

American Research Center  
in Egypt , Inc.

NEWSLETTER



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NUMBER 109

Summer 1979

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United States of America

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Linda Pappas Funsch, Editor

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ARCE NEWS

Letter from the U.S. Director

Dear Friends:

After more than three years in Princeton, I will be stepping down as the ARCE's U.S. Director and Editor of this NEWSLETTER on October 1, 1979.

To all of you who continue to support and encourage the important work of this organization, I extend my best wishes for lasting success.

Yours sincerely,

*Linda Pappas Funsch*

Linda Pappas Funsch  
U.S. Director

1980-81 Fellowship Deadline

As announced earlier, the American Research Center in Egypt will award funds for fellowships in Egypt during 1980-81.

Fields of Study	Egyptology, archeology, art history, the humanities, social sciences, and related disciplines.
Eligibility	Ph.D. dissertation students, having successfully completed preliminary exams; post-doctoral scholars.
Duration	Three to twelve months, during the period June 1, 1980 - September 30, 1981.
Allowances	Most ARCE Fellows receive a monthly stipend, payable in Egyptian currency, commensurate with academic standing and number of accompanying dependents, plus round-trip air transportation for recipients only. A limited number of U.S. dollar awards (maximum: \$20,000 for 12 months) is available to senior scholars in the humanities.
Application Deadline	November 30, 1979, for receipt of applications, letters of recommendation, and filing fees.

The ARCE Fellowship Program is made possible by grants from the Smithsonian Institution's Foreign Currency Program, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the International Communication Agency.

NEWS FROM CAIROZaki Iskander Hanna: November 16, 1916 - July 16, 1979

Zaki Iskander was graduated with honors in chemistry from the Faculty of Science, Cairo University, in 1935. Although appointed to the same Faculty, he was attracted by Egyptian antiquity, and transferred in 1936 to the Department of Antiquities, to act as chemist in its laboratory, annexed to the Egyptian Museum. There he worked with Alfred Lucas, then acting as consulting chemist for the Department.

Trained by Lucas, Zaki Iskander received the diploma of the Institute of Egyptology in 1942, an M.Sc. in organic chemistry in 1945, and a Ph.D. in organic chemistry in 1953. In 1953, he became director of the Department of Antiquities' Research Archaeological Laboratory; in 1966, Director General of Technical Affairs of the Department; and in 1972, Director General of the Department itself (later the Antiquities Organization). Despite these official appointments, he always kept in touch with his laboratory and its projects, and was recognized as one of the world authorities on the preservation and restoration of antiquities.

Zaki Iskander's contributions to Egyptology fall into three areas: training laboratory assistants and teaching hundreds of students in chemistry and archeology in various universities; treating and restoring thousands of objects and scores of monuments; publication of more than twenty-five articles and seven books on his work and discoveries. He also served as special consultant for UNESCO on special missions to Pakistan and Italy, and in the salvage of the temples of Philae in Egypt. For his contributions to the field, Zaki Iskander was chosen as member of numerous institutes and scientific organizations, including the Institut d'Egypte, the International Center of Museums, and the International Center of Antiquities and Ancient Sites. On recommendation of the Egyptian Ministry of Culture and Information, he was offered the Nasser Prize of the USSR in 1972. In 1974, he was elected an honorary member of the American Research Center in Egypt.

With the disappearance of Zaki Iskander, Egypt has lost one of her most distinguished scholars. To his friends, colleagues, and students, and most especially to his devoted spouse, Ikbal Kamel, we extend our deepest sympathy. For myself, I indeed lost in Zaki Iskander a life-time colleague and friend.

Labib Habachi

مركز البحوث الأثرية بمصر

ANTIQUITIES NEWS

Items culled from the local Cairo papers and the grapevine.

Universities

A department of archeology will be created in the Faculty of Arts, Assiut University, by decision of the University Council (EG 29.iv).

A new laboratory for the conservation and repair of Egyptian antiquities has been opened at one of the annexes of the Faculty of Antiquities of Cairo University. Financed by a \$250,000 grant from Volkswagen and a matching \$200,000 from Cairo University, the laboratory contains the most advanced equipment available, and is under the direction of Dr. Saleh Ahmed Saleh, director of maintenance and repair for the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. Work will begin on pieces in the collection of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, but will eventually extend to all archeological sites in Egypt (EG 14.vi).

Museums

Mr. Mohammed Mohsen, formerly curator of Greco-Roman antiquities, has been appointed director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. He replaces Mr. Hassan el-Ashiry, who has been appointed technical director of the Center of Documentation.

Museum experts from Egypt and abroad are looking into ways of renovating and extending the Egyptian Museum. One section is to be set aside for Egyptologists who wish to work with objects from the museum. The project is being carried out with the aid of UNESCO.

The Museum is also preparing a special exhibit on the ancient Egyptian family and child, in honor of the International Year of the Child. The exhibition is to include objects showing daily life and motherhood, and a large collection of children's toys (EG 10-11.vi).

Tourism

The Antiquities Organization has postponed until January, 1980, implementation of its decision to charge a LE 2 admission fee to the Pyramids area in Giza. The Ministry of Tourism and several other private and governmental bodies have protested the suddenness of the decision and the unfavorable advantage it supposedly will give to foreign tourist agencies over local agencies, who are less able to absorb the increase. The new fee is part of a general increase affecting all major monuments and

museums. Giza, the Valley of the Kings, and Sound and Light are to be raised to LE 2, other sites to LE 1, and museums from PT 25 to LE 2. Egyptians are to enjoy reduced fees in each instance. Implementation of the increase, however, will depend on "the results of the heated debate which is now going on in the tourist and local government circles" (EG 10.v).

The Pyramids area in Giza is to receive a number of information boards for tourists in French, English, and Arabic. The garden in the tourist area at Mit Rahina (Memphis) is to be improved and running water added (EG 26/6/79).

Plans are being studied to revive the Pyramids Plateau Tourist Project, cancelled last year. The project, including hotels and tourist villages, originally was to have been set up on the Giza plateau above the pyramids, but was cancelled by President Sadat. The project is to be revived in one of four alternative locations on the Alexandria/Cairo and Cairo/Fayum highways. Engineers are to study the alternative areas to determine whether they pose any danger to antiquities (EG 9/7/79).

The Siwa Oasis is to be converted into a major tourist attraction with facilities for visitors. Construction has started on a new road from Mersa Matruh to Siwa, scheduled for completion in 1981 at a cost of LE 28 million (EG 4/7/79).

Meanwhile, the Egyptian Antiquities Organization has drawn our attention to the temple of Amun in the Siwa Oasis as one of the areas most in need of conservation. Large cracks have appeared in the walls and the pylon is in danger of collapse. In view of the new tourist project, the need for such conservation is particularly urgent.

#### Finds

Mr. Abdel Aziz el-Shendawili, senior antiquities inspector in Upper Egypt, has announced the discovery of a hoard of 1036 nickel coins of Roman date in Zafiriya village, Governorate of Qena (EG 26/6/79)

#### Conservation

Dr. Mahmud Fawzi, Chairman of the National Committee for the Preservation of Egyptian Arab Heritage, has launched an appeal for the preservation of some 500 Islamic monuments in Cairo. According to official statistics, Cairo has lost some 123 registered monuments during the past 50 years to severe damage or encroachment. The Ministry of Culture allocates LE 3,200,000 yearly to the preservation of monuments, of which 2,200,000 goes for salaries, and the rest for maintenance and excavation (EG 19/6/79).

A new Society for Lovers of Egyptian Antiquities has been founded under the directorship of Mme. Sadat. The society's aims are the preservation and protection of Egyptian antiquities, in particular Islamic buildings in Cairo; encouragement of properly conducted archeological research; and exchange of views with similar societies in other countries. Members of the society are to give public lectures on different archeological sites (EG 28/6/79).

The Egyptian Antiquities Organization plans to make a comprehensive survey of archeological sites in collaboration with the Remote Sensing Center. The goal of the project is to produce a new map of archeological sites, which will then be provided to the Ministry of Reconstruction and New Communities so that sites will be protected in any future development schemes (EG 7/6).

The Remote Sensing Center collaborated this year with the Berkeley Theban Map Project in producing new aerial maps of the Theban Necropolis.

The Egyptian Antiquities Organization has announced plans to begin repair work on the Great Pyramid this fall. Funds have been made available to consolidate eroded blocks on the south face by filling in gaps with new limestone of a similar type, chemically treated to resist the erosion that has damaged the ancient blocks (EG 5/7/79).

Studies are also being undertaken by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, in collaboration with a Swedish consultant firm, for repair work and conservation of the Sphinx, the Boat Museum, and the Tomb of Nefertari in Luxor. Plans being studied for the conservation of the tomb include a project to separate it entirely from the surrounding rock to prevent damage due to shifts in the geological layers of the gebel (EG 9/7/79).

Reconstruction of the temples of Philae is scheduled for completion by the end of the year. To mark the end of the salvage project, the Egyptian Antiquities Organization is organizing an international festival. The target date is March 10, 1980, the twentieth anniversary of the beginning of the Nubian salvage campaign (EG 9/7/79).

### Personnel

With the announcement of the new cabinet, Mr. Mansur Hassan, Minister of State, has been given responsibility for cultural affairs. The status of the cultural section of the Ministry of Education, Scientific Research, and Information is currently in question.

Antiquities Trade

Egyptian police have seized more than one million Egyptian pounds' worth of antiquities from a shop and flat in Gumhuriya Street, Cairo. Among the artifacts recovered were Greek, Coptic, and Islamic antiquities from the Fayum, Beni Suef, and the site of medieval Fustat, and a gilded pharaonic sarcophagus 2.5 m in length (Egyptian Gazette 25.v.79).

The present antiquities law is to be revised with a view to preventing smuggling of antiquities abroad. A deadline will be set for those in possession of antiquities in Egypt (with or without license) to register them with or surrender them to the authorities. In connection with this new law, the police have been conducting an extensive campaign to crack down on antiquities hoarders and illegal dealers in Egypt. Recently, a "huge amount" of antiquities, primarily Islamic, and valued at LE 1.5 million, was seized in a flat in Aguza and an antiquary shop in Sarwat Street, Cairo (EG 2/7/79).

FIELDNOTESThe Theban Royal Tomb Project

*The second season of the Brooklyn Museum's Theban Royal Tomb Project ended in May after a five-month season. John Romer, field director for the project, has kindly supplied us with a copy of his preliminary report from which the following notes have been abstracted.*

The expedition completed its detailed physical survey of the Valley of the Kings, focusing on the geology and sedimentation of the Valley and on the present effects of tourism on its monuments. After analysis of the data, the Brooklyn Museum will submit recommendations to the Antiquities Organization for better protection of the monuments and improved conditions for tourists.

The archeological and epigraphic team completed its work in the tombs of Ramesses X and XI. Both tombs were cleaned and their inscriptions were drawn and photographed. In the tomb of Ramesses XI, an inscription of Pinodjem I was discovered overlying an earlier inscription of Ramesses XI. In the course of clearing this tomb, the expedition discovered workmen's tools and evidence of efforts to prop up loose sections of the burial chamber. This, together with the inscription of Pinodjem, suggests that work on the tomb was abandoned in progress, due to dramatic shifts in the limestone of the surrounding gebel.



In clearing the tomb, the Brooklyn team discovered remains of Coptic occupation in the upper sections; in the burial chamber and in the corridor leading to it, many small pieces of faience inlay, gesso, gold leaf, and wood were found, suggesting that the lower part of the tomb was used as a place in which burial equipment from other tombs was plundered.

The great pit (approximately 10 m. deep) in the center of the burial chamber of Ramesses XI was found to contain some intrusive private burials of Dyn. XXI-XXII, largely destroyed by fire. Beneath these, fragments of other royal burial were discovered, including three shawabtis of Ramesses IV, a fragment of wood with the titles of Hatshepsut, and some fragments of resin-covered funerary equipment of Tuthmosis III, some of which may join with damaged pieces now in the Egyptian Museum. These fragments suggest to the excavators that the tomb of Ramesses XI was used as a collection point for the mummies and burial equipment later found in the royal cache above Deir el-Bahri.

At the mouth of the shaft, the Brooklyn team uncovered three deposits in the floor of the burial chamber, covered with limestone chips and white plaster (a fourth deposit had been plundered). The deposit in the northeast corner contained a fine group sculpted in beeswax, 14.5 cm high, showing the king with both hands raised before the goddess Maat; the goddess holds a lotiform staff. Between the two figures is a small piece of openwork design, showing Horus spearing a hippopotamus on a bark supported by two Hathor heads; this may have been intended for the top of the lotiform staff. The same deposit contained two gold and several faience plaques with the nomen and prenomen of Ramesses XI, a beeswax statue of four baboons guarding the Lake of Fire, and a statue of a baboon in Nile mud. Similar groups were found in the two other deposits, although the king with Maat appeared only in the northeast deposit.

The Theban Royal Tomb Project is part of the Brooklyn Museum's Theban Expedition, and is funded by a grant from the Coca-Cola Company.

مركز البحوث الأمريكية بمصر

## AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

Research Fellowships for the Year 1979-80

Funded by the International Communication Agency

<u>NAME</u>	<u>RESEARCH TOPIC</u>
+Abdel-Massih, Ernest T. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	"Research in Arabic of the Communica- tions Media"
*Adams, Richard H., Jr. University of California, Berkeley	"Local Institutions and Agricultural Development in Egypt"
*Botman, Selma Harvard University	"World War II and the Culture of Political Opposition in Egypt - 1939-1951"
*Egger, Vernon O. University of Michigan	"An Egyptian Intellectual: The Career of Salamah Musa"
+King, David A. Project Field Director, ARCE, Cairo	"History of Astronomy in Medieval Egypt"
*Krieger, Laurie University of North Carolina	"Menstruation, Gender Roles, and Contraceptive Acceptability among Cairene Women"
✓ *Lockman, Zachary Harvard University	"Labor Organization in Egypt's Transport Sector"
*Makdisi, John A. Harvard Law School	"The Islamic Law of Sales: Its Examination from the Perspective of the Islamic Scholars"
*Mattar, Philip Columbia University	"Al-Hajj Amin al-Husayni: Founder of Palestinian Nationalism"
+Najjar, Fauzi M. Michigan State University	"Constitutional Change and Moderniza- tion in Egypt, 1962-1970"
✓ +Northrup, Linda S. McGill University	"A Study in Medieval Arabic Diplomatic"
+Toledano, Ehud R. Princeton University	"Crime and Society in Post Muhammad 'Alī Cairo, 1848-1863"
+Wilson, Dunning S. University of California, Los Angeles	"Archival Sources for the History of U.S. - Egyptian Relations"

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 +Faculty

\*Student

Funded by the Smithsonian Foreign Currency Program

<u>NAME</u>	<u>RESEARCH TOPIC</u>
*Allen, Marti Lu University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	"A Stylistic, Iconographical, and Technical Study of Terracotta Figurines Excavated in the Fayoum"
+Crecelius, Daniel N. California State University, Los Angeles	"Index of Waqfiyāt from the Ottoman Period Preserved in the Archives of the Ministry of Awqaf, Cairo"
+DeJesus, Prentiss S. Centre Audio Visuel, France	"Research in Egyptian Metallurgy from Predynastic Times to the Middle Kingdom"
+Kaegi, Walter E. University of Chicago	"Byzantine Egypt During the Arab Invasion of Palestine and Syria"
*Koptiuch, Kristin University of Texas, Austin	"Traditional Craftsmen in the Modern Market: Urban Potters of Cairo and Qena"
*Lacovara, Peter G. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago	"Settlement Archaeology of the New Kingdom Town of Deir el Ballas"
*Lane, Mary Ellen Sorbonne, Paris	"The Tree-Goddess in Egyptian Art and Religion"
*LaTowsky, Robert J. SUNY-Binghamton	"Regional Development and Rural Industrial Labor Migration in Upper Egypt"
*Meltzer, Edmund S. University of Toronto	"Dialect Features in Middle Kingdom Inscriptions"
*Sherman, Elizabeth J. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago	"A Study of the Egyptian 'Biography' of the Late Period"
*Taylor, Richard C. University of Toronto	"Part of Thesis Entitled: Being and Causality in the <u>Liber de Causis</u> : A Study of Medieval Neoplatonism"

Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities

<u>NAME</u>	<u>RESEARCH TOPIC</u>
+Haddawy, Hussayn F. University of Nevada, Reno	"Psychology and Poetics in Islamic Philosophy"
+Zartman, I. William New York University	"Images of Egyptian Foreign Policy and World Order Strategies"

NEWS OF OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Meetings and Conferences

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The Thirteenth Annual Meeting  
of the  
MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION  
November 7-10, 1979  
at the Hotel Utah  
Salt Lake City, Utah

Middle East Studies Association  
Hagop Kevorkian Center for  
Near Eastern Studies  
New York University  
50 Washington Square South  
New York, New York 10003

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The One-Hundred-and-Ninetieth Annual Meeting  
of the  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY  
April 15-17, 1980  
at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel  
San Francisco, California

American Oriental Society  
329 Sterling Memorial Library  
Yale Station  
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

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## DECLINE OF THE MODERN NUBIAN LANGUAGE IN EGYPT

Aleya Rouchdy  
Wayne State University  
ARCE Fellow, 1978-79\*

This report is submitted to confirm work done under an ARCE grant by Aleya Rouchdy and assisted by grants from the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, during her sabbatical year, 1978-79.

The field research was conducted in different Nubian-speaking communities in Egypt: Cairo, Aswan, and Kom-Ombo. In Cairo, the three large communities located in Abdeen, Bulaq Sharkas, and Imbaba were visited. Nubians living in other parts of Cairo such as Dokki, Meadi, or Giza were also interviewed. In Upper Egypt, Aswan, I visited the Gizira, Gharb Suhayl, and El-Sel; and in the Kom-Ombo region, Dahmit, Dar el-Salam, Ballana, Abu Simbel, and Tomas wi Afiya.

During my field work, I was accompanied by a Nubian assistant, Mohamad Fikri, who, in 1963, had participated in the relocation of Nubians which was conducted by the Social Science Research Center of the American University in Cairo. Thus, Fikri was not only familiar with both the setting and the people, but was also of great help for me in establishing a good rapport with the Nubians I interviewed.

When I first started my work on the Nubian language, I intended to examine one dialect or rutāna, the Matoki<sup>1</sup> dialect, which is spoken by the Kenuz, in order to explore the growing influence of Arabic and the changes that occurred in the dialect due to interference from Arabic, the dominant and official language of the second dialect,<sup>2</sup> Fadicca,<sup>3</sup> spoken by the Nubiyin.

I proposed three problems for a research focus:

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\*Funded, in part, by the Special Foreign Currency Program, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

<sup>1</sup>Mato means east, and Matoki refers to the dialect spoken by the people of the east.

<sup>2</sup>I am using the term dialect instead of language since both Fadicca and Matoki belong to the Nile Nubian language group and are closely related linguistically.

<sup>3</sup>Many of the Fadicca speakers in Egypt refer to their dialect as Noubi. Herman Bell uses the term nobfin when he refers to Mahas-Fadicca and Mutwalli Badr uses the term nobin in his book nobin nog gery.

- I. The first problem was the gathering of data on word order change which might be related to contact with Arabic. The accepted word order for both Matoki and Fadicca is an SOV order, with an alternative order OSV. For instance, in Matoki the sentence 'the man is carrying the basket' would be id karaji injikagi or karaji id injikagi. Changes to an SVO order, which is also the order of Egyptian colloquial, were noticed during my interviews in Cairo. In the Kom-Ombo region an almost strict SOV order was maintained.
- II. The second problem I proposed was the gathering of data on morphological variation. The plural in both dialects, Matoki and Fadicca, is formed by adding a plural suffix to the stem. For example:

English	Fadicca Singular	Matoki Singular	Fadicca Plural	Matoki Plural
'man'	id	id	idi	id-i
'chicken'	dirbad	darbad	dirbad-i	darbad-i
'tongue'	nar	ned	nar-ku	nedd-i
'bone'	gesir	kid	gesir-ku	kidd-i

Borrowed words from Arabic ending in a vowel, the feminine marker, are given the plural suffix /-n<sup>h</sup>ci/ in Fadicca and /-<sup>h</sup>ci/ in Matoki, e.g.:

English	Fadicca Singular	Matoki Singular	Fadicca Plural	Matoki Plural
'family'	ela	gabila	ela-n <sup>h</sup> ci	gabila- <sup>h</sup> ci
'plane'	tayyara	tayyara	tayyara-n <sup>h</sup> ci	tayyara- <sup>h</sup> ci

I had noticed the speaker displaying some variation in the formation of noun and adjective plurals. Some of this variability is found in the choice of /-i/, /-ku/, /-gu/, /-n<sup>h</sup>ci/ or /-<sup>h</sup>ci/. Many of the Cairo speakers over-generalized the rules of the plural using one plural suffix for the majority of words given to them. For example the word for 'place' in Fadicca is agar. Some speakers used its plural form, agari, instead of the correct form, agarku. In another case, borrowed Arabic words, when changed into the plural were given two plural suffixes, one Arabic and one Nubian. An example for both Fadicca and Matoki would be:

<u>English</u>	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
'book'	kitāb	kutubi

According to the rule of Nubian plural it should have been kitābi. The above example is a case where bilingual interference could create semantic confusion. The word kitābi in Arabic means 'my book' the suffix /-i/ attached to a noun in Arabic marks the possessive of the first person singular. Thus, to avoid this semantic confusion, since most speakers are bilingual, a double plural is used in Nubian, kutubi.

III. The third and last proposal was an ethnography of communication in the different Nubian communities. This ethnographic work included a good deal of visiting and interviewing the different communities of Cairo and Kom-Ombo. In Cairo, many of the younger generation of Nubians interviewed either did not speak the language at all or spoke very little of it, as opposed to the young Nubians interviewed in the Kom-Ombo area. But, in Kom-Ombo the basic demographic pattern has changed and the new settlement brought the Nubians into closer contact with the Egyptians. This new social and physical setting is leading to a growing impact of Arabic and I think in time it will decrease the usage of Nubian to fewer situations and increase the primary socialization of children in Arabic. However, in relocating the Nubians the Egyptian government acceded to their demand for a unified resettlement rather than dispersing them; this, in my opinion, is slowing the process of linguistic assimilation and, in many cases, is allowing primary socialization in Nubian, a situation that does not occur in Cairo.

This work yielded a number of new insights on language attitudes in the different Nubian communities of Upper and Lower Egypt. I interviewed a total of sixty-four people in Upper Egypt (Aswan and the Kom-Ombo region) I discovered that in Upper Egypt in general, the Nubian language is still strong enough to incorporate new speakers. I met children who were born in non-Nubian communities and who spoke Arabic as their first language, but had learned Nubian as a second language on moving into Nubia where their fathers started to work. The children found that Nubian was essential for communicating with other children. Also some Nubian women from Cairo who returned to Kom-Ombo upon marriage started to learn the language in order to socialize with other women. The majority of women interviewed in Upper Egypt are all Nubian-dominant bilinguals. Male teenagers usually socialize among themselves in Arabic except for an occasional reference, especially when they don't want to be understood by outsiders. On the other hand, Nubians in Cairo are more Arabicized. For instance, women who are very marginal in Arabic, were speaking Arabic to their small children. In Cairo, Arabic, as the dominant language outside and within the family, is very much extended compared to the Kom-Ombo region. This was observed during my frequent visits to Nubian clubs and families.

Up to the time this report was written, I had interviewed forty-six people in Cairo and most of those interviewed were Arabic-dominant bilinguals.

I am of the opinion that there is a rapid language decline among Cairo Nubian speakers and a definite language shift among Upper Egyptian Nubians. The rapidity of the change in Cairo suggests that one must return to the field frequently in order to monitor the process.

I made several visits, observed language usage, and made contacts with leaders in different Upper Egyptian villages and in Cairo in order to administer my questionnaire to a sample of speakers. I conducted interviews with one hundred ten subjects of both dialects. They were given a list containing fifty items requesting singular and plural. They were also given sixty-three sentences to translate from Arabic into the specific dialect. Twenty-nine of the sentences were given to examine verb morphology, and thirty-six sentences to examine the syntactic structure. Speakers included both males and females, ranging from age fourteen to seventy-five. In addition to the formal interviewing in Cairo, Aswan, and Kom-Ombo, I was able to tape some Nubian stories and informal conversation by the same individuals. This was designed mainly to reveal the amount of interference from Arabic in the subject's performance in an informal situation.

Due to the nature of the city, Cairo, work in the different communities was extremely time-consuming because it involved transportation to the different areas and difficulty in having to set appointments. On the other hand, in Aswan and Kom-Ombo, my work was much more rewarding due to the compactness of the physical setting and the ease with which I could see the different speakers.

The first accomplishments of my research were as follows:

1. collection of data on noun-adjective morphology and on word order in both dialects, Fadicca and Matoki;
2. collection of interviews from monolingual and bilingual Nubians of Egypt; and
3. observation of language usage in different contexts and communities, rural and urban.

The second accomplishment would be to analyze the collected material made during my field work and to examine the circumstances associated with language loss or maintenance and to answer some of the following questions:

1. how are the Arabic words adapted to the borrowing Nubian dialects?
2. are the speakers aware of the interference?
3. what area of grammar does Arabic penetrate?
4. how much influence does the new physical and cultural setting have on the loss or maintenance of the Nubian language?
5. is there a forced bilingualism?; if so, will it lead to language loss?



This report does not exhaust even a small amount of information gathered during my sabbatical year in Egypt. Rather, I have attempted to outline some of the major points I will be dealing with when analyzing the collected data. The much more detailed information on the decline, change, or maintenance of the Nubian language will be written in a form which will be of interest to linguists and sociolinguists, especially those pursuing the study of intermediate bilingualism, language change and language choice, and who must have often questioned the validity of Du Bellay's statement: "La même loi naturelle qui commande à chacun de défendre le lieu de sa naissance nous oblige aussi de garder la dignité de notre langue."

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF A CAIRENE NEIGHBORHOOD:  
THE DARB EL-AHMAR DISTRICT

Hani Fakhouri  
University of Michigan, Flint  
ARCE Fellow, 1978-79\*

This report is based on an ethnographic survey which was conducted between September 1978 and July 1979. The study focused on the Darb el-Ahmar area, one of the oldest and most densely populated districts in Cairo. The selection of the area was influenced by a proposed plan initiated by the ARCE in 1976 to restore and rehabilitate the Bayt el-Razzaz complex. This complex is a medieval Islamic monument built toward the end of the Mamluk period (15th century) in Egypt. It was felt then that the effort to restore this medieval Islamic monument should not be made in isolation, but rather as a part of an integrated approach, in which the whole area would be the focus of our attention. Thus, while this approach was taken into consideration, my research focused on the following points:

1. historical survey of the area;
2. analysis and description of the spacial and demographic characteristics;
3. formal survey with questionnaires to provide some meaningful insights into the community forces and local problems, as well as to clarify the people's perception of the historical antiquities in their neighborhood;
4. direct observation of life as it is lived in the area; and
5. physical mapping of relevant historical sites.

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## I. New Urban and Demographic Trends

Cairo is experiencing a rapid urban and population growth; consequently, it faces the burdens of urban problems that arise with such a growth and which increase in direct proportion to the increase in population. It is within this context of growth and change that an attempt was made to examine and analyze urban trends in Cairo in general and in the Darb el-Ahmar area in particular.

Cairo was founded around 969 A.D. by Jawhar, a general in the army of the Fatimid Caliph al-Muezz li-Dini Allah. From its birth and through the following five centuries, the city was ruled by various dynasties: the Fatimids, the Ayyubids, and the Mamluks. During the different ruling periods, Cairo was the capital and the center of authority. Each ruler in turn expanded the city, and they all competed in beautifying it. This is reflected in the hundreds of private and public edifices that are still standing, despite centuries of neglect. The glory of Cairo, as a city, began to decline with the conquest and the capture of the city by the Ottoman Turks around 1517 A.D., and Cairo remained stagnant until the 19th century. With the beginning of Mohamed Ali's reign and that of the Khedive Ismail, the city started a period of renaissance with a European tone. By the end of the 19th century, Cairo was expanding beyond the old and the medieval physical boundaries of the city. The new expansion moved the focus of attention from the center of the city to the newly built areas.

The new urban expansion led to gradual population shifts, from the center of the old city into new residential areas. The rich moved from the core of the city, leaving behind the poor and unemployed. This trend expedited the process of urban decay in the core of the city. Many of the wakalats, houses and old mansions which had been inhabited by prominent families, cotton brokers, merchants and entrepreneurs, were divided and subdivided in order to accommodate small-scale handicraft industries and to shelter poor and low-income groups. Another trend which also contributed to the physical deterioration of the old section of the city was the flow of migrants from the villages into Cairo. This trend began to gather momentum as early as the later part of the 19th century, leading to a many-fold increase in the population of the city. For instance, at the turn of the 20th century the population of the city was around 700,000 people, and by June, 1979, it was nearly 5.5 million people for the governorate of Cairo and around 8.5 million people for the greater Cairo metropolitan setting. The vast majority of the newcomers settled in the old section of the city. This led to an unbalanced urban growth and uneven population distribution among the various areas within the city of Cairo. The population density varies from 7,000 persons/sq.km. to 107,444 persons/sq.km., with an average of 25,275 persons/sq.km. for the city. However, the highest density tends to be found in the old sections of the city. For example, the population density of the Darb el-Ahmar and of the adjacent districts (Sayda Zeinab, Mosky, and el-Azhar) is respectively 52,353 persons/sq.km., 72,074 persons/sq.km., 97,337 persons/sq.km. and 52,077 persons/sq.km.\*

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\*Figures were taken from the Census record, Cairo, Egypt

## II. Physical and Social Characteristics of the Area Surveyed

The area which surrounds Bayt el-Razzaz in the Darb el-Ahmar is located between two main streets. Suq as-Silah from the west and Bab al-Wazir from the east. Both were prominent medieval streets which were developed after 1300 A.D. as major means of communication linking the Fatimid city gate, Bab Zuwaylah, to the Citadel area. The two streets still preserve many of their medieval physical characteristics, which are reflected in the elaborate facades, mosques, minarets, domes, palaces, and religious monuments built by rulers and high-ranking officials. Besides the antiquities, the area contains many small-scale handicraft industries and commercial outlets mixed with a fair to low-grade residential slum. The high population density, traffic congestion and the inefficient delivery system for basic amenities are all contributing to the rapid social and cultural decline of the area.

The preliminary analysis of some of the data collected reflects the following characteristics:

1. First, the vast majority of the people in our sample were not aware of the antiquities in their area, despite the fact that more than half of them were born and raised in the area. Furthermore, when asked about the value and usefulness of such cultural and historic antiquities to their neighborhood and whether they should be rehabilitated or demolished, 22% were in favor of restoration, while 78% referred to the buildings as kharabah (i.e., "useless ruins") that should be demolished and the land used for building houses to relieve the pressing need for shelter. Actually, during the past half century, eight out of the ten huge mansions which surrounded Bayt el-Razzaz and which were once occupied by prominent Cairene families were demolished and the land was parcelled out to build apartment houses. The other two mansions were subdivided into smaller units to accommodate small-scale industries. Furthermore, during the 1960's, a block away from the Bayt el-Razzaz, several historical structures were demolished in order to allow construction of low-income housing.

2. Second, the respondents to the questionnaire referred to a broad range of problems which they face daily in their neighborhoods. The problems vary from the lack of drinking water to the frequent breaks in the sewage system, from the shortage of electric power to the inadequate garbage collection, from the lack of space for recreational activities to the poor system of health services, and from the crowded schools to the congested traffic system. These problems are not unique to the Darb el-Ahmar area, but are also common to and interconnected with the problems of the city at large.

3. Third, the data collected demonstrate that the average size of household in the area is larger than the average size for both the governorate and the nation in general.

4. Fourth, preliminary analysis of the data collected in the survey shows that the Darb al-Ahmar area contains a mixture of people in terms of their occupations, education, and income. Moreover, this analysis demonstrates that more than half of the heads of household are skilled workers, a fact that puts them in a relatively high income bracket.

This report is an attempt to present an outline of the survey conducted in the Darb al-Ahmar district in old Cairo, a district which still preserves its medieval characteristics in spite of its physical and cultural decline, in general, and total disintegration in certain sections in particular. The much more detailed information in the data collected will shed light on the daily life of the people in their neighborhood. Such knowledge and understanding of the neighborhood social milieu ought to be a prelude to any attempt to restore individual historic monuments and/or to preserve urban wholes.

مركز البحوث الانثروبولوجية بمصر

APPENDIX: SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

"THE BERKELEY MAP OF THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS"

TO FOLLOW....