Islamic Architecture through Western Eyes

Michael Greenhalgh - 9789004540873 Downloaded from Brill.com 03/01/2024 09:18:03AM via free access

Islamic Architecture through Western Eyes

Volume 2 Syria, Egypt and North Africa

By

Michael Greenhalgh



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Girault de Prangey (1804-92), a French draughtsman, travelled in the eastern Mediterranean from 1842 to 1845. This lithograph of the Al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo appeared in his *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie et d'Asie Mineure, dessinés et mesurés de 1842 à 1848*, Paris 1846-55 (followed by more images in his Monuments et paysages de l'Orient, of 1851).

The complete endnotes are available at https://doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.24637806

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov $_{\rm LC}$ record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/20229747601

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISBN 978-90-04-52484-2 (hardback, vol. 1) ISBN 978-90-04-54086-6 (hardback, vol. 2) ISBN 978-90-04-54088-0 (hardback, vol. 3) ISBN 978-90-04-54107-8 (hardback, set) ISBN 978-90-04-52485-9 (e-book, vol. 1) ISBN 978-90-04-54087-3 (e-book, vol. 2) ISBN 978-90-04-54089-7 (e-book, vol. 3) DOI 10.1163/9789004540873

Copyright 2024 by Michael Greenhalgh. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands. Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress. Koninklijke Brill NV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Preface to the Three Volumes IX List of Illustrations XI

1 Introduction 1

- 1 The Crusades and Their Impact 1
- 2 Contacts Through Trade 2
- 3 Manuscripts Throughout the Empire 3
- 4 Nineteenth-century Travel and Tourism 4
- 5 Jerusalem and Cairo 6
- 6 The survival of Islam 9
- 7 Muslims, Christians and Jews 10
- 8 Dress and Stability: Two Disparities between West and East 12
- 9 Arrangement of the Book 15

2 Syria and the Holy Land 17

- 1 Mosques and How to Enter Them 18
- 2 Sketching Islamic Antiquities: Paper and Panoramas 23
- 3 Acre: Djezzar's Mosque 26
- 4 Baalbek 30
- 5 Damascus 31
 - 5.1 Cityscape 31
 - 5.2 Mausolea of Saladin and Bibars 35
 - 5.3 Green Mosque (Es-Sinaniyeh) 36
 - 5.4 Umayyad Mosque 37
 - 5.5 Peeping through the Gates 40
 - 5.6 Local and European Dress 43
 - 5.7 Viewing the Mosque from An Upper-storey Window 45
 - 5.8 Pashas, Trade and Revolt 46
 - 5.9 The 1860s: Pliant Governors, Fanatical Locals 49
 - 5.10 From the 1870s: Easy Access 52
 - 5.11 1893: the Mosque Burns 53
- 6 Gaza and Nablus 55
- 7 Hebron 57
 - 7.1 A Brighter Future for Entry by Christians? 60
- 8 Baghdad (Present-day Iraq) 63

- 9 Jerusalem 65
 - 9.1 Cityscape 65
 - 9.2 The Contentious City 67
 - 9.3 Jerusalem as a Cash Cow: Christians and Jews 70
 - 9.4 The "Mosque of David" 73
 - 9.5 The Holy Sepulchre 74
- 10 The Haram al Sharif and Its Monuments 75
 - 10.1 The Platform of the Haram 75
 - 10.2 Accessing the Haram 77
 - 10.3 Christians View the Haram from the "House of Pilate" 82
 - 10.4 The Dome of the Rock 86
 - 10.5 Accessing the Dome after the Mid-19th Century 97
- 11 Ramla/Rama 117
- 12 Sidon 118

3 Alexandria and Cairo 127

- 1 Alexandria's Mosques 127
- 2 Alexandria's and Cairo's Reuse of Antiquities 130
- 3 The Pyramids 133
- 4 Cairo 136
 - 4.1 Introduction 136
 - 4.2 Cairo for Christians 140
 - 4.3 The French Occupation and Cairo's Monuments 144
 - 4.4 Prosperity and Decline 148
 - 4.5 Advice for Guided Visitors to Cairo 152
 - 4.6 Cityscape 153
 - 4.7 Minarets and Domes 156
 - 4.8 Mosques 159
 - 4.9 State of the Streets 161
 - 4.10 State of the Mosques, and Access 163
 - 4.11 Mosque/Madrasa of Al-Azhar (970 etc. #97) 166
 - 4.12 Mosque of Amr (827 #319) 168
 - 4.13 Mosque of Ahmed Ibn Tulun (876–9 #220) 169
 - 4.14 Mosque/Madrasa/Mausoleum of Sultan Hasan (1356–1359 #133) 170
 - 4.15 Mosque/Madrasa/Mausoleum of Sultan al-Mansur Qalawun (AD 1284-5 #43) 180
 - 4.16 Mosque of al-Hakim (990–1013 #15) 180
 - 4.17 Mosque/Mausoleum of Sultan al-Muayyad Shaykh (AD 1415–22 #190) 181

- 4.18 The Ghuriya (Mosque/Madrasa/Mausoleum of Sultan al-Ghuri, 1503-5 #189) 181
- 5 Boulaq 182
- 6 The Delights of the Citadel 183
 - 6.1 The Great Diwan of Saladin/Joseph's Hall 184
 - 6.2 Mosque of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (AD 1318–35 #143) 190
 - 6.3 Mosque of Muhammad Ali (1833–57 #503) 191
- 7 Northern and Southern Cemeteries 196
 - 7.1 Mosque/Mausoleum of Sultan al-Ashraf Qaytbay (r. 1468–96 #99) 205
- 8 Cairo, Modernism and Islamic Survivals 207
 - 8.1 Restoration and Reconstruction 213
 - 8.2.1 Museums and Old Monuments 219

4 North Africa 226

- 1 Setting the Scene 226
- 2 Algeria 227
 - 2.1 The French Invasion of 1830 227
 - 2.2 The French Destruction of the Existing Landscape 230
 - 2.3 Modernity à la française 233
 - 2.4 Muslims and Jews 234
 - 2.5 Converting Mosques and Seizing Their Endowments 235
 - 2.6 Could Arabic Architecture Survive in (French) Algeria? 238
 - 2.7 Algiers (Occupied 1830) 240
 - 2.8 *Bougie* (Occupied 1833) 246
 - 2.9 Constantine (Occupied 1837) 247
- 3 Tlemcen Environs and Its Monuments 249
 - 3.1 Mansourah 249
 - 3.2 Sidi Boumediene (Occupied 1836) 252
 - 3.3 Tlemcen City (Occupied 1836) 256
 - 3.4 Destruction and Survivals 256
 - 3.5 The Great Mosque 259
 - 3.6 The Sidi Bel-Hassen and Sidi el-Haloui Mosques 261
 - 3.7 The Citadel (Mechouar) 261
 - 3.8 The Oasis of Sidi Okba 262
- 4 Morocco 263
 - 4.1 Introduction 263
 - 4.2 Fez 264
 - 4.3 Photography in Fez and Elsewhere 268
 - 4.4 Marrakesh/Morocco 271

- 4.5 Mequinez/Meknès 274
- 4.6 Salee, Rabat and Shellah 274
- 4.7 Tangier 277
- 4.8 Tetuan 278
- 5 Tunisia (French Protectorate 1881–1956) 280
 - 5.1 Gafsa and Béja 281
 - 5.2 Kairouan 281
 5.2.1 The Great Mosque of Sidi Okba 282
 5.2.2 Mosque of the Three Doors 290
 5.2.3 Mosque of the Barber/of Sidi Sahbi 290
 - 5.3 Sousse and Environs 291
 - 5.4 *Testour* 293
 - 5.5 *Tunis* 293 5.5.1 No Access to Mosques 294 5.5.2 Mohamedia and Spolia 297
- 6 Libya 298
 - 6.1 Cyrenaica 298
 - 6.2 Tripoli in Barbary 299

5 Exhibiting Islamic Lands: Trade, Travel and Empire 308

- 1 Overview 308
 - 1.1 Easier and Cheaper Travel 310
 - 1.2 Artists, Exhibitions and Moving Images 311
 - 1.3 Dancing in the Cairo Street 312
- 2 Paris 1867 and Dancing Girls 313
 - 2.1 Countries Cheek by Jowl: Exhibitions and Museums 316
 - 2.2 Paris 1878 316
 - 2.3 Paris 1889 320
- 3 Chicago Columbian Exhibition 1893 324
 - 3.1 Cairo Comes to Chicago 324
 - 3.2 Pangalo the Entrepreneur 326
 - 3.3 Image and Reality 328

Bibliography – Sources 331 Bibliography – Modern Scholars 371 Index 377 Illustrations 383

Preface to the Three Volumes

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

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

Volume 1: Spain, Turkey, and Points East, published in 2022, examines more northern latitudes, beginning with Iberia, Islamic for some eight hundred years from the Umayyad Conquest of 711. In Córdoba, conquered by Ferdinand 11 of Castile in 1236, the Mezquita immediately became a church. The whole peninsula became Christian after the fall of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada in 1492, when the Alhambra at Granada became the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella. We shall examine why, apart from these stars, so few Islamic buildings survive throughout the peninsula. Our attention then moves to Constantinople, as did that of Western states who sent ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire (settled there in 1453), where they are the source of much information on that city's buildings. A short study of Greece (in Ottoman hands until 1829), in addition to a multitude of accounts of travel into the large expanses of Asia Minor, help clarify how the Ottomans dealt with the antique; especially its marble, so prominent in mosques and palaces. The volume ends with a brief survey of points east, from Arabia to Persia and British India, offering a few accounts by traders, politicians, and diplomats, many of whom journeyed through Turkey to get there. Each of these countries deserves its own volume, and perhaps the notes here will inspire at least one more volume.

Volume 11: Syria, Egypt and North Africa, the book you are now reading, studies southerly latitudes, namely the Mediterranean from Syria and the Holy Land, Lebanon, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Jerusalem, much visited by pilgrims of three faiths, made its money from shepherding them (often with entrance fees) through what were now Muslim, not Christian buildings; Jews could face charges to pray at the Temple Wall, Christians to be baptised in the Jordan. Damascus attracted attention for its Umayyad Mosque, which could

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

Volume 111: Palaces around the Mediterranean, will deal only with civil architecture. We know of many early and prestigious palace complexes (Samarra, Konya), but have no descriptions by westerners until Topkapi Sarayi in Constantinople was visited, often by ambassadors and their secretaries, who assessed imperial strength in part by what they saw there. New palaces proliferated throughout areas under Ottoman control because, in contradistinction to the attitude in the West, where some survived for centuries (Louvre, Buckingham Palace, Karlsruhe), Islamic rulers were generally averse to occupying existing structures, which often meant their dilapidation, stripping and eventual destruction. (Remembering Ibn Khaldun's fourteenth-century description of how such contents were moved around and their original structures were left to rot, we can understand why few earlier palaces have survived into our century.) Hence most of the palaces we deal with in this volume are late constructions, dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, all rich in fittings and ornaments if not (to Western eyes) in architectural form. In Damascus, some sumptuous eighteenthand nineteenth-century palaces were much visited and described at length, perhaps as compensation for the difficulties of entering the Umayyad Mosque. Travellers' descriptions often allow us to assess the impact of Western trade, taste and imports on their decoration and fitments, and to examine the encroachment of westernised modernism, responsible according to many commentators for the degradation of Islamic styles. There were plenty of palaces for our authors to describe, since palace building was a continuing passion for many potentates.



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

Illustrations

- 1 Acre, Djezzar's Mosque. 1880s photo by Bonfils 385
- 2 Jerusalem, Al-Aqsa Mosque. 1880s photo by Bonfils 385
- 3 Acre, Djezzar's Mosque. 1818 drawing by Spilsbury 385
- 4 Pierotti's part-itinerary for 1869 group visit to Syria 385
- 5 Damascus, Umayyad Mosque. 1918 photo by Ahmed Djemal Pasha 386
- 6 Damascus, Umayyad Mosque view, from Wilson's *Picturesque Palestine* of 1881 386
- 7 Damascus, Umayyad Mosque. Modern photo of western vestibule 386
- 8 Damascus, Umayyad Mosque. Modern photo of courtyard mosaics 386
- 9 Baalbek. Mosque arcade, 1880s photo 387
- 10 Baalbek. Mosque with porphyry columns, 1880s photo 387
- 11 Baalbek. Tented encampment, from a 1903 Cook's tour brochure 387
- 12 Jerusalem, the Haram al Sharif, in Forbin's 1819 panorama 388
- 13 Jerusalem, the Haram al Sharif, Pulpit of Omar, 1888 Bridel photo 388
- 14 Jerusalem, the Haram al Sharif, Gateway, 1888 Bridel photo 388
- 15 Jerusalem, the Haram al Sharif, photo by Ahmed Djemal Pasha in 1918 388
- 16 Jerusalem. Janissary of the US Consulate, photo by Buckham in 1890 388
- 17 Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock. Du Camp's 1852 photo 389
- 18 Jerusalem, Dome, exterior view. 1865 photo by the Ordnance Survey 389
- Jerusalem, Dome, exterior, NE marble revetment. 1865 photo by the Ordnance Survey 389
- 20 Jerusalem, Dome, exterior, south entrance. 1865 photo by the Ordnance Survey 389
- 21 Jerusalem, Dome, interior, 1880s photo by Bonfils 389
- 22 Jerusalem, Dome, interior, colour illustrations of the mosaics by De Vogüé in 1864 389
- 23 Cairo, Sultan Barquq and Fountain of Ismael Pasha; drawn by Robert Hay in 1840 390
- 24 Cairo, Mosques of Emir Jacour and Ibrahim Pasha, in Coste's 1839 print 390
- 25 Cairo, Madrasa al-Nasir Muhammad, entrance doorway from Acre 390
- 26 Cairo, Mosque of Sultan Hasan, mihrab 390
- 27 Cairo, Qalawun's complex in photo by Hertz Bey, c.1900 391
- 28 Cairo, Qalawun's complex in photo by Hertz Bey, c.1900 391
- 29 Cairo, religious-funerary complex of Qaytbay, in an 1857 photo by Frith 391
- 30 Cairo, religious-funerary complex of Qaytbay, in Prime's 1855 engraving 391
- 31 Cairo, Cairo's stone mosque domes, print by Turner, 1820 391
- 32 Cairo, Al-Azhar, print by Girault de Prangey, 1841 392
- 33 Cairo, Tomb of El Goury; print by Girault de Prangey, 1841 392

- 34 Cairo, Prisse d'Avenne's mosque decorations he calls "mosaics" 392
- 35 Cairo, Northern Cemetery, stone dome of Barsbay's funerary complex 392
- Cairo, Sultan Hasan, bronze door moved to El-Mouayyed, illustrated by
 Migeon in 1906 392
- 37 Cairo, Sultan Hasan, from the Description de l'Egypte 393
- 38 Cairo, Sultan Hasan, Coste's 1839 view of the mausoleum 393
- 39 Cairo, Sultan Hasan, Tremaux's 1862 photo from across the city 393
- 40 Cairo, Sultan Hasan, entrance portal in a photo by Gaston Migeon 394
- 41 Cairo, Sultan Hasan, courtyard in a photo by Gaston Migeon 394
- 42 Cairo, Sultan Hasan, bronze door elements returned to the mausoleum 394
- 43 Cairo, Sultan Hasan, mausoleum, marble wall decoration and frieze inscription 394
- 44 Cairo, Citadel, Joseph's Hall, from the Description de l'Egypte 395
- 45 Cairo, Citadel, Joseph's Hall, in Pococke's 1743 plan and elevation 395
- 46 Cairo, Citadel, Joseph's Hall, by Marcel, 1848 395
- 47 Cairo, Citadel, Joseph's Hall, by Robert Hay, 1840 395
- 48 Cairo, Citadel, Joseph's Hall, Taylor's 1839 view 395
- 49 Cairo, Citadel, Mosque of Muhammad Ali, photo by Bonfils, c.1880 395
- 50 Cairo, Cemeteries, from the *Description de l'Egypte* 396
- 51 Cairo, Cemeteries, Tomb of Sultan Tara Bey, print by Girault de Prangey, 1846–55 396
- 52 Cairo, Northern Cemetery, in Bechard's 1887 photo 396
- 53 Cairo, "Tombs of the Caliphs," in an 1885 engraving in Baedeker, taken from a photo 396
- 54 Cairo, Cemeteries, Kohn-Abrest's 1884 print of an unnamed Mameluke tomb 397
- 55 Cairo, Cemeteries, Bonfils' c.1870 photo of the "Tombeaux des Caliphes" 397
- 56 Cairo, stucco window from the Mosque of Saleh Talayeh, 1921 photo by Devonshire 397
- 57 Cairo, Arab Museum, in Herz Bey's 1906 photo 397
- 58 Cairo, Marcel's 1848 illustrations of chandeliers from Hasan (left) and Qaytbay (right) 398
- 59 Cairo, Girault de Prangey's 1846–55 drawings of details from the Mosque of Ibn Tulun 398
- 60 Cairo, Girault de Prangey's 1846–55 drawing of Qaytbay's minaret 398
- 61 Cairo, Sultan Barquq, prayer hall, rich in marble and granite 399
- 62 Cairo, Fustat: marbles retrieved from recent excavations 399
- 63 Cairo, Citadel: wall panels ripped by the Ottomans from the Mosque of Al Nasir 399
- 64 Aswan, partially excavated obelisk, in Engelbach's 1923 photo 400

- 65 Alexandria, obelisk on its way west, photo c.1880 400
- 66 Alexandria, Norden's 1775 view of Cleopatra's Obelisk 400
- 67 Engelbach's 1923 "league table" of obelisk dimensions and weights 400
- 68 Morocco, 1927 photo of the Madrassa of Aboul Hassan in Salé 401
- 69 Morocco, 1927 photo of the Madrassa of Aboul Hassan in Salé 401
- 70 Tunisia, Tremaux' 1862 photo of a Tunis house 401
- 71 Algiers, 1892 photo of the Grand Mosque 401
- 72 Algeria, prayer attitudes, by natives at Biskra 401
- 73 Algiers, the Bey's garden, print by Galibert, 1844 401
- 74 Morocco, Horne's photo of an inn in Fez, 1925 402
- 75 Morocco, Tangier, Roscoe's 1838 view of a city gate 402
- 76 Morocco, Marrakech, Roscoe's 1838 view of the Kutubia Mosque 402
- 77 Morocco, Meknes, Trotter's 1881 photo of the Bab Mansour 402
- Morocco, Meknes, Trotter's 1881 photo of Bab el-Khemis and Lalla
 Aouda Mosque 402
- 79 Tunisia, house in Tozeur, in a photo from *La France en Tunisie*, 1897 403
- 80 Morocco, Marrakech, the Sidi Bel Abbes Fountain, in an 1889 photo by Thomson 403
- 81 Morocco, Marrakech, minaret of the Kutubiah Mosque, in an 1889 photo by Thomson 404
- 82 Algeria, Mansourah, Marçais' 1903 photo of the minaret 404
- 83 Algeria, Mansourah, Marçais' 1903 photo of the mosque doorway 404
- 84 Morocco, Fez, William Lithgow's 1615 print 405
- 85 Girault de Prangey, printed views and a plan of palaces in Tunis and Algiers 405
- 86 Tunisia, Kairouan, Prayer Hall, in an 1887 photo by Graham and Ashbee 405
- 87 Israel, Ramla, "Tower of the 40 Martyrs," in Guerin's 1868 print 406
- 88 Israel, Ramla, "Tower of the 40 Martyrs," in Bridel's 1888 photo after restoration 406
- 89 Algeria, Mansourah, minaret drawn in 1873 by Duthoit 406
- 90 Algeria, Mansourah, minaret in Morell's 1854 view 406
- 91 Algeria, Mansourah, minaret, onyx capital removed to the museum at Tlemcen 406
- 92 Syria, Damascus, Braun and Hogenburg's 1618–23 print 407
- 93 Syria, Damascus, Ummayad Mosque, 1900 photo by Hitchens after the fire 407
- 94 Syria, Damascus, Ummayad Mosque, exterior of Prayer Hall 407
- 95 Syria, Damascus, Ummayad Mosque, Treasury in a 1878 Bonfils photo 407
- 96 Syria, Damascus, Ummayad Mosque, Treasury today 407
- 97 Iraq, Babylon, Boullaye's 1653 "Fragmens de la Tour de Babylone." 408

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 98 Jerusalem in 1460, in a print by Broquière 408
- 99 Jerusalem in 1664, in a print by Castillo 408
- 100 Cairo, Al Aqmar Mosque, Migeon's 1906 photo 408
- 101 Wrighte's 1790 view of a suggested "Mosque Temple" 408
- 102 Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives, in Cassas' 1802 view 409
- 103 Jerusalem, in a view by Luigi Mayer from 1814 409
- 104 Jerusalem, in Braun and Hogenburg's 1618–23 view 409
- 105 Delacroix, Dames d'Alger (1834) 410
- 106 Preziosi, dancers, from his *Souvenir du Caire* (Paris 1862) 410
- 107 Preziosi, street scene, from his *Souvenir du Caire* (Paris 1862) 410
- 108 Preziosi, street scene, from his Souvenir du Caire (Paris 1862) 410
- 109 Preziosi, street scene, from his Souvenir du Caire (Paris 1862) 410
- 110 Paris, 1878 Exposition, Blanc's view of the Persian pavilion 411
- 111 Paris, 1878 Exposition, Blanc's view of the El Kebir Mosque in Algiers 411
- 112 Paris, 1878 Exposition, Blanc's view of the Palais Tunisien 411
- 113 Paris 1889, Exposition Universelle brochure 411
- 114 Paris 1889, Exposition Universelle, view of the Cairo Street 411
- 115 Paris 1889, Exposition Universelle, Cairo Street, viewed from the Morocco section 411
- 116 Chicago 1893, Cairo Street, brochure 412
- 117 Chicago 1893, Cairo Street, with café behind the mosque doors 412
- 118 Chicago 1893, Cairo Street, with wedding procession, camels and attendants 412
- 119 George Pangalo at Chicago 1893: his photo of the Cairo Street 413
- 120 George Pangalo at Chicago 1893: Cairo Street, with camels and performers 413
- 121 George Pangalo at Chicago 1893: Cairo Street, a kettle drummer on his camel 413