭīna* [sic]; *ibid*. 231:15, *s. a*. 325/936-937, and 237:-5, -2f, *s. a*. 354/965[or later]: *malik ar-Rūm*; *ibid*. 296:-3, *s. a*. 386/996: *mulūk ar-Rūm* [i. e. non-Muslim Hispanic princes; similarly *ibid*. 299: -5, *s. a*. 392/1002 (?): *'uẓamā' ar-Rūm*; cf. al-Maqqarī, *al-Azhār* II, 258:14, s. a. 338/950-951: *ṣāḥib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya 'aẓīm ar-Rūm*]; al-Ḥimyarī, *ar-Rawḍ*, 158a:16, 20f (*s. l.* Ǧarǧarāyā, mid-5th/11th c.), 454:18 (*s. l*. Qubrus, pre-587/1191[?]), 486b:-10 (*s. l*. Qayrawān, c. 50/670) (in addition to *lemma* Būbiya); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-A'māl* 37:-6, *s. a*. 327/939: *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya al-'uẓmā* and 42:5, *sine dato* during al-Ḥakam (II) al-Mustanṣir's reign (961–

Bernburg 2019b: 243), the mentioned princes' East Roman identity should not be taken for granted; for example Ibrāhīm's account of continual imperial deference to the Aquileian patriarchs becomes entirely plausible once it is construed as referring to Western, rather than Eastern, emperors.[16]

The most likely cause of the slippage is the mistranslation of a vernacular term for 'emperor'; *caesar* would seem to suggest itself, in Arabic as well as in contemporaneous Latin and possibly proto-Italian. In Arabic, *qayṣar* was of venerable age as the title or quasi-name of Roman and subsequently East Roman emperors. If Ibn Ḫurdāḏbih (d. 300/911?) be trusted, it remained in popular use even after being replaced by *basileus* in imperial style.[17] In 10th-century Italy, *caesar*, in Latin or ver-

976): *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*; Ibn Ḫaldūn, *al-ʾIbar* [www.alwaraq.net (accessed 20 May 2019)], *s. aa*. 610–641 CE (reign of Heraclius), [2]25/841, 305/918, 327/938-939, 597/1200, 681/1282: *malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*; al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 364:7, *s. a*. 336/947-948: *ṣāḥib Qusṭanṭīniyya*; *ibid*. 366:15, s. a. 338/949: *ṣāḥib al-Qusṭanṭīniyya al-ʾuẓmā*. *Malik* and *ṣāḥib* appear to be interchangeable in these phrases without prejudice, as in al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 527:5 *vs*. 541:4 (parallel in *al-Azhār* II, 272:10); cf. *ibid*. 372:6: *malik ar-Rūm ṣāḥib al-Qusṭantīniyya* (parallel in *al-Azhār* II, 272:13: *malik ar-Rūm al-aʿẓam ṣāḥib al-Qusṭantīniyya*). In some diplomatic detail, and with minimal religio-polemical editing al-Maqqarī, or rather his source Ibn Ḥayyān, describes the chrysobull that ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān III received from Constantine Porphyrogennetos at the embassy's reception on 11 Rabīʿ I – 336 or 337/30 September 947 or 18 September 948, not 338/8 September 949 (Dölger 2003: 90; al-Maqqarī, *an-Nafḥ* I, 367:-6–368:6/*al-Azhār* II, 260:2–13). As noted by Lévi Provençal 1950: 152, n. 1, the quoted styles of sender(s) and addressee approximate the formulary found in Constantine's *De cerimoniis* I, 686:18–22, 689:14–18, cap. II 48, for correspondence with the caliph, including the quadruple-solidus chrysobull: ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα [lege: Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Ῥωμανὸς, as in the sample for the *amīr* of Egypt] πιστοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ αὐτοκράτορες αὔγουστοι μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ, εὐγενεστάτῳ καὶ περιβλέπτῳ ὁ δεῖνα πρωτοσυμβούλῳ καὶ διατάκτορι τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν. The Arabic version reads *Qusṭanṭīnu wa-*Rūmānus, al-muʾmināni bi-l-Masīḥ, al-malikāni l-ʿaẓīmān, malikā r-Rūm… al-ʾaẓīm ali-stiḥqāqi li-l-faḫr, aš-šarīf an-nasabi ʾAbd ar-Raḥmān, al-ḫalīfa al-ḥākim ʾalā l-ʾarabi bi-l-Andalus, aṭāla llāhu baqāʾah* (Dölger 2003: 89–90, no. 657; *varia lectio: al-mufaḫḫar* for *li-l-faḫr*).

[16] Without aiming for completeness, the following references will make the point: *MGH, DD Lo I/DD Lo II*, 70–73, no. 9 (Pavia 832: confirmation of earlier diplomata by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious), 192f, no. 76 (Gondreville 843); *DD L II*, 98f, no. 17 (Pavia 855); *DD LD/DD Kn/DD LJ*, 316–318 (Karlmann no. 22, Ötting 879); Reg. Imp. I, 3, 2, 151f, no. 1116 (Trieste 900, Nov 10), 184f, no. 1178 [904 before Sept], 185, no. 1179 (Pavia 904 [before Sept]), 276, no. 1370 (Pavia 921, Oct 3), 282f, no. 1377 (Verona 922, Mar 25); *MGH, DD K I/DD H I/DD O I*, 563–565, no. 413 (Pavia 972: confirmation of earlier royal and imperial privileges). Later grants, which also included confirmations of earlier benefits, have not been included here.

[17] Well-informed civil servant that Ibn Ḫurdāḏbih was, he was able to distinguish between popular usage and official styles; *Kisrā* and *Qayṣar* were the popular designations of the – pre-Islamic – rulers of al-ʿIrāq and the 'kings of the Romans', whereas their actual titles

nacular form, enjoyed some currency as imperial title, although – certainly in chancery usage –, *imperator*, alone, alternating or combined with *augustus*, took precedence.[18] In the contemporaneous Pavian tradition, the attribution of the transportation and *a fortiori*, the erection, of the Regisole to an 'emperor' suggests that only a

(*alqāb*) were *šāhānšāh* and *basīlī* (*BGA* IV, 16:5–7; the chronological differential between the Sasanians and contemporaneous emperors need not concern us here). Regardless of the *terminus ad quem* of his work – extending nearly half a century after 232/847 –, his information tallies well with that of al-Qalqašandī (*aṣ-Ṣubḥ* [<28 Šawwāl 814/12 February 1412] V, 483:8f [cf. *ibid.* 401:10f]); according to him, the last emperor to be styled *qayṣar* was Staurakios (*Istabraq* [sic lege] *Qayṣar malik al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*; deposed on 2 October 811).

[18] Again, no exhaustive listing is intended here; an illustrative sample in roughly chronological order, from the late ninth century to (after) the end of Otto I's reign, will have to do. The *Libellus de imperatoria potestate in urbe Roma* uses *caesar* for ancient emperors (*Constantino magno Caesare,* [post-Constantinian] *Caesares*, 191:9, 14) as well as for recent and contemporaneous ones (always in the – generic or individual – singular, 192:21 [*caesaris eleemosyna*], 199:16, 22 [*caesaris ... clementiae*], 200:5 [*intimantes caesari*], 15), although *imperator* (192:8, 24, 195:6, 197:9, 199:3, 12, 15, 23, 200:1, 6, 203:14, 18, 205:3, 207:5) and in adjectival constructions, *imperialis* (191:1,6, 192:3,23, 196:4,9,14, 197:7f, 199:1, 205:5f) by far predominate (cf. *imperium*, 193:4f). Derivatives of *reg-* are nearly synonymous (199:19, 201:6, 12, 205:2); perhaps most telling is *nemo* imperatorum, *nemo* regum *acquisivit; quia aut virtus defuit aut scientia pro multis* regni *contentionibus* (210:1ff).

The period of rivalry between Guido (II of Spoleto, emperor 891–894) and his son Lambert ([co-]emperor 892–98) on the one hand and Berengar I (king from 888, emperor 915–24) on the other is represented by chancery and poetic usage; from among Guido's charters one stands out for its use of *caesar* in *intitulatio*: *Vuido caesar imperator augustus*, signum formula: *...Vuidonis caesaris et imperatoris augusti*, and date: *...Vuidonis serenissimi caesaris augusti*, see Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Guido*, 54ff, no. XXI (AD 894). In his son's, Lambert's, altogether first precept, *ibid*., 71ff (January [895]), the *intitulatio* corresponds exactly to the just-quoted formula, *signum* adds *serenissimi*, and the date omits *caesar* and *augustus*. Lambert's second diploma (February 895) reduces the *intitulatio* to *imperator augustus*, but in *signum* and date has the identical formula *serenissimi caesaris et imperatoris augusti* (*ibid*., 73-76). In the following, third, deed (6 December 895), *caesar* only occurs in the context: *nostram caesaream flagitavit clementiam* (*ibid*., 77:7). As for this and corresponding adjectives, Lambert's first diploma appears not to differentiate between *augustal-*, *caesare-*, and *imperial-*; the first qualifies *auctoritat-*, *clementia*, *magnificentia-*, the second *sublimitat-* (cf. *clementiam* as just quoted), the third *auctoritat-* and *largitat-* (71:3, 7, 72:3, 23, 28, 73:2). Posthumously, Lambert was titled *caesar* in his epitaph (*MGH, Poetae* IV, 1:402, no. II). For Berengar, the only witness to *caesar* appears to be the so-called *Gesta*, an epic panegyric evidently governed by different rules than chancery documents (*MGH, Poetae* IV, 1: 357-401). Without underestimating the author's resources – cf. *induperatorem*, I 8 – nor yet metric constraints, in the very title, in Greek he proclaims Berengar as Καῖσαρ, which might be echoed by *solus in hocciduo caesar vocitandus in orbe*, IV 99 – but here the question will have to be left open (cf. *caesar-*, IV 177, 190, with *augus-*, I 6, IV 165, 188, and *imperi-*, I 22, IV 84, 98, 164). Liutprand of Cremona clearly avoids *caesar* altogether in *Antapodosis* (writing begun in 958), in contrast to *imperator-*, which on occasion, he employs

in the ancient meaning ‘commander in chief’ (I 1/Chiesa I:100ff, II 49/Chiesa II:807f, and cf. *Berengarius et Wido imperatores ob regnum Italicum conflictabantur*, I 5/Chiesa I:177f [=Cavallero 10:2f]). In *Antapodosis* I-V, *imperator*- exclusively refers to the Greek emperors (cf. *imperator* glossing βασιλεύ[ς], I 12/Chiesa I:386 and app.), whereas Western rulers in the period covered, since 880, are mere *reges*, including Charles (III) the Fat (wrongly called *calvus*, I 5/Chiesa I:174 [=Cavallero 7:9]). Only in the later, incomplete conclusion (VI 4/Chiesa 57f: *domini nostri, tunc regis, nunc imperatoris*) is Otto’s elevation to imperial dignity reflected in *Antapodosis*. In *Legatio* (after 968), Liutprand, articulating Ottonian ambitions vis-à-vis Byzantine claims to exclusivity, spells out the equivalence of *imperator* and βασιλεύς in contrast to *rex* vs. ῥήξ (2/Chiesa 36-40); again, he avoids *caesar*. The title *caesar* exceptionally appears in *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis* (964–65), in highly marked contexts; of the four occurrences, three, of identical formulation, figure in the account of the papal ‘invitation’ to Otto in 961, and the fourth in a solemn oath the Roman citizenry swore to Otto in late 963 (ed. Chiesa 159:9f: *... tunc regi, nunc augusto caesari Ottoni*; *ibid*., line 18f: *Ottonis tunc regis nunc caesaris augusti*; p. 160:3f: *Ottone, tunc rege nunc augusto caesare*; p. 164:29: *domni imperatoris Ottonis caesaris augusti filiique ipsius regis Ottonis*). Elsewhere in *Res gestae*, Liutprand maintains his regular use of *imperator*. In Otto’s diplomas *c[a]esar*- only appears in some Italian eschatocols between 2 December 966 and 22 April 972, and moreover, less often in the *signum* line than in the *datum* (*MGH, DD K I/H I/O I*, 448-556). A telling exception occurs in Otto’s Roman *pactum* of 2 December 967 with the Venetians; the date following the opening *invocatio* reads *anno... imperii vero domni Ottoni* [sic] *piissimi cesaris* (*ibid*., 478-483, no. 350, esp. 480:30f).

From the period around Otto’s death, Benedict of S. Andrea (writing in 972) offers additional testimony, although he also reflects his sources’ usage. Julian the Apostate is the only *cesar* mentioned (ed. Zucchetti 4:3), while ancient and modern emperors figure as *imperator*- or *august*- . Notwithstanding Benedict’s open aversion to Saxon rule, he does note Otto’s investiture as *Augustus* (*ibid*., 175:14ff; cf., for his classical predecessors, *ibid*. 5:10f, 11:7f, 17, 12:2, 5f, 13:6). Overall, in his references to Otto, he wavers between *imperator*- and *reg*- (*ibid*. 174:7f, 176:4, 5, 7f, 178:2, 4, 183:5, 8f), before, in his final lamentation over the decline of Rome, he reverts to ‘Saxon king’ (*ibid*. 186).

For comparison, a few ‘transalpine’ attestations may also be cited. Hrotsvit pointedly contrasts *reg*- with *august*- to mark the difference between royal and imperial rank (*Opera* 273, 296, 304, 328: *Gesta Ottonis*, prol. I:2–4, vv. 593f, 1477–1480/1483–1486; *Primordia coenobii Gandeshemensis*, v. 566f). *August*- generally takes precedence (*ibid*. 274, 305, 309: *Gesta*, prol. 2, v. 1507/1513, *Primordia*, v. 71); *cęsar*- only occurs, coupled with *august*-, in the prose preface to *Gesta*, but is once, in the Pelagius drama, also applied to the Saracen ‘king’ (*rex*) (*ibid*. 71, v. 224f). Possibly for metrical problems, *imperator* appears only in prose (p. 274 – other than *imperium*, e. g. *ibid*. 273, 274, 277). In adjectival form, all three terms are used, in the present context, most saliently perhaps in *urbs cęsariana* and *imperii... cęsariani* (*ibid*. x and 273: *pręfatio* to entire collection and *Gesta, prologus* I:1). In Ruotger’s *Vita Brunonis* (c. 969) *cęsar*-, *august*-, or *cęsar- august*- denote imperial rank in contrast to the less restricted *imperator*-; *ibid*. xv (introd.), 3:34 (cap. 2), 11, n. 1 (cap. 10), 43:13 (cap. 41), 45:5 (cap. 42). Once more the difference between more and less formal levels of diction appears to be reflected in a speech by bishop Arnulf of Orléans at the synod of Verzy in 991 – as recorded by Gerbert of Aurillac, *Acta concilii Remensis*; *Ottonem, quem augustum creaverat* is, in the following narrative, immediately replaced by (*Otto*[*n*-]) *caesar*(-) (*ibid*. 672:26-33).

powerful ruler could be credited with such an ambitious undertaking. Moreover, notwithstanding Ibrāhīm's vague wording, the action can be assumed to have been prompted by a strong motive.

Here the *caesar* Berengar (emperor 915–924) comes to mind, rather than his rivals Guido and Lambert (r. 891–898), since he is known to have had a special bond with Pavia as his capital. Right after winning the city back from Louis III (subsequently 'the Blind') in 902, he called it *caput regni nostri*. In the autumn of 911, in order to bolster Pavia's status as *regni sedes*, he requested – and obtained – ceremonial privileges for its bishop from Pope Anastasius III.[19] In 915 he finally succeeded in garnering a papal 'invitation' to Rome in order to be crowned emperor.[20] In Rome, on his way to the pope's palace at the Lateran, the venue of the coronation banquet,[21] he must have noticed the subsequently famous *caballus*, the equestrian bronze of Marcus Aurelius.[22] It would not stretch credulity to have the apparent ensemble of palace and statue impress itself on Berengar as an appropriate visualization of sovereign power, to be emulated as soon as an opportunity arose.

To continue a bit further along the path of speculation, it may indeed have been Ravenna, as the later tradition would have it, that furnished Berengar the coveted object.[23]

The cumulative evidence appears to indicate a limited vernacular currency of *caesar*, largely excluding its integration into imperial style.

[19] *Reg. Imp*. I, 3, 2, 220, no. 1249. Referring to the time immediately after Berengar's murder, Liutprand also speaks of *ipsam regni caput Papiam* (*Antapodosis* III 8/Chiesa III 225).

[20] *Reg. Imp*. I, 3, 2, 242f, no. 1298f; earlier, in 911, Pope Sergius III had conducted negotiations about Berengar's elevation to the imperial dignity, see *ibid*. 215, no. 1238f.

[21] Schneidmüller 2007:49; Eichmann 1942: I, 76f, 218–221, II, 32, 35ff, 211f; Diemand 1894: 94–102.

[22] Admittedly, the earliest attestation of the supposed Constantine at the Lateran only dates from the pontificate of John XIII (965–972); *Liber pontificalis* II, 252, 254b, n. 8 (cf. *ibid*. 259, regarding John XIV, 972–974); Falkenstein 1966: 61, n. 63f. However, to have it transported there from an unknown earlier location would raise more questions than it would answer.

[23] In or after 1318 Ricobaldus Ferrariensis ('Riccobaldo Ferrarese'), who first came to Ravenna in 1296, wrote about Charlemagne's removal of the Pavian bronze from its original place in Ravenna: *Ereum quoque equum aureatum quem ponte austri /Ravenne locavit [sc. Theodericus], quem ut legi in libro Pontificali ecclesie Raven-/[atis] Karolus rex Francorum et augustus inde substulit ut /transferet in Franciam, sed Papie nunc visitur*; *Compendium* 647:12ff. Evidently, this does not represent Agnellus's wording as preserved, but Ricobaldus might still have derived his reference from a Ravennate source – as his contemporary Bencius Alexandrinus ('Benzo d'Alessandria') may have done. The exact filiation of their concordant testimony as to the Ravennate provenance cannot be examined here; see Berrigan 1967: 168f and Piccinini 1992: 47–49, 73 (generally on Benzo see Ragni 1966). Cf. another, slightly later (<1334) version of Charlemagne's transport of Theoderic's Ravennate equestrian bronze in Iacobinus de Aquis ('Iacopo da Acqui'), *Cronica*, col. 1429f (see Saletti 1997: 17, n. 9, 19, and generally on Iacopo, Chiesa 2004).

An opportunity arose during his sojourn there in June 916;[24] all he needed to do was to requisition the bronze reported to have stood at *pons austri*.[25] Actually, whether or not the tradition about this statue be accepted, Ravenna apparently is still considered the most likely provenance of the Regisole.[26]

3 Conclusion

The interpretation just outlined is contingent upon a somewhat loose construal of the temporal marker 'in ancient times' in Ibrāhīm's report[27] – unless, as suggested earlier, the phrase referred to the statue's size and style. This would resolve the apparent anachronism implicit in situating Berengar's age, just over half a century past, in ancient times. Coincidentally, attributing the erection of the Regisole to Berengar would agree with the post-Charlemagne date proposed by Bernardo Sacco in 1565.[28] Trecentist authors presented the seizure from Ravenna of the Regisole and – perhaps concomitantly – of the relics of St. Eleucadius for Pavia in terms of the continual feuds between *comuni* and *signorie* in their own time. If they thus retrojected familiar conditions into the period before the turn of the second millennium, the disguise might still not completely conceal the reality of the period of the 'national' kings.[29]

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[24] He granted privileges to the diocese of Arezzo on 22 June; see *Reg. Imp*. I, 3, 2, 252, no. 1320: *in civitate Ravenna*.

[25] Saletti 1997: 17, n. 8, suggests an emendation to the better attested *augusti*, following Fantuzzi, *Monumenti Ravennati* I, 190, no. 51: *iuxta pontem Augusti* (9 November 975), and 395, no. 74: *prope Pontem Augusti* (15 July 1103); *a Cruce Pontis Austri* occurs in a document from the latter 14th century (1370?); see *ibid*. II, 403, no. 22. *Pons Augusti* also agrees with Iacopo da Acqui's alternative localization *iuxta forum platee*, *Cronica*, col. 1429.

[26] Saletti 1997: 17–24; cf. Lomartire 2008: 32–37, but also Hoffmann 1962: 322.

[27] Al-Ḥimyarī, or rather his unnamed source on Tarragona, al-Idrīsī, applies the phrase 'in ancient time' (*fī qadīmi z-zamān*) to the 9th–10th centuries, when the area was continually fought over by Muslims and Christians (*ar-Rawḍ*, 392a:18f = al-Idrīsī, *an-Nuzha*, 734:9f); thus the antiquity alluded to was not limited to the pre-Islamic period.

[28] Bernardo Sacco, *De Italicarum rerum varietate* ... X, cap. v [*sic* for vi], fols. 105v–106r [*sic* for 105r–v], esp. "106r:" 3ff: *quoniam post Caroli Magni tempora contentione exorta inter Papienses, & Ravennates exportata à Papiensibus Ravennam ingressis Statua fuit*; see Saletti 1997: 21, 23f, and A_{22}. In view of Sacco's fictitious historical reconstruction, the plausibility of his dating can hardly be considered more than fortuitous.

[29] Saletti 1997: 21f, 23f, 26–30; for source texts, cf. *ibid*. 102 (Benzo of Alessandria) and 153 (Opicino de Canistris).

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ARMINIUS VÁMBÉRY AND BRITISH CONSERVATIVES: SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THEIR CORRESPONDENCE

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Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913) was an important figure in 19th-century Oriental studies in Hungary. Despite the controversies pertaining to his oeuvre and personality, he had a long-lasting influence on the development of several disciplines in Hungary, not to mention that the omnipresent Vámbéry equally left his mark on some other countries from England to Turkey. Since he was, on the apex of his career, one of the internationally most popular Hungarians, his output was enormous, even if the works authored were of varying academic value. As a founding father of Oriental studies in Hungary and educator of, or source of inspiration for, later generations of Orientalists, his work continues to concern scholarship today, and recent publications are dedicated to his life and career.[1]

Probably the least known and remembered part of Vámbéry's legacy is his personal correspondence. In a former study, I gave a detailed description of the recently rediscovered Vámbéry family archive, today kept at the University of Maryland (Sárközy 2014a; 2014b). The aim of the present paper is to publish, with additional notes and commentaries, three important letters from this group, shedding light on Vámbéry's contacts with prominent figures of the British political elite on the turn of the 20th century. Although I already provided a brief introduction to these, hitherto unpublished, letters, during the past few years I have conducted a more thorough analysis of their contexts, which has partially transformed my view about their political significance. The authors of the letters, namely Randolph Churchill, George

Author's note: My former instructor of Classical Arabic, Professor István Ormos, played a key role in arousing my interest in the history of Oriental studies in Hungary. His outstanding work on the lives and scholarly activities of Mihály Kmoskó (1876–1931) and Vilmos Pröhle (1871–1946), two largely forgotten Hungarian Orientalists, are of particular relevance to my research; see Ormos 2012; 2017. The present paper discusses archival material in the University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. I should express my personal gratitude to Professor John Fuegi for his efforts in preserving these documents and for his generosity of making them accessible to me.

[1] For recent scholarship on Vámbéry, see Bartholomä 2006; Kovács 2013; Sárközy 2015; Knüppel 2017; Cwiklinski 2019; for Vámbéry's private correspondence with Goldziher, see Dévényi 2015.

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Curzon, and Arthur Balfour, were British conservative politicians, who exerted considerable influence on the Eurasian policies of the British Empire around 1900. As I shall argue, these documents also shed light on the extent of Vámbéry's influence on British foreign policymaking.

Vámbéry was a lifelong and ardent supporter of British imperialism in Asia, as well as an active advisor of British politicians on the Islamic world. Since the early 1870s, he worked for the British Foreign Office, where his reports are preserved, though his pro-British activism can be traced back to his Central Asian journey as a disguised dervish in 1862–1864, or perhaps even earlier. He remained an active adviser to the British on the Islamic world until the last weeks of his life in August 1913, as it is well known from reports preserved in the British Foreign Office where Vámbéry had been recruited since the early 1870's. (The reasons for his own enthusiasm towards the British Empire, and, for that matter, behind his opposition towards the Russian expansion in Asia, his characteristic Russophobia goes back to the Russian suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1849, when he, as a teenager, witnessed some horrific events. As a Hungarian Jew with limited rights in his home country, he understandably sympathised with the political emancipation of Jews in the United Kingdom. Regarding his outspoken support for colonisation, Vámbéry seems to have genuinely believed that the British sovereignty would benefit the local inhabitants of the colonies.[2]

1 Vámbéry and his British ties

Vámbéry undoubtedly was a strong pro-British character throughout his long life since his early contacts with British diplomats in Constantinople before 1860 until the very end of his life. However, his ties to British circles became more important after 1864 following his world-famous journey to Central Asia on the eve of the Tsarist conquest of that region. It is worth noting that it was at the British diplomatic mission to Persia where Charles Alison the then British consul to Persia in Tehran immediately realised Vámbéry's highly informative character relating to the manners and customs of Central Asia.[3] Following these discussions held at the British embassy of Tehran, Vámbéry was provided by letters of recommendation by Alison which eventually paved Vámbéry's way to inner-British political circles in London (such as Lord Palmerston or Lord Strangford). Unlike the controversial reception of Vámbéry in Hungary where he was severely criticised for not being able to provide results of his research trip on early Hungarians and their connections to

[2] On Vámbéry's pro-British sympathy, see Mandler 2014: 77–128.

[3] The British were still somewhat traumatised by the execution of British military officers (W. H. Wyburd, Arthur Connolly, and Charles Stoddard) in Central Asia who first hosted Vámbéry in Mashhad and Tehran upon his return from Central Asia.

Central Asia, he was warmly welcomed in Great Britain where he proved to be an invaluable source of information for British statesmen after 1864 on the contemporary political conditions of Central Asia. Since 1865 Vámbéry has remained in close contact with the highest political circles of London regularly appearing in the British Isles until 1911, the year of his last personal trip to Britain.

His importance was also clearly recognised by the British Foreign Office as well, which eventually hired Vámbéry as a well-paid informant on Middle Eastern issues since the mid-1870s onwards until the last weeks of his life but it appears also that Vámbéry may have been used by the Ottoman as well as their agent in foreign affairs. His role as a 'British agent' eventually led to the deterioration of his fame in the postcolonial period especially in the third world after the publication of documents and reports linked to him.[4] Apparently Vámbéry enjoyed the financial benefits of his services he made both to the Ottomans and the British. He was closely linked to members of the British royal family such as Edward the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) and regularly exchanged letters with Queen consort Mary of Teck (1867–1953) who was partly of Hungarian origin. Vámbéry also maintained a lifelong friendly contact with Sultan Abd al-Hamid II (r. 1876–1909) whom he had come to know in his early years before 1860. Being a go-between and an invaluable source of information, Vámbéry reached the peak of his career as an expert of the Middle East between 1880 and 1890. According to written evidence, the British government allocated to him a significant amount of income (five thousand pounds) under the heading of 'travel expenses', which was later converted into a regular allowance, and then, in his later period, into a life pension (Csirkés and Fodor 2014: 56).

As for his active role in shaping British policy in the Middle East, it is important to mention some of his major contributions in this field. In 1882, for instance, when British–Ottoman relations deteriorated due to the British occupation of Egypt, Vámbéry played an active role as a mediator to restore cordial relations between the two powers. Vámbéry also provided detailed reports on different topics for the British Foreign Office, such as the anti-Armenian measures introduced by the Ottomans (Fodor 2015: 49–62), the Iranian political crisis following the so called tobacco protest in 1891 (Csirkés and Fodor 2014: 55). Furthermore, he showed an avid interest in British–Muslim relations in India as it was testified by his publications as well. Vámbéry, despite his high age, was still able to provide reports on the turbulent political situation of Iran after 1906, though his staunch anti-Russian political credo did not go unnoticed even by his British supporters. Vámbéry was clearly aware of these critical voices on his political views, since he quotes one of these critical opinions in *The coming struggle for India*:

> "Professor Vambéry is a Hungarian, carrying in his breast, in indelible characters, hatred of Russia. He cannot forget 1848 (*sic*), when General

[4] As an example of a negative, and indeed superficial, approach towards Vámbéry, mention can be made of Öke 1985; see also Dabashi 2009: 51–79.

> Paskievitch compelled his countrymen to lay down their arms raised against Austria. He is continually brooding revenge, and thence his constant efforts to embroil us with Russia" (Vambery 1885: 200–201).

The contents of the three letters presented below should be interpreted in the framework of the current political events. These historical documents provide evidence for Vámbéry's relationships with some of the policymakers of the British Empire, as well as for the prestige he enjoyed in British conservative circles. Apart from the events enumerated above, it appears that he could have played an active role in the so-called Great Game, in which Russia and Great Britain vied for the dominance of Asia, and, in particular, for expanding their influence over Afghanistan and British India, which was one of the main subjects of Russian-British rivalry in Vámbéry's age. Though Vámbéry's replies to these letters still remain unknown and the chance for recovering his replies is rather modest, his influence exerted on policymakers of the British Empire as well as the popularity he enjoyed in British conservative political circles is evident from these documents.

2 Randolph J. Churchill to Arminius Vámbéry, 15 May 1885 (fig. 1)

As an advisor on foreign affairs, Vámbéry's popularity in British political circles reached its zenith between 1880 and 1890. He had a crucial role in solving several difficult crises in the Islamic world. One was the so-called Panjdeh incident, in which, following the 1885 Russian military incursion into Afghanistan, his mediation helped to prevent a diplomatic clash between Russia and the British Empire. Allegedly, it was Vámbéry who drew the new border line of north-west Afghanistan after the incident. However, despite his political service and widely popular public lectures in London, he failed to achieve one of his much-coveted goals, to receive an academic position at a university in England (Fisher and Best 2011: 81–110; Alder and Dalby 1979: 389–461).

In 1885, Vámbéry published one of his seminal works, *The coming struggle for India*, on the history of the subcontinent and its position in the Great Game. This book is perhaps the clearest manifestation of Vámbéry's political stance and ties with members of the Conservative Party.[5] He also gave several lectures in London in 1885, addressing problems in British India (Mandler 2014: 117–120), and presenting his idealistic thoughts about the role of the 'enlightened' Brits in 'civilising' India. The following passage from Vámbéry's abovementioned book summarises his view: As a possible credo of his idealistic and perhaps slightly naive thoughts about the enlightened civilizing British role in India, which he could have read out during the

[5] For a study on Vámbéry's personality, see Csirkés and Fodor 2014: 53–60.

lecture Randolph Churchill sadly missed in mid-May 1885, let me quote the following passage from Vámbéry's abovementioned book, published in 1885:

> "The improved situation in India, the blessings of modern culture, the re-assertion of human rights, will meet with appreciation and thanks here and there, among the lowest classes of the people; but unfortunately in Asia, even more than in Europe, the great masses are following their chosen leaders, either religious or social; and as it is to these leaders England has done most harm, the latter will not be conciliated by concessions of any kind" (Vambery 1885: 155).

Conversely, Vámbéry's description of customs and manners in imperial Russia is full of venomous comments:

> "In accordance with the saying, that the river cannot rise higher than source, it would be preposterous to expect from the Russian government any degree of culture higher than she was able to confer on her own subjects. A society where the main principles of administration and corruption are the order of the day; and where every official, either civil or military, is looking after his own personal interest, and has not the faintest idea of duty, honesty, and patriotism; there it is almost an impossible thing to get the beneficent rule based upon right and legality, so indispensable to the welfare of the masses" (Vambery 1885: 173–174).

Vámbéry's surviving letters confirm that he was a particularly popular advisor among British conservatives in this period; he corresponded with several politicians on a daily basis. The author of one of the letters was Lord Randolph Churchill (1849–1895), a radical Tory politician and the father of Winston Churchill. He reached the peak of his career soon after he wrote this letter, since only forty days later, on 24 June 1885, he became Secretary of State for India. In this position, he was responsible for the governance of Aden, British India, and Burma, though his tenure was rather short. In 1886, he was appointed as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons.

Lord Randolph Churchill's letter contains an apology for missing one of Vámbéry's lectures in London, for which he was personally invited. It is very likely that Vámbéry read excerpts from his forthcoming book at the event, as the title of the lecture, *England's future in Asia*, suggests. That is, this letter can be interpreted as evidence for Vámbéry's marketing strategy advertising his lecture in London. Churchill kindly apologises for his absence, and his style hints at the cordial relationship between them:

> Dear Sir,
> I have to thank you for your kind letter of yesterday's date asking me to attend a meeting to be held on Saturday next, at which you are to deliver an address on 'England's future in Asia'.

I regret exceedingly that a previous engagement does not permit me to have the pleasure of hearing you speak on a subject on which you are so undoubtedly qualified to express an authoritative opinion.
I am
Dear Sir
Yours Faithfully
Randolph J Churchill

3 Lord George Curzon to Vámbéry, 20 March 1898 (figs. 2–4)

Among the pro-Vámbéry circle of the Conservative Party, Lord George Curzon (1859–1925) had a particularly close relationship with Vámbéry. As the British Consul-General at Budapest, Esmé Howard (1863–1939), wrote in one of his reports in 1908, "Vambery has written so much on subjects which have always especially interested Curzon" (Alder and Dalby 1979: 457). Curzon and Vámbéry exchanged numerous letters, even though only two of them survive today in the Vámbéry family archive.

In his letter dated 20 March 1898, Curzon, who was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the time, praises Vámbéry for his expert feedback on a draft of his speech to be delivered in the House of Commons. This letter implies that they had previously exchanged several other letters, discussing questions related to India's borders. In my opinion, it may also have been related to the Pashtun uprisings in 1897–1898. Vámbéry's insight, though he had never set foot on Indian soil, was once again sought after for solving a political crisis centred on the question of the Afghan-Indian border. According to Curzon's remarks, it was Vámbéry's knowledge of Afghanistan and his voluminous study on India published a decade before that had promoted him to the rank of one of Curzon's advisors, and the good old Dervish of the Windsor Castle possibly served as a source of information for one of Curzon's speeches in the House of Commons not long before the latter's appointment as Viceroy of India.

Notably, Curzon maintained a strong interest in ethnic questions of borderlands, especially in fixing new political borders,[6] and had augmented his knowledge by travelling widely in India, the Middle East, and Russia. He served as Viceroy of India between January 1899 and November 1905, in which position he paid special attention to ethnic conflicts and border issues in north-western India (now Pakistan). His appointment to India took place soon after the Pashtun uprising in 1897–1898, and, purported as a long-term solution to this problem, he created the new administrative

[6] The so-called 'Curzon line', initially put forward by Curzon at the end of World War I, served as a proposed border line between Poland and the areas east of it, and indeed the eastern border of Poland roughly follows the same contour today.

unit called North-West Frontier Province in 1901. Whereas Vámbéry's influence on Curzon cannot be assessed with certainty, if one reads his *The coming struggle for India* carefully, one can extrapolate arguments that resurface in Curzon's policies:

> "As is pretty well known, the main and principal aim of the Conservative Ministry in going to war against Afghanistan, was to secure a scientific frontier in the place of the former unscientific, i.e., unsafe, and unreliable one. The scientific frontier may be designated, if we say that it was to have comprised a line of country extending from the Kheiber to Quettah, including the Kheiber and Mishni passes, as well as other defiles, leading from India into Afghanistan, together with the Kuram, Sibi and Pishin, in order to obtain, as Sir Henry Rawlinson very justly remarked, a strong, friendly and independent power in the north-west of India, without being obliged to accept any crushing liabilities in return" (Vambery 1885: 70).

In this passage, Vámbéry mainly reiterated the decisions of the 1881 Treaty of Gandamak that put an end to the second Anglo-Afghan war. Besides the territorial changes, Vámbéry also emphasised the idea of a 'scientific frontier', that is, a safe and strictly controlled area devoid of the tribal riots of Pashtun tribes. Vámbéry's proposal for creating this buffer zone was probably the main impetus behind Curzon's establishment of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901.

Curzon and Vámbéry remained in close contact for a long period. Curzon reportedly visited Vámbéry in his apartment in Budapest (Alder and Dalby 1979: 323–326), and their relationship might have paved the way for Curzon's noted Hungarophilia. In 1919, when he participated in the Versailles Peace Conference as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Curzon argued for a more humanistic treatment of post-war Hungary and briefly supported Hungary's claim for changing the deeply unjust new border system that the Entente powers were about to impose on Hungary. His knowledge of geography, long-lasting friendship with Vámbéry, and familiarity with the ethnicity map of Hungary could have made an effect on the conference's decision. The Entente, however, eventually rejected Curzon's suggestion (Cartledge 2009: 99–102).

> "My dear Professor
> I was very much gratified nearly a month ago to receive your very kind complimentary remarks about my Indian frontier speech. Before writing to thank you I have been waiting for the revised and official copies of my speech in order that I might send you 2 or 3 copies which I now do.
> It is a great pleasure to me to think that in advocating the cause to which you have devoted your life, I have encouragement and approval of so great an authority and so illustrious a pioneer.
> I am rejoiced to think that you are in good health,
> Yours sincerely, George Curzon"

4 Prime Minister Balfour to Vámbéry, 22 May 1905 (figs. 5–8)

A third letter in the Vámbéry family archive represents the latest phase in Vámbéry's career as an advisor on the Islamic world. It appears that by this time his political influence had, to some extent, lost its former prominence. The author of this letter, Arthur Balfour (1848–1930), was a renowned conservative politician, who, both as Prime Minister (1902–1905) and later as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (1916–1919), had a leading role in British foreign policies. His most famous deed was the statement of creating 'a national home for the Jewish people' in Palestine, known as the Balfour Declaration, in 1917. In addition, it was also Balfour who signed the Anglo-French convention in 1904, thereby creating the basis of the Entente.

Balfour's letter, arguably one of the most interesting documents in the newly resurfaced archive, responded to a former letter from Vámbéry, concerning the Afghan-Russian relations. As it is known, the issue of Afghanistan was of primary importance to British politicians for several reasons, and Vámbéry was repeatedly asked to share his views in this respect. Though an ardent Russophobe until the very end of his life, Vámbéry remained highly informative on the questions of the Great Game even in his twilight years, and would still send reports to the British Foreign Office, as well as letters to British politicians. As for Vámbéry's ideas pertaining to Afghanistan, it is clear that this country was highly important in his eyes as an obstacle for Russian infiltration into India, which Vámbéry considered a great threat to British interests as he already made it clear quoting a speech of a Conservative British politician, Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere as early as in 1885 in *the Coming Struggle for India*:

> "If we suppose Afghanistan only so far Russianised that Russian travellers freely move about the country, that Russian officers and men, not necessarily in the pay of the Russian Government, but deserters, possibly, or vagabonds from Russia, drill the [Afghan] Emir's troops, cast his cannon, coin his rupees, and physic him and his subjects, what would be the effect in India? Can any man in his senses, who knows anything of India, doubt that the effect now, and for many years to come, must be disquiet every one in India, except the great majority of the cultivators who will go on cultivating without talking politics till the crack of doom? Every Englishman, from the Governor-General downwards, will be disquieted; they will feel that a great foreign Power has as much to say to the proceedings of all the troublesome classes as the Viceroy and his English officials. Every prince and chief will see in the Russians a possible alternative claimant for empire in India."[7]

[7] Vambery 1885: 159–160. Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere (1815–1884) was a high-ranking British colonial administrator, who served as the governor of Bombay between 1862 and 1867.

Balfour's letter dates from the very end of the Great Game. By that time, the Russian and British political interests had begun to conflate, and the two countries, along with France, were to put aside their former enmities in favour of forming a coalition against Germany. As noted above, the Entente was formally created in 1904 between France and Great Britain, to which Russia joined in 1907. This sudden twist in the political alliances had a tremendous and dramatic impact on Eurasian politics as well, where the former British-Russian rivalry was replaced by, officially, though not always publicly, acknowledged by both parties. The Balfour letter addressed to Vámbéry in 1905 is a very good example of this changing attitude. The ailing Vámbéry – though his reply has not resurfaced in British archives – could possibly have received these changes with a significant reservation, as he remained a staunch anti-Russian thinker and was apparently stunned by the new direction taken by his British Conservative friends. Instead of a Russian-British war on India, now the sides allied with each other to defend their interests against Germans.

In the letter, Balfour reacts with a great deal of pessimism to Vámbéry's thoughts about Russians, emphasising that British policy is largely unable to halt the further growth of Russian influence in Central Asia and Afghanistan since the British 'cannot civilise' Afghans against Russian interests.

On the other hand, one must note that the Anglo-Afghan treaty of 1905 was signed only two months before this letter. In this treaty (which was in some ways a renewal of the former treaties made under Amir ʿAbd al-Rahman before 1901) Curzon, the Viceroy of India, Curzon, accepted Ḥabīb Allāh Ḫān (r. 1901–1919) as the independent ruler of Afghanistan, guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Afghanistan against Russian and British intrusions. In return, the Afghan ruler acknowledged the British control over his country's foreign affairs.[8] As it is known, the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed two years later (on 31 August 1907), where an important chapter was dedicated to the highly complex status of Afghanistan.[9] This agreement confirmed the neutral status of Afghanistan between Tsarist Russia and British India. Britain declared that it would exert "influence in Afghanistan only in a pacific sense," and Britons do not "take, nor encourage Afghanistan to take, any measures threatening Russia." In return, Russia declared that it would recognise "Afghanistan as outside the sphere of Russian influence", and that it would uphold contacts with Afghanistan only "through the intermediary of His Britannic Majesty's Government" (Kazemzadeh 1985).

The passivity or pretended pessimism of Balfour's letter to Vámbéry in May 1905 therefore cannot be conceived as a personal remark but rather a forerunner of a new British attitude concerning Russian political interests in Afghanistan. Therefore the tone of the letter was a conscious sign of changing winds in British Eurasian

[8] On the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, see Norris 1985.

[9] For the Anglo-Russian Convention, see: Kazemzadeh 1985.

policy, which was unacceptable for the ardent Russophobe Vámbéry, who spent nearly all of his life opposing Russian political interests in the Islamic world.

> "Professor Vambery
> I am greatly obliged to you for your letter of the 17th.
> In it you point to a real danger. But it is one I could hardly properly deal with in a speech, the danger, I mean the Afghan misgovernment in Afghan Turkestan, and the opening this will give to the growth of Russian influence in that region. There is I fear no way of dealing with this. We cannot civilise Afghan methods, and we cannot prevent Russia deriving some advantage from them. It is one of the weaknesses of the position which has to be recognised, but which, so far as I can see, cannot be remedied.
> I beg to remain, yours very truly
> Arthur James Balfour"

5 Closing remarks

Our knowledge of Arminius Vámbéry's personal correspondence is in a highly fragmentary state, since it was regrettably scattered after his death due to unwelcoming political conditions in Hungary and because of the emigration of his family in 1938. But it also appears that Vámbéry did not make steps to preserve his letters for posterity, perhaps due to political reasons and his manifold non-public relations held with different politicians.

This small collection suddenly and unexpectedly showed up in the US some years ago as the bequest of his late grandson. Róbert Vámbéry (1907–1999) preserved – as I believe – only a small part of his correspondence. Perhaps other items of this collection are being preserved in some libraries, since we know that it was Rusztem Vámbéry (1873–1948), the son of Arminius Vámbéry, who brought this collection and other precious personal belongings of his late father with himself from Hungary in 1938. Owing to financial reasons, however, Rusztem Vámbéry was forced to sell large parts of his father's bequest in London and in New York. This small collection of letters, however, remained in the possession of the Vámbéry family till the death of the last scion, Róbert Vámbéry. Why these letters were preserved, remains family history. No one can know the true reasons behind it. Prestigious personalities, personal memoires, royal stamps matter in all times and have high prestige in the eyes of posterity, and perhaps for these reasons these letters were not sold by the descendants of Arminius Vámbéry. The original collection is now at the Library of the University of Maryland (Sárközy 2014a, Sárközy 2014b).

In the present paper, I have commented on three of the surviving letters addressed to Vámbéry. As argued above, the wider political contexts, in which they were written, not only shed light on their contents, but also prove that they have more historical

significance than hitherto expected. However, the greater part of this collection still awaits to be investigated and contextualised, which will be the subject of further publications in the near future.

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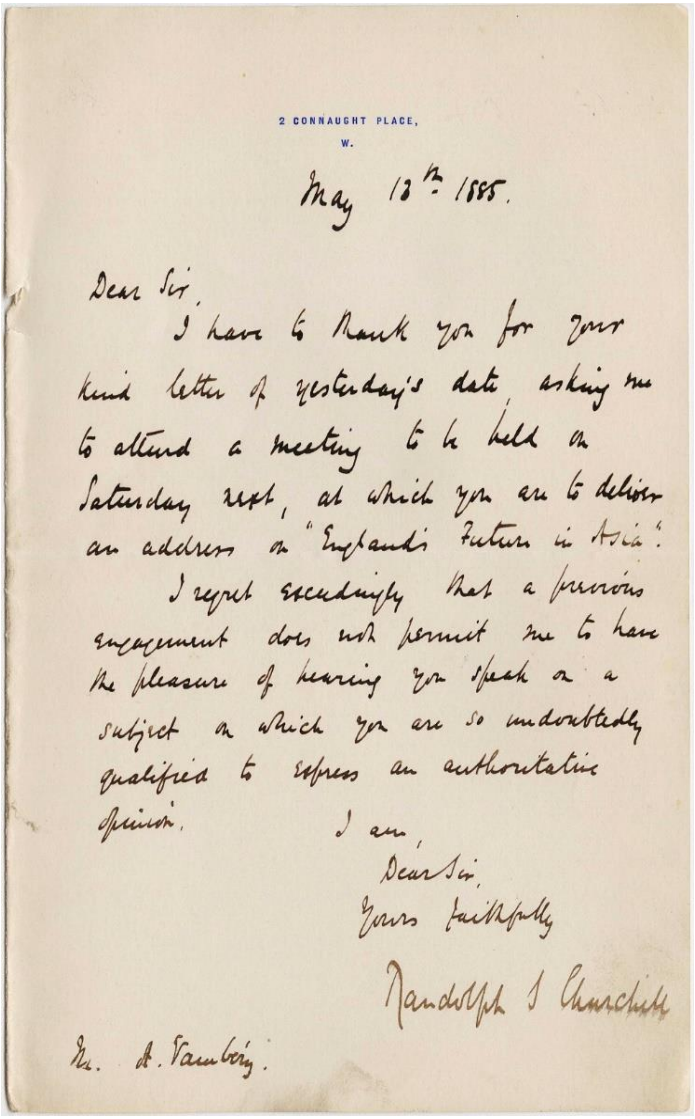
FIGURES



2 CONNAUGHT PLACE,
W.

May 13th 1885.

Dear Sir,

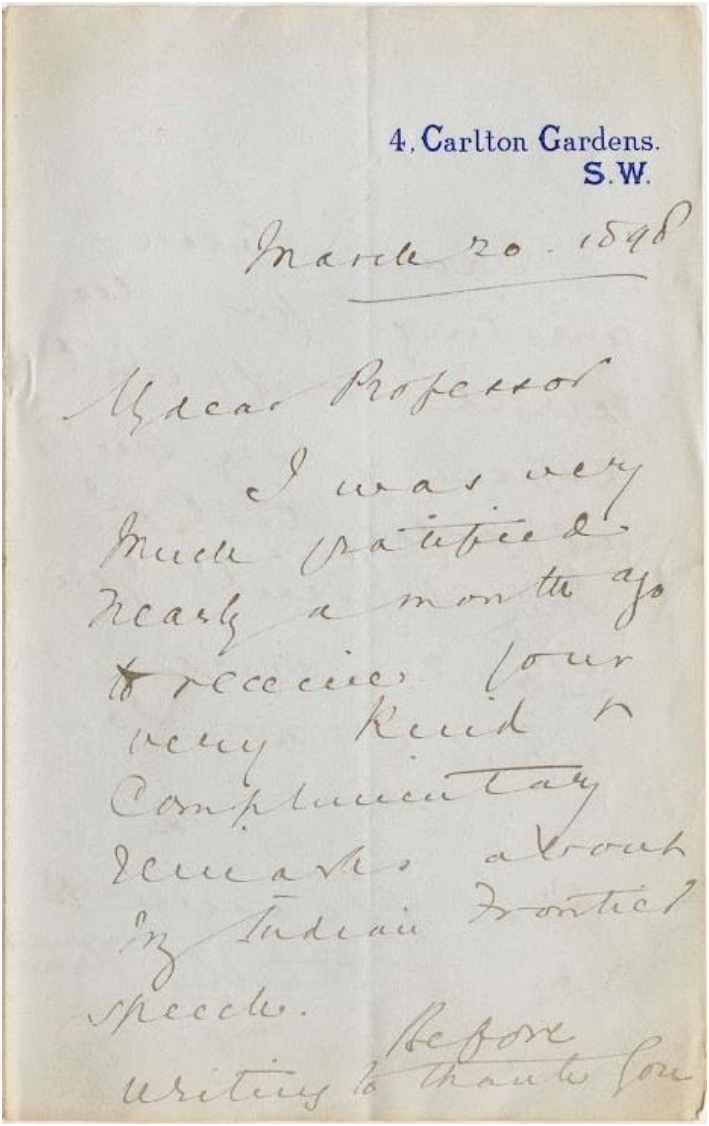
I have to thank you for your kind letter of yesterday's date, asking me to attend a meeting to be held on Saturday next, at which you are to deliver an address on "England's future in Asia".

I regret exceedingly that a previous engagement does not permit me to have the pleasure of hearing you speak on a subject on which you are so undoubtedly qualified to express an authoritative opinion.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully
Randolph S Churchill

Dr. A. Vambéry.

Fig. 1. Letter from Randolph Churchill to Vámbéry, 15 May 1885. University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Professor John Fuegi.


4, Carlton Gardens.
S.W.

March 20. 1898

My dear Professor

I was very much pleased nearly a month ago to receive your very kind & complimentary remarks about my Indian frontier speech. Before writing to thank you

Fig. 2. Letter from Lord Curzon to Vámbéry, 20 March 1898, page 1. University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Professor John Fuegi.

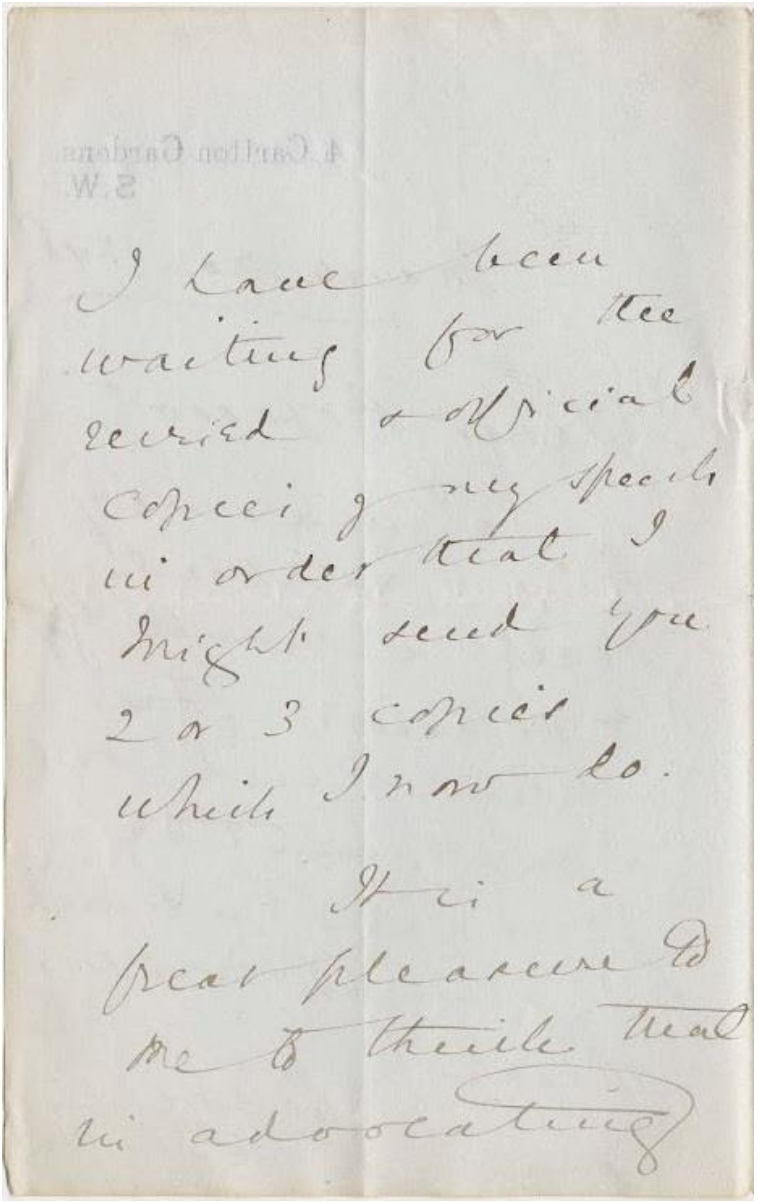


Fig. 3. Letter from Lord Curzon to Vámbéry, 20 March 1898, page 2. University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Professor John Fuegi.

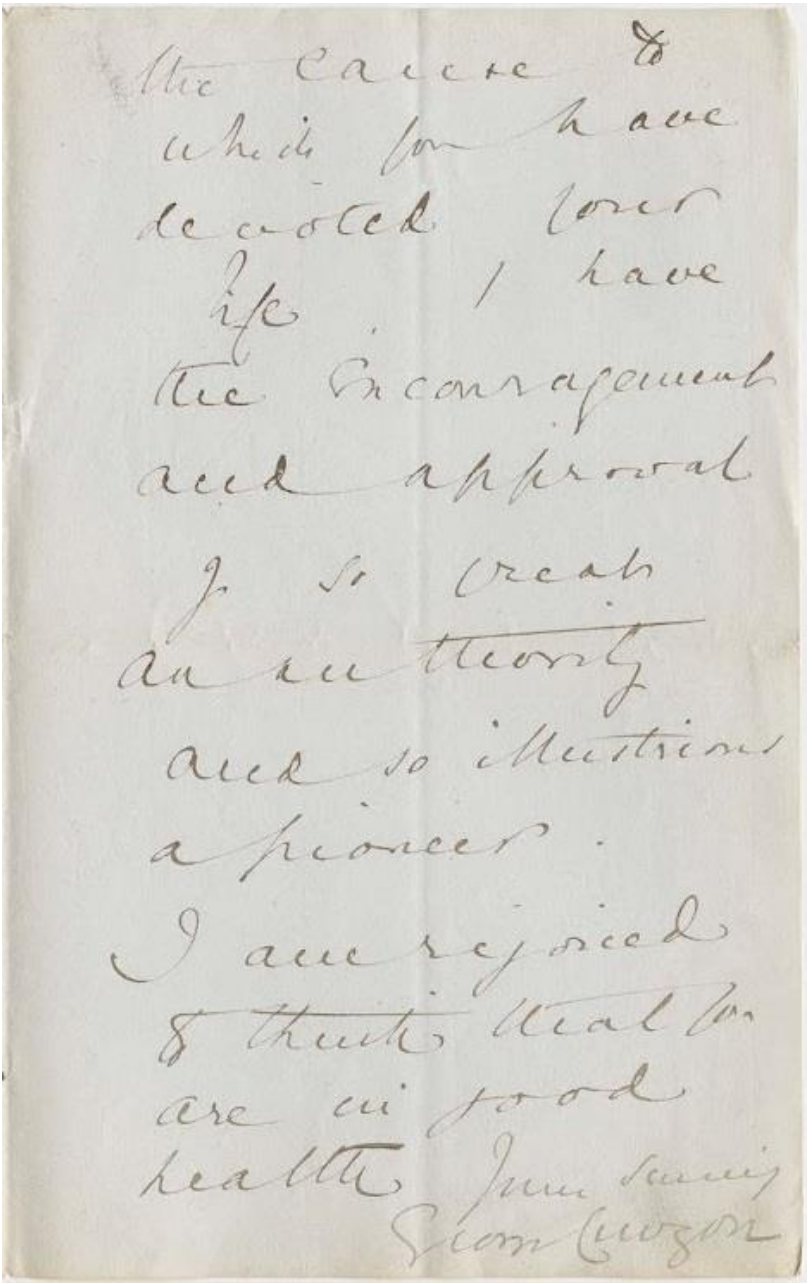
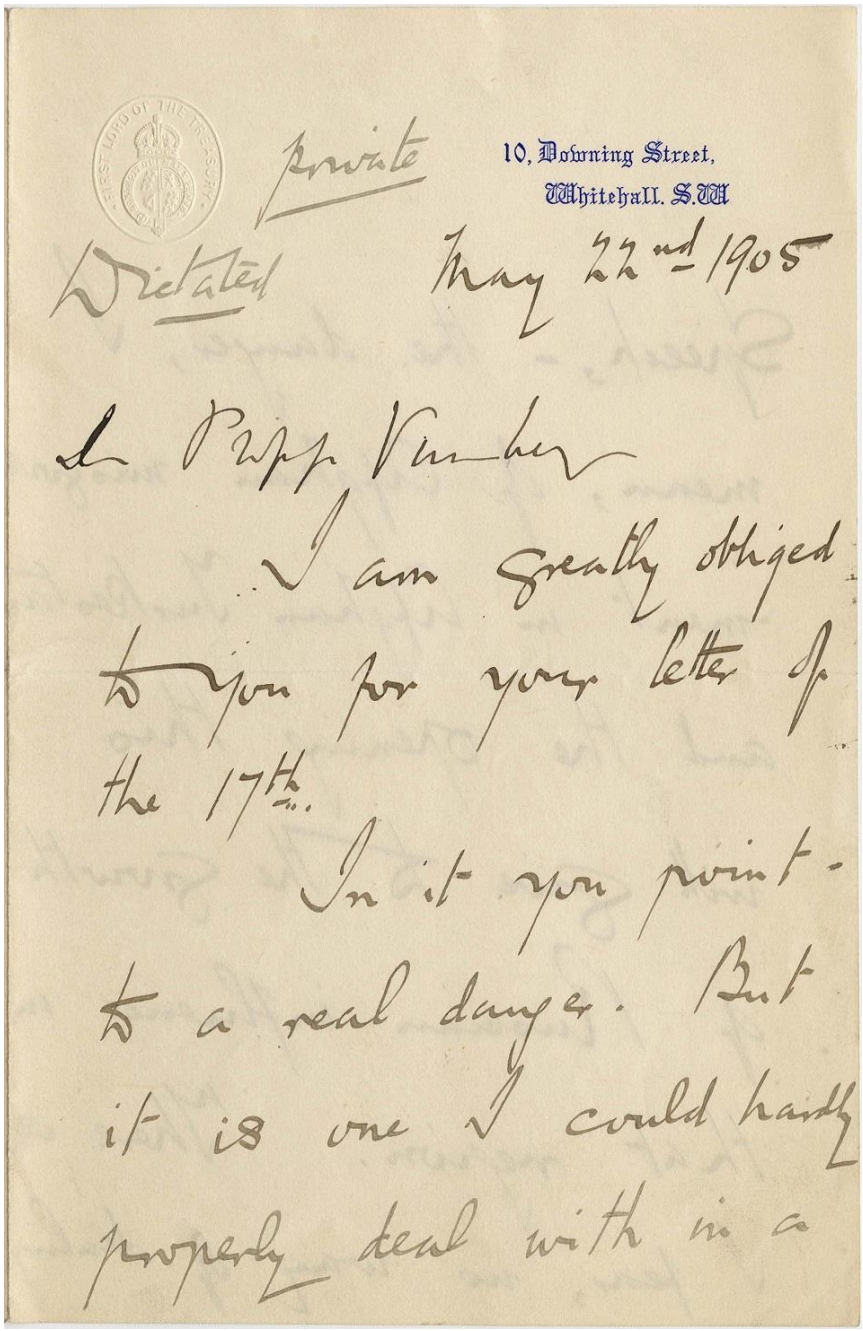


Fig. 4. Letter from Lord Curzon to Vámbéry, 20 March 1898, page 3. University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Professor John Fuegi.


Private

10, Downing Street,
Whitehall. S.W.

Dictated May 22nd 1905

Dr Prof. Vambery

I am greatly obliged to you for your letter of the 17th inst.

In it you point to a real danger. But it is one I could hardly properly deal with in a

Fig. 5. Letter from Balfour to Vámbéry, 22 May 1905, page 1. University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Professor John Fuegi.

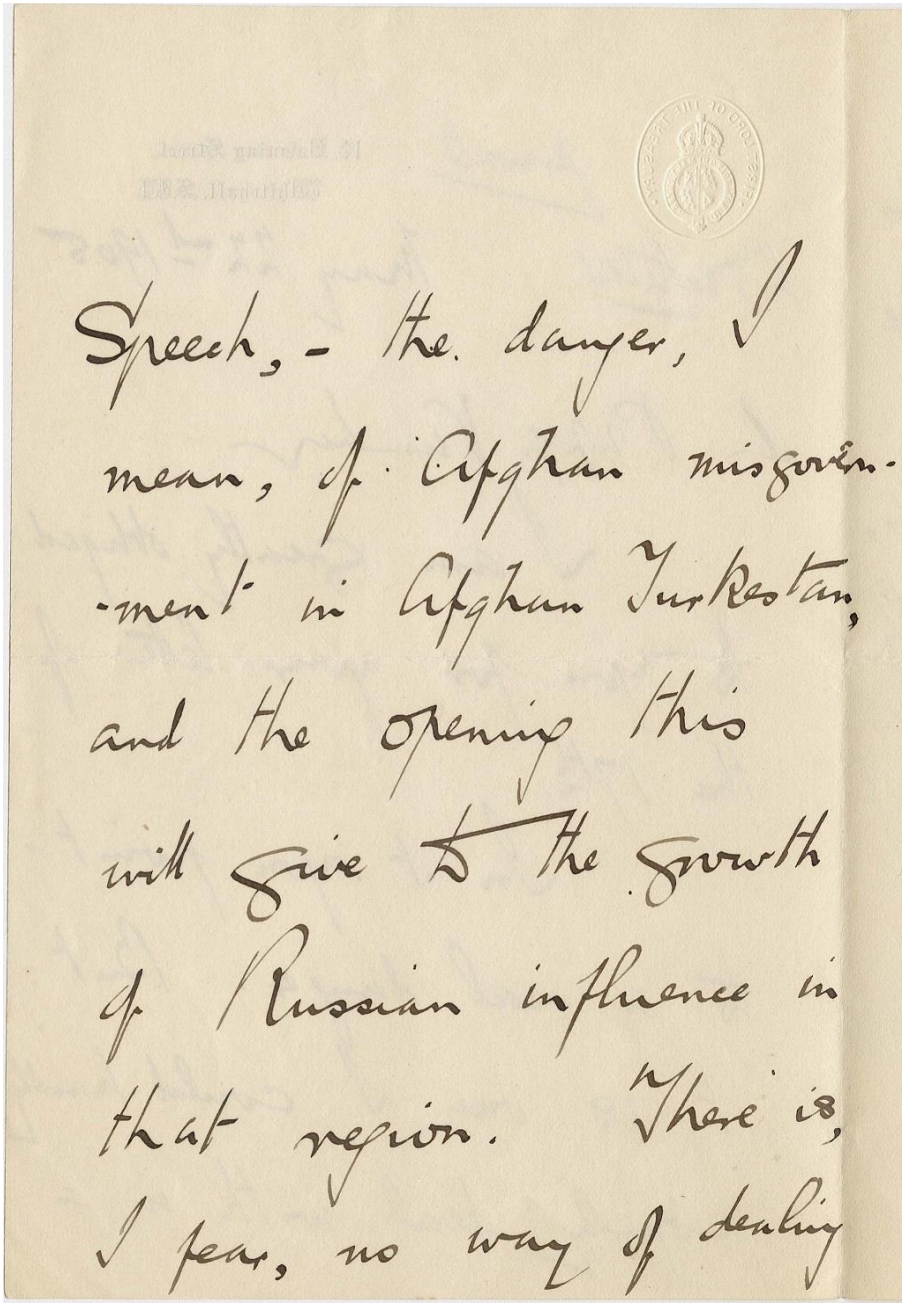

Speech, - the danger, I
mean, of Afghan misgovern-
-ment in Afghan Turkestan,
and the opening this
will give to the growth
of Russian influence in
that region. There is,
I fear, no way of dealing

Fig. 6. Letter from Balfour to Vámbéry, 22 May 1905, page 2. University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Professor John Fuegi.

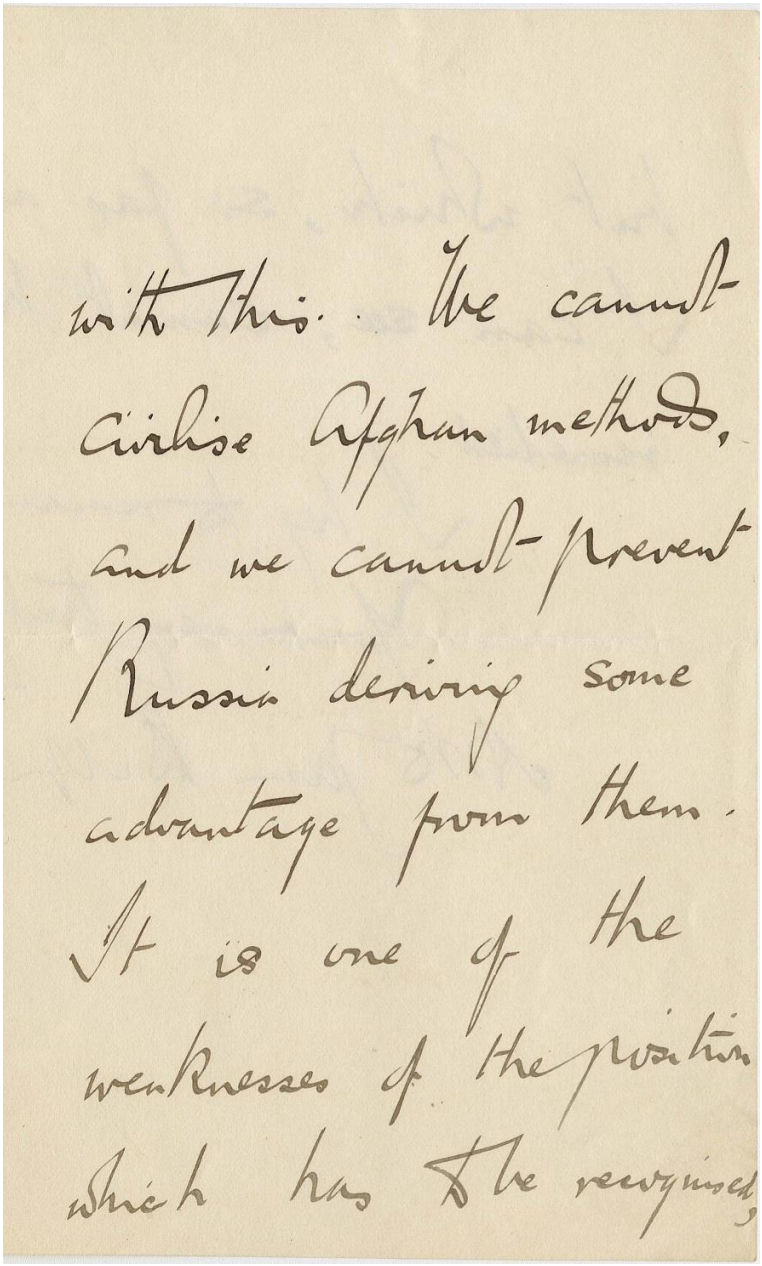


Fig. 7. Letter from Balfour to Vámbéry, 22 May 1905, page 3. University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Professor John Fuegi.

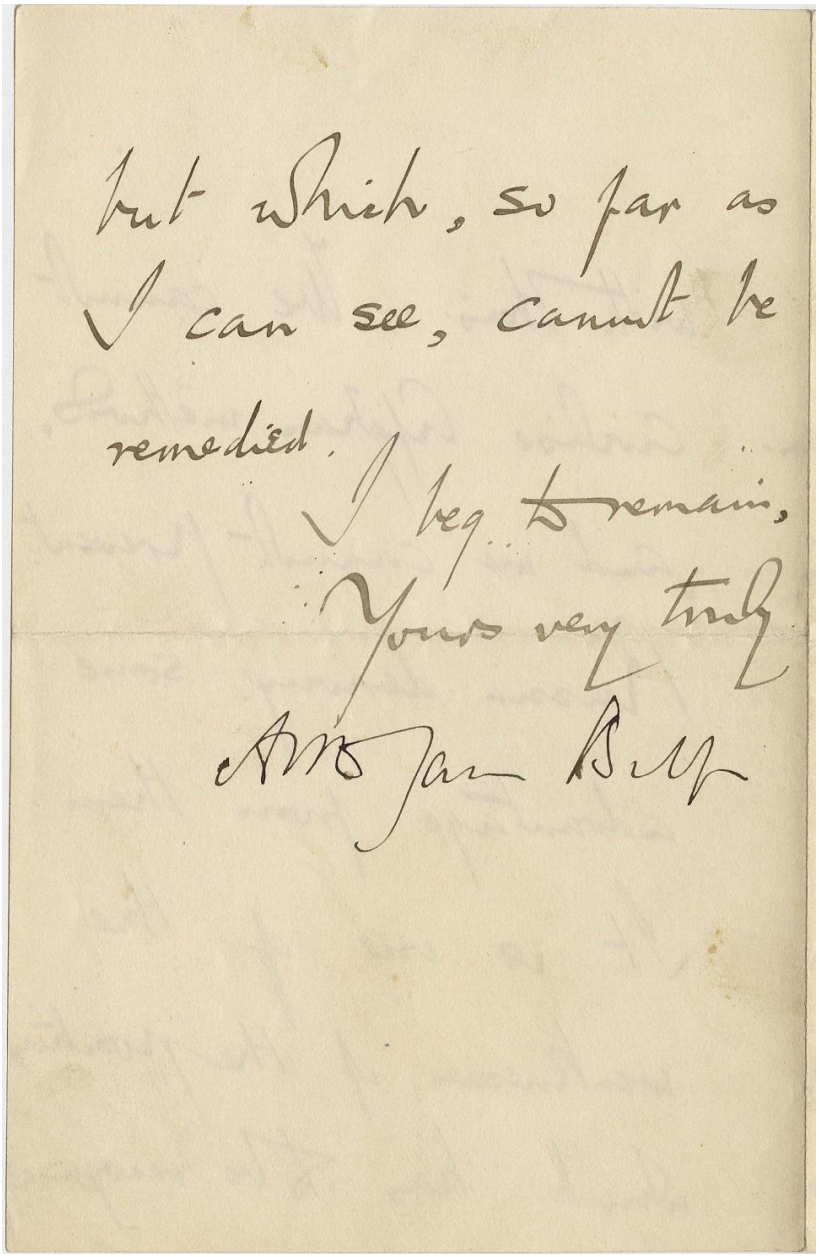


Fig. 8. Letter from Balfour to Vámbéry, 22 May 1905, page 4. University of Maryland Libraries, Washington, DC. Courtesy of Professor John Fuegi.

BIBLICAL PERSONAL NAMES AND THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

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Biblical names have often puzzled both Bible scholars and linguists, as their meanings can often be obscure. Moreover, since the given name is ascribed, in most cases, to the named person's parents, relatives or other personalities, the etymology suggested is doubtful at times. Thus, the names of the twelve sons of Jacob were coined by their mothers, Leah and Rachel, who even decided the names of Jacob's children born to their maids, Bilha and Zilpa. The reason, for what may be described as 'folk etymology', is that sometimes two different roots are utilised to explain the etymology of the name.[1] One may add to it inconsistent spelling, variations of orthography, and elements not to be found elsewhere, making the whole name or part of it a kind of a *hapax legomenon*. Hence, Nöldeke's 'warning' about the caution with which etymologies of proper names should be suggested is both valuable and correct.[2]

The cognate Semitic languages of Hebrew have often been used by scholars and commentators since the Middle Ages, as a tool to explain the etymologies of comparable biblical roots, words and expressions, thus, shedding light on their usages. Since, as stated above, the meanings of some biblical names are unclear, the purpose of this article is to suggest different explanations with the help of the Arabic lexicon. That is to say, a meaning which does not exist in Hebrew or does not make sense, but is found in Arabic, may better explain the significance of the name. Let us examine a few examples.

1.

The etymology of the female name Bilhah (Rachel's maid) (Gen. 29:29) is not clear. According to the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (II, s.v. בלהה), Noth (1928) suggests that the name derives from the Arabic root بله *blh* ('fool, ignorant'); Maisler thinks it is

[1] Cf. The roots זבד and זבל in the case of the name Zebulun (Gen. 30:20), or the roots אסף and יסף in the case of the name Joseph (Gen. 23, 24, 30).

[2] See Nöldeke's reservations regarding the proper names in the Book of Esther; *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (I, s.v. Esther 1402, and also 3274) as well as T. K. Cheyne, idem, (I, s.v. Name, 3270).

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related to the noun of the same root בלהה *ballahah* (‘terror, calamity’), and possibly referring to a theophoric name, or it might be a Hurrian name.[3] Following Noth’s suggestion, it seems to me that the name is indeed based on the Arabic meaning of ‘fool, simple-minded’. This may reflect an ancient custom of giving to slaves and maids names that refer to their inferior status, or not mentioning their names at all.[4]

2.

The name Benjamin (בנימין) appears in the Bible about 200 times, mainly as a proper name, after whom one of the twelve tribes is named.[5] According to the book of Genesis (35:18), it was coined by Jacob, who changed the name of his last child from *Ben-oni*, the name given to him by his mother, Rachel, to *Binyamin*. Most commentaries are of the opinion that the unusual name *Ben-oni*, which literally means ‘the son of my sorrow’, refers to the difficult labour of Rachel that resulted in her death. The name Benjamin, however, is understood to mean ‘the son of my right hand’.[6] Other suggestions are ‘the son of the south’ and ‘the son of the days’ (i.e. *yamin=yamim* ‘days’), that is to say, ‘the son of old age’.[7]

The word يمين *yamīn* in Arabic means ‘right’ and ‘right hand’, but the root يمن (*ymn*) denotes, in addition, ‘good omen; good luck/fortune; blessing; prosperity’ and ‘success’,[8] and the geographical (later political) area named Yemen. These positive concepts had possibly come into being owing to some folkloric or superstitious beliefs in the advantage of the ‘right’ over the ‘left’.[9] Hence, it is possible that these meanings were used in Hebrew but were lost and are only found in this context and

[3] Most linguists regard the words בלהה and בהלה *behalah* (‘fear, panic’) as metathesis, though in Arabic the root بهل *bhl* denotes ‘cursing’ or ‘supplicate’.

[4] See, for instance, Gen. 24:1–67, where Abraham’s servant is the main character in the story, yet his name is not mentioned in the whole chapter or elsewhere. Some commentators, however, conclude from other references that his name was Eliezer.

[5] Documents from Mari refer to tribes named *Bini-yamina*, who clashed with Mari inhabitants in the 18th century BC; see *Encyclopaedia Biblica* II, 263.

[6] Both names are formed by the words בן *ben* (‘son’) and און+י *on+i* (‘my sorrow’), and בן *ben* + ימין *yamin* (‘son of right hand’), respectively. It is worth mentioning that the Hebrew word *yamin* is polysemic, meaning ‘right’ (as opposed to left) and ‘south’, and is used metaphorically to indicate ‘power’ or ‘strength’ (cf., for instance, Ex. 15:6; Ps. 21:9) while the word און *on* is homonymic, meaning ‘sorrow; power’.

[7] Similarly, Benjamin is described in Gen. 44:20 as ‘the child of old age’, while in the Samaritan Pentateuch, the name Binyaamem means ‘the son of days’.

[8] Compare the Arabic name *Maymun*, which literally means ‘the blessed, the good-fortuned’, like in the case of Maimonides, whose father was called *Maymun*, hence his name was משה בן מימון, i.e. Moses the son of Maimon.

[9] See, for example, in Judaism, *Talmud Bavli*, Sanhedrin 157; 2. As for Islam, see al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* VII, 129, Chapter 194.

used by Jacob as an antonym for the word ‘sorrow’. That is to say, Benjamin is not ‘the son of sorrow’ but ‘the son of good fortune’. Incidentally, this proposal may be supported by the fact that out of almost 200 occurrences of the name Benjamin in the Bible only 13 times the name is spelt with two *yod*s, i.e. בנימין, while in the overwhelming majority of the cases it is spelt with only one *yod* בנימן, thus allowing the option of using the noun *ymn* (ימן). If our assumption is correct, then the Arabic root *ymn*, meaning ‘good fortune’, helps us add another sense of the same root in Hebrew.

3.

The meaning of the name Gera, bore by one of the sons of Benjamin (Gen. 46:21), the father of Ehud (Jud. 3:15), as well as a few more biblical personalities, which has no certain etymology,[10] may be explained with the help of the Arabic root جرأ (*ǧr’*), which denotes ‘boldness, daring’.[11]

4.

The origin of the name Zilpa (Leah’s maid) is also shrouded in mystery (Gen. 29:24). Both the post-biblical root זלף (*zlf*), meaning ‘to spray, sprinkle’ and its synonymous biblical root דלף (*dlf*), meaning ‘drip, leak’ (e.g. Job 16:20; Ecc. 10:18) do not seem to solve the enigma about the etymology of this name.

The *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (II, s.v. זלף) quotes Noth (1928), who thinks that the name denotes, following Arabic, ‘high position’. Bauer refers to another Arabic root ذلف (ḏlf), which means ‘to be small’ or ‘to have a small nose’, while Yeivin thinks that the name denotes ‘degradation’. Arabic dictionaries define the root زلف (*zlf*) as ‘draw near’ while the noun زلفة *zulfa* has a number of meanings, including ‘drawing near, high position; garden; bowl; part of the night; mother-of-pearl shell’, and more.

It seems to me that, since before becoming Rachel’s maid, Zilpa was Rachel’s father’s maid, it is highly unlikely that her name could denote ‘high position’. Instead, it is more likely that, if we are looking for its etymology in the Arabic lexicon, the meaning ‘mother-of-pearl shell’ is more plausible.

[10] Some scholars link the name with the word *ger* ‘arrow’ in Geʿez, or claim that it originated from the word *garger* (גרגר) ‘grain’, or a short version of a theophoric Phoenician name; see *Encyclopaedia Biblica* II, 550.

[11] Similarly to אביחיל, אמציה, נדב, אבינדב, עזיהו, etc. those names contain words which denote ‘courage’ (*oz*, *chayil, omets*) or generosity (*ndv*).

5.

The female name חלאה (*ḥel'ah)* (1Ch. 4:5) shares *prima facie* the same root of the noun *ḥel'ah*, meaning: 'filth, dirt; rust'. However, as we cannot imagine that these meanings had been used as a proper name, it looks that the name had derived from another root with a more positive sense. Hence, the name is either related to the biblical Hebrew words חלי *ḥali* or חליה *ḥelya* 'ornament', or it may be related to the Arabic word *ḥulwa* (حلوة) 'sweet; pleasant; pretty'.

6.

ימימה Yemimah was one of Job's three daughters (Job 42:14). The name has won the attention of many commentators and scholars, who associate it with the word יום *yom* ('day') in Hebrew or יממא *yemama* in Aramaic. Some scholars propose that it derived from the Arabic word يمامة *yamāma* ('dove, pigeon') (BDB), and even يميمة *yumayma* as a diminutive, meaning 'small dove' (*Encyclopaedia Biblica* II, s.v. ימימה). However, classical Arabic dictionaries give another meaning of the root يمم *ymm*,[12] that is to say, ميمم *muyammam*, meaning 'successful, lucky' (Hava). It is possible therefore that the name ימימה means 'the lucky, successful'.[13]

7.

The name ערפה ʿOrpah appears in the Book of Ruth (1: 4, 14). Since the noun ערף *ʿoref* means in Hebrew 'back of the neck, nape', some commentators say that the name Orpah derives from the metaphorical use of the idiom פנה ערף *panah ʿoref*, literally 'to turn the nape', i.e. 'to turn the back on, abandon', referring to Orpa, who abandoned Naomi, her mother-in-law. Among the scholars who tried to find a more convincing etymology, the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (II, s.v. ערפה) mentions Van Zyl, who suggests the Arabic word عرف *ʿurf*, meaning 'mane of a horse; crest of a cock', which indicates figuratively 'long hair'. However, as the Arabic root is homonymic, other possibilities may equally be accepted. Some of the derivatives are: عرفة *ʿurfa* ('knowledge; beneficence, goodness, prominence, elevated place'); عرفة *ʿarfa* ('wind'); عرافة *ʿirāfa* ('witchcraft, divination'). Also, a metathesis of the name עפרה *ʿofra* ('gazelle') (1Ch. 4:14) may be possible.

[12] It is possible that this root is a corrupt version of the root (*ymn*); see above no. 2.

[13] The problematic word הימם *hayemim* (Gen. 36:24) has also been explained as 'the wild pigeons', based on the Arabic word يمام *yamām*.

8.

קציעה Qesiʿah is one of Job's three daughters (Job 42:14). The name is usually associated with the word קציעות *qesiʾot* (Ps. 45:9), which means 'type of fragrance' or a spice believed by some scholars to be cinnamon. However, as the root قصع *qṣʿ* in Arabic means, *inter alia*, 'to germinate, sprout; to be stunted' (Hava), it is possible that the name expresses affection and endearment for the young daughter by comparing her to a bud.

9.

The name רבקה Rivqah (Rebecca) has won the attention of a number of scholars, who have suggested several possibilities for its etymology. Among the suggestions offered are 'a female calf'; a tying rope of an animal; threshing; and even a metathesis בקרה (*baqara*), Hebrew בקר *baqar* 'cattle', and Arabic بقرة *baqara* 'cow' (Noth 1928: 10), or, following the name in the *Peshitta*, Rifqa and the root رفق *rfq* in Arabic, the meaning of the name is 'the soft, the flexible' (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, II, s.v. רבקה). However, if metathesis is accepted as a possibility, then we may also add one of the meanings of the root קרב *qrb*, which denotes in most of the Semitic languages 'to be near', and the Hebrew noun קרבה *qirvah* and Arabic قربة *qurba* ('nearness, relationship, kinship').[14]

10.

The name שמידע Shemidaʿ (Jos. 17:2) is usually explained literally, i.e. 'know my name', or by some variations of the basic meanings of its components, referring to God or a god.[15] Other suggestions relate it to the name Samidahum, which was found in Mari.[16] However, the classical Arabic dictionaries mention the word سميدع *samayda'*,[17] meaning 'noble, generous, or respected person; brave; fast; wolf; sword'. It is therefore very likely that at least one of these meanings is behind this biblical name, though the word is not found elsewhere in the Hebrew lexicon.

[14] In biblical texts, this noun appears always in reference to relationship with God. See, for instance, Isa. 58:2 and Ps. 73:28, where the compound קרבת אלהים (*qirvat Elohim*) meaning 'closeness to God' is used.

[15] As suggested, it is formed by the words שמי *shemi* 'my name' and דע *daʿ* 'know'. See also the etymology suggested by BDB, 1029; *Encyclopaedia Biblica* I, 3287.

[16] See *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, II, Vol. VIII, 119.

[17] See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān*; while al-Bustānī (*Muḥīṭ*), gives the form سميذع (*samayḏa'*).

Conclusion

Following the tendency among linguists to search for unknown etymologies in cognate languages, and often even to borrow from them meanings of words and phrases when coining new words, an attempt has been made to account for obscure meanings of some biblical names. The article has dealt with ten names, which can be explained with the help of equivalent roots from the rich vocabulary of the Arabic language, assuming that the meanings had existed in the Hebrew language in the past, but for reasons often unknown to us, have been extinct.

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WHAT IS A NOMINAL MUSLIM? AN ARAB TRAVELLER'S ENCOUNTERS WITH MUSLIM COMMUNITIES IN 17TH-CENTURY ETHIOPIA

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Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

Professor István Ormos is the foremost – indeed very nearly the only – authority in Hungary on Ethiopian Christianity and the Geʿez language, to whom we owe, among other things, the Hungarian translation of the hagiography of Täklä Hāymānōt. He is also a noted expert on Arabic geographical literature, although here his emphasis is on the Arabic sources for early Hungarian ethnohistory. I owe him a great deal of gratitude as a former student of his; my research interests, however, have little obvious overlap with the above-mentioned fields. Nonetheless, since studying Islam is an overriding concern for all of us who have an interest in Middle Eastern cultures, a few notes on how to define the concept of 'nominal' adherence to Islam seem to be a fitting contribution to this volume. To imbue the subject with additional relevance to Professor Ormos's expertise in Ethiopian studies, I will rely on an interesting and relatively little-known Arabic source on Ethiopia in particular.

It is an account of a journey undertaken in 1057–1058/1647–1648 by the Yemeni intellectual al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥaymī (d. 1070/1660) as an envoy of the Yemeni ruler to the court of the Christian Ethiopian emperor Fasilädäs (r. 1632–1667) in his capital, Gondär.[1] Al-Ḥaymī's journal describes the historical circumstances and motivations of his embassy (al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra*, 77–83), but we need not be detained by these aspects here. More relevant to this article's subject is the fact that throughout his travelogue, he comments on the wide range of different kinds of religious observance and lifestyles that he encountered among Ethiopian Muslim communities.[2] These African Muslims included Cushitic-speaking lowland pastoralists having an extremely primitive material culture, as well as Semitic-speaking,

[1] Besides the Egyptian edition that I use for this article, there are two earlier editions (and translations) of the text, namely Peiser 1898 and van Donzel 1986. For al-Ḥaymī's biography, see aš-Šawkānī, *Badr* I, 132–133; al-Muḥibbī, *Tārīḫ* II, 16–17. For a brief summary of the mission, see Abū Ṭālib, *Tārīḫ* 13–14.

[2] For convenience, I am using the term "Ethiopian Muslims" in the loose sense of Muslims living in the wider region of present-day Ethiopia and Eritrea. It is to be stressed, however, that these communities show an extreme degree of linguistic, cultural, and ethnic diversity.

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sedentary highland communities with a great number of literate members among them. My essay is concerned with the way this Arab observer deals with the striking cultural variety to be found among local Muslim populations, focusing on his view about the more 'primitive' cultures of the lowlanders.

1 'Nominal Muslims'

1.1 The Concept

In colonial and postcolonial discussions of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa, the idea of 'nominal Muslims' is a frequently used heuristic concept. In the colonial period, the idea is developed further to give rise to utterly misleading stereotypes such as *l'islam noir* of some French colonials, a variety of Islam that was supposed to be characterised by lack of religious fervour, ignorance of the essentials of Islamic dogma, and a preponderance of superstitions and primitive magical practices, as opposed to textual authority. It is, according to this fallacious view, quite unlike the 'proper' Islam of, say, the Arabs and other Middle Eastern Muslims. The problematic nature of the idea of 'nominal' Muslims has been noted and commented upon in African studies in recent decades, and the extent to which such ideas borrow from the simplistic discourse of Islamic reformists and fundamentalists has also been recognised.[3]

1.2 Nominal Muslims Par Excellence: The Cushitic Nomads

Yet nominal Islam is a concept not altogether alien to the discourse of premodern Muslim authors. Many of them express bafflement, indignation and even intense disapproval of what strikes them as the superficiality of Islamic observance of certain ethnic groups, whether in Africa or elsewhere. Al-Ḥaymī's ultimate 'nominal' Muslims were the ʿAfar of what is today the borderlands of Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti. Let us consider his passages on his first encounter with these Cushitic-speaking nomads that took place in Baylūl, a modest settlement on the Red Sea coast in what is now Eritrea. The fear of and difficulties with the local ʿAfar population forced the author and his companions to camp outside the settlement:

> "[...] A big group of the men of the [ʿAfar] nomads came to see us: of repulsive appearance, totally devoid of the morality [associated with] the norms of the noble and pure Islamic law (*šarīʿa*). Thus we saw their men freely mingling with the womenfolk, all of them being naked with nothing to hide their private

[3] See, for instance, Colvin 1974: 593–594; Cordell 1985: 96; Magnant 1992: 7; Peterson 2002: 384–386.

> parts (*lā yasturūna ʿawrātihim*). They do not even hide their ugly conduct, as though reprehensible acts (*munkar*) were for them commendable (*maʿrūf*), and innovations (*bidaʿ*) customary and usual things. They speak a non-Arabic (*aʿǧamī*) language, which is not the same as that of the Ethiopians, so that in speaking to them, we needed an interpreter. [...] When they came to us, they would watch us from afar, being astonished at our sight while we were even more astonished at theirs: "*Or deemest thou that most of them hear or understand? They are but as the cattle; nay, they are further astray from the way*."[4] Someone who knew these people well told us that their chief whose word they follow has twelve wives, and others also do so, as we could learn from the reports of those who know their customs. In addition to that, they were eager to gather information and spy on us, so that they should learn what route we would take and find a way to take our belongings, and suchlike evil things that robbers, Kurds, and highwaymen will do."[5]

According to al-Ḥaymī, only the threat of firearms deterred the ʿAfar nomads from attacking the expedition: one is reminded of colonial accounts of African travel *à la* Henry Morton Stanley (1841–1904). Rather than fellow-Muslims, the objects of his description appear more like ferocious barbarians. It is instructive to compare this passage with the characterisation given by Ibn Ǧubayr (d. 614/1217) four and a half centuries earlier of the *Beǧa* nomads living around the port of ʿAyḏāb, another Cushitic-speaking group of the Red Sea coastlands. Even the wording, not to speak of the general message, is quite akin to al-Ḥaymī's report:

> "[ʿAyḏāb's] inhabitants from among the Blacks are known as the *Beǧa*. [...] Now this aforementioned group of the Blacks is a group "*further astray from the way than the cattle*" [see above] and of less intellect, having no religion whatever other than the words of the monotheistic creed (*kalimat at-tawḥīd*) that they utter so as to appear Muslims. Beyond that, their corrupt ways and

[4] Qurʾān 25: 44 (Arberry's translation).

[5] Al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra*, 84–85. Among the *ʿAsahyammara* moiety of the ʿAfar, even in the early 20th century, men were permitted to have ten wives. Of the other moiety, the *ʿAdohyammara* tribes, those living in today's Djibouti set the maximum number of wives at four, but others did not observe this limit. See Thesiger 1996: 119–120. Islamic law permits polygamy, but a man may have only a maximum of four wives at any one time. Yet in African societies, and even in some Muslim African societies, high status and wealth were often expressed by, among other symbols, an ostentatious number of wives far above the limits set by Islamic precepts. Thus the founder of the 19th-century Islamic theocracy of Northern Nigeria, Usuman dan Fodio, denounces this practice, which was quite widespread among the Muslim Hausa rulers. See Hiskett 1960: 561 [Arabic text]. Usuman's former teacher, Ǧibrīl ibn ʿUmar, went beyond denouncing such breaches of Islamic norms and regarded the practice of having more than four wives and the lack of gender segregation and veiling as proofs of unbelief (*kufr*). See Hiskett 1962: 589.

> customs are disagreeable and not permissible. Their men and women go about naked except for a few rags with which they hide their private parts (ʿ*awrātihim*), but most of them do not hide [even as much as that]. In sum, they are a people without morals, and anyone who curses them cannot be faulted" (Ibn Ǧubayr, *Riḥla* 48–49).

Strongly reminiscent though it is of earlier Arabic accounts, al-Ḥaymī's portrayal of the ʿAfar is not entirely stereotyped; indeed, many of his observations are fully corroborated by the mid-19th century explorer Werner Munzinger's account of travels through the land of the northern ʿAfar. Besides their extremely rudimentary material culture, Munzinger also found that the ʿAfar had no knowledge of even elementary Islamic precepts. Thus it is only the ʿAfar living directly on the Red Sea coast near Maṣawwaʿ and exposed for centuries to Yemeni cultural influence that were gradually learning to pray and to fast during Ramadan – two of the five fundamentals of Islamic practice – in Munzinger's lifetime.[6] As little as twenty kilometres into the interior of the continent, prayer and fasting were virtually unknown, as was the name of the prophet Muḥammad – and this among a nominally Muslim population. Religious life revolved instead around ancient Cushitic rituals such as animal sacrifices (of cattle and sheep, to be precise) on the summits of certain holy mountains.[7] The remarkable non-compliance with Islamic precepts regarding marriage, sexuality, and proper female dress, about which al-Ḥaymī had complained, was still the norm. Thus women still did not cover their faces, or indeed even their breasts, and extramarital sexual affairs were not only common but also drew no criticism whatsoever among fellow ʿAfars. Islamic marriage ceremonies were often absent, with the partners simply moving into the same hut to live together, and the children born of such unions being blessed by the chieftain by way of legal sanction. Children born out of wedlock altogether were not seen as problematic at all but treated as legitimate. Munzinger is no less dismissive of the Islamic culture of the ʿAfar than al-Ḥaymī two centuries earlier: "[I]n the whole of barbarous Africa there is not a race more barbarous than the Afars..."[8]

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[6] Some distance to the south, as obvious from al-Ḥaymī's report on Baylūl, such elementary Islamic practices had been adopted much earlier (see below).

[7] Similar sacrificial rites on holy mountains were also customary among the southern ʿAfar as well as some other Cushitic-speaking ethnic groups (such as the *Bišārīn*, a *Beğa* subgroup) and further afield in the wider region, as among the *Zaġāwa* of northern Dārfūr. See Thesiger 1935: 8; Trimingham 1949: 178; Harir 1999: 206–208. On the general features of old Cushitic religion (including sacrificial rites), see Lewis 1956: 145–149.

[8] Munzinger 1869: 219–221. A comparable opinion from the beginning of the 19th century is cited in Insoll 2003: 76. On female dress, sexual conduct, and marital customs among the ʿAfar, see Thesiger 1935: 3, 5–6; Chedeville 1966: 191–195.

1.3 'Proper' Muslims: The Ǧabartī Highlanders

Al-Ḥaymī's description of the ʿAfar appears in particular relief if we compare it with his passages on a different kind of Ethiopian Muslims that he also met during his travels. I am referring to the sedentary, Semitic-speaking communities of the central highlands, then as now a Christian-majority area. More precisely, he met Muslim saintly communities of the Tigray region as well as Amharic-speaking Muslim villagers and inhabitants of the Muslim quarter of the Ethiopian capital, Gondär. Both groups represent the Ǧabartī Muslims of Arabic sources.[9] While in the highlands, he also met representatives of the Christian majority as well as Israelites, but unlike in his passages on Muslims, he gives only a very sketchy description of these communities.[10] On the Falaša Jews of the Simien Mountains, he simply notes their adherence to the Israelite religion, and the fact that Christian raids have decimated their numbers (al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra*, 96–97). From discussions with Ethiopian monks and with the court interpreter of the Ethiopian emperor, he gathered only a few pieces of information on the Ethiopian church hierarchy, and on a recent church scandal involving the *abūna* (head of the church) and the *ečägē* (the second-highest person in the church hierarchy) and resulting in the imprisonment of the former.[11] Lacking any deeper knowledge of, even less sympathy for, Christianity, he does not differentiate between nominal and real Christians as he does for Islam, although he does note that most Ethiopian Christians, and even most monks, know very little of Christian dogma.

Now compare al-Ḥaymī's description of the ʿAfar nomads with his passage on members of Muslim scholarly lineages whom he met on the eastern fringes of the Tigray highlands, in Enderta province. The laudatory tenor of his report is hard to miss:

> "There came to us in that place some religious scholars (lit. 'jurists', *fuqahāʾ*), the lineage of Kabīrī Ṣāliḥ. They are known by this name, which is a honorific (*ism taʿẓīm*) given to a man who is regarded as a saint (*muʿtaqad*).[12] We

[9] On the Ǧabartī, see DeGregori and Weekes 1984; Trimingham 1952: 150–153; and in Arabic al-Ǧabartī, *ʿAǧāʾib* I, 452–453 (the list of Ǧabartī subgroups includes not just the Amhara and other Semitic speakers but the Agaw as well).

[10] Although he stayed for a long time, all in all almost three years, in Ethiopia, he had apparently little interest in Christians; see aš-Šawkānī, *Badr* I 133.

[11] Al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra* 108–111. Al-Maqrīzī in the early 9th/15th century already noted the practice of appointing an Egyptian to head the Ethiopian church; see al-Maqrīzī, *Ilmām*, 79. Thus al-Ḥaymī's data offer nothing new in this respect.

[12] Trimingham notes the use of the term *kabīr* (lit. 'great', Arabic) for teachers of Quranic schools and other Muslim scholars among the Haräri and Oromo of southern Ethiopia, but he does not mention that it was so used in the eastern fringes of Tigray, the region that al-Ḥaymī is describing here. See Trimingham 1952: 229.

> carried in our hands a letter to them from our master, the imam of Yemen – may God strengthen him – as well as a valuable and luxurious garment befitting their status. We handed them the letter, gave them the garment, and, seeing on them the signs of uprightness and the radiance of Islam, we felt extremely glad at [meeting] them. Some of them could speak the language of the Arabs, so we kept asking them about things that we needed to know, and found it helpful to ascertain. Together with them another man arrived, whose name was Kabīrī Ḫayr ad-Dīn, and who had good knowledge of the legal school of aš-Šāfiʿī. He was more learned in law (*afqah*) than the lineage of Kabīrī Ṣāliḥ, yet the latter were better known in that region owing to their high status. All of them, however, follow the school of the imam aš-Šāfiʿī" (al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra*, 94).

Such holy lineages, claiming Arabian ancestry and specialised in scholarly services to the general population, were instrumental in the conversion to Islam of many local communities, both Saho- and Tigre-speaking. Assimilated into these populations, they are still influential in the region today, with one of the most prominent lineage being called al-Kabīrī.[13]

Arriving in the Amharic-speaking heartland of the Ethiopian monarchy around Lake Tana, al-Ḥaymī passed by a Muslim settlement near the capital, Gondär. Here again his account betrays a sympathy that is entirely absent from his portrayal of the ʿAfar nomads:

> "After twelve [days' march], we arrived at a village near the king's city. All of the inhabitants were Muslim, and it had a mosque as well as a school (*maktab*) for teaching the Qurʾān to children. We felt very much at ease (*istaʾnasnā*) because of this, and were exceedingly glad, since it removed all the burden on our hearts resulting from the hardships of keeping bad company with infidels, and looking at them and their reprehensible customs (*munkarātihim*) [...]" (al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra*, 97).

Gondär itself had a Muslim quarter too, and Muslims, mostly foreign merchants, were also present at the king's court. The author happily socialised with these Muslims as well, even though the king's Arabic interpreter, a *soi-disant* descendant of the Prophet from Central Asia called Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Buḫārī, did not quite inspire sympathy in al-Ḥaymī, as he may in fact have been an apostate.[14]

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[13] For more on these lineages, see Miran 2005: 181–182.

[14] Al-Ḥaymī uses the circumlocution "he has been deprived of faith, Satan has overpowered him, and he follows the way of God's wrath" (*suliba l-īmān wa-staḥwaḍa ʿalayhi š-šayṭān wa-salaka fī masāḫiṭ ar-Raḥmān*). See al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra* 100. In this period, Muslims were tolerated by the Christian Ethiopian emperors, but excluded from important state and military positions as well as from hereditary land rights; see Abbink 1998: 114.

2 Comparing Two Kinds of Muslim

2.1 General Contrasts

There can be no doubt as to al-Ḥaymī's sympathies *vis-à-vis* the two kinds of Ethiopian Muslims. His sympathetic portrayal of the Ǧabartī Muslim communities contrasts strongly with his entirely negative account of the ʿAfar. In fact, his report leaves no doubt that he regards the ʿAfar as barely deserving of the label 'Muslim' at all. The main difference between the Ǧabartī and the ʿAfar is, for him, religious: the superficial Islamisation of the latter as opposed to the more profound Islamisation of the former, or, in other words, the degree of conformity with the *šarīʿa*. He consistently stresses the exotic and repulsive customs of the ʿAfar on the one hand, and the familiar learning of the Ǧabartī on the other. Obviously for him, as for most other cultured mediaeval Arab observers, Islam is – or should be – an urban (and urbane) phenomenon, basically a religion of educated and civilised people. This calls to mind the description by al-Maqrīzī of Ethiopian Muslim states, for which he gathered his information from Ethiopian Muslims and travellers to Ethiopia during a stay in Mecca in 839/1435–1436. This account has nothing to say about the primitive Cushitic-speaking peoples, but just like al-Ḥaymī later, al-Maqrīzī also notes approvingly the Muslim places of worship, the proper Islamic observance, as well as the Islamic learning to be found among the Semitic-speaking Ǧabartī Muslims of the highlands.[15]

2.2 Cultural Markers

Al-Ḥaymī's respective sympathy and aversion are expressed in several important ways, by emphasising certain culturally significant markers of inclusion and exclusion. I will briefly discuss three such markers: the nomenclature of ethnicity, the linguistic factor, and dietary habits.

It is highly significant that, instead of an ethnonym, al-Ḥaymī refers to the ʿAfar as *badw*, 'Bedouin', a term full of pejorative connotations in certain contexts. He obviously uses this term in the Ibn Ḫaldūnian sense of a non-urbanised population with an extremely primitive material culture and superficial Islamisation at best –

[15] Al-Maqrīzī, *Ilmām* 82. So does al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) about a century earlier, cited in al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ* V, 324; see also Wagner 2010: 157. Two centuries after al-Ḥaymī, al-Ǧabartī (d. 1240/1825; himself of Ethiopian ancestry) also stresses piety and learning as defining characteristics of Ǧabartī Muslims; see al-Ǧabartī, *ʿAǧāʾib* I, 452. On the long-standing tradition in Arabic literature of sympathetic portrayals of African Muslims, see Muhammad 1985.

rather like the colonials' 'savages' really.[16] Far from coincidental, this usage is all the more remarkable given that al-Ḥaymī is obviously aware of the usual Arabic name for the ʿAfar, *Danākil*, since he uses the *nisba* ad-Dankalī in reference to the (somewhat civilised) ʿAfar ruler of Baylūl.[17] This usage, while seemingly idiosyncratic to al-Ḥaymī, is not without precedents in Arabic written sources, since it had long been customary to use a somewhat pejorative term in reference to the ʿAfar, Somali, and related peoples of the Horn of Africa. Earlier Arabic sources tend to use another, more or less derogatory term, *Barbar* or *Barābir* (lit. 'Berbers', 'Barbarians'), to refer to the Cushitic-speaking, mostly pastoral populations of the Horn of Africa.[18]

Al-Ḥaymī's aversion had undoubtedly nothing to do with ethnicity or language, for he readily excepted more civilised and urbanised ʿAfars from his condemnation. Baylūl, a small town on the coast of today's Eritrea, had an ʿAfar ruler whose control barely reached beyond the immediate surroundings of this settlement.[19] This ruler, called Šuḥaym ibn Kāmil ad-Dankalī, maintained good relations and correspondence with the governor of al-Muḫā on the Yemeni coast, as well as with the Ethiopian Christian monarch in the highlands to the west. In fact, he was brought up in the Christian highlands and still had some of his kin residing there. He also had literate courtiers, and apparently had the habit of escorting Ethiopian (presumably Muslim) traders to his town. In Baylūl, it seems to have been customary to hold the proper ceremonies for Friday prayer and the Ramadan fast. Because of his contacts with Yemen, this local ruler was quite willing to help the expedition, entertaining them lavishly as his guests, and later escorting al-Ḥaymī's party to the interior as well, through the desert wastelands of the Danakil Depression. The tenor of al-Ḥaymī's description of him is accordingly far more sympathetic than for other ʿAfar.[20]

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[16] For Ibn Ḫaldūn's understanding of the term *badw*, see Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Muqaddima* I, 243–252. On the varied connotations of the stereotyped concept of 'Bedouin' among mediaeval Arabic speakers, including characterisations of the Bedouin as primitive, wild, and irreligious, see Binay 2006, esp. 55–59, 73–74.

[17] On the ethnic labels applied in various languages to the ʿAfar, see Yasin 2008: 41–42; Thesiger 1935: 1–2. On the use in Arabic of the term *Dankal* as early as the 7th/13th century, see Trimingham 1952: 171; Chedeville 1966: 173 [note no. 3].

[18] See Yāqūt, *Muʿǧam* I, 369–370 (art. "Barbara"); al-Maqrīzī, *Ilmām* 93, 102.

[19] On the traditional political structures and chieftaincies of the ʿAfar, see Chedeville 1966: 181–183; Yasin 2008: 44–45; Kamil 2004: 165–166; Harbeson 1978: 482–483; Trimingham 1952: 174–175. On the role of chiefs among the related Somali, see Lewis 1955: 585–586.

[20] Al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra*, 84–86. Armed escorts were an absolute precondition for crossing these badlands; see Burton 1855: 139–140.

The language barrier is an obvious constituent of cultural distance, which profoundly informs perceptions of the Other. The nomadic ʿAfar could not speak Arabic: there was no direct way to communicate with them. There were, contrastingly, people capable of speaking Arabic among the highland Ǧabartī, both among the scholarly lineages of Tigray and in the Muslim settlements around Gondär. al-Ḥaymī does not fail to take emphatic notice of this fact.[21]

Food is another important marker of cultural exclusion and inclusion, and highly symbolic of outgroup versus ingroup status.[22] Between the hospitable table of Baylūl's sultan, which he praises, and the decent Muslim fare of the Muslim settlement near Gondär, al-Ḥaymī finds no palatable food. First, he complains about the all but entirely dairy- and meat-based diet of the ʿAfar nomads, only occasionally supplemented with the fruit of the doum palms.[23] Here he craves for cereals but has to make do with the outlandish nomadic diet, a hardship exacerbated by the scarcity of water. Later on, he complains about having to prepare his own dishes when among non-Muslims, relying on his own provisions of flour ground by Muslims, while his companions had to resort to non-Muslim food by way of necessity (*ḍarūra*). It is only among the Ǧabartī that he has no dietary concerns.[24] Here again he regards only the sedentary highlanders as fully civilised Muslims and his equals, excluding the ʿAfar nomads from the orbit of Muslim civilisation. They are, in short, barbarians only nominally within the *umma*, with the exception of their sultan, whose hospitality is acceptable to a proper, civilised Muslim.

3 Conclusions: How to Define a Nominal Muslim

Whatever their shortcomings, nominal Muslims *are* Muslims. Here the terminology of inclusion is unequivocal and significant. Like both al-Ḥaymī and Ibn Ǧubayr in the excerpts cited above, learned Muslim authors would often express the notion of 'nominal' Islam by juxtaposing the mechanical utterance of the Islamic creed

[21] Ignorance of Arabic is likewise cited as a mark of nominal Islam in Usuman dan Fodio's *Sirāǧ al-iḫwān*; see Hiskett 1962: 580.

[22] It is an especially important sign, and indeed determinant, of religious identity in the wider Ethiopian region; see Braukämper 1992: 204–205; Insoll 2003: 72–73.

[23] In fact, the doum palm also furnished another essential item in the diet of some desert-dwelling ʿAfar groups: the fermented sap was made into palm wine and drunk daily. See Munzinger 1869: 199–200; Kamil 2004: 173.

[24] Al-Ḥaymī, *Sīra*, 93, 97. On the markedly dissimilar dietary traditions of the Ǧabartī and the ʿAfar, compare DeGregori and Weekes 1984: 346 and Kamil 2004: 173, respectively. The southern ʿAfar and the Wayṭo of the Lake Tana region also had an item on their diet that made others question their Islamic credentials, namely hippopotamus meat. See Thesiger 1935: 2; Thesiger 1996: 106; Gamst 1984: 853–854.

(*šahāda*) – a necessary precondition of conversion to Islam – and failure to observe elementary norms of Islam. The Nigerian jihadist leader Usuman dan Fodio (d. 1817), for instance, in his *Sirāǧ al-iḫwān* highlights the Songhay emperor Sonni ʿAlī's lip service to Islam ("*yanṭiqu bi-š-šahādatayn wa-naḥwahumā min alfāẓ al-muslimīn*") and his fasting and pious alms, which starkly contrast with his continued observance of pre-Islamic rites and respect for animist ritual specialists.[25] Thus a 'nominal' Muslim is perhaps better defined in emic terms – from the learned Muslim perspective – as a 'declaratory' Muslim: someone who makes a verbal declaration of Islamic belief but fails to comply with Islamic norms and to acquire any religious learning beyond the creed.

What makes, then, a 'nominal' Muslim? Certainly not lukewarm religious fervour. More pertinent features are lack of knowledge (of anything beyond the bare essentials of the Islamic creed and of the Arabic language), lack of education, lack of proper Muslim-style clothing (as understood by a Yemeni of al-Ḥaymī's time), lack of gender segregation, lack of state structures and security (leading to a general Bedouin-like ferocity towards strangers), lack of compliance with marriage regulations, neglect of the sexual morality of the *šarīʿa* (e.g. multiplicity of wives), and lack of proper (i.e. to an Arab visitor non-exotic) food. In sum, nominal Islam is almost coterminous here with lack of urbanisation, state formation, religious education, and any obvious signs of Arabic cultural influence. Of course, just like beauty, a nominal Muslim is in the eye of the beholder, and that beholder being an Arab, it is little wonder that Arabic ethnocentric notions should be part of the package of 'proper' Islam.

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REVIVAL, REPLICA, AND REUSE: FASHIONING 'ARABESQUE' FURNITURE IN KHEDIVAL CAIRO

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Mamluk Revival – or rather "Arab style" as it was called at the time[1] – is a genre that Max Herz (1856–1919), the Hungarian architect so dear to István Ormos, eagerly embraced for a few building commissions he carried out in Cairo at the turn of the 20th century, on top of his engagement in the service of the conservation and restoration of the city's magnificent monuments. Many fellow architects had preceded him on this path during their Cairene days, others followed. In most instances, their Mamluk Revival designs benefitted from their proximity to the very sources of the style. The structures they conceived were not vague tributes to a building art seen from afar, as exoticism had made us familiar with, but gestures deeply aware of the riches of Mamluk architecture.

Extensive sketching and photographing made the monuments and ornaments familiar to those who resided for long periods in al-Maḥrūsa ('the well-guarded', as the Egyptian capital continued to be named throughout the 19th century). The results of their picturing campaigns are visible today in numerous European archival collections (Volait 2013). In a few cases, the source and its imitation, that is, tangible heritage and architectural design, were literally embedded into one another through the practice of reuse. The French architect Ambroise Baudry (1838–1906) made a speciality of designing with antiques for the houses he conceived in Cairo between 1871 and 1886, and subsequently for the interiors he arranged in France once back home. The principle consisted in incorporating authentic fragments into the edifices being erected, such as authentic carved ceilings or Mamluk marquetry inserted into the modern frames of doors and cabinets. The most spectacular achievement of architectural reuse in modern Cairo was the house built between 1875 and 1879 for the grand equerry of Khedive Ismāʿīl (r. 1863–1879), the aristocrat Gaston de Saint-Maurice (1853–1905). Visual records of these achievements show that the Mamluk touch went into every detail of the arrangements, including many of the vessels and furniture (Volait 1998).

[1] This phrase was commonly used in a number of languages, including Arabic, since the French conquest of Algeria starting in 1830.

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While the subject of Mamluk Revival in architecture has received scholarly attention in the last decades,[2] its counterpart in interior design remains woefully neglected. The present piece is an attempt to reconstruct the rise, fall, and recent reappraisal of Mamluk-style furniture in Khedival Cairo, based on a scattered corpus of evidence, be that visual, material, or textual in nature, gathered somewhat haphazardly.

Fig. 1. Ambroise Baudry's drawing-room in his house in Cairo, built in 1875–1877. (© Andrew Dickson White Architectural Photographs, Cornell University Library).

1 Parvis's pioneering work

Before engaging with the Mamluk Revival in modern furniture, some framing regarding pre-modern fittings is due, even though our background knowledge on domestic equipment in late Ottoman Egypt is scarce. A few clues are provided by the

[2] See, for instance, Sakr 1992; AlSayyad, Bierman and Rabbat 2005; Ormos 2009: 369–480; Volait 2017b.

classical ethnographic account penned by the Arabist Edward William Lane (1801–1876). Houses were mainly furnished with mattresses and cushions; vessels were stored in recessed shelves sometimes decorated with marble or tiles; meals were eaten on a tray placed upon a low stool. Lighting was provided by suspended chandeliers (Lane, *An account*, 18–27). That was about it in the 1830s. Conversely, four decades later, official statistics registered some 7000 Egyptian carpenters and woodturners across the country, besides 21 'chair-makers' based in Cairo (Delchevalerie, "L'Égypte" 432). In the meantime, manufactured wooden domestic furnishing had seemingly become an industry.

Fig. 2. Cupboard commissioned from Giuseppe Parvis for the Egyptian section of the 1867 Universal Exposition in Paris, dated 1866, today in Marriott Hotel in Cairo (photo by the author, 2017).

One early craftsman in Cairo was the Piemontese Giuseppe Parvis (1831–1909), alternatively named Joseph in the sources (Tronquois and Lemoin, *Rapport* 33). He was one of the few cabinet-makers established in Egypt for whom some data is available today.[3] Born in the Italian city of Breme, and trained in Turin and Paris, Parvis

[3] Danovaro, *L'Égypte* 292–293; Wright, *Twentieth century* 370–371. For further information, see Ricco 2012; Selvafolta 2015.

settled in Egypt in 1859. Starting purportedly as a simple journeyman, in 1866 he received the prestigious commission to make a "suite of Oriental furniture" for the Khedival participation in the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition.[4] Beside a restored ancient window (probably a *mašrabiyya*), Parvis sent to the French capital several doors, a large *dikka* (similar to those where the Holy Book was stored in mosques), a cupboard for vessels, a bookcase, a mirror, a tripod stand in ebony, an alabaster table with rosewood legs and chibouk-holders to be fixed on the wall (Édmond, *L'Égypte* 335–336). Composed of a central body modelled after a Mamluk portal and featuring symmetrical panels inlaid with bone and wood and topped with crenellations, the cupboard bore an Arabic inscription versified by one "Moustapha Salam" (*Illustrierter Katalog*, 202), most probably the *šayḫ* Muṣṭafā Salāma an-Naǧǧārī (d. 1870), one of Khedive Ismāʿīl's panegyrists (Mestyan 2019). Thanks to an engraving published in 1868, the cupboard can be identified as the one standing today in a corridor of the Marriott Hotel (the former Khedival palace of Gazīra) (fig. 2). It is dated 1866, and signed by Parvis together with an illegible name, possibly of a local associate. Its public text praises the ruler for guiding Egypt towards the restoration of the past splendour of its crafts and arts. Parvis is most probably also the author of the case made for the arms of the Khedive and a large Qurʾān that stood in the Egyptian pavilion in Paris. The furniture featured an original Mamluk inlaid wooden panel as its back (Édmond, *L'Égypte* 196-197). This is the first known piece of modern furnishing incorporating *spolia*.

Fig. 3. Parvis's showroom in Cairo, undated photograph (collection of the Parvis family).

[4] Wright, *Twentieth century* 370 (the text erroneously says 1869 instead of 1867).

2 Reconstructing the Parvis catalogue

The Mamluk Revival furniture illustrated in publicity for international world's fairs, as well as in the views of Parvis's showroom in Cairo (fig. 3), allow some reconstruction of the catalogue and speculation on its outreach. Variations of the published models, such as the mirrored consoles or the large cupboards, can be easily spotted in Khedival palaces: the grand dining-room of the ʿĀbdīn Palace (built between 1863 and 1874) rearranged after the 1891 fire clearly encompasses Parvis's furniture (*Abdeen Palace* 97–99); the same holds true for the Manyal Palace (built between 1901 and 1929). A marked interest for anything "belle époque" in present-day Cairo has driven the curators of the Gayer-Anderson Museum to display many similar furnishings of unknown provenance (probably from the royal palaces), and possibly not all made by Parvis, in the rooms of the 18th-century houses fully rearranged for the Irish Major in the 1930s.[5] One suspects that the invented tradition imagined by Parvis and his followers did not exactly correspond to the folk art and period furniture Gayer-Anderson was inclined to promote. But the fact that such Revival furniture is being reintroduced today in a historic site testifies, however, to the recent reappraisal of Parvis's production and related works. Their success extends beyond Egypt through international auction houses. While less valued than Carlo Bugatti's orientalising Art Nouveau furniture, recognisable Parvis pieces are becoming collectibles in the Gulf, for instance in Qatar (fig. 4).[6]

The identified specimens help us to characterise the main elements of Parvis's furniture. One recurrent feature is the use of woods of contrasting colours, such as ebony and golden mahogany. Another is the inlay work in bone and mother-of-pearl. Some pieces bear metal plating in the form of roundels. Most furniture display Arabic inscriptions, carved on ebony and painted in gold – their repertoire is to be established one day. The deliberate juxtaposition of elements of different nature and scale is a typical feature of these furnishings. The cupboard exhibited in Paris in 1867, and its variation sent to the United States in 1876, feature inlaid lateral panels reproducing Mamluk elements to scale, while their central part is a reduction of the three-lobed portals to be found in many Mamluk mosques or madrasas. Another typical feature is a horseshoe serrated arch used indiscriminately for openings. Its shape was described as Moorish, rather than Egyptian, at the time of the Egyptian exhibits at the1867 Paris Exposition (Édmond, *L'Égypte* 196). But in fact this type of arch can be spotted in cupboards extant in late Ottoman houses in Cairo, e.g. at Bayt al-Siḥaymī. Although the exact date of production of such furnishings is unknown, their

[5] Personal enquiry, 2017.

[6] Personal observation of a Qatari interior in Doha, 17 November 2012.

presence in late Ottoman domestic architecture suggests that the Moorish type serrated arch possesses a longer Egyptian history than one suspects. In any event, it became a standard and indeed a marker, of Parvis's furniture.

At a closer glance, Parvis's decorative syntax appears quite limited: thin columns, light and dark stripes, stalactites (generally in black), marked pediments, turned wood, epigraphy, etc. Some pieces were made as replicas of artworks in the collections of the Arab Museum (today the Museum of Islamic Art) in Cairo. In 1892, Parvis formally requested the permission to copy one of its caskets (*Procès-verbaux* 9, 17–18). He himself was a collector of Islamic artworks, from which he donated several specimens to the museum from 1903 onwards.[7] These objects would have served as models for his craftsmanship.

Fig. 4. Mirrored console probably by Parvis, today in the vestibule of a Qatari residence (photo by the author, 2012).

Parvis's furniture is spectacular (not only for its large size) and always overworked. It is little attuned to viewers today, as extreme kitsch is seldom valued. But

[7] These donations are mentioned in successive issues of the *Procès-verbaux* of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe. The whole collection can be accessed and searched online at http://www.persee.fr/collection/ccmaa (accessed 17 July 2019).

his formula appealed and continues to appeal to many, internationally as well as domestically, and its past and present success is to be taken as significant. Not every piece was for high end means; smaller furnishings, such as a typical *tabouret*-table, were also on offer in his showroom. There were few Egyptian homes arranged in the 20th century that did not encompass an Arab room, often with Parvis or neo-Parvis furniture. The "drawing-room in Arabic style", conceived around 1930 by the architect ʿAlī Labīb Gabr (1898–1966) for the villa of Mugīb Fatḥī Bey in Cairo, is a telling example of an Arabesque installation designed for an Egyptian patron (fig. 5). The large cupboard standing in the background of the photograph, in the far corner, can be a late piece made by Parvis. If the arrangement conceived by ʿAlī Labīb Gabr for this villa differs from earlier ones made for expatriates in Egypt or clients abroad, it is not so much in essence than in temporality. Workmanship shifts over time; what could be produced in the 1930s was not identical to what had been handcrafted three decades earlier. Wood supply and treatment, tools, and labour constraints changed, and so did the likeness of the handmade objects.

Fig. 5. "Drawing-room in Arabic style", villa Mugib Fathy Bey, Cairo (*Photographs of various buildings*, pl. 32).

The room of Mugīb Fatḥī Bey is not a unique instance of Arabesque-style interior designed for an Egyptian patron (Volait 2009: 181–226). The discontent voiced by some in respect of such elaborate interiors indirectly demonstrates their popularity. As Jacques Hardy (1889–1974), who was a French architect teaching at the Higher

School of Fine Arts in Cairo at the time and an exponent of Modern Classicism in his architectural activity, put it in 1938: “There is no vestibule in Cairo that does not have a *mašrabiyya* turned into a coat rack”.[8] A few remnants of the Arabesque furniture from the house of Hudā Šaʿrāwī (1879–1947) could be viewed in Spring 2019 at the Aisha Fahmy Arts Complex in Zamalek, within the framework of an exhibition devoted to the arts and crafts under the Khedives.[9]

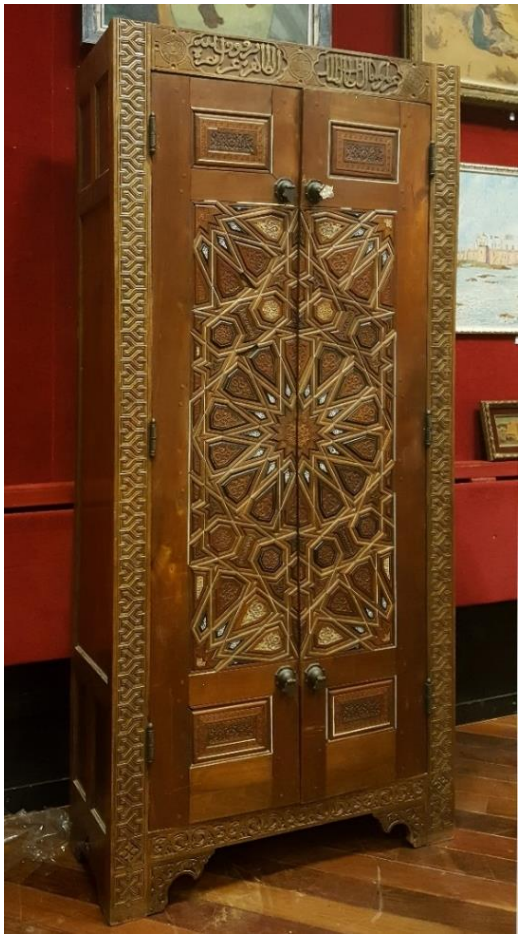

Fig. 6. Mamluk Revival cupboard from the collection of Ernest de Blignières, auctioned on 23 Mai 2017 in Paris by Ader Nordmann, lot no. 296, hammered 38.000 €
(photo by the author, 2017).

[8] “On a abusé du moucharabieh au point d’en faire des porte-manteaux dans toutes les antichambres du Caire”, Letter from Jacques Hardy to the French ambassador.

[9] “Features of an Era”, exhibition curated by Ehab Ellaban, Center of Arts, Zamalek, Cairo, 27 January–27 April 2019.

3 Adapting salvages "*à la clunisienne*"

Parvis seems to have been the first to create Mamluk Revival woodwork in Egypt. Others followed suit. Giuseppe (1852–?) and Nicola (1858–?) Jacovelli (also spelled Iacovelli) are a case in point. Actually trained in the Parvis workshops, the Jacovelli brothers established their own business in 1885, and for the next 17 years produced exclusive furniture for princes and pashas, besides their extensive work as restorers of Cairo's historic monuments (Balboni 1906: III, 355–357). The driving force behind their artistry was not so much a 'renaissance' ethos, but rather the great opportunity of restoring the Cairene monuments after 1881, when the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe was formed. The brothers also assembled a large collection of Islamic artefacts and salvages through, and for, their restoration activity, and possibly even as models for their designs. Their collection, rich in marble mosaic, woodwork, and tiles, was eventually donated to the archaeological museum in Palermo (today the Antonio Salinas Regional Archaeological Museum) (Paribeni 2014).

In 1891, a commercial guide listed no less than five firms producing "Arab Style" or "Arabesque" furniture in Cairo: the Furino brothers, Gasparo Giuliana, Elias Hatoun, Paglierini, and the Jacovelli (*Annuaire égyptien*). These firms were private initiatives that had developed in parallel, and, for what is known, in total independence. As already mentioned, the French architect Ambroise Baudry made a speciality of designing with antiques, a technique in which Parvis had experimented for a few early pieces presented at international expositions, possibly for the request of the Khedive. Baudry reused not only salvaged carved woodwork, but also ancient tiles and marble *opus sectile*, in order to lend authenticity to his reconstructions of Egyptian medieval architecture. He combined the repurposed material with plaster casts of Mamluk ornaments, and also painted facsimiles. These techniques were widely available in Paris at the time, and known as "à la clunisienne", in explicit reference to the Musée de Cluny in Paris, a medieval mansion that has been refurbished and refurnished anew by the collector and archaeologist Alexandre du Sommerard (1779–1842) in the 1830s. Sommerard is credited with inventing the practice of combining ancient fragments and new imitated parts in order to produce historicising pieces or modern fittings with an authentic antique flavour. However, this practice soon strived at satisfying a demand for old items: it became so vigorous that there were no sufficient number of originals to accommodate it (Charpy 2010: 536–538). The reference to Cluny was not lost to Paul Baudry, a celebrated artist of the Second Empire, when he visited his younger brother Ambroise in 1876. He wrote enthusiastically:

> Ambroise's house is a gem. We would be rich if the building were located in the surroundings of the boulevard Saint-Germain, or simply at the Batignolles.

> The doors and the ceilings, the marbles, and the tiles come from 16th-century houses, it is an Arab Cluny.[10]

Accordingly, Baudry's architectural manner can be understood as his own adaptation of a French historicist genre to the Egyptian context, although the idea of repurposing historic fragments might have come via other channels to Parvis and the Khedive.

Fig. 7. Cupboard designed by Ambroise Baudry, displayed in the Mamluk Galleries of the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (photo by the author, 2017).

Baudry and his friend Ernest de Blignières (1834–1900), who was posted in Cairo from 1878 to 1882, had many pieces of furnishing and decoration made out of spolia for their residences both in Egypt and France (fig. 6). Carpenters were employed permanently at their homes for that purpose. At Baudry's, it was a Maltese craftsman with the name Peppe Gliveu, who worked at reshaping salvaged woodwork for future use. He subsequently established himself as a "contractor of carpentry in Arabesque style". Significantly, the last of these words are translated to Arabic as *ṣinaʿ*

[10] "La maison d'Ambroise est un bijou. Nous serions riches si l'immeuble était situé dans les environs de boulevard St Germain, ou simplement aux Batignolles, les portes et les plafonds, les marbres et les faïences viennent des palais du 16ème siècle, c'est un *Cluny arabe*" (my italics); Letter from Paul Baudry to Louise Garnier, 22 December 1876; see also Volait 2017a.

baladī, literally meaning 'indigenous' or 'vernacular' crafts.[11] That is, 'Arabesque style' was not perceived as alien to the culture, as postcolonial theory would have it today; it was deemed a local craft. It would be decisive to examine how the work of Parvis and Baudry intersected with one another, but no evidence of contacts exists in the extensive correspondence of the French architect. To be certain, the end-users of their arts differed. Parvis's furniture was meant for public display, and it can be hypothesised that it served the purpose of enhancing the legitimacy of the Muḥammad ʿAlī dynasty in Egypt. The works designed by Baudry were for private consumption. Mamluk Revival was not univocal; it could serve distinct purposes. Their artistry contrasted as well: Parvis's style was overtly Baroque, while that of Baudry belonged to a more Classicist vein.

4 Reuse as an enduring tradition

Reuse is strongly dependant on supply; in Cairo, its modern acme took place during the last third of the 19th century, when the administration of public works engaged with the numerous ruined buildings in the city, while itself producing rubble when opening new streets in the historic quarters. Salvaging and reuse are practices that collide with the current understanding and international doctrines governing the conservation of tangible heritage. One can argue that reuse has a history across millennia in Egypt, known to all archaeologists.[12] On the other hand, the business of dismantling buildings and selling their parts for repurposing is still a lively one in Cairo in 2019, employing skilful workers. It is perfectly legal, and thus offers second lives to handmade pieces initially meant to last longer than they actually did. When the late Ottoman mosque of Fāṭima an-Nabawiyya in Cairo was dismantled in 1999 to give way to a new Mamluk-style mosque inaugurated in 2003, its stonework was properly dismantled and resold by the Ministry of Endowments (Awqāf). The portal of the mosque was subsequently reused in a house in the Fayyūm, designed by the architect Omar El-Farouk, one of Hassan Fathy's disciples, and completed in 2015 (El-Batraoui 2015: 57–60). This practice fits the recycling motto of ecologists.

Mamluk 'archaism', to borrow the term that Egyptologists use to qualify the way present times play with previous eras,[13] is not specific to modern Egypt; Mamluk-style buildings were also erected in Ottoman Cairo to assert a local identity (Behrens-Abouseif 2007: 74–75). Assembling elements of different date (and place of production) is fascinating because it blurs the frontiers between local and alien, authenticity

[11] It reads "entrepreneur de travaux de menuiserie en style arabesque" on the letterhead of an invoice dated 31 March 1898, Administrative Archives, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo (no Accession number).

[12] For a recent overview of spolia in Mamluk monuments, see Abdulfattah 2017.

[13] See, for instance, Tiradritti 2008.

and artificiality, past and present, replica and reuse, creation and restoration. It produces hybrids and oxymora that deserve to be better acknowledged and comprehended. A typical example – and a fine one in proportion and execution, for that matter – is a cupboard designed by Ambroise Baudry around 1875, which currently stands in the Mamluk galleries of the Museum of Islamic art in Cairo (fig. 7). The piece bears reused and replicated epigraphy mentioning a sultan who reigned in the late 14th-century, aẓ-Ẓāhir Sayf ad-Dīn Barqūq. It also incorporates Mamluk marquetry set into modern frames, decorated with revival inlaid bone. The piece is described in the guide of the museum as unusual, and possibly dating from 19th-century;[14] as a matter of fact, it postdates the reign of the Circassian ruler by nearly five centuries. Before reaching the museum, the cupboard had been in the collection of Prince Yūsuf Kamāl (1882–1967), who had it installed into an 'Arab room' at his palace in the Maṭariyya district, according to a photograph showing the piece after it had lost its crenellations (fig. 8). The prince most probably secured it as a salvage from Baudry's house, when the building was demolished in the 1930s. This has been a missed opportunity to tell the specific story of a Mamluk Revival piece, the enduring tradition of salvaging and reuse in Cairo, and the broader history of reviving Mamluk art for public assertion and private consumption.

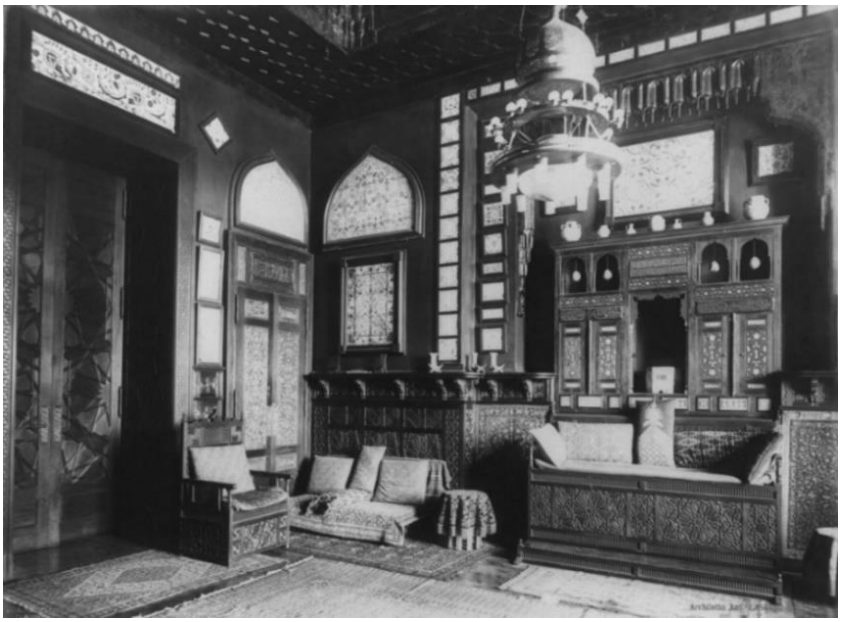

Fig. 8. Cupboard designed by Ambroise Baudry, as displayed in an 'Arab room' of Prince Yusuf Kamal's palace, Cairo (*Architetto Antonio Lasciac,* pl. 28).

[14] Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 23767; O'Kane 2012: 134.

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DIVERSE PERSONALITIES OF THE ECSTATIC SUFI AN-NŪRĪ ACCORDING TO THE EARLIEST SOURCES

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Besides the most prominent figures of the so-called intoxicated Sufis, Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 874) and al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāǧ (d. 922), a less-known early representative of ecstatic Sufis (*arbāb al-mawāǧīd*) was Abū l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī (d. 907/8). He was a contemporary and friend of al-Ǧunayd (d. 910), an emblematic moderate or 'sober' Sufi, with whom he exchanged letters and engaged in discussions, although not without critical overtones, and with whom he maintained an intimate relationship, asking for his advice and seeking to benefit from his mystical knowledge. An-Nūrī is best known for his poems and short gnomic sayings, for the trial he underwent because of the accusations by Ġulām Ḫalīl (d. 888), and for bleeding to death due to the wounds caused by his ecstatic straying in a freshly cut field of reeds while repeating a line from a love poem. In modern scholarship, he is usually introduced as one of God's 'lovers', who took pleasure in suffering from unrequited love that tempted them even into apparently blameworthy acts.[1]

His biography was reconstructed in detail by Richard Gramlich on the basis of dozens of sources ranging from the 10th to the 16th centuries (Gramlich 1995: 381–389). Needless to say, Gramlich's contribution was enormous, especially because he gathered information from an extraordinarily wide range of sources in Arabic and Persian. However, when combining the information scattered in the numerous sources into a single account on an-Nūrī's life, Gramlich did not wish to offer a diachronic perspective on the material, and he regarded the latest sources just as authentic as the earliest ones. Furthermore, if a certain event was described in different sources in different ways (for example, the inquisition against Sufis in the caliphal court provoked by Ġulām Ḫalīl), he supposed that the varying narratives corresponded to distinct occurrences (Gramlich 1995: 383). This can indeed be true, but it can equally be supposed that several elements, such as an-Nūrī's denouncement to the religious authorities, the inquisition against him by Ġulām Ḫalīl, and some of his controversial or even scandalous utterances, became loosely associated in the course of transmission, and so the same event is narrated in the

[1] See, for example, Knysh 2000: 60–63; Schimmel 1975: 60; Arberry 2008; cf. Nicholson 2002: 76–77.

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different sources in diverse forms. The inconsistency of the narratives concerning an-Nūrī's life is most obvious in the case of his death. According to one narrative, it occurred in a reed bed, while, according to another, in the Šūnīziyya mosque, and the circumstances of his death are even more varying than its location (Gramlich 1995: 387–388).

Gramlich also collected and interpreted an-Nūrī's sayings, poems, and the anecdotes about him scattered in various sources. The lack of a diachronic perspective is equally characteristic of Gramlich's presentation of these texts. He outlined the personality and the teachings of an-Nūrī on the basis of the totality of the sources, without distinguishing between earlier and later, and without taking into account the contexts in which the traditions are narrated. Consequently, he offered a portrait that would never arise from any specific source and indeed never existed as such in any historical period.[2]

Naturally, another approach to an-Nūrī's figure can be offered, one that is intended here. It might be of interest to study the sources one by one, to compare the materials contained in them, and to realise the differences between the distinct pictures of an-Nūrī that emerge from each of them. The divergence of the sources manifests itself not only in the discrepancy of the materials they comprise but also in the different ways of presenting the limited number of traditions they share, as well as in the key Sufi technical terms they employ. Obviously, a short article does not make it possible to study all the available sources. Therefore, the following discussion is limited to seven of the earliest works in which traditions attributed to an-Nūrī appear. These are the following works: *Kitāb at-taʿarruf li-maḏhab ahl at-taṣawwuf* by Abū Bakr al-Kalābāḏī, *Kitāb al-lumaʿ fī t-taṣawwuf* by Abū Naṣr as-Sarrāǧ, *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* by Abū ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *ar-Risāla al-qušayriyya* by Abū l-Qāsim al-Qušayrī, *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād min ḫaṣāʾiṣ ḥikam al-ʿibād fī naʿt al-murīd wa-l-murād* by Abū l-Ḥasan as-Sīrǧānī, and *Salwat al-ʿārifīn wa-uns al-muštāqīn* by Abū Ḫalaf aṭ-Ṭabarī. Although exact dates are not available for most of the sources, all of them were written within a hundred years, between the late 10th and the late 11th centuries.

[2] Paul Nwyia also treated the personality and teachings of an-Nūrī extensively, but his discussion was based almost entirely on a problematic treatise titled *Maqāmat al-qulūb* and attributed to an-Nūrī. The treatise, preserved in two 19th-century and two undated manuscripts in Istanbul, was published by Nwyia, who never called an-Nūrī's authorship in question, see Nwyia 1968, 1970: 316–348. In my opinion, the authenticity of the treatise is dubious for several reasons; first, its concepts, style, and structure are not compatible with the rest of the traditions attributed to an-Nūrī, and second, it shows marked similarities to other Sufi works that became popular from the 13th century onwards.

These sources contain altogether about a hundred traditions attributed to an-Nūrī, a quarter of which are poems, while the rest are short sayings and anecdotes.[3] None of the traditions are quoted in all seven compilations, or even in six of them. There are only two traditions that appear in five, and about ten that are quoted in four. More than half (59) of the traditions appear in only one of the studied sources. This raises questions about the authenticity of the traditions and the accuracy of the picture that emerges from each of the compilations, let alone the veritableness of an-Nūrī's portrayal as it can be reconstructed by combining all the information contained in the sources. Traditions collected in the earliest sources are not necessarily more authentic than those quoted in works compiled some decades later. The fact that a saying is quoted and attributed to an-Nūrī in various sources does not, in itself, prove that it is more original than one preserved in a single source only.

As for the textual overlap between the sources, the following observations can be made. The four earliest sources do not overlap remarkably (with the partial exception of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* by Abū Nuʿaym that has several parallels with the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* and the *Risāla qušayriyya*). The number of shared traditions in any two of the four earliest sources is usually three or four, in the case of the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf* by al-Kalābāḏī and the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* by as-Sulamī it is only one, while the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf* and the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* have no identical tradition. However, half of the traditions collected in the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* are quoted in other early sources as well, namely in the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* and in the *Risāla qušayriyya*. The two later sources, the *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād* by as-Sīrğānī and the *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* by aṭ-Ṭabarī, contain numerous traditions shared both between them and between some of the four earlier sources.[4] These two sources depend in great measure on the four earlier ones, especially on the *Risāla qušayriyya* and the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*.[5] The exact relation between the four early sources is still under study; it is known, for example, that al-Qušayrī depended heavily upon as-Sulamī (who was his teacher for a short period), and that the biographical part of the *Risāla qušayriyya* is modelled upon the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*. However, this dependence is barely discernible in the case of the traditions attributed to an-Nūrī, for as-Sulamī's and al-Qušayrī's works share only two such traditions. The same holds true, to a certain extent, for Abū

[3] Exact numbers cannot be given, since various traditions occur in more or less divergent versions, and sometimes they are divided into parts in some of the sources while presented as one continuous text in others.

[4] The number of traditions shared between the *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād* and the *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* is 15. The greatest overlap is between *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* and the *Risāla qušayriyya* (17 traditions), but the coincidence between the *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād* and the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* (13 traditions), or that between the *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* and the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* (10 traditions) is also considerable.

[5] See the discussion by Gerhard Böwering and Bilal Orfali on the sources of the collection in aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Salwa* 24–26.

Nuʿaym, who studied under as-Sulamī for a longer period and relied upon as-Sulamī's *Tabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* when composing his monumental *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. Conversely, Abū Nuʿaym adopted only four traditions attributed to an-Nūrī from the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*.

1 A short description of the sources

1.1 Al-Kalābāḏī (d. 990 or 995), Kitāb at-taʿarruf li-maḏhab ahl at-taṣawwuf

The *Kitāb at-taʿarruf* is one of the earliest sources in which an-Nūrī's ideas are preserved. It is a polemical work explaining the basic tenets of Sufism, while also defending the Sufis against suspicion and attacks by those who would denounce them as heretics. Little is known about the life of its author, Abū Bakr al-Kalābāḏī, besides that he was a Ḥanafī jurist and wrote a commentary on the traditions of the Prophet, which survives in various manuscripts.[6] According to Arberry, he was a disciple of Fāris,[7] and al-Kalābāḏī indeed quoted him several times in the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf*, introducing the quotations with the remark "I heard Fāris saying", which proves the direct relationship between them (Arberry 1935: XIV–XV, n. 3). Al-Kalābāḏī might not have been a mystic himself, but evidently had first-hand knowledge on Sufism, and did not refrain from promulgating even its more controversial tendencies. An-Nūrī is mentioned in the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf* about twenty times, and the relatively large proportion of poems among these traditions is characteristic of al-Kalābāḏī's collection. It comprises ten poems, nine sayings, and two anecdotes.

1.2 As-Sarrāǧ (d. 988), Kitāb al-lumaʿ

Although the author, Abū Naṣr ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī as-Sarrāǧ, was a native of Ṭūs in Khorasan, he exposed the teachings of mainly Iraqi Sufis, to whom he was personally related.[8] He was a disciple of Ǧaʿfar al-Ḫuldī (d. 959) from al-Ǧunayd's circle, and acted as an overseer of the mystics associated with the Šūnīziyya mosque in Baghdad. The *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* is an apologetic work, and its peculiarity is that it discusses in much detail controversial mystical concepts and practices, ecstatic behaviour, apparently blasphemous utterances (*šaṭaḥāt*), heterodox sects, and the errors committed by them. While the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* does not include a biographical part, because of the accusations of heresy an-Nūrī had to face, it dedicates a chapter

[6] For the scarce information available about his life and works, see Arberry 1935: IX–XV.

[7] Arberry most probably meant Fāris Abū l-Qāsim ad-Dīnawarī, a disciple of al-Ḥallāǧ.

[8] On as-Sarrāǧ's life, see the introduction to the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* by Nicholson, III–V; cf. Knysh 2000: 118–120.

to him.[9] Besides that, numerous sayings and poems attributed to an-Nūrī are scattered in the book, quoting altogether some 30 traditions related to him.

1.3 As-Sulamī (d. 1021), Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya

As-Sulamī's biographical work became a model for later books presenting the generations of mystics in chronological order.[10] Unlike the manuals composed by al-Kalābāḏī and as-Sarrāǧ, the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* is not a theoretical work but a biographical lexicon comprising very concise biographies of 105 Sufis, accompanied by a selection of their sayings. As-Sulamī was initiated into Sufism by Abū Sahl aṣ-Ṣuʿlūkī, and invested with the Sufi cloak (*ḫirqa*) by Abū l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābādī, a disciple of Abū Bakr aš-Šiblī from Baghdad. He later became the head of a small Sufi lodge in Nishapur. The *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* contains a biographical entry on an-Nūrī, collecting some 15 traditions related to him.

1.4 Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1038), Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ

The *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* is a monumental biographical work by Abū Nuʿaym, who was a *ḥadīṯ* scholar and not a Sufi master.[11] He studied under as-Sulamī in Nishapur, and, especially in the tenth volume of the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, adopted a considerable number of Sufi traditions from as-Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*. The same applies to the biographical entry on an-Nūrī, which includes 17 traditions (sayings, stories, and poems), four of which also appear in as-Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*,[12] and one in the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* by as-Sarrāǧ.[13]

1.5 Al-Qušayrī, Risāla *(written in 1045)*

Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qušayrī (d. 1072), a Sunni scholar and Sufi master belonging to the tradition of Baghdad, wrote his famous *Risāla* in 1045.[14] It summa-

[9] The section on an-Nūrī is missing from the edition by Nicholson but was published in 1947 by Arberry from a manuscript preserved in the Bankipur Library; see as-Sarrāǧ, *Lumaʿ* [ed. Arberry].

[10] On as-Sulamī's life, see Knysh 2000: 125–127. On the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*, see Mojaddedi 2001: 9–39.

[11] On his life and work, see Knysh 2000: 128–129. On the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, see Mojaddedi 2001: 41–67.

[12] as-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 167–168 (on an-Nūrī's and al-Ǧunayd's reaction to illness), 165–166 (on an-Nūrī looking at a boy in Baghdad), 166 (on a saying about love).

[13] Sarrāǧ, *Lumaʿ* [ed. Nicholson] 327 (on an-Nūrī demanding a miracle from God).

[14] On al-Qušayrī and especially on his *Risāla*, see Alexander Knysh's introduction to his English translation; al-Qushayri, *Epistle* xix–xxvii; see also Knysh, 2000: 60–63; Algar 1992;

rises the Sufi doctrines, discusses their technical vocabulary, and contains a biographical part presenting 83 early masters, including an-Nūrī, in chronological order. It quotes about 30 traditions related to an-Nūrī, some in the biographical entry on him and some in the theoretical part of the manual. The *Risāla qušayriyya* is one of the most well-known Sufi works until today.

1.6 Abū l-Ḥasan as-Sīrǧānī (d. 1077), Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād

The *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād min ḫaṣāʾiṣ ḥikam al-ʿibād fī naʿt al-murīd wa-l-murād* is a handbook on basic Sufi concepts, similar to the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf*, the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, and the theoretical part of the *Risāla qušayriyya.* It contains some 40 traditions related to an-Nūrī, most of which, however, were already collected in the earlier sources. Little is known about its author's life and works. As-Sīrǧānī was a disciple of Abū Ismāʿīl Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣūfī, and after the death of his master, he undertook the guidance of his own disciples in a *ribāṭ* in Sīrǧān.[15]

1.7 Aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. c. 1077), Salwat al-ʿārifīn *(written in 1067)*

The *Salwat al-ʿārifīn wa-uns al-muštāqīn* was compiled by Abū Ḫalaf aṭ-Ṭabarī, a scholar of Šāfiʿī law, who lived in Nishapur.[16] Apparently, the *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* was his only book related to Sufism. It was written in 1067 on the request of Abū ʿAlī Ḥassān ibn Saʿīd al-Manīʿī (d. 1071), the leader of the *futuwwa* confraternity in Nishapur, who patronised various religious institutions and Sufi communities. The *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* is partially patterned on the *Risāla qušayriyya*, and includes Sufi biographies based on the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* and the *Risāla qušayriyya*. It contains more than 40 traditions related to an-Nūrī, though only seven of them were not collected in the other sources discussed above.

Mojaddedi 2000; 2001: 99–124, and the entire volume 2:1 of the *Journal of Sufi Studies* (2013) dedicated to al-Qušayrī. For a list of al-Qušayrī's published works, see Gramlich 1989: 17.

[15] On as-Sīrǧānī's life and work, see the introduction by Bilal Orfali and Nada Saab to as-Sīrǧānī, *Bayāḍ* 1–5.

[16] On aṭ-Ṭabarī's life and collection, see the introduction by Gerhard Böwering and Bilal Orfali to aṭ-Ṭabarī *Salwa* 1–14.

2 An-Nūrī's biography

2.1 According to al-Kalābāḏī's Kitāb at-taʿarruf

Unlike the rest of the sources, the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf* does not contain biographical entries, however, some sporadic information about an-Nūrī can be gathered from two anecdotes, both of which feature al-Ǧunayd. In one of the stories, an-Nūrī experienced a long ecstasy in the Šūnīziyya mosque, after which al-Ǧunayd explained that ecstatics were saved by God from religious laxity in their state of ecstasy (al-Kalābāḏī, *Taʿarruf* 9). In the other story, al-Ǧunayd addressed an-Nūrī with the honorific title "commander of the hearts", asking him to speak, and when an-Nūrī rebuked him for talking deceptively to the people, al-Ǧunayd did not deny that (al-Kalābāḏī *Taʿarruf* 112). Both traditions can be considered as apologetic: the first one defends an-Nūrī – or, in general, the intoxicated Sufis – against the charges of religious laxity, while the second one places him above the moderate Sufi al-Ǧunayd, whom an-Nūrī reproaches in the presence of his disciples.

2.2 According to as-Sarrāǧ's Kitāb al-lumaʿ

Although the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* does not contain a proper biographical section, it dedicates some chapters to controversial Sufis, such as Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī, aš-Šiblī, and Abū Ḥamza. Among these chapters, one on an-Nūrī is included, characterising him as follows: "He was one of the ecstatics (*wāǧidūn*) and one of those who spoke with subtle allusions (*ahl al-išārāt al-laṭīfa*). He has various sayings and a lot of poems" (as-Sarrāǧ, *Lumaʿ* [ed. Arberry] 6). Most remarkably, the chapter narrates a version of the Ġulām Ḫalīl incident, according to which an-Nūrī was accused before the caliph for claiming that God was in passionate love with him, and that God was with him in his home. Furthermore, he allegedly said blasphemous things when he heard a muezzin's call to prayer, but answered with "*labbayka*" ('here I am') to a dog's barking (as-Sarrāǧ, *Lumaʿ* [ed. Arberry] 5). His relationship with al-Ǧunayd is also emphasised: the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* contains a short quotation from a letter written by an-Nūrī to al-Ǧunayd, praising him for his clarity of expression. It also mentions their correspondence on the topic of tribulation (*balāʾ*), and quotes al-Ǧunayd reproving an-Nūrī for requesting a miracle from God. Finally, it recounts an-Nūrī's death in the reedbed (as-Sarrāǧ, *Lumaʿ* [ed. Nicholson] 239, 290, 327, 353).

2.3 According to as-Sulamī's Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya

The *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* is a biographical lexicon of Sufis, and, as such, provides some basic information about an-Nūrī. It mentions the various forms of his name (Abū l-Ḥusayn an-Nūrī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad or Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad), his

place of birth (Baghdad), family's origin (Buġšūr), teachers (Sarī as-Saqaṭī and Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Qaṣṣāb), and the year of his death (907/8). As-Sulamī characterises an-Nūrī as follows: "No one was better than him in the [mystical] path (*tarīqa*), and no one was more brilliant in speech than him" (as-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 164). As-Sulamī did not expound upon the circumstances of an-Nūrī's death, nor did he refer to his conflicts with the religious authorities. The traditions collected in the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* are fairly moderate, most of them contain no provocative or suspicious detail, except for the anecdote about an-Nūrī flirting with a young boy in Baghdad (as-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 165–166). Similar to the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf*, a certain tension between al-Ǧunayd and an-Nūrī is attestable in the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*, in a story relating their different ways of behaviour during illness. However, the apparent contradiction is readily dissolved by poems suggesting that both of their reactions were correct.

2.4 According to Abū Nuʿaym's Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ

The *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* is also a biographical work, in which the details revealed on an-Nūrī's background are even more limited than in the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*. Abū Nuʿaym mentions an-Nūrī's full name (Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, known as an-Nūrī and as Ibn Baġawī) and teachers ("he met Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ḥawārī and he accompanied as-Sarī as-Saqaṭī"), and characterises him as a person whose "healing tongue speaks with clarity about the inner hearts (secrets) of those who turn towards the Creator" (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* X, 249).

Abū Nuʿaym relates a version of the Ġulām Ḫalīl incident, which is not identical with the one quoted in the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*. According to this version, when Ġulām Ḫalīl accused the Sufis of heresy, the caliph gave order to decapitate them. An-Nūrī then stepped forward, offering himself to be killed first, and saying that he preferred his companions to live longer, even if only for a few moments. The execution was suspended, and the caliph commanded the judge (Ismāʿīl ibn Isḥāq) to clarify the matter. He posed questions about Islamic law to an-Nūrī, which he readily answered, and so the Sufis were released. Abū Nuʿaym also reports that during the unstable years of persecution provoked by Ġulām Ḫalīl, an-Nūrī settled in Raqqa, withdrawing from the people. By the time he returned to Baghdad, he had already lost his followers and companions. He refused to talk because his eyesight was weak, his body exhausted, and his nourishment restricted to the minimum (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* X, 249–250).

Similar to the *Tabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*, the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* also includes the story about an-Nūrī flirting with a young man in Baghdad. The relationship between an-Nūrī and al-Ǧunayd manifests itself in the anecdote about their contradictory behaviour during illness, in the latter's reproach of an-Nūrī for demanding a miracle, and in an-Nūrī's letter to al-Ǧunayd asking him about a mystical matter. In the light of

these three traditions, an-Nūrī seems to be of a somehow subservient position to al-Ǧunayd.

2.5 According to the Risāla qušayriyya

In this work, the biographical data concerning an-Nūrī are limited to his name (Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad an-Nūrī), date of death (907/8), place of birth and formation (Baghdad), place of origin (Baġwa), prominent teachers (as-Sarī as-Saqaṭī and Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ḥawārī),[17] and most important colleague (al-Ǧunayd). The author also remarks on an-Nūrī's personality, characterising him as "of great importance", and describing him as a person of "gentle attitude and speech" (al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Zurayq] 438–439).

Al-Qušayrī narrates the Ġulām Ḫalīl episode in a version that roughly corresponds with the one by Abū Nuʿaym, though adding some extra details. For example, the author says that al-Ǧunayd escaped from the death sentence – and thus refused to share the destiny of fellow Sufis – by claiming that he was a jurist. The version of the tradition quoted in the *Risāla qušayriyya* contains the names of the other Sufis detained with an-Nūrī. On the other hand, it omits the name of the judge (al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Zurayq] 248–249). Similarly to the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, the *Risāla qušayriyya* also quotes an-Nūrī's blasphemous reactions to the muezzin's voice and the dog's barking, without, however, associating these allegations with the charges brought against him before the religious authorities (al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Zurayq] 258–259).

The positions of al-Ǧunayd and an-Nūrī in relation to each other is balanced in the *Risāla qušayriyya*. Al-Ǧunayd's rebuke of an-Nūrī's opinion on miracles is counterbalanced by revealing al-Ǧunayd's full appreciation of an-Nūrī,[18] and also by quoting a tradition that equates them as the most perfect servants of God.[19] Finally, the *Risāla qušayriyya* gives an account of an-Nūrī's death, but, in addition to what can be found in the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, also quotes his last words (al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Zurayq] 306–307).

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[17] The list of an-Nūrī's teachers, as presented in the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* by as-Sulamī, is slightly different. As-Sulamī does not regard Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ḥawārī as an-Nūrī's teacher (he mentions only as-Sarī as-Saqatī and ʿMuḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Qaṣṣāb), although he remarks that an-Nūrī "saw Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ḥawārī" without explaining what that actually means. Since Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ḥawārī was the foremost Syrian Sufi master of his time, in the later tradition concerning an-Nūrī, he probably took the place of the less known Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Qaṣṣāb.

[18] "Al-Ǧunayd said: 'Since an-Nūrī died, no one has given a report about the true reality of trustworthiness'"; al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Zurayq] 439.

[19] Abū Aḥmad al-Maġāzilī said: "'I have never seen a more perfect servant of God than an-Nūrī.' He was asked: 'Not even al-Ǧunayd?' He replied: 'Not even al-Ǧunayd'"; al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Zurayq] 439.

2.6 According to as-Sīrğānī's Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād

The *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād* does not contain individual biographical sections (with the exception of seven prominent Sufis), but enumerates some 70 other mystics according to the geographical areas in which they were active. An-Nūrī is mentioned among the sheiks of Iraq in the following words: "He was one of the sincere ones of his time, and one of those who spoke about the Real [God] in each of the diverse ways" (as-Sīrğānī, *Bayāḍ* 251). With regard to an-Nūrī's name, as-Sīrğānī remarked: "He used to devote himself to the service of God in a hermitage in the desert, and the people got up to look at him at night, and, behold, light (*nūr*) was radiating from his hermitage, and he was called an-Nūrī ('the luminous') because of that" (as-Sīrğānī, *Bayāḍ* 16–17).

2.7 According to aṭ-Ṭabarī's Salwat al-ʿārifīn

The *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* contains a biographical entry on an-Nūrī, written on the basis of the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* and the *Risāla qušayriyya.* It mentions his name (Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad an-Nūrī), place of birth and formation (Baghdad), place of origin (Khorasan), teachers (as-Sarī as-Saqaṭī and Aḥmad ibn Abī l-Ḥawārī), most important colleague (al-Ǧunayd), and date of death (907/8). As for an-Nūrī's general characterization, aṭ-Ṭabarī limited himself to remark that an-Nūrī was one of the important Sufi masters.[20] The traditions scattered through the work include the Ġulām Ḫalīl incident (in the version narrated by Abū Nuʿaym and al-Qušayrī), an account of al-Nūrī's death and last words (in the version narrated by as-Sarrāǧ), two traditions on his relationship with al-Ǧunayd (their behaviour during illness and al-Ǧunayd's words of esteem), and the episode with the young man in Baghdad (as-Sīrğānī, *Bayāḍ* 124, 450, 489–491).

3 An-Nūrī's main themes

3.1 In al-Kalābāḏī's Kitāb at-taʿarruf

Nearly a quarter of the traditions collected in the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf* are related to the contemplation of God (al-Kalābāḏī, *Taʿarruf* 73, 78, 87). While, in later Sufi terminology, the term for contemplation is usually *mušāhada*, in the traditions attributed to an-Nūrī in the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf*, *mušāhada* and *šuhūd* seem to be practically synonymous; the meaning of the words, in any case, overlap. Basically, *šuhūd* means

[20] For the biographical entry, see aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Salwa* 489.

'seeing', while *mušāhada* covers a wider range of meanings: 'seeing with one's own eyes, sensory perception, witnessing', and, in Sufi usage, it mostly refers to 'insight, mental perception'. An-Nūrī's poems apparently play with these shades of meaning, employing the two terms once in this and once in the other sense, while conveying both connotations to a certain extent.[21]

The other frequently treated subjects are ecstasy (*waǧd*) and absence (*ġayb* or *ġayba*) (al-Kalābāḏī, *Taʿarruf* 9, 82, 87, 88). The latter concept might refer to God's hidden or unseen world, or to the mystic's withdrawal from the world as a means of approaching God.

3.2 In as-Sarrāǧ's Kitāb al-lumaʿ

The central topic in an-Nūrī's poems and sayings recorded in the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* is love (*maḥabba*), including passionate or even carnal love (*ʿišq*).[22] As-Sarrāǧ presents an-Nūrī as a Sufi who has not attained spiritual perfection and thus unable to control his passion for God. Nonetheless, as-Sarrāǧ does not criticise or refute an-Nūrī's words and acts. In as-Sarrāǧ's view, an-Nūrī's apparent imperfection does not exclude him from the circle of respectable and fully acceptable Sufi masters.

3.3 In as-Sulamī's Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya

The traditions collected by as-Sulamī and attributed to an-Nūrī are so diverse that no central topic can be highlighted in them. They include several definitions of Sufism, sayings on intimacy, love, and looking at something carefully (referring either to intellectual contemplation or gazing lustfully at another person), a poem on affliction, and another one on uncontrolled thoughts (as-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 166, 167, 169). In comparison with the other collections, the traditions collected in the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* employ the fewest number of Sufi technical terms, which might imply that these traditions originate from an earlier period of Sufism when its terminology was not yet established.

3.4 In Abū Nuʿaym's Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ

A great number of the traditions quoted in the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* are related to the inner heart (*sirr*) (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* X, 250, 253, 254); the word *sirr* appears some

[21] See especially al-Kalābāḏī, *Taʿarruf* 78, 87.

[22] as-Sarrāǧ, *Lumaʿ* [ed. Nicholson] 59, 125, 248, 304–305. The poem on p. 248 imitates the *nasīb* of the pre-Islamic *qasīda*, expressing longing and nostalgia. The version of the poem quoted on p. 125 is also included in the *Rawḍat al-qulūb* by aš-Šayzarī among secular love poems; aš-Šayzarī, *Rawḍa* 221. See also as-Sarrāǧ, *Lumaʿ* [ed. Arberry], 5 (on passionate love between an-Nūrī and God).

twenty times in the traditions. The inner heart, the organ of contemplating God, is the core part of the heart (*qalb*). While it is also open to people, the very centre of the inner heart (*sirr as-sirr*) is accessible exclusively to God. The word s*irr*, while also meaning 'secret', is generally employed in Sufi usage to denote the intimate content of each mystical state, which is a secret between God and the mystic and should not be communicated to the world. The double meaning of the word invites mystics to produce puns, especially in poetry, and an-Nūrī took full advantage of that possibility.

3.5 In the Risāla qušayriyya

An-Nūrī's sayings in the *Risāla qušayriyya* include several definitions of Sufism, some of which express sharp criticism of the contemporary situation (al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Zurayq] 278, 281, 282, 341, 439). The terms most frequently employed in the traditions related to an-Nūrī are heart (*qalb*), contemplation (*mušāhada*), and ecstasy (*waǧd*), which also define the most important topics of his sayings. Notably, the *Risāla qušayriyya* is the only collection that does not cite any of an-Nūrī's poems, contrary to al-Qušayrī's general method of illustrating the clarified concepts also with poems. He narrates a relatively large number of anecdotes about an-Nūrī, some of which seem to be in direct contradiction with others.[23] The same holds true to some of his sayings.[24]

3.6 In as-Sīrǧānī's Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād

The most remarkable peculiarity of this collection is that it includes a chapter on 'looking' (*naẓar*), which is a double entendre: it may refer to looking at another person lustfully (which is prohibited), or it may stand for 'considering, studying' mystical or other branches of knowledge (which is permitted or even commendable). In the first sense of the word, it alludes to an issue that is considered to be one of the major vices of Sufis, namely intimate relationships with handsome young men.[25] An-Nūrī is mentioned frequently in this chapter, and additional traditions related to 'looking' (in both senses of the word) and attributed to him are also scattered in other parts of the book (as-Sīrǧānī, *Bayāḍ* 16–17, 236–240, 251). The overall picture that emerges from these traditions is intricate. On the one hand, an-Nūrī proves to be a person much exposed to the temptation of looking at young boys, which he might even find irresistible. On the other hand, when reading the thoughts of another

[23] For example, the anecdotes about his attitude towards miracles contradict each other; al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Maḥmūd] 575.

[24] See al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Zurayq] 287, 324.

[25] See as-Suhrawardī, *Ādāb* 39, 42; al-Qušayrī, *Risāla* [ed. Maḥmūd] 627–628; aš-Šaʿrānī, *Anwār* I, 74.

person, he discerns the latter's inclination towards such *naẓar*, and advises him to desist from it, describing it as "the worst veil [separating man from God]".

The *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād* also contains traditions attributed to an-Nūrī on the concept of *murīd* ('seeker', the disciple of the Sufi master who wants to reach to the closeness of God), which are unattested in the above-discussed collections. The attribution of these traditions to an-Nūrī seems to be dubious. The *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād* collected a relatively large number of traditions related to this issue,[26] most probably since the concept of *irāda* is marked in its title (*Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād min ḫaṣā'iṣ ḥikam al-ʿibād fī naʿt al-murīd wa-l-murād*), specifying it as a central theme in the book. It might be suggested that the author, as-Sīrğānī, attributed some anonymous sayings concerning this matter to well-known Sufi masters, including an-Nūrī.

3.7 In aṭ-Ṭabarī's Salwat al-ʿārifīn

The *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* contains nearly 40 traditions attributed to an-Nūrī, most of which are taken from the *Risāla qušayriyya* and the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*. While their overlap with the *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād* is significant (14 traditions shared between them), the topic of 'looking' so prominent in that work is missing almost completely from the *Salwat al-ʿārifīn*. Nonetheless, it cannot be claimed that aṭ-Ṭabarī aims to construct a one-sided image of an-Nūrī, eliminating his controversial aspects. On the contrary, the author also quotes some contentious sayings attributed to an-Nūrī.[27]

4 An-Nūrī's poems

The authenticity of the poems attributed to an-Nūrī is even less certain than that of the sayings or other types of traditions. From the 26 known poems, 18 (that is, 69 per cent) are quoted in only one of the sources, while the same proportion is *circa* 50 per cent in the case of the other traditions. Some of the poems are imbedded in the context of stories, for example in the anecdote about al-Ǧunayd's and an-Nūrī's illness,[28] or in the one about an-Nūrī flirting with a young man in Baghdad, in which

[26] Chapter 55 of this book, titled *Bāb al-murīd wa-l-murād*, explains that the *murīd* is the Sufi disciple who seeks God from his own will, while the *murād* is the Sufi whom God attracts to Himself irrespectively of his actions; as-Sīrğānī, *Bayāḍ* 308–311.

[27] On love, see aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Salwa* 198; on a quasi-blasphemous utterance, see *ibid*, 156.

[28] Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* X, 252; as-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 167–168; as-Sīrğānī, *Bayāḍ* 226–227; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Salwa* 490–491.

case the poem is recited by the youngster.[29] When a narrative context exists, their association with an-Nūrī is more plausibly established. These poems are quoted in three or four of the sources, while poems without such context appear in only one or two of them. It might be suggested that anonymous poems were ascribed to an-Nūrī because of his supposed personal sensitivity to poetry – even his death was caused by ecstasy induced by a love poem – and because of his reputation as a poet.

The lyrical character of an-Nūrī is particularly remarked in al-Kalābāḏī's *Kitāb at-taʿarruf* and Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, in both of which half of the traditions attributed to him are poems. This is in sharp contrast with al-Qušayrī's *Risāla*, which does not cite a single poem by an-Nūrī, even though it includes poems by other authors. It contains about 30 traditions, which is a third more than what can be found in al-Kalābāḏī's or Abū Nuʿaym's collections. From among the sources studied here, as-Sulamī's *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya* quotes the fewest (15) traditions related to an-Nūrī, a quarter (4) of which are poems. As for the rest of the sources, all of them contain 30 or more traditions (*Kitāb al-lumaʿ*: 30; *Salwat al-ʿārifīn*: 37; *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād*: 42), but the proportion of poems among them varies between 10 and 20 per cent. Conversely, the short biographical entry on an-Nūrī in the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* characterises him as having written "various sayings and a lot of poems" (as-Sarrāǧ, *Lumaʿ* [ed. Arberry] 7).

Considering these numbers, the discrepancy between an-Nūrī's different portrayals, as reconstructed from the divergent sources, is striking. He appears to be a poet on the basis of the *Kitāb at-taʿarruf* and the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, a person engaged in poetry according to the *Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya*, someone who composed "a lot of poems" (only five of which are quoted) considering the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, and a person who wrote some poems according to the *Salwat al-ʿārifīn* and the *Kitāb al-bayāḍ wa-s-sawād*. However, in the light of the *Risāla qušayriyya*, he never composed a single poem, and his affinity to poetry manifests itself solely – as a complete surprise for the reader – in the story of his death.

5 Conclusion

The portrayals of an-Nūrī, as recorded in the different sources, are inconsistent and seem to depend on the authors' main motives for compiling their works. Al-Kalābāḏī presents an-Nūrī as an enraptured lover of God, but he omits the accusations and trials an-Nūrī had to face in the caliphal court precisely because of that. Presumably, al-Kalābāḏī's aim was to show that Sufism is compatible with orthodox Islam. As-Sarrāǧ, however, who includes the Sufis' controversial and scandalous sayings in his

[29] Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya* X, 254; as-Sulamī, *Ṭabaqāt* 165–166; as-Sīrǧānī, *Bayāḍ* 240; aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Salwa* 489.

book, treating them as a heterodox sect, does not hesitate to record the legal procedures. He explicitly places an-Nūrī among the not fully accomplished Sufis unable to control their passion for God. As-Sulamī, on the other hand, tends to eliminate the traces of nonconformity from an-Nūrī's portrayal, introducing him as a rational thinker, who was fond of creating formalist categories and definitions. Themes such as ecstasy, love, intoxication, or drunkenness are excluded from the text. Even the poems he quotes are connected to affliction, pain, or theoretical problems like the nature of cognition. An-Nūrī's portrayal, as sketched by Abū Nuʿaym, is multifaceted: the poems he quotes are partly emotional and partly intellectual, though the eccentric aspects of his life are also included in the compilation. Similarly, al-Qušayrī presents an-Nūrī as a composite character, counterbalancing his scandalous acts and utterances with moderate and perfectly acceptable traditions, the latter of which may even outweigh the former. Conforming to the didactic purpose of al-Qušayrī, his book lacks the ambiguous mystical poems and abounds in instructive anecdotes featuring a clear moral message. As-Sīrğānī and aṭ-Tabarī were less original compilers than the earlier authors, that is, the number of new traditions they collected is quite limited. Besides, the authorship of these traditions is doubtful, some of them may have been attributed to an-Nūrī merely because the word *nūr* occurs in them. However, it is worth noting the great number of 'frivolous' anecdotes collected by al-Sīrğānī, which attest to an-Nūrī's somehow fallible character, and which make him tangible and familiar to medieval and modern readers alike.

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