THE ARABIST
BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 40

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ISSN 0239-1619

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MÚZEUM BLD. 4/B BUDAPEST, 1088 HUNGARY

The Arabist
Budapest Studies in Arabic 40

EDITED BY
K. DÉVÉNYI

EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY CHAIR FOR ARABIC STUDIES
&
CSOMA DE KŐRÖS SOCIETY SECTION OF ISLAMIC STUDIES
BUDAPEST, 2019

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LA FORMATION DE L'IMPÉRATIF DANS LA GRAMMAIRE DE BAR HEBRÆUS

Georges Bohas

ICAR, Lyon

Nous poursuivons ici l'étude des relations entre le cadre grammatical arabe tel qu'il apparaît dans le *Mufaṣṣal* d'al-Zamaḫšarī et la grande grammaire de Bar Hebræus[1] qui s'inscrit dans la tradition grammaticale de la *Technè* de Denys le Thrace[2], en abordant le traitement de l'impératif[3]. Merx (1889, 253) dit à ce sujet :

> *Eidem denique debet caput de Imperativo, quen cum Imperfecto omisso praefixo convenire docet, quod nemo Syrorum ante eum dixit.*
>
> C'est au même qu'on doit aussi le chapitre au sujet de l'impératif, qu'il montre être identique au futur, le préfixe étant omis, ce qu'aucun parmi les Syriens n'avait dit avant lui.

Le texte de Zamaḫšarī

وهو الذي على طريقة المضارع للفاعل المخاطب لا تخالف بصيغته صيغته، إلا أن تنزع الزائدة

Commençons donc par en donner la traduction littérale (*Mufaṣṣal*, 256 sv.)[4] :

> *L'impératif est celui qui suit la voie du ressemblant pour le sujet allocutaire masculin, sans que par sa forme tu contredises la sienne, sauf que tu retires l'augment*.

Autrement dit :

> La forme de l'impératif est identique à celle de l'inaccompli deuxième personne du masculin après troncation du préfixe.

---

[1] Désormais BH. Je remercie Edgard Weber de m'avoir donné accès à la traduction en allemand du texte de Bar Hebraeus (Moberg, 1907–1913).

[2] Voir Denys le Thrace, *Traité*.

[3] Nous avons étudié précédemment la transitivité (Bohas, à paraître), la ressemblance (*muḍāraʿa*) (Bohas 2018a), l'organisation générale de la morphophonologie (Bohas 2018b) chez cet auteur.

[4] Désormais, les textes cités figurent en italiques et nos commentaires en romaines.

Il ajoute (Zamaḫšarī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 257) que l'impératif est figé à la forme pausale. Nous lisons donc les exemples cités dans la suite du texte ainsi :

et tu dis :
de[5] *taḍaʿ* *ḍaʿ*
de tuḍārib *ḍārib*
de tuḍaḥriğ *ḍaḥriğ*
et ainsi de suite dans les formes où la première consonne est mue.
Si elle est quiescente, tu ajoutes une hamza de liaison pour que le mot ne commence pas par une quiescente, et tu dis :
de taḍrib *ʾiḍrib*
de tanṭaliq *ʾinṭaliq*
de tastaḫriğ *ʾistaḫriğ*

Cette formation de l'impératif à partir de l'inaccompli a été retenue dans les grammaires et traités orientalistes. Ainsi, on trouve dans la grammaire de Wright (1859, § 98) :

> *The imperative may be described as formed from the jussive by rejecting the prefix of the 2nd pers. sing. Hence it has always the same characteristic vowel as the jussive; but since it begins with two consonants, it takes a short prosthetic vowel.*

Dans la grammaire de Blachère (1937, § 21) :

> *Les grammairiens rapprochent l'impératif de l'apocopé. Il n'en diffère en effet que par l'absence des préfixes des premières et troisièmes personnes.*

Quant à la grammaire de Kouloughli (1994, 12–13) :

> *[L'impératif] se forme de la façon suivante : on supprime à la personne correspondante de l'apocopé le préfixe de personne et l'on obtient la forme théorique de l'impératif. Si la suppression de préfixe ne crée aucun problème phonétique, cette forme théorique est aussi la forme effective : par exemple, à partir de l'apocopé /ta+taʿallam/* tu apprends, *on obtient immédiatement l'impératif [taʿallam]* apprends *!*
>
> *Mais avec la suppression du préfixe, on peut se trouver en face de deux consonnes : ainsi pour le verbe /ta+fʿal/ tu fais. Il faut alors, dans tous les cas de ce genre avoir recours à une syllabe prosthétique.*

on peut dire[6] qu'elle est une transposition en langage linguistique moderne du texte d'al-Zamaḫšarī.

[5] Mot à mot : dans.
[6] J'estime que cette remarque aurait fait plaisir à l'auteur.

Enfin il est important de noter qu'en arabe cette identité de forme entre le radical de l'inaccompli et celui de l'impératif ne se remarque pas seulement dans les verbes « sains », mais aussi dans les verbes défectueux, en finale comme dans :

tarmi	*ʾirmi*	tu jettes/jette
tadʿu	*ʾudʿu*	tu appelles/apelle

à l'initiale comme dans :

taqif	*qif*	tu t'arrêtes/arrête-toi.

à la médiane comme dans :

taqum	*qum*	tu te lèves/lève-toi

Il y a là une grande différence dans les données entre l'arabe et le syriaque, comme cela ne tardera pas à apparaître.

Le texte de Bar Hebræus

Avant d'aborder le texte de BH, donnons la transcription de ses voyelles (p. 4 et 5) :

ftâḥâʾ	a
zqâfâʾ	â[7]
rbâṣâ ʾarīykâʾ	*ē*
rbâṣâ karyâʾ	*e*
ḥbâṣâ ʾarīykâʾ	*ī*
ḥbâṣâ karyâʾ	*ê*
ʿṣâṣâʾ ʾarīykâʾ	*ū*
ʿṣâṣâʾ karyâʾ	ō

La spirantisation des consonnes est notée par le soulignement ; le *b* se réalise en *w* dans la prononciation orientale.

Le texte de BH (p. 141) commence ainsi :

> *Chapitre neuvième, du verbe impératif ; sept sections. Première section : de la nature de l'impératif et de ses divisions*
>
> *Vu que dans les chapitres précédents nous avons cité les formes des impératifs selon chaque sorte de verbe, nous procédons ici à un examen global de celles-ci et, comme si nous repartions de zéro, nous disons :*
>
> *Elucidation*

[7] En suivant Moberg (1907–13).

Dans les verbes dont la première consonne et la dernière sont saines, l'impératif deuxième personne singulier masculin est construit sur le verbe futur. Les voyelles de l'un sont celles de l'autre et l'impératif ne se distingue du futur que par le rejet du n *[marqueur] du futur.*

Ainsi,

de neʿbed ʾbed[8]	*avec e*	*il fait/fais*
de nedrūk drok	*avec o*	*il foule/foule*

N.B. Dans ce verbe, la voyelle est un ʿṣâṣâʾ mais au futur ʿṣâṣâʾ ʾarīykâʾ (ū) et à l'impératif ʿṣâṣâʾ karyâʾ (ō).

de neplaḥ plaḥ	*avec a*	*il travaille/travaille*

BH donne une attestation scripturaire : Math. 21, 28 : *« Mon fils, vas, travaille à la vigne. »* (Parabole des deux fils).

de neš'al š'al	*il demande/demande*
de nek'ar k'ar	*il reproche/reproche*
de nešrak šrak	*il reste/reste*
de neṭʿan ṭʿan	*il porte/porte*

BH donne une attestation littéraire : *Porte-nous, Seigneur, comme tu en as l'habitude.*

de nebtal bṭal	*il s'occupe/occupe-toi*

dans une attestation littéraire : *occupe-toi de tes héritiers et bénis-les.*

de nergaz rgaz	*il s'irrite/irrite-toi*

dans une attestation littéraire : *irrite-toi contre le mal et cela te sied.*

de nerʿam rʿam	*il tonne/tonne*

BH donne une attestation littéraire empruntée à Grégoire de Nazianze[9] : *Jean, fils du tonerre, tonne !*
Dans tous ces cas on trouve un a sur la seconde consonne.

Dans les verbes que BH vient de citer, tous des triconsonantiques avec consonnes « saines » au passé, on observe bien l'identité des consonnes et des voyelles entre le futur et l'impératif, avec la troncation du préfixe. Mais en syriaque, le parallélisme n'est pas aussi absolu qu'en arabe et BH va aborder des cas où la troncation du préfixe est évidente, mais où les voyelles divergent.

[8] Nous marquons la spirantisation en soulignant la *bgdkpt* concernée. *B* se réalise en *w* dans la prononciation orientale.

[9] Ou Grégoire le Théologien, né en 329 en Cappadoce et mort en 390 (Wikipédia).

Dans les verbes dont la première consonne est défectueuse comme neṯeʾkel *« il est dévoré » et* neṯīyḏaʿ *« il est connu » qui sont issus de* ʾekal *« il a mangé » et* īyḏaʿ *« il a su» dont la première consonne est défectueuse, nous formons l'impératif avec un* a *sur le* ʾ *et sur le* y *:* ʾeṯʾaḵl *et* ʾeṯyaḏʿ.

Dans les verbes dont la dernière consonne est défectueuse comme neqreʾ *« il appelle »,* neṣṭbeʾ *« il se complaît »,* neṯbayteʾ *« il est familier de » qui sont issus de* qrâʾ *« il a appelé » avec un* ʾâlaf *et de* ʾeṣṭbīy *« il s'est complu » et* ʾeṯbaytīy *« il a été familier » avec* yod*, nous formons l'impératif ainsi :* qrīy *avec* ī *et* ʾeṣṭbay *avec* a *et* ʾeṯbaytâʾ *avec* â.

S'il est vrai que dans tous les cas l'impératif se réalise par suppression du préfixe, il n'y a que dans « les verbes dont la première consonne et la dernière sont saines » que les voyelles soient strictement identiques. Sur ce point, comme nous l'avons mentionné précédemment, le syriaque est bien différent de l'arabe où le parallélisme vocalique est toujours maintenu.

*Et de nqa**we**ʾ*	*qa**wâ**ʾ*	*il demeure/demeure*	
*et de nqa**de**ʾ*	*qa**dâ**ʾ*	*il garde/garde*	
*et de nqa**pe**ʾ*	*qa**pâ**ʾ*	*lui aussi avec â :*	*il réunit/réunis*[10]

BH donne une attestation littéraire tirée de Dioscore[11] : *réunis tout ce qui flotte au-dessus des eaux.*

Ces trois derniers verbes sont des formes *paʿʿel* (forme II en arabe), avec consonne tendue réalisée en géminée dans la version orientale et en occlusive dans la version occidentale du syriaque. Comme dans Bohas (2005) nous la faisons figurer en caractère gras. Ici encore les voyelles de l'impératif diffèrent de celles du radical du futur. L'absence d'un parallélisme généralisé et systématique dans les données du syriaque entre le radical du futur et la forme de l'impératif explique peut-être pourquoi les grammairiens syriaques antérieurs à BH n'ont pas tiré l'impératif du futur.

Les grammaires orientalistes du syriaque n'ont pas manqué de relever la proximité existant entre l'imparfait et l'impératif :

Duval (1881, 173) :

> « L'impératif se rattache à l'imparfait par le sens et le vocalisme, mais il n'a pas de préformante, puisqu'il n'a qu'une personne, dont le genre et le nombre sont indiqués par la terminaison. »

[10] On pourrait traduire aussi : il ramasse, ramasse.

[11] Dioscore, hérésiarque monophysite, patriarche d'Alexandrie, succéda à S. Cyrille en 444, fut déposé au Concile de Chalcédoine en 451 et mourut le 4 septembre 454 (voir Nau 1903).

Nöldeke (1904, 103) :

> « Add to these the Imperative, wich agrees for the most part with the Imperfect in vocalisation, but is inflected by terminations only. »

Cette ressemblance est également notée dans les grammaires orientalistes de l'hébreu à la même époque
Joüon (1923, 107) :

> « Le thème de l'impératif est celui du futur… La voyelle de l'impératif est généralement la voyelle du futur (jussif). »

Touzard (1923, 200–201) :

> « Le radical est le même que pour l'imparfait … Les désinences pareillement sont les mêmes qu'à l'imparfait. Il n'y a pas de préformantes. »

Mais d'autres grammairiens dépassent la notation d'une ressemblance pour dériver l'impératif du futur par suppression du préfixe, adoptant la perspective de Zamaḫšarî et de BH :

Mingana (1905, 67) :

> « 208. Règle générale. L'impératif se forme de l'aoriste par suppression de la préformante avec son accent… »

Cosatz (1955, 82)

> « 353. L'impératif se forme de la 2de pers. m. s. du futur dont il retranche la préformante. »

Ils rejoignent ainsi les grammaires arabes citées au début de cet article (p. 2).

Remarques terminales

On remarque, comme dans les autres articles que nous lui avons consacrés, que BH se distingue de Zamaḫšarī et des grammairiens arabes en général par l'abondance des exemples et des attestations scripturaires ou littéraires qu'il cite.

Le fait que BH n'ait pas à sa disposition le concept de racine des grammairiens arabes et des orientalistes et linguistes qui s'en sont inspirés, ne l'empêche pas de saisir la relation de dérivation entre *ʾekal* « il a mangé » et la forme passive *neṯeʾkel* « il est dévoré », simplement, la dérivation est conçue comme une relation entre radicaux effectivement attestés sans passer par la médiation d'un schème et d'une racine abstraite. Cela montre que cette médiation n'est pas nécessaire, ce que Merx (1889 :253), obnubilé par le modèle des grammairiens arabes ne semble pas avoir

bien mesuré quand il reproche à BH de n'avoir pas intégré le concept de racine dans sa grammaire.

> *Tali modo introduxit theoriam arabicam de* سالم *et* معتل *in grammaticam syriacam, quae res fuisset maximi momenti, si formam radicis trilitteralem perspexisset, et hac notione tanquam fundamento derivationis usus esset, quod tamen nec Barhebraeus neque alius quisquam e Grammaticis Syrorum fecit* (Merx 1889, 253).
>
> De même, il a introduit la théorie arabe du sain et du défectueux dans la grammaire syriaque, chose qui aurait été de la plus grande importance s'il avait observé la forme trilitère de la racine, et s'il s'était servi de cette notion comme d'un fondement de la dérivation, ce que pourtant ni Bar Hebraeus ni aucun autre parmi les grammairiens syriaques n'a fait.

En 2016, j'ai publié un article intitulé : « Hollow and defective verbs : a lexical explanation » qui traite la phonologie des verbes dits « creux » comme *qāla* et « défectueux » comme *ramā* et *daʿā* en ne faisant pas recours à la racine et au schème sur lesquels se fondent les représentations analogiques abstraites du modèle des grammairiens arabes, mais en me limitant aux radicaux observables. Ce traitement est infiniment plus simple que celui des grammairiens arabes et des linguistes qui les ont suivis dans leurs élucubrations. Je ne dis pas que ce traitement s'inspire de celui de Bar Hebraeus, mais qu'il se situe dans la même perspective concrète, elle-même issue de la *Technè*.

Il reste curieux qu'alors que Zamaḫšarī part de la deuxième personne de l'inaccompli pour en tirer l'impératif par effacement du *t*, BH part de la troisième personne et efface le *n*. Le résultat est identique, mais l'analyse de Zamaḫšarī semble plus cohérente car toutes les formes d'impératif citées s'adressent bien à une deuxième personne. Il me semble que le choix de BH trouve sa motivation dans le fait que pour lui la forme minimale[12] du verbe est la troisième du singulier masculin – ce qui est proche du propos de Benveniste (1946 in 1966) sur la troisième personne – et c'est probablement à cause de cela qu'il en tire l'impératif.

[12] Bohas (2018b).

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KAZIMIRSKI DANS L'HISTOIRE DU CORAN : HISTOIRE DE LA TRADUCTION DU CORAN DU XII^{e} S. AU DEBUT DU XX^{e} S.

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Introduction

L'histoire de la traduction du Coran dans les langues occidentales symbolise idéalement la rencontre de l'Orient et de l'Occident. C'est en effet une discipline complexe qui mêle les sciences religieuses, historiques, linguistiques et philologiques. Les auteurs de ces traductions sont d'origines et de confessions très diverses : catholiques, protestants, orthodoxes, musulmans sunnites et chiites, ainsi qu'agnostiques et positivistes[1].

Cette littérature connut bien des évolutions avant d'en arriver au résultat actuel. L'un des passages les plus importants de son histoire est celui des premières traductions de l'époque contemporaine, grand siècle de l'ouverture de l'Occident à l'Orient. La langue française est l'une des langues pionnières dans le domaine. C'est cette langue qui a vu exercer un traducteur atypique : Albert de Biberstein Kazimirski[2]. Ce grand orientaliste mérite une place plus importante dans l'historiographie contemporaine[3]. Kazimirski a entre autres la particularité d'être le seul traducteur du Coran en France durant le XIX^{e} s. Sa traduction, qui le rendit célèbre, s'inscrit dans une longue lignée de travaux européens depuis le XII^{e} s.

[1] C'est un excellent exemple du concept d'*Islamicate culture* mis en place par Marshall G. S. Hodgson (1974 *passim*) puis repris par plusieurs historiens. Ce concept explique que les musulmans, juifs et chrétiens du monde musulman constituaient une culture unique car parlant la même langue et lisant les mêmes sources. Ainsi ces doctrines opposées se sont autant construites ensemble qu'opposées les unes aux autres comme le veut la vision classique. Cela peut surprendre de prime abord, mais c'est un procédé qu'on retrouve dans d'autres doctrines opposées, comme par ex. : le régionalisme et le nationalisme en Allemagne au XIX^{e} s., qui sont en réalité deux concepts qui naissent ensembles.

[2] Voir mon mémoire de Master : « L'Orientalisme et le Coran à travers la vie passionnante de Kazimirski », soutenu à Paris IV Sorbonne en juin 2018, sous la direction du Professeur Jacques-Olivier Boudon.

[3] Je continue actuellement mes recherches en doctorat pour produire la première biographie complète de Kazimirski.

Mais que signifie véritablement à travers les siècles la traduction du Coran en Occident ? Quelles furent les changements les plus importants de chaque grande période historique ? Quel est l'apport de Kazimirski à cette littérature européenne ?

La bonne connaissance de l'histoire de la traduction du Coran est la clé de voûte pour appréhender ces interrogations.

1 Les débuts de la traduction du Coran

1.1 La « Renaissance » du Moyen Âge à travers les traductions coraniques

La toute première traduction coranique européenne est commandée par l'abbé Pierre le Vénérable du Monastère de Cluny en voyage à Tolède en 1142 (Kritzeck 2016). La ville ne fut reprise aux musulmans qu'en 1085 par Alphonse VI de Castille. Son premier archevêque nommé en 1086 est Bernard de Sédirac, un ancien moine de l'ordre de Cluny. Tolède devient alors un centre important de la *Reconquista.* Cette conquête suivie de la prise de Saragosse en 1118 engendra le fait que des musulmans vivaient en terre chrétienne reconquise. À cette période-là, même les chrétiens de ces territoires parlaient l'arabe, de même que, bien évidemment, les musulmans convertis. Le terme *mozarabe*, de l'arabe *mustaʿrib* signifiant arabisé, fut adopté à partir du XI[e] s. pour décrire ces chrétiens à part. L'abbé Pierre le Vénérable était au courant de cette réalité mais ce n'est que lors de sa visite d'inspection des monastères clunisiens de la région de Tolède qu'il prit véritablement conscience de la proximité des musulmans et des chrétiens en Espagne chrétienne. De même, du fait que les *mozarabes* parlaient l'arabe il n'était dès lors plus possible de les mettre en garde contre l'islam par de simple propos à charge. Il décida alors de défendre la religion chrétienne d'une manière tout à fait inédite. Il souhaitait l'élaboration d'une traduction complète du Coran en latin ainsi qu'un corpus de textes pour mieux mettre en garde contre Muhammad. Il confia cette tâche à Robert de Ketton assisté de quatre personnes : le mozarabe Pierre de Tolède, le Dalmate Hermann de Carinthie, un musulman nommé Muhammad et le secrétaire de l'abbé, Pierre de Poitiers.

On ne sait pas grand-chose de Robert de Ketton (ou de Chester ou de Rétines[4]) si ce n'est que c'est un moine ou un clerc anglais venu étudier au XII[e] s. l'astronomie et la géométrie à l'École de Tolède, fondée par l'archevêque Raymond de Sauvetât (Vigliano 2014). C'est à lui qu'est confiée la traduction du Coran, mais la présence de commentaires anonymes suggère la participation d'autres personnes au service de l'abbé Pierre le Vénérable. Thomas Burman (2007) démontra que Robert de Ketton s'appuya sur l'exégèse du Coran (*tafsīr)* d'Ibn ʿAṭīyya de

[4] Bibliander le nomme : « Roberti Rettinensis », donc Robert de Rétines.

Grenade[5] (1088–1146) pour l'explication des mots coraniques rares en arabe, ou empruntés à d'autres langues[6]. Il achève sa traduction avec une préface en 1143. Elle est publiée, accompagnée de six autres textes pamphlétaires sur la vie de Muhammad. Le corpus est appelé *Collectio toletana*[7]. Les recherches de Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny (1903–1991) ont permis de localiser une copie datée de 1162 conservée à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal[8]. Cette toute première traduction européenne fixa pendant des siècles le genre littéraire de la traduction du Coran. Le travail a donc été analysé à maintes reprises. Sur la forme c'est bien une traduction (*translatio*) censée être la plus proche possible de l'original mais Robert de Ketton reconnait avoir voulu « retirer le voile de [la langue] arabe », et surtout « apporter des pierres et des poutres afin que ton édifice se dresse le plus beau possible, le plus plaisant, maçonné et incassable, sans rien enlever, ni rien modifier du sens, si ce n'est en vue d'une meilleure compréhension » (Hanne 2013 :299). Sa traduction est dans l'ensemble fidèle mais son objectif de mise en garde affecte indéniablement le contenu. Comme l'explique José Martinez :

> « Le traducteur force le langage de la traduction de manière que la narration soit plus repoussante. […] Robert de Ketton avait énoncé quelques principes … que finalement il ne suit pas. […] Il augmente le nombre et la division des sourates et il leur donne un titre différent de l'original, et leur apporte, en plus, une grande charge péjorative. Dans d'autres cas il a été vaincu par ses préjugés et il a déformé le contenu et les intentions de Mahomet au moment de la rédaction du Coran » (Martinez Gazquez 2002 :228).

Sa traduction souffre par conséquence d'un certain nombre d'imperfections, mais que pouvait-on objectivement attendre de son travail précurseur, surtout dans le contexte dans lequel il fut réalisé ? Compte-tenu des circonstances, son travail peut être qualifié de remarquable. À mon humble avis, la forme est moins importante que le fond. Dans sa préface le clerc explique les raisons citées précédemment de son innovation littéraire, et explicite surtout à quel public il s'adresse. Il est primordial de bien réaliser que ce n'est pas une œuvre pour un public non-initié. Comme l'explique Olivier Hanne (2013 :298) : « Robert traduit pour être lu par Pierre le Vénérable, pour être compris et apprécié selon les critères de la latinité. Cette première distorsion est flagrante dès la préface ». Ainsi le titre de sa traduction est : *Lex Mahumet pseudo-prophete que arabice Alchoran* [*Les Lois du faux prophète arabe Mahomet, Alchoran*]. Tout le côté poétique du Coran, dont une très grande partie est rimée en arabe dans un style proche de la poésie, est

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[5] *al-Muḥarrar al-wağīz fī tafsīr al-Kitāb al-ʿazīz* Beyrouth : DKI, 2007, 6 vols.

[6] Burman (2007 :36–37) donne l'exemple des mots « *jibt* » et « *taghout* » (4:51).

[7] Appelé ainsi à tort d'après Olivier Hanne, mais cela reste néanmoins l'unique appellation du corpus.

[8] Localisé à : BNF, Arsenal, Ms. 1162. D'après : Alverny 1947–1948 :77–78.

ainsi gommé. Le mot *Alchoran, abrégé par Alcoran,* est conservé comme tel alors qu'il aurait pu être traduit par « la récitation » ou « la lecture », ce qui aurait mis en exergue qu'il s'agit de bien plus que ce qu'on considérait un simple code juridique. Comme le résume très bien encore une fois Olivier Hanne (2013 :337) :

> « Robert de Ketton reste globalement fidèle au sens du texte et à ses interprétations principales, introduit des nuances, cherche la formule équivalente, mais perd les scansions du livre, son rythme, son style narratif et nombre d'images. [...] L'Alcoran néglige les exigences proprement spirituelles du Coran pour les limiter à un légalisme derrière lequel apparaît la figure du peuple juif. Le bon musulman se réduit parfois à un simple garant juridique. Les ennemis de l'islam sont tous des « mauvais », c'est dire que Robert modifie la perception de celui qui est dans l'erreur, alors que le Coran le définit à l'intérieur d'un groupe qui s'oppose au prophète, le latin en fait d'abord un pécheur incohérent ou hypocrite ».

Ce n'est que six siècles plus tard, en 1783, que l'approche d'une traduction plus lyrique est essayée par Savary. La traduction de Robert de Ketton n'est pas au départ diffusée à grande échelle. La preuve est que Marc de Tolède, chanoine de la cathédrale de Tolède, réalise une nouvelle traduction du Coran vers 1209, croyant ainsi être le premier traducteur du Coran. Il achève son travail vers 1211 et fut pour celui-ci aidé par Maurice, l'archidiacre de la cathédrale. Leurs objectifs furent similaires à ceux de Robert de Ketton. Marc de Tolède accompagne sa traduction d'un virulent pamphlet contre le Prophète Muhammad. Olivier Hanne considère que sa traduction est « plus fidèle, plus exacte que celle de Robert de Ketton, à laquelle pourtant la postérité n'a pas prêté l'attention qu'elle méritait » (Bibliander 2007 :17). Cependant, l'œuvre de Marc de Tolède n'a pas été encore publiée et bien étudiée pour pouvoir s'en assurer, mais on sait déjà qu'elle reste dans la lignée du travail de Robert de Ketton.

Le premier changement arrive à la fin du Moyen Âge avec la traduction de Jean Alfonse Gonzalez de Ségovie (1393–1458), professeur de théologie à l'université de Salamanque (Martinez Gazquez 2002 :232–235)[9]. Il participa en 1431 au concile de Bâle et fit partie des conciliaristes. Il fut nommé cardinal du titre de Saint-Calixte en 1440, mais renonça à ce titre en 1449. Il fut alors nommé évêque de Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (1449–1450), puis évêque de Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne (1451–1453) et enfin archevêque titulaire de Césarée (1453–1458). C'est donc un homme d'Église important. Il s'intéressait à l'islam et devint proche de Nicolas de Cues (1401–1464) qu'il rencontra au concile de Bâle. Ce dernier, cardinal en 1448, fait partie d'une minorité de clercs chrétiens qui pensent qu'il y a du bon dans le Coran et, de ce fait, il peut être lu sous un angle positif, *pia interpretatio*. Bien qu'étant lui-même convaincu de la supériorité de la foi chrétienne, il prônait un

[9] Voir aussi : Ricard 1946 :107–109.

dialogue de paix avec l'Islam (Pasqua 2013). Cette vision irénique se retrouve dans son livre *De pace fidei* [*La Paix de la foi*] publié en 1453 juste après la prise de Constantinople par les Ottomans. Certes, la chute de l'Empire romain d'Orient (Byzance) et les conquêtes rapides de l'Empire ottoman affectèrent Nicolas de Cues qui durcit son opinion à l'égard du Coran et publia à cet effet *Cribatio Alkorani* en 1460 [*Le Coran passé au crible*] (De Cues 2011). Néanmoins, il continua de prôner une meilleure connaissance de l'islam et octroya à Jean de Ségovie un manuscrit de la version de Robert de Ketton. En effet, Jean de Ségovie se plaignait que cette traduction était introuvable. Cependant, il est déçu de l'ouvrage de Robert de Ketton qu'il accuse d'avoir dévié du projet initial de l'abbé Pierre de Cluny. Il décide alors de rédiger une nouvelle traduction de manière innovante. Ne maitrisant pas l'arabe, il demande à un théologien musulman de Ségovie, ʿĪsā ibn Ǧābir aš-Šāḏilī de traduire le Coran de l'arabe en castillan[10]. Ce qu'il fit apparemment en seulement quatre mois, de décembre 1455 à mars 1456. Jean de Ségovie aurait alors écrit une traduction en latin à partir de la version castillane et publia la première traduction trilingue du Coran. On doit la découverte de cette traduction aux travaux du Franciscain espagnol arabisant Dario Cabanelas (1916–1992) dans son livre *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico* [*Jean de Ségovie et le problème islamique*] (Madrid : 1952)[11]. Cette collaboration de théologiens musulmans et chrétiens est fascinante. En 2014 Anne Marie Wolf publia *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace Christians and Muslims in the Fifteenth Century* [*Jean de Ségovie et la lutte pour la paix, Chrétiens et Musulmans au XV*e *s.*]. Il ne nous est parvenu de cette traduction que la préface[12]. Gazquez comme Cabanelas estiment que Jean avait achevé sa traduction car il cite des extraits dans son introduction que mentionnèrent plus tard Bibliander au XVIe s. et Marracci au XVIIe s. Il ne s'agit pas là d'un argument irréfutable mais l'essentiel est qu'à travers les travaux de clercs chrétiens à partir du XIIe s., l'Europe latine découvrit le Coran. La traduction de Robert de Ketton demeurant la plus ancienne et la plus connue de ces traductions. Mais c'est en persan qu'ont été écrites les premières traductions coraniques, et là aussi le XIIe s. est à l'honneur.

1.2 Le droit musulman et la traduction du Coran

Les recherches sur les premières traductions coraniques musulmanes n'en sont encore qu'à leur balbutiement. Apparemment il n'existe aucune traduction antérieure au XIIe s. De plus il s'agit de traductions incorporées dans un *tafsīr*. Les théologiens musulmans avaient une influence considérable dans les premiers

[10] Connu dans les sources anglaises et espagnoles par : Yça Gidelli. Il fut grand Moufti des Maures de Castille en 1455. Il existe aujourd'hui en son hommage à Ségovie une rue Yza Gidelli. Pour plus de détail se référer à Wiegers 1994.

[11] Réédité par l'université de Grenade en 2007.

[12] La meilleure édition de cette préface est celle de Martinez Gazquez 2003.

siècles de l'Islam. Ils ont joué un rôle crucial dans le non-développement de traductions séparées présentées comme étant le Coran. C'est une des distinctions les plus claires entre la Bible et le Coran. Ainsi, il est important de savoir ce que dit le *fiqh* (droit musulman) sur le sujet.

Il semble tout d'abord qu'il y ait eu l'unanimité quant à l'interdiction d'une traduction séparée sans l'original en arabe ou un *tafsīr*. Le célèbre juriste chaféite syrien an-Nawawī (1233–1277) cite dans le plus long et précis des livres de *fiqh, al-Maǧmūʿ* [*L'Ensemble*[13]] *:* « Tous les savants sont unanimes sur le fait que le Coran traduit n'est pas le Coran… personne ne peut contredire que celui qui récite le Coran en hindi ne récite pas le Coran »[14]. C'est la raison pour laquelle il n'existe aucun manuscrit musulman de traduction du Coran séparé avant l'époque contemporaine. Jusqu'à nos jours dans le monde musulman, la préférence se fait pour des éditions bilingues. Cependant, cela ne veut pas dire qu'il n'y ait pas eu débat sur d'autres formes de traduction coranique. En effet, avec les grandes conquêtes arabes, la nécessité d'expliquer l'islam aux peuples conquis s'est rapidement manifestée. La question de la traduction du Coran émerge dès le VIII[e] s., mais le débat n'est couché par écrit qu'à partir du XI[e] s. Le célèbre imam irakien Abū Ḥanīfa (699–767) fut d'avis d'autoriser la traduction et même la récitation dans la prière en persan sous condition. Son avis est consigné par écrit au XI[e] s. par le juriste persan hanafite, originaire de la ville de Sarakhs en Transoxiane[15], Muḥammad Šams ad-Dīn as-Saraḫsī (mort vers 1106). Il cite dans son long ouvrage *al-Mabsūṭ*[16] *:*

> « Abū Ḥanīfa permet à celui qui ne maitrise pas bien l'arabe de réciter le Coran en perse dans la prière, […] aš-Šāfiʿī interdit, lui, catégoriquement la récitation en persan, préférant que l'illettré prie tout simplement sans récitation du Coran plutôt que de le lire en persan. […] aš-Šāfiʿī dit qu'en persan ce n'est plus le Coran. Dieu dit : « Nous en avons fait un Coran arabe afin que vous raisonniez. » [17] et : « Si nous avions fait de ce Coran un livre écrit en langue étrangère, ils auraient dit : Si au moins les versets de ce livre étaient clairement exposés. »[18] Il est donc obligatoire de réciter le Coran en arabe, car en persan le Coran devient la parole des gens. La prière en persan est donc caduque [...] Abū Ḥanīfa lui utilise comme argument ce qui aurait été rapporté que les Perses auraient écrit à Salman le Perse de leur écrire *al-*

[13] Ma traduction du titre.
[14] an-Nawawī, *Maǧmūʿ* 342 ; traduit par mes soins.
[15] Ville actuellement partagée entre l'Iran et le Turkménistan.
[16] Titre difficile à traduire. Le sens est : l'explication longue et clarifiante.
[17] Coran, sourate 43, *az-Zuḫruf* (*L'Ornement*) verset 2 (ma traduction).
[18] Coran, sourate 41, *Fuṣṣilat* (*Les Développés*) verset 44.

Fātiḥa en persan. Ils récitèrent avec cette traduction jusqu'à que la récitation en arabe leur fut possible »[19].

Nous avons à travers cet extrait le résumé du débat intra-musulman qui resta figé sur la question jusqu'au XX^e^ s. Étrangement, c'est uniquement sous l'angle de l'autorisation de la récitation du Coran dans la prière (*ṣalāt)* en persan que les juristes abordèrent la question de la traduction séparée. Il semblerait que personne n'ait interdit la traduction orale ou le *tafsīr*. Néanmoins, la possible publication dans une autre langue d'un manuscrit du Coran, ce qui en fin de compte n'eut jamais lieu, suscita le débat de la récitation. Ce n'est pas un débat sur la liturgie islamique en général, car très rapidement dans les faits les langues étrangères ont été permises pour les prêches, les invocations et même les sermons du vendredi. La seule chose qui au final ne se développa jamais dans le monde musulman malgré l'autorisation de la très influente école hanafite fut la récitation du Coran dans une autre langue. Un débat a bien eu lieu, mais c'est finalement l'interdiction qui l'emporta.

Au XIII^e^ s. an-Nawawī (1233–1277) détaille dans *al-Maǧmūʿ* les avis des deux camps. Il mentionne que la majorité des savants ont interdit la récitation, dont les imams Mālik, Aḥmad et Dāwūd[20]. Puis il cite l'autorisation totale formulée par Abū Ḥanīfa, et sous condition d'incapacité de lecture en arabe par le *qāḍī* Abū Yūsuf[21], et Muḥammad aš-Šaybānī[22]. Ils prirent pour preuve de cette autorisation le fait qu'il fut rapporté que le « compagnon du prophète » Salmān le Perse aurait traduit la première sourate du Coran, *al-Fātiḥa (L'Ouverture)* en langue persane. Ils citent également le *ḥadīṯ* : « Le Coran a été révélé en sept lettres. » Ce *ḥadīṯ* est rapporté dans les deux recueils considérés authentiques par les sunnites : al-Buḫārī (810–870) et Muslim ibn al-Ḥaǧǧāǧ (c. 819–875). D'une certaine manière ces recueils sont canoniques pour le monde musulman sunnite. « *En sept lettres* » signifie apparemment sept langues ou sept versions, et semble donc être un argument solide pour autoriser la traduction du Coran. Mais an-Nawawī, comme la quasi-totalité des théologiens musulmans, explique qu'il s'agirait de sept versions

[19] as-Saraḫsī, *Mabṣūṭ* I, 37 (ma traduction).

[20] Dāwūd ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḫalaf né à Koufa vers 815 et mort à Bagdad vers 884. C'est le « cinquième imam » sunnite, fondateur d'une école juridique très littérale, le Zahirisme, qui fut une des écoles du califat de Cordoue en Andalousie (929–1031). Ce courant fut surtout rendu célèbre par l'influent théologien et poète de Cordoue, Ibn Ḥazm (994–1064). Après la chute du califat de Cordoue, le Zahirisme a rapidement périclité.

[21] Né à Koufa vers 735 et mort à Bagdad en 795. C'est le plus connu des élèves d'Abū Ḥanīfa. Il fut le grand Juge, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt,* sous le Calife Hārūn ar-Rašīd (786–809).

[22] Second grand élève d'Abū Ḥanīfa, né vers 749 à Koufa et mort à Ray en Iran en 805. C'est lui qui mit par écrit les avis d'Abū Ḥanīfa dans *al-Ǧāmiʿ al-kabīr* [*le Grand recueil*].

arabes du Coran[23]. Il ajoute : « En ce qui concerne le récit rapporté à propos de Salman, il ne leur a écrit qu'un *tafsīr*, et non pas véritablement la *Fātiḥa* »[24]. D'autres théologiens ont tout simplement rejeté le récit de Salman, invoquant le fait qu'il s'agisse d'un récit qui n'a pas de chaîne de transmission et qui est, par conséquent, apocryphe. Ce *ḥadīṯ* n'est cité en effet qu'au XI[e] s. par as-Saraḫsī sous une forme exprimant déjà le doute sur la véracité du récit : « de ce qui aurait été rapporté ».

Au final, ce qui compte pour l'historien n'est pas vraiment l'authenticité de ce fameux récit, mais le fait que la littérature arabe a attribué la toute première traduction partielle du Coran du vivant même du prophète Muhammad à un Perse, Salmān al-Fārisī (mort c. 653)[25]. Car effectivement, étant la langue d'une grande civilisation à l'histoire millénaire, le persan a su après une période de repli au détriment de l'arabe, resplendir à nouveau.

1.3 Le Coran et la « Renaissance persane » du X[e]-XII[e] s.

C'est en persan qu'apparaissent les premières traductions musulmanes manuscrites. La crise de l'autorité califale abbasside permet l'émergence d'une multitude de dynasties régnantes en Iran au X[e] et XI[e] s. Cette crise politique n'affecte cependant pas la production scientifique qui demeure en majorité financée par les émirs et les vizirs. Le modèle de cour en Iran au X[e]-XI[e] s. reste celui des Abbasides du IX[e] s. avec la *Bayt al-Ḥikma* (la Maison de sagesse) à Bagdad. La seule différence notable est l'exaltation du passé préislamique et la renaissance de la langue persane (Richard et Szuppe 2009).

C'est au X[e] s. sous la dynastie des Sāmānides (874–1005) qui établissent leur capitale à Boukhara dans l'actuel Ouzbékistan, que le persan est encouragé par la cour comme langue du savoir (Bosworth *et al.*, 1999 :136–305). Ainsi, le *Tārīḫ aṭ-Ṭabarī* [*Chronique de Tabari*[26]] est traduit vers 963 de l'arabe en persan en lui

[23] Il ne s'agit pas des quatorze lectures du Coran *(Ḳirā'āt)* considérées authentiques par les théologiens musulmans, tels : la lecture de Ḥafṣ, selon laquelle est imprimée la majorité des Corans, ou la lecture de Warš dominante en Algérie, au Maroc et en Afrique de l'Ouest. Les différences entre ces lectures sont minimes comme : les pauses, le son de certaines lettres, le pluriel au lieu du singulier, et l'ajout de la conjonction de coordination : « et ». C'est pourquoi, les « sept versions » du Coran font surement référence aux différentes récitations et compilations du tout début de l'Islam avant que le Coran choisi par le Calife ʿUṯmān (644–656) ne s'impose sous les Omeyyades, durant le règne de ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705), comme la seule version du Coran.

[24] an-Nawawī, *Maǧmūʿ* 341–342 ; traduit par mes soins.

[25] C'est l'un des tous premiers musulmans non arabes. Il est aussi l'un des rares compagnons unanimement respecté chez les sunnites et les chiites. Sa date de naissance est inconnue. Il mourut, d'après l'avis le plus répandu en l'an 33 de l'hégire (653 ou 654 du calendrier grégorien) à al-Madā'in (Ctésiphon). Voir : Ibn Ṣaʿd, *Ṭabaqāt* IV, 70.

[26] Son titre dans la littérature française depuis la traduction de Louis Dubeux en 1836.

octroyant une forte connotation pro-iranienne par Muḥammad Balʿamī, le vizir de l'émir sāmānide Manṣūr Ier (961–976) (Khaleghi-Motlagh 1985). La poésie persane naquit véritablement avec Rūdakī (c. 859–940), poète de Naṣr II (913–943), et Daqīqī (mort c. 976–981), poète de Manṣūr Ier. C'est aussi à cette période que naquit une histoire iranienne préislamique en persan, qui est mise en prose dans le *Shāh Nāmeh* (Metghalchi et Richard 2009). Or ce recueil est achevé par le poète Firdawsī (c. 940–c.1020) après la chute des Sāmānides pour Maḥmūd de Ġaznī (971–1030), puissant émir de la dynastie turque des Ghaznévides (962–1187). La renaissance de la culture iranienne n'est donc pas le propre des dynasties persanes. La littérature persane continua de se propager dans le monde musulman et connut son apogée sous la puissante dynastie chiite des Būyides (932–1055) au Xe et au XIe s. Cette dynastie devint la plus puissante de l'empire abbasside et prit même le contrôle de Bagdad de 945 à 1055. La culture persane fleurit alors à Bagdad, Chiraz, Ray, Hamadan et Ispahan. Joel L. Kraemer (1992) qualifie cette période de « Lumières musulmanes »[27].

Ce n'est qu'au XIIe s. que les traductions persanes sous forme de *tafsīr* se multiplient. La plus ancienne est celle du soufi Ḫawāğa ʿAbdallāh Anṣārī (1006–1088) de Hérat, dans l'actuel Afghanistan, compilée après sa mort par ses élèves. Ainsi que le long *tafsīr* du soufi Rašīd ad-Dīn Maybudī de Yazd au centre de l'Iran, écrit vers 1126 et publié plusieurs fois en dix volumes (Chittick 2016 :IX). Une autre traduction sunnite est le *tafsīr* de ʿUmar an-Nasafī (1067–1142) de Nasaf dans l'actuel Ouzbékistan. Le premier *tafsīr* chiite date aussi du XIIe s. par Abū l-Futūḥ ar-Rāzī (1087–1157) de la ville de Ray en Iran (Negahban 2008).

Ainsi le XIIe s. a la particularité de voir apparaître les premières traductions du Coran en Occident, avec Robert de Ketton en 1143, et en Orient avec les traducteurs persans. Cette « rencontre » de l'Occident et de l'Orient est encore plus symbolique si on remarque que les deux centres de traduction de livres antiques en Europe au XIIe s. sont deux régions en contact étroit avec le monde musulman, à savoir l'Espagne et l'Italie, notamment la Sicile. Il n'y a donc pas d'exagération dans le titre de l'ouvrage de Charles Homer Haskins, de 1927, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* [*La Renaissance du XIIe s.*]. Or, il est intriguant de constater que la *Renaissance* européenne est traditionnellement attachée au XVIe s. et qu'encore une fois, l'intérêt pour le Coran réapparaît durant cette période. C'est en effet au XVIe s. que l'Europe redécouvre Robert de Ketton.

[27] Cependant, il fait un lien direct entre ces Lumières musulmanes et la foi chiite des Būyides en expliquant le rôle positif du chiisme dans la liberté de pensée. Cette explication semble peu convaincante. Sans chercher à critiquer le chiisme, ni à dénigrer le grand apport scientifique des Būyides, il est un fait que les Sāmānides, les Ghaznévides, ainsi que presque tout le reste des dynasties iraniennes de l'époque, ont également participé aux 'Lumières musulmanes' tout en étant sunnites.

2 Un progrès non linéaire à l'époque moderne

Bien entendu, beaucoup de chemin a été parcouru depuis l'époque médiévale jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine. Cependant, est-ce vraiment les orientalistes qui ont changé la conception de la traduction du texte coranique ? Il est en effet possible d'argumenter que ce mouvement eut moins d'impact qu'on ne l'eût supposé *a posteriori*. Les débuts de la prise de conscience quant à l'importance de l'objectivité dans la traduction datent en réalité de l'époque moderne, et même de la fin de l'époque médiévale avec Jean de Ségovie et Nicolas de Cues.

2.1 Le regain d'intérêt pour le Coran en Europe au XVI^e^ s.

Il est plus pertinent pour cette étude de considérer le commencement de l'époque moderne comme étant la chute de Constantinople en 1453. Dans ce cas, la toute première traduction moderne est celle d'un juif sicilien converti, Raimondo Moncada, dit Mithridate. Il compose sa traduction entre 1480 et 1489. Son ouvrage reste quasiment inconnu. Ce n'est que récemment en 1996 qu'Angelo Michele Piemontese fit la découverte d'un manuscrit complet (Piemontese 1996). Un autre traducteur du début du XVI^e^ s. est Johannes Gabriel Terrolensis, qui fut peut-être un musulman converti de Saragosse. Il achève pour le cardinal italien Gilles de Viterbe une traduction latine du Coran qui apporte la nouveauté d'être rédigée en « quatre colonnes : texte arabe, puis translittération de l'arabe en caractères latins, puis traduction latine avec des corrections, puis notes exégétiques …, jusqu'à la cinquième sourate. La version de Terrolensis ne nous est restée que par deux copies » (Vigliano 2014 :143). Les deux premières traductions modernes n'ont donc pas prospéré.

Mais tout change sous le règne du plus puissant sultan ottoman, Soliman Le Magnifique (1520–1566). En 1543 le théologien suisse protestant Theodor Buchmann, connu sous le nom de Theodore Bibliander (c. 1506–1564), publie à Bâle chez Johannes Herbst, dit Oporinus, la traduction de Robert de Ketton, quatre siècles exactement après la première édition (Bibliander 2007). Cette publication ne fut pas sans difficulté. En 1542, le concile de Bâle confisqua le manuscrit de Bibliander et emprisonna même son éditeur Oporinus. Ce n'est qu'après l'intervention du célèbre théologien Martin Luther (1483–1546) qui expliqua que rien ne chagrinerait plus les Turcs que la traduction de leur Coran, que le concile accepta la publication (Kritzeck 2016 :VII-VIII). Ainsi Bibliander suivant la méthode de Robert de Ketton ajouta également un corpus de textes hostiles à l'islam. Il ajouta d'abord deux préfaces de lui-même et du luthérien Philippe Mélanchthon. Martin Luther lui-même participa au corpus, car en plus du Coran l'ouvrage contenait : « *les réfutations par les nombreux auteurs les plus dignes arabes, grecs et latins, accompagnées d'un avant-propos du plus grand théologien, Martin Luther.* » Les textes les plus importants sont : *Réfutation de la loi décrétée par la malédiction des*

Sarrasins et de Mahomet de Ricold de Montecroix (1243–c. 1320) et une traduction du grec *Histoire des origines, du comportement, de la malice, de la religion et de la civilisation des Sarrasins ou des Turcs*, dont Luther écrivit la préface, ainsi que l'ancien livre de l'empereur byzantin Jean VI Cantacuzène (1292–1383) *Contre le mahométisme et une affirmation de la foi chrétienne orthodoxe*. Bibliander enrichit à cette occasion le corpus de mise en garde médiéval contre l'islam. Dans sa préface, il interpelle Muhammad : « Oh, fétide et prophète obscène ». Ainsi, le progrès le plus notable dans l'entreprise de Bibliander fut la publication à grande échelle du Coran latin en Europe. Il lança véritablement le mouvement de traduction coranique, surtout chez les protestants (Segesvary 2002). Du point de vue du contenu, il faut se garder cependant d'exagérer le côté tolérant et humaniste de sa publication. Cette simplification est assez répandue et on peut lire sur le quatrième de couverture rédigé par Henri Lamarque pour *Le Coran à la Renaissance, Plaidoyer pour une traduction* (Bibliander 2007) :

> « Née en plein XVI^e^ siècle, le siècle de l'humanisme, de la Réforme, des conflits religieux sanglants, elle témoigne d'un esprit d'ouverture qui n'est pas seulement une prise de position intellectuelle, mais un acte public, officiel, militant. Bousculant préjugés et résistances, elle contribue après d'autres à battre en brèche les idées reçues sur les haines inexpiables qui à cette époque opposent musulmans et chrétiens. Au-delà de la réussite individuelle de l'éditeur, le courageux Théodore Bibliander, au-delà de l'événement que constitue la publication du Coran par un chrétien, c'est tout le problème du dialogue entre les religions qui est posé, de leur dignité respective, en un mot, de la tolérance ».

Ces belles phrases ne sont pas à prendre au pied de la lettre. Il n'y a pas eu de coupure subite au XVI^e^ s. avec l'époque moderne, tout comme il n'y a pas eu de changement décisif avec le mouvement des orientalistes au XIX^e^ s. Le progrès vers une traduction coranique plus scientifique et impartiale ne fut jamais linéaire.

Après l'Espagne au Moyen Âge, c'est Venise qui devint un centre de publication des traductions en Europe. En 1547 Andrea Arrivabene traduisit le Coran en italien, ce qui en fit la toute première traduction en langue moderne. Arrivabene prétendit avoir traduit directement de l'arabe, mais c'était une supercherie comme l'a établi Fabricius, puis Silvestre de Sacy en 1813. Néanmoins, suivant la démonstration de Maria Pompanin dans une étude de 2016, la version d'Arrivabene a la particularité d'avoir inclus de très petites iconographies, dont des représentations du Prophète (Pompanin 2016). En 1548, l'éditeur vénitien Piero Galese reçoit du pape l'autorisation de publier le Coran en italien, probablement la traduction d'Arrivabene[28], à condition de l'accompagner

[28] Car Piero Galese n'est pas un traducteur et il n'est pas mentionné que c'est une nouvelle traduction.

de réfutations[29]. En réalité l'intérêt des imprimeurs vénitiens pour le Coran commence même avant Bibliander. Une spécialiste italienne des familles d'éditeurs à Venise, Angela Nuovo, a en effet découvert en 1987 dans la bibliothèque franciscaine de San Michele in Isola à Venise, un manuscrit authentique du fameux « Coran de Venise ». Pendant longtemps on a considéré ce tout premier Coran arabe imprimé au monde comme perdu ou légendaire. Comme l'explique Maurice Borrmans, c'est une découverte importante « qui offre aux chercheurs de nouvelles perspectives » (Borrmans 1990). Ce Coran fut imprimé à Venise en 1537 ou peu avant par Paganino et Alessandro Paganini. Il comporte de nombreuses erreurs et le pape Clément VII ordonna la destruction de tous les exemplaires. Néanmoins, cette publication en arabe marque un grand changement en matière d'humanisme et de tolérance dans la conception du Coran en Europe.

2.2 Les grands travaux fondamentaux du XVII^e^ s.

En 1616 le voyageur et pasteur luthérien Salomon Schweigger publie à Nuremberg la toute première traduction allemande du Coran accompagnée d'une longue réfutation. Certes, le Coran de Schweigger n'est pas complet. La première traduction complète est celle de Johann Lange Hamburg en 1688. C'est le point de départ de très nombreuses traductions allemandes.

La Pologne a la particularité d'accueillir une minorité musulmane européenne, les Tatars, installés dans le Grand-Duché de Lituanie au début du XIV^e^ s. Deux manuscrits anonymes de 1682 et 1686 de traduction du Coran en polonais sous forme de *tafsīr* ainsi que plusieurs autres manuscrits du XVIII^e^ s. ont été retrouvés récemment. L'université Nicolaus Copernicus à Toruń en Pologne a lancé en 2016 un grand projet d'étude détaillée et de publications de ces *tafsīr*s, dont la première édition daterait peut-être du XVI^e^ s.[30]. Ce Coran polonais a la double particularité d'être non seulement la première traduction en langue slave mais aussi la première traduction européenne faite par des musulmans. Au XVII^e^ s. également, le Polonais Piotr Starkowiecki (mort après 1644) entreprit ou même acheva une traduction du Coran à la suite de son voyage diplomatique à Constantinople en 1640 (Niesiecki 1841). Cependant, son travail ne fut jamais publié.

Le français a lui l'honneur de la première traduction dans une langue moderne non seulement fondée directement sur l'arabe, mais aussi sans réfutation systématique. En effet, en 1647 l'ancien consul de France à Alexandrie, André du Ryer (1580–1660) publie à Paris *L'Alcoran de Mahomet, translaté de l'arabe en français*[31]. Certes, Du Ryer rappelle dans son introduction que sa traduction a pour but d'aider les missions chrétiennes en Orient. Néanmoins, il traduit directement de

[29] Brown 1891 :106. Segesvary (2002 :191) se réfère à cette citation, mais cite le latin au lieu de l'italien.

[30] http://www.tefsir.umk.pl/%20o,1,o-projekcie.html

[31] Voir : Hamilton et Richard 2004.

l'arabe et rejette la traduction-réfutation. De plus il ne supprime ni ne résume des passages du texte que très rarement. Son travail est par conséquent un progrès considérable en la matière. Toutefois, il choisit de ne pas séparer les versets du Coran ce qui change beaucoup le style et même le sens. De la même manière il ne se soucie guère de l'éloquence du langage et n'utilise que très peu de notes, ce qui eut pour effet de donner une traduction forcément paraphrastique (Larzul 2009). Il en résulte une version fastidieuse et pénible à lire. Un siècle plus tard Savary est extrêmement critique à l'égard de cette traduction. Néanmoins du vivant d'André du Ryer, son travail est un succès. Sa traduction devint rapidement une référence et fut traduite en plusieurs langues.

En 1649 le Chapelain du roi Charles I[er], Alexandre Ross, publia la première traduction anglaise *The Alcoran of Mahomet*, sans parler un mot d'arabe, se basant uniquement sur la traduction française d'André du Ryer. De même Jan Hendrik Glazemaker traduisit l'œuvre française en néerlandais. Cette traduction, d'abord publiée à Amsterdam en 1657, a la particularité d'être rééditée en 1696 avec pour la première fois six gravures. C'est par conséquent la toute première édition illustrée du Coran. On peut observer ci-dessous le frontispice par Jan Lamsvelt et les autres gravures par Casper Luyken (Glazemaker 1696).

L'intérêt pour le Coran en Europe à l'époque moderne ne s'arrêta pas là. En 1694 le théologien protestant Abraham Hinckelmann republia le Coran en arabe. Ce Coran, imprimé avec des commentaires et une mise en garde en latin, passa bien évidemment totalement inaperçu dans le monde musulman. Le premier Coran imprimé en arabe pour des musulmans est celui de Saint-Pétersbourg en 1787 à l'instigation de Catherine II de Russie. Ce fut une réussite, et après cinq rééditions en 1789, 1790, 1793, 1796 et 1798 et plusieurs exemplaires envoyés dans le monde entier, le Coran commença à être imprimé dans d'autres endroits du globe, avec l'édition de Kazan en 1803, puis de Calcutta en 1829[32]. Le Coran imprimé en langue arabe est donc un apport de l'Europe au monde musulman.

En ce qui concerne l'édition d'Hinckelmann, même si elle n'a pas traversé les continents, elle fut utilisée par le clerc catholique Lodovico Marracci (1612–1700), auteur de la meilleure traduction latine du Coran. Elle fut la base des traductions des orientalistes pendant deux siècles. Marracci est un clerc proche du pape Innocent XI (1676–1689) dont il fut le confesseur. Il participa de 1644 à 1670 au long travail de groupe sous la supervision du pape de la traduction de la Bible en arabe, publiée à Rome en 1671 (Niceron 1740 :255–269). Il fut également professeur d'arabe à l'université de la Sapienza à Rome à partir de 1656. Il

[32] « Novembre 2014 : Le Coran de Saint-Pétersbourg », *BNU Strasbourg*, http://www.bnu.fr/collections/le-tresor-du-mois/les-tresors-de-annee-2014/novembre-2014-le-coran-de-saint-petersbourg, consulté mars 2017.

consacra quarante années de sa vie à la publication d'une traduction bilingue arabe-latin du Coran *l'Alcorani textus universus* qui parut à la fin de sa vie en 1698 (Borrmans 2002). Il reste conforme à la norme des traductions latines de mise en garde et de réfutation de l'islam. Cependant le grand changement fut la publication du texte en arabe, même s'il omet quelques versets. Son autre apport majeur consista à appuyer sa traduction et ses explications sur des *tafsīr*s arabes (Reinhold et Tottoli 2016). Il se référa tout particulièrement à trois *tafsīr*s : *al-Kaššāf,* du linguiste Mutazilite Maḥmūd az-Zamaḫšarī (1074–1143)[33] ; le petit *tafsīr* résumé de l'Égyptien Ǧalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (1445–1505) et le commentaire très concis d'al-Bayḍāwī, juge à Chiraz, mort à Tabriz vers 1286. Ce sont principalement à ces trois *tafsīr*s que vont se référer les orientalistes pendant deux siècles. Dans la plupart des cas ils se contentèrent de lire les notes de Marracci. Kazimirski (1808–1887) par exemple a tiré tout son savoir des exégèses du Coran uniquement des notes de Marracci et de George Sale. C'est dire l'influence du prêtre italien.

2.3 Les progrès du XVIII^e^ s.

Le XVIII^e^ s. voit paraître plusieurs traductions en langues modernes. Les traducteurs allemands sont les plus actifs avec cinq traductions complètes et quatre traductions partielles. Les travaux les plus importants sont ceux du théologien luthérien David Nerreter qui publia en 1703 à Nuremberg une traduction de l'œuvre de Marracci en allemand. L'évolution la plus notable est la publication à la fin du siècle de deux traductions allemandes faites directement depuis l'original en arabe, celle de David Megerlin à Francfort en 1772, et surtout celle de Friedrich Boyssen à Halle en 1773. Dans son introduction Boyssen critique de manière subtile l'impartialité des traductions précédentes et pointe du doigt qu'on ne peut s'y fier. De même, et c'est une chose très rare, il rappelle aux Européens que le Coran est un texte beaucoup plus éloquent et poétique en arabe.

L'Angleterre arrive sur le devant de la scène avec la traduction de George Sale en 1734. Elle est unanimement saluée par les orientalistes. Même un siècle plus tard Kazimirski s'en sert comme source principale de sa traduction et cite en 1865 : « La traduction de Sale est sans contredit, la meilleure, la plus judicieuse et la plus utile à cause des notes puisées dans les commentateurs arabes » (Kazimirski 1865 : XXXII). C'est par conséquent la plus répandue des traductions du XVIII^e^ s. Elle est consultée par Voltaire et traduite en plusieurs langues nouvelles dont le hongrois par István Szokolay (1822–1904) en 1854. L'introduction de Sale, *Discours préliminaire,* est également traduite et publiée séparément dans plusieurs capitales dont Paris en 1850. Même si George Sale reste convaincu de la supériorité du christianisme et que l'islam n'est pas une religion divine, il estime que Muhammad mérite un plus grand respect en Europe. Sa présentation de l'islam dans son

[33] En référence à l'ancienne ville de Zamaḫšar dans l'actuel Turkménistan.

discours préliminaire est une des présentations les plus objectives de son époque. Le Coran de George Sale est tellement célèbre qu'il est réédité plus de soixante fois, même au XIX[e] s.

La Russie, pays conquérant des terres ottomanes, s'intéresse elle aussi à la publication et à la traduction du Coran. C'est sur l'ordre de Pierre le Grand en personne qu'est publiée en 1716 la traduction du médecin Pierre Postnikov qui avait traduit dès 1697 la version française d'André Du Ryer. Plus tard en 1790, Veryovkine publie une autre traduction du Coran, elle aussi réalisée d'après la version française.

En France l'orientaliste Antoine Galland[34] (1646–1715) fit d'abord découvrir *Les Mille et une nuits* au royaume dans une série de traductions publiées de 1704 à 1717. *Les Mille et une nuits* devint rapidement « l'œuvre emblématique de la littérature arabe » (Larzul 2009 :46). Fort de son succès retentissant, Galland répondit favorablement à la demande du bibliothécaire du roi, l'abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743) et entama une traduction du Coran de 1709 à 1712. Son travail, s'il a vraiment existé, n'a jamais été publié, et a même disparu. Toutefois, Sylvette Larzul s'est appuyée sur la correspondance d'Antoine Galland avec l'abbé Bignon pour affirmer que Galland a bien achevé une traduction complète accompagnée d'une biographie de Muhammad. Il légua son manuscrit à l'abbé qui décida finalement de ne pas le publier. Il fallut donc attendre en France la fin du XVIII[e] s. pour qu'en 1783 Claude-Etienne Savary publie une nouvelle traduction lyrique ambitieuse.

2.4 *Les débuts de la traduction 'lyrique' du XVIII[e] s.*

Même s'il a été sans lendemain, le projet de Savary de « rendre justice au chef d'œuvre » du Coran mérite d'être regardé avec attention. La traduction est le fait d'exprimer le sens des mots d'une langue par des mots d'une autre langue. Par définition aucune traduction ne peut donc être complétement exacte car elle dépend beaucoup du choix du traducteur de privilégier le sens ou bien la signification littérale des mots ; de favoriser la forme ou bien le contenu. C'est un choix important surtout pour un livre dont la base est poétique comme le Coran et qui fut dès les débuts de sa traduction traduit de manière inappropriée, uniquement comme un livre juridique. Cette perception du Coran comme étant avant tout un livre de loi n'est remise en cause par personne, pas même par Savary. Il débute d'ailleurs sa préface par : « Le Coran est le code des préceptes et des loix (sic) que Mahomet donna aux Arabes » (Larzul 2009 :I). Cependant sa traduction marqua un tournant dans le sens-même de la traduction du Coran du fait qu'il accorda en théorie une plus grande importance à l'esthétique qu'à la traduction littérale. Guillaume Pauthier (1801–1873) décrit l'ouvrage de Savary ainsi : « Cette traduction, que l'on

[34] Sur sa vie et son œuvre voir Abdel-Halim 1964.

regarde comme élégante, est faite dans le goût des traductions de l'époque où elle parut, c'est-à-dire avec la prétention d'être une belle infidèle. Le traducteur, ayant eu en vue les ornements du style » (Kazimirski 1840 :XII-XIV). Savary justifie son choix dans sa préface :

> « Si le Coran exalté dans tout l'orient pour la perfection du style et la magnificence des images, n'offre sous la plume de Du Ryer qu'une rapsodie plate et ennuyeuse, il faut en accuser sa manière de traduire. Ce livre est divisé en versets comme les Psaumes de David. Ce genre d'écrire (sic) adopté par les Prophètes, permet à la prose les tours hardis, les expressions figurées de la poésie. Du Ryer, sans respect pour le texte, a lié les versets les uns aux autres... Pour opérer cet assemblage difforme, il a recours à de froides conjonctions, à des bouts de phrase qui détruisant la noblesse des idées, le charme de la diction y rendent l'original méconnaissable. En lisant sa traduction on ne s'imaginerait jamais que le Coran est le chef-d'œuvre de la langue » (Savary 1783 :VIII).

L'orientaliste français décrit ensuite avec un certain enthousiasme la « *magie »* du texte en arabe. Il affirme :

> « Cette admiration que la lecture du Coran inspire aux Arabes, vient de la magie de son style, du soin avec lequel Mahomet embellit sa prose des ornements de la poésie, en lui donnant une marche cadencée, en faisant rimer les versets. Quelquefois aussi quittant le langage ordinaire, il peint en vers majestueux l'Eternel assis sur le trône des mondes, donnant des loix (sic) à l'univers. Ses vers deviennent harmonieux et légers lorsqu'il décrit les plaisirs éternels du séjour de délices. Ils sont pittoresques, énergiques, quand il offre la peinture des flammes dévorantes. S'il est impossible de rendre l'harmonie des sons et des rimes arabes, on peut en égalant son style à celui de l'Auteur, en circonscrivant les tableaux dans le cadre qu'il leur a tracé. Exprimer la vérité de ses traits et en offrir une image vivante ; mais pour y réussir il ne faut pas unir les pensées qu'il a détachées, en ajouter d'intermédiaires et faire d'un ouvrage écrit avec chaleur, une prose froide et dégoûtante. Marracci, ce savant Religieux qui a passé quarante ans à traduire et à réfuter le Coran, a suivi la vraie marche. … Il l'a rendu mot pour mot. Ce ne sont pas les pensées du Coran qu'il a exprimées. Ce sont les mots qu'il a travestis dans un latin barbare » (Savary 1783 : IX-XI).

À ma connaissance, seul le traducteur allemand Boyssen avait, un peu avant Savary en 1773, fait remarquer que le texte en arabe est beaucoup plus éloquent et poétique que les traductions européennes le laissaient paraître. C'est donc une caractéristique du XVIII^{e} s. Kazimirski dans son introduction de 1841 estime tout simplement que de « rendre justice » à la beauté du texte en arabe est impossible :

> « le seul mérite que les non musulmans puissent lui accorder, est celui de la langue, et, sous ce rapport, nous ne sommes pas sans doute en état de lui rendre toute justice ; car, indépendamment de la profonde connaissance de la langue arabe et des mœurs de ce temps-là, connaissance qui nous ferait saisir toute la portée d'un mot, toute la valeur d'une parabole, toutes les finesses du langage, il faudrait se placer au point de vue d'un peuple si différent par son caractère des peuples d'Occident » (Kazimirski 1841 :X-XI).

Un exemple simple de comparaison entre la traduction classique de Kazimirski et celle, lyrique, de Savary se trouve dès la première page, dans le verset 6 de la première Sourate, *al-Fātiḥa*. Savary traduit par : « Dirige-nous dans le sentier du salut ». Alors que Kazimirski écrit : « Dirige-nous dans le sentier droit », ce qui se rapproche plus du sens original mais résonne moins bien que le choix de Savary. Certes, le résultat final de l'ouvrage de Savary est bien moins formidable que l'ambition de départ. En effet, le niveau d'arabe de Savary ne lui donna pas les moyens de traduire directement de l'arabe. Il reconnaît lui-même avoir appris l'arabe et traduit le Coran durant son séjour en Égypte de 1776 à 1779. Ainsi, Savary s'est surtout appuyé sur la traduction latine de Marracci comme le mentionne Kazimirski dans la première page de la préface de sa traduction de 1841. C'est néanmoins à Savary qu'on doit le choix du terme « Le Coran » en Français, plutôt que « l'Alcoran », qui était la norme jusque-là. Il déclare :

> « Al Coran vient du verbe 'Kara' (lire). Ce mot composé de l'article al et de Coran, signifie : la lecture. On doit écrire en Français Le Coran, en Arabe al Coran, de même que l'on écrit en Italien, *il libro* ; mais on ne peut pas plus dire l'Alcoran que l'Illibro, parce que c'est répéter le même article dans deux langues différentes. Persuadé qu'il est toujours temps de s'affranchir du joug d'un usage mal établi, j'ai écrit le Coran » (Savary 1783 :I).

Kazimirski le suit dans l'omission de l'article arabe « al » mais choisit la forme « Koran ». Aujourd'hui c'est la forme de Savary qui est devenue la norme. En revanche, à ma connaissance, personne n'a essayé de ressusciter le projet de Savary qui n'est pourtant pas dénué de logique. Le Coran en arabe est un livre qui ressemble beaucoup à de la poésie, au point que plusieurs de ses versets réfutent que ce ne serait qu'un simple livre de poésie : « Nous ne lui avons point enseigné la poésie car cela ne lui convenait pas. Ceci n'est qu'un rappel et un Coran clair »[35] (36:69). Ou encore : « Il n'est pas (Le Coran) la parole d'un poète, mais vous ne croyez que rarement »[36] (69:41). De manière analogue, des sourates entières sont fondées sur des rimes comme par exemple la sourate quatre-vingt-cinq, *al-Burūğ* (*Les Constellations*). Une partie conséquente des versets du Coran rime avec la

[35] Ma traduction.
[36] *Idem*.

lettre ou le son 'nūn'. Le Coran se récite d'une manière particulière, il se psalmodie, ce qu'on peut qualifier de chant. Une science islamique à part, le *taǧwīd*, est dédiée à la bonne récitation du Coran en changeant volontairement la prononciation de certains sons pour améliorer les rimes et l'esthétique. Au final, l'approche d'une traduction plus lyrique s'avéra non concluante. Après des siècles de présentation du Coran comme un livre juridique, l'idée de Savary n'avait en effet que peu de chance d'aboutir.

3 Traduire le Coran au XIX[e] s.

3.1 Le Coran au grand siècle de l'orientalisme

Le XIX[e] s. et le début du XX[e] s. sont comme l'explique Lucette Valensi : « la période d'apogée de l'orientalisme académique, de floraison de l'orientalisme littéraire et esthétique » (Pouillon 2008 :XIII). La curiosité des orientalistes pour l'Orient se transforma parfois en une véritable fascination de la civilisation islamique. Comme le dit Barthèlemy : « de l'orientalisme à l'orientophilie, le courant circule, et dans les deux sens » (Pouillon 2008 :XIV). Cette admiration pour l'Orient se manifeste par une plus grande objectivité et même pour la première fois, par des louanges de l'Islam et de Muhammad de la part de grands intellectuels européens. Les exemples sont nombreux, mais les plus célèbres sont *La Vie de Mohamed* d'Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722) parue en 1730, *La Légende des siècles* (1859) de Victor Hugo (1802–1885), ou *La naissance et le progrès de l'Islamisme ou de la religion de Mahomet* d'Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869) parue en 1854 dans son *Histoire de la Turquie* en six volumes. Le très célèbre écrivain britannique Thomas Carlyle va même jusqu'à choisir Muhammad comme héro en tant que prophète dans *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* [*Les Héros, le Culte des héros et l'Héroïque dans l'histoire*] (1841).

Il serait néanmoins trop simpliste de considérer qu'en raison d'un contexte favorable, né de la curiosité pour l'Orient, les traductions du Coran seraient devenues toutes plus tolérantes ou plus objectives. En effet, comme nous avons pu le voir, la raison d'être de la traduction du Coran en Europe a été pendant longtemps sa réfutation. Ce n'est plus totalement le cas au XIX[e] s. Néanmoins, même George Sale qui juge Muhammad respectable, distingue son message de celui de Jésus et de Moïse, car « leurs lois viennent du paradis »[37]. Ou encore quand l'orientaliste Allemand Friedrich Wahl dépeint dans sa célèbre traduction de 1828 Muhammad comme un « pseudo prophète », un « traître », et « un

[37] « As Mohammed gave his Arabs the best religion he could, preferable, at least, to those of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confess I cannot see why he deserves not equal respect, though not with Moses or Jesus Christ, whose laws came really from heaven », Sale 1850 :XII.

tricheur »[38], est-il si différent de Robert de Ketton au Moyen Âge ? Il est donc évident qu'encore une fois il n'y a pas de coupure historique ou de progrès constant durant l'apogée de l'orientalisme scientifique. Les siècles de traduction-réfutation laissèrent des séquelles encore visibles, même jusqu'au XIX[e] s.

Les traducteurs allemands sont de nouveau les plus nombreux avec trois publications de 1828 à 1840. La première est celle Samuel Friedrich Günther Wahl qui publie à Halle en 1828 *Der Koran, oder, Das Gesetz der Moslemen durch Muhammed den Sohn Abdallahs* [*Le Koran, Lois données aux Musulmans par Mahomet fils d'Abdellah*]. Cette traduction est précédée d'une longue introduction mettant en garde contre le « pseudo prophète » qui a « propagé sa fausse religion l'islam par le feu et l'épée »[39]. En 1840 Ludwig Ullmann publie à Krefeld une version du Coran sans réfutation contre le Prophète *Der Koran, Das heilige Buch des Islam* [*Le Koran, Le livre saint de l'islam*]. Sa traduction a mauvaise presse chez les orientalistes. C'est néanmoins la traduction allemande la plus publiée au XIX[e] s. avec neuf éditions. La publication allemande la plus importante est celle de Gustave Leberecht Flügel (1802–1870) qui imprima en 1834 à Leipzig un Coran arabe. Son édition, qui diffère légèrement du Coran arabe actuel, facilite l'accès direct au livre saint musulman. En effet les manuscrits du Coran étaient onéreux. L'édition Flügel fut la principale source des orientalistes, Kazimirski en possédait lui-même deux exemplaires (Archives diplomatiques). Les orientalistes allemands étaient si entreprenants qu'en 1846–1848, M. Fleischer publia en arabe à Leipzig également, en deux volumes, le tout premier *tafsīr* en Europe. Il s'agit du commentaire concis et très pratique d'al-Bayḍāwī. C'est une exégèse très populaire chez les musulmans qu'avait fait connaître Marracci en Europe.

C'est encore en Allemagne que naquit un mouvement orientaliste contemporain qui désapprouve le Coran, mais pas sur la base de la supériorité chrétienne. C'est une approche historique et linguistique critique du contenu du Coran et de sa compilation. L'ouvrage fondateur de ce mouvement est celui de Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930) *Geschichte des Qorans* [*Histoire du Coran*] paru en 1860. Il y examine le style du Coran et l'ordre de la classification des sourates qu'il cherche à reclasser. Friedrich Schwally participe en 1909 à une nouvelle édition de l'*Histoire du Coran* de Nöldeke. Ensemble, ils présentent une nouvelle classification, divisant les sourates en quatre groupes selon leur lieu de révélation principale. Leur chronologie est basée sur le style, les circonstances et le contenu des sourates.

Après avoir été le fer de lance de la traduction du Coran durant la Reconquista, la péninsule Ibérique s'intéresse tardivement à l'usage de l'imprimerie pour le Coran. Le Portugal a l'étrange particularité de voir la publication d'une traduction française de Fatma Zaïda en 1861, puis d'une traduction portugaise anonyme du

[38] Wahl 1828 :XIV, XXIII-XXIV, et LXXVI (trad von Denffer).
[39] *Idem.*

Coran, publiée, elle, à Paris en 1882. Le cas de l'Espagne est intéressant pour évaluer la popularité de la traduction de Kazimirski. L'Espagne ne possédait que deux traductions du Coran datant du XVII[e] s. : une, anonyme, publiée à Tolède en 1606 et celle de Conde de Oropesa publiée en 1672. Au XIX[e] s. la traduction de Kazimirski devint si populaire qu'elle fut traduite en espagnol à cinq reprises et ce, de son vivant : Andrès Borrego et José Gerber de Robles publièrent deux traductions en 1844 à Madrid, puis Vicente Ortiz de la Puebla à Barcelone en 1872 ; une autre, anonyme, puis celle de Beningo de Murguiondo sont publiées à Madrid en 1875.

La traduction de Kazimirski est aussi la source principale de la traduction néerlandaise du Coran de J. G. van Brederode en 1860. Son ouvrage est également traduit en russe par un auteur anonyme et publié à Moscou en 1880. Cependant, la meilleure traduction russe demeure, et de loin, celle du missionnaire au Tataristan Gordi Sabloukov. Après trente ans de travail sur le texte coranique original, il publia à Kazan en 1877 une traduction considérée comme excellente par les orientalistes.

En Angleterre même si la traduction de George Sale continue d'être rééditée sans cesse, d'autres traducteurs apportèrent leur contribution, tel que John Medows Rodwell en 1861, qui fut le premier orientaliste à publier un Coran avec sa propre classification des sourates par ordre chronologique. Rodwell (1808–1900) est un clerc anglais qui fit ses études à Cambridge aux côtés de Darwin, avec qui il garda une correspondance. Le choix de Rodwell de délaisser le consensus musulman de l'ordre des 114 sourates selon la vulgate du Calife Othman est une tentative audacieuse de s'éloigner de la littérature islamique pour comprendre le Coran. Régis Blachère s'inspire de Rodwell et des travaux de Nöldeke et de Schwally pour publier en 1949–1950 en deux volumes : *Le Coran, Traduction selon un essai de reclassement des sourates par Régis Blachère.* Bien que salué par les orientalistes français, l'aventure est sans lendemain car l'ordre des sourates choisi par Othman est maintenant lié à plus d'un millénaire de littérature musulmane et chrétienne (Rodinson 1959). Régis Blachère lui-même s'en rend compte et publie en 1966 une traduction selon la chronologie traditionnelle. Rodwell symbolise donc un nouveau mouvement de traduction imprégné des idées du positivisme à la fois critique du Coran mais aussi détaché de l'ancien fardeau chrétien de réfutation idéologique[40]. Mis à part la traduction polémique de Rodwell, l'autre contribution anglaise est celle d'Edward Henry Palmer en 1880.

La fin du siècle voit le Coran être traduit dans de nouvelles contrées, telles la Suède en 1843 et 1874 ou la Grèce en 1880. La Serbie a pour caractéristique

[40] Pour un résumé de l'histoire de la chronologie, voir : Azaiez 2009.

d'offrir en 1875 une traduction, anonyme, pour « l'usage des musulmans serbes »[41], en l'occurrence les Bosniaques.

3.2 Le désintérêt des orientalistes français pour le Coran

Le peu d'intérêt pour le Coran en France contraste avec l'activité des orientalistes allemands et anglais. Kazimirski (1808–1887) est à cet égard l'exception qui confirme la règle. Ce n'est pas surprenant quand on connait le fascinant parcours de cet orientaliste atypique (Drira 2018 ; Drira 2019)[42]. Il est le seul traducteur en langue française mis à part Fatma Zaïda dont la traduction fut publiée à Lisbonne en 1861. Mais c'est une traduction qui passe inaperçue en France. Victor Chauvin cite également dans *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, deux autres traductions totalement inconnues (Chauvin 1922 :84). Il explique, s'appuyant sur un catalogue de livres paru en 1856, que Jean-Jacques Marcel, membre de l'Institut d'Égypte[43], aurait écrit une traduction du Coran. Il mentionne aussi que le gouvernement aurait chargé Joseph-Charles Mardrus de traduire le Coran. Le fait que ces deux traductions demeurent totalement inconnues suggère qu'elles n'aient jamais existées. La question qui se pose alors est la suivante : pourquoi en France durant le grand siècle de l'orientalisme, seul un émigré polonais entreprit la traduction du fondement de la civilisation islamique, le Coran ? C'est en l'occurrence l'un des paradoxes de l'orientalisme français au XIX^{e} s.

En effet, il semble logique que la connaissance de l'Orient musulman passe par la connaissance de l'islam. Car même si l'islam n'est pas la seule religion des pays musulmans, c'est tout de même la religion majoritaire et la plus influente dans ces pays, d'où le terme de « civilisation islamique » ou Islam avec une majuscule pour décrire une immense zone géographique allant du Pakistan et l'Indonésie au Maroc. Cependant, les orientalistes français ne s'intéressaient pas beaucoup à la théologie. Ce n'est pas la connaissance de l'islam qui les fascinaient mais plutôt la littérature, les mœurs, l'histoire et les voyages dans ces régions. Le meilleur exemple est Sylvestre de Sacy qui ne publia que des travaux sur l'histoire et la littérature orientale. Ses travaux sont la base de l'orientalisme français au XIX^{e} s. Le cas précis des orientalistes français va dans le sens de la thèse radicale d'Edward Saïd dans son livre *Orientalism* (1978) traduit en 1980 par Catherine Malamoud : *L'Orientalisme, L'Orient créé par l'Occident*. Pour lui l'Orient est une géographie imaginaire homogène créée depuis l'Antiquité par l'Europe en quête

[41] Chauvin 1922 :81, citant comme source *La Revue Britannique* de 1875 (6, 243–244).

[42] En attendant la publication d'une biographie détaillée, j'invite vivement les lecteurs à consulter mes articles sur le résumé de sa vie, cités dans la bibliographie. En effet, les notices actuelles à son sujet sont incomplètes et truffées d'erreurs.

[43] Il écrivit une histoire d'Égypte publiée dans le vol. 45 de *l'Univers pittoresque*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1848.

d'un « grand contraire complémentaire ». Pour le cas français qui nous intéresse ici, Sophie Fenouillet résume l'analyse d'Edward Saïd en ces termes :

> « Dans son Tableau historique de l'érudition française, Sylvestre de Sacy canonise l'Orient, en « fabriquant » un corpus de textes qui va passer d'une génération d'étudiants à l'autre. Cette « restructuration » de l'Orient acquiert une puissance systématique et institutionnelle avec Renan, qui associe l'orientalisme aux disciplines comparatives récentes dont la philologie. « Ce qu'accomplissent les orientalistes et ce que les non-orientalistes exploitent, c'est un modèle réduit de l'Orient, adapté à la culture régnante, dominante, et à ses exigences théoriques » (p. 178). Dès lors, l'orientalisme exerce une forte influence sur la manière dont les écrivains du 19e siècle décrivent et caractérisent l'Orient. La restructuration, l'analyse détaillée orientalistes « submergent » ainsi le récit de voyage des pèlerins anglais, comme Edward William Lane ou sir Richard Burton, en Orient par « obsession scientifique ». Avec Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Nerval et Flaubert, à la recherche d'une réalité exotique et séduisante, l'Orient devient « une représentation de matériel canonique » au service de l'esthétique de leurs œuvres » (Fenouillet 1992).

Guy Barthèlemy dans son introduction du *Dictionnaire des orientalistes,* qualifie l'ouvrage d'Edward Saïd de « brûlot » qui dresse un « portrait-robot caricatural » des orientalistes comme auteurs seulement en quête d'exotisme et d'imaginaire fantasmé de l'Orient. Il accuse par la même occasion Edward Saïd d'avoir porté le coup de grâce à l'orientalisme en tant que discipline scientifique.

À la lumière de l'histoire de la traduction du Coran, il apparaît clairement que l'orientalisme ne suit pas le même chemin selon les régions en Occident. Les « sujets en vogue » ou les priorités de recherche varient sensiblement selon qu'on étudie le cas des orientalistes allemands, anglais, français ou espagnols. Toutefois, de manière globale, on peut affirmer que les orientalistes ne sont pas uniquement mus par l'exotisme. Les orientalistes ont fait de grands efforts pour mieux connaître l'Orient. Lorsque des éditeurs allemands publient le Coran en arabe ou même un *tafsīr* très apprécié des musulmans, comment peut-on parler de simple curiosité pour l'exotisme ? De manière analogue, la perception d'un Orient imaginaire homogène n'est pas celle de tous. Les orientalistes distinguent clairement l'Empire ottoman qu'ils considèrent, à tort, décadent, de la Perse qu'ils admirent. À cela s'ajoute le déficit flagrant d'études françaises académiques sur le *fiqh* et le *ḥadīṯ* jusqu'à une période relativement récente, il y a environ une dizaine d'années. Ainsi, pour le cas spécifique de la France au XIXe s. il est possible de donner en partie raison à Edward Saïd sur le fait que la connaissance de la culture musulmane n'est pas leur priorité. C'est aussi le constat du sinologue français Guillaume Pauthier (1801–1873) qui estime pour sa part que la compréhension du

Coran est importante pour la compréhension de l'islam. Il cite dans son introduction de *Livres sacrés de l'Orient :*

> « Mohammed et la religion qu'il a fondée ont été pendant bien des siècles de la part d'auteurs chrétiens l'objet des plus grossières et des plus absurdes accusations. Jamais, peut-être, fanatisme plus ignorant et plus aveugle n'avait exprimé plus de haine. Cependant, un examen impartial des doctrines exprimées dans le Koran, aurait fait reconnaître à ces critiques passionnés que Mohammed s'était le plus souvent inspiré des monuments et des croyances qui ont constitué les religions juive et chrétienne. Ce fait aurait dû rendre le prophète arabe moins coupable à leurs yeux, si l'on ne savait pas que la haine est souvent plus forte et plus envenimée entre les dissidents d'une même croyance qu'entre des croyances totalement opposées.
>
> Ce qui a pu rendre Mohammed si odieux à certains écrivains, c'est la persévérance qu'il met dans son livre à nier la Trinité de Dieu, à combattre la croyance qu'il ait eu un Fils, à soutenir son unité absolue. Il préférait cependant les chrétiens aux sectateurs d'autres religions. Il reconnaissait la mission de Moïse, de Jésus, et il prétendait continuer leur apostolat selon les vues de Dieu, son livre ne faisant que corroborer les Écritures antérieures ; chaque époque, selon lui, ayant eu son livre sacré. Il n'est peut-être pas de livre qui donne une idée plus haute de la Divinité que le Koran : « Les ombres même de tous les êtres, dit-il, s'inclinent devant lui matin et soir ! » C'est par la lecture de ce livre que nous pourrons apprendre à connaître le caractère arabe et l'énergie fanatique de l'ennemi que nous avons à combattre dans l'Algérie, où la croyance dans le Koran est encore très-vive. C'est aussi par l'étude assidue du Koran que nous pourrons comprendre la politique des Arabes » (Pauthier 1840 :XXIV).

Pauthier remédie au problème en demandant en 1839 à un orientaliste polonais de faire ce que les Français ont délaissé. C'est ainsi que naquit la traduction coranique la plus mémorable du XIX^{e} s.

3.3 Kazimirski, le meilleur traducteur du Coran au XIX^{e} s.

L'œuvre de l'orientaliste franco-polonais devint un « classique » du genre. C'est un succès littéraire qui dépasse largement la notoriété de son auteur. En effet, sa traduction fut publiée au moins vingt et une fois de son vivant (deux fois en 1840, 1841, 1844, 1847, 1850, 1852, 1855, 1857, 1859, 1862, 1863, 1865, 1869, 1873, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1880, 1884, 1887). Elle est traduite également cinq fois en espagnol, ainsi qu'en russe (1880) et en néerlandais (1860). C'est pourquoi à sa mort la notice nécrologique de plusieurs journaux, comme *Le Temps* ou *Le Bulletin scientifique polonais,* le présentent comme « l'auteur d'une traduction du Coran,

devenue classique »[44]. Ce n'est pas une exagération *post mortem*. De son vivant c'est sa traduction qui est citée pour chaque référence du Coran faite dans de nombreuses publications francophones, dans l'hexagone mais aussi en Algérie, en Tunisie ou à Beyrouth. Elle est la traduction de référence des orientalistes francophones. Ce succès ne s'arrêta pas avec son décès. Son œuvre est restée jusqu'à la fin du XX^e^ s. la plus répandue des traductions françaises du texte fondateur de l'Islam[45]. Elle fut en tout rééditée une cinquantaine de fois, dont la plus récente, par la maison d'éditions Points, date de 2014. Cette réussite dans une langue très influente dans le monde musulman au XIX^e^ et XX^e^ s., en raison de la colonisation, permet de référencer sa traduction comme l'une des plus importantes de l'époque contemporaine toutes langues confondues.

Les raisons de ce succès sont en partie contextuelles, liées au manque d'intérêt des orientalistes français pour le Coran. Ainsi, en France tout au long du XIX^e^ s., personne ne lui fit de l'ombre dans son domaine, ce qui donna l'impression d'un consensus autour de sa traduction. Albert de Biberstein a aussi le mérite de l'avoir totalement révisée et améliorée à trois reprises, en 1841, 1842 et 1852. Le résultat final de sa traduction est de qualité et tout à fait conforme aux attentes de son époque car elle résout les lacunes les plus visibles de ses deux prédécesseurs : André du Ryer et Savary.

Bien entendu il ne s'agit pas de faire un panégyrique de Kazimirski ni d'exagérer la qualité de son travail. Plusieurs auteurs du XX^e^ s. y ont relevé des erreurs (Bencheikh 1980). Toutefois, les erreurs lourdes de Kazimirski ne sont pas nombreuses et, surtout, elles ne furent pas exposées de son vivant. Je n'ai trouvé aucune source qui critique sa traduction de son vivant, sauf l'auteur lui-même dans ses premières éditions. Ainsi, le lecteur de Kazimirski peut encore aujourd'hui apprécier la précision d'un linguiste reconnu. Sa traduction est en effet ponctuée de notes explicatives. Il veilla à expliquer les ajouts ou écarts dans la traduction par l'usage efficace de l'italique. Il ajouta aussi l'avis des commentateurs musulmans. Cependant, il ne fit l'acquisition d'un *tafsīr* dans sa bibliothèque que tardivement et

[44] *Le Temps*, Paris, 27 Juin 1887, p. 2, rubrique nécrologie.

[45] Larzul (2008 :538) cite : « La traduction de Kazimirski a connu une très large diffusion et n'a cessé d'être republiée, même après la parution au XX^e^ siècle de maintes versions nouvelles du Coran, parmi lesquelles nous pourrions citer celles de Montet, de Blachère, de Masson, de Boubaker, de Berque ».

En effet, si les traductions de Régis Blachère (Maisonneuve et Larose, 1966) et Denise Masson (Gallimard, Pléiade, 1967) sont plus appréciées par les universitaires français, la traduction de Kazimirski est restée la référence pour beaucoup de musulmans francophones. Les orientalistes de l'époque de la décolonisation accusent une certaine impopularité chez beaucoup de musulmans, influencés notamment par la publication du virulent *Orientalism* par Edward Saïd en 1978. Il semble que Kazimirski ait bénéficié de son ancienneté. Ce n'est véritablement qu'à la toute fin du XX^e^ s., avec les nombreuses traductions musulmanes du Coran, que sa traduction a cédé le pas chez les musulmans.

s'appuya donc sur les notes de Marracci et de George Sale (Archives diplomatiques). De plus, le langage qu'il utilise est facile d'accès, et donc accessible au plus grand nombre. Il est même parfois élégant : le meilleur exemple en est sa traduction de la première sourate, *al-Fātiḥa* (*L'Ouverture*) qu'il accompagne d'une page entière de commentaires :

« Au nom du Dieu clément et miséricordieux
1- Louange à Dieu, maître de l'univers,
2- Le clément, le miséricordieux,
3- Souverain au jour de la rétribution,
4- C'est toi que nous adorons, c'est toi dont nous implorons le secours.
5- Dirige-nous dans le sentier droit,
6- Dans le sentier de ceux que tu as comblés de tes bienfaits,
7- Non pas de ceux qui ont encouru ta colère, ni de ceux qui s'égarent ».

Jusqu'à aujourd'hui cette traduction de la plus importante sourate du Coran reste très satisfaisante. D'un point de vue idéologique, Kazimirski a une position plutôt conciliante, ce qui a aussi joué un rôle dans son acceptation par des lecteurs francophones de confessions diverses. En effet, il est d'une part 'conservateur', car dès le départ, en 1841, il affiche sa conviction de la supériorité de la Bible. Il n'a pas d'admiration particulière pour Muhammad. Néanmoins, cela ne l'empêche pas dès l'édition de 1841, de prendre la défense du Coran et des musulmans quant à des accusations qui sont toujours d'actualité. Il proclame à ce sujet :

> « Ce n'est pas ici le lieu d'entrer dans l'appréciation du Koran comme code sacré, comme répertoire des lois morales, civiles et politiques des Arabes. Ce livre a été jusqu'ici mal jugé. Une animosité excessive s'armant de tout pour le condamner, provoqua des opinions erronées en sens contraire. En voyant les peuples musulmans en décadence, dans l'abaissement dont il leur sera impossible de se relever, on a attribué cet état à l'influence du Koran. On est peut-être allé trop loin ; on s'est peut-être exagéré, en théorie. L'influence qu'une religion quelconque peut exercer sur la transformation du caractère de certaines races, et l'on a attribué au Koran les résultats qu'il a été seulement incapable de détourner. […] (De même) il n'est pas juste d'accuser la religion de Mahomet de sensualisme, uniquement par ce que les récompenses réservées aux élus s'y présentent sous les attraits des jouissances matérielles » (Kazimirski 1841 :X-XI).

C'est donc l'ensemble de ces raisons qui fit la notoriété de sa traduction et explique en grande partie son « record de longévité » pour reprendre l'expression d'André Chouraqui (1917–2017) (Chouraqui 1990 :10). Pourtant le Coran se présenta à Kazimirski un peu par hasard.

3.4 Kazimirski, un traducteur coranique persévérant mais sélectif

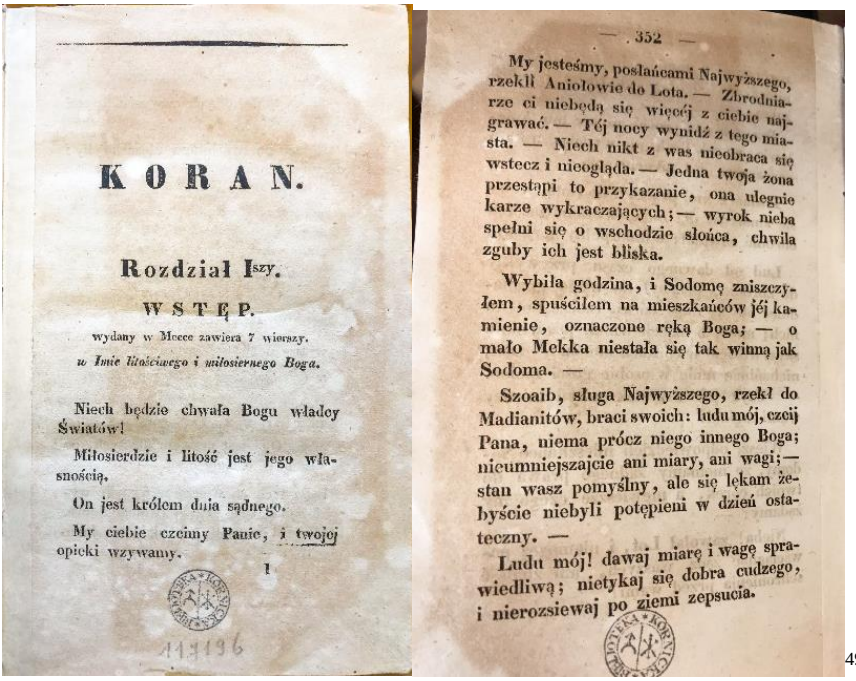
C'est Guillaume Pauthier qui fut le premier à accorder sa confiance à Kazimirski en 1839 pour réviser la traduction de Savary. Il accepta même son offre d'écrire une traduction nouvelle, alors qu'il n'avait encore publié aucun ouvrage complet en français. Kazimirski produit au départ un travail de piètre qualité inspiré de la traduction latine de Marracci (1698) et anglaise de Georges Sale (1734)[46]. Son travail est interrompu par son voyage diplomatique en Perse en tant que drogman en 1839 et aurait pu en rester là. Mais Pauthier est persévérant et publie dans son recueil des *Livres sacrés de l'Orient* le 'brouillon' de Kazimirski tout en faisant de son mieux pour diminuer les nombreuses erreurs de français. L'orientaliste polonais se sent alors obligé de corriger rapidement son travail dès son retour de Perse en hiver 1840. Il réalise donc une première correction en 1841, puis en 1842 en y ajoutant également une *Notice biographique sur Mahomet.* Enfin, encouragé par le succès de sa traduction, il achève en 1852 une révision complète, sa version finale, en s'appuyant davantage sur le texte arabe. Il avait en l'occurrence publié en 1845 le *Dictionnaire Arabe Français*, que les arabisants désignent encore aujourd'hui par « le Kazimirski ». Il est vrai qu'en réalité l'orientaliste ne pratiquait pas l'arabe à l'oral, à l'inverse de la langue persane dont il était un érudit. Il avait néanmoins une connaissance théorique efficace de la langue du Coran[47].

Le manque de passion réelle de Kazimirski pour l'arabe et même le Coran, qui vint à lui par hasard, explique pourquoi il refusa de le traduire dans sa langue natale le polonais. Pendant longtemps, on a considéré le Polonais Tatare Jan Murza Tarak Buczacki (1857), dont la traduction fut publiée peu après sa mort en 1858, comme l'auteur de la première traduction polonaise. On sait aujourd'hui, notamment grâce aux découvertes faites en 1995 par le professeur de l'université de Varsovie, Zbigniew Wójcik (Berger 2016) que cette traduction remonte en fait aux environs de 1828. Elle fut entamée par deux membres des Philomathes, une société patriotique polonaise influente à Vilnius, le prêtre Dionizy Chlewiński, et surtout le célèbre géologue, fondateur de l'enseignement universitaire moderne au Chili, Ignacy Domeyko (1802–1889). Il semble que le but de la société polo-lithuanienne était de se rapprocher des Tatars du Kresy, à l'Est de la Pologne. Il était supposé que les autorités russes, ennemies des Philomathes, seraient plus tolérantes pour une traduction coranique présentée comme réalisée par des musulmans. D'où le fait que les auteurs réels ne se sont pas mis en avant. Ignacy Domeyko, vécut à Paris de 1832 à 1838. Avant son départ au Chili, il confia son manuscrit à Andrzej Bernard Potocki (1800–1874). Ce dernier imprima à très faible tirage à Poznań, probablement en 1836, une partie de ce Coran, jusqu'au verset 85 de la sourate

[46] C'est ce qu'il explique dans la première page de la préface de l'édition de 1841.

[47] C'est le constat auquel j'ai abouti dans ma biographie de Kazimirski.

Hūd, comme on peut l'observer ci-dessous. Il publie ensuite, probablement en 1848, une traduction complète mais les autorités prussiennes ordonnent sa destruction[48].



KORAN.

Rozdział Iszy.

WSTĘP.

wydany w Mecce zawiera 7 wierszy.

w Imie litościwego i miłosiernego Boga.

Niech będzie chwała Bogu władcy Światów!

Miłosierdzie i litość jest jego własnością.

On jest królem dnia sądnego.

My ciebie czcimy Panie, i twojej opieki wzywamy.

!

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My jesteśmy, posłańcami Najwyższego, rzekli Aniołowie do Lota. — Zbrodniarze ci niebędą się więcej z ciebie najgrawać. — Téj nocy wynidź z tego miasta. — Niech nikt z was nieobraca się wstecz i niegląda. — Jedna twoja żona przestąpi to przykazanie, ona ulegnie karze wykraczających; — wyrok nieba spełni się o wschodzie słońca, chwila zguby ich jest bliska.

Wybiła godzina, i Sodomę zniszczyłem, spuściłem na mieszkańców jéj kamienie, oznaczone ręką Boga; — o mało Mekka niestała się tak winną jak Sodoma. —

Szoaib, sługa Najwyższego, rzekł do Madianitów, braci swoich: ludu mój, czcij Pana, niema prócz niego innego Boga; nieumniejszajcie ani miary, ani wagi; — stan wasz pomyślny, ale się lękam żebyście niebyli potępieni w dzień ostateczny. —

Ludu mój! dawaj miarę i wagę sprawiedliwą; nietykaj się dobra cudzego, i nierozsiewaj po ziemi zepsucia.

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En 1841 le mentor de Kazimirski, l'homme politique et historien polonais Lelewel (1786–1861) essaye de le convaincre de réviser la traduction de Potocki[50].

[48] Seule la version partielle est conservée au musée de Kórnik (BK : 117196). Elle n'est hélas pas datée et semble donc être un simple tirage d'essai. Lelewel dans une lettre adressée à Domeyko le 28 octobre (1836 : II, 85–86) lui demande d'envoyer le reste de son manuscrit du Coran pour que Potocki finisse d'imprimer la traduction. J'en déduis qu'il fait référence à la traduction partielle qui devrait dater de la même année que cette correspondance. Cependant toutes les sources polonaises que j'ai consultées, y compris l'éditeur de la correspondance de Lelewel citée précédemment, mentionnent que ce Coran polonais ne fut imprimé qu'en 1848, puis détruis par la censure allemande. Y a-t-il eu deux éditions, en 1836 et en 1848 ? Si oui, furent-elles complètes ? Je n'ai pas encore de réponse certaine. Néanmoins, je doute fortement de l'existence d'une édition complète en 1848 car le musée de Kórnik n'en conserve aucun exemplaire. Il est improbable que la censure détruise la totalité des copies. C'est pourquoi l'archiviste du musée Grzegorz Kubacki et moi-même, pensons que la seule publication est la traduction incomplète de 1836. Nous travaillons actuellement à l'écriture d'un article sur ce sujet pour le journal du musée.

[49] Première et dernière page de la traduction éditée par Potocki (photos personnelles).

[50] Lelewel 1948–1956 : II, Lettre du 20 octobre 1841, n° 600, p. 382.

Kazimirski refuse cette proposition[51] car il n'avait déjà pas opté de lui-même pour la traduction du Coran en français. De plus il n'était pas satisfait de son travail et avait la responsabilité de réaliser plusieurs révisions complètes. Il n'avait par conséquent aucune envie de se lancer dans la même aventure en polonais. Potocki échoua donc, mais ses efforts font que beaucoup lui ont attribué la traduction polonaise, surtout qu'il a probablement apporté sa contribution. C'est ensuite Buczacki qui poursuivit l'effort de publication, qui n'aboutit ironiquement qu'après sa mort en 1858. En fin de compte, l'intuition des Philomathes de ne pouvoir publier une traduction coranique polonaise que sous le nom d'un musulman, s'était avérée exacte.

[51] Citée par Turowska-Barowa (1938 :113) : « Manuscrits Bibliothèque de Rapperswil, cote 1265, correspondance de Lelewel, 12 septembre 1842 ». C'est une citation précieuse car ces archives du premier musée polonais de Rapperswil en Suisse dans le canton de Saint-Gall ont hélas disparu. Elles furent transférées en Pologne libérée en 1927 où Turowska les a consultées à Varsovie en 1938. Malheureusement la totalité des fonds, à l'exception de très rares pièces prêtées, furent brulées durant la Seconde guerre mondiale. Il est encore possible de consulter le catalogue des fonds d'avant-guerre et on y retrouve effectivement sept cotes mentionnant Kazimirski. Celles-ci contenaient probablement la précieuse correspondance de l'orientaliste avec son mentor Lelewel. C'est une grande perte. D'ailleurs, la difficulté de collecter les archives de l'orientaliste éparpillées dans plusieurs pays a découragé plus d'un écrivain, tel Clermont Ganneau, d'écrire sur Kazimirski. Mais pour moi ce fut une belle opportunité de découvrir la Pologne, de rencontrer des personnes fascinantes et d'apporter ma contribution à la recherche historique

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Conclusion sur l'histoire de la traduction du Coran

L'histoire de la traduction du Coran démystifie plusieurs idées bien ancrées sur le rapport de l'Europe avec l'Islam durant les différentes périodes historiques. C'est un sujet passionnant mais complexe sur lequel la recherche a encore beaucoup à découvrir. On peut ainsi se réjouir des nombreuses découvertes récentes. Dans le monde musulman le Coran fut « protégé » par une partie influente des théologiens qui ont pris le dessus sur d'autres juristes partisans de la traduction et même de la récitation du Coran en plusieurs langues. La « Renaissance du XII^{e} s. » est un moment-clef de cette histoire, car le Coran est traduit en latin en Europe et en persan dans le monde musulman. La résurrection de la culture persane permet le développement de la traduction, mais mêlée à un genre littéraire musulman particulier, le *tafsīr*. En Europe, après des tentatives locales en Espagne au Moyen Âge, le Coran se répand à partir du XVI^{e} s. L'intérêt pour le livre sacré des Turcs ou des Mahométans est palpable, surtout en Allemagne. Ce sont les Vénitiens, les Allemands et les Russes qui imprimèrent les premiers le Coran en arabe, bien avant les musulmans.

[52] Photos personnelles prises à Kórnik en février 2019. A la page précédente la somptueuse salle mauresque du palais de Kórnik. Ci-dessus une décoration d'un des plafonds du château. On peut y lire un extrait d'un verset fondamental du Coran, la Šahada, signifiant : « il n'y a pas de divinité sauf Allah » (sourate Muhammad, 47:19). L'ensemble des travaux d'embellissement du château dans un style néo-gothique avec plusieurs symboles orientalistes furent achevés en 1855. Elles sont le souhait du comte Tytus Działyński (1796–1861) qui est n'est pas pour rien le mécène de Kazimirski.

Même si l'objectif de la réfutation chrétienne du Coran est encore présent durant toute la période moderne et même au XIX[e] s., beaucoup de progrès sont réalisés en direction d'une compréhension plus tolérante et humaniste de l'islam. Toutefois, il n'y a pas d'évolution linéaire homogène en Europe. Chaque siècle a ses traducteurs et ses penseurs, certains comme Nicolas de Cues et Jean de Tolède étaient déjà partisans d'un dialogue respectueux avec les musulmans dès le Moyen Âge. De même, le climat d'orientophilie au XIX[e] s. a certes permit la réhabilitation de Muhammad et de sa religion. Cependant les traductions du Coran ne sont pas toutes devenues plus tolérantes. La traduction la plus mémorable du grand siècle de l'orientalisme demeure celle de Kazimirski, seul traducteur du Coran en France, où les orientalistes ne s'intéressent pas beaucoup à l'islam en tant que religion. Kazimirski est en effet un grand orientaliste atypique que j'invite les lecteurs à découvrir ou à redécouvrir.

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THE *COMITÉ DE CONSERVATION DES MONUMENTS DE L'ART ARABE:* TOWARDS A BALANCED APPRAISAL[1]

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The *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe*

The Comité, as it is usually called, was founded by Khedive Tawfīq in 1881 and was active until 1953, when it merged into the Antiquities Organization, the predecessor of the present-day Ministry of Antiquities. Its task was the conservation of Arab-Islamic (later on also Coptic) monuments of architecture in Egypt.[2] This was the period of classical colonialism, of massive European intervention in the affairs of Egypt; therefore it is understandable that a sudden appearance of interest in the Comité's activities has been witnessed in recent years, not least within the framework of the Saidian discourse on Orientalism. The activities in question lend themselves to various, multifaceted interpretations on account of the complex nature of the subject. Scholarly discussion has hardly begun, and thus it will take time before reasonably solid, final conclusions can be arrived at. In the meantime it may be hoped that a discussion will ensue helping us elucidate various aspects of this intricate subject. It is with this aim in mind that an analysis is offered here of certain theses and statements in a book by Paula Sanders that was published on this subject some time ago (2008). In this context some basic questions concerning the Comité's activities, along with their ramifications, will also be dealt with. It is important that controversies and differing opinions should be pointed out and formulated clearly so that they become accessible to the academic community. The activities of the Comité have become a highly sensitive topic: it consisted partly of foreign members, who were not Muslims, and it worked mainly on mosques. Therefore it is of absolute importance that only reliable and substantiated statements should be propagated in this context and that one should clearly differentiate between proven data on the one hand and suppositions and hypotheses on the other.

[1] We have two sketches of the Comité's history at our disposal: Speiser 2001:47–94; Reid 2002:213–257. Speiser's fresh approach is that of an architect active in the conservation of Cairo. In the present paper, the words "waqf" and "waqfiyya" will not be italicized.

[2] In a broader sense, the term "conservation" also covers restoration and reconstruction.

Sanders's book is a significant contribution to the study of Cairo's Arab-Islamic architecture. As is well known, the Egyptian metropolis is a unique treasure-house of such monuments, perhaps the most important one in the whole world. There is a growing awareness that many of these monuments were repaired or restored – even reconstructed – towards the end of the nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth centuries by the Comité, its most active period being between 1890 and 1914. It is essential to be aware of the Comité's activities because we are familiar with Cairo's monuments as they were determined by its interventions. This is the subject of the present work by Paula Sanders. By her efforts to extricate and interpret the various layers of meanings inherent in these monuments, with special regard to the fluidity of these meanings, a new and extremely important field of studies is emerging before our eyes. Sanders examines these questions in new contexts, thus opening up new horizons to research in this field. A considerable part of her book deals with the controversial topic of Bohra restorations in Cairo, a subject on which we are indebted to her for basic information and illuminating insights (1999).[3] While paying tribute to the erudition and acumen of an accomplished scholar – and I may perhaps add, a friend – whose keen vision and sprightly mind are capable of spotting connections and relations which have heretofore remained hidden from the eyes of most observers, I must voice serious reservations concerning the image of the Comité that emerges from the pages of the present work, an image I find inadequate and distorted. The reason for this lies in the circumstance that the author allows herself to be overwhelmed and carried away by preconceived theses, which lack support by solid facts.

A central problem with Sanders's book is that quite often the reader finds one statement in one place and then its opposite somewhere else. This can also be observed in frequent cases where she makes references to the "fluidity of meanings" and "multiple and shifting meanings", respectively, which no doubt exist, yet after the enumeration of various possible meanings it is mainly on one of them which she relies in her deliberations and which determines the general tenor of her discussions. The reviewer is in a difficult situation because only a micro-philological approach would do full justice to the minute and multifaceted subtleties of her expositions as well as to the occurrences of often contrary assertions, yet constrictions on volume preclude the application of such a method. So I am running the risk of being confronted with contrary quotations from other parts of the book in case of dispute, yet I am strongly convinced that I have nowhere failed to capture the general tone and the major assertions of the book in my critique.

[3] On the Bohras, see Ivanow 1953/1974. Qutbuddin 2013. The name "Bohras" or "Bohoras" comes from Guǧrātī *vohorvun* "to trade" (Ivanow 1953/1974:64).

Sanders is heavily biased against the Comité. In connection with its activities we encounter one after the other negatively loaded adjectives, nouns or expressions, such as "ignorance", "misunderstandings" (2008:36), "relative blindness", "blindness" (34), "myopia", "effectively blind" (35), "did not understand" (33), "had little understanding", "were not recognized" (29), etc. This forms a stark contrast to the lenient attitude displayed in her account of the Bohras, where negatively loaded expressions do not occur. An unbiased neutral tone would have been preferable in both cases. It is perhaps only a slight exaggeration to say that the reader has here the impression of having landed in a Manichean cosmos, in the dual realm of Mani, the "Vessel of All Evil", where in the struggle between Good and Evil, the World of Light and the World of Darkness, the Comité has been cast in the latter role.[4]

British Influence and the Comité

Sanders regards the Comité as a tool of the British occupying power, which it ran directly, fulfilling the expectations of British imperial and colonial policy on a day-to-day basis.[5] However, no proofs are offered anywhere in her book to support this assertion. As for myself, I see this relationship differently. While it can be assumed with reasonable probability that the Comité's activities and broader aims were in line with British policy, I have not found any evidence that the British exerted any direct influence on the Comité's activities. We must bear in mind that the Comité was founded before the British occupation, mainly upon the initiative of some French *connoisseur*s of art and an Austrian architect of German extraction, Julius Franz Pasha. In view of the great Western interest in the condition of Arab-Islamic monuments in Egypt, Khedive Tawfīq feared that an "inadequate" conservation policy could serve as a pretext for European intervention. One of his principal motives for founding the Comité was to avoid such a situation by all means. It is true that some British subjects, like Edward Thomas Rogers and Stanley Lane-Poole, also played some role in the process leading to the foundation of the Comité but the event that is usually interpreted as their contribution took place at the Second International Congress of Orientalists in London as early as 1874, when their joint motion to this effect was presented to the conference participants. Yet

[4] Mani (d. 277), the founder of Manicheism, was often called the "Vessel of All Evil" by his Christian adversaries. See "Martyrs of Beth Selokh" 51*[2].

[5] If I understand him correctly, Alaa El-Habashi suggests something similar in his thesis (2001:128–129). However, his final assessment of the Comité's activities contradicts this assumption. See n. 32 with the corresponding paragraph below.

this happened eight years before the British occupation, thus no connection between these two events can be inferred. Nor was their motion accepted.[6]

One of the basic problems of Sanders's work is that in her simplistic deliberations she often regards the Comité as an alien monolithic body of British imperialists totally ignorant of Egyptian history, interests and local traditions. In actual fact, most of the Comité's members were not British, not even Europeans but Egyptians. At its foundation three of its eleven members were Europeans – this amounts to 27.3 percent –, with only one British member among them (9.1 percent).[7] In this case, the ratio of Egyptians amounts to 72.7 percent. To take some more random samples: at the end of 1890 eight of its sixteen members were Europeans – this amounts to 50 percent – with only one British member among them (6.25 percent). At the end of the year 1898, seven of its twenty-one members were Europeans – this amounts to one third – with only one British member among them (4.7 percent) (*BC* 15, 1898:[II]). Here the ratio of Egyptians amounts to two thirds. At the end of 1912, nine of the twenty-two members were Europeans – this amounts to 41 percent –, with three British among them (13.6 percent) (*BC* 30, 1913:III–IV). Here the ratio of Egyptians is 59 percent. In the most important period of its activities, in the years between 1890 and 1914, the chief architect, who filled the most important post, was Hungarian from the Habsburg Monarchy, but according to a knowledgeable and well-informed contemporary observer, Ludwig Borchardt, an eminent Cairo-based German architect-archeologist, it was mainly French influence that predominated in it until World War I (Borchardt 1919).

In general, Sanders shows herself innocently oblivious to the fact that – as we have just seen – at least half, but often the majority, of the Comité members were Egyptians, mostly Muslims but also some Christians, with several well-educated and knowledgeable scholars of Arab-Islamic and Coptic culture among them.[8] In certain places she does in fact refer to the Egyptian members but in important sections of her account she seems to forget about their existence completely.

After the Great War foreign influence diminished considerably but it did not disappear overnight. The marked upsurge in nationalism in the first decades of the new century, but especially after the First World War, played an important role in this process. Foreign specialists, especially those in leading positions, were replaced one after the other. Perhaps the last case of an important post being filled by a foreigner in the field of conservation was that of the director of the Arab Museum

[6] Cf. n. 131 and the corresponding paragraph below.

[7] The President is included in the number of members, while honorary and corresponding members are left out of consideration. *BC* 1[2], 1882–1883:[6]; 7, 1890:[II].

[8] Cf. nn. 105, 109–111 and the corresponding paragraphs below. A list of the percentage of Europeans among Comité members can also be found in El-Habashi 2001.

(present-day Museum of Islamic Art).[9] After ʿAlī Bahğat's death (1924) the Waqf Minister charged Aḥmad al-Sayyid Bey, the "director of monuments" in the Comité, with the direction of the Arab Museum on a provisional basis, until a director could be found (*BC* 33, 1920–1924:361). The post "director of monuments" seems to have been a lower-scale equivalent of the former "chief architect" at the time. The reason behind not appointing a chief architect but creating a new title instead may have been the lack of an appropriately qualified candidate; or a lack of the funds necessary for a suitable salary; or both. Right after ʿAlī Bahğat's death the French diplomatic representative in Cairo, Henri Gaillard, exerted great efforts to ensure that the director's post should be filled by a French expert. However, under the nationalist government of Saʿd Zaġlūl (26 January 1924 – 24 November 1924) this was impossible: "The Egyptians, who hardly tolerated the presence of foreign experts at the head of the Service of Pharaonic Antiquities, were unable to accept that the Directorate of Arab Antiquities should be confined to anyone else but an Egyptian."[10] No sufficiently qualified candidate could be found and soon conditions in the Arab Museum deteriorated. Then King Fuʾād intervened, requesting an expert from the French Agency. The choice fell on Gaston Wiet, who was subsequently appointed director in 1926 and filled this post until the fall of the Monarchy (1951/1953).[11] This shows that only by direct intervention by the King was it possible to appoint a foreigner to such a high and sensitive post at this time.

Before Herz Pasha's appointment (1890), when the post of chief architect did not yet exist, the *de facto* head of the Comité was Julius Franz Pasha, the director of the Technical Department in the Waqf Ministry (*Qalam Handasat al-Awqāf;* 1881–1887). Some time ago I went through most of the correspondence (consular, political, miscellaneous, telegrams, etc.) between the British Residency in Cairo and the Foreign Office in London during the years from 1889 until 1896, as well as through the complete Cromer Papers, looking for material on the Comité. To my great surprise, I found only very few items and even those were absolutely not the sort one would expect to find, given Sanders's argumenation.[12] The reason for my surprise was that although I did not think that the British directed the Comité's activities, I still thought that they would have shown great interest in them for political reasons and would have regularly reported on them to London. However, this was apparently not the case. In actual fact, my original plan had been to go through

[9] The Arab Museum was regarded as the Comité's *depository* in the first place.

[10] Telegram No. 149 dated 29 October 1925 by Gaillard to the French Foreign Ministry in Paris. Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes. Le Caire, Ambassade, 602 articles, Cote: 175. Services Égyptiens. Divers.

[11] Hubert 1971.

[12] The documents are kept in the National Archives at Kew.

all the documents relating to Herz Pasha's period of office as chief architect (1890–1914) and accordingly I began my examination with the year 1890. However, the material was so vast and the yield practically nil, so at one point I gave up, stopping after the year 1896. By extrapolation, the result can possibly be regarded as characteristic for the whole period in question.

It should be pointed out that the Comité was a more or less autonomous department of the Waqf Administration. In Herz's words, it functioned within its "bosom".[13] This means that the Waqf Administration and the Comité were constantly interacting with each other.

Between 1884 and 1913, that is during most of Herz Pasha's tenure of office, the Waqf Administration was the only government agency at a ministerial level which was not under British control but was supervised by a director-general responsible directly to the Khedive.[14] The *raison d'être* of this setup was that while in ministries key posts were held by British officials, who were actually running the affairs, this was not the case here. Ministers (*nuẓẓār*), who were always Egyptians, were officially subordinated to the British agent (*mağbūrūn ʿalā an yakūnū taḥta sayṭarat al-muʿtamad al-inglīzī;* "Taḥwīl" 903–904). This rule was inapplicable to the Waqf Administration because at its head stood a director-general and not a minister. By reducing the former Waqf Ministry in 1884 to the ranks of an administration, which was subordinated directly to himself, Khedive Tawfīq succeeded in diverting British influence from it.[15] This measure was justified by the need to prevent non-Muslim officials now in charge of high administrative posts in ministries from interfering with Islamic religious issues involving the *šarīʿa*, which would inevitably occur during discussions in the Council of Ministers, for example – a case in point was Prime Minister Nubar Pasha, an Armenian Orthodox Christian (Sékaly 1929:111–113).[16] The reason why the British for so long acquiesced in such a situation at all was that *waqf*s comprised a religious institution of central importance and in order not to violate the sentiments of the Egyptian population, the British refrained from intervening in a highly specialised

[13] Herz, *CV*.

[14] Muḥammad ʿAbduh pointed out that there were three "institutions" (*maṣāliḥ*) under the Khedive's control at the time which the British would not touch because they belonged to the sphere of religion: the *waqf*s (the Waqf Administration), al-Azhar and the *šarīʿa* courts (*al-maḥākim al-šarʿiyya*). If he reforms them – ʿAbduh told the Khedive –, he will accomplish nothing less than the revival of the Muslims. "Taḥwīl" 903.

[15] See the relevant Khedivial Order [*Ordonnance supérieure / Amr ʿālī*]. Sékaly 1929:326 [Annexe III].

[16] Cabinet minister and three-time premier, Nubar Nubarian (1825–1899) was prime minister from 1884 until 1888 in the period in question. The relevant Khedivial Order of 23 January 1884 was addressed to Nubar Pasha, President of the Council of Ministers. Sékaly 1929:326 (Annexe III).

and sensitive field closely connected to religion: in general, they were keen to avoid interference in the domain of religion as far as possible. The British attitude is best characterized by Lord Cromer's standpoint in 1891 concerning reported abuses in *šarīʿa* courts and in the Waqf Administration when he warned that on these subjects "the interference of any European, or, indeed, of any Christian, is undesirable and impossible".[17] He voiced the same view elsewhere, too:

> "[The Englishman] will scrupulously abstain from interference in religious matters. ... He will look the other way when greedy Sheikhs swallow up the endowments left by pious Moslems for charitable purposes. His Western mind may, indeed, revolt at the misappropriation of funds, but he would rather let these things be than incur the charge of tampering with any quasi-religious institutions" (*Modern Egypt* II, 141).[18]

This situation was characterized by an anonymous columnist on *The Architect and Contract Reporter* in 1896 in the following words: "The department – alone among the departments in Egypt – is entirely in native hands, and no European so far has been allowed to have a finger in it."[19] This situation lasted until 1913, when Lord Kitchener made an effort to establish British control over the Waqf Administration by raising it to the ranks of a ministry again, defying the stubborn opposition of Khedive ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī.[20]

Notwithstanding Lord Kitchener's step, the situation did not change. Namely, he made every effort to proceed in a cautious way as far as possible. He declared in advance that there would be no British counsellor (*mustašār inglīzī*) in the new Waqf Ministry. Instead, it would be free to act as it pleased. A Supreme Council consisting of five Muslims (with high religious dignitaries like the Sheikh of al-Azhar and the Mufti of Egypt among them) would be delegated to aid the new minister, and its decisions would be binding on his actions.[21] The aim of these measures was to appease the Muslim population, who feared that owing to the involvement of foreigners with the management of waqfs, Muslim religious funds could be diverted to serve the welfare of other religious communities, and that the rules of the *šarīʿa* would not be strictly adhered to in the process. In actual fact, ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī and his successors on the throne of Egypt managed to keep the Waqf Ministry under their sway, with its special position lasting until the fall of the

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[17] Lord Cromer, Report on the Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Progress of Reforms, 29 March 1891. Egypt. No. 3 (1891), 23–24; quoted in Berger 1970:45.

[18] Cf. also Cromer, *Abbas II* 69–71.

[19] "The Preservation"; quoted in El-Habashi 2001:92.

[20] See the relevant Khedivial Decree of 20 November 1913 and the attached personal warrant of the Khedive in Sékaly 1929:399–402 (Annexes XI–XII). For the Arabic original, see "Taḥwīl" 907–908.

[21] "Taḥwīl" 905.

Monarchy in 1952.[22] This means that ultimately the British proved incapable of bringing the Waqf Administration under their control during the whole period of British influence in Egypt (Kemke 1991:27).

Supreme authority in Egypt rested with the Caliph, that is the Ottoman Sultan at the time, resident in Constantinople. Originally he exercised this authority through two mandataries, the actual ruler of the country, the Viceroy, and the *Grand Qāḍī* of Egypt, with the former managing political and administrative affairs, while the latter directing religious and judicial matters. The Viceroy's influence gradually increased within this system in comparison to that of the *Grand Qāḍī* and in consequence the Viceroy came to play a decisive role in waqf affairs, too. He also became the *nāẓir* (administrator) of a considerable number of waqfs. He did not exercise the right of management directly but delegated it to the director-general of the Waqf Administration, who was responsible to him alone. This system, which lent the Viceroy considerable influence and power in the management of waqfs, was also in force under the British occupation.[23] The influence of the Viceroy diminished somewhat in the short periods when the administration was transformed into a ministry but the whole system was not basically modified.

The position of the Waqf Administration between 1884 and 1913, that is during the most active and most important period of the Comité's existence, is succinctly characterized by a confidential, unsigned report entitled *"Lord Kitchener et le Khédive"* / "Lord Kitchener and the Khedive" and sent by an official of the French Legation at Cairo to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris on 10 November 1913, in which the official in question elucidates the background of the transformation of the Waqf Administration into a ministry. It runs:

> *"Lord Kitchener, en préparant et en voulant faire approuver au Khédive la création d'un Ministère des Wakfs, ne pourrait attaquer plus directement la souveraineté du Khédive et on peut ajouter qu'il le frappe personnellement en lui retirant par ce fait la libre disposition qu'il avait, sans contrôle, des revenus et des fondations affectées aux oeuvres charitables. Pour bien comprendre l'état de la question il faut tenir compte de ce fait que jusqu'à aujourd'hui, le Gouvernement d'Egypte, à l'heure actuelle le Khédive, est l'administrateur désigné, seul qualifié pour administrer et disposer à son gré des revenus (200 000 L. E. environ par an) de certaines fonctions, dites Wakfs Kheiry, destinées aux pauvres. Or, le nazir d'un Wakf a le droit d'après la Loi musulmane, de prélever, pour ses honoraires, 10% du revenu du Wakf qu'il administre. Comme le Khédive est le nazir désigné des Wakfs Kheiry, il prélève chaque année une somme considérable pour son droit de*

[22] Baer 1969:83–84. Sékaly 1929:115–126. "Taḥwīl" 908–910.

[23] For the details, see Sékaly 1929:101, 107–110, 116–126. Cf. also Schacht 1932:216.

nazirat. D'autre part, outre ce revenu licite perçu par le Souverain, le Khédive actuel, ayant le droit et le devoir de disposer à son gré et sans contrôle des revenus totaux des Wakfs Kheiry, il est à supposer, peut-être à tort, qu'il n'a pas manqué de puiser personnellement dans la caisse des Wakfs. Lord Kitchener ayant eu vent de ces machinations, a résolu d'y mettre un terme en substituant à l'Administration des Wakfs qui ne dépendait que du Khédive, un Ministère sur lequel il pourrait avoir la haute main. Par cela, le Khédive se voit priver non seulement de son revenu licite, outre les ressources occasionnelles, mais de son autorité sur les Wakfs qui lui était garantie par la Charaâ. Malgré son insistance, la question a été résolue et le Ministère, dit-on, sera créé." / "In preparing the creation of a Waqf Ministry and seeking to have it approved by the Khedive, Lord Kitchener could not have attacked his sovereignty more directly – and one may add that he strikes a personal blow by withdrawing from him thereby the full and unchecked control that he enjoyed of the revenues and the foundations assigned for charitable works. To understand the question clearly one has to take into account the fact that until now the Egyptian Government (at present the Khedive) has been the administrator appointed and solely qualified to administer and disburse, at full discretion, the revenues (approximately 200 000 L.E. *per annum*) of certain institutions, called *ḫayrī waqf*s, which are designed for the poor.[24] Now, according to Islamic law the *nāẓir* of a *waqf* has the right to receive, by deducting in advance, as his fee, ten per cent of the revenues of the waqf he administers. Since the Khedive is the appointed *nāẓir* of the *ḫayrī waqf*s, each year he receives a considerable sum by this entitlement. On the other hand, it can be assumed, perhaps unjustly, that – apart from this legitimate revenue which the sovereign receives – the present Khedive, having the right and duty to disburse all the revenues of the *ḫayrī waqf*s at his own discretion and without any control, has not refrained from personally dipping into the Waqf Administration funds. Having got wind of these machinations, Lord Kitchener resolved to put an end to them by substituting a ministry – over which he would have full power – for the Waqf Administration which was subject only to the Khedive. Therefore the Khedive will be deprived not only of his legitimate revenue, apart from occasional resources, but also of his authority over the *waqf*s which the *šarīʿa* guaranteed him. Notwithstanding his insistence the question has been decided and, it is said, the ministry will be created."[25]

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[24] [On *waqf ḫayrī* and *waqf ahlī,* see Sékaly 1929:84. Schacht 1932:215 (n. 4). Baer 1969:80–81. Kemke 1991:63–64, 80. Cattan 1955.]

[25] *Lord Kitchener et le Khédive.* Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes. Le Caire, Ambassade, 602 articles, Cote: 10. Grande Bretagne en Egypte (4) (1885-1914). /

Another source also emphasizes the direct dependence of the Waqf Administration from the Khedive at the time, adding that many detailed rumours about these transactions were circulating in Cairo society and that on occasion they were also discussed in the newspapers.[26] Lord Kitchener was also aware of them; sometimes he knew even the minutest details. This source informs us that ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī's "machinations" amounted not so much to the direct embezzlement of funds as to sale and purchase transactions – partly by "exchange [*istibdāl*]" – involving real estate under the Waqf Administration's authority: in these transactions he real-

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Lord Kitchener, Ministre de Grande Bretagne en Egypte (1911–1914). Šafīq, *Muḏakkirātī* III [=II], 292–298 [*sanat* 1913]. Lord Lloyd 1970:I, 171–172. Abu-Lughod 1971:76–79, 86–87 (n. 14), 154–158. Abbas, *Mémoires* 249–250, 362–363 (n. 171).

[26] The direct dependence is expressly stated here: "[*Avant d'exposer l'affaire,*] *il faut que je rappelle que l'administration générale des Wakfs, par suite de son caractère religieux*, relevait alors directement du Khédive." [Anonymous:] *Note sur la vie de S.A. Abbas Hilmi II*, [manuscript] Vienna, 1915, 30. Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes. Le Caire, Ambassade, 602 articles, Cote: 346. Voyages et missions (1894/1949). (Emphasis added. – I.O.) See also *ibid.*, 27–32. The "affair" in question was a dubious case of exchange of a waqf property in which the chief of the Khedive's cabinet did not act in accordance with the Khedive's expectations, thereby causing a big public scandal. This 72-page long type-written manuscript, which exists in two copies in the given folder, is unsigned; the author is identified as *Hossein Sadik Pacha, compagnon du Khédive en Suisse* in the enclosed letter by an unnamed French official. The letter in question states that the "present work was written in 1917, after the author had fallen out with his former master following the Balo [*recte:* Bolo] affair", although the foreword is dated "Vienna, 15 November 1915": *ce travail fut rédigé en 1917, après l'affaire Balo* [recte: *Bolo*]*, par Hossein Sadik Pacha compagnon du Khédive en Suisse qui s'était brouillé avec son ancien maître.* Ḥusayn Ṣādiq was *Wakīl al-Ḥāṣṣa al-Ḥidīwiyya* [Director of the Department of the Khedive's Household]. Paul Bolo (Réunion, 1867–Vincennes, 17 April 1918) was a French adventurer and confidence trickster, ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī's financial adviser, and was even granted the title of "Pasha" by the Viceroy. Bolo Pasha acquired large sums from German sources for stirring up defeatism in French newspapers with the aim of achieving a separate peace between Germany and France, thereby separating France from her allies. Storrs mentions "sham telegrams from Bolo Pasha" at the end of the war. Following a trial, in which he was found guilty, he was executed as a traitor. The affair received extensive publicity and not only in France: Bolo's name even became a synonym for "traitor", "defeatist" and "pacific propagandist" in English. Later on it was assimilated to "Bolshevik". It is also used now as a common noun to denote "a soldier who fails to meet the minimum standards of marksmanship", and as a related intransitive verb meaning "to fail to meet the minimum standards of marksmanship". It is not clear how these last two meanings are connected to the person of Bolo Pasha. In addition to the references quoted in the preceding note, see also Šafīq, *Muḏakkirātī* IV [=III], 38–78 [*sanat* 1915], 128 [*sanat* 1916], 210, 213-216 [*sanat* 1918]. Storrs, *Orientations*, 513. Webster 1976:248c.

ized extremely high profits at the expense of the Administration.[27] It was assumed that he used these profits to foster nationalistic tendencies and to foment agitation against British rule. Lord Kitchener was well aware that the planned measure affected the field of religion and was thus of great sensitivity and not devoid of political dangers. He therefore consulted in advance the highest political and religious dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul, the Grand Vizier (*al-Ṣadr al-Aʿẓam*) and the Sheikh of Islam, who informed him that they had no objections (Sékaly 1929:124; "Taḥwīl" 905). That the reserve of the British in general, which has been referred to above, and Lord Kitchener's caution in particular had been wholly justified was shown by the reaction of the local population to this move. We read in a report by Fouchet, secretary at the French Embassy in Cairo, to the Foreign Ministry in Paris on 27 November 1913:

> *"D'après les informations, que j'ai recueillies depuis mon retour, la situation a été pendant quelques jours entièrement tendue et on a pu craindre un moment soit un soulèvement de la population musulmane excitée et travaillée en secret par les émissaires du Khédive, contre l'intrusion projetée dans un domaine considéré comme exclusivement religieux de l'influence des conseillers et fonctionnaires britanniques, soit une abdication imposée à Abbas Hilmi par la pression excessive opérée sur lui par Lord Kitchener."* / "According to the information which I have gathered since my return the situation has been extremely tense for some days and there was a point when one could fear either an uprising of the Muslim population, which had been excited and stirred up secretly by the Khedive's emissaries, against the planned intrusion of the British advisers and civil servants' influence into an area considered exclusively religious, or ʿAbbās Ḥilmī's abdication imposed upon him by the excessive pressure exerted upon him by Lord Kitchener."[28]

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[27] On *istibdāl* in general, see Fernandes 2000. For the Ottoman period in Egypt, see ʿAfīfī 1988:121–125, 135–136.

[28] Message to S. Pichon. No. 493. Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes. Le Caire, Ambassade, 602 articles, Cote: 10. Grande Bretagne en Egypte (4) (1885-1914). / Lord Kitchener, Ministre de Grande Bretagne en Egypte (1911-1914). Maurice Fouchet (Paris, 26 January 1873 – "Amazone" [ship], 9 December 1924) was posted at the French Consulate-General in Cairo from 25 June 1912 until the outbreak of the war. Later on he represented the French Republic in Budapest (19 May 1920 – end of November 1921) and in Kabul (from April 1922). For the identification of Maurice Fouchet and the details of his life I am indebted to Christophe Hohwald, Bremen, Germany. He informs me in his e-mail message of 21 December 2008 that he has found these data in the following documents of the French Foreign Ministry: Dossiers personnels, 2e série, Nr 627: FOUCHET, Maurice, Nicolas, Lucien, Marie; Annuaire diplomatique 1921.

It clearly appears from these documents that in the period in question it was certainly not British influence that determined the activities of the Comité. Rather, the decisive circumstance was that the Comité was working according to the rules of the art as then understood in Europe – which constituted the world standard at the time. The Comité would have acted in the same way had it been suddenly transplanted anywhere in Europe: its Hungarian chief architect and its Egyptian and European members would have acted in the same way had their Comité been active in Rome, Milan, Florence, Budapest, Vienna, Berlin, Paris or London. Similarly, sister institutions acted in the same way in these places, and according to the same principles. And there can be hardly any doubt that the Comité would have acted in the same way and according to the same principles, if Britain had not occupied Egypt. We have seen that the Comité had been founded before the British occupation, and while it is true that little work was done before that date, no change in its activities or even attitudes can be perceived which could be attributed to this most decisive event in modern Egyptian history.

As a good example of the extent to which European standards determined the Comité's actions we may cite Herz Pasha's idea – which was later taken up by Lord Kitchener as well – of encouraging, even enforcing, the adoption of the "Arab [Neo-Mamluk] style" in the erection of new buildings in native quarters, at least in the vicinity of architectural monuments, with special emphasis on traditional projecting bay windows with *mašrabiyya* screens. Herz first voiced this idea in a lecture delivered at the Institut Égyptien on 1 April 1898 (*"La protection"*).[29] It was later adopted by Lord Kitchener, who envisaged the transformation of the neighbourhood of Sultan Ḥasan and the Rifāʿī mosques in an appropriate way. Nothing came of these efforts: only one building seems to have been erected in Neo-Mamluk style (Ormos 2009a:410–416). Herz Pasha's idea was based on the practice adopted in contemporary Nuremberg, which was regarded as a trend-setting approach in Germany in preserving the "old architectural physiognomy" of the city within the framework of a "stylistic city restoration". Herz may have seen a parallel between Cairo and Nuremberg in more than one respect. Nuremberg had an exceptionally rich compact ensemble of medieval and Renaissance architectural monuments.[30] At the time it was regarded as the incarnation of German spirit and culture; Germans began to discover and appreciate Nuremberg's importance with the upsurge of the Romanticist movement from 1800 onwards. (As far as music is concerned, the most famous representation of this view was Richard Wagner's opera *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* [1868], which was set in medieval

[29] Cf. Ormos 2009a:389–390, 412–416.

[30] Little of it survives today. Nuremberg was subjected to heavy bombing raids by the Allies during World War II.

Nuremberg. And it was not by mere chance, either, that the Nazi Party held its rallies in Nuremberg at a later stage of German history.) Thus, in addition to the quantity and quality of architectural monuments in Cairo, Nuremberg's position in Germany from a cultural point of view was similar to that of Cairo within the Arab-Islamic world. In the 1890s, many new buildings were erected spontaneously in the characteristic local revival style in Nuremberg but official statutes were passed to this effect later on, too.[31]

It is worth noting that Alaa El-Habashi, who cannot be accused of being a supporter of colonialism in general and an admirer of Lord Cromer in particular, comes to a basically similar conclusion regarding the Comité in his thesis:

> "This study, subsequently, questions the general reception of the Comité as being an outsider institution which was too effective in its operations, and was too powerful as a colonialists' intervener. The research, however, proves that such a perception had absolutely no practical ground, unless one considers the foreign nationalists [nationals] who worked for the Comité. Even those were constantly a minority. Moreover, they were directly hired by, and paid for, by the Egyptian government" (2001:193).

El-Habashi's admission of his change of attitude is worth quoting *in extenso:*

> "I started my analysis with an aggressive judgmental mind accusing any faulty approach, or failure to the foreign members of the Comité, and to the colonialist environment of the time. With more thought, I began to suppress all notions that could mislead me into speculation and exaggeration. After relying only on recorded facts and clear evidence, my arguments were reshaped into fairer representations and interpretations. I should also highlight the role of the members of my dissertation committee, who are a multinational mix of distinguished scholars, in helping me on that respect. Now, after having written this, I look at the Comité as one body to which I attribute the results of its interventions without prejudice. I started to believe that even if the foreign members had been subtracted from it at any given time, the Comité would have continued in the same path, and the same is applicable to the Egyptian members as well" (2001:XVI).[32]

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[31] Grote 1967. Brix 1981:89–106, 127–140. Ormos 2013a:334–336.

[32] My impression is that in his dissertation El-Habashi vacillates between contradictory, opposite views in his discussion of this subject. Thus, for instance, in one place of his thesis (2001:128–129) he suggests that the Comité was directed by Lord Cromer behind the scenes. His proof is a quotation from Lord Cromer (*Modern Egypt* II, 321), who wrote in connection with his activities as British consul-general in Egypt: "[In the Egyptian body politic,] the unseen is often more important than the seen." This single sentence of a vague and general nature can hardly be regarded as a sufficiently solid proof in our case. El-Habashi started his research with a strongly negative attitude towards Herz and the Comité,

Thus there can be no talk of any direct British influence on the Comité's work. It seems that the occupying power was content with this state of affairs and accepted the Comité's activities as it was carrying them out by itself on its own. It is widely known that since British rule in Egypt was essentially unpopular with the local population, the British were keen to keep interference in domestic affairs at as low a level as possible, limiting it to areas which they regarded as of the utmost importance (Hobsbawm 1987:287). Since the field of the conservation of Arab-Islamic monuments was in good hands, running according to principles which wholly corresponded to its ideas on the subject, the occupying power saw no necessity to intervene.

Sanders's statement that "the British – who viewed Islam as stagnant and incapable of reform – were pursuing an aggressive program to conserve Arab architecture that in visual terms represented Islam as medieval [that is stagnant and incapable of reform]" (2008:4) cannot be accepted. As we have seen, it was not the British but the relatively autonomous Comité that pursued a conservation program of its own. It was not "aggressive" at all: even if the Comité had wanted, its program could not have been "aggressive" in view of the limited funds at its disposal during the whole period. Sanders herself admits this when she declares elsewhere:

> "[W]ithin its limited financial resources, it did its best to preserve the original fabric of monuments. Its resources were so limited that it could often do nothing more than document the monument in its current state with plans, elevations, photographs, and recording of inscriptions. In following this course, the Comité adhered faithfully to its principle of preservation, not restoration. The vast majority of the Comité's work was, in fact, to consolidate monuments to prevent further decay, not to restore" (2008:14–15).[33]

There are actually two cases of more or less direct British intervention in this field that I am aware of. One of them occurred when Lord Cromer took steps to place Coptic monuments of architecture under the Comité's authority. After certain restoration measures privately undertaken by Naḫla Bey al-Bārātī, an enthusiastic and rich member of the Coptic community, had been sharply criticized in the press

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which characterizes his article on Herz (1999:49–63). See my analysis of his – in many ways unjust – treatment of Herz's role (2009a:445–456). Later on he seems to have modified his attitude but his earlier, opposite view keeps recurring in his argumentation, and this circumstance prevents him from taking a clear-cut position in these matters. El-Habashi offers a toned down version of his criticism of Herz's contribution to the Rifāʿī mosque in his thesis. My impression is, however, that his objections remained although he expressed them in much more reserved language (2001:140–147). It must be admitted, though, that in other parts of his dissertation positive statements concerning Herz can also be met with.

[33] Cf. Lane-Poole, *Story*, 305–312.

because of the destruction they involved on the Fortress of Babylon in Old-Cairo, the Comité took steps to extend its authority to Coptic monuments. Simultaneously Lord Cromer seems to have exerted pressure on the Patriarch in order to get him to agree to this step but the exact extent of his activities behind the scenes is not known. Cromer wrote to Stanley Lane-Poole on 2 January 1896:

> "I am wrestling with the Coptic Patriarch and endeavouring to get some proper European control established over the Coptic churches. I mean from a purely archaeological view. ... In some form or another, I must get these put under Herz, whom I consider most capable."[34]

It seems that there was some informal contact between Lord Cromer and Herz. There is no reason to suppose, though, that Herz would have violated the rules of professional integrity by them. This appears from the letter which Cromer addressed to Herz prior to his departure from Egypt:

> "(British Agency, Cairo, 13th. April 1907).
>
> My dear Herz Bey,
>
> Pray accept the best thanks for your very kind letter. I shall take away with me from Egypt a very pleasant souvenir of our mutual relations, and I trust that you may continue for many years to render your valuable and efficient services for the furtherance of art and historic research in this country.
>
> With my best wishes, believe me,
>
> Yours sincerely,
>
> Cromer."[35]

Another way of influencing the Comité's work was by determining the amount of funds at its disposal. One has the impression that the occupying power regarded the conservation of Arab-Islamic monuments as a priority and was intent to allot as many funds to the Comité as the drastic austerity measures allowed. This may have had two causes. In part it was responsibility to the general public and susceptibility to its criticisms, because it followed, mainly through the press, the state of monuments of Pharaonic and Arab-Islamic architecture in Egypt with keen interest all over the world, both in Europe and in America, among them markedly in Britain and in France. This was not simply a colonialist attitude. In view of the central importance of Egyptian civilization in human history, monuments in Egypt, the cradle of civilization, have been regarded since antiquity as the common heritage

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[34] Foreign Office FO 633/8. Miscellaneous Letters from Lord Cromer–Egypt, f. 15–16 (38–39) (machine transcript). National Archives, Kew. This letter was discovered by Donald Malcolm Reid although he refers to it with a wrong date: 2 January 1898. Reid 2002:361 (n. 47). It is not clear what role – if any – was played by Murqus Simayka Pasha in the extension of the Comité's sphere of authority to include monuments of Coptic architecture. Ormos 2009a:95–101. This letter is quoted on p. 100.

[35] Herz Pasha's Legacy. In the possession of the Sereni Family, Naples-Milan-Rome.

of mankind and not as national monuments pertaining to a particular country only, in contradistinction to monuments in Hungary, Poland or Sweden, for example. Thus what happens to them has never been regarded as Egypt's private, internal affair; rather, the whole world has always felt entitled to comment and to try to interfere. This is also true of monuments in countries of a similar importance with respect to world history and the universal history of art like Greece and Italy. At the same time, Mercedes Volait has shown that British and French *connoisseur*-admirers of Arab-Islamic architecture who actively and loudly fought for the salvage of monuments in Egypt were considerably less interested in the fate of similar monuments in Britain and France.[36] The second case of direct interference was Lord Kitchener's effort shortly before the outbreak of World War I to create appropriate surroundings for Sultan Ḥasan and the Rifāʿī mosques, which has been referred to above.

It should also be pointed out that it was for political reasons that Lord Cromer took great interest in the Comité's activities because he was not personally interested in art and architecture.

In general, one could talk of direct British influence upon the Comité if the British had put a British colonial officer in charge, as they did not hesitate to do in other institutions as in ministries. However, this was not the case here.

"Creating Medieval Cairo"

I cannot agree with the thesis that is nowadays widely propagated of the Comité's "Creating Medieval Cairo", "Creating a Mamluk Medieval Cairo" or "Making Cairo Medieval", in part for political reasons and in part for the sake of European tourists, which Paula Sanders accepts and further develops; in actual fact, this is the central thesis of her present book, too.[37] The Comité did not "create" anything; it merely conserved or restored monuments which were already there. Also, the funds at the Comité's disposal were extremely limited, compelling it in most cases to restrict itself to preservation. We have already quoted Sanders's lines on this subject which apply here, too; they clearly nullify her own thesis of the Comité's "Creating Medieval Cairo".[38] In addition, the "creation of a medieval city" would involve the whole city, or entire quarters at least, while the Comité was occupied with single monuments only. An exception – and the only exception – to this rule was the case of the area around Sultan Ḥasan and the Rifāʿī mosques, including what was then

[36] Volait 2008:349; 2009:190. Cf. *The Times*, 5 February 1883, 9.
[37] Sanders 2008:26, 61, 103, 141, etc. *Making Cairo Medieval* 2005.
[38] See n. 33 with the corresponding paragraph above.

called Manšiyya Square, which has been referred to above. However, the project fell through: only one builder followed this suggestion.[39] And since the Comité's budget was always very tight, it would not have been able to carry out such a vast project on a grand scale even if it had wanted to. It was only after Max Herz Pasha's departure, between the two world wars, that Edmond Pauty declared that the whole city of Cairo was a monument which should be preserved as such, adding, however, that there was absolutely no hope of doing so because of the lack of funds.[40] Pauty's argument is actually recounted by Sanders (2008:17).

It must be conceded, though, that in two respects the Comité did indeed effect a certain change in the Cairo cityscape. Firstly in the fact that merely by its interventions, monuments of architecture became more beautiful, and consequently more conspicuous than they had been before. Secondly, the Comité also modified the local cityscape by replacing the ugly Ottoman makeshift minarets of Mamluk mosques with resplendent Mamluk structures – the Ottoman minarets in their turn had been installed as replacements of collapsed original structures.[41] This activity of the Comité no doubt altered the overall appearance of the Cairo cityscape, imparting to it a more pronounced Mamluk appearance on account of the conspicuousness of minarets in a cityscape in general.[42] However, this can on no account be termed "Creating Medieval Cairo".[43] The two cityscapes can easily be compared with the help of photographs: we are all familiar with old photographs showing al-Amīr Ǧānim al-Bahlawān, Abū l-ʿIlā, Taġrībirdī (in al-Ṣalība), the minaret of al-Amīr Aqbuġā in al-Azhar with primitive makeshift top storeys of Ottoman provenance or al-Muʾayyad Šayḫ's two damaged minarets on Bāb Zuwayla and their modern counterparts.[44]

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[39] Cf. n. 29 and the corresponding paragraph above.

[40] Pauty 1931:138, 167, 174, 176 (in two places).

[41] See n. 125 with the corresponding paragraph and Bakhoum 2016.

[42] On this subject, see now Bakhoum 2016. Cf. also Speiser 2001:91–92.

[43] The thesis of "Creating Medieval Cairo" or "Making Cairo Medieval" is rejected by Bernard O'Kane, too (2014).

[44] The upper part of the minaret of Taġrībirdī's mosque (no. 209) was reconstructed in the 1950s. *BC* 40, 1946–1953 [published 1961], plates X–XI. The preceding volume 39 was finished in 1951. On the fine minaret of al-Amīr Aqbuġā in al-Azhar, see Behrens-Abouseif 2010:170–172, with an excellent photograph by Bernard O'Kane on p. 171 (fig. 115) showing it in its present shape. If we compare it with earlier photographs, in addition to the atrociousness of the cheap and ugly makeshift earlier structure of Ottoman provenience, it is the lack of overall balance and harmony adding up to a certain clumsiness that strikes the eye in the present one, despite the numerous fine details. The Comité reconstructed the upper part "in the original style of the monument" relatively late: having been decided in 1940, it was included in the budget of the fiscal year 1943–1944. The Comité Bulletins have no data on the actual completion of the works. Evidently the Comité had no data on its

The Connotations of the Term "Middle Ages" / "Medieval"

The multiple meanings of the word "medieval" have to be taken into consideration in the interpretation of the expression "Medieval Cairo", which constitutes a central theme of Sanders's book. In a preliminary version of the relevant chapter of her book she fulfilled this requirement (2003:180); sadly, she omits the insightful reference to the highly positive connotations of the adjective "medieval" from the present book. In connection with the "fluidity of multiple meanings" of the word "medieval" in various fields, Sanders herself admits "that these meanings of the medieval did not always distance and subordinate Egypt to the West; and that they might serve independent Egyptian and non-imperial purposes" (2008:57). Elsewhere she says: "These meanings often served independent Egyptian and Ottoman political agendas that did not present Egypt as backward" (3). Also, there are a few vague references that do not imply a negative connotation (59, for instance). However, the disparaging, negative connotation prevails throughout her discussion, with "Medieval Cairo" being simply a sort of pejorative synonym for "Cairo" in the Orientalist (Edward Said) vein. And what is more, the case is even worse in the field of religion because only one connotation is valid there, Sanders maintains: "The Comité's construction of Medieval Cairo visually represented Islam as 'Medieval' in the sense of its being deficient, stagnant, and incompatible with modernity" (59). This interpretation must be rejected. One cannot separate religion in this respect, nor does Sanders's statement necessarily follow from the Comité's preference for Mamluk architecture.

It is true that the adjective "medieval" and the notion of the "Middle Ages" often imply "antiquatedness", "old-fashionedness", "backwardness". Yet along with this originally disparaging assessment of the Middle Ages in the Renaissance and Enlightenment, a positive reassessment of the medieval period gradually took place in Europe, beginning with the end of the eighteenth century. This reassessment was connected, among other things, to the emergence of the Romantic movement, a nostalgic glorification of the medieval world, of chivalry, Gothic architecture, Gregorian chant and medieval Christianity in general. In Germany for instance, the Middle Ages began to be regarded as the golden age of the German past (Grote 1967:74). In a previous publication Sanders herself draws our attention to

original appearance, therefore it carried out partial reconstruction based on analogy. As compared to contemporary parallels, a third storey is definitely missing here. *BC* 38, 1936–1940, 295. *BC* 39, 1941–1945, 150–151. Behrens-Abouseif 1985:62. It is interesting to note that Doris Behrens-Abouseif did explicitly refer to the missing third storey in the first version of her monograph on the minarets of Cairo but omitted this explicit reference from the second enlarged edition, choosing a carefully worded oblique hint instead (1985:62; 2010:172). She is explicit elsewhere in the latter work, though (57).

the fact that in certain periods the category "medieval" had stood for "the very notion of progress itself" (2003:180). However, she omits this statement from the present book (2008). The cult of the medieval also entailed a wide-ranging rejection of the evil phenomena of contemporary industrialization, the machine age and Manchester capitalism in the widest sense. This attitude characterized Victorian Britain – the period concerning us here – to a great extent.

Franz Pasha, the first *de facto* head of the Comité, was German and studied in Germany and Austria, while his successor, Herz, was Hungarian and studied in Hungary and Austria. Thus relevant attitudes in these countries should also be taken into consideration. It stands to reason that both Franz and Herz must have been imbued with the attitude sketched above. We may note that in these countries, partly for the same and partly for different reasons, medieval culture with Gothic architecture – which was the most important and most conspicuous, as well as the most beautiful, feature of the Middle Ages and which many saw as its greatest achievement – came to be seen in a very positive light beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century, although contrary views were also voiced.

If we want to illustrate the overwhelmingly positive connotation attached to the "Middle Ages" in these countries we may adduce at random Goethe's highly influential "hymnic" sketch of "German Architecture" of 1771–1772 (*Von deutscher Baukunst*);[45] the national movement for the completion of the Gothic cathedral in Cologne, which became a common cause for all German states in the nineteenth century; the immense popularity of the medieval Marienburg Castle in West Prussia (now Malbork in Poland) and the national movement demanding its restoration. Some went even so far as to identify Gothic art with true religion in general. A few catchwords may serve to illustrate the positive connotations which the Middle Ages evoked in contemporary German minds: "sublime", "genius", "curious", "strange", "mysterious", "awe", "phantasy"; "infinitude", "universality", "universal applicability", "flexibility"; "honour", "virtue", "purity", "moral integrity", "positive human qualities", "decency", "fairness", "religiousness", "piety", "nobility" and "patriotism". The Middle Ages were regarded as a golden age on account of the moral dignity of the population.

As far as Hungary is concerned, the most important official building of the period, the Houses of Parliament, was built in the neo-Gothic style evoking the Middle Ages because the architect regarded it as the style characteristic of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom in the period of its greatest glory. But we may also refer to the numerous restorations of medieval monuments in the Gothic style for the same reason. On the other hand, dissenting voices were also heard, objecting to

[45] Originally published together with related writings by Johann Gottfried Herder, Paolo Frisi and Justus Möser in an anonymous pamphlet *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst* in 1773.

the style as alien to the country on account of its close attachment to Northern Europe and the Roman Catholic Church. Herz must have been influenced by both of his professors at the Vienna Polytechnic, Heinrich von Ferstel and Carl König, who are known to have been ardent champions of Gothic architecture. Von Ferstel built the splendid neo-Gothic Votive Church in Vienna, while König acquired his love of the Gothic style from Friedrich von Schmidt, the restorer of several important medieval monuments in the Habsburg Empire and the architect of Vienna's Neo-Gothic City Hall. Schmidt had joined the company of masons at the cathedral in Cologne (*Dombauhütte*) as a young man, working on the completion of this Gothic cathedral of emblematic significance in German history.

From these overwhelmingly positive connotations of the Middle Ages that were current at the time, it follows that a positive attitude towards the Medieval World can be assumed on the part of most Comité members, too, although on occasion contrary views cannot be excluded. As far as individual members are concerned, with the exception of Stanley Lane-Poole, I cannot recall ever coming across documents or publications concerning their views, either positive or negative. Lane-Poole published "The Story of Cairo" in 1902 in J. M. Dent & Co.'s "Mediaeval Towns" series, where Cairo figured in the company of such "medieval" towns as Assisi, Avignon, Bruges, Brussels, Cambridge, Canterbury, Chartres, Constantinople, Coventry, Dublin, Edinburgh, Ferrara, Florence, Jerusalem, London, Lucca, Milan, Moscow, Nuremberg, Oxford, Padua, Paris, Perugia, Pisa, Prague, Rome, Rouen, Santiago de Compostela, Seville, Siena with San Gimignano, Toledo, Venice and Verona. This prestigious list is clear proof of the positive value that Lane-Poole, as well as the series editor, attributed to the notion of the Middle Ages. Incidentally, Sanders herself provides us with this impressive list in her article "The Victorian Invention of Medieval Cairo", which serves as a basis for Chapter One of her present work.[46] However, she omits this list from her present book, along with the brief yet balanced discussion of the various connotations of the term "medieval" in the context of Victorian English society (2003:180). In "The Story of Cairo" Lane-Poole described Cairo as a medieval city "in the fullest sense", both in view of its general aspect and in terms of its inhabitants' attitude to life. He does not attach a negative value judgement to this attitude: he regards it merely as the establishment of a fact. Indeed, he does not openly express any judgement in this respect *expressis verbis,* but from the general tone of his account it is clear that "Middle Ages" and "medieval" have absolutely positive connotations for him.[47] At the same time, he does not in any way imply that Cairo should by all means remain medieval, simply because he likes it that

[46] Our list of the volumes in the series is based on hers (2003:196 [n. 30]).
[47] Lane-Poole, *Story* VII–X, 1–11, 259–261, 281.

way: he thinks that "the Europeanizing movement of the nineteenth century" was "inevitable, and in many ways most desirable", yet – he maintains – this movement should have spared the old quarters and monuments of architecture (*Story,* 302).

There were others who held a negative view of the Middle Ages: Lord Cromer, for instance, is known to have been a case in point. As far as Egyptian Comité members are concerned, I consider it entirely impossible that Ṣābir Ṣabrī, the Egyptian nationalist ʿAlī Bahğat and the directors-general of the Waqf Administration would have subscribed to a negative overall view in this respect.[48] As for ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, he was a complex figure beyond a doubt. His view is summarized by Sanders as follows: "These [medieval] monuments constitute a moral lesson for Egyptians in the present; they are important because they can inspire men to produce monuments for their own time" (2008:86). And no one might possibly suppose that ʿAlī Pasha would have considered Egypt incapable of becoming modern. On the other hand, no matter how important these monuments were for him, he was ready to sacrifice them if necessary for the sake of progress.[49]

It must also be stressed that considerably more differentiation is appropriate here. Even if we assume that some Comité members regarded Medieval Cairo as backward towards the end of the nineteenth century, this is not necessarily tantamount to considering Egyptians in general as being incapable of progress. And similarly, when the Comité preserved as many Mamluk monuments of architecture in Cairo as possible it did not necessarily do so with the aim of instilling a feeling of inborn backwardness in Egyptians in accordance with British colonial policy, as Sanders wants to make us believe, but it may have done so with the aim of demonstrating the high industrial and cultural levels of their forefathers, thereby inspiring them to emulate them in these fields.[50] It is equally possible that at least some Comité members had no interest in these questions, being specialists in certain fields and occupying themselves with technical matters in the narrow sense of the word. We simply lack statements by Comité members which would allow us to draw the relevant conclusions. On the other hand, we know that many Comité members were great enthusiasts of Arab-Islamic culture in general and of Egypt in particular, and that they were imbued with a feeling of responsibility for the promotion of the cause of Egyptian culture and civilization. Therefore it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that their attitude towards these questions was mostly positive in the modern meaning of the word.[51]

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[48] On Ṣābir Ṣabrī, see Volait 2006.

[49] See nn. 54, 136 and the corresponding paragraphs below.

[50] See ʿAlī Pasha's relevant statement in the preceding paragraph and n. 54 with the corresponding paragraph below.

[51] A detailed study based on exact data is still to be written on this subject.

"Islamic Cairo" and "Medieval Cairo"

Sanders also discusses the genesis of the name "Islamic Cairo" (2008:145). It is evident that the adjective "Islamic" stands for "Islamic architecture" in this case, referring to the fact that this part of present-day Cairo, i.e. the medieval city is perhaps the most important repository of Islamic architecture in the world.[52] She asks: "[D]oes the term 'Islamic city' reify a notion of a true Islam – or an acceptable Islam – as being mummified in the past? Incapable of being modern?" We can answer her question: "Certainly not!"

Paula Sanders writes that although the exact circumstances of the invention of the term "Medieval Cairo" are not clear, she has no doubt that it must be seen in connection with the process of the Comité's creation of Medieval Cairo.[53] I see this question differently. Practical aspects are likely to have played a decisive role in the genesis of this name. What happened is that after the creation of Khedive Ismāʿīl's modern quarter (Ismāʿīliyya) a name was needed to differentiate the new part of the town from the "old city", so to speak, which until then had been called simply "Cairo". The name "Old Cairo" would have been the obvious choice, just as people use the name "Old City" or "Old Town" with reference to Prague or Jerusalem, Warsaw or Krakow, Hanover or Tbilisi, to denote the older part of a city in relationship to its later districts. However, the name "Old Cairo" (Miṣr al-ʿAtīqa) was already taken because it denoted the settlement in and around the old Roman fortress of Babylon. Thus a new name was necessary for the part of the city that was built in the period between the Old Cairo of antiquity and the Ismāʿīliyya quarter of modern times. It must have been an all too natural process that before long somebody hit upon the name "Medieval Cairo" as an alternative and began to apply it to the part of Cairo in question, because this part of the town had been built in the Middle Ages. The appearance of the adjective "medieval" in connection with Arab-Islamic art in Egypt, as delineated by Sanders, may have contributed to the emergence and growing popularity of this expression (2003:181–182). For instance, when for practical reasons it became necessary to make a chronological distinction between the various periods of architecture in Egypt, the term "medieval" came to be applied – among others – for what later became known as "Arab-Islamic" architecture (Sanders 2008:46–50).

It should be made clear that – setting Old Cairo aside for a moment – "Cairo" and "Medieval Cairo" are co-extensive notions when used with reference to times before Ismāʿīl, while they cease to be so when referring to periods after the inaug-

[52] It is often called "Historic Cairo" (al-Qāhira al-Tārīḫiyya) these days. Cf. the eponymous project of the Ministry of Antiquities and Warner 2005.

[53] Sanders 2003:181; 2008:46–50, 115, 119.

uration of his projects, and it is specifically this latter use which is relevant to the period of the Comité's activities and our deliberations. Sanders's failure to perceive this distinction creates a certain amount of confusion (e.g., 2003:182–184). Thus, for example, she describes the "anxiety [*scil.* of the British] that Cairo could actually become a modern city", continuing: "And so one of the meanings of the 'medieval' was 'not modern'" (188). But these considerations – whatever we think of them – concerned only "Medieval Cairo", i.e. the old section, and not the whole contemporary city: these "fears" did not affect the modern part and the growth of the city in general. Similarly: "Beginning early in the 1890s, however, the city itself – not merely its monuments – was figured as medieval" (48). Certainly not the whole city!

It should be pointed out that the Comité was dealing first and foremost with Arab-Islamic monuments in "Medieval Cairo", i.e. not even in the whole city as then understood, as well as a limited number of Coptic, and a few Graeco-Roman monuments in the case of Old Cairo and Alexandria. However, the tone Sanders uses suggests that the Comité's aim was to transform the whole of Cairo, perhaps even the whole of Egypt, into a medieval entity implying a backwardness, barbarousness and incapability of progress of the whole country and its whole population. We feel bound to point out that saving a number of Arab-Islamic monuments mainly in one part of Cairo has no implications whatsoever relative to the other parts of the metropolis, to the province and to the mental capabilities of the country's population in general.

Islam as a Medieval Religion

In connection with the Comité, Sanders speaks of "their view of Islam as a medieval religion" (2008:35). The adjective "medieval" implies of course backwardness and immutability here. We also read: "Mamluk Medieval Cairo consistently signified the superiority of the West in one important respect, that of religion. ... The Comité's construction of Medieval Cairo visually represented Islam as 'Medieval' in the sense of its being deficient, stagnant, and incompatible with modernity" (59; cf. 57, 141). Where are the proofs? Stanley Lane-Poole may have viewed Cairo as medieval, yet hardly in this sense, and I would hesitate to agree to such a categorical declaration about the Comité as a whole. For instance, I have never come across any data that would confirm such an assertion concerning Herz. The Comité was not a homogeneous body. The majority consisted of Egyptians, most of them Muslims, its president always being the director-general of the Waqf Administration or waqf minister respectively. Does Paula Sanders really want us to believe that the directors-general of the Waqf Administration, its chief architect Ṣābir Bey Ṣabrī, or for instance the Egyptian nationalist ʿAlī Bey Bahğat, all saw

Islam "as 'medieval' in the sense of being deficient, stagnant, and incompatible with modernity"? I can hardly imagine that Ṣābir Bey Ṣabrī or ʿAlī Bey Bahğat would have participated in the activities of the Comité had they not been fully convinced that it was serving the welfare and progress of Egypt and Islam! I cannot any more easily accept the categorical statement that "the architectural preservation of Medieval Cairo worked to express an imperial view of Islam that was very much at odds with important modernizing currents of reformist thought" (Sanders 2008:144). This is a possible interpretation but by no means the only one, and the choice depends on the person in question in the first place. While Lord Cromer and some of his direct subordinates may have held opinions that correspond to Sanders's interpretation, an Egyptian Arab patriot may well have looked with enthusiasm on the beautifully restored mausoleum-mosque of Qāyitbāy, regarding it as a towering achievement of his ancestors in every respect, and one which may have filled him with pride and inspiration. Sanders herself quotes ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak's exhortation to his compatriots elsewhere:

> "[It] is our duty to know these things, for it is not fitting for us to remain in ignorance of our country or to neglect the monuments of our ancestors. They are a moral lesson to the reflective mind, a memorial to the thoughtful soul... For what our ancestors have left behind stirs in us the desire to follow in their footsteps, and to produce for our times what they produced for theirs; to strive to be useful even as they strove" (2008:86).

ʿAlī Pasha also thought that in this way "Egypt will return to its ancient level of prosperity" (Dykstra 1977:493–497). But this very aim is equally well served by the Comité's efforts to conserve monuments of medieval Egyptian architecture or, after restoration, "to present as nearly as possible their original appearance, as when first opened for public worship" (Sanders 2008:15).[54] Again, Sanders writes: "The Comité ... remade them exclusively as monuments of the past. ... [T]he Comité's architects reconfigured these sites in ways that broke their ties to the present for Egyptians" (2008:15). Where are the proofs?

In 1946 Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, one of the foremost Egyptian representatives in the field of architectural conservation, wrote on the Comité's restoration of the Barqūqiyya: "The truth is that this is a splendid work, and can be counted among the works that do most honour to this Comité. It is a clear proof of the range of its accuracy and care for Islamic monuments" (1946/1994:197). An anonymous Egyptian specialist in the field of architectural conservation wrote around 1948:

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[54] The source of this quotation is Lane-Poole's report on the methods and achievements of the Comité prepared for the British Parliament at Earl Cromer's request in 1895. Lane-Poole, *Story* 309. It was published elsewhere, too.

> "As far as the ceiling of the eastern *īwān* is concerned, it is one of the masterpieces of art with its coloured and gilded ornaments. ... These works were executed with the utmost precision in so far as the missing parts were reconstructed according to the original as clearly appears in the ceiling of gilded carving, which is reckoned among the most wonderful ancient ceilings" (*Idāra* 1948:18).

It is evident that the Egyptian authors of these lines are highly content with the result of the restoration in question and do not share Sanders's assessment.

I have no wish to deny that some scholars and many tourists were indeed seeking the world of the Thousand and One Nights in Cairo and that many Europeans were nostalgically searching for a medieval atmosphere in Cairo they could no longer find in their own cities. But this is not the equivalent of turning Cairo into a medieval city in a wholly artificial way under British direction.

As I have pointed out earlier, the Comité was acting according with the principles accepted in most European countries at the time, as was for instance the *K. K. Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale* in Vienna. Has anybody ever asserted that it tried to transform Vienna into a medieval city when it conserved or restored medieval monuments? And I find it wholly unsubstantiated that the Comité's aim in conserving medieval monuments in Cairo was tantamount to demonstrating the medieval, i.e. backward nature of Egyptian culture and the Egyptians' inherent lack of capability of progress (Sanders 2008:4, 141). Would anyone allege anything like that in connection with the sister institution in Vienna? Or has anybody ever maintained that through its activities in the field of conservation and restoration, the *Ufficio Regionale per la Conservazione dei Monumenti del Veneto* wanted to transform Venice into a medieval city purely for the sake of tourists and with the aim of demonstrating the inborn incapacity of Italians for progress? I have never come across Comité documents proving such and similar assertions. On the contrary, we possess, for instance, a statement by Franz Pasha in connection with the foundation of the Arab Museum (present-day Museum of Islamic Art) that one of the aims of the new museum was to give the local population an idea of the significance of the artistic activities of their forefathers.[55] Raising the standard of modern artistic production in various areas was one of the central motives in the establishment of museums, especially those of applied arts, all over Europe at the time. Similarly, the demonstration of the incomparably high level of the architectural heritage in Egypt by way of the conservation and restoration of its monuments could also be interpreted as a series of efforts at making the local population aware of the achievements of

[55] Letter of 11 September 1885 to the Egyptologist Georg Ebers; quoted in Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz 2003:93.

their forefathers, which they might eventually wish to emulate in the future. This, incidentally, was the attitude of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, as Sanders also mentions in her book (2008:86); we have just quoted the relevant passage above.

One cannot maintain that nobody was thinking the way Sanders assumes. However, her line of interpretation cannot be regarded as the unique and only one possible, not even as the decisive one among several possibilities. As for myself, I have never come across statements by Comité members supporting Sanders's assertion. My own impression is that they probably thought that for the time being they were needed because for historical reasons they possessed better qualifications and expertise in their own fields than locals, but European officials in Egyptian service were surely aware that sooner or later they would be replaced by equally well qualified local specialists and would then have to go. It can certainly be claimed that the British occupying power was doing everything it could to put off this date as far as possible, by suppressing public education in Egypt among other things, but I have no data at all at my disposal confirming a similar attitude concerning the members of the Comité. The British originally occupied Egypt in 1882 with the aim of putting Egyptian public finances in order. Having accomplished that aim, they planned to evacuate the country: officially they did not want to stay. However, as time went on, they constantly postponed the date of their departure. Of course, securing the connection between the British Isles and India as well as safeguarding British interests in the Suez Canal came to play an ever growing role in constantly postponing the evacuation into the future.

Muḥammad ʿAbduh and the Comité

In the context of contemporary religious life, Paula Sanders deals at length with the reform efforts of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, heaping reproaches upon the Comité for its "blindness to the vibrancy of contemporary religious life" as well as to the reforms of Muḥammad ʿAbduh. However, she fails to adduce references in support of her allegations. She also implies, without explicitly saying so, that the Comité was to blame for allocating funds for the restoration of mosques instead of spending them on education and on raising the standard of mosque personnel as ʿAbduh would have liked to see. She further asserts that Muḥammad "Abduh was well aware of the activities of the Comité, and he was resolutely critical of their work" and that "he laid out a program of repair for mosques as part of his broad program of religious reform" (2008:61–62). We will now review these allegations one by one.

One cannot say that the Comité ignored contemporary religious life and the reforms of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and that it was blind to them; it was not its business

to deal with them, therefore in all probability it simply took no notice of them.[56] The Comité was concerned with monuments of architecture from technical and artistic aspects, with buildings which, in their turn, would be used by the local community in religious worship as it thought fit and desirable. Conservation and religious worship are "distinct offices, and of opposed natures", as the poet says:[57] the problem of "the place of religion in a modern society" was irrelevant to the Comité (against Sanders 2008:144). In our own day national conservation agencies, which conserve or restore churches all over Europe, are similarly unconcerned about "the place of religion in a modern society", apart from taking into account such technical problems as, for instance, where to place the *mensa* in a Roman Catholic church after the Second Vatican Council or whether or not it is desirable to restore/uncover mural paintings in a Calvinist church, since Calvinist theology rejects figural representation.

As far as questions of budget are concerned, Sanders fails to consider the circumstance that the Comité was a technical agency of the government, a department in "bosom" of the Waqf Administration in fact, as Herz once said,[58] and that the allotment of funds and distribution of the budget was decided at a higher level, i.e. by the government and the Waqf Administration, the Comité having no influence on it at all. The Comité received its own budget from various sources. It was allotted to it directly by the government, the Waqf Administration, the Ministry of Public Works and the Coptic Patriarchate. My impression is, I should add, that neither Muḥammad ʿAbduh nor ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak held the Comité responsible for this state of affairs. As far as ʿAbduh's allegedly "resolutely critical" view of the Comité's activities is concerned, I do not share Sanders's assessment. This is what ʿAbduh has to say on the subject, and, as far as I am aware, this is the very statement which Sanders has based her statement on – she fails to indicate her source:

> أوقاف المسلمين تزداد ريعًا ونموًا ومساجد المسلمين فى خراب خصى ومعنوى إلا ما عمرت جدره وزخرفت سقفه لجنة الآثار العربية ليتمتع بالنظر إليها السائحون من الأفرنج الذين يحبون الاطلاع على مبانى الأولين. وراتب الخطيب والإمام اليوم كما كان منذ قرن أو قرون إذ كان مالك ألف يعد غنيًا كبيرًا. والألف لا تشبع فى سنتنا الحمار شعيرًا ، لهذا يضطر ديوان الأوقاف أن يجعل الجاهلين الكسالى المعدمين أئمة وخطباء إذ لا يرضى العالم الفاضل أن ينقطع لعمل لا يزيد راتبه فى الشهر على مائة قرش وقد يكون خمسين قرشًا. هذا وإن مساعدة أهل العلم والدين على معايشهم من أفضل المبرات التى تنشأ لها الأوقاف الخيرية - لهذا كان من موضوع لائحة المساجد أن يجعل للإمام والخطيب راتب يتراوح بين خمس مائة قرش وثمان مائة قرش وللمؤذن والخادم راتب يرتقى إلى ثلاث مائة قرش وذلك

[56] On Muḥammad ʿAbduh, see Schacht 1993. Kügelgen 2007.
[57] William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* 2.9.60-61.
[58] See n. 13 above.

بعد انتقائهم بحسب الشروط التى تؤهلهم للقيام بعملهم على أكمل وجه. وقد رفقت اللائحة بحال الحاضرين على ما بهم فلم تقض بعزل أحد منهم وإنما جعلت مبدأ الإصلاح فى من يتجدد.

"The waqfs of the Muslims are growing, yielding increasing returns, while the mosques of the Muslims are in a state of material and spiritual ruin, except those whose walls the Comité has repaired and whose ceilings it has decorated so that Western tourists who love to visit the monuments of past generations can enjoy them. At the same time the wages of preachers and *imām*s are the same as they were a century or many centuries ago. Someone earning one thousand [piastres] was regarded as rich and important while in our time one thousand [piastres] are not enough even to feed an ass with barley. Thus the Waqf Administration is compelled to employ as *imām*s and preachers poor ignoramuses and lazy persons because a distinguished scholar cannot be content to devote himself to a job where his monthly salary is no more than one hundred piastres; in some cases, it can even be fifty piasters. As a matter of fact, the support of men of scholarship and religion in their subsistence can be counted among the best acts of charity for which charitable waqfs (*waqf ḫayrī*s) are founded. Therefore the aim of the Mosque Project is to give an *imām* and a preacher a salary between five hundred and eight hundred piastres, while a muezzin and a servant should receive a salary of up to three hundred piastres – after they have been chosen on the basis of conditions which guarantee that they will fulfil their tasks in the most perfect way. The Project was lenient with those already employed with respect to their situation and did not require anybody's dismissal. In actual fact, it was made the basis of reform for those capable of renewal."[59]

This single passage does not justify Sanders's harsh words. The main target of ʿAbduh's criticism is the allotment of funds and his chief concern is the education level of mosque personnel – we have seen that these areas were beyond the Comité's authority. He is also concerned with the disrepair of mosques but it does not follow from this – nor does he say so, nor does he even imply – that the Comité should cease its activities. It is true that there is criticism in his words suggesting

[59] "Laʾiḥa [a]" 221 = Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* I, 634. (Translation mine. – I.O.) Partially translated in El-Habashi 2001:311. (The volume and page numbers in *al-Manār* as given by El-Habashi are wrong.) Cf. also "Laʾiḥa [b]" 307. Adams 1933:82. The precise meaning of the final sentence in the Arabic quotation is not quite clear. Who is meant by "those capable of renewal"? Mosque employees, etc., capable of personal renewal? Or those who have to be renewed in their positions? The quotation above is not devoid of a certain inconsistency, either. Namely, if one thousand piastres are hardly enough to feed an ass with barley, how can an *imām* or a preacher live on a salary between five hundred and eight hundred piastres? Or a muezzin and a servant on three hundred or even less?

that the Comité is restoring mosques for the sake of Western tourists (this is, by the way, an exaggeration in my opinion) but I would not draw far-reaching conclusions from these few words. Rather, I am inclined to interpret them as signs of ʿAbduh's uneasiness, sadness, even bitterness at foreign influence in Egypt in this special field, which is an important phenomenon in itself, wholly understandable and has to be taken into consideration – an enthusiastic Egyptian patriot, he is known to have opposed foreign interference in Egypt in general. As a matter of fact, ʿAbduh's remark concerning the decoration of mosques seems to imply a certain criticism, even resentment, in view of the general state of disrepair of mosques.

ʿAbduh's criticism of the restoration of the decorated ceilings of mosques can be parrallelled by a similar earlier view which had been voiced by Ṣābir Ṣabrī Bey, the chief architect of the Waqf Administration, in connection with the decoration of the dome of the Barqūqiyya's mausoleum during a visit to the site in the Coppersmiths' Bazaar.[60] In his view such exceedingly luxuriant paintings, rich in gilding, which have been applied in the painting of the dome, should have been avoided in view of the meagre means at the Comité's disposal: available funds would have been better spent on salvaging monuments on the verge of collapse instead. The Comité did not accept this view, insisting that it was restoring the dome to its original state on the basis of remnants of the original painting: what Ṣābir Ṣabrī called "luxurious paintings and exaggerated gilding" was in fact "the simple reproduction of a decoration still in existence, the remnants of which can still be seen on the frieze, a small length of which the chief architect had had refreshed". Moreover, the details of this restoration, including the colours and the gilding, had been presented to the Comité in advance and it had approved them at the time. In his defence of the painter-undertaker Roberto Buratti (*Pittore-Decoratore / Le Peintre-Entrepreneur*), who was executing the painting of the dome, Comité member Anton Battigelli pointed out that the costs should have been discussed on that occasion. Comité members also stressed that these "complementary" measures, indeed similar measures in general, were not paid for by the Comité but by the Waqf Administration. Ṣābir Ṣabrī Bey insisted on differentiating clearly between what was absolutely necessary conservation work and work that was additional ("complementary") restoration or even reconstruction. It must be emphasized that it was the costs that Ṣābir Ṣabrī objected to, not the bright colours themselves, which he evidently favoured. This appears from his criticism of the pale colour of the merlons crowning the painting of the octagon in the dome, thus falling short of fulfilling their purpose, i.e. forming a contrast with the spherical cap. He demanded that the merlons in question should be retouched.

[60] An excellent colour photograph of the dome showing it in its present state can be found in O'Kane 2016:151. On the "refreshing" quoted below, cf. Speiser 2001:78.

In the present case, one has to bear in mind the chronology of events. The decision to paint the dome was taken on 24 October 1895 and work was finished on 18 April 1897.[61] The painting of the ceiling of the central aisle of the *qibla-īwān* had been executed much earlier, between 14 April 1889 and 4 December 1890.[62] At the time, Herz had been heavily criticized for the loud colours applied to the ceiling of central aisle of the *qibla-īwān*, about whose original colours he did not have sufficient information (see below). It seems not unlikely therefore that under the impact of this criticism he perhaps chose to show some restraint in a minor point concerning the painting of the dome – the majority of the dome's painting was luxurious and gilding had also been applied. Thus there was no basic disagreement between him and Ṣābir Ṣabrī. Herz was an adherent of ideal or stylistic restoration as defined by Viollet-le-Duc and Ṣābir Ṣabrī's relevant views are likely to have been similar or even identical. Thus what we can assume to have existed between the two of them in matters technical was a difference in taste at most which did not affect the basic principles. It was a question of taste or personal prejudice. Herz had the original decoration refreshed on a small length while Ṣābir Ṣabrī wanted brighter colours on the whole length, irrespective of the original condition. In fact, there was no absolute way of knowing what the colours in question had originally been.

Herz followed Viollet-le-Duc's tenets albeit with reservation and a considerable amount of common sense. For instance, on occasion he did not hesitate to reconstruct structures whose original appearance was unknown to him, something that an orthodox conservationist would certainly have shunned.[63] The chronic shortage of funds at the Comité's disposal also prevented Herz from giving free rein to his inclinations in this field.

Nevertheless, one should be careful in passing rash judgements. In the debates between champions of restrained conservation and those of ideal or stylistic restoration, which began in Germany around 1883 and in Britain earlier, the former prevailed everywhere and everyone paid lip service to their tenets, yet nobody followed them in practice; in Bavaria the last "artist-conservator" (*Künstler-Konservator*) retired as late as in 1966. This was the case with Herz, too. He had the reputation of being an orthodox conservationist (even ʿAlī Bahğat, with whom his relationship was not free of tension, praised him as such) yet exactly the opposite emerges if we take a close look at his projects. What ʿAlī Bahğat and others

[61] *BC* 14, 1897, 74–75, 81–82. Ormos 2009a: 125.

[62] *BC* 7, 1890, 127–128. Ormos 2009a:129 (n. 134).

[63] The most prominent such items are the fountain, the *dikka* and the painting of the ceiling of the *qibla-īwān*'s central aisle in the Barqūqiyya or the ceilings with the central lanterns covering the *ṣaḥn*s of Circassian mosques.

may have meant by pointing this out was that Herz was restrained and sober as a restorer in his application of Viollet-le-Duc's tenets (Ormos 2002; 2009a:70–75).

Incidentally, Ṣābir Ṣabrī's criticism is not devoid of a certain inconsistency. He criticizes the bright colours on account of their cost while also criticizing the pale section for not being bright enough. But bright colours – especially gilding – were expensive! At the same time a palpable tension between Ṣābir Ṣabrī Bey and the other Comité members transpires in the Bulletin's otherwise laconic and terse accounts. There was another unusual aspect to this event. Some members of the *Deuxième Commission* protested that Ṣābir Ṣabrī Bey had modified the wording of the relevant report after it had been signed by them. Upon their insistence, the Comité sent it back to the *Deuxième Commission* to discuss it again. It is to be assumed that the final text in the printed edition is authentic. This case is very odd. I cannot remember ever having come across a similar occasion in the Bulletins.

As compared to the dome, the public was more aware of the colourful ceiling of the central aisle of the *qibla-īwān* in the Barqūqiyya, which generated much publicity and criticism at the time. Incidentally, it was exactly this ceiling that ʿAbduh must have had in mind when criticizing the Comité for applying excessive decoration in its restorations of mosques for the sake of tourists. During the restoration of the Barqūqiyya it was a great problem that the painting of the central aisle of the *qibla-īwān*'s ceiling had been destroyed to such an extent that there were no intact parts which might have served as models for restoration. At the same time, there is a certain inconsistency in the relevant accounts. It is claimed that Herz took great pains to determine the right colours: the question was whether to choose the "original" bright, glowing colours or muted tones, the result of the influence of the time that had passed since the mosque's construction. Herz had large samples prepared and presented them to the Comité; after long discussions the Comité opted for the "original" bright colours. However, the problem is – as finally emerges from the relevant accounts – that Herz and his colleagues in the Comité were not in a position to know the original colours because samples of the original colours did not survive in sufficient quantity.[64] There is a certain opacity in the Comité documents. Originally Herz intended to follow the original colours surviving in certain intact sections of the ceiling. Later, however, it appeared that there were no such sections, or not in sufficient quantity. Herz appears to have acted freely in the end, in accordance with his artistic judgement.

[64] It is of course a different question that even if Herz and his colleagues had had original samples in sufficient quantity at their disposal, which they evidently did not, the colours they would have seen would not have been the original ones but would have changed to an unknown extent as compared to their original state. See n. 70 and the corresponding paragraph.

Soon afterwards Henri Saladin voiced an interesting view in support of the bright colours used by Herz and the Comité (1907:143). He claimed that if one compared the initial pages of certain Quranic manuscripts in the Khedivial Library, the same harmonies would be discovered. He stressed that considering that the ceiling of the *qibla-īwān'*s central aisle had to produce the same effects in the shade, the application of bright colours was an absolute necessity. This leads us to consider the possibility that Herz and his colleagues may have taken manuscript illuminations into consideration.

On the other hand, Doris Behrens-Abouseif informs me that certain motifs, especially the flat roundels consisting of eight "mushrooms" radiating from a central "knob", are familiar from Mamluk carpets. Indeed, the whole ceiling, which is unique among the ceilings of Cairene mosques, strongly resembles Mamluk carpets in her opinion. Thus she is convinced that the Comité used Mamluk carpets as models. In actual fact, it has struck me long ago that this ceiling is unique among Cairene mosques in that it is not flat but that certain features – especially the central roundel as well as four additional smaller roundels at equal distances – are deeply recessed into the surface at various depths. This is especially striking on very close inspection as I had the privilege to experience some ten years ago when Wolfgang Mayer invited me to ascend the scaffolding erected in the central aisle of the *qibla-īwān* by the German restoration team working on the Barqūqiyya. Soon after the opening of the mosque Herz received considerable reproach for this choice: critics said the mosque looked almost brand-new and not like an architectural monument dating back to the fourteenth century.[65] (This criticism was aimed at the ceiling, the fountain and the pulpit alike.) However, the public slowly got used to the new ceiling and its bright colours, which gradually lost something of their garishness with the passage of time. Slowly the critical voices died away and after a while a positive view prevailed.[66]

About forty years later Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, one of the foremost Egyptian representatives of the profession, wrote on the restoration of the Barqūqiyya as we have seen above: "The truth is that this is a splendid work, and can be counted among the works that do most honour to this Comité. It is a clear proof of the range of its accuracy and care for Islamic monuments" (1946/1994:197).[67] An

[65] Personal communication by Doris Behrens-Abouseif in Budapest in July 2019. In general, I am greatly indebted to Doris for our illuminating earlier discussions on the subject of the Barqūqiyya's ceiling, which have been a constant inspiration to me. On the criticism see, e.g., Franz, *Kairo* 85–86.

[66] On Herz Pasha's restoration of the ceiling of the Barqūqiyya's *qibla-īwān,* see Ormos 2009a:128–129.

[67] This work was first published in 1946.

anonymous Egyptian conservation specialist voiced a similarly enthusiastic opinion of the same ceiling around 1948 (*Idāra* 1948:18), which has been quoted above.

The Comité was very much aware of the problems involved in the conservation of painted wooden surfaces, especially following the criticisms concerning the mosque of al-Muʾayyad Šayḫ and of course on account of the ceiling of the Barqūqiyya, therefore it requested an expert opinion on this subject from Sir William Blake Richmond, British artist well versed in painting, stained glass and mosaics. His expert opinion of 4 April 1898, which also touched upon the subject of stained glass, was published in the *Comité Bulletin* (15, 1898, 91–94).[68] The fundamental question is of course to what extent, if at all, a restorer can gain a mental approximation of how a ceiling might have looked at the time of its inauguration. We are only beginning to comprehend the precise physical and chemical processes involved in the ageing of paints and their effects:

> "Examination of paint layers on a microscopic level and analysis on a molecular level has led to advances in understanding the physical and chemical deterioration of ... paints. ... Traditional oil and tempera paints are now considered to be dynamic systems that undergo long-term changes that may be exacerbated by environmental conditions and treatment" (Loon *et al.* 2012:217).[69]

The problem is complex because it is not only physical processes that one has to take account of. The artist's "intention" must be honoured, and "aesthetic unity may be more important than strict objectivity would permit". Determining the artist's intention is a moot question: it "might be a validation of previously held attitudes and prejudices". Two major approaches can be distinguished here. The first considers material (physical, technological, logical, positivist) factors as paramount, while the second places the emphasis on aesthetic (emotional, imaginative, metaphysical) considerations. It seems that the words of Joshua Reynolds, who restored many paintings in the eighteenth century in addition to his own activities as a painter, express the most we can attain in this respect: "An artist whose judgement is matured by long observation considers what the picture once was." A famous conservator declared recently: "We are the sorcerer's well-behaved apprentices."[70]

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[68] Cooperation with Sir William Blake Richmond may have been facilitated by his son, Ernest Tatham Richmond, who was on Herz Pasha's staff at the time. Ormos 2009a:93. Criticisms concerning the painting of the ceiling in the *qibla-īwān* of the Barqūqiyya were discussed in the Comité's session of 26 November 1890. *BC* 7, 1890, 27. Ormos 2009a:130.

[69] In general, cf. the second part of the following note.

[70] The reference at the end of the paragraph is to Goethe's ballad, *Der Zauberlehrling*, which tells the story of *The Sorcerer's Apprentice,* who in his master's absence tries to

Sanders goes on to say that ʿAbduh "laid out a program of repair for mosques as part of his broad program of religious reform" (2008:61–62). Later on, somewhat inconclusively, she writes that "[t]he repair of material structures, particularly large monuments, was not his priority" (62); later still we find the assertion that "Muhammad Abduh had little to say about the preservation of antique mosques" (83). These statements manifestly contradict one another. Let us examine this question. Accepting Sanders's first statement to be true we want to hear more about ʿAbduh's program of repair for mosques and are eager to know the details. Sanders has none but refers the reader to Alaa El-Habashi's dissertation on the Comité's history, which devotes one section of the appendix to this question: "Appendix 4: The viewpoint of Muhammad 'Abdu (1849–1905) towards preservation" (2001:310–317). However, having gone through it we find that seven of the eight pages of the section in question are devoted to ʿAbduh's view on pictorial representation in Islam, a most important subject on its own account but one that has hardly any relevance for the restoration of Arab-Islamic monuments in Egypt. In the remaining page, in fact the first one, we encounter the passage on the restoration of mosques and their ceilings that is quoted above but hardly anything else on restoration.[71] It seems that in this case El-Habashi has been misled by the phrase *iṣlāḥ al-masāǧid,* which he uses with reference to ʿAbduh, borrowing it from his pupil, Rašīd Riḍā: "During the 1890's and 1900's, he [ʿAbduh] started to talk about 'repair' (*iṣlāḥ*) of mosques" (El-Habashi 2001:310).[72] The word *iṣlāḥ* can and does of course mean "repair" among other things but this is not the case here as clearly appears from the context of El-Habashi's sources (31, 240). It is the well-known technical term that we encounter here in the meaning of "reform", with *iṣlāḥ al-masāǧid* meaning "reform of mosques", namely of mosques as *institutions.*[73] In

imitate his tricks at working miracles but very quickly loses control of the situation. Utter confusion ensues and complete destruction is threatened. The sorcerer returns to restore order at the last moment. — The above considerations in the paragraph above refer to oil paintings. However, in a wider context they can also be regarded as relevant to painted wood and painted surfaces in architectural monuments. The quotations and considerations can be found in the following works, which can also be consulted on paint deterioration. They also deal with the general problem of how the original appearance of a painted surface can be mentally reconstructed. Loon *et al.* 2012. Bomford 2012. Nadolny 2012. Digney-Peer *et al.* 2012. Wetering 1996; 1999.

[71] Strangely enough, when referring to El-Habashi's appendix, Sanders does not seem to have noticed that it has hardly anything to say on her subject (2008:168 [n. 3]).

[72] On Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā, see Ende 1995 and Jomier 1978.

[73] On *iṣlāḥ* in general, see Merad 1978. Muḥammad Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (1866–1914), a close associate and follower of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rašīd Riḍā in Damascus, completed his *Iṣlāḥ al-masāǧid ʿan al-bidaʿ wa-l-ʿawāʾid* ["The Improvement of Mosques by the Removal of Heretical Innovations and Practices"] in 1912. *Iṣlāḥ al-masāǧid* means

accordance with his own cautious personality and attitudes, ʿAbduh's concept of the reform of mosques implied changes and improvement to the material and organisatorial levels but not a basic reform of the whole system beginning with its fundaments (Kemke 1991:37–39). The semantic field of "reform" is in fact quite wide: reform of mosques could of course include architectural conservation, but this is not the case here. ʿAbduh submitted a detailed description of his "Mosque Project" (*Lāʾiḥat al-Masāǧid*) to the Supreme Waqf Council (*Maǧlis al-Awqāf al-Aʿlā*) and if one goes through its text, which was published by Rašīd Riḍā in *al-Manār*, it appears clearly that it concerned the organization of mosques, their personnel, wages, etc., but there is not a single word in it about architectural conservation.[74] In the relevant place of Muḥammad ʿAbduh's vast biography by Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā we do in fact encounter the word *ʿimāra*, which might just as well mean restoration in the given place at first sight ("Tatimma", 488 [lines 1–5]). However, Rašīd Riḍā's formulation is equivocal and somewhat vague, his usage having evidently been influenced by the basic meaning of this word, which is often used in the general meaning of "welfare", "prosperity", "blossoming". Rašīd Riḍā's formulation is based on ʿAbduh's own description of his project, and if we consult it we find that ʿAbduh is silent on preservation: he does not say a single word on this subject.[75]

As for the expression *iṣlāḥ al-masāǧid*, it occurs mainly in passages written by ʿAbduh's pupil, Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā, in the texts which have served as sources for Alaa El-Habashi. In one place Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā uses the expression *iṣlāḥ al-masāǧid* with such a wide meaning that it also refers to the architectural struc-

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here the purification of mosques from heretical innovations. The work contains some scattered references to the erection, decoration, furnishing and maintenance of mosques, but there is no trace of a complete restoration program. It is instructive to go through its Conclusion and Table of Contents (263–279) at least. See Qāsimī, *Iṣlāḥ*. On al-Qāsimī, see Commins 1990:65–88.

[74] "Lāʾiḥa [a]" 221–222, 279–280. "Lāʾiḥa [b]" 307–314. Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* I, 630–645.

[75] On *ʿimāra* as a technical term meaning "preservation", "repair", "maintenance", see El-Habashi 2001:31–32, 236–240. El-Habashi errs when he regards Lane's *Lexicon* as a source for "modern" usage of Arabic in Egypt in the second half of the nineteenth century in contrast to the "historical" usage of previous centuries. Lane extracted his *Lexicon* mainly from the works of authors living between 687 and 1790, carefully translating their definitions and always indicating these authors with the help of abbreviations. As for Lane's later sources such as Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1790), the author of *Tāǧ al-ʿArūs,* or al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1413), the author of *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ,* they mainly rely on earlier sources themselves. Lane's sources can be consulted in the Preface to his work (*Lexicon* XXX–XXXI). It is true that Lane sometimes added in square brackets remarks on modern, "contemporary" (c. 1830) usage, but their number is small and there is no such remark in the entry in question here.

tures of mosques, stating that ʿAbduh was also concerned with the fabric of the buildings, but this general statement does not go beyond what we already know about ʿAbduh's general concern with the disrepair of mosques.[76]

This last passage also demonstrates clearly the fact that ʿAbduh was concerned with organizational, educational and financial reforms, but not with architectural conservation. In general, ʿAbduh attached great importance to education. This appears from the efforts he exerted in favour of reforming al-Azhar, too (Kemke 1991:30–31, 39). ʿAbduh and his followers placed much more weight on education than on the construction or maintenance of mosques. On the occasion of the inauguration of a new school in the Delta, Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā, ʿAbduh's main follower declared, in the master's presence, that the building of schools was more important than that of mosques:

إن إنشاء المدارس أفضل من إنشاء المساجد من حيث إن المصلى فى المساجد إذا كان جاهلاً تكون عبادته فاسدة وذلك ذنب يستحق العقاب وفى المدارس يزاح الجهل وتصح أعمال الدنيا. وإذا كان العلم أفضل الأشياء فالمساعدة عليه مساعدة على أفضل الأعمال وصاحبها يستحق أفضل الثناء والشكر فيجب أن نشكر لهذا الرجل الجليل عمله والله تعالى يشكره له ويجزيه عليه أفضل الجزاء.

"The erection of schools is preferable to the erection of mosques in view of the fact that when a person performing a prayer is ignorant, his act of religious worship remains invalid; this is a sin deserving punishment. In schools, ignorance is eliminated and thus the affairs of the world will proceed in their right course. And if knowledge is the most preferable thing, then the promotion of its acquisition is in fact the promotion of the most preferable thing, and a person acting in its favour deserves the utmost praise

[76] Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* I, 630. The title of the chapter is *ʿAmaluhū fi l-Awqāf al-ʿĀmma wa-iṣlāḥ al-masāğid* [His Work in the Waqf Administration and the Reform of Mosques]". The expression *iṣlāḥ al-masāğid* occurs also in Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā's introduction to "Lāʾiḥa [b]" 307 [line 1]. — In the Conclusion of his dissertation El-Habashi remarks that "Muhammad 'Abdu ... proposed a different approach towards preservation similar to the one of the waqf" (2001:192–193) without, however, offering a proof for this statement. El-Habashi makes this remark in the context of Herz Pasha's preservation principles, which he discusses in connection with the Rifāʿī mosque. However, this approach cannot be accepted because the Rifāʿī mosque was not a historic monument of architecture in Herz Pasha's time but a modern building awaiting completion. Therefore Herz's work on it did not fall within the sphere of preservation but within his diametrically opposed activity as an architect designing and erecting new buildings. El-Habashi makes repeated references to the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ in the paragraph in question. However, I have the strong impression that it is rather the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan that he has in mind there.

and gratitude. Therefore we must thank this splendid man for his work. God the Sublime will thank him for it and will give him the best reward."[77]

ʿAbduh was also present but hoarseness prevented him from delivering an adequately long speech. However, he declared that he agreed with what the other speakers had said. Thus we can conclude that the passage above is in complete agreement with his views.[78] Schools eliminated ignorance, thereby according to worldly and religious acts and activities their proper values, and therefore it was educational affairs that ʿAbduh and his followers around *al-Manār* regarded as being of paramount importance. Education played a central role in his theory of reform. Led by the desire to modernize Egyptian society, he wanted to reform it peacefully and gradually, which also included the adaptation of whatever proved useful for his native land from among the knowledge, methods and inventions amassed by the Europeans: his aim was to create harmony between Islam and the West (al-Ḫuḍayrī 1995).[79]

The cumulative evidence of what has been said above is sufficient to prove that ʿAbduh did not lay out a program of repair for mosques. He was concerned about the state of mosques in general, deplored their disrepair and no doubt wanted to see them repaired at some point in the future, but had no program of repair himself.

ʿAbduh's account of his visit to Sicily in 1902, of which El-Habashi quotes the remarkable section on pictorial representation in Islam *in extenso*,[80] is also instructive regarding other aspects of ʿAbduh's relationship to Europe and Europeans, and allows us to draw certain conclusions concerning the preservation of monuments (Riḍā, *Tārīḫ*, II:473–504). Most of his account of his stay in Sicily has an educational purpose, as he himself stresses right at the beginning; he wants to mention things either as *ʿibra* ("admonition", "lesson", "example [to be followed]") or as *fukāha* ("joke", "entertainment") (Riḍā, *Tārīḫ*, II:474). Often he admonishes his Egyptian readers directly. On the other hand, one has the impression that many of his criticisms of the conditions in Palermo and Messina are directed at his compatriots, without his explicitly saying so. In his account he is appreciative of certain things and praises them, while criticizing others.

The main subject of ʿAbduh's account is the study of the "vestiges", "remains", "relics" (*āṯār*) of the Arab-Islamic past in Sicily as well as the way the locals handle vestiges of the past in general and those of the Arab-Islamic past in particular. He deals with this question repeatedly on a general level, with reference to

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[77] The person referred to at the end of the quotation is the founder of the new school.

[78] [Riḍā,] "Iḫtifāl" 151–158, esp. 152. Goldziher errs in attributing this statement directly to ʿAbduh (1952:342).

[79] On Muḥammad ʿAbduh's views on reform, see Zāyid 1997.

[80] ʿAbduh, "Balarm [b]" = Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* II, 498–502. It is quoted in translation and discussed by Stephen Vernoit; he refers to it as a *fatwā* (2006:31–32).

Europeans, and also discusses the European habit of preserving these vestiges in museums (*dūr al-āṯār*). He has certain criticisms in this respect. For instance, in Palermo he finds the Capuchin catacombs with their mummies rather weird and the service in the Public Library chaotic and insufficient. Yet he approves of the Europeans' attitude to their vestiges and relics, and of the care they show in their preservation. He deals extensively with vestiges and relics kept in museums and libraries (objets d'art, manuscripts and books) but there can be no doubt that his considerations also apply to monuments of architecture, the more so as his account of Sicily abounds in enthusiastic descriptions of various architectural monuments, with special emphasis on their wonderful mosaics.

The tone of ʿAbduh's account of the Italian and European practices of preservation of objets d'art, of books and manuscripts is very positive as is the whole tenor of his attitude towards the European practices discussed: he thinks that they should be adopted by Muslims, too. In connection with objets d'art and antiquities kept in museums he uses the expressions *ḥifẓ al-āṯār* and *muḥāfaẓa ʿalā l-āṯār*.[81] The fact that in Arabic the word *āṯār* ("remains", "relics"; "vestiges"; "marks", "signs") is used for old objets d'art as well as for monuments of architecture, books, manuscripts, etc., especially in the combination *āṯār al-mutaqaddimīn* ("remains", "relics"; "marks", "signs of our predecessors", "of persons belonging to earlier times"), implies that in ʿAbduh's mind these areas are not distinct as they are in the minds of Europeans who use completely different words to denote them. This approach is supported by the circumstance that objets d'art, monuments of architecture, books, manuscripts etc. – all of them – are in fact remains of persons belonging to previous times and may serve as sources of education, pride and glory. Riḍā's subtitle to ʿAbduh's account wholly supports our interpretation:

> فصل من رحلة الأستاذ الإمام الأخيرة إلى أوربا وجزيرة صقلية وتونس والجزائر سنة ١٣٢١ ه ١٩٠٢ م دون فيه ما رأى فيه الفائدة والعبرة من الآثار العربية فى بلرم عاصمة صقلية
>
> "A chapter from the recent journey of the Imam and Teacher to Europe, the island of Sicily, Tunis and Algeria in 1321 AH / AD 1902 in which he records all the useful information and precepts worthy of being followed which he derived from the Arab vestiges in Palermo, the capital of Sicily" (Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* II, 473).

Therefore these remnants or vestiges deserve proper care and preservation. ʿAbduh stresses how important it would have been to preserve samples of coins and units of measures used by previous generations even from the viewpoint of religious law because it would have saved the community from numerous errors and controversies. He goes so far as to declare that it would have been a religious obligation

[81] ʿAbduh, "Balarm [a]" 34 [paragraph 1] = Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* II, 497–498.

to preserve them. The same is true of precious manuscripts: the community did not care to preserve them as it should have done and therefore they are now mostly dispersed in European libraries, although ʿAbduh admits that a few can be found in the Khedivial Library. Things have not changed even now, ʿAbduh adds sadly:

> ولو أردت أن أسرد لك ما حفظوا وضيّعنا من دفاتر العلم لكتبت لك فى ذلك كتابًا يضيع كما ضاع غيره فتجده بعد مدة فى يد أوربى فى فرنسا أو غيرها من بلاد أوربا
>
> "If I wanted to enumerate for you the scientific works which they [the Europeans] have preserved and which we have squandered then I would write a book for you on this subject which would disappear just as others did and after a while you would find it in the hands of a European in France or some other European country" (Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* II, 502).

ʿAbduh deplores the great losses but he does not blame the Europeans – there is no trace of reproach against them in his tone –, nor does he blame their methods of preservation, he does not even comment on them; instead he blames his own people, who should have preserved their own heritage but who have failed to do so. No doubt his blame has an educational purpose, too: with an eye to the future, he is hoping to change his compatriots in this respect.[82]

Thus it stands to reason that by analogy Muḥammad ʿAbduh's attitude towards preserving the relics of the past also encompasses the preservation of architectural monuments, including the European methods as employed by the Comité. Many mosques are in ruins, others are in a deplorable state of repair, for which the blame is to be laid on his countrymen, who neglected them instead of taking care of them as they should have done. Muḥammad ʿAbduh would like to see them repaired and this can be accomplished by following the Europeans' example, by adopting their methods because they are proven to be effective and successful. There can be no doubt that ʿAbduh deplored the involvement of so many foreigners in Egypt's life in general and the British occupation in particular and that he would have preferred to see a purely Egyptian body taking care of Arab-Islamic and Coptic monuments in Egypt – in my opinion this is what he implies obliquely by the reference to the restorations made for the sake of European tourists quoted above. But despite this general attitude, we may conclude by way of analogy that ʿAbduh did not object to the Comité's activities, for the simple reason that for the time being there was nothing better on offer. He never said the Comité should stop its activities, as far as I know, and even in the reference quoted above he did not say the Comité should not have restored those mosques; what he deplored was that there were so many other mosques also awaiting restoration. And he thought that the "reform of mosques" (*iṣlāḥ al-masāğid*), namely the education of mosque personnel and of

[82] ʿAbduh addresses similar indirect, seriously worded urges to his compatriots in Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* II, 478 [last 7 lines].

believers, as well as the raising of mosque personnel's salary, had absolute priority over the restoration of the edifices themselves. His deep conviction of the importance of education appears in his account of his stay in Sicily: he discusses it *in extenso* in connection with his encounter with a Capuchin monk from Aleppo, who is teaching Arabic in his order's school of missionaries (Riḍā, *Tārīḫ* II, 479–481).

It is most interesting to note ʿAbduh's tone in his account. He looks in astonishment and wonder at the museums in Sicily implying that the museum, as an institution, is something absolutely new for him. Museums seem to represent an important discovery for him on this trip of 1902. If we take his statements at face value, it would imply that he had never visited a museum before, either in Egypt or in his long exile, and that he had not even heard of their existence. This is rather perplexing, given his profound acquaintance with various layers of Western culture, his stays in and visits to Western Europe and his connections with Western scholars. And in his lifetime there were three outstanding museums in Egypt, devoted to the history of Egypt and her culture: the Egyptian Museum, the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, and the Arab Museum (present-day Museum of Islamic Arts). Is it possible that this tone has simply an educational purpose?

It may be worth mentioning that ʿAbduh and Herz knew each other personally. We know of one personal encounter. On 21 April 1900 Herz paid a visit to ʿAbduh to obtain detailed information on the ritual "Ḏikr Maḥyā" for his friend Ignaz Goldziher (Ormos 2005:174).

Restoration of Mosques *versus* Religious Worship

As regards the Comité's restoration of mosques, Sanders remarks that the Comité's primary concern was not their restoration as places of religious worship:

> "Abduh's reform program for mosques was, in fact, a restoration program but one with entirely different – even contradictory – goals from those of the Comité. Unlike the Comité program of restoration, in which conserved mosques were not ordinarily conceived as sites of religious worship (except, perhaps, in an incidental way), Abduh's reform program was intended specifically to make mosques appropriate places of religious activity for the local population. This is a concern about which the Comité is silent, for their primary concern was not to restore mosques as functioning religious institutions for the local Muslim community" (2008:62).
>
> "[The Comité] ... restored many buildings that were irrelevant in the late nineteenth century to daily religious life, and did so in a way that guaranteed their continued irrelevance. ... [T]he Comité ... rendered these structures into a continuing irrelevance to ongoing religious life in the city. The Comité's view of the relationship of its own activities to religious life in the city is

> clear in one of its earliest decisions, namely, that its funds would not be spent on to make mosques (even 'historic' mosques) functional for worship: *'il est confirmé que le Comité ne prendra à sa charge que ceux des travaux qui seront exécutés dans le but de la conservation des bâtiments qu'il classera dans la catégorie des monuments historiques, car tous les travaux qui sont nécessaires à l'exploitation d'un monument servant au culte ne rentrent pas dans l'espèce des travaux à payer sur le budget du Comité.'"* ["'It has been confirmed that the Comité will pay only for work to be executed with the aim of the conservation of those buildings which it will list under the category of historic monuments because it is not the case that all the works necessary for the use of buildings serving religious worship would be included in the kind of works which are to be paid from the Comité's budget'"] (87).[83]

Sanders is basically right in claiming that the Comité's primary concern in restoring mosques was not their restoration as places of religious worship (62, 87). However, this did not mean that the Comité in any way hindered their return to religious worship: this was simply a question on which it was not the Comité's task or place to decide. This did not mean that the Comité strove to obstruct religious worship owing to a basically hostile attitude towards Islam, as Sanders seems to *insinuate.* The Comité was a technical department concerned with mosques as monuments of architecture from a technical viewpoint: it provided a technical service consisting of conservation, restoration and – in the case of historic monuments – also maintenance. Thus one is wholly justified in saying that religious worship was not the Comité's primary concern, but one cannot reproach it for this attitude because this was an entirely normal state of affairs: whether or not a mosque was returned to religious worship was decided by its owner or administrator – often the Waqf Administration – but certainly not by the Comité. On the other hand, it must be stressed that the Comité *always* carried out the conservation of mosques with the aim of returning them to religious worship. It thought that believers would be glad to pray in beautifully restored mosques and this supposition was confirmed by the facts: "The beauty of these restored mosques seems to appeal to the eyes of the worshippers, and there is no doubt that the mosque of el-Muayyad has been far more frequented for prayer since its *liwan* was restored to something of its original beauty and richness of gold and colour" –, Stanley Lane-Poole wrote in 1895 (*Story*, 311).

Herz's philosophy of restoration was – as reported by Lane-Poole and, by the way, quoted by Sanders too – that in those few cases when the restoration of

[83] English translation of the French quotation added; Sanders does not give an English version of this passage. The passage itself is from *BC* 3, 1885, XV.

mosques was the chosen course of action, the aim was "to present as nearly as possible their original appearance, as when first opened for public worship" (Sanders 2008:15).[84] And here Herz really meant what he said, i.e. that mosques should be returned to believers in this state after the completion of works; he never thought of preserving mosques as dead monuments. This circumstance even determined the Comité's method of restoration. It could not restrict itself to preservation only, as some stern critics demanded in accordance with certain contemporary theories of conservation, because it could not merely preserve ruins but had to reopen for religious worship complete mosques furnished with all component parts that constitute a mosque. Thus, for instance, when restoring the Barqūqiyya, Herz designed a fountain for the *ṣaḥn*, modelling it on the fountain in the *ṣaḥn* of the roughly contemporary mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, because the Barqūqiyya's original fountain had disappeared a long time previously – it had been replaced by an ugly reservoir (*ḥanafiyya*) – and there were no surviving data on its original form. It is worth noting that it is not uncommon to find this fine fountain depicted in modern publications as an illustration of authentic Mamluk architecture.[85] Even notable specialists are sometimes unaware that it is actually a brand new structure designed by Herz. Thus, for instance, the eminent archeologist and historian of architecture Ludwig Borchardt (d. 1938), who was living and working in Egypt, dated it to "around 1390", while the grand old historian of Cairo and the Arab world, André Raymond (d. 2011), dated it to 1386.[86] Bernard O'Kane discovered only recently that the fountain had been designed by Herz (2014). This is no doubt a great compliment which Herz would surely have been very proud of! We know that upon completing the Rifāʿī mosque he was proud of having erected a worthy counterpart of his beloved Mamluk mosques: he wrote that with its "enthralling appearance" the new mosque was "second to none of the older monuments of the city with respect to its overall effect" ("Ali el-Rifai sejk" 256). In a similar vein, the pulpit (*dikkat al-muballiġ*) was also missing in the Barqūqiyya, with no data available on its original form. In this case, Herz prepared two designs: one modelled on the pulpit of Sultan Ḥasan, and another on that of al-Muʾayyad Šayḫ. The Comité opted for the latter design (Ormos 2009a:121).

I must say that in the course of my research on Herz Pasha's activities in the Comité, which began in 1997, I cannot remember ever coming across a single mention of the changing of a mosque's function or of alienating it from religious service. This was never envisaged and the subject was never discussed by the

[84] On the source of this quotation, see n. 54 above.

[85] See, e.g., Yeomans 2006:199.

[86] Borchardt & Ricke, *Ägypten* XIX (no. 34), fig. 34. Raymond 1993:149. O'Kane 2014. See also Behrens-Abouseif 1989:134. Subsequently she modified her view: "The octagonal domed fountain was reconstructed by the Comité" (2007:229–230).

Comité as far as I can recall. Here again Sanders is conveniently oblivious to the fact that in addition to the director general of the Waqf Administration, more than half of the Comité members were usually Egyptian Muslims. Are we really to believe that ʿAlī Bahğat, Ṣābir Ṣabrī or the directors-general of the Waqf Administration would have condoned the repeated alienation of mosques to religious worship?

As for the French quotation Paula Sanders adduces (reproduce above), its real meaning seems to have eluded her because her interpretation is downright wrong. It must be admitted that the formulation of the original is somewhat clumsy. However, its meaning and relevance are absolutely clear in the given context: the passage concerns the funding of the Waqf Administration's activities. In it the Comité makes it clear that it is ready to pay from its own budget for conservation works on listed monuments only, while works on mosques which have no special historical or artistic importance and are thus not included in the official list of monuments have to be paid for by the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration. It does not say that the latter need not be conserved or maintained; it merely says that their conservation and maintenance must be paid by the Technical Bureau and not by the Comité.

Some background information may be necessary here to elucidate the circumstances of this statement in its contemporary setting. By law the Comité was obliged to take care only of listed monuments, a task which was well beyond its capacities even in this limited measure because of the meagre budget at its disposal, which in turn was the result of the straitened fiscal situation. At the time of this statement the Comité, which constituted a department of the Waqf Administration, did not have a technical bureau of its own but the works it prescribed were carried out by the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration, which was in general responsible for the maintenance of *unlisted* mosques, i.e. those that did not figure on the official list of architectural monuments. The Technical Bureau was always understaffed and overburdened, its own budget insufficient, and therefore when the Comité was founded, the staff of the Technical Bureau regarded the new task of executing the Comité's decisions in addition to its own regular tasks as a most unwelcome nuisance. The Bureau's staff was not even convinced of the necessity of the Comité's activities at all. In addition, the works prescribed by the Comité differed greatly from the kind of works the Bureau was used to: in executing the Comité's decisions it was usually called on to do exactly the opposite of what it did in the course of its regular activities following its own time-honoured traditional methods. Nor was it easy to keep the sums coming from various sources apart, and consequently they were often diverted and used for alien purposes, either by mistake or deliberately. As a consequence of this, there was continuous tension between the Comité on the one hand and the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration on the other. The situation became more tolerable and tensions lessened

considerably with the foundation of the Comité's own Technical Section in 1890, but they did not disappear. Thus, as far as the present quotation is concerned, the Comité's aim was to define precisely which mosques it was obliged to conserve from its own meagre budget and which not – there is no hint whatsoever of discontinuing religious worship in the latter, nor any display of an ultimately negative attitude towards religious worship in Islam, as implied by Sanders.

The setting of this statement is of relevance here, too. Muḥammad Zakī Pasha, director-general of the Waqf Administration and the Comité's president, addressed a letter to Franz Pasha, director of the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration, who was a member of the Comité at the same time, suggesting that in the future all works of the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration (the Comité did not yet have a technical bureau of its own), whatever they might be, should be submitted to the Comité for its expert opinion before work began – probably owing to the Comité's expertise and high prestige. The post of the Comité's president was always filled by the director-general of the Waqf Administration *ex officio* and was thus a nominal post, while the professional work was at the time directed by Franz Pasha, owing to his post and his professional skill. The President turned to Franz Pasha within the Comité evidently in his capacity as president of the newly established agency. The circumstance that the president, who was at the same time director-general of the Waqf Adminsitration and as such Franz Pasha's superior in the Administration, addressed Franz Pasha with this request in the Comité and not in the Administration, proves the importance of the Comité and its relatively independent status within the Administration. At the same time, Franz Pasha appears here in two opposing capacities: he figures as the head of the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration and also as the Comité member responsible for technical matters – the post of chief architect to the Comité did not yet exist. This rather complicated setup also mirrors the insufficient demarcation of responsibilities. The Comité was apparently unhappy with this suggestion, partly because it was overburdened and scarcely able to fulfil even its own tasks on listed monuments, and partly because it feared that its own meagre funds could end up being diverted, and it therefore politely rejected this suggestion by means of a legal argument.

Thus the gist of the French quotation above is that the Comité's task is to execute or supervise conservation works on listed Arab-Islamic monuments only, and these – and only these – are to be paid for from its own budget; it is not the case that any work on any religious monument would have to be paid from the Comité's meagre budget. It must be admitted, however, that there is some imprecision in this statement. The formulation tacitly assumes that all listed monuments are in the possession of the Waqf Administration, whereas this was not the case. This lack of precision can be explained by the circumstance that the Comité was involved with the precise demarcation of spheres *within* the Waqf Administration rather than making general declarations relevant to all cases. It is clear that the

Comité wanted to spare and concentrate its energy and funds. That our interpretation is correct is confirmed by a related suggestion made by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak in the Comité's session on 16 December 1882, which again concerned the important question of the financing of works:

> *"Lorsque le Comité juge qu'un monument quelconque doit être restauré or étayé, il doit autant que possible voir que les frais ne soient à la charge du Comité que lorsque le monument appartient à l'Administration des Wakfs; si le monument en question appartient à une autre administration ou à un particulier, le Comité doit borner ses opérations à une surveillance technique et scientifique sans déboursement des frais."* / "When the Comité judges that a particular monument should be restored or underpinned it should as far as possible make sure that the costs are borne by the Comité only in such cases where the monument belongs to the Waqf Administration. If the monument in question belongs to another administration or to a private individual, the Comité's activity should be restricted to technical and scientific supervision without covering the costs" (*BC* 1^2, 1882–1883, 16).

The point here is again the sharp demarcation of the area within which the Comité was obliged to fund works: ʿAlī Pasha wanted to make sure that every proprietor should cover the expenses arising from works on buildings in his possession. This also means that at this point the Comité pays only for works belonging to the Waqf Administration, in whose "bosom" it functions[87] and from whose budget most of its own expenses are also covered – in December 1882 we are in the first months of the British occupation when the Comité has just started its activities. This case shows that problems related to the financing of works emerged very early in the Comité's history.

In the same context a similar accusation has been voiced by Alaa El-Habashi, who thinks that by concentrating their attention on technical details, on aspects of art and architecture, and by neglecting function, rituals and traditions, the Comité and Herz "alienated the mosques from their societies" (2001:97, 146, 192). Apart from freeing the mosques of "parasitic structures", i.e. booths attached to their façades,[88] I am aware of only one occasion when Herz intervened in any aspect of a mosque's traditional way of functioning.

When restoring the Barqūqiyya, Herz put an end to the believers' earlier habit of performing their ritual ablutions at the fountain in the *ṣaḥn*, relegating it to the secluded ablution court, which dated from the mosque's foundation. He was convinced that the secluded ablution court had originally been destined for ritual ablutions while the fountain in the *ṣaḥn* had served a purely decorative purpose.

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[87] On the source of this expression, see n. 13 above.

[88] Cf. n. 117 and the corresponding paragraph below.

However, Herz thought that with the Ottoman conquest (1517), the new rulers of the country, who – owing to the different ground-plan of Ottoman mosques, which derives from Byzantine churches – had been used to performing their ritual ablutions in large open courtyards adjoining the central part of mosques, in their new home retained their habit of performing their ablutions at the big fountains in the big *ṣaḥn*s of Mamluk mosques, which were in fact of different origin, serving different purposes.[89] The local population soon followed suit and abandoned the secluded original ablution courts, which fell into disrepair. Herz was confirmed in his theory when he found the original ablution court of the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan during his work on that splendid mosque.

Herz's approach to this subject was conditioned by his cultural background. Having been brought up in a part of the world where most places of religious worship were consecrated churches, which are endowed with an aura of sacredness owing to the awe-inspiring presence of the divinity, where *numen adest*, and which are therefore demarcated from the profane sphere of the world, he found it unacceptable that such a profane activity as "washing oneself" could be performed in the close vicinity of the central part of similar places of religious worship because such an act would be tantamount to desecration. Therefore he took steps to put an end to what he regarded as a mistaken and reprehensible practice in the Barqūqiyya. The local residents protested but their protests were turned down by the Comité. In other quarters, however, Herz's measure was a success. The *imām* of the mosque of Īlğāy al-Yūsufi requested from the Comité in 1895 that a similar facility should be installed and the same system introduced in his mosque. He wanted to put an end to the reprehensible and insanitary habit of some believers urinating into the ditch surrounding the *ḥanafiyya* in the *ṣaḥn* (BC 12, 1895, 76).

It was only much later, when the waqfiyyas of Barqūq, Sultan Ḥasan, etc., became accessible in the second half of the twentieth century – the waqfiyya of the Barqūqiyya was discovered by Salih Lamei Mostafa only in the 1960s! – that it came to light that Herz had been wrong: *both* the fountain in the *ṣaḥn* and that in the secluded ablution court had originally been installed with the express purpose of serving ritual ablution (Ormos 2013a:330–334; 2013b). Herz's notion of sacredness is absent from mosques: believers of course treat them with due respect but regard them as a part of their everyday life. Thus, for instance, it is quite common to find believers taking their afternoon nap in the neighbourhood mosque on a hot day or young boys and university students learning their lessons in the cool space of a mosque – all this would be impossible in a church. It is therefore entirely

[89] The original Ottoman arrangement described above was modified by Sinan (d. 1588) and his pupils, who removed the washing ritual from the courtyard altogether, which led to the development of lateral arcades and the ample protection of their eaves (Goodwin 1971:172. Ormos 2013b).

plausible that in addition to believers who were happy with their beautifully restored neighbourhood mosque there were others who found a brand new-looking mosque irritating, even infuriating, because they could not go on spending their spare time there as relaxed as they had done before the Comité's intervention. And it is beyond a doubt that the owners or tenants of the booths attached to the façades of mosques which Herz and the Comité were adamant in removing as "parasitic structures" were – wholly understandably from their own point of view – anything but happy to lose their shops so excellently located near the entrance of a highly frequented popular mosque in the main thoroughfare of the busy metropolis. In addition, these shops leant against the walls of mosques, which lent them strength and solidity. Herz and the Comité here followed accepted contemporary European practice, where the situation was not unlike that in Egypt. It was only with the gradual surfacing of waqfiyyas in the twentieth century that it came to light that in many cases the "parasitic" booths were in fact original constituent parts of the buildings in question and not later harmful accretions that one must get rid of at any cost, as Herz and the Comité saw them before World War I.[90]

Waqfs

Sanders deals with the question of waqfs and accuses the Comité of having had "little understanding" of the traditional working of the system because it was not aware of the way waqf properties were maintained and of the way they generally functioned (2008:28–34, esp. 29, 33).[91] However, Sanders offers no proofs for this statement, which at first sight seems a highly implausible claim. The Comité functioned "within the bosom" of the Waqf Administration as one of its departments; most of the monuments it dealt with were waqfs; and most of the time the majority of its members were knowledgeable local Egyptians. In the first decade of its existence, the Comité's decisions were executed by the Technical Bureau of the Waqf Administration. Herz regarded himself as an official of the Waqf Administration to the end of his life. In 1912 he described himself as a department head and chief architect of the "Ministry of Religion" in an interview he gave a local paper during a visit to Temesvár, where he had gone to school in his youth. This also appears from his death notice, where he is described as an official of the Egyptian Waqf Ministry.[92] The Waqf Administration regarded the

[90] See, e.g., the passage on the booths in Qalāʾūn's waqfiyya referred to in n. 117 below.

[91] On waqfs in general, see Deguilhem 2008.

[92] "Herz Miksa basa". Herz Pasha was visiting his favourite sister, her family and friends in the bustling city of Temesvár. The printed death notice is in the possession of the Sereni family in Milan-Naples-Rome.

Comité as one of its departments even towards the end of Herz Pasha's era. When Aḥmad Šafīq Pasha, the president, resigned from his post in December 1913, the senior officials in the Administration (*ruʾasāʾ Dīwān al-Awqāf*) presented him with a beautifully-framed group photograph to remind him of their successful collaboration; Herz is sitting in the front row (Šafīq, *Muḏakkirātī* III:295). To claim that under these circumstances the Comité had no idea of how the waqf system functioned sounds highly implausible. In actual fact, Sanders knows that the Comité was "a branch of the awqaf department", but seems to forget this on numerous occasions (2008:160 [n. 48]). But let us examine this question in some detail to see whether Sanders's claim can be substantiated.

It should be pointed out right at the beginning that Sanders's treatment of the subject is contradictory and misleading as a whole. While she does describe correctly the main lines of the modifications of the waqf system in the Ottoman era, both predating and after the basic reforms effected by Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors, she fails to draw the appropriate conclusions.[93] She states clearly that owing to several factors the waqf system ceased to function properly and was thus unable to fulfil one of its basic functions, namely that of assuring the maintenance and conservation of buildings. It follows from this that the Comité, which was not functioning as an independent institution of its own but was a department of the Waqf Administration, could not have fulfilled its task in accordance with its own requirements if it had completely accommodated itself to the existing system. But accommodating itself to a system and being aware of how the latter functioned are "distinct offices and of opposed natures".[94]

If we now proceed to examine the question whether the Comité was unaware of the functioning of the traditional waqf system, we must differentiate between earlier times and the Comité era (before and after 1881). As far as the former is concerned, we find ourselves in a difficult position "due to a scarcity of documented information. ... Restorations carried out in the past do not provide satisfactory data on restoration techniques nor upon the factors of deterioration that led to the damage of these historical buildings" (Abd El-Hady 1995:55). As for the latter, it was in fact the Technical Office of the Waqf Administration which executed the Comité's orders, before the Comité's own Technical Section was founded simultaneously with the creation of the post of the chief architect (*bāšmuhandis*) and Herz Pasha's appointment to it in 1890. Accepting an offer by Franz Pasha in the autumn of 1880, Herz himself had begun his career in the Technical Section of

[93] On the basic transformations and diminutions in the number of waqfs under Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha and his successors, which had a profound influence upon the maintenance of mosques, see briefly Kemke 1991:23–28. Cf., however, n. 96 and the corresponding paragraph here.

[94] See n. 57 above.

the Waqf Administration in early 1881. First he was a draughtsman and then in May 1882 he was appointed engineer (architect) under the director of the Technical Office of the Waqf Administration, i.e. Franz Pasha. This means that Herz *himself* worked in the Technical Office of the Waqf Administration between 1881 and 1890. And Franz Pasha, who was responsible for the professional aspects of the Comité's activities in the first period after its foundation and remained on the Comité even after his retirement (1887), was actually the *head* of the Technical Office of the Waqf Administration at the same time. It is therefore reasonable to argue that the Comité must have been absolutely aware of how the waqf system and the Waqf Administration functioned. Stanley Lane-Poole sketched the background of the situation in 1895 as follows:

> "Enough has been said to show that it was not during the rule of pashas and beys that the mosques of Cairo suffered damage and demolition. They were well cared for. Their evil day came when Mohammad 'Aly, a second but more successful 'Aly Bey, made himself master of Egypt, and inaugurated a new régime, compared with which the rule of the sternest of the mamlúks was mildness itself. It was Mohammad 'Aly, who, in 1808–1810, laid hands on the Wakfs or religious endowments, which the piety of many centuries had placed in trust for the maintenance of the mosques and colleges of Egypt, and amidst the tears and curses of all the 'ulema of Cairo, deprived them of the right to control the sacred monuments confided to their charge. From this act of confiscation, when title-deeds were lost or destroyed, and trust-funds confused and malversed, dates *the most serious decay of the monuments of Cairo"* (*Story* 302).[95]

This traditional view of Muḥammad ʿAlī's waqf policy has recently been questioned by Melčák, who claims that it was not significantly different from the waqf policy of most rulers since the Fatimid period and that it was considerably more lenient than usually assumed (2010:2–4).[96]

The disadvantages of the traditional waqf system were conspicuous at the time; the Comité and various observers, both local and foreign, amply described them. Let us quote just one local critic who wrote in 1914:

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[95] Italics added. The expression "the rule of pashas and beys" refers to the period between the Ottoman occupation (1517) and Muḥammad ʿAlī's rise to power. ʿAlī Bey "al-Kabīr" (1728–1773), was a Mamluk soldier who *de facto* ruled Egypt between 1760 and 1772. He is widely regarded as a precursor of Muḥammad ʿAlī (Wucher King 1989:128–129. Goldschmidt Jr. & Johnston 2004:44).

[96] If we accept Melčák's objections, which sound convincing, the question still remains: Why did so many waqf buildings deteriorate so quickly and to such a great extent in the nineteenth century? Evidently, a detailed re-examination of this question is required.

> *"Visitez une ville en Orient que cela soit Le Caire, Constantinople, Alexandrie, Tantah, Damiette ou autres, vous remarquerez que les immeubles les plus délabrés et les plus sales sont les immeubles Wakfs, visitez une quartier indigène, vous y trouverez des rues étroites, bordées de vieilles maisons qui méritent plutôt le nom de masures; cela tient à ce que le wakf étant inalienable le nazir ou les bénéficiaires ne peuvent en disposer. ... Visitez une mosquée, un établissement public, à l'entretien duquel les revenus de Wakfs importants sont affectés, vous les trouverez dans un état de délabrement à faire pitié..."* / "Visit a city in the Orient – Cairo, Constantinople, Alexandria, Tanta, Damietta or others – and you will notice that the dirtiest and most dilapidated buildings are waqf buildings. Visit a native quarter and you will find narrow streets flanked by old houses which deserve rather to be called ruins. This is the result of the circumstance that waqfs being inalienable, the *nāẓir* or the beneficiaries cannot make use of them freely. ... Visit a mosque or a public institution to the maintenance of which the incomes of important waqfs are allotted and you will find them in a condition of dilapidation which makes one feel pity" (Hanki 1914:12).[97]

When one browses in the Comité Bulletins one comes across a great number of cases involving waqfs. This does not surprise us. After all many, perhaps even most of the monuments of architecture in Cairo were waqfs. We shall now examine some of these cases, while we also look at certain important aspects of the system.

When the owner of a monument was a private person, the Comité prescribed the necessary intervention, prepared the estimate and sent it to the owner ordering him to execute the works. However, the Waqf Administration and the Comité had no authority to oblige private persons – including the *nāẓir*s of *waqf ahlī*s – to execute the works prescribed by the Comité on the buildings either belonging to them or under their authority; the Waqf Administration could enforce the execution of such works only on its own buildings. This state of affairs was clarified, for example, in 1893–1894 in connection with Baštak Palace when the Comité requested information from the legal adviser of the Waqf Administration as to whether the latter was in a position to oblige its proprietors to execute the works prescribed by the Comité. The proprietors refused to do so but were ready to sell it or exchange it for another piece of real estate. The Comité did not want to acquire the Palace – in all probability, it had no funds for this purpose – but would have preferred to oblige the proprietors to carry out the necessary measures at their own cost. In connection with this case both the Waqf Administration and a Comité member, Ḥusayn Faḫrī Pasha, Minister of Public Instruction and Public Works, suggested that a legal

[97] English translation added.

background should be created to ensure the conservation of monuments in the possession of private persons or *waqf ahlī*s.[98]

A similar case occurred fifteen years later, in 1908, when Qāyitbāy's *wikāla* at Bāb al-Naṣr was on the verge of collapse. It was a joint undivided waqf: half of it was owned by the Waqf Administration and the other half by a private waqf. The Waqf Adminstration informed the Comité that it could only cover the expenses of the repair of the part it owned itself, i.e. one half, while the Comité had to cover the other half. The Comité would have preferred to acquire the private waqf in question by purchase or exchange assuming that the *wikāla* could easily be put to some lucrative use after restoration, but it did not possess the necessary means while the Waqf Administration was not interested in acquiring it. Thus the Comité wished to oblige the *nāẓir* to cover his part of the incumbent expenses, but right at the beginning he refused even to discuss the matter with the Comité's chief architect. The latter (Herz) wanted at all costs to save the *wikāla* because it was a rare specimen of civil architecture. On this occasion the legal adviser to the Waqf Administration was invited to participate in the Comité's session. He appeared, declaring that there was no legal way of obliging the administrator to comply with the Comité's wishes, whereupon a debate erupted because some Comité members flatly dismissed the official adviser's opinion.[99] What is quite remarkable about these two random examples is that in both cases this very simple question of basic importance had to be clarified by the Waqf Administration's legal adviser, decades after the Comité's foundation. And in our second example even a debate erupted on the subject! One has the impression that such cases must have been extremely rare and that private persons or *nāẓir*s of *waqf ahlī*s fulfilled the Comité's orders without demur, although they were not obliged to do so by law.

When the owner was the state, the expenses were paid by the Ministry of Public Works. This appears clearly in the case of a fine portal (8th/14th c.) in Darb al-Labbāna in the vicinity of Sultan Ḥasan and the Rifāʿī mosques, with which the Comité began to occupy itself in 1891. The owner of the portal was unknown, therefore the Comité took steps to find out his identity. In due course the Waqf Administration informed the Comité that the owner was a lady living in the province. The Comité sent her the order with the estimate, whereupon the said lady protested, declaring that it was not in her possession. After further inquiries and investigations it appeared that the portal had no owner. Then the Comité approached the Ministry of Finance asking it to register the gate as state property and, somewhat later, sent the estimate to the Ministry of Public Works.[100]

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[98] *BC* 10, 1893, 16; 11, 1894, 26. On the legal background, see Speiser 2001:85–89.

[99] *BC* 23, 1906, 32, 49; 24, 1907, 2, 123; 25, 1908, 24.

[100] *BC* 9², 1892, 20; 12, 1895, 15. The number in brackets refers to Pierre Grand Bey's map (*Index to Mohammadan Monuments.* See El-Habashi & Warner 1998:82–83. Warner

The circumstance that the Comité did not normally deal with individual waqfs but received a yearly budget (*BC* 1^2, 1882–1883, 11) and used it according to its discretion suggests that a significant characteristic of the traditional system which was regarded as a major deficiency from the viewpoint of the practice of architectural conservation had been tacitly overcome. Namely, one of the basic rules of the traditional system was that the revenues of a given waqf were to be spent only on the waqf in question and could not be diverted.[101] Thus if a mosque without a living waqf was on the verge of collapse – as was the case with the Māridānī mosque, for instance – while another in good repair had surplus waqf revenues, it was illegal to use the latter for the benefit of the mosque in need. Similar important mosques without living waqfs producing incomes were, for instance, Farağ ibn Barqūq's complex (Barqūq's funerary mosque) and Qāyitbāy's funerary mosque, both in the Northern Cemetery (*BC* 13, 1896, 9). This basic rule remained valid but by centralizing the system ways were apparently found to circumvent it.[102] Arnaud writes that on the occasion of establishing an annual budget for the Waqf Administration in 1895 a *fatwā* was issued which allowed the unification of waqf revenues in a single pool.[103] According to El-Habashi it was the Khedivial decree no. 12 of 9 November 1896 and the ministerial note of 5 June 1896 that made this possible (2001:91 [n. 115]). However, two of our random examples quoted below (Ğawhar al-Lālā [1892], Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir [1894]), which openly contravene the traditional system, both predate the *fatwā*, the Khedivial decree and the ministerial note. Similarly, on 25 September 1890 the *Deuxième Commission* (Technical Section) of the Comité proposed that the sums which had been allocated for works on Barqūq's mosque and which had not been spent for various reasons should now be used for works on other monuments instead during the given fiscal year (*BC* 7, 1890, 111–112). On 19 November 1892 the *Deuxième Commission* gave a detailed account of the sums paid during the fiscal year 1890, where we encounter a long list of *"Monuments non prévus au budget de 1890 (Chap. petits trav. d'entretien)"*

2005). This is of course the famous portal (no. 325) which Herz copied as the entrance gate to the *wikāla* in Cairo Street at the World's Columbian Exposition of Chicago in 1893. It also appeared at the St Louis World's Fair of 1904. Herz also used it in the remodelling of the Villa Gianaclis in Cairo; it became the main entrance to the central building of the American University in Cairo in the present Taḥrīr Square.

[101] Sékaly 1929:101. See also El-Habashi 2001:38 [A9]. Cf., however, *ibid.,* 42 [B10].

[102] See, e.g., *Réglement de l'Administration des Wakfs, sanctionné par décret en date du 13 juillet 1895. Chapitre II (Constructions), Art. 10-11.* Sékaly 1929:311–312. *Fetwa du Grand Moufti au sujet de la priorité de certaines dépenses concernant les mosquées et les écoles (le 28 Rabi Akhar 1306* [=1 January 1889]). Sékaly 1929:335–337.

[103] Arnaud 1998:248–249, 375 (n. 162). Upon my query the author responded that he had seen a reference to this *fatwā* in a report but not the *fatwā* itself. E-mail message of 3 January 2019.

consisting of seventeen items (BC 9, 1892[2], 101). If they were not planned for the given year then these sums could only be diverted from other monuments!

At the same time, the wording of the *Réglement de l'Administration des Wakfs, sanctionné par décret en date du 13 juillet 1895* from the same year[104] expressly forbids the practice which the *fatwā,* the Khedivial decree and the ministerial note are reported to have allowed and which was at the same time the practice that the Comité seems to have pursued even before these dates. On the other hand, many of our sources emphasize that in this period great care was taken to abide by the letter of the law even if deplorable acts were committed. It seems hardly credible that the Comité would have openly violated the letter of the law and even publicized it in its Bulletins. Further research is needed to clarify the precise legal situation and the details of its development, but the actual practice seems clear.

We will now consider a case to demonstrate that hasty conclusions and generalizations in this field are full of pitfalls. In 1892 the Comité occupied itself with the mosque of Ǧawhar al-Lālā. It prepared an estimate for the necessary repair works – the sum of LE 500 was to be covered partly by the Comité (LE 362) and partly by the Waqf Administration (LE 138). At the same time, the Comité's *Deuxième Commission* examined the mosque's waqfiyya and found that according to it the mosque had considerable revenues. The Comité requested the Waqf Administration to check the correctness of these data demanding that – if the mosque still possessed the vast lands described in the waqfiyya – the mosque's revenues should be assigned to the works of repair in their entirety instead of debiting the amount in question to the Comité's budget (*BC* 9[2], 1892, 61–62). Nothing happened, thus three years later, in 1895, the *imām* complained again of the bad state of his mosque to the Comité. In view of the urgency of the works, the *Deuxième Commission* proposed to the Comité that, among others, the remaining sums from the works on the mosques of Qāḍī Yaḥyā, Qiğmās al-Isḥāqī and Asanbuġā in the fiscal year 1894–1895 should be appropriated for this purpose. At the same time the *Deuxième Commission* asked the Comité to remind the Waqf Administration of its earlier request to check the revenues mentioned in the mosque's waqfiyya – apparently the Waqf Administration had forgotten to do so (*BC* 12, 1895, 89).

In March 1895 the Ministry of Public Works informed the Comité of the existence of a *maqʿad* and an Arab house constituting the waqf of the Sheikh al-Šaʿrāwī, where the *nāẓir* wanted to erect huts (Fr. *échèches* / Ar. *ʿišaš*, sg. *ʿišša*). The Ministry requested the Comité's opinion on the matter. The *Deuxième Commission* visited the site and decided to put the *maqʿad* and the *qāʿa* on the list of protected monuments. It also decided to admonish the *nāẓir* to respect these two

[104] See n. 102 and the corresponding paragraph here.

edifices and to suggest to the Ministry of Public Works to allow the *nāẓir* to proceed with his project on certain conditions (*BC* 12, 1895, 87–88).

In 1894 certain works had to be executed on Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir's mosque. However, the funds allotted for works on this mosque had already been spent, therefore the Comité's *Deuxième Commission* proposed to take the necessary amount from the sum allotted for the works on Qāḍī Yaḥyā's mosque in the Azhar area (*BC* 11, 1894, 93).

In 1890 Darwīš Muṣṭafā, the *nāẓir* of the waqf of Yūsuf al-Ḥīn's mosque, asked for the Comité's permission to execute certain minor works. The Comité agreed on certain conditions (*BC* 7, 1890, 120–121). In 1896 the Comité had a similar case with the mosque's *nāẓir* (*BC* 13, 1896, 127).

If one goes through the Comité's Bulletins one finds many references to problems and legal affairs concerning or affecting waqfs. Many of the buildings the Comité dealt with were waqfs and/or affected waqfs, therefore a thorough acquaintance with the waqf system was a *sine qua non* of the Comité's execution of its tasks on a day-to-day basis. The Comité dealt regularly with *nāẓir*s. And when *nāẓir*s were not content with the Comité's steps or objected to them, they complained or went to court, as so often happened. One cannot reasonably assume that under such circumstances the Comité would have been unaware of how the *waqf* system functioned.

A highly complicated and protracted affair was the expropriation and subsequent elimination of booths which was a necessary corollary of the Comité's long-term efforts to expose the grandiose façades of monuments. Many of these booths were waqfs and it quite often happened that the Comité was only able to reach its goal by protracted legal procedures: in the case of the Aqmar mosque these lasted twelve years (Ormos 2009a:65).

It sounds in any case most unlikely to assume that the directors-general of the Waqf Administration, who were the presidents of the Comité *ex officio*, without exception Egyptian Muslims themselves, and ʿAlī Bey Bahğat, an Egyptian nationalist of Turkish extraction, a knowledgeable historian and himself accomplished Arabic scholar, or Ṣābir Bey Ṣabrī, the chief architect of the Waqf Administration, an Egyptian Muslim, or Murquṣ Simayka Pasha, a well-educated and enthusiastic Egyptian Copt (non-Islamic religious communities had waqfs also),[105] and Yaʿqūb Artīn Pasha, a highly cultivated local Armenian Christian, whose excellent publications attest to his great interest in and thorough acquaintance with all aspects of Egyptian history, would all have been totally ignorant of the functioning of the waqf system as Sanders wants us to believe.

[105] On the waqfs of non-Islamic religious communities, see ʿAfīfī 1994.

Sanders presents her claim in a pejorative tone suggesting disapproval and reprehension. Thus she seems to imply tacitly that in its ignorance the Comité replaced a well-functioning waqf organization with an inferior and inadequate system of conservation. However, this subliminal implication in fact contradicts her own deliberations, where she adequately describes the generally poor condition of buildings as well as most shortcomings in the functioning of the waqf system that characterized the nineteenth century.

Comparing traditional waqf practices and those of the Comité, Alaa El-Habashi states in his dissertation that the Comité regarded monuments as "historic remains" only from a technical viewpoint, while the traditional waqf system saw monuments as integral parts of the local society within whose bosom these monuments fulfilled important functions. Thus the traditional system was more interested in the relationship between these monuments and the people using them in their everyday life for the benefits and "blessings" they generated than in mere technical matters. He comes to the conclusion that the conservation philosophy of the traditional waqf system was thus diametrically opposed to that of the Comité (2001:49, 97–98). On the other hand, he also admits at another point that "in reality, Cairo, and many other Egyptian cities, would not possess any buildings from the pre-modern periods had most not been once listed and conserved by the Comité. Had the Comité never been formed, we would have lost them as well" (196).

There are many important and interesting observations concerning our field in El-Habashi's dissertation but his approach as well as his categorical conclusion, namely that "[t]he Comité's approach, thus, had fundamentally contradicted the waqf system" (2001:98), have to be put in a wider perspective and attenuated accordingly. Throughout his dissertation El-Habashi tacitly posits a categoric opposition between the waqf system and the Comité, as if the two had been operating on the same level. However, this was not the case: they did not correspond to each other because they were not on the same organizational level. The Comité occupied itself only with technical aspects of conservation, which was only part of the waqf system's treatment of monuments of architecture. In other words, one can detect behind his argumentation the tacit presupposition that the Comité had altogether replaced the waqf system in its treatment of monuments. This is however not true, since the Comité functioned *within* the waqf system. It necessarily considered the monuments only from its own technical perspective since other viewpoints were to be accounted for by other organisational agencies on other organisational levels of the waqf system. And owing to the state and constitution of the surviving documents at our disposal we know very little about the technical aspects of the waqf system's activities in pre-Comité times and thus they

cannot really be compared to those of the Comité.[106] The waqf documents at our disposal deal mainly with aspects which were beyond the Comité's interests and authority. It is true what El-Habashi writes, namely that the Comité concentrated on matters technical, but that was absolutely normal because that was its task. It is probably also true that the Comité prioritized these technical aspects, even at the cost of loosening the interaction between the building and the immediate neighbourhood, when it thought this was absolutely necessary from a professional viewpoint. This was the case, for instance, when the Comité rid mosques of the adjoining booths.

In actual fact, owing to various contemporary causes, the waqf system fell short of fulfilling its tasks adequately in the nineteenth century. Under these circumstances, the Comité was better qualified to carry out conservational tasks on Arab-Islamic and Coptic monuments at the given time.

On the basis of all that has been said above, it must be stated clearly that the Comité was cognizant of all the organizational intricacies of the waqf system as well as of the technical details of its functioning.

Waqfiyyas

Sanders writes:

> "The waqf documents that historians and architectural historians now consider to be among our most important sources for the history of monuments were not considered, in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, to be sources for historical information" (2008:32–33.). "[I]t is not possible to say with certainty how well known the documents were to Egyptians. What can be said with certainty is that the Comité, itself a branch of the awqaf department, did not use the waqf documents in their study of monuments" (160 [n. 48]).

One cannot say that the Comité did not use waqfiyyas at all: we have just seen the case of Ǧawhar al-Lālā above, for instance. However, it is true that the Comité seems to have used them only on certain occasions – a detailed examination of the Comité Bulletins in this respect remains to be undertaken – and when it did so it consulted them concerning legal rights and revenues, problems of ownership, rather than as sources on art history (especially the history of architecture), or

[106] During my work in the Comité Archives, which are at present kept by the Ministry of Antiquities, I have gained the impression that there are very few documents dating from the period before the foundation of the Comité's own Technical Office and the creation of the post of chief architect for Herz (1890). It is to be assumed that the relevant documents are in the archives of the Waqf Ministry.

history in general, as Paula Sanders rightly observes here. It is also true that very important waqfiyyas, such as those of Sultan Ḥasan's madrasa, of the Barqūqiyya in the Coppersmiths' Bazaar or of Qāyitbāy's funerary mosque in the Northern Cemetery, seem to have been unknown at the time. We may add that these documents are not only important historical records; they often contain detailed descriptions of architectural monuments, making them very interesting from the view of art history, too. It is true that they are not easy to interpret on account of their difficult and by now largely forgotten technical vocabulary, and that the points of view of their descriptions and methods may basically differ from ours, yet most of the time they contain a body of invaluable information (see Bakhoum 2004; 2011). Thus, for instance, when Herz began to restore Qāyitbāy's funerary mosque in the Northern Cemetery a lengthy dispute ensued as to whether or not its *ṣaḥn* had originally been covered. When the waqfiyya was discovered and published in the 1930s it settled the question: it became clear that the *ṣaḥn* had indeed originally been covered.[107] Or, as we have seen above, when at the restoration of Sultan Ḥasan, Herz discovered the remnants of a separate ablution court, he developed a thesis claimimg that the central fountain in the large *ṣaḥn* had originally served a purely decorative purpose, while the performing of ablutions in it had been a later development under Ottoman rule. When Saleh Lamei Mostafa discovered the Barqūqiyya's waqfiyya in the 1960s it became clear that *both* the fountain in the *ṣaḥn* and the ablution court had been installed with the express purpose of ablution. This means that Herz's otherwise plausible and elegant thesis was wrong.[108]

It is nothing short of extraordinary that these highly important waqfiyyas seem to have been unknown to Comité members in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, as Sanders correctly points out. And when waqfiyyas were known they were hardly consulted as historical and architectural sources. And here we are thinking both of European members and of the highly qualified Egyptian members, whom we have just mentioned above. In the first place, we may adduce the name of ʿAlī Bey Bahğat, an accomplished Arabic scholar, who did important research on medieval Arabic manuscripts in the Khedivial Library and also published important Arabic sources in excellent textual editions for the first time. I have gone through his letters to Max van Berchem, which are mainly of a scholarly nature, but I cannot recall him ever mentioning a waqfiyya in them.[109] One could also mention Yaʿqūb Artīn Pasha, a great and prolific scholar of Armenian birth, well-versed in all major aspects of Egyptian history. Although Herz's command of

[107] Mayer, *Qāytbāy* 9 (line 22), 12 (lines 9–10). Nuwayṣir 1975:181–182.

[108] Mostafa 1982:124 (lines 733–735) (Arabic text) = 146 (German transl.), 125 (lines 758–759) (Arabic text) = 148 (German transl.). See n. 89 and the corresponding paragraphs in the present paper. In general, see Ormos 2013a:330–334; 2013b.

[109] The letters are preserved in the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva.

Arabic would not have enabled him to peruse them himself, there can be no doubt that he would not have hesitated to ask some of his colleagues for help in consulting these invaluable documents had he been aware of their existence, just as he did in the case of Ǧawhar al-Lālā – in that case Karl Vollers, the director of the Khedivial Library – himself a member of the Comité – seems to have examined the waqfiyya for the Comité.[110] There was also the outstanding philologist and historian Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, the "Dean of Arabism", the foremost Arabic scholar of the era. Although he did not join the Comité until 1913, he had been around for a long time by then and it is hard to believe that he would not have informed his colleagues serving on the Comité about the historical and artistic relevance of waqfiyyas had he himself been aware of them. Both eminent directors of the Khedivial Library, Karl Vollers and Bernhard Moritz, outstanding German Arabists themselves, were active members of the Comité for long periods.[111]

Aḥmad ʿĪsā Bey informs his readers in 1928 that the waqfiyya of Sultan Qalāʾūn's complex was discovered in the archives of the Waqf Administration when Ibrāhīm Naǧīb Pasha occupied the post of director-general, i.e. between December 1912 and November 1913. Aḥmad ʿĪsā Bey emphasizes that no one had any previous knowledge of the existence of this waqfiyya, adding that according to Ǧabartī it was destroyed together with the books in the library of the *māristān* when it burned down so that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katḫudā was unable to trace it when he wanted to restore the hospital in 1190/1776–1777.[112] Subsequently Aḥmad Zakī Pasha was commissioned to decipher and interpret the precious document at its discovery.[113] A part of it was first published in French translation, then in the Arabic original.[114] The invention of the waqfiyya was also announced in a bilingual publication of the Waqf Ministry on the *māristān* in 1928 (*Mustašfā* 4). At the same time one has the impression that ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak did in fact peruse Qalāʾūn's waqfiyya in the composition of his *Ḫiṭaṭ* decades earlier.[115] He certainly consulted waqfiyyas in a number of cases for his monumental work. It is interesting to point out in this context that in 1905 the possibility of the building of a completely new ophthalmic hospital in the vicinity of the ancient hospital was discussed in the Supreme Waqf Council; the question had first been raised in 1896. On this occasion the question arose as to whether the conditions of Qalāʾūn's waqf

[110] *BC* 9[2], 1892, 61 (n. 1). It is not clear whether Vollers supplied the historical facts only, in all probability using historical sources at his disposal in the Khedivial Library, or it was he who in fact consulted the waqfiyya for the Comité.

[111] A list of the Comité members up to World War I can be found in *BC* 31, 1914, VII–X.

[112] Ǧabartī, *ʿAǧāʾib* II, 9 [under 1190h/ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katḫudā].

[113] Issa Bey 1928:61. ʿĪsā Bey 1981:131–132.

[114] Issa Bey 1928:62–69. ʿĪsā Bey 1981:134–149.

[115] Mubārak, *Ḫiṭaṭ* V, 226–230 (*Ǧāmiʿ al-māristān*), esp. 228–230.

permitted a hospital belonging to the waqf and supported by it to be located on the plot in question at all since the *wāqif* clearly stipulated that his hospital must be located "inside his mosque", where "his mosque" can only refer to the Qalāʾūn complex.[116] This wording suggests that the relevant waqf authorities did in fact have access to the waqfiyya and also consulted it in 1905. And this happened seven years before its alleged "discovery"! Had Herz Pasha known this invaluable document he would perhaps have seen the booths located all along the complex's façade in a somewhat different light. Or did he actually know of it without having a clear idea of what it contained exactly?

The Comité fought a protracted struggle to rid the façades of mosques of booths, which it considered "parasitic structures" disfiguring the beautiful edifices, spoiling their monumental appearance and causing harm to their physical state and repair. Comité members were also guided by a wish to monumentalize, to transform these mosques into real monuments in the narrow meaning of the word by isolating them from their surroundings so that their splendour could be displayed in all its magnificence. In doing so they followed contemporary European practice where the same tendency prevailed. On the other hand, the Comité had to overcome the proprietors' bitter resistance, which was wholly understandable from their point of view, and also the circumstance had to be dealt with that many of these booths were waqfs – in some cases protracted legal processes extending to several years, in the case of the Aqmar mosque to even more than a decade, had to be conducted, as we have already mentioned above (Ormos 2009a:65). Now had Herz and his colleagues been acquainted with Qalāʾūn's waqfiyya at the time they would have realized that the booths dated from the complex's founding and belonged to the original edifice.[117] This important piece of information might have influenced their attitude towards the booths. I doubt, however, that they would ultimately have changed their basic approach to these "parasitic structures". All the considerations referred to above, which carried weight with them, were against retaining the booths.

In our own days, in a quite different era, our approach may be different and we certainly take into consideration factors which carried no weight in Herz Pasha's time. Now we know about the great age of these booths and the modern theory of conservation puts great emphasis on the conservation of large urban units, insisting on avoiding any rupture between monuments and their surroundings. However, the

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[116] *Masāʾil muqtaḍan naẓaruhā bi-Maǧlis al-Awqāf al-Aʿlā fī ǧalsatihī llatī sa-tanʿaqid fi yawm al-ḫamīs 18 Māyō sanat 1905. Nimra 24.* National Archives, Cairo. Portfolio "Abdin 611".

[117] Maqrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ* III, 322–323 (*Sūq al-qufayṣāt).* Denoix *et al.* 1999:II, 21 (Fr. [No. 22. *Boutiques au pied des édifices de Qalāwūn*]), 24 (Ar. [22. *Maqāʿid Sūq al-qufayṣāt sufla madrasat wa-qubbat Qalāʾūn*]).

situation is not so simple. No one can deny the overtly harmful effect of booths on the contiguous monuments to which they are attached, and we also love to see these wonderful monuments in their full splendour instead of hidden behind an assortment of shabby huts.[118] It is difficult for us to visualize pre-modern Azhar without its modern walls, for instance: strange as it may sound, this splendid mosque was simply imperceptible from the outside, i.e. it was impossible to see it at all, because it was contiguous with adjoining structures all around it.[119]

These efforts are generally condemned by El-Habashi. However, as a sequel to his statement that it was in fact the Comité which had saved these monuments partly through precisely these interventions, he at one point concedes, towards the end of his dissertation:

> "It is true that the Comité, through its different interventions, isolated those buildings from the living reality within its definition of monument, but it isolated them in order to save them. Clearing 'parasite structures' from around and within its monuments, and imposing buffer zones around them, has perhaps secured these monuments from the then rushed development, and froze them until better interventions were available" (2001:196).[120]

As far as these booths are concerned, it can be assumed that the European members of the Comité, who came from a continent where most places of religious cult were churches, were not aware that they were so to speak "alienating" the mosques in question from their neighbourhoods, because the "distance" between a church and the everyday life of the adjoining community is considerably greater on account of the sanctity of a church than is the relevant relationship between a mosque and its adjoining quarter. In Islam one cannot talk of sanctity in connection with a mosque although a mosque is of course a place of religious cult which deserves a certain veneration on the part of believers. The same approach of ridding churches of similar parasitic structures was widely followed in Europe, too, from where Comité members may have been familiar with it. Nevertheless, a mosque participates in the everyday life of the local community much more than a church does as has been pointed out above.

The Egyptian members of the Comité were also in favour of the approach which the Comité had adopted. For instance, when in connection with the large scale

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[118] The Comité occupied itself with the problem of ridding mosques of parasitic structures, mainly booths, for a long period. They were characteristic constituents of the city's traditional aspect right until the Comité's involvement with them, even if not all of them dated from the foundation of the adjoining monuments as did those in front of the Qalāʾūn complex. Cf. the preceding note. Speiser 2001:62–63, 90–91. Ormos 2009a:63–66. *BC* 6, 1889, 121–128.

[119] See Herz Pasha's ground plan in: Bénédite & Herz, *Le Caire*, 53.

[120] Cf., however, *ibid.*, 90, 144.

restoration works on Sultan Ḥasan's mosque in 1910, the question arose of the clearance of the mosque's western wall, which had been hidden by parasitic structures, it was Ṣābir Ṣabrī Pasha, former chief architect of the Waqf Administration and member of the Comité since 1893, himself an Egyptian Muslim, who strongly advocated "razing" them "completely" and establishing a road in their stead in order to free all four of the mosque's façades. He claimed that the structures in question had nothing to do with the mosque and were in any case devoid of value. Herz contested this opinion. He thought the structures in question were from the period of the erection of the mosque and were partly connected to it, too. Therefore their complete removal would change the original disposition of the mosque (*BC* 27, 1910, 111–113, 128–129).

Booths adjoining mosques may even appear as "picturesque features" and may not sound necessarily harmful as an abstract phenomenon, but concrete examples hint at the wide variety of possible complications involved in such cases. In each individual case practical solutions were needed involving several factors which were not necessarily easy to harmonize with each other. Stanley Lane-Poole wrote, for instance: "The proprietors of these shops use the mosques behind as dust-bins, and throw their refuse and broken crockery through the windows" (*Story* 308. Cf. Ormos 2009a:64). In another relevant case, soon after its foundation the Comité discovered that parts of Bāb Zuwayla had decayed owing to seepage from the gutters or rather from the toilets of the private houses on top of the gate. In 1895 it was found that the exquisite mosaics in Qalāʾūn's mausoleum were disintegrating. Herz examined the matter and found that the decay of the cladding of the interior wall was due to the complete lack of ventilation caused by the booths covering the monument's façade, which also blocked all the windows. Their harmful effect was further enhanced by the rain-water seeping between the booths and the wall. In due course appropriate measures were taken (Ormos 2009a:63–64, 117–118).

In another illuminating case it was found at the end of 1913 that one of al-Azhar's minor *miḥrāb*s, that of al-Dardīr, had been damaged by humidity so that several pieces of its inlaid marble work had fallen off. The Comité discovered that the culprit was a barber who had installed his shop behind the *miḥrāb* without proper insulation. In addition, the barber's shop did not have a sewer, but instead discharged its waste water into the ground, at the foot of the mosque wall. The Comité decided to request the Waqf Administration to prohibit the barber from discharging his waste water into the ground. Subsequently, the *miḥrāb* was to be properly insulated (Ormos 2009a: 198).

In 1938, as an important step in the scholarly study of waqfiyyas, Leo Mayer published the waqfiyya of Qāyitbāy's funerary mosque as an independent scholarly work in its own right (Mayer, *Qāytbāy*). He gave no translation of the documents nor did he supply them with commentaries or a glossary as promised. In all probability, he was unable to do so. Yet he fully deserves our recognition for having

undertaken this significant step in emphasizing the importance of waqfiyyas and drawing the attention of the scholarly community to them. The first major steps in the difficult task of the interpretation of waqfiyyas were done by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, Laylā ʿAlī Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn.[121]

The Comité's Anti-Ottomanism

Paula Sanders declares that Comité members, and above all Herz Pasha, were decidedly anti-Ottoman owing to their education and political shaping, and implies that their relevant decisions, apparently guided by aesthetic and historic values, were in fact politically charged expressions of their anti-Ottoman stance (2008:36–37). In an earlier version of the relevant chapter she formulated this view even more categorically:

> [the Comité's decisions were not] "guided solely by the aesthetic or historic value of the buildings … Its decisions were, in fact, highly politically charged; dominated by French and Austro-Hungarian engineers and architects, the Comité was decidedly anti-Ottoman. In this international political scenario, a Mamluk Islamic Cairo was certainly preferable to an Ottoman one" (2004:133–134, 191–192).

I have dealt with this question at length elsewhere, therefore I shall restrict myself to the most important basic facts and considerations here (Ormos 2009b).[122] I shall examine Herz Pasha's personality in this context because he was the decisive figure in the Comité and, luckily enough, we possess quite a few data on his attitude and views in this respect.

As far as his education and political shaping are considered, we can be reasonably certain that in accordance with his compatriots Herz was decidedly pro-Ottoman in his feelings. He kept close personal and intellectual ties to Hungary throughout his life: a fervent Hungarian nationalist, he was fully aware of and enthusiastically participated in the main ideological trends in his native country at the time. While the highly negative experience of the Ottoman occupation – which lasted more than 150 years (1526–1686) and resulted in wide-ranging devastation and the almost complete destruction of two thirds of the country – had long faded from direct memory, the generous gesture of the Ottoman Sultan to grant asylum to the leaders of the anti-Habsburg revolution and war of independence of 1848–1849 made the Ottoman rulers and the Ottoman Empire immensely popular in Hungary in the period between 1849 and World War I. Sympathy for the Ottoman Empire

[121] Cf. Ormos 2008:599–601. Bakhoum 2004; 2011.
[122] Cf. Kovács 2008.

soared to unprecedented heights in the 1870s – in Herz Pasha's youth – when the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Russia became more and more tense. There was a popular movement, especially among the young generation, to support and foster official efforts at bringing young people from the Ottoman Empire to study in Hungary within an organized framework. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 demonstrations of sympathy and solidarity were held all over the country in support of the Ottoman Empire. Public opinion was fervently pro-Ottoman. In the given situation, the Ottomans' popularity was greatly enhanced by the extremely negative attitude of the Hungarian public towards Russia in the aftermath of the anti-Habsburg revolution and war of independence of 1848–1849, because it was only due to massive Russian military intervention upon the request of the Habsburg ruler that the Hungarian army could be defeated: the Austrian army was unable to achieve a victory on its own.

In addition, Hungary felt more and more threatened by the Slavic peoples of the Habsburg Empire, who were supported by Russia ("Panslavism"). At the same time, the newly established independent states on Hungary's border, namely Romania and Serbia, which also had large ethnic minorities living in adjoining territories in Hungary, came to be regarded as a threat. The fact that they found a supporter in Russia increased the popularity of her arch-enemy, the Ottoman Empire.

From another viewpoint, the ancestral kinship of the Hungarians and the Ottoman Turks came to be discussed widely and with great sympathy in the nineteenth-century, mainly in connection with Arminius Vambéry's activities. Soon the ideology of "Turanism" began to gain ground: one current of this multifaceted theory purports to have found the ethnic origin of the Hungarians in the great and glorious family of the Turkic peoples. (This theory is now rejected by serious scholars.) In everyday standard Hungarian no distinction is made between "Ottoman" and "Turk": the latter word is used for both. The difference between Ottoman Turks and other Turkic peoples is blurred, too. Therefore there can be little doubt that Herz Pasha, like most of his compatriots, was favourably disposed towards the Ottomans and was decidedly pro-Ottoman emotionally.

On the other hand, it is true that a number of Herz's professional utterances and decisions can be interpreted in an anti-Ottoman way. However, this was due for the most part to aesthetic reasons – above all it was a question of professional quality. Herz had the Ottoman parts of monuments – mainly minarets – demolished in a number of cases on the grounds that they were ugly makeshift replacements of collapsed Mamluk structures (cf. Bakhoum 2016). He also objected to the adoption of the Imperial Ottoman style (Herz called it "Stambouli style") in modern historic buildings in Egypt, because he considered it alien to the country. The fact that Herz was not against anything Ottoman simply because it was Ottoman can also be easily proved by his attitude towards ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katḫudā's *sabīl-kuttāb* (1157/1744), a copy of which served as one of the landmarks of the "Cairo Street"

project he designed and erected at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. It became the most often photographed and publicized single monument in the Street; it even appeared on the cover of the semi-official publication with the description of the Street as a sort of symbol of Cairo (Ormos 2009c:206–207). The mere fact that Herz selected this monument for this role shows clearly that he appreciated this example of Ottoman Cairene architecture. It represented a special local variety of the Imperial Ottoman style which in Herz's view evidently surpassed the mainstream style of the core territories of the empire ("Az Iszlám" 194).

Herz thought that Ottoman art in Egypt was of low professional quality because of the poverty that followed the Ottoman occupation. He was of the opinion that Ottoman rule in Egypt was characterized by a marked decline in the quality of architecture when compared to the Mamluk period. Under the Mamluks Cairo was the capital of an important, independent and economically powerful state, whereas after the Ottoman conquest Egypt became relegated to the status of a province, admittedly not an unimportant one, but still a province, with Cairo as a provincial centre instead of the rich and resplendent metropolis which in the Mamluk period had had no rival in the contemporary world. Now the heavy taxes went to the capital and were used to adorn Istanbul, the glamourous seat of a vast and mighty empire. There remained considerably less money in Cairo, and consequently there was less building activity. Building material was of much poorer quality and the number of architects and craftsmen likewise diminished, because there was less demand. At the time of the Ottoman conquest, Cairo was robbed of its excellent artisans, who were taken as captives to Istanbul. Thus the standard of architectural production fell considerably.

But if we leave the field of provincial Ottoman art, Herz Pasha's opinion of Ottoman art in general is also not unknown, mainly thanks to the relevant sections in his history of Islamic art which he published in Hungarian in 1907. His general appreciation of Ottoman architecture remains muted: in his opinion the civilizing mission of the Ottomans did not go hand in hand with their political successes. They failed to follow the example of other conquering nations who, being culturally backward at the beginning, first master the culture of the subjugated peoples only to surpass them later. In general, Herz considered Ottoman art second hand stuff adopted from Persia and the Seljuqs ("Az Iszlám" 111 [n. 1]). At the same time, he seems to have drawn a line between the art of the core provinces, with the capital, Istanbul, in the centre, and that of the newly conquered areas of the Empire. As far as the latter are concerned, mismanagement and the extortion of high taxes brought about a gradual decline in all fields of art.[123] We may add that this general

[123] Herz, "Az Iszlám" 183–198, 230–232. Herz also published two brief sketches of Ottoman art: *Catalogue* XXXI–XXXII; *Descriptive Catalogue* LI–LVI.

opinion and attitude was shared by a number of scholars both in Egypt and in Europe: we may refer to the noted philologist and politician Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, a staunch Egyptian nationalist, the "Dean of Arabism", who voiced similar views concerning the Ottoman conquest and its influence upon the arts in Egypt.[124]

Against this stood Herz's evident infatuation with the Mamluk architecture of Egypt, which he considered incomparably beautiful. Art historians and specialists in related fields are expected to note down data, record them dispassionately and to relate neutrally to the subject of their work. A person with a well-developed artistic streak, Herz was not a positivist but had very marked preferences. It was doubtless partly owing to his long sojourn in Cairo that he came under the spell of Islamic art in Egypt in general and of Mamluk art in particular. He regarded Egypt as his second fatherland, and in a professional context this meant that he also became an enthusiastic admirer of Arab-Islamic art in Egypt: he considered Mamluk architecture exceptionally beautiful, partly, of course, on account of its high artistic quality. It is even possible that it was Mamluk architecture that first made him succumb to the spell of Cairo and accept Franz Pasha's offer of a position in the Technical Office of the Waqf Administration when he visited Egypt in 1880, thus staying on in Cairo instead of returning to Austria-Hungary in order to look for a job as he had originally planned.

Herz Pasha and the Comité's fame – one could even say notoriety – as enemies of Ottoman architecture is based chiefly on the fact that they had a number of Ottoman minarets – or parts of them – demolished. Minarets are of course the most conspicuous parts of mosques, determining the outlines of a city to a considerable extent, and therefore the public will always be aware of their fate. However, Herz's attitude towards them was due to the fact that many Ottoman minarets in Cairo were poor replacements of earlier Mamluk structures. Mamluk minarets, and above all their top storeys, are fragile structures, which often fell or were damaged either by earthquakes, or simply because there were fewer funds available for maintenance and preservation than in former periods. These minarets or parts of them were then replaced by very simple and low-quality makeshift structures in the Ottoman style, which were a conspicuous feature in Cairo's cityscape when Herz first arrived there as a young man in 1880 – we are familiar with them from old photographs and postcards. Thus it was a question of quality in addition to the requirements of "ideal or stylistic restoration" and "purity of style" when Herz replaced these late additions devoid of any quality with Mamluk structures congruous with the high artistic level of the monuments in question, although – as we have seen –

[124] Zéki, "Le Passé". Also as an independent publication: *Mémoire.*

Herz's own marked preference for the Mamluk style went hand in hand with the requirements of the profession as then understood.[125]

Another decisive factor in Herz and the Comité's attitude may have been the relative novelty of Ottoman architecture in Herz Pasha's time. It is a well-known phenomenon that it is mainly old monuments that command the interest of a generation and which are deemed worthy of special care. As a rule, the art of the immediate past is rejected, partly because of the lack of a sufficient distance in time to allow for an objective judgement, and partly as a sign of a generational conflict between fathers and sons.[126] In the twentieth century, historicism was strongly rejected by the general public and specialists alike. It is only recently, after the passage of time, that it has gradually become accepted and now captivates the fancy of both specialists and lay people. The following statement by one of the leading local conservators at the "Conservation Day" conference in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1922 may serve as an emblematic example for the rejection of the art of the preceding generation:

> "If we leave out of consideration some phenomena in the field of painting, nearly everything that architecture and plastic art have produced in the nineteenth century is so miserable that it would be better if they had not been created at all" (Körner 2000:12).

It is equally well known that the Renaissance world disdained Gothic architecture just as the exponents of Neoclassicism scorned Baroque and Rococo. In Herz Pasha's time Ottoman architecture constituted the last stage in the architectural history of Egypt, therefore it was not yet regarded as being worthy of historical interest. We can witness similar attitudes after Herz Pasha's time, too. Thus it is surely no mere coincidence that Creswell's "Brief Chronology of Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt", which he published in 1919, went no further than the Ottoman conquest of 1517 (Creswell 1919). We must not forget that this was the general attitude all over Europe. In Italy, under the technical term *ripristino,* superb Baroque church interiors were destroyed and replaced by "neo" structures imitating earlier styles which were considered more worthy of interest, and such cases happened in Germany as late as 1962 (Körner 2000:15, 20).

On the other hand, it is true that one cannot reasonably maintain that Herz and the Comité's anti-Ottoman attitude in matters professional had no political relevance at all. However, I see it very differently from Paula Sanders: to me it seems to have been of a highly subordinated importance at most. While British policy towards the Ottoman Empire was balanced, perhaps variable, with slightly shifting

[125] On the Comité's treatment of Ottoman minarets, see Bakhoum 2016.

[126] The British economist and essayist Walter Bagehot (d. 1877) emphasizes that every generation wants to differ as much as possible from the preceding one (Klein 2014:169).

emphases, but certainly not inimical during most of the period under discussion until the outbreak of World War I, the British were keen on loosening the bonds between the Ottoman Empire and her affluent and strategically important province, which had been under British occupation since 1882. Therefore it can be assumed that the British were pleased to see that the outcome of Herz Pasha and the Comité's activities was a marked decrease in the Ottoman element of Cairo's visual appearance, and thus they simply watched from the sidelines without deeming it necessary to interfere. It is beyond a doubt that within the framework of a burgeoning Egyptian nationalism, an emerging local bourgeoisie agreed with this decreasing cheap Ottoman visual presence in favour of the indigenous Neo-Mamluk style that began to gain ground in Cairo's cityscape, notwithstanding the religious ties and the Ottoman Sultan's supreme authority in Islam as caliph. This was also valid for the ruling family, especially the Khedive, who were mostly Ottoman Turks with strong ties to Istanbul on a personal level, while also being the ruling family and ruler of a quasi-independent state striving for full sovereignty.

Without providing her readers with proofs and references, Sanders declares that "the Comité saw the Mamluk buildings but not the Ottoman interventions that had preserved them" (2008:34). We can be sure that the Comité saw them very well. In one respect it is more than evident that Herz was aware of Ottoman interventions: he saw the poor Ottoman replacements of collapsed Mamluk minarets so well that he did his best to eliminate them by reconstructing the original structures, as we have just seen.[127]

Herz Pasha and the Comité's Attitude towards Mamluk Architecture

Paula Sanders's attitude to the Comité's treatment of Mamluk monuments in Cairo is confused and misleading. Her point of departure is the following statement: "I do not take it as given that the old buildings the Comité chose to preserve should have been largely Mamluk or that what emerged as canonical Medieval Cairo should have a Mamluk feel and appearance" (2008:3). She appears to detect political and ideological motives behind the fact that the great majority of the buildings which the Comité cared for dated from the Mamluk period – especially in contra-distinction to buildings from the Ottoman era – and the tone of her discussion strongly implies this, too. However, in a different part of her book we discover the actual reason for this undeniable fact, which she herself states without being aware of the significance of her statement for the previous context. Namely, the over-whelming majority of the monuments in Cairo are from the Mamluk period, while

[127] On Ottoman interventions on monuments of architecture in Cairo, see Mahdī 2004.

there are only a few Ottoman buildings, for the simple reason that the Ottoman era was characterized by rather limited building activity. Indeed, the Ottomans built few buildings because of a lack of funds. To quote Sanders's own words:

> "[A] majority of Cairo's remaining ... monuments dated to the Mamluk era. In reality, Ottoman Cairo was remarkably similar to the Mamluk city. … The Comité's perception of the essentially Mamluk (and thus, to their mind, medieval) character of Cairo was not, then, simply an imaginative construct of Europeans" (2008:34–35).

There were of course other factors at play, too. It is true that Herz personally and possibly other members of the Comité also preferred Mamluk architecture to the architecture of other periods but this was of secondary importance. Given the large number of Mamluk monuments, the Comité had no choice but to deal with them, especially since it was only too pleased to do so because it suited its artistic taste. It follows from this, too, that the Comité did not invent or create Medieval Cairo.[128] It was already there, the Comité merely preserved it, as Sanders herself states in her book (2008:14–15).[129]

India in Egypt

Sanders's thesis that Lord Cromer, and the British in general, relied in Egypt upon their colonial experiences in India in the field of conservation and that their relationship towards local architecture was shaped, even determined, by these experiences, is a legitimate and highly intriguing thesis but it has to be proved: it is known that this was the case in certain areas (finance, agriculture, irrigation, military affairs, education) but not in others (the judiciary).[130] If proved, an examination of these Anglo-Indian experiences and of how they were then applied in Egypt promises important and intriguing insights. However, Sanders's treatment of the subject does not convince. Her wording is extremely vague and I must admit that having repeatedly gone through the sections in question I am still unable to see what exactly these experiences in the field of conservation are and how and where she supposes them to have been applied in Egypt (2008:2, 11–12, 143).

I do not want to deny that the personal attitudes of British officials who had served in India, including Lord Cromer, may ultimately have been influenced or even shaped by their experiences in implementing the "British imperial project" on that subcontinent but I cannot see any trace of direct effects of this on conservation

[128] See the corresponding chapter in the present paper.
[129] We have quoted her relevant statement in connection with n. 33 above.
[130] See Lane-Poole, *Sketches* 298. Tignor 1963. Owen 1965.

in Egypt. I can assume at most that their overall attitude towards these fields may have been shaped by these experiences but even here I cannot detect any direct evidence in Sanders's treatment of the question. There were two significant differences between Egypt and India as far as our field is concerned. First, India was a British colony while Egypt was a "veiled protectorate": the latter meant that the British were keen to keep as low a profile as possible, quite apart from the fact that in general they did not want to stay in Egypt for long, although their views fluctuated considerably in this respect and they kept postponing the date of their complete withdrawal from the valley of the Nile. Second, the British had been masters of India for quite a long time when the modern conservation movement began to gain ground in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, consequently it was their task to introduce the necessary measures in this colony as required by contemporary world standards, while they found a modern conservation agency in place on their occupation of Egypt in 1882, although it must be admitted that the Comité had just been formed and had done little work before the British entered Egypt. Conservation was certainly not one of the British priorities right after occupation, thus when the situation calmed down the Comité started its activities, executing them according to its own standards. When the British saw that things were running properly, according to the highest international standards of the time, they were only too happy to recognize this as a field where they did not have to interfere. Therefore they simply stood aside and watched.

I think that at most there were some general British attitudes which applied equally well to Egypt as to India. No doubt in both countries the British thought that it was their "majestic obligation to provide good administration" and good governance and to act as the saviours and guardians of archeological monuments (Lahiri 2001:268, 274). They were also intent on collecting more and more information on the history of these two countries which helped them run the Empire and stabilize their rule but there can be no doubt that in collecting information in order to acquire a better knowledge of the history of these two "cradles of civilization", intellectual curiosity, the "lust for knowledge," also played a significant role: after all, this process meant the deepening of their understanding of the human phenomenon in general (Irwin 2006).

In connection with British policy in India, Sanders is referring to Edward Thomas Rogers and Stanley Lane-Poole's joint motion at the Second International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1874 to found a conservation agency in Egypt to safeguard Arab-Islamic monuments. One of its indirect objectives was to get to "know" Arab-Islamic architecture, as Lane-Poole pointed out in connection with the congress. In Sanders's view, this was a typical colonialist attitude:

> "'[K]nowing' is significant in a colonial context, for 'knowing' is the systematic ordering that characterized the colonial enterprise itself. In India, this systematic ordering of the past through architecture was already being

> carried out in the work of the Archaeological Survey of India, which Thomas Metcalf argues lay at the heart of the project of ordering India's past into a usable history for the British" (2008:23–24).

However, this motion predated the British occupation by eight years. Thus it cannot have had any direct colonial aim, quite apart from the fact that it was not accepted.[131] It seems reasonable to assume that Rogers and Lane-Poole simply wanted to safeguard these monuments because they were interested in them out of sheer intellectual curiosity, for "the lust of knowing". In addition, Sanders's claim seems too vague and meagre although it cannot be denied a certain weak, perhaps tertiary, relevance. In any case, to assume the existence of a "project of ordering Egypt's past into a usable history for the British" seems too far-fetched. As mentioned elsewhere, the Comité, too, was founded before the British occupation and it can on no account be regarded as a British agency: it was mainly French influence that predominated in its activities before World War I, its *de facto* heads were German-Austrian and Hungarian, most of its members were not British, etc., etc.[132] As we have stressed, it executed its tasks in accordance with the highest international standards of the day. In general, I cannot perceive any change in the official attitude of the Comité towards the conservation of Arab-Islamic monuments in Egypt that could be attributed to the British occupation. And there was nothing in the Comité and Herz Pasha's philosophy of conservation and in their daily practice that could not have been explained and accounted for by the internationally accepted and followed theory of conservation of those years. Therefore Sanders's conclusion "that British interest in preserving Arab art is best considered within the broader imperial context of British interests in India", or, somewhat differently formulated: "situating the story of Medieval Cairo in the context of British India suggests motivations for the preservation of Arab architecture in Cairo that we might otherwise not have imagined, namely, as part of the British imperial project in India" (2008:3, 143), cannot be accepted.

One could talk of direct British influence upon the Comité based on Anglo-Indian experience, for instance, if the British had put a British colonial officer with an Indian background in charge (as chief architect, for instance), as they did in a number of ministries in a number of cases. There can be no doubt whatsoever that they would not have hesitated to do so if they had deemed such a step necessary and expedient. But this was evidently not the case. We may draw attention to the great difference in this respect between the situation in Egypt and that in India which was no doubt the result of the different legal positions of both countries ("veiled protectorate" *versus* colony): while the majority of Comité members were

[131] Cf. the paragraph corresponding to n. 6 above.
[132] Cf. n. 7 and the corresponding paragraph above.

non-British Europeans and Egyptians, in India Lord Curzon saw that "the very enterprise of restoring historic buildings was a British responsibility and not a European one" and rejected the establishment of a European association to oversee the Indian Exploration Fund as his predecessor, the Earl of Elgin, had suggested (Lahiri 2001:269).

The Rifāʿī Mosque

Sanders's interpretation of the Rifāʿī mosque is in need of modification. ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī did not commission a new, neo-Mamluk design, nor is it true that "Herz Bey modified the original plan according to a new, neo-Mamluk design..." (2008:40–41, 142). Ḥusayn Fahmī Pasha's original design was a Neo-Mamluk one, which Herz changed only slightly. He modified the ground plan only in minor details, executing some minor structural changes in the interior – mainly in the distribution of columns/pillars – in order to enhance the stability of the monument. This can clearly be seen when one compares the ground plan of the original building and that of the extant monument (Herz, *La Mosquée* pl. X). Herz interfered with the original plan as far as was absolutely necessary to safeguard the solid statics of the mosque because Ḥusayn Fahmī's original plan was deficient in this respect. As far as the rest is concerned, Herz retained Ḥusayn Fahmī Pasha's original design as far as it was known and as far as it was possible. This can clearly be seen in the surviving drawing of the south façade prepared by Ḥusayn Fahmī Pasha (Herz, *La Mosquée* pl. V). The mosque had already reached the height of the cornice when work on it stopped, around the time of Khedive Ismāʿīl's deposition (1879) and the death of the patroness, Ismāʿīl's mother, Ḫūšyār Hānim. When Herz started working on it around 1906, he designed the part of the mosque above the cornice, that is the minarets and the domes, but he did so in accordance with Ḥusayn Fahmī's surviving drawing. He also planned the interior decoration, for which no design existed. Consequently we can say that a number of features and the interior decoration in its entirety go back to Herz, but he was working within the framework of Ḥusayn Fahmī Pasha's original Neo-Mamluk plan.

One cannot say that "Max Herz Bey rejected an explicitly modern, symmetrical design" (Sanders 2008:142). Herz did not modify the design, and Ḥusayn Fahmī Pasha's original one was in fact strictly symmetrical, as is apparent from the ground plan (Herz, *La Mosquée* pl. X). This symmetry of the ground plan is slightly masked, though, by the placement of the minarets, which, however, also look symmetrical when the viewer stands on the axis of the façade to which they belong. The symmetry of the interior does not reveal itself to the visitor on entering the mosque through the main entrance – which is mostly closed these days – because the tomb located along the main axis blocks the view and one has to go

round it in order to reach the main prayer hall – a sort of hark-back to the broken entryways of Mamluk mosques. The general symmetry is equally hidden from view to the visitor entering through the door in the south façade – the usual entrance today – and the impression one gets of the interior is that of a rather confusing space, again because of the location of the tomb. Thus one can say that the ground plan and general layout of this mosque show a highly sophisticated interplay between symmetry and asymmetry, representing the modern and the traditional in Egyptian architecture. It would be interesting to know whether this sophisticated layout was in fact intended by Ḥusayn Pasha – because it goes back entirely to him – or whether it was born, so to speak, merely by chance, owing to the exigencies of planning: the architect wanted to avoid any interference with the centrally-located burial chamber.[133]

ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak and the Comité

Sanders states that ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak "was on many occasions at odds with the Comité in its earliest days" (2008:83). I am aware of only one occasion, a very significant one at that, after which, however, ʿAlī Pasha resigned from the Comité (Dykstra 1977:204). This famous debate is referred to in many places, often inaccurately, no doubt because the original source is difficult to find. Therefore it seems advisable to quote it here *in extenso;* in addition, it also contains seminal information on ʿAlī Pasha's views on conservation and modernization. The argument broke out in connection with the *zāwiya* of Farağ ibn Barqūq – at the time often referred to as Zāwiyat al-Duhayša – located just opposite Bāb Zuwayla. The *zāwiya* impeded traffic in Taḥt al-Rabʿ Street, and therefore in the session of 16 December 1882 (the Comité's second session after its foundation) ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, Minister of Public Works, suggested demolishing it – in this he was supported by Pierre Grand Bey, chief engineer of the Tanẓīm Department.[134] Both ʿAlī Pasha and Grand Bey had just been appointed to the Comité.[135] This mosque

[133] It seems that the architect wanted to keep the location of the burial chamber. Herz thought the reason was that the transfer of corpses is strictly avoided in Islam ("Ali el-Rifai sejk" 252). O'Kane points out that this is not the case (2014). Herz Pasha's Jewish background may have influenced his view: the transfer of corpses is indeed strictly avoided in Judaism.

[134] The Tanẓīm Department was responsible among other things for the road network, above all for its maintenance and modernization.

[135] In my book on Herz Pasha I wrote: "El-Habashi's interpretation of ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak's position in this debate needs correction. El-Habashi treats this edifice as a *sabīl* and says that ʿAlī Pasha suggested its demolition only because it was a *sabīl*, *sabīl*s being

was one of five monuments which the Ministry of Public Works wanted to have demolished, for which proposal it requested the Comité's approval. ʿAlī Pasha declared:

> *"Nous ne voulons plus de ces souvenirs-là, dit le ministre avec éloquence, et nous devons les détruire comme les Français ont démoli la Bastille! ... Et puis", dit encore Aly-Pacha, "a-t-on besoin de tant de monuments? Quand on en conserve un* échantillon, *cela ne suffit-il pas?"* / "'We no longer want any such relics, the minister said with eloquence, and we must destroy them just as the French destroyed the Bastille. Besides', ʿAlī Pasha went on, 'do we really need so many monuments? If we conserve a *sample* [of each type], is that not enough?'"[136]

The Comité did not agree, declaring in the course of a "long and fulminant debate" that its task was the conservation of monuments rather than their demolition.[137] The Bastille was a famous fortress and prison in Paris, which was stormed by the local population on 14 July 1789. This event is regarded as the beginning and symbol of

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no longer needed since the establishment of a water-system supplying homes with water." This is not true. In fact, as El-Habashi correctly states, ʿAlī Pasha wanted to proceed with his ministry's project of widening the street. El-Habashi does add, however, that ʿAlī Pasha's attitude was influenced by his opposition to the conservation of *sabīl*s in general because *sabīl*s were no longer necessary since the installation of water conduits. "His position would certainly be different had the future of a working mosque been the subject of debate." This edifice was not a free-standing *sabīl* but formed part of a small mosque, which in ʿAlī Pasha's time was functioning and was evidently in good shape: *"wa-hiya ʿāmira ilā l-ān ... wa-šaʿāʾiruhā muqāma"* / "It is thus far in flourishing state of repair and appropriate cultic practices are held in it in our own days", as he himself wrote in his *Ḫiṭaṭ*. On the other hand, the *Deuxième Commission* found in 1882 that the edifice was in a very bad state, while Herz wrote in 1887 that "both mosque and fountain showed signs of decay and had lost much of their former splendour". El-Habashi 2003:160. Ormos 2009a:450–451. Cf. as-Sayyed bey, "La Mosquée" 398. At first sight, these data seem to contradict each other. This apparent contradiction can be solved if we assume that they refer to different periods. Mubārak's data probably refer to the beginning of the 1870s or even earlier, while Herz and the Comité's data may reflect its state of repair in the following decade. This means that it must have deteriorated to a certain extent between these two dates. Herz's formulation cannot be taken to suggest that it had fallen into complete disrepair by 1887. It is known that ʿAlī Pasha had been working on the *Ḫiṭaṭ* actively as early as 1873 (Dykstra 1977:422–423). On ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak and Grand Bey's appointment, see *BC* 1^2, 1882–1883, 15.

[136] Rhoné, "Nouvelles [a]". "Nouvelles [b]". "Errata" 51 (n. 1 [*ad* 44^{13}]). Emphasis in the original. Rhoné was not a member of the Comité, therefore it is to be assumed that he was not present at the session in question. It is not clear how far his account can be regarded as accurate. It is to be assumed, though, that it reflects the main points of the debate.

[137] A very brief account of this debate can be found in *BC* 1^2, 1882–1883, 16–17. Cf. also Mostafa 1972:33–34. Volait 2009:191–193.

the French Revolution. It was razed soon afterwards. The precise meaning of ʿAlī Pasha's reference to the Bastille can be understood from information provided by Herz Pasha in a private letter to Ignaz Goldziher. He wrote that the mosque was called Zāwiyat al-Duhayša, and it meant "*Zāwiya* of Horror", because it had served as a place of execution; criminals were hanged on the grille of the *sabīl*. The last execution took place in 1874. In fact, the original meaning of Zāwiyat al-Duhayša had been precisely the opposite, "*Zāwiya* of Amazement", referring to its striking beauty.[138] It is well known that Bāb Zuwayla used to serve as a place of execution, but few people are aware nowadays that this was also the case with the *zāwiya*. Rhoné's formulation lacks accuracy here: he mentions both edifices, *"devant lesquelles on exécutait les criminels au moyen age"* / "in front of which [pl.] criminals were executed in the Middle Ages". However, criminals were not executed in *front* of both edifices, i.e. in the middle of the road, but were hanged on the *sabīl*'s grille and in the dome of the gate's archway. A corpse hanging in the archway of the gate was just as conspicuous and just as much a deterrent to the population as a corpse hanging on the *sabīl*'s grille. This was the main thoroughfare of the city and everybody had to pass through the gate in both directions. As far as the *zāwiya* is concerned, for those going in a north-south direction the passage was even more dramatic: they had to face the corpse and abruptly change direction, i.e. turn left, in close proximity to the hanging body in a street which was much narrower in the nineteenth century than it is now, because the *sabīl* was much closer to the gate. Therefore the effect the corpse on the grille made on passers-by must have been much more dramatic than we can imagine on the basis of the present location of the two monuments. People going north-south could only with difficulty avoid "bumping into the corpse", so to speak, before changing direction (Ormos 2012:114–116). Sometimes it is claimed, on the basis of the reference to the Bastille, that ʿAlī Pasha also wanted to demolish Bāb Zuwayla, in addition to the *zāwiya*. Rhoné considerably contributed to the confusion in this respect with his first report (published on 20 January 1883), which explicitly mentions Bāb Zuwayla in this context without enumerating all five relevant monuments. However, the detailed list with the five monuments to be razed in the next number of the journal (published on 10 February) is unambiguous in this respect: Bāb Zuwayla is not included in it. *In actual fact, nobody demanded the demolition of Bāb Zuwayla, neither ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak nor anybody else.*[139]

[138] Herz, "Arab diszitmények" 98. Herz's letter to Goldziher dated 28 October 1896. Goldziher Correspondence. Oriental Collection, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest. Cf. also Nuwayṣir 1996:332–334. On the meaning of Zāwiyat al-Duhayša and its modification, see Ormos 2009a:449–450.

[139] A year earlier (1882) the police and the Ministry of Public Works demanded the demolition of the remaining parts of the *minarets* of the mosque of al-Muʾayyad Šayḫ

Following his defeat in the Comité, ʿAlī Pasha fairly soon resigned from his Comité post, but did not give up his former course of policy.[140] Grand Bey did not resign. In due course ʿAlī Pasha established a directorate-general of the Tanẓīm Department, in a sort of reshuffle (announced on 12 January 1883), with Grand Bey as director-general having authority over all Egypt. From this all it follows that ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak's demolition of mosques had nothing to do with their relevance, as Sanders maintains, provided that by "relevance to daily religious life" she means whether they were still in use or not (2008:87–88). Instead, ʿAlī Pasha's foremost priority was modernization (Dykstra 1977:195–203) and he thought – as he declared in the Comité on this occasion – that Cairo and the country had more than enough monuments of architecture and did not need them all to be preserved at all costs. Therefore when necessity arose – as in the case of developing traffic and the road network in Cairo, for instance – he was ready to sacrifice as many of them as was necessary to achieve this aim, whether they were still in use or not. For its part, the Comité had a much narrower perspective determined by its own function: it wanted to preserve monuments at any cost, and therefore its members rejected ʿAlī Pasha's suggestion. This does not mean that the Comité was against modernization, wanting to do all it could to preserve Cairo in its alleged "backwardness". Its members may have thought that modernization did not necessarily preclude the preservation of monuments: the two approaches could be implemented simultaneously and solutions had to be found that complied with both aims.

As far as ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak is concerned, his previous activities involving the sacrifice of as many monuments as necessary in the way of modernization fully harmonize with his declarations in question in the Comité. This circumstance throws new light on his *Ḫiṭaṭ*. One has the impression that by writing this magisterial work, ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak's aim was to document and record as much from the country's past as possible on the eve of a new era, before a number of these monuments would inevitably have to yield to modernization and disappear. In other words, he wanted to make snapshots of the monuments, recording them before the enormous and inevitable changes entailed by the desirable process of moderniza-

placed on top of the gate; as a menace to public safety, the top storeys had been demolished a few years earlier. However, loose stones falling from the remaining parts of the minarets kept endangering public safety. After a visit to the gate and a careful examination of the edifice, the Second Commission of the Comité rejected the demand. However, even on this occasion nobody envisaged the demolition of the gate itself. At the same time, the Comité decided to undertake nothing with a view towards restoring the missing top storeys because it thought that the funds available were needed to save endangered monuments instead. *BC* 1^2, 1882–1883, 39–40.

[140] ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak attended three Comité meetings altogether: 16 December 1882, 20 January and 3 March 1883.

tion totally altered the outward appearance of the country. Although the *Ḫiṭaṭ* was published between 1886 and 1889, ʿAlī Pasha had been actively working on it as early as 1873 (Dykstra 1977:422–423). Planning the construction of Muḥammad ʿAlī Boulevard was done around 1868–1869 when ʿAlī Pasha was *nāẓir* of the Ministry of Public Works (Dykstra 1977:196). The present debate took place in 1882; consequently there is no chronological difficulty in accepting such an interpretation. This debate also shows that the assertion often voiced lately, that – in accordance with the tenets of Edward Said's Orientalism – the basic opposition in the Comité was that between Egyptians and Europeans, is not true: here as in most cases, we find Egyptians and Europeans on both sides of the argument.[141] Much later the problem of the traffic congestion caused by the *zāwiya* was finally solved: long after Herz's expulsion from Egypt, in 1922–1923 the Comité shifted the whole building to its present location 11–12 m to the south.[142]

Mamluk Architecture and the Authentic Representation of Islam

Sanders also refers to "the Comité's understanding of Mamluk architecture as the authentic representation of Islam" (2008:22). I wonder what Sanders's sources are for this statement because I cannot recall ever having come across any data suggesting that the Comité ever occupied itself with the question of the "authentic representation of Islam". Maybe some of its members privately held certain views. In this respect, Gabriel Charmes's enthusiastic opinion of Sultan Ḥasan's mosque comes to mind, for example:

> "The mosque of Sultan Hasan occupies the same place in the Arab School that the Parthenon occupies in the Greek: it is the most perfect, most complete representation of the Arab mind, or rather of the genius of the monotheistic races of the Orient as applied to the construction of religious edifices. Its big black walls, resembling those of a fortress, rise up in the middle of Cairo with a radiance equally pure and with a majesty equally supreme as that of the white ruins of the Acropolis, which dominates Athens in all its imperishable splendour" ("L'art arabe").

However, notwithstanding his services at its foundation, Charmes never joined the Comité, nor do his words amount to what Sanders is attributing to them. It cannot be ruled out that some Comité members may have held similar views but even

[141] Cf. Reid 2002:213–257. Ormos 2009a:323–326. El-Habashi 2003:158–160 ['Us' and 'them'?], 175.

[142] Sayyed, "Farag" 397–399. See the relevant *plan* after p. 426 in the same volume: *Mosquée de Farag ibn Barqoûq et ses alentours – Caire. Plan.* See also Ormos 2009a:207.

were that the case, we could not extend this to apply to the whole Comité as an official body. And Sanders does not adduce references here either.

I think we must also strictly differentiate here among the various assertions concerning the alleged views held by British colonial officials and Comité members: that Cairo and Egypt are medieval, that Islam is medieval, that medieval is tantamount to stagnant and deficient, and that medieval means incapable of progress. All these assertions are in need of individual verification. Most of Paula Sanders's sweeping declarations in this field lack the requisite precision on the one hand and are in need of confirmation and verification on the other.

Bohra Restorations

Sanders's account of Bohra activities in Cairo and the Anglo-Indian implications of their style are most interesting and informative: we find recounted here all views concerning the ongoing debate on Bohra restorations in Cairo (2008:115–142). Sanders's neutral and open-minded tone in the relevant chapter is in glaring contrast to the highly biased language, replete with negative value-judgements, of her discussions of the Comité's activities. One would have preferred to encounter the same neutral tone in both places. On the other hand, it is rather odd that she regards it as something quite natural and therefore wholly acceptable that all the monuments restored by the Bohras "stand out starkly and dramatically from their Cairene surroundings".[143] Also, she merely mentions *en passant* that the resulting appearance of the monuments has been criticized. Nobody would object to the Bohras placing Fatimid monuments on their world map of shrines and places of pilgrimage, if they did not totally alienate these monuments from their surroundings, in the meantime turning them into gleaming objects of questionable aesthetic value. The Bohras are appropriating these monuments on a symbolic level, to the exclusion of the local Sunni population.

Sanders mentions that "[t]he Bohras are, ironically, engaged in the very version of restoration as defined in the nineteenth century by the grandfather of modern restoration himself, Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc" (2008:134). In fact, the Bohras go *far beyond* what Viollet-le-Duc represented. Viollet-le-Duc restored buildings to the most accomplished form they might have had, to a state that may never actually have existed. He thought it permissible to add elements whose previous existence could not be proved, but in doing so he moved strictly *within* the boundaries of the architectural profession, i.e. he considered only architectural viewpoints. However, the Bohras use restoration as a pretext for the creation of

[143] Slightly adapted from Sanders 2008:126, 133.

practically new buildings as defined by their ideology, by adding new elements and structures or removing old ones which they deem appropriate or inappropriate on ideological grounds, in accordance with their modern needs, irrespective of architectural considerations.

This approach recalls the method which was widely applied in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s under the name of "creative conservation" (*schöpferische Denkmalpflege*) – some specialists no longer regard it as a type of conservation but class it under historicism because in fact it produced new buildings.[144] This approach was itself a successor to "interpretative conservation" (*interpretierende Denkmalpflege*), which had been applied in Germany in the 1920s.[145] The representatives of "creative conservation" went further than Viollet-le-Duc: they considerably modified monuments by the addition of new elements which were known never to have existed at any time and which thus had no connection to the original building whatsoever. They also modified or even eliminated authentic old elements. In doing so they were guided by considerations which lay *outside* the field of architecture, being led mainly by contemporary practical, ideological or political aims in the creation of buildings that were "part of the present", that were to serve the contemporary world

> "not in the sense that one would strive to reconstitute the old condition by letting a medieval castle re-arise but in the sense that the precious old remains would be preserved with due respect while the new construction that arises would present itself honestly as *a creation of our time*, a creation that would grow together with the old structure still in existence into a harmonious whole owing to their common ethical content and to the given features and conditions of the place and of the old structure still in existence" (Glatz 2005:143–144).[146]

One of the chief representatives of this approach, Rudolf Esterer (1879–1965), adopted Boito's famous adage in a modified form: "Do not restore, regenerate!" (Erichsen 2010:168).[147] Followers of this attitude thought the affinity, or even identity, of the inner feelings of the original builder and patron on the one hand and

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[144] The term was invented around 1929 and this method was applied well into the 1950s, but its large-scale application characterized the conservation projects of the Third Reich. After World War II it was often replaced with *lebendige Denkmalpflege* ("living conservation"). Körner 2000:8–20, 72–75.

[145] The two most important examples of this approach were Rothenfels castle in Lower Franconia and St George's church in Cologne (Pehnt 2005).

[146] The quotation is taken from the protocols of a meeting to discuss the restoration of the ruins of Trifels castle in the Palatinate on 30 March 1937. Italics added.

[147] Camillo Boito's famous adage ran: "It is better to consolidate than to repair, and it is better to repair than to restore." Cf. Ormos 2009a:78–79.

of that of the modern restorer on the other guaranteed the restitution of the innermost essence, the soul of the building, which the restorer fathomed by way of intuition – the accuracy and reliability of the result of his efforts were guaranteed by the essential relatedness of the innermost essence of the building on the one hand to the restorer's spirit on the other. At the same time, the buildings thus restored and rebuilt were to demonstrate to the modern population the identity of the character and of the innermost being of the architect, of the patron and of their age on one hand, and of the restorer and of his age on the other, thereby granting legitimacy to the latter, and in the given case thus demonstrating the longevity, or rather eternity, of the German Empire. Simultaneously, these buildings were to serve modern, contemporary purposes, as national sanctuaries, elegant accommodation for state and party leaders, or simply youth hostels – this aspect also involved considerable modifications. As examples, one could cite Braunschweig and Quedlinburg cathedrals or Nuremberg and Trifels castles.

Let us now take a brief look at the cathedral of Quedlinburg.[148] On the occasion of the thousand year anniversary of the death of a political idol of the Third Reich, King Henry I the Fowler of the Ottonian dynasty (d. 936), Quedlinburg cathedral, which contained the king's tomb, was desecrated, i.e. alienated from religious worship and religion in general, and turned into a national sanctuary, a place of secular pilgrimage for the German nation, where each year the day of the king's death was solemnly celebrated by the SS in an impressive, highly theatrical ceremony which was staged at midnight. It evoked the memory of the founder and first king of the medieval German state, the Holy Roman Empire, who also founded castles and a "popular army" (*Volksheer*), was averse towards Rome and Roman Catholicism, turning instead to "the national faith of his own race" (*völkischer, arteigener Glaube*) (Voigtländer 1989:40, 45). In this way the Third Reich meant to honour its own founder so to speak, presenting itself as a worthy and devoted successor to the founder of the "Greater German Empire" (*Grossdeutsches Reich*) by applying to Henry's realm the name which its representatives normally used for their own modern Third Reich. The contemporary German mass media was keen to stress the essential identity of the two political formations (Voigtländer 1989:40).

Leaving aside the unsavoury connotations of the Third Reich, with which the Bohras have of course nothing whatsoever to do, their restorations are of the same general character as far as the direct involvement of contemporary ideological

[148] On *schöpferische Denkmalpflege* see Fleischner 1999 (esp. 21–33). On the cathedral of Braunschweig, see Arndt 1981. On Quedlinburg cathedral, see Voigtländer 1989:38–59. On Nuremberg castle, see Fleischner 1999:34–54. *100 Jahre*, vol. III (Katalog), 151–175, 185–194. On Trifels castle, see Fleischner 1999:54–72. Stein 1975. Glatz 2005:142–145. Speitkamp 2010a:118–127; 2010b:271–274. Eisen 2010.

aspects is concerned. Namely, the Bohras restore monuments by introducing a so-called "Neo-Fatimid style" (Paula Sanders), which they themselves have developed by freely mixing authentic Fatimid elements with totally alien ones. But even as far as authentic Fatimid elements are concerned, the Bohras use them freely in their restorations, irrespective of whether they originally appeared in a given monument or not, or to quote Paula Sanders: "The Bohras borrow elements freely from one Fatimid structure for another" (2008:126). With the application of their own Neo-Fatimid style, they aim at linking these buildings to their worldwide network of monuments by demonstrating the likeness of Fatimid ideology to their own and thus presenting themselves as the true successors of the Fatimids, as the keepers of their message in the modern world, so to speak (2008:116–140, esp. 126–129). In addition, they also aim at monopolizing these monuments on a symbolic level, to the exclusion of the local Sunni community of Cairo.

This is of course in glaring contrast to orthodox conservation theory. Even taking into account recent developments in this field, which aim at a considerably broader concept of conservation, it is difficult to call it simply conservation. Recent scholarship has shown that examples of restoration, reconstruction or even total re-building carried out for religious, political or ideological motives were certainly not rare in Europe, long before and even after the emergence of the orthodox theory of conservation, current since the mid-nineteenth century, which as a rule did not take such viewpoints into consideration. However, one of the founding fathers of orthodox conservation theory, Georg Dehio, had already hinted at the necessity of "tolerance" in its application, while it also became clear over the course of time that the "historicity", i.e. authenticity, of a monument does not necessarily mean that of the building material itself but may be attached to its "object-ness" (*Gegenständlichkeit*), to its essence as an object, which ensures its power to convince and to persuade. Under certain circumstances this aspect may be of paramount importance for a given community, as can be seen in decisions taken after natural catastrophes such as earthquakes, fires and the destruction effected by wars. Orthodox conservation theory would not have allowed the reconstruction of monuments such as St Mark's *campanile* in Venice in 1912, the Royal Palace in Warsaw, the Munich *Residenz* or the *Frauenkirche* in Dresden, partly long after the Second World War.[149] Bohra attitudes and German "creative conservation' clearly overstep even these rather wide boundaries.

[149] Seng 2010:86–87. Magirius 2010:150–151. *Die Münchner Residenz* 2006:152–285.

Mamluk Glass Lamps

Sanders mentions, without reference, that "other parts could not be as easily manufactured in Cairo, for example, mosque lamps. Members of the Comité took several examples of Mamluk glass lamps, sent them to Paris, and had copies made by craftsmen there" (2008:104). In my research in the Comité archives, which was not exhaustive, I have come across two occasions when the Comité ordered mosque lamps from abroad – but not from Paris. When the mosque of Qiğmās al-Isḥāqī was restored, electricity was installed in it and on this occasion the Comité ordered new mosque lamps from the firm of Carl Hosch in Haida[150] – Bohemia was world-famous for its glass industry at the time. The models were produced by the Comité's own specialists in Cairo and were subsequently sent to Haida. The samples, which the factory then sent to the Comité in turn, had to be forwarded to Istanbul because ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī happened to be staying there at the time (probably in his splendid villa at Çubuklu on the Bosphorus) and insisted on inspecting and approving them before production could begin.[151] The extensive correspondence is preserved in the relevant portfolio (*malaff*) in the Comité archives. The lamps of the Rifāʿī mosque were made by the same firm. When Herz built the Zogheb Villa, its splendid lamps were also manufactured in Bohemia, probably by the same firm.[152]

Conclusion

Sanders undertook the difficult task of disentangling systems of highly intricate multiple meanings in various fields. We are considerably in her debt for opening up new horizons in this field of research by investigating various aspects of the Comité's contribution to our modern picture of Cairo's Arab-Islamic architecture. At the same time she has not succeeded in avoiding the dangerous pitfalls of such an undertaking. She makes too many bold, unfounded statements, using too broad a brush to depict an incomplete picture in the manner of what one could call "inverted Orientalism" (in Edward Said's sense) born out of a misconceived and

[150] present-day Nový Bor in the Czech Republic

[151] See Ormos 2009a:143–144. Cf. *BC* 25, 1908, 66–67.

[152] See Ormos 2009a:143–144, 396, 439. The present author tried to trace the factory archives without success. The town is located in the so-called *Sudetenland* area, the complete population of which was expelled to Germany after World War II. Subsequently the area was resettled with a new population from elsewhere in Czechoslovakia. The archives may have survived and perhaps need to be traced; the present author has no proof that they were destroyed. More effort may yield better results.

exaggerated political correctness. The general tone of her analyses is bound to create grossly inadequate images, mainly of the Comité and especially of Herz Pasha, in her readers' minds. And this is all the more deplorable because the contacts between Egyptians and Europeans in the classical colonial and imperialistic period constitute an extremely delicate field fraught with many well-founded sensitivities and justified apprehension, negative emotion, reproach and even anger, but also with pre- and misconceptions and unjustified allegations on both sides. In such a situation only strictly objective, precise statements based on accurate, well-founded data can serve the desirable aim of attaining a relatively objective knowledge and view of what exactly happened. Aside from enriching our view of the Comité with new aspects and insights and sensitizing us to new questions and problems – for which we are greatly in Paula Sanders's debt – I am afraid that this book will also do considerable and wholly unjustified harm to the Comité's reputation. We have already quoted Alaa El-Habashi's words on how he modified his view of the Comité's activities while writing his dissertation on the subject; they are in glaring contrast to Sanders's picture of the Comité.[153]

In a further effort to counterbalance Paula Sanders's presentation of the Comité's activities, let me conclude with the views of two Egyptian specialists, formulated in a wholly different tone, which do justice to the Comité's and Herz Pasha's efforts and achievements. Nairy Hampikian, one of our foremost practising conservators in Cairo, who is also trained in art history, with special emphasis on Arab-Islamic architecture, wrote some time ago about the Comité's activities, assessing its main publication, the Bulletins, in her case study of Bāb Zuwayla:

> "I have deliberately included many minor details in the recapitulation of these activities of the Comité because I believe they will help counter hasty conceptual and political judgments on its activities. ... The love and care which was transmitted to these monuments through the work of the Comité, the meticulous professionalism by which its members worked, and the sincerity of their efforts is often underappreciated. Furthermore, the degree of seriousness with which these people approached their work is only really apparent when one follows its line of thinking with regard to a single structure over a number of years" (2005:222). "[The Bulletins] provide a full documentation of all activities thought, planned, and/or executed by the Comité. The faithfulness of what was published to what really happened is a great tribute to the Comité. And today the Bulletins offer both a detailed record of their interventions and also the opportunity to criticize and/or praise their actions based on their own understanding of them. This is a type of honesty worthy of imitation, and it is the facet of the Comité's work which most

[153] See n. 32 and the corresponding paragraph above.

> closely matches the highest standards for ethical conduct spelled out in the [modern] International Conventions for Conservation. It is not an exaggeration to consider the Bulletins, which recount the history of preservation efforts in Cairo between 1881 and 1960, an encyclopedic masterpiece" (204).

And it is also worth repeating the assessment of the Comité's activities by Alaa El-Habashi, one of the leading representatives of the young, self-assured generation of Egyptian conservators, striving to amalgamate local traditions with the definitions of the conservationist profession formulated on an international level:

> "In reality, Cairo, and many other Egyptian cities, would not possess any buildings from the pre-modern periods had most not been once listed and conserved by the Comité. Had the Comité never been formed, we would have lost them as well" (2001:196).

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[154] We always indicate the year of a given volume. The actual date of appearance may differ.

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