

American Research Center
in Egypt, Inc.

NEWSLETTER



NUMBER 107

WINTER 1978/79

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Princeton, New Jersey 08540
United States of America

2, Midan Qasr el Dubbarah
Garden City, Cairo
Arab Republic of Egypt

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Linda Pappas Funsch
Editor

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ARCE NEWS

Gulf Oil Lends Corporate Support

The Gulf Oil Corporation has accepted the ARCE's invitation to become a corporate supporter.

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Back Issues of the ARCE NEWSLETTER Available

All back issues of the NEWSLETTER of the ARCE are now available, in either printed or photocopied version, at a cost of U.S. \$3.00 each, plus postage and handling. Requests should be addressed to the U.S. office in Princeton.

NEWS FROM CAIRO

Hagg Ibrahim Mohammed Abd el-Rahman

The Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, operating out of Chicago House, Luxor, is saddened to report the death of its ra'is, Hagg Ibrahim, on Tuesday, December 19, 1978. Born on January 6, 1912, the Hagg came to the Epigraphic Survey on January 1, 1928, when he was just 16 years old. First employed as photographer's assistant, he was promoted to foreman during World War II, at a time when the foreign staff could not be present, and security of the House, its furnishings, the library, and the equipment of the Epigraphic Survey was particularly critical.

Although officially retired as of July 31, 1977, the Hagg continued to exercise his office down to the time of his death, steadfastly refusing to accept an assistant in the performance of his many duties. In addition to the security of the physical plant and supervision of the local work force, the Hagg was also responsible for the acquisition of materials and supplies, collection of the mail, arranging tickets and transportation, and liaison with local government officials (including processing the passports of all visitors to Chicago House). He served as representative of the Field Director during the summer months when the House was closed.

During his fifty-one years with the Epigraphic Survey, he worked under every Field Director and saw the transition from the original Chicago House on the west bank to the new one on the east. He was a most important link with our beginnings, and will be missed sorely.

A member of the large Abd al-Rasul family of Qurna, he moved to Luxor with his wife Fatma and their daughter Ayesha in order to be nearer his work. He seldom got to his house, so his wife and daughter often came to bring his meals and spend time with him in the evenings. During the Bayram and at Christmas time, they traditionally visited the House with him to exchange greetings with the staff members. In 1959, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The Hagg's loyalty and sense of responsibility were so great that even during his final illness he was reluctant to leave the House. Less than ten days before his death, he insisted on going about his duties as normally as possible. When it became necessary for him to be confined to bed, he wished to remain in his own quarters beside the garages at the back of the House, where our two doctors came to see him and where his family could visit him regularly. He was taken to Luxor Hospital on December 14, and transported to his ancestral home on the west bank on the 18th, when he failed to respond to treatment for kidney failure and the resultant complications.

During his years as ra'is, the Hagg brought nearly all the workmen currently in the employ of the Epigraphic Survey, and the next eldest in seniority is his junior by 18 years. The choice of a new foreman will not be an easy one. To quote from a letter written in 1964 by George R. Hughes, Field Director from 1949 to 1963:

Hagg Ibrahim has been much more than a rais. He has been my confidant and advisor, dealing expertly and resourcefully with almost every matter of management concerning the director and staff. The interests and welfare of Chicago House and its members have always come first in his life. He is not simply a faithful and honest man, capable and with initiative, but a man of high honor and dignity.

Hagg Ibrahim clearly valued this letter, which was found among his papers at the time of his death. The sentiments which it expresses are surely shared by all those who worked with this remarkable man and relied on him for so many years.

Lanny Bell

Fellows' Seminars (Cairo Center)

- December 13 "Kafr el-Elow Revisited--A further assessment and analysis of the impact of urbanization and industrialization on the village culture" -- Hani Fakhouri, University of Michigan, Flint
- December 20 "Local Institutions and Agricultural Development in Egypt" -- Richard H. Adams, University of California, Berkeley
- "The Film-Songs of Umm Kalsum, 'Abd el-Wahhab, Farid el-'Atrash, and Leila Murad" -- John Andrus, Higher Institute of Arabic Music, Giza
- January 3 "Medical Doctors: A Study of Role Concept and Job Satisfaction" -- Theresa El Mehairy, Salford University, England
- January 10 "The Coptic Papyri of the Archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito" -- Leslie MacCull, Catholic University
- January 17 "Terms of Address in Egyptian Arabic" -- Dilworth Parkinson, University of Michigan
- January 24 "The Ostraca of the Coptic Museum" -- Kent Brown, Brigham Young University
- January 31 "Fuad Sezgin and His Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums: New Sources for the History of Islamic Civilization" -- David King, ARCE, and Dr. F. Leemhuis, Director, Netherlands Institute for Archaeology
- February 7 "Work and Emancipation: Myth or Reality for Egyptian Women" -- Barbara Ibrahim, Indiana University
- February 14 "Confusions about the Kalām" -- Richard Frank, Catholic University
- February 21 "Rural Stratification in Contemporary Egypt" -- Ilya Harik, Indiana University
- February 28 "Aspects of Muslim Love Theory, Sacred and Profane: 800-1000 A.D." -- Joseph Bell, State University of New York, Binghamton
- March 7 "The Agha Khans and Modern Ismailism" -- Paul Walker, ARCE

- March 14 "The Quest of the Brethren of Purity" --
Abbas Hamdani, University of Wisconsin,
Milwaukee
- March 21 "Rural Development in the Rural-Urban Continuum:
An Anthropological Perspective" -- Diana de
Treville
- March 28 "Political Leadership in the Third World" --
Afaf Mahfouz, Helwan University

ARABIC WRITING TODAY: "THE DRAMA"

Several copies of Volume II in the ARCE series Arabic Writing Today, "The Drama," remain available through the U.S. and Cairo offices of the ARCE (643 pp., \$10, LE5). The nine plays in the collection, selected by Editor Mahmoud Manzalaoui, provide a sampling of the genre which has been dominant in Egyptian writing since the nineteen sixties. Although Dr. Manzalaoui intended no regional preference, eight of the plays are by Egyptians.

The late Professor Gustave Edmund Von Grunebaum, former president of the ARCE and first director of the Center for Near Eastern Studies of the University of California at Los Angeles, conceived the idea of the Arabic Writing Today series, and Dr. Manzalaoui dedicates this second volume to him. The foreword to the volume is by Youssef el-Sebai, Former Egyptian Minister of Culture, who was killed in 1978 by terrorists at Larnaca Airport in Cyprus.

In addition to Dr. Manzalaoui's introduction, which gives a brief history of Arabic drama, the book contains an analysis of the plays and notes on the translation from the "Viewpoint of a Non-Arabist" by the English reviser, Dr. A.T.L. Parkin.

Three of the plays are in one act, two are short works in several episodes, and four are full-length. Five of the nine are set in the countryside since, according to the Introduction, "In the contemporary Arabic play the village is the paradigm of human groupings, oppressed and oppressive in turn" (p. 36). Although themes of love are important, social and public or political ideas dominate --- particularly the theme of the "individual, weak, isolated, inarticulate, and honest, crushed by forces which are cruel, stupid, powerful, hypocritical --- which, above all, do not give the individual the understanding and respect he needs" (p. 36). The reader is aware of the influence, direct or indirect, of western writers -- Shaw, Maeterlinck, Kafka, Beckett, Dürrenmatt.

The next volume in the series, "The Literature of Ideas," edited by Louis Awad, is in preparation.

NEWS OF OTHER ASSOCIATIONS

Société d'égyptologie de Genève

Sur l'initiative de quelques étudiants et anciens étudiants de l'Université de Genève, une "Société d'égyptologie de Genève" vient d'être constituée. Elle s'est fixé comme objectif de favoriser l'étude de l'Égypte et des sciences qui la concernent (égyptologie au sens large du terme, coptologie, islamologie). Elle entend organiser des conférences pour le grand public, et des colloques scientifiques de spécialistes. Un bulletin périodique, dont le premier cahier paraîtra au début de l'année prochaine, présentera des informations, des articles de fond, des études, etc. Une première série de conférences publiques aura lieu dans le cadre de l'Université du troisième âge les 20 et 27 avril et le 4 mai prochains.

La présidence de cette nouvelle société a été confiée au Professeur Robert Hari, titulaire de la chaire d'égyptologie de l'Université de Genève, qui sera assisté du Prof. Rodolphe Kasser (coptologie) et du Dr. Werner Vycichl comme vice-présidents.

International Association of Egyptologists:
Second International Congress of Egyptology

Any member of the ARCE actively working with Ptolemaic hieroglyphs and wishing more information about this special session scheduled during the 2^e Congrès International des Egyptologues (Grenoble, 10-15 September, 1979) should contact:

Dr. Robert S. Bianchi
Associate Curator
Department of Egyptian and Classical Art
The Brooklyn Museum
Brooklyn, NY 11238

A xerox of the working copy of the principal report for that session can be sent to each interested member. It is hoped that additions, corrections, and criticisms can be incorporated into that report and can be reflected in the actual session itself.

Meetings and Conferences

The One Hundred and Eighty-Ninth Annual Meeting
of the
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY
April 24-26, 1979
at the Chase-Park Plaza Hotel
St. Louis, Missouri

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

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Internships Available

A grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, if renewed, will be increased to provide two internships for Egyptian art and archeology in the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The department is engaged in virtually every kind of work that might add to a young professional's experience: studying and evaluating a collection of approximately 40,000 objects, planning a selective renovation of gallery space and storage space, participating in the organization of exhibitions here and elsewhere, making acquisitions, working on the publication of the department's excavations in Egypt and the Sudan, and producing fascicles of the Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum (Loose Leaf Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities) and other scholarly publications. Interns will be expected to travel in order to study collections in other museums. Interns will be supervised by William K. Simpson, Curator of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, and the staff of the Egyptian Department. They will also consult with Lambertus van Zelst, Director of the Research Laboratory, and members of the staff of the Research Laboratory.

Tenure, stipend. Appointments will be made as of July 1, 1979, and extend through June 30, 1980. There is a stipend of \$8,500 for the year's work, and an additional \$1,000 allowance for travel.

Eligibility. Candidates with the highest promise as museum curators are sought. Strong academic qualifications are required, normally at least a master's degree in Egyptology, and equally important, demonstrated talent for dealing with works of art in the original. Experience on one or more excavations in Egypt and/or the Middle East is desired. Candidates belonging to ethnic minorities are strongly urged to apply.

Application. Candidates are asked to apply by addressing a letter to the Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts, 02115, describing their interest in museum work, training and experience, goals, and expectations of a museum internship. A listing of undergraduate and graduate courses in Egyptology and archeology taken, and grades received, should be included. Three letters of recommendation, at least one academic, should be provided to the Department by people who know the candidate well. All letters must be received by June 1, 1979.

Selection, announcement. The most promising candidates will be asked to come for an interview in late May. A limited amount of aid is available to candidates who would be prevented from making the trip for financial reasons. Members of the Egyptian Department will be travelling in May to the West Coast and Chicago. Interns will be selected by June 15, 1979.

ANTIQUITIES NEWS

Items culled from the local Cairo papers and the grapevine.

Mameluke Tunnels

The demolition of Qasr el-Aini hospital has led to the discovery of four tunnels beneath the old hospital grounds. First dated to the time of Sultan Qait Bey (1468-96 A.D.), some are now believed to be even earlier, beginning about 1400 A.D.

The tunnels are lined with brick, some with stone, and were apparently used to connect parts of the palace of Shehab el-Din Ahmed el-Aini, Qait Bey's "Head of Council," which originally stood on the site of the hospital named after him. Excavations of the tunnels by the Faculty of Antiquities of Cairo University, under the direction of Dr. Hassan el-Pasha, have revealed painted ceramics and pottery, glass, coins (the earliest dated 739 A.H.), a small "Pharaonic bust" (shawabti?), and the coffin of Suliman el-Halaby, who fought against Napoleon's soldiers in 1798.

El-Aini's palace was occupied by the French in 1798-1801 as a hospital, and drawings of some of the tunnels appear in the Description de d'Egypte; they had also been mentioned earlier by the 15th-century historian Ibn Iyas. El-Aini's palace was destroyed by Muhammed Ali, who built the hospital that stood until recently on the site.

The Faculty of Antiquities has asked that the tunnel complex be designated an archeological site, eventually to be opened to tourists.

Museums

The Cairo Museum is awaiting World Bank approval of a \$5 million loan for restoration of the museum. The plan for the restoration is based on recommendations by the Brooklyn Museum and a group of specialists from the World Bank. Plans to build a completely new museum elsewhere in Cairo have been shelved as too expensive.

The plan for restoration calls for the installation of air conditioning or a modern system of ventilation, new lighting, strengthening of the floors, repainting, new labels in several languages, and renovation of the basement storage and work areas. In addition, a lecture/conference room is planned, and a computerized card-index system to facilitate the location of objects in the museum's collection. New security systems will also be installed.

The project is expected to take four to five years to complete and may add another fifty or sixty years to the useful life of the present building.

Foundation ceremonies are to be held in November of this year for the new museum at Aswan. The museum will occupy a site of 5000 square meters and is to be financed by a \$5 million grant from UNESCO. It will house largely objects salvaged from the area of the present Lake Nasser, and some Nubian antiquities now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

The mummy of Ramesses II, which was returned from Paris last year, has yet to be put back on public view in the Egyptian Museum. Museum officials are awaiting a "long-overdue" report from French scientists on the radiation treatment given the mummy while in Paris. They are particularly disturbed by a "rash of orange spots" that has appeared on the glass case housing the mummy, and believe this may be a side-effect of exposure of the glass to intense radiation.

The mummy now lies in its case in a corridor of the museum's second floor, screened from public view and guarded around the clock.

The Anthropology and Antiquities sections of the Alexandria Faculty of Arts have reached an agreement with Boston University whereby BU will train Egyptian students in excavation techniques.

Tourism

A large number of the pre-fab "villas" that have been cropping up for the past few years on the Giza plateau behind the pyramids were recently razed by bulldozer, under the supervision of Zahi Hawwas, First Inspector of Giza. The move is part of a plan to renovate the area of the pyramids by removing modern constructions from the immediate vicinity. Some of the older "villas" farther from the pyramids will be converted in rest-houses. The governor of Giza is also studying a plan for a benevolent society to control and care for the vendors in the area of the pyramids.

At Luxor, the governorate of Qena recently announced plans for improving the Corniche between Karnak and Luxor temples. Improvements also call for the building of twelve marinas and the new Luxor Sheraton. A school for training hotel employees is also to be established at Luxor.

The Qena governorate has also announced plans for a bridge over the Nile at Luxor. Bidding is to start this month, with the contracting company to bear the costs of construction, which will then be recouped by a system of tolls when the bridge is opened. The bridge will revert to the Qena governorate once the cost of construction has been realized.

The governorate of Aswan has announced plans for a large garden to be laid out at the site of the unfinished obelisk.

Discoveries

The Czech team working at Abusir, under the direction of Dr. Miroslav Verner, has discovered the 5th-Dynasty tomb of a Queen Khent-kawes, who bears the title "Mother of Two Kings." The relationship of this Khent-kawes with the queen of the same name and title, whose tomb is at Giza, has yet to be determined.

FIELDNOTES: THE DAKHLEH OASIS PROJECT

(With this article, the Newsletter inaugurates what we hope will be a continuing series of progress reports about U.S. and Canadian expeditions in Egypt. Its purpose is simple: to disseminate as quickly as possible the vital news about current archeological work and discoveries in Egypt. Ideally, we would like to have all field directors stop by the Cairo Center at the end of their field season, to give us a few concise notes about the major results of the season's work. Dr. Mills has kindly provided us with the information for the following summary.)

The Dakhleh Oasis Project of the Royal Ontario Museum and the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities has finished its first season of fieldwork, under the direction of Dr. Anthony J. Mills. The project is initially concerned with an archeological survey of the cultural and environmental history of the oasis, from the Neolithic to the immediate pre-Islamic period. This season's work covered 120 square kilometers at the far western end of the oasis, and found remains of prehistoric, Old Kingdom, Roman, Christian, and Islamic settlements.

Ten prehistoric sites were identified, showing a lithic technology with retouched tools and fine bifacial projectile points; several also had handmade ceramics. The tools found indicate a combination hunting and agricultural economy; stone grinders suggest the harvesting and processing of grain. Most of the sites occur close to playas or fossil spring mounds, but their economic relationship must await further environmental studies.

Eight sites of Old Kingdom dates were discovered, four cemeteries and four habitation sites. The former include graves, rock-cut hill tombs, and mud-brick mastabas. Among the town sites, the most striking is one of about 80 hectares, with traces of extensive but not very prolonged habitation. Two of the sites show a well-developed lithic technology in Old Kingdom context, suggesting a continuation of Neolithic traditions. The economic basis for the Old Kingdom occupation has yet to be determined, but the quantity and extent of occupation indicates much more than a simple commercial outpost.

Occupation in the Dakhleh Oasis seems to have been greatest during the Roman period. Twenty-five sites were examined in the area surveyed this season, including several villages, farmhouses, small industrial areas, a settlement around the sandstone temple of Deir el-Hagar, and two extremely large cemeteries with some 1000 and 1500 tombs, respectively. The economy seems to have been largely agricultural, with extensive aqueducts and irrigation systems. No recognizable military installations were identified.

Since Roman times, the oasis appears to have been continually occupied. A decline is noticeable, however, immediately after the Roman period, for reasons yet to be determined. Prior to this season's survey, the only Christian remains identified in the oasis were those of a church at Deir Abu Metta. Dr. Mills' team has found six additional Christian sites, most extremely well preserved. Two of these are cemeteries, one of which shows affinities with small early Christian cemeteries in Nubia; sherds were collected from this site for a preliminary typology. One Islamic site was also recorded during the survey: a small village apparently set in the midst of cultivation and palm-gardens.

The Dakhleh Oasis Project is funded by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. A second season of fieldwork is planned for late this year.

مرکز البحوث الأمريكية بمصر

REGISTRY OF EGYPTOLOGISTS

The ARCE's Cairo Center is in the process of updating its list of North American Egyptologists and archeologists or anthropologists who have an interest in pre-Islamic Egypt. Accordingly, we would like to ask all senior and junior scholars in these fields to complete the form below and mail it to:

Assistant Director
American Research Center in Egypt
2, Midan Qasr el-Dubbarah
Garden City, Cairo
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RESEARCH ON SYRIAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN EGYPT

Thomas Philipp
Harvard University
ARCE Fellow, 1978*

Some aspects of the Syrian immigrants' role in the history of modern Egypt have been extensively discussed. Research has concentrated especially on the role of Syrian intellectuals in the development of journalism, theater, and literature in Egypt. The concentration on these topics probably has much to do with the relatively easy access to relevant material in the form of books, journals, and newspapers. But these intellectuals were only a small and rather late group within the Syrian minority in Egypt. Indeed, the question arises how far the intellectuals were actually representative of and in touch with their immigrant compatriots.

In the present research an attempt is being made to determine the overall character of the place and role of the Syrian minority (or minorities) in modern Egypt and to find answers to such questions as why, in spite of more than two hundred years of immigration to Egypt, the Syrians were not absorbed into Egyptian society and eventually choose to leave Egypt again. In order to analyze such problems, various basic issues have to be investigated: the pattern of immigration in space and in time; the motivations for immigration; the socio-economic background of the immigrants, their economic activities in Egypt; their social and political position; the development of their own communal organizations, and so on.

These investigations led me, predictably enough, to the archives of those Christian communities which are comprised totally, or at least partially, of immigrants or descendants of immigrants from Syria and Lebanon: these are the Greek Catholics, the Greek Orthodox, and the Maronites. Their archives contain an astonishing wealth of information, especially on the social history of the minority communities in Egypt. Since it seems that these archives have rarely been investigated, a more detailed appraisal seems justified.

Principally, each of these community archives contains four kinds of information:

- 1) Registers of baptism, marriages, and deaths.
- 2) Correspondence with the government or other authorities such as embassies, the Holy See in Rome, or the Patriarch of Antioch.

*Funded by the International Communication Agency,
Washington, D.C.

- 3) All court cases appearing before the patriarchal or community tribunals; mainly, cases pertaining to personal law such as inheritance, guardianships, divorces but also sometimes commercial transactions.
- 4) Internal administration of the community, especially the management and financing of churches, schools, and benevolent societies.

The time periods covered, the comprehensiveness of the material, etc., are closely related to the particular history of each of these communities in Egypt. In addition, some of the files are missing and sometimes it seems that records were not kept for any length of time. Nevertheless, the amount of available information on these communities in particular and minorities in Egypt in general is considerable.

1) Archives of the Greek Catholic Patriarchate located in Cairo-Faggala, 16 Daher Street and Alexandria, 40 al-Qa'id Gauher Street. The Greek Catholics were the first of the Syrian immigrants to organize themselves into an independent community and to keep registers. While baptism registers for Cairo begin in 1772, those for marriages and deaths are only available since the 1830's. Apart from the simple statistical information, inter-marriages into other communities are regularly indicated as are the ages of the deceased and, less frequently, causes of death. Toward the end of the 19th century, the places of origin of immigrants are less regularly indicated and finally disappear by World War I. These registers are also alphabetically indexed, a great help for anybody interested in family history and genealogies. With the disappearance of the Greek Catholic communities in the smaller cities such as Damiette (which has some of the oldest records), Zagazig, and Port Said, their records were transferred to Cairo. Today all records and registers of the Greek Catholics in Egypt can be found in the Cairo archive. The exception to this are some minor registers in Mansura and all the records of the community in Alexandria which are kept at the local archives of the Patriarchate. The information available there begins in the 1840's. Patriarchal court decisions, correspondence with the government, etc., begin to be recorded in a more than sporadic fashion since the last third of the 19th century.

2) The archival material of the Maronites in Egypt, again, is mainly to be found in Cairo in the patriarchal office in Shubra and in Alexandria in the house of the Maronite Order in Masgid Mustafa Kamil St. in Ramleh. The registers for the community in Cairo begin in 1820 and those in Alexandria in 1845. The amount of information on social history that can be drawn from these registers varies. Much apparently depended upon the individual priest who kept the records. For some periods we have complete listings of the origin of the Maronites in Egypt. Two priests at the turn of the 19th century recorded with each marriage the street address in Cairo where the festivities were held. Occasionally, we also come across indications of professions. Frequently, the age of the deceased and cause of death are indicated.

3) The archival materials of the Greek Orthodox community were, for my purposes, the most problematic. The records begin only in 1870. The bulk of the material can be found in the patriarchal archives in Alexandria - Manshia and in Khan Hamzawi in Cairo. They are all in Greek and make no distinction between Greek-speaking and Arabic-speaking (i.e. originating from Syria and Lebanon) Greek Orthodox community members. In Alexandria, an independent church of the Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox was established already around 1875. Fortunately here specific records and registers were kept in the church apart from and in addition to the overall records of the Patriarchate. Perhaps because they were the last to establish regular records of their activities the registers of the Greek Orthodox church are also the most comprehensive ones: place of origin and profession are always indicated. For reasons of internal history the Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox constituted themselves into an independent community in Cairo only after World War I, but no church records were kept independently from the central archives of the Patriarchate in Khan Hamzawi. The only information concerning specifically the Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox in Cairo is to be found in the annual reports of the benevolent society, which, however, are far from complete.

4) Finally, I should mention the records of the Franciscans in Muskie. Before the various Catholic communities constituted themselves the Franciscans in Cairo were responsible, spiritually speaking, for all the Catholics, European and Middle Eastern, in Egypt. In my case, it meant that all the records on Greek Catholics and Maronites before 1772 and 1820, respectively, were to be found in the archives of the Franciscans. Their records go back to the early 17th century; they are not complete but, as they are the only ones, still very helpful.

As anybody knows who has ventured to do research in Cairo, or anywhere else in the Middle East for that matter, the existence of archival material is not to be confused with the accessibility to it. I am, therefore, very glad to be able to report that the Greek Catholic and the Maronite authorities were most helpful in every respect. Msgr. Antaki and P. Geadah at the Greek Catholic Patriarchal seat in Cairo and P. Ilyas Abu Khairi at the Maronite archives gave me access to all their materials and provided even a place for me to work. In each of these archives I was able to work for several weeks. A personal letter of introduction from a university or some Catholic church authority certainly will make it easier for the researcher to gain access to the material.

For reasons which are not completely clear to me, but partially may have to do with the "sensitivity" of the issue, namely an undercurrent of hostility between Arabic-speaking and Greek-speaking members of the Greek Orthodox community, I had considerable difficulties initially to get permission from the Greek Patriarchal authorities to use their materials. Personal introductions and recommendations did not seem to impress them and it took many visits to various offices and many cups of coffee before I gained their cooperation. After permission was finally granted they were helpful but definitely discouraged any lengthy research in their archives.

None of these archives have photocopying devices and very little indexing and cataloguing has been done. The exception on both points are the Franciscans. They have a microfilming set up and are willing to use it if the film is supplied by the researcher himself. They also have a very precise catalogue of all their registers, records, manuscripts, etc. Perhaps the greatest drawback for work in any of the above mentioned places is that they are usually open only from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m.; a frustratingly short daily time span.

Finally, I would like to point out one other much more "chancy" source of the "raw materials" for the history of Egypt and her minorities: private archives and family papers. By pure chance I came across the family archives of the Sakakini family going well back into the 19th century. Unfortunately, I discovered these materials toward the very end of my stay and I could gain only a rather superficial first impression. They consist of several rooms full of files, plans, and account books --- all of which seem to have been moved around several times and are therefore completely disorganized. Much of the items deal with the real estate transactions and the construction activities of the Sakakinis in Egypt. For anybody interested in family history and/or economic and urban history of Egypt in the 19th and 20th centuries this should be a formidable source of information. Not much advice can be given for the use of this and similar family archives. Basically, accessibility will depend upon establishing some kind of personal contact with the family.

مرکز البحوث الاسلامیہ بمصر

EXCAVATION AT MENDES

Margaret Harrison
ARCE, Cairo

To the layman, Egyptology just now seems to be a matter of gold funeral masks and spotlighted little temples. Some of the most significant work in progress, however, uncovers little gold and takes place out of the limelight. The Mendes expedition of New York University's Institute of Fine Arts and the Brooklyn Museum is an example.

Mendes, center of the cult of the holy ram from at least the time of the first Egyptian dynasties (3200 B.C.), is an important site not only because of the breadth of its historical range and the variety of remains to be found under its grassy mound. Massive mud-brick and finely painted limestone tombs, private houses, unique architecture, and previously unknown kinds of plant pollen have all emerged from the mound around the huge granite shrine still standing from the 6th century B.C. temple, creating a new and clearly readable record of the whole span of Egyptian history. Furthermore, this site may hold the only such record in Lower (Northern) Egypt which is still above the rising water table.

Major support for the Mendes project has come from the Smithsonian Institution, with the Detroit Institute of Art, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and the ARCE participating. Teams led by Donald P. Hansen, Professor of Near Eastern Art and Archaeology at New York University, and Edward L. Ochsenschlager, Professor of Classics at Brooklyn College, have worked six summers at the site, beginning in 1964 with a ten-year break following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

Because Mendes was continuously inhabited from prehistoric to classical times, excavation deep into the mound, below the remains of the great 6th century B.C. temple, reveals stratified deposits that extend back into history, century by century. Digging a little deeper, the excavators hope to reach prehistory. "The amazing thing is, you see, that you're standing on 6th century looking at 2300 B.C.," says Professor Hansen, field director, looking down at the sharply cut, irregularly striped walls of one trench. No such historically clear and significant an excavation has ever been pursued before in the Nile Delta.

"We always hate to leave this place," says Victoria Landy, NYU graduate student and Brooklyn Museum researcher, resting at noon after a morning's digging that started with tea and toast at 3:30 a.m. Victoria and seven other American and British specialists and graduate students worked 3:30 a.m. to 8-10:00 p.m., daily, from July 1 to August 5 during the summer of 1978 at the remote grassy mound, between two agricultural villages, surrounded by brilliant green rice fields and an occasional date palm. They lived in an airy, arched mud-brick house, white-washed inside and decorated with brightly painted bunches of flowers.

Work lasted from 4:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m., with a break for a "second breakfast" of eggs, white cheese and tomatoes. Later in the day, expedition members sorted pottery sherds, catalogued finds, and kept their field notes up to date. Conservator Annie Searight of the British Museum repaired, preserved and sketched the objects.

The actual digging was done by Egyptian farmers, who used the same simple picks they have used in the fields for centuries. They are trained by the team members, and often become so proficient at the techniques of excavation that they can find a bead or notice an ancient mud wall packed in more recent mud. Young girls in bright dresses and pants carry huge baskets of dirt away to the dump, giggling and singing constantly. The Americans carry picks, trowels, paintbrushes for gently dusting off finds, and grapefruit knives for extracting fine objects. Bonnie Gustav, Brooklyn College physical anthropologist, excavates burials with used dental tools her dentist saves for her. As the morning progresses, mosquitoes give way to flies



and finally intense heat. But the excitement of the search and strong enthusiasm bring back the team members year after year.

Professor Hansen describes a moment several seasons ago when the team opened the door of a granite tomb obviously never touched since it was sealed in antiquity. "We were all standing around with our mouths hanging open, we opened it, and there was nothing. Someone had sent a very small boy in through a hole in the roof and taken everything"... hundreds of years ago.

Finds from all levels of excavation will now be examined, analyzed, and dated in the U.S. Not only artifacts are of interest, but also bone, pollen, and, especially, pieces of charcoal. Through carbon-14 dating, Evan Williams, expedition member and Professor of Chemistry at Brooklyn College, can establish an exact chronology for the levels of occupation. Especially for the

The temple shrine, on deep foundations, dominates the site.

Hellenistic part of the site, the dating of small art objects will provide new accurate historical information about hundreds more such objects in museums around the world. Studies of pollen samples have already revealed that the plant life of the area in ancient times was completely different from that of today.

Six seasons of excavation have hardly scratched the huge site. A high rise east of the temple precinct may cover the remains of a long series of palaces, dating back to the earliest times in Egyptian history. The southern part of the mound is probably a residential quarter, which could yield valuable new information about daily life through the centuries. Hundreds of tombs are still buried, the only third millenium necropolis ever uncovered in Lower Egypt.

QASIM AMIN AND HIS ERA

Charles D. Smith
San Diego State University
ARCE Fellow, 1978*

The project for the three months of my grant was two-fold. I intended to examine legal journals of the 1890's, particularly al-Huquq and al-Qada', for information regarding Qasim Amin's legal career and evidence of his opinions on law and legal matters. I also wished to examine other sources for the 1880's and 1890's which might be helpful for a broader study of the period 1882-1914.

Although al-Huquq and al-Qada' had some useful information concerning Amin's activities as a judge, they and other journals proved to be more fruitful sources for general arguments on the place of law in a transitional society and the role of the shari'a. Of particular interest were articles in al-Shara'i', a periodical edited by Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid during parts of 1893-1894. The title and the nature of articles in the journal indicated Lutfi's intent to introduce the idea of a plurality of laws with the consequent relegation of the shari'a to a lesser role in society. I also examined al-Mu'ayyid during the 1890's for material treating the subject of feminine emancipation prior to the appearance of Amin's Tahrir al-Mar'a. It is clear that many of his ideas had been discussed previously and as early as 1892.

*Funded by the International Communication Agency,
Washington, D.C.

Branching out from work dealing directly with Qasim Amin, I spent some time collecting sources and information on the administration and 'ulama' of al-Azhar during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. One matter of interest was the sudden appearance of Hanifis as prominent in Azhar administration. The first Hanifi to become Shaykh al-Azhar was al-Mahdi al-'Abbasi in 1870. Subsequent increases in Hanifi representation occurred during the 1890's when Muhammad 'Abduh held the traditionally Hanifi post of Grand Mufti, but Hassuna al-Nawawi, another Hanifi, was Shaykh al-Azhar. The circumstances of al-Nawawi's appointment and a concomitant increase of Hanifi students during this period suggests a possible association of Hanifis with both reform interests and stronger modern state control of Azhar affairs which aroused resentment in Azhar circles. Azhari views of these connections and the internal struggles resulting from rivalries among 'ulama' can be found in the memoirs of Ibrahim al-Hilbawi at the Dar al-Watha'iq which supplement published accounts. Hilbawi's memoirs seem more valuable for sociopolitical developments and personal relations of the later nineteenth century than for events in the twentieth when his comments become more anecdotal.

Finally, I would like to comment upon a subject of concern to Egyptian as well as foreign scholars during the period of my research. I refer to the increasing unavailability of volumes of newspapers and periodicals at Dar al-Kutub. It is clear from my own experiences of previous years that issues read ten years ago are often no longer to be found. This seems to be particularly true for the period before World War I to the extent that Dar al-Kutub's own guide to their holdings, the Fihris al-Dawriyyat al-'Arabiyya, is not as reliable as it once was. In many cases the staff is aware that certain volumes are not present; in many others they are not until a request is made. Occasionally, the fact that a volume is missing may indicate that it is in such poor condition that a decision has been made not to make it available; this, however, is the exception and not the rule. In as much as the collection has been moved twice in the last fifteen years and many of the old staff have retired, it is impossible to know what has been lost or simply misplaced; the latter seems more likely. Clearly, a renewed effort to microfilm the periodicals and newspapers at Dar al-Kutub would be a great service to future generations of scholars. In addition to preserving what is known to exist, though often in relatively poor condition, the project might cause many missing volumes to be unearthed as a result of the survey undertaken.

مرکز البحوث الأمريكية بمصر

FRANCO-EGYPTIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Alain Silvera
Bryn Mawr College
ARCE Fellow, 1977-78*

The major purpose of my research was to evaluate the extent to which the French contributed to the process of western penetration in Egypt during the 19th century on the basis of printed and manuscript sources located both in Egypt as well as in France and England. A corollary of this theme, for which the sources (mostly published travelers' accounts) were much more abundant and accessible, was to study the impact made by Egypt on French public opinion during this period.

Although I had originally hoped to consult the Foreign Language collection of the Dar al-Watha'iq, the difficulties I encountered in trying to obtain access to that collection compelled me to concentrate the bulk of my efforts on the French Embassy archives in Cairo. These archives, carefully inventoried by an able team of French archivists, both by topic and chronology, constituted an extremely valuable supplement to the Quai d'Orsay materials in Paris. The ARCE's Cairo Director and I felt that a collection of this nature, covering such a broad spectrum of Egyptian domestic affairs, especially for the late 19th and early 20th centuries, should be brought to the attention of other ARCE fellows working in the field of Egyptian political and social history. Accordingly, a copy of the inventory furnished to me by the French authorities has been duplicated and is now available for consultation at the ARCE library in Cairo.

The second part of the year was devoted to continuing my research in France and England. In Paris, I had the opportunity of perusing the French consular reports at the Foreign Ministry much more systematically than I had been able to do on an earlier visit. In addition, I also consulted the Enfantin papers deposited at the Arsenal library covering the Saint-Simonian venture to Egypt from 1833 to 1836; the Jomard and Champollion papers in the manuscript division of the Bibliothèque Nationale; and the papers of the academicians Jean-Jacques Ampère, Maxime du Camp (Flaubert's traveling companion), and other French travelers deposited in the Mazarine Library of the French Institut. My work in England was concentrated at the British Museum library and at Cambridge University, examining such manuscript sources at the Museum as the notebooks and papers of the Egyptologist James Burton and Joseph Hekekyan, an Armenian engineer enlisted into Muhammad Ali's service, and, in Cambridge, consulting the original diaries and correspondences of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt at the Fitzwilliam Museum.

*Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

A subsidiary topic that I encountered in the course of my investigations was the possibility of reconstructing the history of Victoria College in Alexandria on the basis of some of that school's annual reports made available to me through the generosity of Mr. H.M. Barker, president of the Alexandria Schools Trust in London. These reports fill an important gap in the meager records remaining in the possession of the school, now nationalized under the name of Victory College, which the present headmaster allowed me to examine during a visit to Alexandria. Victoria College was a celebrated "prep" school, founded in 1901, on the initiative of the local British community in an effort to challenge France's monopoly in providing a primary and secondary education of high quality for the children of the well-to-do. Run along British school lines, it was eminently successful in its aim of offering the Egyptian higher bourgeoisie, as well as resident foreigners, an attractive alternative for preparing their sons for careers in business, politics, and the liberal professions.

Although it would be premature to present any definitive account of the results of my research at this stage, it is nevertheless possible to report that my work has so far born out a number of generalizations. France's overriding objective, from the time of Bonaparte's expedition until the 1930's, was the promotion of its language and culture in a region considered in both official and unofficial circles as a "chasse gardée" of French penetration. France was indeed able, largely through the initiative of such men on the spot as its consul Drovetti and some of his successors, to extend its cultural pre-eminence in a country whose rulers looked to her more than to any other western power for aid and guidance. These individuals could count on the active support of private interest groups in Paris and Marseilles and only to a lesser extent on any official directives emanating from the home government.

On the other hand, France's long-standing tradition of commercial interest and activity, dating back to the Crusades and reaching its apogee in the late 18th century, had been seriously eroded by British competition by the end of Muhammad Ali's reign. Notwithstanding the heavy investments made by French capitalists in Ismail's modernizing programs, the French consul in Alexandria could report in 1880 that more than 63% of Egypt's export trade had fallen into the hands of British merchants, including Levantines who had acquired British nationality, leaving only some 12% of the country's foreign trade to French subjects. Since British interests in that area were primarily strategic, exhibiting little or no desire to become the instrument of western cultural penetration among the indigenous elements, it was therefore largely by default that France, no longer able to compete on equal terms with its rival's economic and naval superiority, found itself impelled to concentrate its energies with even greater vigor on the cultural weapon as the only way of retaining its control over a country that had first been opened to the West as a result of Bonaparte's dazzling colonial adventure.

During the reign of Muhammad Ali, the groundwork was laid for Egypt's autocratic modernization as an almost exclusive French enterprise carried out by French nationals or French-trained functionaries enlisted into the Viceroy's service. The result was that Muhammad Ali's reforming program drew so heavily on French thought and institutions that Egypt's first steps in western education, its legal and administrative evolution, and the social life of its upper classes were decisively shaped by French influence during this formative phase of contact. It is especially in the area of education that this influence can be most clearly detected. Frenchmen serving under Muhammad Ali played a crucial role in laying the foundations of a highly centralized network of government schools run along French lines.

In a second phase, the same objective of promoting French "rayonnement" was accomplished through the medium of independent secondary schools, subsidized either by a wide variety of missionary enterprises or by the Mission laique --- and only less directly through the activities of the Alliance Israélite Universelle with its headquarters in Paris. The work of such Frenchmen as the geographer Edme-François Jomard, a veteran of Bonaparte's campaign and the editor of La Description de l'Egypte; Clot Bey, founder of Egypt's first medical school; Charles Lambert Bey, a Saint-Simonian missionary placed at the head of Muhammad Ali's Ministry of Education --- and a host of others --- was of paramount importance in shaping the evolution of the Egyptian educational system as it developed in the second half of the 19th century.

Equally significant was the part played by the Mission égyptienne in promoting a lively tradition of French influence, for it was under the auspices of this student exchange program launched by Jomard in 1826 and surviving well into the 20th century that succeeding generations of Egyptian nationalists, starting with Sheikh Rifa'ah el-Tahtawi in the thirties, were given the opportunity of receiving French schooling in Paris and other provincial universities. The Mission égyptienne also became a major channel of French propaganda after the British occupation and, together with the activities of the Mission laique and the Alliance française, was largely successful in its aim of winning the hearts and minds of a considerable segment of the Egyptian westernized elite in its struggle against the occupying power.

The nationalist movement associated with Mustapha Kamil illustrates the way in which France was able to exploit the political discontents voiced by a gallicized Egyptian elite to serve its own ends under the cloak of a policy aimed at retaining and extending its own cultural hegemony. It is at this point in my research that I have found evidence to show that Juliette Adam, editor of the Nouvelle Revue, and the colonial lobby in the National Assembly, led by such men as Etienne Deloncle, found it expedient to forge an alliance with Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and other anti-imperialist Englishmen by lending their support to the Egyptian agitation seeking to bring an early end to the British occupation.

EXCAVATIONS AT AKHMIM, EGYPT: 1978

Sheila J. McNally

University of Minnesota

In the fall of 1978 the University of Minnesota conducted an exploratory campaign of archaeological work in Akhmim. Akhmim is a modern city built on a tell which has risen over more than four millenia. The reason for choosing to work at this site was the double appeal of its importance in the late Roman or Coptic period and of its continued existence to the present day. The original impetus for this project was a desire to study the transition from ancient to medieval culture in Egypt. The excavation is not, however, intended to be limited to, or even concentrated on one period, but rather to trace continuous development. We wish to place the finds from the late Roman and early medieval city in perspective, trying to establish comparable data from each succeeding period, so that we can note analogies and isolate variables.

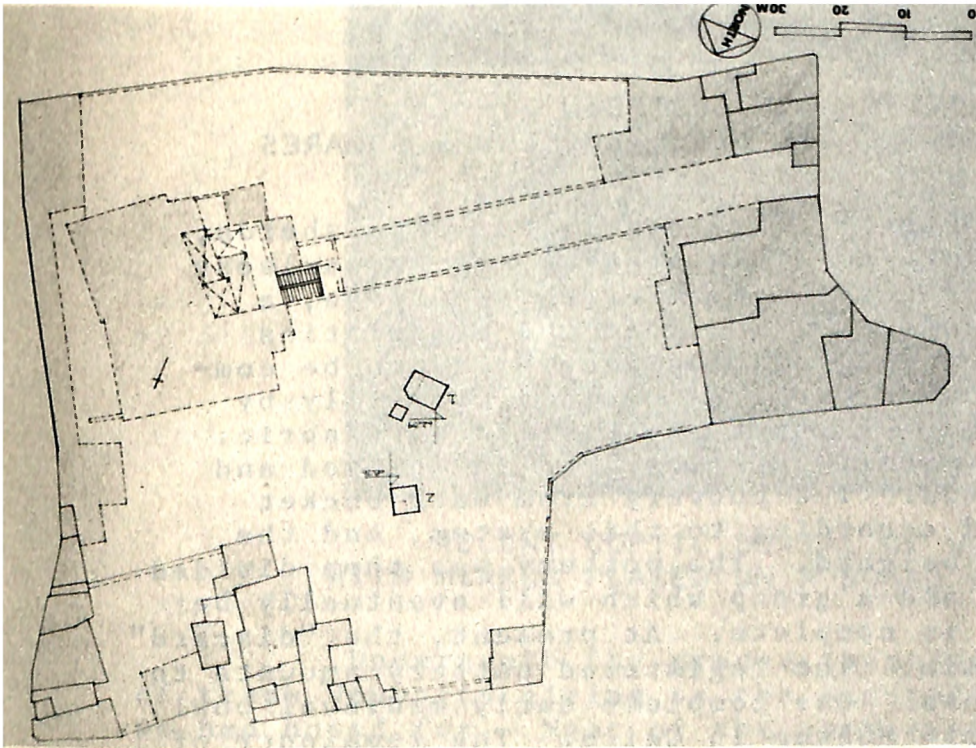
We had another reason for choosing to work in an inhabited city. We hoped that the continuous occupation, while it obviously poses practical problems, would have compensating advantages, in that the earlier levels might have been protected from the antiquities plundering which has destroyed stratigraphy in so many Egyptian sites. This hope was fulfilled. In the area where we first began to work we found undisturbed levels from the nineteenth century back to the early Mamluke, and again from Fatamid into late Roman. We also found such a volume of artifacts that we were not able, in this brief exploratory season, to sample any further areas of the city.

The field work occupied five weeks. As of January 1979 laboratory work is beginning at the University of Minnesota where most of the finds now are. The excavation staff consisted of myself, Jerome Shaeffer, a graduate student at the University of Arizona, and Michael Berger, a graduate student at Michigan, assisted by an Inspector of Islamic Antiquities, Mr. Nasser. Sameh Adly, an architect, and Ralph Mitchell, a pottery specialist, also participated part of the time. Six local students helped with the recording, and assistance in surveying, drafting, etc. was given by other individuals in Akhmim and Sohag. The workmen, who quickly became an enthusiastic and capable team, were recruited from Akhmim and were under the supervision of Rais Anwar from Quft.

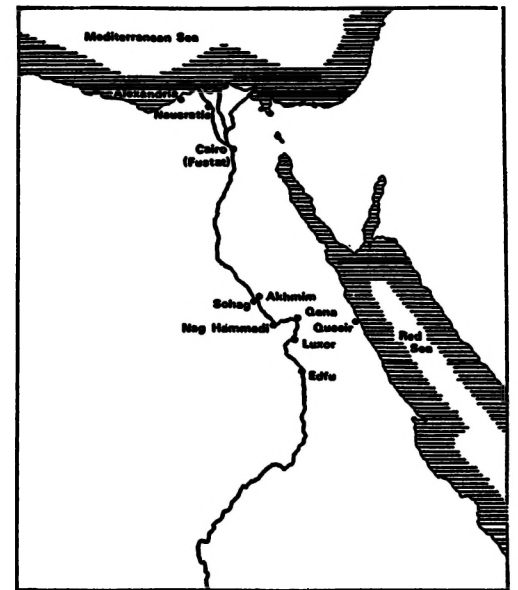
The place chosen to begin excavation was the churchyard of Abu Seiffein, a walled enclosure in the northeastern part of the city. The oldest parts of the church probably date to the seventeenth century. The churchyard had contained a cemetery which was abandoned at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1952 the Bishop of Akhmim laid out a garden and attempted to build a house on the site. This building was unstable and was torn down. Therefore, at the outset of this project the site consisted of some undisturbed areas, a large excavation for the Bishop's building, piles of earth and scattered coffins.



TOWN OF AKHMIM



CHURCHYARD OF ABU SEIFFEIN



EGYPT

Our intention was to collect an intensive sample by almost total recovery from small areas. Excavation was limited to two four-meter squares. One was laid out on the upper level (the approximate ground level before the Bishop's building efforts), 68.76 m. above sea level at one corner, and the second at the bottom of his excavation, 62.39 m. above sea level at one corner. All the earth except the mixed top strata was sifted. All pottery and other artifacts as well as bones and seeds large enough to remain above the mesh were kept. Flotation could not be carried out on the site, however, soil samples were brought to the United States and will be treated in the Minnesota State Archaeology laboratory through the courtesy of the State Archaeologist, Christie Caine.

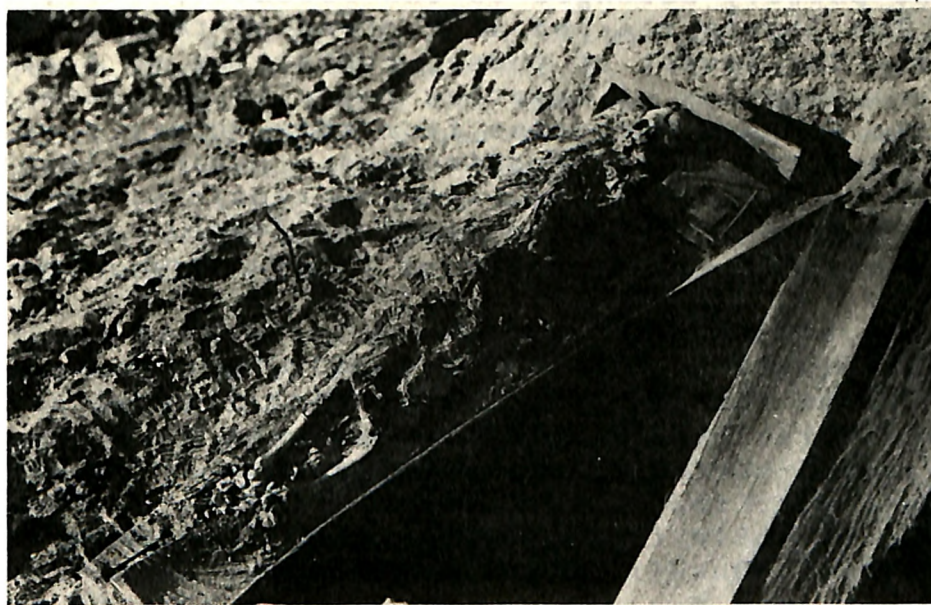


CHURCHYARD OF ABU SEIFFEIN
LOOKING NORTHEAST, SHOWING THE UPPER AND LOWER SQUARES

The largest number of finds consisted of potsherds, which alone provided a basis to begin statistical comparisons between strata during the excavation. For this purpose, a simple typology was devised based on broad characteristics which relate to technology and function and which can be compared across periods. Coarse ware was divided primarily by thickness and by the amount of vegetal matter in the fabric. Fine ware was divided primarily by color, and the glazed and painted wares were isolated. The pottery from each bucket within a locus was sorted according to this system, and the sherds of each type were weighed. The pottery was then divided into a group to register and a group which will eventually be discarded after analysis is complete. At present, the "discard" sherds are stored in Akhmim. The registered pottery amounts to approximately 10,000 pieces. One complete early medieval bowl was retained by the Islamic Museum in Cairo. The remainder of the pieces, together with the glass, metal, textiles, etc., are being studied at the University of Minnesota, where a different typology, intended to stress chronological differences rather than points for comparison, will be devised and applied.

As a result of the recent gardening and irrigation efforts, there was no unmixed twentieth century level. For tracing continuous evolution, this is a serious gap which can perhaps be remedied elsewhere. Some information was gleaned from the corners of the site. Beside one of the adjoining houses there are contemporary middens, not large enough to provide a sample statistically comparable with that from the excavations but still providing interesting information. For instance, with regard to pottery we could observe: a) the amounts of broken pottery (and the frequency with which a broken pot comes over the wall as a part of that day's refuse; b) the variety of coarse ware shapes in use; c) the total lack of decoration on the coarse ware; d) the absence of any fine, unglazed wares.

Below the disturbed top level in the upper square was the cemetery, which provided information on recent (approximately seventeenth to nineteenth century) Coptic burial customs. The dead were placed in simple chambers of mud brick without floors. Some of the dead were interred slightly below the level of the walls, but the remainder were piled within them. Most of the cemetery therefore rose above existing strata, rather than being cut into them. The dead were buried facing east, adults and older children usually in simple wooden coffins, smaller children without coffins. The graves of women contained jewelry, bottles for scent or kohl, and, in two cases, mirrors.



RECENT COPTIC BURIAL OF WOMAN
WITH MIRROR PLACED ON A BOARD BY HER HEAD

Underneath the graves there was an unbroken sequence of trash deposits giving us the stratified groupings of material we had hoped for. Most of the pottery from these strata belongs to the Mamluke period. The coins, which will aid in giving more precise dates, are being studied by Dr. Michael Bates of the America Numismatic Society.

We hoped to obtain a complete sequence through modern and medieval strata by carrying excavation of this upper square down to the level at which the lower square began. We were not able to finish during this short season. The lowest level reached in the upper square was over four and a half meters below the surface, but still over one and a half meters above the original surface of the lower square. Nevertheless, we did reach levels in which the pottery began to show similarities to that in the lower square, so that the time gap may not be as great as variation in absolute levels suggests.

In the lower squares we were excavating a building and its fill. Residents of Akhmim told us that the recent builders had already dug into the area, and had come to sterile soil and to ground water. Accordingly we expected that work in this square would quickly establish the lower limits of possible excavation within the city. We found, however, that below a thin layer of disturbance there were strata of the early medieval period, showing that virgin soil must be far below. The water table is about six meters down (56.42 m. above sea level), so much deeper excavation is possible.

Since the strata were not as clearly visible as those in the upper square, the earth was often removed in arbitrary strips 10 cm. deep, which did reveal a clear sequence of finds. Much of the pottery belonged to the Fatamid period, some was earlier. The levels reached at the end of the excavation were mud floors. The lowest of these, containing no glazed wares, and numerous examples of Egyptian red slipped pottery, are presumably late Roman. The coins from this square were cleaned by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. During cleaning they were placed in one container, so that record of their individual provenance has been lost. The earliest legible coin is third century, and there are a number of Umayyad and Abbasid coins.

In addition to specific observations about artifact types, preliminary study of the finds from these two squares has shown three things. The first is that there seems to have been a considerable local pottery industry in both the Mamluke and the Fatamid periods. A number of wasters of different fabric types were found. In addition, there are numerous fabrics which, while they bear a general resemblance to types known at Fustat, Quseir, Luxor, or elsewhere, do diverge significantly, and may well be local manufacture.

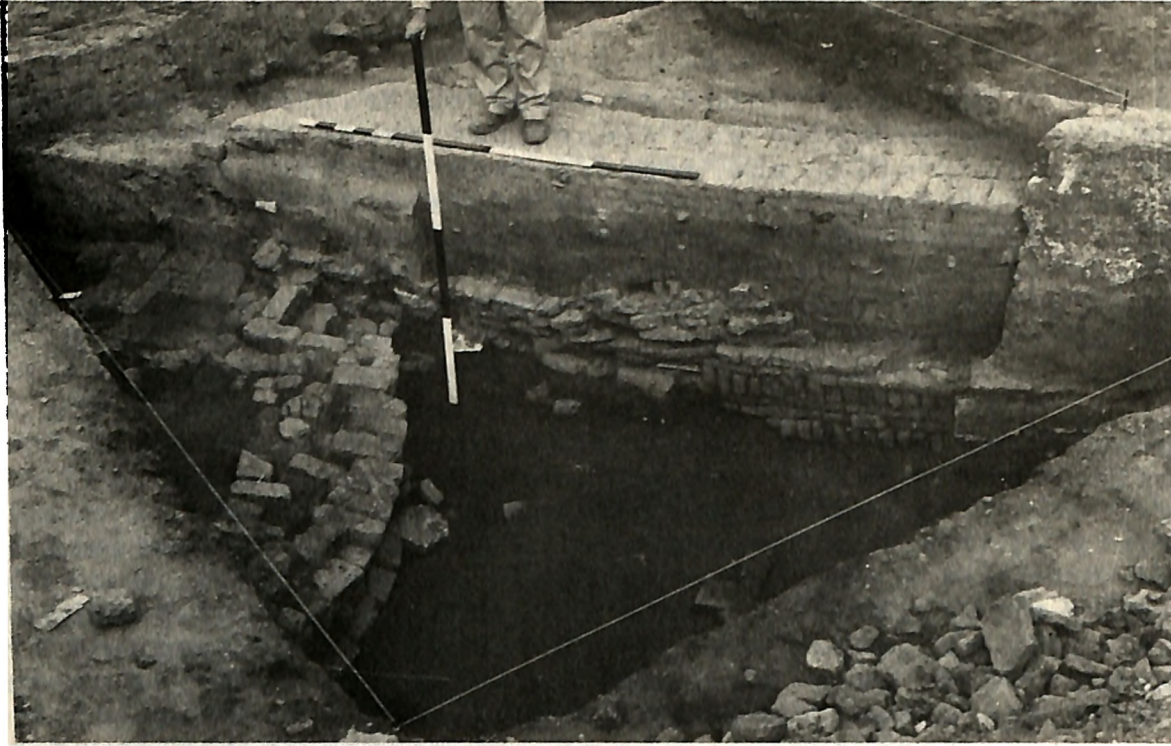
The second notable feature is the lack of material imported from the east. Pottery from the Orient, from Persia to China, is frequent at Fustat and of course at Quseir, the Red Sea port through which much of it must have come. At Akhmim there are only a few pieces. It has been hypothesized that there was an overland route from Quseir to Akhmim (as well as the known route from Quseir to Qena) in the Middle Ages. On the limited evidence supplied by our sample, Akhmim can only have been a transshipping center, not a consumer.

The final point concerns the ratios between wares. From the beginning it was clear that there had been a change in this respect, since the pottery from the two squares differed markedly, not only in specifics of fabric, decoration, and shape, but also in the relative frequency of fine and coarse wares. In the earliest strata of the upper square a change begins abruptly and continues until the distribution resembles that of the lower square.

In most of the strata of the upper square the heavy coarse wares (usually about .75 to over 1 cm. thick, often with considerable vegetal temper, used for ovens, amphorae, cooking pots, etc.) formed the overwhelming majority of the total. A variety of finer unglazed fabrics (15 types tentatively identified) formed a minor percentage (running around 10 to 15%) by weight, while glazed or painted wares were often hardly statistically recognizable. The proportion of glazed and of fine unglazed wares then increases strikingly in the lowest strata, as does the amount of glass. The higher proportion of fine wares also characterizes all of the strata in the lower square. This change in ratios indicates a marked economic change at a point at which we had not originally expected it, namely in the early Mamluke period. Both local technology and the amount of importation seem to have declined then.

Judging from the fill within it, the building in the lower square seems to be late Roman, but there is as yet no direct clue as to its date, since the mud bricks have not been sifted, and the lowest floor level has not been excavated. Only a small part of the whole has so far been cleared, and the function has not been determined. It is a sturdy construction with several rooms, and possibly more than one building period. The first wall we encountered, wall A, was uncovered to a length of about

3.80 m. by enlarging the square one meter to the east. At the northeast the wall forms a corner with another wall, wall B. These walls have plaster on adjacent faces, east and south respectively, indicating those as their interior sides. Most of our excavation was therefore within a room. Wall A was broken, possibly by a doorway, at the southwest end. Only a small amount of wall B was cleared. Its eastward extent, and therefore the width of the room, are not known. Walls A and B are both mud brick constructions resting upon substantial coursing of fired brick. The brick shapes and the header-stretcher patterns differ from those of the grave chambers (which resemble those still in use today).



ROOM IN LOWER SQUARE
LOOKING AT JUNCTION OF WALLS A AND C

Only a few courses of fired brick survive of a third wall, wall C. One side of the wall is straight, the other curved, the curvature probably resulting from slippage. At the junction of wall C with wall A there are remains of a small enclosure. Between the walls several layers of laminated mud flooring were excavated. There were also segments of tile floor inside, as well as outside of wall C. Trowelling in the surrounding area has shown: a) remains of more mud brick on the line of wall A, possibly its continuation; b) other mud brick and fired brick walls at higher levels; and c) two pieces of a limestone column cut in half, one on its side, the other standing and possibly in situ. Clearly the architecture of this area deserves further investigation.

مرکز البحوث والآثار بمصر

FESTIVALS COMMEMORATING MUSLIM SAINTS (MULIDS)

Edward B. Reeves
University of Kentucky, Lexington
ARCE Fellow, 1977-78*

Aims of the Study

As a doctoral dissertation project in anthropology, I studied Egyptian mulids, popular festivals commemorating Muslim saints. ARCE supported the research for twelve months, from September, 1977, through August, 1978. I extended my residence in Egypt by an additional two months in order to observe the big mulid of Sayyid Ahmad al-Bedawi in Tanta a second time. During the first ten months my wife lived with me in Tanta.

One aim of the study was to fill in lacunae in the ethnographic literature describing these popular Egyptian celebrations. The standard ethnographies that deal with this topic --- Lane's Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, Blackman's Fellahin of Upper Egypt, and MacPherson's Moulids of Egypt --- fall short of modern anthropological standards because the descriptions are anecdotal, rather than systematic, and sociologically naive. A recent analysis --- Gilson's Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt --- is sociologically canny and ranks with the best of the few behavioral studies of Sufi brotherhoods but, in my opinion, its treatment of the mulids is skewed by the author's (praiseworthy) preoccupation with explaining how the festival relates to the ideology and social structure of a Sufi sect. The mulids are meaningful to a much larger segment of the Egyptian population than that which is represented in the Sufi orders. Gilson suggests this but does not pursue it.

As a result, I surmised that a broad-spectrum ethnographic study of the mulids was needed, in which the perceptions and conceptualizations and the behavior of the entire range of participants would be used to define and delimit these phenomena. Accordingly, my fieldwork was committed to a Verstehen methodology. The assumptions of this approach were simple: a mulid is a type of religiously-oriented activity which is embedded into a wider arena of social and material relationships and in which a variety of individual and collective actors participate according to established patterns and with various motives and interests. The methodology called for the study of a sample of mulids in order to sort out actors, types of activities, motives and interests underlying activities, and the consequences of activities (regardless of whether they are perceived by the actors or not).

*Funded by the International Communication Agency, Washington, D.C. (Formerly, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State.)

Methods and Conditions of Fieldwork

The traditional ethnographic strategy of long-term residence in a community with extensive participant-observation in the social life recommended itself as the most advantageous means to collect the in-depth descriptions that I sought.

After pondering the alternatives, I decided to pursue the research in Tanta, the commercial and administrative center of Gharbiya Governorate in the Delta. This decision was made on the basis of a number of considerations. First, Tanta (population about 300,000) is smaller than Cairo or Alexandria, making it an easier locale in which to employ ethnographic methods. Indeed, I discovered that the town was easily traversed on foot. This accessibility was a boon to my study since local events could be attended without inconvenience. Further, Tanta does not lack examples of Muslim saints' shrines and moulids. The mosque/shrine of Sayyid al-Bedawi that dominates the center of Old Tanta is a major attraction for religious pilgrims. Twenty-nine other shrines are found in Tanta and in the two neighboring villages which recently have been incorporated into the urban unit. Several of the shrines hold the tombs of more than one saint. Sixteen shrines are the focus of mulids. Sayyid al-Bedawi is honored with three of these festivals each year. This was an ideal sample; it contained a moderate number of cases and a substantial amount of variation. And, finally, Egyptian friends in the United States kindly supplied us with introductions to Tanta residents. In consequence, a vacant apartment was held in anticipation of our arrival.

Of the specific field methods that I used, the most important were naturalistic observation and open-ended interviewing. Observations and interviews were written down immediately in the notebook that I always carried. These data were edited and typed onto 5" x 8" slips of paper as soon as circumstances permitted. Second (carbon) copies were made of the notes, and these were entrusted to friends returning to the U.S. to carry with them. Each fieldnote slip indicated the source of the information, location, date, and time. As a rule, I found it more agreeable to carry out interviews "on location." Informants were at ease on their own turf; and, although this method occasionally ran into difficulty (e.g., an informant is called away momentarily on some important matter), it afforded the additional advantage of allowing me to observe informants in their native habitat. Certain key informants I invited to my apartment, or I went to theirs, to review the information I was collecting. It was largely out of these discussions with Egyptian friends that a definition of the cultural rules underlying the mulids and the veneration of saints began to take shape in my mind.

Before living in Egypt, virtually all of my experience with Arabic was restricted to the written language. Consequently, from the beginning of the fieldwork, I relied on Egyptian research assistants to guide and to interpret. I did not consider this a drawback. An interpreter does not simply translate informants' statements; he interprets them and extends their implications. Further, he is a ready reference for interpreting non-verbal behavior. Any ethnographer who has worked with enthusiastic interpreters will acknowledge that the dialogue which develops between field worker and research assistant is among the most compelling and rewarding experiences of anthropological research. In my case, there was a supervenient reason for engaging a field assistant. Being a foreigner and a nominal Christian caused me a fair amount of role strain in my desire to study aspects of Muslim saint veneration. On the one hand, there was puzzlement that a Christian would be interested in such matters. On the other hand, there was concern that I would misunderstand saint veneration and that my study would portray Islam in a bad light. The research assistant, who was a Muslim, was most effective in dispelling doubts about my intentions. I was nearly always quite frank with informants about the aims of my research and they, perhaps after reassurance from my Egyptian assistant, were usually flattered that an American had taken an interest in Egyptian popular culture.

A caution to those contemplating a similar type of research. The research assistant may also experience a considerable amount of role strain. This is almost unavoidable at the outset of the fieldworker's acquaintance with his assistant, before the latter has had time to adjust to the field worker's problem orientation and methods. Afterwards, at least in my experience, the field assistant becomes so engrossed in the study that he starts to initiate avenues of data exploration that likely would never have occurred to the field worker on his own. Another source of strain for the field assistant is his relationship with his employer and family. Fieldwork is exacting and time-consuming, and the assistant may find that his other obligations are slipping by the wayside. It was my policy always to give my assistant several days' break after periods of long and intensive work and I made it a practice to overlook the occasional missed appointment. In Egypt a crucial source of role strain for the research assistant may be his own government. My first field assistant, who was very competent, quit my company in great trepidation when he learned that the security police were conducting a small investigation into my activities. Those carrying out fieldwork in provincial Egyptian towns should expect such security investigations as a matter of routine and be prepared for the fall-out. The situation caught me completely unawares and, in consequence, I lost more than one month of active interviewing while searching for and training a suitable replacement for the previous assistant.

The research methods of naturalistic observation and interviewing were supplemented in several ways. I performed a survey of saints' shrines in Tanta, noting their locations and physical characteristics. I obtained oral biographies for each saint, when something was reputed to be known about his life. Caretakers of the shrines and khulafa (successors) of the saints were useful sources in this regard. A checklist of events and characteristics was worked out for the mulids I attended. A variety of Arabic documents and publications supplemented the fieldwork in an important way. These were census publications, handwritten and printed hagiographies, thirty-two pages of minutes of the meeting of the High Council for the Ahmadi Mulid, an illustrated history and guide of Tanta published in 1966, a number of newspaper and magazine articles, and government literature kindly provided by the Public Relations Office of Gharbiya Governorate.

Some Research Findings

It is premature to suggest any dazzling conclusions from my work in Tanta. I have not yet finished indexing the fieldnotes and reading the collected Arabic materials. Instead, I shall describe briefly some of the empirical findings of the study.

Tanta has thirty-eight saints' tombs that vary in size and degree of elaboration. The brass-screened tomb of Sayyid Ahmad al-Bedawi is one of Egypt's largest and most elaborate. This may be compared rather dramatically with the tomb of Sidi Nafi', in an old quarter of Tanta, on which the roof has fallen due to the lack of maintenance. Another saint, Sidi Fraig, has no visible tomb, merely the rear corner of an electrical goods shop where devotees occasionally leave burning candles; this spot is said to be the site of the original shrine which was demolished years ago in an urban renewal operation. Most (thirty-one) of the tombs are located in the older, southern section of Tanta near the railroad yard and grouped about the Sayyid al-Bedawi Mosque. Four tombs are located in the village of Quhafa, which has become an incorporated part of Tanta. The shrine of another saint dominates the skyline of Saygar, another satellite community of Tanta. Qubbas (cupolas) surmount twenty shrines; and, in seventeen cases, the catafalque of the tomb is surrounded by a screen made of wood or brass (or, in one case, a concrete partition). A donation box is present at twenty-three tombs. At the Awqaf Directorate I learned that the year's revenue of donations at the Sayyid al-Bedawi Mosque totaled about L.E. 142,000 in 1977. The least frequented tombs collect less than L.E. 5 annually in the donation box.

I was able to elicit karamat (miracle) stories that, at least in the local context, were considered distinctive of a given saint for only thirteen saints in the sample of thirty-eight. The saints' genealogies and histories are known in less than a third of the cases. Only Sayyid al-Bedawi and Shaikha Sabah have attracted enough renown to have their history published

in hagiographies. (Shaikha Sabah was a devotee of Sayyid al-Bedawi who founded a hostel for the poor in Tanta and died early in this century after overseeing the construction of the shrine/mosque that bears her name.) Shaikh Ahmad Higab, a revered scholar and mystic, died while I was living in Tanta and was enshrined in the Mosque of Sayyid al-Bedawi, his spiritual mentor. Shaikh Higab had written a life and an appraisal of Sayyid al-Bedawi that is considered definitive by some of Tanta's Muslims. Twelve of the saints I studied have living khulafa. Sayyid al-Bedawi has two living successors. The bifurcation of this khalifa-ship probably occurred in the 18th century (based on genealogical evidence). I was unable to learn the circumstances from either written histories or informants, including the two khulafa. Doubtless the event held some political significance. Twenty-three of the shrines are awqaf (religious endowments administered by the Ministry of Awqaf). In some cases the saint's waqf is restricted to the shrine itself. In other cases, and in particular that of Sayyid al-Bedawi, awqaf include urban real estate and agricultural lands. In fifteen shrines local Sufi sects gather on a weekly or nightly basis for badra (a ritual gathering in which a prominent feature is the zikr, or rhythmical invocation to God).

During my fourteen-month stay in Tanta I witnessed the mulids of sixteen saints; several of these I saw twice. Sayyid al-Bedawi has three mulids: the big mulid in mid-October as the cotton harvest is ending; the smaller Ragabiya mulid which, these days, takes place in April before the wheat harvest begins; and the "true birthday" of the saint which is the 29th of Dhu al-Hagga. The other fifteen saints have one mulid apiece. A few mulids last only one night (Friday eve); rather more go on for several nights in succession culminating in the "big night" on Friday eve; the large mulids of Sayyid al-Bedawi and Shaikha Sabah last a week or more but also end on a Friday eve. In a rather haphazard fashion, the mulids are scheduled to begin in mid-summer and extend through autumn. The mulid season in the Delta culminates with the celebration of Sidi Ibrahim ad-Disuqi, in Disuq, which takes place in the second week after the end of the mulid of Sayyid al-Bedawi. It is readily apparent that these big mulids are harvest rites that attract large numbers of visitors from the rural hinterlands of the Delta. The smaller mulids that I attended were neighborhood affairs, though some of them attracted visitors from the villages surrounding Tanta. The big mulid of Sayyid al-Bedawi gets its unique character from a highly complex meshing of economic and political interests, piety, and the fellahin's simple need for excitement following the summer's arduous labors. Many Egyptians with whom I spoke interpreted this complexity of the mulid as a "miracle," because the mulid appears to come off without an overall human design or plan.

Some of my informants shared the view that the smaller mulids, too, have this extraordinary aspect, though in proportion less than the mulid of Sayyid al-Bedawi. In fact, I had little difficulty identifying a sponsoring institution at the smaller mulids. This could be an ad hoc consortium of businessmen, a local Sufi sect, the khalifa or family of the saint, or the caretaker of the shrine. In several cases, a combination of sponsoring institutions was evident. As MacPherson has observed, the mulids have a secular side in addition to the religious practices of zikr and paying one's respects to the saint. Nearly all the mulids attract street vendors and amusement concessions. Children are particularly irreverent in their gaiety and horseplay. Adults sometimes seek narcotic stimulation.

In the material presented above I purposefully have eschewed examining the deeper meanings of the mulid--the significance of khidma (ritualized generosity), the variable understandings which Egyptians have of the awliya (saints) and of ziyara (visitation at the shrine), and the ambiguity found in the meanings of karamat (miracles). Nevertheless, those familiar with the literature on saints' cults will realize that even the spare recitation of facts above goes beyond the typical ethnographic reporting of these phenomena.

THE MIDDLE COMMENTARIES ON ARISTOTLE'S ORGANON BY AVERROES

FINAL PROJECT REPORT, 1978-1979

Charles E. Butterworth, University of Maryland
Principal Investigator*

Major effort this year was expended in order to publish the first volume of the editing series, Averroes' Middle Commentary on Aristotle's Topics. In September, thanks largely to the good offices of Professor Muhsin Mahdi, a contract was signed with the General Egyptian Book Organization. This contract provides for the publication of five volumes --- the Middle Commentaries on the Categories, De Interpretatione, Prior Analytics, and Posterior Analytics, as well as the Topics--- in editions of 2,500 copies with an additional 500 copies going to the American Research Center in Egypt. At the same time, the ARCE will have permission to export those volumes.

Assured by all responsible at the publishing plant that if he stayed in Cairo to read the proofs, the principal investigator would be able to take copies of the printed volume with him to an Averroes festival in Algiers at the beginning of November, he stayed and read proofs. November came, but not the published volume. During this stay, the result is the same: many promises, but no delivery. As of now, the Topics volume is all but printed. But it is not yet printed.

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

Let me explain the problems. In Egypt, publishers print books by quires or signatures (the Arabic word is malzamah, plural malāzim). A quire is set and then proofed. When the author gives permission, it is set in print. Then work proceeds with another quire. We have had major problems because of a long English introduction. While all of the Arabic material had to be read through six proofs, the English introduction has required seven proofs to date and is still not ready. (Clearly, there will be no long English introductions in the remaining volumes!) The volume consists of four English quires and sixteen Arabic quires, i.e., of 320 printed pages. Fourteen of the Arabic quires have been printed, and the remaining two are ready for printing; two of the English quires are ready to be printed, with the reservation that the principal investigator or his delegate has the right to see these two quires on the press to correct any last minute problems; the other two English quires probably require two more proofs. Perhaps the volume will be published by mid-April.

The other major activity in the first period of the grant was the publication of a project report. This brochure was published, but the work was so sloppy that the principal investigator requested another version from the printer. To date, the printer has promised, but not delivered.

Arrangements have been made for the rapid publication (in principle, by June) of the editions of the Categories and De Interpretatione. As with the Topics volume, so with these, the ARCE will pay for high quality paper on 500 copies. And because the General Egyptian Book Organization recently published another version of the De Interpretatione (full of faults and generally of inferior scholarship), the ARCE agreed to pay all the costs of that publication. Each of these volumes should be of about twelve quires, i.e., about 192 printed pages. By late September, we will be ready to begin the publication of the last two edited volumes in this series.

مركز البحوث الأمريكية بمصر