

Goodbye?). It also highlights the importance of Azerbaijan as a new power base (Durand-Guédy, 1147), and it prefigures the tutelage of the sultanate of Iraq by Ildegiz (Eldigüz) after 555/1160.

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Khedive

Khedive (Middle Pers. *khidev*; Mod. Persian *khediv*; Ott. *hidiv*, *hdiv*; Ar. *khidw[ī]*), “great prince, ruler, master, sovereign,”

was a Persian honourific title of sultans and grand viziers in Ottoman Turkish correspondence and poetry, and the imperial rank of the Ottoman governor of Egypt between 1867 and 1914. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was used in the sense of “viceroy of Egypt” in Arabic, French, English, and other languages.

Khediv in Modern Persian possibly derives from Classical Persian *khudā-var*, “god-like,” that is, “ruler” (Deny, 70, n. 1, based on Vullers, 1:663; cf. also Horn, 104). Both Firdawsī (329–411/940–1020) in his *Shāhnāma* (*gīhān-khidiv*, “lord of the world”) and Hāfiz (715–92/1315–90) in his poems use this term. It is among the honourific titles used to refer to the Ottoman sultan in Feridun (Feridūn) Bey’s tenth/sixteenth-century manual for Ottoman chancellery writing (Feridun, 3), and was later also applied to Ottoman grand viziers. The term must have been a direct borrowing from Persian. There is no proof that it came to Ottoman Turkish through Arabic (as claims Tietze, 2:314).

A sign of the revival of Ottoman-Persian culture in Egypt, Muḥammad ‘Alī (Mehmed Ali), governor of Egypt 1805–48, was addressed by a variety of titles in formal Ottoman writings, including *hidiv*, *dāver* (Pers., prince), *dastūr/dustūr* (Pers. and Ar., here: minister), *walī al-ni‘am* (Ar., benefactor). The earliest occurrence of *hidiv* in an Ottoman text dates to 1240/1824–5, and in an Arabic text to 1245/1829–30 (Deny, 72–3). The highest government unit, housed in the Citadel of Cairo, was called *divan-i hidivi*, and Muḥammad ‘Alī’s first government bulletin was titled *Jūrnāl-i Hidivi*, while *divan-i daveri* was the title used to refer to his administration in Alexandria.

By the end of the 1850s, *khidwāwī/khudaywiyy* became an accepted part of the Arabic ceremonial vocabulary, too, as the

epithet of the governors of Egypt. It was also used in non-Egyptian Arabic texts, for example, the governor Sa'īd (r. 1854–63) was called *khidūwī* in the first number of the Beirut journal *Ḥadīqat al-Akhhbār* in 1274/1858 (p. 2) as well as in the journal *al-Jawā'ib* printed in Istanbul. During the reign of Ismā'īl (1863–79), the honourific titles *hidiv/khidūwī* and *dāver/dāwarī* remained popular in Ottoman administrative correspondence, the new Ottoman press, and in Arabic petitions and poetical praise. However, in Arabic texts, the Qur'ānic title *'azīz* (*'azīz Mīsr*—“the Mighty One of Egypt”) became most frequent in the 1860s. It is for this reason that in the winter of 1866 Ismā'īl requested from the sultan the official title *'azīz*. The imperial government rejected this request possibly because it would have codified something resembling national rule in the Egyptian province; and because the reigning sultan's name (Abdūlaziz, r. 1861–76) meant the “servant of the mighty one” (here “the mighty one” meaning God). Instead, the imperial government granted Ismā'īl the title *hidiv*, in a decree issued on 8 June 1867, turning it into a rank, for the exclusive use of the Egyptian governor, within the Ottoman imperial hierarchy.

Administratively, this decree meant that the governor of Egypt was no longer an Ottoman governor (Ott., *valī, valī*), as one among others, but that he enjoyed a status close to that of an autonomous ruler within the Ottoman system. Previous and subsequent decrees from the sultan gave substance to the rank, by conferring upon Ismā'īl the right to apply the principle of primogeniture, increase the number of soldiers in his army, administer some ports in the Red Sea, issue his own coinage, and so forth. Finally, the 1867 decree also changed the status of the Egyptian

province to a “khedivate” (Ott., *hidiviyet-i celile-i Mīsiye*, “the great Egyptian khedivate”).

Only three rulers held officially the rank of khedive: Ismā'īl, his son Tawfīq (r. 1879–92), and his grandson 'Abbās Ḥilmī II (r. 1892–1914). Although Egypt was occupied by the British army in 1882, its status as a “khedivate,” and the ruler's rank of khedive, and thus Ottoman sovereignty, was not abolished until December 1914, when the British Empire declared Egypt its protectorate, 'Abbas Ḥilmī II was forced to abdicate, and his uncle Ḥusayn Kāmil (r. 1914–7) assumed the title sultan. The difference between *hidiv* as a honourific title and an imperial rank was successively obscured. The “story of the khedivate” in Western popular (and also academic) imagination, exemplified by Edward Dickey's 1902 book, became the history of the Egyptian nation-state, bolstered by the writing of interwar promonarchical history (Di-Capua, 164–72), and remembered today in Egyptian and diasporic nostalgia.

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