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المجلة التاريخية المصرية

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The Status of Byzantine studies in Egypt (1950s-1980s)

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The Status of Byzantine studies in Egypt (1950s-1980s)

(1)Abdelaziz Ramadan

ملخص

تتناول هذه الدراسة بداية وتطور الاهتمام بدراسة التاريخ البيزنطي في مصر منذ الحرب العالمية الثانية حتى الثمانينيات. وتحاول توضيح كيف بدأت هذه الدراسة كفرع من التاريخ الإسلامي والعصور الوسطى، وكيف حددت هذه البداية شكل وطبيعة ما يمكن وصفه بأنه دراسات ما قبل الثورة. ثم تناقش كيف أثرت العلاقة المتنامية فيما بعد الثورة بين الكتابة التاريخية والأيدولوجية السياسية وتأثيرها على الموضوعات والمحتويات وحتى صيغة دراسات هذه الفترة. كما تركز الدراسة على ظاهرة المتخصص «الموسوعي»، الذي يمكن أن تغطي كتاباته العديد من فترات ومجالات تاريخ في العصور الوسطى والتاريخ الإسلامي، وكيف تركت هذه الظاهرة تأثيراً عميقاً على دراسة التاريخ البيزنطي حتى الآن. وتواصل الدراسة مناقشة جهود الجيل الرائد في الدراسات البيزنطية الصرفة منذ السبعينيات لتعزيز دراسة التاريخ البيزنطي، وكيف شكلت هذه الجهود الوضع الحالي لهذه الدراسة في مصر.

(1) Professor of Medieval history at King Khalid University.

Abstract

This paper deals with the beginning and progress of interest in the study of Byzantine history in Egypt after World War II till 1980s. It tries to explain how this study began as a branch of Islamic and Medieval history, and how this beginning largely determined the shape and nature of what can be described as the pre-revolution study of Byzantine history. Then it discusses how the post-revolutionary growing relationship between historical writing and political ideology largely put its impact on the themes, contents, and even the formula of this study. It also focuses on the phenomenon of the "encyclopedic" medievalist, whose writing could, and should, cover many periods and fields of medieval and Islamic history, and how this phenomenon left a profound impact on the study of Byzantine history that is continued until now. The paper continues with discussing the efforts of the first generation of the Egyptian pure Byzantinists since the 1970s to promote the study of Byzantine history, and how this largely shaped the recent status of this study in Egypt.

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The study of Byzantine history emerged in Egypt after World War II as a branch of Islamic and Medieval history. Since then for almost two decades a sort of such study can be traced but without real Byzantinists.

The Pre-Revolutionary Situation

Although the first Egyptian university had been founded by King Fu'ād in 1925 and named after him, the chair of medieval history in the Faculty

of Arts was only founded in 1937 by Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyāda (1900-1968), who seven years earlier had completed his PhD in Liverpool, with a dissertation entitled *Foreign Relations of Egypt in the Fifteenth Century*, which was supervised by the famous medievalist G.W. Copland. Meanwhile, another medievalist, ‘Azīz Sūryāl ‘Aṭṭīya (1898-1988), decided to go back to King Fu’ād University in 1939 after many years of studying in the universities of Liverpool and London. He moved to Alexandria as soon as King Fārūq University was established in 1942, and held the foundation chair in medieval history at the Faculty of Arts till 1954.⁽¹⁾

Muṣṭafá Ziyāda's preoccupation with writing about Islamic history and editing Arabic sources,⁽²⁾ and Sūryāl ‘Aṭṭīya's concentration on the Crusades and Coptic history, did not give them any room for interest in Byzantine history. Their post-graduate students followed their pattern and devoted themselves mainly to Islamic and Crusade studies.⁽³⁾ This pattern was only broken, relatively speaking, when some of these students had the opportunity to study for a doctorate abroad. All of them were utilized in studying topics related to Islamic-Byzantine relations. In 1946, a student specializing in Islamic history from the Faculty of Arts at King Fārūq University, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Hādī Shu‘ayra (d. 1977), completed his doctoral dissertation entitled *La lute entre Arabes et Byzantins: la conquête et l'organisation des frontières aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles* at the

(1) On Sūryāl ‘Aṭṭīya's brilliant career abroad from 1955 until his death in 1988, see ‘ABD AL-ZĀHIR, *Suryāl ‘Aṭṭīya* 7-10.

(2) On Muṣṭafá Ziyāda's efforts to edit Arabic see the pamphlet of RABIE, *Muṣṭafá Ziyāda* 1-10.

(3) Muṣṭafá Ziyāda supervised about 35 master and doctoral dissertations. Their titles reveal that the history of Ayyubids and Mamluks received the greatest share of his interest (11 dissertations in Mamluk history and 8 in Ayyubid history). The other dissertations were divided between the history of the Crusades (4), Islamic civilization (4), Abbasids (4), and a dissertation in both the history of early Islam, Ummayyads, Fatimids, Maghreb, and Muslims in Norman Sicily. However, he supervised a dissertation entitled *Monastic Communities in Fourth Century Wādī al-Naṭrūn*. See KUTABĪ, *Muṣṭafá Ziyāda* 35-7. See also: Dissertations awarded 400-3.

University of Paris.⁽¹⁾ At about the same time, another graduate of King Fārūq University, Muḥammad ‘Alī Fahmy,⁽²⁾ earned his PhD degree from the University of London with a dissertation entitled *Muslim Sea-Power in the Eastern Mediterranean from the Seventh to the Tenth Century*.⁽³⁾ In 1949, the future medievalist Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-‘Adawī (d. 2004) returned from Liverpool to the Faculty of Dār al-‘Ulūm⁽⁴⁾ at King Fu’ād University carrying his doctoral dissertation *Egyptian Maritime Power in the Early Middle Ages: from the Arab Conquest of Egypt to the Fall of the Fatimids (640-1171)*. A quick look at these dissertations' bibliographies may explain why these researchers were directed to study such subjects, since it reveals an obvious lack of knowledge of Greek and a full dependence on modern Western studies, Arabic sources and the very few Greek texts available in modern western translations.⁽⁵⁾

This beginning seems to have largely determined the shape and nature of what can be described as the pre-revolutionary study of Byzantine history. It seems that most of the generation of pioneers who graduated from Liverpool and London were greatly influenced by the historiographical school of 'Political History'. Even ‘Abd al-Hādī Shu‘ayra, who completed his doctorate in the context of the *Annales* school in

(1) It was published under the same titles by *Société de publications Égyptiennes*, Alexandria 1947.

(2) Fahmy was not a member of the university faculty. As recorded in the list of contributors in *Islamic Review* (March 1952), he was working at that time as an inspector of social studies for secondary schools at Alexandria zone.

(3) This dissertation was completed under the guidance of the famous Bernard Lewis. It was published under the same title in London 1950 and re-published in Cairo in 1966 in two volumes, the first carrying the same title, while the second entitled *Muslim Naval Organisation from the Seventh to Tenth Century*.

(4) The English translation is 'Faculty of Religious Sciences', a college specializing in Arabic and religious sciences.

(5) In his review of Fahmy's book, the eminent Byzantinist Romilly Jenkins found that "it is disappointing that Dr. Fahmy attempts to sketch the organization of Muslim sea-power without a knowledge of Greek, and hence without reference to an enormous number of Greek terms and Greek documents which would have helped and illuminated his study". Jenkins, Review 180-1.

France, appeared more influenced by the first school when he chose Alexander Vasiliev's monumental study *Byzance et les Arabes* as the first western work about Byzantine history that was translated into Arabic in 1949.⁽¹⁾ This also explains why the contribution to the study of Byzantine history during the 1950s and 1960s was confined to translation and publication of studies relating to Islamic-Byzantine relations.

Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī was the most active and most interested scholar in Byzantine history during this period. Besides his first book *Byzantium and Islam* (Cairo, 1951), he published three articles, one of which dealt with Muslim-Byzantine competition over Crete in the ninth century⁽²⁾ and another with political representation between the Abbasids and the Byzantines.⁽³⁾ The title of the third article 'Studies in Byzantine History'⁽⁴⁾ is problematic, since it only focuses on early Arab-Byzantine frontiers, in particular on the system of *themata*. It seems that Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī did not intend any kind of misinformation, and this was no more than an expression of a trend among the medievalists of this time that considered Islamic-Byzantine relations as the most important part of Byzantine history. This trend was implicitly criticized by such a leading medievalist as Muṣṭafā Ziyāda. In his introduction to Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī's *Byzantium and Islam*, he acknowledged the difficulty of separating the study or the teaching of Byzantine history from Islamic history, but on the other hand he claimed that this should not prevent medievalists from producing purely authentic Byzantine studies.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Affiliation to the school of political history may be also reflected by the first Arabic translation of a western survey of Byzantine history, Norman Baynes's *The Byzantine Empire*, which was done in 1950 by Ḥusayn Mu'nīs (1911-96), Professor of Islamic History at King Fu'ād University.

(2) *Iqrīṭīsh* 53-68.

(3) *Al-Tamthīl* 113-122.

(4) *Dīrasāt* 75-93.

(5) *Byzaṭah wal Islām* iii-iv.

Impact of the July Revolution: the 1950s and the 1960s

This initial status for the study of Byzantine history remained essentially unchanged after the July Revolution in 1952. It maintained its basic line of adhering to the school of political history and studying Islamic-Byzantine relations exclusively. However, a remarkable change in its form and content can be observed as a result of the increasing relationship between historical writing and political ideology in the post-revolutionary period. The spread of the new revolutionary spirit and ideas not only changed the names of the three existing universities but also prompted medievalists to adjust their interests and attitudes. In his study *Historians, State, and Politics in Twentieth Century Egypt*, Gorman has analyzed the impact of the new climate created by the July Revolution on the study and teaching of modern history, referring in detail to historians who warmly embraced the new political demands of nationalism, Arabism, and socialism.⁽¹⁾

Medievalists were not isolated from this climate, in fact many of them soon adapted to it and competed to echo the revolutionary rhetoric and nationalist tone of the 1950s and 1960s,⁽²⁾ and this largely determined the themes, contents, and even the formula of their studies' titles.⁽³⁾ Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī's post-revolutionary writings are a clear indicator of this adjustment.

(1) GROMAN, *Historians* 29.

(2) It was not strange during the 1950s and 1960s to find a prominent medievalist such as Sa'īd 'Ashūr writes a considerable book entitled *Revolution of the People: a Presentation of the National Movement in Egypt in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries with a Detailed Study of the Revolution of July 23, 1952*. Also, Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī published in the 1950s and 1960s books entitled *Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir; The Vigilance of Sudan; The Leaders of Arab Liberation in Modern Era; Infiltration Movements against Arab Nationalism; 'Umar Makram: Hero of the Popular Resistance; The Arab Society: Its Components and Universal Mission; The Conflict between the Arab Nationalism and the New Colonization*. It seems that the last three books, which were published between 1967-9, were influenced by the atmosphere of the defeat of the 1967 War.

(3) As Gorman also has pointed out "There were opportunities to make considerable profit for those willing to write on subjects from a politically acceptable viewpoint". Gorman, *Historians* 60.

The terms 'Arabs' and 'Arab' began to appear in their titles equally with 'Muslims' and 'Islamic'.⁽¹⁾ The contents and titles of these studies became more rhetorical and a reminder of early Muslims' past glories. In the preface of his monograph *The Umayyads and Byzantines: The Mediterranean an Islamic Lake*, he stressed on the concept of "political and social vigilance", the role of religion's "social system" in the unity of the Islamic world, and the importance of the Mediterranean to achieve "global leadership".⁽²⁾ Another medievalist from the University of Alexandria (formerly King Fārūq University), 'Umar Kamāl Tawfiq, published two books in 1959 and 1966 dealing with the eastern politics of Emperors Nikephoros II Phocas (963-969) and John Tzimisces (969-976). In both books, he evidently sought to link his approach with the contemporary political discourse that was hostile to colonialism and imperialism. He portrayed tenth-century Byzantium as a crusader and imperialist power, and presented the two Emperors' policies as a 'religious' war,⁽³⁾ a 'prelude to the Crusades', and a part of the persistent European ambitions in the Arab-Islamic Near East.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Also, it seems that Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī found the title of his monograph *Byzantium and Islam* became unsuitable for the requirements of the period, so he republished it in 1958 under the new title *The Islamic State and the Empire of the Rūm*. Replacing the Islamic state firstly and using a term that has an ethnic connotation seem to be meaningful.

(2) Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī appeared to be addressing the political power when wrote: "Today, Islamic countries are passing through an important stage of political and social vigilance and working to achieve a decent place among the nations of the world. This stage requires careful study of the fundamentals of the Islamic countries, and an understanding of the developments that they have passed, through a scientific study, so that leaders of the Islamic world can follow the guidance of these studies to direct their countries towards what achieves its pride and glory". Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī, *Al-Umayyūn* iii-vi. A similar rhetoric can be easily extracted from his monograph *Arab Fleets in the Mediterranean*. *Al-Asā'il* vi. However, this tone is absent from his study *Muslim Embassies to Europe in Middle Ages*, which includes a considerable part relating to embassies to Byzantium.

(3) This is evident in the title of his first book: *Emperor Nikephore Phokas and the Recovery of the Holy Lands*.

(4) 'Umar Tawfiq's keenness to address the political authority may be evident in the preface of his second book: "Perhaps this study will be a lesson and useful for the Arab

In the womb of this growing relationship between historical writing and political ideology, another phenomenon was also born during the 1950s and 1960s and left a profound impact on the study of medieval history that has continued until now. It is the emergence of what can be described as the 'encyclopedic' medievalist, whose writing could, and should, cover many periods and fields of medieval and Islamic history. This phenomenon seemed more pronounced among the medievalists of Cairo University (formerly King Fu'ād), who have pursued the line of Muṣṭafá Ziyāda that gathers the history of the Crusades, Ayyubids, Mamluks, Byzantines, and medieval Europe in one branch known as *Tārīkh al-'Uṣūr al-Wuṣṭá* (history of the Middle Ages). Given that Byzantine history was the least of the areas of these medievalists' interests, and that the new political demands had prompted some of them to expand their scope of writing even beyond the 'history of the Middle Ages', we can imagine the status of the post-revolutionary study of Byzantine history at Cairo University in both quantity and quality.

Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī is a shining example of this new phenomenon. He almost abandoned his previous interest in Islamic-Byzantine relations in favor of many other fields. With the exception of his monograph *The Umayyads and Byzantines*, which may have been written before the revolution, Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī's post-revolutionary publications dealt with various topics in Islamic, medieval, modern, and even ancient history.⁽¹⁾ His only article on Byzantine history after the revolution appeared in

Islamic nation, which is facing today the recent attempts by the foreign colonizer to occupy its homeland ... The Arab nation today is in dire need of unity under wise leadership so that it can vigorously and successfully confront the dangers surrounding". *Yūḥanā Tzimisce* v-vi. It should be noted that 'Umar Tawfiq wrote this book between the two wars of 1956 and 1967, and this may have affected his preface.

(1) In Islamic and medieval history, he published books entitled: *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; The Arab Navies in the Mediterranean; Muslims and Germans: Islam in the Western Mediterranean; The Arab society and anti-Populism; Arabs and Tartars; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam: Pioneer of the Arab Historians; Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr: The Founder of Arab Maghrib*. In Ancient history: *History of the Ancient World*. In modern history: *Islamic East in the Modern Era*. See also note 5.

Kuwait in 1973, and deals with the laws of agrarian reform in Byzantium.⁽¹⁾ Based on the information available on the website of the Egyptian Universities Libraries Consortium (*EULC*), he supervised about forty-five masters' and doctoral dissertations from 1967 to his death in 2004.⁽²⁾ Only two of them dealt with subjects related to Islamic-Byzantine relations.⁽³⁾

The study of Byzantine history was also outside the circle of interest of the two prominent pupils of Muṣṭafá Ziyāda, Ḥasan Ḥabashī (1915-2005)⁽⁴⁾ and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāh 'Ashūr (1922-2009).⁽⁵⁾ Despite their relatively long

(1) Qawānīn al-İslāh 149-72. This is the only study written by Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī that deals with a subject in pure Byzantine history.

(2) As the *EULC* website records, Ibrāhīm al-'Adawī supervised nine dissertations in Fatimid and Ayyubid history, seven in the history of Maghreb and Andalusia, five in Ottoman history, five in the history of Umayyads and Abbasids, three in the early Islamic history, two in Mamluk history, three in the Islamic civilization, three in the Islamic history of the Arab Gulf, one in Mongol history. Strangely enough, he also supervised three dissertations in modern history entitled *The history of Palestinian resistance (1917-35)*; *The Iranian Threat to the Arab Gulf in the First Half of the Twentieth Century*; *Zāhir al-'Umar in Palestine and 'Alī Beg al-Kabīr in Egypt: a Comparative Historical Study*.

(3) These dissertations as follows: Ramaḍān, A.A., *Al-'Alāqāt*; Al-Qirsh, *Al-'Alāqāt*. He also supervised a master dissertation at Kuwait University: Al-Ḥamd, *Al-Imbrāṭūrīyah*.

(4) Ḥasan Ḥabashī completed his master dissertation *Nūr a-Dīn Maḥmūd and the Crusades* in 1938 under the supervision of Muṣṭafá Ziyāda (published in Cairo in 1948), then moved to Ibrāhīm Pāshā University (later 'Ayn Shams University) in 1950 as a lecturer in Islamic History. In 1955, he completed his doctoral dissertation *Historical Studies on the Inbā' al-Ghumr of Ibn Ḥajar* at the University of London under the direction of the eminent scholar Bernard Lewis. Although he devoted most of his studies to the history of the Crusades and Mamluks, his interest extended to writing in the history of early Islam and modern Algeria. He also made great efforts in editing some Arabic sources and translating, from English and French, a large number of the Crusades' sources and few western studies on Muslim Spain, non-Muslims in Islam, and even modern Zanzibar.

(5) There is no doubt that Sa'īd 'Ashūr in his post-doctorate studies was following Ziyāda's footsteps. Under the supervision of the latter, he completed in 1944 a master dissertation entitled *Cyprus and the Crusades* (published in Cairo, 1957) and the doctoral dissertation *The Social Life in Mamluk Egypt* (published in Cairo in 1963 under the title *The Egyptian Society in the Era of Mamluk Sultans*). However, his contribution, which is close to seventy studies, is not only confined to the history of Crusades and Mamluks, but also

academic lives and abundance and diversity of their studies, neither of them published a single article relating to Byzantine history.⁽¹⁾ According to the *EULC* website, of the thirty-four dissertations supervised by Ḥasan Ḥabashī in the Faculty of Arts at ‘Ayn Shams University from 1964 to 1975,⁽²⁾ only one deals with a topic related to early Byzantine history.⁽³⁾ Similarly, Sa‘īd ‘Ashūr supervised some twenty-eight dissertations between 1967 and 2005,⁽⁴⁾ two of which concerned Byzantine history.⁽⁵⁾

On the other hand, the lack of strict and precise boundaries in academic historical writing at Cairo University necessarily led to the emergence of inadequate studies written by non-specialists during the 1950s and the 1960s. The references of these studies reveal a full reliance on citations from the few Western surveys of Byzantine history that were available at that time, and an apparent ignorance of the source language, or perhaps a lack of knowledge of the sources themselves. Fortunately, however, the number of these studies can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In 1956, a 34-page monograph entitled *Iconoclasm in the*

covers the history of Fatimids, Ayyubids, Ottomans, and medieval Europe, besides writing on Islamic civilization and editing some Arabic sources

(1) Even when Ḥasan Ḥabashī translated the two narratives of Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari about the fourth crusade in 1964 and 1982, respectively, or the *Alexiad* of Ana Komnena in 2004, this was an extension to his project to translate the sources of the Crusades. However, his translation of Donald Nicol's *A Biographical Dictionary of the Byzantine Empire* (published in 2003) is his only work that is directly related to Byzantine history.

(2) These dissertations are as follows: nine on Abbasid history, seven on editions of Arabic manuscripts, five in Mamluk history, three in the Crusades, three in the history of the Maghreb and Andalus, one on the historian Ibn al-Athīr, and one each on the Buwayhids, Umayyads, Mongols and the Hijāz.

(3) It is the MA dissertation of Ra‘fat ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, the future medievalist at ‘Ayn Shams University from the mid-1970s until his death in 2001, which is entitled *Constantine I's Policy Toward the Christian Sects*.

(4) According to the *EULC* website, there are twelve on Mamluk history, eight on the Crusades, two in Islamic history of Oman, and one each on the history of the Maghreb, Mongols, Umayyads, and Islamic Africa.

(5) See, Ṣālīḥ, *Sīyasat*; Zayyān, A.H., *al-Imbrāṭūr*.

Byzantine State was published by Ibrāhīm ‘Alī Ṭarkhān (d.1985), whose studies were mainly focused on the history of the Muslim kingdoms of West Africa and the feudal system in medieval Egypt.⁽¹⁾ It was the only study written by Ibrāhīm Ṭarkhān about Byzantine history. Although it is the first Arabic study that dealt with a purely Byzantine subject, it is entirely based on a few classic Western surveys of Byzantine history,⁽²⁾ and just as it did not rely on any Byzantine source, it also overlooked Western studies available at that time on the same subject.⁽³⁾

Al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-‘Arīnī (d. 1969) was also a true embodiment of the status of Byzantine studies at Cairo University during this period. He was awarded the MA and PhD degrees in the history of medieval Egypt under the supervision of Muṣṭafā Ziyāda in 1944 and 1955, respectively.⁽⁴⁾ As one of this 'encyclopedic' generation, his studies covered all the fields that were regarded as components of the so-called branch of the 'History of Middle Ages'.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Under the supervision of Muṣṭafā Ziyāda, Ibrāhīm Ṭarkhān obtained his M.A. degree in 1949 and the PhD in 1955; the title of his MA dissertation was *Islamic Feudal System in the Middle Ages until the End of the Ayyubid Era*, while his PhD dissertation entitled *Feudal Systems in the First and Second Mamluk States*. He moved to Cairo University (Khartoum Branch) and was a professor of medieval history when he published the two dissertations in one volume entitled *Feudal Systems in the Medieval Middle East*, which was published in Cairo in 1968. He published many articles about Islam and Arabic in Africa and three books about West African Islamic States of Ghana, Mali and Bornu. He also published in the 1950s and 1960s books entitled *The Visigoths; Egypt in the Era of the Circassian Mamluk State*; and *Muslims in Medieval Europe*.

(2) Specifically those written by Norman Baynes, Henry Moss, John Bury, Charles Diehl, George Finlay, Edward Gibbon, Charles Oman, and Alexander Vasiliev.

(3) Such as: MARTIN, *Iconoclastic Controversy*; Ostrogorsky, *Les débuts* 235-55; Lander, *Iconoclastic controversy* 127-49.

(4) Al-Bāz al-‘Arīnī's M.A. dissertation entitled *‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī's Kitāb Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah, with a Historical Introduction on the Office of Muḥtasib in Egypt till 254/868*, and the title of his Ph.D. dissertation is *Equestrian in Egypt under the Mamluk Sultans*.

(5) In the 1960s, al-Bāz al-‘Arīnī published books entitled *Middle East and the Crusades; Historians of the Crusades; Byzantine Egypt; The European Civilization in the Middle Ages; The Ayyubids; The Mongols; The Arab Society; History of Europe in Middle Ages*.

Among the few dissertations he supervised, there is only one master's dissertation on Islamic-Byzantine relations, entitled *The Islamic East and the Byzantine State in the time of the Ayyubids*, which was completed in 1968 by the future medievalist Zubaydah Muḥammad 'Aṭā. Compared with other contemporary medievalists at Cairo University, al-'Arīnī was the most active contributor to the study of Byzantine history. His MA dissertation included as an appendix a translation of the tenth-century text *Eparchion Biblion*. This translation may not need to be evaluated, as it is already implicitly criticized at a later date.⁽¹⁾ In 1956, he published a small 18-page pamphlet about the Byzantine *themata*,⁽²⁾ largely based on the articles of E.W. Brooks and Charles Diehl.⁽³⁾ What really deserves attention is his 931-page monumental survey *The Byzantine State*.⁽⁴⁾ The uniqueness of this work and its high level compared to this period will certainly shock readers, especially chapter I entitled "the evolution of the study of Byzantine history". However, this surprise will dissipate quickly upon comparing this chapter to the first chapter of Vasiliev's *History of the Byzantine Empire (324-1453)*, entitled 'the study of Byzantine history'.

Unlike Cairo University, the post-revolutionary study of Byzantine history was moving, albeit slowly, in a somewhat different direction at the University of Alexandria. From the beginning, Sūryāl 'Aṭṭīya sought to develop a more specific definition of 'the history of Middle Ages'. He excluded from its framework the history of the Mamluks and the Ayyubids, with a major focus on the history of the Crusades. His immediate disciple and successor, Joseph Yūsuf (1925-93), followed him.

(1) In his monograph *State and Trade in the Middle Byzantine Period*, Wesam Farag pointed out that al-Bāz al-'Arīnī relied on the English translation of this text and was unable to obtain the Greek text, nor did he see the Latin or French translation, which is the best translation of the text. Al-Dawlah 59.

(2) *Ajnād*.

(3) BROOKS, *Byzantine Themes* 67-7; DIEHL, *régime des themes* 276-92. In addition to using few Arabic sources, al-'Arīnī did not forget to quote from the traditional surveys of Baynes, Bury, Runciman and Vasiliev.

(4) *Al-Dawlah*.

Joseph Yūsuf earned his master's degree in 1950 and his doctorate in 1954 under the supervision of Sūryāl 'Aṭṭīya with two dissertations dealing with the seventh Crusade against Egypt⁽¹⁾ and King Louis IX in the Levant.⁽²⁾ His long academic career, which made him one of the most productive medievalists of his time, was almost entirely devoted to the history of the Crusades⁽³⁾ and medieval European history. Joseph Yūsuf's writing on Byzantine history was limited and confined to subjects related to his primary area of interest. With the exception of his textbook *History of the Byzantine Empire (284-1453)*,⁽⁴⁾ which seems to have served an educational purpose, he approached Byzantine history only when he addressed the Byzantine role in the first Crusade in his book *Arabs, Byzantines and Latins in the First Crusade*,⁽⁵⁾ or as an introductory chapter to his book *Islam and Christianity: the Conflict of their Powers in the Middle Ages*.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Published in 1960 under the title *The Defeat of Louis IX on the Nile Riverbanks, and* republished in 1969 under the title *The Crusader Aggression on Egypt: the Defeat of Louis IX in Mansoura and Fāraskūr*.

(2) Joseph Yūsuf published his PhD dissertation in 1956 under the title *Louis IX in the Middle East (1250-54): The Palestinian Issue in the Period of the Crusades*, and he republished it in 1971 under the new title *The Crusader aggression on the Levant: The Defeat of Louis IX in the Holy Lands*.

(3) Joseph Yūsuf published books entitled *Union and the Movements of Arab Vigilance during the Crusader Aggression; Studies in the Relations between East and West in Middle Ages; In the History of the Crusader Movement*. He also published articles entitled: The Personal Motive in the Crusader Movement; Western Colonial Aggression against the Arab World: Ancient and Modern Common Divisors; The Zionism in Palestine as a Natural Extension of the Crusader Colonialism. Worth mentioning that the titles of Joseph Yūsuf's works during the 1950s and 1960s evidently reflect the revolutionary national tone. This can be easily noted in using words as "aggression", "union", and "Arab vigilance". Also, There is a clear connection between the titles and contents of his articles and the growing hatred toward Israel and the West during the 1960s.

(4) *Tārīkh*.

(5) *Al-'Arab*.

(6) This chapter deals with Muslim-Byzantine relations in Syria and its frontiers in early Islam (626-37), originally an article presented at the fourth international conference of Bilād al-Shām, Amman 1985. This book contains three other chapters. The second chapter deals with the history of Arab civilization. The third represents the first

In the same period, the University of Alexandria also witnessed the emergence of another prominent medievalist, ‘Umar Kamāl Tawfiq (d. 1986), who returned in 1952 from the University of Pennsylvania with a doctoral dissertation entitled *Nūr al-Dīn and the Revival of Muslim Power (1146-1174)*, supervised by John Lamonte. Compared with Joseph Yūsuf, his few studies reflect a balanced interest in both Byzantine history and the history of the Crusades.⁽¹⁾ ‘Umar Tawfiq also seemed more interested in promoting the study of Byzantine history among postgraduate students. In his book *History of the Byzantine State*, he criticized scholars who "do not tend to study Byzantine history and regard it as a bleak and boring story". According to him, "there is no way to get a complete picture of the history of Arabs and Muslims in the Middle Ages without studying Byzantine history", and "if the ancient Arabs have learned a lot about the Byzantines because of their close connections with them, the modern Arab students of history should be interested in Byzantine history. For us, its importance in many respects exceeds the importance of the history of Europe in the Middle Ages".⁽²⁾

Although ‘Umar Tawfiq seems to have been more interested than Joseph Yūsuf in directing most of his post-graduate students to study topics from Byzantine history for their MA and PhD dissertations, both were similar in maintaining the traditional adherence to the school of

publication of his future small monograph *In the History of the Crusader Movement*, while the fourth is a re-publication of his monograph *Union and the Movements of Arab Vigilance during the Crusader Aggression*.

(1) In addition to the two books mentioned earlier which deal with the eastern policies of the Emperors Nickephoros II Phocas and John Tzimisce, ‘Umar Tawfiq published two books entitled *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem; Islamic Diplomacy and the Peaceful Relations with the Crusaders*. It is important to note the titles of the studies contain the words 'diplomatic' and 'peace', as they were written around the time of the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Prof. Albrecht Fuess, Marburg University, drew my attention to this observation during the discussions of the Conference *Modern Arabic Historical Scholarship on the Ancient and Medieval Periods*, held at the University of Trier, 23-4 November 2017.

(2) *Tārīkh* 5, 12.

political history, and in not going beyond the familiar trend of studying the political relations between Muslims and Byzantines. ‘Umar Tawfiq supervised only seven dissertations, five of which dealt with topics related to Islamic-Byzantine relations,⁽¹⁾ while Joseph Yūsuf, according to the *EULC* website, supervised about twenty-two dissertations, most of which were concerned with the history of the Crusades and only five dealt with Byzantine-Islamic relations.⁽²⁾

Cairo University: the 1970s and beyond

There is no doubt that foundation established by the medievalists of the 1950s and 1960s at the universities of Cairo and Alexandria clearly defined the course of studying medieval history in general and Byzantine history in particular at the two universities since the 1970s onwards.

At Cairo University, three new researchers joined Sa‘īd ‘Ashūr in the early 1970s as faculty members specializing in medieval history. All of them were directed to study the history of the Ayyubids, Mamluks and Crusades. The first one, Hasanein Rabie (b. 1938), was trained by al-Bāz al-‘Arīnī and wrote under his guidance a master’s thesis entitled *The Financial System of Egypt in the Ayyubid Era* (completed and published in Cairo 1964). In the late 1960s, he obtained his doctorate from the university of London with a dissertation entitled the *Financial System of Egypt (1169-1341)*, supervised by Bernard Lewis.⁽³⁾ Sa‘īd ‘Ashūr was the supervisor of the two other researchers, Muḥammad Amīn (1938-2015) and Ḥāmid Zayyān (b. 1946). Muḥammad Amīn completed his master’s dissertation *Sultān al-Ṣāliḥ Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb (1240-49)* in 1968 and his doctoral dissertation *History of al-Awqāf in Egypt under the Mamluk Sultans (1250-1517)* in 1972. Ḥāmid Zayyān received his master and PhD in 1970 and 1973 with two dissertations entitled *Aleppo in the Zengid Period*

(1) GHUNAYM, *Al-‘Alāqāt and Al-dawlah*; Farag, *Al-‘Alāqāt*; Ṣidqī, *Al-‘Alāqāt*; Al-‘Abd al-Ghanī, *Thawrat*.

(2) Al-‘Abd al-Ghanī, *Thawrat*, and *Armīnū*; Nawār, *Al-‘Alāqāt*; ‘Abdullah, *Thūfīlūs*, and *Al-‘Alāqāt*.

(3) Published by Oxford University Press, London 1972.

(1095-1183) and *Relations between Sicily, Egypt and Syria during the Crusades (1069-1261)*.

As products of the Cairo University School founded by Muṣṭafá Ziyāda and his students Saʿīd ʿAshūr and al-Bāz al-ʿArīnī, the three new medievalists were not very concerned with Byzantine history. Apart from writing a textbook entitled *Studies in the History of the Byzantine State*,⁽¹⁾ Hasanein Rabie devoted himself mainly to the history of Mamluk and Ayyubid Egypt.⁽²⁾ Muḥammad Amīn was preoccupied with writing about Islamic history and editing Arabic sources.⁽³⁾ Ḥāmid Zayyān's studies concentrated on the history of Islam, medieval Egypt and the Crusades.⁽⁴⁾ However, he wrote a small study entitled *Muslim Prisoners of War in the Byzantine Territories*,⁽⁵⁾ which was criticized by a recent study for presenting inconsistent views and not taking note of many Arabic and Byzantine texts essential for the topic.⁽⁶⁾

Laylá ʿAbd al-Jawād Ismāʿīl (1952-2009) was the first researcher at Cairo University to deal with topics from Byzantine history in both her master's and doctoral dissertations. In 1980, under the supervision of Hasanein Rabie, she completed a master's dissertation entitled *Foreign Policy of the*

(1) *Dirāsāt*.

(2) Rabie' is the only medievalist at Cairo University, after Muṣṭafá Ziyāda, who was keen to publish in English studies focused on the history of Ayyubids and Mamluks. He published articles dealing with the size and value of the Iqtāʿ, financial aspects of the Waqf, Mamluk knights, Safavids of Persia and the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria, Agriculture in Medieval Egypt, and Mamluk Campaigns against Rhodes.

(3) Amīn's preoccupation with editing Arabic sources made him produce very few studies. He published books entitled *History of the Islamic Yemen in the First Three Centuries of the Hijra*; *Financial and Economic System of Islam*; *Arabs and Islam from the Prophecy to the End of Umayyad Caliphate*.

(4) In addition to some textbooks, Zayyān published studies entitled *Emperor Fredrick Barbarossa and the Third Crusade*; *History of Islamic Civilization in Sicily and its Impact on Europe*; *Abbasid Caliphate under the Mamluk State: The Abbasid Caliph al-Mustaʿīn billah*; *The Scholars between War and politics in the Ayyubid Era: The Family of Shaykh al-Shūkh*; *Life in the Arabian Gulf in the Light of the Travel of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*; *Islamic Conquest of Egypt*.

(5) *Al-Asrā*.

(6) RAMAḌĀN, *Treatment* 156 n.9.

Latin Kingdom of Constantinople (1204-61).⁽¹⁾ In 1984, she received her doctorate under the supervision of Muḥammad Amīn with a dissertation entitled *The Byzantine Empire under Heraclius and its Relations with Muslims*.⁽²⁾ Her postdoctoral research was influenced by the traditional trend of the Cairo University School, which did not favor limiting interest in one field. However, she showed a balanced interest in both Byzantine history and the history of medieval Egypt.⁽³⁾ With the exception of a monograph entitled *History of the Rus in the Arabic sources*⁽⁴⁾ and an article about Byzantine relations with the Magyars⁽⁵⁾ as well as another about their relations with the Bulgars,⁽⁶⁾ most of her studies about Byzantine history were committed to the traditional line of studying Islamic-Byzantine relations based mainly on Arabic texts and the available modern Western studies. She published a monograph dealing with Byzantine relations with Tulunid and Ikhshidid Egypt,⁽⁷⁾ and an article discussing Byzantine relations with the Bahri Mamluk State (1261-1382)⁽⁸⁾ She also published two articles about Constantinople as presented in al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-Aḥṣār wa Mamālik al-Amṣār*,⁽⁹⁾ and the other writings of Muslim geographers and travelers.⁽¹⁰⁾ She also wrote another

(1) *Al-Siyāṣah*

(2) Published under the same title in Cairo 1985. See, *Al-Dawla*.

(3) Besides some textbooks on the history of medieval Egypt, ʿAbd al-Jawād was mainly concerned with Mamluks. She published a book entitled *Būlāq in the Era of the Circassian Mamluks 1382-1517*, and articles entitled: Deputy of the Sultanate (*Nāʾib al-Saltāna*) in Cairo during the Era of Bahri Mamluk State; Cannabis (*Ḥaṣḥiṣh*) Abuse and Control in Mamluk Egypt. Also, she jointly published with Rabīʿ a book entitled *History of the Kingdom of Hormuz from its Rise to Fall in 1622*.

(4) *Tarīkh*.

(5) *Ḥamalāt* 71-102.

(6) *Aḍwāʾ Jadīdah* 309-358.

(7) *Al-Ṭūlūnyīn*.

(8) *ʿAlāqat* 57-125.

(9) *Mamlakat* 281-321.

(10) *Al-Qusṭanṭīniyah* 151-201; 109-145.

article about the Bulgars' role in facing the Campaign of Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik against Constantinople (717-18).⁽¹⁾

The interest of Laylá 'Abd al-Jawād in studying topics related to Islamic-Byzantine relations is probably due to her limited knowledge of Greek and Latin, even if the collection of Byzantine primary sources *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae (CSHB)* began to appear in the references of some of her studies. The same can be said of another researcher at Cairo University in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Muḥammad Zakī al-Wisīmī. He studied his MA under the supervision of Hasanein Rabie and finished it in 1988 with a dissertation dealing with the Byzantine relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum under the Komnenoi (1081-1185).⁽²⁾ In 1994 he completed his doctoral dissertation *The Seljuk Sultanate of Rum (1185-1243)*.⁽³⁾ His move from Cairo University to work at King Saud University for almost two decades seems a major reason for his few studies. According to his *Curriculum Vitae* available on the website of King Saud University,⁽⁴⁾ he published only two articles, one of which is related to the history of Mamluks,⁽⁵⁾ and the other deals with the mosque of Constantinople and its political role.⁽⁶⁾

Alexandria University: the 1970s and beyond

Most likely, the late relative interest shown by Cairo University medievalists in the study of Byzantine history during the 1980s⁽⁷⁾ was

(1) Dawr al-Bulghār 83-113.

(2) *Ilaqat*.

(3) *Salṭanat*.

(4) <http://faculty.ksu.edu.sa/69254/default.aspx>

(5) Its title is: Political Relations between Karaman emirate and the Circassian Mamluk State.

(6) *Jāmi'* 39-73.

(7) There was not much interest in the study of Byzantine history at Cairo University during the 1970s and 1980s. With the exception of the dissertations of 'Abd al-Jawād and al-Wasīmī, Cairo University professors did not supervise another single dissertation in the field. In contrast, according to *EULC* website, Rabie', for instance, supervised four dissertations on the history of the Crusades and one about Ayyubid history.

largely influenced by changes that had been in force for more than a decade before at both Alexandria University and 'Ayn Shams University. The trend supported by 'Umar Tawfiq and, to some extent, Joseph Yūsuf, at the University of Alexandria had its clear impact on Esmat Ghunaym (d.1999) in the late 1960s. She was the first Alexandrian researcher who devoted most of her studies to Byzantine political history, primarily Byzantine-Islamic relations. Under the supervision of 'Umar Tawfiq, she began her career in 1968 with a master's dissertation dealing with Byzantine political relations with the Fatimids.⁽¹⁾ In 1973, she obtained her PhD with a dissertation entitled *The Political Relations between Byzantine State and Islamic Crete (827-961)*.⁽²⁾ During the post-doctoral stage, she published an article about the battle of Manzikert according to Psellos's *Chronography*,⁽³⁾ monographs entitled *The Empire of Justinian*,⁽⁴⁾ *German-Byzantine Relations during the Second Crusade in the Light of Kinnamos*,⁽⁵⁾ and a book entitled *Studies in the History of the Byzantine Empire of Nicaea*.⁽⁶⁾

The titles of Esmat Ghunaym's studies imply that the study of Byzantine history at the University of Alexandria began to take a different path since the early 1970s. It is the first time an Alexandrian researcher has dealt with topics that lie at the heart of pure Byzantine history. She herself wrote in the introduction to her book *Studies in the History of Byzantine Empire of Nicaea*, that "these studies are new and diverse". The Latin texts, which were quoted and translated into Arabic in some of her studies, suggest her knowledge of Latin. But this picture may be overly optimistic.

(1) *Al-'Alāqāt*.

(2) Published in Alexandria 1983 under the title *The Byzantine State and Islamic Crete*. See, *Al-dawlah*.

(3) Ma'rakat Manzikert 205-48.

(4) *Imbrāṭūriyat Jūstīniān*.

(5) *Kīnnāmūs*.

(6) *Dirāsāt*. It includes articles dealing with the Fourth Crusade and the responsibility of its deviation against Constantinople, Theodore Lascaris and revival of the Byzantine Empire in Nicaea, and the Battle of Pelagonia.

In her study about the Fourth Crusade and the responsibility of its deviation against Constantinople, for instance, although she quoted the *CSHB* Latin text of the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates's famous cry, "O City of Byzantium",⁽¹⁾ she relied in its Arabic translation on the literal quotation from Ishāq 'Ebeid's book *Rome and Byzantium from the Photian Schism to the Latin Invasion of Constantinople 869-1204*,⁽²⁾ which became well-known among the medievalists over more than a decade.⁽³⁾ The absence of a reference to Ishāq 'Ebeid either in the footnotes or the bibliography of this study, despite the direct quotation from him, may cast doubt on its originality.

As a graduate of the Alexandria University School, Esmat Ghunaym had to expand the scope of her studies to harmonize with the Alexandrian definition of the so-called branch of 'History of the Middle Ages'. She wrote studies about the Avars, medieval European women and relations between the Ayyubids and Crusaders.⁽⁴⁾ It can be said, however, that Esmat Ghunaym's interest in studying Byzantine history, regardless of her studies' content, was unique and never repeated again by her contemporaries or later medievalists at the University of Alexandria. Her colleague, Maḥmūd Sa'īd 'Umrān (1933-2015), was more inclined to study the history of the Crusades. His postgraduate studies may reflect the slight difference between the concerns of Joseph Yūsuf and 'Umar Tawfiq. Under the supervision of Joseph Yūsuf, he was directed to study the Fifth Crusade in his master's (awarded in 1973),⁽⁵⁾ while in 1975 he finished under the supervision of 'Umar Tawfiq a PhD dissertation about the

(1) *Dirāsāt* 114.

(2) *Rūmā* 324.

(3) 'Ebeid's book had been published in 1970.

(4) She published monographs entitled *Women in Western Europe in the Middle Ages; The Avars; The Ayyubids and the Crusaders*.

(5) Published in Alexandria 1978 under the title *The Fifth Crusade: The Campaign of Jean de Brienne against Egypt*.

eastern policy of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180).⁽¹⁾

During his long academic career, Sa'īd 'Umrān was one of the most active and productive medievalists at Alexandria University. According to his website, he participated in a large number of local and international conferences and wrote about sixty-nine articles.⁽²⁾ However, the number of his published articles is about twenty-five only, mostly relating to the history of the Crusades,⁽³⁾ and some of which deal with foreign travelers to the Middle East⁽⁴⁾ and medieval historical writing and coins.⁽⁵⁾ Also, in addition to publishing his doctoral and master's dissertations, he published nearly twenty books, more than half of them textbooks and the rest dealing with subjects ranging from the history of the Crusades to Medieval Europe and its relationship with the Mongols.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Published in 1985 with the title *The Eastern Policy of the Byzantine Empire in the Reign of Emperor Manuel*. See, *Al-Sīyāsah*.

(2) <http://www.msomran.com/index.asp>.

(3) Sa'īd 'Umrān published some eight articles about the Crusades entitled: The Role of the Crusader Movement in the Composition of the Kingdom of Portugal; William Adams and Restoration of the Holy Lands; The Siege of the Crusaders and the Fatimid Forces of Saladin; The Ideas of Pierre Dubois to Restore the Holy Lands; the Seljuk Diplomacy (1192-1246); Legend of John the Presbyter and its Role in the Crusaders' Alliance with Mongols against Muslims (1146-1291). He also published in English articles entitled: King Amalric and the Siege of Alexandria 1167; Truces between Moslems and Crusaders (1174-1217).

(4) He published articles entitled: Arculf and his Journey to the East; Writings of the Traveler Arculf as a Source for Syria in the Era of Rightly-Guided Caliphate; Egypt in the Writings of Foreign Travelers during Byzantine Era; The Journey of Antonius the Martyr to Syria and Egypt (560-70); Egypt and Syria in the Writings of Foreign Travelers during Byzantine Era; Jerusalem and the al-Aqsa Mosque in the Writings of Foreign Travelers (670-80); Missionaries to the East: The Journey of Jordan of Catalonia; Egypt and Syria in the Writings of the Traveler John Mandeville (1346-47); The Journey of the Russian Afanasy Nikitin.

(5) *Al-Nuqūd* 36-54.

(6) He published books entitled: *The Vandal Kingdom of North Africa; Crusader Leaders Captured in the Hands of Muslims; Europe and Mongols; Mongols, Europeans, Crusaders and the Jerusalem I*

The study of Byzantine history has not received much attention from Sa'īd 'Umrān, and except for three studies closer to the Crusades than to Byzantine history,⁽¹⁾ only about four of his studies are concerned with topics related to Byzantine history. In two of these studies, which depended mainly on the letters of Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos⁽²⁾ and the Chronography of Michael Psellos,⁽³⁾ he appeared to be more a translator than a researcher. Indeed, Sa'īd 'Umrān himself did not try to pretend otherwise. In his study dealing with Psellos' narrative on the reign of Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071), he explained that "the researcher's plan in this study is limited to translating what Psellos recorded in his famous chronicle, based on the English translation, and then comment on the historical material in footnotes when clarification must be provided to the reader".⁽⁴⁾ These two studies, and indeed many other studies of Sa'īd 'Umrān, reflect a typical trend in modern Arab historical research, particularly in the field of medieval history, namely the design of research based on a historical source once this source becomes available in one of the modern Western translations.⁽⁵⁾

In the other two studies, Sa'īd 'Umrān seemed to follow the traditional line of studying Islamic-Byzantine relations. One of these studies is in English and deals with the cultural influences and peaceful relations between Muslims and Byzantines,⁽⁶⁾ while most of the second study

ssue; Studies in the Relations between East and West; Studies in Medieval Sources; Money in Medieval Europe.

(1) These studies are: Ma'rakat 89-99; Shārl 169-96; John Kinnamos 45-55.

(2) *Nīqūlā Mistīqūs*.

(3) Al-Imbrāṭūr 55-96.

(4) Ibid 56.

(5) This may explain the great number of Sa'īd 'Umrān's studies dealing with medieval chronicles based on their English translations. He published articles

entitled: King Clovis in the Light of Gregory of Tours' History of the Franks; The Chronicle of the Fall of Lisbon in 1147; Arabs in the Chronicle of the Syriac Historian Zacharias of Mytilene; Lew Light on the Chronicle of the Fall of Silves in 1189. The same applies to his many researches dealing with topics in the light of travelers' writings

(6) Religion's Policy 330-47.

which is entitled 'Fortifications of the City of Constantinople in the Face of Foreign Invasion',⁽¹⁾ focuses on Muslims' attempts to conquer Constantinople. This study was the subject of a master's dissertation completed under his supervision in 2000 and entitled *Immunity of Constantinople in the Face of Internal Revolutions and External Invasions in the Middle Ages*. This seems to reflect a unique approach that may distinguish Sa'īd 'Umrān from others, which is to guide graduate students to broaden and deepen topics he himself has already dealt with in whole or in part. It is therefore not strange to find a clear match between subjects and fields of research interest of Sa'īd 'Umrān and his students. Among the nearly forty dissertations supervised by him, nine relate to Byzantine history and deal with topics about early Byzantine historical sources, coins, travelers and Islamic-Byzantine relations. The remaining dissertations supervised by him were distributed in the fields of the history of the Crusades and medieval Europe.

With the exception of Esmat Ghunaym, and to a certain degree Sa'īd 'Umrān, the course of medieval studies at the University of Alexandria seems to have been moving since the 1980s onwards in favor of the trend set by Suryāl 'Aṭṭīya and his student Joseph Yūsuf. The early death of 'Umar Tawfiq, as well as his work during the last years of his life at Kuwait University, was one of the factors influencing this process. A new generation of Alexandrian medievalists, who were trained by Joseph Yūsuf and Sa'īd 'Umrān, was interested mainly in the history of the Crusades, and to a lesser extent medieval European history, to the extent that the contribution of this generation to the study of Byzantine history can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

'Ayn Shams University: a paradigm shift

While this was the status of the study of Byzantine history since the 1970s in the two oldest universities in Egypt, the third university in terms

(1) Taḥṣīnāt 308-39.

of establishment, 'Ayn Shams University, witnessed in the same period what can be described as the paradigm shift of this study.

The so-called branch of 'History of the Middle Ages' at 'Ayn Shams University appeared relatively late and in a more specific concept than the other two universities. Since its emergence in the late 1960s, the history of the Ayyubids, the Mamluks and the Crusades has been excluded from its framework which has been limited to the study of medieval European and Byzantine History. This difference may seem unjustified in light of the presence of graduates from the universities of Alexandria and Cairo as faculty members in the Department of History since its inception in the early 1950s, namely 'Abd al-Hādī Shu'ayra and Ḥasan Ḥabashī. However, the presence of these two scholars, as well as their areas of research interest, may be the only reasonable explanation of this difference.

'Abd al-Hādī Shu'ayra's interest in studying Islamic-Byzantine relations in a few of his studies stemmed mainly from his being a specialist in Islamic history. With the exception of his doctoral dissertation *la lute entre Arabes et Byzantins* and his translation of Vasiliev's *Byzance et les Arabes*,⁽¹⁾ he published only one article about the Byzantine-Islamic frontier,⁽²⁾ while most of his other studies focus on the history of the medieval Maghreb,⁽³⁾ the Umayyads and the Abbasids.⁽⁴⁾ On the other hand, the appointment of Ḥasan Ḥabashī as a lecturer of Islamic history in 1950 and the focus of his research on the history of the Crusades and the Mamluks may explain why these two fields are excluded from the branch of 'History of the Middle Ages' at 'Ayn Shams University. This may also explain why

(1) See notes 5 and 9.

(2) *Al-Murābiṭūn* 147-68.

(3) He published a book entitled *The Political History of the Almoravids*, and an article about Libyan Islamic coastal anchors.

(4) He published articles entitled: *The Allied Kingdoms: Transoxiana and the Islamic State until the Days of Mu'tasim*; *Le statut des pays de 'Ahd aux VII^e et VIII^e siècles* [in French]; *Regional Divisions in the First Abbasid Period* and *The Emergence of the Islamic Near East*.

no master's or doctoral dissertation related to the history of the Byzantine Empire or medieval Europe was defended until 1970.

The real beginning of medieval studies at 'Ayn Shams University was in 1968, when the chair of medieval history was filled by a graduate of the University of Alexandria, Ishāq Tāwḍrūs 'Ebeid (b.1933), who returned that year from the University of Nottingham with a PhD dissertation entitled *The Attitude of Western Churchmen towards the Byzantine Empire in the Period (1054-1204)*, which was supervised by Bernard Hamilton.⁽¹⁾ It is the first doctoral dissertation, and perhaps the only one written by an Egyptian Byzantinist studying abroad, that does not focus on Byzantine-Muslim relations. The abundance of Greek and Latin extracts through its 600 pages may explain why he was commissioned to study such a topic. In fact, many of Ishāq 'Ebeid's subsequent studies reflect a good knowledge of the source language, especially Latin, which enabled him to extract his material from the original sources directly. This is abundantly illustrated in the rich footnotes and appendixes that are replete with Latin extracts from the chronicles and literary, philosophical and theological writings.⁽²⁾

In his postdoctoral studies, Ishāq 'Ebeid showed a balanced interest in both medieval European and Byzantine history. In addition to his studies that focus on the history of the Western Church and the feudal system,⁽³⁾

(1) This dissertation was developed and published in Arabic (Cairo, 1970) under the title *Rome and Byzantium from the Photian Schism to the Latin Invasion of Constantinople (869-1204)*. See, 'Ebeid, *Rūmā*.

(2) This is explained by 'Ebeid in the introductions of some of his studies. For example, in the introduction to his book *European Middle Ages: The Era of Darkness*, he pointed out that "this book is primarily documentary, intended to provide the reader with a clear picture of the conditions of Europe when entering the Dark Ages. In the preparation of this book, I have tried to reflect the spirit of the time by relying on the primary and literary sources, whether prose, poetry, or narrations, so the footnotes are full of a great number of Latin texts". *Al-Uṣūr* i-ii.

(3) His studies focused on the history of the western church and the feudal system. He published articles entitled: Abelard the free theologian; Aurelius Prudentius Clemens and his '*Contra Symmachum*'; Joan of Arc: a vision through the sources. He also published books entitled: *Knights and Serfs in the Feudal Society*; *Inquisition: Origin and Activities*.

he produced three studies related to Byzantine history directly. In 1969, he published two articles, the first in English which assesses the extent of Pope Innocent III's responsibility for the deviation of the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople in 1204,⁽¹⁾ and the second about the story of St. Helena's finding the True Cross between mythology and historical reality.⁽²⁾ In 1975, Benghazi University published his important book about the last centuries of Byzantium, which is entitled *The Byzantine State in the Paleologian Era*.⁽³⁾ Also, he marginally approached early Byzantine history in other studies that deal with the period of Germanic invasions on the western part of the Roman Empire, which he preferred to refer to as the 'Dark Age'. It is the topic of two major works, published in Cairo 1972 and 1977, entitled *The Roman Empire between Religion and Barbarism*,⁽⁴⁾ and *From Alaric to Justinian: A Study in the Annals of the Dark Ages*.⁽⁵⁾

Some of Ishāq 'Ebeid's studies also reflect an interest in editing unpublished Arabic manuscripts related to early Byzantine history. For example, the appendices of his book *The Roman Empire between Religion and Barbarism* include two Arabic manuscripts entitled *Yūliānūs al-ʿAṣī* (Julian the Apostate)⁽⁶⁾ and *Qawānīn al-Majmaʿ al-Maskūnī al-awwal al-Multaʿim fi Nīqīyah* (the Canons of the First ecumenical Council, held in Nicaea).⁽⁷⁾ Other manuscripts were edited and published in English in independent articles, such as a manuscript dealing with the events of the

(1) Was Pope Innocent III 3-19.

(2) Qiṣat 5-21.

(3) *Al-Dawlah*.

(4) *Al-Imbrāṭūrīyah*.

(5) *Mīn Alārīk*. Later, 'Ebeid relied heavily on these two works to publish in 1990 and 1995 his two books *European Middle Ages: The Era of Darkness* and *Europe in the Sea of Darkness*.

(6) Preserved in the Egyptian National Library (*Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*), no. 1649.

(7) Preserved in the Library of the Coptic Studies Institute in Cairo (*Maktabat Ma'had al-Dirāsāt al-Qibtīyah bil-Qāhira*).

Alexandria Church following the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon,⁽¹⁾ and a manuscript on the Emperor Julian.⁽²⁾

In the early 1970s, two new researchers joined Ishāq 'Ebeid as faculty members specializing in medieval history. The first is 'Alī al-Ghamrāwī (1926-1993) who graduated from the Department of Greek and Latin Studies at the Faculty of Arts, 'Ayn Shams University in 1946. He completed his MA dissertation in Latin literature in 1958 under the direction of Salīm Sālem.⁽³⁾ In 1967, he received his doctorate from the University of Munich with a dissertation entitled *Lexikographische Studien über die lateinischen Pflanzennamen bei Dioskurides und Pseudo-Apuleius*. As a specialist in Latin philology, al-Ghamrāwī returned to the Department of Greek and Latin studies for a few years, then moved to the Department of History in the early 1970s. This classical background may explain why he devoted most of his post-doctoral studies to medieval and modern European historiography,⁽⁴⁾ and why the study of Byzantine history was completely absent from his research interests.

Unlike al-Ghamrāwī, the second medievalist, Ra'fat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, was more inclined to study Byzantine history, especially its early period. In 1970, under the supervision of Ḥasan Ḥabashī, he completed a master's dissertation about Constantine I's policy toward the Christian Sects. In 1974, he received his doctorate under the supervision of 'Abd al-Mun'im

(1) Concerning the happenings 207-42.

(2) Julian the Apostate 121-2.

(3) This dissertation is in English and entitled *Cicero's Oration pro Q. Roscio Comoedo: Editing and Commentary*.

(4) Al-Ghamrawi published books entitled: *Topics in Medieval European Culture; The Germanic Epic; Modern Research in the History of the Middle Ages: Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries; Modern Collections of Medieval European Sources: Sixteenth-Twentieth Centuries*. He also published articles entitled: Pre-Carolingian Hagiographical Sources; Historiographical Views in Medieval European History before the Tenth Century; Religious Writings in the Literature of Latin Theologians from the Sixth century to the Eighth - Century; A Bibliographical Report on the Eighteenth-Century French Research on Medieval European History.

Mājid (1921-1999)⁽¹⁾ with a dissertation entitled *Athanasius: his thought and relationship with the Byzantine State*. This beginning seems to have shaped Ra'fat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's subsequent research interests in studying issues from the transition period which extended from the Roman to the Byzantine periods, a period that he alternatively called the late Roman or the early Byzantine era.⁽²⁾

After receiving the doctorate, Ra'fat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd spent nearly three years translating Joan Hussey's *The Byzantine World*. He then began his ambitious project to study relations between the state and the church in the fourth century. He published his doctoral and master's dissertations as the second and third volumes of his book *The State and the Church*. He then added a fourth volume covering the reigns of Emperors Valens and Theodosius I.⁽³⁾ It seems that he died before completing the first volume. According to the introduction of the fourth volume, he pointed out that the first volume was still in progress and would be devoted to the analysis of historical and ecclesiastical sources. In this book, as reflected in the bibliography, he has used a number of sources from the collections of *Patrologia Graeca* and *Patrologia Latina*, and he was keen to record the Latin titles of many other sources, although he relied on their English translations in the collections of *Nicene* and *Ante Nicene Fathers*.

Ra'fat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's interest in the religious conditions of the fourth century was also reflected in a number of his other studies. He published an article comparing the causes of Roman persecution of Christians

(1) Mājid was then a professor of Islamic history specializing in the history of medieval Egypt. He published an article about Crete between the Ikhshids, the Fatimids and the Byzantines. The presence of two supervisors specializing in Islamic history can be explained by the absence of a professor specializing in medieval history at 'Ayn Shams University at the time.

(2) See the study added by him as an introduction to his translation of Joan Hussey: *Al-Ālam al-Byzantī* 42.

(3) *Al-Dawlah*. Volumes 2 and 3 were published in 1980 and 1982 respectively with the subtitles "*Constantine*" and "*Athanasius*", then they were republished in 2000 with new sub-titles: "*Caesar and Christ*", and "*Paganism and Christianity*". The fourth volume was published in 2001 with the subtitle "New Christianity".

before and after the recognition of Christianity by Constantine the Great,⁽¹⁾ and another discussing the position of the Church of Jerusalem towards the Episcopal conflict on spiritual leadership.⁽²⁾ He also published an article dealing with the Palestinian church historian Sozomenos,⁽³⁾ and two articles analyzing the reasons and circumstances of the assassination of Arius⁽⁴⁾ and Julian.⁽⁵⁾

However, as a product of the 'Ayn Shams school, as well as the concept of specialization prevalent in other universities, Ra'fat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd had to diversify the scope of his studies and not limit them to one framework. In addition to other articles dealing with issues from the early Byzantine period, such as the reasons for the Nika insurrection of 532,⁽⁶⁾ and the Byzantine-Persian conflict on the Arabian Peninsula in the sixth century,⁽⁷⁾ he wrote articles about the principles of Byzantine diplomacy,⁽⁸⁾ the eleventh-century chronicler Michael Psellos,⁽⁹⁾ and the Byzantine position of the Crusades.⁽¹⁰⁾ He also published articles on medieval Papal thought,⁽¹¹⁾ the German monarchy⁽¹²⁾ and the role of Muslim leaders during the Crusades.⁽¹³⁾

(1) Al-Itihād al-Rūmānī 8-38.

(2) Kanīsat al-Quds 65-126.

(3) Sūzūmenūs 85-128.

(4) Ightiyal Ariūs 49-91.

(5) Maṣra' Jūliān 481-533.

(6) Al-Thawrah 25-88.

(7) Al-Ṣirā' 263-326.

(8) Qawā'id 29-82.

(9) PSELLŪS 151-224. It is worth mentioning that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd gathered his studies about Byzantine history in one book entitled *Byzantium between thought, religion and politics*, published in Cairo 1997. See, *Byzantah bayn al-fikr*.

(10) *Byzantah* 67-121.

(11) Their titles are: The Papal Supremacy between Theory and Practice; The Papal Crusader Thought in the Face of Temporal Power.

(12) Their titles are: German Monarchy between Inheritance and Election; The Italian Issue in German Politics.

(13) Their titles are: Emir Fakhruddīn ibn Sheikh in the Court of History; King al-Kāmil between Excess and Negligence in the Face of the Crusaders.

There is no doubt that both Ishāq 'Ebeid and Ra'fat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, especially the latter, gave a strong impetus to the study of Byzantine history at 'Ayn Shams University. Ishāq 'Ebeid supervised a considerable number of master's and doctoral dissertations in the field,⁽¹⁾ and although the number of dissertations supervised by Ra'fat 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was very few, they were all related to the field.⁽²⁾ In addition, the two scholars were keen to prepare a new generation specialized in Byzantine studies and proficient in the source languages, by directing their students to obtain a Bachelor of Greek and Latin studies. This generation, represented by two researchers, Ṭāriq Muḥammad (b.1965) and 'Abd al-'Azīz Ramaḍān (b.1973), emerged during the 1990s and continues to play a key role in the study of Byzantine history in Egypt to date.

The impact of the Cairo School on new Universities

The expansion of public universities in Egypt since the early 1970s has increased the number of history departments. This, in turn, showed demand for new faculty members to meet the needs of different history branches. It was clear at the time that 'Ayn Shams University, whose branch of 'History of the Middle Ages' was newly founded, would not benefit from the new situation, and that the competition for filling the new posts would be restricted to the graduates of the universities of Cairo and Alexandria, the only graduates available at the time. There is no doubt that the results of this competition have had a clear impact on the concept of the medieval history branch in new universities. Although the lines of any imaginable mental map are complicated and intertwined, one can trace the impact of the Cairo School on the universities of Upper Egypt, and of the Alexandria School on the universities of the Delta with the exception of Zagāzīg.

(1) Dissertations such as: Buṭrus, *Al-Arman*; Al-Sayyid, *Al-Imbrātūr*; Maqāmī, *Al-'Alāqāt*; Fahmī, *Al-Sanawāt*; Zidān, *Al-Dawlah*.

(2) These dissertations as follow: Al-Birī, *Al-'Alāqāt*; Muḥammad, T., *Al-Rūs*; Ramaḍān, A.M., *Al-'Alāqāt*.

The impact of Cairo University, both in terms of the phenomenon of the encyclopedic historian and in terms of its concept of the components of the medieval history branch, can be seen clearly in the case of Zubaydah Muḥammad ‘Aṭā (b. 1944). She graduated from Cairo University in 1964 and received in 1968 a master's degree under the supervision of al-Bāz al-‘Arīnī, with a thesis entitled *The Islamic East and the Byzantine State in the Time of the Ayyubids*.⁽¹⁾ She completed her PhD in 1972 under the supervision of Saʿīd ‘Ashūr with an edition of the ninth volume of the Mamluk historical manuscript of Baybars al-Dawādār's *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*.⁽²⁾ She began her career at al-Minīā University, after its founding in 1970, and then moved to Ḥilwān -University after the establishment of the Faculty of Arts in 1995. Most of her research interests focused on the history of Copts⁽³⁾ and Jews, especially in Medieval and Modern Egypt, and extended to cover the Arab-Israeli conflict.⁽⁴⁾ Some articles have also been published by her on the history of the Crusades, the Ayyubids and the Mamluks.⁽⁵⁾ However, the study of Byzantine history was not entirely absent from ‘Aṭā's research interest. In addition to a book dealing with Byzantine history from Constantine to Anastasius,⁽⁶⁾ she published another book about Byzantine relations with the Rum Seljuks and Ottomans,⁽⁷⁾ and articles dealing with the

(1) Published under the same title in Cairo 1996. See, *Al-Sharq*.

(2) Published under the same title in Cairo 2001.

(3) Aṭā published two great books on Copts in Christian and Islamic Egypt, as well as other books entitled: *The Egyptian Peasant between Coptic and Islamic Eras*; *The Minia Region in the Byzantine Era*; *The Economic Life in Byzantine Egypt*. She also published articles dealing with the internal markets in Byzantine Egypt, and the Coptic character and its position on the church and state in the Byzantine era.

(4) She published books entitled: *The Jews of Egypt: Political History*; *The Jews of Egypt: Social and Economic History*; *Israel in the Nile*; *Jews and their Trade in Islamic Egypt*; *Israeli Ambitions in Africa and the Nile*; *Arabism of Jerusalem According to Waqf documents*; *Jews of the Arab World: Claims of Persecution*.

(5) She published two articles dealing with the Crusade of Louis IX against Tunisia and the school libraries in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

(6) *Al-Dawlah*.

(7) *Al-Turk*.

Byzantine soldier,⁽¹⁾ and the image of the feudal knight in the Byzantine and Carolingian popular epics, *Digenes Akrites* and *la Chanson de Roland*.⁽²⁾

The impact of the Cairo school was not limited to the universities of Upper Egypt but also spread to a spot of the Delta when one of its graduates, Qāsim ‘Abdū Qāsim (b. 1942), established the branch of medieval history at Zagāzīg University. As a direct disciple of Sa‘īd ‘Ashūr, Qāsim remained committed to the traditional line of his teacher by dedicating all his studies to the history of the Crusades, the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, without producing a single paper in Byzantine history. However, unlike ‘Ashūr, Qāsim tried to draw the attention of some of his disciples to the importance of the study of Byzantine history and not ignoring it completely. He directed some graduate students to dedicate one of their theses to Byzantine History, and the other to the History of the Crusades or the Mamluks.

The legacy of the Cairo School in the other universities cannot be left without shedding light on its impact on the founders of the medieval history branch at Al-Azhar University and the Girls College at ‘Ayn Shams University, ‘Afāf Sayyid Şabra (b.1943) and ‘Alīyah ‘Abd al-Samī‘ al-Janžūrī (1941-2010). Şabra obtained her master's and doctorate from Cairo University in 1970 and 1977 under the supervision of Sa‘īd ‘Ashūr and Hasanein Rabie, with theses dealing with the *Dīwān al-Inshā* under the Ayyubids and Mamluks,⁽³⁾ and the relationship of Venice with Egypt and Syria from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.⁽⁴⁾ Her postdoctoral research focused on the history of the Mamluks, the Crusades, and Islamic civilization.⁽⁵⁾ Her interest in the study of Byzantine history is limited to a

(1) Al-Muqātil 83-140.

(2) Şūrat 67-115.

(3) Published in Cairo 1990.

(4) Published in Cairo 1983.

(5) She published books entitled: *The Political History of the Khwarizmi State; Studies in the History of the Crusades; Orientalists and the Problems of Civilization; The History of Independent States in the Islamic Near East; The History of Islamic Civilization; The History of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs.*

book dealing with the relations between the Byzantine and Carolingian empires during Charlemagne's time, and an Arabic translation of Procopius's *Gothic Wars*.⁽¹⁾ Unlike Şabra, al-Janżūrī was a unique case of mixing the two different concepts of the medieval history branch at Cairo and 'Ayn Shams Universities, which eventually produced a model similar to that found at Alexandria University. She received a master's and doctorate from the Girls College at 'Ayn Shams University in 1969 and 1972 under the supervision of Ḥasan Ḥabashī and Sa'īd 'Ashūr. Her theses concentrated on the history of the Crusades and dealt with the impact of the advent of the Crusades on political life in Syria and the Crusader County of Edessa. However, her postdoctoral research showed a considerable interest in Byzantine and European medieval history. In addition to three studies that follow the traditional line of studying Islamic-Byzantine relations,⁽²⁾ she paid particular attention to the study of Byzantine imperial women in two studies entitled *Empress Irene*, and *Women in Byzantine Civilization*.⁽³⁾ She also published a book dealing with Russian-Byzantine relations under the Macedonian dynasty (867-1056).⁽⁴⁾

The impact of the Alexandria School on new Universities

While the influence of the Cairo school was particularly pronounced in the Upper Egyptian universities, the impact of the Alexandria School was somewhat apparent in Delta universities. The Alexandrian graduates competed to fill the vacant positions in the history departments of the Delta, bringing with them the Alexandria school's conception of what should be included in the medieval history branch. This may explain the

(1) *Al-Imbrāṭūrīyātān*.

(2) These studies deal with the Islamic *thughūr* (frontier regions) on Byzantine borders, the Byzantine naval attacks on the shores of Islamic Egypt, the truce of Şafar in 970, and Byzantine Islamic relations from 1028 to 1056. See, *Al-Thughūr*; *Hajamāt*; *Al-'Alaqāt al-Islāmīyah* 81-101.

(3) *Al-Imbrāṭūrāh*; *Al-Mar'ah*.

(4) *Al-'Alaqāt al-Bīzanīyah*.

absence of Byzantinists until the turn of the millennium in a university like Ṭanṭā, which separated from the University of Alexandria in 1972.

Usāma Zakī Zayd (b. 1943) and Ḥusayn Muḥammad ‘Aṭṭīya (b. 1945) are the founders of the medieval history branch in Ṭanṭā. Both completed their Master's and PhD degrees in the history of the Crusades under the supervision of Joseph Yūsuf. Their postdoctoral studies followed the traditional path of their supervisor, that is to study the history of the Crusades or medieval European history, without producing a single paper in Byzantine history.

On the other hand, the Alexandrian concept of the medieval history branch was not followed by some graduates of Alexandria University themselves in universities such as Maṣūra and Banḥā. Wesam ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Farag (b. 1946) is the most prominent example. He began his career at the University of Alexandria as an assistant lecturer in 1968. He completed in 1973 a master's thesis dealing with Byzantine-Umayyad relations in the reign of Emperor Leo III (717-40) under the supervision of Joseph Yūsuf and ‘Umar Tawfiq. In 1975, Maṣūra University, established in 1972, granted him the opportunity to continue his doctoral studies at the University of Birmingham. In 1979 he completed there a PhD thesis entitled *Byzantium and its Muslim Neighbors during the Reign of Basil II (976-1025)*, under the supervision of the noted Byzantinist and numismatist Michael Hendy. The observations that can be gleaned from the writings of his professors and western colleagues suggest that he was not just a doctoral student who went for a degree, but a researcher who interacted with the surrounding environment so positively that he still lived in their memory, even though these years passed.⁽¹⁾ Farag's success

(1) See HERRIN, J., POLLA ta ete (repeat three times) to BRYER, In L. Brubaker & K. Linardou (eds.), *Food and Wine in Byzantium: In Honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer*; Idem, *Authority across the Byzantine Empire: Margins and Mertropolis*, Princeton & Oxford 2013, 58; M. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine Economy 300-1450*, Cambridge 1985, 269; HALDON, J.F., *Kudāma ibn Dja'far and the Garrison of Constantinople*, *Byz* 48/1 (1975), 78-90.

in Birmingham was unique for an Arab and never repeated, although four Egyptian researchers followed him there.⁽¹⁾

Farag presented his first paper 'the truce of Safar' at the eleventh spring symposium held at the center for Byzantine Studies at the University of Birmingham in 1977.⁽²⁾ He continued his early interest in Islamic-Byzantine relations in two articles published in the prominent journals *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. The first article deals with Leo of Tripoli's Attack on Thessaloniki in 904,⁽³⁾ while the second discusses Byzantine-Fatimid conflicts of interests in Northern Syria in the later tenth century.⁽⁴⁾ He also participated in international conferences of Byzantine studies. At the 15th annual conference of Byzantine studies in 1989, held at the department of Classics, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, he participated with a paper entitled 'The After-Effects of the Byzantine Offensive against Dar al-Islam: The

(1) Two Egyptians researchers, 'Abd al-Raḥman Sālīm from the Faculty of Religious Sciences at Cairo University and Samīrah Yūnis 'Abd al-Qādir (b. 1951) from al-Azhar University, completed their doctorates at the University of Birmingham in 1983 and 1984, under the supervision of Antony Bryer and John Haldon. Sālīm's PhD thesis was entitled *War and Peace in Caliphate and Empire: Political Relations between the Abbasids and Byzantium (794-847)* and 'Abd al-Qādir's thesis was entitled *Byzantium and its Arab Neighbours under the Successors of Basil II (1025-1071)*. Two other researchers, Abū Sī'da from Ṭaṇṭā University and Muḥammad Abū Ḥadīd (b. 1967) from Banhā University, followed them. Abū Ḥadīd received his doctorate in 2002 under the supervision of John Haldon, with a thesis entitled *Byzantine-Abbasid Warfare: Structure, Strategy and Organisation of the Abbasid Army (750-1258)*. The post-doctoral contributions of the three scholars are limited. Sālīm published a monograph entitled *The Muslims and Byzantines in the Era of the Prophet: A Study in the Roots of the Conflict and its Development between Muslims and Byzantines until the Death of the Prophet*. He also published two articles dealing with the cultural communication between the Abbasids and Byzantines in the reign of Caliph al- Ma'mūn (812-833), and the Muslim-Byzantine relations under Caliph Abū Bakr (632-634). *Al-Muslimūn*; al-Itṣāl 163-190; al-'Alāqāt 55-109. 'Abd al-Qādir published only a monograph entitled *Normans and Byzantine Empire in the Eleventh century*. See, *al-Nūrmān*.

(2) *Truce of Safar* 1-12.

(3) *Some Remarks* 133-9.

(4) *Aleppo Question* 44-59.

Demographic Dimensions'.⁽¹⁾ He also published an article entitled 'Papst Benedikt XVI. und das byzantinische Zitat. Versuch eines Brückenschlags'.⁽²⁾

While Farag's international articles were devoted to issues related to Islamic-Byzantine relations, his articles in Egyptian journals tended to deal with purely Byzantine topics. In these articles, he paid particular attention to society, economy and administration in the Middle Byzantine era. He published studies dealing with the State and trade,⁽³⁾ the economic policy of the successors of Justinian (565-82),⁽⁴⁾ agricultural property laws in the tenth century,⁽⁵⁾ the phenomenon of personal dependence between masters and followers,⁽⁶⁾ the society of Constantinople,⁽⁷⁾ the religious dimensions and political significance of emperor Leo VI's fourth marriage,⁽⁸⁾ and the continuity and discontinuity in government titles and positions.⁽⁹⁾ Other articles sought to understand the Byzantine political ideology,⁽¹⁰⁾ the factors which determined the policies of Emperor Basil II,⁽¹¹⁾ the Slavic presence in the Balkans 591-1018,⁽¹²⁾ and the nature of Greek fire and its impact on the maritime activity of the Muslims.⁽¹³⁾

There is no doubt that Farag represents a milestone in the development of the study of Byzantine history in Egypt, and in the shift away from the trends of the Alexandria School and its concept of the

(1) The After-Effects 1-18.

(2) Papst Benedikt 63-77.

(3) *Al-Dawlah*.

(4) *Al-Siyāsah* 13-65.

(5) *Qwānīn* 299-342.

(6) *Al-Atbā'* 89-136.

(7) *Aḍwā'* 65-135.

(8) *Al-Zawāj*.

(9) *Al-Alqāb* 295-339.

(10) *Al-Dawlah al-Bīzantīyah* 147-74.

(11) *Basil II* 97-130.

(12) *Al-Slāv* 141-201.

(13) *Al-Nār* 287-305.

branch of medieval history. His influence was not limited to his immediate students, but extended to many researchers of the new generation in various Egyptian universities, such as Muḥammad and Ramaḍān in 'Ayn Shams, Abū Si'da in Ṭanṭā, Hānī al-Bashīr in Ḥilwān,⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad Uthmān in Port Said,⁽²⁾ and al-Metwalī Tamīm in Dmanhour.⁽³⁾ However, it seems that Farag's immediate students among faculty members at Maṣṣūra University, unfortunately, were not keen to develop his model or even try to replicate it. Although his student, and at the same time his colleague, 'Abd al-Ghanī 'Abd al-'Aṭī (b. 1944) has completed under his supervision in 1981 a PhD entitled *The Eastern Policy of the Byzantine Empire under the Emperor Alexius I Komnenos (1081-1118)*, his postdoctoral research focused on the history of Islamic Yemen, the Crusades, the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, with only one article entitled

(1) Al-Bashīr (b. 1965) received his doctorate from Ṭanṭā University in 1999 with a thesis entitled *Relations between the Byzantine Empire and the First Bulgarian State 681-1018*, under the supervision of Farag and Usāma Zayd. See, *Byzantah*. He published papers dealing with the *Breviarium* of Patriarch Nicephorus, the development of the Byzantine navy and its military activity during the eighth and tenth centuries, the role of the Armenians in the army and the political life of the Byzantine state from the beginning of the seventh century until the end of the tenth century, and Byzantine civilization in the light of the Islamic sources of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Niqfūrūs 39-75; Taṭawūr 145-202; Dawr 71-102; al-Ḥaḍārah 394-451.

(2) Uthmān (b. 1960) received his master's and doctorate under the supervision of Usāma Zayd at Ṭanṭā University in 1992 and 1997, with theses dealing with the revolt of Thomas the Slav 821-823, and the foreign policy of Epirus 1205-1340. He published papers dealing with the Samaritans in Palestine and their relationship with Byzantium (305-361), The Byzantine Duchy of Morea under the Paleologoi (1383-1460), the embassy of Pope John I to Constantinople in 526, and the sect of silent asceticism and its political and religious role in Byzantium in the fourteenth century. *Thawrat; al-Sīyāsah; al-Sāmīrīyūn* 75-106; Dūqiyat 327-60; Sifārat 229-253; Jamā'at 239-52.

(3) Tamīm (b. 1965) received his master's and doctorate in 1996 and 2004, under the supervision of Farag, with theses entitled *The Pechenegs and Byzantines: Study in the Northern Policy of Byzantium (580-1122)*, and *The Kingdom of Hungary and its Relations with the Byzantine Empire (1000-1453)*. He published an article entitled Evolution of the Legal Status of Jews in the Byzantine Empire until the End of the Justinianic Era (527-65): Studies in the Legal Code of Justinian'. *Al-Bushnāq; Mamlakat; Taṭawūr* 3-25.

'The 'Bogomils' Movement in the Byzantine State in the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries'.⁽¹⁾

Wadīʿ Fathī ʿAbdullah (b. 1949) at Banhā University is another researcher that succeeded in overcoming the Alexandrian concept of the medieval history branch. He received his MA and PhD in 1982 and 1987 under the supervision of Joseph Yūsuf, with theses devoted to Islamic-Byzantine relations. His master's thesis dealt with the political relations between the Byzantine and the Abbasid Caliphs during the reign of Emperor Theophilus (829-42),⁽²⁾ while his doctoral thesis dealt with political relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic Near East (741-820).⁽³⁾ In his post-doctoral studies, he continued his interest in Islamic-Byzantine relations. He published a monograph entitled *Byzantium and the Muslims of Southern Italy and Sicily under the Reign of Basil I (867-66)*,⁽⁴⁾ and an article entitled *The Byzantine Attack on Damietta in 853: A New Vision of the Byzantine Islamic Maritime Conflict in the Ninth Century*.⁽⁵⁾ He also devoted three studies to Byzantine historiography. He published a monograph about *Theophylact Simocatta*,⁽⁶⁾ and an article about *Joseph Genesius*.⁽⁷⁾ He was also interested in dealing with the Byzantine rebellions and devoted monographs to the Norman rebel Roussel de *Bailleul* (1073-6),⁽⁸⁾ and the revolt of Nikephoros *Botaneiates* in (1077-8).⁽⁹⁾ Finally, two other articles were devoted to the reign of Emperor Nikephoros I, one dealing with his

(1) Ḥarakat 68-118.

(2) *Thūfīlūs*.

(3) *Al-'Alaqāt*.

(4) *Bīzanṭah*.

(5) *Al-Hujūm* 627-96.

(6) *Thūfīlākt*.

(7) *Jūsif* 273-345.

(8) *Rūsīl*.

(9) *Thawrat*.

tax and financial reform,⁽¹⁾ while the other discusses his relationship with the Church.⁽²⁾

Conclusion

The study of Byzantine history in Egypt was strongly influenced by the circumstances that accompanied the establishment of the branch of medieval history in the three oldest universities.

At Cairo University, its medievalists remained committed to the concept formulated by its founder, Muṣṭafá Ziyāda, about the components of the branch since the late 1930s. It was a loose concept that prevented the existence of clear boundaries between the fields of medieval and Islamic history and produced the phenomenon of the encyclopedic medievalist who can write not only in the history of medieval Egypt, Europe, Byzantium and the Crusades, but also in the various fields of history. This has adversely affected the study of Byzantine history in terms of quantity and quality until the 1980s. Despite the emergence of faculty members who turned part of their attention to the study of Byzantine history, such as Laylá ‘Abd al-Jawād, this did not lead to what can be described as a revolution in this study, especially with continued adherence to the need to expand the scope of research interest to include the history of the Ayyubids, Mamluks and the Crusades.

It was not the case at the University of Alexandria, whose specialists hold the concept formulated by its founder, Sūryāl Aṭṭīya. The trend towards limiting the branch of medieval history to more specific content, compared to Cairo University, allowed the study of Byzantine history to appear on the map of its specialists' concerns from an early date. Although this was initially associated, as in the case of Joseph Yūsuf and ‘Umar Tawfiq, with the basic interest in the history of the Crusades, it soon produced a specialist, Esmat Ghunaym, who devoted most of his research interest to Byzantine history. However, while the first and second

(1) Al-Iṣlāḥ 189-259.

(2) Al-‘Alāqah 107-60.

generations of Sūryāl Aṭṭīya's students achieved a relative balance in their studies among the three components of the medieval branch in Alexandria: Byzantine history, Western Europe, and the Crusades, as evidenced in Saʿīd ʿUmrān's studies, the third generation brought the situation back to Sūryāl Aṭṭīya's time with its exclusive interest in the history of the Crusades.

The different concepts of Cairo and Alexandria about the branch of medieval history produced a difference in newly established universities since the 1970s. The impact of the Cairo School of medieval history in universities such as Zagāzīg, Ḥilwān and the Upper Egyptian universities, has produced a situation almost identical to that of Cairo University in these smaller universities. The influence of the Alexandria School has appeared in universities such as Ṭanṭā, Banhā and Maṣṣūra. Its students in Ṭanṭā continued to adhere to the approach of Sūryāl Aṭṭīya, which is exclusively concerned with studying the history of the Crusades, and this delayed the emergence of a specialist in Byzantine history at Ṭanṭā University until the beginning of this century. The students of the Alexandria School in Maṣṣūra and Banhā succeeded in freeing themselves from the Alexandrian concept of the branch of medieval history. Therefore, from the womb of the Alexandria School, Wesam Farag at Maṣṣūra University emerged as one of the three pioneers of the study of Byzantine history in Egypt during the 1970s. The other two pioneers, Iṣḥāq ʿEbeid and Raʿfat ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, succeeded in establishing a branch of medieval history at ʿAyn Shams University since the 1970s in accordance with a more specific concept than those of the Cairo and Alexandria universities.

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The Arab Historian (Cairo)
- AH (Cai.)* The Arab Historian (Baghdad)
- AH (Bag.)* Annals of the Faculty of Arts, 'Ayn Shams University
- AFAAShU* Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University
- BFAAU* Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University
- BFACU* Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Kuwait University
- BFAKU* Bulletin of Faculty of Arts, Mansoura University
- BFAMU* Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Sana'a Uniceristy
- BFASU* Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Zagazig Uniceristy
- BFAZU* Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, United Arab Emirates University
- BFAUAEU* Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
Bulletin of the School of the Oriental and African Studies
- BMGS* Byzantinische Zeitschrift
- BSOAS* The Egyptian Historian, Faculty of Arts, Cairo University.
- BZ* Egyptian Historical Review, Egyptian Society for Historical Studies.
- EH* Historical Events, Faculty of Arts, Cairo University.
- EHR* History and Future, Faculty of Arts, Minia University.
Journal of Hellenic Studies
- HE* Journal of Medieval and Islamic History, Faculty of Arts, 'Ayn Shams
- HF* University.
- JHS* Mediaeval Studies
- JMIH*
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