

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

Doris Behrens-Abouseif

SOAS–University of London

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

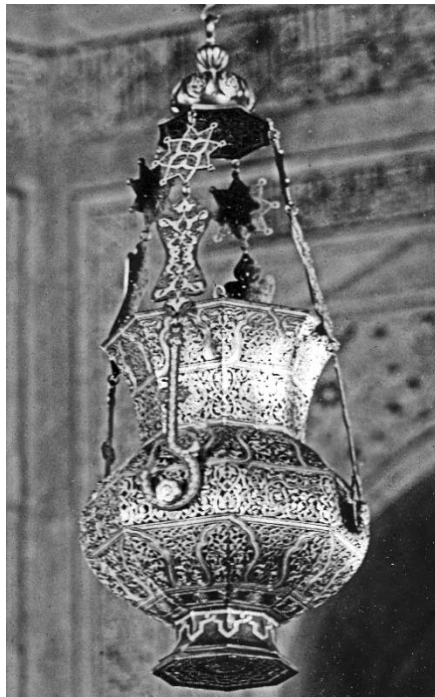


Fig. 1. Lamp of Lord Curzon in the Taj Mahal. Image courtesy of the British Library.

¹ See Vernoit 1997: 239 and Khare 2003.

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



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

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

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

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

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

1 Revival in metalwork and architecture

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

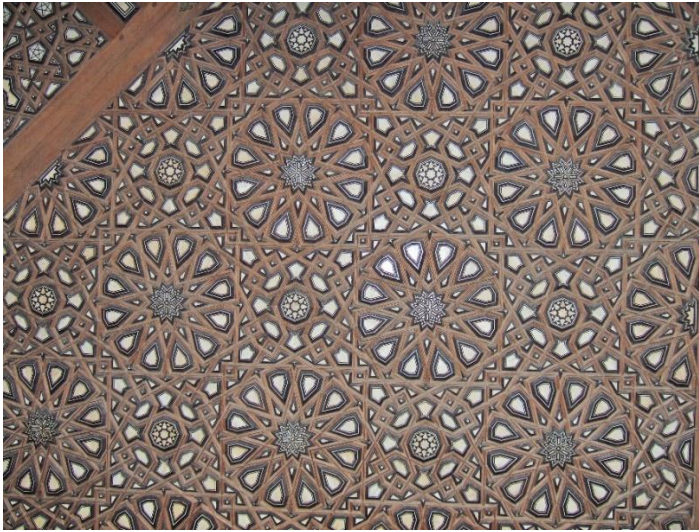


Fig. 4. Minbar of the mosque of ar-Rifā'ī, detail. Photo by the author.

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 5. Marble panel in the mosque of al-Rifā'ī. Photo by the author.

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

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

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

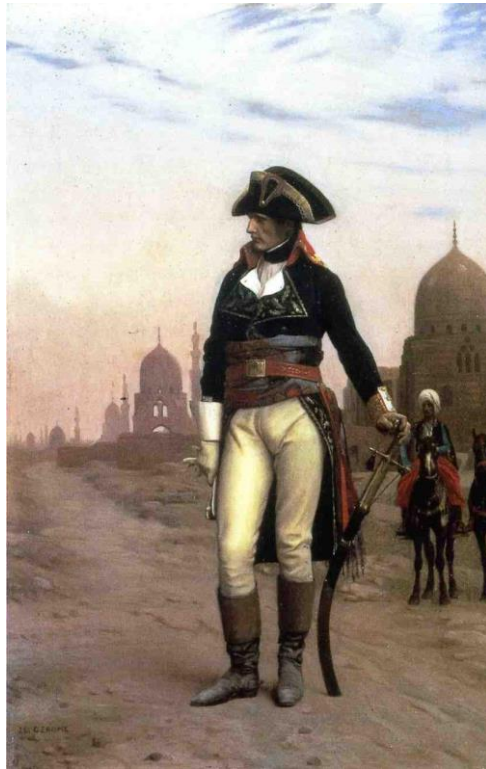


Fig. 6. Jeon-Léon Gerôme, *Napoleon in Egypt*, c. 1863, Princeton University Art Museum. Image in public domain.

2 Between 'Orient' and 'Occident'

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

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

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

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

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



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

⁸ al-Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris*, 231; Reid 2002: 50–52, 240. See also Lane 1896: 116.

⁹ Reid 2002: 230–234; al-Asad 1993: 115–116; Mubārak, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, I, 77–88.



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

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

¹⁰ Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz 2003. See also Nasser Rabbat’s contribution to the present volume.



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

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

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

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



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

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

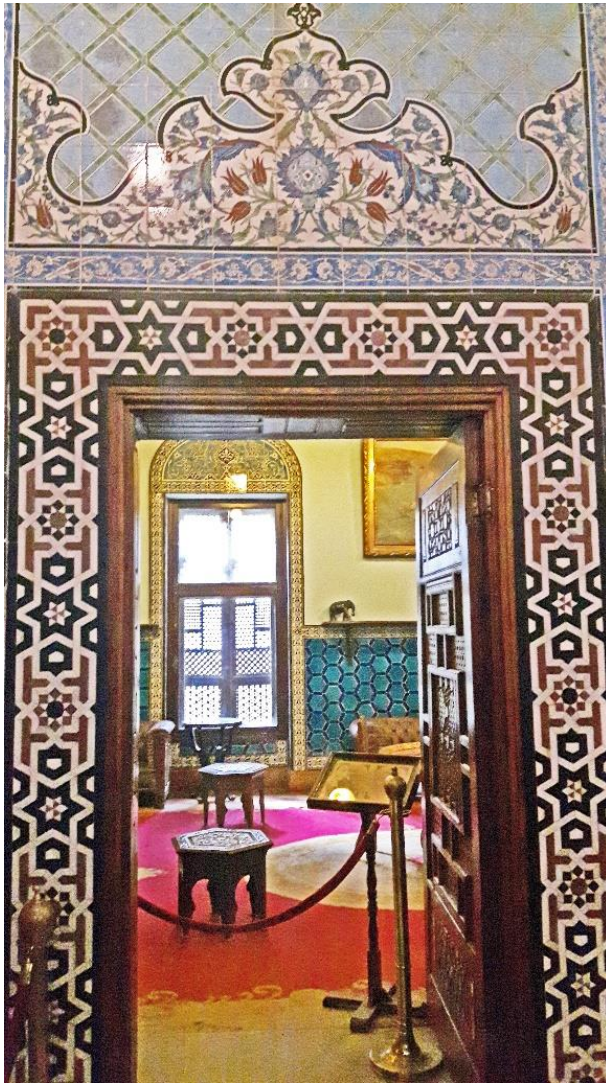


Fig. 11. View in the Manial Palace. Photo by the author.

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁴ 'Abduh, *al-A'māl al-kāmila*, II, 207. I am grateful to Silvia Naef for drawing my attention to this text.

3 Conclusion

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

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

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

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

- ‘Abduh, *al-A‘māl al-kāmila* = Muḥammad ‘Abduh, *al-A‘māl al-kāmila li-l-imām Muḥammad ‘Abduh*. Edited by Muḥammad ‘Imāra. Beirut: al-Mu’assasa al-‘Arabiyya li-d-Dirāsāt wa-n-Našr, 1972.
- Charmes, *Cinq mois* = Gabriel Charmes, *Cinq mois au Caire et dans la Basse Égypte*. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1880.
- Coste, *Architecture arabe* = Pascal Coste, *Architecture arabe ou monuments du Kaire, mesurés et dessinés, de 1818 à 1826*. Paris: Typographie de Firmin Didot Frères, 1839.
- Hildburgh, “Inlaid brasswork” = W. L. Hildburgh, “The Manufacture of Inlaid Brasswork at Cairo”. *Journal of the Society of the Arts* 54 (1906). 215–216.

¹⁵ Hight 2012. On the collection, see Rafif 2012.

- Mubārak, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* = ‘Alī Pāšā Mubārak, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ at-Tawfīqiyya al-ġadīda li-Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira wa-mudunihā wa-bilādihā al-qadīma wa-š-šahīra*. 20 vols. Būlāq: al-Maṭba‘a al-Kubrā al-Amīriyya, 1888.
- Prisse d’Avennes, *L’Art arabe* = Achille Constant Émile Prisse d’Avennes, *L’Art arabe d’après les monuments du Kaire depuis le VII^e siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIII^e [siècle]*. 3 vols. Paris: Morel, 1877.
- al-Qāsimī, *Qāmūs* = Muḥammad Sa‘īd al-Qāsimī, *Qāmūs aš-šinā‘āt aš-Šāmiyya*. Edited by Zāfir al-Qāsimī, 2 vols. Paris: Mouton, 1960.
- al-Tahtawi, *Imam in Paris* = Rifa‘a Rafī‘ al-Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in France by an Egyptian Cleric (1826–1831)*. Translated by Daniel L. Newman. London: Saqi Books, 2011.

B. Secondary sources

- ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Ḥasan. 1946. *Tārīḥ al-masāğid al-aṭariyya allatī šallā fihā al-Ġum‘a Fārūq*. Cairo: Maṭba‘at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya.
- Allan, James W. 2002. *Metalwork Treasures from the Islamic Courts*. Doha: Museum of Islamic Art.
- Allen, Roger. 1992. *A Period of Time: A Study of Hadith ‘Isa ibn Hisham by Muhammad al-Muwaylihi*. London: Ithaca Press.
- al-Asad, Mohammad. 1993. “The Mosque of al-Rifa‘i in Cairo.” *Muqarnas* 10. 108–124.
- Behrens-Abouseif, Doris. 1995. *Mamluk and Post-Mamluk Metal Lamps*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- _____. 2020. “From Post Mamluk to Mamluk Revival: The Art of Metal in Egypt and Syria after the Ottoman Conquest of 1517”. In: *Brasses, Bronze and Silver of the Islamic Lands* edited by Michael Spink, 1338–1389. London: Nour Foundation, Azimuth Editions, Oxford University Press.
- Conti, Thierry and Dominique Jacobi, eds. 1998. *Pascale Coste: Toutes les Egypte*. Marseille: Parenthèses Editions.
- Herz Bey, Max. 1911. *La Mosquée el-Rifa‘i*. Milan: Imprimerie Humbert Allegretti.
- Hight, Juliet. 2012. “Oriental Art: Egyptian Collector Shafik Gabr and Orientalist Artwork”, *Art and Antiques*.
www.artandantiquesmag.com/2012/04/orientalist-art-egyptian-collector-shafik-gabr (accessed 2 October 2019).
- Khare, Prakash. 2003. “Tale of the Tiny Lamp at the Taj”. *The Tribune*.
<http://www.tribuneindia.com> (accessed 1 October 2019).
- Lane, Edward W. 1896. *Cairo Fifty Years Ago* edited by Stanley Lane-Poole. London: John Murray.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley. 1886. *The Arts of the Saracens in Egypt*. London: Chapman and Hall.

- Ormos, István. 2009. *Max Herz Pasha (1856–1919): His Life and Career*. 2 vols. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- _____. 2018. 'The Doors of Sultan Barqūq and Their Inscriptions'. *The Arabist* 39. 33–92.
- Pflugrad-Abdel Aziz, Elke. 2003. "Islamisierte Architektur in Kairo: Carl von Diebitsch und der Hofarchitekt Julius Franz. Preußisches Unternehmertum im Ägypten des 19. Jahrhunderts". PhD dissertation, Universität Bonn.
- Rabbat, Nasser. 2010. "The Formation of the Neo-Mamluk Style in Modern Egypt". In: *Mamluk History Through Architecture: Monuments, Culture and Politics in Medieval Egypt and Syria*, 173–187. London and New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Rafif, Ahmed Chaouki, ed. 2012. *Masterpieces of Orientalist Art: The Shafik Gabr Collection*. Paris: ACR Édition Internationale.
- Reid, Donald M. 2002. *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. 2015. *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Sanders, Paula. 2008. *Creating Medieval Cairo: Empire, Religion, and Architectural Preservation in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.
- Selvafolta, Ornella. 2015. "Il Signor Parvis del Cairo' all'esposizione del 1881: La diffusione del gusto e dell'ornato orientalista". In: *Mondi a Milano: Culture ed esposizioni 1874–1940*, 68–77. Milan: Museo delle culture.
- Speiser, Philipp. 2001. *Die Geschichte der Erhaltung arabischer Baudenkmäler in Ägypten: Die Restaurierung der Madrasa Tatar al-Higaziya und des Sabil Kuttab 'Abd ar-Rahman Kathuda im Rahmen des Darb-al-Qirmiz-Projektes in Kairo*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Verma, Richi. 2013. "Like Taj Mahal, Humayun's Tomb Gets Egyptian Lamps." *The Times of India*. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/Like-Taj-Mahal-Humayuns-Tomb-gets-Egyptian-lamps/articleshow/22404741.cms> (accessed 28 October 2019).
- Vernoit, Stephen. 1997. *Occidentalism: Islamic Art in the 19th Century*. London: Nour Foundation, Azimuth Editions, Oxford University Press.
- Volait, Mercedes. 1998. "Le séjour en Égypte". In: *L'Égypte d'un architecte: Ambroise Baudry (1838–1906)* edited by Marie-Laure Crosnier Leconte and Mercedes Volait, 56–107. Paris: Somogy.
- _____. 2006. "Appropriating Orientalism? Saber Sabri's Mamluk Revivals in Late-Nineteenth-Century Cairo". In: *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism* edited by Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit, 131–155. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

- Weber, Stefan. 2009. *Damascus: Ottoman Modernity and Urban Transformation, 1808–1918*, 2 vols. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Whelan, Estelle. 1982. *The Mamlūk Revival: Metalwork for Religious and Domestic Use*. New York: Jewish Museum.
- Wiet, Gaston. 1932. *Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire: Objets en cuivre*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Yenişehirlioğlu, Filiz. 2006. "Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul: Sultan Abdülaziz and the Beylerbeyi Palace". In: *Islamic Art in the 19th Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism* edited by Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit, 57–88. Leiden and Boston: Brill.