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Appropriating Orientalism ?
Saber Sabri's Mamluk Revivals in late 19th c. Cairo

As far as can be actually documented, Mamluk revivals in modern Cairene architecture can be traced back to Pascal Coste's (1789-1879) designs for the Citadel mosque (1823). Its aesthetics may appear awkward to the contemporary eye ; yet, the project was anchored on direct and in-depth knowledge of Mamluk architecture. Since his arrival in Egypt in 1817, the French architect had spent considerable time surveying in detail major monuments in Cairo, accumulating hundreds of sketches and drawings, now kept in his archive in Marseilles[1]. His proposal was at one point abandoned – a structure recalling Istanbul models was built instead – but the story exemplifies a typical attitude that was to be followed by many European professionals in Egypt throughout the 19th century, and beyond. Documenting local architecture, and re-using its devices and patterns (eventually integrating authentic fragments as well), became central to the process of designing new structures meant to fit the Egyptian context[2].

Mamluk-inspired compositions were not to be restricted to religious or public buildings; they were experienced in domestic and palatial architecture as well. Striking examples of suburban houses in the Mamluk style (or "Arab style" as it was termed at the time), along with orientalizing interior designs for the ruling family, can be found in the work of another French architect, Ambroise Baudry (1838-1906)[3]. Established in Cairo from 1871 to 1886 and an early collector of Islamic art, Baudry belonged to the group of connoisseurs that actively campaigned in the late 1870s for the conservation of Cairo architectural heritage, and furthermore, for an expert control over restoration works[4]. A *Comité de*

conservation des monuments de l'art arabe was eventually formed in 1881; its impressive contribution to the changing face of "mediaeval" Cairo in the subsequent decades is getting increasing attention from scholars[5].

Nor were neo-Mamluk elaborations an exclusivity of Western architects[6]. Although only some 19th century local designs in the Mamluk style have been identified so far, the architecture produced by the Waqfs' Administration during the first years of 'Abbâs Hilmî's rule (1892-1914) offers an opportunity to discuss some specific expressions of it and to question their possible significance.

Waqf architecture in late 19th century Cairo

An administrative body formed in 1835 to control the management of religious foundations, the *Awqâf* had been reorganised in 1851 as a *Dîwân* with authority over endowments with no living beneficiary or intendant, later becoming a Ministry (1879) ; more importantly, it had gained, or rather recovered, significant autonomy when transformed into an "Administration" on 23 January 1884, on the ground that waqfs had to be administrated along the prescriptions of the *Shari'a* and therefore required a separate agency under direct tutelage of the khedive[7]. The independence of this new Administration was to be short-lived, since it was reverted to a ministry on 20 November 1913 when the British decided to regain control over revenues that were mainly used, in their views, to strengthen what they called "national agitation" in the country[8]. Yet, the interlude proved to be a period of remarkable building activity, especially after 'Abbâs Hilmî's accession to the throne in 1892. Among the new officials appointed at high-ranking positions in the *Awqâf* was Saber Sabri (c. 1845-1915), as Chief Engineer (*Bachmuhandis al-Awqâf*). He remained in charge until 1906.

If we are to believe a report submitted by Sabri on the eve of his retirement, the *Awqâf* had been responsible, since 1892, for the building or renewal of about a hundred mosques and shrines, while

over two hundred residential and commercial buildings had been remodelled (the figures do not include repairs, that would amount to thousands of cases according to the data provided)[9]. These are rather impressive numbers when compared to *Awqâf* activity under the previous reigns. During the rule of 'Abbâs' father, khedive Tawfîq (r. 1879 to 1892), 20 places of worship were built or restored and 30 civil buildings were renewed by the Administration; for Ismâ'îl's times (1863-1879), the figures respectively dropped to merely 10 religious buildings and 21 civil ones.

Most of the buildings listed in the report for the years 1892-1906 belong to what has come to be termed "Mamluk revivals", and moreover to a rather rigorist form of such historicism[10]. Needless to say, these modern interpretations of the Mamluk repertoire can hardly be confused with their historical models, but they reveal a fairly good acquaintance with Mamluk monuments and a honest mastering of the classical vocabulary – at least, when compared to previous attempts in the "Arab style". Islamic art specialists may view the issue with other eyes; indeed it must be stated upfront that the comments proposed are embedded in another point view, that of the architectural history of modern Egypt, from the mid-19th century onwards.

Anyhow, Sabri's hypothesised historicism brings in turn the question of its meaning, of the significance of such stylistic option. Three possible interpretations, all speculative, are offered here, depending on how the buildings are looked at. Accordingly, Sabri's designs will be discussed first in the light of his formation and professional career, second within their patronage and political context at large, and finally through the prism of the architectural production of their days.

Three historicist designs

Among the multiple works supervised by Sabri in his capacity of *Bachmuhandis al-Awqâf* from 1892 to 1906, the Awlâd 'Inân mosque, the Sayyida Nafîssa mosque and the premises of the Waqfs Administration itself, will be considered here. Apart from what can be inferred from diverse historical

sources, and from the observation of the buildings themselves, the material available fortunately includes initial drawings, that were reproduced in a photographic album assembled in 1899[11].

"Archeological historicism" : the Awlâd Inân mosque

The Awlâd 'Inân mosque represented an early project of Saber Sabri at the *Awqâf* ; it was to be built at Bâb al-Hadîd, opposite to the Cairo Railway station, where the al-Fath mosque (c. 1983) stands now. (Interestingly enough, Awlâd 'Inân survived this successive new construction : in 1979, it was dismantled and relocated on the large *maydân* below the Citadel, and renamed as Sayyida 'Aycha mosque). The new Awlâd 'Inân was meant to replace an ancient shrine, rebuilt in the late 14th century, and that had been demolished during the French occupation (1798-1801)[12]. The foundation and its endowments had been transferred to the Waqfs' Administration in 1893, upon the death of its last *nazîr*, Muhammad 'Abd al-Wâhid al-Harîrî[13]; on the following year, the affluent vice-president of the Legislative Council (a consultative assembly created by Ismâ'îl to associate the rural notability to the khedivial regime), one Hasan Pasha Hilmî, had bestowed about 4000 E.P. on the Waqfs Administration for the erasing of the old structure and its replacement by a new mosque and a *maktâb* (elementary school). The construction was started in October 1894 ; after the patron's death a few months later, it was continued by khedivial order at the expenses of the *Awqâf*. The mosque was inaugurated at the end of 1896 with a final cost of 7000 E.P., almost the double than what had been initially forecast. According to a description of the project in a French architectural magazine, its "interior decoration was extremely rich" indeed[14]. Both this article and the surviving reproduction of the designs tend to attest Sabri's authorship of the work. The former clearly states that the mosque is "l'oeuvre de Saber bey Sabri, l'éminent architecte en chef des Waqfs"; the latter, dated 29 October 1894, bear the signatures of Saber Sabri and of an assistant, Iskandâr 'Azîz[15], preceded by the formula frequently found on 19th c. designs and that reads *"'Amal wa naql hazihi al-rasm bi-ma'rifitnâ…*".

The mosque was built in stone, with the usual alternating layers of red and white stone from the Muqattam quarries (Plate 1). The plan featured a covered prayer hall, lightened by a central lantern (as was the case in many Mamluk *madrasas)* ; it included a *kuttâb* at the first floor. Revenues for the maintenance of the building were to be produced by the rent of an attached flat and store. These were located in the triangular zones produced by the classical distortion resulting from the adjustment to the Mecca orientation and to the street alignment (Plate 2). Literal quotations from existing monuments are evident in the ornamentation of the minaret, which combines the shaft and lower part of the Qayt bay minaret at al-Azhar (1494), with the top of another Qayt bay's minaret, the one attached to his mausoleum in the southern cemetery (1472)[16]. A detailed analysis of the architectonic decoration of the façade would probably show similar arrangements. The carved dome of the mosque, as visible at its current location by the Citadel, also evokes Qayt bay's buildings. A late Mamluk distinctive architecture formed thus the essential source of inspiration of Awlâd 'Inân, in conformity with the requirements of an "archeological historicism"[17].

Subverting historicism : the Sayyida Nafîssa mosque

A subsequent project of the *Awqâf* was the rebuilding of the Sayyida Nafîssa mosque. The initial structure had been greatly damaged by a fire in 1892 and required a large reconstruction[18]. The surviving drawings are dated September 1895, and bear again the signatures of 'Iskandâr 'Azîz, this time as *ra'is qalm al-tasmîmât* (chief of the architectural drawings department) and of Saber Sabri. The rather complicated plan of the mosque may be due to the fact that it integrates parts of the burnt structure. The reconstructed building displays several components that evoke again a strict historicist vein.

The minaret is a case in point, at least the original one as documented in period pictures. It was far from resembling its current shape. The latter, characterised by a central shaft with ceramic decoration

(Plate 3), is probably related to the extant renewal of the building undertaken in 1972, when a new prayer hall was added[19]. This methodological point is of importance ; it gives the opportunity to stress that original designs can not be discussed on the sole basis of what can be observed today on the ground, even for quite recent structures. In any case, what could be eventually deduced from the use of Iznik tiles (basically a feature alien to the Mamluk period, adopted from Ottoman architecture) in a supposedly neo-Mamluk mosque does not apply to the building designed by Saber Sabri. The eclectic touch here is the result of a much later intervention.

As in the case of the Awlâd 'Inân mosque, the Sayyida Nafîssa minaret is clearly a replica of existing models. It reproduces the two main storeys of the Qayt bay mausoleum minaret, topped with the usual finial. Still, the historicism of the building is a mixed one, since the dome – at least the present one (Plate 4) – is closer to that of Barqûq mausoleum (1399) in the northern cemetery, rather than to any Qayt bay dome. Another example of how the classical repertoire is played with is illustrated by the subverted use of the blazons on the external walls (Plate 5): rather than giving the name and titles of the patron of the mosque, the pseudo *ranks* bear here Coranic epigraphy (*la-allah illa Allah wa Muhamad rassul illah*). Yet, whether these are a later addition or date from the construction of the mosque, remains an open question.

Inventing tradition: the Awqâf premises

The third example considered is the premises of the *Waqfs* administration itself. The building still stands (with substantial additions in 1911 and 1929 by successive chief engineers of the *Awqâf*[20]) in downtown Cairo (Plates 6 and 7). The plan conforms the administrative function of the building, and is organised around an inner courtyard. The drawings bear this time the name of an unknown European architect : one "*F. Ségèz or Légèz, architecte*" who states that he drafted and copied the drawings in June 1896 (« *'Amal wa naql hazihi al-rasm bi-ma'rifatnâ 20 juin 1896* »). Saber

Sabri signed the project on the following day. According to inscriptions on the façade, the building was completed in 1898. The photographic album, where it is recorded, dates from the following year.

The building is an eclectic collage of features borrowed from diverse Mamluk monuments : recessed panels crowned by stalactites, *ablaq* and stucco decoration, Qalawun set of windows, trefoil crenelations…. The eclecticism is emphasized in this case by the fact that no historical example could be resorted to for the design of such type of building. It implied necessarily heavy inventions.

A man of classical formation and multiple commitments

One possible interpretation of the more or less marked historicism of these buildings could be grounded on Sabri's biography. His life and career are still quite obscure, but recent light has been shed on the man[21]. What can be reconstructed from miscellaneous and fragmentary sources is that Saber Sabri was trained as an engineer around 1866-1870, which means that he was probably born around 1845-1850. Contrary to many of his colleagues who were sent abroad to acquire modern knowledge and skills, his was a pure local training, achieved at the *Muhandiskhanâ* (Cairo's Polytechnical school), possibly under the supervision of Ibrahim Adhâm (1785- c. 1870), a Turkish engineer who is believed himself to have received his technical education both from the military school in Istanbul, and then from studying in England. In 1881, Saber Sabri is recorded as a teacher in mathematics at the *Muhandiskhanâ* and is known to have translated two manuals, one on analytical geometry with special focus on the curves, and another on descriptive geometry. Five years later, he had the chair of mathematics at the *Muhandiskhanâ*[22]*;* he acted as its deputy-director in the following years. His interest and knowledge in mathematics was to be a lasting one : as an active member during 23 years of the *Gama'iyya al-Khayriyya al-Islamiyya* (The Islamic Benevolent Society), an Islamic charity that helped founding many elementary schools, he worked to encourage the teaching of mathematics to young Egyptians. In 1909 and 1910, he was still lecturing in mathematics at the newly-

born Egyptian University created 2 years before. His understanding of the discipline does not appear to have been particularly imprisoned into traditional knowledge : in an article published in 1891, he established that the classical methods of land surveying used in Egypt by the specialized guild of the *misahiyyin* could produce errors of about 15%. Consequently, he embarked on listing the necessary corrections[23]. Yet, his skills in mathematics can easily relate him to a classical *muhandis*[24].

When appointed Chief engineer of the *Awqâf* in 1892, Sabri also became, in this official capacity, a member of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe*. He continued to participate in its activities well after his retirement, in fact until his death in 1915 – he was on this occasion celebrated by fellow members as an "erudite professional and a hard worker"[25]. The few interventions of Sabri documented in the minutes of the *Comité's* meetings depict a man with doctrines regarding restoration that evoke the Viollet-le-Duc's approach. In 1897, for instance, he opposed the choices made by Max Herz, the then chief architect of the *Comité*, concerning an interior frieze of the mosque of Barqûq (at Nahassin), because he considered the colours chosen to repaint the wood as being too pale, while Herz' concern was to get the old paint reproduced as faithfully as possible to its current condition[26]. However and interestingly enough, Sabri also added on that occasion that the (limited) available resources might be best used by being invested on conservation issues (consolidating additional monuments, for example) rather than on showy restorations – a quite balanced view on the matter, considering the debate that was by then opposing the anti-restoration posture defended by Ruskin and its followers to the learned "restorations" advocated by Viollet-le-Duc.

There is no evidence that Sabri's revivalism should be understood primarily as the product both of a *muhandis'* classical education in mathematics (which could have facilitated achieving the revival of historical models of architecture, concerning i.e. the execution of stalactites) and of a committed concern for the conservation and restoration of Cairo historical monuments (that would have

reinforced an interest in reviving such heritage). The hypothesis is tempting if one admits that individual agency is worth considering in historical interpretation, following the *microstoria* approach to historiography[27]. One is led in turn to wonder whether such revivalisms should be considered as late resurgences of, or eventual continuities with, customary practices, or should rather be analyzed as expressions of a local domestication of Western Orientalism, one filtered through a partly traditional background. Lack of evidence advocates to be cautious in the respect, but it does suggest to consider the eventual existence of an indigenous "Orientalism" in late 19th c. Cairo [28].

Patronage and politics of Mamluk Revivalism :

Another speculative reading of Sabri's architectural achievements is connected to politics. It has been argued that, under 'Abbâs Hilmî, "architecture returned to Mamluk style in order to show independence of Egypt from Ottoman control"[29]. However, the khedive's turn towards Egyptian nationalism is known to have taken place at a later stage : around 1895, when the Waqf administration started developing Mamluk revivalism, the young ruler was on the contrary attempting to mobilize Ottoman support to assert his positions over the British High Commissioner[30]. Hilmî's memoirs, though conveying in fact the image of a man more concerned in the early years of his rule by independence from the British rather than from the Porte, are of little help in this respect. They do mention in passing his building activity, but only as patron of blocks of flats in Cairo's Tawfîqiyya quarter[31].

Should we thus understand the Mamluk style as evidence of the khedivial family's social and cultural commitment to the country, as a form of localism ?[32] The earliest Mamluk-style building commissioned by 'Abbâs Hilmî suggests another possible reading of the use of the style. It concerns the mausoleum erected in memoir of his father Tawfîq (Plate 8), in the Eastern cemetery in Cairo. The building was inaugurated on 15 January 1894 and was designed by Dimitri Fabricius Bey (1848-

1907), the chief architect of khedivial buildings[33]. In this case, the Mamluk style was explicitly used to give the mausoleum an "imposing character", because it was perceived as representing the "best epoch of Arab architecture"[34].

In the case of another Mamluk revival project designed and executed by Saber Sabri, the new Riwâq al-'Abbâssî (1894-1898) attached to the mosque of al-Azhar, the "Arab style" was imposed by the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* because of the function and location of the building. Commissioned by the khedive, the Riwâq was built in order to "enhance the religious character of the mosque by giving it a larger façade". The *Comité* asked furthermore that its design be prepared following the façade of an old house that was to be demolished in order to enlarge the street bordering the new building and al-Azhar gate[35].

Finally, the specific history of the Awlâd 'Inân mosque as a sufi shrine[36] may corroborate the diversity of situations in which the Mamluk style could be used then, and the range of meanings. The old Awlâd 'Inân mosque, as rebuilt in the late 14th century, included the tomb of a saint, Muhamad Ibn 'Inâni (d. 920 H.), associated with women (and still venerated as such in the 1960s[37]) ; in addition, it was home of al-'Inâniyya, at the time a dissident sufi order, in conflict with the central authority on mystic groups, but that had obtained in 1886 the protection of khedive Tawfîq and the recognition of a special status, due to the fact that the order possessed an authentic chain going back to 'Umar Ibn al-Khattâb (586-644) ; al-'Inâniyya was indeed known as one of the older *tariqas* in Egypt[38]. The decision that placed in 1893 the foundation under the authority of the *Awqâf*, despite the existence of descendants of the venerated saint and of the family in charge of the shrine, both reclaiming rights on it[39], could well indicate the determination of the new ruler to regain control on al-'Inâniyya and its properties. In this perspective, the Mamluk style may have had a complete different connotation, either as a recognition of the long history of the al-'Inâniyya or as a mark of its new suzerainty to the

khedive, or furthermore as a combination of both.

The Mamluk style in architectural perspective

Situating Sabri's designs within the architectural production of his days brings about further facets of Mamluk revivalism. At the time, the style was actually gaining popularity in Egypt. It was adopted in a variety of circumstances with, presumably, an even larger range of significance. The Cairo Railway Station was, for example, completely rebuilt between 1891 and 1893 in the same style (Plate 9) following a destruction by fire in 1882[40]. A political connotation, in the sense of nationalist symbolism, seems unlikely in the circumstance ; the European taste for exoticism, or a loose association with travel and tourism, would be better candidates to explain the stylistic choice. Other contemporary Mamluk revivals include examples as varied as the grand hall at the famous old Shepheard's Hotel, a design attributed to the Furino brothers (an Italian firm specialized in what had come to be called the "Arabesque style", especially fashionable for furniture[41]) (Plate 10) or the neo-Classical palace that was "islamicized" in 1891 when turned into a Tobacco factory by the Greek merchant Nestor Gianaclis - now in the main campus of the American University in Cairo, with an entrance door reproducing the portal of the *takiyya* al-Din al-Bistami (1443), that was being restored at the same period[42]. The association of Mamluk revival with tobacco directly echoes earlier European uses of the Moorish style, from the "fumoir mauresque" (Moorish smoking room), fashionable since the 1830s in French mansions, to imposing cigarette factories in Germany[43]. Exoticism and European representations of Oriental leisure were powerful drives for the popularisation of the Mamluk style. As already mentioned, it was also closely associated with Islamic art collecting in the 1870s, and was to remain related to it in the following decades, as the houses, pavilions or rooms built for the collections of Count Zughayb in 1898, of 'Umar Sultân in 1907 or of prince Yusuf Kâmal in 1920 suggest – Islamic art collectors in Cairo were not only Europeans. For those amateurs, the Mamluk style was a

matter of aesthetics. It may have been the case as well with khedive ‘Abbâs. Significantly, it was to a ceramic artist and tile designer known for his orientalizing designs, William de Morgan (1839-1917), that he had turned to, when he considered developing pottery manufacturing in Egypt[44].

Ultimately, it must be added that the shift to “archeological historicism”, expressed by most of Mamluk revivals of the 1890s and 1900s in Egypt, in contrast with preceding examples of “Moorish” or “Arabesque” architecture and design, was been experienced simultaneously in France. By 1887, prior advocates of the most extravagant eclecticisms (as mixes of a large range of historical references coupled with modern devices and patterns) were now defending a dedicated mimicry of historical styles : ”whatever the style referred to, the quotation was becoming literal”, as observable on most Belle Epoque landmarks in Paris[45]. Appreciations of literality in citation will, in turn, vary in time along the evolving agenda of taste : for a critic writing in 1915, the Awlâd ‘Inân mosque drew without doubt on an ancient model, but the building was now perceived as showing a disproportionate minaret and “corrupted” historical references[46] - what was at stake now was a modernity with no link with the past.

As a whole, Mamluk revival in Cairo at the end of the 19th c. emerges as a somewhat complex phenomenon, with varied possible meanings and readings, beyond the political symbolism commonly attached to the style. More documentary evidence is needed to better apprehend an architectural practice that was both deeply rooted in its local context (moreover, there had been Mamluk archaisms already during Ottoman times[47]) and yet in perfect syntony with contemporary developments in Europe. It is telling, in this perspective, that Sabri’s designs for the Awlâd ‘Inân mosque found their way to a French architectural magazine : this was an exceptional situation for a Middle Eastern architect at the time.

However, besides a need for primary sources, what may be equally necessary is to question the discursive categories in common use when analysing the material culture under scrutiny here, starting with some basic interrogations. Is Islamic architecture, the adequate and performing classification to analyze all, or some, or none of the works mentioned above ? Does orientalism solely apply to European attitudes and artistic expressions ? If not, does it make sense to differentiate between European and indigenous orientalism ? And so on… Adopting essentializing and globalizing notions, or simplifying dichotomies, based on allegedly clear cultural distinctions, may be a preliminary step to gain familiarity with artistic productions alien to one's culture – it has been argued in fact that "essentialism is a fundamental constraint of crosscultural cognizance"[48]. When studying buildings that are caught into multiple influences and varied processes of hybridization, as is the case with 19th century architecture in Egypt, it is all the more essential to proceed further on and to search for new ways and words that can allow to fully grasp complex architectural formalisations.

Illustrations :

Plate 1 : Awlâd 'Inân mosque upon completion (Dîwân 'umûm al-awqâf, *Sura al-muzakira…,* Cairo, Rare books and special collections, American University in Cairo)

Plate 2 : Elevations and plan of the Awlâd 'Inân mosque (from *La construction moderne*, vol. XIII, 1897/98, pl. 92, Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts)

Plate 3 : Detail of the minaret of Sayyida Nafîssa mosque, 2003 (Photo : M. Volait)

Plate 4 : The dome of Sayyida Nafîssa mosque, 2003 (Photo : M. Volait)

Plate 5 : Detail of a *rank* at the Sayyida Nafîssa mosque, 2003 (Photo : M. Volait)

Plate 6 : The main entrance of the *Awqâf* premises, c. 1940 (Cairo, Lehnert and Landrock collection)

Plate 7 : The rear façade of the *Awqâf* premises, 2003 (Photo : M. Volait)

Plate 8 : Tawfîq mausoleum upon completion, 1894 (Cairo, Rare books and special collections, American University in Cairo)

Plate 9 : The Cairo Railway Station, c. 1915 (Cairo, Lehnert and Landrock collection)

Plate 10 : The grand hall at the old Shepheard's Hotel, c. 1915 (Cairo, Lehnert and Landrock collection)

1 Dominique Jacobi (ed.), Pascal Coste, toutes les Egypte, Marseille: Parenthèses/Bibliothèque municipale de Marseille, 1998. and specifically Mercedes Volait, "Les monuments de l'architecture arabe", in Dominique Jacobi (ed.), Pascal Coste, toutes les Egypte, Marseille: Parenthèses/Bibliothèque municipale de Marseille, 1998, 97-131.

2 British examples are discussed in Mark Crinson, Empire Building : Orientalism and Victorian architecture, London/New York: Routledge, 1996; for other European instances, see Mercedes Volait (ed.), Le Caire-Alexandrie, architectures européennes, 1850-1950, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale/CEDEJ, 2001. See also Maria Adriana Giusti and Ezio Godoli (ed.), L'Orientalismo nell'architettura italiana tra Ottocento e Novecento, Maschietto&musolino, 1999. and Mercedes Volait, "La tradition revisitée: réflexions sur un thème récurrent de la production architecturale européenne en Egypte", in Atti del convegno Architettura e architetti italiani ad Istanbul tra il XIX° e il XX secolo, Istanbul: Istituto italiano di cultura, 1997, 109-116.

3Mercedes Volait and Marie-Laure Crosnier Leconte, L'Egypte d'un architecte : Ambroise Baudry (1838-1906), Paris: Somogy, 1998 Baudry's orientalizing designs for the Gîza Palace are now in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.

4 Mercedes Volait, "Amateurs français et dynamique patrimoniale : aux origines du Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe", in André Raymond and Daniel Panzac (ed.), La France et l'Egypte à l'époque des vice-rois (1805-1882), Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2002, 311-325 ; for an overview on Islamic Art collecting, see Stephen Vernoit (ed.), Discovering Islamic Art : Scholars, Collectors and Collections, London: I.B. Tauris, 2000.; the French scene in the 1910s is documented in detail in Rémy Labrusse, "Paris, capitale des arts de l'Islam ? Quelques aperçus sur la formation des collections françaises d'art islamique au tournant du siècle", Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art français (1997), 275-311.

5 Paula Sanders, « Making Cairo medieval » in Irene Bierman and Nasser Rabbat (ed.), *Cairo : A Medieval City for a Modern World* (forthcoming) ; see also Alaa El-Habashi, "From athar to monuments : the intervention of the Comité in Cairo" (PhD, Pennsylvania, 2001) and Istvan Ormos, "Preservation and restoration : the methods of Max Herz Pasha, Chief architect of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe, 1890-1914", in Jill Edwards (ed.), Historians in Cairo : essays in honour of George Scanlon, Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002, 123-153.

6 An early interesting case is the proposal for the new al-Rifa'î mosque by Husayn Fahmî in 1868 ; on this figure and the fate of his project, see Mercedes Volait, Architectes et architectures de l'Egypte moderne (1830-1950), Genèse et essor d'une expertise locale, Paris: Karthala, forthcoming ; see also Nasser Rabbat, "The formation of the neo-Mamluk style in Modern Egypt", in Martha Pollack (ed.), The Education of the Architect : Historiography, Urbanism and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge : essays presented to Stanford Anderson,, Cambridge, Massachussetts: MIT Press, 1997, 363 - 386.

7 Administration générale des Waqfs, *Rapport administratif pour l'année 1910 présenté à son Altesse le khédive par le directeur général des Waqfs*, Le Caire, 1911, p. 6.

8 Younan Labib Rizk, « The development of the ministerial system in Egypt : 1878 – 1923 », in Nelly Hanna, *The State and its Servants, Administration in Egypt from Ottoman Times to the Present*, Cairo : AUC, 1995, p. 87-97.

9 Dîwân 'umûm al-awqâf, *Sura al-muzakirra allati rufû'at li-al-janâb al-'ali al-khidiwi 'an al-masâgid wa al-mahalât allatî gadidiha dîwân 'umûm al-awqâf fî 'ahd ta'ssîssihu lighayit 1323 H.* Cairo : 1324 H./1907.

10 For stimulating analysis of 19th c. eclecticisms and historicisms, see Jean-Paul Epron, *Comprendre l'éclectisme*, Paris : Norma, 1997 ; see also François Loyer, Histoire de l'architecture française de la Révolution à nos jours, Paris: Mengès/Editions du patrimoine, 1999.

11 The album is entitled *Souvenir inauguration du nouveau local des Wakfs*, 1899 with 20 views by G. Legekian of a series of buildings achieved at the time by the Administration ; the copy used is kept in private hands.

12 ‘Alî Mubârak, Al-*Khitat al-tawfîqiyya*, vol. III, p. 105 and vol. IV, p. 61 of the original edition.

13 Decision dated 23 raghâb 1311 H. from the *Mahkama sha’riyya*, quoted in a letter from the director of the *Awqâf* to the khedivial Cabinet, 22 March 1899 (Cairo, Dar al-Wathâ’iq al-Qawmiyya, ‘Abdîn series, Dîwân khidîwî, correspondence with the Awqâf, Box 609).

14 “Mosquée Oulad Enane”, in *La construction moderne*, vol. XIII, 1897/1898, p. 560.

15 Iskandâr ‘Azîz was an engineer already working in the Awqâf in 1891; from 1895, he headed its architectural drawings department (*qalm al-tasmimât*); see Stefano Poffandi, *1891, Indicateur égyptien administrative et commercial*, Alexandrie, 1890, p. 26 and *Souvenir inauguration du nouveau local des Wakfs*, *op. cit.*

16 See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo*, Cairo : AUC Press, 1985.

17 F. Loyer, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

18 Ministry of Waqfs, *The* ***Mosques of Egypt from 21 H. (641) to 1365 H. (1946) / being a series of views in colour and monochrome of the principal mosques of Egypt with a brief note on each monument, describing its history and architectural features, accompanied by detailed plans and maps*****. Cairo, 1949, vol. II, p. 124.**

19 El-Amroussi, , p. 29.

20 Recorded in Tarek Mohamed Refaat Sakr, Early Twentieth-century islamic architecture in Cairo, Cairo: AUC Press, 1993, p. 19-22 ; see also Ahmed Sidky, "L'oeuvre de Mario Rossi au ministère des Waqfs : une réinterprétation italienne de l'architecture islamique", in Mercedes Volait (ed.), Le Caire, Alexandie, Architectures européennes, 1850-1950, Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2001, 65-74.

21 Valuable information on Sabri’s career, including an obituary, is provided by Pascal Crozet, *Eléments pour une histoire de la modernisation des sciences exactes en Egypte (1805-1902)*, 1995, PhD, Paris 7 University, p. 117, 215, 221-222.

22 Gouvernement égyptien, *Bulletin des documents officiels*, Cairo, 1886, p. 471.

23 Saber Sabri, « Les défauts du système d’arpentage à la kassaba et les corrections à y faire », in *Bulletin de l’Institut égyptien*, 3ème série, n° 1, 1891, p. 96-124, 131-135, 150-155.

24 Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Muhandis, Shâd, Mu'allim - Note on the building craft in the Mamluk Period", Der Islam 72, no. 2 (1995), 293-309

25 Comité de conservation des monuments de l’Art arabe, *Procès-verbaux des séances, Exercice 1916*, Le Caire, 1917, p. 383.

26 Idem, *Exercice 1897*, p. 81-82. See also Alaa El-Habashi, "The preservation of Egyptian cultural heritage through Egyptian eyes : the case of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe", in Joe Nasr and Mercedes Volait (ed.), Urbanism - Imported or Exported, native aspirations and foreign plans, Chichester: Wiley-Academy, 2003, 155-183.

27 Giovanni Levi, "On microhistory", in P. Purke (ed.), New Perspectives in Historical Writing, Oxford: Policy Press, 1993, 93-113

28 For a general discussion of a related idea in the Ottoman context, see Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism", American Historical review 107, no. 3 (2002), 768-796; see also Zeynep Celik, Displaying the Orient : Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

29 El-Amroussi, 28.

30 Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, Egypt and Cromer, London: 1968, p. 118.

31 Abbas Hilmi, *Mémoires d’un souverain*, présentées par Amira Sonbol, Le Caire : CEDEJ, 1996, p. 97-98.

32 Nasser Rabbat, « The formation…”, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

33 A Greek architect of German ancestry, Fabricius was the architect of ‘Abbâs Hilmî from 1892 to 1907; he also

designed Gordon Memorial College in Khartum; see Richard Hill, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of the Sudan*, London, 1967, p. 47.

34 *Mausolée d'Afifi, érigé à la mémoire de feu Son Altesse le Khedive Tewfiq*, 1894, 1 p. and 22 plates (Cairo, American University in Cairo's Library, Rare books and special collections, Saba personal library).

35 Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe, *Procès-verbaux des séances, Exercice 1894*, Le Caire : Imprimerie nationale, 1895, p. 24, 50-51, 139.

36 I am grateful to Frederic de Jong for pointing to me the association of the Awlâd 'Inân mosque with sufism.

37 Frederic de Jong, « Cairene –*Ziyâra* days. A contribution to the study of saint veneration in Islam », *Die Welt des Islams*, vol. XVII, 1976-77, p. 26-43.

38 F. de Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-linked institutions in 19th. c. Egypt*, Leiden : Brill, 1978, p. 103 sq.

39 Letter from al-'Inânî brothers to the khedivial cabinet, 8 March 1899 (Cairo, Dar al-Wathâ'iq al-Qawmiyya, 'Abdîn series, Dîwân khidîwî, correspondence with the Awqâf, Box 609).

40 'Abd al-Rahman Zakî, *Mawsû' madîna al-Qâhira fî alf 'âmm*, Cairo, 1969, p.262.

41 Arnold Wright (ed.), Twentieth Century Impressions of Egypt, London: Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Company, 1909., p. 338, 513.

42 Volait, « La tradition revisitée… »

43 Miles Danby, Moorish Style, London: Phaidon, 1999.

44 William de Morgan, "Report on the feasibility of a manufacture of glazed pottery in Egypt", Cairo: 1894, 44 p, 5 ill. I wish to thank Annette Hagedorn for pointing to me this reference.

45 Quoted from François Loyer, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

46 Léonce-Louis-Gabriel Bay, « L'art ancien et l'art moderne du Caire », *Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien*, tome 8, 1915, p. 185-194.

47 After the Ottoman conquest, many Mamluk-style elements continued to be incorporated into the buildings, whether secular or religious, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, Cairo : The American University in Cairo Press, 1989, p. 158 sq.

48 Armando Salvatore, « Beyond Orientalism ? », *Arabica*, vol 43, 1996, p. 457-485.