

# MAX HERZ PASHA AND HIS ACTIVITIES ON THE COMITÉ DE CONSERVATION DES MONUMENTS DE L'ART ARABE\*

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This conference is dedicated to the memory of Ignaz Goldziher, who was born 150 years ago in 1850. The present paper will deal with certain aspects of the activity of a close friend of his, Max Herz Pasha, with whom he shared a common scholarly interest and a warm friendship. An important source for the study of Herz Pasha's life and activities are his letters addressed to Goldziher, approximately 65, which are kept in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest<sup>1</sup>. To our great regret, the counterparts of these letters, Goldziher's answers to Herz, have not survived.

Max Herz was born in Ottlaka, Hungary, in 1856 and died in Zurich in 1919 (fig. 1). He was an architect and spent his whole active life, thirty-five years altogether, in Egypt, working on the preservation and restoration of monuments of Arab-Islamic art. For a quarter of a century, from 1890 until his expulsion from Egypt in 1914, in his capacity of chief architect to the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, he was in charge of monuments of Arab-Islamic, and later also of Coptic architecture. In addition to this, he was also director of the Arab Museum (present-day Museum of Islamic Art). Herz Pasha was also a prolific private architect, and is said to have built more than 150 buildings in various styles in Cairo, a field of activity in which his contribution to the development and spread of the Mamlük Revival style is perhaps most noteworthy<sup>2</sup>.

The present paper aims at highlighting certain aspects of his work as chief architect of the Comité. The first part will deal with the organizational and structural aspects of his post while the second part will offer details of his work on certain important monuments.

Work on the biography and activities of Herz Pasha requires a clear view of the organizational and structural aspects of his post, and I think a summary of the conclusions I have reached may be not unwelcome here. At the same time I am fully aware that the exact structure of the Comité will be depicted and a clear picture of

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<sup>1</sup> I am greatly obliged to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for having put the letters at my disposal.

<sup>2</sup> On him see now Ormos 2001. See also the forthcoming detailed monograph on Herz by the author of these lines, in which all the relevant details of documentation will be found which the reader might wish to consult.

its working methods and principles will be offered in two works which are due to be available soon. Philipp Speiser (Fribourg, Switzerland) finished a work on the history of the Comité in connection with the restoration of two important monuments in Cairo a few years ago and it is reported to be at the press now<sup>1</sup>. The author is an architect himself who has done practical preservation and restoration work in the mediaeval part of Cairo. A Ph.D. thesis is due soon to be finished, focusing on the methods followed by the Comité, and of course it is likely to offer important insights into questions relevant to us too. Its author, 'Alā' al-Habašī, is attached to the American Research Center in Egypt in Cairo (ARCE) and has also been involved in practical restoration and preservation work in Egypt.

The Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe was founded at the end of 1881 by Khedive Tawfīq, ostensibly with the aim of halting the rapid deterioration of the monuments of Arab-Islamic architecture, although political motives may have also played a part in its foundation. The Comité – as it is usually referred to by its French name – was founded within the Waqf Administration but was not under its direction. This situation subsisted until 1936, when the Comité was transferred to the authority of the Ministry of Public Education, a step that was to have serious budgetary consequences. In 1939 the Comité was renamed Conseil Supérieur pour le Service de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. In 1953 it lost its independence its tasks being taken over by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization – the Supreme Council of Antiquities at present – which now looks after all monuments of architecture in Egypt: Pharaonic, Graeco-Roman, Coptic and Arab-Islamic alike.

The members of the Comité held their posts on an honorary basis, that is they were not paid for it. The President of the Comité was always the head of the Waqf Administration. In its first session on February 1st 1882, the Comité formed two commissions, the Première Commission and the Deuxième Commission. The task of the Première Commission was to prepare a list of all the monuments of Arab-Islamic art of any artistic or historical interest all over the country. This task done, the Première Commission seems to have dissolved itself fairly soon; in any case there is no mention of its activities in the printed bulletins of the Comité. The Deuxième Commission, on the other hand, played a key role in the activities of the Comité, being in charge of the technical aspects of the Comité's work, its task being the continuous control and supervision of monuments, the planning and organization of projects and also the strict supervision of the works under execution. The Première Commission having long been dissolved, the Deuxième Commission was renamed Section Technique in 1898 and again Comité Permanent in 1939. The works prescribed by the Comité on its own initiative, and its Deuxième Commission

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<sup>1</sup> Speiser 2001. It was published in mid-October 2001.

respectively, were carried out by the Bureau Technique of the Waqf Administration (Qalam Handasat al-Awqāf, or simply Handasat al-Awqāf). Also, when the Bureau Technique of the Waqf Administration intended to undertake any work on a listed monument, it was obliged by law to submit its plans to the Comité for comments, suggestions and final approval. The Bureau Technique of the Waqf Administration was as a rule overburdened by its own tasks, and these new tasks arising from the activities of the Comité constituted additional work for its staff. The situation was rendered even more complicated by the fact that these new tasks were not in line with the skills of the members of its staff; they even ran contrary to their regular routine: where before they would demolish something and replace it with something new, they now had to embark on preservation; where before they would plaster or paint in accordance with tradition, they were now expected to remove the paint or the plaster. Moreover, the staff of the Waqf Administration was not at all convinced of the importance of the work done by the Comité. – Private persons were also required by law to submit to the Comité's approval plans of projects affecting listed monuments in their possession in any way. A not too numerous but important group of monuments belonging to the Ministry of Public Works was also within the scope of the Comité's attention – this group contained such monuments as the city walls of Cairo with the gates, Saladin's aqueduct, the mosque of az-Zāhir Baybars, the Fadāwiyya dome and approximately twenty mosques in the Northern cemetery<sup>4</sup>. In 1896 the Comité's mandate was extended to monuments of Coptic architecture. These complicated circumstances of ownership, as well as the not wholly clear spheres of competence and authority of the Comité, were duly reflected in the budgetary circumstances. The Comité had its own budget provided by the Waqf Administration and the Ministry of Finance, but its full-time employees were on the pay roll of the Waqf Administration just like its own employees, and from 1896 onwards one part of them received its salary from the Waqf Administration while the other drew salary from the government. It only became possible to unify the Comité's budget in 1910. Projects were financed as a rule from various sources: from the budgets of the Comité, of the Bureau Technique of the Waqf Administration, sometimes from that of the Ministry of Public Works, and in the case of Coptic monuments also from that of the Patriarchate. And of course, as we have seen, usually the works carried out on a building in accordance with the instructions of the Comité were simply financed by the respective owners of the monuments in question.

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<sup>4</sup> See the Bulletin of the Comité: Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe. Exercices 1896. Fascicule XIII. Procès-verbaux des Séances. – Rapports de la deuxième Commission. Cairo. 111-112. (Cited henceforth as *BC* [= Bulletin du Comité] with the indication of the volume number and the fiscal year, which may differ from the year of publication).

This situation where spheres of authority were not always clearly defined resulted in a considerable amount of unnecessary bureaucratic paper work and also clashes of competence and powers, and it explains also the fact that at times the Waqf Administration spent large amounts of the independent budget of the Comité.

This was approximately the situation when, upon the invitation and offer of Julius Franz Pasha, head of the Bureau Technique of the Waqf Administration, Max Herz joined the Bureau at the beginning of 1881 in the capacity of architect attached directly to Franz Pasha. At the beginning of the following year work started in the Comité only to be interrupted for a while by the 'Urābī revolt when, among others, Herz and three other European engineers in the Waqf Administration had to flee from Egypt (Herz 1912:253). This was only a brief intermezzo, however, and the Comité soon resumed its work. Right from the beginning Herz seems to have been involved, as a junior architect, mainly with works of preservation and restoration. Upon Franz Pasha's retirement in 1887 Herz inherited his place in the Comité and soon afterwards he was put in charge of the Arab Museum. In 1890 the Comité received an independent technical department of its own, called the Bureau Spécial. The creation of this Bureau was of the utmost importance and improved the state of preservation and restoration considerably because, no matter how small it was, the Comité did not now have to rely on the Bureau Technique of the Waqf Administration. Though on a modest scale, the number of the staff at the Bureau Spécial grew steadily right up until the outbreak of World War I. Its head was the chief architect to the Comité, a post newly created personally for Herz, who by this time has become the incontestable head of this field of activity. This important post was occupied by Herz for a quarter of a century until the end of 1914, when he was expelled from Egypt as an enemy alien – he was Hungarian citizen – by the British authorities following the outbreak of World War I.

For the sake of clarity it must be emphasized that Herz was not the director of the Bureau Technique of the Waqf Administration – in this post Franz Pasha was succeeded by Muṣṭafā bey Sādiq, and we know for instance that around 1894 the head of the Bureau Technique was Sābir bey Ṣabrī, and that around 1907 the chief architect of the Waqf Administration was Maḥmūd Fahmī Bey (BC 1914. XXXI.IX).

Although Herz was not the official head of the Comité – its president being *ex officio* always the head of the Waqf Administration – yet from an organizational point of view and also in practice the most important post on the Comité was of course that of chief architect. In Herz Pasha's case his love of his work, his deep interest, seriousness and indefatigable industry lent considerable additional weight to this post, which was already of central importance on account of organizational aspects. Thus for twenty-five years Herz was in absolute charge of monuments of Arab-Islamic and later also of Coptic architecture in Egypt.

Herz was a rather conservative-minded preserver and restorer: he preferred preservation to restoration, and when he did resort to restoration he strove to be as

meticulous as possible in restoring only elements and items which could be proven beyond doubt to have existed. This latter statement, which can be read in an important source, is valid only with certain restrictions (Iskārūs 1919:926). It is true that Herz restrained himself considerably in the restoration of monuments which came from periods the architecture of which little was known, e.g. the era of the Fātimids. However, in the case of monuments coming from periods such as the Mamlūk era, which were abundantly represented by monuments of architecture, Herz did resort to the analogous completion of missing and unattested parts when compelled by circumstances. In this he was acting in accordance with the practice of his age: we must not forget that he lived and worked in the age of purism, when the supreme goal of many an architect was to restore a monument to a stylistically pure state, which was usually, though not always, its original state. This attitude was gradually losing ground, though, and under the impact of the growing criticism directed against the *vandalisme restaurateur* of purists, restorers began to pay more and more attention to the meticulous investigation of all available data and to rely on them exclusively.

It must also be borne in mind that most of the monuments Herz was dealing with were of a functional significance: he was, after all, working on mosques, public fountains, houses etc., which were, as a rule, to be used again, and consequently an extremely conservative attitude which limited itself to conservation, only eventually conserving a monument in a partly dilapidated state, was out of the question. Thus under his guidance and authority the Comité chose to undertake minor interventions on a considerable number of monuments in need of urgent repair and only carried out complete restorations in relatively few instances. This attitude can be regarded as most felicitous because – although results were not so spectacular – in this way the Comité nevertheless managed to save a great number of monuments for posterity. Without the care shown by the Comité these would by now have disappeared without trace (figs. 3-6). It should be noted, however, that in making this choice the Comité was also influenced by its chronic lack of funds: we know that Herz Pasha would have carried out complete restoration in considerably more cases had his budget allowed him to do so.

Let us consider some examples when Herz Pasha resorted to the completion of parts of monuments on the basis of analogy.

The Mosque of Barqūq in the Sūq al-Nahhāsīn. There are two fine watercolours by Herz Pasha in the Barqūq portfolio in the Archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities<sup>5</sup>. The first is *Masğid as-Sultān Barqūq [mabnī min sanat 784 li-sanat 801 hiğriyya] / tānī taşmīm ‘an ad-dikka bi-ḥasab waḍḍ dikkat ġāmi‘ as-Sultān Mu‘ayyad [mabnī sanat 814 li-sanat 842 hiğriyya]*. It is dated October 1890 and signed “Herz,”

<sup>5</sup> Archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. I am greatly indebted to the Supreme Council of Antiquities for the permission to do research work in their archives.

the second is *Ġāmi' Barqūq / taṣmīm 'an fisqiyya li-s-sahn hasab wad' fisqiyyat Ġāmi' as-Sultān Hasan*. It is dated November 1890 and signed "Herz". Now it is recorded in the Centième Rapport de la Deuxième Commission that the *dikka* of the Barqū-qiyya and the basin in its *sahn* were removed shortly before because they had been recently constructed and were ugly and devoid of any value. Their reconstruction however in a good style appropriate to the importance of the monument itself was deemed necessary<sup>6</sup>. Herz Pasha submitted two designs for the *dikka* and one for the domed fountain. The first design for the *dikka* was based on that of Sultān Hasan, while the second one on that of the Mu'ayyad mosque. Having examined them the Deuxième Commission opted for the latter. They were carried out in due course and can be admired even today. Not everybody liked them, however. They have been criticized by Julius Franz Pasha for looking brand new – he found that the *dikka* especially was too bright (fig. 7) (Franz Pascha 1903:85-86).

In connection with the Barqūqiyya another interesting subject is worth mentioning. An important local, Egyptian authority on monuments of Arab-Islamic art in Cairo, Hasan 'Abdalwahhāb, the late photographer of the Comité, had a very high opinion of the work done on the Barqūqiyya in general expressly mentioning also the ceiling:

*La-qad qāmat Laġnat hiḏ al-ātār al-'arabiyya bi-a'māl ġalīla fī hādihī l-madrasa; fa-aṣlahat ruḡāmahā wa-niġāratāhā wa-qawwamat mabāniyahā wa-aṣlahat as-suqūf wa-dahhabathā kamā anṣa'at al-qubba al-kabīra [sanat 1311h – 1893m] tibqan li-sūra qadīma wa-qubbat as-sahn [sanat 1318h – 1896m]. Wa-l-ḡaqq annahū 'amal ġalīl yu'add min mafāhir hādihī l-Laġna wa-burhān sāti' 'alā miqdār diqqatihā wa-'ināyatihā bi-l-ātār al-islāmiyya* ('Abdalwahhāb 1994:197).

On the other hand, Europeans, notably Julius Franz Pasha, Creswell, and to a lesser extent Stanley Lane-Poole, criticized Herz Pasha for the harshness of new colours on the ceiling of the sanctuary, that is the south-eastern – *qiblī* – *iwān*. In the portfolio of the Barqūqiyya we find a vast correspondence concerning the painting of this ceiling, with Herz Pasha requesting detailed descriptions of painting methods, the paints used etc., but a report of how exactly the decision was made is missing. Ludwig Borchardt, the noted German Egyptologist, who linked to his education as an Egyptologist that of an architect and who seems to have known Herz quite well, informs us of the details of this procedure in his obituary of Herz Pasha. At the same time he sets the whole affair in a broader, historical context<sup>7</sup>. He says, when the ceilings of mosques were newly painted – for which Herz was to be criticized later on – Herz Pasha took great pains

<sup>6</sup> 100<sup>th</sup> Rapport de la deuxième Commission (13 novembre 1890). BC 1890. VII. 121.

<sup>7</sup> On him see Dawson, Uphill & Bierbrier 1995:54-55.

to have large size samples prepared in order to find out whether the colours would be more effective in the shades in which they can be seen now, centuries after their original appliance, or the way they looked when they were freshly applied. Finally the members of the Comité took a joint decision to apply the fresh, harsh colours and left it to the passage of time to mellow them and to be reconciled with each other just as it had happened formerly. Perhaps this was the right decision and the criticisms and reproaches will disappear after one or more decades (Borchardt 1919:368).

To our regret, there is no document relating to this decision nor are the large size samples Borchardt refers to extant among the documents at present. It can be assumed that Herz relied on similar models and his own exquisite taste in re-painting the central part of the ceiling of the *qiblī iwān* because there were not sufficient traces of the original upon which the restoration could have been based. It was different in the side-aisles of the same *iwān* where it was possible to complete the remains of the originals (BC 1890. VII. 127-128).

For the painting of the fountain in the *ṣahn* Herz gave the following instructions in 1895:

The fountain will be painted on the interior of the roof of the fountain. The fountain of the Sultān Ḥasan-mosque is indicated as the model for the style and the size of the work to be carried out. The motifs of the designs can be taken from the mosque of Barqūq itself<sup>8</sup>.

Herz Pasha regarded the mosque of Sultān Ḥasan as the most beautiful and most perfect monument of Arab-Islamic art in existence in the whole Arab-Islamic world. It was in a very bad condition when he took up his post and it was clear that the mosque needed substantial and exhaustive preservation and restoration. The extent of the costs required for these works was such that for a while there could be absolutely no question of such an undertaking. The means at the Comité's disposal allowed merely for the carrying out of the most urgent, absolutely indispensable, works. The estimated budget for the whole project amounted to L.Eg. 40,000, an exorbitantly high sum in those days. With the aim of raising this sum Herz Pasha published a lavishly produced folio monograph on the mosque in order to draw attention to it. Soon afterwards work was begun and by the time of Herz's expulsion in 1914 he had almost finished the project. Only minor details were left for his successor, Achille Patricolo, to complete. Now while most sources maintain that Herz managed to raise the required sum of L.Eg. 40,000 and thus to carry out the planned project, some important authorities flatly deny this. Ignaz Goldziher, who was a close friend of Herz's and who was deeply interested in everything connected with Egypt, wrote in his obituary of Herz Pasha that Herz had *not* succeeded in raising this sum and

<sup>8</sup> Dated 24 October 1895. Archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities.

thus had to restrict himself to certain superficial measures only (Goldziher 1919:230). Ludwig Borchardt also wrote that Herz Pasha was only able to accomplish his most ambitious project, that of the restoration of the mosque of Sultān Ḥasan, under considerable, heavy restrictions because the necessary funds were lacking, and thus he was confined to the execution of the most important and absolutely indispensable measures in order to halt further deterioration and dilapidation (Borchardt 1919:368). We are now nearer to the solution of this puzzle. In the Sultān Ḥasan portfolio in the Comité's archives there is a detailed report of the exact amounts spent in the course of the whole project beginning from the fiscal year 1902 up to the date of the report. This detailed report was written by Achille Patricolo on the order of Herz Pasha and is dated January 29th, 1914. The sum total appearing in the report amounts to L.Eg. 32.623. This means that most of the required sum was at Herz Pasha's disposal and that he was able to accomplish more or less what he had planned to do.

In conformity with a decision of the Deuxième Commission, on April 15th, 1903 Herz ordered that the smaller domed fountain, which was in fact a *ḥanafīyya*<sup>9</sup>, in the *ṣahn* of the mosque of Sultān Ḥasan dating from Ottoman times (fig. 8), should be transferred to the Māridānī mosque, which had been erected roughly at the same period and lacked an authentic fountain; Herz had already suggested this measure in his monograph on the Sultān Ḥasan mosque (Herz 1899:28, note 2). It was done although it met with some opposition, and indignant protests were voiced, such as that by Somers Clarke:

I have observed with regret that the small fountain in the court-yard of the Mosque of Sultan Hassan has been removed. As an Hon. Memb. of the Comité I should much like to have been able to plead for the retention and should have done so had I known that the removal was contemplated. The Mosque has a worldwide reputation. How many artists have not made studies of its stately and picturesque interior? They will find that now one of the objects of interest is gone and may reasonably ask "Why"? A question it seems to me most difficult to answer. I fear that presently some unpleasant criticism may be made which would have been avoided by adhering to the very simple rule of conservation and of respect for historic continuity. To preserve rigorously is to maintain an unassailable position which will certainly secure the respect of the most cultivated archaeologists of all nationalities<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. BC 1889. VI. 102. BC 1892. IX. 112. The word 'hanafīyya' usually designated a water-tank with taps. On the word *ḥanafīyya* see Herz 1896:50-51. Cf. also Herz 1900:164. Lane 1978:73. Amin & Ibrahim 1990:37-38 (s.v. *ḥanafī*, *ḥanafīyya*).

<sup>10</sup> Letter dated Continental Hotel, Cairo, April 23rd, 1904. Archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities.

This letter was read in the session of the Comité on May 9th, 1904. One of its members, Ya'qūb Artīn Pasha, Under-secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Instruction, declared that the removal of the fountain had been totally justified and expressed his astonishment that objections should be raised in this respect at all<sup>11</sup>. The public discussion of this matter continued for some time and under the impact of the criticisms and protests even the restitution of the fountain to its original place was considered, but in the end the Comité decided that it should remain where it was (fig. 9)<sup>12</sup>.

In connection with the Sultān Ḥasan mosque a project with which Herz Pasha was greatly involved is worth mentioning. In the Sultān Ḥasan portfolio there are some documents relating to the remarkable effort launched by the Comité on the suggestion of Lord Kitchener to force builders to adopt the Arab-Islamic [≈ Mamlūk revival] style for their buildings – for the façades at least – in the vicinity of the Sultān Ḥasan and the Rifā'ī mosques that would be in stylistic harmony with these two fine monuments. After various enquiries and consultations it appeared that there were no legal possibilities of enforcing the adoption of a certain style in general but there were other possibilities of encouraging this and even enforcing it provided that this had been made the condition of certain donations made from public property. It is stated explicitly that it was Lord Kitchener's idea, who seems to have been involved with city-planning in the area: "To the South of the Sultan Ḥasan Mosque extends Saladin Square, the finest in the city, formed at Lord Kitchener's instigation in 1913, out of the Rumeila Square and by the demolition of several small streets and buildings," – runs an interesting passage in the 1929 edition of Baedeker's guide (Baedeker 1929:73). It may be mentioned in passing that similar efforts of enforcing a uniform style in a certain area were also made in Constantinople at about the same time (Godoli 1997:81a, note No. 29). In the neighbourhood of these two mosques there seems to be extant only one building now that corresponds to these requirements. There is a Mamlūk revival private house facing the North-Eastern wall of the Rifā'ī mosque (fig. 10). In the neighbourhood it is known as the house of an Egyptian officer, Liwā' Ḥasan bāṣā Rašīd, while rumour has it that Achille Patricolo also lived in it for a while. In one place Patricolo makes a slightly vague statement which can be interpreted – though this interpretation is not binding – that he himself designed it<sup>13</sup>. Who was responsible for this building is not wholly clear because some sources mention a Mamlūk revival building in this neighbourhood which is said

<sup>11</sup> Procès-Verbal N° 130 (9 mai 1904). VI. BC 1904. XXI. 51.

<sup>12</sup> Extrait du proc. verb. No. 197 du 10.10.12 Rapp. 454, §5, A. – Restitution à la mosquée du sultan Hassan du petit bassin transféré à la mosquée d'el-Mardāni. *Le Comité n'est pas d'avis de modifier l'état actuel des choses*. Archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities.

<sup>13</sup> Patricolo 1922. See also Volait 1987:90.

to have been designed by Herz Pasha for Gayer Anderson Bey, the Oriental Secretary of the British Residency<sup>14</sup>. It is not clear whether our source is reliable or not, or whether the building allegedly designed for Gayer Anderson Bey is identical with the building still in existence behind the Rifā'ī mosque. In any case there is only one Mamlūk revival building existing at present in this neighbourhood. It is not known either where Gayer Anderson Bey lived at this time but this can perhaps be found out. Since an assassination attempt was made on Gayer Anderson Bey, the Oriental Secretary of the Residency, while he was living in the Arab-style house in question at the beginning of the nineteen twenties, several persons were executed. Therefore, as a consequence of this assassination attempt, there might be some pertinent documentary material still in existence in archives which might offer some clues for the identification of Gayer Anderson's house. In the end we might clarify who was responsible for a remarkable building, eventually discover a building perhaps designed by Herz Pasha, and have a better picture of the result of the effort to enforce the application of the Arab-Islamic style in a certain neighbourhood<sup>15</sup>.

Finally, I would like to mention one more interesting subject the understanding of which is facilitated by documentary material preserved in the archives of the Comité. It is the question of the foundation of the Coptic Museum. In recent publications Morqos Simayka Pasha is regarded as the founder and first director of the Coptic Museum and the year of its foundation is indicated variously as 1903, 1906 or 1908. In addition, important sources consider the placing of Coptic monuments under the Comité's authority as one of the most important results of Morqos Simayka's activities in the Comité. All this is, however, contradicted by the bulletins of the Comité. First, Morqos Simayka did not become a member of the Comité until 1906 while the Coptic monuments had already been placed under the Comité's authority at the beginning of 1896. As far as the Coptic Museum is concerned, the bulletins inform us that the idea for its foundation was first brought up by Herz Pasha in an official letter addressed to the President of the Comité in 1897. Thereupon the President intervened with the Patriarch and in 1899 the latter designed an annexe of the Mu'allāqa church as a repository for endangered objects of Coptic art. This annexe can be regarded as the germ of the Coptic Museum. Later on the Comité commissioned Herz Pasha to prepare the designs for an independent building of the Coptic Museum and in 1913 they were in fact prepared by his Bureau under his guidance

<sup>14</sup> On Gayer Anderson see Dawson, Uphill & Bierbrier 1995:165. On the building and the event in question see Harris 1925:28 and Gayer-Anderson Pasha 1948:12. The introduction with the biography was written by Gayer Anderson's younger brother. For this piece of information I am indebted to Gayer Anderson's grandson, Theo Gayer-Anderson, and to Nicholas Warner in Cairo.

<sup>15</sup> Mercedes Volait, who perhaps knows best the architecture of the period in question, thinks that the building behind the Rifā'ī mosque is not Herz's work. Oral communication.

and submitted by Herz Pasha to the Comité (fig. 11). Subsequently alterations were made on these designs and consequently what is so well-known today to visitors of Cairo as the Coptic Museum does not bear any resemblance to those first designs. This we are in a position to state now because those designs are preserved in the Mu'allaqa portfolio in the Archives of the Comité. There is actually a whole series of designs dating from 1913 onwards showing that the Bureau Spécial of the Comité did not cease working on this project, constantly changing their ideas. None of the designs, however, corresponds to the present façade, which resembles that of the Aqmar mosque. Certainly, the complete story of the birth of the Coptic Museum cannot be written on the basis of these documents alone because significant items of information are still lacking. Yet there can be no doubt that its birth – both as an institution and as a building – will remain connected to Herz Pasha's name forever. This of course does not mean that one would want to belittle Morqos Simayka Pasha's great merits in connection with the Coptic Museum and his services to Coptic art in general. It was due to his indefatigable zeal, his boundless energy and enthusiasm that the Coptic Museum in fact became the important institution which it is now. Simply the beginning was different. In this context the testimony of an important state official of Coptic origin, Gallini Fahmi Pasha [Qallīnī Fahmī Bāšā] may now be introduced. He was born in 1860 and served the state in different posts during an exceptionally long career under Ismā'īl, Tawfīq, 'Abbās II. Hilmī, Ḥusayn Kāmil and Fu'ād. He died around 1953<sup>16</sup>. Gallini Fahmi Pasha, who, as a Copt, must have been interested in the affairs of his own community and at the same time must have possessed reliable pieces of information, in his memoirs regards Herz Pasha as the founder of the Coptic Museum in agreement with what was said above<sup>17</sup>.

When one goes through the documents preserved in the Archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities of the period in question two impressions predominate. First, the Comité and its Bureau Spécial were a very serious institution with a strict working discipline in which the chief architect, Herz Pasha, played a key role. A considerable part of the documents are in his hand and in the rest of the cases it clearly appears that everything happened under his strict control and supervision and according to his intentions. From the exemplary detailed documentary material extant in certain cases it may be inferred that working methods and principles were identical in other cases also where the documentary material is defective or simply missing. Second, having examined all this material one really begins to appreciate the bulletins; one discovers how excellent those brief summaries are, especially the

<sup>16</sup> On him see Fahmī 1926:300-323.

<sup>17</sup> Qallīnī Fahmī bāšā 1934: I, 123-125 (French transl. 129-131). I am indebted to Donald M. Reid (Atlanta, Georgia) for the Arabic version of this work.

reports of the Deuxième Commission; and one is deeply impressed by the amount of work that must have gone into their preparation. We have Herz Pasha's express statement that the reports of the Deuxième Commission were written by himself beginning from No. 48 dated 29th of November, 1888 until No. 485 dated 25th of June, 1914<sup>18</sup>.

Posterity is indebted to Max Herz Pasha for the survival of many monuments of Arab-Islamic and Coptic architecture in Egypt. It is hoped that the details highlighted in this paper will help us to form a correct idea of his achievements in the protection of monuments in Egypt and of his place in the history of the Comité.

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<sup>18</sup> Szinnyi 1891-1914:813a. On the basis of the autograph draft of this entry, which can be found among his papers in the possession of his grandson, Paolo Sereni in Naples, the report in question was the Quarante-huitième rapport de la deuxième Commission (29 novembre 1888). *BC 1887-1888*. V. 57-58. The last session of the Section Technique attended by Herz and of which he may have written the report was on 25 June 1914: 485\* Rapport de la Section technique. *BC 1914*. XXXI. 138-143. The last session of the Comité attended by him was session No. 214. on 12th June, 1914. *Ibid.* 123-126. This volume is certainly not edited by him anymore, because it seems to have gone to the press after his departure.

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## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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Fig. 1.

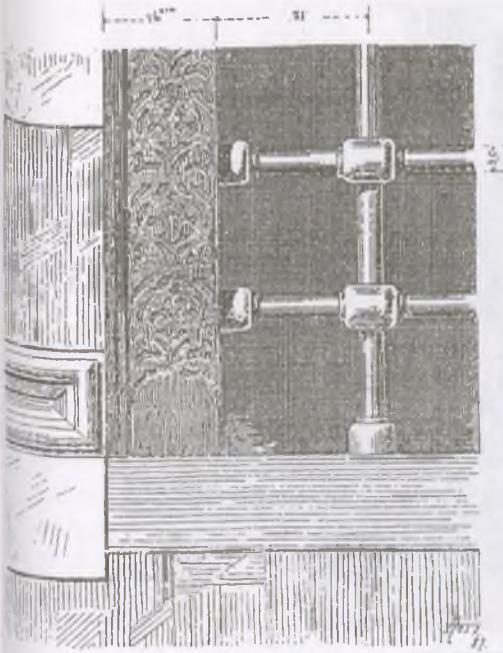
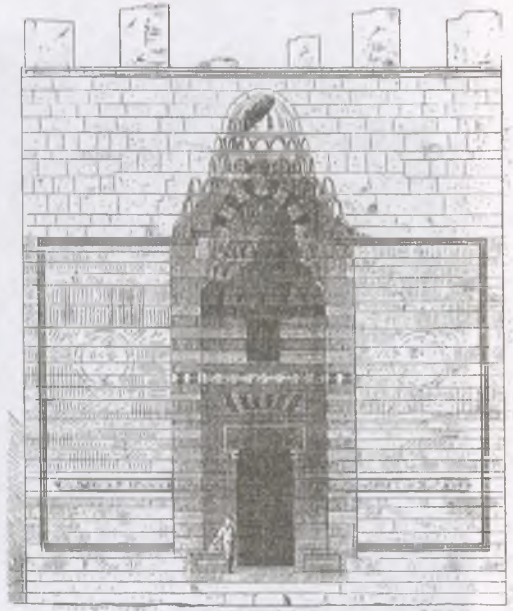


Fig. 2.



*Alhambra des Indes de l'Alhambra*

*Alhambra des Indes*

Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

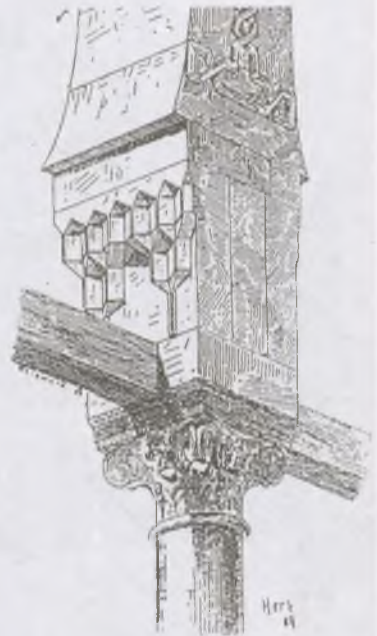


Fig. 5.

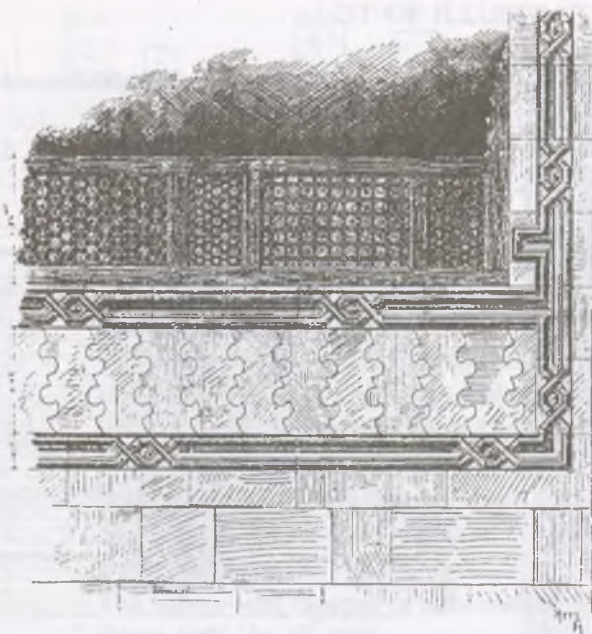


Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

IN THE EYE OF THE BRITISH.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

