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### Original article

# KING FARUK'S PROJECT OF RE-ESTABLISHING THE CALIPHATE IN EGYPT AND ITS ISLAMIC CULTURAL HERITAGE (1936-1952)

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#### **Abstract:**

Due to Egypt's historical, geographical, and heritage importance, and its leading role in the Middle East and the Islamic world; this article's aim is to re-analyze a persistent and serious project such as the caliphate's revival in Egypt to have a better reading over this precarious period of Egypt's modern history. Examining the Islamic ideology adopted by the Palace<sup>(a)</sup> which glorified King Faruk to the extent of naming him Caliph and the propaganda used by the influential Egyptian entourage of the young King. To run this long-term project, a series of activities were made to glorify King Faruk's Islamic persona, such as celebrating traditions, especially Mahmal while restoring various Islamic edifices. Linking the main idea with the criticality of the misusage of religious authority on people was necessary to keep the research objective. This project was terminated for too many reasons, but at least it is considered an Islamic heritage-conserving point morally and materialistically, as well as being one of the ways used to consolidate King Faruk's political authority.

### 1. Introduction

After the death of Prophet Mohamed in 632, the Islamic world's leaders were searching for someone trustworthy to replace the Prophet's regulating position, which consisted of a double work between the administration of Muslim lives, maintaining security and order in the state while spreading justice; and the religious preaching, shari'a implementation, to unify the Muslim world under his control by using the religious laws. The first caliphs in Islamic history were the Rashidun Caliphs, followed by the establishment of the Umayyad reign in Damascus in 661, the Caliphate was more of a superlative political position than a preaching religious one; during which the caliphate became luxurious temporal sovereignty. It was followed by Abbasids in Bagdad in 762, which turned back to the usage of simple primitive rulings of early caliphs in a large-scale empire and accordingly, they re-added "Imam" as a title to Caliph since the reign of Ma'mun (r. 813-833) [1]. Between the years 1261-1520 A.D. when no hope lasted to revive the caliphate, a so-called "caliphate" was started in Egypt by the Mamluks. This sovereignty gained more ecclesiastic power with the Machiavellian idea of Biebars when he heard of an Abbasside descent survived in Syria, considered setting him up as Caliph from Cairo; and therefore, he will be receiving at his hands a spiritual blessing and title to the Sultanate. The reigning monarch and the Caliph presided at the public prayers, during which their names were pronounced respectively [2]. In the Arabic language, the word Khalifa means "who came after someone and replaced him", and as an Islamic administration terminology, it means to be the chief of the Islamic government. Abu Bakr was the first to be named Caliph but the whole nomination was "Khalifat Rasul-Allah" which is accurate to his case. But when Omar was nominated, he was initially called "Khalifat Khalifat Rasul-Allah" which was too long; that's why it was shortened to "Khalifa". Also, he was named "Amir Almu'minin" the Commander of Faithful which had a military and jihadi side [3]. Generally, leading Muslims during prayers is a symbol of leadership, and whoever leads in prayers is named "Imam". Consequently, "Imam" or guide became a new title for the Caliph with higher religious importance. However, it never included any ecclesiastic functions as Islam was perfectly completed by the Prophet Mohamed [1]. Finally, the word Caliph can be replaced by Imam and executor as they all have the same meaning and are charged with the same scope of work [4]. So, every Caliph can be called Imam, but not every Imam is a Caliph [5]. In the modern era of the caliphate, it was re-established in Türkiye, the administrative capital of Ottomans who ruled the Islamic world for decades since the defeat of Mamluks in 1516-7. Many historians saw them as pretenders for ruling

the Islamic world and reviving the caliphate, as this concept ended with the fall of Bagdad [4]. Notwithstanding the political ideology adopted by each Islamic country, the monarchical Caliph remained the only political symbol of unity and coherence in the Muslim community. During the period between 1924-6, the Islamic world witnessed a turning point in its history, the abolition of the last Ottoman Caliph Abdel-Mejid II by the liberalist Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Main Middle Eastern Kings like Hussein of Hijaz, [6] Fuad of Egypt (r. sultan 1917-1922, King 1922-1936), took the privilege of this bouleversement and each one started to plan the re-establishment of the Caliphate in his own country. Hussein was named Caliph by some people in East Jordan, Palestine, and Syria; his simulated nomination lasted only 6 months and was dropped immediately after his exclusion from Hijaz by King ibn Saud. This gave full opportunity to King Fuad, followed by his son King Faruk to search for legitimate power by working on the idea of reviving the Caliphate from Cairo, purposefully since the Islamic World considered Egypt the most deserving [7]. The founder of modern Egypt, Mohamed Aly had ambitions to extend his power beyond Egypt by uniting the Islamic countries under his leadership while taking Egypt as the main seat after announcing its independence. However, Egypt's state in the period between Mohamed Aly and King Fuad was not good enough to think of an extension to Egypt's ruler authority as the Ottoman's upper hand in the state -starting from 1517- was replaced by the British's in 1882 till the declaration of 1922 in which Egypt was announced as an independent state in addition to some reserved points. King Fuad's attempt was based on crystalizing his religious dominance, by two axes: firstly, controlling constitutionally the most important religious institution in the Islamic world "Al-Azhar"; and the second was adopting the idea of the revival of the Caliphate. The importance of this dominance was to face the liberal movement in Egypt after the revolution of 1919, aiming to control the political scene and facing the Palace's biggest antagonist Saad Zaghlul or correspondingly Al-Wafd, which means it was a political need, not a religious ideology for the Palace [8].

### 2. Methodology

This article employs the principles of qualitative and inferential research based on collecting and analyzing data to gain a better reading. This research raises the question of the revival of the Caliphate in Egypt during King Faruk's reign and the Islamic heritage related to its concept. This pertains solely to the timeframe from 1936 to 1952 in Egypt, under the reign of King Faruk. The reason for choosing this period is to underline King Faruk's attempt of reviving this Islamic political system in Egypt after the demolition of the Caliphate in 1924, especially with some unsuccessful experiments; and link this policy and the tangible and intangible heritage related to it. After this specific interval, the Egyptian political ideology was directed to be more Arabist under the leadership of Nasser. The research aims to have a better comprehension of the political situation during this critical period of Egyptian History while underlining its heritage's perspective. The research inquiries include the reason behind the Egyptian monarch's desire to revive the Caliphate on his land, and how it was realized, as well as the possible social and cultural effects on local Islamic heritage and ideology. The study's purpose is to move beyond language and delve into primary sources such as national or international documents, press articles, contemporary diaries, scientific articles, and books. The analytical process is a dynamic work of examination of different sources and points of view of authors and contemporaries, searching for answers to the previous questions. Despite facing obstacles such as a scarcity of available documents and subjective authors regarding this vague political period, the researcher is actively examining various perspectives to provide answers to the proposed questions.

# 2.1. The attempt to revive the caliphate during King Faruk's reign 1936-1952

King Faruk continued the path of his father King Fuad searching for a leading position in the Islamic World, especially with the influence and support of his retinues. The honor of the caliphate that Türkiye snatched would return to Egypt if King Faruk became the new Caliph, making him more valued as Amir Al-Muslimin. As said, "Yet Egypt remains- the natural center of the Islam world, and the return of the Caliphate to that country after an interval of more than four centuries would be exceedingly popular" [9]. The reign of King Faruk was started in 1936 with a conflict on his coronation celebration as an Islamic-themed like mubaya'a was supported by many politicians but refused by Prime Minister Nahas Pasha who suggested a nationalthemed celebration [10,11]. The decision of appointing a caliphate involves many factors and is a complex process. Some preliminaries proceeded to introduce Faruk to the Egyptian people as a good and religious King through Press propaganda spotting the religious activities of King Faruk and setting new systems. Al-Maraghy's dialogues usually highlighted the religious traits of Faruk to his people. He always mentioned the King as a good model for Egyptian youth and with his manner he revived Rashidite caliphs' time [12]; The King who was known for his humility always had a mini-size Quran in his pocket and his car for protection [13]. Likewise, He was interested in searching for his ancestors' nasab which made him one of the descendants of the Prophet Mohamed from his grandpa Mohamed Al-Sharif, fig. (1) [14].



Figure (1) King Faruk quitting Paris's Mosque after Jum'a and accompanied by Morroco's representative and many prayers [10].

Apart from old traditions and costumes, a new system was included in taking the oath in front of the Egyptian King which was to include a Quran [14]. A new tradition of firing 21 cannons to celebrate the new hijri year at sunrise was created during the reign of King Faruk, in parallel with holding religious lectures in mosques and educational institutions [12]. The Egyptian educational system was reformed during the 1930<sub>s</sub> and 1940<sub>s</sub>, the Pharaonic and nationalist curriculum was replaced by an Arabist and Islamist-oriented one, yet with a focus on Egyptian nationalism. However, these curriculums recognized Arabs more as neighbors to Egyptians and never as kin [15]. Aly Maher Pasha worked hard to elevate Egypt's position in the Islamic world to claim its leadership and domination in the area. The Pasha was fascinated by the idea of establishing an Islamic ruling system in Egypt and worked hard to make his plan achievable. His steps were clear as he supported the religious societies in Egypt like Young Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood and in return, they highly supported the project of the revival of the caliphate in Egypt. [12]. He knew the importance of the Egyptian Press, and that's why he created a literary competition in which Islamist and nationalist topics were discussed. Also, a council of thinkers was created that included philosophers and politicians to solve modern problems for the sake of having a supportive association with the Caliphate [16]. As a reaction to Britain's blatant interference in Egypt's internal affairs in the incident of 4 February 1942, King Faruk resumed his "Islamic" path. Photographs of King Faruk during 1942-43 were known for the new look of his majesty with a beard, fig. (2) and dressing in Jilbab during Al-jum'a prayers after which crowds of priors proclaimed "Faruk the Caliph of the Believers" [17] and "The Faithful King" [12,14].



Figure (2) King Faruk bearded accompanied by his tutor Ahmed Hasanin Pasha [10].

Side by side with significant international propaganda, in the shape of religious convoys channeled by Shaikh Al-Maraghy from Egypt to different Islamic countries; intending to persuade them that Faruk is suitable for the caliphate. One of these countries was India, the British colony that triggered Britain despite denning the interference, mentioning that "it's Muslims' matter" [9]. Al-Maraghy's demand of announcing Egypt as a sacred country because of the enormous number of antiquities, mainly the Islamic ones; was analyzed by the British side as a threat. Accordingly, he was banned –by Sir Lampson's orders– from any public

speeches. This forbiddance held King Faruk back from continuing his plan. As part of the Caliphate's persona and the international propaganda, King Faruk was invested in Muslims' matters all around the world, which was clear with his meeting with a Chinese Muslim leader [10], his donations in Lebanon, and a mosque in Tokyo [12]. Parallelly with his preoccupation with Türkiye's earthquake in 1939, he donated to its people [10]. Also, when King Faruk traveled to London, the Muslim community there wanted to celebrate his arrival, but the British Foreign Office was concerned about King Ibn Seoud, which made this idea unachievable [12]. In a separate context including worldwide Muslims, King Faruk ordered the publication of "Sahih Bukhary" alongside "Sahih Muslim" -collections of hadithto be distributed internationally [10]. Furthermore, the marriage of Fawziya Princess of Egypt, and Mohamed Riza Pahlavi Crown Prince of Iran was a step toward a great dream in the mind of each ruler King Faruk and Riza Pahlavi Shah of Iran. King Faruk looked forward to achieving his plan of reviving the Caliphate by uniting the longtime uncoordinated sects: Sunna and Shi'a. It was rumored that a series of marriages between the Egyptian Princesses and Arab Crown Princes (Princess Faiza and Prince of Jordan, alongside princess Fathia and prince Faisal of Iraq) [17] were arranged to control the Arab countries [18]. Crown prince Mohamed Aly Tewfik and Nahas Pasha [12] refused the whole project of the Caliphate, parallelly to the announcement of the support from various middle eastern politicians like the Prime Ministers of the following countries Türkiye, Iran, Iraq, Yemen, and others. On the other hand, Britain did not declare any official announcements regarding this topic knowing that the idea would find many restrictions before its realization [19]. The work on the caliphate project was suspended mostly after the death of Ahmed Hasanin Pasha –the King's tutor– which was followed by a downgrading in his lifestyle as a result of the new staff with their detrimental influence on his behavior and ideology, and the impact of his family's problems on him. King Faruk tried to maintain his image as much as he could by donating a larger amount of money to charity more than 48 000 LE for the aim of constructing and restoring mosques. Faruk sensed that his relationship with the Egyptians was not as good as the first years of his reign as they felt it more as propaganda and a political target. As his publicly prayed jum'a was reduced and his presence did not stand out in celebrations and replaced by a representative who attended the events in his name [14]. Based on the provided information, King Faruk of Egypt would be the most suitable candidate for the caliphate nomination. Being rich in resources and having a substantial population could potentially provide him with the necessary means to lead Muslim countries. Especially with the existence of two other candidates King ibn Seoud of Saudi Arabia, who was strict enough to be excluded; and the King of Afghanistan whose country is not rich enough to lead Muslim countries [14]. Despite that, some authors thought this plan was an ego boost to the young King by his entourage [17].

# 2.2. Tangible and intangible Islamic heritage related to Caliphate's concept

Heritage is not confined to material objects or buildings. It encompasses the practices and traditions associated with locations. The significance of heritage lies in the interpretations, representations, and meanings placed upon it, rather than from the artifact itself. [20]. Thus, the propaganda of King Faruk's religiopolitical project underlined Islamism in Egypt's identity during a phase of modernization, which was translated to Egypt's King's regular presence during celebrations of religious festivals and traditions, donations to various channels, building mosques, and renovating old ones.

# 2.2.1. Religious celebrations: Mahmal, Ramadan, Al-Mawlid Al-Nabawey, Al-Israa wal-Miʿrag and mid-Shaʿban.

Egypt was chosen to produce kiswa (cover) because of the fame of its textile arts which were mastered by the Egyptians since ancient times; it was made in two villages near Demiatta named Tanis and Tuna; Al-Ablaq Palace; and Mostafa Katkhuda Pasha's residence [21]. During the modern era, the kiswa was manufactured in Dar Al Khoronfsh, or maslahat Al-Kiswa Al-Sharifa, fig. (3) a workshop set up in 1819 by Mohamed Aly in Cairo's Al-Gamaleya district. The edifice has been on Egypt's heritage list for Islamic and Coptic antiquities since 2013 [10]. Its role lasted until 1962 when Nasser suddenly refused to send the annual Kiswa to Mecca and Saudi Arabia got the honor of its fabrication. The building itself has a simple stone entrance with a straight arch, surmounted by simple decorative units, and closed by a wooden door made of two leaves of unadorned wood. The entrance is surrounded by the rest of the facade, which is of two levels, with each level twelve rectangular windows covered with an iron veil. The main door leads to an open courtyard. To the right of the inside of the door is a small, unadorned room with wooden beams on the ceiling. The house consists of two floors of red brick: the ground floor and the first floor. Ground floor: The main door opens onto the entrance hall, which is a rectangular hall. To the right of this hall, there is a door opening that leads to a small hall. It is a hall with three windows, all of which have iron grilles. The ceiling of this hall is made of wood, mounted on an iron beam. The floor is made of parquet wood, and there is a staircase in the hall. A staircase leads to the upper floor. In front of this ascending staircase, there is a rectangular hall with several windows. The ceiling of this hall is wooden. It is carried on an iron beam under the beam, made of brick and the floor is made of tiles. We enter the ground floor hall through a simple, unadorned wooden door topped with a semi-circular arch. The hall has six stone columns and five concrete ones. The ceiling is made of wood carried on a modern iron beam. There are six rattles on the ceiling. In this hall, there is a wooden door that opens to the well hall. It is a hall with several windows and a well that the ministry of endowments filled with reinforced concrete, as the ministry of endowments use the entire building as its warehouse. There is also another hall in the hall. It is a rectangular hall with a wooden ceiling and a number of windows. The first floor: ascending to it via a wooden ascending ladder. The ladder leads to a large hall with five wooden doors and three windows. From these doors, a door leads to a large hall in which the looms used in weaving or decoration were placed. In this hall, there are windows, while the ceiling of the hall is made of wooden beams. It is carried on an iron beam and has four rattles. There is also one of these doors that opens onto the roof of the building, which is a long rectangular roof. It has a number of rattles used to light the ground floor, and its sides are decorated with halfcolumns [22].



Figure (3) Dar Al- Khoronfsh in Al-Gamaleya [23]

Every year during Hajj season, the Mahmal, which consisted of a long procession of camels was formed to accompany pilgrimages from Cairo to Mecca. Also, it included a copy of the Quran, in addition to Egypt's annual gift to Mecca: a veil for the Door of the Ka'ba, a veil for the Door of Repentance, a bag in which the key of the wooden door of the Ka'ba was kept, a pall or canopy for "Magam Ibrahim" at Mecca, a carpet for the minbar in the Ka'ba mosque, the kiswa and Hezam for the Ka'ba [24]. Mahmal is an annual ceremonial palanquin with a tent made of embroidered yellow silk during Mamluk's era. During the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt, a kiswa was sent from Cairo, this one being white, instead of the Abbasid's made in black. Mahmal's concept was not exclusive to Egypt, there were also Mahmals from Yemen and Iraq, however, the Egyptian one always had the most prominent position [25]. The Egyptians celebrated this event due to the glorying importance given to Egypt to producing and transporting the Kiswa of the most spiritual place for Muslims, it dates to Baybars's reign -It also originated to Shagarat Al-Durr due to her interest and work occupied by Kiswa- [24,25] to King Fuad's reign. In 1926, King Fuad sent the Mahmal as usual, but the conflict between his majesty and ibn Seaud on the Caliphate led to an attack by the wahabiys soldiers on the Mahmal. Therefore, the Mahmal was canceled between 1926-1936 [26]. Unfortunately, King Fuad died just before the arrival of the Saudi delegation responsible for re-establishing the bilateral relations between Egypt and Hijaz and overcoming this incident [7]. By this friendly treaty, the Egyptians handover the Kiswa to Saudi Arabian authorities in Jeddah, which only happened in 1937, and perhaps due to the lower-ranking and the unfriendly reception of Mahmal, the Egyptian authorities decided that Kiswa would only be sent by Egyptians from Cairo to Suez and then it would be transported to Jeddah, fig. (4) [27].





Figure (4) Mahmal between Baybars's reign (left) and king Faruk's in Egypt (right) [28]

King Faruk's reign especially with his religious intention, was quite a modernized resumed step forward to a royal splendor celebration. Following the old traditions of Mahmal, it departed from Dar Al-Khoronfsh, Manshia Square, Al-Mahgar, Al-Darb al Ahmer, Bab Zwila, Al-Ghuria, Al-Nahasin, Bab Al-Nasr, and Abbassyia. Then restarting its route from Birkit Al-Haj in Abbasiya to reach its destination in Mecca fig. (5) [29]; The palanquin would be carried through the streets of Cairo, starting from Al-Sha'rany St., Faruk St., Abbasiya St., Ahmed Beik Saeid St. to be displayed in the pavilion for crowds, accompanied by a grand procession, which consisted of camels, horses, soldiers, and musicians [10]. During the Islamic era, a group of people known as "'afarit Mahmal" or Mahmal Goblins were like clowns, their role was limited to making people laugh, but their presence did not continue to modern Mahmals [30]. During Farouk's era, Mahmal became more official than before with an opportunity for a great military appearance, while maintaining his constant meetings with the people.



Figure (5) an illustrative map of the Mahmal path in modern Egypt [29]

The Mahmal was adorned with luxurious fabrics, jewels, and gold embroidery. It was a symbolic representation of the devotion and commitment of the Egyptian people towards their Islamic faith. The procession for the departure of the Mahmal from Egypt to Mecca was a grand event, with thousands of people filling the streets to bid farewell to the caravan, with the presence of the King or an official representative of his majesty such as prince Mohamed Ali in 1938, Aly Maher Pasha in 1939, fig. (6), and Nahas Pasha in 1942 [10].



Figure (6) Prime minister Aly Maher handing over the leash of Mahmal's camel to Amir Al-Hajj Brigadier Mahmoud Shafik Beik [10].

The Royal Carriages Museum represents two vehicles that were used during the Mahmal's procession, fig. (7). Landau, a square-bodied and four-wheeled horse-drawn carriage that proceeded the Mahmal during monarchial Egypt. It dates to the Reign of Khedive Ismail (r. 1863-1879). It is a carriage with two facing seats to contain four people with an elevated front seat for the coachman. Its lower wooden part takes the shape of a boat. This carriage is distinguished by two folding leather hoods, one at each end, which is easily lowered in good weather. It was pulled by two pairs of horses and driven by two coachmen. It was used to receive Egypt's foreign dignitaries and it preceded the Mahmal, the official caravan carrying the Ka'ba's Kiswa. In addition to Duke's carriage, which is an open carriage with a moving cab painted black, and has two seats, one inside and the other at the back. It does not contain a front chair for the carriage driver, instead, there is a wooden box to store the carriage's cleaning tools.



Figure (7) landau carriage on the right and Duke's carriage on the left (b)

Faruk continued the tradition of celebrating various Islamic occasions, and his acknowledgment of the importance of these events was clear to his participants. This shows his involvement in religious activities and his willingness to be part of the community's festivities. King Faruk celebrated Al-Israa wal-Mi'rag [12,14] like when Shaikhs prayed for "the faithful King" during the celebrations in 1938 [10]. It's interesting to note that Faruk attended the celebration of the night of mid-Sha'ban in Al-Bosiry mosque in

1939 [10]. This dates to the day of changing the Qibla from Jerusalem to Mecca. The festival started in Fatimide's era and it is one of the days called "layaly Al-waqud" or Nights of Enlightenment as it was a tradition to lighten mosques and people roam in streets with burning candles, fig. (8) [30].



Figure (8) King Faruk after the celebration of the mid-sha ban [10].

On 11<sup>th</sup> May 1938, King Faruk attended Al-Mawlid Al-Nabawey's celebration, fig. (9) in the luxurious royal marquee in Abbasiya. The schedule was full: reciting Prophet Mohamed's story, Quran recitation, and a military parade. Additionally, the fact that Faruk non-officially visited Abi Al-Alaa Mosque without his bodyguards to felicitate the event of Al-Mawlid Al-Nabawey Al-Sharif is a testament to his desire to connect with the Egyptian people on a personal level [12]. Such actions show his commitment to his faith and connection with his people. Overall, Faruk's commitment to observing Islamic occasions and his engagement with the community showcase his dedication to his religious and social responsibilities.



Figure (9) King Faruk during Al-Mawlid Al-Nabawy celebrations in 1938 [12].

Ramadan was celebrated throughout all the Islamic eras, the ruler was interested in making food in big quantities and distributing it to poor people, and banquets, fig. (10) which continued in the modern era under the name of "mawa'id Al-Rahman" [29] which continues till nowadays. The holy month was perfectly used by King Faruk in his plan for the Caliphate. During this month, Al-Maraghy gave religious lectures in mosques attended by King Faruk [12]. The latter invited 600 workers to have iftar with him at Abdeen Palace, and another one in Ras Al-Tin palace for Alexandrian workers. In 1944-45, Abdeen Palace was opened to Egyptian people for iftar which included 10 000 persons with a large variety of food. This act was after the refusal of the ministry to establish mawa'id Al-Rahman in Abdeen Square and the refusal of the radio to transport Quran recitations from the Egyptian palace [14]. Since 1945 he kept the act of inviting Arab representatives and princes during Egyptian religious celebrations. In 1950 he prayed in the presence of the King of Afghanistan in Al-Refa'i mosque. In addition to the religious acts in Ramadan, songs were related to this month since the Islamic era and this act continued under the reign of King Faruk as Mohamed Abdel-Mutalib and Ahmed Abdel-Qader songs for the holy month were produced in the 1930<sub>s</sub>.



Figure (10) a royal Ramadan banquet with the presence of statesmen in Ras Al-Tin palace [10].

# 2.2.2. His donations and interaction during the cholera epidemic

The production of a film representing the life of King Fuad I and King Faruk and their Islamic intention [14], and the documentation of Faruk's charity activities was a great point to add to the portfolio of the "Caliph-to-be". The Egyptian monarchial family, and in particular King Faruk usually donated to "mabarrat Mohamed Aly" to fund its charitable and healthcare activities. Also, King Faruk was not only interested in attending charity parties for different associations [31], but also, interested in the creation of charitable funds like Sunduq Al-Ihsan to which he donated 300 LE as a start. He did not forget about orphans, as he ordered to send them food and buy them clothes in Al-Jum'a Alyatima. During every visit to mosques, he was interested in donating money to workers there and gifting to the imam which happened frequently to give them cashmere shawls, fig. (11) [12,14].



Figure (11) King Faruk, while quitting Opera House after attending the charity party of the Islamic Charity Association, was accompanied by Pashas and some members of the board of directors of the association [10].

"Mat'am Al-Sha'b" or "people's restaurant" was a modern form of Al-Tikkiya; where poor people could get their meals

for a symbolic price or for free. Besides "mat'am Faruk Al-Khairy" established by King Fuad I in 1932, Faruk inaugurated a new one in Cairo after Al-Qasasin accident in 1943 [14]. He usually donated to this type of restaurant as he did in 1937 and spent 25 LE to feed 2 500 poor persons, fig. (12). [10]



Figure (12) Faruk's son, King Ahmed Fuad II in front of mat'am Faruk Al-Khairy built in 1932 and closed after the revolution of 1952 [32].

In spite of the turbulence and intensity of the international war atmosphere and the cholera epidemic, Faruk did not change his plan and he continued to celebrate religious events and pray in mosques<sup>(c)</sup>. He prayed in Al-Sayeda Zainab Mosque, and Shaikhs prayed for the lifting of the scourge, followed by the King's donation for cholera afflicts and the Red Crescent organization [10].

#### 2.2.3. Mosques

King Faruk became the first modern monarch who was interested in praying every jum'a between the Egyptians in largely important mosques and small ones too -in comparison with his ancestors who prayed publicly between Egyptians occasionally- and he interacted with Muslims weekly, during and after Al-jum'a prayers. It was spread in the Press that during one of the prayers, Faruk ordered his bodyguards to pray, and he said "We are all protected by Allah" which indicated his religious point of view in life. Also, in one of the prayers in Al-Refai Mosque, he refused to have a luxurious carpet as "we are equal in mosques"; and on one of the occasions, he refused to pray in a private lane. It was published that he prayed in mosques in London and Paris during his trip to Europe. Also, he was surrounded by the Egyptians' support while placing the foundation stone of new mosques [12,14]. King Faruk worked on raising Egypt's status and its architectural style while conserving its old historical art from ancient times and following the Alaouite dynasty's path. He drew attention to Amr ibn Al-'as in which he kept the Fatimid celebration of the last Friday prayer every Ramadan. Faruk followed his father's path in accentuating Al-Azhar. He donated a sum of 7000 LE for its restoration, and he prayed Al-Jum'a with King Abd-al-Aziz Al-Seaud there in 7 Sufr 1365 H. as a part of the millennium celebration of the first dars lectured in this educational institution in 365 H. Also, he prayed Al-Jum'a after the restoration of Mohamed Aly Mosque on 24 February 1939, besides a spectacular restoration of its clock tower in 1943; Al-Mahmudiya mosque on 23 February 1940; Zayn Al-Din Yehia Mosque on 27 September 1940; Yussef Al-Hin Mosque 11 June 1941; Al-Ashraf Baresbay Mosque on 29 December 1944. He inaugurated Al-Baioumy mosque after the renovation on 9 November 1939 night while listening to a religious lecture there. Furthermore, he prayed in Al-Sayieda 'A'isha Mosque on 14 February 1940, attested to the bad status of the mosque, and immediately ordered the start of a renovation plan. Likewise, ibn Tulun mosque, Gany beik Al-Ashrafy mosque, Qaytbay mosque in al-Roda; Qany Bay Al-Rammah, Uqba ibn Amer mosque, Uthman Katkhuda mosque. His Majesty gave prominence to Al-Refa'y mosque where his father was buried; Abi Al-Ela Mosque after spending a sum of 17 000 LE and inaugurating it on 5 June 1936; in addition to the inauguration of Soliman Agha Al-selihdar mosque, Al-ghoury mosque; Sinan Pasha mosque. Besides the 20 mosques, a sum of 2 mash-hads, Al-Husayny and zayd ibn Zayn AlAbedin; Qubbat Yashbal ibn Mahdi; and 3 madrasas: Sarghatmash, Al-Bastiya, and Al-Ashraf Qaitbay. A sum of 26 Islamic edifices (varying between religious and cultural) were successfully renovated and repaired under the reign of King Faruk [33]. Additionally, King Faruk, throughout his reign, ordered the construction of a number of mosques like Mohamed Aly mosque in Kafr Al-shaikh; Faruk Al-awal mosque in Maadi; in 1944, he inaugurated "mosque of Faruk I" in Damietta whose name was changed after the revolution of 1952 to "mosque of Al-muduriyah", and, in 2019, the Endowments Directorate installed two marble slabs on the mosque dating back to the era of King Farouk in order to preserve the Egyptian heritage [14]. Another mosque named after Egypt's last King was inaugurated by King Faruk in 1948 in Aswan [34]. He donated 5 000 LE for the construction of Princess Ferial Mosque. The most significant incident was on 20 January 1939, when Faruk invited all the Arab delegations including the Saudi Princes Faisal and Khaled, Saif Al-Islam the Prince of Yemen, and all the senior statesmen to pray in Quosoun mosque, during which he became their Imam, fig. (13). After finishing, the prayers chanted slogans praising Faruk "Amir Al-Muslimin". This act was followed by many articles and international reactions agreeing with choosing Faruk for this critical position knowing that Islamic countries need a leader [14,35]. Despite that, the Egyptian embassy in London denied all the rumors about calling Faruk a Caliph, followed by a telegraph with the same announcement, and declared that the idea of a caliphate is liked only by Al-Azharis, but politically it's a premature decision [12,14]. In addition to the rumors that Agha Khan -the chief of 40 million Ismaili Muslims in India and North Africa-visited Egypt to meet King Faruq and discuss with him the Palestinian question and the revival of the Caliphate; in fact, he met up with Shaikh Al-Azhar who denied any conversation regarding the Caliphate [36]. On the other side, Aly Maher declared that King Faruk will not act on the project of reviving the Caliphate in less than 15-20 years, due to the incapability at all levels, notably since the Caliph must be militarily ready to help all countries under his caliphate's umbrella. And that by 1957, Egypt would be fully ready to lead the Islamic World [12].



Figure (13) King Faruk after leading prayers in Quoson mosque, on his right-side Prince Faisal of Hijaz and left-sided by Prince Hussein of Yemen [10].

#### 3. Results

During the reign of King Faruk (1936-1952), Egypt shedded light on the critical project of reviving the Caliphate from Egypt, particularly with instability in the political scene nationally and internationally. The Palace used this religiopolitical project to regain Egypt's political authority in the area. Throughout these years, King Faruk worked hard to have a full persona matching this Islamic-oriented ideology for the sake of gathering Egyptian people around "Al-Malik Al-Salih". This faithful king was particularly nearer to Egyptians than his predecessors as he prayed every Friday between local prayers in different mosques; he kept a pocketsize Quran for protection; he frequently gifted Imams and mosques workers; he kept a good political relationship with religious societies who supported him and supported his political intention; he grew a beard and donated money for charity frequently and especially during events; in addition to the planned political marriages of the Egyptians Princesses with Arabian Princes. One of the steps toward the application of this revival of the Caliphate, King Faruk noticeably honored all the forms of the Islamic heritage, in the form of celebrating annual Islamic festivals like Ramadan, the night of mid-Sha'ban, Al-Mawlid Al-Nabawey Al-Sharif, and he gave obvious attention to Mahmal due to its political and significance; as well as his attentiveness to religious and cultural constructions that date to the Islamic era and building new mosques holding his name or the name of his ancestors. The tangible heritage was related to Mahmal due to its importance and due to the nature of the celebration and the edifices; and the intangible heritage was cited as King Faruk's attempts to keep celebrating Islamic festives that people enjoy, to gain their support.

### 4. Discussion

King Faruk, together with his *entourage*, notably Aly Maher and Al-Maraghy, devised a long-term strategy to resurrect the Caliphate from Egypt for political purposes. This initiative indirectly resulted in the strengthening of Islamic heritage, both material and intangible, through the exaltation of traditional customs and the establishment of new statutes

with an Islamic focus. Consequently, the Palace embarked on a series of Islam-oriented endeavors to gain public support. By cultivating ties with Islamic societies and crafting an Islamic image of the youthful King in the collective consciousness, they sought to enhance their popularity. King Faruk continued to praise the important Islamic festivals which were officially and unofficially celebrated by his majesty. The most significant of these celebrations was Mahmal which was canceled between 1926-1936 and resumed under the reign of King Faruk (1936-1952), and till 1962. Its importance in Egyptian culture and tradition was highlighted by the recognition and support it received from the Egyptian government, alongside its representation of Egypt's unique connection to Mecca and the annual Hajj pilgrimage. King Farouk, being the last reigning monarch of Egypt and a prominent Muslim leader would ensure that the Mahmal was prepared and sent off to Mecca with great splendor, which became more official during his reign. This tradition held a special place in the hearts of Egyptian Muslims, as it embodied their devotion to Islam and their pride in their religious traditions. The vehicles that accompanied the Mahmal during this period are now kept in the Royal Carriages Museum in Bulaq. Faruk's decision of leading the Arabian representatives in Quoson mosque in 1939, complimented Egypt's authority of sending the Mahmal to Hijaz. He grabs Press's attention to the caliphate's question and his clear intention towards it, especially, with People linking religiousbased titles like "The faithful king" to his name. Also, as we discussed in Caliph's titles being an Imam leading Muslims during prayers is a symbol of leadership, which was a secondary title for the Caliph. Also, he was interested in donating to different charity channels whether the construction or renovation of historically important mosques; Mata'em Al-sha'b and charity iftar tables; health-care institutions like the Red Crescent organization, Mabarrat Mohamed Aly; orphans, or worldwide Muslims in their struggle. During King Faruk's reign, meaningful attention to the preservation of Islamic tangible heritage encompassing religious structures which reached the number of 26 mosques and cultural establishments like madrasas was placed, especially when he spent and donated his own money on the conservation of such an important branch of the Egyptian heritage; besides his visits and weekly Friday prayers in mosques across various districts and being actively engaging with the Egyptian people and promoting religious activities indicate his commitment to the religion. Arrangements for a series of political marriages between Egyptian Princesses and Arabian Princes were planned to achieve King Faruk's plan. Princess Fawzia's marriage to Mohamed Riza Pahlavi the Crown Prince of Iran was the sole marriage that actually happened, and it was made for the purpose of unifying Islamic sects Sunni and Shi'i under the reign of King Faruk. It was clear that during King Faruk the Caliphate's project was politically focused, but as we mentioned the caliphate's concept was changed from its religious position to a superlative political position

since the Umayyads. That's why it was not a major modification or a new addition to be individually attached to this period. The idiom and rhetoric of Islam were undoubtedly suitable for a politics of acclaim, providing the crucial enthusiasm required for the staging of the performative politics of authoritarian rule. It had a wider resonance among the Egyptian public, making it an ideal tool for Faruk to enhance his image as a genuine Egyptian and broaden his appeal. Therefore, Faruk's Muslim faith was a powerful symbol in the new nationalist context. Additionally, to being a plan anti-Wafdist, King Faruk's project could have been a promulgation tool against British colonialization. It was clear that the project would face a huge attack due to the disagreements between Arabs, which is why Great Britain did not interact frequently. The research's recommendations are more about raising Heritage Awareness while embarrassing modern attempts and steps for heritage conservation, in the form of documentaries, lectures, research, and social activities like bibliotheca Alexandrina's "Manuscripts Museum School Year Activities" in 2013. Also, the conservation of the path of Mahmal and labeling the landmarks of the celebration is a must to keep the heritage alert and to facilitate the study process, like the appeals of transforming Dar Al-Kiswa into a museum. Analogously, Egyptian museology misses an Islamic collection like Khalili's, for the sake of attracting Muslims and non-Muslims to have a better understanding of Islamic art, traditions, and religion. Therefore, a museum with Egypt's story of its work for the Arab world, highlighting the Egyptian rulers' attempts for the caliphate and their investment in Islamic traditions, customs, and heritage. Particularly with technological advancements like VR and holograms by which we can have a full experience of old events and celebrations. Due to the significant importance of kiswa and Mahmal to Muslims and Egyptians, historical exhibitions were held during Hajj's period and the latest ones were in Manial Palace and Royal Carriages Museum in Bulag in 2023 [10].

### 5. Conclusion

During King Faruk's reign, the Palace went through a series of Islamic-based paths by improving its relationship with Islamic societies and implementing an Islamic persona of the young King in people's minds. This plan ends up as a big heritage conservational project of the Islamic tangible and intangible heritage. Intangible heritage awareness was precise when King Faruk continued to praise the important Islamic festivals that were officially and unofficially celebrated by his majesty, like Mahmal. The Egyptian Palace was keen to extinguish the legitimacy of King Faruk by sending Ka'ba's kiswa from Egypt and celebrating the Mahmal. The latter became more official during monarchy to highlight his political and sovereign role just like the ancient rulers during the Islamic era. The Photos represent the extent of people's love and attachment to matters of their religion and their keenness to contribute to the celebration and the participation of King Faruk with them. Furthermore, his frequent donations to a diversity of charity channels were always a mark of humanity and commitment to religion and People. His interest

in spreading Islam's knowledge worldwide was remarkable by publishing hadith collections, besides changing Egyptian education to an Islamic-oriented system and having new rulings complimenting the whole plan. Correspondingly, a part of the plan was the political marriage between King Faruk's sisters and Arabian Crown Princes which could have made Egypt's King more authorized in the area. Meaningful attention to Islamic tangible heritage in the form of religious construction like mosques, or cultural construction like madrasas was clear during King Faruk's reign, especially when he spent and donated his own money on the conservation of Islamic edifices, besides his visits and weekly Friday prayers in mosques in different districts and governorates which indicates his pure interest. King Faruk invigorated the nomination of "Imam" when he decided to guide Muslims during a prayer in Quoson mosque which was a critical act during that time; the act made the Egyptian authoritarians announce that the project was not applicable. In the end, although The Palace's original plan may not have been fully realized, the mobilization of resources towards this idea had unintended positive consequences. The ongoing support for the project ensured that material and moral resources were consistently injected into preserving and promoting Islamic heritage in Egypt, even during tumultuous periods such as wars and epidemics as it remained at the forefront. Without these celebrations and side activities associated with the revival of the caliphate, it is possible that Egypt's attention could have been easily diverted from the preservation of its Islamic heritage. In the end, these could have been a part of the modern Caliphate's agenda if Faruk succeeded in his project, but they ended up as a heritage conservational project dating back to the reign of King Faruk.

### **Endnote**

- (a) "The Palace" is used as a shortening for The Egyptian palace including the King and his *entourage* like Aly Maher and Shaikh Al-Maraghy
- **(b)** The photo is taken by the researcher in the Royal Carriages Museum, (12/7/2023)
- (c) Mohamed Aly mosque in Kafr Al-shaikh, and several mosques in Cairo like Al-Fath, Al-Qady, Amr ibn Al-Aas, and Al-Rifai mosques.

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