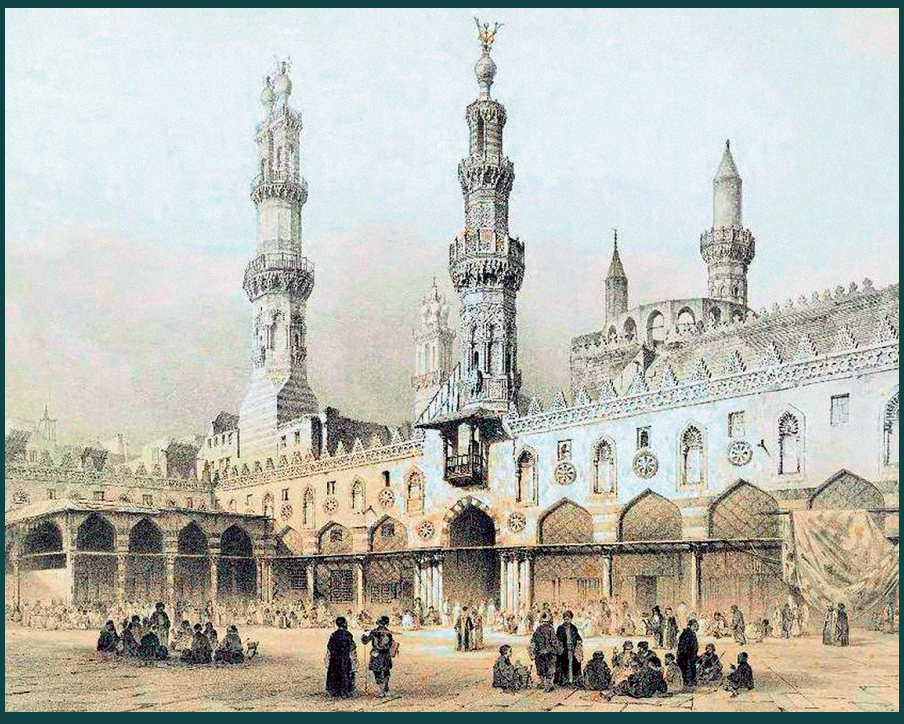
Michael Greenhalgh



BRILL

Islamic Architecture through Western Eyes

Volume 2

Syria, Egypt and North Africa

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By

Michael Greenhalgh

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Preface to the Three Volumes

Islamic Architecture through Western Eyes offers a commented anthology of Western descriptions of Islamic buildings, with the accounts for each structure arranged in chronological order. The majority are from the seventeenth century through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as travel from the West became easier, more popular, and cheaper, thanks to viable roads and then steamships and railways. The anthology ends about the time of the First World War, which changed forever most of the countries it covers.

The anthology will appear in three volumes, each volume independent of the other two, and each with its own complete bibliography. Each will offer often lengthy accounts of the studied buildings, referenced in the printed book as brief notes (author, date, page) at the end of each chapter, and in full on Brill's website. These source notes will total up to some three hundred thousand words for each volume. There follows a tasting list of the contents of each volume.

Volume 1: Spain, Turkey, and Points East, published in 2022, examines more northern latitudes, beginning with Iberia, Islamic for some eight hundred years from the Umayyad Conquest of 711. In Córdoba, conquered by Ferdinand II of Castile in 1236, the Mezquita immediately became a church. The whole peninsula became Christian after the fall of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada in 1492, when the Alhambra at Granada became the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella. We shall examine why, apart from these stars, so few Islamic buildings survive throughout the peninsula. Our attention then moves to Constantinople, as did that of Western states who sent ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire (settled there in 1453), where they are the source of much information on that city's buildings. A short study of Greece (in Ottoman hands until 1829), in addition to a multitude of accounts of travel into the large expanses of Asia Minor, help clarify how the Ottomans dealt with the antique; especially its marble, so prominent in mosques and palaces. The volume ends with a brief survey of points east, from Arabia to Persia and British India, offering a few accounts by traders, politicians, and diplomats, many of whom journeyed through Turkey to get there. Each of these countries deserves its own volume, and perhaps the notes here will inspire at least one more volume.

Volume II: Syria, Egypt and North Africa, the book you are now reading, studies southerly latitudes, namely the Mediterranean from Syria and the Holy Land, Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Jerusalem, much visited by pilgrims of three faiths, made its money from shepherding them (often with entrance fees) through what were now Muslim, not Christian buildings; Jews could face charges to pray at the Temple Wall, Christians to be baptised in the Jordan. Damascus attracted attention for its Umayyad Mosque, which could

at times be as difficult to access as the late seventh-century Dome of the Rock itself. Easier to visit were the mosques and tombs of Cairo, which boasts the finest collection of mediaeval Islamic architecture anywhere in the world. Selim I conquered the Mameluke Sultanate in 1517, and this signalled the end of Cairo's architectural glory years. Why? Because the heavy Ottoman hand eventually nurtured a version of architectural and decorative modernity for which trade and finance, both imports from the West, were the main motors. In North Africa, mosques were (and remain) forbidden to non-Muslims (except for when Algeria and Tunisia were under French control), and hence our travellers usually had to resort to third-party accounts. Morocco was to remain independent, its architecture safe from foreign hands. Not so in Algeria or (later) Tunisia where, although many monuments survived and indeed were assiduously restored (as in Cairo), French hegemony – westernised modernisation again – destroyed many Islamic buildings and town layouts.

Volume III: Palaces around the Mediterranean, will deal only with civil architecture. We know of many early and prestigious palace complexes (Samarra, Konya), but have no descriptions by westerners until Topkapi Sarayi in Constantinople was visited, often by ambassadors and their secretaries, who assessed imperial strength in part by what they saw there. New palaces proliferated throughout areas under Ottoman control because, in contradistinction to the attitude in the West, where some survived for centuries (Louvre, Buckingham Palace, Karlsruhe), Islamic rulers were generally averse to occupying existing structures, which often meant their dilapidation, stripping and eventual destruction. (Remembering Ibn Khaldun's fourteenth-century description of how such contents were moved around and their original structures were left to rot, we can understand why few earlier palaces have survived into our century.) Hence most of the palaces we deal with in this volume are late constructions, dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, all rich in fittings and ornaments if not (to Western eyes) in architectural form. In Damascus, some sumptuous eighteenth- and nineteenth-century palaces were much visited and described at length, perhaps as compensation for the difficulties of entering the Umayyad Mosque. Travellers' descriptions often allow us to assess the impact of Western trade, taste and imports on their decoration and fitments, and to examine the encroachment of westernised modernism, responsible according to many commentators for the degradation of Islamic styles. There were plenty of palaces for our authors to describe, since palace building was a continuing passion for many potentates.

The full endnotes of volume 2 can be accessed via this QR code and the following dynamic link: https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.24637806.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1 The Crusades and Their Impact

As we saw in Volume One (*Spain, Turkey and Points East*), the Crusades resonated much longer with Muslims than they did with Christians. Charles V had promised a crusade to the East, or to North Africa, in essence pursuing Muslims who had already been expelled from Iberia. In 1517 Pope Leo X (like some of his successors) proposed a crusade to recover Jerusalem. The idea got nowhere, but not before Henry VIII of England had offered 35,000 troops in a Royal army (plus support from his nobles), perhaps to be led by himself. Alarmingly, Vienna was besieged unsuccessfully by the Ottomans in 1529 (and again in 1683), prompting the opportunity of a crusade to North Africa. So in 1535 Charles V invested the environs of Tunis with 50,000 men, hoping in vain to defeat Barbarossa. Then in 1541 his ships approached Algiers (Barbarossa's headquarters) with 60,000 men. Charles was forced home by storms, after losing almost half his army. Busbecq could well crow in 1555 that Süleyman had great achievements, but "Vienna he is wont to call by no other name than his disgrace and shame."[1]

To European eyes the Ottoman Empire remained dangerous, but could not be ignored. Indeed it was much visited for various reasons,[1] because trade exchange, just like pilgrimage to Muslim lands, was too important to be allowed to lapse. A united front might have faced down the Empire, but Christian states were often at odds. Treacherously, Francis I of France formed an alliance with Süleiman. Astonishingly, he turned the cathedral at Toulon into a mosque to accommodate the Muslim troops he had assembled there, and on at least one occasion sent an ambassador to inform Suleiman of expected military moves by Charles V. In 1541–2 Suleiman and Francis planned a concerted attack by Barbarossa with 150 galleys, plus French galleys, to overwinter in a French port and then harry Charles V in both Spain and the Netherlands. The above alarms and excursions are only a small part of a complicated and long-lived story.

1 Yerasimos 1991 is an essential source on fifteenth/sixteenth-century travellers, for both published books and manuscripts. His inventory, covering some 340 pages, lists (when possible) places visited page by page, and notable monuments, together with a bibliography for each entry, and detailed maps. The introductory chapters detail access itineraries, as well as visitors by country and by type, with official missions and visits by nobles as most frequent, then pilgrimage, commerce, military, and scientific.

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To repeat, memories in parts of the West were much shorter than Muslim ones, and some sensitivities lacked their nerve-ends, even leading the French in Algeria in 1870 to make the Jews citizens of France and, in a text-book case of insensitivity, accord no such privilege to the much larger population of Muslims. However, the desire to recover Jerusalem for Christianity could scarcely be expressed without mentioning the Crusades, because archaeological exploration in the later nineteenth century Holy Land required soliciting money from Christians at home. This was not sought for what we might call purely scholarly ends.

2 Contacts Through Trade

For all countries, and in spite of frequent sabre-rattling and actual belligerence, trade was generally the key to the expansion of Western interests.[2] More westerners were enticed to Muslim lands by the promise of trade than were deterred by the dangers of war or the reality of enslaved Europeans in North Africa. From the Renaissance onward, given the Western ownership or occupation of Mediterranean islands, their trade connections with Islamic and Ottoman lands and various of their ports (as well as sea transport of Muslim pilgrims[2]), we can examine in increasing detail how ideas on Islamic architecture, and their decorative arts, reached the West.

Trade had always attracted international dealers to Alexandria, and then to Cairo where, before the Ottoman takeover in 1517, prosperity was publicised in lavish building projects. In the following chapters we study how westerners who travelled to Jerusalem and Cairo, as well as other towns and villages, viewed the architecture of Islam, especially mosques and tombs. Apart from earlier pilgrim visits through Muslim lands to Jerusalem, which have little to say in detail about either the religion or its buildings, the Crusades (launched in 1096) were the first extended period of contact with Islam, and were extensively written up. Central to the geography and the theme of this book is the Mediterranean Sea, a Roman then Byzantine and Western lake; later in its eastern regions an Ottoman lake, before the important but far from conclusive Battle of Lepanto in 1571.

2 Fleet 1999, 16: "International trade was of great importance from the very beginnings of the Ottoman empire, and the desire of Ottoman rulers to control international trade routes to a degree influenced their territorial expansion."

3 Manuscripts Throughout the Empire

Pilgrims returned home with relics, and luxury good from the East had been popular since the Middle Ages, but to formulate foreign policy Western governments and scholars needed written evidence to assess their Eastern competitors. Travellers were commissioned from the sixteenth century onward to visit the East and report back in detail (as we shall see below), but also when possible to collect useful manuscripts. These were known to exist not just in Constantinople but in other cities. In 1807 Ali Bey saw an immense Koran in the Dome of the Rock:

> Tradition reports that this Koran belonged to the Caliph Omar, but I saw a similar one in the grand mosque of Cairo called Azahar, and another at Mecca; to all of which the same origin is ascribed.[3]

Not so during the French invasion of Egypt: in the late eighteenth century Volney had also heard of the ancient collection of books in Al-Azhar, which Christians were forbidden to touch.[4] Kruse, in Cairo in 1807–9 looking for manuscripts, just after the French occupation, found that the French had already bought the interesting ones (and the British, with characteristic generosity as gentlemen, had allowed these to be carried back to Paris along with crates of looted antiquities, but not the Rosetta Stone).[5] By the end of the nineteenth century Cairo had its own Khedival Library, with material collected from the mosques. Some fragments resulted from the tourist trade:

> On vient encore d'apporter, comme nous arrivons, un fort vieux coffre en bois qu'on nous montre, et où nagent pêlemêle des milliers de fragments du Koran sur parchemin. Il provient d'une mosquée dont le portier les vendait par bribes aux étrangers.[6]

What were the prospects for manuscript collection in North Africa? Surely things would be easy in Algeria (occupied by the French in 1830) and Tunisia? And surely one might hope that once Kairouan was taken over by the French in 1881, all would be revealed. But the locals were still uncooperative. Houdas and Basset, charged with their mission in 1882 "de recenser les manuscrits arabes existant dans les Bibliothèques de la Régence de Tunis," complained that the only mosque in Tunisia they could enter was at Kairouan, where they were met with resistance, as at Tunis, where "le mauvais vouloir des fonctionnaires tunisiens et de la population rendit presqu'inutiles nos démarches."[7] They spent a fortnight at Kairouan without much result, and did worse at Sfax and

Sousse.[8] There must still be manuscripts at Kairouan, but they guessed "qu'à l'approche de l'armée française, les fonctionnaires ecclésiastiques musulmans se hâtèrent de faire disparaître les livres qui avaient pu échapper aux dévastations antérieures et d'en enrichir leurs bibliothèques particulières."[9]

It was a conventional belief that some books from the classical world, unknown to libraries in the West, had been rescued and preserved by Islamic scholars. So frustrated were Europeans by the supposed secrets of Islamic libraries that in 1860 Richardson was tormented by the belief that the El-Karoubin Mosque at Fez held the lost books of Livy (shades of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*). His brutal conclusion (taking the required swipe at the traditional enemy) was that "I imagine we shall never know the truth of this until the French march an army into Fez, and sack the library."[10] This did not happen. Leared, writing in 1879, also sought to find Livy therein. He had been promised access by the Governor of Fez and others, but all in vain:

> It seemed to be one of the many points upon which the Moors have resolved either not to gratify the curiosity or to submit to the interference of Europeans. Excuses, subterfuges, evasions, in all of which the Moor is facile princeps, were brought into play, and I never saw book or manuscript.[11]

Leared's work was revised and edited by Richard Burton in 1891, with comments on the El-Karoubin Mosque which indicated that its book glories might be long past. Leo Africanus had reported that there were well over a hundred bookshops clustered round the mosque; but "this account was written more than three hundred years ago. Even then this once populous and enlightened city had fallen into great decay, and now little more than barbarism and misery prevail."[12]

As we might guess from the difficulties of entering mosques, the locals were frequently wary of letting Christians even handle their sacred books. In 1923 Carpenter picked up a Koran in the booksellers' bazaar in Damascus, and was ordered, "Put it down! Put it down! We do not sell our holy books to the Christians." To which the lame reply was that he could buy Korans by the ton in both London and New York,[13] which was of course beside the point.

4 Nineteenth-century Travel and Tourism

> Immutability is the most striking characteristic of the East: from the ancient strife of Cain and Abel, to the present struggle between

> the Crescent and the Cross, its people remain in their habits of thought and action less changed than the countries they inhabit.[14] [1848]

Warburton (above) was citing a frequent *topos*, well known from the belief that little had changed in the Holy Land since the time of Jesus. This informed part of the fanciful desire of many pilgrim-travellers, who thought it permissible to use the Bible as a guidebook, just as they would Pausanias for the monuments of Greece. But, as already outlined in Volume I (*Spain, Turkey and Points East*), the East was indeed changing, to become more Western, under the impact of Western trade, finance, warfare and, of course, individual travel and then organised group tourism.

Many tourists arrived in Alexandria and then Cairo, because in Egypt the river was the highway for travel, and much easier, more convenient and safer than the bad roads. As already noted, westerners sent home spectacular quantities of artefacts from the East, from carpets and glass to ceramics, bronzes, stucco and coinage. (Unlike Muslim architecture, the appreciation of such portable artefacts has already been well covered by modern scholarship.) Until late in the nineteenth century the Bible remained a guidebook for some, although archaeology and common-sense indicated how difficult it was to reconcile monuments in the Bible with those surviving on the ground. Again, competition from the mid-nineteenth century rose from handbooks which not only detailed the surviving monuments, but offered information on road, rail and steam, currency and climate, itineraries and local servants, and the newly-appearing hotels.

European influence throughout the Ottoman Empire grew during the nineteenth century. The French had occupied Egypt in 1798, until the British (following Nelson's coup in Aboukir Bay) threw them out. As an indirect result of the Crimean War (when British and French armies defeated Russia in 1854–1856), Britain secured the Suez Canal and then Egypt. Introducing themselves by bombarding Alexandria from the sea, Britain occupied Egypt in 1882, importing yet more Western ideas and infrastructure, as well as scholars. In Cairo, the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* had already been established by the French in 1881. An intriguing question is whether this institution continued in the venerable tradition of annoying the British (*vide* Napoleon in Cairo, and throughout Europe and Mediterranean. Perhaps British attention was concentrated on their survey and archaeological work in Palestine?). The French were ahead of Britain in the restoration of their own monuments in the hexagon, and it was certainly not the case that British scholars were less interested in or knowledgeable about Islamic architecture than their French counterparts. Chapter Three in this book touches on

the ramifications of this insecure *entente cordiale*, but does not delve into the details of whether and how conservation turned into restoration, where neither country could be awarded any medals for their dubious work back home (Carcassonne, and many French and British cathedrals). And Cairo still suffers from the "restoration" work done there.

5 Jerusalem and Cairo

The cities of Jerusalem and Cairo have been chosen as exemplars for this volume because they form, as it were, two legs of Western experience, representing pilgrimage and trade (with the imperial authority of Constantinople, dealt with in Volume 1, forming the tripod). They are different in religious complexity, economy and (in Islamic terms) architectural "age." The Holy Land held obvious attraction because of the Bible and the Crusades. Jerusalem, a tiny city, formed a pilgrimage focus for Jews, Christians and Muslims, and several existing monuments were taken over by the Muslims for their exclusive use, causing ongoing difficulties here as elsewhere (for example, Hebron). The late seventh-century Dome of the Rock is the earliest Muslim shrine in the Holy Land.

Christians came to Jerusalem to visit Biblical sites, and often described buildings appropriated by Islam, as well as trying to offer descriptions of the structures on the Haram, especially the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome, which had been occupied by the Crusaders, triggering a mix-up in later minds with the Temple of Solomon which had once occupied the site. Frequently down-at-heel, on occasion Jerusalem prospered with a veritable industry of milking pilgrims and charging admission to monuments Christian as well as Muslim. Some Christian pilgrims evidently balanced their books by detaching stone from the (Dome of the) Rock and selling these holy souvenirs in Constantinople and Sicily.[15]

Cairo has an earlier Islamic presence than Jerusalem (the Mosque of Amr at Fustat precedes the Dome of the Rock by several decades) and, architecturally, a much richer one. Indeed, Cairo is the city with the greatest concentration of surviving important and often richly decorated monuments anywhere in the Islamic world. The Fatimids (910–1171) had the Cairo area as their centre, and this city boasts series of monuments dating from its 969 foundation (Babylon/Fustat, to the south, was the earlier, original Roman settlement). By the millennium, Cairo itself was large and prosperous, and an important centre of the Islamic world. Its architectural glories were enhanced by both commonplace and luxurious materials obtained from the dismantling of Pharaonic and

Roman monuments, especially from the mid-thirteenth century, when we find not only ancient marble columns re-used but also ornamental stones gracing interior wall veneers and pavements. Absent these additions to basic structures, Cairo's buildings would have been much the poorer. Thanks perhaps to the large Coptic presence as well as the *embarrass de richesses* from antiquity, Cairo tended to leave working churches alone, unlike Constantinople, where many were converted into mosques, and several remain Byzantine enough for modern scholars to study. Cairo's architectural glory days saw their autumn in the early fifteenth century with the buildings of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay. They ended when the Ottoman Turks took over Egypt in 1517, produced few buildings of distinction, and stripped some marble from her mosques and palaces to cart off to Constantinople.

Western travellers were often puzzled by the poor state of Islamic monuments, wondering why they were left to decay, and why the government (local or national) did not maintain them – concerns were most frequently voiced for Cairo. This is because they were generally ignorant of the waqf, or deed of endowment, set up when a monument (mosque, school, hospital, tomb or han[3]) was built, and intended to provide an income flow that would continue.[4] Ansary suggests we "think of it as a Muslim version of a non-profit corporation set up for charitable purposes. Under Muslim law, the waqfs could not be taxed."[5] Thousands of these waqf documents survive, and are often very detailed, such as that for the khanqah of Baibars in Cairo. As MacFarlane remarked in 1850, the government had taken over many waqfs from hereditary estates as well as mosques, so that "verily, two reforming Sultans have democratized the land more than revolutionists have democratized France."[16] They collected the revenues, but did not employ them for monumental upkeep.

The takeover of waqf revenues by government began early, nor was it confined to Cairo. Vansleb in Cairo in 1672 noted that "les revenus ayant manqué par la tyrannie des Pachas, les tombeaux & les Mosquées s'en font presque toutes allées en ruine;"[17] and in 1677 he reported that soup-kitchens had once fed pilgrims and the poor in Cairo, but that the tyrannous pashas had now gathered the waqfs for themselves, so that now "les revenus ayant manqué par la tyrannie des Pachas, les tombeaux & les Mosquées s'en sont presque toutes allées en ruine."[18]A Damascene last century noted similar developments

3 Boyar and Fleet 2010, 129, 132; Singer 2002, 15–37, Chapter One: "Devote the fruits to pious purposes.".

4 Behrens-Abouseif 2008, 307–310, Waqf, Building, and Maintenance, Jayyusi 2008; passim for discussion of various waqfs; Ze'evi 1996, 27–28, 150, for Palestine's mosques.

5 Ansary 2009, 102.

in his city, describing his grief in a book entitled *Speaking to the Ruins and Chatting with Phantoms*.[6] Such is life; as Ágoston and Masters remarked, "All were established and sustained with the intention that they last for eternity; in reality, some of them functioned for hundreds of years, while others were defunct within a generation."[7]

Western modernisation was generally restricted to city outskirts (as happened with Cairo, Algiers and Tunis), leaving the mediaeval centre largely untouched. This was a decided aid to Cairo's preservation of her best architecture. Her centre presented to the visitor a warren of narrow, dark and often dirty streets (there were frequent complaints about these, and about roaming dogs), so that many visitors chose to restrict their inspection to those mosques easily visited, plus the spectacular mausolea in the sands outside the city proper. Hence they missed a lot: decorated stone domes, lavish interiors, and much mosque furniture. Fortunately Cairo's often highly inventive minarets (a class above those of Constantinople) were easy to see and admire, and the Citadel offered a splendid vantage point from which to gain an overview of the city without getting one's feet dirty.

Again, lacking knowledge, many westerners struggled to locate the monuments they saw in Cairo within architectural styles they knew in the West, surely because interest in and knowledge of mediaeval architecture at home grew only gradually during the nineteenth century. As we saw in Volume One (*Spain, Turkey and Points East*), Constantinople was easier for visitors to understand because (apart from converted churches) the main mosques were later, there was no surviving (let alone intact) mediaeval centre, and travellers could relate some of what they saw there with near-contemporary structures back home. They interested themselves in domes (which they often and incorrectly considered a Western Renaissance innovation) for this very reason. Tournefort, for example, in Constantinople in 1701 and writing of all the main towns he had seen, certainly knew that the muezzin called believers to prayer from a minaret, but also that "Ce chantre sert de cloche, de quadran & d'horloge; car dans toute la Turquie il n'y a que des montres de poche."[19]

At Jerusalem, which saw no nineteenth-century modernisation, except on the Haram, newly built Islamic monuments were few, because it was easier to adapt Christian structures. Always popular, but increasingly so during the nineteenth century thanks to cheaper and easier travel, Jerusalem offered an affirmation of faith through pilgrimage, which led to some dusty

6 Rafeq 2002, 117–118.

7 Ágoston and Masters 2009, 136 s.v. Charity.

comments/prayers about the coming end of Islam. The magnificence of the Haram invited some visitors to ponder the place of the Dome of the Rock in the history of architecture. Was it perhaps the Temple of Solomon? Was it a Byzantine structure, or even an Islamic one?

Both Britain and France viewed Ottoman lands as a key between East and West, and both, of course, also had ambassadors and consuls in Constantinople and Cairo. Trade was the main reason for their posting, and this included those Eastern luxury goods (such as silk) for which the West continued to thirst. Foreign interest in antiquities in Egypt began with "Egyptian art and architecture" (that is, from the ancient world, principally the time of the Pharaohs), but it was the monuments of the new city of Cairo that introduced thousands of westerners to Islamic art and architecture well before the 1453 conquest of Constantinople and the vigorous mosque-building program there.

6 The survival of Islam

Many in the West continued to look on Islam, the competitor to Christianity, with suspicion and sometimes distaste if no longer with alarm. The survival/demise of Islam is a theme which runs through this volume, as it did through Volume 1. Thus Stephens wrote in 1839 of Jerusalem that "the time shall come when the crescent shall no longer glitter over its battlements, nor the banner of the Prophet wave over its walls."[20] Hence Wilson and Warren's 1871 *The Recovery of Jerusalem* was provided with a preface which explained the title:

> With regard to the title: more than two-thirds of the volume are concerned with the Holy City itself, while the remaining pages describe explorations in that range of country which, in a wide sense, may be considered the Holy Land. It is hoped, therefore, that the adoption for its title of the old Crusading watchword, the "Recovery of Jerusalem," will be thought germane to the general object of the Society under whose auspices it is put forth. That old cry pointed to the Land as well as to the City, and may fairly be used for the purpose of the new Crusade.[21]

Islam did not collapse. In 1893 Claretie, scornful of the immutability of Islam, reminded his readers that the Sultan kept a prayer rug in Kairouan:

> C'est une force, et une force terrible, cette communion et cette persistance des mêmes idées religieuses à travers la moitié de l'Ancien Monde:

> et il ne faudrait pas chercher ailleurs le dernier et le seul principe de vitalité chez cette race moribonde.[22]

If Islam did not collapse, the Empire certainly did. Carpenter's *The Holy Land and Syria* of 1923 provided a pointer to some Western convictions and desires after the end of the First World War, aired in earlier years as we have seen. The Frontispiece photograph shows Allenby entering Jerusalem (thankfully on foot, as he had been advised, supposed by Lawrence) on 11 December 1917. But the caption reads:

> CHRISTIANS RULE THE LAND OF CHRIST. Seven hundred years of Moslem supremacy in the Holy Land ended with General Allenby's modest entrance into Jerusalem, then arose the cry, "The day of deliverance is come."[23]

This of course was not to be true, and a more general opinion was that "East is East, and West is West," so that a Parisian architect could admire a Cairo mosque or Indian pagoda without wishing to import such styles. As Lubomirski commented in 1880, "Que c'est beau l'Orient, disons-nous. Quel coloris! Quel ciel! / Nous aimons l'Orient pour le visiter, non pour l'habiter. Les Arabes apprécient Paris de la même façon désintéressée."[24]

More recently, George W. Bush (immortalised by his observation that the trouble with the French was that they had no word for *entrepreneur*) (mis-) spoke of a "crusade." In the Muslim world memories of the Crusades were long and enduring. They remembered that Crusaders on the Haram slaughtered many, and looted silver and precious objects from the Dome of the Rock,[8] so we may attribute the embargo on both Christians and Jews freely visiting important shrines to, in part, a continuing reaction to that, as well as alarm at the modernisation imposed on the Empire by Western powers.

7 Muslims, Christians and Jews

Christians were tolerated in Islamic lands, but frequently under some financial and other penalties; some of their churches were taken over, and others destroyed for their materials, especially marble. This occurred as early as

8 Gil 1992, 828.

the Abbasids (750–1258), when Christians were forbidden to attend Muslim schools or to own horses (they had to make do with asses or mules).[25] Under Al-Hakim in Cairo, a Christian quarter was razed and Al-Azhar erected on the site; both Christians and Jews were ordered to wear heavy collars.[26] Restrictions on church restoration without payment to the Muslim authorities were common, as was their destruction. (See, for example, Guérin's account of how Mount Carmel had been plundered by Djezzar Pasha for his mosque at Acre, and the machinations for getting the convent rebuilt.[27]) Already on the fifth Crusade (1227–1229) Frederick II had signed a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt guaranteeing freedom of worship in Jerusalem, returning the Dome to the Muslims, and apparently allowing Christians to pray there.[28] But this did not last, and Makrizi relates that Frederick was annoyed to see a priest, gospel in hand, forbidding Christians from entering without special permission.[29] Beating local prejudice was a cause for celebration: in 1830 Finati (acting as dragoman for Bankes) had no difficulty in Cairo because he spoke Arabic; they were both in local dress, and Bankes kept quiet.[30] But in Jerusalem, in an act of supreme chutzpah, Bankes demanded the customary certificate for visiting Muslim pilgrimage sites, and again Finati was able to oblige.[31]

Nineteenth century modernity was a trigger for many changes to the status of Christians, some of which were unacceptable to the locals. In 1856 the Sublime Porte in Constantinople issued a decree to regularise their position throughout the Empire, but in 1858 "les principaux chefs musulmans des grandes villes d'Alep, du Caire, de Beyrouth, de Damas, de Bagdad, se réunirent à Ikimduni pour se concerter sur les mesures à prendre contre les progrès du christianisme." They concluded that all Christians in the East should be killed, hence the 1860 riots, and massacres in Lebanon.[32] Damascus convents were sacked and their effects looted, while ten churches and three thousand eight hundred Christian houses were destroyed.[33] The destruction of that city's Christian quarter was extensive, and estimated to have cost at least £2,000,000 in repairs, when £1 was equal to £109.68 in today's money.[34] In 1861 Poujoulat claimed the conspiracy against Christians was Empire-wide, with fourteen plotters hanged in Cairo, and three thousand rifles found in a mosque in Alexandria.[35]

In 1882 Porter looked to the Christian past, and explicitly to a Christian future. He noted how in the fourth century all of Bashan was Christian, with temples converted into churches. A few were now mosques but, as for the majority, "some of them are, with marble colonnades and stately porticos, showing us alike the wealth and the taste of their founders, and now remaining almost perfect, as if awaiting the influx of a new Christian population."[36]

Further east, in India, Russell explained in 1860 that missionaries made no progress with Muslims:

> They are unquestionably more dangerous [than Hindus] to our rule. But if we destroyed every temple they have in India to-morrow, we should only add to the intensity of their hatred, recruit their fakeers and fanatics by millions, dishonour our own principles of Christian toleration, and furnish every casuist in the bazaars with powerful and irresistible weapons wherewith to meet our own missionary preachers.[37]

Jews in the Barbary States of North Africa, perhaps numbering some 700,000 in 1800, were treated with indignity and insult, as Noah remarked. They paid a capitation tax, had to dress in black ("l'emblème du malheur et de la malediction"[38]), and were not allowed to pass a mosque, or (sometimes) even to walk down a street which contained a mosque, without taking off their shoes. The Christians were just as hated, but they had protection from foreign powers, whereas the Jews did not.[39] In 1830 Brewer noted that the Jews were active, enterprising and rich, the leading merchants, in control of the mint:

> they keep the Bey's jewels and valuable articles, and are his treasurers, secretaries and interpreters; the little known of arts, science, and medicine, is confined to the Jews.[40]

Writing of Morocco in 1891, Leared listed yet more restrictions on Jews, which excluded Tangier: turban not allowed, black shoes only, not to carry arms, and no synagogues, for practice of their religion was restricted to their private houses.[41]

8 Dress and Stability: Two Disparities between West and East

Westerners dressed differently from the adherents of Islam, and came from states more stable than the Ottoman Empire. Hence they were immediately recognisable as foreign, so the most alert among them adopted local dress. In 1677 Vansleb was far from the first to recommend this for travels along the Nile: "J'entray aussi dans les Mosquées sans aucune apprehension, parce que j'estois habillé tout-à-fait à la Turque."[42] In 1829 Madden printed his frontispiece of himself in Syrian dress, relating that this and a beard allowed him to avoid "many a shower of maledictions, and oftentimes of stones." He reproved an author who recommended that Franks travel in Western dress:

> Major Denham's advice to Europeans, to travel in Frank attire, I consider a most injudicious one; the Arabs despise us more for our apparel than they even hate us for our creed; our tight clothes appear to them not only ridiculous, but indecent; and it is their general impression, that our garments make us look like monkeys.[43]

And Alexandre Dumas assured us he had no problems in Cairo precisely because of his adoption of local dress:

> Our Mussulman costume, which (though I say it) we wore with perfect oriental dignity, gave us entrance to all doors, even those of the mosques. These last were our favourite promenade.[44]

Not that a local disguise necessarily guaranteed safety. In 1823 Wilson recounted how an unnamed celebrated traveller entered the Dome of the Rock in local dress, but without permission,

> and affected to go through the Mahomedan mode of worship, but, having been discovered, after he had left the place, and returned to the Franciscan convent, he was assailed there by a party of Turks, when considerable apprehensions were entertained for his personal safety, and he made a hasty and secret departure from Jerusalem.[45]

The second disparity was a political and existential one, between stable polities back home, and the fragmented state of the Ottoman Empire, especially when seen from Syria or North Africa. Inevitably, the surely desirable, and to some likely, collapse of the Ottoman state was effortlessly linked to the collapse not only of old mosques, but of Islam itself. Here, then, we find echoes of the Crusades. Conscious that Palestine and its Holy Places had long been Christian, in 1743 Perry spoke of invasion and conquest: the Christians should take down "the haughty Turk," and recover Palestine, "with other places once in the Tenure and Possession of the Christians."[46] He even argued that Christians had missed chances to take it further down, "for the Defence, Advancement and Extension, of our most excellent and most holy Religion."[47] And as early as 1819 Forbin could be puzzled at how the Empire was managing to survive, given "the deranged state of the finances, the ruinous condition of the fortresses and, lastly, the independence of the Pashas of Albania, the Morea, Egypt and Damascus."[48]

Much the same wishful thinking appertained when Algeria, only nominally Ottoman, was invaded by the French in 1830. They had a difficult time with

the locals, who fought back savagely and at length, and for decades. Hence in 1847 we find Veuillot calling on God, who will certainly end Islam: "Dieu le refoule, il l'envoie, au temps marqué, périr dans les deserts d'où il est sorti."[49] He referred to holy war, to jihad, hoping it was but the memory of an impulse which had already disappeared, a shadow which "se dissipera promptement et nous laissera paisibles possesseurs des contrées où nous la combattons."[50] With their *mission civilisatrice*, and their *refoulement* of the locals (not that of God!) was not the French invasion of Algeria a jihad? See Chapter Four for details. *Refoulement* meant driving the natives out of the coastal regions (where Western trade etc. could flourish) and back into the southern deserts, which were unproductive and therefore played no part in modernisation.

In 1893 Baraudon, writing of Algeria and Tunisia, turned anti-Arab arguments on their head. We westerners thought them dirty, yet they washed six times each day; their religion and society were unchanging, but this was a strength not a weakness, and had kept Christianity at bay for ten centuries. All of which begged the question,

> Dès lors, pourquoi vouloir à tout prix changer leurs mœurs, leurs lois et les conceptions spéciales qu'ils se font de l'existence? Nos innovations sont-elles donc si merveilleuses et si fécondes?[51]

However, in spite of modernisation, great differences survived between East and West. As Baedeker instructed his readers in 1911, "modern" attitudes were still lacking:

> The objects and pleasures of travel are so unintelligible to most Orientals that they are apt to regard the European traveller as a lunatic, or at all events as a Crœsus, and therefore to be exploited on every possible occasion. Hence their constant demands for 'bakshish' ('a gift' … / While the traveller should be both cautious and firm in his dealings with the natives, he should avoid being too exacting or suspicious. Many of those he meets with are like mere children … / The natives are apt to make common cause against European visitors … the traveller … should never, for example, photograph a Mohammedan without his leave, nor look too curiously at the veiled women, nor don Oriental costume. Sacred places, such as mosques, chapels, and religious houses and their schools, must not be entered without removing one's shoes or putting on slippers, lest the carpets and mats on which prayer is offered be polluted. Korans must

never be touched; and when prayers are being recited, strangers must keep carefully aloof.[52]

9 Arrangement of the Book

The following chapters explore especially British and French engagement with Islamic architecture. They are supported by notes on the work of modern scholars, and sources from earlier centuries. The text, references and illustrations of the book are extended by an online URL (https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.24637806) offering endnotes with extensive quotations from earlier authors, as well as a comprehensive range of images of the monuments and decorative arts discussed in the text.

The chapters proceed from the eastern Mediterranean through **Two: Syria and the Holy Land**, the target of the crusades, then **Three: Cairo and Alexandria** examines the greatest collection of Islamic monuments from previous centuries. This chapter's final section, Cairo, Modernism and Islamic Survivals, demonstrates the irony of how Western modernity helped destroy Islamic monuments in Egypt at the same time as their "restoration" allowed the collection of splendid objects for museums back home. The countries of **Four: North Africa** conclude the survey. Rich in mosques, the French occupation of Algeria and then Tunisia ensured that conservation (and restoration) were applied, perhaps in unacknowledged penance for the destruction wrought in Algeria since the 1830 invasion. Morocco, an independent kingdom, escaped the French, and in consequence her mosques present a more convincing picture of continuity.

As we have seen, by the later nineteenth century Egypt was under the direct control of Britain. The First World War, which saw the deliberate destruction of the Ottoman Empire, triggered the carve-up of much of the Middle East into British and French spheres of influence, from Lebanon and Syria (France) to modern-day Iraq (Britain). Modernisation had continued apace and affected what some European saw as the never-changing East. The book concludes with **Five: Exhibiting Islamic Lands: Trade, Travel and Empire**, which explores how exhibitions in Europe and America could import buildings and people from the regions covered in this book. Travel was certainly easier and cheaper by the later nineteenth century – but why visit the East when the East in all its exotic and clean-scrubbed splendour could visit you in a multi-country exhibition at or near home, with theatrical performances laid on?

[1] Busbecq_1881_I_410.
[2] Thomassy_1845_63.
[3] Ali_Bey_1816_II_253.
[4] Volney_1787_II_411.
[5] Kruse_1855_III_165.
[6] Berger_1895_72.
[7] Houdas_&_Basset_1884_5.
[8] Houdas_&_Basset_1884_6.
[9] Houdas_&_Basset_1884_181.
[10] Richardson_1860_II_142.
[11] Leared_1879_56.
[12] Leared_1891_160–161.
[13] Carpenter_1923_217.
[14] Warburton_1848_xi.
[15] Sauvaire_1876_75.
[16] Mac_Farlane_1850_I_72–73.
[17] Vansleb_1677_133.
[18] Vansleb_1677_133.
[19] Tournefort_1717_II_350–351.
[20] Stephens_1839_94.
[21] Wilson_&_Warren_1871_vii–viii.
[22] Claretie_1893_138–139.
[23] Carpenter_1923_Frontispiece.
[24] Lubomirski_1880_179–180.
[25] Lammens_1921_I_137.
[26] Lammens_1921_I_150.
[27] Guérin_1884_171.
[28] Allshorn_1912_94–95.
[29] Reinaud_1829_432.
[30] Finati_1830_II_111.
[31] Finati_1830_II_291.
[32] Mislin_1876_I_530.
[33] Poujoulat_1861_161.
[34] Cook_1876_350.
[35] Poujoulat_1861_10.
[36] Porter_1882_16–17.
[37] Russell_1860_II_73–74.
[38] Cotte_1860_138.
[39] Noah_1819_309.
[40] Brewer_1830_276.
[41] Leared_1891_179–180.
[42] Vansleb_1677_357–358.
[43] Madden_1829_I_381–382.
[44] Dumas_1839_108.
[45] Wilson_1823_173–174.
[46] Perry_1743_7.
[47] Perry_1743_4–6.
[48] Forbin_1819B_117.
[49] Veuillot_1847_2.
[50] Veuillot_1847_178–191.
[51] Baraudon_1893_40.
[52] Baedeker_1911_xxv.

CHAPTER 2

Syria and the Holy Land

Syria is the land between the Levantine Gulf at Alexandretta to the north, the Sinai Desert to the south, and the frontier of present-day Iraq to the east (although present-day Iraq was often bundled into Syria or Asia Minor in the accounts with which we deal). The chapter's title includes the "Holy Land" because the deeds and monuments of the Bible were a focus of interest for pilgrims and crusaders in the Middle Ages, and for later travellers, especially from the mid-nineteenth century, with cheaper and more convenient group travel. This region was also rich in Roman monuments, which attracted the attention of many travellers. Many nineteenth century commentators thought that, although they converted many churches, the Muslim conquest brought more destruction than construction: "The Saracenic buildings are fortresses, khans, and mosques."[1] And already in the sixteenth century French negotiations had been opened with Cairo regarding Christian prisoners, and the barred access to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.[2]

From the middle of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire was viewed semi-officially and certainly by many pilgrims to Jerusalem as a "sick man," a phrase perhaps first used by Czar Nicholas I of Russia just before the Crimean War. He wished to bring down the Empire, so perhaps that special need provoked special pleading. Indeed, by 1840 Russia had apparently obtained agreement to protect the holy sites of Jerusalem.[3] Western Christians understood this agreement as promising a programme to muscle in on many erstwhile Christian shrines which had been converted into mosques – and of course this never happened. Could not other Western countries help? In 1854 Berton offered a list of Christian monuments in Jerusalem seized by the Empire through the capitulation agreements and, perhaps emboldened by the curbing of Russia in the Crimean War (1854–56), concluded that "c'est là une affaire à régler entre la Porte et nous, tandis que pour les cinq sanctuaires énumérés plus haut, la France peut et doit intervenir, puisqu'ils nous ont été pris depuis qu'elle nous en a garanti la possession."[4]

Of course, it was only the Empire that was at fault! In 1857 Guérin, preaching to the choir back home, and forgetting or deliberately ignoring the parlous condition of many Christian monuments in France, could opine that the degradation of splendid mosques in Cairo was a clear indication that

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> l'lslamisme penche de plus en plus vers son déclin … et leurs sculptures mutilées, leurs nefs désertes, leurs dômes et leurs minarets croulants attestent la décadence visible de la religion qui les avait élevés et qui est maintenant impuissante à la soutenir.[5]

And he went on to note that "Ce sont partout des Européens qu'on voit à la tête du commerce, de I'industrie et de toutes les entreprises ayant pour but la culture, l'exploitation et l'amelioration materielle du pays."[6] Slade had made much the same point in 1837, namely that Turkey had plentiful raw materials but no initiative and hence no industry.[7] Industrialisation was the key to Western supremacy, which left the Empire and the Barbary States as clients dependent on foreign expertise, financing and influence.

1 Mosques and How to Enter Them

> Let the pilgrim beware of entering mosques, that is, Saracen temples and oratories, because if he be found therein, he will in no case escape unharmed, then should he escape with his life … Let the pilgrim especially beware of laughing to scorn Saracens who are praying and practising the postures required by their faith, because they cannot bear this at all. For they themselves refrain from molesting or laughing at us when we are at our prayers.[8] [*c*.1481–83]

The Dominican Felix Fabri (*c*.1437/38–1502: see above quote) wrote his lengthy *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem* with entertaining anecdotes to lighten his main purpose, which was "eye-witnessing holy places and confirming salvation history."[1] As indicated in Brother Fabri's section on *Rules for Pilgrims*, one of which is given above, mosques were supposedly forbidden to Christians. However, Muslims and Christians evidently watched each other at prayer, as Fabri recounted of Muslims watching a mass on Mount Zion from the door.[9] So perhaps Muslims entered churches freely when services were not in progress, this echoing Christian entry into mosques. As he recounted incorrectly, "Mahomet has not forbidden them to meet us in baths, but only in churches,"[10] meaning their mosques. Just as in some churches, especially those frequented by pilgrims (such as the Holy Sepulchre), Muslims were willing to believe marble in mosques was sometimes endowed

1 Schröder 2020.

with healing powers, as when Pococke in 1745 saw the imam in a Beirut mosque roll a column over a Turk's back, presumably to relieve rheumatism.[11]

But these *Rules for Pilgrims* were unhelpfully general, and we may wonder whether dire warnings about Christians caught in mosques were to spice up the text, here and in many later travel accounts, simply to underline the author's control over his pilgrim flock, or to impress his readers. Even in Jerusalem, Fabri had no difficulty getting into a new mosque that was being built, although "when that has been done, they will let no Christian go in. So we went home to our own places."[12] So many erstwhile Christian holy places were now Muslim that negotiation with the locals (and often payment) was essential to obtain access. Thus the services of the son of the local guide were needed to get Fabri into the birthplace of the blessed Virgin Mary (once a church):

> We entered the mosque, and went from the church into the cloister. Now, at the side of the church there is a window above the ground, like the windows of the chambers wherein weavers work, or like the windows of cellars, through which light and air comes into them. Through this window is the way into the birthplace of the blessed Virgin, for the infidels have blocked up the door of the crypt which used to be in the church, because they care nothing about this place.[13]

At the village of Lebhem, in Palestine, Fabri's group entered a mosque, "laughing to scorn the superstitious and foolish religion of the Saracens." Controlling such a flock was evidently precarious: presumably for a bet, a knight went to sleep inside the mosque, and emerged unscathed, in spite of the group's apprehensions.[14] Then in Zucharia their inn was next to a mosque, and after a pilgrim urinated into it through a window, the pilgrims left the village quickly.[15] Fabri's apprehensions, as reflected in the opening quote for this section, were evidently well-founded.

Churches were of course built in the Holy Land during the early centuries of Christianity, and many of these, as we have already learned, were converted into mosques. (Classical temples were also converted into churches and then mosques, as Beaufort described at Palmyra.[16]) More churches were built by the Crusaders, who sought to keep the region safe for pilgrims, and they naturally converted some mosques back to Christian worship. The see-saw continued after the failure of the Crusades, leaving later pilgrims either unable to visit those holy sites which were now in the hands of the Muslims (e.g. St. John the Baptist at Gaza, now the Great Mosque), or having to pay for the privilege (in the case of Saulcy at Samaria, by inviting the imam and his friends to a meal[17]). Entry could produce some surprises, as when in 1856 Bromfield

managed to get into Rachel's Tomb, to find there a group of chanting Jews, although he does not say how much they must have paid for the privilege:

> We were the more surprised at gaining an entry, since we believed (as it is generally stated in books of travel), that the Tomb of Rachel, like the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, and the sepulchre of Abraham at Hebron, is zealously closed against Jews and Christians at all times without exception.[18]

Surius described the state of mosque entry in 1666: principal mosques were impossible to enter, but smaller ones were easy if a tip were offered.[19] He then described their appearance: often "revestus de marbre, des lambris superbement élabourez à la Mosaïque, mais le dedans est blanchy sans autre sorte de pieux ornemens," but without decoration, altar or pulpit, "de sorte que toute la parure de leur Mosquée consiste en ces mots escrits en lettres Arabiques … il n'y a qu'un seul Dieu, & Mahomet est son Prophète."[20] When describing the Holy Land, Thévenot, travelling to Jerusalem in 1658, and knowing Turkish, Arabic and Persian, scrupulously noted the erstwhile Christian monuments that Christians were or were not allowed to enter.

What impact did Islamic or Byzantine structures make upon the Crusaders? Unfortunately, very little. For if they really thought the Al-Aqsa Mosque (or sometimes the Dome of the Rock itself) was Solomon's Temple (or Templum Domini), this gives a good index of their dubious knowledge of (and interest in?) the architectural past. Ditto the Al-Aqsa as part of the Palatium Salomonis. The Order of the Temple of Solomon was the long name for the Templars. To this we might add the apparent lack of architectural repercussions back home from the Fourth Crusade's acquaintance with Hagia Sophia, which was a Catholic cathedral in 1204–1261. The Crusaders did take some elements of military and civilian architecture back to Europe, but this did not extend to much interest in the styles of religious architecture they found in the East, for Crusader churches in the East are nearly all imported Western designs. Although the Crusaders took military engineers with them to the East, it is likely that their new churches were built by local craftsmen. The geometry of the arch, and some interest in domes, were sometimes taken home. St. Mark's in Venice, completed in 1072, shows direct influence of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, thought we should remember the strong Byzantine influences already existing in southern Italy and Sicily. And the Crusades and ensuing pilgrims probably carried back information which inspired some architectural

features such as domes on pendentives in Aquitaine and, much later, in Spain, where Islamic influence was strong.[2]

One way to gain entrance to mosques throughout the Empire was to adopt local dress. In 1432 Broquière entered a handsome mosque near Samaria, "pretending to be a Saracen."[21] Walpole wore a tarbush and spoke Turkish to his guide at Tripoli in Syria; here the mosque "was formerly a Christian church, and the roof is supported on columns; Corinthian capitals have been placed on the top of plain shafts, a band of iron holding them together."[22] He was also successful at Latakia, where he proceeded to the great mosque to copy the inscriptions, joking with the Turks he met therein.[23] Nearby he found ancient ruins, converted into a mosque, with impressively tall pillars, which "probably formed the portico of some temple."[24] When Belgiojoso visited a seaside town in Syria (Gublettah) in 1858, she had no difficulty getting into the mosque and tomb of Sultan Ibrahim after shaking off importunate locals: "A peine le son de la monnaie touchant les dalles du temple se fit-il entendre, qne le cercle dans lequel j'étais enfermée se brisa."[25] The English consul's brother had indeed arranged for her party to sleep in the mosque (Muslims frequently slept in mosques),

> et je le vis même rougir lorsqu'il jeta un regard dans l'intérieur de mon appartement. Qu'était-ce donc que ce logement? Je ne puis le dire; toutefois il est constant que les tanières des plus immondes animaux seraient des gîtes préférables aux chambres des sous-officiers de la garnison de Gublettah.[26]

Certainly, there were some fine mosques to be seen. In 1879 Davis visited Tripoli near Alexandretta, and found a mosque and gateways equal to those in Cairo, as well as vessels in the shops, reminding his readers that "for many centuries the site of ancient Tripoli has served as a quarry, and even yet the supply of marble and hewn stone is far from being exhausted."[27] But group travel was

2 Watson 1989 v: "An examination of all types of Islamic monument (buildings, carved marble, wood, ivory and metalwork) in Spain dated before AD 1100 has provided a lengthy list of structural and decorative features and decorative motifs sufficiently distinctive to imply the likelihood of a degree of Andalucian (Spanish Islamic) influence in comparable features of French Romanesque decoration. A selection of some 40 of these has been … found associated with the three main features discussed – Kufic writing, lobed arch and roll corbels." Again, Islamic masonry architecture was available early in Spain: see Gormaz (Castile-Leon, Spain), built by Muslims 965–66, passed to El Cid in 1087.

still not necessarily safe, for Davis encountered a group of German aristocrats on his ship: "They had been miserably provided, had suffered much from bad weather, and some of their number when near Damascus, were assaulted and robbed by their own escort."[28]

By the mid-nineteenth century, travellers (especially those carrying the standard guidebooks, which made the point) were used to removing their footwear before entering mosques, although we might say that they rode rough-shod over local sensibilities in North Africa. In 1859 Blakesley visited the village of Sidi-Bou-Medine, near Mansourah, and went to a "very beautifully decorated mosque … the French officer and myself were admitted into the very sanctuary, without taking off our boots or spurs – much against my own wish."[29]

Westerners observed and frequently commented on Muslim cleanliness in their mosques, yet were not always happy about having to leave their footwear at the door. Tilt wrote of the mosques of Cairo in 1849, but even in the [unnamed] finest, "the internal decoration was not very remarkable, and as it was necessary to take off their shoes, and walk with bare feet on the cold marble floors, they did not attempt to go into any other."[30] Such insouciant disregard was continued by Pardieu, who wrote of Cairo in 1851 that the mosques were easy to enter, but "Du reste, on voit tout l'intérieur par les fenêtres."[31] On occasion, insult and infraction might have been more finely balanced. In 1875 Bost wrote of a ten-strong French delegation in the governor's residence in Jerusalem, of which "il y avait quelques hommes qui faisaient une honorable exception, et qui, entr'autres, s'abstenaient de fumer et de cracher dans le salon de réception, surtout quand il y avait des dames."[32] But according to Berton in 1854, Jews and Turks in Jerusalem repaid such habits along the Via Dolorosa where, at the Stations of the Cross, "les Juifs et les Turcs viennent souvent cracher pour empêcher les chrétiens d'y porter leurs lèvres."[33] Symmetrically, perhaps, the Jews would spit on the so-called Tomb of Absalom.[34]

Not all travellers obeyed guidebook rules, and news of outrages spread far and wide. Some travellers caused legitimate alarm for the locals because of their arrogance. The prime example was Prince Pückler Muscau. As Layard reported in 1840, in Egypt he was treated as royal by Muhammad Ali (1769–1849). He charged every last expense (baths, souvenirs, entrance fees) to that ruler, causing much scandal, and had his firman withdrawn when he reached Aleppo. He had, for example, written his name on the Tomb of David in Jerusalem.[35] Mrs. Damer was refused entry to the lower part of this tomb, Pückler Muscau's above deed cited as the reason, as well as his grasping the custodian's beard and drawing his sword to fight anyone who stopped him entering: "This seems to have incurred the wrath of the Jews, Christians, and Infidels. Consuls,

governors, and guides have all some cause of complaint. I am curious to see his own version of his journeying and succès en Orient."[36]

2 Sketching Islamic Antiquities: Paper and Panoramas

Travel books, especially in the nineteenth century, evidently sold better when illustrated, as we may deduce from the growth and popularity of magazines such as the *Illustrated London News* (1842 ff.), soon followed by French imitators. However, drawing in mosques was usually somewhere between difficult and impossible, as we shall see in subsequent chapters. Drawing in the street could also be difficult, because even if it were antiquities (not mosque architecture or fittings) to be copied, setting up such apparatus outdoors could provoke unwanted attention. (The catch was that many antiquities were to be found re-used in mosque walls.) Any foreigner with an easel was sometimes to be distracted or even threatened. Holman Hunt, in Egypt in 1854 (but definitely *not* interested in mosques), provided a histrionic sketch of himself with the Pyramids in the background. He was clothed in semi-military fashion, had a sidearm belted to his waist, and used a shotgun as a mahlstick to steady his painting hand. Since he had a dagger dangling from his wrist, perhaps the whole scene was poetic and humorous exaggeration, suitable for his readers in the *Contemporary Review*, underlining dangers faced and overcome, and therefore the heightened value of what he wrote. Baedeker introduced a panorama of Jerusalem into the 1898 edition of their *Palestine and Syria*.

Some locations were conducive to sketching. In Cairo, Valentia in 1809 recognised the attractions of a panorama taken from the Citadel, which was an acknowledged visiting place for foreigners, and free of beggars and idlers. He had Salt do the drawing,

> with one of the Chaous Bashi to protect him, and Mr. Thomaso to interpret for him. He continued there several hours, and met with no molestation.[37]

Panoramas could also be made with several photographic plates by swinging the camera on a tripod. Luckily, panoramas needed distance, were feasible with the early lenses and, precisely because of their distance from the target monument(s), could often be made undisturbed by the locals. We shall meet panoramas again in Chapter Five. Panoramas were the cinemas of the nineteenth century, and special buildings were constructed to house them, and

record the great events of the day, such as Napoleon in Egypt, or the conquest of Algiers, which was on display in Paris a mere four years after the invasion.[38]

Some travellers (but far from all of them) considered photography the best way of recording scenes. Its relatively slow progress in the East was surely due in part to expected disturbance by locals, but largely to the requirements of extensive paraphernalia, and especially its high cost. We met Girault de Prangey (1804–92) in Volume One discussing architecture in Spain, in his 1841 *Essai sur l'architecture des Arabes*. Girault de Prangey (1804–92), a French draughtsman, travelled in the eastern Mediterranean from 1842 to 1845. This lithograph of the Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo appeared in his *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie et d'Asie Mineure, dessinés et mesurés de 1842 à 1848*, Paris 1846–55 (followed by more images in his Monuments et paysages de l'Orient, of 1851). He had already published a book of prints of Córdoba, Seville and Granada in 1836–39. By 1839 the daguerreotype process was available, whereby images were fixed on to silver-plated copper. Evidently rich, Girault travelled eastwards with cameras, and produced more than one thousand daguerotypes, some of which were then converted to prints for book publication. (Many of his plates survived, and were re-discovered only in the 1920s.) In the 19th century, the direct publication of photographs in books was very expensive. However, so also were Girault's publications, issued in sections, which met with little success, and were never completed. Many would-be draughstmen reported hostility from the locals when they tried to sketch in eastern lands, but we have no information of how Girault might have fared with his camera. Several of his images, together with his lengthy assessments of Islamic architecture, appear in this volume.

He must have been a very wealthy man, for he bought two cameras, and made panoramas of Jerusalem, which certainly accord with his surviving daguerrotypes. But how many of his views of Cairo, which include discrete sketches of capitals, and a large view of the courtyard of Al Azar and its minarets, were the result of daguerrotypes? Such results were surely impossible with an 1839 photographic lens (surely purchased in Europe before he began his travels). To achieve an answer would require a close comparison between the many hundreds of daguerrotypes which have survived and the lithographs Girault printed in his books. His was a no-expense-spared and blockbuster approach to documentation, for we know that he took with him on his travels somewhere between eight hundred and a thousand plates, most of which eventually disappeared into a storeroom on his estate, not to be seen until the 1920s. He certainly made large lithographs of Granada and Cairo; the former were taken by sketching, but for Cairo and Jerusalem these were extrapolated (presumably with a pantograph) from the small daguerrotypes he exposed

there. (If we find making lithographs from photographic plates the wrong way round, we have only to consult the problems involved in getting photographs into printed books or magazines, required in multiple copies.)

Also in Cairo, Dumas covered the sketch he was making with a sheet of Arabic writing. This was a clever device, and he tried to work when mosques were deserted, or nearly so. Here is his account of the Ibn Tulun when it was near-deserted:

> I then drew from my girdle, with my drawing materials, a sheet of paper filled with Arabic characters, and began my task. If I heard a measured and lazy step approach, I would quietly but quickly slip the written sheet over my sketch: the Mussulman, in passing, would cast a side glance at me, see the writing, mistake me for a copyist or a poet, and wish me inspiration or patience, according as he thought my head or my hand was employed.

But while absorbed in his work, he was caught by a holy man, who yelled and dashed to the door:

> I lost no time in following his example; hastily thrust drawing, Arabic, and crayons into my girdle; and, without ceremony, ran for the door. I did not stay to find my own slippers, but seized the first at hand, traversed the neighbouring streets, and heard nothing more of my persecutor.[39]

Sketching elsewhere was scarcely easier than in Cairo. The Holy Land was a difficult and restrictive place for artists. Damascus was, by one account, yet worse: Wortabet recorded in 1856 (but with no date for the happening) "the fate of an Englishman, who was well pounded for attempting to take a sketch of the outside" of the Umayyad Mosque.[40] The attention of the locals to sketching westerners was not necessarily malevolent. Again in Damascus in 1855, Allen's sketching was impeded by curious and apparently benevolent locals, and it was a soldier who kept them at a distance so he could work: "my friend sat down by my side, and endeavoured, though in vain, to get up a conversation with me in the sweet Turkish language."[41] Much the same happened for Ellis in Baghdad in 1881, when

> going to the Midan to draw a view of the great mosque shown in the etching. I had some difficulty in choosing a point of view where the scene was not entirely blocked out by the crowd that came to witness my artistic exercise.[42]

In North Africa the location and in at least one case the armament also determined whether sketching was possible. In 1889 Beaugrand claimed that the painter Gaston Roullet managed to sketch a mosque (probably in Tunis), but "Il ne dut son salut qu'à un revolver qu'il avait prudemment mis dans sa poche et dont il menaça les fanatiques qui faisaient mine de l'attaquer."[43] By that date Tunisia was nominally under control of the French, who tended to leave religious affairs strictly alone, to be regulated by the Muslims (and indeed, mosques in North Africa are still barred to Christians and Jews today). Success went to those brave artists who were taking steps to enter mosques and study and draw them thoroughly. Godard in 1859 introduced Buchser in Morocco, dressed up as a holy man with the support of a renegade ("ancien soldat aux chasseurs d'Afrique"), and without any help or advice from consuls.[44]

The only relaxation to this "mosque apartheid" occurred while the French army was in Kairouan. Having declared Tunisia their protectorate, the French took that Holy City in October 1881. Boddy roamed through its streets without an escort in 1885, to the expressed hatred of the locals, but "when a regiment of French soldiers is encamped outside the walls, and a company or so within the Kasba, the dangers of wandering alone amongst these fanatical Kairwanis are greatly diminished."[45] Keeping the children on his side by distributing copper coins, he then sketched the Great Mosque, but only from the outside, and not even from within the courtyard.[46]

3 Acre: Djezzar's Mosque

Acre, on the coast, was a key port for access to the hinterland, and was a stronghold of the Crusaders and then of the Knights of Malta. It was much besieged (for example in 1104, 1189–91, 1263, 1291, 1832; bombarded in 1840). However, it was re-fortified by Djezzar Pasha in the late eighteenth century. In 1766 Hasselquist recounted that ruler's search for materials, including the reuse of Crusader fortifications, and his discovery of treasure. He was shown "a broken granite column, of the thickness of the Egyptian … which had been dug up out of the ruins. Thus was this stone so highly valued by the ancients as to have been formerly carried as far as Syria to adorn their splendid buildings."[47] Djezzar ("the butcher" or "cut-throat"; r. 1777–1804) appreciated architecture, and built a splendid mosque rich in spolia marble recovered from the site and shipped from other ruins along the coast, the devastation of which Olivier noted in 1804.[48] His character, deeds (not least in 1799 as a defender of the town against Napoleon, and his rebuilding of the town thereafter) and mosque made him famous, and foreigners often sought to visit the town for its historical associations.

As Volney remarked in 1787, the works "que Djezzâr y a fait exécuter depuis dix ans la rendent aujourd'hui l'une des premières villes de la côte. On vante la mosquée de ce Pacha comme un chef-d'oeuvre de goût."[49] (Lycklama a Nijeholt, visiting 1866–1868, quoted Volney's assessment approvingly.[50]) However, this was a monument of pure vanity, and very expensive, costing "3,000,000 de France."[51] More prestigious buildings were intended as well, but Djezzar's 1804 death brought an end to such projects.[52] Ali Bey, travelling in 1803–1807, described the fineries of the mosque:

> The court, surrounded by porticos or galleries, with little cupolas resting on columns, forms a pretty garden, with a very fine fountain in the middle … The mosque faces the garden. It is of a square form, and has a fine portico supported by columns. The interior is also adorned with columns supporting a gallery … From the centre rises a fine cupola. / The building is lined with fine marbles and arabesques. The columns are of the most beautiful and rare marble.

This sounds like praise, but not so, for the structure "is so pretty, that it rather resembles a casino or a house of pleasure, than a temple … there is nothing grand, nothing which strikes the eye with the majesty of an ancient temple."[53]

But Ali Bey was outvoted, perhaps more by Djezzar's fame than by his mosque. In 1816 Clarke relayed Colonel Squire's accout of Djezzar's mosque, remarking on its rich ornamentation, and so gayly painted that "the whole building has more the appearance of a fine theatre, than a place for devotion." Purchasing slippers and leaving his boots at the entrance, Clarke admired the marble fountains and the courtyard, with "a sort of cloister" around.[54] Two years later Light paid a visit because "the remembrance of the gallant resistance of Djezzar Pasha to Buonaparte had excited my curiosity to see this celebrated place." But he did not visit the mosque, "for which, I learnt, the attendants would require a much larger sum than I was disposed to give."[55] In 1823 Spilsbury did enter, remarking on "a beautiful mosque, of a circular form, and lined with the finest-coloured marbles, which he procures from Sidon, Tyre, Beirout, &c. Antiquity to him has no charms; for many of its richest columns and capitals has he destroyed, or cut into slabs for flooring, and other inferior purposes." Once inside,

> its lofty dome; the sides covered with variegated marbles, in different shapes; with the beautiful writing, and painting of flowers, in the true Oriental style, seem to rival the most fascinating descriptions in the Arabian Nights Entertainments.[56]

In 1834 Michaud and Poujoulat declared that most of Djezzar's spolia had come from Caesarea. There were still plenty left there, for "il y a quelques mois que les moines latins de Jaffa ont fait venir du même lieu des pierres et des marbres pour la construction de leur nouveau couvent."[57]

By 1835 looting was evidently in progress at the mosque, for Hogg (in a section headed "Deplorable Desolation") mentioned the "magnificent mosque" but concentrated on the courtyard,

> and the rich mosaic floor, cruelly mutilated, and strewed with book covers, was heaped with broken masses of porphyry and granite, among which lay an enormous bronze crescent that had fallen from the summit of the dome.[58]

Skinner, travelling in 1832, recounted the lingering effects of the 1799 siege, with "every mosque is opened to the curiosity of the infidel; the minarets are overthrown, and the fountains choked up with filth." The dome of Djezzar's mosque "still rises above the city walls, but more full of holes than a pigeon-house," and "the marble pillars that decorated its court are cast down, the kebla itself has been struck; a graceful flight of steps, also of marble, that led up to the pulpit, is broken in many places."[59] Robinson had (perhaps) visited the mosque in 1830, and described it (or copied someone else's description) without any reference to desolation:

> Elle est carrée, et est surmontée d'une coupole supportée par des colonnes antiques. Un minaret léger et d'une hauteur considérable qui s'élève à côté contraste d'une manière heureuse avec les noirs cyprès groupés tout à l'entour. La cour intérieure est entièrement pavée en marbre blanc.[60]

More damage visited the city during Ibrahim Pasha's 1832 siege. Pellé and Galibert illustrated the mosque, noting that "Le bazar que l'on aperçoit à gauche de la grande mosquée de Djezzar ne s'est élevé qu'avec des débris de maisons et de palais ruinés," and that the only Crusader remains were "une magnifique cour entourée de galeries à arceaux surbaissés soutenus par des piliers, édifice que l'on eût pu utiliser pour la réunion des marchands et le dépôt des marchandises," but still deserted.[61] Nor did the ruination stop there, for the British bombarded Acre in 1840. Durbin visited in 1845, drawn by the name of Richard the Lion Heart, reporting that "the cannon balls still lay in the streets, and stuck in the massive walls of the barracks, the mosques, and the fortresses. Above us, the vast dome of the chief mosque was riddled by

shot until it looked like the upper part of an oldfashioned pepper-box."[62] The damage was still evident to Ida Pfeiffer in 1851: "The houses and mosques are full of cannon-balls and shot-holes. Every thing stands and lies about as though the enemy had departed but yesterday."[63]

Curtis reported in 1852 that the dome of this "exquisite mosque" was still ruined,[64] and Van de Velde wrote two years later that

> the court is surrounded by galleries supported by pillars, and is surmounted by a handsome dome. In the centre is a garden with a beautiful fountain. The mosque is square, and has a fine portico; it is adorned with marble stones and arabesques, and the pillars are richly carved; yet "there is nothing grand which strikes the eye with the majesty of an ancient temple."[65]

In the same year Pigeory wrote of the current "épidémie de l'abandon," and looked back to the industry of Daher Pasha, Djezzar's[66] predecessor, remarking on the materials of the mosque, completed "avec les lambeaux de granit et de marbre, les mosaïques, les chapiteaux et les colonnes provenant des temples ou des cathédrales du passé."[67]

Such abandon risked the survival of the mosque, wrote Azaïs in 1855, which "ne sera bientôt plus elle-même qu'un monceau de décombres."[68] The mosque was saved: Louet visited in 1862, admiring how "Le sol et les parois sont revêtus de marbres éclatants" although the structure "déjà tombe en ruines."[69] Yet the mosque's dome was rebuilt, as Gottis reported in 1872,[70] Wilson dating this to after 1863, and suggesting that "it is an elaborate but not a beautiful structure." Guérin arrived in 1875, and wrote a long description of the mosque, noticing the six antique granite columns in the courtyard, the dome supported on ogive arcades, and then the richness of the interior:

> Des plaques de marbre tapissent les parois intérieures du monument et en dallent le sol. Le mihrab est également en beau marbre de différentes couleurs. Le member, ou chaire à prêcher, est en marbre blanc et fait honneur à l'habile Arménien qui l'a sculpté.[71]

In the same year of 1875 Lycklama à Nijeholt also could still admire the near-wreck of the mosque:

> Ce temple, qui est, en effet, fort beau, s'élève au milieu d'une grande place en partie dallée et en partie plantée de palmiers; tout autour règne une

> galerie soutenue par des colonnes en marbre de diverses couleurs, alternées avec d'autres colonnes en granit rouge et gris dont la majeure partie provient des ruines de l'ancienne Tyr.[72]

4 Baalbek

Baalbek appears here because it was a must-see site on the road between Beirut and Damascus, and offered the temples which were the main antiquarian attraction. There was also an interesting if ruined stand-alone mosque, plus an extravagant Islamic palace built within the Roman complex; but these received due attention only from archaeologists toward the end of the nineteenth century. Earlier travellers were mainly interested in the scale of the ruins, and the marble and porphyry they displayed.

Bertrand de la Broquière was here in 1432, and the mosque was evidently still in operation, although he couldn't visit it:

> A mosque, in which, it is said, there is a human skull, with eyes so enormous that a man may pass his head through their openings. I cannot affirm this for fact, as none but Saracens may enter the mosque.[73]

Monconys described and admired the whole site in 1665.[74] The mosque was already in ruins when Buckingham visited in 1825 but he could still admire its porphyry columns. He liked porphyry and his group tried to abstract some from the main temple, which was probably the source of the mosque shafts:

> We tried to get a small piece from off one of them, but could find no stone hard enough for the purpose, and were obliged to content ourselves with two or three very little bits, which the Arabs made many objections to our taking away at all.[75]

Schickler, travelling in 1858–1861, deplored the barrack buildings built for Ibrahim Pacha from Baalbek's materials, which were already crumbling away: "Que restera-t-il de nos monumeuts dans vingt ou trente siècles?"[76] Freese visited the free-standing mosque in 1869, noting that "most of the columns used in the erection of this structure were taken from the ruined temples near by, and placed in the mosque without reference to size or material." But he visited the mosque only because there lay (it was said!) the remains of Saladin himself.[77]

Depradations continued, as Burton documented in 1876. For the projected clean-up of the site included allowing the locals to cart off materials in payment for their work; yet in spite of the machinations which he described, refurbishment ended, and "thus poor Ba'albak has been again abandoned to the decay and desolation of the last fourteen centuries."[78]

5 Damascus

5.1 *Cityscape*

> Damascus, like other Mussulman towns, has no square or public place. … The custom of leaving open spaces in the middle of cities to air and embellish them, is entirely unknown to Mussulmen … There are however some tolerably wide streets at Damascus.[79] [1816]

The main city of Damascus was almost flat, but its beauties could be admired from the nearby suburb of Salahieh, and were not confined to the Great Mosque. Christian monuments and memories also survived here. In 1612 Lithgow was shown the mosque which contained the tomb of Ananias.[80] Besson in the mid-seventeenth century reported that the Muslims tried to build a minaret on an erstwhile church, but that "elle fut toujours ruinée par des mains invisibles, et par un ordre secret de la Providence qui ne peut souffrir une si étrange profanation."[81] Such miracles were not rare, for Besson, perhaps echoing the known Christian origins of the complex, also reported that there were saints' relics in the Umayyad Mosque itself. These the Muslims attempted to profane, but "au moment de leur attentat il en sortit du sang qui leur a donné horreur de leur dessein."[82]

In 1815 Buckingham was impressed by the architecture of Damascus' mosques, palaces, khans and houses, and especially by the working of marble in "the zigzag or saw-edged intersection of the stones used in the architraves of doorways and other parts of the edifice," which "formed a very striking and constantly repeated peculiarity of this style of Arabian architecture." This could often be very elaborate, for "inlaid work of coloured marble was also seen in various patterns of the Arabesque; and the dropping ornaments thought to represent the stalactites of caverns was also seen in almost every niche."[83] Other visitors certainly visited the bazaars, and Buckingham also offered a long description of the khans, their distinctive architecture as well as their amenities.[84] In 1837 Skinner was equally positive about the numerous

mosques in the city, but could not write of their detailing: "the principal ones are very fine; with them, however, Christian travellers have little to do."[85] And for Taylor in 1839, there were several mosques of great beauty, but "un Européen ne saurait en approcher sans danger."[86]

In 1842 Perrier thought the Umayyad Mosque "d'une architecture byzantine lourde et écrasée" redeemed by its marble colonnade, and was impressed by Assad-Pacha's khan, "surmonté de neuf élégantes coupoles qui entourent un grand dôme noblement suspendu dans les airs ... Ce kan, le plus beau de l'Orient, sert de bourse et de maison de commerce."[87] Two years later Kelly declared it "the handsomest in all the East," describing it carefully, and focussing on its gateway, "one of the most imposing specimens of what we are accustomed to call Moorish architecture in the world." This complex, less than a century old, proved that Turkish architects could design and their workmen build such monuments.[88]

Certainly, mosques were not the only delight at Damascus, for this commercial city counted a host of splendid houses. In 1705 Maundrell offered a description of the sumptuous interior of one of them, with marble fountains and carpets.[89] Kelly also penetrated what he called the unpromising entrances of some houses, to be enchanted by the courtyards, the elaborately painted and gilded apartments, and the rich carpets.[90] Most costly and splendid of all were the palaces of the agas, which exceeded "in the splendour of their internal decorations, anything of the kind to be seen elsewhere in the empire, and seem to realise to our imagination the magnificence of the days of the caliphs, the Saladins, and the Solymans."[91]

In 1845 Hahn-Hahn agreed that "the interiors of the residences of the opulent" were well worth seeing, but since the Umayyad Mosque was forbidden, "you may wander throughout the whole of this large wide-spreading city, without meeting with a single interesting object."[92] In 1855 Porter thanked his hosts "for many opportunities of examining one of the finest mansions in Damascus," first describing their use of marble and other decoration before generalising about other such houses.[93] In 1863 Schickler underlined the difference between the exterior of such houses, "un mur sans fenêtres et garni d'une poterne si basse qu'il faut se courber pour y passer," and the interior where one could "s'étendre sur les divans, les pieds sur les mosaïques de marbre, voir couler l'eau dans la fontaine octogone."[94] (Some of these sumptuous houses will be dealt with in detail in Volume III: *Palaces around the Mediterranean*.)

Skinner, travelling in 1837, adopted local dress here, "and although at first the capacious sack-like trousers were far from comfortable, by a few days' practice I shuffled about the city with tolerable success"[95] – though there is no mention of him trying to enter the Umayyad Mosque or, as we have seen,

other mosques here. And if we today think brands and designer labels are inventions of only the last half-century, then we must think again. Skinner noted the Turks' addiction to labels, negligently and proudly displayed in this commercially-minded city:

> The gayest Turks in Damascus strut with greater pride when the mark of the shop dangles from their heads. I sometimes observed the corner of a piece of Manchester manufacture spread over the folds of the turban it composed, to show the name of the makers stamped in large blue letters upon it: an English firm is thus converted into a decoration for a Turkish beau, or an emblem of gratitude to Providence – I do not know which.[96]

When Porter wrote in 1855 there were no authoritative guidebooks to Damascus, and he explained that "it is not strange, therefore, that real antiquities should be overlooked when no pains are taken to search for them." The treasures must be sought out:

> They are here encompassed by modern mansions, and almost lost in the labyrinth of bustling bazaars. The richly-wrought capital is often overshadowed by the Saracenic cupola, while its shaft is concealed behind piles of costly silks in the stalls below. The polished granite is covered with whitewash in the streets, and columns of marble, porphyry, and verd-antique, are shut up from infidel gaze in the shrines of the faithful.[97]

He also studied several mosques ("fine specimens of Saracenic architecture") by peeping through a window or a half-open door, admiring "the chaste patterns of the marble mosaics on the walls, the curious interlacing of the stones over doors and windows, and the fine proportions and delicate fretwork of the tapering minarets." But he necessarily concentrated on the magnificence of the gateways which, he declared, had Saracenic work that excelled all other styles: "The beautiful symmetry of the arch, the deep mouldings of the sides, and the rich sculpture of the top, far surpass in effect the noblest specimens of the Gothic in our English cathedrals." As for the courtyards, he praised the tessellated marble pavements, the decorated marble fountains, and especially the porticoes, where "the columns are mostly ancient, of granite, porphyry, marble, or limestone; and in some cases their capitals are bronze."[98]

The city's location was a key to its further commercial development, and its inhabitants might well have been proud to display European industrial imports. But they were not usually welcoming to foreigners. Indeed, were Europeans ever to be allowed to admire the Damascus cityscape unmolested? In 1835

Hogg had pointed out that with its pilgrimage business and small distance from the sea, Damascus was "admirably adapted to become the entrepôt of an extensive commerce between England and Asiatic Mohammedan states."[99] But the difficulties were extreme, and in 1841 Burford published a panorama of Damascus, describing the natives as "being the most bigoted and fanatical in all Asia," in spite of the supposedly pacific tolerance of the controlling Pasha. Christians could not ride a horse there, only an ass; they were ridiculed and insulted for their dress. Burford persevered, although "it may be easily imagined that extreme difficulties had to be overcome, and the greatest dangers encountered by the artist, before he was so successful in taking the drawings for the present Panorama."[100] In 1853 Taylor underlined these difficulties:

> Si l'esprit remuant de la population n'avait écarté de la ville les résidents européens, Damas aurait pu devenir une cité plus importante que ne l'est Alep, la clef du commerce asiatique. Mais des insultes stupides et inévitables, des avanies sans mesure et sans raison, ont écarté de ce point les maisons franques que l'on trouve dans presque toutes les Échelles orientales.[101]

Western aspirations were indeed in line with the views and desires of the Imperial Government in Constantinople, which needed and encouraged such trade, but opposed by the wilder elements of the "Muslim street," where commercialisation was certainly not seen as progress, but rather as death for local production and business. Hence it was the Tanzimat reforms and the introduction of European commerce to the detriment of local Muslim businesses which led to the 1860 massacre of perhaps 2000 Christians, leading to the French sending a 3000-strong expeditionary force to the city.[3] The riots apparently impacted the city's institutions, which did not wear well. Paton reported in 1870 that "many of the mosques in the suburbs are in a ruinous condition, and most of the endowed schools are without professors or pupils."[102] However, such conditions did not deter Western tourists, who were soon on their way in bulk: by 1903 Cook's tourists were taking train excursions from Beirut to Damascus.[103]

3 Burns 2005, 249–254 for tanzimat and reaction.

5.2 *Mausolea of Saladin and Bibars*

Thévenot, walking amidst monuments some of which have now gone,[4] looked at Saladin's Mausoleum, but it was without windows, whereas the interior of Bibars' could be described:

> It is faced in the inside with Marble of various Colours, from the Pavement to the height of three fathome or thereabouts; and from thence up to the Windows there are several fair Paints of Churches and Trees after the Mosaick way.[104]

Thompson, travelling from 1733, was an early admirer of these mausolea, and followed Thévenot, observing that "the walls in the inside are faced with marble of various colours to the height of six or seven yards [5.486 × 6.400 m] above the pavement, and there are several fine pieces of Mosaic work between the windows."[105] Strangely, however, neither man mentioned the adjacent Madrasa al-Zahiriya, also Bibars' foundation (1277), with its spectacular stalagtitic [muqarnas] entrance, as high as the façade itself. Such men were attuned to famous men, but not here to marvels of Islamic architecture.

William Thomson (who described himself on his title-page as "forty-five years a missionary in Syria and Palestine") had no difficulty in entering both mausolea in 1857, when "these custodians appear to be satisfied with their bakhshish."[106] Surely his knowledge of languages helped. But in the difficult years following the riots of 1860, entering them was to prove difficult or impossible. In 1870 Porter recommended that other than the Great Mosque, the mausolea of Bibars and Saladin were to be seen. He evidently could not gain access to that of Saladin, but Bibars' "may generally be seen through the windows. The floor is of marble, the walls are covered with mosaic, and the ceiling adorned with arabesques."[107] Burton admired Bibars' mausoleum in 1876: "The little mosque is very beautiful, covered with mosaic, a gold ground, and green palm-trees. Such was the whole of the Great Mosque before it was despoiled."[108]

Why no comment on the mausoleum of Saladin? Because in the same year Baedeker noted that "it is very difficult to obtain access to it."[109] In 1891 Oliphant braved the locals and approached it with a guard ("four Turkish soldiers, with a non-commissioned officer in command, a cavasse from the Consulate, and two or three dragomans"). It was evidently not opened much,

4 Burns 2005, fig.12.1 for plan of the Ayyubid Necropolis, north-west of the Umayyad Mosque, indicating some vanished monuments.

because "one of the soldiers was struggling to turn the key in the rusty wards of the lock."[110] Whether it was worth the exercise, we are not told, for the author does not describe the structure inside or out. In 1892 Wilson noted Saladin's mausoleum ("it is exceedingly difficult for any non-Muslim to gain access to it") as

> a good, though very much dilapidated, specimen of a Saracenic mausoleum ... The beautifully proportioned ribbed dome rests on a clerestory of sixteen sides, pierced with small windows alternately pointed and scalloped.[111]

However, apparently the authorities learned a lesson from the eagerness of travellers to view it (and to pay for the privilege?), for in the 1898 edition Baedeker wrote of "the Tomb of Saladin, a handsome mausoleum with beautiful faience work (entrance 6 pi.)."[112] Cook's *Guide* of 1907 (by which date both the Great Mosque and its minarets were available to tourists) mentioned both tombs, but no entrance prices.[113]

In 1898 Saladin's mausoleum was the focus of a visit by the Emperor of Germany, who donated a bronze wreath, as Jessup relates. Unfortunately it displayed the Maltese cross of the Knights of St. John, and an observant sheikh ordered it removed (which did not happen[114]). Jessup had also visited the mausoleum in the early 1860s, when it was dilapidated and rubbish-filled. He recounted how a Russian prince saw the tomb "encased in an exquisitely carved walnut sarcophagus of delicate tracery with the name of Saladin in ornamental Arabic and the date," and offered to replace this with a marble one:

> The sheikh eagerly accepted. The prince's servants took away the old walnut case and boxed it carefully and shipped it to Russia where it is considered a priceless treasure. The present marble tomb is beautiful, but the old was better.[115]

The German attention evidently meant that the mausoleum was thenceforth open to visitors.[116]

5.3 *Green Mosque* (*Es-Sinaniyeh*)

> I saw during the short time that I durst consider it, a large Court, paved with lovely Stones, with a Bason or Fountain of Water in the middle; at the end of that Court there is a Portico supported by eight Marble-Pillars ... It hath a large Dome covered over with lead.[117] [1687]

Thévenot, in the above quote, was much impressed by this mosque's green-glazed minaret, "which renders it very resplendent." For Pococke in the late 1730s, after noticing one unnamed mosque "most beautifully adorned with all sorts of fine marbles, in the manner of Mosaic pavements," he turned to the Green Mosque, which "has a very high minaret or tower, the outside of which is entirely cased with green tiles."[118] (Nor was it the only Green Mosque: others are at Nicaea, Bulak, Nablus and Bursa.)

This was the Mosque of Sinan Pasha, the minaret of which caught Thompson's attention earlier in that decade and, although he offered no description of the interior, led him to describe the courtyard:

> And in the Middle of it is a fine Fountain or Bason of Water. At one End of it is a Portico supported by eight Marble Pillars of the Corinthian Order, the six inner ones of which are fluted. These eight Pillars supports so many little Domes cover'd with Lead, which form the Top of the Portico, from whence we enter the Mosque by three stately Doors, adorn'd with excellent Sculptures.[119]

Buckingham, travelling in 1815–16, admired this mosque's minaret, "covered on the outside with a rich green colour, which looked like enamel, or the foil that is sometimes worn on theatrical dresses; and from its reflecting the rays of the sun, which shone in full blaze upon it at the moment of its attracting our notice, it produced a splendid effect."[120]

By 1861 (that is, after the suppression of the massacres) Joanne and Isambert's guidebook could also note the elegant minaret, and assert that "L'intérieur de cette mosquée est richement orné de colonnes de marbre et de fontaines en mosaïque."[121] In 1876 Burton called it "the prettiest Mosque in the city," and noted, "the interior is full of antique columns of porphyry and marble, a really splendid sight, showing what the Turk could do three centuries ago."[122]

5.4 *Umayyad Mosque*

> It is said that the Khalif al Walid, in order to construct these mosaics, brought skilled workmen from Persia, India, Western Africa and Byzantium, spending thereon the revenues of Syria for seven years, as well as eighteen shiploads of gold and silver, which came from Cyprus. And this does not include what the Emperor of Byzantium and the Amirs of the Muslims gave to him in the matter of precious stones and other materials, for the mosaics. [Mukaddasi, *c*.985]

> Et en ladicte cité y a plusieurs mesquittes, c'est à dire eglises en nostre langaige. Entre les autres, il y en a une principalle qui est de la grandeur de Sainct Pierre de Rome.[123] [Varthema, 1500]

> Il y a plusieurs mosquées d'une grande beauté, mais une surtout qui est d'une grandeur énorme, toute ornée de marbre blanc, ouvrage des premiers Chrétiens: c'étoit autrefois l'église métropolitaine.[124] [*Lettres édifiantes*, 1819]

The large Church of St. John, once a pagan temple, was at first shared by the Christians with the smaller Muslim population of Damascus, until the sixth Umayyad caliph, al-Walid, took over the complex in AD 706. He banished the Christians to another church,[5] and at great cost ordered lavish decoration in marble and mosaic, including decorating a minaret with mosaic.[125] The result was, as Savigny de Moncorps noted, an architectural and religious salad.[126] Freeman, noting their similar sizes and the abundance of Venetian traders here in the thirteenth century, ventured that its courtyard was a model for Piazza San Marco.[6] Since neither the Venetians nor other Italian cities were addicted at that date to colonnaded piazze, the suggestion may be judged somewhere between possible and likely. As Bourassé remarked of the Muslims in 1867, "Les conquérants … furent ravis en extase à la vue de ce grand édifice. Dans leur naïf enthousiasme, ils le saluèrent comme une des merveilles du monde."[127]

This abundantly rich complex was much celebrated by Muslim authors. Masudi (d. 956) wrote that the site was occupied by "Ïrem of the Columns,"[128] and that from a church El-Walid "en avait fait enlever de magnifiques colonnes de marbre et de marbre blanc qu'il destinait à la mosquée de Damas, et qui furent transportées par mer jusqu'à la hauteur de cette ville. Toutefois la plus grande partie des colonnes est restée dans l'église, où on les voit encore aujourd'hui."[129] In *c*.985 Mukaddasi's uncle explained why the refurbishment happened:

> He beheld Syria to be a country that had long been occupied by the Christians, and he noted herein the beautiful churches still belonging to them, so enchantingly fair, and so renowned for their splendour … So he sought to build for the Muslims a mosque that should prevent their regarding these, and that should be unique and a wonder to the world.[130]

5 Burns 2005, 111–120 for the Muslim acquisition and development of the complex; see figs 9.1 and 9.2.

6 Freem 2004, chap. 6.

Mukaddasi's own account of the mosque's glories was a long one,[131] and their varied sources were indicated in the opening quote above. He also enthused about the matched marble panels, with their echoed veining, so that "should an artist come daily during a whole year and stand before these mosaics, he might always discover some new pattern and some fresh design."[132] We may assume that such work both imitated and competed with similar work in the prophet's Mosque at Medina. Abulfeda (1273–1344), born in Damascus, emphasised the mosque's marble and its enormous cost,[133] while Ibn Battuta was particularly taken by the mosaics and marble colums.[134] Other Muslim travellers read Mukaddasi's account,[135] and Ibn Jubair (1184[136]) and Ibn Battuta (travelling in 1325–1326[137]) naturally added to them. The mosque was severely damaged by Tamberlaine (1400–1401), when it lost its roof and some of its marble.[138] (Tamberlaine was a useful explanation for ruination: when Otter saw a great ruined mosque in Aksehir, the locals told him it was Tamberlaine's doing.[139])

What follows illustrates how Damascus could be a difficult and sometimes dangerous place for visiting Christians, who were usually prevented from any access to the Umayyad Mosque. For whereas local governors and even mosque officials were willing to admit Christians, the site was jealously protected by Muslim "fanatics." Thus in *The Reception of Venetian ambassadors in Damascus* (school of Gentile Bellini, early 1490s), the cityscape was viewed from an upper storey of the Venice fondaco,[7] just as later Christians used an upper storey of a house above a shop.

But since the Mosque was the famous ornament of the city, how could any visitor avoid some account of it, even if (as we shall see below) there was much hedging, and reliance both on hearsay from compliant locals and previous (supposedly reliable) accounts. Shuffling off any description at all was easy. Thus Monro in 1835 gave none, except to note Tamberlaine spared it (!) on account of its splendour.[140] And in 1875 Bost relied on vacuous bluster: "Laissons aux architectes le soin de faire la description détaillée de ce monument, qui réclamerait à lui seul tout un livre, et continuons notre promenade."[141] In architectural imnportance, the Umayyad Mosque was on the same special level as Mecca and Medina, and far less was known about it by Europeans even in the curious nineteenth century than was the case for mosques in Jerusalem, Cairo or Constantinople.

In the fourteenth century Christians occasionally had no difficulty entering and admiring the mosque. Jacques de Vérone visited in 1335, briefly described the mosaics and the marble, and concluded that "Nullam ecclesiam vidi in partibus Italie tante magnitudinis et decoris sicut illa mosceta."[142] Fra Niccolò of

7 Constable 2003, 294–295.

Poggibonsi, travelling in 1346–1350, noted "a big church, like the dome of Siena, which has been built by the Christians; but now the Saracens have made it their mosque,"[143] and wrote no more, surely because he knew from his experiences at other sites that he would not be admitted. Ludovico de Varthema, in Damascus in 1500, stated that the mosque was as big as St. Peter in Rome, but did not enter.[144] By this date, as he remarked, Christians practised commerce, but "ilz sont tresmal traictez."[145] Broquière, travelling in 1432, wrote that "the Christians are hated at Damascus."[146] Naturally, Western authors relayed the church-into-mosque's refurbishment details at length[147] and, as in Varthema's comment above, sought comparisons in the West, such as Villamont's 1602 comment that "elle est excellement bastie, & soustenuë sur de riches colonne de marbre, ayant ses portes de bronze, comme la Rotonde de Rome."[148]

5.5 *Peeping through the Gates*

The Chevalier Laurent d'Arvieux (1635–1702) was in Damascus in 1660 as part of his grand and extensive tours of the East (in the Levant 1654–58; consul at Algiers 1674–75 and at Aleppo 1679–86). Strangers were not usually allowed in the fortress, but he dressed as a local, said he knew the language, and easily entered,[149] as he did in the nearby Mausoleum of Baybars.[150] But he was pulled up short at the Umayyad Mosque. He described the columns and fountains that he must have glimpsed through a doorway ("C'est un des plus beaux édifices qui soit dans l'Empire Ottoman") and showed his ignorance of standard Muslim etiquette by marvelling at what he wrongly thought was extra reverence for this particular mosque:

> Le respect qu'ils ont pour ce Mosquée va si loin, qu'ils ôtent leurs souliers avant d'entrer dans le Parvis. C'est dommage qu'on n'y peut entrer, la considérer à loisir, & dessiner les beautés.[151]

The Chevalier may well have formed this impression from hearsay, for Thévenot took it up in 1687, after peeping through the mosque's doors, and noting the mosaics:

> The Court is paved with lovely Stones, most part of Marble, shining like Lookin-glasses. Round about this Court there are several Pillars of Marble, porphyrie and Jasper, incomparably well wrought, which support an Arch that ranges all round, painted with several pieces in Mosaick work. The Porch of the Mosque faces this Court, and the entry into it is by twelve large Copper-Doors embossed with Figures, with several Pillars, most part of porphyrie, whose Capitals are gilt. The walls are painted

> with lovely figures in Gold and Azure. The Turks themselves have so great a veneration for this place, that they dare not pass through the Court without taking off their Pabouches; and certainly 'tis one of the loveliest Mosques in all the Turkish Empire.[152]

And the courtyard pavement, he wrote, shone like looking-glass.[153] But even though he spoke Arabic, he refused the offer by some Turks to put a turban on his head and enter with him.[154] Like the Chevalier he stated that Muslims removed their shoes only because this Mosque was held in particular reverence.[155] A posthumous edition of his work in 1727 offered a much longer decription of this mosque.[156]

Such hearsay dissertations we have a-plenty. In 1670 Fermanel gave proof positive of his lack of knowledge and his Christian prejudice by relaying an untruth about the mosaics. He wrote that the courtyard "est toute entourée de galeries, lesquelles, comme aussi la face de la Mosquée, sont peintes à la Mosaïque representant plusieurs Saints Pères, ce qui authorise assez qu'elle a esté bastie par les Chrétiens."[157] This is a straight copy of Stochove's 1631 report[158] – another traveller who did not enter the mosque. In 1676 Rochefort *did* enter, and provided a one-page description that suggests he also visited the prayer hall:

> nous la trouvâmes longue de cent cinquante pas, & toute luisante en peintures & dorures dans ses voûtes, & dans ses murailles & en marbres de diverses couleurs dans son pavé.[159]

However, a quick glance while passing a gate was all most travellers could gain, although the fact that there were twelve such gates no doubt helped the curious. And it was perfectly possible to visit Damascus and not even mention this mosque (thus Mocquet, 1575–1616[160]). Monconys also offered a brief description of what he saw by peeping through the gates.[161] In 1670 Goujon labelled this "la plus belle des Mosquées des Turcs," but offered no description of the interior, or hint he might have entered.[162] In 1697 Maundrell gave a brief description, for "we had three short views of it, looking in at three several gates." He estimated the size of the courtyard, and admired the "double cloister supported by two rows of granite pillars of the Corinthian order, exceeding lofty and beautiful."[163] But even glancing through the gates could be problematic: Maundrell took janissary advice, and avoided the west entrance, lest the locals (insolent and bigoted) took offence at seeing so many Franks together.[164]

Because of the embargo on entry for non-Muslims, Christians wishing to describe the complex at length were reduced to learning details from the

locals, and then writing them down, sometimes without explaining the problem. In 1679 Bremond wrote that it was forbidden to non-Muslims.[165] Then he described it as part of a long account of the city.[166] An anonymous author relayed by Buchon wrote in the 1730s not only of the Via Recta,[167] but also of the treasures to be seen through the great doors:

> On voit du premier coup d'oeil tout l'intérieur de la mosquée. Alors on est charmé du bel ordre des colonnes qui soutiennent la voûte, de la beauté de leurs chapiteaux, de la riche corniche qui règne le long de la nef, et des dorures qui leur donnent de l'éclat.[168]

The same embargo was in force in the eighteenth century. In 1720 Coppin had also seen the courtyard of the Umayyad Mosque, the gates of which were adorned "de colomnes de marbre & de Porphyre, dont les chapiteaux à la Corinthienne sont de bronze doré, & les Turcs assurent que le dedans n'est pas inferieur à ce qui paroît au dehors, en sorte qu'ils la tiennent pour la plus magnifique de toutes les Mosquées de l'Asie."[169] Thompson, travelling from 1733, made no attempt to enter; "however, we got a Look into it, at three several Gates, which are very large, cover'd with Brass, and stamp'd all over with Arabick Characters."[170] In 1738 Salmon reported that even a glance could be dangerous, "poiché appena è concesso a un Cristiano il penetrarvi furtivamente con l'occhi."[171] In the late 1730s Pococke visited the "cathedral church" and presumably sketched the layout from an outside building, for he produced a plan, including a portico with granite pillars, which he could not know were the remains of a palace.[172] In 1743 Perry's group was a little bolder ("being only permitted just to thrust our Heads within the Door"), and concluded that it "appears to be a very grand superb Building … [courtyard] supported by a great Number of very lofty Marble Pillars."[173] In 1758 Campbell brazened it out, suggesting he actually entered:

> Its dome is exquisitely well built, and adorn'd with several columns of the finest marble, of which there are four very remakable: these support the porch, as you enter into the church, and are of a wonderful height and thickness, though only of one piece of marble.[174]

Lack of access still allowed travellers to misinterpret Muslims' actions. Just like Laurent d'Arvieux in 1660, Lt. Col. Squire, travelling in 1800, complained that the locals used the courtyard as a thoroughfare ("they, however, from motives of respect, when passing from one end to the other, always carry their slippers in their hands") but "we were not even permitted to enter the outer court" and

had to make do with the usual glimpse.[175] For a Christian even to set foot on that courtyard would be dangerous, wrote Frankland in 1829.[176]

5.6 *Local and European Dress*

Local dress was considered to be the only sure way for westerners to get the entrée to mosques, as we have already learned from several travellers. Ali Bey, as a Muslim and speaking fluent Arabic, entered at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and declared the mosque "magnificent" ("The other mosques are not worth describing"). He described the great scale of the prayer hall, and the courtyard, and mentions the carpets but neither the wall mosaics nor the wall marbles.[177] In 1824 Richter was helped by a Christian guide, but it was his renegade janissary who "me fit échanger mon manteau de mameluc contre un autre plus élégant qui s'accordoit mieux avec l'habillement du beau monde de Damas." He proceeded to describe the courtyard,[178] but apparently did not enter the prayer hall. In 1825 Buckingham and his group shed their slippers, and "by the aid of our beards, white turbans, and a certain conformity to Turkish or Arabic movements only to be acquired by habit, we passed undiscovered, and without even being regarded." He described the prayer hall ("three long aisles running parallel to each other, and divided by rows of fine Corinthian columns") but their view of the courtyard itself might have been a speedy one:

> A portico or colonnade of Syrian granite pillars, mostly of a fine grain and reddish colour, but we did not observe the columns of verd-antique which are said to be in that front of the mosque which faces towards the court, though it was very possible for them to exist, and yet to have escaped our observation as we passed.[179]

In spite of what might have been a hurried visit, Kelly in 1844 was still paraphrasing this account, because "Mr. Buckingham, who enjoyed the rare privilege of inspecting the interior of the building, speaks of its vast dimensions as most imposing."[180]

Monro reported in 1835 that "if the ill-starred visitor chanced to wear the European dress, especially the hat, he could not enter on any terms, but was driven from the gate, hooted, pelted, and treated with every indignity."[181] In 1838 Addison confirmed that in Salahieh, so long as the prayer times were avoided, "by putting on the Mussulman dress, a stranger may obtain admission to the mosques of the city, which however possess but little architectural magnificence."[182] For Western-dressed travellers, however, nothing had changed. Carne reported in 1826 that the glance was still king,[183] while Conder's 1830 compilation was still citing Pococke and Maundrell from a

century and more before, without even stating (or caring?) whether what they described was from eye-witness knowledge.[184] Madox in 1834 *did* know that entry was not possible, "but the exterior of this is well worth seeing, and there are three wide gates, with brass ornaments, through which is a good view of the building."[185]

By the mid-1830s the Western gaze was apparently sometimes permitted, but still only from the doorways, and then for no length of time. Kelly, for example, writing in 1844, extended the injunction to *all* the mosques of the city, noting wistfully that "they possess courts, porticos, and fountains, and some are overshadowed by a few green trees, among which sacred doves may be heard cooing."[186] In 1835 Michaud and Poujoulat naturally wished to see inside, but "c'est à peine si l'on nous permet, à nous infidèles, de jeter de loin quelques regards sur ce saint et redoutable monument."[187] Two years later Robinson, who thought the splendid mosques of Damascus were beaten only by those of Constantinople, got no further than the entrance, meekly recording that "it appears to be of vast dimensions, and of an imposing effect, but it has been already minutely described by travellers more fortunate than myself."[188]

In 1838 Addison and his group were prevented from entering, and so stood at the gate gazing in. Yet even there some locals "chattered very fast and showed their teeth, as if inclined to spit at us; a crowd quickly collected." Hence "the dragoman we had hired to pilot us about earnestly begged us to come away, as no Christians, known as such, had ever been allowed to pass through, and he said the crowd might shortly insult us for stopping where we were."[189] Elliott had the same problem with this "handsome mosque" in 1838, which also "prevented our obtaining more than a transient glance at the tomb of Saladin, surnamed Malik ool dahir, or Ruler of the world."[190] Even Baron Taylor, in 1839, could write no more than that the mosques were generally inferior to those of Cairo, and that "the grand mosque is an imposing edifice, and is said to occupy the site of a former Christian church."[191] In 1850–51 Dandolo thought the Umayyad Mosque had been built by Greek Christians ("nè conserva alcuna traccia dell'eleganza e della ricchezza bizantina"), but evidently could not get inside, so concentrated on the architecture of the Hasan Pasha Khan, where "una cupola elegantissima si slancia da mezzo della volta, sostenuta da giganteschi pilastri di granito: l'interno del qual grandioso monumento componesi d'una vastissima rotonda."[192]

In 1851 Walpole noted that "I visited this mosque on a former occasion, and as it nearly cost me my life, through the fears of a native who accompanied me, I did not repeat the visit."[193] In 1847 Skene had the help of a Turkish-speaking foreigner, but he and his group were in the courtyard "when several men, apparently functionaries connected with the mosque, rushed towards us to

impede our further progress."[194] A mullah came to their rescue, and allowed them to continue without slippers, although only Skene entered the prayer hall because "no other of the party would undertake thus to do penance on the stone steps." He described it:

> On the roof, in a large circle of golden letters, were inscribed the seven names of Allah, and suspended from it by a long chain were innumerable little glass lamps, mingled with all sorts of fantastic ornaments, such as horses' tails, ostrich eggs, &c. In the direction of Mecca was a somewhat shabby representation of the prophet's tomb, and a kind of pulpit, from whence the Koran is daily read.

But Skene's progress was slow since even with the mullah present "every single individual no sooner saw me than he flew towards me, and insisted on my holding out my foot, that he might be quite sure no workmanship of a profane cobbler had desecrated the sacred ground."[195] For the unlucky ones, a glance still had to suffice: in 1851 Pardieu looked in at this magnificent mosque.[196] Hill, presumably travelling well before his book's 1866 publication date (there are no date hints within), looked in through a gate, supported by his Christian dragoman: "I put my head, at least, within, without pulling off my shoes … what I saw did not by any means disappoint the expectation excited by some accounts of travellers who have had opportunities of inspecting the interior of this mosque."[197]

5.7 *Viewing the Mosque from An Upper-storey Window*

Some locals made lucrative arrangements for Christians to view the Umayyad Mosque's courtyard from an elevated window in a house outside its walls, analogous to those in place for viewing the Haram in Jerusalem. This was usually safe, although in 1853 a fanatical Muslim prevented Lepsius even from viewing from a local house (he returned to do so the following day).[198] Thus whereas in Cairo and Constantinople mosque access became easier as the nineteenth century unfolded, in Damascus this was still variable and often very difficult in the 1840s: only entering a certain building and climbing to a first-floor window could assure visitors of calm and avoid jostling by enraged locals. Warburton in 1848 declared that it was "nearly impossible" to visit the mosques, which "are inhabited by a set of filthy dervishes, who assail a Christian with every sort of insult and outrage, even if protected by the Sultan's firman and the Pasha's officer."[199] In 1847 Castlereagh and his group were "pushed against and hustled by both soldiers and citizens," and had to mount to the usual upper-storey window to view the mosque, to then conclude (as a peevish echo

to their difficulties?) that "[the Umayyad Mosque] is not to be compared to that of Sultan Hasan at Cairo."[200] In 1840 Blondel adopted a blasé approach to Damascus' mosques: he paid a bribe to enter one (unnamed), but "Je n'y vis rien qui valût la peine d'être observé, et je renonçai pour ce motif à entrer dans les autres qu'on m'assurait ne pas être plus remarquables."[201]

In 1853 Saulcy was still using the upper-storey window: he offered a tip, climbed stairs, but thought this supposed vantage point allowed little sight of the mosque courtyard.[202] In the same year Taylor simply repeated the general account gained from Ali Bey, who

> nous a raconté que la grande mosquée est divisée en trois nefs de quatre cents pieds de long, ayant quarante-quatre colonnes sur chaque rang, au-dessus desquelles reposent les arceaux de la voûte. Une immense coupole s'élève au centre de l'édifice, soutenue par quatre piliers gigantesques de l'ordre corinthien. Deux tribunes basses sont au fond avec des Korans d'un format in-folio pour les lecteurs, et un chœur au-dessus pour les chantres. Le sol est recouvert de superbes tapis.[203]

Méry offered no more information in 1855 ("la magnifique mosquée de cette ville, chef-d'œuvre de l'architecture arabe"[204]), and reading the Rev. Porter's *Five Years in Damascus* (1850–1855) prompts our suspicion about his accuracy. His description is not convincing, and he relied on Ibn Asaker for most of it. He provided a plan which percolated from a Christian employed inside the mosque to make interior repairs,[205] and a frontispiece ("from a photograph") taken from the usual perch for people who could not enter the complex. But he gave no views of the courtyard or interior, of which his description must be at second- or third-hand:

> The court is well paved with limestone, interspersed with squares of marble of various colours. Nearly the whole of the interior of the mosk has a tesselated pavement of marble, now covered with Persian and Turkey carpets. The wall of the transept, and the piers that support it, are coated with the finest marble in beautiful patterns; while on portions of the wall above, and on the interior of the dome, may be seen fragments of fine mosaic representing palm-trees and palaces etc.[206]

5.8 *Pashas, Trade and Revolt*

As already hinted, one reason for the fanaticism of some locals was the opening of the city by Ibrahim Pasha [1789–1848; he captured Damascus in 1832] to Western consuls and hence trade.[207] This of course threatened to annihilate the incomes of local shopkeepers and entrepreneurs. While Ibrahim was in

the process of investing in Damascus, Hogg had been advised by the Pasha of Egypt:

> We should be furnished with such a firmaan as would ensure our safety [with Ibrahim victorious] … that we should hear of the quiet surrender of Damascus before quitting Egypt, we might, if we pleased, proceed thither in our Frank clothes; but if the city had been forcibly entered, he would recommend us to assume Turkish dress, as he could not answer for the effect of unsuccessful opposition upon an irritated and fanatic population.[208]

This was wise advice, although Ibrahim was driven out in 1841, and animosity evidently increased, fuelled by the 1856 Ottoman declaration of equality for all subjects of the Empire.

Indeed, little was to change in city habits, as Schickler (in Damascus in 1858) noted. He recounted fondly the effect Ibrahim Pasha had on the city who, "lors de son séjour, s'est efforcé de mettre un terme à cette intolérance; conquérant de Damas, il voulait en devenir le civilisateur." To no effect, for "Cette impossibilité pour le voyageur de pénétrer dans les mosquées prouve qu'on est ici plus sévère qu'à Constantinople. En effet, les chrétiens sont encore mal vus à Damas."[209] Nor, as Edwards claimed in 1862 after the riots, was the situation helped by the arrogance of Christian Arabs:

> Donnez-lui un peu d'appui, il devient orgueilleux, insolent, dominateur; retirez-le-lui, il retombe soudain dans sa servilité, ce n'est plus le même homme.[210]

Presumably it was the Pasha's oversight which admitted Porter to the mosque in the early 1850s. He described the Mosque in four pages, suggesting he had been inside ("Leaving the mosque by the southern door"), and nowhere does he say he was *denied* entry.[211] He wrote that

> one cannot but admire the chaste patterns of the mosaics on the walls, the curious interlacing of the stones over doors and windows, and the fine proportions and delicate fretwork of the minarets. But it is in the magnificence of its gate-ways that Saracenic architecture excels.[212]

Others were less lucky. Mislin, in Damascus in 1855, reckoned the mosque was bruited around only because it was inaccessible and, indeed, "des milliers d'églises dont personne ne parle seraient bien plus digne d'attention."[213]

These reports predate the 1860 civil war between Christians and Druze in Lebanon which triggered riots, revolt, destruction and death in Damascus,[8] checked and calmed only by French military intervention. The concern was Europe-wide: "La question de Syrie qui, dans les années 1860 et 1861, a préoccupé l'Europe entière, et plus particulièrement le gouvernement ottoman."[214] The Comte de Vogüé, puzzled by French tolerance (!) to Arabs in Algeria, was outraged by massacres in Damascus:

> La croix a été outragée, que le croissant le soit à son tour … Il faut rétablir les rôles, montrer aux fanatiques que, loin d'être le suzerain de l'Europe, le sultan ne doit son trône qu'à la condescendance de la chrétienté; que, sans les malheureuses divisions des puissances, les Turcs seraient depuis longtemps refoulés dans leurs déserts, et l'islamisme balayé des points où il peut nous porter ombrage."[215]

Whether the Count was simply dancing to the tune back home we cannot know. But unfortunately he provides only a summary account of the interior ("Les colonnes, presque toutes de marbres précieux, à lourds chapiteaux byzantins, qui supportent ces nefs, proviennent seules de l'ancienne basilique") and scarcely mentions the mosaics, which were "fort anciennes et bien conservès."[216]

Once again, for the easing of restrictions in Constantinople itself as elsewhere, it was also the Crimean War that had changed official attitudes if not "the street." In 1866 Macleod relayed the account of a missionary who had accompanied the first British Consul into the city of Jerusalem on horseback:

> They were protected by a strong guard. Before then every "Infidel" had been obliged to enter the Holy City bare-headed, and on foot! Every Christian merchant, though possessing a fortune, was also compelled to rise in the presence of his Mahometan servant![217]

In 1867 Golinberg renounced visiting any of the mosques of Damascus, because "Je trouve d'ailleurs peu digne d'un chrétien de chercher à entrer, quasi par faveur, dans ces halles musulmanes où Notre Seigneur n'est point admis."[218] He had heard of how some Englismen who did enter "avaient essuyé, m'a-t-on dit, de grands désagréments."[219] The previous year Macleod, on the other hand, found entry into the Mosque to be easy:

8 Ágoston and Masters 2009, 172.

> So great is the revolution caused either by the power of opinion, or by the fear of foreign bayonets, that, as I have said, we walked undisturbed through the mosque, simply paying a guinea, I think – to oil the consciences of its orthodox guardians. What a change is here!"[220]

Yet in spite of French intervention and the backwash from the Crimean War, the fanatics were still in evidence, and feared. Beaufort, travelling in 1860, reported that "a hasty glimpse in passing by the outer gates is all the view one can obtain of the inside; of the outside, likewise, only a few fragments are visible, but these are beautiful."[221] An anonymous traveller in 1861 was accompanied by locals ("qui se sentaient coupables en vendant à des infidèles l'entrée de la Mosquée, et dont la physionomie trahissait une lutte intérieure entre la cupidité et le fanatisme"[222]) and elected to enter in the dark, presumably before first morning prayers. This was the doing of Amin Pasha "pour ne pas exciter un fanatisme contre lequel il n'aurait pu nous protéger," but the timing was of course useless for any description of the architecture, so the author bowed out:

> Un architecte ou un savant trouverait sans doute dans cette mosquée des documents précieux pour l'histoire et pour l'art, et comme elle n'a été visitée que par un très-petit nombre d'Européens, j'aurais peut-être eu la tentation d'en faire une description détaillée. Nous y sommes, heureusement pour mes lecteurs, allés de nuit, excellente raison pour m'abstenir d'une tâche trop ardue.[223]

5.9 *The 1860s: Pliant Governors, Fanatical Locals*

By 1860 the governor of Damascus was now the French-speaking Amin Pasha, "educated in Paris, who had made the round of European Courts, and whose Oriental nature had received a good coating of European civilisation."[224] This did not immunise him against local fanatics. Therefore in 1861 when Tilley asked to visit the Mosque, he at first hesitated, and then ordered the Police Minister to accompany them.[225] As Tilley recorded, the guards had to strike the more persistent of the fanatics, who "kept close to our sides, and now and then, when none of our guides were looking, favoured us with a few significant grimaces." Perhaps such treatment was the reason why his description of the architecture was perfunctory:

> In the interior of the mosque there still remain, in spite of long neglect, many vestiges of its ancient splendour, especially the fragments of pictorial mosaic along the walls of the courtyard, and the marbles and tesselated pavement of the body of the mosque.[226]

Money was winning over some locals. Offering a tip, Paul entered the mosque in 1864, with the consulate cavass and a picket of soldiers ("dont la présence suffit pour tenir en respect les mines farouches et haineuses qui nous entourent"[227]). But another tip offered in a chapel occasioned a fight between soldiers and custodian as to who should get a share of the money.[228]

Nevertheless, seething resentment continued ("we had nowhere encountered such fierce and fanatical scowls from the Moslems as here"[229]) which was why in 1865 Black mounted to the usual tried-and-tested upper-storey window, and

> We peeped into the interior of the mosque through a broken pane, and saw that the place was beautifully decorated. Rows of marble columns, supporting on arches a pulpit, or something resembling one; the floor covered with mats and bright-coloured carpets; while a number of devotees were on their knees at prayer. We return by the same break-neck way we had entered, rewarding the young tinsmith, our conductor, with a bakhshish of five piastres.[230]

Joanne and Isambert's 1861 guidebook gave double advice: it was now permissible to look through the great doors, and also to "examiner des terrasses des maisons voisines, où l'on pourra monter moyennant un baghchich."[231] Evidently, tourism was on its way as was governmental crackdown, Basterot pointing out that after 1860 French officers walked around Damascus without anyone daring to confront them. Visiting the mosque was now possible with a consular dragoman and a janissary, plus a very high tip. But even that did not mollify the mosque authorities, who

> sont malveillantes, frémissantes de rage, et on ne voit jamais chez eux ce désir de montrer qu'ont maintenant les prêtres de la mosquée d'Omar à Jérusalem, qui voudraient bien avoir perpétuellement chez eux des ducs de Luynes ou des messieurs de Saulcy.[232]

Tristram, in Damascus in 1864, visited the "great cathedral" with the consular cavass, but only "looked in at one magnificent portal," described nothing, and fixed eyes only on the Greek inscription: "'Thy kingdom, Christ, is an everlasting kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth throughout all generations.' There stand the words, unread by the Moslem. We will take them as a silent prophecy that the day is coming when this dark land shall be Christ's once more, and He shall reign for ever and ever."[233] In 1864 Newman gave a half-page description of the Mosque, but with no indication he either got in or was denied entry.[234]

Lycklama a Nijeholt, travelling in 1866–1868, reviewed previous attempts to gain access to the mosque, and how access had only recently become possible because "L'expédition française de Syrie, à la fin de 1860, est venue changer cet état de choses." Some earlier entrances were near-pointless, he thought. The Duke and Duchess of Brabant made only a rapid inspection [in 1856], while the Comte de Paris was admitted by the pasha at night so as not to exacerbate fanaticism; but "N'ayant vu qu'imparfaitement l'intérieur de la mosquée à la lueur de quelques lampes, le royal visiteur s'est abstenu d'en donner une description." However, although "elle excite, à l'égal de Sainte-Sophie, l'admiration et la vénération du monde musulman,"[235] Lycklama was far from pleased when he entered ("Je complèterai en quelques mots cette description, pour gémir, d'abord, sur le vandalisme des Turcs") for the mosaics in the courtyard had been given a plaster-like whitewash, as had the granite columns in the prayer hall, "dont la beauté apparaît encore sous cet inepte lavage."[236] Basterot concurred the following year, concluding that

> Cette mosquée fameuse n'a de beau que sa grandeur et ses belles proportions qui rappellent les anciennes basiliques. Les murs extérieurs (mieux vus du toit des bazars) sont en grande partie de construction romaine. Une porte en bronze entourée d'une inscription arabe ajoutée après coup, figure des calices et d'autres emblèmes chrétiens.[237]

Lyne and his group were refused admission in 1870,[238] but then they were all British midshipmen, who had gathered a fearsome reputation all around the Mediterranean for their extraction of "souvenirs" from historic sites. A *Caravane Française*, travelling in 1873 as a pilgrimage to the Holy Sites, entered as a group, and relayed a brief description, as well as ascending a minaret.[239]

Largish guns were still needed for confident entry, and Savigny de Moncorps, travelling in 1869–1870, brought his from the French Consulate: "deux superbes kawas du consulat, veste rouge brodée d'or, pantalon bouffant dans les bottes, sabre recourbé au côté, nous mènent à la grande mosquée, impénétrable aux chrétiens il y a peu d'années encore."[240] The Comte de Vogüé did likewise.[241] According to Baedeker's 1876 edition, "The Great Mosque has of late years been open to the public (admission for a party 20 fr.). The services of a kawass may also be obtained from the consulate."[242]

Richard Burton was appointed British Consul at Damascus in 1869, and his wife wrote a popular account of the city ("now only a beautiful wreck of Oriental splendour"[243]) which, although perhaps not exclusively for women, suggested as much by leading her readers to the usual roof to view the mosque.[244] Were foreign women prevented from actually entering? No: her

route seems simply to have been a time-saver because, armed with slippers and cavasses, she went on to describe the mosque courtyard and prayer hall in detail over several pages.[245]

5.10 *From the 1870s: Easy Access*

In the 1870s and later access to the mosque was easy, and access once procured through a consulate was now managed by the police. As Thielmann wrote in 1875:

> Not many years ago it was an utter impossibility for any Christian to penetrate into the interior; now a police order, which costs twenty francs, will open the door to every stranger.[246]

In 1870 Porter described the interior briefly, noting fragments of mosaic on the dome and the walls of the prayer hall:

> The interior of the mosque has a tesselated pavement of marble. The wall of the transept, and the piers that support it, are coated with marble in beautiful patterns; while on portions of the wall above, and on the interior of the dome, may be seen fragments of mosaic.[247]

Porter did not mention any mosaic in the courtyard (as we have seen, these were whitewashed); and, in any case, the term "mosaic" for him (as for Conder: see below) could also mean patterns of marble on floor or walls. In 1876 Martin entered with red Morocco slippers;[248] Berners entered in the same year of 1876, but his description,[249] in a textbook example of nonchalant recycling, was quoted directly from Murray's guidebook. Pears had the help of the reclusive Mrs. Digby and her husband, and "by his means I was able to get into various mosques and see other sights which I should not have seen but for his assistance."[250]

Thomson, writing in 1886, explained that "several years ago" his party spent an entire morning in the mosque, with a camera:

> We were accompanied by the dragoman of the British Consulate, and at his request our photographer was allowed to take pictures of some of the interesting objects within this great court, and views of the colonnades and the minarets of the mosk.[251]

So they entered the mosque with ease, "but the keepers have become more accommodating, expecting to be liberally rewarded for their polite attentions when we leave the mosk" – the accommodation including the photography.[252]

By 1889 any whitewash had apparently disappeared from covering the mosaics, when Conder hedged on dating them: "might be thought to date from 395 AD … may, however, possibly belong to the early Arab period."[253] He evidently begrudged any "Arab" attribution, but he certainly saw and judged the mosaics around the courtyard, as did Berger (see below). Ellen Miller entered in 1891, with a cavass, two dragomen, and money: "a golden key – and it alone – can win access through the ancient gates which guard this shrine; – the fourth holiest in the world, according to Mohammedan computation."[254] In 1892 Lombay compared the mosque with those elsewhere:

> Ses colonnades qui s'étendent à perte de vue sur un pavement de dalles cirées recouvertes de précieux tapis de couleurs variées sont peut-être ce que l'Islam possède de plus magnifique en dehors de la coupole écrasante de la mosquée du Sultan Achmet à Constantinople et des monuments du Caire.[255]

5.11 *1893: the Mosque Burns*

The mosque was struck by a devastating fire in 1893, which seems to have put at least one visitor off visiting any of the other mosques in the city.[256] Philippe Berger, who had excavated at Carthage, visited Damascus this same year and gave a description of the devastation:

> Au premier abord on a peine à distinguer les parties de l'édifice qui étaient autrefois sous toit. Sur toute la longueur d'un des côtés s'étend une immense cour, soigneusement pavée, bordée de colonnes calcinées. Elle est jonchée de tapis, presque tous en loques, que l'on bat pour en faire disparaître les traces de l'incendie.

The dome had fallen and the prayer hall was completely wrecked:

> De l'édifice lui-même il ne reste rien; une triple rangée de grosses colonnes calcinées, qui représentent la nef et les bas-côtés, en indiquent encore la place et la disposition générale.

And as for the mosaics,

> Au-dessus de l'entassement des décombres, on aperçoit encore, sur le grand mur qui fait face à la cour, des restes de mosaïques et de décorations léchées par les flammes, et les fenêtres à plein cintre que décoraient des vitraux de couleur.[257]

The fire did not discourage Baedeker from recommending a visit five years later:

> In 1893 the mosque was again much injured by fire, but has since then been restored in the former style. / A visit to the mosque should on no account be omitted. Application should be made to the consulate for the service of a kawass (fee 15 pi., more for a party; as much is given to the Sheikh who conducts the visitor round the mosque, besides 1–2 pi. for the use of slippers).[258]

Of the mosaics, Baedeker writes rather confusingly of the prayer hall, where "the dome and various parts of the walls still bear traces of fine old mosaics, chiefly representing foliage."

Why did the mosque burn? According to Terhune, for Muslims it was the judgment of heaven for employing sacrilegious Christian labourers for repairs; whereas Christians "say it was lighted by burning solder which the workmen were too lazy to put out."[259] (This accords with the long-standing Muslim accusations against Christians for arson against the mosque in 1340.[9]) Three years later Calas entered, protected by a mosque official and also a cavass, and noted the walls of the courtyard:

> On voit encore, sur des pans de murs noircis, quelques mosaïques violemment arrachées à la demi-obscurité des voûtes, mais leur beauté n'a rien à redouter du grand jour. Tout le monde ne peut pas en dire autant.[260]

Curtis entered the mosque in 1902, his passage eased by a cavass from the American consulate:

> A consular kavass in an Oriental town is all-powerful. He is admitted everywhere. No one dares interfere with him, and the way he ordered the priests around at the mosque was beautiful to behold, while the beggars, whose name is legion, dared not come near us.

But why was a cavass still needed? Because "we could not visit the mosque without a guard to protect us from the fanatics and half-crazy priests and devotees, who consider it a profanation to allow Christians to enter the sacred building."[261] Whether his trepidation was mere hearsay, he offered a short description of what he saw, with some measurements. The gold-bedecked wooden ceiling of the prayer hall was largely gone; "the marble floor is covered

9 Kenney 2004, 378–382.

with rugs of the rarest texture. The pulpit is of alabaster and the fretwork of its sides represents the highest skill of Oriental artists."[262]

F.G. Smith, an American missionary, travelling in 1913, had visited Jerusalem and entered the Dome of the Rock, which he described as "magnificent." But his group did not enter the Umayyad Mosque, and he explained why, giving reasons which are depressingly familiar from other world-weary accounts:

> The Omaiyade Mosque is generally regarded as a place of special importance. We came to the door, but we did not enter, as we were not disposed to pay the entrance fee required. We had visited the celebrated Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem, and I expected soon to visit the most celebrated Mosque of all, St. Sophia, in Constantinople; so we did not think that this one could present any special feature of importance to us.[263]

Perhaps to compensate, his book printed a photograph of the prayer hall before the fire.

6 Gaza and Nablus

> On juge de la magnificence ancienne de cette Ville par la quantité prodigieuse de beaux marbres de toutes les especes, que l'on voit de tous cotez. [1659]

Arvieux, author of the above quote, goes on to cite the pasha's palace in Gaza, and the mosques, baths and houses of city as find-spots for marble columns, "les unes entières, les autres rompues, renversées par terre, dont ceux qui en ont besoin en prennent à discretion, moyennant une petite retribution qu'ils donnent au Kiahia & au Cadi."[264] In 1673 Sandys noted how the local governor had retrieved from a monument up the hill some columns for mosque-building, which his workmen had to saw up before they could be transported.[265] Thévenot, in the Holy Land in 1658, observed that "without the Town there are several goodly Mosques, all faced with Marble on the outside, and I believe they were places that belonged all to the ancient City."[266]

Wittman may have visited the ruined mosque up the hill in 1804, "wherein several plain marble columns lay dispersed on the ground," and the locals told him the same governor story. East of the town Wittman came across several buildings blown up by the French, and noted that "their inroad into Syria was indeed marked by disasters of almost every description, not less than twelve thousand of their best troops having, according to authentic accounts, perished

either by the sword, by disease, by hunger, or by fatigue."[267] Garnier in 1843 detailed earlier destruction during the Crusades.[268]

The town's Great Mosque (the erstwhile church) was still standing in 1819, or had it been rebuilt? Perhaps in part, Ali Bey noting in 1807 that "the Turks have added several buildings, but they are in a bad taste, and do not harmonize with the rest."[269] Forbin noted its "four rows of columns of African marble, surmounted by corinthian capitals in the best taste: these ornaments were evidently brought hither from Ascalon,"[270] where authors noted the abundance of spolia marble.[271] Other than that, and perhaps asserting the "fact" as a result of the French assault, Joliffe wrote that "there are scarcely any vestiges of former magnificence; all the stately marble columns, enumerated by some writers, have totally disappeared."[272]

By the time Michaud and Poujoulat arrived in 1833, there were fifteen mosques in Gaza, the most beautiful the converted church, which the local Christians claimed was built by S. Helena (Cook's *Tourists' Handbook* repeated this claim in 1876). However, as Michaud and Poujoulat remarked, "la mère de Constantin n'aurait pas assez vécu pour bâtir tous les temples chrétiens qu'on lui attribue, seulement dans la Palestine."[273] In 1840, continuing the celebrity line, Dawson Damer was shown the mosque's gates, and was assured that these were the very ones carried off by Sampson. Luckily she checked: during the French occupation an energetic commander named Samson had removed the modern gates.[274] But such a good story could not die, and Guérin relayed it in 1868 as believed by Christian and Muslim alike.[275]

In 1851 Neale found Gaza the least fanatical town in Turkey, for he could keep his shoes on when he entered its mosques. A cross was still to be seen on the ceiling of the erstwhile church, which "had baffled all the efforts of the Turks to erase it – a fact which drove a few of the more intolerant to the verge of insanity."[276] The insanity must have been hereditary, for when Porter arrived in 1882 his group was prevented from entering, "as we found the fanatical populace prepared to resist by main force any attempt at intrusion."[277] For De Hass, writing in 1887, the structure had been a pagan temple and then a synagogue before becoming a church, the proof being a menorah cut into a column shaft.[278]

Long gone were the days in Gaza when travellers like Arvieux could offer a small bribe and take some marble away with them, but not because of a dearth of marble. Joliffe, writing in 1822, had evidently not explored the other mosques carefully enough, for in 1868 Guérin could still point to eight others, remarkable "soit pour les beaux débris antiques qu'elles renferment, soit à cause des arabesques délicates, malheureusement très-dégradées, dont plusieurs sont ornées." He used them as examples to promote the excellence of Arab art:

> Quand on examine ces détails gracieux et ces dentelures fines et capricieuses que le ciseau a su imprimer à la pierre et au marbre, on ne peut s'empêcher de reconnaître l'art original et piquant que les Arabes ont déployé dans leurs constructions et surtout dans l'ornementation de leurs édifices, à l'époque où l'islamisme florissant, et encore dans le progrès de ses triomphes et dans la vigueur de sa jeunesse, a jeté dans le monde son plus vif éclat.[279]

Perhaps fanaticism had migrated to Nablus, where the main mosque was also once a church. Louet could enter in 1862 only after blows had been struck by his cavass, whereupon "nous y pénétrâmes sans pourparler, sans même retirer ou couvrir d'une paire de sandales les chaussures que nous avions aux pieds." Such triumphalism and blows were for him part of France's famous and condescending *mission civilisatrice*, for he continued:

> Quoique nous fussions venus en Syrie au nom de la civilisation, nous ne pûmes nous empêcher d'applaudir à ce procédé, tellement il est admis parmi nous que le Turc est l'antipode de la civilisation.[280]

Such surliness by the locals was near-permanent. In 1855 Mary Rogers was interested in the architectural details ("les chapiteaux aux élégants feuillages, et les moulures profondes, dentelées et en zigzag de l'arche en ogive, sont du style normand"), but lingered so long that the guardian became nervous, so she retired to visit the bazaar.[281] She also recounted how an English clergyman, accidentally causing the death of a Muslim, had occasioned anti-Christian riots.[282] The Duc de Luynes visited in 1864, and was eager to visit the erstwhile church of S. John, because "sans l'intolérance des musulmans, son étude offrirait des éléments sans doute très-dignes d'intérêt."[283]

7 Hebron

Hebron was an important biblical site, with the burials of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, and a church on top of the burial cave of Machpelah – also known as the Cave of the Patriarchs. But its history for Christian and Jewish pilgrims has not been a happy one.[10] The Muslims converted the church into a mosque, and as early as 1432, Broquière was denied access upon pain of

10 In 1929, 67 Jews were massacred by Arabs, heeding rumours that the Jews were plotting to seize the Haram in Jerusalem.

death, or conversion.[284] In 1480, when Fabri visited, entry was still denied to Christians and Jews. He sent his dragoman to argue the point, and was told that the site was considered even more holy than the Dome of the Rock ("Solomon's Temple") which was also forbidden to them. Then the concession:

> "If they wish to do honour to the patriarchs in the double cave, we permit them to go as far as the steps of the mosque, and worship there, but they must on no account mount them." So Calinus returned to us, brought us this negative answer, and led us to the steps of the mosque, within which is the double cave. We worshipped towards the cave, kissed the traces of the holy patriarchs, and received plenary indulgences.[285]

Ali Bey, dressed in flowing robes, with fluent Arabic and posing as a descendant of the Abbasids, visited in 1807, and remarked that the structure was formerly a Greek church. He described the fitments but not the architecture:

> At the extremity of the portico of the Temple upon the right, is a door which leads to a sort of long gallery, that still serves as a mosque; from thence I passed into another room, in which is the sepulchre of Joseph … All the sepulchres of the patriarchs are covered with rich carpets of green silk, magnificently embroidered with gold; those of their wives are red, embroidered in like manner. The Sultans of Constantinople furnish these carpets, which are renewed from time to time … The rooms also which contain the tombs are covered with rich carpets; the entrance to them is guarded by iron gates and wooden doors plated with silver, with bolts and padlocks of the same metal. / There are reckoned more than a hundred persons employed in the service of the Temple, it is consequently easy to imagine how many alms must be made.[286]

In 1837 Skinner, who knew some Arabic, claimed in what is surely full Tall Story Mode that he attained the roof of the mosque (with five domes!) from the citadel, helped by an Egyptian captain. However,

> a priest from the minaret perceived me, and hastened down, spitting towards me, and cursing with all his might, "Out, you dog! – down, infidel dog!" / He invoked every possible calamity on my head, and was preparing to attack me with all his zeal, when the Egyptian captain rushed in and interposed. "Who sent this dog here?" asked the priest: "the fires of hell shrivel up his soul!" "Your master," replied the captain; "and if you do not instantly be gone, I will take the Frank into the mosque, and he

> shall see the place of Abraham, on whom be the blessing of God!" This charm silenced the priest, and the captain whispered to me to retire, for they were mad on these matters. I, however, had seen the cupolas of the patriarchs' resting-place.[287]

With such alert mullahs, Christians were obliged to learned about the site by hearsay. The mosque was described to Fabri in the 1480s by "Saracens,"[288] as was still the case for Elliott in 1838[289] and for Garnier in 1843.[290] In 1485 Suriano tried to gain entrance to the mosque, but even a liberal bribe was refused.[291] Belon in 1588 said the mosque was forbidden, but (although other travellers did not mention this) the tombs could be seen via a squint-hole[292] In 1822 Richardson was told that relics survived, but his access into the cave was "peremptorily denied."[293] Irby and Mangles visited the following year, and averred that the Turks were exceedingly jealous of Franks, "not one of whom is allowed to live in the town."[294] Della Valle had suggested the same in the early seventeenth century.[295] Hebron's embargo extended to Ramla, where Carne in 1830 surmised that there might be a similar cave, but "there is no opportunity to ascertain, as the Christian is not allowed to enter."[296]

In 1830 Carne did an audit of admissions to Hebron, and (whereas Horne in 1885 listed four entrants[297]) counted only two or three Europeans in the past century who had gained access by daring or bribery. Wallin added his own name to the list in 1854.[298] Again by hearsay, "the resting-places of the celebrated patriarchs still exist, and are plainly to be discerned."[299] Stephens had been just as unsuccessful in 1839, and had told his Armenian guide:

> I had been violently driven from the door of the mosque in Hebron. He railed at the ignorance and prejudices of his countrymen, and swore, if I would go back to Hebron, he would carry me through the mosque on the point of his sword.[300]

In 1839 Paxton was denied access,[301] and four years later Olin failed in bribery, and was chased by schoolboys demanding backsheesh and throwing stones:

> A number of respectable looking men were present, who made no attempt to rescue us from insult. The Mussulmen of Hebron are noted for insolence and intolerance.[302]

Boys also prevented him from examining and measuring the stones of the structure, although "I conjectured that the largest of the stones employed in constructing the walls might be twenty feet [6.096 m] in length."[303] Two years

later, in 1845, Durbin sent a Moslem into the cave, and drew it from his description,[304] while in 1847 Castlereagh and his companion "were obliged, therefore, to content ourselves with a distant view."[305] Gingras was under the same restraint: he could peep through the mosque door, but "à une distance très-respectueuse."[306]

Neale was unable to get inside in 1851, noting that the Jews "dare not even linger near the spot which contains those sacred relics, and their despair and sorrow is strikingly evinced by the manner in which they bewail their fate."[307] Although not allowed to enter the mosque, Van de Velde in 1854 was given a kavass by the Governor, "to defend me against the audacities of the fanatical inhabitants, who cannot even tolerate a European's looking at the building with more than ordinary attention;" but he found nothing else remarkable in the town during his walks.[308] Stanley was unsuccessful in 1856, but surmised that the complex might contain the bones (or mummy) of Jacob.[309] In 1864 Saint-Aignan was astonished that his bribe did not work. This usually

> a la vertu d'apaiser le fanatisme des disciples de Mahomet, jusqu'à nous ouvrir quelquefois les portes de la mosquée d'Omar, à Jérusalem, n'a plus la même efficacité en face de la mosquée d'Abraham, à Hébron.

He listed Ali Bey as the only Christian to have entered, in local dress, and of course passing for a Muslim.[310]

7.1 *A Brighter Future for Entry by Christians?*

Visits by Western luminaries (including, according to Osborn in 1858, Sir Moses Montefiore[311]) could often avoid existing conventions, as we shall see in Jerusalem. The Prince of Wales and Dean Stanley visited the mosque at Hebron in 1862, and this "has broken down the bar which for centuries obstructed the entrance of Christians to that most venerable of the sanctuaries of Palestine; and may be said to have thrown open the whole of Syria to Christian research."[312] According to Paul in 1865, the Prince's visit did indeed break the embargo, because "Un bataillon turc a forcé l'entrée, pour lui en ouvrir l'accès."[313] Macleod saw a brighter future, for "it is soon likely to be as accessible as the Holy Mosques of Jerusalem or Damascus, which until but as yesterday were also closed against all 'infidels.'"[314] Not so. Two years previously, in 1864, Saint-Aignan used gold to sooth the Muslim breast and entered the Dome of the Rock, but this "n'a plus la même efficacité en face de la mosquée d'Abraham, à Hébron."[315]

However, that brighter future at Hebron took a long time to dawn. In 1857 Warren did enter, for "after some little demur his Excellency promised to write a letter giving me authority to enter every part of the mosque."[316] Or so he

thought. Several difficulties were put in his way; eventually a door was opened and it was only his stubbornness that got some progress:

> The Judge was sent for, who read the letter attentively, and said that it was so written as to put all the responsibility of showing the mosque upon the Modir, so that if the people made any row about it the Modir would be in fault.

As for entering "every part of the mosque," this ended as a whimper:

> After considerable delay it was arranged that I should be taken round the mosque, and be allowed to look in at the tombs of Abraham, etc., but not to go in. I had therefore but the small satisfaction of looking in through a hole in the door, and could go no farther.[317]

Money got Freese, an American, about ten feet [3.048 m] into the outer court in 1869, and led to dangerous thoughts:

> Our blood boils with indignation at this additional specimen of Moslem bigotry, and we feel that if we had a dozen other Americans with us, each with a revolver in his hand, we should like to clear our way – by threats, if possible, but by bullets, if necessary – to the tombs of the fathers. We wonder not now at the zealous and holy enthusiasm of the Crusaders, and had we lived in their day we should have liked to join them in ridding Palestine of these bigoted Mohammedans.[318]

He reported on one tourist, who stopped with his Jewish companion merely to look at the marble staircase leading to the Tomb of Abraham; but

> a Turk came out from the bazaars, and with furious gesticulations gathered a crowd round us; and a Jew and a Christian were driven with contempt from the sepulchre of the patriarch whom they both revered.[319]

In 1873 Warren visited the city, and got as far as "the great Haram, within whose walls is the sacred mosque, or sanctuary, which no Christian eyes are permitted to see."[320] Whereas the Haram in Jerusalem presented its monuments as on a high pedestal, here, as Vogüé noted in 1876, any glimpse "est dérobée aux regards profanes par une enceinte rectangulaire de belles murailles de 15 à 20 mètres de haut, d'appareil hérodien comme les soubassements des murs de Jérusalem, à contre-forts saillants et symétriques."[321]

In 1864 the Duc de Luynes noted that "Le prince de Galles, venu ici il y a quelques années avec un firman en règle, dut renoncer à s'en servir devant l'attitude menaçante des habitants."[322] As we have seen, the prince did indeed visit in 1862. He was followed by the Marquis of Bute in 1866 and the Crown Prince of Prussia in 1869.[323] In fact, the Prince entered the complex again in 1881, as *The Times* reported,[324] after initial difficulties were overcome, and the proferred excuses swept away: the roads were unsafe, "and the Pacha at Jerusalem had not a sufficient force of military at his disposal to ensure the safe conduct of the Princes thither." Overruled, and the princes did gain access:

> Permission was telegraphed from the Porte for the Princes to visit the mosque at Hebron, and the cave, if the Pacha at Jerusalem considered he had sufficient military at his disposal to ensure their safety from fanatics or other disturbers of the public peace, there or on the road.[325]

The governor had been nervous, and his preparations were attributed to an excess of caution:

> We found that the Governor had made every preparation for the safety of the experiment. The approach to the town was lined with troops; guards were stationed on the housetops.[326]

The Times smiled on what it saw as "this advance in the cause of religious tolerance and of Biblical knowledge," and looked forward to a permanent breach in the existing conventions.[327] Not so! Depending on the source, the last Christian visitor was the Prince of Wales in 1881, or his sons the following year.[328] Indeed, when in 1882 Princes Albert Victor and George of Wales toured the Holy Land from February to June, the Sultan gave explicit orders for entry to Hebron, and sent an aide-de-camp to back this up. However, the Royal party did not sketch the interior, and so the Duc de Luynes was unable to form a satisfactory plan of the site, and his only clues came from hearsay and reports of Arab descriptions,[329] as did Mislin's account of 1876.[330]

In 1896 Terhune could still not enter: he dismissed the stories about Christians put to death if they did try, but in trying to do so "the chances are that unpleasant consequences would arise, – and in the East unpleasant consequences should if possible be avoided."[331] Vetromile, the apostolic missionary, writing in 1871, thought that visitors to the interior had seen nothing, thanks to the cunning fanaticism of the Muslims, for "they build in some room a temporary tomb covered with fine carpets, and as near like as possible to the real tomb, and thus deceive the Christians, making them believe that they are

the tombs of Abraham and of the other Patriarchs."[332] And the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* suggested in 1910 that "the cave beneath the platform has probably not been entered for at least 600 years."

At the end of the nineteenth century Thomas tried to view the exterior from a terrace, but even this was dangerous "as the Hebronites are as lawless and savage a people as any in Judaea." And when the Pasha of Jerusalem wished for some photographs of the interior (which Thomas was to see), even he was rebuffed until he sent the photographer back with a file of soldiers:

> The interior is plain as those of mosques usually are; the marble columns have debased Corinthian capitals, the floor is covered with rich carpets, and on each side of the handsome mimbar are two striped catafalques in the shape of a child's Noah's ark, surmounting the rock caves in which the Patriarchs lie buried. There are also three holes covered with stones in the floor of the Haram and another uncovered, the interior of which is shown by thrusting down a lighted candle. More than this even Moslems never see. Six hundred years have elapsed since Christians were last permitted to enter.[333]

We should remember the Hebron massacre: in February 1994 when Baruch Goldstein entered the Ibrahimi Mosque, dressed in army reserve uniform, killing 29 and wounding 150 worshippers before being shot dead. But enter "Hebron Massacre" in Google, and the 1929 one occupies the first page. The later one requires more searching.

8 Baghdad (Present-day Iraq)

Travellers often ventured to eastern Syria into what is now Iraq, and viewed towns such as Mosul, which in 1819 had "handsome mosques."[334] Heude, who made this remark, was less interested in Muslim works than ancient ones, and cited Rich's work on Babylon, whence large quantities of bricks were still being extracted for re-use.[335] Heude's focus was decidedly pre-Islamic, for at Chosroes' arch at Ctesiphon he drew attention to and sketched "a large black marble block, full seven feet long, that was evidently the imperfect remain of a colossal statue which had lost its head … noticed by some former traveller from Babylon, but left behind in consequence of its weight."[336] Nor was this the only survival; "a profusion of decayed materials, with here and there a fragment of marble or porphyry, may be occasionally observed on the western bank of the Tigris."[337]

Teixeira was in Baghdad in 1603, and offered a long description, including a new mosque of stone, which was "white and very hard, but not marble. They are brought from Mosul, higher up the river, which some hold to have been Nineveh,"[338] so perhaps spolia were re-used therein. There were older mosques, but most were ruinous. Access was difficult, for "none but Moors may enter these mosques, especially those most in use, without plain peril of life or of forcible conversion; but this is not enforced with equal vigour in all places."[339] He also visited Karbala, where "the mosque and alcoran, like those of Aly, are notable for their size, beauty and cost. And though they be less ancient than his by but few years … they show much better. The material is brick and mortar, with some curious glazed tiles, and some mosaic work."[340]

Thévenot visited Mosul in the mid-seventeenth century, and described a mosque by the Baghdad Gate which threatened the citadel, and so was largely demolished by the Turks. He was fascinated by the chiselled plasterwork, including roses, which covered the interior walls. The work was not as regular as that to be seen in Europe, but Thévenot still thought it excellent:

> But after all, it is an agreeable confusion, and since there is not one bit but what is covered with them even in the Seeling it self, and that the ground is all azure, it yields a sight that surprizes the Eye, and in some sort contents it better than more regular and accomplished Beauties.[341]

In his travels through Iraq Thévenot apparently went through Samarra, including the unmissable minaret of Mutawakkil (847–861):

> … a Village called Imam-Muhammeddour, from the name of a Mosque, where they pay great Devotion: all that I could observe in passing, was a square Minaret that spires into a Pyramid. About noon we saw many forsaken houses, some ruinous, and others not; and that during the space of above two hours way, but at distances from one from another; they call that Eski-Bagdad [near Tikrit], the ancient Bagdad.[342]

In 1829 Beaujour found the Baghdad mosques beautiful, and their copper domes gleaming;[343] yet six years later Aucher-Éloy recorded mosques, bazaars and streets falling to ruin.[344] For Wellsted in 1840 the minarets were especially fine.[345] Layard, visiting in that same year, lamented on the encroaching ruination, and pointed the finger at the Turkish takeover as the reason, because they also confiscated the mosque endowments:

> Of the great edifices, the palaces, the colleges, the caravanserais, the baths, and other public edifices which had adorned Baghdad in the time of the Caliphs, scarcely anything remained.[346]

Nevertheless, the city's mosques remained the most important buildings, but as late as 1887–8 Budge "found it quite impossible to gain admission into those I most wanted to see."[347] Worse was to follow when he visited the mosques in Hillah and Kufah, all built with ancient bricks. There the British excavations in 1880 had uncovered limestone slabs and statues, which had now been made into lime.[348]

9 Jerusalem

9.1 *Cityscape*

> The panoramic view is magnificent … the domes of the Sanctuary of the Holy Sepulchre and other churches, convents, mosques, and minarets, rising in succession … the whole city lying so completely exposed to view, that the eye of the beholder can "go round Zion, and mark all her bulwarks."[349] [1835]

Such enthusiasm as that above (published anonymously by the SPCK) was shared by many visitors. For, as Madden wrote in 1829, this was "one of the most splendid prospects his eye has ever dwelt upon … once a noble city rises on his view, with stately walls and lofty towers, and studded with glittering domes of mosques and monasteries."[350] Nevertheless, even an apparently simple description could make clear an underlying agenda, as is the case with an 1820 traveller, sighting the city as he approached: "nous aperçûmes, pour la première fois, d'une éminence et dans l'éloignement, les mosquées et les minarets qui s'élèvent au centre de la métropole du christianisme."[351]

For eager pilgrims, and viewed from afar, Jerusalem was indeed the Holy City, because a distant view would accord with what they knew from paintings and prints back home, some of which had indeed been made on-site. Distance did indeed lend enchantment, just as it did for Constantinople. But as can be seen for both cities, closer acquaintance by nineteenth-century westerners often attenuated their interest in the monuments, because it translated into dirty, smelly and rubbish-laded streets, with importunate or hostile locals.

Of course Christian visitors, many with Bible in hand, wished the city to be beautiful. For Bonar in 1844 that beauty (where "others have seen only filth and ruins") was an illusion based on their poetic imagination, "and clothed with illusory splendour the fallen metropolis of Judea," with some daring to "represent the magnificence of its buildings as equalling the most splendid edifices of modern times, others have seen only filth and ruins, surmounted by a gaudy mosque, and a few glittering minarets."[352]

Most travellers were enchanted by the distant view, because the city was a target of their travels. Thus "no human being could be disappointed who first saw Jerusalem from the east," wrote Stanley in 1856, enumerating corn-fields as well as monuments, with the Mosque of Omar (the Dome of the Rock) as the centrepiece.[353] Three years later Becq also noted the dome of the Mosque of Omar, this Holy City with an air of grandeur and magnificence, for "le pèlerin étonné reconnaît avec plaisir que si Jérusalem est une reine dégradée, elle est du moins toujours une reine, et sans contredit la reine de l'Orient."[354] Énault part-agreed, but (perhaps when viewed close-up) this was an illusion: "on se laisse prendre à cette belle et noble apparence: la vieille reine farde sa pâleur et dissimule ses rides."[355]

For Martin in 1876 it was the mosques which stole the show for, although somewhat decayed, they "have a quiet air of age and stately grandeur about them which none of the others can approach, arising more from simple architectural beauty and size than rich and costly ornamentation."[356] Decayed mosques were apparently perennial, Michaud and Poujoulat suggesting already in 1835 that "la piété des vrais croyans laisse l'herbe croître en paix sur ces débris religieux."[357]

In 1832 Russell had noted the contradiction between those who thought the city magnificent and those who saw only filth. Beauty was in the mind's eye, not the streets:

> The greater number, it must be acknowledged, have drawn from their own imagination the tints in which they have been pleased to exhibit the metropolis of Judea; trusting more to the impressions conveyed by the brilliant delineations of poetry, than to a minute inspection of what they might have seen with their own eyes.[358]

And as Curtis summarised in 1903, "There is nothing to attract a traveler but shrines and memories, and the air is full of controversy, jealousy, and doubt." The only beautiful thing was the Mosque of Omar, for

> Although we sing of the glory, the purity and happiness of Jerusalem, it is one of the most repulsive places in all the world … There are no sewers

> and none but surface drainage. All the filth and offal of unmentionable sorts is dumped upon the pavement … blown into the air and absorbed into the throats and nostrils, the eyes and ears of man and beast, with myriads of microbes of all varieties.[359]

Closer acquaintance with the sites to be visited also underlined the difficulties to be encountered by the Christian pilgrim. For unfortunately, as we shall see below, many erstwhile Christian monuments were in Muslim hands, and were supposed to be visited as part of the standard "pilgrimage package." For, as Febvre complained in 1682, "Ils se sont emparez en Jérusalem du Temple de Salomon, du Cénacle, & du lieu d'où nostre Seigneur monta au Ciel, dont ils ont fait des Mosquées."[360]

9.2 *The Contentious City*

> In one place, you meet the scowl of some malignant Jew, who considers your presence a profanation to his Holy City; and at another you encounter a fanatical Moslem, cursing the unhallowed foot that approaches the precincts of Omar's Mosque. Each sectary of the Cross or Crescent, Greek or Latin churchman, Druse or Metouali, regards his heretic neighbour with pious horror, intermingled with contempt.[361] [1848]

One explanation for the difficulties travellers encountered in Jerusalem was that as well as attacks from Jews and Muslims, Christian communities were at each others' throats, as the above quotation by Warburton explains. In fact (and in spite of being in some kind of supposed union as "the people of the Book"), neither Jews nor Muslims were united even among themselves, and the Christian sects being by far the worst. Cobbe could report in 1864 that

> a guard of Turks sits always smoking and playing in the anteroom of the Holy Sepulchre, to prevent their coming – as they have often done – to blows and bloodshed in the very sanctuary itself.[362]

And living one's life in Jerusalem was far from easy for non-Muslims[11] where, as Dovedan reported in 1661, it was difficult for Christians to get permission to build or even to make repairs to their property.[363] When these occurred, they were considered a triumph. Thus in 1717, when France obtained a firman to

11 Gil 1992, 160–163 for "Freedom of worship and its limitations," and then "Professions and offices," discussing destruction of churches, height of non-Muslim buildings, and prohibition on non-Muslims from entering mosques.

allow repair to the Holy Sepulchre, elements of a Turkish army were on hand on Zion in case of trouble. Following the project's success, "la Porte fît un si grand état de la faveur octroyée qu'elle envoya un ambassadeur en porter à Paris la notification officielle."[364]

All communities in the city were under the thumb of the Turkish governor, who exercised strong control far from Constantinople. As Récollet found to his cost in 1806, this illustrated the old Chinese adage that "the mountains are high, and the emperor far away." Although Récollet had obtained a firman in Constantinople limiting taxes, the local governor responded: "J'ai un contre-firman qui m'autorise à exiger de vous autant qu'il est possible. De l'argent! C'est le sang que nous pouvons tirer des veines des chiens."[365] Constantinople could also bear down on Christian requests: Süleyman, replying to a request from François Ier that an erstwhile church be returned to Christianity, offered the King a straight refusal in 1528:

> Or, altérer aujourd'hui par un changement de destination le lieu qui a porté le titre de mosquée et dans lequel on a fait la prière, serait contraire à notre religion; même si dans notre sainte loi cet acte était toléré, il ne m'eût encore été possible, en aucune manière, d'accueillir et d'accorder ton instante demande.[366]

Surely archaeology, a growing fascination for the nineteenth century, could help in the exploration of the city? Forgetting the quabbles for the moment, Jerusalem must hold many secrets beneath its soil and buildings. With the development of archaeology and directed digging increasing knowledge of the past and its artefacts (for example at Nineveh), might, perhaps, a firman allow excavation of the holy sites? Certainly Williams, writing in 1845, thought so, because such explorations could side-step Muslim fanaticism. The Haram could not be touched, of course, but

> the same authority which opens the mosks of the Turkish capital to the curiosity of Franks, might remove the obstructions at Jerusalem; a firman from the Sultan might probably be procured, if applied for in a proper manner. His Majesty the King of Prussia has conferred an important benefit on one branch of history, by the expedition sent to Egypt under the direction of Dr. Lipsius, with full permission of the Pasha. "Would not the antiquities of Jerusalem present a field equally worthy of royal munificence?"[367]

Yes, indeed they would, but "notwithstanding the spread of enlightened feelings, and the diminution of fanaticism," Muslim sensitivities still intervened,

and what enlightened and modernising Constantinople encouraged could not counter local prejudices. This realisation by some Western scholars at least showed some perspective: for, as was asked at a meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1870, what would we think "of a party of foreign savans commencing excavations around York Minster?"[368]

Over the years, the same problem of governmental permission straining against local denial persisted for would-be archaeologists. When Warren and his colleagues from the Palestine Exploration Fund obtained permission in 1867 "to make useful scientific inquiries, it is needful that facilities and support should be afforded them." These were no doubt provided, and "permission and every possible facility to dig and inspect places, after satisfying the owners, with the exception of the Noble Sanctuary and the various Moslem and Christian shrines."[369] In 1873–1874 Clermont-Ganneau sought but did not obtain a firman to allow excavation work, and had to content himself with attacking the soil of the Haram with a pick, but "only carrying on operations at those places where I could work without arousing opposition."[370]

If digging was a prize for the future, access to the holy sites was a problem for the present, not simply accepted by all visitors. De Forest, an American, recounted in 1856 how to visit the Haram a friend "put on a tarboosh, and folded himself in an Arab cloak, leaving perfectly visible his blazing English face, the bottoms of his jean pantaloons and his most unoriental boots."[371] He escaped, but this did not stop De Forest walking close to the Haram, his guide supporting him, after all. We are hardly surprised by his boast "The American eagle soars in the face of the sun, and is not to be scared by the horsetails of a dilapidated crescent."[372]

Another element of contention in the city of Jerusalem was between the very varied reactions of travellers to the monuments they saw and described. Accounts did not necessarily tally, so just what was the armchair reader at home to believe? As Russell remarked in 1832,

> According to one, the magnificence of its buildings rivals the most splendid edifices of modern times, while another could perceive nothing but filth and ruins, surmounted by a gaudy mosque and a few glittering minarets.[373]

And indeed, many pilgrims visited the city clutching the Bible as a truthful guidebook. The East was unchanging (as the fallacious argument went), so the Unthinking Traveller had everything necessary for a visit in the Holy Book. But Thinking Travellers were also plentiful. Already in 1609 it was Biddulph who expressed the overriding point of contention, namely the veracity or otherwise of the Holy Places. He dealt with what he saw under three headings: "1. Either

apparent Truths. 2. Manifest Untruths. 3. Or things Doubtful."[374] Thus could the Thinking Traveller easily decide: even if (1) were accepted, why should one pay through the nose to visit (2) and (3)? Money, so often the crux deciding entry to monuments, was especially and necessarily sought in Jerusalem, which accumulated funds from neither agriculture nor trade – only from pilgrims.

9.3 *Jerusalem as a Cash Cow: Christians and Jews*[12]

> Inevitably, the entire material prosperity of a holy city is as strictly based on the "merits of the saints" as Newcastle on coals or Manchester on calicoes.[375] [1896]

Extortion from eager pilgrims (as expressed by Tiffany above) had been one of the triggers for the Crusades, and so it was to continue with free-spending westerners turning the City into a tourist-based economy. Gouging began early. In 1094 Peter the Hermit went to Jerusalem, and reported that each pilgrim was charged an aureus (an impossibly high sum) for admission to the city itself. Few could pay, so their tribute and maintenance imposed an intolerable burden on the Christian inhabitants. They were constantly exposed to insults in their visits to the holy places, the sanctity of which was no protection against the infidels.[376]

We may view the whole city as a money-making machine for the dominant Muslims. In 1417, wrote Moudjir-ed-dyn later that century, in a clear case of inventive and religiously-cloaked blackmail, a minaret was to be erected on top of the Holy Sepulchre, against the protests of the Christians, who offered a large sum of money to prevent it.[377] In 1621 Bernard reported that it cost two sequins simply to get into the city, followed by further entrance fees for the Holy Sepulchre, janissaries, etc.[378] On the Mount of Olives, which Thévenot visited in 1658, "les Turcs ont réduit cette Eglise en Mosquée, & ne permettent point aux Chrétiens d'y entrer."[379] And in 1664 Castillo also complained about the high fees charged to get into the city itself, and then into the Christian monuments.[380]

And extortion began from the top. The city Governor "helped" Christian pilgrims, but for money. Maundrell, travelling in 1697, reported that on Easter Monday the Governor took pilgrims down to the Jordan, with guards:

> Il seroit impossible d'y aller sans cela, à cause de l'insolence & la multitude des Arabes qui infestent ces quartiers là. Chaqye Pelerin Franc est

12 Peri 2001, Chap 4, 161–200: The Holy Sites as a Source of Income to the Ottoman State.

> obligé de payer pour cela au Moselem, & à ses gardes, la somme de douze dollars (ecclesiastics pay six).[381]

Mount Moriah (not, for Maundrell below, the Haram) was the site of Christ's Ascension, anciently with a large church. Maundrell noted that the Turk now used it as a mosque; and he complained that

> there are many other holy places about Jerusalem, which the Turks pretend to have a veneration for, equally with the Christians; and under that pretence they take them into their own hands. But whether they do this out of real devotion, or for lucre's sake, and to the end that they may exact money from the Christians for admission into them, I will not determine.[382]

Resident Christians could help temper the more outrageous demands. In the mid-eighteenth century, at least, a good relationship with resident Western monks was a necessity for navigating visiting possibilities and permissions. Campbell in 1758 also recorded that payment was needed to enter the city, and apparently "there are instances of several Englishmen, who have been accused and traduc'd for spies by those holy men, and met with great difficulties," which suggests such Christian "holy men" were also cashing in.[383] A good relationship with the Governor was always required, and Paxton reported in 1839 that just before his arrival "a party of Englishmen had been all through [the Dome of the Rock], under the special protection of the governor." From this happy event, he drew the wrong conclusion:

> There is little doubt, that in a few years, unless some reaction takes place, free admission will be allowed, and many other foolish and unreasonable customs and prejudices of the Mohammedans will pass away.[384]

Free admission scarcely obtains even today, but now it is Jews who have to be accompanied by armed police when they are allowed onto the Haram.[13]

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13 WSJ_120819_A12: "The increasing flow of Jewish visitors in recent years along with the demand to allow Jewish prayer there has irked Palestinians wary of a change to the status quo. Currently all non-Muslims are barred from praying on the site. Israeli authorities in recent years have decided on a case-by-case basis whether to allow Jewish visitors to ascend the holy site in times of friction. Religious Jews who do visit the site are usually accompanied by groups of armed police to ensure their safety, as well as by Muslim watchmen who ensure they don't pray while touring the site."

Christians were not the only pilgrims. As another example of the Governor "helping" (rich) infidels, Jews did not bathe in the Jordan but, as Forbes wrote in 1819,

> I saw the whole of the Hebrew population of Jerusalem collected in the valley of Jehosophat: the Motsallam [Governor] had sold the Jews the permission to celebrate there the festival of the tombs.[385]

As is the way of the world, Pierotti (who held the office of architect to Sooraya, Pasha of Jerusalem, having been a Captain of Engineers in the Sardinian army) observed that rich Jews were welcome, but poor Jews were not.[386] They suffered far greater indignities in North Africa, as we shall see, but their costs in Jerusalem were financial. They were allowed upon payment to visit the Wailing Wall on Friday afternoons,[387] "pour embrasser la poussière, unique reste du temple de Salomon."[388] Jonas wote in 1857 that the sum charged was exorbitant, and the time allowed only 1500–1600h.[389] In 1862 Bovet reported that [in 1839] Moses Montefiore had paid "une fois pour toutes le droit de venir, aussi souvent qu'ils le veulent, prier et pleurer près de ce mur."[390] He also gained access to the Tomb of David on Mount Zion.

Christians continued to suffer from the locals' rapacity, and the mechanisms were clear to all. Russell reported in 1832 that the Turkish government had diverted Christian veneration for the Holy Sites into a source of revenue, with the Sepulchre opened only on certain days, and the pilgrims "checked by the insolence of the Turks, who delight to insult and disappoint their anxiety."[391] In 1855 Allen suggested that the Turks, suspicious that westerners wished to explore the undercrofts of the Haram to find treasure, should be paid for anything found there. After all, many Muslims throughout the Empire believed the Franks were able to find treasure because of their superior knowledge; but a bargain should be struck, as it was with the Jews and the Wailing Wall:

> … the Turks, who are as a nation honourable, and can appreciate frank dealings in others. At the same time, with them, as with other people, much may be done with money.[392]

Bribery sometimes gained admission to the Muslim monuments as well, some of which were re-purposed Christian ones. In 1864 Saulcy, who wished to make drawings, did get access to the Haram via the French Consulate, including the Dome of the Rock.[393] He explained how he bribed the sheik of the mosque: "je recevais dans ma chambre, et en tête à tête, ce brave homme, dont je crois avoir déjà dit qu'il a un amour des plus intenses pour les pièces de vingt francs,"

promising him one such gold coin for every day of work at the site.[394] Access was frequently contentious because, as already noted, Islamic monuments occupied or were built on top of Christian (and Jewish) ones. This was already a problem by the late fifteenth century, when Fabri discoursed at length over Christians and mosques, and concluded that "it is clear that a Christian may not enter a mosque, to worship Christ therein, without sin." Evidently, Christians were barging their way into churches now converted into mosques.[395]

But was not the Holy Sepulchre an exclusively Christian site? Light presented his firman in 1818, and the Governor gave him an order to visit, but he was blocked by a village chief in spite of his firman. The Governor then "promised that not only it should not happen on my return, but that he would have the chief brought to Jerusalem to make me an apology."[396] Just how much control the Jerusalem Governor actually had over subordinates (let alone ordinary citizens) seems to have varied.

9.4 *The "Mosque of David"*

Monuments outside the city walls were also of interest, but most were now Muslim. On Mount Zion was the Mosque of David, where supposedly he was buried, but which also contained the Cenaculum, the reputed site of the Last Supper. Maundrell could not enter in 1697.[397] In 1820 Turner gained admission to the Cenaculum, but only the courtyard of the mosque.[398] In 1837 Skinner's asssistant Hasan (a Muslim) explored the site, costing six piastres and with only a talisman to show for it. Skinner remarked that "the profession of cicerone is a most lucrative one in Mecca, and, in proportion to the number of visitors, not much less so here."[399]

As always, money was the key: Azaïs was able to kneel at the Mosque of David in 1855, after paying a fee, while complaining at the injustice of the setup.[400] Indeed it was, Becq recording in 1859 that at this site "une poignée de piastres obtient l'ouverture des portes."[401] Phelps managed to enter the upper room in 1863, but not the vault with the supposed tomb of David.[402] The daughter of an American missionary, helped by a Muslim lady, also gained access to the supposed tomb, and drew it: "The structure described by Miss Barclay, Dr. Porter justly observes, is only a cenotaph. The real tomb must be in the cave below."[403]

Indeed, by the 1870s, according to Haussmann de Wandelburg, mass could be said in the tomb; until, that is, the French consul ("doué de cet excès de zèle que M. de Talleyrand redoutait tant dans un diplomate") spread the word, and organised a large number of people to hear mass there. This proved to be a mistake, for the crowd affronted the Muslims, who locked the door and would hear no pleas to open it,

> et depuis lors on ne peut plus y dire la messe: ainsi les fruits de la prise de possession lente et progressive introduite à l'amiable par la sagesse de Mgr Valerga, se trouvèrent perdus par cet acte de jactance consulaire.[404]

In 1874 Du Fougerais paid and was admitted to several erstwhile Christian monuments; he fumed that "il est humiliant et dur pour un chrétien d'être obligé de s'agenouiller dans la mosquée d'un mécréant!"[405] At the end of the century, Marquette paid to enter the upper room, but complained that Christians were not allowed to pray elsewhere in the building.[406] The Tomb of Samuel, near the city, also had a mosque built by it.[407]

9.5 *The Holy Sepulchre*

> The Mosque of Omar and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the naked simplicity of the ritual of the one, the florid and grotesque symbolism of the other, – here are the two great races in salient contrast.[408] [1896]

The Holy Sepulchre (never a mosque) was not always admired by Christians (see Tiffany, above). It has been under Ottoman control since the Middle Ages, needing a firman in 1717 to allow repairs, and usually an entrance fee. So it deserves a short account here, as yet another example of a tourist cash-cow. In 1735 Arvieux asserted that the Turks had stripped it of most precious marbles, leaving the mosaics they could not reach.[409] Çelebi noted four red porphyry columns, "each one worth the annual revenue of Turkey."[410] (Similarly Thévenot pointed to cramps on the outer walls of the church at Bethlehem, whence he thought the Turks had stolen the marble veneer.[411]) Maundrell and his group viewed "la porte magnifique du Temple,"[412] were disgusted by the squabbling of Greek and Latin religious therein, entered on the one day the Turks offered admission without payment,[413] and wondered "Comment peut on esperer de voir ces lieux saints hors du pouvoir des Infidelles?"[414] The Baron de Tott had diagnosed the reason for the problem in 1784, namely that the Muslims were profiting from the division between Western and Eastern Christians:

> Le Mahométisme en détruisant ces monumens s'est conservé le moyen de profiter du pieux enthousiasme qui les avait élevés, & la politique des Turcs en admettant les Grecs & les Latins au partage des saints Lieux, afin de profiter de leurs divisions, a plus compté sur leur orgueil que sur leur dévotion.[415]

In 1838 Robinson described several Turks sitting on a divan exacting a small payment for entrance, a setup

> assurément bien faite pour exciter l'indignation du pieux pèlerin venu de contrées lointaines, surtout s'il sait quel châtiment terrible attend tout chrétien qui oserait franchir le seuil d'une mosquée.

However, he concluded, it was only because the Turks had a financial interest that the Holy Places in Jerusalem had been preserved.[416] Lamartine had seen the same scene, and declared the Turks the only tolerant people. Not so, wrote Saint-Aignan in 1864, "c'est parce que leur amour de l'or est encore plus grand que leur fanatisme; c'est parce que cette église est pour eux une grasse ferme et la source de riches revenus."[417]

10 The Haram al Sharif and Its Monuments

10.1 *The Platform of the Haram*

> A large piazza lies beyond this gate, which is very beautiful and square and is enclosed by a wall; and in the middle is the Templum Domini, which the prophet David commenced and Solomon completed; but it has been destroyed three times and rebuilt; and beside it to the south is the Templum Solomonis which is covered with lead. The Templum Domini is very beautiful exteriorly, and appears a marvel, with a round dome like a hat, while as it descends it grows larger, with very fine windows. How it is within, I know not, because the cursed Saracens have made of it a mosque; and he who would enter it, will deny the faith or be sawn in two.[418]

The most conspicuous feature within the walls of Jerusalem is the Haram el Sharif (the Noble Sanctuary), a rock platform containing several monuments, including the Al-Aqsa Mosque, and the Dome of the Rock (*c*.685–709). Niccolò of Poggibonsi, travelling in 1346–50, made in the quote above connections with Solomon and his Temple that were enthusiastically believed by many Bible-primed visitors. Biddulph in 1609 noted that the platform had contained Solomon's Temple, now turned into "a Muskia or Turkish Church, whereinto no Christian may have accesse," but did not specify the particular structure.[419] Such illustrious connections were encouraged by local Muslim guides who,

like all their cash-conscious brethren, tended to over-quote enthusiastically. Thus in 1820 Turner thought the Dome "very handsome, and the largest I have seen out of Constantinople," and in a nearby smaller structure "the dragoman shewed me a window, at which he assured me very gravely, Solomon used to sit."[420]

In 1807 Ali Bey noted that the Haram was

> not precisely one mosque, but a group of mosques; its name in Arabic (El Haram) strictly signifies a Temple or place consecrated by the peculiar presence of the Divinity … No Mussulman governor dare permit an infidel to pass into the territory of Mecca, or into the temple of Jerusalem. A permission of this kind would be looked upon as a horrid sacrilege; it would not be respected by the people, and the infidel would become the victim of his imprudent boldness.[421]

The site originally housed the Jewish temple (Solomon's, then Herod's), the only remains of which were some supporting walls, including the Wailing Wall where Jews pray. This large platform ("beautiful beyond Expression" wrote Perry in 1743[422]) is the setting for the two most important Muslim monuments of the city, namely the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, given the Crusader-era names of *Templum Solomonis* and *Templum Domini* respectively, reflecting the ancient Hebrew use of the site. Nothing remained of the Temple except the very foundations of the site, although some visitors, as we shall see, thought they could identify some of its materials. As Ali Bey had stated, and as the following accounts will illustrate, Christians were not often welcome on the platform, or in the Dome or the Al-Aqsa, although restrictions eased toward the end of the nineteenth century.

The Dome, also known as the Mosque of Omar (who took the city in 637), is not strictly a mosque, set up for worship by many. Rather, it is a shrine (surely inspired by Byzantine martyria) protecting the Rock itself for veneration by individuals. If we believe Arculf, writing not long after the Conquest, the first structure erected was to imitate Mohammed's mosque in Medina; but this was soon replaced by the Dome, turning the site

> into a magnet which drew thousands of visitors from the Muslim world who were on their way to Mecca, and this is where the process of sanctification began, a process which increasingly produced its own momentum.[14]

14 Gil 1992, 91, 96

The whole site of the Haram is important for Jews and Christians as well as Muslims. The Rock identifies where Abraham was to sacrifice Isaac to the Lord, where Mohammed prayed, and where his horse, Buraq, launched him on the final leg of his night ride to heaven. Sacred therefore to all three faiths, the site was taken over by the Crusaders in 1099. Descriptions of its layout are common, because its extent was visible from buildings on higher ground. Already in 1606 Palerne noted that it was forbidden to Christians.[423] Della Valle, travelling in 1614–26, noted (just as had Palerne) that it was largely grass-covered, and only partly paved,[424] around the Dome, "with the whitest marble," as Casola had written in 1494.[425] In 1661 Dovedan found the Dome beautiful, "mais non si magnifique & somptueux qu'on le décrit."[426] He tried to interpret the crowning crescent as an augury: "one of which was that Islam should go to the West, and convert the Christians; or conversely a sign that the Christians would come East, and take over the Holy Land."[427] Just like Thévenot, he was probably shocked by the devastation caused at Bethlehem, where the Turks had stripped the walls of marble for their mosques.[428]

10.2 *Accessing the Haram*

Some Christians certainly gained an early access to the Haram platform, such as Vergoncey in 1615, who measured the exterior of the Dome by pacing; but his wording also suggests he might have been able to describe the interior only by hearsay.[429] It is entirely possible that his (Muslim) janissaries did the pacing for him, as they did for Fermanel in 1670.[430] Yet Christians were often forbidden from even stepping on the Haram (as Suriano stated already in 1485[431]), a common Muslim explanation being that, once there, "ils le pourroient prier pour l'avancement du Christianisme, & pour la ruyne de leur Religion, ce qu'ils obtiendront infalliblement."[432] In other words, the return to Christianity would infallibly bring the Ottoman Empire to an end. Hence perhaps the common belief that Christians caught on the Haram had two choices: to turn Turk (become a Muslim) or be killed. Monconys got onto the platform in 1665, and described the Dome, but could not enter.[433] Bremond described the site in 1679, but probably from a distance.[434] However, in the early 1830s Poujoulat visited the site several times in European dress, though he did not enter any of the buildings.[435] For him the Al-Aqsa "représente pour les chrétiens l'ancien temple de Salomon."[436] Others were more nervous, one traveller in 1820 promising a description in his book were he able to get close enough; this did not happen, and his sketch was useless.[437]

Mme. Belzoni, an Englishwoman, got onto the Haram in 1818 while Christians were repairing structures there, and left a long but almost architecture-free account which her husband, in his book, headlined helpfully as "trifling."[438]

Indeed it was. She donned Arab dress but, as Gingras noted in 1845, "la crainte d'être reconnue dans un tel lieu, et de payer cher sa curiosité, dans le cas qu'elle y fût arrêtée, ne lui quitta guère le loisir de la parcourir en détail; aussi la description qu'elle en a laissée est-elle fort incomplete."[439] As an example, he told of Marrelli, an Italian, who had been quite seriously wounded by a shower of stones from Muslims crying "Death to the Christian!" And as for the famous accession onto the Haram of the Prince de Joinville in 1842 (for which see below), this required a complete regiment of soldiers to protect him.[440]

Just as at Hebron, the high and mighty had a better chance than ordinary travellers of accessing the Haram. Ibrahim Pasha proposed to the Duc de Raguse in 1839 that he visit; but he was short of time, preliminary arrangements would have to be made, and "Je l'ai regretté depuis, à cause du mystère qui environne ce lieu."[441] Carne in 1830 was more interested in such sights, and declared that "as great a privation as the being debarred a sight of the cave of Machpelah [Hebron], is that of being excluded from the area of the mosque of Omar." Nevertheless he strolled in, but was then expelled, "for to linger there was full of danger."[442] As Monk remarked in 1850, "the tolerance which allows Christians to enter the mosques of Stamboul and E' Musr [Cairo] does not extend to the Holy City."[443]

Castlereagh also got onto the Platform in 1847 and "paid a certain sum, disguised in a Turkish dress." From his vague account, he did get into the Al-Aqsa but, if he managed the interior of the Dome, he did not describe it.[444] In terms of enthusiastic mosque access, he was a recidivist, having yearned without success to enter the Hebron mosque, but accessing Al-Azhar in Cairo in local dress. He was proud of his achievement, having informed his readers of the difficulties ("I believe some persons have succeeded in getting into the mosque, but it has been an affair of some danger and difficulty"[445]) before recounting his triumphant success. And the Prince de Joinville did indeed get into the Dome, but

> lors de l'excursion qu'il fit, il y a quelques années à Jérusalem, eut besoin de toute la puissance de l'autorité locale, pour pouvoir pénétrer impunément dans cette mosquée; un régiment entier avait été chargé de le protéger contre les insultes et les coups de la populace, qui autrement l'eût impitoyablement immolé à ses haines religieuses.[446]

It was once again the Crimean War (1854–6), with the French and British help for the Ottomans against Russia after an attack at sea in 1853, which changed much in the Empire, and according to one report helped open the Haram to travellers except on Fridays and during Ramadan.[447] On 5 May 1853, as the

casus belli, Russia had demanded the right to protect the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire, especially of course in Jerusalem. Because of the burden of the war, the Empire began to contract foreign loans and hence public debt (e.g. for street lighting, paving and railways), which were badly managed. In 1856 Castelnau described a visit to the Haram: the Darfur negroes usually in charge had been locked up, because "la voix des autorités serait impuissante pour protéger contre eux le chrétien qui oserait s'exposer à leur furie." And so "une garde de soldats irréguliers nous entoura, en formant un rempart autour de nous."[448] According to Lycklama a Nijeholt the repercussions from the Crimean War had made sites such as the Haram accessible, for now "le Pacha en autorise l'entrée sur la recommandation des consuls des grandes puissances," one of whom was M. de Barrère, whom he thanked heartily in his text.[449]

Bourassé wrote up the changed conditions of access to the Haram in 1867, attributing it directly to the War: "les dignitaires turcs se montrent plus tolérants, et déjà quantité de voyageurs ont profité de ces bonnes dispositions pour visiter en détail tout l'espace sacré," even if the visits were somewhat rushed. Never mind, "ce n'est pas douteux, les savants réussiront un jour à décrire, à mesurer et à dessiner tout cr qui leur paraîtra digne d'intérêt pour l'histoire, la science de l'antiquité ou les beaux-arts."[450] As Jollivet-Castelot explained, one paid for entry to the Haram: "C'est mesquin de la part de l'administration locale, mais les coffres sont souvent vides et, en Turquie, on fait argent de tout."[451]

Just as in Constantinople, so here in Jerusalem consuls were often the key to gaining access, even after the Crimean War. In 1862 Louet noted the help of the French consul, M. de Barrère, suggesting that only ten Europeans had visited in the previous thirty years.[452] De Vogüé wrote in 1864 that access was now easy, because "la toute-puissance du bakchich en a forcé les portes," and de Barrère had prepared the ground before his arrival, so that

> la mosquée était à notre disposition tous les matins de six heures à midi; nous pouvions dessiner, mesurer, photographier à notre aise, en nous aidant d'échelles et de tous les instruments nécessaires; jamais nous n'avons rencontré la moindre difficulté.[453]

He waxed lyrical on the Dome's external appearance, blinded by enthusiasm into writing of "ce vaste octogone … l'immense coupole qui le surmonte"[454] for what is not a large building. M. de Barrère would also act as guide, Macedo in 1867 remarking how "on lui livrait partout passage sans rien objecter, tant est grande la déférence et le respect dont jouit ce digne diplomate français parmi les populations orientales."[455]

Louet's 1862 figure of ten visits by Europeans since 1830 was part-hyperbole, because not only were the high and mighty accompanied by their suites, but officials took advantage of such occasions by printing tickets, on this occasion no fewer than 150! In 1855 Wortabet joined the party of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, which was strongly protected. The Pasha allowed the visit when there were no worshippers, and "various bands of soldiers all round the building for fear of an outbreak on the part of the Moslems."[456] The Abbé Becq apparently mounted the Haram with the group, but did not enter the Dome, because his interest was in the site of Solomon's Temple[457] – or did he simply eschew entering a Muslim shrine? In 1864 Ferguson pointed out that Brabant had succeeded with money or, as he wrote, "in opening the bolted gate with a golden key."

Subsequently, access on occasion became yet easier, "at least for those who were willing to pay £1 a head." However, then arrived a religious Governor, "and once more the Mosque of Omar was closed, and the golden key could not remove the bolt of bigotry." The British and French consuls complained at Constantinople, the site was opened again – and Ferguson entered with a group of forty, each paying 10s.[458] In 1868 Tischendorf recounted how a crowd tacked onto the cortège of the Grand Duke Constantine, and "On fit cette fois un usage très-étendu de cette autorisation ; il y eut peut-être des centaines de personnes, tant pèlerins chrétiens que chrétiens indigènes," causing a disagreeable crowd in the Dome.[459]

Unfortunately, even in the 1860s, access and Muslim reactions were variable. Cobbe entered the Haram in 1863 accompanied by a Jewish doctor and a clergyman when, as he reported, "the Moslem population were in an unusually excited state, and ingress to any part of the building [Dome of the Rock] was strictly forbidden to both Jews and Christians." He never got inside, describing it from a vantage point as "on the whole pleasing, and in fine proportion of dome and basement; but not grand or in any way sublime, as its vast dimensions might have warranted the anticipation." Unfortunately, the party was then spotted by a crowd of Muslim pilgrims:

> In a moment a mob were after us, throwing stones in a fashion which, having already experienced at Emmaus (receiving a sharp blow on the elbow), I was not anxious to enjoy a second time. Out of the gate, and down two or three sharp turns, our guide led us quickly, and we were lucky enough to dodge our pursuers.[460]

Gadsby remembered in 1864 how "looking in at the outer court gates of which I ran so great a risk" in 1847, things had now changed, and the site "may now be

seen for about 12s. each person, including backsheesh. During the Crimean war 20s. each was charged."[461] Saint-Aignan visited in 1856, at six in the morning, thanks again to the French consul; "mais si, en ces occasions, les Turcs oublient leur fanatisme, ils n'oublient pas leur amour de l'or, car ils exigent une somme considérable par visite." He was not alone: the group included "une nombreuse troupe d'officiers et de matelots de la flotte française."[462] Black called at the English consulate in 1864, "and leaving my card, I learn that passports are now unnecessary, and that on payment of sixty piastres each, a party of four may obtain admission to the mosque of Omar. This privilege is a very recent concession."[463]

Not that the Haram was yet completely safe, as we have heard from Cobbe in 1863. Tristram visited in 1864, needing a letter from Consul to Pasha, "the attendance of his cavasses as a protection against the fanaticism of the negro guardians of the holy places, and the payment of a backshish, or fee, of 1*l*. per head." Again, the visit had to be at daybreak, before the hour of prayer:

> Soon a couple of cavasses, in full dress, with their swords of office and long silver-mounted staves, appeared, clanking the pavement at each step with imposing dignity, as determined to leave the impress of their presence on the stones of the street.[464]

By the 1870s access for Europeans was easier still because, as Vogüé explained in 1876, the fierce negro guards had disappeared, and money had taken over: "les imans gardiens du sanctuaire se sont apprivoisés devant l'affluence croissante des Européens et l'éloquence irrésistible des bakchichs qui pleuvent de leurs mains."[465] Haussmann de Wandelburg reviewed the situation in 1883: entry had been easy since 1850, with a firman, a dragoman and a tip, for the ferocious guardians ("les maugrabins ou nègres qui y stationnent et que j'ai déjà signalés pour leur caractère exalté et féroce") had been withdrawn.[466] Prince Rudolph was shown round the Dome and the Al-Aqsa in 1884, but wrote no detail about their architecture.[467] And toward the end of the century European scholars could bless the "willingness of the government to permit excavations, a privilege of which the English and the German Palestine societies availed themselves, so far as their means allowed."[468]

In 1895 Berger ascended the Haram without problems, thanks to a cavass from the French Consulate, and a Turkish soldier: "Des enfants jouent çà et là; un homme agenouillé par terre dit ses prières. Personne ne fait attention à nous."[469] Thomas entered in 1900, describing the interior of the Al-Aqsa ("detestable paintings of landscapes have been daubed on the large arch of the transept and walls under the beautiful windows") but also the pulpit, "the

most exquisite specimen of its kind in the world." The old game of squeezing between columns was no longer possible, presumably because of the increase in tourists:

> In this mosque, as in that of Amr, in old Cairo, are two columns, between which whoever can pass is sure to gain Paradise. They are now closed with iron bars in consequence of a too-anxious devotee having killed himself in the effort to squeeze through.[470]

10.3 *Christians View the Haram from the "House of Pilate"*

> Vue de la terrasse du palais de Pilate la mosquée d'Omar présente un magnifique coup-d'œil; sa position, son étendue, la délicatesse de ses formes, tout contribue à la rendre digne d'admiration.[471] [1847]

If, in Damascus, viewing the Umayyad Mosque from on high redounded to the profit of an enterprising but ordinary local resident, here in Jerusalem it was the Governor who ruled what was literally the roost. Because the Haram was inaccessible to most Western visitors (especially the impecunious and uninventive ones) before the mid-nineteenth century, and only irregularly thereafter, the normal tourist vantage point for viewing the monuments it contained was the Governor of Jerusalem's quarters. This, supposed to be the erstwhile House of Pilate (the Roman Governor who washed his hands of Christ) was used by travellers for centuries, ensuring streams of gratuities for its owner – the Governor.

In earlier centuries the House of Pilate was but one of the Governor's residences, and through its windows ("par certaines fenestres & grilles") Bernard in 1621 described what he still believed was the Temple of Solomon:

> Le superbe & magnifique temple … huict faces ou coings tout de marbre. Au dessus on voit deux doubles rangs de vitres les vnes sur les autres, & entre icelles plusieurs belles & riches colomnes de porphyre & marbre bien façonnees … riches peintures à la Mosaïque dont ce temple est orné, tant l'œil d'esbloüissement & l'esprit d'admiration.

He then described the interior, the dome "soustenu & enuironné de douze belles colomnes de porphyre & marbre qui soustiennent le dome ou lanterne," about which he learned from a priest.[472] Surius was here in 1666, and saw "leur plus grande Mosquée bastie sur le lieu où estoit jadis le Temple de Salomon & les lieux circonvoisins que je remarquay le mieux qu'il m'estoit possible."[473]

From here Maundrell, travelling in 1697, could describe the site, and noted of the Dome that "it is neither eminent for its largeness, nor its structure; and yet it makes a very stately figure, by the sole advantage of its situation."[474] The best view, wrote Perry in 1743, was one of the rear windows.[475] (In 1792 Smith recorded that the room was used as a granary.[476]) And here "nous ne les vîmes que par une fenestre de la maison du Bassa," in Gingras' words.[477] As already noted, the location was usually known as the House of Pilate, and sometimes by the French as the "Salle du Prétoire," where Jesus was condemned. Binos had chosen the same location in 1787, remarking that Christians were not even supposed to glace at the Haram while passing along the street.[478]

City governors were educated men and, throughout the Empire, generally more liberally disposed than most local Muslims. The Governor, or Aga, expected politesse, and it was to him that important travellers would in any case be expected to pay their respects upon arrival in his city. The House of Pilate was immediately to the north of the Haram, "and as the edifice from which we had our view forms a part of its boundary, we were able, from our elevated position, to overlook the whole of it."[479] Very important travellers would themselves be visited by the Governor, and in 1804 Wittman and his group "returned the Governor's visit, and were entertained with coffee, sweetmeats, and other refreshments. From one of the windows of his house we had very pleasing view of a Turkish mosque, built on the foundations of Solomon's temple."[480]

Such multiple uses for this building (such as divan and grain store) did not prevent the Governor from making money from the site. In 1821 Caroline was here with the dragoman, and "the windows of his divan looked to the Esplanade, in which stood the mosque of Solomon, whence we had an opportunity of observing accurately this celebrated edifice."[481] In 1833 Failoni saw the Governor and showed him his firman, hoping to get access to the Haram and its monuments. But the response was that a visit was impossible without a firman from the Sultan himself, so "mi sono contentato di vedere per di fuori sa magnifica Moschea della Rocca, costruita sulle ruine dell' antico tempio di Salomone, con buona, e maestosa Architettura Araba."[482] Two years later Hogg decided any attempt to enter the Dome "which by dint of money or management has been sometimes accomplished" was too hazardous, and therefore relied on Bonomi's description.[483]

That same refuge was still doing business in 1835, when visitors were still being chased from the Haram by a shower of stones and threats.[484] Pfeiffer commented in 1851 that the Turks here were more fanatical than in Constantinople, so that "an attempt to penetrate even into the courtyard would be unsuccessful; the intruder would run the risk of being assailed with a shower of stones,"

but also that "every Christian can go with perfect impunity to pray at all the places which are sacred in his eyes, without fear of being taunted or annoyed by the Turkish passers-by."[485] Mislin visited Pilate's House in the early 1850s, and thanked the Governor for permission to view the Haram, remarking that Muslims in Europe could go everywhere. He was then given a lesson on where power really lay in Jerusalem:

> Cette défense tient au fanatisme du peuple, me répondit-il; il ne dépend pas de moi de la lever. Au reste, vous n'y perdez rien: la mosquée est bien moins belle en dedans qu'à l'extérieur.

Mislin eventually gained access to the Haram itself in 1855.[486] In 1844 Measor was also glad to be doing his viewing from here. He could have received a firman, just as he could for Hebron,

> but that the governor will not be answerable for the safety of those who venture to make use of it – a confession of weakness not very creditable to Turkish authority, and not very likely to induce any rational person to entrust his safety to so insecure a protection.[487]

However, such privileged sightseeing did not always confer approval on the sights by some discerning visitors. In 1838 Elliott was interested in "minutely inspecting the site of the temple of Solomon, the most splendid and most honored edifice the world ever saw."[488] In 1857, for example, Jonas declared that the Dome "desecrated" the site;[489] while in 1864 Beluze failed to understand how a mosque could be erected on such a holy spot: "Dieu, ô desseins impénétrables!"[490]

And was the Governor really without a grip on the fanaticism of the locals? Conceivably he was forsaking truthfulness in favour of tips, just as Messrs. Cook would (arguably) exaggerate the dangers of solo travel to get the timid to sign up for their exotic and expensive tours. For in 1839 Marcellus, visiting the Governor, found him seething with indignation that a foreigner in Oriental dress [supposedly Banks] had spent several hours in the Dome, and then escaped onto a ship at Jaffa.[491] The following year Geramb told of a foreigner presenting a firman:

> "Thy firman," said the governor, in a passion, "purports that thou shalt be admitted into the mosque; thou mayest go in; but, take notice, that it says nothing about letting thee come out again." The foreigner deemed it prudent to relinquish his intention.[492]

This hoary old excuse (a devilish joke?) appears in several travellers' accounts for other locations, such as the fortress at Bodrum. As late as 1854, Pigeory could only gaze on the Dome from afar, because "il est prudent de ne voir que de loin, et qu'en conséquence je ne connais que par ouï-dire."[493] Freese reported in 1869 that part of the complex was barracks[494] (perhaps to protect the Governor in those uncertain times). This location remained the preferred vantage point as late as the 1870s.[495]

Not everyone chose the Governor's House for viewing the Haram, perhaps because even glancing at the Haram from surrounding streets could court danger, as Lynch recounted in 1849 when his party glimpsed the Dome:

> While we gazed upon it, a crowd of Abyssinian [Muslim] pilgrims called out to us with such fierce expressions of fanatic rage that our hands instinctively grasped our weapons. The movement had its effect, and after indulging our curiosity, we passed on unmolested.[496]

So in 1844 Ricketts preferred the more distant view from the Mount of Olives.[497] Hahn-Hahn agreed: the Dome was "far grander than any other mosque, and has all the appearance of a noble and magnificent temple" and, whether seen from the Mount of Olives or the Governor's House, "it looks equally beautiful and noble, and incomparably surpasses any other building I have ever seen."[498]

In 1847 Captain Huntly had his group climb on the city walls for a good all-round view of the city's monuments, including the Haram:

> So jealous are people of the intrusion of an unbeliever, that if a Frank even stands at a little distance to look through the gates of the court, he is very likely to be insulted. Mr. Founder told the Daltons that he had, a day or two ago, walked into the court, and had proceeded a few steps towards the mosque, when several Turks ran towards him, and he was pushed out without ceremony. If he had ventured there a dozen years ago, he would hardly have escaped with life.[499]

In 1856 Dorr told of the kindness of an American family who allowed him to view the city from the terrace of their house, and this was then represented as a drawn (or painted?) panorama in America:

> From the terrace of their house is one of the best views that can be had of the city, the Mosque of Omar, the Mount of Olives, and, in the far distance, the mountains of Moab. This magnificent view we repeatedly

> enjoyed in our visits to their house; and we have since had the pleasure of seeing it transferred to canvass in the accurate panorama which the Doctor has recently exhibited in Philadelphia.[500]

By 1855 matters appear to have improved, Gentil recounting that his group stood on the threshold of one of the Haram's gates, and that "ordinairement les musulmans bâtonnent ceux qui osent s'avancer jusque là, mais contrairement à notre attente, ils nous laissent en repos et nous font seulement signe de ne pas nous aventurer plus avant dans l'enceinte sacrée."[501] Clermont-Ganneau clearly roamed freely here in 1873–4, because he wrote some fifty pages on "the Haram es Sherif and its neighbourhood."[502]

As a footnote, such "permission from a distance" may have pertained in several other centres. Ellis was in Samarra in 1881, and was met by inhabitants who "looked very black when they saw us advancing." Again it was the official who provided the answer (and took the money?): "We paid a visit to the Kaimerkham, from the top of whose house we had a good view of both mosques."[503]

10.4 *The Dome of the Rock*

10.4.1 Early Descriptions

> The Mosques and Sepulchres of these Countries, are other Structures, which still remain undescribed.[504] [Shaw, 1738]

The site of this monument gained a compelling "history" from well before the birth of Christianity, let alone that of Islam. Writing *c.*AD 985. Mukaddasi called the building a mosque, and affirmed that it was even more beautiful than that of Damascus, because "they had for a rival and as a comparison" the Holy Sepulchre.[505] He gave a full description, and concluded that this was a

> marvellous sight to behold, and one such that in all Islam I have never seen its equal; neither have I heard tell of aught built in pagan times that could rival in grace this Dome of the Rock.[506]

Nâsir-i-Khusrau, travelling here in 1017, had God instructing Moses to institute the direction to be faced at prayer. Solomon it was who saw the Rock itself as the Kiblah point, and built a mosque around it. (As we shall see, it was still known to some as the Temple of Solomon in the nineteenth century.[507]) And Mohammed "at first recognised this to be the Kiblah, turning towards it at his prayers."[508] Nâsir also provided a full description of the structure.[509] Çelebi

did likewise in the seventeenth century, providing the height of the dome (20 m to 25 m) as well.[510] Williams noted its builder as Abd-el-Malik Ibn Marwan: "The grandeur of its conception, and the magnificence of its execution, deserved a better reward from posterity than the oblivion of his name." He also relayed from Arabic authors that they were "lost in admiration at the prodigality of the expenditure; but as the minute detail of its ornaments would be tedious and uninteresting, it may be dispensed with."[511]

By making use of it, in one sense the Crusaders certainly appreciated the Haram architecture.[15] The Templars called the Dome of the Rock the *Templum Domini*, hence their name; which could suggest they thought the structure was of Solomonic times. Careri, travelling in 1693, described Solomon's Temple as an octagon "built on the out-side of Tile."[512] This belief continued, Ireland describing it in 1859 as "conspicuous on the foundations of the old temple."[513]) Others were clear that this was not the case: Albert of Aachen wrote that "many confirm that this temple was afterwards rebuilt by modern people and Christian worshippers,"[514] which might indicate he thought the structure was Byzantine. Although they were Christianised and inhabited, there are no lengthy Crusader appreciations of any of the structures on the Haram, although William of Tyre provided information (some of it perhaps from Albert of Aachen) about the Dome.[515] William, describing the structure inside and out,[516] knew the Dome was built by a Muslim named Omar, and

> in eodem Templi edificio intus et extra ex opere musaico Arabici idiomatis litterarum vetustissima monumenta que illius temporis esse creduntur, quibus et auctor et impensarum quantitas et quo tempore opus inceptum quoque consummatum fuerit evidenter declarator.[517]

Francesco Suriano, a Franciscan friar, described the interior of the Dome in 1485[518] (his account edited only in 1900). Casola, travelling in 1494, was quite clear that nothing remained of the Temple of Solomon, but betrayed his architectural antennae by suggesting that the Dome was built by Saladin after the Christians lost Jerusalem. He described how marble columns had been imported from Jaffa, which he probably knew because pilgrims lodged there. Some columns, he asserted, had been raised from the sea-bed, which might be a lingering folk-memory of the construction of other Muslim structures in Jerusalem:

15 Blick and Tekippe 2005, 331 for arrangements during Crusader years.

> I heard from certain of the friars at Mount Sion that he [Governor of Jerusalem] used many of the marbles which were found at Joppa, that is, Jaffa – buried under the ruins; and some were also raised out of the water. Our magnificent captain assured me that this was true, because a few years ago he was obliged with his boats to help to raise certain columns which were in the water there at Jaffa, and which were afterwards dried and taken to Jerusalem to be used in the building of the new Mosque about which we have been talking.[519]

He then confirmed this with further details on the ruins of this once-marbled town:

> To judge by the ruins and also by the numerous marbles found there by the great Sultan – and used by him for building a new mosque which they say is a very beautiful building – the said Joppa must have been a beautiful citadel.[520]

Jacque de Verone, writing in 1335, confirmed the erstwhile but now deserted status of Jaffa, "magnis muris et edificiis ornata, sed a Sarracenis totaliter disrupta et omnia edificia in mari [*sic*] projecta, et nulla domus est ibi."[521] Indeed, columns were almost certainly rescued from Jaffa; and Casola simply attributed them to the wrong monument.

The accounts in the preceding paragraphs and in this one were surely from hearsay because, after the Muslim reconquest from the Crusaders, Western travellers could not easily gain access to the Dome. "No Christian could enter on pain of death, or turning Turk,"[522] wrote Affagart, travelling in the 1530s. This might have been the sixteenth century convention. And because of the difficulty of access, we find wild guesses displayed as fact for the appearance of the Dome's interior. Zuallardo in 1595 passed on the information that "Di dentro, dicono ch'e tutto imbiancato."[523] This was an educated guess, for such was often the fate of churches taken over as mosques, such as in Constantinople for Hagia Sophia itself, or the Kuchuk Hagia Sophia where, noted Miller as late as 1897, "All the mosaics and frescoes are covered with whitewash."[524] And at Bursa, which many travellers would have visited, the inside of the Great Mosque "is plain after the Turkish fashion, and the walls are all simply whitewashed, except the niche towards Mecca, which is richly ornamented with gilding, and with citations from the Koran written in large gold letters,"[525] as Turner wrote in 1820.

Occasionally visitors were more precise and accurate, even if at second-hand, while others were less trusting. Beauvau viewed the site of the Dome in 1609, describing its exterior as best he could from a distance, and gave the

measurements, "que j'en fis prendre par un Turc."[526] Christian identity was important, Michaud and Poujoulat not doubting some curiosities inside, but convinced there was an admixture of hot air:

> je donnerais tout, excepté mon noble titre de chrétien, pour la visiter; mais je pense qu'on a mêlé à cela beaucoup de merveilleux, et qu'on a exagéré les curiosités et les trésors de la mosquée en raison des difficultés qui en défendent l'entrée aux voyageurs.[527]

In 1533 Affagart noted that Muslims entered the Al-Aqsa (for him the "temple de Salomon") with bare feet, and kept their churches [mosques] "en si grand mundicité et necteté qu'ilz n'oseroient cracher dedans" – an evident difference from the state of Christian churches.[528] He then viewed the Dome, "ung autre plus grand et plus magnificque tout rond couvert de plomb, assis au meillieu d'une grande place carée toute pavée de marbre blanc." It was, he wrote, wrongly called the Temple of Solomon by pilgrims, for this was the location of Solomon's Judgment Seat.[529] No, wrote Mocquet (travelling in 1611), the Dome was indeed the Temple of Solomon, forbidden to Christians and Jews.[530] In 1602 Villamont noted the structure was closed to Christians,[531] and suggested it was best viewed from the Mount of Olives. Without naming the number of columns, he then described the interior as having cannelated Corinthian columns of marble and porphyry and a balcony, and then dilated on the mosaics – all indications that the description (like so many others, as we shall continue to see) had been written from hearsay.[532]

The Fürer von Haimendorff, writing in 1621, wrote of the Dome that this "Templum verò urbis magnificè admodum marmore versicolori exstructum est," and seemed to state that it was indeed Solomon's Temple.[533] Stochove, travelling in 1631, wrote that he did away with hearsay (!), yet also stated that "le dedans est tout blanchy hormis quelques endroits où le nom de Dieu est escrit en grosses lettres Arabesques." He also described the Haram platform, without admitting he was forbidden from accessing it.[534] He was just like Surius in 1666, who was proud of sneaking into the House of Pilate when the Governor was absent. However, Surius (not to be confused with Francesco Suriano, above) then gave a fairly lengthy description of the Dome, interior as well as exterior.[535] He emphasised just how holy was this structure: inside the Turks did not talk to each other "ny mesme cracheroient en terre."[536] He also noted that the structure was built by Omar, but misdated it to 1144, said the Turks called it the Temple of Solomon, and although not to be compared with the original, "toutesfois elle porte pour son beau bastiment le lustre d'un œuvre bien superbe."[537]

In sum, in earlier centuries desperate travellers who felt the need to describe monuments they could not enter had recourse either to distant views, second-hand accounts, or to sheer bluff. Deshayes de Courmenin in 1621, like others already noted, evidently knew that many mosques were whitewashed, and displayed large inscriptions, so stated that the Dome was as well: "hormis en quelques endroits, où le nom de Dieu est escrit en grands caracteres Arabiques."[538] But he did not enter the Dome, and was given a description of it by the Turks.[539]

What is more, early Western travellers seem to have been nonplussed or misled by the architecture of this structure – naturally so, for those with no knowledge of Byzantium could know of nothing with which to compare it. In 1612 Lithgow noted its holiness; it was "highly regarded, for that respect they carry to Salomon; neare the which, or within whose courts no Christian may enter under the paine of loosing his head."[540] The Fürer von Haimendorff repeated the embargo three years later,[541] as did Arvieux in 1660[542] In 1670 Goujon, just like Lithgow, wrote of it as the Temple of Solomon, and gave its history.[543] In 1678 Deschamps was in Jerusalem for over two months, but only offered a brief description of the exterior.[544] Maundrell, travelling in 1697, gave grudging approval: "It is neither eminent for its largeness nor its structure; and yet it makes a very stately figure by the sole advantage of its situation."[545]

10.4.2 Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Travellers

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travellers were sometimes able to offer more extended appreciations of the Dome, albeit variously restricted. Viewing it from the Salle du Prétoire (House of Pilate) as usual, Tollot gave a very short description in 1731;[546] and in 1743 Perry claimed he "visited" "The Place of the Temple of Solomon, and a Mosque now, where the Temple stood formerly,"[547] but gave no details. It is unlikely he even got onto the platform of the Haram, since five years earlier Ray expressed his willingness to enter, but "going into their churches is forbid to Christians: if any one is catch'd within, he is in danger of his life, or else he must deny his faith, and be made a Mamaluck or Renegado."[548]

In 1738, damning with faint praise, Salmon thought the Dome unexceptional for size or architecture, but nevertheless (and perhaps simply copying Maundrell: see above) "non lascia malgrado ciò dall'avere una bella apparenza per il soccorso, che le è recato dal sito."[549] In 1743 Perry described the Haram as "beautiful beyond Expression … The Form and outward ornaments of the Temple are very elegant and beautiful, and doubtless so the inward ones."[550] Campbell mentioned but did not describe the Dome in 1758.[551] The following year Egmont and Heyman described it as "the finest mosque of any in

Jerusalem," yet (grudgingly again) "it's advantagious situation makes it appear at a distance much finer than it really is."[552] In 1792 Smith declared (in an emotional grab for early Christian architecture) that the Dome "was built by St. Helena, but falling into the hands of the Turk, it is now converted into a Mosque."[553]

In 1811 we have an example of how a soon-to-be prestigious author could write trivially of the Dome, and yet still be quoted decades later. Chateaubriand was overwhelmed by frustration at being unable to get inside the Dome, giving a strange reason: "Les Arabes, par une suite de leurs moeurs despotiques et jalouses, ont réservé les décorations pour l'intérieur de leurs monumens," and claiming that Ambassador Deshayes (whom we have already met) refused to enter it "par un vain scrupule diplomatique."[554] This was near-hysteria: Chateaubriand was not chastising a contemporary ambassador, but one under Louis XIII, just mentioned, namely Deshayes de Courmenin, who did indeed give a description of the interior, but relayed to him by a Turk.[555] Chateaubriand also gave William of Tyre's description, which said little of the interior, and noted that yet earlier commentators such as Arculf and Willibald wrote only by hearsay.[556] Conder quoted Chateaubriand in 1830: "The mosque of Omar is the St. Peter's of Turkey".[557] Again, Saint-Aignan cited Chateaubriand as late as 1864, relaying in detail how a local cleric tried to get him to turn Turk;[558] all this was unnecessary, since Chateaubriand had nothing himself to say about the architecture. Evidently he was quite the bookworm, but needed to search in a better direction. Why didn't he read Ali Bey's detailed description written in the first years of the century instead of burrowing so far backwards in time?[559]

Dr. Richardson did get inside the Dome four times, an entrée allowed in gratitude for his doctoring skills among the influential locals. He published a long description in 1822,[560] and many later authors reused his text, often without acknowledgment. In 1832, for example, Russell did so,[561] declaring that "the interior fully corresponds to the magnificence and beauty just described," and proceeded to offer details of the columns and capitals.[562] Robinson, in Jerusalem in 1830, and with plentiful references to Richardson, confined himself to a description of the Dome's exterior,[563] declaring that "après avoir satisfait la curiosité que m'avait inspirée ce temple de l'islamisme, sa magnificence tant vantée et l'intérêt qu'il excite me parurent fort exagérés;" he reconciled himself by recalling the great event that had occurred here.[564] Conder also referred to Richardson in 1830, citing his account at length,[565] but he also emphasised the continuing danger for Christians by citing Sir F. Henniker's account of what had happened to a Greek Christian who entered the Dome a little before his arrival:

> He was invited to change his religion, but refused, and was immediately murdered by the mob. His body remained exposed in the street; and a passing Mussulman, kicking up the head, exclaimed, 'That is the way I would serve all Christians.'"[566]

Given the extent of accumulated descriptions, what proportion of nineteenth-century accounts were from experience rather than hearsay? Or, put differently, how many authors might be bare-faced liars, concerned to bulk-out the slender eye-witness accounts in their publications? When Monro in 1835 offered a full description inside and out, followed by short account of the Al-Aqsa, he gave no hint as to whether he actually visited,[567] and this in a period when Michaud and Poujoulat stated that access was impossible.[568]

But entry was indeed possible, although it could be tense. In 1836, for example, Dollieule was accompanied by Assan-Bey, the Governor, who was forced to hit a dervish twenty times because, "saisi d'une violente colère se roula sur le pavé, en criant à l'abomination, à la profanation." The party was then assaulted by the cries of children egged on by their parents. Surely Dollieule did get inside, but his comments could have come from previous accounts:

> L'intérieur de la mosquée est tout pavé en larges dalles de marbre. Des mosaïques et des dorures sans nombre, portant des versets du Coran, tapissent les murs. Les fenêtres sont ornées de vitraux magnifiques. De belles colonnes en marbre, toutes monolithes, mais dissemblables par le type et le module, et quatre piliers reliés par quatre arceaux, supportent le dôme.[569]

Dollieule was in the Prince de Joinville's party, scheduled to return to Jerusalem and visit the Dome a second time, but prudence and caution were to reign:

> notre entrée dans la Grande Mosquée [Al-Aqsa] avait causé une vive agitation parmi les musulmans. Les autorités craignaient un mouvement de la part des plus exaltés. Les conseils que l'on nous donnait étaient donc assez prudents: le prince s'y rendit.[570]

The Dome was still forbidden to Christians in 1843, as Vernet noted;[571] although, as Schickler wrote, the Prince de Joinville had entered in 1842. Hence in 1856 Wortabet, writing of the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Brabant with a firman, was still relaying the details gleaned in the 1830s, without adding anything new.[572] Could it be that a traveller like Dorr in 1856, although praising "its gorgeous dome and minarets," thought it less imposing than the Mosque

of Muhammad Ali at Cairo precisely because he could not enter it?[573] (Such peevish comparisons were not rare: you condemn one building you have *not* visited to underline another structure you *have* seen.) Travelling in 1858–61, Schickler got mixed up with his chronology, suggesting that the site was still forbidden.[574] In fact he did enter, proceeding behind cavasses from the consulate, and in view of Turkish soldiers:

> nos gardes frappent à chaque pas leur bâton contre le sol et les soldats nous présentent les armes. C'est ainsi que nous arrivons à une porte dérobée où nous attend un iman accompagné de quelques jeunes prêtres et de plusieurs officiers turcs.[575]

The Dome was open in 1864, when Sandie paid the entrance fee of £1, which allowed him, once his feet had got cold crossing the Haram without his shoes, to contemplate whether or not the structure had begun life as a mosque.[576] With special permission, a cavass from the American Consul, and a payment of two dollars, Warren entered in 1873, followed by the Al-Aqsa.[577] Clermont-Ganneau was here in 1873–4, and offered over forty pages of description.[578] Horne entered in 1885, noting that he was hurried in by the guide, since "the coming festivals, of both Christians and Mohammedans, would close the gates of the temple area against all sight-seeing tourists for many weeks to come."[579]

Circumstances might change, yet access to the Dome remained a moveable feast, decorated by hearsay and excuses, not to mention deliberately misleading book titles intending to sell although their contents offered les than promised. Some authors maintained that a proper account of the structure could only be given by an architect, one 1873 account directing enthusiasts to Mr. Williams's *Holy City*, Mr. Fergusson's *Jerusalem*, and Captain Wilson's *Ordnance Survey Notes*.[580] Apart from Williams, these texts were of no great use. Fergusson's very title tells why: *An essay on the ancient topography of Jerusalem, with restored plans of the Temple etc., and plans, sections, and details of the church built by Constantine the Great over the Holy Sepulchre, now known as the Mosque of Omar* (London 1847). He approached his thesis gently,[581] and accurately saw Christian martyria as a source.[582] But there is no evidence in his book that he ever got inside the Dome of the Rock or, indeed, that he ever visited Jerusalem. In his conclusion, he explained why he wrote this book, his reasons having little to do with objective architectural history, and much with declaring the superiority of Christianity:

> To vindicate the Bible and early Christian tradition from the slur indirectly cast upon them by our inability to trace, in Jerusalem, the scenes

> and localities they describe; and, if possible, to place these on a sound and rational basis.[583]

As for Wilson and Warren's 1871 *The recovery of Jerusalem: A narrative of exploration and discovery in the city and the Holy Land*, the title is partly true, in that the text deals with the exterior walls of the Haram (Robinson's Arch, etc.). Warren (1840–1927) was an officer in the Engineers who had surveyed Gibraltar, and was recruited by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1867. Although he was to explore under it, he never managed to get onto the Haram itself. When he arrived in Jerusalem, he consulted the British Consul, and went with him to call on the Governor. A vizierial letter was on its way, but "unfortunately, by the confusion between Hebron and Jerusalem it expressly excluded the Noble Sanctuary, and I was advised not to present it." Pleading with the military pasha did no good, for he explained the (magical) structure of the Haram, and that "the attempt of a Frank to pry into such matters could only be attended by some dire calamity befalling the country."[584] Warren offered a detailed account of his frustration at the month-long runaround he was forced to suffer, but the narrative did not make up for a dearth of new information on the monuments:

> It is true that I was furnished with a vizierial letter, instructing the authorities to afford to me "the necessary facilities in respect of the object of the mission, and permission and all possible facilities to dig and inspect places after satisfying the owners," but then the letter went on to add, "with the exception of the Noble Sanctuary and the various Moslem and Christian shrines." So wide an exception afforded an excuse for constant interference with our work, afterwards; and a confusion, real or assumed, between the Sanctuary at Jerusalem, and the far more jealously guarded Sanctuary at Hebron, led to further annoyances.[585]

Reviewing the book's contents in audio terms, any reader thirsting for archaeological knowledge of the Harasm and its monuments would conclude that its signal-to-noise ratio was extremely low, with excuses about procedural failures often outweighing information. (Nor was success to gild Warren's later career as Commissioner of the London Police (1886–88) during the exploits of Jack the Ripper.)

10.4.3 Drawing the Dome of the Rock

Nineteenth-centuy interest in staying at home and travelling through books and journals placed an accent on illustration, preferably in pictures and not

just words. But without access onto the platform of the Haram itself, drawing even the exterior of the Dome of the Rock accurately led to several problems. Pococke in the late 1730s admired the "beautiful octagon mosque in the middle of the court," but warned the reader about his drawing:

> The plan of it, and of the other buildings in that court, and the elevation of the mosque, as I took them by the eye, and consequently without scale, may be seen in the third plate.[586]

Even an accurate description could be difficult to obtain, as Jolliffe recorded in 1822:

> It seems less massive and spacious than the mosque of St. Sophia, though far exceeding it in lightness and elegance; but I think it infinitely surpassed, both in extent and beauty, by the mosque constructed by Achmet II in the At-meidan at Constantinople.

He liked the Dome, but only if he could get nearer, "I will endeavour to be more circumstantial in my description of this singular edifice; at present I can scarcely offer even an imperfect outline."[587]

Durbin was in Jerusalem in 1833, and luckily was on good terms with the Governor, whom he described as "a latitudinarian as to Mohammedanism." Dressed as an Egyptian officer, with a firman naming him as an engineer of Muhammad Ali, the ruler of Egypt, he entered the Dome of the Rock, and "I determined to take with me my camera lucida, and make a drawing: a proceeding certain to attract the attention of the most indifferent, and expose me to dangerous consequences." Setting up the camera on the second day, he was protected by his servant from the "menacing language and gestures … by a mob of two hundred people." He was then saved by the appearance of the Governor, who explained Durbin's work to the mob, so that "all went on quietly after this."[588]

In 1833 the English architect and draftsman Frederick Catherwood[16] also wore the dress of an Egyptian officer, and "was suffered to make drawings and take measurements, in the belief [he promoted] that he was ordered to do so by Muhammad Ali for the purpose of repairing the holy places."[589]

16 Both John Lloyd Stephens (an American lawyer) and Catherwood had traveled extensively through the Near East and Egypt, visiting all the ancient monuments and tourist sites before they embarked on their journey in search of the mythical ruined civilizations of Central America in 1839.

Catherwood was accompanied by the architect Francis Arundale as well as by Joseph Bonomi, best known for his archaeological work in Egypt, and a fluent Arabic speaker. Bonomi, like Catherwood, used a camera obscura for his sketches.[590] He was approached by a young Turk as he was drawing, and "he told me the drawing was all proper except one part of it, pointing to the figures."[591] Catherwood wrote a long description of the Dome, and Durbin printed it in full, "As this is the only account of his observations which has yet appeared in print."[592] Bartlett did likewise in 1844, making clear that Catherwood was under the protection not only of the Governor, whom he quoted, but yet higher still:

> "You see, my friends," he said, "that our holy mosque is in a dilapidated state, and no doubt our lord and master Mehemet Ali has sent this Effendi to survey it, in order to its complete repair. If we are unable to do these things for ourselves, it is right to employ those who can; and such being the will of our lord, the pasha, I require you to disperse and not incur my displeasure by any further interruption."[593]

Richardson's and Catherwood's descriptions sufficed for decades. Arundale wrote in 1837 that Richardson's account "renders any enumeration of particulars which I could make superfluous;"[594] Russell's 1837 account simply cited Richardson,[595] as did Salle in 1840[596] and Van de Velde in 1854.[597] Consequently, Arundale's volume, although entitled *Illustrations of Jerusalem and Mount Sinai*, contained none of the Dome. However, "I began a section of the great mosque, which is covered with gilded ornaments," took some heights with a sextant, and actually ascended the dome.[598] Girault de Prangey, writing in 1841, read Arundale and admired his lithographs, but was disappointed that he "n'a malheureusement consenti à donner au public que la mention des plans, coupes et dessins de la grande mosquée de Jérusalem, qu'il a obtenu l'inappréciable faveur d'exécuter avec un artiste distingué d'Angleterre, M. Catherwood." In consequence, he had to make do with Catherwood's exterior view.[599]

In 1843 Olin, describing the Haram from the usual vantage point of Pilate's House, wrote of Catherwood, but was evidently not up-to-date with the literature: "I have not seen any published report of these examinations, nor, indeed, do I know that any such has been given to the world."[600] Others were less ignorant: the accounts described above were still satisfying the Comte de Vogüé in 1859, who declared that "J'emprunterai à leurs descriptions les détails que je donnerai, dans la suite, sur la disposition intérieure des édifices qui m'ont été fermés par un fanatisme brutal." Shortly after his departure the Haram was opened to Europeans, but their descriptions added little of substance, with the

exception of "un assez bon travail de M. Barclay et des dessins encore inédits d'un architecte italien, M. Pierrotti."[601]

Given the above accounts, we may assume that the Governor of Jerusalem gave or withheld permission to visit the Haram depending on the emotions of "the street," collecting fees accordingly. Kelly implied in 1844 that entry was not possible,[602] and in 1847 Napier enjoyed the panorama from the Governor's house,[603] as did Patterson in 1852.[604] Curtis in the same year had a good view from the flat roof of his lodgings: "The beautiful mosque is the centre of picturesque and poetic interest in this city, and we were pleasantly lodged not far from it."[605] Rogers (HM Consul in Cairo) did better in 1865, tacking on to Sir Moses Montefiore's group, and gaining access with them to mosques and sanctuaries: "Chaque jour m'apportait quelque nouveau plaisir; je visitai tous les lieux intéressants du voisinage, dessinant et prenant des notes."[606] In 1874 arrangements were made for the Haram to be photographed from the Governor's residence, but these came to nothing.[607]

10.5 *Accessing the Dome after the Mid-19th Century*

10.5.1 Pierotti and Group Tours in Syria

Thanks to enterprise and initiative, after the mid-nineteenth century several publications offered enlightenment on the delights of Jerusalem and the wider region, with the Haram and the Dome as a focus. Both Pierotti and Barclay were useful contacts for visiting westerners. Pierotti wrote *Jerusalem Explored, being a description of the ancient and modern city, with numerous illustrations consisting of views, ground plans, and sections* (2 vols. folio, Eng. trans. London 1864). This offered excellent and detailed accounts of the buildings of Jerusalem, including those on the Haram. He described the Al-Aqsa inside and out,[608] and thought it Justinianic.[609] The "internal and external mosaic decorations" of this and the Dome he thought Turkish.[610] In spite of his official position as architect to Sooraya, Pasha of Jerusalem, he evidently felt uncomfortable on the Haram, where "I often thought of copying all the inscriptions, but was always pressed for time, and afraid that each visit might be the last," so concentrated on the subterranean vaults.[611] Nevertheless, he recorded an excellent description of the Dome,[612] for which "I shall, in a great measure follow the account of M. de Vogüé, with several additions and omissions."[613] He was far from the only one to praise that work.[614]

Pierotti evidently saw the rising popularity of guided tours, and proposed one himself. He capitalised on his standing as an authoritative scholar, and access to monuments such as the Dome, by organising a wide-ranging conducted group tour of the whole region. Thomas Cook is credited with the first group excursion from Leicester to nearby Lougborough (a mere 15 km) in 1841, and his firm then developed overseas tours, his *Tourists' handbook for Palestine*

and Syria appearing in 1876. Cook outside England was a follower not a leader, nor was Pierotti the first to propose a regional tour in Syria: the Abbé Daspres had marshalled such a caravan from Marseille in 1869, publishing his account in 1875. In 1869 Pierotti published a prospectus for *Une caravane pour la Syrie, la Phénicie et la Palestine partant de Marseille en Février 1870 par le Docteur Ermette Pierotti, architecte-ingénieur, qui demeura dans le pays pendant huit ans*. This dealt with costs, and provided a complete itinerary with distances and hours on horseback. First-class travellers were allowed one-hundred kilograms of baggage, second-class sixty kilograms. Tents etc. were provided by the expedition. An enthusiastic adherent was Bost:

> Un beau jour j'apprends que M. Pierotti va retourner à Jérusalem, et qu'il organise une caravane dans des conditions abordables. Toute ma résignation passée s'évanouit; l'occasion est magnifique, le chef est un homme qui réunit toutes les conditions désirables; M. Pierotti est un homme qui connaît parfaitement le pays, et dont le caractère inspire une entière confiance.[615]

He mentioned Pierotti seventy-four times in his 406-page book, always with admiration, and especially his expertise on Jerusalem, with "l'admirable plan de Jérusalem de M. Pierotti, qui est aujourd'hui, par sa clarté non moins que par son exactitude, la véritable autorité en cette matière."[616]

10.5.2 After the Crimean War

> L'accès de la mosquée d'Osmar était encore, il y a une vingtaine d'années, formellement interdit aux chrétiens. Mais, depuis la guerre de Crimée, le Pacha en autorise l'entrée sur la recommandation des consuls des grandes puissances.[617]

Thus Lycklama à Nijeholt in 1875, who entered thanks to the Consul General of France. In 1857 Dr. Joseph Barclay had published the *City of the Great King*, and was another recognised authority, partly because of his contacts. When two Muslim architects visited Hebron to repair that mosque, they were "entertained at Dr. Barclay's residence, in Jerusalem; and to him they presented what they asserted to be an exact drawing of the plan of the interior," which he later presented to the Rev. Henry Osborn.[618] Barclay was a medical doctor, and treated Muslim patients, to whom

> his natural urbanity and Christian kindness, exercised toward the natives, together with a working and available scientific knowledge, must result in further important discoveries. We are indebted to him for much local information, especially in our surveys beyond the city.[619]

Osborn's own work on the city built in part on that of Barclay, including his published book.[620] However, not all doctors were venerated. In 1848 Mislin records how dangerous it was even for a doctor visiting a Turkish house on a main road near the Dome: "Quand il sortit, il fut assailli à coups de pierres par des enfants; il porta plainte, mais il ne put obtenir aucune satisfaction."[621]

By the 1870s the Dome was apparently always open to Christians, which Gottis (and others,[622] some of whom concentrated on the money offered[623]) attributed to victory in the Crimean War, just as Lycklama à Nijeholt did. Gottis wrote that a complete morning was devoted to the visit,[624] and gave many pages of description of the monuments on the Haram.[625] Basterot, writing in 1869, thought the cut-off was indeed 1856, before which "des eunuques noirs armés d'un long poignard veillaient aux portes, prêts à massacrer l'infidèle imprudent." But now

> Les consuls maintenant peuvent la faire visiter facilement, les habitants y sont accoutumés, et les autorités de la mosquée apprivoisées par le backscheech ne montrent aucune trace de cette malveillance que l'on rencontre à Damas.[626]

Hence Daspres, the leader of the 1869 caravan from Marseille, could be enchanted by how the sun played on the mosaics, and remarked how "La frise est surchargée d'arabesques et de versets du Coran. Mais cette architecture rappelle l'idée de l'élégance et de la légèreté bien plus que de la grandeur et de la force."[627] He gave the current recipe for a visit: consul plus cavass plus money.[628]

The Rev. Vetromile, probably in 1870, joined a group visiting the Haram:[629] "I was not very anxious to see the Mosque, but I wanted to visit the spot on which the famous Temple of Solomon stood."[630] Nevertheless, he did describe the interior, but offered nothing substantial on the architecture.[631] Savigny de Moncorps entered in 1873, and described it with delight:

> Rien n'est beau comme l'ornementation intérieure de la coupole, dont les courbes sont revêtues de riches arabesques. Toute la partie droite est

> couverte de mosaïques à fond d'or. Les fenêtres de la coupole comme celles de l'intérieur ont des vitraux de dessins frais et variés, formés par des petits morceaux de verre aux couleurs étincelantes.[632]

For the *Caravane Française* in 1873 (Pierotti was far from the only entrepreneur), a firman,[633] a consul and cavass with a rhinoceros whip ("dont lui et ses camarades de tous les consulats font grand usage pour repousser la foule"[634]) were still needed for entry. But, once on the Haram, the Dome was described as "magnificent."[635] Also in 1875 McCabe devoted nearly thirty pages to the Dome, including the opinions of Robinson, de Vogüé and Barclay, but it is not clear whether he visited the sites himself.[636]

Some travellers apparently felt a frisson of delight not from visiting the Haram and delighting in the architecture of the Dome, but from the very thought that visiting it had previously been forbidden. For Lyne,

> I was now on the very spot where they had been, and about to see at my leisure, without risk, what they before me had seen at imminent peril. The thought must lend great charm to the interest that all doubtless feel who visit this place; it certainly did to me.[637]

The visit cost his group five francs each and the help of the British Consul,[638] and only the single proper entry point was allowed. He had tried to take a short cut across a corner of the Haram, "but a soldier running one way and some one else bawling out from another, I soon had to relinquish the attempt."[639] He repeated the standard reason for the erstwhile exclusion of Christians: "if a Christian prayed therein for their expulsion from the Holy City, the prayer would have been granted."[640] Delaplanche entered in 1876, gave no account of the architecture, and was dismissive of the Rock itself,

> dont ils racontent des aventures puériles. Il faut écouter, sans rire, toutes ces histoires plus ou moins ridicules, autrement vous exciteriez le fanatisme des gardiens qui vous conduisent.[641]

Bost (as we have seen, an admirer of Pierotti) entered in 1875, declaring it splendid, and "immense, mais si bien prise que sa grandeur ne frappe pas."[642] Five francs per person and the services of the British Consul got Berners into the Dome in 1876, and his apprehension at the various stories of ill-treatment was calmed, for

> the Consul's emissary accompanies the party, in order to protect them from any fanaticism on the part of the Mahomedans. There was but little need of this precaution on the occasion of my visit, for every one was very quiet, nor was any notice taken of my presence.[643]

The Comte de Vogué was enchanted by the glasswork inside the Dome, the gold mosaic, and porphyry columns and the Persian carpets: "Que d'heures émerveillées j'ai passées à suivre ses jeux, en écoutant les légendes que me racontait l'îmam sur la pierre de la Sakrah, le vieil autel des holocausts."[644]

Naturally, Christian monuments in Jerusalem were also drawn, and the achievement sometimes described in *Boys' Own* terms. Thus in 1854 when the site was deserted, Bunel ("Malgré les sages conseils qui nous avaient été donnés de ne pas nous hasarder seuls près des mosquées") burgled his way into the church of St. Anne, then a mosque, carrying his sketchbook. "Je m'y engageai pendant quelques minutes: elle ne renferme absolument rien. Hors de l'édifice musulman, je m'abritai derrière un mur et je pris à mon aise le croquis de la façade."[645]

10.5.3 Accounts of the Dome's Beauty and Sources

> The first architectural movement in England, in the age of St. Winifred, followed by half a century the erection of the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, one of the noblest monuments in the world.[646] [Urquhart, 1850]

As we have already seen, the architecture of the Dome attracted differing reactions. It was described by Muslim travellers such as Mukaddasi (writing *c.*AD 985).[647] Moudjir-ed-dyn, writing in the late fifteenth century, described the alterations made by the "Franks" (i.e. Western Crusaders), including statues and an altar, which Saladin destroyed. But the Franks had also damaged the Rock itself to provide relics to take home: "Les Francs avaient détaché des morceaux de la Roche; ils en avaient porté à Constantinople et en Sicile, et les avaient vendus, dit-on, à leur poids d'or."[648] By the mid-nineteenth century, as indicated by Urquhart's opening quote, some westerners were beginning to try and locate the monument within a history of architecture. However, we are at first encouraged by accounts which acclaim the monument as "magnificent,"[649] but then offer no description.

In 1670 Goujon called the Dome "sans rien exagérer la plus auguste & la mieux proportionnée qui soit au monde … Par le dedans l'on remarque quantité

de belles & hautes colomnes de marbre, de jaspe, & de porphire, qui soutiennent ce merveilleux Edifice."[650] Burton in 1669 thought that if a Christian "but put up the stair [to the Haram], he must turn Turk or be burnt … The temple is wrought with Mosaick-work, and, by the report of the Turks, is very rich within, it being one of their mosques."[651] In 1698 Le Brun vouched for the accuracy of his print of the exterior, but anything on the interior must come second-hand "à ce que disent les habitants."[652]

As already noted, in 1811 Chateaubriand could not get into the Dome, although he did his best to know the structure by collecting and printing earlier descriptions, and trying to connect what he could not see in Jerusalem with what he knew of Córdoba and Granada. At those sites much of the marble came from Christian churches, so

> n'est-il pas à présumer que les dedans conservent le même goût d'architecture? Je le croirois d'autant plus facilement, que les marbres et les colonnes de cet édifice ont été dérobés aux églises chrétiennes, et qu'ils doivent offrir ce mélange d'ordres et de proportions que l'on remarque dans la cathédrale de Cordoue.[653]

In 1819 the same story: accessing the Haram, wrote Forbin, risked death.[654] What a pity it was that a small mosque had replaced a magnificent church; but one (unnamed) traveller seems to have managed to enter the Dome and achieve only a peep at the Rock itself: "il y a une grotte profonde, dont l'entrée n'est permise qu'aux Mahométans. Je n'en ai pu voir que la porte. Elle est gardée par un Turc, qui se rend traitable par une composition pécuniaire."[655] In 1822 Buckingham declared that the dome "of the form of that of St. Pauls, in London, and about half the size … a most imposing effect;"[656] while Henniker two years later declared it was "the Saint Peter's of Turkey."[657] For Carne in 1826, it was "the most beautiful edifice in the Turkish empire."[658] And in 1831 Ferrario, viewing the structure from the House of Pilate,[659] expressed himself puzzled by what models had inspired it,[660] thereby reflecting the usual ignorance of Byzantine and Islamic structures at this date.[661] He then pondered on possible connections with monuments in Córdoba and Granada.[662]

In 1834 Michaud and Poujoulat called the Dome "le plus beau monument de Jérusalem," but offered no description.[663] One traveller in 1835 suggested that "its character is lightness and elegance, rather than grandeur, resembling more a splendid ornamental building in some royal pleasure-grounds, than a place of worship, according to European ideas."[664] In 1836 Delaroière gave an "architectural" appreciation:

> Un dôme élégant, élevé sur un bâtiment octogone dont chaque côté offre sept arcades en ogive, d'une architecture gracieuse et légère, forme un édifice remarquable, qui fait plaisir à l'œil.[665]

In 1837 Skinner was disappointed by the structure, suggesting that this was an ugly building, the dome itself out of proportion, and "the blue enamel [tiles] on the walls gives it a most paltry appearance."[666] Blondel in 1840 declared that the Dome "se distingue par le bon goût de son architecture et par l'élégance de son dôme en cuivre, autrefois doré,"[667] and in 1843 Olin was yet more enthusiastic, if with a Christian reservation:

> The external splendour of the edifice is worthy of all the praises bestowed upon it by the fondest devotees. I have never been so struck with the union and harmonious blending of grace and magnificence. In all but the services and dogmas of the false religion to the support of which it is consecrated, the Sakhara is a worthy successor to the Temple of Solomon.[668]

In 1843 Bucke, like so many others, was enchanted by the setting of the Dome, which he praised as "appare nè men bella, nè meno grande a misura che il viaggiatore le si avvicina;" but he could not get inside.[669] In the same year Pellé and Galibert labelled the structure with its "vast" dome perhaps the most beautiful mosque in the whole of the Empire.[670] They paid a bribe to access the platform, and it is possible from their account that they did get inside, for they gave some dimensions, and wrote of "magnificent columns."[671] In 1844 Bonar agreed on the effect of the setting, declaring the Dome to be "a mass of stone and marble of immense dimensions, and of admirable Arab architecture," and proceeded to evoke its setting on the Haram and then the cityscape of Jerusalem, with "the churches of the Holy Sepulchre and of Calvary; from hence they are confounded and appear drowned in the immense labyrinth of domes, edifices, and streets, which encompass them."[672] In the same year of 1844 d'Estournel, also viewing the site from Pilate's House, admired "l'ensemble vraiment magnifique de la mosquée d'Omar," declaring he had seen nothing like it at Smyrna or Damascus: "l'effet matériel est encore frappant; cette coupole, ces minarets, ces kiosques ont tout le prestige oriental. Ce n'est certes plus Salomon, mais c'est bien Aroun-al-Raschid."[673] James Fergusson had already stated in 1847 that the Dome of the Rock was Constantine's original church.[674] Although incorrect, this surely rendered it more attractive to visiting Europeans whom, by the 1860s and armed with cash, most of the locals appeared eager to welcome.

Could mosaics be used to date the structure? D'Estournel told of a fellow Frenchman who wished to enter the Dome, but whose firman was found wanting by the Governor.[675] But his own friendship with the Governor allowed him onto the platform of the Haram, where

> je ramassais des petits cubes de pierre blanche, noire, grise, rouge, débris des pavés des anciens édifices qui jadis auront couvert le penchant de ce mont. Ces mosaïques furent probablement contemporaines du Messie et doivent appartenir à l'époque où Hérode-le-Grand embellissait la ville et ses environs de monuments construits à l'imitation des Romains.[676]

This was pure make-believe, an emotional attachment to the biblical past, and exactly analogous to trying to treat the Bible as an up-to-date guidebook. Surely he had seen the use Muslims made of mosaic tesserae instead of believing what he picked up had lain unseen or ignored on the Haram for two thousand years? But he was not alone in his souvenir-collecting, for in 1849 Montague declared it "the most splendid pile of architecture within the Turkish Empire," and took the opportunity to filch souvenirs. He wrote that "from the different tiers we pick several stones, pocket them and escape with impunity,"[677] which suggests he dug for them.

Taylor viewed the Dome in 1853, writing of "cette architecture qui s'est d'abord inspirée des caractères romain et byzantin, et qui est pour l'architecture moresque ce que le style roman est pour l'architecture chrétienne." But he could not get inside,[678] and offered the twelfth-century description by William of Tyre.[679] He rejected using local dress: "I have been strongly tempted to make the attempt in Egyptian dress, which happens to resemble that of a mollah or Moslem priest, but the Dervishes in the adjoining college have sharp eyes, and my pronunciation of Arabic would betray me in case I was accosted." He therefore had to content himself with admiration from a distance:

> The general effect is highly picturesque. The great dome of the mosque is the grandest in all the Orient, but the body of the edifice, made to resemble an octagonal tent, and covered with blue and white tiles, is not high enough to do it justice.[680]

Wallin had adopted a turban and local dress in 1854, entering not only what he called the mosque but also the subterranean vaults under the Haram.[681] In the same year Énault gave his long judgment on the Haram and the Dome from a distance: "L'ensemble de cette architecture donne l'idée de l'élégance

et de la légèreté bien plus que de la grandeur et de la force."[682] The following year Azaïs vented his frustration at being unable to enter by wishing that "La croix remontera bien un jour, je l'espère, au faîte de la coupole pour annoncer la défaite du culte de Mahomet et le triomphe du christianisme." Perhaps he pined to adopt local dress, but sensibly did not try to emulate

> un de nos compagnons de pèlerinage, qui s'était égaré dans ces quartiers, ayant franchi une des portes de la première enceinte, entendit autour de lui des cris menaçants, et eut besoin de montrer son fusil à deux coups pour protéger sa retraite.[683]

No doubt spurred on by a friend who visited dressed as a Turk, and with liberal baksheesh and a dervish as guide, in 1853 Bartlett nevertheless failed to gain access to the Haram dressed as a woman.[684] Instead he relayed his friend's brief descriptions of both the Al-Aqsa and the Dome.[685] Rather like Chateaubriand, Énault in 1854 collected descriptions of the Dome's interior from published writings, but he himself was unable to enter.[686] In 1854 Dandolo confirmed that the site was still inaccessible,[687] and in 1855 Gentil had to admire the Haram from afar. He wrote of the Dome that "à l'extérieur elle a un aspect si grandiose, que je ne puis me figurer l'ancien temple de Salomon plus magnifique."[688] Stanley in 1856 viewed the site from the Governor's house, praising the "dome graceful as that of St. Peter's, though of course on a far smaller scale, rising from an elaborately finished circular edifice." Yet "it needed no sight of the daggers of the black Dervishes who stand at the gates, to tell you that the Mosque was undisturbed and inviolably sacred."[689]

In 1852 Curtis had underlined his admiration by an over-the-top comparison, crafted perhaps to underline that he was conversant with Muslim architectural tales:

> There are minarets in Egypt so beautiful, that, when completed, the Sultan ordered the right-hand of the architect to be struck off, that he might not repeat the work for any one else. They are, indeed, beautiful, yet if their grace cost but a hand, the beauty of this mosque were worth a head.[690]

And, no doubt having witnessed the internecine warfare among Christian sects in the latter, he declared that "the mosque of Omar is the most beautiful object in Jerusalem, and the church of the Sepulchre is the most unpleasant."[691] This is capped by Tristram's admiration expressed in 1865: he offered no architectural

details, but wrote that the Dome was "time-worn, but well preserved, without, gorgeous, and almost dazzling, within; exquisite in its proportions, beautiful in its mosaics … the general effect bewildering in its magnificence."[692]

In 1860 Emily Beaufort was happy to provide a full interior and exterior description of the Dome ("the second most beautiful building in all the world"[693]), which she stated she viewed from "the Pasha's house." Perhaps binoculars made her description of the exterior moderately honest:

> The fanciful and intricate patterns of the porcelain walls of the Mosque, the graceful letters of the inscription round it, and the tracery of the windows, are still more beautiful on a closer inspection.

Vicariously, she went on to describe the interior which she had not herself seen, enthusing that "the effect of the dim religious light upon the interior of the dome, which was once entirely gilt, on the adornment of the walls and columns, and on the bare, naked, rough rock below, is singularly beautiful."[694] Two years earlier Belgiojoso (who thought the Dome was the Temple[695]) gave a brief account of the Haram's monuments, noting honestly that "J'ignore la disposition intérieure de la mosquée d'Omar."[696] In 1864 the Duc de Luynes praised the Dome for its elegance, its marbles and its other decorations; as for the windows,

> qui produisent un effet grandiose par leur couleur à la fois sombre et brillante … des plaques verticales et épaisses de plâtre découpées à jour en arabesques élégantes. Au fond de ces cloisons d'arabesques ainsi évidées, on a placé et scellé de petites vitres de couleur, la plupart bleues ou rouges, taillées selon la forme de la cavité où elles devaient être ajustées.[697]

However, not all visitors agreed with such upbeat assessments, truthful or not. In 1857 Fisk, relying on the biblical description, called the structure "the Turkish cathedral of Palestine, in its poor tawdry and unarchitectural style," affording "a melancholy contrast to the Temple, as imagination pictures it while reading the sacred narrative."[698] In other words, as so frequently in Jerusalem, religious feeling (in this case even to support a Jewish structure) could play a part when the Dome was mentioned: "Nous répugnons à donner la description de cette mosquée dans un écrit destiné à faire connaître les monuments évangéliques," wrote Ronsier in 1856; "Tirons le rideau sur le monument mahométan, et ne nous occupons plus que des monuments chrétiens."[699] In other words, Curtis concerned himself with architecture, Ronsier with religious territory.

After mid-century, the "admissions climate" was indeed changing, if slowly, and perhaps variably. But as always entry depended on status and gold. In 1857 Jacquesson got inside, counting it only the ninth time Christians had done so. But he had help, and was, so to speak, the pilgrim equivalent of carrying a gun loaded for bear:

> Le grand prêtre, d'accord avec nous, avait renfermé les soixante nègres gardiens, et, à notre arrivée chez le gouverneur, le lendemain matin, à sept heures, tout était prêt. La garnison était consignée. Nous nous dirigeâmes vers la mosquée, ayant le grand prêtre et le bey gouverneur à notre tête, avec une escorte de cinquante soldats turcs, le sabre au poing.[700]

His description of the interior was brief but accurate:

> Les plafonds horizontaux des pourtours des octogones présentent des arabesques de couleurs éclatantes et dorées, d'un goût et d'une originalité charmante. Le dôme, supporté par les colonnes du cercle, est orné à la base d'une bande de mosaïques des plus remarquables. Le restant de sa surface intérieure est entièrement formé de mosaïques dorées.[701]

Jacquesson's visit surely indicated that tourist cash was more important to the Governor than the likely unrest of some Muslim citizens. It was certainly money that bought access in 1858 for one large group. Though his account does not say how or why, Osborn reported that "a large number – upwards of one hundred – of ladies and gentlemen entered the grounds and the Mosque of Omar on the 7th of April, 1855," and the group then went on to the Al-Aqsa: "The usual mosaics and stained glass were found here, but the church did not exhibit the richness of the Mosque of Omar."[702] Eyriès, published in 1859 but probably writing in about 1852, proclaimed (wrongly) that the Haram was still closed, because (from the old belief) any Christian accessing the site would have a prayer immediately answered, perhaps spelling the end of Islam.[703] His information when published was therefore about as inaccurate as his woeful prints of the Haram and the Dome.

Louet got inside the Dome in 1862 with the help of the consul and a cavass, plus an escort: "Il fallait une véritable escorte pour marcher impunément sur les traces consacrées par Mahomet, et cela en présence d'une foule de musulmans qui s'étonnaient qu'on nous ouvrit le Saint des saints."[704] His group took slippers with them.[705] When Newman visited in 1864, he said nothing of the architecture, but expressed "a desire to stand, if possible, upon the very site of

Solomon's Temple." He visited both the Dome and the Al-Aqsa, noting indulgently that "thanks to the civilization of the West, the fanaticism of the East has yielded to a superior power, and many places hitherto inaccessible are now open to the Christian traveler."[706]

In 1864 Saint Aignan entered the Dome, not describing the architecture but, instead, ruminating on Christian and Muslim customs in religious buildings: "tandis que pour exprimer le respect, nous découvrons notre tête en gardant nos chaussures, les Orientaux découvrent leurs pieds et gardent la tête couverte."[707] In Jerusalem itself, this cradle of Christendom, as he remarked with disgust, the bells were silent, no religious ceremonies could be held in public, and "la croix, autrefois triomphante, aujourd'hui proscrite et exécrée, ne peut plus paraître sur les coupoles du Saint-Sépulcre dont elle faisait le glorieux couronnement."[708]

Several authors gave an account of Saladin's cleansing of the site, and the "ravages" (as Darboy calls them) executed inside and outside the Dome.[709] Perhaps this coloured Macedo's 1867 opinion that "Les minarets et le dôme de la mosquée d'Omar, qui les premiers s'offrirent à mes regards, m'ont paru des monuments sans éclat."[710] In 1866 Ritter offered a decription of the Dome inside and out, with measurements: "The inner walls and the dome are stuccoed with gold, in the arabesque style, as in the Alhambra. The dome, which is of great antiquity, consists wholly of wooden rafters, skilfully carved, but altogether out of sight."[711]

In 1868 Tischendorf described this "bâtiment magnifique et toujours admirable" in spite of signs of age, and offered some measurements,[712] noticing that the "portiques reposant sur des colonnes de marbre et de porphyre artistement travaillées."[713] Knox visited in 1879, noting that "the architect deserves great credit for erecting a building beautiful in itself and quite in keeping with the surroundings." He got in while the mosque was being repaired, but he could see that it was

> a structure of great beauty. The lower part of the wall is composed of colored marbles in complex patterns, and the upper part contains no less than fifty-six windows of stained glass, equalling in beauty anything that can be found in Westminster Abbey or the cathedrals of Europe.[714]

Perhaps Romani, who described the structure inside and out, also entered during repairs.[715]

10.5.4 Melchior de Vogüé and Opinions Up to 1880

In 1859 the Comte Melchior de Vogüé had published *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte* with the Holy Sepulchre as its frontispiece, proclaiming the Al-Aqsa

as a 6th century Justinianic building, and the Dome as Byzantine in inspiration and, indeed, built by Christians.[716] (Others had thought the Dome built under Constantine.[717]) He spent one week in Jerusalem, then returned for Holy Week and later, evidently doing all the drawing for the book himself,[718] save a few which he acknowledges. He described the Dome efficiently inside and out,[719] and took a contemporary to task for suggesting the building dated from Constantine, adducing Byzantine comparanda to prove his point.[720] He noted the earlier descriptions that had helped him, and that "la tolérance et la moderation du nouveau gouverneur, Kiamil-Pacha, ont facilité à de nombreux voyageurs chrétiens l'entrée du sanctuaire musulman." Most accounts he found of little use, but "Je dois pourtant excepter de ce reproche général un assez bon travail de M. Barclay et des dessins encore inédits d'un architecte italien, M. Pierrotti."[721] He was clear that the Dome had Byzantine origins, and equally so that it was built "à une époque où les Arabes, à peine sortis de la vie nomade, employaient des artistes grecs et acceptaient entièrement leurs procédés, avant le temps enfin où se forma l'art qui produisit les mosquées du Caire et de l'Espagne."[722] In 1864 he published *Le Temple de Jérusalem* and, as Mislin relayed in 1876, "comme il le dit lui-même, 'il n'a quitté le terrain qu'après que la montagne sainte lui eut à peu près livré tous ses secrets.'"[723]

De Vogüé was not the only one to praise the libertarian stance of Kiamil-Pacha in admitting Christians, for Saintine in 1860 noted how travellers yearned to visit the Dome, "tel est le rêve de tout voyageur en Palestine; son désir est d'autant plus grand qu'il sent le fruit défendu," and commiserated with the unlucky ones. "Puisque votre étoile ne vous a pas favorisés, je vais vous faire le récit de tout ce que l'on y voit, de ce que j'y ai vu, et même des traditions que j'ai pu y recueillir."[724] This he did, in seven pages of excellent description,[725] together with an account of the Haram itself.[726] But as Schickler related in 1863, Kiamil-Pacha did not last, supposedly precisely because local Turks complained about his letting Christians onto the Haram. His successor, Soraya-Pacha, wrote to Constantinople for instructions, was told to act as he thought best, and therefore closed the site for three years: "Le prince Alfred d'Angleterre, obtenant alors un nouveau firman, rompit le charme, et l'on en revint depuis aux admissions sur demande des consuls." However, Schickler had himself entered the Dome, and offered an excellent five-page description.[727]

In 1865 Paul proclaimed (incorrectly, as became clear) that the need for cavasses and soldiers was over: all that were now needed were baksheesh and slippers, the imam telling him that King David had his study inside the Dome, and wrote the Psalms there.[728] (This is a variation on Turner being told in 1820 by his dragoman where Solomon used to sit.) The following year Charles could describe the structure inside and out, and suggested that the Pasha

"invited the fanatical mollahs to breakfast and politely detained them until the infidels were safely out of the Haram." However, "we were secured by a Turkish guard. With these accompaniments of Turkish guards and guides, thought and feeling were of course rather benumbed. All we could do was to turn ourselves as far as possible into eye and ear, and treasure up stores for memory."[729] In 1868 the French consul arranged for Guérin to enter the Dome ("interdite, il y a peu d'années encore, aux chrétiens" – two visits).[730] By 1873 entry to the Haram and the Dome was two dollars, arranged by the American consul; and "after being hurried through this sacred and beautiful temple of Mohammed, we next went to the Mosque of El-Aksa, on Mount Moria, once the Christian Church of the Virgin Mary."[731]

As the years went on, visitors became yet more complimentary about the Dome, and sometimes wrote at greater length, for now they could actually see and explore the monument without being rushed or given the evil eye by the locals. In 1873 Savigny de Moncorps, again attributing freedom of entry to the Crimean War (far from the truth, as we have seen above), wrote a long description of the interior, but was also one of the few to describe the decoration of the exterior:

> Un soubassement en marbre blanc de cinq mètres environ, et au-dessus un revêtement complet de plaques en faïences polychromes d'un remarquable émail, fournissant une ornementation continue de fleurs et d'arabesques élégantes, les grillages des fenêtres également en faïences noires et blanches, ménageant des jours en rosace, donnent à l'extérieur de l'édifice le plus riche aspect.[732]

In 1877 Depelchin recorded his thanks to the Belgian Consul, his cavass and a firman, but seemed disconcerted about having to remove his boots ("en retirant sa chaussure. Sur ce dernier point, la discipline est inflexible"[733]). Once inside, however, and with words on the Rock itself and other treasures,[734] he affirmed the Dome as an "édifice vraiment arabe" with Byzantine overtones:

> Rien n'égale la légèreté, l'élégance, la richesse de cette mosquée, que ses marbres et ses émaux bleus du XVI^e^ siècle enveloppent d'une ceinture arabe plus riche que celles de Damas ou de Bagdad, tandis que sa coupole, dorée pendant des siècles, mais aujourd'hui revêtue d'une calotte de plomb, la couronne d'un véritable turban.

He went further, explaining that the Dome (with its tiles which he dated to the sixteenth century) was at the origin of everything to be seen in Granada,

Córdoba and Cairo.[735] (Such knowledge did not necessarily spread far and wide, for Jollivet-Castelot in 1878 was another author who asserted that the Dome was built toward the year 1000 by Saladin, thereby getting things comprehensively wrong.[736] He described the Dome, but only by copying from the now-standard guidebooks.[737])

Huart entered in 1879, exclaiming that "Il est difficile d'imaginer le bon goût, joint à la richesse, à la somptuosité de la décoration, qui a présidé à l'ornementation de cette charmante petite mosquée." He then described the decoration:

> On distingue tout d'abord, à l'aide de la douce clarté que tamisent de nombreux vitraux, les magnifiques colonnes monolithes de marbres de toutes couleurs et de toute provenance qui supportent le dôme. Les chapiteaux corinthiens, dorés, font ressortir les délicates marbrures des colonnes. Les murs sont décorés de plaques de faïence et de mosaïques représentant des bouquets de fleurs.[738]

10.5.5 Accounts from the Late Nineteenth Century and Beyond

In 1882 Porter viewed the Haram from the Pasha's palace, and declared himself struck by "the chasteness of design, and wonderful minuteness and delicacy of detail in the Saracenic architecture." The Dome was a perfect gem:

> The encaustic tiles which cover the whole exterior, reflect in gorgeous hues the bright sunlight. Over the windows and round the cornice are borders of beautifully interlaced Arabic characters, so large that one can easily read them. The graceful dome and its golden crescent crown the whole.[739]

Horne entered the Dome three years later, "an octagonal structure of elegant workmanship, fitly crowned by a graceful dome."[740] He described what he saw:

> The windows, located well up toward the eaves, are set in stained glass, without emblems, and are chaste and elegant in coloring and design. The capitals of the columns are finished in gold, and the walls are covered with mosaic work of an arabesque pattern.[741]

In 1887 De Hass offered yet more detail to his readers, by giving measurements, and declaring that as a monument, "nothing could be more appropriate or grand." He noticed four inscriptions referring to Jesus (adding in misdirected

hope, "Is this prophetic of it becoming some day a Christian church?"), and compared it to other famous structures:

> It is much finer than St. Sophia, at Constantinople, or St. Mark's, at Venice; has no rival for grace or sanctity, and its peculiar shape is the only reason it has not been more extensively copied; but as a shrine for the "rock of ages" it is perfectly beautiful, and when the sunshine streams through its fifty-six gorgeous windows, its golden mosaics seem to kindle up with a divine fire, rendering the spot truly glorious.[742]

Was the Dome to become Christian? De Hass in a flight of the purest whimsy thought the sun knew the difference between the Dome and the Holy Sepulchre:

> At first, both are seen dazzling in the sunlight, but as the sun declines the shadows first fall on the crescent, and long after the shades of twilight have cast a gloom over the city the sun's last lingering rays may still be seen reflected from the golden cross over the tomb of Christ.[743]

Miller in 1891 thought the Dome inferior in splendour only to Córdoba,[744] and gave a touching account of the awe and mystery of the subdued lighting of the interior, exquisitely proportioned, and producing "a sense almost of bewilderment." His architectural history, however, was a little skewed, when he wrote of "stained glass of richest tints, mosaics, marbles, arabesques, beautiful antique pillars, many of them relics saved from the great Jewish temple."[745] The following year Couret, after a long and sensible description,[746] compared the Dome favourably with Muhammad Ali's Cairo mosque ("froide, indifférente, silencieuse et sans vie") and almost echoed Miller: the Dome "évoque les souvenirs illustres de l'épopée judaïque, de l'Évangile, des Croisades et de l'Islamisme, elle parle au coeur, à l'imagination, à l'âme."[747] Lombay in 1892 also gave an excellent description of this, "le plus beau joyau de Jérusalem." But while still underlining the dearth of Solomonic architectural knowledge, he insisted on seeing Solomonic spolia:

> Les vestiges du temple de Salomon doivent être enfouis à une profondeur considérable Mais rien n'empêche d'admettre que ce monument somptueux ait fourni après sa destruction quelques-uns des matériaux du grand Temple.[748]

Some visitors wrote only brief if generally complimentary comments, such as Marquette in 1892[749] and Delmas[750] and Terhune (who referred to "gaudily

tiled walls") in 1896.[751] But Curtis in 1903 offered his admiration, attempting to "place" the structure in architectural history:

> In the center of this great square, upon a low marble pedestal, is one of the most exquisite specimens of Saracenic architecture human genius could conceive. I had always considered St. Mark's Cathedral and the Doges' [*sic*] Palace at Venice the most beautiful buildings in the world, but that was before I had seen the Mosque of Omar.

He went further, comparing what he saw here with Spain:

> The walls of these mosques represent Saracenic art of the best period and remind you of the Alhambra at Grenada, the Alcazar at Seville and other Moorish buildings in Spain. Their graceful lines and delicate traceries are in striking contrast with the rugged and shapeless structures of the Jews.

And then spitefully remarked that Solomon's Temple was the work of a Phoenician.[752]

Even with the plethora of helpful books available to them (and full descriptions in the guides published by Baedeker, Murray and Joanne) some travellers still displayed little knowledge of how Muslims dealt with Christian symbols. Terhune in 1896 wrote of a barely distinguishable cross in the Dome (a "sole memento of a supplanted religion," which "has of course never been seen by the present owners of the chapel"), and then noted incorrectly that crosses had been obliterated from Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[753] Such whimsy reveals little study of mosques converted from churches, or built with earlier spolia, where crosses are frequently to be seen.

By the end of the nineteenth century the Haram was still not freely available to all travellers. In 1897 Smith gained admittance to the Dome, and described it, but only because his dragoman had a "small party" he could take there.[754] Calas entered the Dome in 1900, with special permission, and no photographs: "On nous recommande la prudence, de nous tenir groupés, et surtout pas de clichés; les Kodaks doivent fermer l'œil."[755] At the end of the century, Thomas reported that "some pertinacious boys, with slippers in their hands, assail the visitor," and so he entered the Dome:

> The decoration of the Dome is extremely rich, but can only be seen in detail on a very sunny day. The windows, the tracery of every one of which is different, are filled with coloured glass, which in lustre resembles precious stones. Unfortunately the capitals of the columns have been newly

> regilt, and will be out of harmony with the rest of the interior till Time can put his mellow finishing touches to them.[756]

Following the First World War, access to the Haram and Dome was of course much easier for Christians such as Carpenter, who described the structure as "one of the finest specimens of Byzantine architecture … The inside is even more beautiful than the outside."[757] How about for Jews? Carpenter found a Jewish friend weeping at the "Wailing Place," and asked

> "What are you wailing for? Aren't there plenty of Jews in Jerusalem? And haven't you got a Jew for a Governor?" "Yes, I know, but I want the Mosque of Omar."

On hearing which Carpenter commented:

> There are also Jews who favour a more moderate Zionism, and fear that setting up a Jewish state will make trouble both in Palestine and in the countries where Jews are now citizens with a part in business and public affairs.[758]

10.5.6 The Al-Aqsa Mosque

> Il n'y a gueres de plus belles Mosquées que celle-là. On dit que du temps des Chrestiens c'estoit une belle Eglise, consacrée à Dieu en l'honneur de la Presentation de la sainte Vierge dans le Temple.[759] [1702]

Thus wrote Naud, but the Al-Aqsa was founded in the early eighth century, then altered, and reaching its current configuration after rebuilding from the earthquake of 1033, with some mosaics dated 1035. Ousâma ibn Mourkidh (1095–1188) perhaps entered the Al-Aqsa when it was occupied by the Templars, and was directed to a "small mosque" converted into a church. He prayed there, but was bullied by one Templar (recently arrived from the West, said his colleagues, excusing him), who tried to show him how to pray, and in which direction. Was the "small mosque" the Dome of the Rock? If so, this is an example of a Muslim allowed to pray in what was then a church.[760] For Ibn-Alatir (as for many Crusaders) the Al-Aqsa was on the site of the Temple of Solomon, and he recounted how Saladin beautified it after the reconquest.[761] Moudjir-ed-dyn, writing in the late fifteenth century, described the building as a marvel, and "Le nombre des colonnes est de quarante-cinq, dont trente-trois en marbre et douze construites en pierres."[762] Çelebi admired them in

1611.[763] In the nineteenth century, many westerners continued to believe the structure was once a church.

Travellers in Western dress found this mosque difficult to enter. As Forbin wrote in 1819, "il est plus que jamais impossible d'y pénétrer."[764] Ali Bey, dressed as an Arab, offered an excellent description at the start of the nineteenth century.[765] There were still problems with the locals (not the Governor) in 1836, when Dollieule successfully entered, and was then escorted back to the Governor, "par un très grand nombre de soldats qui nous recommandaient sans cesse de ne pas nous écarter et de marcher en groupe serré."[766] In 1847 Castlereagh took off his shoes and entered, but "there is literally nothing to remark upon here, nor is it in any respect different from the mosques of Egypt."[767] Berners, having just visited the Dome of the Rock, had a similar reaction in 1876: "It is a long building, with several very lofty columns supporting the roof, but contains nothing of any great interest: it was formerly a Christian church."[768] (Were the marble columns, mimber, not to mention the mosaics, of no interest?)

The Comte de Vogüé, although prevented in 1859 "par le fanatisme musulman" from entering,[769] also thought the building was once a church. This was perhaps because of remembered Crusader designation: they "assigned the building to the Templars on their establishment. They resided here, and called it Palatium Solomonis, or Templum Solomonis, to distinguish it from the Dome, which they always called Templum Domini."[770] Five years later Sandie would have none of this:

> It is clearly a Mohammedan structure; and is correctly described by a pilgrim of the seventh century as "a place of prayer of the Saracens, capable of holding 3000 people, and had its pillars connected with beams." This Mosque stands over the site of the ancient Temple, of which there are undoubted and precious remains in the foundations and substructure generally.[771]

The Reverend F. Ferguson entered the Al-Aqsa in 1864, still proclaiming it as an erstwhile church ("it was built by the Emperor Justinian in honour of the Virgin Mary"). The structure sported two close-together pillars, and

> The Mahommedans say, that all who pass between them are sure of Paradise. The members of our party were superstitious enough to try their good fortune. The tolerably slender got through easily; but some, alas! were too stout.[772]

The idea is beloved of tour-guides world-wide, as perhaps a proof that trivia not architecture ruled tourist horizons. (Other examples are wooden columns in the enormous Buddhist temple of Todaiji in Nara, Japan, and marble ones in the Mosque of Amr in Cairo.) At last, then, visitors paid attention to the mosque's forty-five colums! In 1869 Freese, impressed by several old columns he saw inside, thought they were probably parts of the old temple. These were once more the same close-together columns, and he found that "every one of our company can squeeze through, except the old sheikh (our conductor), who, being very corpulent, will not try it."[773] But Freese was peevish: the Dome "of itself has no interest to the Christian reader" though now accessible for about one dollar; and it and the Al-Aqsa "are fitted up in the usual Moslem style, with marble floors, stained-glass windows, and Arabic gewgaws."[774]

Given the trivia related in the above paragraph, we might ask how much monuments such as the Al-Aqsa were appreciated. Why did few of these visitors admire the mosque's mosaics or stained glass windows? In 1874 Beaufort's threadbare assessment was that "the Mosque of Omar is lovely and beautiful; that of El Aksa is grand but triste."[775] Baedeker's 1876 guidebook was a bible for serious tourists, purveying current opinion rather than fact, and stating not only that "the Aksa affords an example of an ancient basilica which the Arabs have restored in the original style and converted into a mosque," but also that "it is now believed that the rotunda of the church of the Sepulchre served as the model for that of the mosque of 'Omar."[776] Such ideas are now out of fashion.[17]

In 1871 Vetromile offered a short summary of the mosque's attractions, with "a marble floor, arabesque paintings, gildings of great beauty [both meaning the mosaics, perhaps], and superior white marbles … chandeliers, which are beautifully gilt. Seven thousand lamps burn from sun-set on Friday till Saturday noon." His guide took him "below the foundation of the Mosque to examine some huge walls, pillars and massive pilasters, which were part of the foundation of the Temple of Solomon."[777] Delaplanche made a similar visit in 1876, entered the Al-Aqsa, and examined the elements of the Haram which he thought displayed Christian connections. He condemned Islam for disfiguring Christian traditions and mixing in a crowd of fables (including perhaps the close-together columns?), remarking that "La contre-façon porte avec elle le caractère indélébile du mensonge." Nevertheless, he was forced to conclude

17 Smith 1950, 131: "it is still necessary to assume that both these early Islamic buildings, with their wooden domes at what would have been the crossing of a Christian basilica, must have been modeled after well-known and common types of Christian sanctuaries in the region."

that "le mont Moriah n'en reste pas moins un des lieux les plus intéressants et les plus vénérables pour le chrétien," of which he would discover more during his exploration of the city.[778] Berger in 1895 reported that access to the Al-Aqsa was made easy for tourists: the carpets were removed, so they could enter without removing their shoes.[779]

11 Ramla/Rama

> I pass over the dwelling of the Lord of Rama, which is beautiful and which has its mosque and a very beautiful bell-tower, on which during the night a man stood who, to my hearing, did nothing but yelp.[780] [1494]

At least Casola, in the above quotation, admired the beauty of the minaret (if not the muezzin's calls) as well as the lord's palace. However, the minaret (about 36.5 m tall, built of hewn stones) was outside the village, with the ruined mosque, usually known as the White Mosque, adjacent to it. The minaret, confusingly, was sometimes called the Tower of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (namely Roman soldiers martyred for embracing Christianity). The mosque had early been a point of contention with local Christians who, as Mukaddasi related in AD 985, had buried some beautiful [spolia] columns for a new church, but had to surrender them when the Caliph threatened to destroy their church at Lydda if they refused.[781] In 1624 Deshayes de Courmenin found two churches at Ramla, both converted into mosques.[782] Arvieux in 1659 could describe the main mosque as having four rows of twelve columns supporting the nave vaults (are these the above-mentioned spolia?), but no more, because

> C'est tout ce que j'en ai pu voir avec assez de peine, parce que les Turcs en empêchent l'entrée aux Chrétiens, sous les peines les plus rigoureuses. Il faut des amis & des présens pour s'arrêter un moment à la porte, encore faut-il prendre son tems quand il n'y a personne, car le premier qui s'en appercevroit & s'en plaindroit, metroit le curieux en danger de la vie, ou l'exposeroit à une avanie considérable.[783]

In 1832 Russell mentioned the minaret without giving a description, although he noted that "by an Arabic inscription, [it] appears to have been built by the Sultan of Egypt."[784] In 1837 Skinner climbed up the minaret: "The stair is yet good within it, and winds to the summit. It is about two hundred feet in height. Soon after my ascent the sun set, and mine was the only silent minaret in the place."[785] In 1839 Stephens reckoned a quarter of an hour sufficient for the

village of Ramla itself,[786] and did not mention the minaret; but then, he had been rained out the previous day, and hurried on to Jaffa.

Taylor mentioned that when Lamartine was here in 1832–1833, "la tour des Quarante Martyrs était occupée par des derviches tournants, prêtres musulmans dont les voyageurs purent constater les pratiques bizarres."[787] In 1859 Vogüé reported that he had been unable to draw the mosque, because it was forbidden to Christians.[788] Phelps climbed the minaret in 1863, remarking that the adjacent mosque was in ruins.[789] In 1871 Vetromile, the apostolic missionary, and keen to collect benedictions, noted that a partial indulgence was gained by reciting a Pater, Ave and Gloria in what he called the ruined church. He also ascended what he called the tower, "well and solidly built of fine white marble."[790]

For Savigny de Moncorps in 1873, the minaret was once a belltower, the remains of "un monastère dont il reste d'assez belles ruines (cloître du temps des Templiers, catacombes et cryptes souterraines)."[791] This belief in a Crusader bell-tower with attached church had already been dismissed by Guérin in 1868, the confusion aroused by the erstwhile Byzantine spolia block reused as a lintel to the mosque; he declared that the mosque had never been a church;[792] he found the erstwhile lintel on the ground, with an Arabic inscription, that someone had attempted to saw in two.[793] Apparently it was then replaced, for in 1896 Clermont-Ganneau illustrated the reused figured Byzantine marble block forming the minaret's lintel, but nevertheless stuck to the Christian sourcing, surmising that the minaret was indeed a rebuilt Crusader bell-tower.[794] Two years later Baedeker was echoing the attribution ("Unbelievers are not always permitted to visit it, but the effect of the all-powerful bakhshish may be tried (5 pi.; shoes must be taken off)"),[795] dating its restoration to Saladin and the minaret to Baybars.[796]

12 Sidon

The Emir Faccardine (1572–1635), who had spent time at the Medici court, built palaces at both Beirut and Sidon, and travellers believed that at both towns he tipped obstacles into the harbour, and destroyed the mole, to prevent an attack from the sea by Turkish galleys. Arvieux visited Sidon in 1658, and found Faccardine's palace, built on the walls of the town, already dilapidated, although still occupied.[797] At the end of the century, Maundrell described his palace in Beirut, much run down, with a marble fountain, and pedestals for statues.[798] By 1826 Carne could point only to ruins at Beirut, but he did not describe them.[799] He related that Faccardine had destroyed parts of Baalbek,

"but when he afterwards visited Italy, and contracted a taste for its architecture, he bitterly lamented the sacrilege he had committed."[800] Garnier visited Sidon in 1843, found the harbour about 1.5 m deep; as a result, ships had to anchor some 1.5 km off shore.[801] He attributed this to Faccardine's actions over two centuries previously. A nice idea, certainly, but the nineteenth-century situation was more likely a result of continued silting and lack of maintenance.

[1] PEFQS_1877_39.
[2] Barthe_2016_50.
[3] Layard_1903_I_277.
[4] Berton_1854_326.
[5] Guérin_1859_61–62.
[6] Guérin_1859_62.
[7] Slade_1837_I_297.
[8] Fabri_1896_253–254.
[9] Fabri_1896_I_288–289.
[10] Fabri_1893_II.2_440.
[11] Pococke_1745_II_1_91.
[12] Fabri_1893_II.1_125–126.
[13] Fabri_1893_II.1_133.
[14] Fabri_1893_II_495.
[15] Fabri_1893_II_428.
[16] Beaufort_1874_234.
[17] Saulcy_1853_II_270.
[18] Bromfield_1856_263.
[19] Surius_1666_209.
[20] Surius_1666_208.
[21] Broquière_1848_300.
[22] Walpole_1851_III_41.
[23] Walpole_1851_III_76.
[24] Walpole_1851_I_46.
[25] Belgiojoso_1858_156–157.
[26] Belgiojoso_1858_151–152.
[27] Davis_1879_6.
[28] Davis_1879_6.
[29] Blakesley_1859_195.
[30] Tilt_1849_197.
[31] Pardieu_1851_47.
[32] Bost_1875_210.
[33] Berton_1854_464.
[34] Saint_Aignan_1864_220.
[35] Layard_1903_I_279.
[36] Damer_1841_II_11–12.
[37] Valentia_1809_III_378.
[38] Bapst_1891_24.
[39] Dumas_1839_109–111.
[40] Wortabet_1856_I_213.
[41] Allen_1855_I_366–367.
[42] Ellis_1881_3.
[43] Beaugrand_1889_222.
[44] Godard_1859_7.
[45] Boddy_1885_183–184.
[46] Boddy_1885_207–208.
[47] Hasselquist_1766_152.
[48] Olivier_IV_1804_56.
[49] Volney_1787_II_209.
[50] Lycklama_a_Nijeholt_I_1875_378–379.
[51] Volney_1787_II_247.
[52] Pellé_&_Galibert_1843_I_70.
[53] Ali_Bey_1816_II_285.
[54] Clarke_1816_II.2_8–9.
[55] Light_1818_192–193.
[56] Spilsbury_1823_7–8.
[57] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1834_IV_163.
[58] Hogg_1835_II_161–162.
[59] Skinner_1837_I_145.
[60] Robinson_1838_223.
[61] Pellé_&_Galibert_1843_I_73.
[62] Durbin_1845_II_38–39.
[63] Pfeiffer_1851_96.
[64] Curtis_1852_234.
[65] Van_de_Velde_1854_I_276.
[66] Wilson_III_1883_87.
[67] Pigeory_1854_472–473.
[68] Azaïs_1855_327.
[69] Louet_1862_209–210.
[70] Gottis_II_1872_261.
[71] Guérin_1884_151.
[72] Lycklama_à_Nijeholt_IV_1875_380.
[73] Broquière_1848_308.
[74] Monconys_1665_II_347–350.
[75] Buckingham_1825_488.
[76] Schickler_1863_90.
[77] Freese_1869_320–321.
[78] Burton_1876_I_289.
[79] Ali_Bey_1816_II_305.
[80] Lithgow_1906_185.
[81] Besson_1862_64.
[82] Besson_1862_399.
[83] Buckingham_1825_344.
[84] Buckingham_1825_335–336.
[85] Skinner_1837_II_31.
[86] Taylor_1854_144.
[87] Perrier_1842_27–28.
[88] Kelly_1844_202.
[89] Maundrell_1705_211.
[90] Kelly_1844_210.
[91] Kelly_1844_211.
[92] Hahn-Hahn_1845_II_42.
[93] Porter_1855_I_35.
[94] Schickler_1863_107.
[95] Skinner_1837_II_45.
[96] Skinner_1837_II_50.
[97] Porter_1855_I_39.
[98] Porter_1855_I_32–33.
[99] Hogg_1835_II_74–75.
[100] Burford_1841_7.

[101] Taylor_1853_78.
[102] Paton_1870_II_352.
[103] Cook_1903_59–60.
[104] Thévenot_1687_II_16B.
[105] Thompson_1798_143.
[106] Thomson_1886_386.
[107] Porter_1870_26.
[108] Burton_1876_I_50–51.
[109] Baedeker_1876_486.
[110] Oliphant_1891_124–125.
[111] Wilson_II_1892_154.
[112] Baedeker_1898_364.
[113] Cook_1907_230–231.
[114] Carpenter_1923_211.
[115] Jessup_II_1910_654–655.
[116] Thomas_1900_293.
[117] Thévenot_1687_II_15.
[118] Pococke_1745_II_1_121.
[119] Thompson_1744_III_6.
[120] Buckingham_1825_309–310.
[121] Joanne_&_Isambert_1861_660.
[122] Burton_1876_I_51.
[123] Varthema_1888_15–16.
[124] Lettres_édifiantes_1819_I_172.
[125] Shakespear_1816_46–47
[126] Savigny_de_Moncorps_1873_173.
[127] Bourassé_1867_489.
[128] Masudi_1864_III_271–272.
[129] Masudi_1864_III_407–408.
[130] Mukaddasi_1895_22–23.
[131] Mukaddasi_1895_17–19.
[132] Mukaddasi_1886_18.
[133] Abulfeda_II.1_1848_8–9.
[134] Ibn_Battuta_1982_174.
[135] Le_Strange_1890_225–230.
[136] Le_Strange_1890_241–252.
[137] Ibn_Battuta_1982_1273–180.
[138] Lammens_1921_II_21–22.
[139] Otter_1748_I_57–58.
[140] Monro_1835_II_57–85.
[141] Bost_1875_79.
[142] Jacques_de_Vérone_1335_292.
[143] Niccolò_1945_79.
[144] Varthema_1888_15–16.
[145] Varthema_1888_20.
[146] Broquière_1848_295.
[147] Mislin_1876_I_544–545.
[148] Villamont_1602_230.
[149] Arvieux_1735_II_450.
[150] Arvieux_1735_II_451.
[151] Arvieux_1735_II_452–453.
[152] Thévenot_1687_217–218.
[153] Thévenot_1687_II_16–18.
[154] Thévenot_1687_II_16.
[155] Thevenot_I.2_1689_690.
[156] Thévenot_1727_56–60.
[157] Fermanel_1670_315.
[158] Stochove_1650_311–312.
[159] Rochefort_1676_161.
[160] Mocquet_1696_285–286.
[161] Monconys_1665_II_341–342.
[162] Goujon_1670_31.
[163] Maundrell_1848_488.
[164] Maundrell_1705_208.
[165] Bremond_1679_246–247.
[166] Bremond_1679_239.
[167] Buchon_1838_203.
[168] Buchon_1838_203.
[169] Coppin_1720_465.
[170] Thompson_1744_III_4.
[171] Salmon_1738_311–312.
[172] Pococke_1745_II_1_120.
[173] Perry_1743_137.
[174] Campbell_1758_151.
[175] Walpole_1820_314–315.
[176] Frankland_1829_II_103.
[177] Ali_Bey_1816_II_303–305.
[178] Richter_1824_27–28.
[179] Buckingham_1825_307–308.
[180] Kelly_1844_207–208.
[181] Monro_1835_II_57.
[182] Addison_1838_II_90.
[183] Carne_1826_II_82.
[184] Conder_1830D_60–63.
[185] Madox_1834_II_125.
[186] Kelly_1844_267.
[187] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1835_VI_170–171.
[188] Robinson_1837_262.
[189] Addison_1838_II_68–69.
[190] Elliott_1838_II_290–291.
[191] Taylor_1855_125.
[192] Dandolo_1854_444–445.
[193] Walpole_1851_I_107.
[194] Skene_1847_147.
[195] Skene_1847_148–149.
[196] Pardieu_1851_345–346.
[197] Hill_1866_408–409.
[198] Lepsius_1853_343.
[199] Warburton_1848_159.
[200] Castlereagh_1847_II_287.
[201] Blondel_1840_177.
[202] Saulcy_1853_II_587–588.
[203] Taylor_1853_75.
[204] Méry_1855_167.
[205] Porter_1855_I_61.
[206] Porter_1855_I_63.
[207] Porter_1855_I_134.
[208] Hogg_1835_I_127.
[209] Schickler_1863_122–123.
[210] Edwards_1862_167–168.
[211] Porter_1870_22–25.
[212] Porter_1870_12.
[213] Mislin_1876_I_549.
[214] Edwards_1862_1.

[215] Vogüé_1860_24–25.
[216] Vogüé_1876_75–76.
[217] Macleod_1866_292.
[218] Golinberg_1867_II_276.
[219] Golinberg_1867_II_337.
[220] Macleod_1866_292–293.
[221] Beaufort_1874_205.
[222] Anon_1861_16–17.
[223] Anon_1861_15–16.
[224] Tilley_1864_361.
[225] Tilley_1864_362.
[226] Tilley_1864_363–364.
[227] Paul_1865_144.
[228] Paul_1865_144–145.
[229] Charles_1866_288.
[230] Black_1865_41.
[231] Joanne_&_ Isambert_1861_ Damascus.
[232] Basterot_1869_121–122.
[233] Tristram_1865_613.
[234] Newman_1864_476.
[235] Lycklama_a_Nijeholt_I_ 1875_549–551.
[236] Lycklama_a_ Nijeholt_I_1875_ 553–554.
[237] Basterot_1869_122.
[238] Lyne_1871_417.
[239] Caravane_française_ 1875_265.
[240] Savigny_de_Moncorps_ 1873_168.
[241] Vogüé_1876_75.
[242] Baedeker_1876_482.
[243] Burton_1876_I_41.
[244] Burton_1876_I_75.
[245] Burton_1876_I_167–168.
[246] Thielmann_1875_II_238.
[247] Porter_1870_22–24.
[248] Martin_1876_186.
[249] Berners_1876_249.
[250] Pears_1916_73.
[251] Thomson_1886_384.
[252] Thomson_1886_379.
[253] Conder_1889_310.
[254] Miller_1891_302–303.
[255] Lombay_1892_154.
[256] Thomas_1900_291.
[257] Berger_1895_299–304.
[258] Baedeker_1898_361.
[259] Terhune_1896_49.
[260] Calas_1900_114.
[261] Curtis_1903_128–129.
[262] Curtis_1903_129–130.
[263] Smith_1915_249–250.
[264] Arvieux_1735_II_49.
[265] Sandys_1673_116.
[266] Thévenot_1687_180.
[267] Wittman_1804_192–193.
[268] Garnier_1843_410–411.
[269] Ali_Bey_1816_II_235.
[270] Forbin_1819B_162.
[271] Jolliffe_1822_I_223–224.
[272] Jolliffe_1822_I_230.
[273] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_ 1833_V_398.
[274] Damer_1841_II_72.
[275] Guérin_1868_I_185–186.
[276] Neale_1851_I_6:.
[277] Porter_1882_204.
[278] De_Hass_1883_227.
[279] Guérin_1868_I_184–185.
[280] Louet_1862_232.
[281] Rogers_1865_335.
[282] Rogers_1865_377.
[283] Luynes_1874_I_47–48.
[284] Broquière_1848_ 288–289.
[285] Fabri_1893_II.2_415–416.
[286] Ali_Bey_1816_II_ 264–265.
[287] Skinner_1837_I_ 242–243.
[288] Fabri_1893_II.2_417.
[289] Elliott_1838_II_496.
[290] Garnier_1843_189.
[291] Suriano_1900_137.
[292] Belon_1588_325.
[293] Richardson_1822_II_389.
[294] Irby_&_Mangles_1823_ 343.
[295] Della_Valle_II_1745_99.
[296] Carne_1830_86.
[297] Horne_1885_99.
[298] Wallin_1854_289.
[299] Carne_1830_158–159.
[300] Stephens_1839_89.
[301] Paxton_1839_174.
[302] Olin_1843_II_80.
[303] Olin_1843_II_78.
[304] Durbin_1845_I_206.
[305] Castlereagh_1847_II_89.
[306] Gingras_1847_I_446–.
[307] Neale_1851_I_52.
[308] Van_de_Velde_ 1854_II_67.
[309] Stanley_1856_101.
[310] Saint-Aignan_1864_ 297–298.
[311] Osborn_1858_362–363.
[312] PEF_Canada_1873_15.
[313] Paul_1865_81–82.
[314] Macleod_1866_215.
[315] Saint-Aignan_1864_ 297–298.
[316] Morrison_1871_29–30.
[317] Morrison_1871_31.
[318] Freese_1869_135–136.
[319] Freese_1869_136.
[320] Warren_1873_126.
[321] Vogüé_1876_162–163.
[322] Vogüé_1876_163.
[323] Wilson_III_1884_197.
[324] Phelps_1863_393–402.
[325] PEFQS_1881_193–194.
[326] Phelps_1863_394.
[327] Phelps_1863_400–401.
[328] Baedeker_1898_136.
[329] Luynes_1874_II_90.
[330] Mislin_1876_III_82.
[331] Terhune_1896_300

[332] Vetromile_1871_I_228–229.
[333] Thomas_1900_223–224.
[334] Heude_1819_218.
[335] Heude_1819_98–99.
[336] Heude_1819_110.
[337] Heude_1819_112.
[338] Teixeira_1902_61–62.
[339] Teixeira_1902_64–65.
[340] Teixeira_1902_52.
[341] Thévenot_1687_II_51–52.
[342] Thévenot_1687_II_60.
[343] Beaujour_1829_II_81.
[344] Aucher-Éloy_1843_I_309.
[345] Wellsted_1840_I_258.
[346] Layard_1903_I_342.
[347] Budge_1920_I_193.
[348] Budge_1920_I_270.
[349] Three_weeks_1835_51.
[350] Madden_1829_II_323.
[351] T.R.J._1820_51.
[352] Bonar_1844_163.
[353] Stanley_1856_166.
[354] Becq_1859_61.
[355] Énault_1854_109.
[356] Martin_1876_130.
[357] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_V_1835_120.
[358] Russell_1832_166.
[359] Curtis_1903_440–441.
[360] Febvre_1682_46.
[361] Warburton_1848_86–87.
[362] Cobbe_1864_188.
[363] Dovedan_1661_328.
[364] Vandal_1887_49.
[365] Saint_Aignan_1864_114.
[366] Chesneau_1887_260.
[367] Williams_1845_427.
[368] PEFQS_1870_348.
[369] Morrison_1871_255.
[370] Clermont-Ganneau_1899_iv–v.
[371] De_Forest_1856_117.
[372] De_Forest_1856_82.
[373] Russell_1832_166.
[374] Biddulph_1609_123.
[375] Tiffany_1896_318.
[376] Williams_1845_213–214.
[377] Moudjir-ed-dyn_1876_169.
[378] Bernard_1621_17–19.
[379] Thevenot_I.2_1689_580.
[380] Castillo_1664_143.
[381] Maundrell_1705_130–131.
[382] Maundrell_1811_338.
[383] Campbell_1758_196–197.
[384] Paxton_1839_141.
[385] Forbin_1819B_134.
[386] Pierotti_1865_375–376.
[387] Garnier_1843_145.
[388] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_V_1835_116.
[389] Jonas_1857_59.
[390] Bovet_1862_184.
[391] Russell_1832_181–182.
[392] Allen_1855_II_97–98.
[393] Saulcy_1867_93–94.
[394] Saulcy_1867_288.
[395] Fabri_1893_II.1_253.
[396] Light_1818_156.
[397] Maundrell_1848_467.
[398] Turner_1820_II_262.
[399] Skinner_1837_I_252.
[400] Azaïs_1855_142.
[401] Becq_1859_150.
[402] Phelps_1863_212.
[403] McCabe_1875_474.
[404] Haussmann_de_Wandelburg_I_1883_75.
[405] Du_Fougerais_1874_71.
[406] Marquette_1892_140.
[407] Lithgow_1906_243.
[408] Tiffany_1896_329.
[409] Arvieux_1735_II_120.
[410] Çelebi_2011_320.
[411] Thévenot_1664_411.
[412] Maundrell_1705_169.
[413] Maundrell_1705_182.
[414] Maundrell_1705_117–118.
[415] Tott_1784_111–112.
[416] Robinson_1838_47.
[417] Saint-Aignan_1864_86.
[418] Niccolò_1945_46–47.
[419] Biddulph_1609_125.
[420] Turner_1820_II_275.
[421] Ali_Bey_1816_II_244–245.
[422] Perry_1743_131–132.
[423] Palerne_1606_279–280.
[424] Della_Valle_II_1745_37.
[425] Casola_1907_249.
[426] Dovedan_1661_366–367.
[427] Dovedan_1661_331–332.
[428] Russell_1832_229.
[429] Vergoncey_1615_239–241.
[430] Fermanel_1670_365.
[431] Suriano_1900_239.
[432] Deshayes_de_Courmenin_1624_367.
[433] Monconys_1665_II_304–305.
[434] Bremond_1679_310–311.
[435] Garnier_1843_146.
[436] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_V_1835_150.
[437] T.R.J._1820_85.
[438] Belzoni_1820_462–463.
[439] Gingras_1847_II_42–44.
[440] Gingras_1847_I_31–32.
[441] Raguse_1839_III_52–53.
[442] Carne_1830_162.
[443] Monk_1851_II_177.
[444] Castlereagh_1847_II_209–210.

[445] Castlereagh_1847_II_107.
[446] Gingras_1847_II_31–32.
[447] Dollieule_1888_26.
[448] Castelnau_1856_229.
[449] Lycklama_a_Nijeholt_I_1875_520.
[450] Bourassé_1867_174–175.
[451] Jollivet-Castelot_1878_70.
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CHAPTER 3

Alexandria and Cairo

1 Alexandria's Mosques

> The ancient magnificent mosques, of which some travellers speak, no longer exist. Time, the Turks, and the late wars, have annihilated them.[1]

Thus did Ali Bey sum up the city's appearance at the start of the nineteenth century. Cairo was for centuries a great trading city, and her access to clients was largely through the great port at Alexandria, where the great majority of foreigners landed, and took the river (later the train) to that city. Founded and named by Alexander the Great, Alexandria was rich in classical monuments, and boasted later monuments some of which were as usual built from marble spolia. Through trade, the city was well known to westerners. Gentile and Giovanni Bellini's *Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria* (1504–7) demonstrates that whoever provided sketches for the mosque, minarets and columns had seen that city's landmarks, and also Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[1] In other words, more visual information than survives today was reaching Venice about the Empire, plausibly provided by her own sailors or traders.

Detailed descriptions of Alexandria begin in the sixteenth century, when Trevisan noted the marble luxury of the house in which his ambassadorial party stayed,[2] but also the decadence of a town of which he reckoned nine-tenths was in ruins.[3] Thevet, in an account first published in 1556, wrote of visiting a column-rich mosque, and first viewed it "à trauers des treilliz de bois." This was the erstwhile St. Athanasius, the main mosque of the city (on which see below), which he thought the work of Frederick Barbarossa.[4] He then met an Ottoman official, who wished to know whether Thevet's party thought it beautiful. The response did not please: "Auquel comme nous eussions fait response qu'ouy, aux deipens de noz anciens Princes Chrestiens: luy courroucé & irrité de noz paroles, s'en va tout transporté de cholere."[5]

The Fürer von Haimendorff visited Alexandria in 1621, noting the city's marble and columns, to be seen ornamenting mosques. These were apparently not his primary interest because, when in Cairo, he ignored the mosques and concentrated on Pharaonic antiquities.[6] In 1653 Boullaye described the ruins of magnificent palaces, and the ancient columns, many of which he observed

1 Brotton 2002, 35–36.

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reused as transverse beams strengthening the city walls.[7] In 1676 Rochefort paid janisseries every day of his visit, "qui le deffendent contre les insultes qu'on luy pourroit fair à la Ville."[8] Life became easier when he shed his European clothes for local dress.[9] In 1678 Deschamps could not enter the erstwhile St. Athanasius, it being forbidden to Christians, "sous peine d'être empalé ou brûlé vif (ce qui s'observe encore inviolablement parmy toutes les Mosquées de la Turquie)."[10] Careri confirmed in 1693 that any attempt to enter it was driven away with stones and knives.[11] However, there were other mosques as well: in 1664 Castillo noted several, two of them of them very handsome.[12]

Like most foreign visitors, Thévenot in 1657 concentrated on the ancient ruins and their materials, eyeing the granite baulks of the Marine Gate for removal to France, "aussi n'ont-ils qu'à ôter la terre qui couvre ces belles pièces, & les transporter."[13] Maillet, French consul in Cairo in 1692, had much the same idea: he surmised that he would discover many antiquities were he able to gain access to the interior of St. Athanasius.[14] There he gained meagre information by peeping through cracks, "après avoir disposé mes Janissaires & la Nation, qui m'accompagnoit, de manière à ne pouvoir être surpris."[15] He also spied giant granite columns similar to those seen in Cairo's Citadel, but these were being cut up to make millstones:

> Je suis certain que les cinq colomnes qu'on coupa de la sorte n'ont pas vallu plus de deux cens écus à leur maître, tandis qu'il n'y a point de Prince curieux en Europe, qui ne les eût payées volontiers plus de deux mille.[16]

By the eighteenth century the ruinous condition of Alexandria had not improved. Poor people lived in the vaults and caverns which were the substructures of the ancient city, selling "Medals, Stones, Idols of green Earth, and other Curiosities" to travellers.[17] Yet for travellers to dig near ancient monuments was dangerous, as Norden wrote in 1757, for the locals believed their inscriptions gave directions for the recovery of treasure, and naturally did not want foreigners to retrieve any hoards. He then retailed the story of the French Consul trying to dig near Cleopatra's obelisk by day: whereupon the locals filled up the hole by night.[18] In 1758 Campbell noted an enormous number of mosques in the city, "some very magnificent, other small and ordinary," but did not describe any.[19]

St. Athanasius continued to be a forbidden target for foreign visitors. In 1787 Binos mentioned in the middle of its nave the great sarcophagus, which he knew only as the "réservoir de verd antique, de huit pieds de long et de quatre de large, dont l'eau est versée par des griffons sur les parties du corps que veulent purifier ceux qui vont faire leur prière dans la Mosquée voisine."[20] In 1792 Niebuhr stated that "no Christian dare examine any thing within a mosque,"

let alone the supposed large number of Greek MSS therein;[21] it is likely that the vessel was described to him by a native Muslim. This vessel, an ancient sarcophagus rich in hieroglyphics, was admired by the French when they invaded, and in 1799 scheduled by them for removal, which the locals prevented.[2]

In 1800 Browne found access difficult, recounting how a Frenchman came to grief trying to extract the sarcophagus.[22] Sonnini, writing in 1807, recounted how one traveller could not get in for any amount of money, but that then "being committed to the charge of a scheick, whose thirst of gold triumphed over the laws of fanaticism, it was opened for the admission of every stranger who was disposed to pay a chequin for it."[23] However, Breton reported in 1814 that the mosque was still inaccessible.[24] Indeed, the British quickly sent the St. Athanasius sarcophagus back to London.[25] Rifaud noted that this church/mosque degraded into little more than a ruin, because in 1814 its materials were used to build the customs depot for the port.[26]

Nor was it only the French who muscled in on the city's mosques. To celebrate the defeat of the French at the Battle of the Nile in 1798, the British commandeered a mosque (unnamed), and therein the Indian army "gave a sumptuous dinner to the British commander in chief, and to all the officers, still in Egypt, who were present at the above glorious action."[27] (Compare Nauplion, where the principal mosque became an assembly room when the Greeks took over, then a ball-room, and then a law court.[28])

As we have seen, the city's mosques were judged and visited, but not necessarily named. Thus Jollois, a member of the Expédition de l'Egypte, entered a ruined mosque with an elegant minaret which he did not name:

> Le spectacle qui nous frappa en y entrant nous fit éprouver des sensations agréables mêlées de douleur: Quatre rangs de colonnes, toutes de marbre, en décorent l'intérieur et témoignent à tous les spectateurs la splendeur de l'ancienne Alexandrie.[29]

Access to Alexandria's mosques continued to be variable. In 1834 St. John visited Sheikh Ibrahim in the principal mosque, who then took him to see boys studying in the school.[30] Yet the following year Hogg stood outside the same mosque and was "assured by our guide that it was unsafe to linger."[31] Not that this would have mattered to Bromfield, who declared in 1856 that "there are no fine mosques in Alexandria, but a few of the minarets are interesting in their own peculiar barbaric style of architecture."[32] Perhaps their inaccessibility as well as the city's evident decline led Phelps in 1863 to conclude that "the

2 Greenhalgh 2012, 384.

mosques and churches in Alexandria are quite inferior edifices."[33] But the city was reviving through European immigration, so that Charmes in 1880 (he mentioned no mosques) could declare that "La véritable intérêt d'Alexandrie, ce sont les colonies européennes qui l'habitent."[34]

The Nile Delta also had towns with mosques. In 1799 Browne visited Damietta, and related how an erstwhile church, now ruined, containing marble and granite columns, "is reported to have the virtue of curing the jaundice; and for this purpose the poor people affected with this disorder scrape it; and drink the powder." A porphyry column had recently been removed by an official to construct a tomb for himself.[35] Turner visited the town in 1820, but could find nothing handsome amongst its forty mosques.[36] In 1838 Taylor and Reybaud visited the prosperous town of Tantah, where "On vante surtout sa belle mosquée, dont le dôme et les minarets semblent être des chefs-d'oeuvre d'architecture sarrasine," site of a venerated tomb.[37] And at Sais Conder in 1830 relayed antiquities found in the mosque:

> The fragments of some ancient columns appeared in the Avails; and before the entrance was found a large slab of polished syenite, which has been the pedestal of a statue, one foot still being attached to the stone, and bearing a hieroglyphic inscription. Within the mosque, among other materials, loosely put together for the purpose of supporting a stone table, was discovered the torso of a statue in green basalt, its zone covered with an unfinished hieroglyphic inscription.[38]

The city remained an important commercial hub. Parnauvel visited Alexandria with pleasure in 1855, "after seven months' patient endurance in the filthy and barbarous capital of the Turks," and reckoned it was Western commerce there that "renders Alexandria a place of first importance in the East."[39] This was a recovery from the seventeenth century, after Venice's help to distribute the goods of the East, but when, as Lithgow noted in 1612, that trade was "now altogether spoyled thereof, and decayed by our Westerne Adventures, in a longer course for these Indian soyles."[40] In 1628 Brèves described the city at length.[41]

2 Alexandria's and Cairo's Reuse of Antiquities

> Des monticules ou amas de décombres, plusieurs grandes citernes bien conservées, des restes de murailles en briques rouges, beaucoup de débris de poterie, de fragmens de marbre, des mosquées en ruines.[42] [1843]

Marble antiquities (Roman and Pharaonic) were much sought in Egypt for the embellishment of palaces and mosques, and were to be found both at Alexandria and in the environs of Cairo. At Cairo, fine Pharaonic antiquities collected from up and down the Nile were on sale by the early nineteenth century; Fitzclarence, accompanied by (British) Consul Salt, rode out to see the collection of an Italian, and described several: "I hope eventually to see the whole of these in the British Museum."[43] Unlike Cairo, a city new-built in the Middle Ages, where antiquities were to be seen only reused in her mosques, the then much larger Alexandria was an extensive ruin-field, as in Garnier's quote above, and remained so until Europeanisation late in the nineteenth century. Indeed, wrote Ward, "the remains of the mighty city is discernable for miles."[44] More were visible in the Middle Ages, when a Muslim scholar objected to the destruction of hundreds of columns which were broken up and piled on the beach to protect the coastline against the waves and to prevent enemy ships from landing.[3]

Just like Maillet in 1692, later travellers were impressed by Alexandria's antiquities, and sought to send some home. In 1847 Wilkinson reported the discovery of a colossal marble foot near the obelisks, "of good Greek workmanship, sent by Mr. Harris to the British Museum."[45] And in 1864 Cobbe saw workmen digging foundations for new buildings, and uncovering "shattered marble and porphyry columns and fragments of statues, for which we should contend in England for our museums."[46] Indeed, for he also reported that large quantities were being recycled as hard core for the making of roads.[47]

What were the source and destination of marbles to be seen in Egypt? In a nutshell, little was known until recent decades which could chart how the Romans had quarried marble and other stones all over the Mediterranean, and then built with them far from their original source. The mediaeval thirst for their reuse shook the kaleidoscope (as it were) even more, depositing marbles found in Egypt throughout Europe. For Howard in 1755, the materials were indeed quarried in Egypt: "There were formerly quarries of these different marbles, and of porphyry, in certain places of Egypt, and out of it, but these are not now to be found," and he blamed the indolence of the Turks for not opening them, and only using spolia.[48] For other visitors, the best way of locating marble and identifying ancient sites was to visit the mosques, as Conder noted for the supposed ruins of Sais in 1830: column fragments were to be found in its walls, a statue pedestal before the entrance and

3 El Daly 2005, 42.

> within the mosque, among other materials, loosely put together for the purpose of supporting a stone table, was discovered the torso of a statue in green basalt, its zone covered with an unfinished hieroglyphic inscription.[49]

Remembering that all Cairo's great mosques and tombs had been built by the sixteenth century, we must assume that the marble came from various of the numerous Roman cities throughout Egypt, as well as from Alexandria, where a Pharaonic statue, housed in the "Alley of the Idol," as a talisman to keep the Nile within its banks, was destroyed in 1311.[4] Thus Buchon surveyed the impressive remains of Antinoe in 1838, remarking on columns of porphyry and granite, and "Ce que le temps avoit épargné, a été détruit par les Turcs pour en enlever de gros morceaux de marbre bien travaillés, et des colonnes dont ils ont voulu orner leurs mosques."[50] Vernet agreed in 1843:

> La plupart sont bâtis aux dépens des plus respectables ruines qu'on a dépouillées de leurs marbres les plus précieux pour faciliter l'accomplissement d'œuvres moins remarquables par la beauté de leurs proportions que par la hardiesse de leur exécution et la richesse de leurs matériaux, en dépit de la simplicité prescrite par le Coran.[51]

In 1822 Richardson had already surmised that some of Cairo's mosques were "ornamented with many beautiful granite columns, the plunder of On [Heliopolis], and Memphis."[52] "A vast field of ruins remained" in the 1880s, in spite of the fact that "modern Cairo has doubtless absorbed all the building material that remained from the middle ages."[53]And as Wilkinson pointed out in 1847, her walls "have remains of hieroglyphics, and were probably brought from the ruins of Heliopolis, or the site of Memphis."[54]

Paton in 1870 pointed to the works of the Bahri Mamelukes and, referring especially to Qalawun, declared correctly that "of [him] we might almost say, as of Augustus, that he found Cairo built of brick, and left it built of marble." Paton welcomed the introduction of "the light and elegant Saracenic, in which it rivalled Granada, and captivated the imagination of the Venetians."[55] This was indeed high praise. He then quoted the admiring report of the Venetian Ambassador, Benedetto Sanudo in 1503:

> It is so peopled, that one cannot judge its amount of population, and one can scarcely make way through the streets; there are very large mosques,

4 El Daly 2005, 81.

> in great number, very excellent houses and palaces, handsomer within than without, and the streets are straight and wide.[56]

All such glories were built with reused marble, taken from ancient ruins around Alexandria or Cairo, and no doubt when necessary transported easily on the Nile. And in 1905 Spiers relayed in a spectacular mis-statement that "nearly all" of the columns in Cairo's mosques came from Alexandria, but then nullified this part-truth with the astonishing assertion that "it appears probable that these columns in the mosques of Cairo were shipped ready made to Egypt from Leghorn."[57] Carrara was indeed a great export hub by 1900, but Spiers evidently knew nothing of the production trajectory of her quarries.

The search by visitors for sites which might yield museum-quality antiquities for back home increased in the nineteenth century. In 1839 Taylor and Reybaud visited Oxyrinchus, easily recognised because of its antique remains:

> Une colonne corinthienne debout à quelque distance du canal, et des fragmens d'autres colonnes renversées, les unes et les autres produit du ciseau grec et romain, arrêtent d'abord l'oeil du voyageur comme des jalons pour d'autres recherches." They surmised that digging would bring up "de nombreux vestiges d'antiquités égyptiennes et de monumens postérieurs[58]

– although they could not have known what would eventually be the glory of that site, namely its rubbish dumps of manuscripts.

3 The Pyramids

> Les greniers de Joseph, qui n'ont rien de remarquable.[59] [1665]

Monconys' opinion (above) echoes the strange Western belief that the pyramids were grain-stores (seen in a mosaic in St. Marks, Venice). Yet a few years earlier Sandys had already described and illustrated pyramids, sphinx, mummies, statues, so any notion that Napoleon discovered Egyptian antiquities goes by the board by some 130 years.[60] Sandys described the Great Pyramid, concluding that

> others have written, that at the bottom there is a spacious Pit, eighty and six Cubits deep, filled at the over-flow by concealed Conduits; in the middle a little Island, and on that a Tomb containing the body of Cheops, a

> King of Egypt, and the builder of this Pyramis: which with the truth hath a greater affinity.[61]

Cairo certainly preyed on Pharaonic as well as Roman antiquities for her building projects. Abd-Allatif, writing in 1231, recorded how in 1196 the Sultan had employed a large number of workers for some eight months to bring down and re-use stones from the Pyramids. He contemplated many such recovered stones, so many that it seemed the pyramid must have been down to its foundations:

> Aujourd'hui, quand on considère les pierres provenues de la demolition, on se persuade que la pyramide a été détruite jusqu'aux fondemens; mais si, au contraire, on porte les regards sur la pyramide, on s'imagine qu elle n'a éprouvé aucune degradation, et que d'un côté seulement il y a, une partie du revêtement qui s'est détachée.[62]

He did not indicate the destination of such spolia, making no references to mosques in that chapter ("Particularités remarquables concernant les bâtimens et les barques, observées en Égypte par l'Auteur de cet ouvrage").

However, it was common knowledge among travellers both Western and Islamic that blocks from the pyramids (especially the limestone revêtments) had been used to build the mediaeval city of Cairo, including her mosques.[63] Abd-Allatif wrote at great length about the pyramids' "idols." So did Lithgow in 1612: the Sphinx was the "head of an Idoll, of a wonderfull greatnesse; being all of one Marble stone."[64] He entered the Great Pyramid (which was filled with bats) and noted "dans quelques livres des anciens Sabéens" that one of these structures was a tomb. He also read or was told about Abd-Allatif (above), writing how the sultan's men spent eight months trying to demolish it, but without success. If destruction was difficult, it was less so than construction. Indeed, Abd-Allatif interviewed one of the sappers, who affirmed that, even given one thousand gold pieces, they could not replace even one of the pyramid's stones in its original position.[65] (Similar stories were told about the massive palace at Ctesiphon, 35 km SE of Baghdad.)

Visible from the Citadel, a visit to the Pyramids was de rigueur for many travellers, but the natives were not necessarily friendly. In 1798, conscious that the French occupation was much resented, and in an unconscious echo of the protection necessarily afforded to Christian visitors to Muslim sites in Jerusalem, Napoleon stipulated a detachment of two hundred troops to guard his compatriots when they visited them. (We shall see the French contribution to mosque appreciation (and dilapidation) in the section below on *The French*

occupation and Cairo's monuments.) Valentia visited the Pyramids soon after the disturbances occasioned by the French; but this had made the excursion too dangerous for individuals to attempt, so the Pasha provided horses and two armed escorts.[66] He did not experience the usual first reaction of astonishment, until he pondered the matter:

> The prodigious labour, with which they must have been erected, and the incomprehensible motives, which could have led to such vast exertions, astonishment gradually increases, and the mind is lost in conjecture and admiration.[67]

In 1840 Dawson Damer climbed one pyramid to admire the view at sunset, and the next day entered that of Cheops. She stayed overnight in a tent, whereas most visitors apparently slept in unspecified tombs.[68] For Monk in 1851 some comparison with London was apparently required:

> The area on which it [the Great Pyramid] stands is nearly the same as that of Lincoln's Inn Fields; the latter, however, has a slight advantage.[69]

Tombs were convenient for overnighting, and for snacks, as Fane remarked in 1842:

> We afterwards went into the Great, and a smaller one, which has been lately explored by Col. Vyse; the heat and smell of which operation are scarcely repaid by the view within. We had tiffin afterwards in one of the tombs; saw the great Sphinx and one or two other curiosities; and got home again, after a most fatiguing day, by five o'clock.[70]

Further up the Nile, there were plenty of Pharaonic materials for rebuilding, but also for destruction. At Philae in 1846 Romer found an Arab village at the Temple of Isis, where

> we found workmen employed in demolishing blocks of hieroglyphicked stone, worth their weight in gold to the lovers of the antique, which we would have gladly carried away, could we have done so, to have saved them from the desecration that awaits them; for they are to be converted into lime. Verily this is the age of utilitarianism, even in Egypt![71]

If the Pyramids were one novelty for westerners, so was the matter of hatching eggs without using hens but employing ovens. This was a process surely useful

at home, as indeed it proved to be, for incubation was to be yet another addition to streamlined agriculture in the West. Rochefort described the technique in 1676,[72] as did Tollot, inspecting the methods used at Alexandria,[73] and Burton likewise at Cairo.[74]

4 Cairo

4.1 *Introduction*

> He who has not seen Cairo, does not know the grandeur of Islam. It is the metropolis of the universe, the garden of the world, the ant-hill of the human species, the portico of Islam, the throne of royalty, a city embellished with castles and palaces, decorated with dervish monasteries and with schools, and lighted by the moons and stars of erudition.[5]

The appreciation above is by Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406), and is echoed by Behrens-Abouseif in 1989: "Cairo's architectural monuments rank among humanity's great achievements … few cities on earth display such a dense concentration of historic architectural treasures as does Cairo."[6] Cairo was indeed an exceptional city, Blount in 1636 calling it "clearely the greatest concourse of Mankinde in these times, and perhaps that ever was." And "because Egypt is held to have beene the fountaine of all Science, and Arts civill, therefore I did hope to finde some sparke of those cinders not yet put out."[75]

Cairo's mosques were the jewels in her crown, and Thévenot in 1657 was told there were 320,000 of them, including "several fair large Mosques, most magnificent Buildings, adorned with lovely Frontispieces and Gates, with very high Minarets, and the greatest of all is Djemiel-Azem [Al-Azhar]."[76] The 1951 Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo lists 622 different monuments, and it would take a week of eight-hour days to become acquainted with even a quarter of that number (see below for Bromfield in 1856, who recommended a good two months to see the city). Scholars among the foreign visitors certainly recognised the mosques' high quality. For example, their interiors had been drawn by Fauvel before the French expedition to Egypt; his portfolio, reported Pouqueville, who saw it in Athens, contained a host of drawings made on his travels.[77]

5 AlSayyad 2011, 93–94.
6 Behrens-Abouseif 1989, 3.

Cairo's monuments began with the Mosque of 'Amr (641–2), and after the buildings erected by the Fatimids, Ayyubids, and then the Bahri Mamelukes, the glories (almost) ended with the conquest of the Circassian Mamelukes by the Ottomans in 1517. This is far different from Constantinople where (excepting church conversions into mosques) the first large mosques built in that city (their final capital after Bursa and Edirne) were that of Mehmed the Conqueror (Fatih, 1463–1470) and then Beyazid II in 1501–1506. Cairo's architecture did not die after 1517, but its quality declined. And although Western modernising with broad roads is evident on the outskirts today, its mediaeval centre with the bulk of important monuments has remained largely intact. In other words, whiffs of Haussmann can be detected here around the original city's edges, but mediaeval Cairo survived whereas mediaeval Paris was nigh-totally destroyed before the gods of modernity and population control.

Nineteenth-century Egypt was exceptional in the Ottoman Empire because of the French occupation (see below), the vigorous rule of Muhammad Ali, and the British occupation from 1882. Muhammad Ali (1769–1849) took power in Cairo in 1805 after the expulsion of the French, and then changed the old balance of power by massacring the Mamelukes in the Citadel in 1811 (the spot naturally a highlight of tourist visits). His dynasty ruled Egypt until 1952, thanks to a treaty concluded with the Porte in 1839. Intent on Western-style modernisation, he nurtured a European-style army, palaces and furnishings, and promoted the industrialisation of Egyptian commodities. However, he took for himself the waqfs of the mosques (following Napoleon's treatment of clergy in France?[7]) and, unlike Ibn Khaldun was no fan of older architecture, as his own mosque on the Citadel demonstrates. He was not the first to seize waqfs: AlSayyad notes a decline by the end of the seventeenth century, with many visitors remarking on decline in what was by then an unpleasant city.[8] A popularist, he apparently economised by funding only "les mosquées qui sont le plus fréquentées par le peuple; sur quatre cents mosquées, à peine cent cinquante restent ouvertes maintenant aux fidèles; les autres sont fermées et tombent en ruines."[78]

Some westerners, of course, visited the city only for trade or Pharaonic sightseeing, and did not even mention mosques.[79] But they were in the minority, one 1820 commentator noting the brilliant decoration of some mosques, which he declared were reminiscent of the most beautiful gothic structures

7 Ansary 2009, 242: "He ordered all religious foundations to produce titles for the lands they owned, and of course they couldn't do it, since their ownership went back to early medieval times, three or four empires ago."

8 AlSayyad 2011, 169.

back home.[80] By the mid-nineteenth century Cairo was a convenient post on the overland route to (British) India via Suez,[81] and one guide for such east-bound merchants and soldiers noted visits to the citadel, the Pyramids, and the Shubra Palace – but with no mention of mosques.[82] Other visitors, in an echo of some reactions to Constantinople, were entranced by the distant view of mosques and minarets, but unwilling to explore the inside of the mediaeval city. For apart from two or three streets "nought is seen but an endless labyrinth of dark dirty alleys, scarcely wide enough, with very few exceptions, to allow two mules laden to pass each other."[83] By 1903 the Cook's guide noted the bazaars, the dancing dervishes (popular with tourists since at least the seventeenth century[84]), the Gizeh Museum, and the existence of "the many beautiful Mosques (there are 400 in various stages of preservation)."[85]

However, many visitors were still classically fixated, as in Constantinople. Some, such as Maurice in 1806, wrote against the re-use of antiquities by "the grovelling and spiritless descendents of the ancient Egyptians … whence the light of science was diffused through Greece, and from Greece through all the European world."[86] For Miller, however, at the end of the century, "One distinct feature in Arabian architecture is its appearance of unsubstantiality." He noted their general lack of interest in ancient Egyptian forms and praised their re-use of classical marbles. These imitated Byzantine models, he thought,

> especially in mosaic and arabesque work … introducing a peculiar charm of their own … they gave their whole attention to beauty of design and ornamental decoration; in this matter far surpassing the Jews.[87]

In 1856 Bromfield conjured up the city's "richly sculptured mosques, minarets, and tombs without number," estimating that "Cairo alone would give a traveller a good two months employment."[88] And

> the city exhibits a variety of architecture that appears absolutely inexhaustible. You come at almost every step to some mosque … in a style of elegance and finish, that surprises you by the taste and artistic skill displayed.[89]

Howel had made the same point at the end of the eighteenth century: the city had magnificent tombs and mosques "dont les dômes et les colonnes réunis produisent aux regards une diversité beaucoup plus frappante que celle que nous citerions dans les villes les mieux bâties des contrées catholiques."[90]

In 1860 Lane perceptively discerned the break-point in Cairo's architecture, between "the finest specimens of Arabian architecture … remarkable for their

grandeur and beauty," and the recent decline in quality and style. Indeed, this was "a new style of architecture, derived from the Turks, partly Oriental and partly European, and of a very plain description, being generally preferred." In other words, between Arab and Turkish/European taste.[91] Lane had first come to Egypt in 1825–8, learned about Islam and prayed in the mosques, and visited archaeological sites: "The days he spent living in a tomb at the Pyramids of Giza he remembered as the happiest of his life."[92]

A decade later Paton emphasised the same break, and drew a contrast between Turkish and Arab buildings, asserting that the architecture of Constantinople could bear no comparison with that of Cairo, and citing as the reason for this the "great monotony in the constant repetition of the same lines, even although the scale be large." In Cairo, the architecture "has far greater variety, both of form and colour, and the instances of which need not be adduced to the reader."[93] He emphasised the political as well as the religious importance of the mosque:

> It is the locality of many political and public transactions, and its precincts, or at all events its immediate environs, are to the Egyptian Arab what the forum was to the inhabitants of Rome and Alexandria.[94]

However, the sad fact is that very few European travellers realised, let alone visited, many important Cairene mosques unless they were visible from the Citadel (Sultan Hasan) or off the wide beaten track – for which read those out in the desert cemeteries, which were easily accessible (usually with an accompanying guide and perhaps bodyguard) without diving down narrow mediaeval streets.[9] Hence the large ones (Ibn Tulun, Sultan Hasan) were prominent and well known; but we look in vain for detailed descriptions of monuments in many of the winding and clogged streets of the mediaeval city. The Citadel was on every traveller's visiting list, because its elevation promised a breeze from the sometimes suffocating heat, and freedom from filth and beggars. From its height they could admire the Sultan Hasan directly below them, and the old city stretching out beyond. Apart from a lack of curiosity, another convincing reason for avoiding the mediaeval centre was that, as hinted above, nineteenth-century Christians (who would lodge in more modern sections of the city and often conduct trade there) were not always

9 Until Lane-Poole 1898 and Devonshire 1917, there are few references to the mosques etc. of Baybars, Qalawun, Sunqur, al-Nasir, Maridani, Shaykhu, Aqsunqur, Barquq, Barsbay, Inal, Qaytbay, Ghuri, Qurqumas, or Khayrbak.

welcome. The accompaniment of an armed guard was sometimes necessary, as it was occasionally for visits to the wastelands of the adjacent northern and southern cemeteries.

After the mid-nineteenth century, with cheaper steamship travel, a railway from Alexandria and a new type of helping organisation, namely travel agencies, Egypt became a resort for tourists seeking good weather and improved health. Because by then it boasted Western-stye hotels (but *not* because it was rich in mosques) Cairo became the centre for organised visits up the Nile to Pharaonic antiquities. Archaeology as the study of the past was promoted by French and British scholarship, focussed on colossal souvenirs from Nineveh, Babylon and Pharaonic Egypt, unearthed, collected and transported as suitable trophies for museums in the West.

This tilt toward the Pharaonic can easily be seen in the twelfth (1912) edition of Budge's *The Nile*, with 1094 pages of which only ten are devoted to the mosques of Cairo, and the Museum of Arab Art and Literature. In his preface, he affirmed that this book was for those "who have very few weeks to spend in Egypt" (which they would need to plough through his book!). He recommended his *Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan*, 3rd edn., 1911, for "Those who are able to make a stay of two or three months in the country." As already outlined, such a stay could now be comfortable: from 1848 the visitor could take the rail from Alexandria, stay in a Western hotel, embark on a comfortable vessel, and visit the Pharaonic sights protected by the armed guardians who travelled everywhere with them. Most sites were close to the Nile, and the timid could always view them with binoculars from on board.

We shall see in the accounts of visits (below) just how much time "city travellers" spent in the old city. This depended of course on whether they were there for business or pleasure. Some tourists were content to remain outside and look through mosque windows: thus Curtis in 1856[95] (without naming the mosque) and Pardieu five years earlier, who found no difficulty in entering mosques, but was surely incorrect to advise that "Du reste, on voit tout l'intérieur par les fenêtre."[96] In 1896 Deschamps, who described himself as a "touriste observateur," recommended at least a week, to study manners and mosques; but he then spent only one day on the mosques, "une des attractions de la ville." They were all interesting, but it would take too long to describe them in detail![97] We may suspect that removing footware in order to enter was too tedious for some.

4.2 *Cairo for Christians*

In 1859 Guérin wrote an official report on Egypt, citing the existence of 300 mosques, but in a bad state:

> Quelques-unes sont regardées, à juste titre, comme les chefs-d'œuvre et comme les plus admirables spécimens de l'architecture arabe. Quelle hardiesse, en effet, dans les voûtes de leurs coupoles! quelle légèreté gracieuse dans leurs minarets élancés! quelle masse imposante dans l'ensemble, et en même temps quels charmants détails, quelle découpure capricieuse de la pierre façonnée en festons comme une dentelle.

To him (and was he preaching to the choir?) the message was obviously the decline of Islam:

> Mais de même que l'Islamisme penche de plus en plus vers son déclin, ainsi ces magnifiques mosquées tombent la plupart en ruines; le récrépissage moderne qui en revêt l'extérieur dissimule à peine les nombreuses fissures qui les déchirent.[98]

Doubtless knowing what the Minister wished to hear, he perceived (quite correctly) the growing influence of France in Egypt, which no doubt was also much wished for in Algeria, especially in educating the locals:

> Au milieu de cette décroissance de l'influence mahométane, l'influence de l'Europe, et, en particulier, de la France, semble grandir de jour en jour. Ce sont partout des Européens qu'on voit à la tête du commerce, de l'industrie et de toutes les entreprises ayant pour but la culture, l'exploitation et l'amélioration matérielle du pays. Mais ce qui devait surtout attirer mon attention, c'est la part que s'est arrogée la France sous le rapport moral. Ce sont, en effet, des frères de la doctrine chrétienne qui, sous leur modeste et humble apparence, tiennent les rênes de l'éducation populaire.[99]

Guérin was certainly correct in asserting that Cairo was safe for Christians by the mid-nineteenth century, if over-enthusiastic in suggesting that Christianity could overtake Islam there. Yet in earlier years acceptance of foreign visitors was not assured. Hence we now turn to a review of the many earlier instances when Christian visitors were restricted in how they could travel, what they might see and when they were subject to assault, especially when wearing their own European dress.

Lengherand, travelling in 1485–6, visited four churches in Cairo,[100] and did not mention mosques; he explained that Christians in Cairo were often assaulted, and even robbed by the Mamelukes, the only class allowed to proceed mounted through the city. He concluded that complaining to justice was

pointless, and his only recipe was the old solace of "pazienza."[101] Affagart, travelling in 1533–34, had to pay richly for the loan of two janissaries to escort a dead colleague for burial in one of the Christian cemeteries of Old Cairo.[102] Perhaps Vergoncey also shrank back in 1615, for he complained rather unreasonably that the city "est si peuplée de ceste canaille de Mores & autres infidelles, que c'est presque chose incroyable."[103]

In spite of difficulties, Christian visitors reported that some Cairo houses were splendid. Brèves, writing in 1628, described where he stayed as "assez beau, dont les salles & chambres, ont les paroys garnies de marbre de diverses couleurs, le plancher revestu de petites pieces de marbre, rapportés en diverses figures, & le lambris doré & azuré à l'Arabesque."[104] And Thenaud, a century earlier, described in detail the riches of his apartment in Boulaq.[105]

In 1701 Veryard called Cairo "at present one of the greatest cities in the universe," and said it contained 22,000 mosques, which were "numerous and stately."[106] This did not necessarily mean they were available to non-Muslims. Affagart again complained about the populace throwing stones at them, and "si n'eust esté la deffense des génithsaires, ilz nout eussent tous tuez."[107] By 1743, according to Perry the locals were still "headstrong and uncontrollable."[108] Hasselquist in 1766 wrote of possibly courting danger by entering an unnamed mosque in Old Cairo with French interpreter and janissary, after paying the doorkeeper a handsome fee. The only advice gathered from such excursions was that

> a traveller should never undertake them, without great circumspection; and the more, as all the advantage he derives from his curiosity is, that he may say he has seen a place of this kind; for there is indeed nothing remarkable in them.[109]

Parsons had already reported in the 1770s that in Cairo "no Christian whatever is permitted to ride a horse; even a foreign consul must walk, or mount an ass."[110] Niebuhr recorded being pestered in 1792, when trying to draw antiquities;[111] several mosques and other buildings could only be approached on foot, not on horseback, while "they are not even suffered to walk by several mosques in high veneration for their sanctity; or by the quarter El-Karafe, in which are a great many tombs and houses of prayer."[112] (We shall see how this embargo was rigidly enforced for Jews in several cities of North Africa.) On this subject, in 1830 Fuller retailed the delightful story that during the Occupation a French commander had ordered Muslims to dismount when they passed by mosques. They objected, to which he retorted, "How then can you expect the Christians to pay more respect to your holy places than you are willing to do yourselves?"[113]

Fear of assault meant that many of the city's exquisite mosques went unvisited and hence unmentioned. From many travellers' accounts, we get the clear impression that most of them (surely sensibly) were simply afraid to venture into the old city, narrow/broad streets or no. Thus in 1822 Jolliffe had climbed up the Mocattam hill, noted the many extremely narrow streets, and the mosques: "a few of these are very floridly decorated, and resemble the elaborate lightness in some of our most finished specimens of gothic."[114] Rifaud visited in 1830, and was presumably expecting a Western-type city layout, for he remarked that a few mosques were worth seeing, but that "le reste des édifices publics ou particuliers du Caire n'a rien de bien recommandable."[115] Renouard de Bussières agreed on the haphazard nature of the city:

> Les places publiques y sont cultivées pendant que les eaux sont basses, et forment des étangs durant la crue du Nil: après les récoltes elles présentent de grands espaces, où régnent une chaleur et une poussière étouffantes.[116]

Local emotions had no doubt been exacerbated by the French occupation (see immediately below), but from 1805 the reign of Muhammad Ali was much easier for Europeans who, as Formby noted in 1843, "are suffered to wander where they will unmolested."[117] The following year Kelly described the restrictions placed on Christians by the Porte and enforced through the pashas: only sombre colours were allowed for their dress, and "in some cities of peculiar sanctity they were not allowed to ride, except on asses, and they were even compelled to go barefooted when they passed before certain mosques."[118] Spencer reported that by 1850 Cairo was much easier for foreigners, and he also rendered thanks to Muhammad Ali, who "has had sense enough to see, how impolitic is all this bigotry and intolerance, in which the lower classes delight." For now Europeans could walk around all mosques.[119]

Not that all visitors were necessarily grateful for such enforced tolerance. In 1864 Ferguson opined that the mosques seemed "poor and tame after the mosque of the citadel, and, moreover, did not seem to be particularly clean."[120] Spencer noted that the Hussain and Al-Azhar mosques were out-of-bounds (and the Hussain remains so to this day); yet in 1847 Castlereagh, in Turkish dress, entered Al-Azhar with a janissary:

> Here fanatic teachers abound, and, of course, as their pupils partake of the feeling of contempt for those not of their own faith, which is early instilled into them, it is dangerous for the Christian to enter unless he is protected. We, however, found no obstacles except threatening looks and ominous whispering.[121]

4.3 *The French Occupation and Cairo's Monuments*

> Des mosquées furent abattues, des palmiers coupés, des jardins nivelés; et, en six semaines, on vit surgir autour de la ville une chaîne de forts, de bastions et de redoutes … on mit en état de défense l'ancienne mosquée du sultan Daher-Beybars, qui dominait cette partie de là ville.[122] [1844]

The 54,000-strong French invasion of Egypt in 1798 is surveyed briefly in this book because its impact on the city and its monuments was to affect what later travellers were to see and visit, as well as how they were to be treated by the natives. The invasion was about trade, and access to points further east. The French always kept a sharp eye on their commercial activity in Egypt, and well over a century earlier Leibniz had tried to persuade Louis XIV to conquer the country. He was brushed off with the reply that "les guerres saintes étaient passées de mode depuis saint Louis."[123] The 1798 incursion was designed to threaten the British occupation of India and Britain's influence throughout the Middle East, to turn Egyptian trade (sugar being especially sought after) toward the French and (perhaps) to establish colonies.

Napoleon brought with him a train of scholarly artillery (167 strong). This produced the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809 ff.) of ten folio volumes and two anthologies, containing 837 copper-plates totalling more than 3000 illustrations, some more than a metre in length. The coverage of this miracle of scholarship and publishing was uneven, as we shall see.

For the French in Cairo, local protests were an insurrection against their rule,[124] and within six months they had killed at least 12,000 Egyptians.[10] Their engineers damaged or destroyed several monuments (some of them detailed below) but two long-term result of the invasion were: first, to focus Europe on Egyptian forms, and second, to introduce the idea of modern, Western forms into Egypt. Thanks to the invasion, "Egyptomania" certainly became for decades a dominant fashion in Europe, notably for a Pharaonic style.

But except for some artists who latched early onto the contemporary exotic, the fashion was not yet for a comprehensive Islamic one. Indeed, the disparity is reflected clearly in the *Description de l'Égypte*. This documented some Egyptian monuments from all periods, including several of the mosques of Cairo and one in Alexandria. There were a few plates of tombs in the Cairo area, some ten plates of unnamed standing or ruined mosques, two plates of Bâb el Nasr and Bâb el Foutouh, and eight plates of the Citadel. Ibn Tulun was given three plates, and Sultan Hasan seven; but El Hakim was labelled only

10 Cole 2007 passim for the carnage.

as *Vue d'une ancienne mosquée située près Bâb el Nasr*. Similarly, Alexandria appeared with one *mosquée ruinée*.

We must conclude that Napoleon's artists had little interest in Islamic architecture: most views of mosques, minarets and tombs were distant ones set in a picturesque landscape and, except for Ibn Tulun and Sultan Hasan, there were *no* interiors.[11] Could it be that the French were deliberately ignoring the civilization they had arrived to overturn? Or were the predilections of the artists involved not attuned to mosque architecture, so that they had no desire to document it in the detail given to ancient structures? (After all, it was well understood that ancient Egyptian architecture was in some way at the root of Greek and Roman forms.) Or again, although with the army at their back access to mosques would not have been difficult (except for sharpshooters in some minarets, and some mosques occupied by the "rebel" locals), perhaps they were still too scared to approach closely to most of them. A cynic could assess the *Description* as a failure, because it concentrated on architecture already ruined at the expense of marvellous buildings the publication of which in their degraded state they might have helped to save.

Fright was certainly a reasonable reaction to the city and its inhabitants. For even before the arrival of Nelson, a further reason for deficiencies in the French publication (in volumes from 1809 to 1829) was that already in 1798 the French faced a mutinous population, and their heavy hand affected monuments as well as people. Nor did the scholars and draughtsmen of the *Description* escape the violence: on 31 October 1798 rioters broke into General Caffarelli's house, where the head of the *ingénieurs géographes* was killed, along with a young draughtsman, and then much scientific equipment destroyed.[125] Such episodes cannot have encouraged leisurely and thorough scientific enquiry.

Because of the mutinous locals and the other possible caveats enunciated above, Cairo's Muslim monuments were given only token coverage in the *Description*. Pharaonic remains, out in the uninhabited desert sands, were easier to deal with. Other reasons for skimping are simple and straighforward. Before they embarked, it is said that the scholars did not know they were destined for Egypt, so they were ill-prepared for Islam, although attuned to Pharaonic antiquities as was normal from Herodotus onward. When they were chased out of Egypt by the British, so much of the work which should have been done on-site (including the text) was completed back home (had Nelson stayed in Naples or Palermo, the publication would have been much

11 In Taschen's excellent publication of all the illustrations (Cologne 1994), of the 1,006 plates, numbers 560 to 753 describe the *État Moderne*, including a map of Cairo.

improved!). Again, the *Description*'s leading light, Edme François Jomard, did not know Arabic, and had to rely on translations into French; and what is more, far from the monuments his publication was supposed to be describing.[12]

Another argument for the Pharaonic concentration (with its monumental architecture, statues, frescoes and bas-relief) is that European scholars and audiences were attuned to figurative art, which Islamic art could scarcely provide. This observation may be checked by examining travellers' accounts of the East: some monuments may be included, but the vast majority of illustrations are of people, their dress, daily tasks, and how they prayed. And demonstrating that the focus of their interest were museum-quality antique souvenirs Pharaonic and classical, the French looted Egyptian sarcophagi from Cairo[126] as well as from Alexandria[127] and the Delta,[128] usually from mosques.

Again, given what amounted to the French rampage through Cairo, the *Description*, as a pseudo-government publication, was sanitized, for it omits any account of what happened to Cairo's monuments as the French grip necessarily tightened against the resentment and outright rebellion of the locals. We have a detailed and contemporary account of the depradations from Al-Jabarti, who chronicled the French actions in Cairo, providing a useful overview of their depradations from the local opposition, as it were.[129] French destruction was serious and extensive. They took over the Citadel, sending its inhabitants into the town, demolished the Palace (Al-Jabarti meant Joseph's Hall), and wrecked the Mosque of Al-Nasir, including its mimber and wooden wainscoting.[130]

Even worse, Al-Azhar was to be bombarded from the Citadel, with rioters known to be inside.[131] Then in spite of Napoleon's pious instructions on Islam, its ceremonies and mosques,[132] the French entered Al-Azhar in shoes and carrying swords and rifles. Here they trampled Quranic volumes as trash, and worse, guzzled wine and then smashed the bottles to the ground.[133] They placed cannon and bombs on surrounding hills, built barricades and trenches, and "demolished the houses and pulled down the palaces," as well as a number of mosques,[134] the most significant of which was that of Al-Zahir Baybars, where "they pulled down the minaret of the mosque turning it into a tower, and flattened its walls as they wished and set upon it cannons and machines of war."[135]

In 1870 Paton described in detail the events during the occupatin, relying in part on Al-Jabarti.[136] Just as Haussmann was to do for Paris, and for some of the same reasons,

12 Hampikian 2003.

> the opening up of streets and the removal of houses, and even of mosques which obstructed the thoroughfares, and rendered the internal part of the town like a series of mountain defiles, produced continued though silent bitterness, notwithstanding these measures improved the city, and promoted the free circulation of air.[137]

Some of the destruction was to retrieve materials (especially wood) needed for the construction of forts and barracks.[13] Roads were widened and mosques destroyed to get the carts through, and the mob were quite certain who were specifically to blame: they decapitated two engineers and nailed their heads to a mosque door. In other words, Haussmann was not the first to see the value of boulevards: as the word indicates, these were to give a clear sweep for cannon-balls against an awkward populace.

In sum, the French showed the same low level of respect for contemporary monuments as they were to do when they invaded Algeria in 1830. Thus, to repeat, as part of the French "pacification" of Cairo, mosques, cemeteries and gates were demolished, and General Cafarelli planned a series of forts around the city to deal with insurrection,[138] including riots.[139] The minaret of one mosque collapsed because the French had stored gunpowder in the complex.[140] The tricolour was flown from several others. Hence some minarets became warlike signalling towers for the local "insurgents:" Prosper Jollois, an engineer attached to the Expédition d'Egypte, had been alarmed by the rioting in October 1798, by the use of minarets by Islamic citizens for communication, and how "Les cris partis du haut des minarets, et qui appelaient le peuple plutôt à la révolte qu'à la prière."[141] Some mosques such as Al-Azhar were large and solid buildings (hence the focus on them for building materials) and, as already noted, local revolutionaries found refuge there.

Contemporary French accounts also recorded the damage inflicted on the city, usually in triumphalist vein. Hence in 1802 Lattil wrote that over six thousand rebels entrenched themselves in Al-Azhar ("l'asyle des scélérats") and Bonaparte bombarded it the whole night through.[142] However, he continued, "Je reconnus bientôt qu'ils ne parlementaient que pour avoir le loisir de se retrancher," and "Les Forts jettèrent, dans la nuit du 13 au 14, 800 bombes. Friand s'empara de trois mosquées, qu'il ne garda pas."[143] General Dupuy was killed on the street, and "Du haut des minarets les mueddins appellent à la guerre sainte. C'est leur manière de sonner le tocsin."[144]

Clearly, the French won few popularity contests during their occupation of the city. Bonaparte, always an admirer of monuments, required a detachment

13 Mikhail 2011, 131.

of 200 men to protect those who had not yet visited the Pyramids,[145] a certain indication of the dangers always awaiting the invaders in the suburbs. Kleber was assassinated, and as late as 1824 Henniker wrote that "the monument of the gallant Kleber is destroyed, the mound on which his murderer was impaled at the moment that the corpse was borne by, is still pointed out."[146]

4.4 *Prosperity and Decline*

> The Moslem rarely repairs anything, as he believes that he is interfering with the work of God if he attempts to stop the progress of decay. He builds a house, a mosque, or a bridge … The edifice may crumble, the monument may fall … he rolls his eyes to heaven and exclaims: "Inshallah" – as God wills it – his duty is ended.[147] [1879]

Knox (above) was correct to observe decay and neglect of mosques and houses. This was due in part to Ottoman indifference, and in part to the transference of waqfs, endowments intended for the perpetual maintenance of the target buildings, for other purposes (see the section on *Jerusalem and Cairo* in the *Introduction*). Thus Muhammad Ali, the moderniser with no respect (let alone love) for earlier architecture, had seized mosque waqfs for his own purposes.

But the problem was much older and more devastating than the actions of Muhammad Ali in building the new and destroying the old. Indeed, the neglect of building maintenance, which accelerated after the Ottoman takeover of 1517, produced a dismal impact on the large cities of Cairo and Alexandria. Although their population is disputed, "compared to cities in early modern Europe, both Cairo and Istanbul were enormous conurbations, comparable only to Paris and Naples," with that of Cairo perhaps fluctuating between 150,000 and 200,000 in the early sixteenth century, to an economically active population of some 150,000 around the 1670s, and 263,000 estimated by Napoleon's experts.[14] In 1612 Lithgow had written of "this incorporate World of Grand Cairo, is the most admirable and greatest City."[148] Flood and plague had contributed to the city's fourteenth-century decline (plague victims' assets reverted to the state), as did the burden of paying for Sultan Hasan's mosque.[15] An increasing number of Christians were involved in trade.[16]

14 Faroqhi 2006, 66.

15 AlSayyad 2011, 108–110.

16 Barthe 2016, 61: On the importance of Egypt, particularly Alexandria and Cairo, as economic and political centers. Masters 2001, 117: "While there had been only a handful of Syrian Christians resident in Cairo in 1730, the Description de l'Egypte reported over 5,000 in 1800."

Cairo was marked by many European travellers as a city in decline after the Ottoman takeover. For example Chesneau arrived in 1549 with Aramon's embassy. He noted the fine, high buildings ("et les faict on voir par dedans pour les peintures et enrichements qui y sont et qui s'y faisoient au temps des Circas") but contrasted them with the current situation: "Mais les Turqs qui y demeurent aujourd'huy ne bastissent plus ainsy, ne n'y font telle despense."[149] This was simply making an illusory analogy from the many dilapidated mosques.[17] In fact, her financial (if not architectural) prosperity increased under the Ottomans through new trade. Thus in 1606 Palerne found Cairo an excellent place for shopping:

> Se vendent les choses les plus exquises: vous y trouvués de l'orfevrerie, de beaux tapis, des petits meubles de nacre de perle, vaisselle de porcellaine, toilles de coton tres desliées, & authres choses rares.[150]

In 1784 the Baron de Tott underlined the commercial importance of Cairo, "du riche commerce des productions de l'Egypte par le Nil, de celui de l'Europe, par la Méditerranée, & de celui du Yémen & des Indes, par la mer Rouge,"[151] and where "on y voit journellement les rues embarrassées par le concours des chameaux qui y transportent les marchandises de l'Europe & des Indes, & le choc des ballots marqués à Madras & à Marseille, semble fixer un centre à l'univers."[152] However, perhaps such decay was continuous, depending on the rise and fall of the population. Vallée in 1745 was enchanted by mosques, domes and minarets, but noted one quarter of the city which was "presque désert; tous ces bâtimens s'en vont en ruine; & de ce qu'il en reste encore aujourd'hui, dont je vous entretiendrai, on peut dire que le Caire a changé en divers tems plusieurs fois de situation, quoiqu'avec peu d'éloignement."[153]

A constant theme throughout the nineteenth century is that many mosques were dilapidated. The French invasion certainly did not help, but Light in 1818 and others saw the problem as a continuing characteristic: because "each year takes away from its population, and adds to its ruins; nothing is repaired that grows old: but still it is an extraordinary city."[154] By 1845 Durbin saw the mosques as just one element in decline, for "the external and internal political weakness of the Turks is not more striking than the decay of their religion, trade, manufactures, and population," with only local Christians upholding trade:

17 Winter 1992, 219: "This view reflects the reduction of Cairo from the status of an imperial to a provincial capital, and the cessation of the construction of magnificent monuments, such as mosques and mausoleums, for which the Mamluk Sultanate was famous."

> The decline of their religion inspires even the Christian with a momentary sadness, when he sees everywhere the mosques and religious monuments falling into decay, and not a hand lifted to restore the crumbling walls or prop the tottering domes.[155]

Even some of the grand town houses, wrote Durbin, "have been fine buildings; but the air of decay and dilapidation is universal"[156] – whereas in 1783 Lusignan had described them as magnificent buildings with pools in the gardens.[157] Some of these apparently disappeared in the next half-century, Geramb in 1840 noting "many vacant spaces, and a great quantity of ruins," with even these disappearing as the population swelled.[158] He eventually visited three mosques, and claimed that this could only be done in Turkish dress. He went guarded by a government cavass, and apparently thought it necessary to state that "we saw neither altars, nor images, nor figures, nor any of those religious signs which betoken Christian churches."[159] In 1844 Ricketts noted the beauty of the crowd of minarets, "resenting a most graceful appearance," but reckoned that a large proportion of the supposed four hundred mosques "are useless, on account of their condition. Many of these mosques are most beautiful structures."[160]

By the mid-nineteenth century, even Cairo's recent architectural glory-days seemed to be coming to an end, for travellers continued to note decay and lack of maintenance. In 1847 Castlereagh mentioned the mosques, tombs and palaces that rose "in endless variety," but deplored the fact that "in the indistinct mass it is impossible to distinguish the heaps of ruin and rubbish which disfigure every portion."[161] Writing in 1853 to a chorus of grinding axes, Crowe disputed the right of English Christians to complain of Mahometan dilapidation, because (in a claim we shall not pursue): "Avarice, injustice, and neglect, in these social and national respects, were never carried to a more injurious pitch than by our own National Church, and indigenous Clergy."[162] As already hinted, and counter-intuitively, however, in this period Egypt was increasing in prosperity (due to cotton) and tourist facilities were improving.[163] Again, we should be aware that in Cairo as in many other sites with prestigious monuments, financial prosperity and an increasing population frequently signalled the increasing destruction of the past.

By 1870 Paton had performed a quick census of what survived, asked how many temples had been destroyed to build structures such as the Mosque of Amr, and deplored the Mosque of Ibn Tulun being converted into a lunatic asylum.[164] He looked back to the rich mid-eighteenth-century Abderrahman Katkhuda, who supposedly built many mosques, as well as water troughs; but "these erections have now mostly fallen into ruin."[165] By 1873 Savigny

de Moncorps reported that mosques were falling "plus ou moins en ruines," and suggested that the Egyptian government should make sacrifices to restore them, "aussi anciens et aussi remarquables, dans lesquels on retrouve toutes les merveilles mauresques de Grenade et Cordoue."[166] In 1876 Martin found the mosques interesting, but they "in general have an air of dilapidation and decay I did not expect in this great centre."[167]

For Charmes in 1880, house and mosque decoration were sumptuous with marble and bronze, but he considered that Cairenes no long built solid structures, so that "Dès qu'une mosquée, dès qu'un palais est achevé, on le laisse tomber."[168] He compared the Sultan Hasan to European cathedrals, but again, deplored its dilapidated state.[169] He deplored the poor state of Cairo's baths,[170] and named several mosques, "des monuments d'une grâce exquise, presque complètement ruinés aujourd'hui, mais dont les débris offrent encore des merveilles qu'on ne se lasse pas de contempler."[171] He also visited Cairo as an intrepid explorer: "Peu à peu, je m'enfonçais dans les quartiers les plus divers."[172] One possible reason for such an emphasis on dilapidation was that some visitors now spent more time in the city, visiting the monuments. (See below, *Cairo: Cityscape*). Nevertheless, at the end of the century Lane-Poole painted a mournful picture, remarking ruefully that "house architecture at Cairo is by no means famous for stability; houses are falling in all quarters, and leaning walls and cracked corners show that many more will follow their example."[173]

In 1891 Miller noted the erection of new mosques "of inferior style," remarking that "the modern Turk knows neither how to build well nor how to restore."[174] Ruin was helped along by scavenging, easily conducted among the tombs. This could be thorough, including structure as well as decoration, and its practice was of long standing. For as Wittman had remarked in 1804 for the fortress of Tourrah near the city, this had been occupied by the French, but then stripped, and "even the roofs and floors of the different buildings contained within its enclosure had been taken away, to be converted into fire wood."[175] In 1896 Deschamps exclaimed at the "richesses enfouies dans toutes ces mosquées que nous avons visitées!"[176] and in the same year Delmas could count the damage caused by Arab fatalism and subsequent ruination at Ibn Tulun: "Sur les quatre minarets qui s'élançaient gracieusement aux quatre angles de la mosquée de Touloun, un seul subsiste encore. Sunt lacryae rerum!"[177]

Reynolds-Ball, writing in 1897, expressed indifference to the mosques, because of their uniformity, simplicity, and "almost complete absence of ritual in Moslem worship."[178] Besides, most of them were in ruins, "and there remain scarcely over a score that even the most conscientious sight-seer would care to explore."[179] His condescension was of course *de haut en bas*, for he asserted

that "it must be allowed that the ordinary visitor will find a whole day devoted solely to these Moslem temples somewhat tedious."[180] Restoration was definitely in order for the monuments of Cairo, and this matter is addressed fleetingly in the final chapter of this book.

4.5 *Advice for Guided Visitors to Cairo*

When, from around the middle of the nineteenth century, Egypt had become a favoured destination for health as well as for travel, so much accumulated information from travellers was available that visitors could seek help from guidebooks, which offered maps and plans, and wrote précis and sometimes direct and long quotes by the best authors. Prominent was Baedeker who, by 1885, could include no less an authority than Franz Bey himself with fourteen pages on *Buildings of the Mohammedans*,[181] and plans of Sultan Hasan, Muhammad Ali, Ibn Tulun, the Tomb-Mosques of Barquq and Kait-Bey, and Al-Azhar. The Qalawun complex was also mentioned, "the greater part of which is now in a ruinous condition."[182] Also included were twelve pages on *The Arabic Language* with useful phrases (for example, for visiting a bath), but nothing of use in mosques.[183] *Sights and disposition of time* were also addressed:

> Special permission is necessary for the following places: (a) From the Wakf Office (p. 259), through the consulate, for all the mosques, including the Tombs of the Khalifs and the Mamelukes (pp. 282, 327). Fridays and festivals are unsuitable days for a visit to the mosques. The kawwas of the consulate who escorts the visitors usually receives a fee of 5 fr.

Baedeker's advice extended to Al-Azhar. Do not visit on a Friday, "as there is no teaching on that day, and the traveller would thus miss one of the chief attractions."[184] (For the same guidebook, in an outrageous slice of mis-information, explained that Al-Azhar "presents few features of architectural interest.") Not that the teaching and learning inhabitants of that mosque welcomed being stared at, as Reynolds-Ball noted in 1897, and

> *pace* the guide-books, admittance is not always practicable. Some of the sects are decidedly fanatical, and strangers will be well advised to abstain from any overt expression of amusement at the extraordinary spectacle of some thousands of students, of all ages, repeating verses of the Koran in a curious monotone, while swaying their bodies from side to side, – supposed to be an aid to memory.[185]

And unfortunately, as every tourist throughout history knows, the written *desiderata* of the guidebook could clash with the exigencies of the time demanded or allowed. One tourist in 1905 (spending five weeks in Egypt) wrote nine pages on visiting five mosques, but the account suggests that Islamic monuments were to be rushed so time could be spent on Pharaonic ones:

> Ibn Tulun; Amed-el-Bordeini; Sultan Mouayyed; Al Azhar; Maristan Kalaoun. Pourquoi ne pas alors avoir visité la mosquée du sultan Barkouk qui, avec la mosquée Kalaoun, l'hôpital et divers tombeaux sacrés, forme un seul groupe de monuments? Parce qu'il avait été décidé que nous rentrerions à cinq heurs.[186]

4.6 *Cityscape*

> Memphis delubra quae suo vocabulo Moschetas nuncupant Saraceni, numero quindem millia, multorum solemnia esse feruntur. Quorum ego permulta et peringentia vidi, secto ex collibus lapide, prorsus aedificata, egregio opere, tum parietum, tum marmorei tabulatus, tum multarum trecentarumque ex candido marmore columnarum.[187] [travelling in 1475–8]

Frate Alessandro Ariosto in the above quotation homed in on some characteristics of Cairo mosques: they were plentiful, and rich in marble taken from older buildings. Pellegrino Brocardi, travelling in 1557, simply remarked on their quantity: "Le moschete sono tante che è un stupore."[188] Indeed, but where best to view them? Just as Constantinople could be admired from shipboard (and without setting foot in those streets some visitors described as very dirty), so the Citadel at Cairo, rising well above the plain, provided a clean-footed vantage point to view the city itself, the northern and southern cemeteries, and the Pyramids. It was a popular vantage point from which to make drawings, whole panoramas, and then photographs.

The city also contained some prestigious houses, just as richly decorated as some of the mosques. In 1636 Blount (who must have got special permission to view them) praised the same use of marble in some of the magnificent private houses.[189] Likewise Thévenot noted in 1657 that the palaces of the beys were the most splendid of all, where "on y verra de beaux appartemens, de grandes sales toutes pavées de marbre, avec des fontaines qui rejalissent fort haut, & les planchers tout garnis d'or & d'azur."[190] Lambert remarked in 1651 that "Ces marbres & peintures sont leurs tapisseries; & le plancher des

salles & chambres, quoy que pauées de marbre, est couuert de natte, & par dessus des tapis excellents aux deux bouts."[191] Deschamps in 1678 had noted (as did many visitors, both here and in Damascus) how ordinary such houses looked on the outside, whereas inside "tout est grand & orné de beau marbre, & enrichy de belles dorures … des grosses colonnes de porphyre, des figures et des images taillées, ou en peinture."[192] He stayed in Cairo for two months, but noted of the mosques only that "Par tout l'on void des hautes Mosquées bâties avec un artifice admirable."[193] The British, too, such as Thompson, travelling from 1733, also admired "the best houses" with their marble and mosaic work, "composed of pearl, glass, and such-like materials."[194] Howard made a better estimate of mosque numbers in 1755, "near thirteen hundred public edifices, namely, seven hundred and twenty mosques with steeples, four hundred without, fourscore public baths," with houses turned inward to their gardens.[195]

In 1677 Vansleb climbed the Mokattam plateau to view the city:

> Il n'y a rien au monde de plus agréable que de la regarder de dessus quelque eminence; car vous voyez en un instant une infinité de maisons, lesquelles ont au lieu de toits, des terrasses; & de voir un nombre presqu'infiny de Mosquées avec leurs bizarres Minarées, & prefque toutes de différentes façons, le tout entremêlé de Palmiers & de Jardins."[196]

From the same vantage-point in 1720 Coppin opined that the only buildings worth looking at were the mosques.[197] He was told there were over twenty thousand of them, of all shapes, of which several thousand "qui paroissent beaucoup, tant par leur élévation & leur blancheur, que par les petites tours quarrées qui surpassent leur couvert,"[198] which suggests he did not wander the streets to find out details.

Cairo's palaces (which will be discussed in Volume III: *Palaces around the Mediterranean*) provided an attraction for visitors, and their establishment apparently helped sanitize part of the city. Thus St. John, travelling in 1834, recorded that Ibrahim (1789–1848), son of Mohammed Pasha, spent resources clearing up multiple rubbish tips from the area, for St. John saw hundreds of workmen thus engaged and, toward the island of Roda, replacing them with his new palace and its gardens.[199] Fane approved of Mohammed Pasha's gardens at Shubra, with their Italian style, fountain and marble, plus "some dozen common London gas lamps, covered with the most gaudy gilding possible."[200] There was also an English garden at Rhoda which repayed the trouble of a visit, "being in the hands of an excellent Scotch gardener."[201]

Taylor and Reybaud did venture through the town in 1838. As for the mosques, they wrote, their domes and their minarets, "on retrouve toutes les manières,

tous les caractères, tous les styles. Sur trois cents minarets, il n'y en a pas un qui ait le même port, le même jet; les trois cents coupoles décrivent toutes une courbe différente."[202] Lepsius visited some mosques in 1853, admired their splendour, and found them fascinating because they "are peculiarly interesting for the history of architecture in the middle ages, as the earliest general application of the pointed arch is here visible."[203] In 1839 Marcellus had written that he made a detailed visit to a mosque every day, emphasising his punctiliousness by recalling that, just as it was said that no Roman nor stranger could visit all the churches of Rome, so exactly the same could be applied to the mosques of Cairo, even though their supposed number was a fairy-tale borrowed from the Arabian Nights.[204] The same book was invoked by Bost in 1875 to conjure up the splendour of house interiors, with their marble walls, and where "nous marchons sur des arabesques en mosaïques."[205]

Some travellers estimated local architecture to be excellent, and made favourable comparisons with structures back home. In 1857 Jacquesson wrote of the grace and elegance that marked Islamic architecture:[206] "dont chaque maison est un objet de curiosité et d'étude, surtout par les délicates sculptures en bois et à jour qui recouvrent les balcons," set in roads where "les groupes pittoresques qu'ils forment, et au-dessus de laquelle se détachent les dômes de quatre cents mosquées, dont chacune est un chef-d'œuvre d'art."[207] Cobbe agreed, emphasising the stone "doorways of intricate tracery, like our Norman arches," and then "with mullions of twisted columns the most elaborate and fanciful our richest decorated and flamboyant churches of the West can boast."[208] In 1853 at the Ezbekiah, Lepsius saw "splendid mosques, with cupolas, and slender-springing minarets, together with long rows of houses … some of a more distinguished class, richly ornamented with artistically carved grated windows, and elegant balconies," and the Pyramids far beyond.[209]

However, because of their obvious dilapidation, admiration for the monuments also occasioned concern. Thus Duff Gordon remarked in 1865 that "the days of the beauty of Cairo are numbered: the superb mosques are falling to decay, the exquisite lattice-windows are rotting away and replaced by European glass and jalousies."[210] But she was enchanted by two of the mosques: Ibn Tulun "is exquisite, noble, simple, and what ornament there is, is the most delicate lacework and embossing in stone and wood. This Arab architecture is even more lovely than our Gothic;" and "the mosque of Sultan Hasan (early in our fourteenth century) is, I think, the most majestic building I ever saw, and the beauty of the details quite beyond belief to European eyes; the huge gates to his tomb are one mass of the finest enamel ornaments, as you may discover by rubbing the dirt off with your glove." She concluded with a call to more study:

> No one has said a tenth part enough of the beauty of Arab architecture. The Hasaneeyeh is even grander than a Gothic cathedral, and all is in the noblest taste. The old Tooloon mosque is an absolute jewel of perfection and purity, perfectly simple and yet with details of guipure and embroidery in stone which one wishes to kiss – they are so lovely; but the roof has fallen in, and the great court is the dwelling of paupers.[211]

After the mid-nineteenth century many travellers (and especially groups) were attracted to Cairo's Citadel for its vista and for Muhammad Ali's immense mosque.[212] Here is Prime in 1855 describing the vista:

> Cairo lies at our feet. The domes of four hundred mosques are shining in the light of a cloudless sun, and countless minarets point to the sky. The tombs of the Mameluke Sultans are seen in the east, leading the eye along to the great wilderness of sand that there stretches away to the horizon, an everlasting ocean at rest.[213]

Ireland in 1859, presumably after viewing the sights from the Citadel, and targeting the minarets in mis-placed humour, opined that there were "monuments so numerous, of irregular heights, and peculiar form, they looked like a badly kept asparagus bed."[214]

As well as mosques, the city's various "palaces" were still recommended to travellers in the nineteenth century. In 1838 Buchon wrote of "quelques palais des anciens rois et des anciens seigneurs," praising their marble and painted decoration, interior fountains, and devices for keeping rooms cool.[215] And in spite of the dilapidation mournfully catalogued above, in 1850 Dr. Bromfield, well known as a botanist (he was to die in Damascus in 1851) nevertheless suggested that the traveller should spend two months in Cairo, "in the endless variety which its labyrinthine mass of grotesque houses, narrow alleys, richly sculptured mosques, minarets, and tombs without number, offer to the eye."[216]

4.7 *Minarets and Domes*

> Les principaux caractères de la mosquée sont le minaret et le dôme; l'élégance du premier contraste agréablement avec l'amateur du second. Les facettes, les angles saillants et rentrants disposés régulièrement et comme des cristallisations naturelles, les arabesques inextricables et pourtant symétriques étonnent par leur complexité, semblable à celle de l'algèbre qui conduit l'intelligence humaine à un but par des moyens

> presque mystérieux que la mémoire ne saurait saisir, et dont on admire les résultats.[217] [1844]

Travellers often waxed lyrical about Cairo's domes and minarets (referring at random to Cairo with its "hundred minarets" or its "thousand minarets"). We may suspect as suggested by Vernet above that these could be admired from a distance, and struggle through narrow and crowded streets avoided; and certainly, standing near the mosque often obscured its dome and rendered the minaret decoration difficult to appreciate as an ensemble. Height was obviously a factor: eight Burji mamelouk minarets were over eighty metres tall.[18] One reason for foreigners' captivation with minarets was that they were sometimes allowed to mount them and admire the views, as Taylor and Reybaud described in 1838: "Du haut de ces observatoires aériens, l'oeil embrasse tout un monde."[218] The same authors also wrote approving descriptions of several mosques and their domes, attempting to develop a stylistic chronology.[219]

Both nature and lamps helped enchant the visitor. The Citadel, as we have already seen, offered the attractive vista of "the valley of the Nile under me; and Cairo spread out with its domes and mosques beneath the Mokattam range,"[220] and "Cairo lies at our feet. The domes of four hundred mosques are shining in the light of a cloudless sun, and countless minarets point to the sky."[221] For Brèves, writing in 1628, Ramadan had also been magical, for thanks to the additional lights erected "il semble que la ville soit toute en feu."[222] In 1804 Wittman enjoyed the lit streets (and, in superior mode, "but not with so grand an effect as at Constantinople") but admitted that the mosques and minarets were "handsomely lighted up" during Ramadan.[223] Sunrise and sunset were popular, as with tourist romantics the world over, for "[the sun's] earliest rays were reflected from the gilded domes of Cairo,"[224] wrote Dumas in 1839, making them sparkle,[225] and three years later Colley writes of "the bold and beautiful minarets and gilded domes of Cairo."[226] This was poetic licence; although Laurent at Scutari had written that "nothing was seen but dirty mean houses, without windows; tall minarets, gaudily decorated with gold,"[227] at Cairo it was the sun that did the gilding or, at night, when they were illuminated by myriad lamps.[228] Maillet was enchanted to see the mosques lit up during Ramadan, for "regardées du haut des terrasses de la Ville, sont un des plus beaux aspects du monde."[229]

Minarets were seen as equivalent to Christian bell-towers, and domes were of course well known in European architecture, although never in such

18 AlSayyad 2011, 145.

profusion as here in Cairo. Some domes boasted quality cut stone-work that we might call mosaic or (almost) *opus sectile* – a technique which (to my uncertain knowledge) was never to be found in Europe (and see Curzon and Benoît de Maillet, French consul in Cairo in 1692–98, below). Hasselquist in 1766 had declared that the mosques were beautiful only because of their marble, porphyry or granite;[230] while it was the minaret that made a mosque agreeable, for it "contributes a little to the beauty of the city, if such a thing is to be found amongst a people who despise architecture, and glory more in destroying than erecting."[231] Wittman in 1804 was much impressed by the minarets, which "have a fine appearance from a distance," but thought the mosques inferior to those of Constantinople.[232] In 1839 Lindsay wrote of

> the most splendid domes, pillars of the most exquisite Saracenic architecture, and minarets the lightest and airiest imaginable, rising from the desert, like an oriental Venice, to greet you; I never saw anything more lovely than this City of the Dead."

His delight was mitigated by his realisation that "they are already crumbling with decay."[233]

A decade later Curzon declared (surely correctly) that "the minarets of Cairo are the most beautiful of any in the Levant; indeed no others are to be compared to them. Some are of a prodigious height, built of alternate layers of red and white stone."[234] He went on to describe the tomb minarets, ("most richly ornamented with tracery, sculpture, and variegated marbles"), then their marble walls, and singled out that of Kaitbay:

> I have met with none comparable to them either in Europe or in the Levant. It is strange that none of the Italian architects ever thought of domes covered with rich ornamental work in stone or marble; the effect of those at Cairo is indescribably fine.[235]

For Olin, writing in 1843, minarets were more beautiful and striking than church spires. At Cairo they could look like the masts of a fleet at anchor,

> circular in form, tall, slender, and graceful; perfectly white, and usually surmounted with a gilded crescent, which, in the clear sky of Egypt, seems to blaze in the rays of the sun.

He then proceeded to describe a typical mosque: "the finest structures in Cairo are the mosques, whether examined as single specimens of architecture, or

considered only as beautiful objects, and in reference to their effect upon the appearance of the city."[236]

From such assessments about Cairo it was but a step for visitors to compare both domes and minarets favourably (*contra* Wittman above) with those of Constantinople. "My eyes turn with renewed delight to the swelling domes and elegant minarets," wrote Romer in 1846,[237] and she compared their "graceful domes, fretted with gorgeous stalactites and reflecting the Iris tints of stained-glass windows upon tesselated marble pavements" with "the monstrous magnificence of Pharaonic architecture."[238] Paton in 1870 was more alert to the better, older styles, declaring that the domes and minarets of Cairo "made the city incomparable with their elegance and airy grace, until the Turks took over, cementing "its decline into the unartificial baldness of the common Turkish type."[239]

Hence for those who appreciated her mediaeval monuments, it was but one further step to find the Cairene mosques themselves, in their undoubtedly greater variety, more fascinating than the many mosques of Constantinople. In 1863 Schickler described Constantinople's and Damascus' minarets as inferior to those in Cairo, where

> l'architecture sarrasine s'est prêtée à tous les degrés d'ornementation. À l'un, c'est le nombre des pans; à l'autre, le plan change à chaque étage, le carré est suivi de l'hexagone auquel succède le cylindre ou la spirale; un troisième charmera par les balcons sculptés à jour et soutenus par des assises en stalactites. Plus loin, c'est l'ogive mauresque dans toute sa pureté qui formera sur chaque face une fenêtre élégante; à tous enfin, le sommet rivalisera de grâce ou de légèreté.[240]

4.8 *Mosques*

> The Mosques exceed in magnificency: the Stones of many being curiously carved without, supported with Pillars of Marble, adorned with what Art can devise, and their religion tolerate.[241] [1673]

Unlike Sandys (above), who noted the intricate "mosaic" stone work of the domes, some early travellers were either uninterested in entering mosques, were unable to do so, or simply got a glimpse. Niccolò, travelling in 1346–50, compared their minarets (plus muezzin) with the bells on churches,[242] while Belon in 1588 peeped into mosques to note the marble vessels within.[243] In 1606, however, Palerne described their disposition from the outside, and explained the reason:

> ayans par dedans doubles galleries, au tour soustenues par deux rancs de belles colonnes de marbre, le pavé de mesme, & descouvertes au millieu, blanches par dedans, hormis quelques lettres d'or & d'azur & grandes portes de bronze, avec le treillis des fenestres de mesme, par lesquelles on void au-dedans: d'autant qu'ils ne veulent pas permettre qu'on y entre, sur peine de se mahometiser.[244]

Lack of engagement with visiting actual mosques is underlined by the numbers of monuments some travellers thought stood in Cairo. In 1606 Palerne was told there were 4000;[245] in 1651 Lambert was told there were 24,000, but "Ie n'en crois pas le quart."[246] In 1674 Rochefort described Cairo's mosques and palaces, but only generally.[247] In 1700 Le Brun was told there were 23,000 mosques, but "excepté quelques unes qui sont superbement bâties & ornées de minarets extrémement hauts, toutes les autres à le bien prendre ne meritent que le nom de petites Chapelles."[248] Instead of the mosques themselves, Lucas in 1714 counted 22,000 minarets,[249] while in 1730 Granger, reckoning the city had a larger population than Paris, counted 720 mosques with minarets and "Prédicateurs."[250]

In 1679 Bremond noted that the Sultan Hasan "è di un'eccellente struttura, e grandezza, ornata di finissimi marmi, e ben proportionata in tutte le sue parti," and then mentioned the Ghuriya, but did not go into detail.[251] Like Palerne in 1606,[252] in 1679 Brémond noted some mosques with a jug of water and a cup outside to slake the thirst of passers-by[253] – a tradition continued today, sometimes now from a refrigerated tank. Benoît de Maillet, French consul in Cairo 1692–98, not only called for "Pompey's Pillar" in Alexandria to be sent to France as a triumphal monument, but evidently studied the mosques and tombs of Cairo with care, for "il n'y a presqu'aucune qui ne méritât une description particulière."[254] Like Curzon some 150 years later, he was particularly interested in mosques with stone minarets and domes, and "Les ornemens intérieurs, qui les embellissent, ne sont pas moins dignes d'être considerés." He appears to have climbed up and studied domes very closely:

> Tous ces ornemens sont pris dans les pierres mêmes, qui composent le Dôme; & ces pierres sont si bien jointes & si bien liées, qu'on n'en voit aucune se séparer. Quoique l'épaisseur de ces Dômes ne soit que d'un pied & demi au plus, il n'y en a cependant aucun entre-ouvert, & leur construction est si parfaite, qu'au bout de six ou sept cens ans ils sont encore aussi entiers, que lorsqu'on y mit la derniere main.[255]

Few seem to have taken up his interest although, of course, nearly all mentioned domes (which were sometimes gilded) and minarets were the most conspicuous feature of the Cairo cityscape.

In 1765 Laporte declared that mosques formed the veritable magnificence of Cairo; he visited several, none of which he named, and recommended that their sculpture, inscriptions and red and green porphyry should be seen.[256] We should not necessarily think not-naming was mere sloppiness: today, Cairo mosques are named and dated in Arabic and English, but if earlier visitors did not know Arabic, or were accompanied by a useless cicerone, it is not surprising that only the big names (and the biggest structures, especially those to be named in guidebooks) were known, such as Hasan, Amr, Ibn Tulun and Al-Azhar. Hence in 1808 we get approving but useless comments such as "There are several handsome mosques, with lofty columns and minarets"[257] or, in 1865, "Some of its mosques approach beauty and excellence.[258]

4.9 *State of the Streets*

In 1823 Irby and Mangles wrote of Cairo as "this miserable hole," with narrow streets,[259] but this was unfair, because already in 1512 Thenaud described the existence of streets like some in Paris: "une grande rue aussi longue comme celle de Paris qui est de Sainct Jacques à Sainct Denis, tant continuellement plaine de monde que est la salle de Palais de Paris ès jours que arrestz sont pronuncez."[260] Hence we should suspect that most visitors kept on the outskirts of the mediaeval city. In 1842 Durbin visited a couple of mosques, and noted only that "the whole structure is in a ruinous condition, as most of the mosques and much of the city seem to be."[261]

Many nineteenth-century travellers were no doubt dissuaded from exploring the mosques because of the configuration and state of some streets. In 1829 Madden marvelled that this huge city had (at least according to him) not one tolerable street:

> Splendid mosques, some of which surpass, in my estimation, those of Constantinople, are built in blind alleys and filthy lanes; the public thoroughfares are hardly twelve feet wide, darkened by mats to impede the rays of the sun, and choked with putrid vegetables and reeking offals, from the various stalls which line the streets.[262]

Madden was far from alone. In 1898 Lane-Poole, in the midst of one of his several philippics on the bad taste of the modern Turks, recounted how,

> As we traverse the old High Street from end to end, we see some of the most famous of the mosques of Cairo. There are upwards of three hundred of these beautiful and characteristic buildings in the city.[263]

And this indeed was, and still is, a High Street. But then he claimed to find "not one tolerable street" in the whole city, whereas in 1825 Lane (Lane-Poole's uncle) had noted that "several of the finest mosques of Misr front the principal street of the city."[264] Madden evidently lacked the spirit of adventure, and stuck to the milk-run of ascending the Citadel and admiring the panorama far from the "putrid vegetables and reeking offals." Vernet perhaps thought similarly, for he simply offered a list of mosques "dont on a pu lire des descriptions dans plusieurs ouvrages spéciaux."[265]

In 1835 Michaud and Poujoulat, after noting how the mosques were easier to see in hilly Constantinople, wrote weakly (and incorrectly!) that the mosques of Cairo had to be seen from a house roof or from the citadel, because of the lack of open spaces fronting them:

> Il n'est presque aucun de ces monumens religieux qui soit construit sur une place découverte; aucune colonnade, aucun portique extérieur ne frappe les regards, n'attire l'attention, et souvent le voyageur a pu passer devant les mosquées d'El-Hakem, de Hasan, de Touloun et même d'El-Azhar, sans les apercevoir.[266]

George Wallin, writing in 1854, was also repelled by the streets of the city. A Finnish orientalist, rumoured (but not known) to have converted to Islam, he spent eight months in Cairo, but neither described nor offered appreciation of any of its mosques. He wrote that he was "disgusted" with Cairo, but did not say why. He was evidently bad-tempered, and gave a bad report on Jerusalem as well,

> caused by the rain, cold, and snow, as well as by the inhospitality of its morose inhabitants, I will postpone giving any decided judgment until sunshine and fine weather will allow me to walk about and survey the disorder of the present Zion.

(In his *Letters from Jerusalem*, he congratulated himself for getting into Hebron, no doubt thanks to his being dressed as a Muslim.[267])

4.10 *State of the Mosques, and Access*

> La plupart des trois cents mosquées du Caire tombent à peu près en ruines et des roseaux, des tamaris poussent, avec des herbes sauvages, dans leur bassin aux ablutions souvent rempli de terre.[268] [1894]

Bernard's mournful account above indicates the increasing decline of the mosques. As already noted, well before the mid-nineteenth century the city was westernising and the population growing, although not necessarily to the benefit of the mosques or of the streets of the old city, as we shall see. In 1840 Geramb wrote of the new palaces, factories and schools built in the previous two decades, and the acceptance now of Europeans:

> Thirty years ago, a European would not have shown himself at Cairo in the dress of his country, without exposing himself to insult and ill-treatment. If, when on horseback, he had met a Turk of distinction, he would have been obliged to alight, and to endure abuse and scorn patiently and without a reply.[269]

Dandolo noted in 1854 another reason for the city's westernisation: English steamships arrived twice a month at Alexandria and via the Red Sea and across Suez, so that all comforts were offered to Europeans, who were served by European traders.[270] Such large-tonnage arrivals increased as the century proceeded.

In 1848 Warburton was disappointed by the state of Cairo's mosques ("nothing can be more naked and cheerless than the interior of a Moslem temple"), and signalled the usual reason for their dilapidation: "When a mosque becomes old, it is considered irreverent to repair it; it therefore is allowed to fall, and a new one occupies its place."[271] But they could still be admired and analysed, as by Vernet in the quote which opens the section on Minarets and Domes (above). In 1847 Wilkinson stated that the mosques may "be visited by persons wearing the Frank dress, if accompanied by a Cawass, and provided with an order from the Government."[272] This was surely mis-information based on requirements in Constantinople. In 1868 Saint-Aignan fell into a similar trap for, after giving an overview of Cairo's mosques, he incorrectly averred that "Elles sont toujours précédées d'une cour au milieu de laquelle est la fontaine aux ablutions."[273] This is far from the case, and demonstrates that his exploration

of Cairo was not thorough, perhaps extending no further than the few "lions." In 1855 Prime contrasted the difficulties of entering Constantinople's mosques with here, where "the keeper of the mosque is ready to admit Franks at any time, attended by the caivasse of the Consul."[274]

By mid-century, the majority of mosques were available to travellers, who were sometimes disappointed by their visit. For example Warburton, writing in 1848 of the genre, thought "the whole aspect of the building reminds one of a gutted cathedral," generally being bare inside, for

> nothing can be more naked and cheerless than the interior of a Moslem temple. It contains no furniture, except a pulpit, a few mats, and a number of small lamps suspended from the dome.[275]

Thackeray in 1846 was much more enthusiastic, and wandered through the streets, where "these architectural beauties keep the eye continually charmed." Unlike the Parthenon, the mosques were not sublimely beautiful, but "these fantastic spires, and cupolas, and galleries, excite, amuse, tickle the imagination so to speak, and perpetually fascinate the eye."[276] In 1849 Tilt remarked on the easier access, recording that some of them were "exceedingly large and very magnificent;" although he mentioned one couple who, forced in one mosque to take off their shoes and walk over one cold marble floor, "did not attempt to go into any other."[277] Pfeiffer had the opposite problem: in Sultan Hasan where "the stones had become so heated by the solar rays, that I was obliged to run fast, to avoid scorching the soles of my feet."[278] In 1850 Spencer "spent some days, in visiting such of the mosks as are accessible to Franks" and then described Ibn Tulun and Hasan.[279] To these in 1874 Beaufort added Barquq and Nasr Muhammed, mentioning that "the domes too, are sometimes elaborately and elegantly worked," but somewhat spoiling the effect by writing of a "hasty visit" to Hasan, Ibn Tulun, Al-Azhar and Hasaneyn.[280]

In 1850 Bromfield found no difficulty in exploring mosques "where ten or fifteen years ago, a Christian could hardly have found access without a special firman, and might then have been insulted when he entered." In some of the mosques, slippers were now provided for visitors, and removing shoes was not de rigeur everywhere.[281] Walking in mosques in stockings was "not very comfortable," as Beaufort conceded in 1874, but he was willing to condescend nobly, for "one must have very little of the spirit of Christianity in one, and still less worldly good-breeding, if one refuses such conformity to their notions of reverence."[282] Gregory recounted the visit of several gentlemen and three deaf ladies to Al-Azhar, the latter speaking loudly and wondering at the prayer positions:

> They stood before the persons so praying, and eyed them with all eyes and eyeglasses. They wondered next, what song it was that an old fellow was singing; the old fellow was the Moollah, and the song was the Koran. They thought that still more funny, and laughed at it.

There was the inevitable reaction to such bad manners, and the janissaries had to lay about them to keep the worshippers away from the terrified women. "My informant declared with an emphasis, which bore the stamp of earnestness, that it was the last time he would ever enter El Azar in company with ladies, whether they were easy or hard of hearing."[283]

Decay proceeded apace. In 1865 Duff Gordon declared that the remaining years to view the beauties of Cairo were numbered, for "the superb mosques are falling to decay, the exquisite lattice-windows are rotting away and replaced by European glass and jalousies." And then, perhaps in regret, "only the people and the government remain unchanged."[284] Savigny de Moncorps spent a month in Cairo in 1873, shooting birds in the morning, visiting "les mosquées, tombeaux et nécropoles, etc" in the afternoon, then Italian opera or theatre in the evening.[285] He entered Al-Azhar, which we have already noted was described by Lane in 1860 as "not remarkable in point of architecture."[286] He described its educational activities, and remembered the French occupation there, when "Soliman, l'assassin de Kléber, y avait passé plusieurs jours pour réchauffer son fanatisme."[287] He found Cairo's mosques interesting, named several, and regretted that they were falling to ruin: could not the Government make some sacrifices "pour la conservation de monuments aussi anciens et aussi remarquables, dans lesquels on retrouve toutes les merveilles mauresques de Grenade et Cordoue."[288]

As more westerners visited the city, more mosques were visited and described, even those not noticed in the Murray, Baedeker and Joanne guidebooks – this a sure indication of a growing interest in Islamic architecture. By 1889 one traveller counted 400 mosques for a population of about 400,000, plus 1300 caravanserias, because "Le Caire est l'entrepôt naturel du commerce de l'Orient."[289] Dandolo gave the same number of mosques in 1854, "di cui molte sono abbandonate o in rovina."[290] Reynolds-Ball in 1897 extended the usual list of mosques to Qalawun, and then to Qaytbay's mosque in the city, and the funerary complex in the Eastern cemetery:

> The exterior is unequalled among the monuments of the Arabic art of Cairo for richness and variety of decoration. The delicate scrollwork and tracery of the fawn-coloured dome, and the graceful pagoda-like minarets, are familiar to every traveller. The interior has little decoration of any kind.

But for the cognoscenti, beware of the guidebooks! Why had Qaytbay been largely neglected by travellers? Because, as Reynolds-Ball explained, it was "not being prominently mentioned in the guide-books, – for the average tourist rarely strikes out an independent line for himself, – or perhaps because it is a little difficult to find." A final admonition:

> Yet this mosque is one of the most characteristic in Cairo, and should on no account be neglected. It has been restored in good taste by the Commission for the Preservation of Arabic Monuments.[291]

And for some visitors, the guidebooks were evidently of near-biblical authority for Cairo. Thus the youthful Prince Rudolph visited Al-Azhar in 1884, and counted the columns in the courtyard, "relics of antiquity brought together without much regard to congruity."[292] But he was then led right past the trio of Qalawun, Mohammed-en-Nasir and Barquq ("remarkable for their bright colours and slender lofty minarets") but then (presumably reproducing the words of either his guide or his guidebook) opined that "these buildings afford little interest beyond their historical associations."[293]

And if decay proceeded apace, so did ignorance. In 1899 Condamin announced his stunning discovery that "Ce qui domine, au Caire, comme partout en Orient, c'est l'Islamisme." Mosque interiors were not as bare as Protestant churches, but "l'on se demande pourquoi de tels édifices ne seraient pas tout aussi bien une salle de concert, ou une salle de musée." He recommended confining visits to those with interesting architecture or interior decoration.[294]

4.11 *Mosque/Madrasa of Al-Azhar* (*970 etc. #97*)

This, the first congregational mosque of the new city, is one of the oldest universities in the world, its architecture, main halls and chapels, altered and added to up to the 1880s. Its gateway, minarets and huge courtyard were as impressive as its interiors. Therein Margoliouth counted "380 columns of different materials, marble, porphyry and granite, with bases and capitals of different styles."[295] Qaytbay had added the main gate to the courtyard (1469) and then the minaret above it (1475). A third minaret was erected by Sultan al-Ghuri (1501–16). 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda extended the size of the complex in 1751, and added a fourth minaret. The building was so vast that during the insurrection against the French (see above), fifteen thousand Cairenes were said to have taken refuge there.[296]

In 1677 Vansleb noted the mosque's rich incomes, and commented on its size, but did no features of the architecture.[297] Similarly Granger in 1730

described its functions and four schools of Islamic theology, but wrote not one word about its architecture.[298] Browne did better in 1799: "one of the most magnificent of Kahira, ornamented with pillars of marble, and Persian carpets. The property attached to this mosque is immense."[299] Ali Bey, travelling in 1803–1807, thought the structure superbly large, but was not enamoured of its "little columns of common marble, which are hardly a foot in diameter, with their very large capitals" (echoed by Vernet in 1843[300]). A previous traveller had said the floors were covered with superb Persian carpets, but Ali Bey was told that mats had always been used, because they could be washed to rid them of vermin from the poor people and beggars who often went to sleep there.[301] In 1822 Richardson concentrated on the university studies, with details, but evidently did not understand Arabic, for

> I never met with any of the professors or students, and shall only say of the university of Cairo as a celebrated French wit did of another university: "C'est un très bon enfant, on ne parle jamais d'elle."[302]

Al-Azhar's architecture attracted some comment after the mid-century. Kruse published a description in 1855.[303] In 1859 Gregory wrote of "a rambling assemblage of thin, poor-looking, woe-begone, crooked marble columns," and took care to disparage the students' rooms: "the best furnished contain nothing but dirty and dusty boxes, and dirtier and dustier matting, where the fleas make sad havoc among the aspirants to collegiate honors and reputation."[304] The following year Batissier, as well as admiring Qaytbay's minaret, thought enough of the columns to count them (380 in marble, porphyry and granite[305]). Three years later Schickler also mentioned the columns, but needed a firman to enter, with two cavasses from the consulate in attendance. He admired the university, since "Lorsqu'on y pénètre, on peut se croire reporté aux temps les plus brillants du califat de Cordoue."[306]

Saint-Aignan echoed Schickler's account in 1868,[307] as did Savigny de Moncorps in 1873,[308] surely an indication (as we have seen with the number of columns) that authors copied their forbears, thereby absolved from the tedious business of doing their own counting. For Kohn-Abrest in 1884 the complex did not look at all like the Collège de France or the Sorbonne, and he remarked that "Les étudiants sont accroupis par terre, le maître se tient debout au milieu d'eux; chaque nation à son hall spécial."[309] It was sad, thought Delmas (incorrectly) in 1896, "à penser que l'Université d'el-Azhar résume, à elle seule, tout l'effort de l'Orient pour l'instruction de la jeunesse," and went on to describe the interior as miserable, with poor mats and cupboards, and the students crouching, balancing food in one hand while studying their texts.[310]

4.12 *Mosque of ʿAmr* (*827 #319*)

> Contrary to the usual custom here, where public and private edifices are allowed to fall uncared for to decay, this mosque enjoys the privilege of occasional repairs, being shielded from destruction upon the strength of a popular superstition, which attributes to some unearthly revelation the announcement, that whenever the mosque of Amr should fall into ruins, the Moslem religion would fall with it.[311] [1846]

It was probably its distance from Cairo proper, rather than superstitions, of which there were several,[312] that ensured this mosque's tentative survival near the ruined old town of Fustat.[313] Its support on (at one count) 230 columns probably helped, Gregory recommending the architecture and its earliest date amongst all the area's mosques as reasons for a visit.[314] For Forbin in 1819 here "les colonnes de Memphis soutiennent tout le luxe de l'architecture moresque."[315] It was once extensively gilded; and Mukaddasi (AD 985) wrote of glass mosaic on the walls, which did not survive.

In 1743 Perry entered as a favour ("which, as the Key-keeper told us, was never granted to any Christian before") and counted 352 marble columns. Perhaps the counting exhausted him because, although he was eleven months in Cairo the elaborate index in his book did not indicate that he visited any other mosques.[316] In 1800 Browne noted the myriad columns, of various stones, but did not count them.[317] Webster visited in 1830, admired the forest of columns and the whole mosque as "the finest that we saw at Cairo," and then "kept on through ruins in all directions, foundations, bricks, &c. till we came to Old Cairo."[318] The Duc de Raguse, who thought complete destruction loomed,[319] was to be proved wrong. In 1859 Gregory described the variety of the columns and their capitals:

> They are curious, owing to the variety of their capitals, which are of every description of architecture, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, Composite, and many borrowed, like the old Egyptian, from water-plants. They are in number 230, and seem a perfect forest.[320]

Curiosity became distaste for Michaud and Poujoulat. They had never seen a larger forest of columns, and did not appreciate such spolia ("elles sont inégales, noires, vertes, grisâtres; les unes de porphyre, les autres de granit"), calling them monuments to barbarism, and looking like the entrails of a giant fishy leviathan.[321] Chenevard in 1849 made his own count of the columns (now 280!) of simple arrangement and magnificent effect. The guardian asked

him to remove his shoes, but then changed his mind when their mounts were allowed inside without difficulty.[322] Two years later the guardian lifted the mats so that Pardieu could walk around without removing his footwear. He was also told the old chestnut (which, as we have already seen, regularly entranced tourists to the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem) about a double column which one must squeeze through in order to be worthy of Paradise (a test also known as Fat Man's Misery[323]).

Apparently in the nineteenth century this mosque was not used regularly for worship: "Cette mosquée est isolée et presque abandonnée. Elle est gardée par une famille arabe qui tire un petit revenu de la générosité des curieux; tout le monde peut y entrer."[324] By 1877 'Amr was described by Edwards as "an uninteresting ruin standing alone among the rubbish-mounds of the first Mohammedan capital of Egypt [Fustat]," with 245 columns. He went inside and examined some of the columns:

> They are of various marbles and have all kinds of capitals. Some being originally too short, have been stilted on disproportionately high bases; and in one instance the necessary height has been obtained by adding a second capital on the top of the first. We observed one column of that rare black and white speckled marble of which there is a specimen in the pulpit of St. Mark's in Venice; and one of the holy niches contains some fragments of Byzantine mosaics.

He then decided the building was indeed interesting "as a point of departure in the history of Saracenic architecture."[325] In 1892 Couret found the mosque simple, primitive, without ornament, and almost gross (perhaps because of the blue and red wall painting which Bernard described[326]). Yet as he exclaimed, "combien cette simplicité noble et historique, contresignée par les siècles, est supérieure à la futile, moderne et muette somptuosité de la mosquée de Méhémet-Ali!"[327]

4.13 *Mosque of Ahmed Ibn Tulun* (*876–9 #220*)

> La mosquée de Touloun, vaste édifice qui date du IX^e^ siècle, le plus beau monument arabe qui existe en Egypte, malgré l'état de ruine dans lequel il se trouve.[328] [1838]

Little needs to be said about this mosque because it was ruinous for most of our period, although in 1798 one of Napoleon's engineers actually thought it well preserved – thanks to the climate.[329] Taylor's complaint above about

the mosque's condition was echoed six years later by Measor, explaining that Muhammad Ali had seized mosque waqfs for his own purposes, to provide funds for his own mosque for the Citadel:

> How much better would it be if he would keep up these ancient and interesting memorials, rather than build, as he is doing, new mosques.[330]

Romer underlined the importance of this mosque ("the first mosque erected on the site of Cairo") and saw its architecture as inspiration for the Crusader import of the pointed arch into Europe: "These pointed arches, and the date of their construction, go far to decide the question of the Saracens having been the inventors of that style of architecture."[331] In 1838 Taylor and Reybaud proclaimed it "le plus beau monument arabe qui existe en Egypte, malgré l'état de ruine dans lequel il se trouve," while ceding external beauty to Sultan Hasan and called Al-Azhar a sort of cathedral.[332]

Nothing improved in the mosque's condition in the 1860s, by when the roof had fallen in and it became a vast poor-house, a dwelling for paupers.[333] (The structure would decline even faster were the climate not so good, remarked Basterot in 1869.[334]) In the previous year its poverty-stricken vastness, as Buckham recorded, "makes it hazardous to go through it, as the appearance of strangers is a signal for a general rush, which can hardly be prevented by the keeper's whip." He admired the minaret and the beautiful arches, but "our visit to this grand and stately ruin was shortened, much to our disappointment, by the crowd of paupers which pressed us on all hands clamoring for baksheesh."[335] Paton was here in 1870, naming it "still a great landmark in archaeological history," with its innovative pointed arches, and relaying the fantasy that

> the apprehensive zeal of a Christian originated this construction in order to spare the columns of the Christian churches which Ahmed was about to appropriate to the mosque which was to bear his name.[336]

4.14 *Mosque/Madrasa/Mausoleum of Sultan Hasan (1356–1359 #133)*

> It is considered the most beautiful specimen of Arabian architecture in Cairo; in short, the most perfect religious structure in the country … The harmonious outlines of Sultan Hasan's mosque, the symmetry of its proportions, the beauty of its arches, and the richness of the stalactite ornaments of its roof, recall to mind the Moorish structures of Seville and Granada, and justify the preeminence which is ascribed to it over the other mosques of Cairo[337] [1846]

The Seigneur d'Anglure, in 1395, was the first visitor known to have admired this mosque and written about it, if only to date it.[338] "Cette Mosquée est fort bien bâtie, & d'une prodigieuse hauteur, elle est toute de pierres de taille," wrote Thévenot in 1657.[339] But as well as its structure, height and marble, the Sultan Hasan was not only "the most beautiful mosque here,"[340] with red and white marble,[341] but owed part of its fame to its location fronting an open square, rather than down a tunnel of narrow streets. Its sculptured doorway included a Crusader relief showing the Dome of the Rock, looted to Cairo in the thirteenth century.[19] What is more, the square faced the Citadel, which travellers could visit to admire its own structures, and then look over the roofs and minarets of Cairo, with the enormous size of the Sultan Hasan in the foreground. Romer enumerated some of its attractions in the opening quote. Fitzclarence, a lieutenant-colonel in the army in India, writing in 1819, thought that Cairo minarets were "of beautiful workmanship, and possess, in their light and airy form, a great superiority over the steeples of our churches." He admired this mosque but, rather than looking to Europe for dimensions or dome, compared it with what he knew of India: "a fine building, with a superb gateway and minaret; but greatly inferior to that of the Jumma Muzjid, at Delhi."[342]

The Sultan Hasan had the making of a fortress, and not just a mosque. The huge height of its walls (36 m) and of its scalable minarets (the taller being 84 m, "l'élévation merveilleuse des deux plus beaux minarets du Kaire"[343]) meant that this building, intended to be viewed by the Sultan on the Citadel, became dangerous when circumstances changed because it could threaten the Citadel itself, by accommodating batteries high on its walls.[344] Using it as their base, revolting Mamelukes had already caused trouble in the sixteenth century, when Sultan Selim I achieved power.[345] For some periods, then, disuse and partial walling up was the result. In 1733 Charles Thompson visited, noting that "the steps, by which it was formerly ascended, are broken down, and the door walled up," with a garrison of janissaries "within its district, who are quartered in several adjoining apartments."[346] When Savary visited in 1786, admiring the dome, he not only found the doors still walled up, but janissaries now guarding the site itself.[347] As Thompson had already told us, this was because the mosque "often served for a shelter to the malcontents in times of public insurrections."[348] The mosque's threatening position (in 1798 Henry called the mosque itself a "citadel"[349]) and the precautions already noted meant that we cannot always be sure just how many travellers got inside. For equally threatening was its poor condition. Forbin entered several times in Arab dress in 1819 as he did in nearly all the city's mosques, but

19 Blick and Tekippe 2005, 333 note 46.

> cet admirable monument de la piété des califes, et du goût exquis des architectes arabes, est menacé d'une destruction prochaine; il s'écroulera comme les palais enchantés des beys; il suivra dans la poussière un tiers de la ville du Caire.[350]

Malte-Brun probably did not enter in 1825, but he did admire the frieze "all the way round the top of the wall, adorned with sculptures which we call gothic, but which were introduced into Europe by the Spanish Arabians."[351] Echoing this assessment, in 1830 Fuller wrote only of its "gateway profusely decorated with mouldings and ornaments, which appeared to me to be precisely similar to those found in the Gothic buildings of England and France."[352] At the same date, however, Rifaud *did* get inside, noting not only marble and porphyry in the wall panels, but also that these "sont sculptés et dorés; des sentences en lettres d'or arabes et en caractères coptes sont tracées sur les frises."[353] Six years later "one of the Cavasses offered to show me [Jones] the interior if I would disguise myself like a Turk," but he declined, thinking the exercise hazardous, and so "I satisfied myself with looking at the outer walls."[354] In 1834 St John even got into the mausoleum beyond the courtyard and gave an account a decade later. Because of his Arabic, and the assurance of his Turkish companion that he was a Turk, he was allowed to handle "an antique manuscript copy of the Koran, in heavy massive binding, resembling that of our ancestors."[355] Damer passed by the mosque in 1841, not indicating whether it was accessible: it was "very lofty and striking, however incorrect in style it is considered."[356]

In 1842 Cooley entered, "without our shoes; but there was little within the walls to compensate us for the trouble we took."[357] Surely provoked by the prospect of tourist money, two years later the steps were repaired, the mosque was open, and Measor described the interior, its decoration, and also the disposition and adornment of the mausoleum itself.[358] The mosque was evidently in full use in 1845 when Durbin, after some parlay, was admitted to the courtyard, when "our janizary obtained permission for us to walk along two sides of the court, on condition that we would keep close to the wall."[359] (Presumably he missed out on the tomb chamber.) Thackeray (with an eye equipped for architecture) was also here in 1846, regretting such past glories, when Islam possessed "as elegant as the Cathedral at Rouen, or the Baptistery at Pisa," but now being reduced to "the tawdry incompleteness and vulgarity of the Pashas new temple [on the Citadel: see below], and the woful failures among the very late edifices in Constantinople!"[360]

In 1847 Castlereagh called the Sultan Hasan the Saint Paul's of Cairo, and admired the tomb chamber, which "was distinguished by a large Koran, lying

upon the catafalque, with his sword, banners, and turban."[361] In the same year Gingras considered the change in attitudes to Cairo visitors to derive from the introduction of European civilization into the country which, he thought, made mosques safe for Christians. He visited the Sultan Hasan, but condemned it without any analytical description:

> Le regard d'ensemble de l'édifice n'offre rien de grandiose; les détails en sont pitoyables. L'intérieur nous en sembla on ne peut plus mesquin et baroque; le mauvais goût et l'inhabileté de l'artiste s'y trahissent partout. Cette mosquée est bien, à la vérité, la seule que nous ayons visitée, et c'est d'ailleurs, si je ne me trompe, la seule où les Chrétiens puissent pénétrer; mais, par la raison d'analogie, je me crois autorisé à porter de toutes les autres le même jugement d'appréciation.[362]

In 1849 Chenavard sketched the mosque from the citadel,[363] but evidently did not enter. In the same year Curzon did enter. After admiring the minarets ("among the most beautiful specimens of decorated Saracenic architecture"[364]), he visited the tomb chamber, and fancied he saw blood everywhere:

> The tomb of the founder is placed in a superb hall, seventy feet square, covered with a magnificent dome, which is one of the great features of the city … Great stains of blood are still to be seen on the marble walls of the court-yard, and even in the very chamber of the tomb of the Sultan there are the indelible marks of the various conflicts which have taken place, when the guardians of the mosque have been stabbed and cut down in its most sacred recesses.[365]

Spencer visited in 1850 what he considered to be "the only [mosque] that I have seen in Cairo which has any pretensions to what we consider architectural beauty or grandeur," and continued with his praise. Although it was inferior in its style to churches,

> it has a high and rather finely ornamented porch; the cornice of its lofty walls is rich in decorations; its minaret is one of the most striking in the whole city, and the arches of its spacious court cannot fail to interest every admirer of architecture … In the temples of the true God, we see a grasping after the pure, the spiritual, the infinite: in the edifices of imposture and false religion, all is sensuous, materializing, utilitarian, expedient.[366]

This might just have been the knee-jerk reaction of a Christian loyalist, since Monconys viewed this mosque from the Citadel in 1647, and likewise concluded that "ce n'est rien en comparaison des Eglises de la Chrestienté."[367] In 1852 Patterson took a different tack, but which also privileged Christianity: falling to ruin, its mats were squalid, the stone, marble and painting were beautiful, and "it is easy to see that the main features of the mosque are borrowed from the early Christian churches of the east."[368] Without commenting on derivation, Bovet agreed that Byzantine churches such as St. Ambrogio in Milan offered the only architecture "qui puissent le disputer aux mosquées, en gravité, en simplicité et en religieuse beauté."[369]

By 1855, as we have already surmised, tourists appear to have been actively catered for at Sultan Hasan, surely because its guardians were alert to the fact that the adjacent Citadel was already a *de rigeur* destination for tourists, and hence luring tourists into the mosque would be a guaranteed source of income. Thus "the keeper of the mosque was provided with a large number of over-shoes, made of straw or husks, which he insisted that we should put on before we would be allowed to enter," although inevitably one of Prime's group "pushed his way along without them, to the great indignation and astonishment of the Moslems who were standing around."[370] Because of this new *laissez faire* attitude, descriptions of the mosque became longer and more admiring, although often remarking on the structure's ruinous condition. Thus in 1856 Dorr thought the mosque of Mohamed Ali [on the Citadel] "gorgeous," but Sultan Hasan "much more beautiful in its architecture; and in this respect excels any which we saw in Cairo."[371] Gregory in 1859 then declared it "the only mosque really worth seeing of the three or four hundred which are said to be in preservation in Cairo."[372] But he gave no useful description.

In 1859 Eyriès agreed about the new atmosphere of tolerance, and he admired the architecture of the Sultan Hasan,

> dont les coupoles hardies, les minarets élancés et ornés d'un double rang de galeries du haut desquelles les muezzins appellent les croyants à la prière, font l'un des plus gracieux modèles de l'architecture arabe. A l'intérieur elle est décorée de marbres précieux sur lesquels se dessinent des sculptures et des arabesques. Des inscriptions en lettres colossales rehaussées d'or, et nuancées en rouge, en vert, en jaune et en bleu, retracent des préceptes de morale et de religion, et le carreau est formé de riches mosaïques en marbres de plusieurs couleurs.[373]

For Gregory in the same year of 1859 Sultan Hasan was "the only mosque really worth seeing of the three or four hundred which are said to be in preservation

in Cairo,"[374] and he admired "the massive grandeur of its lofty minarets" before entering the tomb chamber:

> But, alas! the beautiful wood carvings and stalactitic ornaments which adorn its summit, are falling into rapid and lamentable decay, although a small expenditure would be sufficient to restore them. But such is eastern apathy – even in the case of objects of the greatest sanctity and veneration. The good old days of ginns and enchanters and wonderful lamps, when mighty works were completed in the twinkling of an eye, by the muttering of a cabalistic word, must return again, if we are to expect the preservation of works of art, which require either trouble or expense.[375]

Batissier offered a eulogy in 1860:, soon to be echoed by others:

> C'est un des plus beaux édifices musulmans; son plan est surtout remarquable: il offre à l'intérieur une cour carrée sur chacune des faces de laquelle s'ouvre, par une gigantesque arcade ogivale, une vaste salle. On y voit, comme toujours, de grandes inscriptions arabes dessinées en bleu d'outremer, en or, vert et rouge. On observe à l'extérieur des inscriptions semblables et des sculptures imitant des fleurs et des enroulements de toute sorte de formes, empruntés au règne végétal. Derrière le mihrab de cette mosquée il y a une salle à dôme servant de tombeau. On suspend d'ordinaire à la voûte des dômes de ce genre une multitude de lampes.[376]

In 1863 Schickler wrote a long description, condemning Cairo governors for building afresh rather than caring for such structures. Its immense exterior formed a grand pedestal for a great cupola and two minarets, and the entry gave onto a splendid approach to courtyard and sanctuary. However

> L'intérieur du monument est partout dégradé. On n'en est pas moins saisi par l'effet de cette cour rattachée directement au sanctuaire, par cette voûte du fond entourée d'arabesques et d'où pendent un vieux lustre à la forme étrange et d'antiques lampes à demi brisées, qui portent sur leurs parois de verre, en inscriptions.[377]

The following year Cobbe's group, after admiring the portal ("of such stupendous height and indescribable richness that it is hard to conceive anything more magnificent"), entered the passageway to the courtyard "as pigmies in a giant's abode," and then the courtyard, with its imam and students:

> Within and behind the mosque is the tomb of the great Sultan who built it. Faded and almost ruined after nearly seven centuries, the elaborate fretwork with the paint and carved wood necessarily much injured, these buildings are still most gorgeous; graceful and rich beyond description, and imposing from their mass and proportions.[378]

What was merely "injured" for Cobbe appeared as ruinous for Charles two years later:

> The concave, shell-like Moorish carving of the roof and porch, and the ornamental Arabic inscriptions, are really beautiful. But all is ruinous; birds building nests in the decayed roof of the fountain, the richly-carved wooden lattices and fretwork broken, and the delicate yet gorgeous painting and gilding worn off.[379]

Duff Gordon visited in 1865, and declared this

> the most majestic building I ever saw, and the beauty of the details quite beyond belief to European eyes; the huge gates to his tomb are one mass of the finest enamel ornaments, as you may discover by rubbing the dirt off with your glove. No one has said a tenth part enough of the beauty of Arab architecture.[380]

Its grandeur was not in doubt, but how long would it remain standing? As Buckham observed in 1868, the Sultan Hasan "is by far the grandest ruin in Cairo … In magnitude and massiveness and at the same time in lightness, airiness, and gracefulness, it excels any human creation I ever beheld." He had to don slippers to enter.[381] The following year Basterot (who wrote that the mosque was built with stone from the Pyramids) could not resist being sententious about the tomb chamber:

> Vanité des vanités. Les marbres précieux commencent à se détacher, les boiseries incrustées pourrissent et les oiseaux du ciel viennent faire leurs nids parmi les stalactites de la frise.[382]

Also in 1869, Grey lamented that the mosque had been "a fine thing in its time, but now falling to pieces: at least all the carved wood-work is doing so, which is a great pity, as there will soon be little or nothing left of all this beautiful ancient building."[383] Vetromile loved the great entrance door ("the appearance of a trefoil headed arch, and folding doors of wood, covered with a rich

bronze work so well executed that it might put to the blush our modern workmen"), and also the tomb chamber:

> The body is in a raised tomb covered with a rich carpet, fenced round, and above it are suspended three lamps. Over the head is placed a splendidly illuminated Koran, which I, because Christian, was not allowed to touch, but a Mohammedan brought it to the lattice for me to see.[384]

Savigny de Moncorps in 1873 was much impressed by the sanctuary iwan (in front of the tomb chamber):

> On y voit de grandes inscriptions arabes, dessinées en bleu d'outre-mer, en or, en vert. Les murs et les parois sont incrustés de marbres de diverses nuances. Le travail des grillages, des portes, des fenêtres, révèle le style arabe traité avec la plus grande perfection.[385]

In spite of the alarms frequently raised by visitors, nothing was done to retrieve the mosque's dilapidation. Paton suggested in 1870 that this was because it was still a danger to the Citadel, just as it was "invariably occupied during the innumerable rebellions and civil wars constantly recurring in Cairo, so that the wonder is that it still stands at all."[386] Edmond About, the novelist and journalist, was here in 1870 and, great panjandrum that he was, he

> had made use of his letters of introduction, and rode through Cairo with an escort of officers or cawas who glittered with gold, and displayed his pockets filled with imperial firmans whose Authority made accessible the most impenetrable sanctuaries.

This was unnecessary, even if surely impressive to the common herd. However, less impressive still was the mausoleum,

> now in a state of dilapidation. Every day some massive fragment of the decoration falls splintering upon the floor, like a thunderbolt from the highest zenith. Far from taking measures against the danger, the Arabs accept as a favor these celestial aerolites, which have the property of sending straight to Paradise those of the faithful who have the good fortune to be under them.[387]

If falling chunks of the Mausoleum were a danger, some visitors were evidently filching removable antiquities as souvenirs or for sale. Rogers reported in 1880

that a dozen bronze plaques from the Mausoleum doors had been offered to him by a dealer (who claimed to have a hundred or more), and he bought them and had them re-installed. He offered a useful description of parts of the monument, emphasising the great doorway and the minaret.[388] This was one forlorn index of a growing European appreciation for Islamic art and architecture. Unfortunately, as Reid observes, "With Islamic as with pharaonic monuments, European admiration accelerated their destruction."[20] Writing in 1880, Charmes testified that still no restoration was being carried out on the Sultan Hasan, and mused that this might be no bad thing. He was evidently alert to the many disastrous "restorations" trumpeted in Europe, and wished Cairo to avoid such disaster: "Le ciel la préserve cependant des restaurations malheureuses! La destruction pure et simple vaut cent fois mieux!"[389] Charmes surely knew what was coming, and dreaded its ministrations: the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* was established by the French in 1881 (see below).

Schickler in 1863 had already protested against building anew instead of restoring the old. He was surely horrified by the construction, immediately adjacent to Sultan Hasan, of Al-Rifa'i Mosque. This was designed by Max Herz Pasha, begun in 1869 and completed only in 1912. In 1897 Reynolds-Ball reprinted a description of the Sultan Hasan from the *The Art Journal* of 1881, and offered khedival rivalry as yet another reason for its ruinous condition:

> Instead of restoring it, the late Khedive [Tawfiq, 1879–1892] devoted his energies and his purse to the building of a new mosque adjoining, which was intended to rival the other. So far as can be judged at present, – for it is still a long way from completion, – the Sultan Hasan Mosque is not likely to be eclipsed by the new one, known as the Mosque of the Rifaiya, a particularly fanatical order of dervishes, corresponding in some respects to the Aissoua sect of Algeria.[390]

In his preference Tawfiq only followed that of his father Ismail (r. 1863–1879, "ce grand constructeur, des palais, des mosquées et des casernes"), in neglecting restoration of mosques or tombs; "Même les merveilleux plafonds si remarqués de la mosquée du sultan Hasan n'ont jamais été entretenus."[391]

In 1884 Prince Rudolph considered the mosque very neglected, but "by far the most beautiful mosque, and built in the purest Arab style, of all which I saw

20 Reid 2002, 222: Charmes complained that "overly enthusiastic amateurs of Arab art" were stripping Cairo mosques of glass lamps and ivory pulpit inlays. Lane-Poole denounced "travellers, Vandals by instinct and profession, who will spare nothing and ruin everything to take home a 'souvenir' of their travels to other barbarians at home."

in Cairo." Evidently his guide brought history to life in the usual manner, with bloodstains: "On the flags the blood-stains from the days of the first massacre of janissaries in 1351 are still shown."[392]

Berger ascended the Citadel in 1894, passing through a kind of propylaea formed by the ruined Mosque of Hasan and Tawfiq's incomplete Mosque of al-Rifa'i.[393] We can only wonder how and why one of the great monuments of the city was left to crumble while a neo-Mameluke imitation was building much less than a stone's throw away. Or, as an outraged Delmas declared in 1896, "Les mosquées pullulent; beaucoup sont dans un état qui inquiéterait nos architectes; mais, ici on ne les répare pas, on en construit de nouvelles à côté."[394]

Oliphant visited Sultan Hasan in 1891, led by a dragoman, slippered, and

> the involuntary feeling of veneration inspired by the place made me take my hat off also. There is something to my mind strangely impressive about these Mohammedan churches. There is none of the religious upholstery with which our places of worship are encumbered.[395]

He then enumerated mihrab, mimbar and lamps, without further details. Marquette gave some of the mosque's measurements in 1892, and described the use of marbles; but confirmed that nothing was then being done to restore it: "Négligence que nous retrouverons souvent dans la suite de notre voyage!"[396] Four years later Deschamps gave a brief description, noting that

> La cour aux ablutions est entourée d'arcades en ogives, aux proportions immenses et d'un accès dans le sanctuaire. Les inscriptions taillées dans le mur sont d'une grandeur exceptionnelle; la coupole, où se trouve la salle des tombeaux, est bien plus vaste que celle du Panthéon de Paris.[397]

Hence the Sultan Hasan, by touristic and guidebook acclamation supposedly the most beautiful in Cairo, was still ruinous in 1903. One visitor, expecting a sort of Alhambra, could only express his disappointment: "j'étais tout à fait désorienté: le mot s'applique doublement ici."[398] In the same year Bernard admired its stalagtitic arches, and measured the height of its walls (35 m) and its minaret (he wrote 86 m, whereas it is 84 m).[399] In the mausoleum, bloodstains again, for he detected the bloody hands of desperate and doomed Mamelukes on the sarcophagus and, inevitably, the hand of English tourists (not, of course, French ones!) in the monument's degradation:

> tout cela, aussi, se lézarde, s'écroule et, pour venir en aide à l'action destructrice du temps, la main dévastatrice des touristes anglais en emporte les boiseries, en arrache les mosaïques.[400]

4.15 *Mosque/Madrasa/Mausoleum of Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun (AD 1284–5 #43)*

This complex (completely refurbished only recently) was a signal to Europeans that in Islam mausolea were not always confined to outside the city walls in designated cemeteries; and indeed there were plenty of others they could visit inside the city (e.g. Sultan Hasan, Khayrbak, Ganim al Bahlawan, Amir Ulmas). Today this is one of the stand-out monuments of Cairo, and its omission by most travellers underlines their reluctance to engage with even the broad roads of the mediaeval city. Al Mu'izz Street is one of the main thoroughfares and, by missing Qalawun, travellers also missed the mosques of Barquq, al-Aqmar, the Madrasa of al-Ashraf Barsbay, and the Tomb and Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad, all grouped within some 500 metres. Why were they not on their route to Al-Azhar, turning off Al Mu'izz Street at the Ghuriya?

Ali Bey, travelling in 1803–1807, compared the nave of the Qalawun complex's mosque with European churches, but was especially impressed by the mausoleum, with its dome supported by superb columns, wherein tailors were at work preparing the embroidered cloth for the Kaaba at Mecca.[401] He also mentioned the hospital, still working behind the recently refurbished complex. His reference to churches was probably prompted by the gateway admired at one of the Crusader churches at Acre, brought here as a trophy, and later used for Al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun's madrasa; but also by the church-like (Romanesque) configuration of the triple windows. Schickler, travelling in 1858–1861, thought the façade of this vast complex one of the most remarkable in Cairo and, like Ali Bey, admired the mausoleum, with the tomb

> placé au centre d'une rotonde très-élevée, dont la coupole est soutenue par quatre piliers carrés et quatre magnifiques colonnes. Les arcades sont en fer à cheval, et le mihrab est enrichi de belles incrustations en pierre et en nacre.[402]

Bernard found the complex's façades an ensemble of beautiful buildings with minarets.[403] Later in the century, the complex declined. In 1885 Baedeker provided an account, written by Franz Bey,[404] but noted that "the greater part of which is now in a ruinous condition, and used as a workshop by copper-smiths and tinkers. The tomb of the founder, however, which also serves the purpose of a mosque, is tolerably preserved."[405]

4.16 *Mosque of al-Hakim (990–1013 #15)*

> The minaret of this mosk was fortified by the French during their possession of Egypt, and the whole building has now become a complete ruin. [1847]

Ruinous mosques were a temptation to Europeans seeking to populate their museums. Wilkinson (above) wished to save the entrance inscription to al-Hakim (a frieze in kufic characters) "for some European museum, ere it be destroyed, or buried in the wall of any new building."[406] The mosque was already ruinous in 1677: "il n'en reste rien aujourd'huy, que les quatre murailles."[407] By the 1880s the mosque's "grande cour à laquelle ses hautes murailles, ses minarets et le mur blanc qui fait face à l'entrée donnent un cachet bien oriental,"[408] held the promise of a School of Art, and housed the Musée de l'Art Arabe. It was common knowledge that its contents consisted "chiefly of objects of artistic or antiquarian interest, collected from ruined mosques or rescued from the hands of the dealers in antiquities, who for years, with the cognisance of the guardians, had been pillaging certain of these mosques."[409] Napoleon's cannon had only recently been removed from the adjacent city gate when Baedeker wrote in 1885.[410]

4.17 *Mosque/Mausoleum of Sultan al-Muayyad Shaykh* (*AD 1415–22 #190*)

This mosque-mausoleum was admired by Shickler in 1863 for its elegant exterior, precious marble columns, and shady courtyard.[411] These details were echoed by Saint-Aignan in 1868, perhaps without a visit.[412] Paton enlarged on Shickler's assessment in 1870, remarking on the use of porphyry and Damascus porcelain, and concluding that, with "the two minarets towering loftily over Bab Zueileh, the extent of the mosque, its excellent distribution, and the picturesque effect of the colour, render it altogether the most pleasing edifice in Cairo."[413]

But what these later nineteenth-century visitors saw had been much restored on several occasions earlier in that same century. Margoliouth in 1907 tried to work out what had happened, relying on Coste's 1826 plans showing cloisters no longer surviving. He concluded that

> the work done under Ibrahim and Isma'il Pashas must have been inadequate, since the plan of 1890 shows only the sanctuary, or southeast, liwan as standing, with the rest in ruins. The work done by the Committee in 1890 and later consisted in restoring the sanctuary and rendering it fit for public worship, repairing the great perron by which the mosque is entered, and completing the minarets.[414]

4.18 *The Ghuriya* (*Mosque/Madrasa/Mausoleum of Sultan al-Ghuri, 1503–5 #189*)

Al-Ghuri, the penultimate Mameluke sultan, invited trade from both Venice and Florence to Damietta, Alexandria, and other centres,[415] and he is fittingly recorded not only by a mosque and mausoleum facing each other across the

street, but also by a flourishing market. Already in 1799 Browne wrote that his mosque was amongst the most frequented,[416] and in 1849 Castlereagh was enchanted by the ensemble: "This place has a roof of huge rafters, across which, the sunlight streams upon the walls of the mosque, and the shops under it … it is almost impossible to discover more picturesque and singular figures than those that throng around."[417] Joanne and Isambert agreed, and included it in their 1861 guidebook.[418]

Rhoné in 1882 also admired the complex, but regretted the tall Arab houses ("qui lui donnaient un fond obscur percé de traits de lumière et par l'effet du badigeon habituel") which had been torn down. Yet there still remained

> les superbes édifices d'El-Ghouri dressant à droite et à gauche de la rue leurs hautes façades couronnées de découpures tremblotées comme les aigrettes de flamme qui s'agitent au front des Génies et des Fées.[419]

At the end of the century Deschamps was especially taken by the splendid portal of the mosque, as well as by its remarkable and well-preserved ceilings,[420] though in 1906 Lane-Poole's conclusion was that the structure had been "badly mauled by the injudicious restoration of thirty years ago."[421]

5 Boulaq

> On remarque sur la rive du Nil de magnifiques maisons; il y a aussi de fort belles mosquées et des medressehs fréquentés par des étudiants.[422] [1480]

Sanuto's approbation (above) was echoed by many travellers, for Boulaq was Cairo's port, and for that very reason surely welcoming to visitors from abroad. Palerne in 1607 paired its beautiful mosques with very fine gardens,[423] to which Brémond in 1679 added khans and beautiful houses.[424] In 1720 Coppin admired Boulaq's mosques, and then those of the main town, "que nous découvrions facilement toutes garnies de lampes allumées dans leurs petites tours qui font un effet surprenant par la prodigieuse quantité qu'il y en a."[425] In 1838 Taylor and Reybaud admired what they called Boulaq's Great Mosque (Sinan Pasha, 1571) and described its architecture:

> Le style brillant de l'architecture arabe se développe ici dans toute sa richesse. Ces nombreuses coupoles ondulant à la base de la rotonde comme un feston de broderie, ces galeries découpées en arcades légères

> et ouvragées à leurs seuils d'ornemens gracieux, ce dôme gigantesque qui semble s'élever du milieu de l'enceinte, et porter au ciel le croissant dont il est surmonté, et ce minaret délié, lancé dans les airs comme une flèche, seraient dignes sans contredit d'embellir la capitale de l'Égypte.[426]

6 The Delights of the Citadel

> You look over the dwellings of about 240,000 inhabitants … there is little save ruin to attract the eye … Some of the minarets do not even stand erect, while others are shattered as if they had been struck by cannon-balls. The effects of cannon-balls, or even of earthquakes, may indeed be described; but those of time, misrule, depopulation, decay of the arts, loss of energy in a people, cannot be so easily related.[427] [Hill, 1866]

The Citadel was especially attractive to visitors (although, according to Lannoy, not open to Christians in the early fifteenth century[428]). It was the site of the famous massacre of the Mamelukes and, because of its height, offered an overview of the city, Gizeh and the pyramids, as we have already seen. In 1602 Villamont wrote of "Ceste court et fort spatieuse, & les chambres & salles si magnifiques & superbes, que les estangers les voyans en demeurent esmervveillez. En la plus grande salle se tient le Divan."[429] The great well (often called "Joseph's Well"), which reached down to the river, fascinated all because of its great depth and its mechanics for raising the water. There were also the remains of a palace often known as "Joseph's Hall" or the Great Diwan "of Saladin,"[21] from Saladin's name Yussuf, or Joseph. (The appellation derived from the fame of the conqueror rather than from evidence, but we shall continue to use this name.) The Diwan was sometimes connected to the Virgin Mary's Joseph as an indication not only of its antiquity but also of a traveller's penchant for Christianity crossed with a lack of knowledge of Muslim building history. In fact, the complex was the rebuilding of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, whose mosque (1318–35: see below) has survived various vicissitudes in the Citadel. After the mid-nineteenth century Muhammed Ali's new mosque was much visited, and renowned (but not universally praised as we shall see: "infiniment inférieure au point de vue artistique"[430]).

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6.1 *The Great Diwan of Saladin/Joseph's Hall*

> Il s'y void encore en pieds, trente cinq ou quarante colomnes de marbre meslé, de gris, rouge, & blanc, fort hautes, & de telle grosseur, que trois hommes ne les peuvent embrasser, avec les bases & chapiteaux de marbre blanc, & un demy cube rond, assez grand, tout lambrissé d'azur & d'or, où il se void encore plusieurs sortes de roses & autres fleurs, qui montre la magnificence de ce bastiment, lors qu'il estoit entier: & ce demi cube, & colomnes cy-dessus, ils tiennent que c'estoit la grande salle du palais de Ioseph.[431] [1628]

The Great Diwan was an important and imposing complex, but had almost completely disappeared by the mid-nineteenth century. It offered one of the few locations in Islam where visitors could assess an old palace, albeit one in continuing decay. Christians sometimes stated that the complex referred to the Patriarch Joseph, as did Brèves (above). Indeed, in 1657 and 1701 Thévenot[432] and Veryard[433] also connected these remains with the biblical Joseph, but did not specify further. The attempts at precision in the dates offered in the paragraphs below are to try and elucidate just when Joseph's Hall finally collapsed or was dismantled, and what part Muhammad Ali's new mosque had in its destruction, re-use and obliteration.

This was indeed a dazzling complex. Fowler in 1854 thought that to the splendour of the mosques of Mecca and Jerusalem should be added "the Castle of Cairo, and the ruins of the Hall of Joseph, although both the latter are supposed to be the works of Saladin in the latter part of the twelfth century."[434] He had visited when the ruins of the Hall of Joseph were apparently being sifted for materials for Muhammad Ali's new mosque. Gingras saw the same or similar materials in 1847, "A quelques pas de la nouvelle mosquée, gisent sur le sol plusieurs colonnes de granit à demi ruinées. Elles ont, dit la chronique, fait partie du palais du fameux Saladin."[435] Not all visitors managed to see it. In 1693 Careri wrote simply of

> a round high Wall, like the Cupola of a Church, but open at the top, where they told me was the Divan, or tribunal where Joseph gave audience; there is nothing else valuable but only 38 large and high Pillars of Marble.[436]

Joseph's Hall consisted of several rooms.[437] It was named as the house of Joseph in 1586, "a sumptuous thing, hauing a place to walke in of 56 mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I saw it not, being then lame."[438] In the same year Evesham counted "55 marble pillars, in such order, as our Exchange standeth

in London: the said pillars are in heigth 60 foote, and in compasse 14 foote."[439] Later visitors were to estimate these columns as more than 13 m high between base and capital.[440] Was there yet another large room, later to collapse? The naming was confused between at least two great halls, as we shall see.

In 1512 Domenico Trevisan, the Venetian ambassador, visited the Sultan in the citadel, and found one room infinitely more magnificent than the Audience Room at Venice:

> Le sol était couvert d'une mosaïque de porphyre, de serpentine, de marbre et d'autres pierres de prix. Cette mosaïque était presqu'entièrement recouverte par un tapis. Le plafond et les lambris étaient sculptés et dorés: les grilles des fenêtres étaient en bronze au lieu d'être en fer.[441]

For Trevisan the citadel was a magnificent palace rather than a fortress, and the city itself boasted "un grand nombre de superbes mosquées: quelques-unes sont d'une grandeur que l'on ne peut apprécier; elles ont toutes des campaniles du haut desquels les Mores crient les heures, car il n'y a point de cloches."[442]

Palerne in 1606 described "une longue gallerie peincte à la Iavanesque, & au bout d'icelle une belle Mosquée enrichie de mesme peincture, & une grande salle: le tout revestu de beaux marbres, verre coloré, & nacre de perle."[443] This must have been the Diwan, because he mentioned the view; but the wall embellishments were not to last (Deschamps mentioned them in 1678 as of cedar wood: see below). Thirty years later Blount thought the Citadel built "in such a sort, as testifies their government to have beene tyrannous," perhaps because of the immense size of the Diwan complex, and "there yet remaine in one arched place, fortie pillars of porphiry as bigge as those two of Saint Markes at Venize."[444]

In 1630 Stochove described the setup as once superb, but now in ruins, and "l'on y void encore debout trente colomnes de marbre serpentin fort hautes, & si grosses que trois personnes auroient de la peine a en ambrasser une."[445] (He went on to mention Al-Nasir's mosque, one of few travellers to do so.) Twenty years later Lambert counted twenty-two huge granite columns ("que l'on dit fondues"), their capitals engraved with what he called Hebraic letters: "Ils disent que c'estoit le lieu du Diuan du temps des premiers Roys d'Egypte."[446] ("fondues," or "melted," refers to the belief of many that granite was not a natural stone, but rather a manufactured product.)

Thévenot, who arrived at Alexandria in January 1657, wrote of two rooms, the one with thirty great columns ("& on y voit encor beaucoup d'or & d'azur au plancher"), the other more ruined but with ten or twelve columns. This latter room Le Brun will call "la salle de l'Intendant." But the ruins were "superbe,"

and "Il est certain que la plus grande & meilleure partie de ce Château est ruinée, & toutefois il y a encore plusieurs beaux bâtimens."[447] There was also a third room in the complex, where the adornment for Mecca was made, "dont le plancher est encor doré en plusieurs endroits, & peint à la Mosayque."[448] Such references to marble floors suggests that the palace included fountains bubbling with water drawn up from the well. Sandys, in 1673, wondered how such immense columns were transported here,[449] while three years later Rochefort remarked on the Diwan's ceiling which evidently survived, "orné de quelques peintures & dorures haut de cinquante pieds."[450]

For Deschamps in 1678 it was indeed the Patriarch Joseph who had built both palace and well.[451] He had his Throne of Justice here, but this author's error was compensated by his note of the Diwan's wooden panelling (although the columns were not of porphyry):

> dont le lambry fait de bois de Cedre, est embelly d'une couleur d'azur, sur laquelle sont dépeintes en or tres-pure les Etoiles, le Soleil, & la Lune; mais à present, par la negligence des Turcs, ce beau lambry se va détachant peu à peu, & menaçant la ruïne. / Cela est deplorable, de voir des choses si belles, si rares, & si antiques, qui ont subsistées tant de siecles, voir plus de quattre mille ans, tombées dans la puissance de ces barbares, qui n'en font point d'estime, & n'ont ancun soin de les conserver.[452]

The following year Bremond spread his bets on the complex's origins more widely: "che sia stata opera di molti Sultani & de'Faraoni, e Tolomei stessi. Et in vero non si possono vedere auanzi di fabriche nè più superbi, nè più magnifichi in Diasspri, Porfidi, & simili pietre."[453]

Eighteenth-century visitors could sometimes offer more detailed descriptions. Le Brun in 1698 had written of a mosaic ceiling in the Diwan, and then of yet another room now open to the air, "où sont encore d'extremement belles colonnes en fort bon ordre qui soutenoient un voute qui étoit autrefois couvert d'un Dome, mais qui est à present découverte."[454] (In this context "mosaic" surely refers to patterned and gilded wood: see Rochefort, above.) Laporte agreed, pointing out that the mosaics were "peints en des tems où l'on ne connoisssoit encore la peinture ni en France ni en Italie."[455] In 1714 Buchon had reported a dome in Joseph's Hall, which was "un lieu environné de beaucoup de colonnes de marbre granit, fort belles et fort hautes, qui soutiennent une manière de dôme lambrissé de bois, sur lequel on lit des lettres arabesques." Evidently aware of the Christian penchant for misdirection wherever possible to the Bible, but evidently determined not to be misled, he also noted that

"Tout ce qui a l'air antique, ou qui contient quelque chose d'extraordinaire, porte le nom de Joseph."[456]

In 1735 Maillet counted two diwans, one with thirty-four immense columns, which he (correctly) reckoned were in re-use, and dated to the Arabs, identifying the room's great wood-carved inscriptions, in a style which he could not read.[457] In 1743 Perry described the Diwan, and noted "some Remains of the Ceiling [evidently by now incomplete], which has been finely carv'd and painted with Gold and Azure."[458] He counted four mosques in the citadel as well as a bazaar.[459] Salmon wrote in 1738 of columns "prodigiosamente grandi," but possibly ("Per quanto si dice") did not see them himself.[460] In 1766 Hasselquist referred to an adjacent hall with columns of less than four metres, where the roof was yet entire, in which was also to be seen a number of "Arabian" inscriptions, with Coptic letters "round the cornish of the roof."[461] (Thompson, travelling in 1733, agreed.[462]) Twenty years later Savary noted that the dome and part of the walls of the Diwan had fallen: there survived "des dorures des peintures dont les couleurs ont bravé l'injure du temps,"[463] and "La diversité de leur grosseur & des ornemens sculptés autour du chapiteau, annonce qu'elles ont été tirées d'anciens monumens."[464]

With the French occupation came some detailed accounts of Joseph's Hall, because the Citadel was HQ for the army. In 1798–1799 Vivant Denon noted buildings in Cairo by the caliphs, including Joseph's Palace:

> d'une belle conception dans son plan: je n'ai pu voir sans une espèce d'admiration l'emploi que les architectes Arabes ont su faire des fragments antiques qu'ils ont fait entrer dans leur construction, et avec quelle adresse ils y ont mêlé quelquefois des ornements de leur goût.[465]

But he also included the Greniers de Joseph, namely the pyramids.[466] Could he have been joking? In 1798 Jollois was certainly serious. This Ingénieur des Ponts et Chaussées, Membre de la Commission des Sciences et Arts, formed part of the scientific strength of Napoleon's invasion (as did Denon), and offered a long account of the Diwan. He drew a plan, examined the granite columns, and described the vaulting in detail.[467] He found the column capitals barbarous, and observed that the original polish survived on some of the shafts. The capitals were apparently whitewashed, so he had to examine their material "en détachant quelques morceaux, à coups de marteau redoublés." He also noted that on some shafts lead had to be interposed to adjust their height (a common practice when re-using disparate columns in the same setting). The bases were even more clumsy than the capitals,

> étant d'une espèce de grès rouge. Elles sont, ainsi que les chapiteaux, inégalement posées, pas à la même hauteur ni dans un même plan horizontal. Quelquefois ces bases consistent seulement en des tronçons de colonnes d'un plus grand diamètre que celui des colonnes qu'elles supportent. On peut conjecturer que ces colonnes ont été tirées d'anciens monuments et retouchées par les Arabes qui les ont employées; elles sont à peu près de proportion dorique.[468]

In the same year Henry recorded that several of the huge columns in the Diwan had lost their capitals,[469] and six years later Wittman declared that the complex had indeed been Saladin's palace. The room where the fabric for Mecca was prepared "is ornamented with beautiful mosaic work," and he confirmed his dating because "the names of the ancient monarchs of Egypt are engraven on its walls, in characters which leave no uncertainty as to the time of their being wrought."[470] Sandwich recorded in 1807 that the locals called it the "Divan of Joseph," by which they meant the Biblical figure. This was perhaps a simple matter of guide-speak to attract foreign Christians looking for connections with the Bible,[471] since a decade earlier Henry was clear that Saladin was its author.[472]

Some kind of roofing in parts of the complex must have survived (unless tenting was used), because Valentia in 1809 noted that the French had used the Diwan as a hospital, and distinguished this from Joseph's Hall. Another hall, he wrote, had once prepared the hangings for Mecca, but

> it had been intirely covered with mosaic, of which a considerable part remained, though the buildings themselves had fallen to ruins, and were now filled with rubbish … It is indeed a melancholy circumstance, that the many splendid remains of the ancient Sultauns, which the citadel contains, should be so rapidly disappearing.[473]

Indeed they were: in 1822 Richardson recorded part of the palace was in use as a magazine, and another part as a granary,[474] as did Henniker in 1824.[475] By 1828, as Lane recorded, most of the wooden inscribed frieze in the Diwan had collapsed, and the mosque was ruinous, and no longer used for worship.[476]

The traditional appellations continued, Renouard de Bussières in 1829 referring to "les belles ruines arabes, appelées le palais de Saladin ou de Joseph." He sketched here, and noted the nearby arsenal and arms factory.[477] Fuller confirmed in 1830 that the Diwan was now in use for storing artillery, "of which we saw a great variety of different ages and countries, from the Venetian of the

fifteenth to the French and English of the nineteeth century." But he found the wooden frieze better than had Henniker:

> such is the serenity of the climate that some inscriptions in the ancient Cufic character on a wooden frieze which runs round the interior, remain almost unimpaired.[478]

Webster in 1830 counted forty (!) great columns here, and seems to have taken the Hall for a mosque: "The recess of the mosque remains, with a broad band of inscription going round the greater part of the interior."[479]

If the complex had appeared more and more dilapidated to visitors, much worse was to follow. Already in 1834 St. John reported that only "scanty remains" of Saladin's palace survived.[480] He noted that its use for a powder magazine had advanced its ruin, and relayed a short description of its wooden domes and arches. The rose granite columns he said were taken for Mohammad Ali's new mosque.[481] This assertion must be incorrect: there are no giant columns in that mosque, in its courtyard, or decorating the exterior, although there are still some fragmented granite columns lying nearby. In the same year of 1834 Michaud and Poujoulat confirmed that the palace

> n'est plus maintenant qu'un amas de décombres; parmi les ruines, on remarque des colonnes d'un beau granit; plusieurs de ces colonnes portent des caractères hiéroglyphiques, ce qui nous fait croire qu'elles viennent de Memphis; lorsque le palais était encore debout, on y lisais des inscriptions arabes en grosses lettres de bois, où se trouvait écrit le nom de Saladin.[482]

Destruction continued. In 1838 Taylor and Reybaud admired the beautiful polish on the thirty two columns and the remains of the ceiling, "qui justifient toujours leur réputation, malgré l'état de délabrement où se trouve l'ensemble du monument."[483] Evidently much was still standing in 1839, when Dumas wrote not only of the columns, but also of how "the sides of the arches are ornamented with Arabian letters, indicating particular verses of the Koran."[484] (In 1841 Damer still needed to explain incorrectly that "this Joseph was the vizier of the Sultan Saladin."[485]) However, in 1842, Cooley reported that the splendid palace had gone, "except a few prostrate columns called the pillars of 'Joseph's Hall,'" because "the shattered ruins of the Caliph's palace have been swept away to make room for an extensive mosque which the Pacha has ordered to be erected upon its site."[486] Possibly, however, some

of the capitals were saved.[487] In 1847 Wilkinson reported that Joseph's Hall had been removed in 1829 (he must have meant only one of the two halls), and

> it is to be regretted that the carelessness, or want of skill, in taking down the columns, caused the destruction of the greater part of them, being thrown down at once, and mostly broken by the fall. Some few are still standing in their original position, but will, of course, soon be taken away, and probably share the fate of their companions.[488]

St. John was not the only traveller to assume that the remains of Joseph's Hall were reused in Muhammad Ali's new mosque. However, what seems to have happened is that the Diwan was being demolished as necessary only to clear the site for the new building. Tilt reported in 1849 that the new mosque "has been in the course of erection for many years,"[489] so it is entirely possible that (as Wilkinson stated) Joseph's Hall was already being dismantled decades earlier. Nevertheless Patterson, here in late 1849, could count "six or eight porphyry pillars of majestic size and beauty, some standing and entire, others prostrate and broken."[490] In 1864 Ward reported "a number of red granite pillars, each formed from one piece … the identical columns which supported the roof of Joseph's Hall."[491] And Vetromile, visiting probably in 1870, wrote of "six or eight majestic and beautiful porphyry pillars, some standing, some broken."[492] In 1867 Edmond regretted its passing, which he saw as part of the normal cycle of destruction and re-use:

> Débris entassés sur débris, matériaux transformés à l'infini, ruines assises sur des ruines antérieures, bâties elles-mêmes avec des ruines plus anciennes; des siècles sur des siècles. Chaque époque a sa végétation de monuments, que l'époque suivante exploite et détruit pour faire la sienne.[493]

6.2 *Mosque of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad* (AD 1318–35 #143)

In spite of the many visitors to the Citadel, the mosque of this great builder[22] attracted little attention. For example Coppin, in 1720, noted its existence

22 Behrens-Abouseif 2008, 299–303 for The Urban Patronage of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad; AlSayyad 2011, 107: Al-Nasir's passion for building gave Cairo one of the most outstanding built heritages in the world. The city was probably more than twice the size of London or Paris during his reign. But this period of growth was short-lived, as al-Nasir died in 1340 at the age of fifty-eight, and his successors were weak.

("dont la structure est allez belle") but did not name it, nor did he describe the Great Diwan above it.[494] Henniker entered in 1822,[495] so perhaps it was then in use. St. John, travelling in 1834, described the interior, remarking on a rich and delicately carved capital, and on the minaret for "the chasteness of its design, which is exceedingly light and elegant."[496] Margoliouth notes the dome described by Makrizi, which fell in 1522, and that what had served as a prison was by the mid-nineteenth century a military storehouse.[497] Lane-Poole described it as "presenting much that is noteworthy in the history of Saracenic art," and how the structure was cleared out and restored when the British took over the Citadel.[498]

6.3 *Mosque of Muhammad Ali* (*1833–57 #503*)

> He is now building a mosque … which will be one of the most superb churches in the world. The material is that beautiful Egyptian marble which, when polished, resembles pure agate, intersected with veins and leaves. The colonnade and grand court … are much like the design of the mosques in Constantinople, although far more beautiful in material and elaborate finish; and the situation is so commanding and prominent, that it will show to infinite advantage.[499] [1846]

Schroeder, author of the above quote, gushed that compared with "the misery of thirty years before, the greatness of the viceroy appeared to be in every thing around him."[500] This included, as Warburton remarked, the mosque as it was building, "from the terraced roof of which there is perhaps the finest view in the world."[501]

For Muhammad Ali was building a new attraction on the Citadel: his mosque was imposing, because it imposed itself on Cairo from the highest point in the city, and could not therefore be missed. It certainly used spolia from the Pyramids, and perhaps various (unidentified and surely unidentifiable) remains from the Diwan, for the mosque "now covers the same site."[502] We may assume either that Joseph's Hall was by then too dilapidated to be restored; or, more likely and simply, that Muhammad Ali had no interest in earlier architecture, not least because it did not bear his name, and because he wanted a "modern" style of building. As already discussed, just why the Hall was dismantled is unclear, because none of the spolia are now identifiable in that mosque or anywhere among the other granite and marble relicts strewn around the Citadel. In 1843 Olin reported that "a vast quantity of material is on the spot, consisting of blocks of wrought stone and marble, and a multitude of

fine columns, partly antiques, and many new ones." He confirmed that the site was that of Joseph's Hall, but perhaps its immense monoliths were not to be used in the new mosque:

> Still several of the noble monolith columns of red granite which supported this stately edifice remain standing, and fully sustain the accounts of its former magnificence.[503]

In 1840 Damer had seen the foundations of Muhammad Ali's mosque, and admired the Egyptian alabaster which was to be used so extensively and inadvisably, for "its frequent flaws require the insertion of stucco and cement."[504] The following year Cooley thought the construction was dragging on because of dilatory workmen, but that "the material of this new erection is, indeed, very beautiful, being a dark alabaster marble, which, in the hands of skilful workmen, could hardly fail to make an edifice of surpassing beauty and richness."[505] St. John, travelling in 1834 but writing afresh in 1844, echoed Cooley's assessment, that "the Pasha is by no means remarkable for a display of diligence in his works of pious munificence."[506] In 1843 Drew saw the mosque being erected, "having much elaborate carving and polished columns of the coarse porous alabaster from Upper Egypt."[507] Durbin thought, correctly, that the alabaster was of inferior quality, and did not confuse luxurious splendour with good architecture: "If this mosque be finished according to its present plan, it will certainly be a very splendid building, though irregular in its architecture."[508] Gingras, on the other hand, comparing the interior disposition to Western churches, declared the structure "une magnifique mosquée, dont la grandeur et la richesse étonnent; l'albâtre d'Egypte, si renommé par sa beauté, en est le matériel exclusif."[509]

Many westerners continued to admire Muhammad Ali's mosque, perhaps because it accorded somewhat with European taste, or reminded them of what they had already seen in Constantinople. By 1855 the dome was in place and the mosque finished, with pillars of rose-tinted marble, and walls of alabaster: "it surpasses St. Peter's at Rome, or its great rival St. Sophia at Constantinople, in the splendor of its architecture and the beauty of its decorations," wrote Prime.[510] In 1857 Jacquesson wrote of the "superbe mosquée,"[511] and then Ward described it as "one of the largest, most superb and richest mosques of Cairo, built of oriental alabaster."[512] Bovet agreed, writing in 1862 that it was "est d'un goût exquis et d'une grande magnificence."[513] Phelps was another admirer: "one of the finest in Cairo, and is richly ornamented, having splendid chandeliers and stained windows."[514] In 1868 Buckham was even kinder,

admiring the interior and especially "several columns of alabaster, said to be much the largest of that rare material in the world, support the dome."[515] Could this indicate some sort of rivalry with Joseph's Hall, which this mosque had replaced?

However, not all visitors agreed with such upbeat assessments, and criticised its architecture in comparison with Cairo's abundant earlier gems. In 1849 Curzon regretted the dismantling of Joseph's Hall, contrasting the "barbarous Armenian architecture" of the new mosque with that "stately edifice," which (or so he believed) was so ruthlessly destroyed to provide materials for it.[516] In the same year Tilt wrote that "architectural embellishments do not discover a very refined taste."[517] For Thackeray in 1846, here "the noble, fantastic, beautiful Oriental art is forgotten."[518] In 1863 Schickler also regretted the loss of Saladin's constructions. He described the new mosque, and then Muhammad Ali's palace:

> remarquable surtout par ses dimensions, car le mérite architectural est nul; et dans ces salons, décorés à profusion d'un luxe européen de mauvais goût, nous regrettons doublement les colonnes de marbre et les arabesques de l'ancienne résidence de Saladin.[519]

If the taste of Muhammad Ali's mosque was doubtful, so too was the workmanship. Gregory wrote in 1859 that although the minarets were like burnished needles,

> The mosque itself is a large tawdry building, on which a great deal of money has been lavished, and, as in all the modern architecture of that country, with very little regard to taste.[520]

Didier added another nail in 1860: the mosque proved to him that the grand tradition of Moorish art had been lost, "car cette mosquée si vantée offre tous les styles, style italien, style grec, style romain, le rococo même, tous en un mot, excepté le style moresque."[521] Nor was the mosque well-built, as Saulcy noted in 1867: "grand édifice d'albâtre, d'un goût douteux, et qui d'ailleurs est déjà fort délabré."[522] In 1866 Charles (not writing specifically of this mosque) contrasted the beauty of old, decaying mosques with new constructions:

> What, indeed, is ruin but the impress of the iron hand of their deity? It is said that the Moslems think it sacrilege to repair what the hand of fate has stamped with decay. Therefore, the beautiful old Moorish mosques, costly

> in materials, gorgeous in colouring, and delicate in workmanship, are left to decay, whilst, beside them, rises the tasteless modern building, with its common materials, tinsel ornament, and coarse workmanship.[523]

In 1870 Matheson admired the interior as magnificent, but thought it "materially vulgarized by the range of coarse, gaudy windows that admit the 'dim religious light' which fills the enormous chamber."[524] Or, as Edwards declared in 1877,

> a spacious, costly, gaudy, commonplace building, with nothing really beautiful about it, except the great marble courtyard and fountain … it looks like a huge vulgar drawing-room from which the furniture has been cleared out for dancing.[525]

The details also jarred for others. In 1874 Du Fougerais wrote of "ces marbres, ces jaspes, ces albâtres, ces ornements de cuivre et de bronze doré, prodigués sans goût,"[526] and Bost the following year of "la belle ou plutôt riche mosquée en albâtre de Méhémet-Ali."[527] There was little to see inside, protested Delaplanche in 1876; and "Quelle honte pour les chrétiens d'entrer avec si peu de respect dans nos églises où habite la majesté de Dieu, tandis que les musulmans prennent tant de précautions pour pénétrer dans leurs temples vides."[528] For Prince Rudolph in 1884, the details "impress one at first sight; but on closer examination one feels how inferior the architectural details are to those of the old mosques. The fountains, too, are heavy and without beauty."[529]

In spite of such contrariness, plaudits continued and even increased in lavishness, possibly because the Citadel was on the tourist itinerary and the mosque its highest point. For Ferguson in 1864 it was "undoubtedly a most magnificent building, and little inferior … to the Mosque of St. Sophia which he had seen at Constantinople."[530] For Tischendorf in 1868 this superb mosque was the "principal joyau," of the citadel.[531] In 1869 Grey entered this "exceedingly beautiful" mosque with the Prince and Princess of Wales, but "the effect of the whole is, I think, ruined by the ill-painted decorations of the ceiling, and the common glass lamps, and a large chandelier in the centre, such as you would expect to see in a ball-room or theatre rather than in a church."[532] Gottis had said much the same in 1871, while praising the interior: "Malgré sa nudité complète, cette mosquée est très-imposante. Sa nef immense forme un carré parfait; elle est surmontée d'une superbe coupole."[533] One traveller drew a distinction between art critics and tourists: Delmas in 1896 hinted that the minarets were vulgarly tall, and and that this "est un monument élégant,

intéressant, mais qui a soulevé de nombreuses critiques d'art dont l'examen ne trouve pas sa place dans une simple relation de voyage."[534]

Romani in 1879 noted that the mosque was not rich in mosaic, bronze and inscriptions as was the Dome of the Rock, but "la vince coll'essere tutta di alabastro orientale, da terra alla cupola e nella eleganza e nel buon gusto di costruzione."[535] Senior, writing in 1882, found "its exterior the most striking building in Cairo" (due of course to its preponderant location) and then betrayed his aesthetic horizons by writing that "the whole effect is very fine; finer than that of any modem European edifice that I can recollect, except perhaps the Madeleine, or our House of Lords."[536] The French followed this opinion: for Bovet in 1883 it was "in exquisite taste and of great magnificence,"[537] and for Couret a decade later "Le joyau de la citadelle, la merveille, le chef-d'oeuvre, c'est la mosquée de Mehemet-Ali."[538] The next year Reynolds-Ball disagreed, though "the lofty and graceful minarets are justly admired." And, what is more:

> It is one of the show mosques of Cairo, despite its artistic demerits, and owes, no doubt, its popularity to its size, its noble situation, – from every point of Cairo this striking landmark dominates the city, – and as the burial-place of Mehemet Ali.[539]

Indeed, for one visitor in 1889, it was "le plus beau morceau d'architecture de la capitale."[540]

Such admirers were surely schooled in napoleonic gigantism, having accepted that big equals better with the Arc de Triomphe (de l'Etoile, inaugurated 1836, and 50 m high) and the church of La Madeleine, consecrated in 1842, and boasting 52 Corinthian columns, each 20 m high. (See Chapter 5: *Exhibiting Islamic Lands*.) This work was a kind of competitor, its outer dome height being 41 m, its inner dome diameter 21 m, and its minaret 82 m. This was surely intended as a deliberate foil for the Sultan Hasan, the taller of whose two minarets measured 84 m.

A sceptic might summarise opinions about Muhammad Ali's mosque as follows. It was prominent, huge, new and built of luxurious materials, with fine carpets on the floor (although perhaps these were taken up when tourists visited[541]). The citadel featured in every tourist milk-run since well before its conception, and was high above the narrow streets and the mosques tucked obscurely amongst them. What is more, tourists were allowed to enter without let or hindrance. Might we call the whole setup, just like Damascene turbans with their labels displayed, another early example of "branding"? (For which see below, in the section *Cairo, modernism and Islamic survivals*.)

7 Northern and Southern Cemeteries

> Sultani Sangiacchi, & altri grandi, che sono bellissimi, con le loro Cuppole, & Colonne ben proportionate.[542] [Bremond, 1679]

During the glory-days of Cairo, some Mamelukes gathered so much power, prestige and wealth that they were able to erect tombs to rival and often exceed those of their masters, the Caliphs. All were built with spolia marble and granite from earlier monuments in Egypt, for as yet there is no proof that any such stones were fresh-quarried during these dates. Some Mamelukes (such as Saladin, Barquq and el-Ashraf) declared themselves Sultan, and ruled Egypt thanks to a mixture of distance from Constantinople and default. The following account covers the whole cemetery, north and south.

Pharaonic cemeteries had long been an attraction for westerners. Travellers could not usually date them, so we find Maillet (who praised the great hospital of Qalawun[543]) writing of several mummies in underground caverns, which he mistakenly assumed also to be Muslim, but which were surely Pharaonic.[544] After all, mummies (with supposedly medicinal properties) were then one of the standard "rarities"[545] sought by foreigners: Monconys was offered several in 1665, and bought the most complete very cheaply.[546] They were still plentiful two centuries later, when they helped Cook's vessels (and hence the development of tourism) when navigating difficult stretches of the Nile:

> By custom, Thomas Cook's steamers carried a reserve of mummies as a specially fast-burning fuel for emergencies such as difficult cataracts. My father once heard the captain shout to his engine room staff, "All right, throw on another pharaoh."[23]

Many funerary complexes survived outside the walls of Cairo, and in the Northern Cemetery were often known incorrectly to visitors as the "Tombs of the Caliphs." In the fifteenth century it did indeed contain many prestigious tombs. Europeans were of course familiar with cemeteries back home, but must have been struck by the size and splendour of what they saw here; for such large complexes (*pace* Julius II's wish for St. Peter's as the site of his tomb) were rare in Europe. Jacques de Vérone confirmed this when he wrote of Cairo and environs in 1335, emphasising the stones and the rich decoration:

23 Bagnold 1990, 5, writing of 1882.

> Sunt ibi mirabiles sepulture de lapidibus marmoribus, porfiricis et alabastro et aliis nobilibus lapidibus nobiliter et mirabiliter edificatis et deauratis, que non vidi in tota cristianitate tales magnificas sepulturas, et fuerunt soldanorum et admiratorum et nobilium Saracenorum, et moscetas et eorum ecclesias taliter ornatas, quas omnes edificant versus meridiem.[547]

Jacques' assessment was one of many. Bremond in the opening quote noted their domes, while in 1743 Perry wrote of "sepulchral Monuments rais'd in manner of Triumphal Arches, which look very neat and beautiful … than which nothing of the Kind can look more sweet and pretty; nor do they want Magnificence."[548] Niebuhr was astonished by their profusion, some of them "forming a street three quarters of a German league in length," and concluded that "it should seem that the ancient sovereigns of Egypt were not less disposed than the Sultans of Constantinople, to expend money upon pious foundations."[549]

However, by the end of the eighteenth century travellers noted that a "great part of [the cemetery] is now in ruins,"[550] though still magnificent. (We might surmise that many city mosque and palaces were built or repaired with material from tombs *extra muros*.) Sandwich, writing in 1807 of these large and imposing monuments: "over each of which is erected a mosque of a very beautiful structure."[551] Henniker in 1824 wrote that the tombs were "going fast to decay; their boasted magnificence is limited to a gilt inscription."[552] He noted that the recent tomb of the pasha's son ("The handsomest … monument in this Westminster Abbey") was still being built with reused materials.[553] As Measor wrote in 1844, these "'whited sepulchres' prove, on a nearer inspection, as decayed as their tenants."[554] In other words, the tombs suffered like the monuments in the city itself, because the government was uninterested in preserving the old. The cemeteries were easier to see before the twentieth century, being out in the desert (see nineteenth-century illustrations) but were increasingly interspersed with population overflow from the crowded city, who found homes in the tombs, and built dwellings amongst them, as happened all over the Mediterranean.

It seems probable that Europeans paid so much attention to these cemetery structures because they were outside the pokey streets of old Cairo. They could presumably be contemplated, drawn and even visited without harrassment by the locals, who had little to do with them except for lodging, and who could be placated with a tip. As Schickler wrote in 1863:

> L'isolement même de ces édifices permet d'apprécier l'architecture orientale beaucoup mieux ici qu'on ne saurait le faire dans la ville, où les constructions voisines empiètent toujours sur une portion quelconque de l'ensemble.[555]

While they contain a large population today, we cannot know how many people lived in the cemeteries in the nineteenth century. Buckham, travelling in 1868–1876, saw the city itself as a crumbling, ruinous city, "little better than a mass of ruins, teeming with a population of more than four hundred thousand!"[556]

In 1815 William Turner rode out for a visit, and was impressed by the domes:

> topped by cupolas, which were beautifully fretted, sometimes in zig-zag, and sometimes in grooves, while the cornice under them was formed of ornaments, falling the lower within the higher ones, three or four deep, like the droppings of stalactites … Sometimes the cupola was supported on four square pillars, and this, at a little distance, had a light and pretty effect.[557]

He made a second visit, again commented on the domes, and tried to count them:

> Their general construction is a quadrangle, containing the tomb, above which rises a cupola, which is highly ornamented. They are generally fretted like embroidery, in zigzag and other patterns, all elegant, with stalactite ornaments under the cornice; they are sometimes surmounted by a minaret, also deeply and tastefully adorned with fret-work. There are many of them, not a small proportion, ruined. Of the highly ornamented ones I should suppose there are twenty-five on the north, and fifteen on the south, side of the rock that contains the citadel.[558]

Turner stated that there were disturbances in Cairo at this time, so perhaps he knew that sketching outside the city would be much easier. However, for an evident aficionado of stone domes, it is surely curious that Turner mentions not one such inside the city walls. For Madden in 1829 the tombs are "best worth seeing of any objects in the vicinity of Cairo. They are pure specimens of Saracen architecture; their elegant domes are seen glittering in the sun from the palace of the Viceroy [Citadel]."[559] Carne thought their minarets "of exquisite workmanship."[560]

In 1838 Taylor and Reybaud reported that "Les minarets aux formes si variées se détruisent, les dômes élégants s'écroulent;" and attributed the neglect to the fact that the government had taken over the waqfs, but done nothing to maintain them.[561] For Michaud and Poujoulat, writing in 1835, signs of ruination (because of seized waqfs) were clear, and their judgment compared them to older tombs:

> Un spectacle fort pittoresque; mais on ne rencontre nulle part l'image de la grandeur; quelle différence entre les sentimens qu'inspirent cette ville des morts et la plaine des pyramides! combien tous ces mausolées des sultans sont petits et mesquins à côté des monumens élevés à la mémoire des Pharaons![562]

In 1839 Lindsay approached the cemeteries eagerly, only to be disappointed:

> The most splendid domes, pillars of the most exquisite Saracenic architecture, and minarets the lightest and airiest imaginable, rising from the desert, like an oriental Venice, to greet you; I never saw anything more lovely than this City of the Dead – the evening sun shining brightly and cheerfully down its silent avenues.

But then:

> On a nearer approach you find with sorrow that they are already crumbling with decay; the muezzin has long ceased his summons to prayer, and a few miserable Arabs are the only human tenants of their lofty courts and chambers.[563]

Vernet agreed, these monuments "n'étant plus entretenus depuis bien des années, ils ne sont guère fréquentés aujourd'hui que par les voyageurs."[564] Fancifully, he observed that "les dômes en sont couverts de réseaux d'arabesques, et rappellent par leurs formes les casques des premiers croisés."[565] In 1843 Olin had deplored the ruination it shared with many others, mostly unused because "the number already in existence being far greater than is necessary for the wants of the inhabitants."[566]

Wilkinson in 1847 was also alert to their decay, and warned that "the stones have sometimes even been carried away to serve for the construction of other buildings; and there is reason to fear that in another fifty years they will be a heap of ruins."[567] Not only that, for Duff Gordon was told in 1865 that

Saeed Pasha used to bombard them "for practice for his artillery."[568] In 1847 Castlereagh had noted the great size of some of the tombs, which were

> almost as large as the mosques of the city, and more beautiful, perhaps, than any. Their finish is more exquisite, and they stand alone, unencumbered by houses, so that the outlines of the buildings can be seen in all their perfection. There are perhaps twenty or thirty scattered round, and planted on the very edge of the desert. All are deserted and falling to decay. A few years more and they will gradually disappear, for the government is already dooming them to destruction in order to obtain building materials; and the finest tomb of all, at least the one dearest to fame, the tomb of Malek Adhel [Saladin's brother], which stands at a distance from the others, is half destroyed.[569]

Perhaps this was too pessimistic. Curtis noted that Muslim travellers entering or leaving Cairo would pause at these monuments ("the finest oriental architecture"[570]) to pray. Their dilapidation continued: Dorr passed in 1856, and observed "once magnificent mosques … The stones of some of them have been taken to construct other buildings, and all are fast falling to decay; yet enough is left to show their former grandeur."[571] Just as Durbin had remarked in 1845, a decade later Bromfield visited the tombs, "domed structures, of great richness and elegance of architectural detail," yet, "while at a distance appearing fresh and entire, discover on a nearer approach woful dilapidation and neglect."[572]

Perhaps because of the safety-sure visits they could promise their charges, mid-century the tombs sometimes formed part of the tour organised by dragomans for westerners. In 1862 Bovet visited "une immense étendue couverte de tombeaux, derrière lesquels s'élèvent des mosquées abandonnées et des palais en ruine," and in one [Qaytbay, though he does not name it] noted ironically (and distastefully) that "Dans une autre, on nous fait remarquer deux blocs de marbre, sur chacun desquels on peut reconnaître distinctement l'empreinte des pieds du Prophète, nus sur l'un et en pantoufles sur l'autre."[573]

Curzon visited at mid-century, admired the marbles decorating the wall dadoes and the minarets ("most richly ornamented with tracery, sculpture, and variegated marbles"), and commented on the domes:

> The dome of the tomb of Kaitbay is of stone, sculptured all over with an arabesque pattern; and there are several other domes in different mosques at Cairo equally richly ornamented. I have met with none comparable to them either in Europe or in the Levant.

Curzon understood what was happening to them: they were neglected, he agreed, but they "will probably last for centuries to come if they are not pulled down for the materials, or removed to make way for some paltry lath and plaster edifice which will fall in the lifetime of its builder."[574] They were, he concluded, "magnificent and imposing buildings … beautiful specimens of Arabian architecture."[575]

In 1851 Pardieu evidently explored the site more carefully than most, offering brief comments on Qaytbay and Qalawun. Most of the monuments were completely abandoned, although that of Qalawun had a custodian already in place during the French occupation.[576] On entering what is now called the Northern Cemetery, he thought it an important town in its own right, but with its mosques abandoned, and one converted into a gunpowder store. More or less deteriorated, some structures were of great magnificence:

> Dans la mosquée de Kalaoun [Qalawun], une des plus grandes et des plus belles, on trouve une chaire de marbre très délicatement sculptée; on y trouve aussi, comme dans tous ces monuments, les tombeaux du calife et de sa famille. Elle a été très endommagée par un tremblement de terre. Cette mosquée est habitée par un vieux gardien, qui y était déjà lors de l'expédition française. Les autres sont complètement désertes. Celle de Caïd-Bey, la principale, celle qui donne son nom à cette nécropole, est surtout remarquable par la variété et le fini de ses ornements; elle est au milieu d'une cour, où l'on voit encore les bâtiments qui en dépendaient. Les Arabes en ont profité pour y établir un village.[577]

In 1858 Didier recommended the viewing of five mosques in the city itself, two of which needed a cavass or janissary to help get entry;[578] and he claimed that it was Cairo's mosques which converted him from the Graeco-Roman tradition to local styles:

> et les tombeaux des kalifes l'ont complétée. Je leur dois une des plus fortes émotions artistiques de la vie, si forte, que je ne me rappelle pas en avoir éprouvé une semblable, pas même en Italie en présence de tant de chefs-d'œuvre; pas même en Grèce sur la montagne du Parthénon, ni sous les sombres nefs de nos cathédrales gothiques.[579]

Although his chapter entitled *La Cité des Tombeaux*[580] tended to the touchy-feely, his enthusiasm shone through. He deplored the state of one tomb, where "Le pavé et les murs intérieurs sont revêtus des plus beaux marbres, mais dans un état de dégradation qui fait mal à voir,"[581] and marvelled at that of Sultan

Barquq with "Des marbres de toutes couleurs, le vert antique, le lapis-lazuli, les pierres les plus rares, les plus précieuses, en couvrent le sol et les murs, taillés et assortis en mosaïques du travail le plus parfait."[582]

Decay continued, to the puzzlement of Ferguson in 1864. He enlarged his concern to cover all Egypt:

> Like everything else in Egypt, they are suffered to crumble into ruins. We again and again noticed this as a characteristic of the people, that they would expend great sums of money on the erection of edifices, and afterwards abandon them to utter neglect. It was so in the originally gorgeous sepulchres before us.[583]

For Schickler in 1863, the crowd of cemetery buildings with their domes, elegance, and different heights rivalled the marvels of the city of Cairo herself.[584] He studied Faraj ibn Barquq [1400–1411, #149], Al-Ashraf Qaytbay [1472–4, #99] and Al-Ashraf Barsbay [1432, #121], and wrote a long description of some of their interiors.[585] But he wondered whether Cairenes would be able much longer to name their monuments:

> Vanité des pensées humaines! aujourd'hui l'on peut encore dire que si peu de gens il est vrai connaissent les exploits de Barkouk ou d'Achraf, chacun au Caire saurait indiquer leur tombeau; mais demain ce dernier témoignage d'un éclat momentané aura disparu pour toujours. Qui songerait, au milieu de ces changements continuels, à consolider une œuvre du passé?[586]

We can forgive travellers for not taking in the names of such monuments, even supposing their local guides actually knew them. That they often visited several is clear in the descriptions of shared characteristics rather than individual peculiarities. Thus Vetromile in 1871:

> The Mamelukes … are sleeping in their magnificent tombs, whose noble proportions and dignified air called from me a feeling of regret for the extinguished race of the Saracens. These … now neglected and squalid; maintain their beauty unimpaired. The tombs are large and handsome buildings, with domes and minarets; the interior is beautifully wrought, and the windows are set with stained glass. The lofty piers, bearing up the pointed arches of their cloisters, the mysterious interior structure of these gloomy palaces for the habitation of the departed, the bold-springing domes, and the silent, gorgeous chambers of death below pointing heavenward, and the graceful, slender minarets …

And he bore witness that "many tombs of this long range have been destroyed, in order to build other monuments; and this work of devastation continues very briskly, till eventually the entire range will disappear."[587]

Even later in the nineteenth century, the cemeteries seemed to some more attractive than the city iself. In 1874 Beaufort, having visited some city mosques in a rush, then went outside the city, and discovered that

> the buildings which charmed us most were the tombs of the Mamlook kings outside the town, full of variety and of singular elegance: they stand in the loose sand, and should be visited early or late to avoid the heat of the sun, but they will well repay a visit at any time, and artists would find among them subjects for many months of drawing.[588]

In the same year Du Fougerais was more grudging:

> Une plaine déserte, remplie de monuments funéraires de toutes dimensions, mais d'une architecture assez monotone. Ce sont toujours des dômes de style byzantin, renflés au centre, étranglés à la base; des minarets carrés ou octogones, se terminant en pointe, et surmontés de l'inévitable croissant; des fenêtres ogivales ornées de colonnettes, etc., le tout dans un état misérable d'abandon et de délabrement.[589]

Most tombs and mosques were evidently admired only from the outside, but Schickler offered a detailed account of Qaytbay:

> Le type du style sarrasin dans ce qu'il présente de plus élégant. Une seule coupole la domine, un seul minaret l'accompagne; mais cette coupole, svelte et ogivale, est enlacée d'un réseau d'arabesques, et le minaret est interrompu par trois balcons à jour après chacun desquels sa forme se modifie. L'encadrement des fenêtres est rehaussé par les bandes rouges et blanches qui recouyrent les parois. A l'intérieur, la voûte de la première chapelle est soutenue par des encoignures en stalactites, tandis que les poutres du plafond peuvent rivaliser avec les plus fines décorations de Damas. Dans la seconde chapelle on voit le tombeau du bey, puis une pierre basaltique, recouverte de tentures qu'on soulève pour nous montrer l'empreinte du pied de Mahomet.[590]

Without naming it, Duff Gordon entered the same complex two years later ("a lovely little mosque, – a sort of sainte chapelle") and was assured no doubt falsely by her dragoman "that no Frank had ever been inside, to his knowledge."[591] Hill noticed the remains of a village in its environs.[592]

Visitors to the cemeteries were usually reliant on their (sometimes evidently ignorant) guides for information. In 1859 Gregory's guide "so jumbled up one with another, that a fresh visit will be required to clear up the confusion." This never happened, because the guide insisted (shades of Citadel mis-information, and feeding the foreigner with what he wanted to hear?) that one of the tombs was that of Saladin, whom Gregory knew was entombed in Damascus.[593]

It is likely many tourists omitted to visit interiors because they were occupied as family houses. Buckham visited some tombs in 1868, and lunched in the shadow of one of them. In spite of the photographs showing little but desert around them, he wrote:

> A girl brought me some water in an earthen jar, which she placed in the sand at a little distance from me and ran away. On leaving, we were surrounded by a clamorous crowd of Arab children, most of them quite naked, calling "Baksheesh, Baksheesh."

He found it easy to enter a mosque which (as the "guide" told them) was the tomb of Fatima, sister of the Prophet (perhaps buried in Medina, but certainly not in Cairo):

> It is a splendid ruin. Before entering the mosk a priest met us at the gate, and putting slippers over my boots, waved his hand to enter. The interior is ornamented with an almost interminable variety of beautiful and highly polished marbles, and although nearly the whole roof has fallen in, it is still used as a place of prayer by the Moslems. / This once magnificent pile, still magnificent as a ruin, is surrounded by mud huts, and is approached through narrow, dirty lanes and crumbling archways, where groups of scowling Arabs sat or reclined in the sand sunning themselves.[594]

From the later nineteenth century the main guidebooks, such as Joanne and Isambert in 1861, picked out the most important structures,[595] and many visitors wrote incorrectly of separate areas for caliphs and Mamelukes. By the 1880s the cemeteries were on the recommended itinerary of guidebooks such as Baedeker, who wrote that "the old necropolis has thus been converted into a kind of suburb of Cairo, the inhabitants of which often pester strangers with their importunities." The tombs were best appreciated towards sunset (!), and the traveller needed a "necessary order of admission from the Wakf ministry

may be obtained through the consulate."[596] Evidently, then, the monuments were open to visitors, and visiting had been organised officially with tickets. The Tombs of the Mamelukes, wrote Baedeker, were nearer the city, and their ruins "still bear traces of great artistic merit, and several of the minarets in particular are exceedingly beautiful."[597] Reynolds-Ball offered a long description of the Tombs of the Caliphs in 1897.[598]

In 1892 Couret had evidently visited several monuments in the cemeteries, and summed up as follows:

> Admirables petites mosquées ogivales, en forme de cube dominé par un ou même quelquefois deux dômes sculptés surmontés d'un croissant énorme et flanqués de minarets sveltes comme des roseaux, avec balustrade à jour à demi croulante. A l'intérieur, des galeries, des cloîtres, des colonnes, des sentences du Coran ciselées sur les murs, des restes de peinture à fresque, des cloisons de bois finement découpées, et, sous la coupole, des mausolées encore vivants, c'est-à-dire hantés par leurs morts. Remarqué notamment les tombes de Kaï-bey et de El-Barkouk, de son fils et de son petit-fils.[599]

In 1894 Bernard described Barquq with its two minarets as

> Certes, l'un des plus intéressants et dont les murs aux assises blanches et roses supportent trois coupoles, dont la chaire est couverte d'un petit abat-voix en dôme renflé et bulbeux, n'est plus qu'une vraie ruine que soutiennent à peine des charpentes tutélaires.[600]

In the Southern Cemetery mention was made of the mausoleum of Imam al-Schafi (AD 1211 #281), inaccessible to infidels in 1855[601] and a few years later.[602] Louise Marquette says she visited this mosque in 1892 and mentioned the houses surrounding it, but there is no description of the interior.[603]

7.1 *Mosque/Mausoleum of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay* (*r. 1468–96 #99*)

After reading of the neglect by Muhammad Ali of old architecture, it comes as a relief to promote Qaytbay not only as a vigorous builder but also as a restorer of earlier monuments, not least the Mosques of Amr, Al-Azhar, and Al-Nazir, as well as Joseph's Hall in the Citadel.[24] He also attracted Western artists, and

24 Behrens-Abouseif 2008, 304–5.

was apparently known to Leonardo da Vinci.[25] His mosque/mausoleum was admired as the most beautiful of all by Saint-Aignan in 1864:

> L'architecture sarrasine n'a rien produit de plus élégant, de plus achevé. Les voûtes de ces mosquées sont ornées d'arabesques, les murs sont tapissés de mosaïques; les chaires et les minarets sont sculptés à jour avec une délicatesse et un goût incroyables; c'est, – on peut le dire, – de la dentelle de pierre.

However, like the rest, by the 1860s Qaytbay was falling into ruin.[604] In 1861 Joanne and Isambert had focussed on the minaret, which

> peut passer pour le modèle du genre. Il ne compte pas moins de trois étages avec des galeries en encorbellement, sans compter le couronnement. Les galeries, les fenêtres, le corps même du minaret sont ornés de sculptures d'un goût exquis.[605]

In 1880 Charmes praised it as "le chef-d'œuvre des minarets dans le genre fleuri; la coupule n'a peut-être pas sa pareille dans le monde entier. On est surpris de la variété prodigieuse des décorations de cette mosquée." He was so enchanted that he stayed inside for an hour.[606] As Baedeker noted in 1885, it was

> only lately saved from complete ruin … The attics have almost entirely fallen in, but a graceful minaret still exists … The principal arches, which approach the horseshoe shape, though distinctly pointed, are tastefully decorated. The mambar is richly embellished with wood-carving. The mosaics on the pavement and the walls are also worthy of notice.[607]

Couret in 1892 remarked on Qaytbay and Barquq, characterising the type as "A l'intérieur, des galeries, des cloîtres, des colonnes, des sentences du Coran ciselées sur les murs, des restes de peinture à fresque, des cloisons de bois finement découpées, et, sous la coupole, des mausolées encore vivants."[608] Ruinous or not, it was still admired by Bernard in 1894, who considered it an architectural jewel

25 Jardine and Brotton 2000, 10: "we now have properly documented accounts of the way in which individuals like Bellini, Costanzo da Ferrara and Matteo de' Pasti were sent on extended artistic 'exchanges' to the East by their patrons in this period."

> que flanque un joli petit minaret en pierres de couleur, que percent cinquante petites fenêtres arrondies en coquille et fermées de vitraux, que couronnent un balcon à stalactites et une balustrade découpée, que ferme, enfin, une porte de bronze, est riche d'ornements du goût le plus exquis, de mosaïques délicates, de ciselures qui ressemblent à notre fleur de lis, d'arabesques bleues et rouges, de sculptures qui rehaussent le bandeau de son dôme et, sous un baldaquin, le tombeau qu'il protège est incrusté d'ivoire.[609]

8 Cairo, Modernism and Islamic Survivals

This section explains what happened to Cairo during the later nineteenth century, under governments which cared little for old buildings. (There was little modernism in Jerusalem, and Constantinople saw additions rather than destruction in part because its waqfs continued to provide maintenance for sultans still committed to their Ottoman lineage). It offers a very brief overview of the restoration of the mediaeval city largely by Europeans, as proof of their increasing appreciation for Islamic architecture, and their desire and ability to save it from destruction by a long programme of "restoration" (a flexible term, as we shall see) which continues to this day. "Making things modern" can entail the destruction of the old, and there was even less conjuction between modernism, museums and monuments in Egypt, where Muhammad Ali was self-declared khedive from 1805 to 1848, filling the vacuum left by the French defeat.

To recap on what we have already learned, in 1517 Cairo was captured by the Turks, after which many of the city's monuments were left to decay, while Ottoman styles were imported. Evidently the Turks, although they prized marble so much that they shipped it thence to Constantinople, did not see mediaeval Cairo as any part of their artistic heritage. As we know, by the mid-nineteenth century visitors were alarmed at the dilapidation of many buildings throughout the Ottoman Empire, excluding Constantinople itself. They bemoaned how little was being done to preserve them, and disapproved of the import of European fashions at the expense of existing forms, surely without realising that their presence in the East was both a motor and an encouragement for westernisation.

We have also noted the extent to which Egypt was seen to be changing during the later nineteenth century, and we can look back on the process through the writings of two British orientalists. Edward William Lane (1801–1876), the

foremost such scholar of his generation, and an Arabic-speaker, wrote *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*. This book, made from notes taken in the early 1830s, was evidently considered valuable, being in its fifth edition by 1860. Stanley Lane-Poole (1854–1931) was his nephew, working in the British Museum and Egypt, and eventually holding the chair of Arabic studies at Dublin University. He was a prolific author, and published on matters Middle-Eastern, including India, Saladin and Cairo. His *Studies in a mosque* (1883) is a wide-ranging study of Islam and the Arabs through history. His *Egypt* (1881) offers a long list of authorities, noting that the *Egypt* article in the Britannica was written by three members of his family.[610] The nephew looked back in 1860 on an Egypt fast disappearing under European influence and civilisation:

> Mr. Lane wrote his account of the "Modern Egyptians," when they could, for the last time, be described. Twenty-five years of steam-communication with Egypt have more altered its inhabitants than had the preceding five centuries. They then retained the habits and manners of their remote ancestors: they now are yearly straying from old paths into the new ways of European civilization.[611] [1860]

Lane-Poole was disappointed that the Museum of Arab Art (see below) was so little known, and the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* (established by the French in 1881) so badly funded and late off the ground. It is conceivable that Lane-Poole's interrogation of the *Comité* was another example of cross-Channel rivalry, and his attitude to the Museum of Arab Art was perhaps coloured by his sure knowledge as a curator that so many of the portable plums were already to be found in Europe, with too many in Paris.

Modernisation was the main key to the "restoration dilemma." Reid recalled that in 1874 British consul Edward T. Rogers had urged the International Congress of Orientalists to appoint a committee to preserve, restore, and record Oriental monuments and art. He quoted Lane-Poole's cardinal question: "whether Parisian boulevards and Italian villas planted in the historical soil of Egypt were not more artistic than tumble down mosques and ruined houses?"[26] Modernisation in Egypt required factories to produce goods for international sale; and several factories were built by demolishing monuments, while Muhammad Ali's cosying up to Europeans for expertise and funding entailed giving or selling antiquities abroad.[27]

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26 Reid 2002, 223.

27 Greenhalgh 2019, 347–352: "Destructive modernity in Egypt."

Muhammad Ali, a veritable power-house of change, was a Turk born in Kavala, and he and his grandson Ismail modernised Cairo in the French style, changing the face of the city. Why should he care about Islamic Cairo? As Nasser writes, "Modernisation became synonymous with Westernisation marked by a shift to European values and a rejection of the architectural heritage of the past."[28] And Muhammad Ali was far from alone in chasing modernism and neglecting the old. Thus Ali Mubarak, appointed Director of the Public Works in 1868, questioned "Does one need so many monuments? When one preserves a sample, isn't that enough?" And as for Bab Zuwayla, once the site for hanging criminals, "We don't want to keep those memories, we ought to destroy them as the French destroyed the Bastille."[29] For Muhammad Ali and Mubarak, then, viable and attractive public works were evidently only modern works constructed under French inspiration or guidance, and the crumbling structures of the mediaeval city simply got in the way, and could be demolished without qualm. Many visitors, coming to view "the Orient," were disconcerted to find a usually awkward version of Parisian fashion. Was their visit really necessary?

Westernisation extended from mosques (such as Muhammad Ali's in the Citadel: see above) to secular buildings, Jacquesson in 1857 deploring that same ruler's palace for being "too European."[612] (It certainly attracted some scathing notices.[613]) Similarly Gregory complained in 1859 that rulers were addicted to "enormous straggling palaces fitted up at ruinous expense, and with the worst of taste; these, in their turn, at their builders' death, to be abandoned to fleas, dogs, and dervishes."[614]

Unfortunately, the whole Empire was addicted to Western imports, just as people are addicted today to designer clothes and gadgets, and willingly pay over the odds for a "label" or a "look," equivalent to a style or decoration in buildings. Local Egyptian production of such luxury goods was not yet contemplated: they had to be imported and (in the case of several palaces around the Mediterranean) actually built by Europeans. This thirst for prestigious imports extended throughout West-influenced regions. Hence in 1844 Kelly noted in Damascus (in an early example of branding) that it was de rigeur to leave the label showing on turbans or shawls, so that

> you observe the corner of a piece of Manchester manufacture spread over the folds of the turban it composes, and showing the name of the makers stamped on it in large blue letters: an English firm is thus

28 Nasser 2007, 84.

29 Hampikian 2005.

> converted into a decoration for a Turkish beau, or an emblem of gratitude to providence.[615]

Extensive European encroachment into Cairo was already in evidence from mid-century. In 1851 Pardieu wrote of the very remarkable mosques, and also of the European area:

> Le quartier Franc est traversé par une large rue nommée le Mouski où sont tous les marchands Européens. On y trouve des cafés, des libraires, des horlogers, des boutiques dans le genre de celles qu'on voit chez nous. C'est une rue toute européenne.[616]

Bromfield in 1856 professed himself astonished by the diminishing intolerance, the great influx of Europeans, and he reported that "ranges of handsome shops in the Frank quarter have been opened, and others are still in progress of completion, which let at quite a European rental."[617] By "Frank" Pardieu and Bromfield were using the old term for "European."

Thanks to modernisation, by the 1870s the tourist trail had been updated. It still included the Citadel (with "the new alabaster mosque") and the mosques of Ibn Tulun and Hasan, but also "the Turkish and Egyptian Bazaars in addition to the European."[618] By 1895 the British were firmly in control, and their influence competed with that of the French. Berger recounted how his guide cursed the British because he knew Berger was French. Berger went on to confirm the English as masters of the city, with a barracks and offices in an old mosque, and the khedive protected on his journey to the mosque by a phalanx of soldiers. Thus was provided the smack of firm government, to prevent back-sliding into barbarism:

> Le grand mérite des Anglais est d'avoir fait sentir leur force, et d'avoir donné une verte leçon aux indigènes. Cela les fait respecter et ils n'ont presque pas besoin d'intervenir … tous ces brillants officiers égyptiens qu'on voit à l'hôtel sont des Anglais.[619]

More Europeans in Cairo meant a growing market for souvenirs, the descendants of those well-funded Cabinets of Curiosities of earlier centuries. Many such souvenirs were of course fakes produced for the tourists, but we should note that when looting antiquities it remained standard practice to blame the stupidity, fecklessness, ignorance, tastelessness, etc. of the locals. Hence intervention to remove the genuine articles (acknowledging the industrious

collecting of museums in the West!) spelled rescue, not theft. Lane-Poole, after conveniently castigating Mariette for his rapacious vandalism (and Paris for extracting artefacts which he clearly thought belonged in London[620]), turned to another conveniently local cause for the ruination of monuments, namely the state's confiscation of the waqfs, which were sometimes richly funded. (As we have frequently seen, this was anything but a recent discovery.) He then launched into a condemnation of Khedivial taste:

> A prince who could suffer the incongruous mass called the Rifa'iya to be set up opposite the mosque of Sultan Hasan, while he left the carved frieze and marbles of the latter to go to ruin; who could run a new street through the mosque of Kusun, and then replace it by such a monstrosity as we saw slowly growing to its eventual hideousness, was hardly the man to cherish the artistic monuments which fate perversely committed to his charge.[621]

Like Lane-Poole, many westerners found such imported modernism distasteful because, as already indicated, they had by the nineteenth century come to see the "real" East, and to Cairo to admire original Cairene buildings, rather than bastard imitations of what they already had back home. Deliciously, they seemed unaware that their very presence triggered and encouraged obeisance to the West, by locals who eschewed the old and wished to be up-to-date – that is, modern. (Some visitors would already have seen mock-ups of a Cairo street back home: see below, in the section *Restoration and reconstruction*; and Chapter 5: *Exhibiting Islamic Lands*.) Fisk, an English divine, visited in midcentury, and found Mehemet Ali's palace and gardens awkward, for

> it is quite a departure from the Saracenic architecture, so common in Cairo; and a most apologetic attempt at the modern villa. The Pacha has rather a taste for European design; and yet cannot quite tear himself away from the oriental.[622]

Already in 1843 Garnier had pointed to the declining quality of Cairo's architecture, which was "dans une décadence progressive; les grands édifices, bâtis par les anciens sultans, annoncent plus de splendeur que ceux qu'on a construits au temps des mameloucks, et ce qui reste du temps des mameloucks l'emporte sur ce qu'on fait aujourd'hui." Instancing the palaces and other works of Muhammad Ali, "on ne bâtit plus maintenant que des palais semblables aux kioskes des Turcs," which was a calculated insult. As Wilkinson noted in 1847,

the marble in the Shoobra Palace was from Carrara, and the building was the work of Italians.[623] Garnier had thought much the same, condemning tawdry Western imports:

> Je m'étonne que, dans un pays où le voyageur vient admirer les marbres de Sienne, employés aux vieux monumens, on fasse venir aujourd'hui tout ce qu'il y a de plus vulgaire dans les marbres d'Italie, et que des colonnes achetées à Livourne décorent les palais des successeurs de Sésostris.

In other words, modern Egyptian style was a muddled mish-mash, and "Les édifices nouvellement bâtis, comme les costumes nouveaux, ont l'air tour-à-tour d'être européens, d'être asiatiques, et l'étranger n'y reconnait au fond ni l'Europe ni l'Asie."[624]

However, the glories of mediaeval Cairo were still in tenuous existence, even if much ruined. Thus in 1870 Paton criticized contemporary work by looking to the past, and enthusing over the fountain of Qaytbay (whose mosque was to be described three years later as "un des modèles de l'architecture musulmane"[625]):

> Faded though this ornament be for want of cleaning, which would cost but little, one could detect the superior richness and beauty of the style of the Mameluke Sultans over that of the moderns; for certainly no workman could be found in Cairo, at this day, capable of producing this ornament of the so-called "ropemaker's-road."[626]

Fortunately, most modern development took place in the city's outskirts, rather than in its mediaeval centre. Indeed, Lane-Poole sighed with relief that these, which he found ugly, were in addition to the old quarters, rather than replacing them, and "consist of a number of parallel boulevards and *rondes places*, where ugly western uniformity is partly redeemed by some cool verandahed villas and the grateful shade of trees."[627]

To summarise, here we have a conundrum. It was modernity which brought visitors to the Empire in ships and eventually trains, and which provided Western styles and goods that were eagerly bought by its inhabitants. These included architectural and furnishing styles deplored by visitors who, to repeat, had come to the Empire to see more than a pale and shaky imitation of back home. And what was happening to the monuments they had come to see? In Constantinople the blasé visitor could unfairly dismiss the great mosques as pale imitations of St. Sophia, but could not complain about their upkeep

because of their functioning waqfs.[30] This was far from the case in Cairo, where most of the best monuments (mosques and funerary complexes) dated from well before the conquest of Constantinople, and where the waqf funds had been taken over by the government for other uses, leaving hundreds of buildings dilapidated or in ruins, and prey to hunters for spolia. MacFarlane in 1850 provided a cogent summary of the decay of buildings and the endowments supposed to maintain them.[628]

In essence, then, it was modernity to the rescue of standing monuments and their contents, because Western expertise was imported not only to "restore" the monuments of Cairo, but also to acquire Islamic artefacts for museums and private collections in the West.[31] It would be interesting to explore (but not here) why the Empire did not deal with the problem, given that Constantinople demonstrated workmanlike expertise in building, and was concerned from at least the mid-nineteenth-century that antiquities were leaving her shores. Was it because monuments earlier than 1453 were of no interest, that funds were lacking and, in any case, Cairo was far away? And what was later to constitute national heritage? The whole concept, in Lowenthal's cynical view, is fraught with contradictions and changes in prevailing winds.[32] Thus Rogers recounted how the Ministry of Wakfs was loth to deal with a masonry inscription on gateway of the Mosque of Al-Hakim; they "would not consent either to replace the fallen stones or to remove the remaining ones, on which the rest of the legend is inscribed!"[629]

8.1 *Restoration and Reconstruction*

Even when the decision was made by the *Comité* to develop a programme of restoration for any monument, we should be aware that what is to be seen today in Cairo is not necessarily of much historical validity. This is because restoration remakes a monument based on whatever historical insights might be available, and does not just preserve what has survived.[33] Distinct from scholars' attempts to understand just how the monument in the past had looked

30 See Volume 1, Chapter Two: *Churches, Mosques and Travellers*.

31 Çelik 2016, passim; Shaw 2003, 182–3.

32 Lowenthal 1968, 73 for Egypt; 235 for India and Pakistan; and 238 for the rhetorical bombast often involved.

33 AlSayyad et al. 2005. Cf. Bierman 2005, 9–27. Also Hampikian 2005, mainly on the work of the *Comité*, and with some startling before-and-after shots. Ormos 2009 for the Minarets of al-Mu'ayyad Sayh, Maridani Mosque, Al Aqmar, Al-Azhar, Asanbuga, the pavement of the Sultan Hasan, and the façade and mihrab of the Qalawun complex; see also Bierman 2005.

from period to period, now so confident was the later nineteenth century that it remade the past by rebuilding it in what contemporary scholarship told them was scientific accuracy. Gone were later additions, and aesthetic faults (in nineteenth-century eyes) were corrected. The same sorry story applies to the restoration of monuments in England and France.[34] There, as in Cairo, the innocent reader should prepare to be shocked by before-and-after photographs, and to mourn what has been lost in the process. Although of course we should be thankful to the *Comité* for their work in preservation, the result of much of their restoration was apparently (that is, as far as we can now determine after their work changed, destroyed or replaced the long-standing appearance) a *pasticcio* – a mess.

The *modus operandi* of the *Comité* in Cairo was to import smart ideas for its work from home;[35] and, equally unfortunately, the *savoir faire* came from France, where confidence in their restoration programmes in the hexagon stood high. (Not that *savoir faire* from England would have been any more rigorous in preserving monuments' original forms.) The noxious effects of their work were recognised as they worked. Reid detailed the destructive techniques used, and cited Gabriel Charmes to the effect that "destruction pure and simple would be a hundred times better!"[36] Mediaeval Cairo was not declared a World Heritage site until 1979, perhaps because of continuing concerns about the authenticity of several "restorations."[37] There was a lot of restoration needed. Rogers declared in 1880 that Cairo contained 315 important mosques, 294 tombs (excluding the extramural cemeteries), plus schools, fountains and hospices. He wrote an account of some of the mosques in *The Art Journal* in 1880, though we might wonder why two illustrations are labelled "A Mosque – Cairo" – but without naming it; he compounds this on the next page by illustrating "A Minaret – Cairo."[630]

Irony abounds in the reactions of travellers dismayed by the dilapidation of Cairo's monuments who, like Charmes, sometimes preferred destruction to false restoration. In 1882 Rhoné said he visited one hundred of the most beautiful mosques: and "toutes ou presque toutes tombent en ruines et, pour l'artiste, pour l'architecte, mieux valent encore celles qu'on abandonne que celles qu'on restaure." But, remembering his nationality (and, no doubt, that of his intended audience), he then went on to claim confidence in French restoration techniques: unfortunately Cairo

34 Reid 2002, 218: "Appalled at Viollet-le-Duc, Ruskin shunned reconstructions and emphasized stabilizing historic buildings in their existing state."

35 Hampikian 2005.

36 Reid 2002, 217.

37 AlSayyad 2011, 56–57.

> n'a pas encore songé à prendre de nous, avec le respect tardif du passé, l'art patient, raisonné, prudent de nos restaurations historiques fondé par les Lassus et les Viollet-le-Duc.[631]

In what might be a cunning diversion, he deplored the importation of Italian taste by Muhammad Ali, exemplified by his mosque:

> sa grande mosquée qu'on voit de partout, sont de la même famille et représentent, dans la majeure partie de leur ensemble et de leurs détails, ce qu'on pourrait nommer l'extravagance et la bouffonnerie du mauvais goût.[632]

The same bad taste extended to the restoration of mosques such as that of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad (1416–21). Here clumsy masons ("dépourvus de toutes traditions de métier") blundered and, indeed destroyed. They fed original and authentic wooden decorations into their kitchen fire and, where the structures were then plastered, "elles souffrent les embellissements que leur inflige quelque manoeuvre en peinture de bâtiment."[633]

Why is it that westerners (not native Cairenes) were involved in restoration work? In 1888 Lane-Poole noted that Eastern historians did not supply "the sort of information we require about the art of the various dynasties and capitals," although he gathered "a certain number of valuable indications scattered among the Arabic writers."[634] Rhoné noted in 1882 that Franz Bey had rescued the Mosque of Ibn Tulun from a rubbish tip and its use as a "cour des Miracles" for vagabonds. Close by, "on laisse à l'abandon un chef-d'oeuvre du XV^{e} siècle, la perle des édifices du Caire, la mosquée du sultan Kaït-Bây qu'on pourrait encore sauver"[635] – that same Sultan some of whose decorative work was now safely in London.

Westerners were involved in restoration because they arranged payment for it, albeit not before almost the end of the nineteenth century. Lane-Poole offered details of the sums allocated by Lord Cromer (Britain's consul general, but in effect the unofficial governor of Egypt) from the Egyptian National Debt to fund the Commission:

> He has extracted the sum of £20,000 from the Caisse de la Dette for the use of the Commission for the Preservation of the Monuments. Hitherto this invaluable Commission has been starved for want of funds, understaffed, and unable to do half the work which it knows to be necessary. Lord Cromer not only heartily commends the work so far done under great disadvantages, and pays a high tribute to that excellent architect Herz Bey, but has arranged a contribution of £1,000 a-year from

> the Egyptian Government for the purpose of increasing the staff, and strongly recommends an increase in the annual average grant of £4,000 for repairs and preservation.[636]

These are large sums: £20,000 is equivalent today to about £2.32 million; £1000 pa for staff increases is about £116,000. And the annual £4000 for repairs and preservation is about £464,000. Note that these monies were not gifts from the British Government, but were charged to Egypt's economy. If this seems almost an insulting procedure, we might contemplate what might otherwise have happened to many prestigious monuments. (Presumably the Indians were somehow charged when Curzon had restorations made at Sikandra and Fatehpur Sikri, and spent nearly £50,000 – over £5m–in Agra alone.)

That interest in Islamic antiquities was way behind that in Pharaonic Egypt can easily be demonstrated financially, and this no doubt happened because of the sure knowledge on the part of those who held the purse-strings of what tourists wanted to see. Indeed, very large funds were dedicated to Pharaonic antiquities, and work and scholarship on them was evidently much more advanced than on Islamic antiquities. Hence in 1902 the Caisse de la Dette alloted £200,000 for work at Karnak[637] – ten times more than that offered for Islamic antiquities less than a decade earlier. Accordingly, the Museum of Egyptian [i.e. Pharaonic] Antiquities was founded in 1863 by August Mariette (and visited enthusiastically by westerners[638]), while the Arab Museum (for Islamic antiquities) was established only in 1884. Furthermore, the disparity in museum foundation dates is because Pharaonic antiquities were privileged by Egypt's rulers. For whereas controlled excavations in Fustat began only in 1912, Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1848) organised Pharaonic excavations, beginning a collection for himself and forbidding their export. Wilkinson in 1847 pronounced his scepticism:

> The excavations are made without knowledge or energy, the Pasha is cheated by those who work, and no one there takes any interest in a museum; and it would not be too much to predict that, after all the vexatious impediments thrown in the way of Europeans, no such institution will ever be formed by the Pasha of Egypt.[639]

But even at the end of the century tourists did not necessarily flock to see the result of restoration efforts amongst the mosques. We have already seen how, as late as 1898, Lane-Poole fretted that the Museum of Arab Art was so little known to European visitors,[640] in spite of its treasures.[641] And in what is surely another effort at misdirection, instead of castigating ignorant foreigners he then condemned the locals: "There is the wilful Philistine barbarous

ignorance of the people who have inherited these priceless monuments of an extinct art."[642]

The iniquities of *pasticcio* restoration cannot be placed wholly at the door of Europeans. For perhaps taking a hint from the rulers in Constantinople, Egyptians themselves were also involved in the modernisation of Cairo. Ian Straughn deals with Ali Mubarak, the Egyptian administrator and engineer, whom we have already met. He had the authority to transform the city by both demolishing and building. As we might expect, Mubarak had studied Haussmann, and acted accordingly, with the aim of

> creating a master plan for the entire city that would unify its medieval core with its surrounding expansions according to the model Haussmann had established in Paris.[38]

What was evidently required was a twenty-first-century heritage sensibility: that is, to know what to preserve. But "the project runs the risk of transforming the historic city into a foreign county, a place to be appreciated and consumed during temporary visits, but not a space that is lived."[39] Mubarak's efforts were expensive, AlSayyad noting that "the debts incurred in constructing all these symbols of modernity and European luxury brought great financial difficulties to an overleveraged Egyptian state," hence the eventual sale of the Suez Canal to Britain.[40]

With such a programme, Mubarak's relationship with the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe* was described by AlSayyad as "very tense," because their aims were almost opposed: "for many members of the *Comité* it was precisely the destruction that came with this supposed renewal that signified Egypt's inability to be a sovereign nation."[41] But surely architecture could help? Reid cites Gabriel Charmes' comments (spoiling and awkward, surely, for the European suzerains) on how the acropolis sustained Greek identity better than Canaris or Byron, so

> why shouldn't the mosques of Cairo render the same kind of service for Egypt? The day when they are restored … it will be impossible to deny the right to independence to a country capable of understanding and conserving such works.[42]

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38 AlSayyad 2011, 209.
39 Straughn 2012, 194, 212–213.
40 AlSayyad 2011, 214.
41 AlSayyad 2011, 218.
42 Reid 2002, 222.

And after all, "By the time Ismail hosted European dignitaries at the Suez Canal opening in 1869, he could display at least a preview of a Cairo remade in the image of Paris."[43]

In 1906 Herz Bey, the khedive's architect and prime mover of museology, wrote the second edition of his catalogue of the Museum of Arab Art, noting that attention to Muslim art was an import from the West, and that "cette tendance nouvelle coïncide avec l'invasion en Egypte des produits et des idées de l'Occident, qui cependant n'ont pas le moindre rapport avec les conditions matérielles et morales du pays." Nevertheless,

> Il était grand temps que l'on organisât le sauvetage des derniers vestiges qui pouvaient encore attester le haut degré de développement artistique atteint par la civilisation arabe en Egypte.[643]

In his view, the Arab Museum (its first home being in the Mosque of Hakim) was needed to protect antiquities from the pillage of mosques, houses and palaces by speculators,[644] even if the survivals were often fragmentary and of variable quality.[645] In his catalogue, Herz also detailed features still to be seen in Cairo's mosques: glass windows in Sultan Barquq and Qaytbay;[646] stucco in the tombs of Qalawun and his son Mohammed en-Nasir;[647] and marble in the Mosque of Mohammed al-Nasir in the citadel.[648] This monument had been used as an arsenal, but was cleared out when the British occupied the citadel.[649]

In other words, Herz' catalogue was in part an introduction to the glories of Cairo's surviving monuments, as well as of objects retrieved from those lost for ever. Modernity and its delights also posed a dilemma. Yet with innovations such as museums, was it still necessary to visit Cairo's mosques? Herz Bey suggested that the Musée National de l'Art Arabe was now the great attraction:

> C'est que dans le Musée figurent surtout un grand nombre de ces objets mobiliers, accessoires ordinaires des mosquées, qui étaient dans un rapport intime et harmonieux avec l'ensemble de l'édifice. Dès lors, comment se faire une idée exacte de leur destination, sans connaître un peu la structure et l'économie de ce même édifice?[650]

As well as such accessories, woodwork from mosques was also included in the museum.[651]

43 Reid 2002, 216.

8.2.1 Museums and Old Monuments

From the above outline we can underline (as did Max Herz) that museums were an invention of the West, imported into the Ottoman Empire by westerners as but one way of modernising. Their looted Islamic materials in museums back home were in part a spin-off from restoration work and especially from dilapidated mosques, where virtue resided in demolishing the dilapidated structure and keeping fixtures ansd fittings. Lane-Poole described how much Islamic decorative material was to be found in the South Kensington Museum (itself a beneficiary of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and dedicated to the decorative arts). He named panels from Qaytbay;[652] lattice work (one example collected "without violating any standing monument of Cairo art");[653] and ivory work "which I had the good fortune to secure in Cairo in 1883."[654] Also in this collection were mosque lamps from some of the best mosques in Cairo.[655] Hence the expertise and many high-quality artefacts were in the West, not in Cairo itself, where the Arab Museum (the Musée National de l'Art Arabe) would surely have welcomed them.

From the lessons we have learned about Cairo and her monuments, we should be cautious in assuming that museums were the necessary smiling complement to surviving monuments. As just stated, objects often resided in museums because their original location was damaged, destroyed or unknown. We might well believe that any item's original location was always preferable, but transfer to a museum occured because of local penury, dilapidation or insouciance. Unfortunately, as we have already seen, modernity could entail making things new and abandoning (or worse) the old.

Hence we must take care not to assume that belief in museums entailed a reverence for old monuments. These may seem an obvious pairing today, but this was not always the case even in the West, where enthusiasm for museums preceded interest in local ancient monuments by decades. The catch-word here is "local," for most museums were first dedicated to Greece and Rome, then to ancient Egypt, rather than to local Gothic, Romanesque or Renaissance monuments, let alone to Islamic monuments in Cairo. We might add that scholarship on Islamic art was also a feature of Western interest in their monuments, for which Stanley Lane-Poole provided details in 1886, brushing off beautifully illustrated French productions for their trivial text, and noting that a book with a fifth edition in 1860 was "still the best authority on the subject of the sources of Arabian architecture, and the relation of the earliest buildings of the Arabs to Byzantine and Sassanian."[656] It was written by his father.

[1] Ali_Bey_1816_I_313.
[2] Thenaud_1884_173.
[3] Thenaud_1884_173B.
[4] Thevet_1575_I_126.
[5] Thevet_1575_I_161–162.
[6] Fürer_von_Haimendorff_1621_8.
[7] Boullaye_1653_371.
[8] Rochefort _1676_10–11.
[9] Rochefort_1676_15.
[10] Deschamps_1678_70.
[11] Careri_1704_9.
[12] Castillo_1664_165.
[13] Thevenot_I.2_1689_393–394.
[14] Maillet_1735_141.
[15] Maillet_1735_142.
[16] Maillet_1735_192.
[17] Brown_1739_210.
[18] Norden_1757_58–59.
[19] Campbell_1758_23.
[20] Binos_1787_I_231–232.
[21] Niebuhr_1792_I_35.
[22] Browne_1800_I_9–10.
[23] Sonnini_1807_I_188–189.
[24] Breton_1814_II_147.
[25] Ali_Bey_1816_I_358–359.
[26] Rifaud_1830_46.
[27] Wittman_1804_299.
[28] Slade_1837_I_186.
[29] Jollois_1904_39.
[30] St_John_1834_41–42.
[31] Hogg_1835_II_16–18.
[32] Bromfield_1856_22–23.
[33] Phelps_1863_150.
[34] Charmes_1880_25.
[35] Browne_1799_356.
[36] Turner_1820_II_302.
[37] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_113.
[38] Conder_1830C_229.
[39] Parnauvel_1855_97–98.
[40] Lithgow_1906_285–286.
[41] Brèves_1628_233–240.
[42] Garnier_1843_12–13.
[43] Fitzclarence_1819_473.
[44] Ward_1864_94.
[45] Wilkinson_1847_95.
[46] Cobbe_1864_39.
[47] Cobbe_1864_41.
[48] Howard_1755_I_291–292.
[49] Conder_V_1830_229.
[50] Buchon_1838_487.
[51] Vernet_1843_I_169.
[52] Richardson_1822_I_113.
[53] Edwards_1888_67.
[54] Wilkinson_1847_146.
[55] Paton_1870_I_50.
[56] Paton_1870_I_64.
[57] Spiers_1905_43.
[58] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1839_145.
[59] Monconys_1665_II_193.
[60] Sandys_1673_99–106.
[61] Sandys_1673_101.
[62] Abd-Allatif_1810_177–178.
[63] Gentil_1855_485.
[64] Lithgow_1906_277.
[65] Abd-Allatif_1810_Chap_IV.
[66] Valentia_1809_III_383.
[67] Valentia_1809_III_388.
[68] Damer_1841_182.
[69] Monk_1851_II_24.
[70] Fane_1842_II_291–292.
[71] Romer_1846_I_257–258.
[72] Rochefort_1676_54–55.
[73] Tollot_1742_128.
[74] Burton_1759_52–53.
[75] Blount_1636_2–3.
[76] Thévenot_1687_129.
[77] Pouqueville_1826_V_53.
[78] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1835_VI_3–4.
[79] Allan_1843.
[80] T.R.J._1820_280.
[81] Barker_1850_1.
[82] Barker_1850_28.
[83] Ricketts_1844_160–161.
[84] Monconys_1665_I_166–168.
[85] Cook_1903_41.
[86] Maurice_1806_III_74–75.
[87] Miller_1891_26.
[88] Bromfield_1856_183.
[89] Bromfield_1856_37.
[90] Howel_1796–7_212.
[91] Lane_1860_308.
[92] Lane_2000_XI.
[93] Paton_1870_II_339–340.
[94] Paton_1870_I_8.
[95] Curtis_1856_28.
[96] Pardieu_1851_47.
[97] Deschamps_1896_63–65.
[98] Guérin_1859_61–62.
[99] Guérin_1859_62.
[100] Lengherand_1861_178.
[101] Lengherand_1861_178.
[102] Affagart_1902_58–59.
[103] Vergoncey_1615_194.
[104] Brèves_1628_260.
[105] Thenaud_1884_35–36.
[106] Veryard_1701_291.
[107] Affagart_1902_58.
[108] Perry_1743_251–253.
[109] Hasselquist_1766_98.
[110] Parsons_1808_320.
[111] Niebuhr_1792_I_160–161.
[112] Niebuhr_1792_I_82.
[113] Fuller_1830_145.
[114] Jolliffe_1822_I_55.
[115] Rifaud_1830_63.
[116] Bussières_1829_I_313.
[117] Formby_1843_117.
[118] Kelly_1844_7–8.
[119] Spencer_1850_192.
[120] Ferguson_1864_61–62.
[121] Castlereagh_1847_I_247–248.
[122] Reybaud IV_1844_137–181.
[123] Vandal_1887_3.
[124] Denon_1817_I_104–109.
[125] Jollois_1904_69.
[126] Jollois_1904_22.
[127] Jollois_1904_40.
[128] Jollois_1904_132.
[129] Gabarti_1838_207–209.
[130] Al-Jabarti_2004_70–71.
[131] Jollois_1904_71–72.
[132] Thomassy_1845_351.
[133] Al-Jabarti_2004_93.
[134] Al-Jabarti_2004_99.
[135] Al-Jabarti_2004_108.

[136] Paton_1870_I_188–189.
[137] Paton_1870_I_198–199.
[138] Paton_1870_I_181.
[139] Jollois_1904_68.
[140] Gabarti_1838_182.
[141] Jollois_1904_70.
[142] Lattil_1802_52.
[143] Lattil_1802_123–124.
[144] Salle_1840_I_68.
[145] Denon_1817_I_92–93.
[146] Henniker_1824_61.
[147] Knox_1879_122.
[148] Lithgow_1906_269.
[149] Chesneau_1887_129.
[150] Palerne_1606_67.
[151] Tott_1784_80.
[152] Tott_1784_78.
[153] Vallée_1745_I_310 t.
[154] Light_1818_21.
[155] Durbin_1845_II_259.
[156] Durbin_1845_I_33.
[157] Lusignan_1783_5.
[158] Geramb_1840_I_235–236.
[159] Geramb_1840_I_372–373.
[160] Ricketts_1844_89.
[161] Castlereagh_1847_I_42.
[162] Crowe_1853_319–320.
[163] Warren_1873_1.
[164] Paton_1870_II_322–323.
[165] Paton_1870_II_342–343.
[166] Savigny_de_Moncorps_1873_51.
[167] Martin_1876_28.
[168] Charmes_1880_42–43.
[169] Charmes_1880_118–133.
[170] Charmes_1880_93.
[171] Charmes_1880_52.
[172] Charmes_1880_71.
[173] Lane-Poole_1898_134.
[174] Miller_1891_25.
[175] Wittman_1804_277.
[176] Deschamps_1896_68–69.
[177] Delmas_1896_287.
[178] Reynolds-Ball_1897_139.
[179] Reynolds-Ball_1897_140.
[180] Reynolds-Ball_1897_148.
[181] Baedeker_1885_174–188.
[182] Baedeker_1885_275.
[183] Baedeker_1885_188–200.
[184] Baedeker_1885_239–241.
[185] Reynolds-Ball_1897_145.
[186] Cinq_semaines_1903_41–50.
[187] Ariosto_1878_86.
[188] Manino_1803_37.
[189] Blount_1636_40–42.
[190] Thevenot_I.2_1689_452.
[191] Lambert_1651_9–10.
[192] Deschamps_1678_101.
[193] Deschamps_1678_100.
[194] Thompson_1798_366.
[195] Howard_1755_II_299–300.
[196] Vansleb_1677_122.
[197] Coppin_1720_184.
[198] Coppin_1720_194–195.
[199] St_John_1844_106.
[200] Fane_1842_II_292.
[201] Fane_1842_II_290.
[202] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_128.
[203] Lepsius_1853_73.
[204] Marcellus_1839_II_197–198.
[205] Bost_1875_388.
[206] Jacquesson_1857_9.
[207] Jacquesson_1857_39–40.
[208] Cobbe_1864_56.
[209] Lepsius_1853_81.
[210] Duff_Gordon_1865_87.
[211] Duff_Gordon_1865_17–18.
[212] Charmes_1880_74.
[213] Prime_1855_II_418.
[214] Ireland_1859_80.
[215] Buchon_1838_450.
[216] Bromfield_1856_183–184.
[217] Vernet_1844_1_170.
[218] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_129.
[219] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_128–129.
[220] Gregory_1859_I_72.
[221] Prime_1855_II_418.
[222] Brèves_1628_261.
[223] Wittman_1804_279.
[224] Dumas_1839_258.
[225] Dumas_1839_137.
[226] Colley_1842_325.
[227] Laurent_1821_58.
[228] Hornby_1858_360.
[229] Maillet_1735_80.
[230] Hasselquist_1766_98B.
[231] Hasselquist_1766_99.
[232] Wittman_1804_263.
[233] Lindsay_1839_I_42.
[234] Curzon_1849_33.
[235] Curzon_1849_53.
[236] Olin_1843_I_65.
[237] Romer_1846_II_35.
[238] Romer_1846_II_34.
[239] Paton_1870_II_81–82.
[240] Schickler_1863_244–245.
[241] Sandys_1673_93.
[242] Niccolò_1945_89.
[243] Belon_1588_300.
[244] Palerne_1606_64.
[245] Palerne_1606_64.
[246] Lambert_1651_41.
[247] Rochefort_1676_33–34.
[248] Le_Brun_1700_210–211.
[249] Lucas_1714_I_47–48.
[250] Granger_1745_139–140.
[251] Bremond_1679_45.
[252] Palerne_1606_64–65.
[253] Brémond_1679_48.
[254] Maillet_1735_196.
[255] Maillet_1735_200.
[256] Laporte_1765_89.
[257] Parsons_1808_303.
[258] Black_1865_40.
[259] Irby_&_Mangles_1823_159.
[260] Barthe_2016_55.
[261] Durbin_1845_I_45.
[262] Madden_1829_I_307.

[263] Lane-Poole_1898_33–34.
[264] Lane_2000_86–87.
[265] Vernet_1843_I_168.
[266] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1835_VI_1–2.
[267] Wallin_1854_260–261.
[268] Bernard_1894_216.
[269] Geramb_1840_I_238–239.
[270] Dandolo_1854_86–87.
[271] Warburton_1848_343–344.
[272] Wilkinson_1847_131.
[273] Saint-Aignan_1868_155–156.
[274] Prime_1855_II_424.
[275] Warburton_1848_343–344.
[276] Titmarsh_1846_260–261.
[277] Tilt_1849_197.
[278] Pfeiffer_1851_112.
[279] Spencer_1850_190–191.
[280] Beaufort_1874_79.
[281] Bromfield_1856_58.
[282] Beaufort_1874_79–8.
[283] Gregory_1859_60–62.
[284] Duff_Gordon_1865_87.
[285] Savigny_de_Moncorps_1873_45.
[286] Lane_1860_211.
[287] Savigny_de_Moncorps_1873_47.
[288] Savigny_de_Moncorps_1873_51.
[289] Société_de_Saint-Augustin_1889_20.
[290] Dandolo_1854_85–86.
[291] Reynolds-Ball_1897_141.
[292] Rudolph_1884_44.
[293] Rudolph_1884_46.
[294] Condamin_1899_51–52.
[295] Margoliouth_1907_43.
[296] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1835_VI_4.
[297] Vansleb_1677_124.
[298] Granger_1745_140–141.
[299] Browne_1799_67.
[300] Vernet_1843_I_166–167.
[301] Ali_Bey_1816_II_17–18.
[302] Richardson_1822_II_171.
[303] Kruse_1855_III_379–381.
[304] Gregory_1859_I_59.
[305] Batissier_1860_423B.
[306] Schickler_1863_251–252.
[307] Saint-Aignan_1868_157.
[308] Savigny_de_Moncorps_1873_54.
[309] Kohn-Abrest_1884_98.
[310] Delmas_1896_281.
[311] Romer_1846_I_73–74.
[312] Forbin_1819_454.
[313] Lane-Poole_1898_304.
[314] Gregory_1859_91–92.
[315] Forbin_1819_450.
[316] Perry_1743_231.
[317] Browne_1800_I_118-.
[318] Webster_1830_II_29.
[319] Raguse_1839_III_277.
[320] Gregory_1859_I_91–92.
[321] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_1835_VI_20.
[322] Chenevard_1849_174–176.
[323] Many_Lands_1875_196B.
[324] Pardieu_1851_42–43.
[325] Edwards_1888_30–31.
[326] Bernard_1894_228.
[327] Couret_1892_82.
[328] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_128B.
[329] Jollois_1904_73–74.
[330] Measor_1844_120.
[331] Romer_1846_I_69–70.
[332] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_II_128–129.
[333] Duff_Gordon_1865_18.
[334] Basterot_1869_284.
[335] Buckham_1890_50–51.
[336] Paton_1870_I_11–12.
[337] Romer_1846_I_68–69.
[338] Thenaud_1884_XV–XVI.
[339] Thevenot_I.2_1689_440.
[340] Vallée_1745_I_422.
[341] Brèves_1628_265–266.
[342] Fitzclarence_1819_471.
[343] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_129.
[344] Bussières_1829_I_329.
[345] Manino_1803_44.
[346] Thompson_1744_II_367.
[347] Savary_1786_I_76–77.
[348] Thompson_1798_367.
[349] Henry_1798_90.
[350] Forbin_1819_208–209.
[351] Malte-Brun_1825_IV_72.
[352] Fuller_1830_149.
[353] Rifaud_1830_66.
[354] Jones_1836_64.
[355] St_John_1844_249–250.
[356] Damer_1841_II_147.
[357] Cooley_1842_333.
[358] Measor_1844_121–122.
[359] Durbin_1845_I_44.
[360] Titmarsh_1846_262.
[361] Castlereagh_1847_I_249.
[362] Gingras_1847_I_134–135.
[363] Chenavard_1849_169.
[364] Curzon_1849_37.
[365] Curzon_1849_36.
[366] Spencer_1850_194–195.
[367] Monconys_1665_I_169.
[368] Patterson_1852_48.
[369] Bovet_1862_53.
[370] Prime_1855_II_424.
[371] Dorr_1856_38.
[372] Gregory_1859_I_58.
[373] Eyriès_1859_IV_402.
[374] Gregory_1859_58.
[375] Gregory_1859_63–64.
[376] Batissier_1860_423.
[377] Schickler_1863_255–256.
[378] Cobbe_1864_58–59.
[379] Charles_1866_27.
[380] Duff_Gordon_1865_18.
[381] Buckham_1890_I_51.
[382] Basterot_1869_284B.
[383] Grey_1869_114.
[384] Vetromile_1871_49–50.
[385] Savigny_de_Moncorps_1873_54.

[386] Paton_1870_II_333.
[387] Many_Lands_1875_196.
[388] Rogers_1880_102.
[389] Charmes_1880_128–129.
[390] Reynolds-Ball_1897_146.
[391] Deschamps_1896_65.
[392] Rudolph_1884_50.
[393] Berger_1895_36.
[394] Delmas_1896_279.
[395] Oliphant_1891_6–7.
[396] Marquette_1892_33–34.
[397] Deschamps_1896_66–67.
[398] Cinq_semaines_1903_32–33.
[399] Bernard_1894_222.
[400] Bernard_1894_223.
[401] Ali_Bey_1816_II_19.
[402] Schickler_1863_254–255.
[403] Bernard_1894_209.
[404] Baedeker_1885_174–188.
[405] Baedeker_1885_275.
[406] Wilkinson_1847_134.
[407] Vansleb_1677_282.
[408] Berger_1895_41.
[409] Reynolds-Ball_1897_167–168.
[410] Baedeker_1885_280–281.
[411] Schickler_1863_256.
[412] Saint-Aignan_1868_158.
[413] Paton_1870_II_336.
[414] Margoliouth_1907_111–112.
[415] Heyd_1886_II_428.
[416] Browne_1799_67.
[417] Castlereagh_1847_I_193.
[418] Joanne_&_Isambert_1861_984.
[419] Rhoné_1882_31.
[420] Deschamps_1896_68.
[421] Lane-Poole_1906_253.
[422] Thenaud_1884_35.
[423] Palerne_1606_59.
[424] Brémond_1679_41.
[425] Coppin_1720_175.
[426] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_236.
[427] Hill_1866_42.
[428] Lannoy_1878_116.
[429] Villamont_1602_269–270.
[430] Cinq_semaines_1903_33–34.
[431] Brèves_1628_266.
[432] Thevenot_1687_141.
[433] Veryard_1701_292.
[434] Fowler_1854_376.
[435] Gingras_1847_I_150.
[436] Careri_1704_16.
[437] Lusignan_1783_21.
[438] Aldersey_1810_421.
[439] Evesham_1810_418.
[440] Margoliouth_1907_54.
[441] Thenaud_1884_188.
[442] Thenaud_1884_208.
[443] Palerne_1606_63.
[444] Blount_1636_39.
[445] Stochove_1650_428–429.
[446] Lambert_1651_11.
[447] Thevenot_I.2_1689_444.
[448] Thevenot_1664_268–269.
[449] Sandys_1673_95.
[450] Rochefort_1676_40.
[451] Deschamps_1678_130.
[452] Deschamps_1678_131.
[453] Bremond_1679_57.
[454] Le_Brun_1700_215.
[455] Laporte_1765_90.
[456] Buchon_1838_451.
[457] Maillet_1735_191–192.
[458] Perry_1743_234.
[459] Perry_1743_233.
[460] Salmon_1738_462.
[461] Hasselquist_1766_95–96.
[462] Thompson_1798_370–371.
[463] Savary_1786_I_78.
[464] Savary_1786_I_80.
[465] Denon_1817_I_103.
[466] Denon_1817_I_102.
[467] Jollois_1904_59–61.
[468] Jollois_1904_72–73.
[469] Henry_1798_91.
[470] Wittman_1804_265.
[471] Sandwich_1807_444.
[472] Henry_1798_93.
[473] Valentia_1809_III_375–376.
[474] Richardson_1822_I_67.
[475] Henniker_1824_60.
[476] Lane_2000_91–92.
[477] Bussières_1829_I_323–324.
[478] Fuller_1830_147.
[479] Webster_1830_II_18–19.
[480] St_John_1834_133.
[481] St_John_1844_113–114.
[482] Michaud_&_Poujoulat_V_1834_266–267.
[483] Taylor_&_Reybaud_1838_II_246.
[484] Dumas_1839_72.
[485] Damer_1841_II_149.
[486] Cooley_1842_336–337.
[487] Salle_1840_170.
[488] Wilkinson_1847_130.
[489] Tilt_1849_200–201.
[490] Patterson_1852_49.
[491] Ward_1864_101.
[492] Vetromile_1871_I_45.
[493] Edmond_1867_40.
[494] Coppin_1720_189.
[495] Henniker_1824_61.
[496] St_John_1844_120.
[497] Margoliouth_1907_53–54.
[498] Lane-Poole_1898_18.
[499] Schroeder_1846_I_.
[500] Schroeder_1846_II_6.
[501] Warburton_1848_47.
[502] De_Hass_1883_553.
[503] Olin_1843_I_58–59.
[504] Damer_1841_II_150.
[505] Cooley_1842_337.
[506] St_John_1844_114.
[507] Drew_Stent_1843_I_168.
[508] Durbin_1845_I_42.
[509] Gingras_1847_I_141.
[510] Prime_1855_II_420.
[511] Jacquesson_1857_41.

[512] Ward_1864_101.
[513] Bovet_1862_51.
[514] Phelps_1863_153.
[515] Buckham_1890_29.
[516] Curzon_1849_39_40.
[517] Tilt_1849_201.
[518] Titmarsh_1846_260.
[519] Schickler_1863_246–247.
[520] Gregory_1859_I_21.
[521] Didier_1860_21.
[522] Saulcy_1867_58.
[523] Charles_1866_28.
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[525] Edwards_1888_22.
[526] Du_Fougerais_1874_129–130.
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[528] Delaplanche_1876_41.
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[539] Reynolds-Ball_1897_178.
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[542] Bremond_1679_63.
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[580] Didier_1860_137–145.
[581] Didier_1860_204.
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[583] Ferguson_1864_96.
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[585] Schickler_1863_258–260.
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[596] Baedeker_1885_282.
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[653] Lane-Poole_1888_157–158.
[654] Lane-Poole_1888_176.
[655] Butler_1884_70–71.
[656] Lane-Poole_1886_vii.

CHAPTER 4

North Africa

1 Setting the Scene

Although most of North Africa was nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, its local rulers were decidedly in charge, for Constantinople was far away. This was a less popular destination for travellers than Constantinople and the Holy Land, because of a well-known tradition of piracy and slavery stretching back to Julius Caesar, and fewer trading opportunities. Part of North Africa to the west formed the Barbary Coast, which had few harbours, many shoals, and hence little chance for large Western ships to attack local shallow-botttomed craft. It was from here that there continued a slave trade which captured thousands of Europeans, and ranged well beyond the Mediterranean into Ireland and the North Sea. Slavery kept both European and American navies at pseudo-war with the local states; and Christian slaves were still being sold in Cairo in the early nineteenth century.[1]

Because of the often hostile conditions, there was a dearth of knowledge in scholarly Europe about North Africa's classical monuments, which were many. Scholars of course knew of the reach of the Roman Empire from her authors; but there was no convenient Pausanias-like guide to tell them of the roads, towns and buildings. Tunisia (declared a protectorate by the French in 1881) was to prove a better destination for travellers than the much larger Algeria because it had a long shoreline but no great interior depth, with plentiful Roman monuments, and desirable mosques at Tunis and Kairouan. It was always easier of access than Algeria itself, often a war zone, and where the French army had difficulty penetrating farther south than Constantine (taken in 1837). The seaside pirates were fierce, but inland tribes yet fiercer, as the French discovered to their cost upon invading Algeria in the years following 1830. Further east, Libya offered few trading opportunities, but boasted several classical cities to be described by European sailors (there was little access by land), and their marbles (statues as well as architectural members and probably veneers) were carried back home in large quantities.

North African mosques (the only post-classical structures in North Africa worth attention apart from early churches[2]) were difficult to access, as Lemprière stated in 1801[3] and Reinaud repeated in 1842.[4] Already in 1713

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Ockley declared that "their Churches [mosques] are tolerably Magnificent, and adorned with Mats very finely wrought, and strewed with Rushes of various Colours, and have Lamps burning with Olive Oil," mentioned their minarets ("they have a 4 squared Steeple … use no Bells nor Clocks") but wrote nothing in detail on their architecture.[5] At Salee (lair of the infamous Salee Rovers, Barbary corsairs on the Morocco coast), he found a mosque conversion:

> The Ruins of a demolish'd Church, with a high Steeple yet standing; which the Moors show the same Esteem and Veneration for, as they do for a Saint's House.[6]

Classically-minded visitors were soon alert to the spolia, especially inscriptions, in these erstwhile Roman lands, often to be found reused as building materials in mosques. Peyssonnel, travelling in 1724–5, was told of such treasures in the mosques and houses of Basil-el-Bab,[7] spotted one himself on the threshold of the Soliman mosque, near Tunis,[8] and noted how classical columns had been re-used in the mosques and houses of Zagouan.[9] At Thuburbo he found the villagers (expelled from Spain centuries earlier) nearly all still speaking Spanish, and "On nous conduisit dans une mosquée où nous trouvâmes sur un piédestal cette épitaphe …"[10]

As with Asia Minor, it was the coastal towns which were best known to Europeans, and the monuments inland (whether Greek, Roman or Christian) scarcely at all. The Greek works at Cyrenaica far to the east were well off standard travel routes, and the British had to use their navy to extract antiquities there. Indeed, the important Roman cities, still rich in antiquities, were mostly far inland (Timgad, Constantine). Even for those on the coast, such as Carthage, it took most of the nineteenth century for its important churches to be discovered. As for mosques (Tunis, Fez, Marrakesh), these were always completely out of bounds to non-Muslims, and continue to be so. Kairouan was partly available during the French control of Tunisia (see below).

2 Algeria

2.1 *The French Invasion of 1830*

> La conquête par l'épée et la charrue, *ense et aratro*, comme le voulait l'illustre maréchal Bugeaud, telle est notre mission en Afrique. Grâce à

> nos soldats, à nos explorateurs et à nos savants, le jour ne semble pas éloigné où les vastes régions du Sahara seront arrachées à leur barbarie séculaire.[11] [1881]

I have told the sad story of the almost complete destruction of the Roman monuments of Algeria in an earlier book,[1] and of the mistreatment of mosques and Muslims by troops and then by colonists. The invasion was planned for no particular strategic reason, but rather to distract attention from problems back home, and it took some years before colonisation *à la Romaine* (*ense et aratro*) became government policy. To save on ships, travel time and expense, the French counted on living off the land, not only for food, but for building materials as well. Mosques were targeted by the invading troops because few other structures were solid enough for their needs, which included forts and barracks, gun emplacements, stores and hospitals. There is no evidence that mosques were destroyed or converted because of any policy against Islam, although we shall see below their nonchalant conversion into churches and even places of entertainment. And although the French founded *Bureaux Arabes* to deal with the locals, the military majority simply took no account of Islam. Religious affairs were left to the Muslims, and there seems to have been no push to open up mosques for Christian visitors, although they were open in some towns in some periods.

Free-range "civilian" tourists were scarce in French Algeria until the later nineteenth century, when the country was touted by the railways and shipping lines as a health resort along the lines of Egypt. However, there were plentiful visits by officials and scholars from the homeland to assess the extent and possible development of the occupation, and even the state of the classical monuments. Yet before 1830, because commercial opportunities were scarce, and African relations with European powers were at best strained, there were few visits by curious travellers to this huge country, hence our beginning with the French occupation itself. Not all Frenchmen were blind to what the 1830 invasion meant for the monuments, which was often complete destruction to accord with the needs of the army, where the requirements demanded by the Engineers (responsible for all military building works) were gospel. For Berbrugger in 1857, it was neither the Arabs nor the Vandals who were responsible for the destruction of the classical past in North Africa, but the Christians, in their desire to obliterate paganism.[12] He had already bemoaned the French destruction of Islamic monuments in Algeria,

1 Greenhalgh 2014.

> avec ses habitudes antipathiques à l'architecture indigène (and he predicted accurately that) Une construction mauresque sera, avant un quart de siècle, une curiosité aussi rare pour les habitants d'Alger, que pour les touristes européens.[13]

The French occupation altered and destroyed many classical monuments to reuse their materials, and did so quickly because speed was necessary to counter the brutal and long-lasting local armed resistance. Yet even in the few years of peace the French continued to obliterate them, although the existence of rich and various marble quarries was noted immediately after the conquest.[14] As for the invasion's effect on the people, this was equally brutal, and already evident in an outraged report in 1834:

> Nous avons réuni au domaine les biens des fondations pieuses; nous avons séquestré ceux d'une classe d'habitans que nous avions promis de respecter; nous avons commencé l'exercice de notre puissance par une exaction (par un emprunt forcé de cent mille francs); nous nous sommes emparés des propriétés privées sans indemnité aucune; et, de plus, nous avons été jusqu'à contraindre des propriétaires, expropriés de cette manière, à payer les frais de démolition de leurs maisons et même d'une mosquée.[15]

In sum, the French invasion of Algeria in 1830 was a military conquest of an unknown land, and quickly marked down at home as reckless financial folly,[16] with funds going to the army rather than to civilian settlement.[17] Islam continued to remain a problem. The 1837 treaty between General Bugeaud and the Emir Abd-el-Kader set out terms for Islam, in what was defined as no longer their land. "Les arabes vivant sur le territoire français" – that is, Algeria, could exercise their religion freely, and build mosques.[18] By 1873 this was understood as "Tolérons leur Coran, mais sans l'encourager," and let them deal with waqfs and mosque repairs.[19] The same author thought a Muslim Congress was the way to redirect "leur indomptable résistance à nos lois et à nos mœurs," and bring Muslims within the European fold:

> Et les prêtres musulmans acceptés, consacrés en quelque sorte par l'Europe civilisée, à la suite du congrès réconciliateur que nous proposons, ces prêtres seraient intéressés à devenir les alliés sincères du progrès occidental et les consciencieux promoteurs de la tolérance universelle, après en avoir été, depuis Mahomet, les plus cruels et les plus acharnés adversaires.[20]

2.2 *The French Destruction of the Existing Landscape*

When they invaded, the French knew little about mosques, and probably cared less. Here again, there were early blunders:

> On a disposé, pour les besoins de l'armée, d'un grand nombre de mosquées, et l'on n'a rien fait pour restreindre une mesure qui ne pouvait manquer de blesser les sentimens et les croyances des habitans. Une autre mosquée a été convertie en église; quelque pressant qu'il pût être d'assurer le service du culte catholique, il est fâcheux qu'on ait cru devoir recourir à un moyen si propre à exciter les susceptibilités religieuses.[21]

But some mosques were recognised as being well-funded, while others were dealt with by the actions of the military, when a commission "pourra réunir dans une masse commune et sous la gestion d'un seul agent les biens des mosquées et marabous démolis, ou qu'il reconnaîtra avoir définitivement perdu leur destination."[22]

In 1837 a 315-page book was produced by Adolphe Dureau de la Malle, called *Province de Constantine: Recueil de renseignemens pour l'expédition ou l'établissement des Français dans cette partie de l'Afrique septentrionale* (Paris 1837). The very epitome of the boilerplated scissors-and-paste job, this work showed how little the French knew of the continent they were invading. Dureau was an academician, and his *forte* was ancient Algeria. He mentioned mosques seven times, mostly quoting (as he did for most subjects) from other authorities. Hence the focus was the classical past, not contemporary conditions. With such information as practical advice for the military, it was left to God to help the PBI.

In Algeria, because of the impossibility of transporting from France everything for a large army, resources had to be commandeered on the spot, as already related, including even wood for fires to keep warm and cook food. But what was to be done with the often troublesome or even rebellious natives? An early policy was *refoulement* – namely driving them back into the hinterland of sand and scrub (and where the French had no desire to follow), so they could not interfere with the success of the conquest. This policy was accurately described as "barbarous."[23] It was the grand idea of General Clauzel, who returned to France in 1834: one verdict was that "he seems to have been too sanguine in his expectations, and to have formed projects on too great a scale."[24] *Refoulement* saw Cavaignac's 1847 punitive expedition to the Algerian Sahara, with intricate marabouts noted at Asla;[25] but then aesthetics was called upon to make destruction discriminating:

> Vengez-vous en détruisant les ouvrages sortis des mains de votre ennemi qu'importe que vous les détruisiez, pourvu qu'un intérêt artistique ne s'y rattache pas! Qu'importe![26]

Refoulement certainly worked, because by 1854 Morell was noting not just conversions, but "a sufficient [that is, smaller] number of mosques, however, have been preserved and repaired to meet the wants of the Mussulman population."[27] For Pulszky in the same year the "Moors" [an old group term for North Africans] were still fanatical but subdued, "and oppression must grow unbearable before they would think of armed resistance." Some stayed and suffered, but others,

> who could not bear to live with infidels, emigrated to Tunis, Tangiers, or the East; or they retired into the interior, there to be absorbed amongst the Bedouins. The number of those emigrants is estimated at rather more than a third of the nation.[28]

How to control such Muslim "fanaticism"? The French could control the mosques without even setting foot in them. They proceeded to classify them,[29] and the State took over their waqfs "afin de ne pas laisser aux mains de prêtres fanatiques un moyen puissant d'agitation contre notre domination, ou d'en détourner les revenus à leur profit."[30] Instead, as if reading from the playbook of acquisitive Egyptian pashas, the funds went to the profit of the French, not the mosques of Muslims.

As their grip on ever larger tracts of the country tightened, the French continued to deal harshly with the natives and their way of life. They maltreated the aqueducts, so fountains dried up.[31] They desecrated cemeteries for space and materials to construct roads and esplanades.[32] They seized the mosque at Oran, as well as houses there for soldiers' billets, and they burned myriad wooden house rafters to keep warm.[33] At Bône "an ancient mosque" became a court of law,[34] and in 1839 a mosque at Constantine became the new cathedral.[35] At Algiers, much of the kasbah was taken over as the main French fortress, with accommodation for officers, and a mosque there turned into an hospital.[36] Nothing had changed by the end of the century: "encore une jolie mosquée octogone, ornée de carreaux noirs et bleus avec une porte Renaissance."[37] The new cathedral for Algiers, wrote the sometime Vicar General of the city, was built over a

> gentille mosquée, vrai bijou d'architecture musulmane. Ceux qui l'ont vue la regretteront toujours, et la nouvelle cathédrale qui s'est élevée sur ses ruines est loin de pouvoir la faire oublier.[38]

At Blidah, the same Vicar General noted in 1844 how "Une mosquée servait d'église et ses étroites dépendances, de presbytère,"[39] and recounted how the Bishop said mass "dans une mosquée qui, à Miliana, comme en beaucoup d'autres endroits, servait d'église."[40] And at Medea, all the soldiers went to church: "le général, l'état-major, une partie de l'armée étaient à l'église, c'est-à-dire, dans la mosquée qui en tenait lieu."[41] The same happened at Mascara.[42]

Of Miliana, Bishop wrote in 1855 that of the twenty-five mosques, including eight large ones, the Muslims used only one.[43] This state of affairs was no doubt influenced by the French take-over, and its position from 1841 with Medea as the main French base, so that now "the martial notes of the French clarions have long succeeded the cry of the muezzin."[44] In 1854 Ansted reported that a small mosque had been turned into a vaudeville theatre,[45] while Cherbonneau noted that the main mosque "commence malheureusement à se dégrader et voit s'éclipser la lune de ses splendeurs."[46] Worse was to follow at Biskra, where the eighth-century mosque contained the tomb of Sidi Okba.[47] By 1900 it was a French watering-hole like Vichy, with a casino in the form of a mosque, and the town hall which was

> très réussi d'ailleurs comme pastiche, réunit sur sa façade des échantillons fantaisistes de tous les styles arabes et les hôtels ont leurs cours entourées d'arcades mauresques, l'un d'eux a même un minaret![48]

Even by mid-century, the government was severely censured by right-thinking Western commentators for such violations of natives' feelings, which estranged them "from the new lords of the country," as Pulszky wrote in 1854. He noted that Algiers had ten large and fifty small mosques before the conquest, and that these numbers were halved: this was "wanton desecration of the Mohammedan houses of worship, and certainly this was one of the measures which the natives could least forget or pardon in their new rulers."[49] In 1868 Naphegyi counted ten mosques but, exploiting his no doubt sagacious tedium vitae, yawned that these "had no attractions for me, since he who has seen the St. Sophia of Constantinople has seen all the mosques of Mohammedanism."[50]

2.3 *Modernity à la française*

At the behest of France, with an army to hand and no locals willing to contradict them, Algeria underwent the same modernisation as did the rest of the Ottoman Empire, including (as we have already seen) Egypt. Indeed, France was in charge, and Algeria was in fact a French département from 1848 to 1974, so the recently acquired country could more easily be made French. This included a vigorous programme of appropriating buildings, including mosques.[51] What is more, a European layout was imposed on Algerian towns, and the planners did not concern themselves with what they destroyed in the process.

The French could modernise the towns, but were nonplussed about just how to modernise the natives. In 1871 Pein facetiously concluded that the only way "de métamorphoser une population de fainéants et d'apathiques en un peuple de bons vivants et de joyeux compagnons" was to teach them to appreciate wine.[52] For Poujoulat in 1868, Civilisation 101 was the answer, because

> Ce n'est pas à coups de fusil que nous établirons notre domination morale, c'est par les vertus, c'est par la supériorité de nos sentiments, de nos institutions.[53]

This was an admirable and much-voiced piety, an echo of the French *mission civilisatrice*, but it was not optional, but imposed. The Muslims thereby lost their town layouts and mosques, as Neveu-Derotrie remarked when reporting on public works in Algerie for the *Exposition universelle* in 1878:

> Qu'étaient devenues les villes d'autrefois? Tout avait été renversé; les matériaux antiques disperses avaient servi à l'édification des groupes de masures infectes dans lesquelles vivait la partie de la population qui n'habitait pas sous la tente, ou dans des gourbis en broussailles. Aucun des grands ouvrages romains n'avait été restauré, et aux édifices de luxe de la civilisation disparue avaient succédé des mosquées boiteuses, construites le plus souvent avec des débris disparates.[54]

The *Revue Africaine* knew exactly what had happened to ancient towns, for its columnists spent decades playing catch-up against French destruction, offering articles on Arabic inscriptions at Tlemcen,[55] *Les édifices religieux de l'ancien Alger*,[56] and the Sida Mosque at Constantine, demolished to make a grand square.[57] Architects recognised the dangers of the French occupation.

Edmond Duthoit (1837–1889), a disciple of Viollet-le-Duc, reported in 1873 that "les mosquées sont donc les plus importants, les plus riches, les plus complets, les plus curieux et, aussi, les plus nombreux." They deserved to be studied,[58] and should be incorporated in the archives of the *Commission des monuments historiques* established for the mainland of France.[59] Duthoit also directed excavations of classical sites, producing plans of Timgad and Lambessa.[60]

2.4 *Muslims and Jews*

The inferior status of the Jews throughout the Empire has already been mentioned in my first volume. The Jews had certainly been maltreated in Algiers before the French invaded, and at the hands of the Turks were subject to insult and worse, as Pananti detailed in 1818.[61] In Morocco, for example, they had to face judges squatting, and to take off their shoes when passing not only mosques and tombs but also administrative buildings.[62] However, as Urquhart remarked of Morocco in 1850 in a racial slur, the Jews not only went barefoot by mosques etc, but in addition were not "more particular" at home, so that "the relative position of two races living intermixed, cannot fail to be influenced by their relative cleanliness; and the contempt in which the Jews are held in the towns must, in part at least, be owing to this cause."[63]

Napoleon emancipated the Jews in France in 1807, and in Algeria a senatus-consulte of 1865 invited Muslims as well as Jews to apply for citizenship, but the take-up was poor. Nevertheless, Algerian Jews were all naturalised in 1870, perhaps an unthinking but certainly a decided insult to the Muslims, who despised Jews as traditionally their inferiors. This helps explain the continuing animosity of the mob in the street to Christians as well, if not on the part of their lords and masters:

> C'était, aux yeux de ces chefs arabes, inaugurer une politique de favoritisme confessionnel alors qu'on avait rabaissé le clergé des mosquées, persécuté les Khouans en les poussant à la révolte et refusé la naturalisation aux indigènes, qui eussent vu dans cette résolution accueillante une tendance au rapprochement.[64]

What stronger signal could there be that, just as the Muslims despised the Jews, so they in their turn were despised by the Christians? Indeed, but the Muslims might also be blamed for the destruction of Christianity in North Africa. As Holme suggested in 1898, "The mosques flourished, the churches fell into decay, and the social and political strength of Islam was a more dangerous foe to Christianity than direct religious persecution."[65] No wonder he called one section of his book "The end of African Christianity."[66] After tracing Christianity's

early glory, he asserted that this was brought to an end because it was "crushed almost completely by the overwhelming force of the Mohammedan invasion, although a remnant still survived for nine centuries."[67] Or were the hearts of Muslims really with the French? Yes, if we are to believe a 1914 report from Mostagenem in *L'Illustration*:

> Les réjouissances qui clôturent chaque année la fête du Rhamadan ont été supprimées; dans toutes les mosques on prie pour le succès des armes françaises.[68]

2.5 *Converting Mosques and Seizing Their Endowments*

Holme might well have bemoaned the state of Christianity in North Africa, but his comment on "the social and political strength of Islam" showed a wilful ignorance of what happened to mosques under the French occupation of Algeria. Even as early as 1834 some French authors were documenting the brutality of the invasion, for there were some "odious" exactions and demolitions,[69] plus the seizing of mosques:

> On a disposé, pour les besoins de l'armée, d'un grand nombre de mosquées, et l'on n'a rien fait pour restreindre une mesure qui ne pouvait manquer de blesser les sentimens et les croyances des habitans … il est fâcheux qu'on ait cru devoir recourir à un moyen si propre à exciter les susceptibilités religieuses.[70]

Such a heavy hand was the rule all around the country, as the army sought security, lodging and hospitals. As early as 1834 "H de B" noted that the French had seized mosque endowments,[71] emptied cemeteries to reprocess bones in Marseille (the dead at Waterloo in 1815 had been similarly treated), and therefore outraged the Muslims:

> Les prêtres de Mahomet ont prêché une Croisade religieuse contre nous, ils ont exaspéré les vrais croyants, ils nous accusent de n'avoir rien concédé, de n'avoir rien respecté, et la vengeance et la haine les animent aujourd'hui contre nous.[72]

At Medea, one mosque remained, one being converted into a church and the third into a store,[73] and another into a hospital.[74] And could the aqueduct be a native build, because the minarets were similar in construction?[75] As Poujoulat commented in 1847, "Les mosquées, mieux construites, ont été conservées."[76] Andry visited in 1868 after a gap of twenty years, when he had

first been charmed because "l'ancienne ville, avec sa kasba, ses mosquées, ses minarets, était belle de tout ce charme des villes d'Orient si recherché par les artistes." But no more, because the town was now almost unrecognisable: "Ce charme est presque nul aujourd'hui" because the French had eviscerated the old city, and the once-picturesque kasbah had been replaced by a barracks and a hospital.[77]

At Bône, Muskau (who was surely misinformed), complained in 1839 of the lack of a church;[78] and by the late 1840s a mosque had become a military hospital,[79] apparently bought by the curé himself.[80] By the end of the century the town was almost completely westernised, for "Il n'y a plus ici d'oriental que la grande Mosquée avec ses arabesques, ses portiques, son minaret et ses nids de cigognes."[81] French occupation was not appreciated by many locals. At Djidjeli they fled to the hills, and by 1854 it was "entirely a military town; the mosques are turned into storehouses and stables, and commerce has disappeared."[82] Guelma managed to retain an elegant mosque, a kasbah built of Roman ruins, and by 1885 a museum with antiquities collected from the region.[83]

Other towns suffered in the same manner. At Blidah, one mosque became a church ("et son minaret a substitué une croix aux croissants,"[84] the work of prisoners[85]) and then one[86] and eventually two more became barracks.[87] Naturally, it was the most beautiful that was chosen for a church,[88] though this was the conversion of a repaired mosque.[89] At Cherchell by 1847 there was a three-nave mosque,[90] and another already converted into a hospital, and holding 250 beds.[91] It boasted one hundred verde antico columns from the ruins of Caesarea.[92] Ansted gave details of these monuments, and noted that "there is hardly a street or a lane in which fragments are not to be seen."[93] The remains of the antique city were still visible in 1858: circus, hippodrome, theatre, baths, aqueduct and temple.[94]

At Sétif in 1855 Barbier viewed the mosque minaret with disdain, "qui insulte la religion catholique, obligée de se contenter d'une modeste chapelle."[95] Little of native Sétif was left, as Turton remarked in 1876,

> putting aside the usual Arab costumes, with which we had now become familiarized, there was absolutely nothing worthy of notice. The town, as it stands, is almost entirely French.[96]

At Koléah by 1855 the beautiful mosque built adjacent to the marabout Sidi-Ali-Embarek was a hospital,[97] yet Barbier thought the marabout's tomb still sanctified:

> Ce tombeau, encastré dans l'ensemble des bâtiments occupés par l'hôpital militaire, en est pourtant isolé au moyen de cloisons en planches impénétrables aux regards des chrétiens. Il est peu de sanctuaires où l'on respire un air de dévotion plus profondément senti. Des tapis, des textes dorés et des lustres en cuivre et en cristal en font le principal ornement.[98]

In 1868 Andry's comment on this now-French town was "Adieu le pittoresque!"[99] Here as in Cairo, modernity had destroyed just those "oriental" sights that travellers had journeyed east to see.

At Oran one mosque was fortified by 1835 and turned into a barracks,[100] offering lodging for four hundred troops and stables for two hundred and fourteen horses.[101] It was still called "La Mosquée" in 1859.[102] All the others were also occupied by the French, and only one then turned over to Islam.[103] The most beautiful mosque became the parish church.[104] By 1859, in a fit of sensitivity, the French had banned Christians from visiting the remaining Mosque of Sidi Ibrahim without written permission.[105] In 1859 Bargès was refused entry during Ramadan;[106] he tried sweet-talking the imam at a nearby café, but without result, so bribed one of his staff

> de m'introduire furtivement dans l'édifice sacré, lequel n'offrit à ma curiosité rien de bien remarquable, si ce n'est le minaret qui compte cinquante-cinq marches et domine la ville, la mer et la plaine.[107]

Gastineau tried entering a few years later, "mais nous fûmes forcés de rétrograder immédiatement devant un groupe d'Arabes qui nous entoura et braqua sur nous un regard qui n'avait, certes rien de chrétien."[108] Two French officers entered the mosque in 1876 without removing their shoes, and "this led to an altercation between them and the Arabs within; and to their being eventually expelled."[109] Indeed, Oran had a track-record in mosque conversion: from the early sixteenth century, she was in Castilian hands, and remained so until 1708. The first conversions were at the hands of Cardinal Jimenez de Cisneros, with two mosques converted to churches, and one of these subsequently into a hospital.[110]

In 1912 Méhier de Mathuisieulx reviewed progress in mosque entry. Mosques in Tripoli could be entered outside prayer times with consulate assistance. In Constantinople there were no longer any problems, as long as the shoes were removed. And at Bône, "j'ai visité le lieu saint sans même ôter ma chaussure; il est vrai que le gardien enlevait devant moi les tapis sacrés, afin qu'ils ne fussent pas souillés par mes semelles."[111]

2.6 *Could Arabic Architecture Survive in (French) Algeria?*

All the mosque conversions detailed above went against Lestiboudois' sensible 1853 belief that "La création des écoles, des mosquées, des institutions religieuses, peut concourir à étendre et consolider notre influence."[112] But then, with the French trampling on Islam in Algeria, at the same time as many authors trumpeted their benevolence toward the locals and their religion, anything could be argued, especially the continuing theme of the decadence and likely fall of Islam, a favourite topos with Europeans, especially in the later nineteenth century. In 1856 Dr. X, at Oran, wrote that

> le christianisme confine avec l'islamisme, les mosquées s'écroulent et nos églises s'élèvent dans nos nouvelles possessions, comme si la main du temps abattait les premières pour nous fournir des matériaux.

Hence *refoulement*: because "Les peuples musulmans tombent en ruines avec leur civilisation," they could be pushed south into the desert, and left to themselves.[113] (In other words, there probably were more deserted mosques by the 1870s because so many Muslims had fled Frenchified towns.)

But why should the French help the Muslims? In 1873 Du Cheyron argued that helping Islam was a two-edged sword. The French had built mosques for the natives, and how were they repaid? With hatred. "Ils aillent à la Mecque retremper leur foi et raviver leur haine contre le chrétien," and then preached hatred in their schools:

> Est-ce logique? Sans prétendre détruire la liberté de conscience, n'est-ce pas dépasser les limites de la tolérance religieuse? Le mahométisme, enfin, est-il donc l'arche sainte à laquelle il ne faudrait pas toucher?[114]

The backwash from such an attitude (this was French Algeria, not Muslim Algeria!) can be seen in Neveu-Derotrie's remarks in a forty-five page pamphlet for the *Exposition universelle de Paris en 1878*. No Roman towns survived in Algeria, and "aux édifices de luxe de la civilisation disparue avaient succédé des mosquées boiteuses, construites le plus souvent avec des débris disparates." There were a few exceptions, namely

> quelques palais de chefs et quelques édifices religieux où l'on retrouve les traces de l'art arabe de la meilleure époque, notamment à Alger, à Constantine et à Tlemcen.[115]

This is the only reference to mosques in the whole of the pamphlet.

In 1873 the architect Duthoit commented on the glories of Arab architecture, including mosques ("les plus importants, les plus riches, les plus complets, les plus curieux et, aussi, les plus nombreux"[116]), but lamented that most of them were in a very bad state, "et c'est à cette malfaçon qu'est dû, surtout, le dépérissement et la ruine des plus beaux monuments."[117] This was an indictment of how little the French had cared for such architecture. He pointed to the few examples of metalwork surviving:

> Les ouvrages de ce métal ont naturellement tenté la cupidité indigène et étrangère; mais, malgré le pillage déplorable auquel ils ont été livrés, tous n'ont point disparu.[118]

He therefore constructed a list (pitifully small) of monuments he thought should be entered in the archives of the *Commission des monuments historiques*, but without any recommendations on restoration.[119]

Unfortunately, not all French commentators appreciated Arab genius, a glaring example being Bergot in 1890, who attempted to reassert the valuable rôle of Christianity on the continent of Africa. Yes, the Vandals and all the rest had brought destruction to Africa, but it was the Arabs who killed civilisation: "les peuples ont été massacrés; tous les vestiges de la civilisation ont été détruits, et les terres, devenues incultes, envahies par les chardons et les broussailles."[120] He continued with his outrageous series of alibis for French occupation. The Alhambra was directly Persian, not Arab; Arabs were not builders except of tents and hovels; and they were certainly not agents of civilisation, as the French masses believed. And as for the belief that the Arabs belonged as naturally in Africa as Alsatians in Alsace, this was wrong, for in Algeria they were invaders, and had stolen the land from European civilisation:

> L'Arabe en Algérie n'est qu'un envahisseur, surtout un destructeur. Cette terre, il l'a volée à la civilisation, aux races de l'Europe, et, loin d'y avoir acquis par ses travaux l'estime et la reconnaissance de l'humanité, il ne montre que des ruines et les conséquences d'une implacable barbarie, méritant la haine et le mépris de tout homme civilisé.[121]

Perhaps Bergot was looking at recent building, rather than the monuments of the past. Certainly Ali Bey, travelling in 1803–1807, was shocked by the low quality of contemporary architecture, contrasting it with the glories of the past:

> The architecture in Moorish, or Western Arabia, resembles in nothing the ancient or modern Oriental. Far from finding in the present Moorish architecture that elegance and boldness which distinguish the ancient Arabian architecture, all its works exhibit marks of the grossest ignorance.[122]

2.7 *Algiers* (*Occupied 1830*)

> Nos ingénieurs, si indifférents pour la beauté des formes dans les constructions de leurs services spéciaux, n'ont pu trouver la plus petite inspiration lorsqu'ils ont été appelés, par les circonstances, à élever des monuments où ils sentaient bien qu'il fallait autre chose que l'équerre et le cordeau … on est bien loin d'être fier d'être Français.[123] [1854]

In the above quote Pellissier de Reynaud points the finger at those responsible for destruction here as in Cairo under Napoleon. We have already met them, namely the army Engineers. As already noted, military defence required buildings be commandeered (the French did not import materials from the hexagon), and a good field of fire often required street widening, and hence more buildings to disappear. As may be seen from myriad documents, what the Engineers commanded was law, and few monuments (let alone artistic sensitivity to the past) stood in their way. Thus as early as 1832 some of the military were already agitating to have all the mosques destroyed, as well as those taken over for hospitals or churches. Frequently the Engineers, dealing with fortification, had to be restrained.[124] Destruction through conversion was also visited on the citadel, as Muskau described in 1839:

> Scarcely a shadow of its ancient splendour exists, and yet the whole still has an imposing effect, strange, disfigured, and mutilated as it is.[125]

There were palaces in Algiers, of course, and private dwellings; but the only "public" buildings were the mosques, and these, some of them very fine, were to suffer greatly under the French. In 1580 Nicolay praised the Great Mosque "per singolar artificio & superba architettura la loro principale & maestra Moschea,"[126] while in 1738 Shaw concentrated on its minaret, to be demolished by the French.[127] Here

> we have some broken Inscriptions; but the Letters, (though of a sufficient Bigness to be seen at a Distance) are all of Them filled up to that

> Degree with Lime and White-Wash, that I could never particularly distinguish Them.[128]

Jackson visited in 1809, noting that "near the sea-side are a great number of mosques, which are elegant structures, and contribute greatly to the beautiful appearance of the place."[129] These were inaccessible to Jews and Christians ("he is burned or impaled alive"), and in sum "there is scarcely a more perfidious and rapacious people on the face of the earth."[130] The choice was death or circumcision, wrote Pananti in 1818.[131] But as he also noted, there were some deliciously cool houses, with floors of marble imported from Italy.[132]

Certainly, the French occupation greatly reduced the number of mosques in the city from the one hundred and seven noted by Dapper,[133] and this in spite of the fact that much could be learned from them of Arab history.[134] Part of the loss was certainly due to the Engineers, in their perpetual search for building materials. According to Poujoulat the Génie always denied finding early churches, because "les lieux où jadis la prière avait fléchi le genou devenaient ainsi des lieux indifférents. De belles colonnes de granit ont été souvent converties en moellons, et la mine a fait sauter de beaux débris pour les réduire aux dimensions des pierres propres à construire."[135]

Not all conversions to churches were insensitive. One in 1838, as reported by the Artillery, retained the inscriptions and arabesques of the original mosque.[136] However, in a report of 1834, the Great Mosque and a new mosque remained:

> By the report which follows, it appears, that out of thirteen large mosques with minarets, the French had already seized seven, one of which was demolished to make room for the new square. The commission for military lodgings demanded three more.[137]

Three years later Temple could not even visit the remaining mosques (which "exteriorly have no claims whatever to our admiration"), because the French Government had prohibited entry:

> Les ministres de la religion musulmane ont été respectés, les temples garantis de toute insulte; l'entrée même en a été sévèrement interdite.[138])

Even by the later 1830s, the city of Algiers was beginning to look French. This meant progress, for "the principal mosque was pulled down by the French to make room for the new square, and another in the Rue du Divan was shortly to be consecrated to Christian worship."[139] Already in 1839 the rue de la Marine

was taking on the appearance of Marseille or Bordeaux,[140] and by the end of the century, "Le centre de cet Alger officiel et civilisé" had taken root in the city of the pashas like a mushroom in the bark of a dead tree. One street offered "une promenade fort agréable … Rien n'y rappellerait l'Orient."[141] No wonder, because already in 1839 the Dey's Palace had become an enormous barracks, with its baths and mosques turned into offices for the soldiers.[142] Oh, that there were more officers of taste, wrote Bolle in 1839, and were that the case "il est beaucoup d'objets d'art qui eussent échappé à la dévastation et à la ruine." And he recounted how an enormous crystal candelabrum in the Great Mosque at Mascara "volait en éclats sous le talon da la botte d'un ancien officier de marine, aujourd'hui attaché à l'état-major."[143]

Except in those official declarations of piety we have already encountered, there was little consideration for Islam, a fact easily measured, as we have seen for Algiers and other towns, by what happened to so many mosques. In 1846 St. Marie agreed that the French had guaranteed freedom of religion, but noted that "they have taken possession of the mosques, and converted them into Catholic churches."[144] One 1863 guide calculated that "Des cent mosquées de troisième ordre qui existaient au moment de la prise d'Alger, quatre-vingt à peu près ont été vendues par le Domaine, occupées militairement ou démoli."[145] Hence it was French military prisoners who pulled down and rebuilt the Great Mosque on the rue de la Marine, "avec de magnifiques colonnes en marbre blanc provenant d'une mosquée qui occupait une partie du périmètre de la place du Gouvernement."[146] Berteuil, writing in 1856, noted in a between-the-lines cheer for French modernity and progress, that "Les Maures étaient trop absorbés par la superstition pour songer à des établissements d'utilité publique ou à la culture des arts." He praised their mosques, and briefly described two on the Place du Gouvernement and on the rue de la Marine, converted into churches.[147]

Some visitors protested at the indignities dealt out to native architecture. In 1859 Blakesley, a British clergyman and sometime Fellow and Tutor at Trinity College, Cambridge, titled one of his chapters "The Kazbah of Algiers ruined in the Invasion," and explained how the "handsome mosque" was still there, but

> the work of destruction and alteration has been carried to such an extent as to make it difficult to comprehend the connexion which formerly existed between such portions as are still left.[148]

Blakesley's "handsome mosque," then filled with military equipment, also attracted Poujoulat's attention:

> L'architecture de cette mosquée est charmante; les arceaux sont soutenus par des colonnes torses en marbre blanc d'un beau travail. J'aurais mieux aimé pour le culte catholique cette élégante mosquée que la toute petite mosquée située à quelques pas de la principale porte de la Kasbah, et dont on a fait une chapelle à la Vierge sous le nom de Notre-Dame-des-Victoires. L'autel de Notre-Dame-des-Victoires eût été plus heureusement placé dans l'ancien sanctuaire musulman de la Kasbah, au centre même de la demeure de l'ancien dominateur barbare![149]

Andry viewed the same mosque in 1868, where "j'admirais ses galeries supérieures, ses ogives aiguës, ses colonnettes, ses arceaux, et jusqu'aux lampes qui, suspendues à la voûte, ne dissipaient qu'imparfaitement les ténèbres de cette mosquée, la plus vaste en même temps que la plus ancienne d'Alger, puisqu'elle paraît remonter au X^e^ ou XI^e^ siècle."[150]

By 1853 Lestiboudois could exclaim that as for the hotels of Algiers, one might be in Marseille; but also that building administration was a joke. He pointed to a very beautiful mosque wilfully destroyed:

> On a voulu la transformer en église. A cela l'on n'a rien à dire: mais on a voulu l'agrandir, la restaurer, la dénaturer; puis lorsqu'elle a été bien remaniée, on a reconnu qu'elle ne serait pas assez vaste, on l'a démolie, et, sur son emplacement, on a construit une église qui a déjà coûté 700,000 fr., et à laquelle on a donné un air mauresque original, en formant ses arcades dans le dessin oriental, en ornant ses murs de guipures, en fermant ses fenêtres par des pierres découpées en arabesques, en surmontant ses nefs latérales par une série de petits dômes. Les colonnes en marbre qui séparent les nefs sont celles de l'ancienne mosquée.[151]

The result was unnecessary destruction of a beautiful building:

> Il fallut raser l'ancien édifice, pour bâtir une cathédrale nouvelle, et faire ainsi une dépense double en détruisant un précieux spécimen de l'art algérien.[152]

Algiers did get her cathedral, St. Philippe, again from the remains of a mosque, but mangled:

> Il est rare que la couleur originelle ne reparaisse pas sous le badigeon. Saint-Philippe était primitivement une belle mosquée; en dépit, ou mieux

> par le fait de tous les remaniements, de tous les agrandissements, de tous les agencements nouveaux, ce ne sera jamais qu'une cathédrale de médiocre valeur.[153]

The new cathedral, wrote Turton in 1876, with much material from the destroyed mosque, "is a kind of mixture of Moorish and Gothic, and is, of course, condemned in unqualified language by the red-tapists of architecture; but to unpretending amateurs like myself it has rather a pleasing effect – no doubt owing to want of taste."[154] This identified want of taste had been described two decades earlier by Ansted: "the presence of a high altar, some wretched pictures, and other marks of adaptation, have rather injured the effect of this simple and elegant structure."[155] To build it the Ketchaoua Mosque was destroyed, to be replaced by a building without grandeur or originality: "On a inutilement essayé d'approprier au culte catholique un bijou d'architecture arabe: on n'a réussi qu'à gâter, disons mieux, à l'anéantir."[156] Fortunately, before its destruction, Ravoisié had described it in his volume of the *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*.[157]

Again, and as is the way with officialdom, in dealing with Muslim affairs there was a wide gap between proclaimed intention and actual fulfilment. Although, wrote Lestiboudois in 1858, government spending should be parsimonious and kept on a tight reign,[158] it was agreed that money should be spent on Muslim schools and mosques as a way of consolidating French influence in Algeria, as had been promulgated in an 1850 decree.[159] But there was a looming problem with too much cosying up to the locals, as he recognised:

> en faisant apprécier notre esprit de justice et de libéralité; elles seront parfaitement nuisibles si elles sont abandonnées à elles-mêmes, et exploitées par le fanatisme. Elles contribueront alors à perpétuer et constituer plus fortement la nationalité arabe et accroître ses dispositions anti-chrétiennes.[160]

The desire to keep all Christians out of the mosques was well-meaning, intended so as not to anger the locals; and not all mosques were forbidden to the French. Reactions on entry were varied. In 1844 J.C. entered one near the Fort Neuf with his shoes on:

> Les parois des corridors et des galeries sont incrustées de mosaïques de faïence, et portent des inscriptions arabes, extraites de passages du Koran. La grande salle de la prière est simplement mais richement ornée, couverte d'inscriptions arabes, tapissée d'arabesques, ou revêtue de mosaïques en faïence.[161]

And in 1854 Pulszky declared (probably from hope rather than experience) that admission to mosques was easy, if footwear were removed, because

> now the Mohammedans in the seaport towns of Algeria have grown accustomed to see Frenchmen in their temples. A closer acquaintance with the infidels, under circumstances totally different from before, has greatly conciliated them to their antagonists in faith, and they do not now consider the presence of Christians as desecrating their places of worship.[162]

In any case removing footwear, as Ansted remarked in 1854, "was no great sacrifice on a warm day."[163] And perhaps, as Naphegyi suggested in 1868, such intercourse "aided also, perhaps, by the powerful repressing arm of the French government, has tended to soften the antagonisms of religion."[164] For Blakesley in 1859, however, visiting mosques was not of interest, and their entry might be classified as poor sport, for "there is, however, little gratification for curiosity to be obtained by shocking the religious prejudices of the population."[165]

Dealing with some mosques required a certain delicacy. The Mosquée de la Pêcherie, on the Place Royale, was said in 1863 to contain a Koran which "surpasse de beaucoup tout ce que nos moines du moyen-âge et d'une partie de la Renaissance ont laissé en calligraphie enluminée."[166] This attracted a familiar kind of back-story. Built in the seventeenth century by a Christian slave who was asked to construct a mosque and produced a church, he supposedly affirmed that "quand les chrétiens viendront s'établir à Alger ils auront une église." However, as Poujoulat wrote in 1847,

> Depuis quinze ans que nous sommes là, nous n'avons pas encore osé donner cette mosquée à la religion catholique; notre politique prudente eût craint d'offenser trop vivement la piété musulmane; nous nous contentons de visiter la mosquée quand cela nous plaît, sauf à exciter une secrète rage dans le cœur des Mahométans qui nous voient. Au jour marqué, Alger chrétienne aura sa cathédrale toute trouvée.[167]

But the structure remained a mosque, and "Lors de la restauration, une grande partie de ces décorations a été retrouvée sous la chaux et a été reproduite consciencieusement par M. Rattier, architecte de l'arrondissement."[168]

Appreciation of the remaining mosques of Algiers increased as the century progressed, when they perhaps came to be viewed as exotic jewels in an overwhelmingly European city. In 1901 Colin praised the imposing beauty of the Safir Mosque,[169] and that of Sidi-Hedy,[170] as well as the Jenina Palace;

but, since his work was on Arabic inscriptions, perhaps he was predisposed to do so.[171] By then, all mosques in Algeria were state property, and visitable (no smoking allowed!) at any time except during prayer,[172] usually for a small fee. Algiers' mosques were easy to enter, Thierry-Mieg entering one in 1881, simply donning slippers.[173] Baedeker repeated this good news in 1911, and advised that "a walk through the Kasbah quarter by moonlight is delightful, but safe only for a considerable party."[174] Richardot visited the Great Mosque in 1905, but evidently did not know its renovation history, writing that

> En la comparant à la mosquée de Cordoue ou à celle de Kairouan on pourrait dire que celles-ci représentent le style gothique de l'Islam et la mosquée d'Alger son style roman.[175]

Indeed, well before the twentieth century some of the mosques in the rest of Algeria were, unsurprisingly, open to Christians, for the touring influx had increased mightily, and money was to be gained. As Murray wrote in 1890, "It is not yet three years since the third edition of this Handbook was published, and already the immense extension of railway communication in the Colony [an incorrect term for this French département, although it certainly had many *colons*] has rendered it out of date."[176] Even before the end of the century, the country was deemed safe: it was, after all, part of France! Thus Naphegyi went to Oran in 1868, where "I passed in and out of the Mohammedan temples as freely as though they had been churches of my own faith, – except that I had to take off my shoes at the door, since the sacred carpet is not to be trodden by any but uncovered feet." However, he warned against "the prejudice against Christians … in many of the petty towns of the interior."[177] We now turn to those interior towns, where we shall find reflected a similar array of prejudice and pride expressed by the army, fighting for security and survival, and those later visitors who learned to appreciate Islamic architecture, and urged its conservation and even restoration.

2.8 *Bougie* (*Occupied 1833*)

> Il existe à Bougie une mosquée supérieure en magnificence à tous les temples connus, et dont le minaret peut être aperçu de la pleine mer aussi bien que du continent. Posé en quelque sorte au centre de la ville, ce charmant monument égaye la vue en même temps qu'il remplit l'âme d'un sentiment de bonheur ineffable.[178] [from a 13thC source]

A French regular canon homed in on the beautiful mosques of Bougie in 1785, and noted "une citadelle entourée de murailles couvertes d'inscriptions très-curieuses."[179] When the town was occupied by the French in 1833, however, artillery had already made a field of ruins for covetous soldiers to explore, and the mosques had been turned into storehouses,

> for the Mohammedan population has deserted the city since the occupation. A large hospital, and the houses of the officers of the garrison, are the most prominent buildings of the town. It is scarcely more than a military camp.[180]

Carette noted in 1848 that "Au temps de sa grandeur, Bougie avait des écoles renommées, de belles mosquées [such as that admired by El-Abdery in the opening quote], des palais ornés de mosaïques et d'arabesques," but now the population had dropped from one thousand to one hundred and forty six: "Telle a été la loi de décadence d'une des premières cités de l'islamisme, d'une ville comptée parmi les villes saintes."[181] Hence many mosques disappeared, and others were taken over for French use.[182]

2.9 *Constantine* (*Occupied 1837*)

> The architect will find the palace and the mosques as fine as any in the colony; and the antiquarian may yet discover some traces of these bygone times, although unhappily they are fast disappearing before so-called French improvements.[183] [1876]

At Constantine the mosque in the Bey's palace became the church[184] where Poujoulat prayed for the revival of Christianity in the town.[185] Others, decorated with marble columns, became barracks and store-houses.[186] In 1856 Berteuil noted that the "new" church had been enlarged by the French;[187] and he also examined the architecture of local houses.[188] The following year Cherbonneau (who lived in a house converted from a mosque[189]) reviewed the history of the mosque in the kasbah: upon the conquest it had been immediately converted into a grain-store, its minaret later destroyed,[190] and the mosque itself already largely gone by 1853.[191] Malte-Brun continued the talley of destruction in 1858.[192] When Blakesley visited in 1859, he admired the wall of the kasbah, converted into an open-air museum devoted to classical inscriptions collected round and about. There were surely plenty of Islamic

inscriptions in marble to be had; but clearly, the French were interested in the classical, not the Islamic past.[193]

The Grand Mosque, probably built over the remains of a pagan temple, was described by Turton in 1876:

> The richness of the marbles and colouring of the mosque of Salah Bey surpasses anything of the kind in Algeria … A carved door admits to the mosque, and it is there that its splendour becomes evident; the mihrab and the mimbar (the former the recess towards which Mahomedans pray, the latter the pulpit) are particularly fine.[194]

It was said to be the most beautiful mosque in Algeria, wrote another author:

> This chief mosque is not deprived of ornament, having its columns of pink marble, its elliptical Moorish arches, and its tiles of painted fayence set in the walls. In the centre is the pulpit, coarsely painted red and blue, where the imaum recites his prayers. Three small, lofty windows are filled with carved lacework.[195]

As the result of a fire, Tchihatcheff in 1880 believed that the whole structure had been rebuilt by the French as a mark of religious tolerance, and given new decorations so that (as he waspishly remarked) "le temple le plus riche et le plus élégant que possèdent les mahométans de Constantine est précisément celui qu'ils doivent aux chrétiens."[196] In fact it was only the façade and a new minaret which had been reconstructed in order to accommodate a new road. For Reuss its beauties were restricted, because he did not approve of the re-use of spolia:

> L'intérieur de celle-ci est digne d'être visité; non pas que l'on doive y rencontrer une merveille d'architecture, un amoncellement de richesses, mais on y verra un spécimen curieux de l'art avec lequel les Arabes ont su faire servir à leur usage des matériaux trouvés un peu partout.[197]

Noting that before the French invasion the town had boasted ninety-five mosques where only about twenty now remained, Reuss was considerably more impressed by the mosque built by Salah Bey a century ago:

> Deux portes conduisent dans le sanctuaire, soutenu par des colonnes en marbre blanc, et recouvert d'un plafond de poutres peintes en vert et en rouge; deux coupoles sont ménagées dans le plafond, au-dessus et

> dans la direction du mihrab, niche où s'agenouille l'iman afin de regarder l'Orient. Les murs sont tapissés de faïences multicolores; de riches tapis garnissent les dalles; de grands lustres en cristal éclairent le vaste espace au milieu duquel la chaire, formée d'un assemblage de presque tous les marbres connus, étale la richesse de ses sculptures.[198]

If the palace mosque had disappeared soon after the French occupation, the palace itself remained. And in 1887 Bernard compared what were now offices with the rich houses he had already described:

> Le palais est la curiosité obligatoire, la curiosité banale de Constantine. Fait, comme la mosquée, avec des débris rassemblés de droite et de gauche, avec des pierres, du marbre, des colonnes, des ornements enlevés aux maisons dont le bey expropriait leur légitime possesseur quand elles avaient le malheur de lui plaire, il est certainement très-beau, mais il faut encore une forte dose d'imagination et d'enthousiasme pour y voir un château des Mille et une Nuits.[199]

3 Tlemcen Environs and Its Monuments

The Tlemcen area remains today rich in important monuments, and these have been separated below into three areas for clarity's sake. The deserted site of Mansourah is some 2 km south-west of Tlemcen itself, while Sidi Boumediene lies just over 1 km to its south-east. The city of Tlemcen was conquered by the French in 1836 and, after incursions by Abd-el-Kader which ruined large parts of the town, was definitively ceded to the French in 1842.

3.1 *Mansourah*

> Sa pauvre mosquée … le croyant fidèle n'en franchit plus jamais le seuil; seuls les roumis troublent parfois l'abandon et la solitude de ses salles à ciel ouvert, car les plafonds ont croulé avec l'arceau des voûtes; et des fissures des anciennes mosaïques ont jailli çà et là des pieds noueux et tordus d'amandiers, dont l'arabe nomade dédaigne même la fleur.[200] [1899]

The deserted site of Mansourah was built by the Merinids from 1337, with its palace erected by Abu'l-Hasen Ali (d. 1348). The site was abandoned by his successor, leaving a mosque with a tall and impressive minaret of some 24 metres,[201] and with plenty of other buildings the materials from which

could be re-used in Tlemcen itself. By the mid-nineteenth century this site was deserted, without houses, and half given over to crops.[202] This was because, as the rival to Tlemcen itself, its walls had been dismantled, and

> les maisons et les rues ayant été rasés par les vainqueurs avec défense à tous les habitants de la plaine de prononcer jamais le nom de la ville détruite et de tenter de bâtir sur son emplacement.[203]

In the beginnings of archaeology in Algeria, by 1855 the mosque was being dug, and the site treated as a museum, for it evidently still held impressive antiquities: "On y remarque déjà plusieurs colonnes, chapiteaux, mosaïques, etc., qu'on a découverts en exécutant des fouilles sur l'emplacement."[204] In 1856 Dr. x was impressed to see a Muslim dismount and, facing the ruined mosque, perform his prayers. He described the semi-ruined minaret,

> merveille d'architecture déchirée, miracle incroyable de statique … Le côté postérieur s'est écroulé dans la mosquée; montrant des colonnettes brisées, des fenêtres à ogive béantes, les marches par moitié d'un escalier qui conduisait le muzzin au sommet. L'autre côté debout, intact, encore orné de sculptures mauresques, a conservé quelque chose de vivant dans sa physionomie monumentale, et vous regarde de ses ouvertures avec une gravité résignée dans le malheur.[205]

How did the minaret's semi-destruction happen? Because of religious contentiousness, of course. It was supposedly built by a Jew (another backstory topos), who kicked part of it down, asserted Dr. X.[206] Clamageran, writing in 1874, relayed the variant that the crumbling side had indeed been built by a Jew, but the surviving side by a Muslim.[207] Goyau offered yet another version of the myth.[208] Blakesley admired the minaret, noting that "its outer face is elaborately ornamented in the best Arabian style; but in the lower part of the façade the ornamentation is effected by carved stones, which are, apparently, of Roman origin, and were, no doubt, brought from the ruins of one of the Roman towns in this neighbourhood."[209] By counting the column bases of the mosque remains, Bargès calculated that it contained nine or ten aisles, with a central courytard.[210] Godard declared that the sites offered "des débris d'un caractère grandiose," compared the minaret with the Giralda at Seville, and concluded that "En présence de telles ruines, on ne peut nier que ces dynasties africaines ne fussent véritablement riches et puissantes."[211]

Brosselard reported on Mansourah and Tlemcen in 1861, declaring that "l'on peut même ajouter que ce sont les seuls que l'Algérie puisse offrir aux

investigations curieuses du touriste éclairé," perhaps an indication that visitors from France were now interesting themselves in Islamic architecture. And the dig (in an area of some one hundred metres) had cost only five hundred francs![212] He then underlined the importance of the discoveries:

> On y distingue, au plus haut degré, le cachet de cette époque où l'art arabe, après s'être dégagé lentement des liens de l'imitation byzantine, arrive enfin à être maître de lui-même, se constitue un caractère propre et marque définitivement sa place dans le domaine des oeuvres vivaces par leur originalité. C'est le XII^e^ siècle qui vit s'accomplir cette révolution; le siècle de l'Alhambra, chef-d'oeuvre impérissable en ce genre caractéristique.[213]

Unfortunately, because of a variously functioning French bureaucracy, all was not sweetness and light. Duthoit, who in 1873 wrote a multi-page account of Tlemcen and Mansourah,[214] recounted his difficulties in finding even a ladder, and the necessary wrestling with the local administration:

> L'administration n'a pas même daigné me faire remettre les seules lettres que j'eusse apportées et que j'avais déposées dans ses bureaux pour recevoir en échange des recommandations auprès des autorités locales. L'initiative privée a fait pour moi beaucoup plus que je n'eusse pu l'espérer de la part des autorités auxquelles vous aviez daigné me recommender.

Worse than this, it took him a fortnight and various bribes to get the photographer on site (and oh! the heat and the wind!). Indeed, the whole procedure nearly failed in Tlemcen because his doings

> faillirent même un jour soulever une émeute à Tlemcen où des musulmans s'imaginèrent que mes appareils, braqués sur le M'rab de l'école franco-arabe, reproduisaient les traits de leurs bambins.[215]

However, Duthoit cheered up when he got to the mosque at Mansourah, because it was "assurément le plus vaste, le mieux ordonné, le plus riche des contrées qui forment aujourd'hui l'Algérie française." Its relicts were to be seen around Tlemcen, and in the local museum, as well as that of Algiers, according to Piesse.[216] What is more, "Le minaret construit en pierres de grand appareil est le plus élevé, le plus richement décoré, le mieux conservé de tous les monuments analogues d'Afrique ou d'Espagne."[217] At great cost, in 1877 and 1888, Duthoit consolidated the minaret.[218] However, urgent work

on other monuments must have suffered because, as Saint-Paul asserted in 1880, funds assigned for the restoration of Algerian monuments were totally inadequate.[219]

By 1881 Thierry-Mieg could note that the onyx columns from Mansourah came from the same quarry as those supplied for the new Paris Opéra (perhaps an indication that re-usable spolia were running out). What is more, the minaret had been classified as an important monument, but "nous faisons des vœux sincères pour que les restaurations futures soient exécutées avec plus de tact et de discernement que ce qui a été fait jusqu'ici."[220] In 1888 "A. B.," while relaying the Jews-Roumi-Muslims legend, could also admire the onyx within the other decoration:

> Le minaret, haut de 47 mètres [!], se dresse imposant dans la campagne, revêtu de la majesté des siècles. On voit encore les traces de la mosaïque en carreaux de faïence qui ornait les panneaux. Tout en haut, de jolies fenêtres cintrées découpent sur la brique couleur de terre cuite dont on les a murées, leurs élégants arceaux supportés par des colonnettes en onyx.[221]

In 1902 Pimodan wrote a long and detailed account of the minaret in its "éclatante richesse:"

> Tantôt les faïences formaient un champ resplendissant sur lequel se détachaient en relief des arabesques de pierre, comme une guipure de Venise, sur un transparent de satin; tantôt, elles brillaient isolées, enchassées dans la pierre comme des gemmes dans un métal précieux: tantôt enfin, elles figuraient d'étroits cordons dessinant une, bordure ou accentuant une ligne architecturale. Nulle part, semble-t-il, elles ne composaient à elles seules des mosaïques multicolores, telles qu'on en voit sur d'autres monuments tlemcéniens.[222]

3.2 *Sidi Boumediene* (*Occupied 1836*)

This site retains important buildings from the Merinid period, including a mosque built in 1339 and the mausoleum of the eponymous saint. By the mid-nineteenth century the mosque and minaret were in ruins, which for one triumphalist Christian inevitably proved "que Mahomet lui-même subit la loi inexorable de l'oubli."[223] For several years under the control of the French the inhabitants had paid a tax to exclude non-believers, but by 1859 "ils se fatiguèrent bientôt de cette contribution volontaire, et les chrétiens peuvent maintenant visiter même le tombeau sacré de leur marabout vénéré."[224]

The *Courrier de Tlemcen* admired the remains in 1863. The delicacy of the onyx columns of the mihrab were comparable only to the Alhambra and monuments in Cairo; and "Il faudrait épuiser toutes les formules d'admiration pour décrire convenablement la koubba et la mosquée d'El-Kubbad, chose difficile surtout si on ne veut pas retomber dans des redites continuelles."[225] Enough of the mosque survived in 1873 for Duthoit to describe its porch, then the interior and minaret:

> Des faïences très-belles recouvrent cette espèce de portail. Les vantaux de la porte principale sont revêtus de feuilles de bronze découpées à jour et ciselées, sur lesquelles des nervures de même métal dessinent des compartiments et des rosaces d'un tracé très-compliqué. Le marteau et les verrous sont à eux seuls des monuments. Des traces de dorure sont encore visibles sur toute cette ornementation de métal. Les nefs intérieures ... sont voûtées en briques et offrent une très-grande variété de caissons. Des mosaïques de faïences couvrent encore presque entièrement la partie supérieure du minaret. Ces mosaïques sont fort belles et produisent un grand effet.[226]

Clamageran agreed that all these features "sont des spécimens précieux de l'art mauresque, art délicat et fin qui s'élève rarement au sublime, mais qui enchante l'esprit par la subtilité ingénieuse des détails et l'harmonie parfaite de l'ensemble."[227] For Murray in 1890 the quality could be explained only by an Italian comparison:

> large double doors covered with bronze, of which, unfortunately, the lower part has been stolen bit by bit. There is a tradition respecting these doors that they were lost in the sea, but recovered from it and brought to Bou-Medin by the prayers of the saint. It may almost be said that they are to Moorish art what the doors of Ghiberti are to Italian, for purely decorative art was never carried higher.[228]

However, the adjacent college was in ruins, with grass sprouting in its courtyards.[229] In 1889 Jourdan, approaching the mosque down a picturesque track bordered on one side by gardens,[230] enthused that the doorway was a marvel, and inside "les murs ont conservé quelques beaux spécim™ens de ces dentelles de plâtre dont les Maures savaient si bien revêtir la nudité de leurs édifices." But he noted that the tiles on the porch had been looted up to head-height, for "Le marteau des collectionneurs a été remplacé là par l'avidité des conquérants.[231] (We might surmise that the stucco survived because

looters believed incorrectly that it was difficult to detach and transport, and less attractive than tiles.) Bernard offered a description of the complex in 1887, noting the copper-covered and decorated cedar door, the onyx columns, the faïence mihrab, and the rich carpets: "Et, vue du dehors, la mosquée a l'air d'une ruine. Elle est cependant encore le siège d'une médersa célèbre entretenue par une sorte d'impôt volontaire qu'elle prélève sur la générosité des croyants."[232]

Thierry-Mieg thought this site looked Palestinian, and it had no European residents. He praised the interior decoration of the mosque:

> les murailles décorées de superbes carrelages fort anciens, encadrent de grandes pages ciselées de caractères coufiques quadrangulaires, antérieurs à Mahomet; il n'en existe de semblables qu'à Séville et à Grenade.

but he took his comparison wider for the exterior, looking to Persia:

> Les couvertures de tuiles vernissées rappellent, par leurs mille nuances aux reflets métalliques, ces féeriques toitures persanes que le voyageur, à son arrivée à Ispahan, voit briller de loin au soleil comme de vastes champs d'émaux cloisonnés.[233]

"A. B.," on the other hand, stuck with Spain as the source:

> Toutes les richesses de l'art fantaisiste qui créa l'Alhambra s'y déroulent, aux yeux charmés de l'artiste. On ne sait ce qu'il faut le plus admirer, de l'élégance de l'architecture ou de l'incroyable profusion des ornements: mosaïques de faïence aux vives couleurs, harmonieusement fondues; réseaux de stuc, où les lettres mystérieuses du Coran s'enlacent à la Flore ornementale la plus capricieuse; portes de cèdre lamées de cuivre; colonnes d'onyx, aux chapiteaux bizarres; vasques de marbre; dalles de faïence; plafonds en cèdre sculpté: tout est d'une perfection achevée.[234]

He then offered a long description of the mosque, remarking on the porch ("malheureusement encastrée dans de sordides masures, comme un diamant serti parmi des cailloux"). Next he described the interior, and then the view from the top of the minaret (ninety-two steps!).[235] Claparède offered a similar appreciation, saying it reminded him of the Alcazar at Seville. He relayed a comment he was offered on-site:

> "Il n'y a pas, dans le monde entier, de porte aussi belle que celle-ci!" me disait avec enthousiasme un Arabe … qui ne connaît pas le baptistère

> de Florence; mais je dois convenir que la porte de la mosquée de Sidi Bou-Medin est une véritable merveille.[236]

The brothers Marçais in 1903 focussed on the doors of the mosque, relaying the legend that the bronze revetment came from Spain.[237] The bronze had been stolen by French soldiers up to a height of two metres, but was now replaced. Bronze-working was not to be seen elsewhere in Tlemcen, so perhaps the doors were indeed from Andalucia.[238] The brothers "proved" their assertion by referring to

> Le grand porche de Sidi Bou-Médine, plusieurs niches de mihrâbs, les consoles du balcon de Mansourah, quelques pans coupés d'habitations particulières, telles sont les applications qu'on en trouve à Tlemcen.[239]

Pimodan in 1902 was fascinated by coloured tiles, here and at Mansourah: "J'ai aussi ramassé, parmi les ruines de Mansoura, un fragment décoré d'émaux verts, jaunes, blancs et noirs, séparés par d'étroits sillons qui laissent apercevoir le fond mat de la terre cuite."[240] On feast-days pilgrims were still arriving to pray in the (ruined) mosque,[241] and Pimodan set the site in "cette riante campagne abondent les souvenirs du passé":

> Non seulement on y trouve les deux très belles mosquées de Sidi el-Haloui et de Sidi Bou-Medin, les prodigieux vestiges de Mansoura, le haut minaret d'Agadir, les poétiques édicules de Sidi Yacoub, mais encore un nombre infini de ruines de toutes sortes: mosquées et marabouts écroulés; vieilles tours, poternes, pans de remparts se dressant çà et là comme d'étranges chicots; anciennes maisons de plaisance transformées en pauvres demeures; aqueducs et bassins aux parois fissurées. Chaque jour, à chaque pas, on découvre un nouveau vestige attestant la puissante richesse des anciens maîtres du pays.[242]

Baedeker compared the mosque's minaret with that of the Koutoubia at Marrakesh, and wrote that the gateway,

> now skilfully restored, is a masterpiece of artistic decoration. The superb outer gateway, whose lofty horseshoe arch opens into the vestibule, is lavishly enriched with fayence mosaics, which show beautiful arabesque patterns in the rectangular stonework of the doorway, and geometrical designs above the frieze with the inscriptions.[243]

3.3 *Tlemcen City* (*Occupied 1836*)

> Every one has heard of Granada amid its Moorish antiquities. The name of Tlemçen is known to comparatively few, yet it was a contemporary city not less illustrious.[244] [1890]

Along with Fez and Kairouan, Tlemcen contains the most important Islamic buildings in North Africa, as underlined by Murray's assertion above. Again, the buildings of Tlemcen, together with those of Kairouan and Fez, were described by Baedeker in 1911 as "amongst the most interesting in Barbary."[245] In Tlemcen these are the Great Mosque, the Sidi Bel-Hassen Mosque, the Sidi el-Haloui Mosque and, nearby, the ruins of Mansura/Mansourah, the old Merinid town. Shaw, chaplain to the English Factory in Algiers, and in the East 1719–1727, was excited by the spolia he saw here, but only by the classical marbles: "we meet with several shafts of pillars, and other fragments of Roman antiquities; and in the walls of a Mosque, made out of these old materials."[246] The brothers Marçais in 1903 offered a solid, detailed art-historical account of the city and its environs, in an attempt to work out the source(s) of the architecture.[247]

3.4 *Destruction and Survivals*

As in Algiers itself, modernisation of the city following the French occupation entailed extensive destruction. In 1842 the French had incorporated Tlemcen in their conquest of Algeria, and built a new quarter to accommodate their troops, as well as taking over the Méchouar (the citadel) for a barracks and administration. Public health and sanitation were frequently invoked in France itself to explain the destruction of mediaeval towns, so we should not be surprised that the same arguments were deployed in North Africa. With such a mindset, it was necessary to eviscerate the old city to construct the modern town. Here is Reuss in 1884, when

> Sans doute bien des richesses architecturales, bien des mosquées intéressantes sont tombées ainsi sous la pioche des démolisseurs; mais, tout en regrettant leur destruction, il faut reconnaître que, dans le quartier juif surtout, ces percements étaient absolument nécessaires.[248]

Because of so much destruction, he was forced to refer to "ces échantillons d'une architecture aujourd'hui disparue, miraculeusement échappés à la destruction de la cité," and to direct his readers to the remaining mosques for examples of Moorish art.[249] These had survived "au milieu de l'effondrement progressif de la ville et de l'empire des émirs," and he passed them in review.[250]

A nearby Roman settlement was Pomaria, which evidently supplied some of the stone spolia for Tlemcen's monuments, including the Agadir minaret of *c*.1280 ("une petite mosquée et un grand et beau minaret bien entretenu"[251]), with its first four meters of squared blocks, some with inscriptions, and much studied by the locals:

> sur lesquelles les Arabes, peu rigoureux dans leur manière de trouver des ressemblances, croient reconnaître, à des empreintes dues au hasard, sur le côté est, les parties sexuelles, les pieds, les seins, la tête d'une femme; et, sur le côté sud, une hydre à sept têtes.[252]

The mosques of the city received many plaudits from visitors. The Sidi Bel-Hassen Mosque (1296) was a "vrai bijou de l'architecture arabe," noted Claparède, with important interior decoration.[253] In 1853 Lestiboudois declared that it was here that Moorish architecture was best understood.[254] He gave a brief overview of the Great Mosque, where "Le portail et le minaret sont couverts de fayence, formant des arabesques, enduit éclatant, splendide, ne ressemblant à rien de ce que nous connaissons," and then of the Sidi Bel-Hassen Mosque: "Elle a aussi des faïences sur ses façades, mais elles sont encadrées, dans les dessins originaux formés par les briques en saillie, analogues à celles de l'hôpital d'Oran." This was a store house for grain in his day, and later the town museum.[255]

In 1888 "A. B." counted mosque depradations by the French: "On en visite seulement six aujourd'hui, remarquables à divers titres, au milieu des 26 qui restent debout."[256] For Piesse this was because the only structures the waves of invaders had left alone were the mosques.[257] However, just as elsewhere, modernisation for Tlemcen was a two-edged sword wielded as usual by the Engineers, and as early as 1859 Blakesley had already noted the destruction of the greater part of the city:

> The buildings in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mechouar were of course levelled to destroy all cover for an enemy. Two or three mosques still remain standing, but with these exceptions the whole of the upper level has been rebuilt by the French. The place is valuable as an important military position, and the Mechouar is of course made use of as a barrack and arsenal.[258]

Some architectural glories survived modernisation. In 1874 Clamageran could still write admiringly of the mosques of Tlemcen: of a different order to the architecture of Córdoba and the Alhambra, they were charming, and

> les piliers, les arcades, les coupoles, les parois taillées à jour, les dessins ingénieux qui les couvrent, tout semble disposé pour varier à l'infini les effets de jour et d'ombre des contours, des lignes, des espaces et des points lumineux, tels sont les seuls éléments mis en œuvre c'est la fête de la lumière.[259]

The previous year Duthoit had written at length about the splendours of bronze and plaster at Tlemcen. Drawings were needed to demonstrate the intricacy of the plasterwork:

> Le plâtre sculpté, refouillé, découpé, fait la décoration principale de toutes les constructions arabes. Il n'est pas possible d'évaluer la somme d'imagination que les sculpteurs ont dépensée pour la composition de cette ornementation, toujours originale et toujours variée dans son unité de principe et de moyens.

And he pointed out that such work had not been left white, but had been brightly coloured:

> Il est certain qu'aux meilleures époques, c'est-à-dire du XII^e^ au XV^e^ siècle, cette ornementation sculpturale a été complétée par des applications de peintures et de dorures. Les fonds des ornements de ces époques, mieux garantis que les parties saillantes, ont conservé de nombreuses traces de coloration, le plus souvent d'un rouge vif et d'un vert glauque, qui doit avoir été primitivement bleu.[260]

In 1880 Jourdan also noted the elegance of Tlemcen's mosques, better-decorated, he thought, than the Alhambra. Yet this led him, in his prejudiced ignorance, to ask whether it really was an Arab who had built them:

> Est-ce lui qui a martelé ces cuivres où s'enchevêtrent des lignes si harmonieuses? Est-ce lui qui a trouvé le secret de ces coloris vigoureux et doux tout à la fois, qui brillent sous l'émail de ces belles faïences? Est-ce lui enfin qui a enfanté cette architecture originale, étrange, dont chaque détail accuse une recherche infinie, dénote un sentiment artistique si élevé?[261]

In 1888 "A. B." had admired the delicate decoration in the Great Mosque at Oran, but realised when he arrived at Tlemcen that he had there been viewing an inferior product:

> Les lourdes fioritures du porche extérieur ne sont qu'un grossier pastiche des délicatesses de l'art arabe du XIII^e siècle: guipures de stuc jetées sur les parois, entourant la courbe gracieuse des arceaux, courant le long des nefs, en capricieuses guirlandes, revêtant l'intérieur des coupoles, enveloppant les fines colonnettes de bizarres figures.[262]

By 1911 in Tlemcen, Baedeker reported "Mosques open daily 9–11 a.m.; at other times a permit of the sub-prefect is required."[263]

3.5 *The Great Mosque*

> La plus grande mosquée est conservée, et les archéologues admirent dans sa splendeur son architecture, sévère et svelte à la fois.[264] [1856]

The French trod carefully when dealing with the Great Mosque ("magnifique et très-vaste"[265]), built in the twelfth century. Bargès complained in 1859 that entry was not easy:[266] he had to apply to the Bureau Arabe which, as its name implies, dealt with all matters to do with the locals. Even then, the visitor had to be accompanied by a mosque official.[267] But the curé also joined the party,

> qui, avant de mourir sur la terre étrangère, se souvenaient qu'ils étaient Chrétiens et Français, profita de l'occasion pour visiter avec moi un temple qu'il ne désespérait pas de voir un jour converti en cathédrale et érigé en siège épiscopal.[268]

The mufti was essential in dealing with the four or five Arabs in the mosque, who were outraged by the non-believers who were soiling God's house; "le mufti qui marchait à notre tête, interposant son autorité, leur fit signe de la main de se taire et prononça quelques paroles qui calmèrent leur subite fureur."[269]

In Duthoit's 1873 report on this mosque, the maksura had recently been restored ("par M. Lefebvre, architecte de l'arrondissement, dont le talent consciencieux ne peut être assez loué"), and the great bronze candelabrum was in need of attention. But, as he declared, "L'Espagne n'offre rien de supérieur à la décoration de la Maksoura et du M'rab."[270]

By 1879 all was peaceful for Ratheau, thanks to his Arab guide, and he described the interior:

> La mosquée elle-même se compose d'une série d'arceaux en fer à cheval portés sur des colonnes assez légères; un solivage repose sur les arceaux et supporte la terrasse formant toiture le plafond est en plâtre disposé en

> caissons gracieusement ornementés d'arabesques de toutes formes. Au milieu est un dôme peu élevé … des fenêtres barreaudées, percées dans les murs qui des lanternes aux formes capricieuses et ornées de verres de couleur descendent des plafonds. La chaire du Muezzin, en bois peint, est d'une ornementation plus riche encore que celle des portes dont quelques-unes sont cependant fort belles.[271]

In 1887 Bernard mis-counted the arcade columns (ninety-eight), noted the floor of translucent onyx, and mentioned how "Le mihrab et le mimbar, comme à Alger et comme partout, décorent le temple de leurs colonnes en bois peint, de leurs niches byzantines, de leurs arabesques bariolées."[272] "A. B." entered in 1888, counted seventy-two columns, and was now offered sandals. Again, he concentrated on the decoration: "La voûte du Mihrab, surmontée d'une coupole ajourée, est la seule partie de l'édifice qui soit ornée d'arabesques. A côté, la chaire de l'Iman, toute en bois finement découpé, est peinte de couleurs vives."[273] Piesse wrote in similar vein.[274] In 1896 Claparède noted the onyx used in the Great Mosque:

> Ce sont les plus belles [mosquées] de l'Algérie. Ce n'est, il est vrai, pas beaucoup dire, mais j'ajouterai que quelques-unes d'entre elles soutiennent la comparaison avec les chefs-d'oeuvre de l'architecture arabe que l'Espagne doit aux Maures de Grenade et de Cordoue.

He described "une pierre magnifique, d'un grain très fin, susceptible d'un beau poli") with its minaret ("construit en briques et orné sur ses quatre faces de colonnettes en marbre et revêtu de mosaïques en terre cuite vernissée").

Pimodan offered a long description of the interior, after displaying his preternatural sensitivity by hesitating at the entrance, where "mon uniforme de vainqueur m'aurait évité une avanie."[275] By 1911 this mosque (like the Sidi el-Haloui Mosque) was open to all, and described by Baedeker as "very important in art-history as one of the few Moorish buildings of the twelfth cent. that have survived without alteration."[276] In 1902 Pimodan regretted the present state of the minaret,

> dépourvu de presque toutes ses faiences, paraît lourd et pauvre avec ses murs de briques grisonnants, mais jadis, quand ses mosaiques allumées par le soleil, chatoyaient comme le plumage du lophophore ou du paon, sa masse etincelante, dominant Tlemcen, semblait un pylone radieux.[277]

3.6 *The Sidi Bel-Hassen and Sidi el-Haloui Mosques*

The Sidi Bel-Hassen Mosque, built in 1296, was used by the French from 1842 as a storehouse and school. It was restored in 1900.[278] Pimodan admired the building ("encore si charmante, si délicate, si fine – bijou d'un autre âge"), but noted the unfortunate effect of the "restoration" when it became the museum:

> Les mosaïques extérieures ont été enlevées et remplacées par d'autres qui font un meilleur effet. En outre, on a percé sur les deux côtés cinq ou six baies larges et hautes. Le style de ces baies est très pur, mais elles sont trop grandes pour l'édifice qu'elles inondent d'une lumière crue, mal répartie. Les petites fenêtres, qui ménageaient au dessus du mirhab un jour très doux, encore tamisé par de fines découpures de plâtre, semblent maintenant des soupiraux.[279]

Thus, while praising the interior, he condemned the "restored" stucco and tile-work as "du style arabe de salle de bains."[280]

The Sidi el-Haloui Mosque (similar to that at Sidi Bou Médine of 1339: see above) was prized for its eight onyx columns, "dont les chapiteaux offrent tout ce que l'on peut imaginer de plus exquis, comme spécimen de l'ornementation arabe." By 1893, the whitewash covering the delicate wall decorations as well as the columns had been removed.[281] In 1903 Pimodan admired the mosque's elegance and magnificent portal, but thought its interior decoration inferior to its town rival:

> Sur les murs apparaissent çà et là des ornements de plâtre découpé, qui ne manquent ni de finesse, ni de séduisante fantaisie. Ce sont de charmants spécimens d'art décoratif, mais on ne saurait les égaler aux merveilleux revêtements de la mosquée d'Abou'l-Hacen, véritables oeuvres d'art, au sens le plus élevé du mot.

By then the wooden ceilings had been restored, "dont les nervures recroisées et les caissons figurent d'habiles décorations polygonales d'un style arabe très riche et très pur."[282]

3.7 *The Citadel* (*Mechouar*)

The ancient citadel, once the seat of the Bey, was given a hospital (with the mosque serving as a chapel) and barracks under the French.[283] In 1859 Bargès was offered the highly unlikely story that, when the French were running

out of meat, they fired a few shots at the minaret of the Great Mosque, "et qu'alors les Arabes, qui craignaient que cet édifice sacré ne fût détruit, s'empressaient d'apporter des vivres à la porte du Méchouar pour faire cesser la canonnade."[284] Apparently the whole of the mosque buildings were subsumed into the hospital.[285] However, the fortifications and rooms of the old palace of the Bey, by the 1880s the seat of the Military Commandant, were preserved:

> C'est bien la plus pure expression du style mauresque civil, associé au génie militaire arabe. / Au dedans, les riches salles, soutenues sur des colonnes torses de marbre blanc, sont éclairées par des fenêtres inscrites dans de charmantes ogives; les murailles, ornées de dessins ciselés avec un art infini, communiquent par de larges portiques à des jardins suspendus remplis des fleurs les plus rares.[286]

3.8 *The Oasis of Sidi Okba*

Not every visitor to North Africa thought the sights worth seeing. Prince Lubomirski, here in 1877–8, visited the Algerian village of Sidi Okba, and entered the mosque, said to be "probably the most ancient Mohammedan building in Africa."[287] Writing very much *de haut en bas*, he exposed the puerility of westerners, especially the English, who sought to visit recently forbidden mosques. He considered himself above all ignorant trippers, for he of course knew better: "Les mosquées se ressemblent toutes, et quand on a visité Sainte-Sophie, la mosquée d'Omar, celle de Mehemet-Ali et d'Hasan, il n'y a guère de temple musulman qui vaille la peine d'être vu au prix d'un danger ou d'une fatigue quelconque.[288]" But at least he did describe what he saw here:

> Le portique à colonnes qui entoure la mosquée de Sidi Okba est attenant à un minaret carré, très léger, très svelte et qui s'amincit à mesure qu'il s'élève. On monte au minaret par un escalier, tournant autour d'un pilier qui n'est pas d'une solidité à toute épreuve. Le tremblement de ce pilier, me dit Si Mohammed, attribué à un miracle, fait de la mosquée un lieu de pèlerinage.[289]

When Thierry-Mieg visited the oasis in 1861, although the sheikh removed his own slippers, visitors were allowed to enter without removing their footwear.[290]

4 Morocco

4.1 *Introduction*

Morocco was easily reached across the Straits of Gibraltar, and many Muslims had fled there when expelled from Spain. With France's 1830 conquest of Algeria, and the destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Navarino in 1827, it might have seemed open to European interests. This was not to be the case, for large swathes of "Barbary" were still noted for pirates well into the nineteenth century. Curious visitors discovered that access to mosques continued to be difficult. Beauclerk travelled in 1826, but could get into none of them, even in Mogador.[291] In 1831 Brooke reported that "a firman from the Grand Porte had been read in all the mosques, cautioning every Mussulman to be on his guard at this particular juncture against the Christians, who meditated, it was affirmed, the destruction of the Mahometan power."[292]

Indeed, could Morocco ever be conquered by a western power? In 1859 Godard made light of Muslim resistance, apparently jesting when enquiring "Quel musulman n'est heureux d'aller un peu au Djehad et de jeter un peu de poudre aux yeux des infidèles?" Evidently an optimist, he then cited Algeria (peace and justice, indeed, not conquest!) as proof of Muslims' good faith, in a refrain sung by conquerors down the ages:

> On tâchera de leur faire entendre qu'on ne vient point détruire les mosquées ni les sanctuaires, porter atteinte à la liberté de sa religion ni aux fortunes privées, mais plutôt alléger le joug sous lequel ils gémissent.[293]

Richardson in 1860 sang from the Algerian playbook. He believed optimistically that pushing the natives by force into the wastes of the interior deserts ("*refoulement*" as recommended in Algeria) was still the answer for peace and European settlement. Why so? Because "brief periods of glory at Bagdad, Cairo, and Granada, should not protect those who are now slaves to the lowest vices that degrade human nature." In summary,

> the sole cure is conquest, and the substitution of Christian Governments in Northern Africa, and Turkey in Europe and Asia. Russia, France, Austria, Greece, and Spain are weary of the excesses of their savage neighbours.[294]

Nonsense, wrote an FRGS: the country of Morocco was 219,420 square miles, and the population eight million, "of which a large proportion live in a state of

perpetual warfare, occupying inaccessible mountain fastnesses, from whence they only descend to the plains for the sake of plunder."[295]

Perhaps inevitably, after the takeover of Algeria and Tunisia, Morocco was indeed conquered by the French in 1911, and designated a French protectorate. Hubert Lyautey (1854–1934) was installed as Resident-General and served 1912–25. Supposedly as a measure to preserve the characteristics of local life, including architecture, non-Muslims were forbidden from entering the mosques – a ban which persists to this day.

4.2 *Fez*

> On fit bâtir à Fez une mosquée plus grande encore, qu on appela Carubin [El-Kairaouyn], parce qu'elle fut bâtie par les Arabes de Cairoan; c'est un des plus beaux édifices qu'il y ait dans l'Empire & peut-être en Afrique.[296] [1787]

Chénier in the above quote was far from the first to be impressed by this spectacular mosque. In 1326 the Roudh el-Kartas, writing about the rulers of the Maghreb, gave its history,[297] including its enlargement when excavations came across useful materials.[298] On that occasion there were discovered "de grosses pierres qui, passant directement de la main des carriers dans celle des maçons, rendaient le travail plus commode." These were perhaps Roman remains, and it was not unusual in the East for the discovery of such spolia to be interpreted as God smiling on the prospective new construction. All the doors of El-Kairaouyn were then sheeted with copper, and "Lorsque le mihrab fut achevé, on construisit sa coupole, que l'on incrusta d'or, d'azur et autres diverses couleurs; la précision et l'élégance de ce travail étaient telles que les curieux restaient émerveillés."[299] The same author counted 270 columns in sixteen naves, which he reckoned could accommodate over twenty-two thousand for Friday prayers.[300] The minaret was equipped with talismans to keep out pests.[301]

Christians could describe parts of this mosque, but evidently only from hearsay. Born in Granada but raised in Fez, Leo Africanus (1486–1530s?) was a Muslim when he provided the first long description of the city. This was first published in Italian in 1554, and rapidly translated. The city had nearly seven hundred mosques,

> fiftie whereof are most stately and sumptuously built, hauing their conducts made of marble and other excellent stones vnknown to the Italians;

> and the chapiters of their pillers be artificially adorned with painting and caruing.

He recorded that the main mosque (El-Kairaouyn) was very large, and had multiple large brass candelabra, but did not give any architectural details.[302] William Lithgow, in Fez in 1615, obtained a licence to visit El-Kairaouyn via his Moorish host. He noted the mosque's dimensions, the cost of the oil to light it, and "having thirty foure entring Doores; beeing supported within, and by the length, with forty eight pillars, and some twenty three Ranges of pillars in breadth, besides many Iles, Quires, and circulary Rotundoes." Perhaps following Leo, he also noted fifty other remarkable mosques,

> well benefited and superbiously decored within and without, with glorious and extraordinary workmanship, whose rooffes within are all Mosaick worke, and curiously indented with Gold, and the walles and pillars being of grey Marble, interlarded with white Alabaster.[303]

Tully, writing 1785–95, met a Moor of distinction who had recently been in Fez, and who described the El-Kairaouyn to him in inflated terms:

> This extraordinary edifice is covered with seventeen principal arches, or roofs, besides a vast number of inferior ones. All these are sustained by no less than fifteen hundred large columns of white marble, and upwards of a thousand lamps, some of a very considerable size, are kept continually burning within it; and the cisterns, which are prepared for Mahomedans to wash in before they go to prayers, are to the number of five hundred.[304]

Buffa was in Fez in 1810, and noted the many Roman remains still to be seen ("aqueducts … and the ruins of amphitheatres, and other public buildings"), "likewise many Saracen monuments of the most stupendous magnificence, which were erected under the Caliphs of Bagdad."[305] Ali Bey, as a Muslim, had visited a few years earlier. He noted other mosques in the city,[306] and thought El-Kairaouyn had "above three hundred pillars, but it is of a heavy and mean construction."[307] Westerners often went in search of lost classical texts, which they believed swept up and preserved by the Arab conquests. Hence in the mosque Ali Bey sought the lost books of Livy, but "I was obliged to desist, that I might not become suspected, and give rise to unfavourable prejudices." He also climbed the minaret, and discovered therein "a terrestrial globe, an armillary sphere, and a celestial globe; they were all made in Europe about

an hundred years ago; and as the Mahometans do not know how to use them, they are abandoned to the dust, damp, and the rats."[308] He also visited a new mosque containing the tomb of Sultan Muley Edris, and found yet more clocks:

> It may be easily supposed that these clocks were made in Europe; for not only the art of making, but even that of cleaning and regulating them, is here entirely unknown: they shewed me a very old metal one, which was quite deranged, and told me that a Moor had made it; but from its construction I saw directly the falsity of the assertion.[309]

Ali Bey found similarities in the local architecture with that of Córdoba, but the latter was "infinitely superior in magnificence and in size … Hence it is incontestable, that this temple [Córdoba] was originally a mosque, built by the Moors, and not an edifice of the Romans, as some Spanish writers pretend."[310] His long account was copied by several authors, including Jackson,[311] but MacCarthy, like Tully got his description from "Un More distingué."[312]

Much to his astonishment, in 1858 Godard's companion, in local dress and with a turban on his head, got into the El-Kairaouyn. This adventure would have met with much scepticism when he returned to Tangier, "s'il n'avait fourni des preuves matérielles et irrécusables dans les dessins de son album reconnus par les gens du pays."[313] His companion had adopted the attitudes and gestures of the locals, with a revolver under his burnous, and raising his eyes heavenwards to study the architecture:

> A quelque prochaine exposition de peinture, nous aurons le résultat de ces audacieuses investigations. M. Buchser s'est servi de son crayon, comme autrefois Réné Caillé, mais en dessinant d'après nature il le fait avec une telle dextérité qu'il a eu sans doute une fée pour marraine.[314]

René Caillé (1799–1838) was an explorer, who visited Morocco and Timbuctu in the late 1820s, disguised as a Muslim; for in 1824 the Geographical Society of Paris had offered a prize of 10,000 francs for the first European to visit and report back from Timbuctu.

The search for books continued throughout the nineteenth century. Godard, perhaps following Ali's Bey's account, also looked forward to El-Kairaouyn opening up its library, supposedly holding classics of Greek and Latin authors.[315] In 1879 Leared also attempted to penetrate, with interviews, letters and promises; but "it seemed to be one of the many points upon which the Moors have resolved either not to gratify the curiosity or to submit to the interference of Europeans;" and "I never saw book or manuscript."[316] Hence

the late nineteenth-century editor of Leo Africanus was rightly sceptical about such supposed treasures,[317] as was Richardson ("This appears to be mere conjecture."[318]). Stutfield wrote in 1886 of "a collection of a few mouldy MSS, concerning which nothing is known," confidently predicting that "when the country is opened up, they will afford fresh food for antiquarians and savants."[319]

By 1879 entry into the Mosque was still impossible for Christians. Leared could report only that "by peeps into its several doors we could see its endless array of pillars, and get some idea of the vast but perfectly plain interior."[320] Nor did he have the best location for peeping, for the street offering main access was forbidden to Jews and Christians, "lest the taint of their presence should reach the mosque situated at the farther end."[321] In 1887 Gabriel Charmes elaborated on the restrictions thus encountered:

> Il a donc fallu me borner à en regarder de loin la porte, toute couverte de faïence, el qui me laissait apercevoir à l'intérieur des arabesques en plâtre dont je n'étais pas à même d'apprécier le travail à distance.[322]

The same applied to other mosques: in 1886 Stutfield reported that the street accessing the Moulay Idris had a chain across it, and as for El-Kairaouyn, "Passing one of its doors, I stopped a moment in the street to look in, but was requested summarily to 'move on.'"[323]

Trotter had the same difficulty in 1881, although he was part of an official mission from Britain led by Sir John Drummond Hay, Minister Plenipotentiary. He attempted Leared's approach to the Moulay Idris Mosque, known from Ali Bey's account as "the most sacred asylum in all the country."[324] He then turned his attention to the El-Kairaouyn, but met the same problem:

> Its doors open into a succession of streets, and through each one there are to be seen in every direction long vistas of white columns vanishing away into space. The interior, in point of size at least, must be magnificent; but the view is fleeting, for the Nazarene may not stop to gaze on it, lest something be hurled on his unbelieving head, harder even than the curses of the moribund-looking wretches that lie around the door.[325]

Stutfield thought the mosque in decline ("Now its former splendour has departed, along with the other vanished glories of the once mighty city"[326]), and in the following year Charmes wrote of the city itself that "De loin en loin nous rencontrions des portes de mosquées à demi ruinées, mais de la plus fine et de la plus charmante architecture."[327]

But there were other mosques in Fez. Charmes, who had accompanied an official French Mission to the Sultan, left the centre of town to visit the quieter area with the El-Andalous Mosque, and admired the entrance gate as one of the greatest works in the Maghreb. His lengthy description suggests he was free from harassment:

> Elle se compose d'un arc gigantesque … Cette recherche d'élégance, qui n'est pas sans mièvrerie, surtout dans une oeuvre pleine de grandeur, n'est pas non plus sans grâce … Au-dessus de cet arc, à la fois joli et puissant, le mur est couvert de décorations de faïences et d'inscriptions dont je ne tenterai même pas la description; elle serait par trop imparfaite … Enfin, le mur continue à s'élever, divisé en deux tourelles carrées qui portent, en guise de créneaux, une énorme végétation d'herbes folles, couronne de verdure posée par la nature sur une splendide oeuvre d'art.[328]

4.3 *Photography in Fez and Elsewhere*

"Fès seule est encore vierge de toute insulte" from Christians, wrote Charmes in 1887, noting how at Kairouan "les mosquées en ont été profanées par les bottes de nos soldats." But "virgin" meant that the mosques remained barred to Christians, because Morocco had not remained a rendez-vous for science and art, but rather adopted that posture

> où l'islamisme, chassé d'Espagne, se repliait sur lui-même en Afrique, cherchant à échapper à l'inévitable décadence par un retour à la sainte ignorance et au plus aveugle fanatisme.[329]

Being with an official French mission did not help him much in viewing the mosques of Fez. He was accompanied by two soldiers, and assured his readers that the locals were touched by the interest he took in their monuments. However, he reported that a French photographer had no problem working, and "On l'avait laissé faire eu toute liberté." Oh! For three months in Fez instead of three weeks! Yet it is clear that his account is dressed up, and that he did not get into the mosques, but only viewed the courtyards through the gates: "Je suis persuadé qu'il ne serait pas difficile de dessiner et de prendre tout ce qu'il est possible de voir des mosquées sans y entrer directement."[330] This impression of "dressing up" was reinforced by Montbard in 1894, who claimed he managed to see a lot by peeping through the doors of El-Kairaouyn:

> You perceive marble mirhabs with elegant small columns, antique pulpits of cedar-wood adorned with marvellous reliefs, and inlaid with ivory and ebony. By the side of massive pillars with heavy cinters run lines of slender columns connected by delicate curves scalloped like old lace, façades of porticoes of dazzling whiteness. You see gleaming with faint tints, pieces of sculpture set off by tarnished gildings of faded pallid colours, under a shroud of dust, which has accumulated for centuries.

Photography in the streets (not in the mosques) was now allowed, wrote Montbard in 1894:

> Forestier stays behind to finish a water-colour sketch of our house, while Harris, Marshall, and I set off with Ingram, who is provided with his photographic apparatus, and we wander the whole day through the town, photographing doorways of mosques, streets, and picturesque nooks.[331]

Not that he thought much of photography, and in this he was in line with plenty of his contemporaries. It was, he averred, certainly not a method of acccurately recording the beauties of the monuments they visited. His philippic confused the usefulness of photography for straightforward recording with the higher pretensions of the true artist:

> This miserable apparatus of Ingram's – how many times I have vented my curses on it – later on! How many times I have hurled anathemas on this pseudo-artist, this automaton in a polished mahogany or cedar box, this awkward, shy myope and presbyte at the same time, unable to see right through the complicated arrangement of its concave and convex lenses, that infests to-day the United Kingdom with its dingy productions, its livid images, perverting the taste of the public, and producing, as the consummate expression of art, as the true criterion of the beautiful, a stupid copyline, a deformed and lugubrious picture of men and things![332]

If photography in Morocco appeared to bloom in the 1880s, in Algeria it was easier in earlier years, because the controlling authorities were French. Thus in 1859 Moulin could footnote in his *L'Algérie photographiée: Publication nationale sous les auspices de S. Exc. Le Ministre de la Guerre* that

> Une lettre de recommandation de Son Excellence le Ministre de la Guerre, largement interprétée, par M. le Maréchal-Gouverneur, m'a

> ouvert toutes les portes, aplanie tous les obstacles. J'ai reçu partout de MM. les Commandants supérieurs et Officiers des bureaux arabes un accueil bienveillant et un concours empressé.[333]

(A PhD waits to be written on the adoption and use of photography by European armies.) In 1911 Baedeker warned against targetted photography in Morocco: "Travellers are specially warned against photographing or even entering their mosques, saints' tombs, or burial-grounds."[334]

Photography was to become popular in part (*pace* Montbard) because it provided a rapid channel into the increasingly popular illustrated journals. The images thereby captured could be converted into prints long before they could be printed directly in books as actual photographs. Some sedentary travellers (apparently reluctant to leave home) certainly appreciated the drawings made of Muslim monuments and then turned into prints, as a way of viewing the interesting East without travelling there. George Curtis, writing in 1852, abhorred the filth, fanaticism, inconvenience and vermin of the East, and recommended ceding the experience of an actual visit in favour of prints (many probably derived from photographs) to be studied at home:

> Therefore, whoever sees in a Mosque only red and white plaster, or in the Parthenon but a mass of broken marble, should not expose himself to the trouble of contemplating those objects. There are prints of them engraved with restored proportions, a travelling and thinking made easy, much preferable to the ocular experience of those agile travellers who over-run all Europe in three months.[335]

Photography, as another manifestation of modernity, became increasingly popular with easterners themselves. Another Curtis (William, writing in 1903), chronicled the slow-growing fashion for public men in Turkey being photographed, and

> Certain photographs of public buildings, the interiors of mosques, and women in the Turkish costume, are sold only to foreigners. No photographer would dare sell the picture of a woman to a Moslem, because her husband or father would take it as a mortal insult, although he would have no objection to its sale to foreigners, particularly those who take it out of the country. He would consider that a compliment. These notions are relaxing generally throughout the country, like many other of the Moslem habits and customs.[336]

4.4 *Marrakesh/Morocco*

Marrakesh was called Morocco by some writers well into the nineteenth century. In the early sixteenth century Leo Africanus declared (of the El Koutoubia Mosque) that "I have not scene many fairer temples in all Italy." Mocquet, in the early seventeenth century, reported that "the King's Palace is built with little Stones, like in-laid work, and a great many Pillars of Marble, Fountains, and other Ornaments. Their Mosques in great number, well built with Marble, and covered on the top with Lead."[337] A French regular canon in 1785 possibly entered some mosques, noting that they contained no images, but only a large quantity of lights.[338] A few years later Ali Bey concentrated on admiring the mosques El Koutoubia, Benious and El Moazinn, picking out the latter as "a really magnificent building."[339]

Marrakesh was less visited in our period than the coast; and Baedeker's 1911 guidebook to *The Mediterranean* carefully proclaimed on the title page *The Coast of Morocco*, meaning of course only the Mediterranean and not the Atlantic coast of Morocco, let alone the vast interior. In the same volume, Constantine (322 km from Algiers) is noted, because it was accessible by rail. From Tangier (itself barely in the Mediterranean) the distance to Marrakech is 503 km. As Baedeker remarked, emphasising the difficulties which had disappeared elsewhere (for example in Syria) at least twenty years earlier, with group travel, roads and railways:

> Most travellers are satisfied with a visit to Tangier, an excursion to Tetuan, and the interesting coasting voyage … to Rabat or Mogador. Europeans rarely travel in the interior … As roads, bridges, and inns are lacking, a costly equipment for such expeditions is required, including tents, camp-beds, cooking utensils, provisions, drinking-water, candles, medicines, insect-powder, etc. A guide or mule-driver, a cook, an interpreter, and a soldier as an escort (mekhazni) also are usually engaged.[340]

In other words, a visit to inland Morocco required the same kit recommended for Syria or Egypt a century earlier. Such private expeditions, whether for individuals or groups, were clearly for the rich: thus Playfair's 1881 *Handbook* assumes the reader has (or will hire) a yacht and take his book along. The whole of Morocco has only seven pages, with no mention of Marrakesh. And from the title of Joseph Thompson's 1889 *Travels in the Atlas and southern Morocco: A narrative of exploration*, we may assume that such travels were still for the hardy explorer, not the common-or-garden tourist.

In Morocco city, as was usual in North Africa, much attention was paid to the minarets, because they could be easily (and calmly) viewed from a distance. Leo had compared the minaret of the El Koutoubia (77 m high) with Rabat and Seville (all supposedly by the same architect). He stated that columns had been brought from Spain to enlarge it.[341] This was indeed the model for minarets in Spain.

In 1817 Jackson described two minarets in the city, without once naming the Koutobia. Both have "golden balls" [in fact, copper] on top. One is indeed the Koutoubia, the other the Ben Salah Mosque, its minaret dating from 1321. Of one he wrote:

> The tower is square, and built like that of Seville in Spain; the walls are four feet thick, and it has seven stories, in each of which are windows, narrow on the outside, but wide within, which renders the interior light and airy; the ascent is not by stairs, but by a gradually winding terrace composed of lime and small stones, so firmly cemented together as to be nearly as hard as iron.[342]

Then he noted that of the Kasbah Mosque (Mansouria Mosque, 1190), again making a comparison with Spain:

> There is another tower in the city, which may be mentioned, from the circumstance of its having three golden balls [in fact, of copper] on its top, weighing together, it is said, 10 quintals, equal to 1205 lbs. avoirdupois. Several kings, when in want of money, have attempted to take them down, but without success, as they are very firmly and artfully fixed; the superstitious people say they are fixed by magic, that (jinn) a spirit guards them from all injury, and that all those who have attempted their removal, were soon after killed.[343]

Beauclerk in 1826 compared the minaret of the Koutoubia with that at Rabat.[344] Washington made the same links in 1830, setting the minaret at 76.2 m. However, he wrote that the mosque itself, though vast, "est un bâtiment irregulier et insignifiant," which suggests he could not get inside, as at the El Mouassine Mosque, where he notes only the entrance.[345] Montémont copied his assessment (originally in English) in 1832 for both the Koutoubia[346] and the El Mouassine mosques.[347] In 1838 Roscoe also made the comparison with Rabat, but criticised the design:

> In each face of this tower there are three or four tiers of windows; but the perverseness of the architect's taste induced him to give several windows

> to each tier, save the lower one in the principal face, where there are two only. A small square tower, terminating in an elegant cupola, springs from the top of the minaret, adorned with half-open work, small indented windows, and an elegant frame enclosing the whole face of the turret.[348]

In 1889 Thomson yearned to enter the mosques, which "doubtless preserve specimens of the earlier and better genius of the Moors."[349] Again, he was of course able to describe the minaret, but could assess the mosques themselves only in passing:

> We got delightful hasty glimpses of mosque interiors, too, all the more attractive because forbidden and partaking of a spice of danger. These displayed cool aisles and beautiful wall-decoration in stucco, arabesque, and tile-work.[350]

He nevertheless took care to trash the modern Mosque of Abdul Aziz ("the huge Brummagem mosque") as proof positive of Muslim (and British, at least in Birmingham?) decadence:

> This mosque is the special pride and glory of Morocco, but no more approaches the architectural impressions of the Kutubia than does the degenerate Moor of the present day resemble his high-souled and enlightened ancestor of five hundred years ago. / We did not venture to make a near examination of the mosque in question, and what we saw of it from a little distance calls for no remark.[351]

Thomson was also invited into a private house in Marrakesh ("Of course we had to go in disguise"), but evidently did not try a similar disguise to enter the mosques.[352] Leared did no better with the Koutoubia in 1891, noting that the structure ("The interior, which is never seen by Christian eyes") was in bad repair, and then paraphrasing Leo Africanus from centuries earlier.[353]

Marrakesh also had secular monuments. In 1809 Jackson described the Royal Palace (much altered since the time of Mocquet?), with the principal gates "embellished with various ornaments in the Arabesque taste," and the rooms with glazed tiles, "similar to the Chinese tiles, which are fixed in the walls with much art, and have a cool effect."[354] Leared visited the palace in 1879, and saw "a large number of marble pillars, in pieces of about five feet long by three in diameter" which supposedly came from Livorno (hence Carrara), which he doubted.[355] Admission to mosques might have eased somewhat, since his group entered a high-walled enclosure, with a little mosque: "There was now a great discussion about the admission of Christians within the

precincts of a mosque, which was cut short by the officer who conducted us, saying that the Sultan commanded it."[356] (Leared might have been wrong to doubt the import of marble from Carrara, for Saladin was certain that Mahdiya and houses in Tunis, as well as the Mosque of the Barber at Kairouan, included columns and other marble furniture from Carrara.[357])

4.5 *Mequinez/Meknès*

> My suggestion that the verandah round the top of the highest mosque should be utilised as a heliograph station being indignantly rejected ...[358] [1881]

Pre-cell phones and church towers (not to mention minarets?), Trotter's suggestion demonstrates the continuing conflict between local sensitivities and Western-introduced modernisation (the telegraph had long been accepted in Istanbul, Egypt and points west as an essential means of communication). In 1785 a French regular canon described the town (one of the Imperial cities along with Fez, Rabat and Marrakesh) as having "6000 maisons, plusieurs belles Mosquées, un grand nombre de Collèges."[359] The fine stone came from the ruins of Volubilis, wrote Montbard at the end of the following century, comparing the town with Fustat and Cairo: "its columns have gone to adorn its imposing gate-ways, its elegant porticoes; its marbles have served to decorate its palaces."[360]

4.6 *Salee, Rabat and Shellah*

Salee/Salé (Roman Sala) and Rabat, in Morocco, face each other across the river Bou Regreg. Salee was formerly the lair of the famous "Salee rovers," and Rabat, along with the adjacent Shellah/Chella, the walled city of Almansor, containing monuments and tombs. MacCarthy visited Salee in 1819 and, in a nearby village, found a splendid mosque:

> Les jolies tuiles de la Chine dont elle est revêtue d'un bout à l'autre. Le sol était couvert d'un superbe tapis de Tunis; la chaire, ainsi que l'escalier qui y conduit, sont du plus beau marbre; et cependant ceux qui fréquentent cette jolie petite mosquée ne sont que les habitans grossiers d un village malpropre.[361]

The Rabat mosque, at 183 m × 139 m, is the largest in the world, after Samarra. At the end of the seventeenth century a French sailor viewed the minaret ("On l'apelle la Tour d'Hasan") and "les ruines d'une grande Mosquée, qui étoit bâtie sur quantité de piliers, qu'on voit encore."[362] Jackson visited in 1809, and frequently went up the ramp of the tower, which could be ascended on horseback. He thought the 360 mosque columns were of marble;[363] they are of limestone. Stutfield was correct to assert that the mosque had never been finished.[364] For Urquhart in 1850 the columns were of unpolished granite (!), and he then wrote condescendingly of the locals:

> Here the descendants of the people who reared these edifices, still dwell unconquered around. They gaze upon them with stupid wonder, knowing not whether they are the works of genii or their fathers.[365]

Stutfield compared the minaret to Seville and the Koutoubia, but thought it could scarcely rival the former. He believed, wrongly, that the mosque had indeed once been completed.[366] In 1831 Brooke heard of marble abandoned by the roadside two or three days journey from Rabat; these blocks were presumably Roman spolia, but in his own day "the Moors, however, take no notice of it; what is used being imported from Genoa."[367]

Salee, together with the strong defences of Rabat,[368] had been faced down by French cannonballs in 1851, which made the ruler more pliable.[369] The French had overpowered the twenty-piece battery, counted by Montémont in 1832, who wrote that "Les mosquées offrent des traces de belles sculptures d'une haute antiquité."[370] The local marabout had predicted that any bombardment of the Salé minaret would be ineffective, and blustered when it was pointed out what the French vessels had already done to Tangier.[371] No wonder the population was outraged: the French bombardment took seven hours to silence the shore batteries,[372] and was deliberately aimed at the Salé minaret, which was pierced by six shells. The locals might have been heartened to learn that the *Henri IV* lost a mast from their guns.[373] Stutfield confirmed in 1886 that some of the Rabat guns were Western, and over two hundred years old, and noted sarcastically that "with their accustomed kindness, the French had insisted on providing the Sultan, much against his will, with some officers to help him in drilling his forces."[374]

Well before the bombardment (and, as we shall see, well after it) Salee residents were strongly against Christians even entering their town. In 1844 the local Pasha lent Rey twelve armed soldiers and, together with six Jewish servants, he broached the town, but was attacked by the locals and had to

withdraw.[375] In 1860 Cotte declared confidently that "Salé renferme de belles et antiques mosquées, de nombreux sanctuaires, des manuscrits en grand nombre, et quelques monuments d'un beau caractère,"[376] and he then marvelled at the "débris gigantesques" of Rabat.[377] He was attached to the French Agency, visiting to smooth over the bad feeling following the 1851 bombardment.[378] After facing a hail of stones on his way there, the town of Salee itself was quiet because the Pasha had threatened retribution on the unruly. Predictably, the parents armed the children with stones, and then made themselves scarce. Cotte had dinner with the Pasha. He described his palace ("tout se tourne en arabesques, en profils pleins de grâce, en lignes nobles et ingénieusement enlacées"), but then hurried out of the silent town without visiting any mosques.[379]

Not far from Rabat was the deserted ancient walled town of Shella/Chella, once again, like Salee, restricted to Muslims. An English captain friend of Jackson donned local dress, and tried to transcribe what his guide told him were the tombs of two Roman generals, "but he had not time to examine the inscriptions thereon for fear of exciting observation." By this date of 1809 large quantities of antiquities were being dug up and already forged (a sure sign of acquisitive travellers), and "for this reason the Moors often sell them to the silver and goldsmiths, for their weight in silver." Jackson bought some, but his ship foundered and he lost them, because he had secreted them low down "in a secret part of the ship, to be secure from discovery in the event of our falling in with any French privateer."[380] The following year Buffa was denied entry into Shella because it contained saints' tombs, and sniffed that "it is only a sacred asylum for malefactors, and all the rogues of the country."[381]

For the same reason Richardson could not enter Shella in 1860,[382] but by 1876 Tissot did so, described the mosque fully,[383] and surmised that the site was only one part of a large Roman town including Salé and Rabat.[384] In 1881 Trotter had difficulty sorting out the various architectural periods of the ruins.[385] In the same year Leclercq entered, and examined what he called the "Palais de Yacoub," the decoration of which he compared with the Alhambra. As for the tombstones, "elles sont couvertes d'inscriptions arabes, et ornées de charmantes mosaïques dont nous détachâmes quelques specimens."[386] He admired the decoration of the minaret, for

> il est revêtu de haut en bas de petits carreaux de faïence dont les brillantes couleurs sont combinées avec un goût exquis; c'est la perle de Schella.

He expressed his admiration exactly as he had done for the Muslim tombstones: "Nous fîmes là une abondante récolte de petits carreaux de faïence

que nous détachâmes à l'aide de nos navajas [clasp-knives]."[387] In 1893 Leo Africanus' editor commented on such depradations:

> An Arab, indeed, offered a friend of the Editor to remove (for a consideration) the marble covering of any of the tombs within the enclosure. Other visitors to Rabat have possibly been less scrupulous, and it is not impossible that the missing memorial tablets of some of the Sultans, and other members of their families interred here, may yet be found in private museums.[388]

4.7 *Tangier*

> Here are several superb mosques and commodious public baths.[389] [1810]

Although previously able to base themselves at Tetouan, by 1800 foreign consuls had to reside at Tangier, where as usual Jews had to go barefoot when passing mosques,[390] a requirement that continued down the century.[391] Christians were also insulted: one pursued his tormentor into a mosque, and only escaped the clamour for his head by visiting the English consul, who told him to flee the country. There was little to see here, wrote Beauclerk in 1828, "except the large mosque, which has a square minaret or tower, the exterior of which is prettily inlaid with small coloured glazed tiles, disposed in a variety of patterns."[392] Roscoe examined the fortress in 1838, took note of the Roman columns he saw there, and remarked that "traces every where appear of magnificence and splendour, and that peculiar taste for bold and picturesque architecture which appears to have been characteristic of the Moors."[393]

Because such mechanisms were a western preserve, one story that went the rounds by 1860 was of the need to employ a Christian to repair the clock in the Great Mosque. He refused to remove his shoes, as he did no such thing when he entered a church. The solution, said an exceedingly subtle Muslim scholar, was to treat him just like a mule:

> Lorsque nous construisons une mosquée, nous y laissons entrer les ânes chargés de chaux, de briques et d'autres matériaux, et cependant nous ne leur ôtons point leurs sabots. Considérant donc que l'horloger est un âne des plus têtus et qu'il n'y a rien à obtenir de lui, et vu l'urgence, je suis d'avis qu'on le laisse entrer comme il voudra.[394]

In 1887 Charmes, peeved by being unable to enter the mosques ("L'extérieur est fort commun"[395]), turned his attention to the kasbah, the seat of government, including the governor's palace:

> On y arrive par une vaste cour intérieure, que les peintres ont cent fois reproduite, mais qu'on admire encore après tant de reproductions; elle est ornée de colonnes de marbres de différentes couleurs, sur lesquelles sont posés des chapiteaux corinthiens, échappés sans doute à la destruction de l'ancienne Tingis. Après avoir traversé cette cour, il faut se hâter de pénétrer dans l'appartement des femmes, une merveille, un bijou, un joyau d'art arabe. Jamais peut-être l'idée poétique que nous nous faisons du harem n'a paru aussi heureusement réalisée.[396]

In 1886 Stutfield had the grace to call the town "semi-civilised," although he still could not enter the mosques.[397] Foreign influence was certainly encroaching here and, unusually, Thomson in 1889 understood how this formed an insult to Muslim piety:

> It is easy to understand how bitter must be the feelings of the pious Moor who on his way to the mosque has to pass the tobacco and drink shops, the post and telegraph offices, and other infidel abominations which have sprung up under the very shadow of the sacred structure.[398]

Two years later Leared declared that "Christians are free from insult and annoyance," but mosques were still kept from view:

> For unlike his co-religionist in Turkey, the Mussulman here has not relaxed sufficiently of the fervour of his faith even to allow the Kaffir – the name by which the Christian infidel is known – to set foot within the precincts of a mosque. A screen is always placed before the open door to prevent profane eyes from peering too closely into the building.[399]

4.8 *Tetuan*

> Tetuan abounds with mosques, and which, when viewed from the lofty terraces of the houses, have an exceedingly picturesque and imposing effect. Most of them have high minarets, and being covered over with the glazed tiles already mentioned, of various colours and arranged in

> arabesque patterns, present a most splendid and glittering appearance, particularly when the sun shines upon them.[400] [1831]

If we believe Buffa, a doctor to the British Army, writing in 1810, much of the town was then in ruins, and the court removed to Fez and Mequinez because of civil war and plague.[401] Again, were we to expect Europeans to be more welcome here at Tetouan and also at Tangier because they were the towns nearest to Spain, we would be mistaken. However, the Jews were very restricted here. Buffa saw his Jewish Vice-Consul in Tetuan

> pull off his slippers as we passed the mosques, and walk bare-footed … I soon learned, that the Jews are compelled to pay this tribute of respect, from which Christians are exempt, although they do not escape very frequent insults when walking through the city.[402]

Brooke (see the opening quote) was in Tetuan in 1831, accompanied by a Jew, who was not allowed to ride:

> I proceeded on foot with him through the streets, which were excessively dirty. As we passed the numerous mosques, it was quite painful to see him obliged to take off his slippers and proceed barefooted for a considerable distance through the long-accumulated filth, now in a half-liquid state from the last rain.[403]

The same author noted that when in the Moorish quarter, Jews were sometimes not allowed to wear slippers at all. They were also forbidden "to appear in a European dress, except by licence of the sultan."[404]

Europeans did indeed enter the mosques of Tetuan after the Spanish capture of the town in 1859. To visit the interiors, they were usually obliged to shed their shoes or boots and wear slippers (some, called babouches, could be worn over such footwear). In 1863 Yriarte, who formed part of the Spanish army corps of Ross de Olano, was drawing in the Great Mosque, explaining that

> J'étais muni de tous les pouvoirs nécessaires pour rester dans la mosquée et je tenais beaucoup à finir mon croquis, je ne bronchai pas.

The muezzin politely tapped him on the shoulder (Yriarte did not understand Arabic), but it was clear that the hour of prayer was at hand. Luckily, he had already set down a description of the mosque.[405] Whether we should believe

the Christian invader is uncertain, since he then stole a sixteenth-century astrolabe from an instrument cabinet in the mosque, and pardoned himself lamely with lashings of humbug while condescending to the locals:

> Pour ne pas être poursuivi par les remords, je déclare en avoir fait hommage au cabinet des cartes de la Bibliothèque Impériale. Tout cela est fort égal au peuple tétuanais, qui ne sait pas plus lire là-haut que le premier académicien venu, et laisse filer les étoiles sans se demander si c'est un monde qui disparaît.[406]

Then all changed back to exclusion. As Stutfield wrote in 1886, "My host, Mr. Isaac Nahon, is the English consular agent, and he was most obliging in showing me through the town. I was struck with the number of mosques, many of which are large and fine, but no infidel dare set foot within a Moorish mosque, not even in semi-civilized Tangier."[407]

5 Tunisia (French Protectorate 1881–1956)

> Un viaggiatore del secolo passato contò in Tunisi trecento cinquanta moschee. Io non so se questo numero sia diminuito od aumentato, ma da tutti i lati gli sguardi sono attirati verso questi eleganti edifìci, di cui le forme sono più variate ch' io non avessi supposto. Alcune sono realmente notevolissime. Disgraziatamente è proibito a tutti gli Europei, perfino ad un console generale, di entrarvi.[408] [Crapelet, 1859]

As in Algeria, in Tunisia French attention was focussed on the classical, not Islam. For example, in 1886 Henri Saladin published his *Description des antiquités de la régence de Tunis: Monuments antérieurs à la conquête arabe*, which deals with mosques only for the classical spolia they contain. He listed monuments from El Djem to Haidra,[409] recommended sanctions against anyone destroying them, and blamed the Arabs as well as the antiquity-hunters for the inevitable destruction.[410] Certainly, classical antiquities needed protection; but Saladin's approach placed Islamic antiquities to one side, in spite of the ongoing restoration of some of them.

As for access to mosques, the French were to tread very carefully here. Even though by the 1880s a modus vivendi had been established for visits in Algeria, nothing changed in Tunisia, except for some loosening in Kairouan, as we shall see.

5.1 *Gafsa and Béja*

Guérin reported in 1862 that Gafsa's mosques could not be entered, and that the splendour described by El-Bekri, including walls, were long gone.[411] At least the minaret of the Great Mosque ("ornata d'un elegantissimo campanile, di stile moresco"[412]) could be admired, as well as the citadel, with a great entrance gate, fountain, and garrison.[413] Nor could the mosques at Béja be entered, where Guérin was told that the Great Mosque was once a church. He identified a great whitewashed block on the exterior as surely a Roman inscription, but needed the local dignitary to stand by and protect him from fanatics while he copied it:

> J'obtins des autorités de la ville la permission de la gratter. Le khalife poussa même l'obligeance jusqu'à rester près de moi pendant cette opération, afin de me protéger par sa présence contre les fanatiques qui pourraient m'insulter.[414]

5.2 *Kairouan*

Kairouasn, founded in 670, and a pilgrimage site next only to Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem in importance, was famous for its university and scholarship. Its richly decorated mosques drew materials from Roman nearby settlements (Sbeitla, Kasserine, Thelepte) as well perhaps as from some sites further afield, such as Carthage and Sousse. Ernest von Hesse-Wartegg (1854–1918), a prolific writer on travel, visited Tunisia in 1880, and wrote of the mosques in his 1882 account. But he was mistaken about recent access:

> The mosques, however, are nearly all built of marble and other stones, most of them taken from the Roman ruins. Almost in every wall, and in every one of the many minarets rising high and built in the Giralda style, fragments of Roman inscriptions and Roman architecture are found. The original constructors seem to have taken special pleasure in the marble columns with ancient Roman capitals, and whether of heathen or Christian origin, they have been used for the mosques … A great many rumours are afloat about the magnificent ornamentation of the interiors of these mosques. It is certain that no Christian ever entered any of them.[415]

5.2.1 The Great Mosque of Sidi Okba

> La grande mosquée passe pour la plus belle et la plus sainte de tout le royaume. Cinq cent deux colonnes de diverses couleurs la soutiennent et la décorent intérieurement: je les ai fait compter par un renégat italien.[416] [1724]

Peyssonnel, as he recounted above, learned at second-hand from an Italian who had turned Turk about the columns[2] in the Mosque of Sidi Okba in the holy city of Kairouan. This was "accounted to be the most magnificent as well as the most sacred in Barbary." So grand were the Roman columns that Peyssonnel, who evidently did not know of the marbled richness of Tunisian ruins, thought they had probably been collected from many locations, including Egypt, Greece and Carrara.[3] Shaw also had to rely on hearsay in 1738, being told incorrectly that the columns were all of granite. No matter, for he was after classical inscriptions: "among the great Variety of Columns, and other antient Materials employed in this large and beautiful Structure, I could not be informed of one single Inscription."[417] This was also incorrect, and another proof of his lack of access, for there were several to be seen there, especially in the minaret.[418]

In 1816 Shakespear, relying on Arab sources, wrote that in Kairouan "among its ornamental edifices there was a spacious mosque supported by five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble."[419] In 1819 Noah (erstwhile American consul at Tunis), also relying on the same sources, wrote that "the Mosque contains 500 pillars of marble, many of which are Jasper and Verd Antique." He complained about the lack of a good map of the region so that "added to the ignorance and jealousy of the Mussulmen, a stranger finds great difficulty in ascertaining the extent, population and wealth of the towns in the interior."[420] (Maps, we should realise, were of military value and their distribution often closely controlled. Like all travellers to eastern lands, Shakespear should have known this.)

Even to enter the city of Kairouan could be difficult for non-Muslims. In 1839 Muskau asserted that "only by an express order from the Bey is it possible for

2 Saadaoui 2005, 296–297, some columns in Kairouan retouched and reworked expressly for the mosque in Aghlabid times.

3 Saadaoui 2005, fig. 2: Une des colonnes de la mosquée porte une inscription "Pour la mosquée" signifiant que cette pièce a été récupérée sur un site antique et envoyée à la mosquée.

a Christian to view this city, and but very few Europeans have hitherto penetrated thither."[421] A decade later Leaves also recorded that the town was banned to Christians and Jews, and described the grisly end meted out to some Jews who had entered dressed as Arabs.[422] Unavoidably, then, westerners continued to learn about the mosque's interior only at second hand. Temple's Muslim assistant, just like that of Peyssonnel, could not find any inscriptions (he probably didn't even know what a Roman inscription would look like), but reported on the "great number of antique columns of rich marbles."[423] In 1841 Girault de Prangey was told of the thousand (!) columns within, and especially of "la merveilleuse décoration de son Mihrab, qui, d'après leur témoignage, serait encore aujourd'hui revêtu d'anciennes et précieuses mosaïques."[424]

Access to Kairouan changed in mid-century, if not yet to the mosques, although the paperwork and to-ing-and-fro-ing involved in gaining access were considerable. As Bisson explained in 1881 (when the French Protectorate began), letters had to be written (of course in Arabic) and an escort obtained:

> Quand on part de Tunis dans l'intention d'aller visiter Kairouan, il faut adresser au bey la demande d'une lettre pour le gouverneur de cette ville ainsi que pour le gouverneur de Sousse. Ce dernier fonctionnaire donne alors une escorte au voyageur. De Sousse à Kairouan on compte environ 52 kilomètres, le trajet s'accomplit en six heures.[425]

The French were to be attracted to Tunisia, he wrote, because "Il est permis de penser qu'à la suite de notre intervention militaire, des établissements français se fonderont en Tunisie et que notre œuvre civilisatrice, commencée aux Croisades et poursuivie presque sans interruption, fera sentir ses bienfaits aux Arabes tunisiens comme à leurs frères de l'Algérie."[426] If the sacred *mission civilisatrice* had indeed begun with the Crusaders (who would have been surprised by the very idea), over seven centuries was a long time to wait for it to bear fruit.

In a disparity also to be found in Damascus and Jerusalem, the Bey of Tunis (ruler of the whole country) was sometimes accommodating to would-be visitors, but the ordinary locals, clearly, were not. In 1853 Pellissier thought the Mosque's structure very beautiful, but in need of extensive repairs,[427] and presumably he saw only the exterior. Dunant confirmed in 1858 that Christians and Jews were admitted to the town only on written orders from the Bey,[428] who explained to Gregory the following year that "we should enter and see the city and be protected from all affronts, but that he could not give us an order to enter the mosques." As he explained,

> "Not," said he, "that I have any prejudices myself on the subject, or any objection, but that it would excite the inhabitants, and probably expose you to annoyance."

This did not bother Gregory, for his party "were by no means anxious to enter the mosques, of which Sir S. had seen quite enough at Constantinople, and I at Cairo."[429] (The decision betrays a non-architectural attitude: a mosque is a mosque, and they are all alike. But why, then, visit Kairouan?) In 1860 Richardson reckoned that only four Christians had entered the city when Prince Pückler Muskau arrived in 1835.[430]

In 1862 Guérin enlarged on the difficulties of entering Kairouan. For even with a laissez-passer from the Bey, the local authorities could still forbid access. However, he entered the town, bolstered by his Muslim servant and an escort of six (three sheiks and three guards), and was warned never to venture out alone.[431] Yet he still had to rely on hearsay for the sparse details relayed to him about the dilapidated mosque.[432] He did not even manage to get into the mosque's courtyard, for he was forced to hurry past the entrance: "il m'a été impossible d'étudier avec soin l'extérieur de ce monument, et qu'on m'a seulement permis d'y jeter de loin un coup d'œil très-rapide."[433]

In 1877 Rae tried to mitigate problems by bribing a French renegade (that is, he had turned Turk) with money and tobacco.[434] But then he luckily made friends with the Kaid himself, and went around the city protected by his bodyguard, who were evidently anxious about "the possibility of my attracting stones or a knife."[435] They protected him as he was sketching and measuring, and he published an exterior view and plan[436] of the mosque, plus a plan of the city, but not the interior of the prayer hall.[437] He was able to make several excursions into the mosque courtyard. Such familiarity apparently gave him some courage because, seeing the prayer hall doors open, he calculated that "there were so few worshippers inside, and so few people at hand, that I should probably have entered but for fear of compromising the soldiers, and of making any further rambles about the city risky and perhaps impossible."[438] Gathering yet more courage he was further emboldened and actually entered the Prayer Hall:

> Nine ranks of nineteen massive columns each, many of them dark marble, many of white marble with rich Corinthian capitals, and exceedingly fine and old, carry the whitewashed double arches of the roof … Some parts of the vaulting were being restored … The Kibleh or Shrine, is faced with rare old red marble pillars. The Memhar is of dark wood, elaborately carved. The last rebuilding took place in 827, and in the year 1082 El Bekri

> stated the number of the columns in the mosque to be four hundred and fourteen. I believe this to be near the truth.

Yet he was still nervous, for "the few Moors kneeling at their prayers were probably very fervently asking their lord Mohammed for a malediction upon the Christian dog at the door."[439]

By 1881, conditions were much easier for westerners, for Kairouan was occupied by the French in that year. Indeed, twenty-two thousand French troops, their band playing the Marseillaise, entered this city of fourteen thousand, and a white cloth of surrender being waved from the Mosque's minaret.[440] Naturally, the French were offered the keys to the city.[441] Bisson noted in his advice to travellers that a visit to Kairouan itself, and then the mosque, required two letters and an escort. He published his short description in 1881, and had presumably entered the Prayer Hall:

> Les galeries et les nefs que comprend cet édifice sont ornées de plus de quatre cents colonnes en onyx, en porphyre et en marbre placées parfois un peu pêle-mêle … On y trouve également des colonnes canneées de toute beauté que les musulmans se sont efforcés d'arrondir avec du plâtre. La chaire à prêcher et les portes en bois du cloître sont sculptées d'une manière remarquable.[442]

The French had no city plan except for that recently produced by Edward Rae (a friend of the Kaid, and fluent in Arabic). Human nature being what it is, the occupation was accompanied by much French gloating over the seizure of what Faucon called the second most holy city in Islam in 1893:

> Mohamet ne le permettrait point. Ils s'attendaient à quelque miracle; et voilà que nous nous installions simplement, bourgeoisement, comme chez nous. Quelle consternation dans toutes les tribus. Il semble que les rebelles ont perdu le palladium de leur résistance. Les soumissions se multiplient; tout le nord peut être regardé comme désormais pacifié.[443]

In the same year Claretie, still triumphalist, was much more sensitive to the defeated Muslims of what he called a conquered religion, for "il y a cependant quelque chose de pénible et de navrant à voir ainsi profaner le temple d'une religion vaincue: sacrilège brutal qui fait plier la foi sous la force."[444] Remembering Bisson's desire that the French should civilise the country, tourism now ruled the roost. For Claretie, the mosque was still a mosque, but "C'est l'image de la mort, de l'abandon. C'est le cadavre froid d'une mosquée livrée à

la curiosité banale des passants."[445] The sub-text, of course, was that Islam was dying in face of the Christian *mission civilisatrice*.

Boddy in 1885 told how already "the religious susceptibilities of the Kairwanis received a terrible shock when they saw the infidel soldiers in their sacred streets; but they have recovered now." And then how a group took outrageous advantage of the French occupation, to visit the Mosque and, indeed, to take photographs inside it. They went "armed with the chassepot-key." This was the French chassepot rifle, which could fire 8–15 rounds a minute, therefore providing them with a key that unlocked all doors.[446] For Claretie in 1893 "le chaouch retire les nattes pour que les musulmans ne viennent pas s'agenouiller pieds nus à une place polluée par le contact de l'infidèle,"[447] so presumably he kept his footwear. This was probably customary: in 1900 Baudouin, who had been refused entry at Tunis, got into the Great Mosque without difficulty, "le chapeau sur la tête et les souliers aux pieds."[448]

The local officials could probably hide manuscripts in the Great Mosque but not prevent French travellers from visiting it. Agreeing with Carpenter that this was the source for Córdoba,[449] in 1885 Boddy described what he saw in the prayer hall:

> I approached the gorgeous Mihrab niche, with its two red porphyry pillars and lined inside with lapis-lazuli and shell-shaped designs in lovely marbles and mosaics … Then I moved forward and stood within the Mihrab itself, and examined and touched the exquisite carving – stood actually on the holiest spot in Muhammedan Africa. One almost expected the mosque of Okhbah to fall and crush the infidel priest who polluted this holy spot by his presence.[450]

In the same year Melon visited the courtyard ("superbe de dimensions et d'effet") and then (perhaps) the prayer hall:

> Le toit est supporté par des arceaux qui s'appuient, à leur tour, sur de magnifiques colonnes de marbre, de jaspe et d'onyx; la chaire et les boiseries qui l'avoisinent sont d'une finesse remarquable; toutefois, c'est le seul travail qui indique une main habile les arceaux n'ont pas une grande pureté de style, et la façon dont les chapiteaux ont été ajustés témoigne d'une certaine barbarie. L'ensemble cependant ne manque pas de grandeur.[451]

The hesitation over what he did or did not see and visit is that he wrote of four hundred and sixty columns in the prayer hall, whereas this would be the usual number for prayer hall and courtyard.

With the French in control, access to the mosque remained a formality, but local Muslims were still surly. In 1885 Boddy was spat at in the street, and "a small boy cried 'Dog,' 'Kelb,' after me, but when I rewarded him with a copper coin he followed me with smiling face until he obtained another."[452] Cambon remarked in the same year that access to the mosques was possible here, but still not at Tunis.[453] He described the prayer hall, identified and read some Roman tombstones used as flooring, and acknowledged that "L'ensemble est d'un effet réellement grandiose; c'est, d'ailleurs, le seul édifice arabe imposant qui existe sur toute la côte africaine." And although he identified the plentiful spolia, he concluded that "Somme toute, c'est un édifice largement conçu, mais dont il faut se garder d'examiner de trop près les details."[454]

The reign of the Bey and the Governor of Sousse over documentation for Kairouan was now finished, and European foreigners came to explore the country under the suzerainty of the French occupiers. In 1887 Alexander Graham and Henry Ashbee (architect and extensive traveller respectively) gained admittance to the mosques of Kairouan by delivering a letter of introduction to the French commandant, and procuring a *laissez-passer* from him. They experienced no annoyance of any kind: entering the prayer hall on a Friday, an attendant even turned back the carpets for them, so presumably they retained their footwear.[455] Foreign dress, they remarked, evidently upset the locals, for they recounted how an earlier visitor (the Freiherr von Maltzan in 1869) went around in his dressing-gown, which the Kaid accepted as a garment "being, in his opinion, more dignified and less offensive to the inhabitants."

Graham and Ashbee exalted over Islam, which they now considered to be a defeated foe, condemned as both fanatical and effete. The Moors had been stopped at Tours long ago, but "the spirit that once animated the enthusiastic disciples of the new creed … has little in common with the sentimental fanaticism and hopeless degeneracy of an effete race," who opened the gates of the city to the French without a murmur.[456] As so often with foreign travellers in Islamic lands, the glories of the past, as seen in surviving and splendid architecture, were contrasted with the deficiencies of the present. The overarching message, just as applicable to society and to "progress" as to religion, was that the West was on the way up, and the East on the way down. Graham and Ashbee proceeded to describe the Great Mosque, and also the Mosque of the Three Gates.[457] They reported that the structure was innocent of the stucco which so ornamented Córdoba, and thought the mihrab part-exquisite but much reconstructed, while the whole mosque needed repair:

> Neglect has much to answer for, and waning enthusiasm, so noticeable in all the religious edifices of Tunisia, will not suffice to maintain these holy places or save them from inevitable ruin. It is to be hoped that the mosque

> of The Companion [the Zaouia of El-Beloui], so complete in itself as a specimen of native workmanship, and so thoroughly in harmony with Arab ways, will at least be spared, and a fund for its maintenance be some day forthcoming.[458]

In 1888 Goyau thought of Kairouan's past, and of the Muslim pilgrim who approached "la cité que ne profanait le contact d'aucun Roumi."[459] But no longer! He entered and briefly described the prayer hall, exiting quietly so as not to disturb those at prayer.[460] Yet like several others he marvelled that all Kairouan mosques were open, whereas at Tunis they were all closed. He commented sarcastically that "Est-ce bien généreux à nous d'user de ce droit pour remercier les Arabes de leur confiance à notre égard?"[461] Offering a long description of the interior,[462] Fagault agreed with him, "ce qui étonne quand on sait que celles de Tunis sont défendues avec la dernière sévérité."[463]

Indeed, the French were now lords in residence, and rules changed. As already related for other visitors, the mats in the prayer hall were taken up so that Fagault, reporting in 1889, did not have to remove his footwear.[464] (In 1885 Boddy did conform to local custom, leaving his shoes at the entrance.[465]) Verne entered in 1892, and the mats were also removed for him. Perhaps the concession was because some part of the mosque was in use as a hospital for the troops, so the attendants were used to foreign habits. Verne described the columns he saw there: a

> véritable forêt, se pressent alignées des colonnes de marbre, de pierre, de porphyre, aux chapiteaux divers et jetés, au hasard, sur des fûts qui ne leur étaient pas destinés.[466]

Although attacked there by vermin, he offered a cogent description of the mosque, and was also shown Western suits of armour, presumably centuries old, and kept as trophies.[467] In 1893 Baraudon concentrated on the mihrab and mimber:

> Le mihrab lui-même, que termine une demi-sphère en marbre blanc sculpté et enluminé de couleurs vives, est une merveille digne de l'Alhambra. Que citer encore? La chaire ou minbar, faite de panneaux de bois assemblés, d'un travail rappelant les sculptures byzantines des premiers âges, et une petite chambre plafonnée de bois, dont la porte représente, sur ses montants de marbre, des serpents s'enroulant dans des fleurs. Elle était réservée au Sultan.[468]

Perhaps because it had been an unattainable mystery for so long (or because of their lack of knowledge?), Cagnat and Saladin in 1894 were disappointed by the Great Mosque: in spite of the rich materials and some perfect details, they considered that it fell beneath its reputation. They offered a meticulous description,[469] noting the majesty of the forest of columns,

> Mais nous n'y trouvons pas de ces délicatesses d'ornementation, de ces précieuses mosaïques (le marbre ou d'émaux qui embellissent les mosquées du Caire, de Damas, de Jérusalem. Ici sauf la chaire, le beït-el-idda et le mihrab, tout est excessivement simple.[470]

By "simple" they were probably referring to the (in their opinion) faux-pas of the thoughtless mixing of columns, capitals and bases, without any classical order.

Chevillet in 1896 shared their disappointment, and was specific: the spolia were "entassés sans goût et sans art. Les Arabes n'en comprennent ni l'importance ni la beauté." Much affected by the religious silence, he got down to analysing the forest of columns. In sum the place was dirty; grandeur was lacking, because this would squash the stupid and barbarous Muslim who, horror of horrors, had covered classical grandeur with whitewash:

> Et l'on juge avec quel peu de perfection ce monument est ordonnancé et achevé. Beaucoup de colonnes sont reliées entre elles par des traverses de bois leurs bases sont entourées à un mètre de hauteur par de mauvais paillassons des lustres en fer-blanc, jamais nettoyés, sont suspendus çà et là. On dirait que trop de grandeur écrase le musulman stupide il veut y mêler quelque chose de mesquin. Les styles doriques, ioniques, corinthien sont mélangés sans ordre et sans harmonie des fûts cannelés à côté de fûts unis et, au-dessus de tous les beaux chapiteaux, un plafond de plâtre! On sort dans une immense cour qui ressemble à un vaste cloître elle est pavée en marbre et entourée d'un large et majestueux péristyle de trois rangées de colonnes. Mais, ô abrutissement de l'intelligence musulmane et barbare ces belles colonnes de marbre sont recouvertes d'une couche de chaux![471]

In 1905 Richardot was still puzzled how throughout Tunisia (and under French control) only Kairouan could be open to Christians (but not to Jews). He had to equip himself with an entry card from the "Contrôle," and quizzed his Muslim guide about why entry was allowed. Because, came the surely deliberately

misleading and disgusted reply, the soldiers had camped in the mosques, and thus they remained profaned.[472] In 1912 Méhier de Mathuisieulx repeated this explanation.[473] Richardot was impressed by the forest of columns, but thought the ensemble was not comparable to Córdoba. And here a whiff of touristic folklore reared its head:

> Toutes les colonnes sont antiques, beaucoup sont en granit, d'autres en onyx, en jaspe, en marbres de toutes nuances, plusieurs en porphyre, comme ces deux superbes de l'allée centrale entre lesquelles, ainsi qu'à la mosquée d'Amrou au Caire, seuls peuvent passer ceux qui entreront au Paradis. Hélas! aucun de nous trois ne verra les houris promises par le Prophète à ses élus![474]

5.2.2 Mosque of the Three Doors

In 1889 Fagault described the Mosque of the Three Gates[475] recognising decorative features there which were not to be found in Granada or Seville. But they were crumbling and decaying:

> Terres cuites peintes de couleurs d'un ton vernissé, faisant corps avec l'enduit dans lequel elles semblent avoir été broyées. Sous l'action du temps, ces peintures s'écaillent et tombent … Au-dessus de ce revêtement, et ainsi que dans la voussure cannelée de la coupole, d'autres arabesques s'entrelacent dans le réseau savant et minutieux de leurs lignes.[476]

The following year Playfair noted that "its interior is a single chamber supported by 16 Roman columns,"[477] and in 1905 Richardot evidently entered, remarking of his tour around the four important mosques of the town that "Ces visites aux mosquées nous ont pris beaucoup de temps."[478]

5.2.3 Mosque of the Barber/of Sidi Sahbi

In 1893 Baraudon celebrated the fact that Kairouan was the only city in Tunisia where visitors could enter without removing their footware, for "Quant au fanatisme des habitants, il est bien atténué aujourd'hui."[479] He visited the Barber's Mosque ("une des plus admirables mosquées qu'ait produites l'art tunisien"), and described the decoration:

> Posées en revêtement sur les murs, des faïences multicolores représentent des vases de fleurs et alternent avec d'admirables panneaux où des trèfles; des losanges et des cercles dentelés entrelacent le réseau compliqué de leurs lignes. Les teintes sont nettes encore sous l'émail vernissé

> qui les recouvre, et d'une infinie douceur. / Une autre cour, vaste et ensoleillée, entièrement lambrissée de carreaux de toutes nuances, précède la salle du Tombeau.[480]

This is also known as the Mosque of The Companion (and also as the Zawiya of El-Belawi) which, for Cambon in 1885, was more finely decorated than the Great Mosque itself, and, "par ses détails minutieux et ses capricieuses arabesques, fait penser aux merveilles de l'architecture maure en Espagne."[481] In 1896 Chevillet agreed with his assessment. This was indeed a jewel of oriental art,

> merveilleuse par la finesse de ses arabesques et la délicatesse achevée avec laquelle ses marbres sont ciselés. Ce joli bijou relève à mes yeux le bon goût arabe, si endommagé par le plafond en plâtre et les traverses de bois qui surmontent les chapiteaux de la magnifique forêt de colonnes dont j'ai déjà parlé.

Not that access was easy, for "le fanatisme musulman n'en ouvre les portes que devant la force victorieuse." In this case, without venturing another Chassepot rifle as an entry key but, with a different shot at easing permission to enter from the local guardian, Chevillet scrawled a supposed note from the commanding general, and showed it to him: "Le gardien s'incline, serre précieusement mon papier dans son burnous, nous fait tenir nos chevaux et nous fait conduire par toute la mosquée."[482] Whatever difficulties Chevillet encountered must have been temporary, for Baudouin entered in 1900:

> C'est une succession de cloîtres mauresques soutenus par d'élégantes colonnes peintes et sculptées; les murs sont revêtus de faïences décoratives de Tunis d'un très bel effet, les cours sont dallées de marbre.[483]

5.3 *Sousse and Environs*

For Peyssonnel in 1838 the mosques here were quite beautiful: "on m'a dit qu'on avait apporté d'Ekouda la plupart des pierres qui ont servi à les construire,"[484] while in 1853 Pellissier noted "Deux ou trois jolis minarets."[485] Three decades later in 1886 Saladin was tempted by the columns and capitals to be seen throughout the town, but "la visite des mosquées est fort difficile: les musulmans ne se prêtent qu'à contre-cœur aux recherches qu'on veut y faire."[486] Then in 1894 along with Cagnat the French and Tunisian authorities were

approached, and they were given a local erudite to accompany them. After the local tried to mislead them into various buildings (such as a mill and a school) but avoiding the Great Mosque, they guessed his game, and he took them to the Mosque. Here they half-entered, and assessed those few of its characteristics they could examine from the door:

> On pénètre d'abord, comme d'habitude, dans une cour d'entrée. Nous sommes frappés de l'aspect singulier qu'elle présente; nous remarquons notamment une porte qu'on dirait empruntée à une de nos églises romanes. Nous trouverons à Kairouan des analogies encore plus curieuses avec notre architecture du moyen âge. Quant à la mosquée, elle est construite dans le genre de celle d'Oran et de Tlemcen, c'est-à-dire que les plafonds, au lieu de porter sur des arcades reposant elles-mêmes sur des colonnes, sont soutenus par des arcades sur pieds droits. D'ailleurs aucune trace de décoration: tout est enduit de chaux. Nul fragment antique ne paraît avoir été utilisé dans la construction, du moins autant qu'on peut en juger extérieurement; car, au moment où nous faisions notre visite, les fidèles étaient en prières à l'intérieur, ce qui ne nous permit pas de dépasser la porte de la mosquée.[487]

At nearby Zaghouan, Lux noted that the temple had been converted into a mosque,[488] but presumably did not get inside, any more than did Bisson at Hammamet ("elle possède trois mosquées qui renferment, dit-on, des colonnes antiques"[489]). Guérin did get inside the mosque at Mahdiya in 1862, which

> renferme d'élégantes colonnes; elle parait remplacer une mosquée beaucoup plus ancienne, dont on distingue encore quelques pans de murs qui rappellent, par la régularité et les dimensions des pierres dont ils sont revêtus.[490]

And Cagnat and Saladin had good luck here at Mahdiya, comparing it with Kairouan:

> Une suite de portiques voûtés dont les colonnes sont en partie antiques. La plupart de ces colonnes ont été prises à droite et à gauche, surmontées de chapiteaux trop petits ou trop grands pour elles, et enduites de chaux, sous laquelle disparaissent les détails d'ornementation. D'autres, en marbre blanc, sont modernes et proviennent vraisemblablement d'Italie.[491]

5.4 *Testour*

This town, founded by Andalucian immigrants in 1609 on the ruins of a Roman settlement, deserves a mention because, together with other Roman ruins in the vicinity, it was visited by increasing numbers of tourists following the French Protectorate of 1881. Bisson in that same year noticed antiquities in the mosque,[492] while Piesse wrote of others scattered throughout the town and in the exterior walls of the mosque.[493] But the star was the mosque's minaret, which Cagnat and Saladin described in 1894:

> Il est décoré d'un revêtement de carreaux en faïence, de toutes les couleurs; le blanc, le vert et le noir y dominent; sur la tour carrée qui forme le couronnement s'élève un toit pointu en tuiles, surmonté d'une flèche aiguë; celle-ci repose sur trois boules superposées et est terminée par un croissant: pris dans son ensemble, ce monument est d'une grande élégance.[494]

For Richardot, writing a decade later of a recent restoration, "Il est svelte, élégant, revêtu de faïences peintes aux vives couleurs et est surmonté de deux des octogones: c'est un des plus beaux de la Tunisie."[495]

5.5 *Tunis*

> Plusieurs des Mosquées sont encore d'une belle structure, & il me sembla que leur façon de bâtir a beaucoup de rapport avec celle des Espagnols.[496] [1720]

For El-Abdery, who wrote in the late thirteenth century, and though he described only the courtyard, "Cette mosquée [de l'Olivier, Zituna], qu'on peut ranger parmi les plus belles maisons de prières, est construite avec élégance et parfaitement éclairée".[497] Tunis was captured by Charles V in 1535, occasioning 30,000 deaths, and was recaptured by the Ottomans in 1574. As usual, in the later eighteenth century all Christians could admire of Tunis were the beautiful minarets,[498] and this extended to Kairouan, 127 km distant: "où se trouve une belle mosquée remarquable, à ce qu'on me dit, par deux colonnes d'un rouge vif, éclatant & moucheté de blanc comme le porphyre."[499]

In the following century, sometimes perhaps because they could not enter them, westerners offered dismissive or general descriptions of the architecture

of Tunis. For Peyssonnel in 1838, there were "plusieurs mosquées ou églises turques, quelques-unes assez belles; mais aucune ne mérite l'attention particulière des voyageurs."[500] For Pellissier in 1853 the architecture of the Zituna Mosque was "assez remarquable."[501] For the locals, Carthage retained its attraction, and "Les Tunisiens vont s'y promener de temps à autre, autant par curiosité que par dévotion,"[502] surely searching for materials with which to decorate their houses. In 1850 Leaves described the Zituna Mosque as majestic, and "not a single European house disturbs the genuine Oriental character of the view."[503]

5.5.1 No Access to Mosques

In 1858 Dunant offered a warning to incautious Christians, and then characterised the main mosques. The Great Mosque was "un beau monument par son étendue, son style, ses marbres, ses dentelles de pierre, ses portes en bois d'un travail remarquable," and the Kasba mosque resembled Seville ("avec ses damiers, sa marqueterie et ses tourelles"[504]). For Thierry-Mieg in 1861 it was the marble which caught his eye:

> Quelques belles mosquées où l'on a prodigué le marbre. Elles sont ornées de sculptures et de jolies colonnes torses, et entourées généralement de bancs en pierre ou en marbre.[505]

Guérin learned of the riches of the Zituna Mosque through hearsay: "je n'ai pu y pénétrer; mais j'ai appris qu'intérieurement ce monument était orné de nombreuses colonnes, enlevées la plupart à des édifices antiques."[506] For Italian travellers the Zituna surpassed all others in size and beauty,[507] and they also offered a long description of the Sahab et Taba, begun in 1830, with foundation blocks from Carthage and (so they wrote) stuccoed walls and marble columns from Carrara.[508]

Most of the spolia came from Carthage, as Lux wrote in 1882: "les Arabes ont tout emporté pierre par pierre, pour construire les principaux édifices de la Goulette et la grande mosquée de Tunis."[509] In 1876 Turton sniffed that "the mosques are not accessible to any but the faithful, so what may be inside is a matter for conjecture."[510] The following year Rae tried harder, with him or one of his group passing one of the Zituna entrances a dozen times a day, and "we had glimpses into the marble courtyard, arcaded with white pillars brought by Hamouda Pasha from Carthage and other ruined cities."[511]

No Christian got any closer. In 1880 Lubomirski recounted that even a Prussian prince, guest of the Bey himself, could not obtain access, hence "Un

particulier ne saurait même y songer."[512] Lubomirski deplored the lack of interesting antiquities in the city, and the ruinous Islamic monuments: "Peu à peu les ruines sont envahies par les chacals et les hyènes. Cinquante ans ont suffi pour faire de la poussière des plus beaux souvenirs de la puissance barbaresque."[513] He was enchanted by the nearby village of Sidi Bou-Saïd, and reported on antiquities found in the area. Surely, archaeology could only benefit from the strong French presence:

> En vérité, il serait assez difficile à un archéologue solitaire d'entreprendre des travaux de ce côté, car, si la campagne de Tunis est sûre, dès qu'on s'éloigne de la ville, on est à la merci du fanatisme et de la rapacité des habitants: néanmoins l'influence de la France, indiscutable ici, pourrait obtenir facilement pour une mission archéologique l'appui de quelques gardes du bey, escorte suffisante à maintenir en respect les populations du littoral.[514]

However, much of the archaeology was to be carried out in the mosques, veritable repositories of classical inscriptions and marble. Yet if such scholars believed that the inhabitants were rapacious, was not French archaeology likely to be characterised by them in exactly the same manner, with spolia to be carried off to western temples of culture, namely museums?

In the same year of 1880 Tchihatcheff claimed that a special autorisation to visit the mosques was easily obtained, but himself preferred to spend his time visiting the environs, although for some reason he did not get to Carthage. Here was another adherent of the tedium-vitae, all-mosques-the-same school. After all, he had seen Constantinople, Cairo and Damascus, so "je ne devais guère m'attendre à trouver ici rien de plus remarquable dans ce genre." Reinforcing his classical credentials, his only regret was

> de n'avoir pu observer les nombreux débris des ruines de Carthage, qui, à ce qu'on m'a assuré, figurent dans plusieurs mosquées sous forme de colonnes, corniches, sculptures, pierres tumulaires, etc.; c'est surtout la grande et belle mosquée dite aux oliviers [Djamaai-ez-Zaitouna) qui parait être richement pourvue de ces précieuses reliques d'antiquité.[515]

As we have already learned, it was in 1881 that France declared Tunisia a Protectorate, so were Lubomirski's hopes for archaeology perhaps now to be realised? Indeed, one year later an unsigned note on epigraphy in that country predicted that discoveries were surely to be made

> lorsque, grâce â la conquête française, la tolérance sera plus grande et permettra de pénétrer dans les mosquées dont la plupart nous ont été fermées.

A footnote deflated such expectations, explaining that "malheureusement le fanatisme musulman n'a encore permis à aucun Européen d'y pénétrer."[516] According to Field in 1893, it was the French Resident at Tunis who (unlike the *laissez-faire* authorities at Kairouan) "conciliated the good will of the natives by a scrupulous respect to their customs, and, above all, to their religious observances. He did not allow a European to put his foot in a mosque."[517]

For Hesse-Wartegg in 1882, (unnamed) mosque gates were wide open, but "scarcely do we put our foot on the first step leading there than some Arabs, who linger about on the steps, drive us back with screams."[518] And "I myself witnessed a fanatic throw vitriol over a German lady while she was sketching a group of houses, he labouring under the impression that she was drawing a mosque."[519] His consolation was to penetrate the courtyard of houses:

> We see their splendour only by entering their courts. I found many houses in which the colonnades were marble monoliths with splendid capitals, evidently taken from that great quarry which lies in the immediate neighbourhood, where the building stones are ready cut, and beautifully ornamented, and where there is no dearth of them.

The source of such antiquities was clear:

> This ancient town was such a fruitful field for the Tunisians that in every second house are found Roman stones with inscriptions or sculptures, parts of columns and capitals. If Tunis were destroyed her ruins would be the ruins of Carthage![520]

However, just as in Cairo, European architecture had arrived in this "oriental" city, and western visitors did not like what they saw there. Hesse-Wartegg agreed with earlier commentators on the ruinous state of much of the local architecture, which in any case could not compare with Seville or Tlemcen. Much had changed since 1850 when Leaves saw no European buildings. Now the problem was that "in the new buildings the French taste predominates in an obtrusive, unpleasant way, which can only be regretted." This was "European culture clumsily ingrafted on an Oriental stem … The Arabian is just like all other half-civilised people."[521] But this is not what a marabout at the Great Mosque thought, for he gave a long lecture to Lux when he tried to enter

in 1882. The interpreter offered a précis which characterised westerners in a most unpleasing manner, and predicted for them what the French authorities wished the disruptive locals in Algeria:

> Le marabout vous a reproché d'être venus ici en ennemis pour troubler la tranquillité des fils du Prophète. / Les Arabes, a-t-il dit, sont des hommes de paix, et vous, des hommes de guerre. Vous voulez livrer à la dévastation et à la ruine des pays pacifiques, mais Allah protège son peuple et vous punira. / Il vous fera périr dans les sables du désert, et la race des infidèles sera détruite pour avoir voulu opprimer celle des Justes et des Croyants.[522]

For was it not the Arabs who were supposed to be warlike, and to be pushed back into the desert with the policy of *refoulement* in French Algeria? Could the tables be turned in Tunisia, as this marabout so fervently wished?

Indeed, even at this late date, and in this Protectorate under strong French control, any attempt to enter a mosque was fraught with danger ("on jouerait une dangereuse partie"[523]) except at Kairouan ("chose assez singulière"[524]). Hence in 1887 in Tunis, Graham and Ashbee piously restricted themselves to glimpses through open doors, for "any attempt, therefore, at description of their interiors would be a departure from the rule which we have imposed upon ourselves"[525] – perhaps they were signalling distrust of earlier descriptions by westerners.

5.5.2 Mohamedia and Spolia

Much earlier than 1881 the French had already published a "literary" takeover of *La Régence de Tunis*, which was Pellissier's title for volume XVI of the Government's *Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie*, in 1853, with the fieldwork done in 1841–3. Therein Pellissier described the Château de Mohamedia, some 12 km from Tunis. This was the preferred palace of Achmet Bey, where "malgré tout l'argent qu'on y a englouti, l'art n'est pas parvenu à l'embellir."[526] Hesse-Wartegg saw the palace ruins in 1882, for the Bey who built it had died, and by convention no ruler lived in a palace where his predecessor had died. (We shall see many examples of how palace architecture was treated in this series' Volume III of *Islamic Architecture through Western Eyes*.) This was indeed deliberate neglect equivalent to modern vandalism for a structure only some thirty-five years old:

> The furniture was moved, the floors, glazed tiles, doors and windows, were broken out and dragged to another palace [cf. Ibn Khaldun].

> The heavy marble columns, statues, the curbs of the wells, etc., remained behind with the walls, and he who passes these imposing ruins to-day might think thousands of years have passed over them. The hand of the Arab destroys thus in our day in the midst of peace, as his ancestors, the Vandals, did centuries ago, only in times of war! So much for Oriental culture![527]

But then Hesse-Wartegg was particularly sensitive to the reuse of classical spolia; for example, he saw in the Great Mosque at Sfax "a great many granite and marble columns, evidently of Roman origin,"[528] and bemoaned the fact that no quarries had been opened in Tunisia since the destruction of Carthage, hence "all these towns, with their palaces, mosques, towers, and walls, are built from the splendid stones of these Roman ruins."[529]

6 Libya

6.1 *Cyrenaica*

> Et se voyent encor les ruines de ces villes iadis tant renommées, qui a présent ne seruent que de retraite aux Arabes, qui vollent les passans: toutefois on y trouue en fouillant mille gentillesses antiques.[530] [1575]

Cyrenaica was known as the Pentapolis in Antiquity, for the five cities of Cyrene, Apollonia, Ptolemais, Barca and Benghazi, all sparsely populated by the Middle Ages, and with few attractions for markets in the West (except for spolia antiquities). Western traders therefore directed themselves further east (to Egypt) or west (to Algeria). Here in Cyrenaica the rock-cut tombs were houses for the Bedouin, with antiquities as furniture.[531] At Angila, east of Benghazi, Hamilton in 1856 looked into the principal mosque, but "it is of mud and small stones, with many low columns and arches of the same material."[532]

However, as the opening quote indicates, westerners visited Cyrenaica as early as the sixteenth century to hunt for antiquities, and a PhD waits to be written on how this specific area's treasures enriched houses, palaces and museums back home. Taking material away was surely as easy as it was for uninhabited islands such as Delos. The cities were to be found close to the sea, hence easy to loot, and the few natives, with their small vessels, were not likely to confront large western ships with their guns. In 1827 Pacheco denigrated the nomads of the area, who destroyed without building, and deplored the

local Muslims for destroying classical structures in marble to build mosques and palaces:

> Ceux-ci durent se servir des matériaux que leur offraient les monuments étrangers à leurs usages et surtout à leur culte religieux. Ainsi, les princes arabes auront fait démolir les temples et les autres édifices pour élever des mosquées et des châteaux.[533]

When he visited in 1856, Hamilton heard of statues which had been found there.[534] Some were worthy of a museum, but "very many headless statues are scattered about, which would be beautiful decorations for a garden, but are all unworthy of a museum."[535] Two reasons for this spring to mind. Perhaps the locals had knocked off the heads, which were easier than complete statues to sell to westerners and for them to carry home. Or westerners, lacking the tackle needed to transport whole statues into their ships had done the deed, carrying off only the heads. Even if choosing both, the result is clear: museums in the West house many more detached heads and busts than they do complete statues.

6.2 *Tripoli in Barbary*

If ancient Cyrenaica had five cities, Tripolitania had three, all larger and much more splendid, namely Tripoli itself (Oea), Sabratha and Leptis Magna. This Tripoli was so-called to distinguish it from Tripoli in Syria. The town of Muslim Tripoli overlayed the ancient Oea, which was much decorated with spolia marble. Tripolitania was governed from Tripoli, and negotiation was needed to secure antiquities. Already in 1720 the French had a treaty allowing them to extract marble columns from Leptis Magna,[536] and also from further afield, the wording ("et autres de la dépendance du dit Royaume") offering a splendidly vague carte blanche for an extensive search.[537]

While in the early eighteenth century Rauwolff could not gain admission to the Great Mosque at Tripoli ("They cannot brag of any fine buildings, save only the Mosques or temples"[538]), a French religious did so in 1785 (but does not explain why). He was impressed:

> Le portail de cette mosquée est tout de marbre, d'une architecture noble & simple, les chapiteaux des pilaires sont formés de plur fleurs croissans entrelacés selon l'usage des Mahométans; les murs sont en compartimens

> faits de petite carreaux de marbre & de porcelaine, sur un fond de belle pierre blanche, percés de plusieurs fenêtres à hauteur d'apui.[539]

Tully was in Tripoli in the late eighteenth century (1785–95), and (after some comings and goings) entered the Great Mosque in the train of the newly-arrived British Ambassador.[540] Money changed hands, and Tully thought the locals well-mannered, for "no part of Barbary is like this place for the respect paid to Christians."[541] He admired the "extremely handsome" Great Mosque, including

> a second entry of neat lattice wood-work, curiously carved, with two folding doors of the same work; a very great number of beautiful colored tiles, with which the bottom of the lattice-work is set, gives it a look of delicate neatness very pleasing to the eye.[542]

He entered barefooted, cushioned by the mats and carpets, counted sixteen marble columns, and described the windows and the "handsome figured china tiles," before fixing on the "pulpit"

> of marble resembling alabaster, with a flight of fourteen steps, enclosed with a marble balustrade: this pulpit is covered with Chinese tiles. Over it is a small alabaster dome supported by four white marble pillars which rest on the pulpit; the outside of this dome is entirely covered with gold.[543]

In 1805 Ali Bey was impressed by the magnificence of the Great Mosque, and what were perhaps trophies, for "the roof, composed of small cupolas, is supported by sixteen elegant Doric columns of a fine grey marble, which are said to have been taken in a Christian vessel." (Such a vessel had presumably extracted marbles from a classical site and was on its way home.) The mosques here were far superior to those of Morocco, majestic in their elevation, with lofty galleries, and fine carpets ("whereas the mosques even of the Sultan of Morocco's palace, have nothing but common mats," except at Fez).[544] Jackson published his account of the Great Mosque in 1817, describing it as magnificent, and far superior to those of Morocco, for buildings of its type "are of a majestic elevation, and have lofty galleries for the singers, like European churches."[545] (Or perhaps he did not visit, for his account is verbatim that of Ali Bey, to whom he does indeed refer.[546]) However, Jackson did convincingly describe the local house styles; so a plausible explanation is that he did indeed visit Tripoli, but

was unable to get into the Great Mosque.[547] In 1819 MacCarthy described the exterior of the Great Mosque,[548] and did indeed gain access:

> La toiture, toute composée de petites coupoles, est appuyée sur seize superbes colonnes doriques de très-beau marbre gris, qu'on me dit avoir été prises sur un bâtiment chrétien. Elle fut construite par le grand-père de Sidy-Yousouf. Ce monument y ainsi que les autres de ce genre, que j'ai vus à Tripoli, n'ont rien de cette architecture mesquine que j'ai remarquée à Maroc. Leur élévation n'est pas sans majesté.[549]

Access was difficult for decades, a notable exception being Rae in 1877, who proved to be a veritable warrior against the ever-stiff bureaucracy. He had to approach the consul-general to visit the mosques of Tripoli, "but he was a little doubtful of success."[550] Difficulties continued, for "it was a matter of arrangement both with the Castle and the Mufti."[551] He persisted with the to-ing-and-fro-ing between the various authorities, still fearing "that the deliberation and procrastination characteristic of Oriental countries would result in my never seeing the interiors of the mosques." Yet he succeeded, handed over some Maria Theresa dollars, and was allotted a soldier and a dragoman.[552] Removing his boots he visited the eighteenth-century Mosque of Achmed Pasha, ("an airy, bright, and graceful example of Saracenic architecture"), and used his camera:

> Four rows of graceful white streaked marble columns and capitals, from which spring round arches, support the roof … Beautiful old Persian tiles in soft colours line the walls to the height of twelve feet. In the space above these runs a great band of fretwork arabesque. Between the cupolas is snowy fretwork in plaster, also in the inimitable Arabesque and Moorish designs … From the ceiling hang lamps of iron, brass, and old Venetian glass. Venice has for centuries traded with Tripoli, and I have bought in Tripoli old Venetian glass beads which had come back from the interior. Over the central door stands out the broad square canopy-shaped gallery of the choir, supported on four elegant spiral pillars. It is corbelled out on all sides above the pillars, with the carved Moorish stalactite pattern, and is all delicately painted and gilded. The mihrab, or niche, consists of a horse-shoe arch and white marble pilasters, inlaid with black marble. The membar, or pulpit, is of inlaid marble, having coloured flower designs, and the sides of the staircase of carved wood. The doors of the mosque, in wood, delicately carved outwardly, are painted within.[553]

Rae then visited the Gurgi Mosque (built 1834), "the most beautiful of the Tripoli mosques," and near the British Consulate:

> Beautiful Turkish carpets cover the floor. The exterior colonnade in the white marble court is most picturesque. Its inner wall has lovely Persian tiles up to a height of ten feet. The doors, of plain wood, stand in frames of coloured marbles.

Then on to the Mosque of Sheikh Bel Ain, similar to the pair just described but "much disfigured in its details." Finally to the Mosque of Sidi Dragut, which was not pleasing, "having a row of four columns running down each side of the prayer chamber. They are rudely painted to represent blue veined marble: indeed the whole of the decorations of this mosque are tasteless to deformity."[554]

Rae did well with his visits, and he also noted five cipollino columns, which

> once carried poles for the overland telegraph to Egypt, contemplated by the Government; but the Arabs, in their superstition, destroyed portions of the line, and it was never carried more than ten miles out of the city. The telegraph to Malta, which got out of order in 1870, might have been restored, but for the unwillingness of the Government to give a moderate guarantee.[555]

Thanks perhaps to Rae's persistence, by 1881 Bisson was reporting that "L'entrée des mosquées est strictement interdite aux chrétiens et aux juifs,"[556] and also that the gates of the town were shut for Friday prayers in case Christians took over the city while the soldiers were at prayer.[557] Again, a temporary ban, for four years later Boddy entered the Great Mosque and described it briefly:

> Rows of marble pillars support a roof in which are an immense number of small domes. Black and white tiles on the floor, and a delicately tinted dado of tiles round the walls to a considerable height; above it the lovely arabesque work in plaster of Paris.[558]

[1] Tully_1816_187.
[2] Gsell_1901_II_114.
[3] Lemprière_1801_267.
[4] Reinaud_1842_355.
[5] Ockley_1713_58.
[6] Ockley_1713_3.
[7] Peyssonnel_1838_I_143.
[8] Peyssonnel_1838_I_178.
[9] Peyssonnel_1838_II_96.
[10] Peyssonnel_1838_I_102.
[11] Bisson_1881_Preface.
[12] Revue_Africaine_I_1857_242.
[13] *L'Atelie*_1854.
[14] H_de_B_1834_51.
[15] Colonisation_1834_6–7.
[16] Foreign_Quarterly_Review_XIII_1834_105.
[17] H_de_B_1834_101.
[18] Card_1906_92ff.
[19] Anon_1873_20.
[20] Anon_1873_45.
[21] Colonisation_1834_188.
[22] Colonisation_1834_112.
[23] Foreign_Quarterly_Review_XIII_1834_77.
[24] Foreign_Quarterly_Review_XIII_1834_79–80.
[25] Jacquot_1849_133.
[26] Jacquot_1849_171.
[27] Morell_1854_86.
[28] Pulszky_1854_177.
[29] Mac_Carthy_1858_257.
[30] Foucher_1858_31–32.
[31] Foreign_Quarterly_Review_XIII_1834_86.
[32] Foreign_Quarterly_Review_XIII_1834_92–93.
[33] Foreign_Quarterly_Review_XIII_1834_101.
[34] Prus_1852_95.
[35] Prus_1852_287.
[36] Poujoulat_1847_I_35–36.
[37] Baraudon_1893_26.
[38] Carron_1859_6.
[39] Carron_1859_13.
[40] Carron_1859_22.
[41] Carron_1859_57.
[42] Carron_1859_203.
[43] Barbier_1855_145.
[44] Morell_1854_141–142.
[45] Ansted_1854_206.
[46] Cherbonneau_1854_157.
[47] Ratheau_1879_156.
[48] Richardot_1905_200–201.
[49] Pulszky_1854_17–18.
[50] Naphegyi_1868_16.
[51] Campbell_1845_II_103–104.
[52] Pein_1871_51–52.
[53] Poujoulat_1868_335.
[54] *Exposition_universelle_de_Paris_en_1878*_7.
[55] Revue_Africaine_III_1858_81–94.
[56] Revue_Africaine_VIII_1864_198–201.
[57] Revue_Africaine_XVIII_1874_316.
[58] AMSL_I_1873_307.
[59] AMSL_I_1873_3024–325.
[60] Playfair_1890_208.
[61] Pananti_1818_157.
[62] Godard_1859_35.
[63] Urquhart_1850_I_302–303.
[64] Baraudon_1899_4i.
[65] Holme_1898_230.
[66] Holme_1898_228–229.
[67] Holme_1898_243.
[68] L'Illustration_CXLIV_1914_24_Oct.
[69] Colonisation_1834_6–7.
[70] Colonisation_1834_188.
[71] H_de_B_1834_128.
[72] H_de_B_1834_119.
[73] Lestiboudois_1853_37.
[74] St_Marie_1846_106.
[75] Morell_1854_119.
[76] Poujoulat_1847_II_301.
[77] Andry_1868_100–101.
[78] Muskau_1839_II_49.
[79] Poujoulat_1847_I_264.
[80] Prus_1852_119.
[81] Chevillet_1896_35.
[82] Pulszky_1854_71–72.
[83] Cambon_1885_42–43.
[84] Guide_1847_172–173.
[85] Guide_1847_221.
[86] Guide_1847_218.
[87] Morell_1854_133.
[88] Barbier_1855_125.
[89] St_Marie_1846_81.
[90] Guide_1847_233.
[91] Barbier_1855_154.
[92] Reuss_1884_141.
[93] Ansted_1854_201.
[94] Mac_Carthy_1858_338.
[95] Barbier_1855_180.
[96] Turton_1876_183.
[97] Barbier_1855_135–136.
[98] Barbier_1855_139.
[99] Andry_1868_98.
[100] Desmichels_1835_13.
[101] Desmichels_1835_244.
[102] Bargès_1859_14.
[103] Desmichels_1835_19.
[104] Guide_1847_251.
[105] Bargès_1859_393–394.
[106] Bargès_1859_16–17.
[107] Bargès_1859_445.
[108] Gastineau_1864_5.
[109] Turton_1876_135–136.
[110] Revue_Africaine_VIII_1864_271.
[111] Méhier_de_Mathuisieulx_1912_21.
[112] Lestiboudois_1853_290.
[113] x_1856_22.
[114] Du_Cheyron_1873_235–236.
[115] Neveu-Derotrie_1878_7.
[116] Duthoit_1873_307.
[117] Duthoit_1873_311–312.
[118] Duthoit_1873_312.
[119] Duthoit_1873_324–325.
[120] Bergot_1890_116.
[121] Bergot_1890_117–118.

[122] Ali_Bey_1816_I_26.
[123] Pellissier_de_Reynaud_III_1854_239–24.
[124] Berteuil_1856_II_159–160.
[125] Muskau_1839_I_28–29.
[126] Nicolay_1580_8.
[127] Temple_1835_I_57–58.
[128] Shaw_1738_70–71.
[129] Jackson_1817_18.
[130] Jackson_1817_92–93.
[131] Pananti_1818_268.
[132] Pananti_1818_203.
[133] Poujoulat_1847_I_30.
[134] Prus_1852_248.
[135] Poujoulat_1847_I_34.
[136] Journal_artillerie_1838_176–177.
[137] Foreign_Quarterly_Review_XIII_1834_91–92.
[138] Journal_artillerie_1838_215.
[139] Temple_1835_I_21.
[140] Bolle_1839_13.
[141] Baraudon_1899_6.
[142] Bolle_1839_45–46.
[143] Bolle_1839_148.
[144] St_Marie_1846_18.
[145] Guide_à_Alger_1863_44.
[146] Guide_à_Alger_1863_42.
[147] Berteuil_1856_I_222.
[148] Blakesley_1859_22–23.
[149] Poujoulat_1847_I_36.
[150] Andry_1868_78.
[151] Lestiboudois_1853_20–21.
[152] Lestiboudois_1853_247.
[153] Andry_1868_71.
[154] Turton_1876_172.
[155] Ansted_1854_196.
[156] Baudel_1887_42.
[157] Revue_Africaine_XII_1868_108.
[158] Lestiboudois_1853_379.
[159] Foucher_1858_32.
[160] Lestiboudois_1853_290.
[161] J.C._1844_247–248.
[162] Pulszky_1854_18–19.
[163] Ansted_1854_195.
[164] Naphegyi_1868_170.
[165] Blakesley_1859_24.
[166] Guide_à_Alger_1863_43.
[167] Poujoulat_1847_I_29.
[168] AMSL_1873_315.
[169] Colin_1901_17.
[170] Colin_1901_10.
[171] Colin_1901_192.
[172] Baedeker_1911_174–175.
[173] Thierry-Mieg_1881_6.
[174] Baedeker_1911_226.
[175] Richardot_1905_292.
[176] Murray_1890_Preface.
[177] Naphegyi_1868_164–165.
[178] Cherbonneau_1854_156.
[179] Chanoines_réguliers_1785_133–134.
[180] Pulszky_1854_70.
[181] Carette_1848_I_13.
[182] Reuss_1884_63.
[183] Turton_1876_186–187.
[184] Guide_1847_294.
[185] Poujoulat_1868_254.
[186] Pulszky_1854_99.
[187] Berteuil_1856_II_157.
[188] Berteuil_1856_II_325.
[189] Thierry-Mieg_1861_152.
[190] Cherbonneau_1857_34.
[191] Cherbonneau_1857_35.
[192] Malte-Brun_1858_15.
[193] Blakesley_1859_277–278.
[194] Turton_1876_187–188.
[195] Many_Lands_1875_81.
[196] Tchihatcheff_1880_254.
[197] Reuss_1884_32.
[198] Reuss_1884_33.
[199] Bernard_1887_336.
[200] Lorrain_1899_33.
[201] Montémont_1832_126.
[202] Bargès_1859_251.
[203] Lorrain_1899_31.
[204] Barbier_1855_231.
[205] Docteur_X_1856_144–145.
[206] Docteur_X_1856_151–153.
[207] Clamageran_1874_89–90.
[208] Goyau_1888_24.
[209] Blakesley_1859_192.
[210] Bargès_1859_253–254.
[211] Godard_1860_379.
[212] Revue_africaine_III_1861_148–149.
[213] Revue_africaine_III_1861_148.
[214] Duthoit_1873_317–323.
[215] Duthoit_1873_322–323.
[216] Piesse_1893_151.
[217] AMSL_I_1873_322.
[218] Piesse_1893_151–152.
[219] Saint-Paul_1880_101–102.
[220] Thierry-Mieg_1881_25–26.
[221] A._B._1888_81.
[222] Pimodan_1902_127–128.
[223] X_1856_36–37.
[224] Moulin_1859_#406.
[225] Courrier_de_Tlemcen_0404_1863.
[226] AMSL_I_1873_319.
[227] Clamageran_1874_92.
[228] Murray_1890_261.
[229] Ratheau_1879_318–319.
[230] Jourdan_1880_204.
[231] Jourdan_1880_205–206.
[232] Bernard_1887_271–272.
[233] Thierry-Mieg_1881_22–23.
[234] A._B._1888_84–85.
[235] A._B._1888_86–87.
[236] Claparède_1896_162–163.
[237] Marçais_&_Marçais_1903_38–39.
[238] Marçais_&_Marçais_1903_259–261.
[239] Marçais_&_Marçais_1903_68.
[240] Pimodan_1902_70–71.
[241] Pimodan_1902_116–117.

[242] Pimodan_1902_104–105.
[243] Baedeker_1911_194–195.
[244] Murray_1890_255.
[245] Baedeker_1911_187.
[246] Shaw_1808_I_68.
[247] Marçais_&_Marçais_1903_36.
[248] Reuss_1884_187.
[249] Reuss_1884_188.
[250] Reuss_1884_189–190.
[251] Ratheau_1879_315.
[252] Moulin_1859_#395.
[253] Claparède_1896_154–157.
[254] Lestiboudois_1853_80.
[255] Lestiboudois_1853_79–80.
[256] A._B._1888_72–73.
[257] Piesse_1893_137.
[258] Blakesley_1859_188.
[259] Clamageran_1874_88–89.
[260] AMSL_I_1873_312.
[261] Jourdan_1880_201.
[262] A._B._1888_73–74.
[263] Baedeker_1911_187.
[264] Docteur_X_1856_109.
[265] Cherbonneau_1854_153.
[266] Bargès_1859_413.
[267] Bargès_1859_428.
[268] Bargès_1859_429.
[269] Bargès_1859_430.
[270] AMSL_I_1873_317.
[271] Ratheau_1879_313–314.
[272] Bernard_1887_262–263.
[273] A._B._1888_74–75.
[274] Piesse_1893_142.
[275] Pimodan_1902_87–91.
[276] Baedeker_1911_189–190.
[277] Pimodan_1902_92–93.
[278] Piesse_1892_142B.
[279] Pimodan_1902_94.
[280] Pimodan_1902_94.
[281] Piesse_1893_145.
[282] Pimodan_1902_106–107.
[283] Mac_Carthy_1858_402–403.
[284] Bargès_1859_203.
[285] Bargès_1859_358–359.
[286] Thierry-Mieg_1881_5–6.
[287] Playfair_1890_216–217.
[288] Lubomirski_1880_280.
[289] Lubomirski_1880_283.
[290] Thierry-Mieg_1861_258.
[291] Beauclerk_1828_221.
[292] Brooke_1831_I_324.
[293] Godard_1859_145.
[294] Richardson_1860_I_IX–X.
[295] Richardson_1860_I_iv–v.
[296] Chénier_1787_III_61–62.
[297] Roudh_el-Kartas_1860_36–49.
[298] Roudh_el-Kartas_36–37.
[299] Roudh_el-Kartas_1860_42–43.
[300] Roudh_el-Kartas_1860_45.
[301] Roudh_el-Kartas_39–40.
[302] Leo_Africanus_1893_II_420–422.
[303] Lithgow_1906_323–324.
[304] Tully_1816_209.
[305] Buffa_1810_147–148.
[306] Ali_Bey_1816_I_75–76.
[307] Ali_Bey_1816_I_68.
[308] Ali_Bey_1816_I_69.
[309] Ali_Bey_1816_I_69–70.
[310] Ali_Bey_1816_I_73.
[311] Jackson_1817_113.
[312] Mac_Carthy_1819_II_64–65.
[313] Godard_1859_7.
[314] Godard_1859_8.
[315] Godard_1860_48.
[316] Leared_1879_56.
[317] Leo_Africanus_1893_II_597–598.
[318] Richardson_1860_II_142.
[319] Stutfield_1886_90.
[320] Leared_1879_53.
[321] Trotter_1881_109.
[322] Charmes_1887_281–282.
[323] Stutfield_1886_89.
[324] Ali_Bey_1816_I_75–76.
[325] Trotter_1881_172–173.
[326] Stutfield_1886_90.
[327] Charmes_1887_152–153.
[328] Charmes_1887_283–285.
[329] Charmes_1887_254–255.
[330] Charmes_1887_282.
[331] Montbard_1894_196.
[332] Montbard_1894_156–157.
[333] Moulin_1859_nota.
[334] Baedeker_1911_97.
[335] Curtis_1852_32.
[336] Curtis_1903_50–51.
[337] Mocquet_1696_157.
[338] Chanoines_réguliers_1785_78.
[339] Ali_Bey_1816_I_167–168.
[340] Baedeker_1911_97.
[341] Leo_Africanus_1893_II_263–264.
[342] Jackson_1817_84.
[343] Jackson_1817_85.
[344] Beauclerk_1828_140.
[345] Washington_1832_133–134.
[346] Montémont_1832_134.
[347] Montémont_1832_134B.
[348] Roscoe_1838_273–274.
[349] Thomson_1889_352.
[350] Thomson_1889_131.
[351] Thomson_1889_353.
[352] Thomson_1889_381.
[353] Leared_1891_163–164.
[354] Jackson_1817_82.
[355] Leared_1879_42.
[356] Leared_1879_42B.
[357] Saladin_1886_31.
[358] Trotter_1881_238.
[359] Chanoines_réguliers_1785_54.
[360] Montbard_1894_135–136.
[361] Mac_Carthy_1819_II_64.

[362] Officier_de_Marine_1698_73–74.
[363] Jackson_1809_99–100.
[364] Stutfield_1886_192.
[365] Urquhart_1850_I_278–279.
[366] Stutfield_1886_191.
[367] Brooke_1831_I_408.
[368] Jackson_1809_97–99.
[369] Cotte_1860_73.
[370] Montémont_1832_124.
[371] Cotte_1860_110.
[372] Dubourdieu_1851_4.
[373] Dubourdieu_1851_4B.
[374] Stutfield_1886_188.
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[377] Cotte_1860_182.
[378] Cotte_1860_73.
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[385] Trotter_1881_268.
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[396] Charmes_1887_11.
[397] Stutfield_1886_23.
[398] Thomson_1889_18–19.
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[400] Brooke_1831_II_361–362.
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[409] Saladin_1886_224.
[410] Saladin_1886_225.
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[413] Tunisi_Milano_1876_135.
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[415] Hesse-Wartegg_1882_248.
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[434] Rae_1877_223–224.
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[481] Cambon_1885_138–139.
[482] Chevillet_1896_91–92.
[483] Baudouin_1900_63–64.
[484] Peyssonnel_1838_II_111.

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[487] Cagnat_&_Saladin_1894_66–67.
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[500] Peyssonnel_1838_I_24.
[501] Pellissier_1853_50.
[502] Cherbonneau_1854_167.
[503] Leaves_1850_II_83–84.
[504] Dunant_1858_46.
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[506] Guérin_1862_I_25.
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[515] Tchihatcheff_1880_485.
[516] Bulletin_de_correspondance_africaine_IV_1882_161.
[517] Field_1893_84–85.
[518] Hesse-Wartegg_1882_11.
[519] Hesse-Wartegg_1882_55.
[520] Hesse-Wartegg_1882_15.
[521] Hesse-Wartegg_1882_34–35.
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[525] Graham_&_Ashbee_1887_18.
[526] Pellissier_1853_63–64.
[527] Hesse-Wartegg_1882_48.
[528] Hesse-Wartegg_1882_276.
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[547] Jackson_1817_33.
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[549] Mac_Carthy_1819_II_57.
[550] Rae_1877_59.
[551] Rae_1877_74.
[552] Rae_1877_89–90.
[553] Rae_1877_90–91.
[554] Rae_1877_91–93.
[555] Rae_1877_87.
[556] Bisson_1881_51.
[557] Bisson_1881_9.
[558] Boddy_1885_85–86.

CHAPTER 5

Exhibiting Islamic Lands: Trade, Travel and Empire

1 Overview

In the nineteenth century, trade with the East became increasingly important for feeding western industries, and to accomplish this steam ships, railways, electricity and steel were crucial. Travel to the East became increasingly easier and cheaper, and the converse was equally true: the East could be imported to the West so that it could now be the East (treasures and people) that travelled West, to delight westerners in special exhibitions. These became a potent weapon in the West's persuasive arsenal highlighting supremacy over the rest of the world, emphasising industrial development, machinery, trade, and uses for gas and electricity.

Although there were earlier and smaller examples, the era of the exhibition ("a special modern sense as applied to public shows of goods for the promotion of trade"[1]) was born in 1851 with London's Great Exhibition, a gauntlet thrown down by a proud Britain challenging all comers (invitations were sent out world-wide) to match their progress. This was no less than a declaration of claimed commercial supremacy, and hence perhaps of war (by other means). Wildly popular, it triggered a succession of exhibitions in Europe and the United States, ever larger in area, and western countries developed notional league tables of how they stood, production- and trade-wise, vis-à-vis their competitors.

Exhibitions were aimed not only at would-be purchasers of industrial innovation, but at ordinary individuals and families who, in those days before cinema and radio, were attracted by the many exhibits from exotic lands, often exhibited as a kind of expanded theatre. Later exhibitions incorporated would-be foreign pavilions and streets, some of which were dedicated to individual countries such as Egypt and those in North Africa governed by the French. In exhibition areas which were really exotic fun-fairs, the public could wander, buy foreign merchandise from the shops, study the hundreds of locals appointed for local colour and (for our area) watch a belly-dancer, wander through a mosque door (with a café behind), or ride a camel. Down such streets, the visitor (tourist?) could often change countries every fifty metres. Eventually, such "ethnographic collections," in the form of human models and their impedimenta, could be visited in the anthropological collections of permanent museums.

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If the foreign products in exhibition shops were authentic, the old-fashioned architecture and materials of the foreign pavilions (whether imitated locally or imported from abroad) contrasted with host countries' confidence in the use of iron, glass and concrete (the innovative architecture of the "Crystal Palace" in London was as much a lesson to the world as the exhibits it sheltered). Indeed, industrial innovation could produce enormous buildings, their construction, size and materials trumpeted in measurements and materials in the official handbooks. Their details might often be called propaganda, for they often emphasised the innovations of the extravagantly ornamented "palaces" they built to house the thousands of exhibits. And what, in 1889, was the Eiffel Tower, other than architectural triumphalism? To repeat (as each exhibition did with every huge structure), such exhibitions were displays of world-wide reach, technical innovation, and the benefits of modernity, each a gauntlet thrown down to challenge European and American competitors.

All the exhibitions to be discussed here were international. They excited, as intended, competition between industrialised states and curiosity over what other countries might offer in the way of trade or ideas. Here, in concerted displays of benign industrial espionage, technical experts and workmen were routinely dispatched to study foreign exhibits, reporting on their quality, and assessing the placing of their own country in the race for supremacy. The literature generated was enormous; each exhibition produced an official handbook; pamphlets were distributed to visitors, as we shall see; and a myriad books, journal and newspaper articles wrote assessments. Indeed, exhibitions were advertising at its most influential, and the greater the numbers enticed through the turnstiles, the greater the amount of initial expenditure that could be defrayed by entrance fees and other sales.

It became a tradition at such exhibitions for invited countries to erect their own pavilions (for example, Mies van der Rohe's Pavilion for the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition). The decoration of such "country" pavilions, was often authentic, done by imported workmen from photographs, or indeed by scholars. Visitors were enticed to enter by including the country's attractive artefacts, and by re-creating some typical architectural features, suitably tamed (of beggars, dirt and flies) to appeal to those as timorous as their confrères who had stayed on the ship in Constantinople, or ventured no nearer the narrow streets than the Citadel in Cairo.

Trade necessarily went hand-in-hand with industrialisation. As well as selling abroad to maintain its industries, the West was also avid (as it had been for centuries) for imports to entice affluent citizens. Exhibitions could then display the attractive products of the countries concerned – for North Africa, for example, marble and other stones, wood, oil and wine, wool, tobacco, and

linen. Thus westerners, it might be suggested, no longer needed to leave the West in order to experience at least a few elements of the East. However, such exhibitions offered a two-way street with East learning from West and vice versa. Çelik studies their impact "first by looking at what the 'Orient' learned from the expositions held in European and American cities and then by examining how Islamic pavilions affected Western architecture."[1]

1.1 *Easier and Cheaper Travel*

The popularity of exhibitions was assured because railways could convey national and international visitors speedily from afar. Equally, by the mid-nineteenth century, travel to Egypt and Constantinople were becoming easier,[2] and by the 1860s the traveller, wrote an Englishman, "may really now go to Egypt without taking anything more with him than if he were going upon the Continent."[3]

As we have already seen, such increased travel had consequences for the complexion of cities in the East, due to the impact of tourism. By the mid-1870s "many parts of Alexandria and Cairo are so changed that those who saw them only a few years ago would hardly recognise them," and

> Resident foreigners in Egypt may now be counted by thousands, instead of, as was the case twenty years ago, by tens: and the increased facilities for travel, combined with the increased thirst for "doing" all possible countries, send every winter a greater number of travellers to the Nile.[4]

In 1876 Cook, writing of the Nile, noted that "year by year the tide of Tourists to these and other Eastern localities increases,"[5] and praised the climate, for "the dry air, and mild winter, which is like a fine German spring, are peculiarly favourable to persons suffering from weakness of the lungs."[6]

Baedeker in 1878, stating three weeks to be the absolute minimum for a visit,[7] lauded Egypt's twin attraction for westerners of scenery and history,[8] and assured their readers of the exclusivity of distance:

> Owing to its distance from the homes of most travellers, and to the expense involved in exploring it, Egypt will never be overrun by tourists

1 Çelik 1992, 152 ff.: Chapter 5 passim.

> to the same extent as Switzerland or Italy; but it is now reached without difficulty by one of the numerous Mediterranean steamboat lines, and increased facilities are afforded to travellers by the recent construction of railways within the country itself, while its unrivalled attractions will abundantly reward the enterprising traveller and supply him with a subject of life-long interest.[9]

Such exclusivity was to be challenged, as we shall see, by the flow of architectural and decorative elements, as well as inhabitants and their picturesque animals and activities, in the other direction, into Europe and North America. Cheap and easy travel would accommodate the Cairo Street and its features in both Europe and America, for those exhibition visitors who perhaps could not get to the East themselves.

1.2 *Artists, Exhibitions and Moving Images*

Artworks could reside in private homes and public museums, but were also shown in our exhibitions, and these could feature the East without the viewer having been that far from home. Thus a nineteenth-century artist could draw and then paint or make a print of an Eastern street scene, or photograph it in mono or (using a cheap viewer) in stereo. As an artwork, the scene could be made almost to move in a panorama, although of course only in two dimensions. But a live exhibition could take such a street scene, frozen on paper or canvas, and re-invigorate it by re-creating it as theatre. Thanks to easier travel and enterprising entrepreneurs, the scene would become a living street scene with touchable architecture, pulsating with natives accurately dressed, and animals as necessary. To coin a phrase, the (Ottoman) Empire Strikes Back: for just as easy transportation took visitors to the East, so also natives could be imported to populate Western exhibitions for the stay-at-homes.

Eastern scenes were already common as theatrical stage sets, but exhibitions built them in the round, within which visitors could mingle, and even eat, drink and make purchases at the shops. Hence artists' painted or printed works could be brought to life. Reviewing the exhibitions below, although there was no lessening in the seriousness of their main purpose of promoting industry and trade nation by nation, the "side-shows" became more important, adding pleasure and profit by picturing (now in three dimensions and with sound!) the scenes of the East, with the Cairo Street the most popular from 1878. This was cinema (Greek *kinematographos* for "writing movement") *avant la lettre*.

1.3 *Dancing in the Cairo Street*

Thanks to easy transportation and the desire to create actual, three-dimensional exhibits, the countries of Islam fitted seamlessly into Western exhibition plans. Invited to participate, they could erect their own pavilion (such as Persia at Paris in 1868); while France herself, still proud of her Algeria, displayed Islamic structures (such as one from Tlemcen, at Paris in 1878, teetering on the correct). However, a gulf yawned between the earnest displays of technical innovation and wonder, and the general public the organisers wished to attract through the turnstiles.

Instruction needed to be leavened with entertainment, and organisers perhaps looked to circuses for inspiration.[2] Host cities designed and built side-shows which surely increased attendance and, indeed, some became very popular, such as the Cairo Street (Paris 1878 and 1889; Chicago 1892). We know this because of the brochures describing this particular (some singing, some dancing) display in its various (and enlarged) manifestations from exhibition to exhibition. Obeying the old adage (*Fog in the Channel: continent cut off*) the British did not deign to stoop to such frivolities. Egypt was under British control from 1882, and they therefore had the opportunity to feature a Cairo Street in their exhibitions should they so wish. In any case, the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* dated only from 1904, and had not extended to British admiration for French exhibitions. After all, who had invented the genre, and in 1851 eschewed frivolities? Yet if the French invented the exhibited version of the Cairo Street for 1878, and indeed were to make the running in Cairene restoration, could not the British have appropriated it for later exhibitions?

We should note that the Cairo Street also appeared as a feature in many travel books, describing many of those elements brought to life in exhibitions. Thus in 1897 Reynolds-Ball (writing decidedly *de haut en bas*) thought such street scenes neglected by visitors, even those who had seen similar painted scenes, where

> it is painful to see the absence of originality or freshness of invention, or any aptitude for the selection of a really striking or novel point of view among these innumerable artists of the "tea-tray school," who have eyes only for the conventional picturesque.[10]

2 Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey were founded in 1871, and had a circus tent in Paris in 1901.

In a section called "Some side-shows of Cairo," he wrote of traditional wedding processions countered by encroaching modernity:

> Among the richer classes an incongruous note of modernity is sometimes given to the spectacle, by the bride being driven to the house in an ordinary European brougham, which is preceded by a band of music, and the picturesque procession of troops of dancers and singers is altogether dispensed with, thus robbing the pageant of the most characteristic feature of Cairene wedding processions.[11]

If artists presented one view of the East on paper or canvas, so did authors in their books. Such sources prepared a vision for people back home, so let us now review contemporary reactions to four exhibitions, amid a host of others, and determine how Islamic architecture and the natives who populated it were presented, visited and appreciated.

2 Paris 1867 and Dancing Girls

The Cairo Street did not appear at Paris in 1867, in France's first large-scale exhibition,[12] but Cairo was already well known through photographs and artworks.[3] In 1867 several painted works by a variety of French artists indicated an interest in Cairo, such as: *Porte de la mosquée El-Assaneyn au Caire*; *Un Carrefour au Caire*; *Le Bazar des tapis dans le Khan-Khalil, au Caire*; *Fellah du Caire, costume du harem*;[13] plus no fewer than twenty-six paintings, but all of Pharaonic material, and nothing more of Cairo or mosques.[14]

Parisians already had a taste for panoramas and similar spectacles, to which this exhibition responded well.[4] For this exhibition, plentiful details on foreign pavilions were published as books,[15] including some to acquaint visitors with Egypt, such as Charles Edmond's *L'Egypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*. This offered a general disquisition on Arab architecture, followed by details on the history of Cairo, ancient to modern, and prominent mosques. He began with a *coup d'oeil général sur l'Exposition Egyptienne*, and then provided what were essentially lectures on Egypt ancient, mediaeval and modern.[16]

The Society of Arts in London sent artisans to examine the products of this exhibition: they were to report on the progress or otherwise of the work of foreign countries for their particular expertise. One of them reported on cutlery,

3 Volait 2013.

4 Murgia 2021.

remarking that Turkey, Egypt, Tunis, Siam, and the other countries need few remarks. "They exhibit nothing likely to compete with English manufacture."[17] Another artisan was led astray by the foreign pavilions, their goods, costumes and refreshment, claiming instruction:

> There are the various temples and restaurants, which I consider to be one of the most instructive parts of the Exhibition … Besides the dwellings of some of the most distant nations, the grand summer palace of the Viceroy of Egypt, the Mexican temple, Chinese tea-houses, a Turkish mosque, &c., there is also a restaurant in the Tunis department, where you may listen to the native music. Several other restaurants have music, which breaks the monotony of the scene, and gives you an idea what some nations have of harmony. Those who have taken their coffee in the Tunis department will be able to appreciate the performance of a good English band, after what they hear there.[18]

Because of space considerations, different countries were presented cheek by jowl, prompting Morford to suggest that any visitor would imagine an earthquake had shaken up the world.[19] Indeed, much of the space and exhibitors were taken up by France. She had three times as much space as Britain, with Morocco and Tunisia accounting for 1096 sqm and Egypt for 415 sqm.[20] Indeed Playfair, looking back from 1892, noted that "Britain did not figure very favorably." In spite of the crowding, the exhibition's great size was emphasised, with measurements: eleven acres, 50,226 exhibitors, a cost of $3,200,000 (half paid for by entrance fees from the 10,200,000 visitors).[21] The French pushed their primacy in a popular technology, for a pass could be issued for the visitors with a photograph affixed.[22]

While one guide underlined that the Orient was represented rather by ethnography than by science and modern industry,[23] its architecture was built for the curiosity of the visitors. The façade of the Bey's palace at Tunis was exactly reproduced, and included "un immense café arabe."[24] There was similar refreshment in the Egyptian exhibition, which included Pharaonic architecture but also the "Étude d'architecture arabe aux temps des Khalifes." In addition, there was contact with real Egyptians:

> Le public est admis à voir travailler les ouvriers indigènes des différents corps de métiers amenés d'Egypte; on trouve aussi dans l'Okel un café à la mode arabe, également desservi par des indigènes.[25]

Morford was not impressed by what he called "glaring colors and their Moorish arcades,"[26] let alone by the Tunisian pavilion or "a Turkish mosque,

major and minor domed, draped and carpeted, but cheerless and empty of conveniences."[27] Nor did he appreciate the making and sale of trinkets by "greasy Egyptians."[28]

This book is about Islamic architecture, but it is evident that many visitors were seduced to immerse themselves in such architecture by the clarion call of the dance, especially the Egyptian belly-dance, far removed as it was from Western dance conventions. Dancing (dervishes and girls), which we shall meet in later exhibitions, was also to be seen in 1867 (and we might also have included Hindu dancers). Having just mentioned the can-can, Morford noted an auditorium filled with café tables and a small stage,

> an array of French beauty, reasonably décolleté, lines the walls as a background to the alternate one-and-another of their number who advances to the front, sings and acts, and occasionally dances, so vivaciously, so rollickingly, so suggestively, so injuriously (to all the finer moral senses), but, alas! so very, very enjoyably![29]

Proof positive of just how widespread were such vivacious and undeniably suggestive inclinations was provided by Joanne and Isambert's guidebook (*Itinéraire de l'Orient*), which offered three pages on Islamic architecture, but nine on the Pharaohs.[30] Then the authors spent more time on belly dancers than on mosques, suggesting they knew their audience well. They described the poses, movements and girations in detail, reserving the shocking words for Latin, thereby (in comforting *Lady Chatterly* vein) to shield servants and the lower classes:

> Alors les jambes demeurent immobiles, de même que la partie supérieure du corps, excepté les bras qu'elles écartent, qu'elles arrondissent, qu'elles baissent ou élèvent, suivant les diverses phases du sentiment lascif qui semble les animer. Agités par une trépidation incessante, que tour à tour elles accélèrent avec une audacieuse énergie ou ralentissent languissamment, les hanches et les reins, assouplis à tous les mouvements, expriment sans retenue toutes les sensations physiques; c'est le *vibrabunt sine fine prurientes lascivos docili tremore lumbos* des filles de Gadès, tel que le décrit Martial.[31]

Such dancing girls in the East had long been reported by travellers. In 1799 Browne noted that they were in a sense chaperoned, "that they may not bestow their favours for an inadequate reward; for, though not chaste, they are by no means common."[32] Wittman described in 1804 how such dances hotted up, "more animated, and is accompanied by gestures, motions, and contortions

of the body still more indecent than at the commencement."[33] Tilt encountered such girls when his group left a temple at Esneh, whither the Pasha had banished them "in consequence of the evil effects resulting from their licentious performances." They offered to perform to the Western group, but "Mr. Dalton had heard that some of their performances were very questionable, and declined the proposal."[34] Manners had changed little by the end of the century, when the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* described such public performances as objectionable to Egyptians, "and at private festivities, but, it is said, not in respectable houses."[35]

2.1 *Countries Cheek by Jowl: Exhibitions and Museums*

We have seen how here in Paris the buildings of geographically distant countries were – for convenience, site restrictions and visitor control – exhibited within metres of each other. We shall see the same planning solution in Paris in 1878 and 1889, and in Chicago in 1895. These are arrangements employed for museums, which fed on the same conveniences as exhibitions – namely Western financial and political influence, mechanisation, cheap transport, and the help of the locals.

While for centuries an ambassador was "an honest gentleman sent abroad to lie abroad for the good of his country" (Sir Henry Wotton, in Augsburg in 1604), now he was joined by the archaeologist, sent to dig for his, one index of success being the tonnage of architecture and sculpture sent home. The reader might study the multi-country buldings in our exhibition, and conclude that their existence differs from European museums only in the latters' permanence. For example (and compare the tonnage with the Louvre or the British Museum!) in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin we find substantial architecture elements from Babylon, Didyma, Miletus, Mschatta, Nimrud, Olympia, Magnesia on the Maeander, Pergamon, Priene, and Uruk. To these we might add a ceramic prayer niche from the Maidan Mosque in Kashan, a marble and stone niche from a house in Damascus, a domed wooden roof from the Alhambra, and a wood-panelled room from Aleppo. There are no locals, for they stayed at home to do the hard digging. And true, dervishes and dancing girls are missing, but there will be a café nearby.

2.2 *Paris 1878*

In spite of her primacy with the first large-scale exhibit in 1851,[36] preceded by smaller ones,[37] extra-large displays in foreign exhibitions were not, as we have seen, a game in which Britain decided to participate. France, on the other hand, in part needing a pick-me-up from the 1870–71 Franco-Prussian War, established an *Exposition Universelle* (no less) in 1878, the largest thus far,[38] once again with plentiful publications on Egyptian and North African

elements.[39] She crowned that with a much larger one a decade later, in 1889 (see below). Baron Haussmann had "redesigned" Paris in 1853–70 by demolishing large parts of it, and we may imagine that the Paris exhibitions were born aloft on this paroxysm of modernisation, which the more reticent London could not match.

This was a French-hosted exhibition, and the French used it to push their erstwhile colony of Algeria, a French *département* since 1848. Neveu-Derotrie now set the scene for visitors to Paris by concentrating on the French occupation of Algeria where, in 1830, the natives "n'avaient aucune idée des moyens de transport perfectionnés en usage chez les peuples civilisés."[40] His emphasis was on French success in developing the country through infrastructure development (roads, railways, harbours, marsh clearance and irrigation) and the trade turnover resulting. The Romans left behind sufficient remains for us to appreciate "l'élégance de leurs dispositions architecturales, et du luxe de leur ornementation."[41] Naturally, it was the natives who were responsible for the destruction of Roman architecture:

> Aucun des grands ouvrages romains n'avait été restauré, et aux édifices de luxe de la civilisation disparue avaient succédé des mosquées boiteuses, construites le plus souvent avec des débris disparates. Exceptons pourtant de cette règle, malheureusement fort générale, quelques palais de chefs et quelques édifices religieux oú l'on retrouve les traces de l'art arabe de la meilleure époque, notamment à Alger, à Constantine et à Tlemcen.[42]

And he sent the clear message that native towns were not worth preserving. Indeed, they had been completely transformed by the French:

> Des logements confortables, bordant des rues bien aérées, ont remplacé les masures insalubres où s'entassaient autrefois les populations musulmane et israélite. Des édifices publics importants ornent déjà nos places.[43]

Féraud, also writing of Algeria, published a short pamphlet offering what was in effect an alibi for France's behaviour there. For him as for Neveu-Derotrie, it was the locals who destroyed the ancient monuments, surpassing even the Vandals:

> ils ravagèrent et incendièrent complètement le pays, ce que n'avaient point fait les Vandales, sur le compte desquels, cependant, on a mis avec trop d'exagération toutes les destructions du temps passé.[44]

For this author "archaeology" meant unearthing the classical antique, thereby enabling information from books stored in European libraries to be illustrated.[45] The French military, we are told in misleading praise, had been the first to do so,

> pénétrant la première dans l'intérieur du pays inconnu, gravissant les montagnes, s'enfonçant dans le Sud mystérieux, à une époque où toute l'Algérie était à conquérir, elle a été naturellement la première à voir, à admirer, à signaler cette infinité de monuments de toute nature qui jonchent le pays.[46]

Naturally, we are not told about the antique monuments destroyed by the Engineers to make the country safe for foreign occupation.

Féraud was knowledgeable about architecture. He wrote enthusiastically about the Alhambra, Tlemcen and Fez, where "l'archéologue peut admirer les vestiges de cette ville opulente de Mansoura, édifiée par un corps d'armée, vis-à-vis la ville dont il avait entrepris le siege."[47] The Turks ("Ces gens-là n'étaient pas les amis des arts et des science") built fortresses, fountains and arsenals, as well as "à Alger, Constantine, Oran, quelques palais et même des maisons particulières construites dans un style charmant et bien approprié aux moeurs des habitants et au climat du pays," built by Christians, with materials imported from Europe.[48]

Charles Blanc attempted a serious account of the Islamic styles shown at this exhibition. He described a Cairo house, "attenante au simulacre de temple élevé sur le Trocadéro, et utilisés comme bazar par les sujets du khedive,"[49] and then turned to the section on Algeria. Here was to be found the model of a mosque, "une imitation libre de celle qu'on admire à Tlemcen," which he described fully.[50] This was indeed a free model, for it also displayed

> différents motifs choisis dans les édifices de la ville et dans ceux de la province d'Oran, comme un spécimen de l'architecture mauresque particulière de l'Algérie.[51]

He then turned to "le palais en miniature que le chah de Perse a fait élever à ses frais sur le Trocadéro, entre le bazar chinois et le café tunisien," and concluded from it that Persian architecture was no more than "un art de revêtement."[52] But was any assessment of such a pot-pourri of several buildings of any use?

Morford, also alert to the pot-pourri presentations, dwelt on the façades representing various countries, but did not find them wholly authentic, especially when one exhibited Persia, Siam, Tunis and Morocco, as well as Cambodia:

> It goes without saying, that the architecture was "somewhat mixed," the portion contributed by Persia having plenty of pointed work with flowers straying over a blue ground, more or less representing the Mosque of the Shah, at Ispahan; that of Siam showing plenty of brown wood, mixed up rather diabolically than otherwise, and with the White Elephant at the gate; that of Tunis being decidedly Moresco, with the continual mixture of belts of white and red, blue and red; and that of Morocco very like that of Tunis, with a difference that all could see and none could explain.[53]

As for his assessment of Algeria, "This structure, without, was picturesquely Moorish in construction, broken, towered and domed after the well-known manner of that architecture, with several square telescope towers – one of considerable height and elaborate ornamentation, and a domed tower at the opposite corner, showing in small the very proportions of St. Sophia."[54]

However the Persian pavilion ("even that imperial brute, the Shah, who visited it, is said to have approved of it") met with Morford's approval:

> In the interior the most marked features were the central apartment of the ground floor, with its great fountain surrounded by a wilderness of flowers, – and the "Salon des Glaces" of the first story, in which the really marvellous employment of glass on all sides, as also in the ceiling, made a veritable glimpse of fairyland.[55]

He also appreciated those of Tunisia and Morocco:

> the Tunisian Cafe, – long, low, Moorish-looking, with striped sides, and the arches the round-headed bulged Saracen; within, columned, curtained, light-looking and attractive … Needless to say that the Bazaar had an endless and attractive collection of Tunisian goods, always on sale and attended after the best manner of Paris. The small pavilion of Morocco was almost beside that of Tunis, showing some of the tasteful architecture of the Moors, but with no special feature demanding comment.[56]

As he noted, Turkey and Egypt were absent, leaving "the burden of the Orient" upon Persia, with other countries squashed in:

> Tunis, Morocco, and some others of the quasi-Oriental countries, had small spaces, very near to Persia, and collections of a certain interest, though little marked or worthy of special mention.[57]

2.3 *Paris 1889*

Appetite, as we know, grows from eating; and hence while the Rue du Caire in the Exposition Universelle (Paris 1878) was a modest affair, scope and size increased in 1889, when over 1000 people worked on that exhibit, "making the streets into a long, winding passageway full of shops, bartering Egyptians and irate camels." There were over thirty-two million visitors to the seventy-two-acre site, compared with 66 acres in 1878 and 41 acres in 1867. In 1910 the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gave the figures. The exhibition itself made a modest profit, and "'side-shows,' upon which the administration relied for much of the attractiveness of the exhibition … Amongst the novelties was the Eiffel Tower, 1000 ft. in height, and a faithful reproduction of a street in Cairo."[58]

The Eiffel Tower is discussed here because its construction began two years in advance of the Exposition, and with no declared purpose, to overshadow the whole exhibition. We may fancifully (if not perhaps reasonably) conclude that its effect, if not its purpose, was to belittle those pre-industrial exhibits, including Islamic monuments, which would lie in its enormous shade. Was it also an alibi for the enormous destruction wrought by the French on the ancient and Islamic monuments and towns of Algeria before the new wind of restoration began to blow strongly from the 1870s?

Begun on the 28 January 1887, and completed on the 13 March 1889, the Eiffel Tower was "by far the highest artificial structure in the world, and its height of 300 metres (984 ft.) surpasses that of the obelisk at Washington by 429 ft., and that of St Paul's cathedral by 580 ft."[59] We might view this structure as a continuation of Napoleon's love affair with gigantism, a comparison already broached when we examined French enthusiasm for Muhammad Ali's Mosque in the Cairo Citadel. He began the Arc de Triomphe (de l'Etoile) in 1806, and it was inaugurated in 1836, with a height of 50 m. We should expect a well-read member of the *Institut* such as Napoleon to have known all about ancient column measurements, for he declared in stone his intention to out-do them all for the greater empire that was France.

In other words, French gigantism already had a long track-record, and this was continued in their exhibitions. To echo comments already made of Mohammed Ali's Mosque in the Cairo Citadel, the Eiffel Tower might have astonished any passing ancient Roman. This time-traveller would have known that the Colosseum (begun AD 70, inaugurated AD 80) had a height of only 48 m. Such a well-travelled Roman interested in dimensions would also have looked at La Madeleine (completed 1828) with its 52 Corinthian columns, each 20 m high and of built-up drums, and thought of Baalbek's Temple of Jupiter.

This had 54 unfluted Corinthian columns 20 m high (or for some 19.35 m), similar to the adjacent Temple of Bacchus columns, again all monoliths of very similar height. Cyzicus beat them all, with drum-built columns 21.35 m high. What had changed was the material, namely iron, and the French were certainly aware that this was to be the message, because the Tower was begun a full two years before the Exposition was to open. Hence gigantism twinned with modernism: the Eiffel Tower's 300 m made it the tallest building until the Chrysler Building (319 m in 1930) and then the Empire State Building (381 m in 1931).

Commentators gave the Eiffel Tower's dimensions and materials, down to its 2,500,000 rivets and the fact that "it is undoubtedly a commercial enterprise, and we are bound to confess we see no reason why so much mud should have been thrown at M. Eiffel by part of the press, even if it turns out to have no further value."[60] Whatever its vague projected used might be, three million paying visitors were expected, so it was indeed a commercial enterprise.[61] They were also alert to the vital statistics (and income) from earlier exhibitions,[62] the sheer size of Paris 1889 with twenty-two gates, some open to the public from 8:00 am to 11:00 pm,[63] and the picturesque elements such as the Rue du Caire and others, where tobacco was on sale:

> Dans la rue du Caire [otherwise not mentioned], le fournisseur habituel du Khédive a aménagé une boutique de beaucoup de caractère. / Les Indes anglaises et les Indes néerlandes vendront leurs tabacs dans le Sérail indien au Champ-de-Mars ou dans le Kampong de Batavia sur l'Esplanades des Invavalides.[64]

As the organisers had calculated, it was the side-shows that attracted visitors and helped increase profits. There were cafés and restaurants ("installés dans des locaux d'une allure élégante,"[65]) and a collection of Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan exhibits on the Esplanade des Invalides. Here was to be seen a courtyard "à laquelle l'artiste a donné l'aspect du patio des palais arabes de Tunis," and a cloister with faïences : "elles sont également empruntées à un célèbre monument de Kérouan, la mosquée de Si-Saheb."[66] The Palais Tunisien itself exhibited material from Carthage, and one wing "abrite l'Exposition de l'Art arabe, Antiquités, Beaux-Arts et Instruction publique."[67]

If all this sounds admirably regimented and logical, the section of the exhibition entitled *Exposition des Colonies françaises et des Pays de protectorat*, covering no less than 25,000 square metres, demonstrated that there was simply too much on offer:

> Elle comprend: un palais de l'Annam et du Tonkin, un palais cochinchinois, une pagode Hindoue, un restaurant et un théâtre Annamites, un pavillon de Madagascar, un restaurant Créole, un village Sénégalais … une pagode d'Angkor, type de l'architecture Khmer … un village Tahitien; puis les grandes cases Canaques, dont celle du chef a quinze mètres de hauteur.[68]

But it was the Rue du Caire, much enlarged and elaborated from its previous incarnation, and designed by Herz Bey, the Egyptian Khedive's own architect, which was the main exotic attraction for visitors. Exhibits collected by the connoisseur Alphonse Delort de Gléon, which were later to found the Islamic section of the Louvre, added to the authenticity and charm of the street itself.[5] Before he walked along the Cairo Street, Monod visited the nearby Morocco exhibit,

> le Pavillon impérial, une mosquée blanche dont l'aspect, à distance, vous donnait l'illusion – excusez l'irrévérence – d'une énorme citrouille blanchie à la chaux, tranquillement assise sur une table carrée,"

and with an inscription from the Koran inside the bare mosque.[69] However, we should remember that the Exposition was intended to appeal to westerners and, with this in mind, flagrantly disregarded Eastern good taste. For example, Egyptian visitors to the Exhibition in Paris were bemused to discover, passing through the mosque's entrance, a café with dancing girls and whirling dervishes.[6] Belly-dancing was here a veritable rage.[7]

Monod then proceeded to the Rue du Caire (with its belly dancers and whirling dervishes). This was, he wrote, "l'une des attractions les plus puissantes et l'un des plus grands succès de l'Exposition,"[70] and he described the twenty-five houses it contained, from different periods up to the present,

> à les étudier sérieusement, on pouvait suivre l'art arabe dans ses progrès, depuis les vieilles maisons dont les murs laissaient passer des poutres a peine équarries, jusqu'aux habitations quasi modernes où l'on retrouve

5 Volait 2013, 10–11.

6 Byerly 2013, 40.

7 Çelik 1992, 24: In all performances the belly dance was the highlight. Catering to fantasies about harem life, belly dancers attracted great crowds and achieved major commercial success; in 1889 in Paris, the "danse du ventre made all of Paris run [in its orbit]," and an average of two thousand spectators flocked to watch the belly dancers every day.

> encore ces bouts de poutres, mais sculptés, ornementés, accusant un réel souci d'élégance extérieure.

Again, the ensemble was entertaining, because it was

> peuplée de marchands de café débitant leur caouà épais et crémeux, de menuisiers assis sur leurs jambes croisées, de cigariers offrant la marque khédiviale, de confiseurs vendant des douceurs du Liban, de fruitiers à l'éventaire chargé de noix de coco et de bananes, à l'enseigne du crocodile empaillé, vous auriez pu, bousculé par la troupe turbulente des àniers et n'eût été la cohue des Européens, vous croire au pays des Pyramides …[71]

As he affirmed, the Rue du Caire was one of the most visited of all exhibits, "et il reste l'un de ses plus agréables souvenirs."[72]

Products on sale along the Rue du Caire and throughout the Exposition were authentic, and in some cases so was the context, cleaned up (no beggars, dirt, dogs or dilapidation) as a harbinger of Disneyland *avant la lettre*. Indeed, ideas for restoration and rebuilding in Cairo perhaps crystallised in the various Eastern scenes shown in Europe and America. Here Egyptian crafts were displayed in a bazaar, and the street contained typical Cairene houses, and cafés for the thirsty visitor, the whole "verified" by over 200 Egyptians.[73]

Algeria, as a French possession, and Tunisia as a French protectorate, had to compete with Cairo. But because (as we have seen) the French had destroyed so much, there was little Islamic architecture to be seen from Algeria, except for the restored mosque gateways of Sidi Boumediene, here used as the entrance to the Algerian Pavilion. Monod – who, as we have seen, was seduced by Cairo – fought against those critics who railed at the frivolities, "distractions faciles qu'elle offrait, allant dîner aux cabarets, visiter les théâtres, s'amuser bruyamment dans les cafés de la rue du Caire." He pointed out, with wounded innocence, that "il est toujours resté des heures sérieusement employées à examiner les œuvres d'art, qui étaient nombreuses et fort belles."[74] He also underlined the important work done by the Service des Missions of the Ministère de l'Instruction publique, including ethnographic panoramas, their publications from Cairo, and a mosaic facsimile from Sfax.[75]

Tunisia offered more Islamic monuments, with parts of the Bardo, a Tunis mausoleum, and the cupola of the Kairouan Mosque, serious looking, all suitably lightened by "des restaurants, des cafés et des concerts avec la musique et les danses tunisiennes, et une petite école modèle d'enfants arabes."[76] The French were also eager to display their Tunisian restorations and excavations,

although the works mentioned are the Roman mosaic from Sousse, a Punic tomb from Carthage, and Christian lamps, but no Islamic artefacts.[77]

3 Chicago Columbian Exhibition 1893

> Resolution: that each and every one of us pledge ourselves to faithful aid in making the World's Columbian Exposition the grandest exhibit ever held on the globe.[78] [1890]

As for all such enterprises, advance planning was the key, and the Official Manual declared (see above quote) that Chicago would overshadow all predecessors. To persuade would-be exhibitors, the Chicago commissioners were to cover all Europe, being sent as well to "the Balkan States, Russia, Egypt, Tripoli, Algiers, Morocco, and if time permitted, the Orient as well."[79] Buildings were to be chosen "for their beauty and grandeur than for their suitableness to the purposes for which they were intended." Considerable areas were devoted to "side-shows," and the Midway Plaisance Park, as it was termed, resembled a gigantic fair.[80] Indeed, in advance planning the search for intriguing visitors often seemed paramount, jarring with the Exhibition's primary purpose, which was the promotion of industry, agriculture, and manufacturing. In *The artistic guide to Chicago and the world's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago 1892), the author set out an attractive menu of what the enterprise was likely to contain. We may pass over (or, rather, under) the proposed "Hanging Gardens of Babylonia," with restaurant and roof-garden suspended over 100 m in the air.[81]

3.1 *Cairo Comes to Chicago*

At Paris, in 1889, the Rue du Caire was pronounced a great success, "though little was then attempted." Chicago would be different and would display

> a composite structure which combines the most beautiful architectural features of Cairo. To secure this end, the aid of the Egyptian Government was invoked, and, after due consideration, the Khedive gave permission to his governmental architect, Max Herz, to prepare designs and plans. Later, Mr. Herz was permitted to visit America to superintend the construction of the Cairo Street in person.[82]

The new Street of Cairo[8] was to be designed by a Cairo resident, Pangalo, with help from Herz Bey, prime mover of the restoration of Cairo's monuments, and

8 Ormos 2009.

already at work at Paris 1889.[9] Indeed, anxious to spread the word, Herz saw its installation as "the brightest gem of the Columbian Exposition." The Street was to be over 128 m long:

> The features will be a mosque, with its drinking fountain and the richly ornamented minaret. It will be ninety-five feet high, and the striking feature of the architecture. Its style will be that of the Cherkess dynasty, and it will be an accurate reproduction of a Mohammedan place of worship.

The exact partition of the work is difficult to determine. Pangalo pitched his proposal to the Khedive, who approved it. This was to provide an authentic experience, enhanced by imported natives, namely

> a colony of about two-hundred pure Egyptians, including women and children, and comprising all the different trades and professions of Egypt, living in their very homes, which I will reproduce in Chicago, I can portray the Egyptian nation in its true light, and make my exhibit instructive as well as worthy of amusement seekers.[83]

Yet such authenticity was evidently enhanced in the theatre, "where are given the wild, weird performances peculiar to the race." For here were to be seen sword dancers, candle dancers and belly dancers, gathered from Cairo by Pangalo.[84] The theatre was planned well in advance, and was called an amusement hall where, "if objections be not raised, there will be dancing-girls to amuse the visitors," as well as a barber shop and Arab coffee shop. Accurate atmosphere (as well as architecture) was the key, and this included characteristic displays unknown in the West, for "it is intended to bring a number of donkeys, donkey-boys, camels, snake-charmers and fortune-tellers, to represent the coffee-shops, refreshment rooms, and various street scenes seen in the market, wedding processions, etc., together with the quaint furniture and dress and decorations of this ancient people."[85]

Under Herz Bey's influence, no ruinous mosques or houses were to be shown: the exhibit was to be "a restored Cairo, in the days of its unimpaired splendor," and animated through the efforts of Pangalo, who "has brought from Egypt a throng of natives who will people this miniature city. This population is thoroughly representative and the street fairly swarms with Egyptians, Arabs, Nubians and Soudanese."[86]

9 Ormos 2013 for Max Herz Pasha on Arab-Islamic Art in Egypt.

Already lauded again and again for its ability to attract (spending) visitors, the Rue du Caire was a gift that just kept giving, provoking an appetite for profit, amusement and local colour. Indeed, as one scholar remarked, "though the sensual delights of Paris seemed to be absent, the money-making angle certainly was not" – for the street contained sixty shops, all making money.[10] The organisers even projected other similar set-ups, such as "the "Street in Constantinople, and similar displays; also a full-fledged American Indian village."[87]

In Chicago one admiring visitor, Telang, described the Street in detail, plus the room in which mummies were displayed (ten cents admission), and an Egyptian band with belly-dancers.[88] He also reported on the Arab Show, Lapland Village, Ostrich Farm, Chinese Pavilion, the Burning Volcano Panorama, the East India Palace (Bombay), and the Algerian Bazaar.[89] Some of these, to be sited on the lake front, were described as "curious" in the Official Manual, namely "Indian, Egyptian, Persian, Central African, Chinese, Japanese, Armenian, Russian, and others."[90] These had been chosen for the organisers by Professor Cyrus Adler, of Johns Hopkins University.[91]

3.2 *Pangalo the Entrepreneur*

George Pangalo, a native of Smyrna, lived in Cairo, and in 1897 wrote a triumphant account of his creation of the Cairo Street in Chicago. As we have seen, he obtained the agreement of the Khedive, and the *Comité pour la conservation des Monuments de l'art Arabe* allowed Max Herz Pasha to work for him after hours.[92] He set up a company, chartered a ship, and projected twenty-six "distinct Egyptian buildings of the purest Arabic architecture." He needed natives to perform in Chicago and, with the help of the Cairene police, sent natives around the city advertising the Exposition;[93] so that "it was not long before they had magnified my 'American company' into a 'government enterprise,'" and volunteers appeared aplenty.[94] Avoiding the problems of Paris in 1889 (when by a breakdown of travelling liaison several Egyptians were left wandering around Europe) each Egyptian traveller was fixed a sum to ensure a safe return home.[95] And this was business: he grossed $788,666.34, and paid dividends to his shareholders.[96]

But what else did Pangalo need from Cairo? In brief, actual elements of her architecture. He was particularly attracted to latticework wooden windows (mousharabieh). But he noted that present-day Arabs "having been under the influence of our civilization for some time, is fast falling in line with European ideas of architecture, and in but a few years old Cairo will have made room for

10 Greenhalgh 1988, 102–104.

the modern buildings of the European type." With modernism as the watchword, he boasted gleefully:

> considering also that for the past thirty years merchants in antiquities have been despoiling old Cairo of its treasures for the benefit of tourists, artists and museums. It was now my turn to join the ranks of the despoilers, as my buildings could not be true and of interest without the genuine latticework; and although I blush in saying it, I went to work with a vim that would have done credit to a vandal.[97]

Pangalo planned well ahead and took his time obtaining the architectural elements he needed. He recounted how several calls were sometimes needed to mousharabieh-rich proprietors, made by his "confidential representatives." These, in the manner of antiques knockers, sometimes offered to replace "the old lattice windows, balconies and doors bought by new ones of modern design." The haggling to get all he needed took some nine months, by which time

> over fifteen residences had been despoiled of their entire old woodwork, and over fifty others had contributed their share of carved panels, doors, etc. By the end of December, 1892, everything was completed, carefully packed and numbered, and on the twenty-third of January, 1893, it was shipped to New York in charge of the foreman of the workshop, who was to assist the American carpenters in Chicago and do any repairing necessary.[98]

Pangalo wrote not a word about what might have happened to the authentic Cairene materials after the end of the exhibition. In an age of the listing and preservation of historic buildings, we are naturally shocked by his rape of Cairo, the acquiescence of Herz Pasha, and the evident inability of the *Comité* to protect the building stock. Did the mousharabiehs find their way to some earlier version of Hearst's Xanadu, along with the forerunner of that famous sledge?

The Egypt-Chicago Exposition Company provided an illustrated brochure to guide the visitor through the Cairo Street. Visitors were encouraged to sit down for a mocha, admire the Kait Bay Mosque, enter via its magnificent doors, and there was

> the sanctuary, which is truth itself in its fidelity to its model, gaze with wonder upon the decorations, the draperies and the pendant lamps, all rich in the colors which were grand when new, but now glorified by the refining influences of nature.

The visitor could also visit the gallery, and hear the muezzin call the faithful to prayer.[99] But Mammon called, namely the sixty-one shops, where it is hinted that genuine antiquities are on sale, and here

> you will find not only the ivories, jewelry, potteries, brass work, embroideries, etc., which you expect, but as well Soudanese arms and draperies, gold and silver coins of ancient Egyptian dynasties, genuine mummies, beetles, national costumes of Egypt etc.[100]

Nor was accuracy confined to the Street, for Egypt also boasted "the ancient Temple of Luxor, now completely restored. This is an exact reproduction … The two obelisks are exact reproductions of the original obelisks." And, as if to locate Egypt yet more firmly in Chicago, "the obelisk to the right of the entrance has sculptured on it in hieroglyphics a dedication to the World's Columbian Exposition."[101]

3.3 *Image and Reality*

As Çelik notes, exhibitions such as we have considered here displayed "artifacts in pavilions that were themselves summaries of cultures" and, importantly, "the architectural representation of cultures at the world's fairs was double-sided, making a claim to scientific authority and accuracy while nourishing fantasy and illusion."[11] Accuracy, in other words, melded together with fantasy – the substantial with the dream-like.

The "Cairo Street," we read, was a great success in Paris and Chicago. This was "not the exact reproduction of any one street in Cairo, but a composite structure which combines the most beautiful architectural features of Cairo." If one marketing idea at such exhibitions was in fact to encourage visitors to travel, in this case to Cairo, it certainly worked, but not necessarily to the advantage of the exhibitions. In 1896 Deschamps felt that the exhibition gave but a feeble idea of the reality of Cairo,[102] and Marquette agreed, commenting on the dirty streets and the dogs feeding on the plentiful rubbish.[103]

Exact accuracy in the depiction of Islamic architecture would not have been difficult to achieve. We might balance imaginative painting, panoramas and theatre sets depicting the East with the qualifications of those architects who constructed exhibition buildings, and the wide availability of detailed drawings and photographs. We may offer two explanations for why accuracy was not courted. One was a judgment that Western visitors would not know the difference, and therefore the sweat of accuracy would be wasted. The other

11 Çelik 1992 1–2.

was that the nirvana provided by a soothing ideal was being sought. We should remember a lady's comment, on viewing a J.M.W. Turner sunset, that she had never seen such a one; "No," replied the artist, "but don't you wish you had?"

In case the visitor's attention had wandered, the Egypt-Chicago Exposition Company re-focussed it on the Cairo Street, equally beautiful "when basking in the heat of the midday sun, or bathed in the glowing colors of departing day." And to make assurance doubly sure,

> It is a marvellous creation, artistic in conception, truthful in the interpretation of its beautiful models, a revelation in the perfection of its accomplishment. When the Columbian Exposition shall have become a thing of the past and its memories hazy with the flight of time, if there shall be one spot which shall remain brighter than all the rest, that one will be its beautiful Cairo Street, in the Midway Plaisance.[104]

Chicago, like its predecessors, was indeed exhibiting Islamic lands, and we might hope that by bringing the East to the West a wider public appreciated (and paid to see) the decoration and artefacts of Islam as well as her architecture. Of course, these already featured in great quantities in Western museums, private houses and artworks, as well as profusely illustrated periodicals. Chicago, even when "a thing of the past and its memories hazy with the flight of time," marked the height of such imported extravagance – a vision which, with its actors, melted into air when it closed. Indeed, its revels now are ended,

> And – like the baseless fabric of this vision –
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind.[12]

12 The Tempest act 4, sc. 1, l. 148 (1611). Paris left the Eiffel Tower behind, which knowledgeable locals wished to have demolished as an eyesore.

[1] EB_X_1910_67.
[2] Wilkinson_1847_xi.
[3] Wilkinson_1867_xi.
[4] Murray_1875_5–6.
[5] Cook _1876_iii–iv.
[6] Cook_1876_5.
[7] Baedeker_1878_3–4.
[8] Baedeker_1878_1.
[9] Baedeker_1878_1B.
[10] Reynolds-Ball_1897_235–236.
[11] Reynolds-Ball_1897_199.
[12] EB_X_1910_67C.
[13] Catalogue_général_1867_6ff.
[14] Catalogue_général_1867_216.
[15] Normand_1870_passim.
[16] Edmond_1867_17ff.
[17] Society_of_Arts_1867_57.
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[19] Morford_1867_132.
[20] Vade_mecum_1867_11.
[21] Playfair_1892_369–370.
[22] Vade_mecum_1867_16.
[23] Vade_mecum_1867_162.
[24] Vade_mecum_1867_121.
[25] Vade_mecum_1867_120.
[26] Morford_1867_126.
[27] Morford_1867_140.
[28] Morford_1867_198.
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Castelnau, Ludovic de, "Rapport présenté à S. Exe. M. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des cultes, par A. de Castelnau, chargé d'une mission en Orient," in *AMSL* 1856, 229–233, describing his visit to the Haram: Le fanatisme des musulmans de Jérusalem est encore tel, que nous fûmes obligés d'attendre un jour où les fidèles sont rares dans ce temple, et qu'alors même de grandes précautions furent prises pour assurer notre sécurité.

Castillo, R.P. Antonio de, *El devote peregrino y viage de Terra Santa*, Paris 1664. Includes at end *Oratio Contra Turcos pre recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*. 41 mentions of mosques.

Castlereagh, Viscount, M.P., *A journey to Damascus through Egypt, Nubia, Arabia Petraea, Palestine and Syria*, 2 vols., London 1847.

Çelebi, Evliya Efendi, 1611–c.1684, *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia and Africa in the seventeeth century*, Hammer, Joseph von, trans., 2 vols., London 1834 and 1850. Includes a long description of the Suleimaniye. [383 references to mosques in Vol. I, and 407 in Vol. II]

Çelebi, Evliya Efendi, *An Ottoman traveller. Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi*, Dankoff, Robert, and Kim, Sooyong, eds., London 2011. Author very interested in columns, domes and marble.

Chanoines réguliers, *Voyage dans les états barbaresques de Maroc, Alger, Tunis et Tripoli ou Lettres d'un des captifs qui viennent d'être rachetés par M.M. les Chanoines réguliers de la Sainte-Trinité; suivies d'une notice sur leur rachat*, Paris 1785.

Chardin, Sir John, *Journal du voyage du chevalier Chardin en Perse, aux Indes Orientales, par la Mer Noir et par la Colchide, qui contient le voyage de Paris à Ispahan*, Amsterdam and Paris 1686, London 1686 (both in French). Amsterdam/Paris edition used for quotations. Left Paris in 1671. Apparently in Constantinople with Grelot in

1672, although Chardin does not mention him. No descriptions of Constantinople mosques – he was more concerned with French diplomacy, and competition from other nations.

Charles, Mrs. Elizabeth, *Wanderings over Bible lands and seas*, London etc. 1866. Travelling 1856. NB: unusually for this date, the book contains photographs.

Charmes, Gabriel (1850–1886), *Cinq mois au Caire et dans la Basse Égypte*, 2nd edn., Paris 1880. No departure date given in the book. Written in a standard flatulent French style, without descriptions of the city (only impressions) or exact detail. He did spend one hour in one mosque, and certainly visited others: but that is not much admiration to spread over five months.

Charmes, Gabriel (1850–1886), *Une Ambassade au Maroc*, Paris 1887. Shows considerable interest in the monuments of Fez, and describes what he can see in great and admiring detail.

Chateaubriand, François-René de (1768–1848), *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem et de Jérusalem à Paris, en allant par la Grèce et revenant par l'Egypte, la Barbarie et l'Espagne*, II, Paris 1811.

Chenevard, Aimé, *Voyage pittoresque en Grèce et dans le Levant fait en 1843–1844, par Aimé Chenevard, architecte, Etienne Rey, peintre, et Jean-Michel Dalgabio, architecte, professeurs à l'École des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*, Lyon 1849. Considering their academic status and professions, they should be able to say more about architecture than they do, and in much greater detail. There are 49 references to marble, and 25 to mosques.

Chénier, M. Louis de, *Recherches historiques sur les Maures, et histoire de l'Empire de Maroc*, 3 vols., Paris 1787.

Cherbonneau, Auguste (1813–1882), *Constantine et ses antiquités*, Paris 1857, taken from *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, February 1857.

Cherbonneau, Auguste (1813–1882), "Notice et extraits du Voyage d'El-Abdery à travers l'Afrique septentrionale, au VII^{e} siècle de l'Hégire," in *Journal Asiatique* III 1854, 144–176.

Chevillet, Georges, *Scènes de la vie militaire en Tunisie*, Paris 1896.

Clamageran, Jean-Jules (1827–1903), *L'Algérie: impressions de voyages (17 mars–4 juin 1873); suivies d'une étude sur les institutions kabyles et la colonisation*, Paris 1874.

Claparède, Arthur de (1852–1911), *En Algérie*, Geneva and Paris 1896.

Claretie, Léo (1862–1924), *Feuilles de route en Tunisie*, Paris 1893.

Clarke, Edward Daniel, LL.D., *Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa, II: Egypt and the Holy Land*, vol. V, London 1816; 4th edn., vol. VIII, London 1818.

Clermont-Ganneau, Charles, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France, *Archaeological researches in Palestine during the years 1873–1874*, 2 vols., London 1896 (II) and 1899 (I). With abundant information on the state of the mosques, and on the material found and studied therein.

Cobbe, Frances Power, *The cities of the past*, London 1864.

Cochran, William, *Pen and pencil in Asia Minor, or Notes from the Levant*, New York 1888. With much detail on marble and its re-use.

Cockerell, Charles Robert, *Travels in southern Europe and the Levant, 1810–1817*, London 1903.

Colin, Gabriel, *Corpus des inscriptions Arabes et Turques de l'Algérie, 1, Département d'Alger*, Paris 1901.

Colonisation de l'ex-régence d'Alger, documents officiels déposés sur le bureau de la Chambre des Députés … avec une carte de l'État d'Alger, Paris 1834. Entered as Colonisation_1834.

Condamin, James (1844–1928), *Parthénon, Pyramides, Saint-Sépulcre: Grèce, Egypte, Palestine*, Lyon 1899. [Includes photogravures of several mosques and tombs in simili-gravure – as was surely intended, they look like photographs]

Conder, Claude Reignier, *Heth and Moab. Explorations in Syria in 1881 and 1882*, 2nd edn., London 1885.

Conder, Lt. Claude Reignier, and Kitchener, Lt. Horatio Herbert, *The survey of Western Palestine: Galilee*, London 1881. The same authors published *Samaria* in 1881 and *Judaea* in 1883.

Conder, Josiah, *The Modern traveller in Palestine*, London 1830 (the first volume in his long series). In a book of 372 pages, largely quotes, some extensive, from earlier travellers: 89 references/quotes from Dr. Clarke; 118 from Pococke; 49 from Buckingham; 73 references to Richardson; 93 references to mosques. There are no full bibliographical references, for the reader is presumed to know them; so we get footnotes such as "Travels of Ali Bey, vol. ii. pp. 207–208. Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 197–199." Entered as Conder_1830A.

Conder, Josiah, *Nubia and Abyssinia*, London 1830. Entered as Conder_1830C.

Conder, Josiah, *Syria and Asia Minor*, London 1830. Vol. 11 of his 30-vol. series. Entered as Conder_1830D.

Cook, Thomas, *Tourists' handbook for Palestine and Syria*, London 1876.

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Cook, Thomas, *Cook's cruise to the Mediterranean, the Orient and Bible Lands*, New York etc. 1903.

Cooley, James Ewing, *The American in Egypt, with rambles through Arabia petraea and the Holy Land during the years 1839 and 1840*, New York 1842.

Coppin, le père J., Consul des Français à Damiette, and Syndic de la Terre Sainte, *Relation des voyages et faits dans la Turquie, la Thebaïde, et la Barbarie*, Lyon 1720.

Cornille, Henri, *Souvenirs d'Orient, Constantinople, Grèce, Jérusalem, Égypte*, 2nd edn., Paris 1836. Lightweight, superficial, and without intellectual perception of monuments.

Cotte, Narcisse, Ancien attaché au Consulat général de France au Maroc, *Le Maroc contemporain*, Paris 1860.

Cotvvyck, Ian van, *Hettvveede Boeck van der reyse van Ierusalem unde Syrien*, Amsterdam 1620. Includes plates from Jean Zuallart's 1586 account of his journey to Jerusalem; these plates also republished Rome 1595, and Antwerp 1619, 1620 and 1626.

Couret, Alphonse (1841–1916), *En terre promise: notes de mon voyage en Égypte et en Palestine, 16 avril-4 juin 1890*, Paris 1892.

Cuinet, Vital (d.1896), French consul at Istanbul, *La Turquie d'Asie: géographie administrative: statistique descriptive et raisonnée de chaque province de l'Asie-Mineure*, I, Paris 1892; II, Paris 1891; III and IV, Paris 1894; *Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris 1896. Includes a section on antiquities wherever he finds note of them (e.g. two pages on Ayasoluk, including its history). With plentiful information on mosques, their number and contents, and sometimes their re-used materials.

Curtis, George William, *The Howadji in Syria*, New York 1856.

Curtis, William Eleroy, *Today in Syria and Palestine*, Chicago etc. 1903.

Curtis, William Eleroy, *The Turk and his lost provinces: Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia*, Chicago etc. 1903.

Curtis, William Eleroy, *Around the Black Sea*, New York 1911.

Curzon, Hon. Robert, *Visits to monasteries in the Levant*, New York 1849.

Dallaway, James, late chaplain and physician of the British Embassy to the Porte, *Constantinople ancient and modern*, London 1797. Has a serious interest in architecture, and describes it well, with plentiful references to "sumptuous" and "handsome" mosques. A most intelligent and well-written, descriptive book, let down by its few plates, which are poor – and none of which show mosques.

Dallaway, James, *Constantinople ancienne et moderne,* 2 vols., Morellet, André, trans., Paris An VII (1799). For the illustrations.

Damer, Hon. Mrs. Georgina L. Dawson, *Diary of a tour in Greece, Turkey, Egypt and the Holy Land*, 2 vols., London 1841. Travelling 1839–40.

Dandolo, Emilio, *Viaggio in Egitto, nel Sudan, in Siria ed in Palestina (1850–51)*, Milan 1854.

Darboy, Georges (1813–1871), *Jérusalem et la Terre-Sainte, notes de voyage*, 2nd edn., Paris 1865.

Daspres, Marie Joseph, M. l'abbé, *Pélerinage en Terre-Sainte: Journal de la caravane partie de Marseille le 28 août et dissoute à Beyrouth le 20 octobre 1869*, Lille and Paris 1870.

D'Ault-Dumesnil, Édouard, *Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique, des Croisades, embrassant toute la lutte du Christianisme et de l'Islamisme*, Paris 1852. Includes a long account in the 191-page introduction setting out the parameters. Forms vol. XVIII of Migne's *Encyclopédie Théologique*. 99 references to mosques, plus long articles on the Crusades and on Jerusalem (no surprise, since this Abbé Migne publication also has *Dictionnaire des Croisades* as a running catch).

De Forest, J. W., *Oriental acquaintance; or, letters from Syria*, New York 1856.

De Hass, Frank S., D.D., *Buried cities recovered, or, Explorations in Bible lands*, rev. ed., Philadelphia 1883. His *Recent travels and explorations in Bible lands* (New York 1880) indicates the popularity of his account, again with plentiful references to mosques.

Delamare, Adolphe, *L'exploration scientifique de l'Algérie pendant les années 1840–1845. Archéologie, texte explicatif*, Paris 1912. Included here for its description of texts and plates by Delamare, often featuring material extracted from or still set in the walls of mosques. Includes drawings of monuments standing in the mid-eighteenth c. but now gone. It is interesting that Delamare's contributions took so long to get properly studied, and that Gsell had to make it up since there was no full published report. See Introduction, I: Voici les renseignements que j'ai pu recueillir sur l'emploi du temps de l'auteur, surtout d'après les dates inscrites en marge … May we assume the French had a conscience about their obliteration of antiquities, now to be seen only in 60-year-old drawings?

Delaplanche, M. l'abbé Jean-Constant-François, *Le pèlerin: voyage en Égypte, en Palestine, en Syrie, à Smyrne et à Constantinople*, 2nd edn., Livarot 1876.

Delaroière, Jean (or De la Roière), *Voyage en Orient*, Paris 1836. He accompanied Lamartine to the Orient in 1832.

Della Valle, Pietro, *Voyages de Pietro della Valle, gentilhomme romain, dans la Turquie, l'Égypte, la Palestine, la Perse, les Indes Orientales, & autres lieux*, nouvelle édition, 7 vols., S. Martin-sur-Renelle 1745. Author travelling 1614–26.

Delmas, Émile, *Égypte et Palestine*, Paris 1896.

Denon, Vivant, *Voyages dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte pendant les campagnes de Bonaparte, en 1798 et 1799*, 2 vols., London 1817.

Depelchin, Paul, *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*, Paris 1877.

Deschamps, Barthélemi, Recollet de la Province de Flandre, *Voyage de la Terre Sainte et du Levant*, Liége 1678.

Deschamps, Philippe, *A travers l'Égypte, le Nil, la Palestine, la Syrie*, Paris 1896.

Deshayes de Courmenin, Louis, *Voiage de Levant fait par le Commandement du Roy en l'année 1621 par le Sr D.C.*, Paris 1624.

Desmichels, Louis Alexis (1779–1845), *Oran sous le commandement du général Desmichels*, Paris 1835.

D'Estourmel, Le comte Joseph, *Journal d'un voyage en Orient*, I, Paris 1844.

De Vere, Aubrey, *Picturesque sketches of Greece and Turkey*, 2 vols., London 1850.

Devonshire, Mrs. Robert Llewellyn, *Some Cairo mosques and their founders*, London 1921. For its images, showing many mosques still in a terrible state.

Didier, Charles (1805–1864), *Les nuits du Caire*, Paris 1860. Travelling 1853.

Docteur X, *Souvenirs d'Afrique, 1854–1855; par le Dr X. 1854–1855*, Lille 1856.

Dollieule, Philémon, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Palestine dans la suite du prince de Joinville*, Marseille 1888.

Dorr, Benjamin, D.D., *Notes of travel in Egypt, the Holy Land, Turkey, and Greece*, Philadelphia 1856.

Dovedan, le Père I., *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte*, Paris 1661.

Drew Stent, W., *Egypt and the Holy Land in 1842, with sketches of Greece, Constantinople, and the Levant*, 2 vols., London 1843.

Drummond, Alexander, His Majesty's Consul at Aleppo, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia*, London 1754. For its images.

Dubourdieu, Contre-amiral Louis-Thomas-Rose-Napoléon, *Expédition du Maroc. Bombardement de Salé et de Rabat. Extrait du rapport de M. le contre-amiral Dubourdieu*, Paris 1851.

Du Cheyron, Commandant Alfred, *Bordj-Bou-Arreridj pendant l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie, journal d'un officier, par le commandant Du Cheyron*, Paris 1873.

Duff Gordon, Lady, *Letters from Egypt 1863–65*, London 1865.

Du Fougerais, Le P., S. J., *Excursion en Syrie, en Palestine et en Égypte*, Tours 1874.

Du Loir, le Sieur, *Les voyages du sieur Du Loir: contenus en plusieurs lettres écrites du Levant … ensemble ce qui se passa à la mort du feu sultan Mourat dans le serrail … avec la relation du siège de Babylone fait en 1639 par Sultan Mourat*, Paris 1654.

Dumas, Alexandre, *Impressions of travel, in Egypt and Arabia Petraea*, New York 1839. Travelling 1830.

Du Mont, Jean, *Voyages de M. Du Mont, en France, en Italie, en Allemagne, à Malthe, et en Turquie,* 2 vols., Hague 1699.

Dunant, Henry (1828–1910), *Notice sur la régence de Tunis*, Geneva 1858.

Durbin, John P., *Observations in the East, chiefly in Egypt, Palestine, Syria and Asia Minor*, II, New York 1845.

Duthoit, Edmond (1837–1889; disciple of Viollet-le-Duc), *Rapport sur une mission scientifique en Algérie*, in *AMSL* 1873, 305–326. Il fut de 1880 à sa mort, architecte en chef des monuments historiques d'Algérie.

Edmond, Charles, *L'Egypte à l'Exposition universelle de 1867*, Paris 1867.

Edwards, Amelia B., *A thousand miles up the Nile*, London and New York 1888.

Edwards, Richard, *La Syrie 1840–1862, histoire politique, etc.*, Paris 1862.

Egmont, J. Aegidius van, and Heyman, John, *Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor … Egypt*, 2 vols., London 1759. Notices and sometimes gives the number of mosques in towns through which they pass. Several illustrations, but none of mosques.

Egypt-Chicago Exposition Co., *Street in Cairo: World's Columbian Exposition*, Chicago 1893. An illustrated guidebook, directing the visitor, and pointing out items of interest. Text signed W.J.H.

Ellis, Tristram J., *On a raft, and through the desert*, II, London 1881.

Énault, Louis (1824–1900), *La Terre-Sainte, voyage des quarante pélerins en 1853*, Paris 1854.

Et-Tidjani, *Voyage du Scheikh Et-Tidjani dans la Régence de Tunis, pendant les années 1306–1309 de J. C.*, Paris 1853. With plentiful references to, and some descriptions of, prestigious mosques.

Evesham, John, Gentleman, "The voyage passed by sea into Aegypt," in Hakluyt_ 1810_417–418, dated 1586.

Exposition historique de Madrid, *Catalogue des monuments intéressant l'histoire de la Tunisie, reproduits par les soins du service des antiquités et des arts de Tunisie. Collections du musée Alaoui* (*Bardo*)*, collections du musée de St. Louis-de-Carthage, monuments de l'époque antique, monuments et habitations arabes*, Tunis 1892. [As tableaux. Second tableau: 31 examples of mosques and minarets, 13 from Kairouan. Fifth tableau: 28 Muslim examples from Tunis; mosques, minarets and maribouts]

Eyriès, Jean-Baptiste-Benoît (1767–1846), *Voyage pittoresque en Asie et en Afrique, résumé général des voyages anciens et modernes, par J.-B. Eyriès*, Paris 1839. These are indeed résumés, and he doesn't identify the texts. But has images on the frontispiece of Chardin, Simon Pallas, Burckhardt, and Richard Lander, giving only their birth dates.

Eyriès, Jean-Baptiste-Benoît (1767–1846), *Voyage en Asie et en Afrique d'après les récits des derniers voyageurs*, 2nd edn. Paris 1859.

Faber, Frederick William, *Sights and thoughts in foreign churches and among foreign peoples*, London 1842.

Fabri, Felix (c.1480–1483), *Wanderings in the Holy Land*, in *Palestine*, in *Pilgrims' Text Society* II.2, London 1893; I.1, London 1896.

Fagnan, Edmond (1846–1931), translator and editor, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb* (*géographie et histoire*), Algiers 1924. A useful collection of source materials, including accounts of mosques in Spain, Portugal and Sicily as well as the traditional Maghreb.

Fagault, Paul, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1889.

Failoni, Giovanni, *Viaggio in Siria e nella Terra Santa*, Verona 1833.

Fane, Henry Edward, late aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief in India, *Five years in India*, 2 vols., London 1842.

Faucon, Narcisse, *La Tunisie avant et depuis l'occupation française: histoire et colonisation*, I, Paris 1893.

Féraud, Laurent-Charles, Interprète principal de l'armée d'Algérie, *Exposition Universelle de Paris en 1878. Algérie: archéologie et histoire*, Algiers 1878, 32.

Ferguson, Rev. F., M.A., *Sacred scenes; or, notes of travel in Egypt and the Holy Land*, Glasgow 1864. Always ready with a sententious expression about the true faith, and Islam as an imposter.

Fergusson, James, *An essay on the ancient topography of Jerusalem, with restored plans of the Temple etc, and plans, sections, and details of the church built by Constantine the Great over the Holy Sepulchre, now known as the Mosque of Omar*, London 1847 [note the confused identification].

Fergusson, James, *One hundred stereoscopic illustrations of architecture and natural history in Western India, photographed by Major Gill and described by James Fergusson*, London 1864. Largely Ajunta and Ellora, but some Muslim remains, mostly Aurangabad.

Fergusson, James, *Illustrations of various styles of Indian architecture*, London 1869. "Printed for the use of schools of art in the United Kingdom." With a lecture on "The Study of Indian Architecture."

Fermanel, Gilles, *Le voyage d'Italie et du Levant*, Rouen 1670.

Ferrario, Dr. Giulio, *Descrizione della Palestina o storia del Vangelo illustrata coi monumenti*, Milan 1831. Full and conscientious descriptions but, as he acknowledges, only relayed from earlier travellers.

Ferrières-Sauveboeuf, Comte Olivier de, *Mémoires historiques, politiques et géographiques des voyages faits en Turquie, en Perse et en Arabie, depuis 1782, jusqu'en 1789*, 2 vols., Paris 1790.

Field, Henry M., *The Barbary coast*, New York 1893.

Field-Officer of Cavalry, *Diary of a tour through southern India, Egypt, and Palestine, in the years 1821 and 1822*, London 1823.

Filleul de Pétigny, Clara, *Souvenirs de voyage dans l'Asie, le Nord de l'Afrique, Syrie, Tripoli, Tunis, etc.*, Limoges 1884. Plentiful if conventional opinions on the mosques she saw, many of which (including, for reasons unknown, Kairouan) she could not enter.

Finati, Giovanni, *Life and adventures*, Bankes, William John, ed., 2 vols., London 1830. He spoke Arabic, and acted as interpreter for Bankes.

Fisk, Rev. George, *A memorial of Egypt etc, visited in 1842*, New York 1857.

Fitzclarence, Lt.-Col. George Augustus Frederick, *Journal of a route across India, through Egypt, to England, in the latter end of the year 1817, and the beginning of 1818*, London 1819.

Fitzgerald, Sybil, *In the track of the Moors. Sketches in Spain and North Africa*, London 1905. Plenty on mosques and their architecture.

Forbin, Comte Auguste de, *Travels in Greece, Turkey, and the Holy Land in 1817–18*, London 1819.

Forbin, Comte Auguste de, *Voyage dans le Levant en 1817 et 1818*, 2nd edn., Paris 1819. Entered as Forbin_1819B.

Formby, Rev. Henry, *A visit to the East; comprising Germany and the Danube, Constantinople, Asia Minor, Egypt and Idumea*, London 1843.

Fosbroke, Rev. Thomas Dudley, *Foreign topography; or, an encyclopedick account, alphabetically arranged, of the ancient remains in Africa, Asia and Europe, forming a sequel to the Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, London 1828. An omnium gatherum from earlier authors, and brief indeed on the descriptions. E.g. 312, preceded by Trapezius (Trebizond) and followed by Treves: "Tremesin (Africa). Several shafts of pillars,

and fragments of Roman antiquities. A mosque is composed of these and sepulchral stones. Shaw, &c." Contains only 26 references to mosques.

Foucauld, Vicomte Charles de, *Reconnaissance au Maroc 1883–1884*, Paris 1888. A detailed account after the manner of military reconnaissances, or Cuinet's volumes for Turkey. Vol. 2 includes itineraries. But nothing on the architecture of mosques.

Foucher, Victor (1802–1866), Ancien directeur général des affaires civiles en Algérie, *Les Bureaux arabes en Algérie*, Paris 1858.

Fratelli, Treves, Publisher, ed., *Tunisi, Viaggi di Crapelet, Rebatel e Tirant, etc.*, Milan 1876.

Freese, Jacob R., U.S. Commissioner to the Paris Exposition, 1867, *Palestine Syria and Asia Minor, travel, incident, description and history*, Philadelphia 1869.

Fresne-Canaye, Philippe du, *Le voyage du Levant*, Hauser, H., ed., Paris 1897. Travelling 1573.

Frith, Francis (1822–1898), *Egypt and Palestine, photographed and described by Francis Frith*, 2 vols., London 1857. For its images.

"Fritz," *The Eiffel Tower, Paris 1889*, London 1889. This copy 6d, and in its 19,000th printing.

Fürer von Haimendorff, Christoph (1517–1561), *Itinerarium Aegypti, Arabiae, Palaestinae, Syriae aliarumque regionum orientalium*, Nuremberg 1621.

Gabarti, Abdurrahman, *Journal pendant l'occupation française en Égypte*, Paris 1838.

Gadsby, John, *Mount Sinai and the Holy Land, in 1864*, London 1864.

Garnier, E. Henri, *Jérusalem et la Judée, description de la Palestine ou Terre-Sainte*, Tours 1843.

Gastineau, Benjamin (1823–1904), *La France en Afrique et l'Orient à Paris: voyage, colonisation, exposition, Egypte, Inde, Chine, Grèce, Turquie*, Paris 1864.

Gay, Oscar, *La Tunisie, notice historique*, Paris 1861. [Mentions *liberté des cultes*, but not one mention of mosques]

Gentil, Émil, *Souvenirs d'Orient*, 1, Metz and Paris 1855.

Geramb, Marie-Joseph de, monk of La Trappe, *A pilgrimage to Palestine, Egypt, and Syria*, 1, London 1840.

Gingras, Léon, *L'Orient, ou voyage en Egypte, en Arabie, en Terre-Sainte, en Turquie et en Gréce*, 2 vols., Quebec 1847.

Girault de Prangey, Philibert-Joseph (1804–1892), *Essai sur l'architecture des Arabes et des Mores en Espagne, en Sicile et en Barbarie*, Paris 1841. Authoritative account by a man trained at the Ecole Nationale Supérieur des Beaux-Arts, who was in the East 1841–44. Begins with Spain, and has a long and detailed description of the Mezquita (21–57). Has very little to say about the *Barbarie* in his title: plenty of references, but he is stumped by not having adequate descriptions of the monuments (such as Kairouan) relayed to him.

Girault de Prangey, Philibert-Joseph (1804–1892), *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie et d'Asie Mineure, dessines et mesures de 1842 á 1845, ouvrage faisant suite aux*

Monuments arabes de Cordoue, Seville et Grenade, Paris 1846–1855. In Constantinople and Anatolia 1843–5, and took over 800 photos there. This is an excellent source of high-quality illustrations – but none of the Umayyad Mosque.

Godard, Léon (1825–1863), *Le Maroc: notes d'un voyageur: 1858–1859*, Algiers 1859.

Godard, Léon (1825–1863), *Description et histoire du Maroc, Paris* 1860. In both his books listed herein, plenty of information on mosques, but nothing at all on their architecture.

Golinberg, Graf Nikolai, *En Orient. Impressions et reminiscences*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1867.

Gottis, Abbé P., *Récits d'un pélerin, après son retour de la Terre-Sainte en l'année 1868*, 2 vols., Paris, 1871 and 1872.

Goujon, le R. P. Jacques, *Histoire et voyage de la Terre Sainte*, Lyon 1670.

Goyau, Félix-Faure (1866–1913), *Une excursion en Afrique*, Paris 1888.

Graham, Alexander, FRIBA, and Ashbee, Henry Spencer, FSA, FRGS, *Travels in Tunisia*, London 1887.

Granger, le Sieur Nicolas, *Relation du voyage fait en Egypte par le Sieur Granger, en l'année 1730. Où l'on voit ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable, particulièrement sur l'histoire naturelle*, Paris 1745.

Gregory, W.H., M.P., *Egypt in 1855 and 1856; Tunis in 1857 and 1858*, 2 vols., London 1859.

Grey, Hon. Mrs. William, *Journal of a visit to Egypt, Constantinople, the Crimea, Greece, &c. in the suite of the Prince and Princess of Wales*, London 1869.

Griffiths, John, *Travels in Europe, Asia Minor, and Arabia*, London 1805.

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Lane-Poole, Stanley (1854–1931), *The story of Cairo*, London 1902. A serious book with footnotes, and lots of Al-Makrizy and other sources. Conjures up sights and sounds, so a little magical and even condescending, i. e. deals in evocation, but includes a sensible index and list of monuments with dates. Chapter VII: The Dome Builders.

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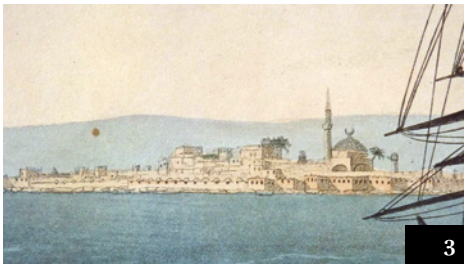
2



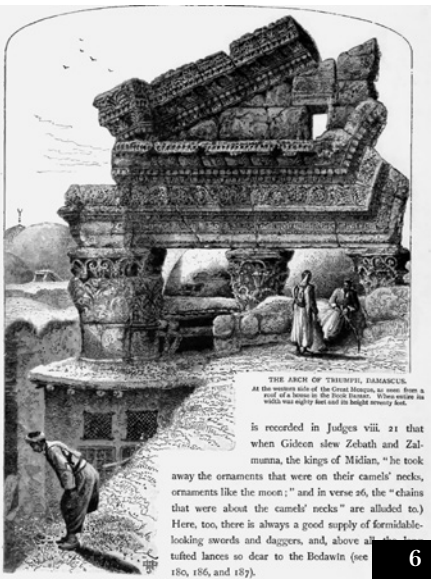
3

1. Bonfils' photos from the 1880s show Djezzar's mosque in Acre (above), and 2, the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem (below left). 3. Spilsbury drew Djezzar's mosque in Acre from a frigate in 1818 (below right).

4. Before the mid-nineteenth century, private travellers to monuments in Syria usually went by horseback, and so did later group travellers. In 1869 Pierotti organised guided travel to the Holy Land. Part of his itinerary shows (right) over one hundred eighty five hours on a horse during a visit of forty four days.

	jours	heures à cheval
Kaïffa, Athlit, Tantourah (Dora), Césarée de Palestine	1	6 30
Césarée, Samarie (Sébastieh), Napleuse (Sichem)	1	8 20
Napleuse. Excursions aux monts Garizim, Ebal, etc.	1	3 50
Napleuse, Sçilo, Béthel	1	9 »
Béthel, Gabaon, Rama, Jérusalem	1	6 »
Jérusalem	6	» »
Jérusalem, St-Jean dans le désert, Bittir, la fontaine de St-Philippe, Beït-Djallah, Bethléem	1	6 40
Bethléem, réservoirs de Salomon, Hébron	1	5 »
Hébron, Ortas (Etham), Bethléem	1	5 50
Bethléem, caverne de Khoreïtum, Montagne des Francs (Beth-Hakkérem, Hérodium), Tékoa, Bethléem	1	5 »
Bethléem, Mar-Saba	1	3 20
Mar-Saba, Mer-Morte, Jourdain, Jéricho, Fontaine d'Elisée	1	9 »
Fontaine d'Elisée, Adommim, Béthanie, Jérusalem	1	6 50
Jérusalem	2	» »
Jérusalem, Ramleh	1	8 »
Ramleh, Lydda, Jaffa	1	3 40
Total des jours d'excursion en terre:	44	185 30

4



5. Above left: Damascus, the Umayyad Mosque in Ahmed Djemal Pasha's photo of 1918: 6. Above right: The usual way to view the Mosque courtyard was from an attic in a building behind the Roman arch, shown here in a typical integration of text and image, from Wilson's *Picturesque Palestine* of 1881.

7. Left: Umayyad Mosque, western vestibule. Only a few travellers mention the mosaics. In 1670 Fermanel wrote that they represented "plusieurs Saints Peres." However, it is almost certain that the mosaics around the courtyard (See 8) were *not* whitewashed, hence Fermanel is just guessing what might be displayed in a church – not a mosque. Had he been able to look at the west arcade (below), he would have realised the true nature of the decoration.

9

10

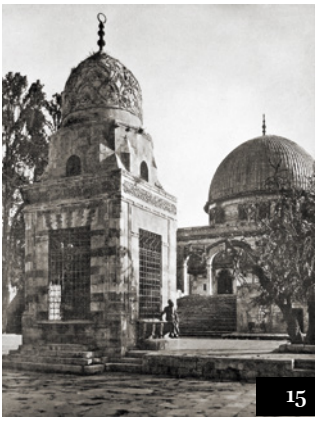
Travellers went to this site to admire the great temples; the mosques were incidental, and until late in the nineteenth century nobody was interested enough to describe the Muslim conversions within the temples themselves. Top left, 9: 1880s photos of a mosque arcade The immense porphyry columns of a smaller shrine. Top right, 10 (note reclining figure on top) must have taken engineering skill to shift from the temple complex.

11

Sealed roads, motor vehicles and hotels were blossoming in Palestine. Above, 11: a tented encampment at Baalbek from a Cook's tour brochure of 1903. In 1907 they offered a choice: travel by rail and sleep in hotels, or choose "the saddle and camp life."

Above, 12: the Haram al Sharif, in Forbin's 1819 panorama.

The Haram had many monuments apart from the Dome (for which see next page), such as the Pulpit of Omar (13, above left); a spectacular gate, 14, photographed by Bridel in 1888 (above right); and a dome, 15, photographed by Ahmed Djemal Pasha in 1918 (below right). Why were visitors not more interested in such works, which they could easily view from a distance through binoculars, rather than yearning only to see the interior of the Dome?

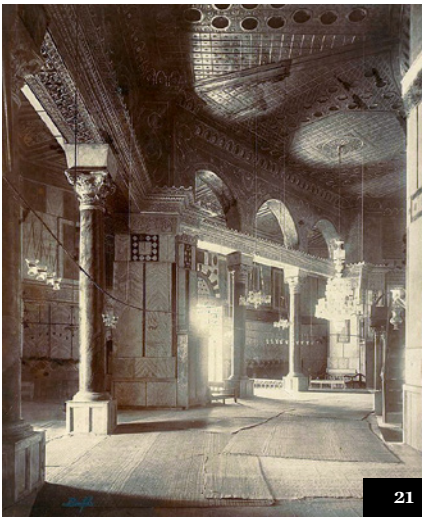


Above left, 16: Janissary of the US Consulate, photo by Buckham in 1890. Such guards accompanied visitors to the City. Hardware and a grimace were intended to soothe the nervous, and persuade irate Muslims, who frequently objected to Christian intrusion, to keep their distance.

Right, 17: Du Camp's 1852 photo. This is taken from a distance, where he would be able to set up his apparatus without interference.

18

Above, and below right, 18, 19 & 20: In 1865 The ordnance Survey of Jerusalem was able to photograph the Dome from on the Haram itself, including details of its NE marble revetment, and the south entrance.



21

By the later nineteenth century access to this monument was easier. 21: Bonfils photographed the interior in the 1880s (above); and 22: De Vogüé in 1864 was able to provide colour illustrations of the mosaics (right).

17

19

20

22

23

24

Above left, 23: Sultan Barquq & Fountain of Ismael Pasha; drawn by Robert Hay in 1840. Above right, 24: Coste's 1839 views of the Mosques of Emir Jacour and Ibrahim Pasha on Khourbaryeh Street. This print demonstrates that not all Cairo streets were narrow, as many visitors complained; but by believing they were, many missed seeing and admiring domes and minarets from close up.

25

26

Left, 25: The entrance to the Madrasa al-Nasir Muhammad (1295–1303) was brought during the Crusades from a church in Acre, and eventually used here. This is the largest Muslim trophy of which we know, but plenty of columns and other rare marbles were brought from Christian structures and used to decorate Cairo's mosques. Were such doorways an inspiration for some mihrabs, such as that of 26: Sultan Hasan, right?

27

28

Above 27 & 28: Qalawun's complex in photos by Hertz Bey of c.1900. Much restoration work was needed, and these buildings were fully opened to visitors only in the last decade.

29

30

31

The religious-funerary complex of Qaytbay was remarked upon for its beauty, and the quality of its stone minaret and dome. Above left, 29: in an 1857 photo by Frith; and above right, 30, in Prime's 1855 engraving. As Behrens-Abouseif wrote, such stone domes [often worked in a version of mosaic] have no parallel elsewhere in the Muslim world, and that of Qaytbay she described as "perhaps the most beautiful … in Cairo." Left, 31: a selection of Cairo's stone domes, by Turner in 1820.

32

33

Above left, 32, and right, 33: Al Azhar and the Mosque and Tomb of El Goury; both by Girault de Prangey 1841.

34

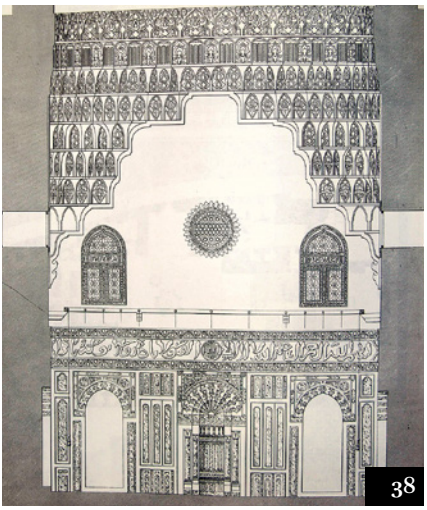
35

Above left, 34: Prisse d'Avenne's mosque decorations he calls "mosaics." Above right, 35: stone dome of Barsbay's funerary complex in the Northern Cemetery.

36

Right, 36: Migeon in 1906 illustrated a bronze door taken from Sultan Hasan (where spectacular bronze doors remain), this one had been moved to El-Mouayyed. Just as so few visitors studied the varied and exceptional domes of Cairo, so also most were silent about the many original mosque and tomb doors that deserve attention.

37



38

Above left, 37: from the *Description de l'Egypte*. Right, 38: Coste's 1839 view of the mausoleum. Below, 39: Tremaux' 1862 photo across Cairo shows just how imposing and massive is the Sultan Hassan (to be challenged by the adjacent vulgarity of Al Rifaí: see the text). The Citadel is out of shot to the left, and he has shot this image from one of the minarets of Al-Azar.

This mosque was popular for three reasons: it was well outside the narrow streets, in a pleasant square; it could be admired from the Citadel, which all travellers visited; and its very size and extravagant portico commanded attention.

39

40

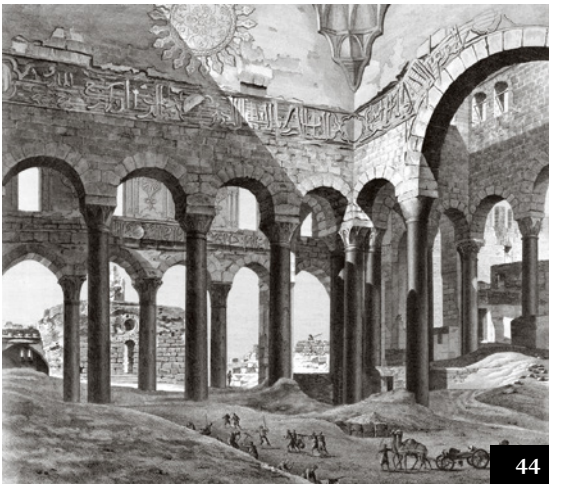
41

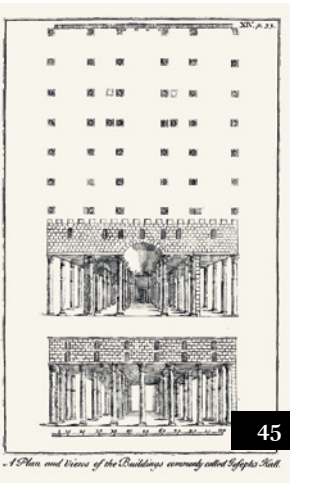
Above left, 40: Entrance portal in a photo by Gaston Migeon, 1861–1930, Conservateur des objets d'art du moyen âge au Musée du Louvre. Above right, 41: his view of the courtyard, indicating its dilapidation. Migeon wrote his profusely illustrated guidebook to Cairo in 1906. He was one of few observers (Prisse d'Avennes was another) to declare an interest in the fantastical "vaulting" (muqarnas) prominent in (for example) Cairo, Aleppo and Damascus. He was also one of the first photographers to offer prints of mosque interiors, their architecture and furnishings. Right, 42: sections from the doors to the mausoleum (here in a modern photo) were prised off in the nineteenth century, and sold to dealers.

42

43

Left, 43: marble wall decoration and frieze inscription in Hassan's Mausoleum, in a modern photo.


44


45

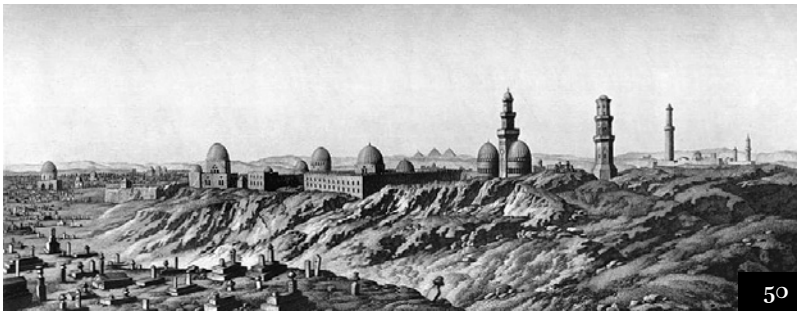
Joseph's Hall was often thought to have been built by Saladin (it is later) or even by the biblical Joseph. All visitors who ascended the Citadel to view the panorama of Cairo, with the Sultan Hasan to the fore, did so from its terrace. It was a sumptuous palace, with enormous ruins, shown (above left, 44) from the *Description de l'Egypte*, and (right, 45) in Pococke's 1743 plan and elevation. Views by Marcel (below left, 46, of 1848) and Robert Hay (bottom left, 47, of 1840) underline confusion about its dimensions. Most extreme is Taylor's 1839 view (48, bottom right), which includes the inscription. Mouldering for decades, the site was finally cleared, and (49, below right) the Mosque of Muhammad Ali (1830–46, here in a photo of c.1880 by Bonfils) built upon its site.

46

49

47

48



50

The cemeteries were attractive to draughtsmen and photographers because they could usually work there undisturbed. The *Description de l'Egypte* is not always accurate: compare the dome profiles in the above print (50) with those below. Physical painted panoramas from abroad were a popular nineteenth century attraction at home, and perhaps the French artists who drew the above domes did so from memory back home after they were expelled.

52

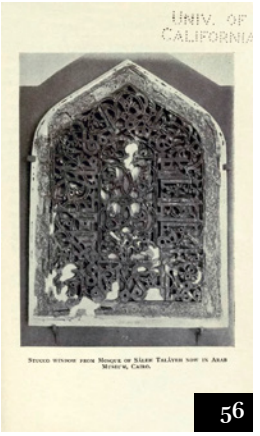
51

Left, 51: Tomb of Sultan Tara Bey, by Girault de Prangey 1846–55. Above, 52: the Northern Cemetery in Bechard's 1887 view.

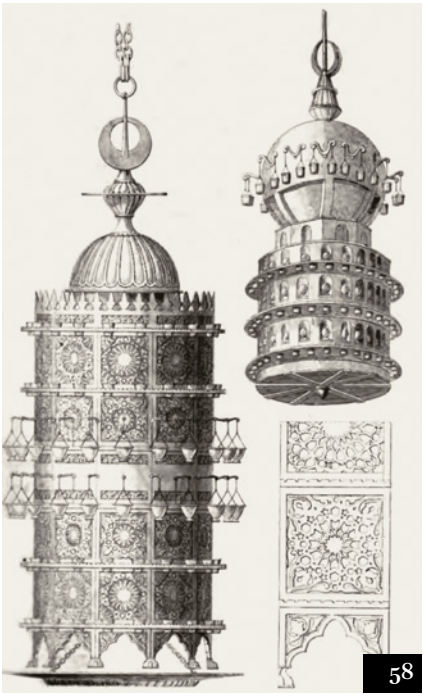
53

Bottom, 53: By 1885 Baedeker was printing engravings taken from photographs, here named as the "Tombs of the Caliphs," and also identifying individual tombs. Nineteenth-century cameras were better at wide views than close-ups – perhaps one explanation for the dearth of mosque exteriors within the narrow city streets.

54: Kohn-Abrest's 1884 print of an unnamed Mameluke tomb suggests how some were dismantled for their materials. 56: Devonshire's 1921 photo (below left) shows what happened to some dilapidated monuments: the stucco window from the Mosque of Saleh Talayeh was taken to the Arab Museum. Below right, 57: Herz Bey provided a view of the Museum interior in 1906. Bottom, 55: Bonfils' c.1870 photo of the "Tombeaux des Caliphes" suggests how much material was available.



Standing architecture had to be admired in place, but ornaments were often abstracted from crumbling mosques and taken by visitors as souvenirs or placed in museums. Right, 58: Marcel's 1848 illustrations of chandeliers from Hasan (left) and Qaytbay (right).



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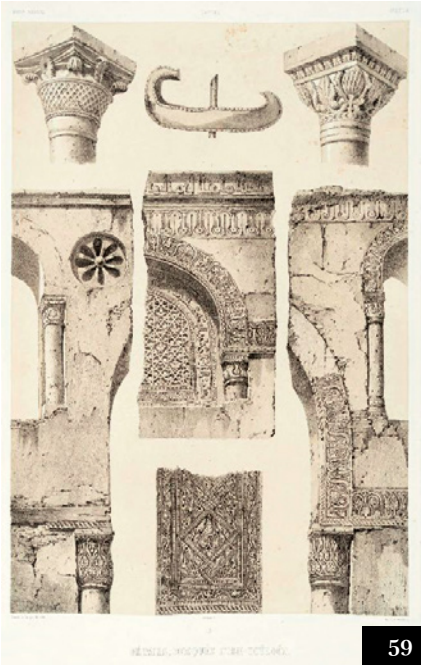
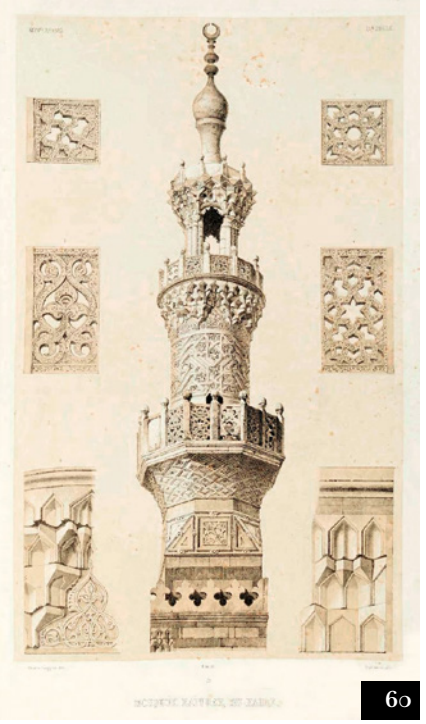
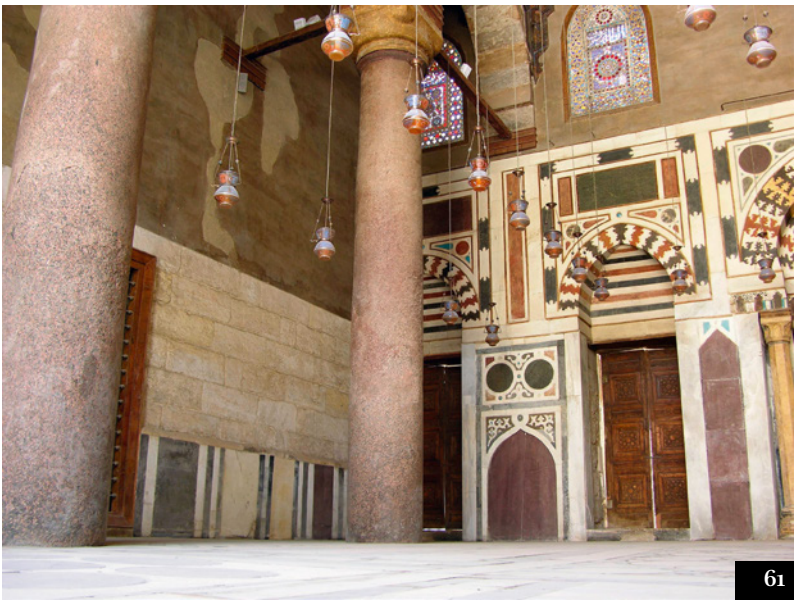


59

If photography was less able to cope with architectural details, artists could oblige. Above, 59: Girault de Prangey's 1846–55 drawings of details from the Mosque of Ibn Tulun. Right, 60: his view of Qaytbay's minaret. Mosques could sometimes be difficult to access, but their minarets (of which Cairo has a spectacular collection) could be viewed from a distance through a telescope or binoculars.



60



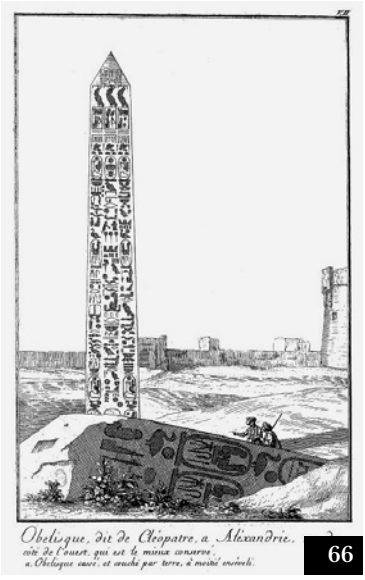
61

The mosques of Cairo reused marble and granite from Roman Egypt in large quantities, to make their monuments impressive, such as not only Joseph's Hall, but also mosques such as that of Sultan Barquq (1384–86: 61, above), with its enormous granite shafts. There was plenty of material: modern excavations at nearby Fustat (62, below left), which prospered before the city of Cairo was built, have uncovered a sophisticated and marble-rich settlement.

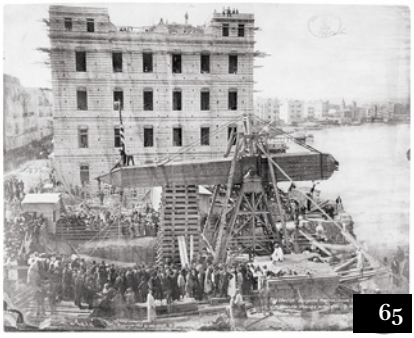
62

63

In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans were so thirsty for Cairo marble for their large building projects in Constantinople that they destroyed several Cairene monuments. Bottom left, 63: they ripped wall panels from the Mosque of Al Nasir, on the Citadel.



66



65

64

One reason for the relative neglect of Islamic monuments in Egypt was the dazzling size and quantity of Pharaonic ones, such as the obelisks and temples, which could be visited far from inhabited towns, hence without harassment. A large unfinished granite obelisk is shown by Englebach in 1923 at the material's source (64, Aswan: right and below), and he provided, 67, a "league table" of their sizes, just as was done for domes. Top right, 65: the photo of c.1880 shows the obelisk from Alexandria on its way west. Norden's 1775 view (top left, 66) of Cleopatra's Obelisk at Alexandria shows it as a target for Westerners long before its removal.

OBELISK.	BASE (feet).	PYRAMIDION BASE (feet).	PYRAMIDION HEIGHT (feet).	TOTAL HEIGHT (feet).	TAPER (see footnote 2).	WEIGHT IN TONS.
Aswan	13·8	8·2	14·8	137	24·3	1,168
Aswan (later project)	10·3	6·6	17·4	105	23·7	507
Lateran[1]	9·8	6·2*	14·8*	105·6	29·3	455
Hatshepsôwet ..	7·9	5·8	9·7	97	42·8	323
Vatican	8·8	5·9	4·4	83	26·9	331
Luxor	8·2	5·1*	6·4*	82*	28·2	254
Paris	8·0	5·1	6·4	74	26·5	227
New York[1]	7·7	5·3*	5·4*	69·6	29·0	193
London[1]	7·8	5·3*	5·4*	68·5	27·4	187
Mataria[1]	6·2	4·0*	6·6*	67	27·5	121
Tuthmôsis I ..	7·0	4·6	7·8	64	24·2	143

[1] After Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks*.

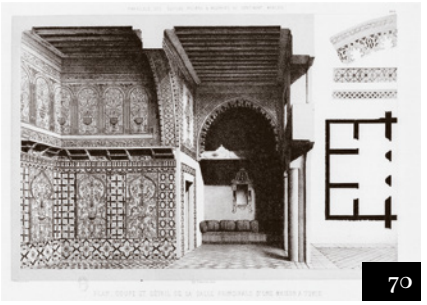
[2] By taper I mean the length of the shaft in which one unit decrease in width is observed.

67

North Africa was a problem for mosque-eager visitors, because Christians were often not allowed even on the streets which mosques fronted. Hence their pictorial attention to Islam shifted to town views (palaces, gates, madrasas), sometimes with a mosque or minaret in the distance. Equally, we find fine photos of educational structures (as in the two 1927 photos by Terrasse in Morocco, of the Madrassa of Aboul Hassan in Salé, Morocco (68 & 69, below left and right), or 70, Tremaux' 1862 photo of a Tunis house, middle left) – but nothing equivalent for the mosques.

68

69


70

72

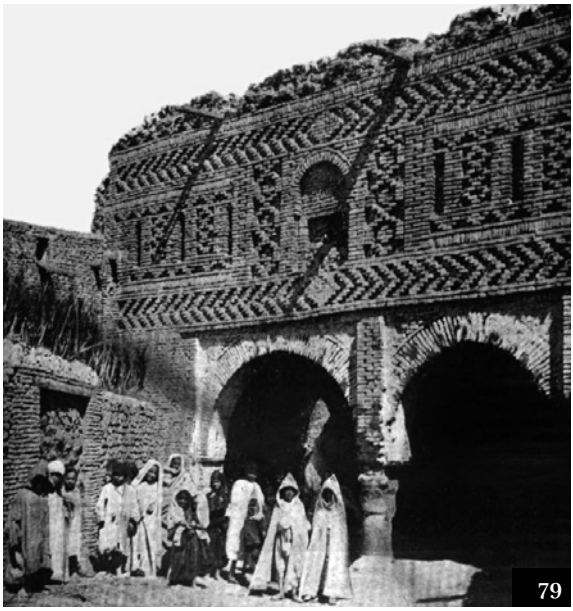
71

73

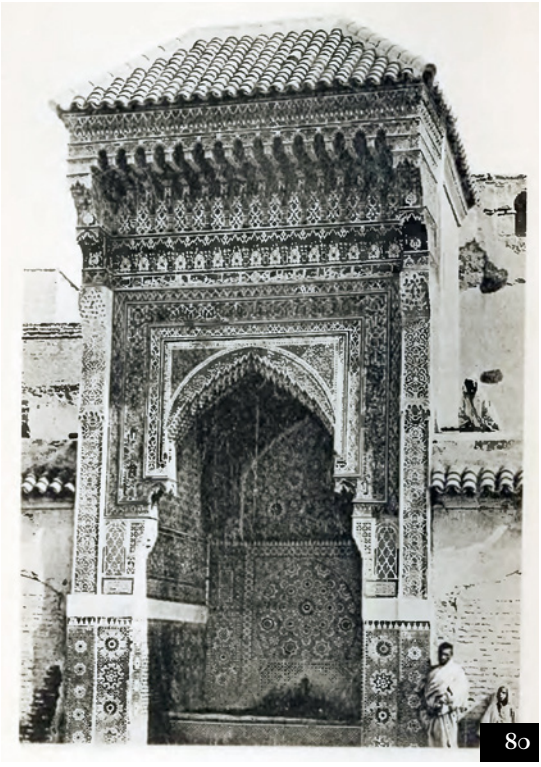
Above left, 71: 1892 photo of the Grand Mosque of Algiers (which might by this date be mistaken for a shopping arcade in Bologna?), another (middle right, 72) shows prayer attitudes by natives at Biskra. Below right, 73: Algiers: the Bey's garden, from Galibert, 1844.

Above left, 74: Horne's photo of an inn in Fez, 1925 Right, 75: Roscoe's 1838 view of a Tangier city gate; and his necessarily distant view of the Kutubia Mosque at Marrakech is 76, below right.

Above left, Meknes, 77: Trotter's 1881 photo of the Bab Mansour. His book is well illustrated, including palaces and people; but there are no close-ups of mosques. Lower left, 78, is his photo of the Bab el-Khemis gate, with the minaret of the Lalla Aouda Mosque in the far distance.



Left, 79: a house in Tozeur, Tunisia, illustrated in a photo from *La France en Tunisie* 1897. Note the interest in unusual brickwork patterns, and the willingness of the locals to pose after the photographer set up his tripod. Western readers were as keen to see how the locals looked and dressed as they were to examine local architecture.



Right, 80 : Marrakech, the Sidi Bel Abbes Fountain, one of several in this city, in an 1889 photo by Thomson. Fountains were decorative, easy to photograph, and the locals co-operated.

Minarets were easy to draw or photograph, because this could be done at a distance, as (right, 81) with Marrakech, a distant view of the minaret of the Kutubiah Mosque, in an 1889 photo by Thomson. Deserted sites were also easy, as in Marçais & Marçais' 1903 photo of not only the minaret at Mansourah (Algeria, 82: bottom left), but also of the splendid mosque doorway (83, bottom right).

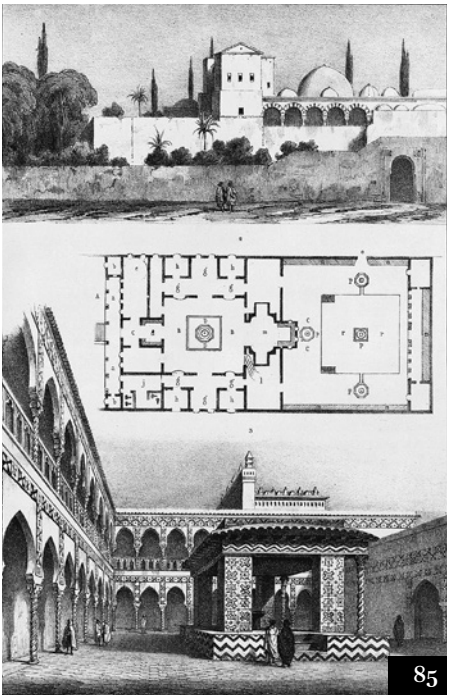
81

82

83

84

William Lithgow (1582-c.1645, who claimed his travels took him 19 years) was in Fez in 1615 (84, above). Perhaps he simply described the sights to his illustrator, because what was drawn in this highly inventive view of Fez contradicts his vow in his *Prologue to the Reader*, which declares that "This laborious work ... is onely composed of mine owne eye-sight, and ocular experience ... being the perfit mirror and lively Portraicture of true understanding."


85

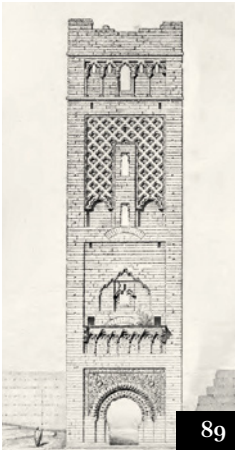
86

Left, 85: In 1841 Girault de Prangey printed views and a plan of palaces in Tunis and Algiers. Right, 86: the Kairouan prayer hall was accessible to Graham and Ashbee in 1887 because the French ruled the town; they photographed the mimber as well.

87

88

Above left, 87: The "Tower of the 40 Martyrs" at Ramla (now Israel), in Guerin's 1868 view, showing it in ruins; above right, 88: twenty years later Bridel could photograph the tower in its restored state. (Historically alert readers should be shocked by before-and-after views of some "restorations," especially in Cairo, but also in England and France.)



89

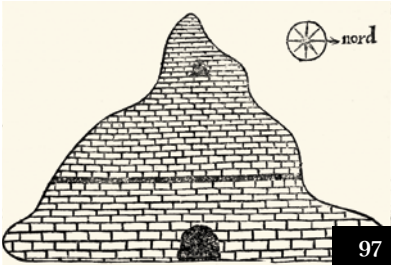
Left, 89: the minaret (already illustrated in a 1904 photo), in the deserted town of Mansourah drawn here in 1873 by Duthoit, in its soon-to-be-restored state. He complained of the difficulties raised by the local (French) administration, and the suspicion of the Muslims about his camera. At great cost, in 1877 and 1888, he consolidated the minaret. However, as Saint-Paul asserted in 1880, funds assigned for the restoration of Algerian monuments were totally inadequate. Bottom right, 90: Morell's 1854 view shows this minaret's once-parlous state. Bottom left, 91: an onyx capital was removed from the monument to the museum at Tlemcen.

91

90

Above, 92: Braun & Hogenburg's 1618–23 impression of Damascus, evidently from hearsay. A comparison with their other maps will demonstrate that the forms used are as symbolic as those on any early map. Travellers had already entered and described the mosque, so we must assume a lack of interest in specifics.

93: Ummayad Mosque: middle left, photo by Hitchens of 1900 after the fire; middle right, 94: the marbles of the prayer hall wall are new; bottom left, 95: the Treasury in a 1878 Bonfils photo with only a few mosaic fragments; bottom right, 96: the Treasury today. What was the rationale for any of these re-restorations?



97

Left, 97: Boullaye's 1653 "Fragmens de la Tour de Babylone" was accompanied by his illustration, shown here, of the tidier original state, captioned "comme elle estoit au commencement, suivent le sentiment de l'Autheur."

98

99

Above left, 98: Jerusalem in 1460, by Broquière, with a rash of onion domes, and minarets for the Dome of the Rock. Above right, 99: Jerusalem in 1664, by Castillo: again, the Dome is far from correct, but it does (correctly) stand higher than the Holy Sepulchre. Below left, 100: Migeon's 1906 photo of the Al Aqmar Mosque (1125) in Cairo, showing the extent of restoration necessary. Below right, 101: Wrighte's 1790 view of a suggested "Mosque Temple" demonstrates British whimsy at that date.

100

101

As we have seen in Volume I and its discussion of domes, size conveyed superiority and this could be represented in images as well as by figures. (Dallaway in 1799 printed a table of dimensions, including S. Sophia, and Córdoba.) It was easy to convince the reader by offering an incorrect image. In all the Jerusalem views on this page, the Dome (incorrectly) stands lower than the Holy Sepulchre. The reader might thereby be comforted to understand that Christianity, just like its architecture, was dominant over Islam.

102

103

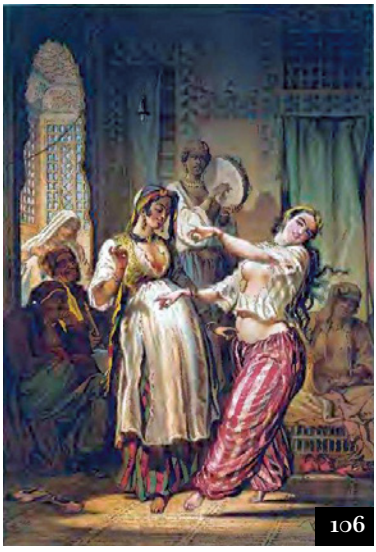
104

Top, 102: by Cassas in 1802. Above: view from the Mount of Olives. Again, 103, with incorrect profiles, by Luigi Mayer in 1814. Right, 104: Braun & Hogenburg's 1618–23 view of the Sepulchre and Dome, with incorrect profiles.

North African scenes both intimate and street-wide, especially from Cairo, were popular with French artists and their audience from Delacroix. (1798–1863). He visited North Africa, and even sketched women secretly (in Algiers). Preziosi produced prints from Cairo street scenes, and even belly-dancers. Right, 105: Delacroix, *Dames d'Alger* (1834).

105

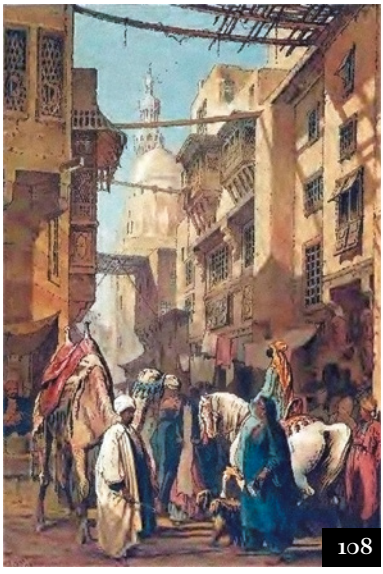
107



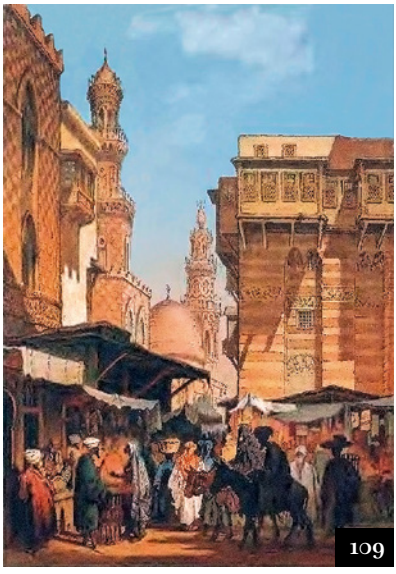
106

The remaining four prints on this page are by Amadeo Preziosi, showing Cairo dancers (left, 106) and (107, 108 & 109) three Cairo street scenes. All are from his Souvenir du Caire (Paris 1862).

Artists like Preziosi "froze" the activities, people and places they recorded, In following pages (Exhibiting the East III & IV) we shall see that exhibitions took such scenes as models, and enlivened them with (sometimes imported) Islamic architecture, authentic Cairenes and other orientals, and exotic animals. These were indeed moving pictures!



108



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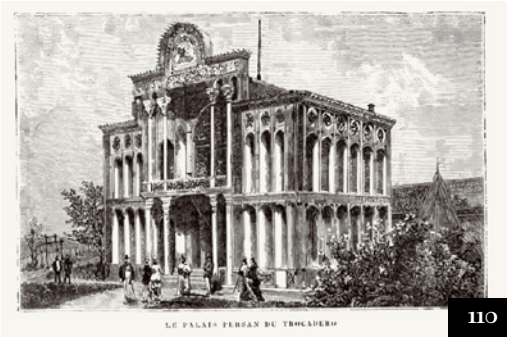
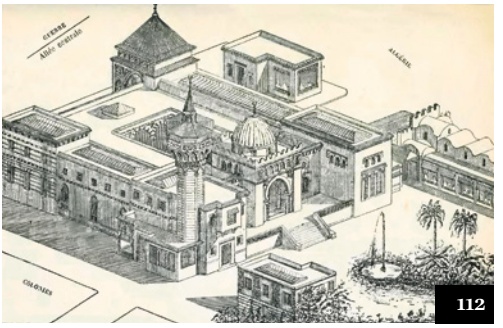

110

Left, 110: Charles Blanc's view of the Persian pavilion for the 1878 Exposition, and below, 111: of the El Kebir Mosque in Algiers.

111

113

Right, 112: the mongrel Palais Tunisien, accurately sited between pavilions of War, Algeria and the Colonies.


112

114

115

At the Exposition Universelle (Paris 1889), the brochure, 113, middle left, privileged the Eiffer Tower. A few steps could change countries. Left, 114: view of the Cairo Street; right, 115: looking back on the street, photograph taken from the Morocco section.

116

117

118

Chicago 1893: The Egypt-Chicago Exposition (known as the World's Columbian Exposition to celebrate Columbus): here a sanitised Cairo street, 116 (no dogs, beggars) could be visited in the calm, with refreshment in a café (117) behind the mosque doors. Then (118) a wedding procession with camels and attendants could be viewed.

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121

George Pangalo illustrated the Cairo Street. Top, 119: "How the street of Cairo came to the World's Fair, including authentic enclosed wooden balconies he had brought from Cairo. Bottom left, 120: the western end of the Street, with camels and performers. Bottom right, 121: a kettle drummer on his camel.

This volume, the second of three, offers an anthology of Western descriptions of Islamic religious buildings in Syria, Egypt and North Africa, mostly from the seventeenth to early twentieth centuries, taken from travel books and ambassadorial reports. (The third volume will deal with Islamic palaces around the Mediterranean.) As travel became easier and cheaper, thanks to better roads, steamships, hotels and railways, tourist numbers increased, museums accumulated eastern treasures, illustrated journals proliferated, and photography provided accurate data. All three deal with the impact of Western trade, taste and imports on the East, and examine the encroachment of westernised modernism.

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