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The Icon Writer Hanna al-Armani according to an Ottoman Legal Document.

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The Icon Writer Hanna al-Armani according to an Ottoman Legal Document

HANNA AL-ARMANI (John the Armenian)¹ is a celebrated writer² of icons from the XVIII century. Previously studied by art historians,³ in this article, it is his private life that is examined in order to help further iconographic studies.

A document from Ottoman times, lists a certain "Hanna son of Artin, son of Karabid of Jerusalem, the Armenian painter." This document is dated the 6 Jourmadah 1200 E.H. (3 March 1786 A.D.).⁴ This person can be identified as the writer of icons, Hanna al-Armani for several reasons: the name Hanna Karabid of Jerusalem is mentioned on icons;⁵ the date corresponds to the end of the career of Hanna al-Armani 1783 A.D.; and there were no *beaux-arts* (fine arts) painters at the time.

As there are no icons in Armenian Churches, it is only by comparing two icons of the archangel Michael in the church of Haret Zuweila—Cairo,⁶ that we are able to demonstrate that Hanna al-Armani learned his art from Ibrahim al-Nasikh (Abraham the scribe).

From the Ottoman document, we learn that Hanna al-Armani did not have a profession other than writing icons which is unusual because Ibrahim, his master, was also a scribe and others were priests such as Mencorius (Coptic Museum n° 18) and Cyril (Coptic Museum n° 29).⁷

The author of this article is indebted to Mr Stuart Hibberd who corrected the English text and suggested changes to the presentation.

¹ Sometimes, we find his name is written as Yühanna.

² From theological view point, icons are written, not painted.

³ C. Mulock, M. T. Langdon, *The Icons of Juhanna and Ibrahim the Scribe*, London 1946., P. Van Moorsel, M. Immerzeel, L. Langen, *The Icons—Catalogue général du Musée copte*, Supreme Council of Antiquities and Leiden University/ Dept. of Early Christian Art. Cairo 1994, p. 17. Cf. Nabil Selim Atalla, *Coptic Icons, Orbis Terrae Aegyptae*, Cairo 1998, p. 71-89, 139-140.

⁴ R.F. G. Viaud kindly helped me to translate the dates from the Hijra to the Gregorian calendar.

⁵ Van Moorsel et al, op. cit., p. 17.

⁶ Youhanna Nessim Youssef, "L'icone d'Apa Ischyron à Abou Sefein et de l'Archange Michel à Haret Zoueila" *Acts of the Symposium of the Netherlands Institute for Archaeology and Arabic Studies—Icons in Egypt*—24-25 Novembre 1994 Cairo (under press). For another point of view, cf. O. Meinardus, "Über den Armenischen Ursprung der Kynocephaloi-Ikone in Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo," *Journal of Coptic Studies* II, 1992, p. 91-98.

⁷ Victor Grgis Awadallah, *Al-lawhat al-Mossawarah bi al-Mathaf al-Qebti* (Painted Panels in the Coptic Museum—Icons) Cairo 1965 p. 28.

As the document mentions Hanna al-Armani is of Armenian origin but he came from Jerusalem. Hanna married twice. His first wife was Armenian. She bore two sons and a daughter: Artin, Giris and Monkechah respectively.

His second wife Damiana, was a Coptic woman.⁸ daughter of George (Giris) the Dhimmi,⁹ the Christian goldsmith of Darb al-Ginînah in the lane of al-Qantara al-Gidîdah. The fact that Hanna al-Armani married such a wealthy Copt suggests that he was accepted by Coptic society.

The document notes that his residence was in Darb al-Ginînah in the lane al-Qantara al-Gidîdah. This street is close to the old Coptic cathedral of Izbakiyah. The district was predominantly Christian in makeup, which is a further indication of the extent to which Hanna had been integrated into Coptic Egyptian society.¹⁰

The extant works of Hanna al-Armani show that he was an icon writer of great ability, yet despite this the Ottoman document reveals that Hanna was very poor and his son Artin, son had to care for him and his wife towards the end of Hanna's life. Although the fact that he had no other occupation, unlike other icon writers of the period (see above), suggests he was able to make a reasonable living from his work.

The document that is published here for the first time, provides some interesting personal information on one of the most notable icon writers in the Coptic Church.

1. Hanna al-Armani was still living in 1786 A.D.
2. He married twice, his first wife was probably Armenian and his second was Coptic, and had two sons and a daughter from his first marriage.
3. He did not have an occupation other than writing icons and that was not lucrative.
4. One can suppose that his workshop was in the district of Izbakiah, while Ibrahîm, his master, had his workshop in Haret al-Rûm.¹¹

Translation of the will of Hanna al Armani

The gentlemen mentioned hereafter: Ahmad, son of honoured him Badawî al-Gammâl al-Islîmî; his honoured brother Mohammad; the honoured Ibrahîm al-Saïdi son of the late Mohammad; Azer the *Dhimmî*, the goldsmith; Nagah Afanîn, (?) son of the *dhimmî* Paul (Bûlus) the Armenian; the *dhimmî* [2] Joseph the Fat (Youssef Samin) son of the *dhimmî*

⁸ Mohamed Afifi, *Al Aqbat fi Misr fi al Asr Al Othmani, Tarikh al Misreyin*, (Copts in Egypt during Ottoman Epoch, coll. *History of the Egyptians* N°54 General Organisation of Book) Cairo 1992, p. 233. For the relations between Christian communities during this period cf *Ibid.* p286-287. Dr Afifi kindly gave me the detailed references of this document located at Maslahat al-Shahr al-'Aqari, *Registre 127*, p. 159 document 195.

⁹ The *Dhimmî*, are those non-Muslim nations living in communities that were subjected to Muslim domination after the conquest of their territories by the Arabs. cf. Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmî*, translated by D. Maisel, P. Fenton, D. Littman, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press 1985, p. 35.

¹⁰ Eleven years after the date of the document, Napoleon's campaign in Egypt was administered from this district under the direction of General Yacob. For a study of this district cf. G. Viaud, *Les secrets des mystérieuses rues du Caire*, Cairo 1990, p. 51-54. For the situation of the Copts in general cf. A. Raymond, *Egyptiens et Français au Caire 1798-1801*, *BiGen* 18, Cairo 1998, p. 60-62.

¹¹ For this Icon Writer cf Magdi Ibrahim Guirguis, "Ibrâhîm al-Nasikh et la culture copte en Egypte au XVIII^es.", *Acts of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, Leiden, 27 August-2 September, (in press).

Shukrî al-Halabî; the *dhimmi* 'Assef Saylân, son of George the Armenian; the *dhimmi* David (Daoud), son of Mirzâh al-Kharazgi; and the *dhimmi* Abraham (Ibrâhîm), son of George al-Aqwasi, and the priest [3] Stephen, son of the *dhimmi* Warnade, the Christian (nazarene) of Jerusalem, each of them to inform and to testify them on what follows:

(They were) aware of an impeccable manner and swore that the Hanna, the *dhimmi* painter, son of Artin [4] son of the Armenian Karabid, the Christian of Jerusalem, that he is responsible by the normal standard of responsibility, declared that what he possessed of possessions of the width of this perishable world and under his control [5] in the possession in his house, with his wife, the *dhimmi* Damiana daughter of the *dhimmi* George Anbar, the goldsmith, the Christian (nazarene) Coptic, resident in the Darb al-Gimnâh of al-Qantara al-Gidîdah, district, is as follows: [6] two dresses Banchayn in red and green wool, three shirts, two pure coats; Ambasti (?) of cloths; a basket of dates; two quilts in canvas; dark blue veils in cotton; only one pot in copper; [7] and three plates in copper, no more than that. However the *dhimmi* Hanna, the above mentioned, eats, drinks and dresses, currently, with his wife, aforesaid at his son [8] Artin the *Dhimmî* the forger of the Hotel of the currency like charity of his money for them and for the piety of God and alms. The *dhimmi* Hanna, the painter, above mentioned, did absolve (acquit) his wife the *dhimmia* [9] Damianah aforesaid and his three children of an another one that Artin the *Dhimmî* are the aforesaid smith, George the *Dhimmî*, the sculptor, and the *dhimmi* Munkishah and his niece the *dhimmia* Beha (?) [10] the woman, the daughter of aforesaid Khasarûd, son of Ûrtine, and her husband the aforesaid *dhimmi* David al-Kharazgi. The acquitement (litt. a free hand) of all consequences, rights and duties, [11] business, consequences, the grant and the offer, orders and of all [12] civil law before the date and after the date of the discharge of the consideration right. Him of it is not anymore, and don't require this right anymore for his wife, [13] his three children, his niece (his brother's girl) and her husband aforesaid and do not consist a right anymore abstracts, or a duty, or a demand, or a solicitude, or a reason, or a part or of gold, or money, [14] or a cut, or for reasons, or covers, or on dresses, or on gold jewellery, or on other generosity, or on the fundamental possessions, or on iron for price. He is thus free from [15] any obligation, he did not have neither offer nor debt, nor fundamental possessions, nor man, nor children, nor deposit, nor order, nor assets. There is not absolutely any right [16] nor sum of money to condition nor something else that he/it is small or big before this act of discharge. [17] This act of discharge is definitive and irrevocable, annihilating any demand or request, if any exists [18] and the *dhimmia* Damianah and the *dhimmi* Ourtin, the blacksmith and his brothers and the *dhimmia* Simah and her spouse, above mentioned, approved the acquitement of Hanna painter aforesaid. [19] (This approval) is on everything that has been explained concerning the general and legal acquitement of Hanna [20] and by the declaration of the *dhimmi* Hanna the painter, his wife and his three children and the *dhimmia* Simah and her spouse, the aforesaid *dhimmi* David (Daoud) al-Kharazgi. [21] Each of them made the proxy for the other from the date of the declaration and the approval of the right of consideration of each and they all agreed [22] on this makes the six Djumada in the year two hundred and thousand. The sheik Abdallah al-Hamalaoui and the sheik¹²...

¹² The name is erased.

Arabic Text

الحضره كل من احمد المكرم بدوى الجمال الاسلامى واخيه المكرم محمد والمكرم ابراهيم الصعيدى ابن المرحوم محمد والذمى عازر الصايغ نجاه افانين ولد الذمى بولص الارمنى والذمى [2] يوسف سمين ولد الذمى شكرى الحلبي والذمى عاسف سيلان ولد جرجس الارمنى والذمى داود ولد مزره الخررجى والذمى ابراهيم ولد جرجس القواسى والقس [3] اصطفانى ولد الذمى ورناد القدسى النصرانى كل منهم واطلاعهم وشهادتهم على ما سيذكر فيه اطلاعا مرعيا شهد على نفسه الذمى حنا الرسام ولد ارتين [4] ولد كرابيد القدسى النصرانى الارمنى هو ذه الانها بالرعى وهى بالصفة المعهودة لرعاة ان الذى يملكه من متع الدنيا وعرضها الفانى وموضوع تحت [5] يده بمنزله يسكنه مع زوجته الذمية دميانة المراه بنت الذمى جرجس عنبر الصايغ النصرانى القبطى الكاين بدرب الجنينة بخط القنطرة الجديدة وهو جميع [6] بنشين جوخ احمر وكمونى وثلاثة قمبان وقططانين الحر وامباستى قماش وقليف واحد وكافين شيت وطراح زرقا حوي قطن وحله نحاس [7] فقط او ثلاثة صحون نحاس بغير زايد على ذلك وان الذمى حنا المهد المرقوم يأكل ويشرب ويكتسى الان هو وزوجته المذكوره فى عند ولده [8] الذمى ارتين الحداد بدرب الضرب ظناه تبرعا فى ماله منه لهما ابتعدا لله تعالى وصدقة الذمى حنا الرسام المهد المرقوم على براة ذمة كل من زوجته الذمية [9] دميانة المرقومة واولاده فى غيرها الثلاث هم الذمى اورتين الحداد المرقوم والذمى جرجس النقاش والذمية منكشة وبنت اخية الذمية بيتها [10] المراه بنت خسارود ولد اورتين المرقوم اعلاه وزوجها الذمى داود الخررجى المرقوم اعلاه فعلى كل منهم وعهده وساحتته وجهته [11] وامانته له كامل العلق والتبعات والحقوق الواجبات والمعاملات والاستجرارات والاخذ والعطى والامانات وفي كل حق له يحيى [12] سابق على تاريخه والى يوم تاريخه البرا والحلوا لرعى المقبولين بالطريق الرعى وعلى انه صار لا يتحقق ولا يتوجب قبل كل فى زوجته [13] واولاده الثلاث وبينت اخيه وزوجها المذكورين اعلاه حقا مطلقا ولاستحقاقا ولا دعوى ولا طلب لوجه ولا سبب ولا حصة ولا ذهب ولا فلوسا [14] ولا كاسا ولا اهتم ولا اسبابا ولا قرشا ولا ملبوسا ولا حلبا ولا مصاغا ولا تعودا ولا عروضا ولا عقار ولا حداد ولا تمنا لذلك ولا اخذا ولا [15] عطا ولا دينا ولا عينا ولا نسانا ولاد هول ولا جها له ولا امانه ولا وديعه ولا عارية ولا حقا من ساير الحقوق كلها على الاطلاق [16] ولا مالا من الاموال شريط على العموم والشمول والاسبق اى ولا علقة ولا نسب ولا عينا بالله سبحانه وتعالى ولا شيئا

قل وجل لما سلف فى الزمان [17] والى تاريخه وابرا ذمتهم برا عاما قاطعا مانعا حاسما
 زما مبطلا لكل حق ودعوى وطلب ونية وعين باينة اذا وجدت وصدق [18] كل من
 الذمية دميانه والذمى اورتين الحداد واخويه والذمية سيمما وزوجها المرقومين على براة
 ذمة حنا الرسام المرقوم وعلى [19] صحة ما تعرف بشرح باعالية وعلى براة ذمة بعضهم
 بعض لسبب ذلك براة الرعية ابوام المدرج تحتها لكل عموم ونصول تصديقا [20]
 الشرعية باعتراف كل من الذمى حنا الرسام وزوجته واولاده الثلاث والذمية سيمما
 وزوجها الذمى داود الخرزجى المذكورين اعلاه [21] وتصديق كل منهم الاخر على
 ذلك فى يوم تاريخه الاعتراف والتصديق المرعىين المقبولين فى كل منهم للاخر القبول
 والرعى بالطريق الرعى والرضا وهذا [22] على ذلك كل وثبت وحكم تحرير فى سادس
 جماد اول سنة ماتيين والفق الشیخ عبدالله الحملاوي والشیخ



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1. Legal text mentioning the icon-writer Hanna al-Armani.