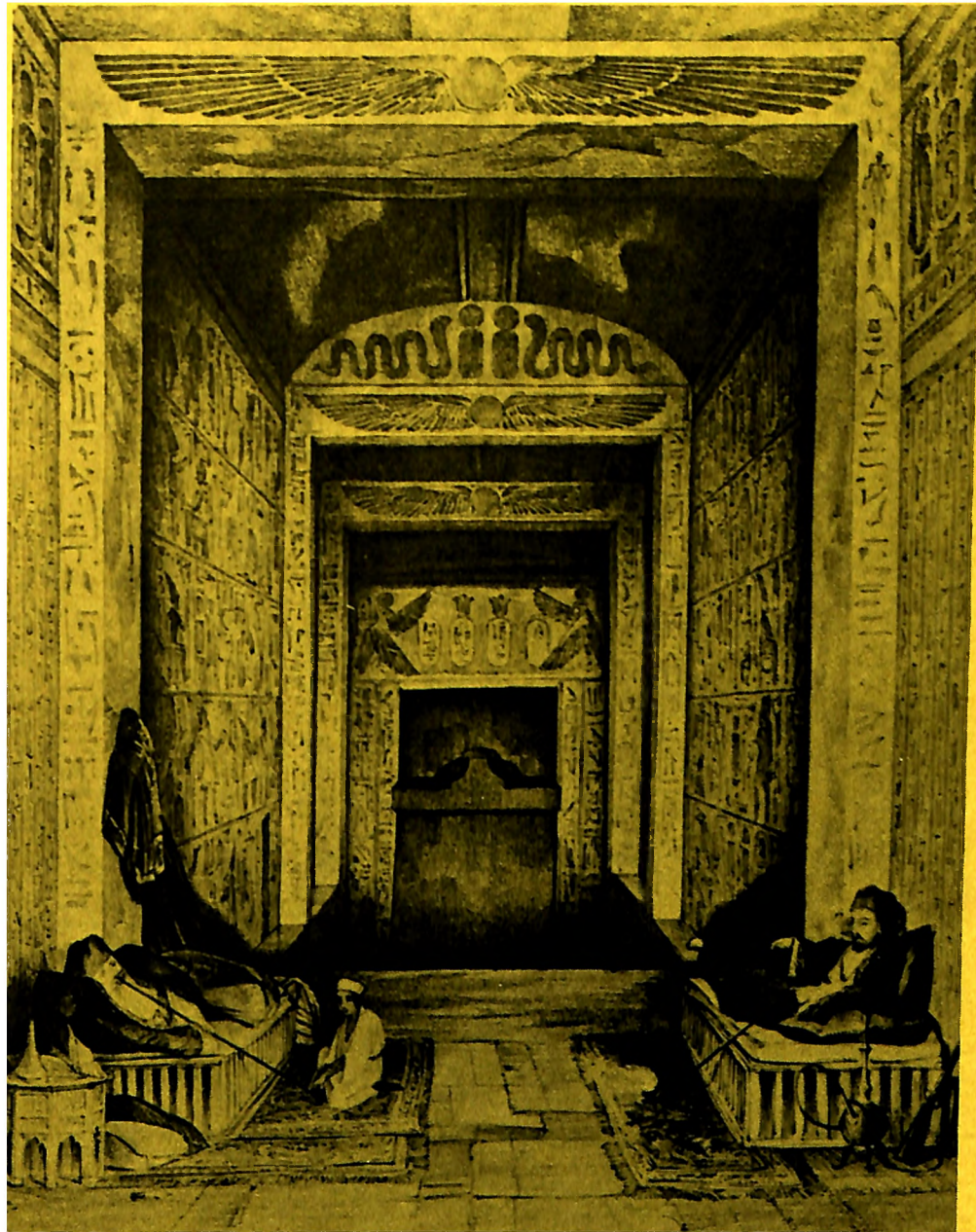


AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT

# NEWSLETTER



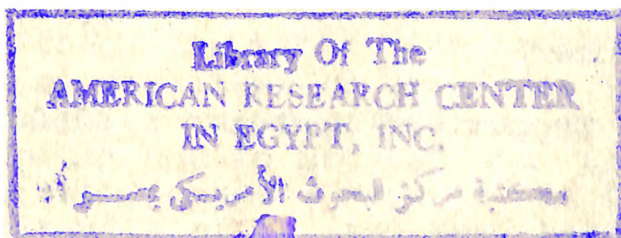
NUMBER 113

WINTER 1980

# THE ARCE NEWSLETTER

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## ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF DEIR EL-BALLAS

Settlement archaeology has long been recognized as being of fundamental importance in the understanding of past cultures, and its neglect in the Egyptian context has come under increasing criticism in recent years (Butzer 1976; Kemp 1977). Excavations of urban sites in Egypt have been few (cf. Bietak 1979) and upon them, notably Tell el-Amarna (Kemp 1978), many of our conceptions of ancient Egyptian society are based.

The excavations of the Hearst Expedition at Deir el-Ballas in 1900-01 (Smith 1965) hold significant additional data for our understanding of Pharaonic settlement patterns. The townsite associated with the palaces at Deir el-Ballas provides the advantages of accessibility and straightforward stratigraphy of a single-period site (Kemp 1978) along with its preserved burial population. Moreover, the temporal sensitivity of early XVIIIth dynasty ceramics allows a fine grasp of the chronology and developmental history of the site.

One of the major drawbacks of the excavation and an impediment to analysis and publication of the material was the inadequacy of the field notes. With the aim of elucidating the records, I undertook a field survey of the site from January to March 1980 as part of an ARCE fellowship.

I would like to thank Dr. Shehata Adam, President of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization; Dr. Abdel Qader Selim, Director General of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization; Dr. Ali el Kholy, Director of Antiquities for Upper Egypt; Mr. Mohammed Saghir, Chief Inspector for Upper Egypt and Luxor; and Madame Amina el Gamal, Chief Inspector of Sohag, for their kind assistance and interest. I must also express my gratitude to Dr. James P. Allen for invaluable help and advice as well as Ms. May Trad and Dr. Paul Walker of the American Research Center and to Dr. and Mrs. Labib Habachi. Fieldwork would not have been possible were it not for the boundless generosity and hospitality of Dr. and Mrs. Lanny D. Bell and the staff of Chicago House, Luxor; and Dr. Ricardo A. Caminos, Mr. Mark E. Lehner and Dr. David O'Connor for their kind loans of supplies and equipment.

The main goals of the investigation were to pinpoint the location of unidentified structures from the original excavation, to record any unplanned or uninvestigated areas and to compile a general map of the region. Camp was set up by the ruins of the old expedition house (Photo A) west of the large North Palace enclosure.

Fieldwork was hampered by the disturbed nature of the site. The houses had been constructed along the desert edge at the mouths of several large wadis. When the protective covering of debris was removed by the excavators, the exposed structures were subjected to severe erosion from rain and runoff (Compare photos B & C).

Extensive destruction has also been caused by the agricultural and industrial expansion of the modern village (fig. 1). Although substantial remnants of the south and north palaces (see Smith 1965) still exist, they are being destroyed at an ever increasing rate (fig. 2). Significant degradation of all exposed mud brick as a result of the recent (October 1979) heavy rains was clearly evident.

Despite these adverse conditions it was possible to recover a large amount of information from the site. Using copies of the original plans and prints of the original expedition photographs it was possible to correlate the extant wall traces with Reisner's plans and notes. The area of the settlement was mapped in greater detail (fig. 1), although frequently slight traces of walls, excavation margins, dumps or sherd scatters were the only indications of an existing habitation site. The stratigraphic history of the site was recorded from road cuts and old excavation trenches (fig. 3). A pit dug out in the desert by the modern village potters exposed an ancient garbage dump to the west of the north palace villas. The pit contained dense deposits of vegetable material, bone, hair, and cloth as well as a valuable corpus of the domestic ceramics.

The ceramic component of the site provides an extensive, well-dated group of early XVIIIth dynasty domestic and mortuary wares as well as a profusion of Nubian wares of both the Pan - grave and Kerma cultures (fig. 4).

Hopefully a future season of excavation and survey can be undertaken to complete the record of the original expedition and study those features which have not yet been investigated, as well as to stabilize the site and preserve this important cultural resource

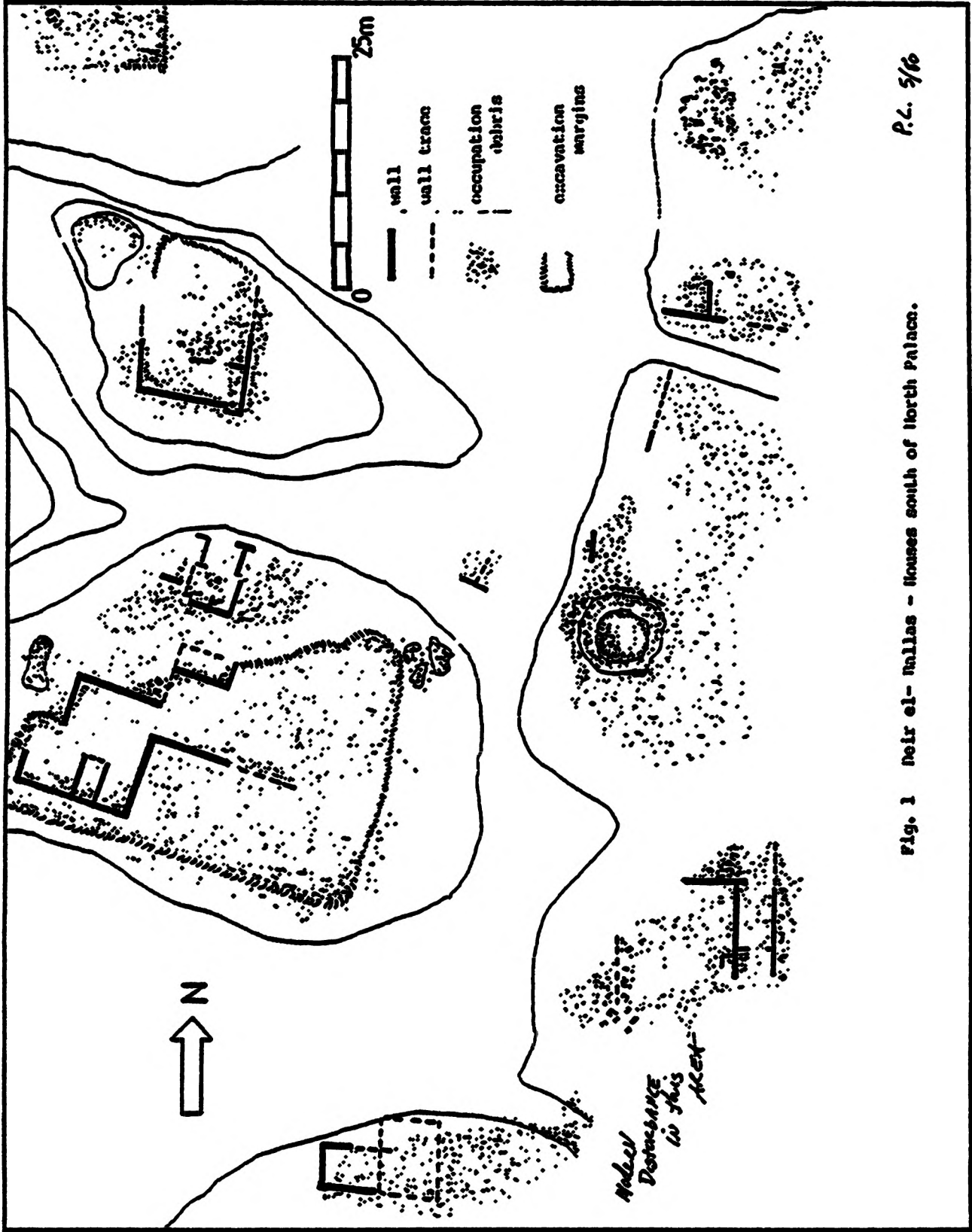
Peter Lacovara  
ARCE Fellow, 1979-80

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Figure 1



P.L. 5/6

Fig. 1 Neir el-Nallas - Houses south of North Palace.

Figure 2

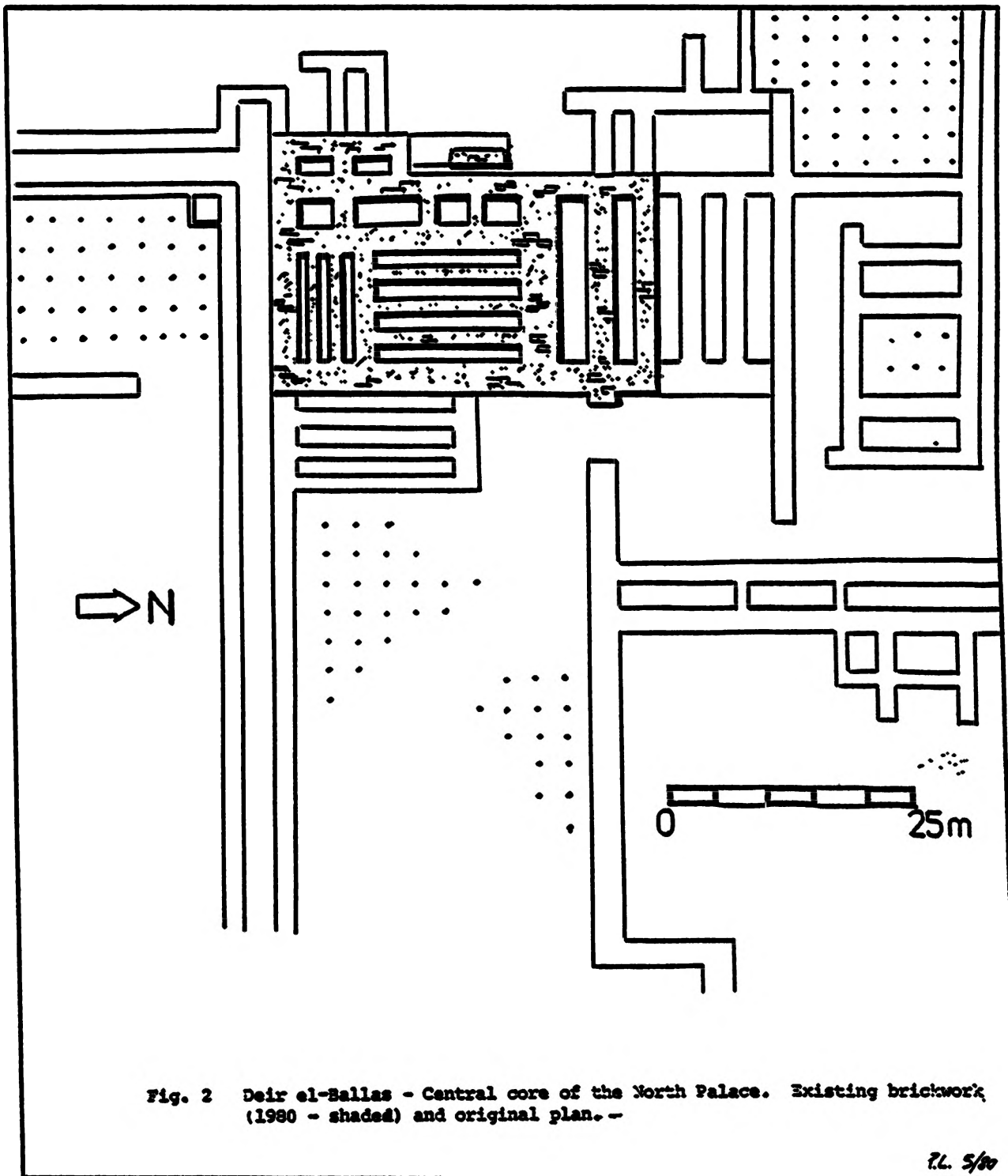
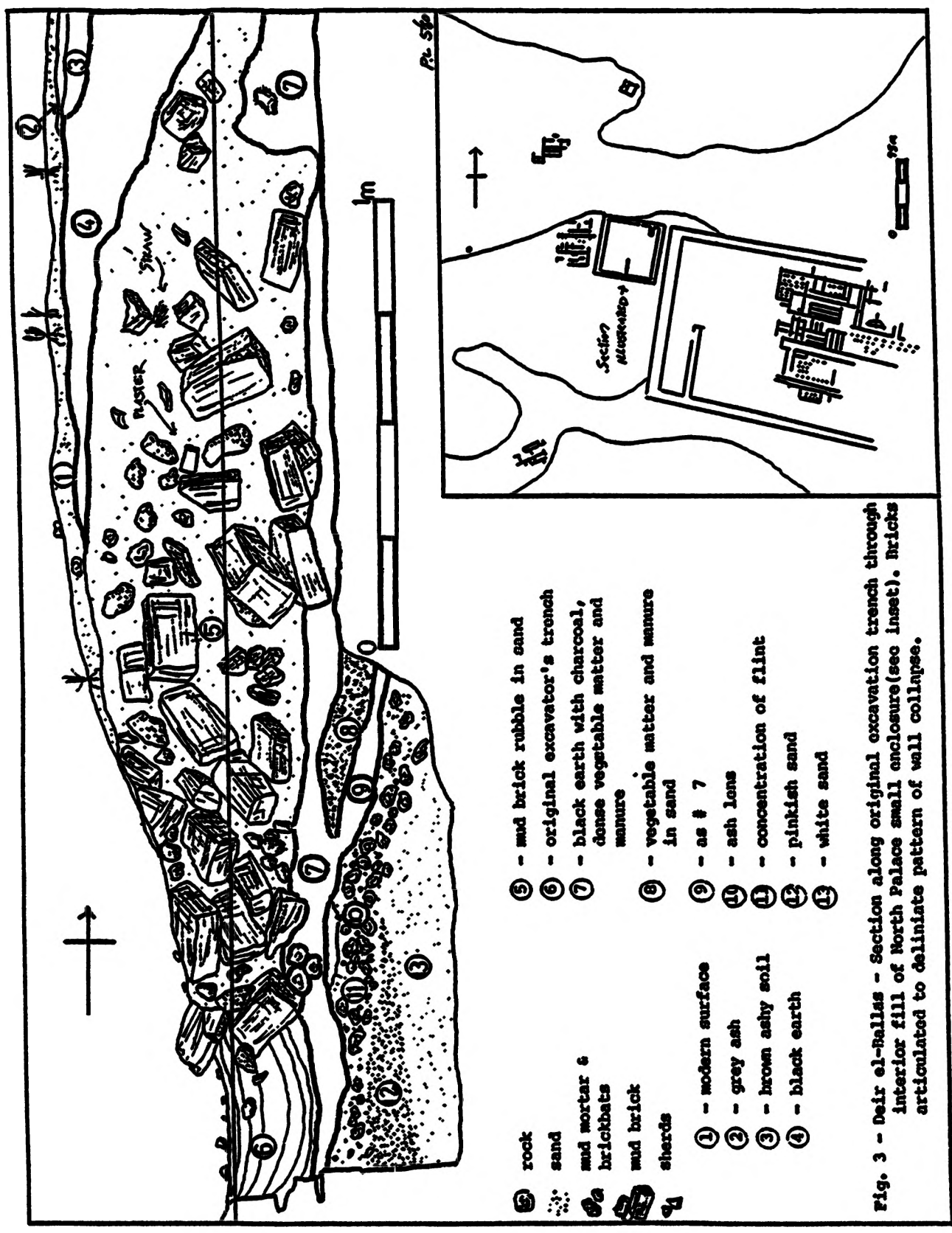


Fig. 2 Deir el-Ballas - Central core of the North Palace. Existing brickwork (1980 - shaded) and original plan. -

*7.1. 5/00*





- ⑤ - mud brick rubble in sand
- ⑥ - original excavator's trench
- ⑦ - black earth with charcoal, dense vegetable matter and manure
- ⑧ - vegetable matter and manure in sand
- ⑨ - as # 7
- ⑩ - ash lens
- ⑪ - concentration of flint
- ⑫ - pinkish sand
- ⑬ - white sand

- ① - modern surface
- ② - grey ash
- ③ - brown ashy soil
- ④ - black earth

- ⊞ rock
- ⋯ sand
- ⊞ mud mortar & brickbats
- ⊞ mud brick
- ⊞ sherds

Fig. 3 - Deir el-Rallas - Section along original excavation trench through interior fill of North Palace wall enclosure (see inset). Bricks articulated to delineate pattern of wall collapse.

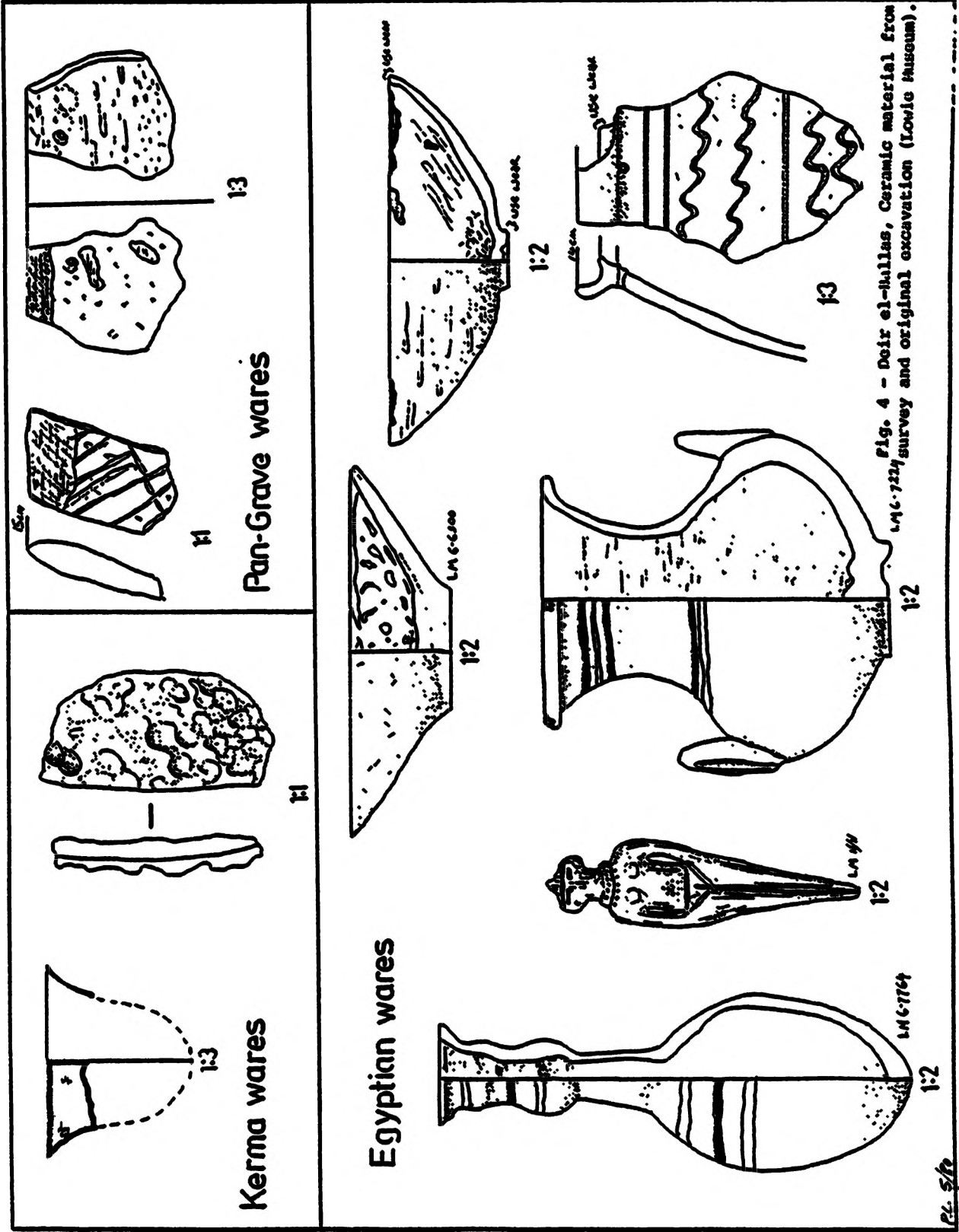


Fig. 4 - Deir el-Hallas, Ceramic material from LN 6-7224 survey and original excavation (Lovic Museum).

Pl. 5/2





Photo A: Deir el-Ballas 1980. Camp beside ruins of original house, looking west.



Photo B: Deir el-Ballas 1901. Villa in wadi north of North Palace after excavation, looking south-east.





Photo C: Deir el-Ballas 1980. Same villa in wadi north of North Palace today, looking south-west.

## ISLAMIC BANKING

I spent June - August of 1980 in Cairo on an ARCE fellowship for the purpose of studying Islamic banking. The Islamic banking movement has picked up considerable momentum in the last decade, but it is still a new phenomenon and one that is poorly understood except by a few specialists. I had begun to study Islamic banks in 1979 on the basis of what materials I was able to obtain in the United States through various contacts in the business world. I wrote a short article on the basis of the limited information that I had found, but I realized that to expand my knowledge of the subject I would have to go to the Middle East. Cairo seemed a logical choice, because it is now a major center of banking activity and because the oldest currently operating Islamic Bank, the Nasser Social Bank, is Egyptian. The International Federation of Islamic Banks has its headquarters in Heliopolis. Also operating in Cairo is the Faisal Islamic Bank, one of a number of banks set up with the support of Prince Muhammad al-Faisal Al Sa'ud in Middle Eastern countries. I hoped to meet people associated with these institutions and to locate written materials that analyzed them in detail.

Because I am a lawyer with advanced training in Islamic law and an interest in Islamic law in contemporary Middle Eastern societies, I most often work with statutes or codes, legal treatises, reports of cases, and records of the legislative process. I had expected that in Cairo I would be able to find extensive material of this sort--namely, written legal sources and other documentation on the subject of banking and Islamic banking in Egypt. On the spot the situation proved to be more complicated. Although I did manage to acquire some extremely valuable written sources in Cairo, I quickly discovered that much of the interesting data was not recorded anywhere but had to be elicited in interviews with persons concerned with Islamic banking. In consequence, much of my research was of necessity carried out in the form of interviews. This presented some problems. The people who were most knowledgeable were generally in high positions with heavy responsibilities and demands on their time, so that interviews were often brief and frequently interrupted. Many appointments had to be postponed more than once.

Furthermore, I discovered that while my interviewees were generally most gracious and cooperative in imparting information, the information had to be specifically requested. That is, I could not rely on people to volunteer the information that I most needed. Thus, at the same time that I was trying to familiarize myself with the intricacies of Islamic banking, I had to anticipate based on my preliminary findings what questions would prove to elicit the most useful information in the short time periods that were typically allotted for my interviews. A further complication lay in the fact that Ramadan began in the middle of my research stay in Cairo. Given the very hot and uncomfortable weather the effects of Ramadan fasting were particularly harsh, and persons who had been available before Ramadan became difficult to find. Difficulties in locating people and setting up interviews persisted until the week after the celebrations following the end of Ramadan.

Fortunately, because I had been very active in my first six weeks in Cairo, I had amassed enough data by the beginning of Ramadan to start writing up my research, so on days when I had no appointments I was able to devote my time to organizing my materials, which was helpful in figuring out where the gaps in my research lay. Several articles will result from my summer research, but the one that I began preparing in slack periods during Ramadan has already been submitted to the Subcommittee on Law and Social Structure of the Joint Committee on the Near and Middle East of the Social Science Research Council. Entitled "Islamic Banking and Credit Policies and the Sadat Era," it is thirty-five pages in length and will be presented in a November conference on Law and Property in the Middle East to be held at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Study and Conference Center on Lake Como in Italy. It is anticipated that the papers presented at the conference will be published in one volume of which I have been appointed editor by the Subcommittee. Should the plans for publication of the papers in one volume fail for any reason or should I feel that my paper should not be included in the volume, I will submit it for publication elsewhere. The paper relies heavily on the information that I gleaned over the summer in the course of my extensive interviewing and which has not to my knowledge heretofore been presented in published sources. The published materials on Islamic banking tend to stress such topics as Islamic revival, principles of Islamic economics, and the need to abrogate secular law of Western derivation. It is easy to be led to the conclusion that Islamic banks constitute manifestations of a newfound religious fervor--particularly given the upsurge in Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East today. While not intending to denigrate the importance of the religious motivations for setting up the Egyptian Islamic banks, I would say in the wake of my research--as, indeed, I argue in my first paper--that the phenomenon is more complicated and that the emergence of these banks owe a great deal to specific features of the regime of credit in Egypt and aspects of the economic policies underlying economic liberalization accompanying the Infitah. I was initially prompted to reassess the nature of the impetus behind these banks in the course of my early encounters during the summer with top ranking officers of various Islamic banking institutions. Far from claiming any special expertise



in Islamic law, new theories of Islamic economics, or even the fine points of Islamic banking, these individuals tended to be persons with secular, Western educations whose previous experiences had been in financial institutions run along Western lines, and their concerns for Islamic authenticity seemed less pronounced than their conviction that their banks had a specific social mission to accomplish. I expect that my revised assessment of Islamic banking in Egypt may be controversial, but I am grateful to have had the learning experience over this summer that prompted reassessment.

Because I could work on written materials that I collected over the summer when I returned to the U.S., once I realized how much could be learned from interviews that could not be found in publications on Islamic banking, I decided to concentrate my efforts on meeting people connected with Islamic banking and arranging interviews with them. For this reason, the report of my summer research is largely a catalogue of meetings and interviews. I will not review here every meeting that I had, because many turned out to be unproductive. I found that it was difficult to estimate in advance whether many individuals could or could not contribute to my understanding of Islamic banking, so where there was at least some potential for gleaning information, I went ahead with meetings.

I had had the good fortune to have met El Sayyid Yasin of the al-Ahram Institute for Strategic Studies at a workshop in the U.S. before I went to Cairo, and when I contacted him in Cairo he was able to set up an initial and very important meeting with the editor of the new magazine "Islamic Banks" (in Arabic), which is put out by the International Federation of Islamic Banks. The editor, like all the people in the Islamic banking movement whom I met subsequently, was unfailingly helpful and cordial. Not only did he arrange to have me supplied with all of the Federation's publications gratis, but he also made himself available for consultation when I needed advice. We have several meetings over the summer. In addition, he introduced me to Dr. Ibrahim Lutfi and to obtain reports on the Nasser Social Bank regarding its activities.

At an early stage I attempted to avail myself of the resources offered by the American community in Cairo. Again, I found that everyone was most generous with advice and help. Although there was no one in the Embassy who was interested in Islamic banking as such, through my discussions with them I got very valuable background material on banking and credit in Egypt. My initial contacts were with the staff of the Legal Office of the AID mission in the Embassy, but one contact quickly led to others, and I eventually met a wide range of people in the Embassy who were concerned with legal, commercial, or social problems that related to my topic. They were very ready to lend me or let me copy materials that they had on banking. Not only did they direct me to other persons within the Embassy, but they also arranged for me to meet with professors at the American University in Cairo, important bankers, Ford Foundation experts, and also Egyptian government officials.

I found that to gain access to members of the Embassy staff with relevant knowledge, nothing more was needed than an explanation of my project and what kind of information I was seeking. However, for certain members of the American banking institutions in Cairo, introductions from persons whom they knew and respected made the difference, I believe, between having the opportunity for a serious talk and being treated as an unwelcome intruder. My impression was that with regard to Egyptian officials and bankers, having introductions from Americans or Egyptians with the appropriate credentials was extremely important and may well have accounted for the great cordiality and helpfulness that I generally encountered. Thus, I tried to meet as many people as possible in the first weeks of my stay in order to build up a long list of contacts. It was not unusual for me to use several people whom I had met to get an introduction to just one other person. It often happened that people would promise introductions and then fail to follow through, and since my time was short, it paid for me to work through several channels simultaneously.

One of the most useful contacts that I made through the Embassy was with John Bentley of the Ford Foundation. Mr. Bentley, in addition to sharing his expertise regarding many aspects of the Egyptian economy with me, gave me two introductions, one to Dr. Fu'ad as-Sarraf, the Chairman of the Faisal Islamic Bank, and another to Ahmad Hassan, a legal advisor to the Government and to the Faisal Islamic Bank. I had several very productive meetings with Dr. as-Sarraf, who was very forthcoming in his conversation and who introduced me to one of the high level employees of the bank, who had considerable knowledge regarding the technical details of the bank's operations. Ahmad Hassan was most generous in several meetings that we had in explaining to me aspects of the linkage between the government and the Islamic Banks and the legal background of the banking situation.

Through various contacts I was able to inform Dr. Ahmad an-Naggar, the Secretary of the Federation of Islamic Banks, of my interest in meeting him and was able to make an appointment to see him. He was most expansive and informative and presented me with many helpful publications on the subject of Islamic banking. One of the leading theoreticians on the question of Islamic banking and social development, he had a more ideological approach to Islamic banking than did many of the persons working in Islamic banks, who were primarily concerned with practical implementation of Islamic principles in the day to day operations of the banks.

Alan Mackie, a correspondent for the Middle East Economic Digest and the Financial Times to whom I had been directed by Chris Monroe of the Embassy, was also prepared to discuss my work and offer his help. It was he who finally arranged a meeting with Dr. Ahmad Hegazy, the former Prime Minister who was later the first Chairman of the Nasser Social Bank and is now concerned with Islamic banking and developing an auditing system suitable for operations of Islamic banks. Due to many mishaps I did not manage to see him

until the day before my departure. Dr. Hegazy was most patient and forthcoming, providing me with valuable materials on questions of law reforms affecting the role of Islamic law and Islamic institutions--such as Islamic banks--in Egypt. I regret that it did not prove feasible to arrange a meeting at an earlier date.

On the basis of correspondence that I had had during the previous year I initiated contacts with Muhammad Kamel of the Islamic Investment Company. His company works closely with the Islamic banks both in Egypt and Europe, and his brother had written to me in 1979 regarding my article on Islamic banking. He and I had a wide ranging discussion relating to Islamic banking, its origins, and its future.

Thus, by the end of my stay I had met with everyone in Egypt in the highest echelons of the Islamic banking movement. They all seemed genuinely pleased at my interest in their activities and were generally eager to assist my research.

To balance my information on the Islamic banks, I felt it was crucial for me to get an understanding of the banking system in Egypt as a whole, including the informal as well as formal institutions.

Through my Embassy contacts I was able to get introductions to a number of well informed people. Drs. Asad and Nawal Nadim of the American University had useful insights into the operations of informal systems of credit. Richard Schulz of the Bank of America and Ahmad Fuda of Morgan Stanley explained many facets of the extension of credit by secular banks in Egypt. Through Beth Schulz, the wife of one of my ARCE colleagues, I got a particularly valuable introduction to Dr. Nazih Dayf, the President of the new Watany Bank. A former minister in the Government and a person with an outstanding grasp of economic policy and the role of credit, Dr. Dayf was able to help me understand some of the intricacies of the linkages between political and economic policy and the system of credit. He also did me the great favor of introducing me to his general manager, Kamal al-Mu'awad, who was formerly in charge of credit policy for the Central Bank of Egypt and is intimately acquainted with the details of the regime of credit affecting Egypt's secular banking institutions. Mr. Mu'awad was extraordinarily patient in instructing me in aspects of the banking system over the course of many discussions. The information that I got from him was crucial in putting things in perspective.

I think that the interviewing on the whole went well, although it did turn out on many occasions to be enormously time consuming and sometimes involved considerable frustrations and delays. I was extremely lucky to have found a flat in the ARCE building, because I was within walking distance of all the institutions that I needed to visit with the exception of the Headquarters of the International Federation of Islamic Banks in Heliopolis. Given the difficulty that I experienced this summer getting taxis and the fact that many appointments were postponed or cancelled, being able

to walk back and forth from my flat to the banks limited somewhat the amount of time that needed to be wasted when things did not go as planned. In addition, it turned out to be crucial to have a functioning telephone. Many interviews were arranged via telephone, and had I not had the use of one, many of the appointments that I was able to make would have been almost impossible to arrange. It was essential for people to be able to contact me regarding their frequently revised schedules.

I did not take notes or make tapes during interviews, but I recorded my recollections of the important comments made by my interviewees after each interview. My impression was that to do otherwise would have inhibited the freedom of the discussions that I had in addition to slowing them down. As it was, I was sometimes startled--as well as gratified--by the candor of the comments that were made.

As it happened, all of the people I met had outstanding English language ability. Therefore, discussions were in English rather than in Arabic, my conversational Arabic having gone rusty over a long period of disuse. Of course, this had the disadvantage that I did not get a chance to practice much spoken Arabic in order to bring it back up to par. However, the project could not have been undertaken successfully by someone who could not read Arabic. Very few of the materials on Islamic banking have been translated from Arabic into other languages, and a person who could not read the materials in Arabic could only have done a superficial study of the subject and would not have been able to get enough information to prepare for interviews by developing questions and identifying issues that needed to be explored. I found in the first weeks that I encountered terminology that was technical and unfamiliar, so that reading Arabic on banking required me to expand my vocabulary, which initially made reading much slower than usual.

For a topic as contemporary as mine it was valuable to be in Cairo to be able to read newspapers and magazines so as to keep abreast of developments as they occurred, and I found that "al-Ahram" and periodicals like "al-Ahram al-iqtisadi" and "Ruz al-Yusuf" frequently carried articles with implications for my research. It was also important to have the resources of Cairo's numerous bookstores available. Many new writings have come out recently in Egypt on the subject of Islamic economics. When these works were mentioned in my interview, I was able to go out and purchase them and investigate what had been said on various topics. I was most grateful for the kindness and efficiency of the people in the Cairo office of the Library of Congress in helping me get my acquisitions sent off to the U.S., and for the generous assistance of Dr. Douglas Nicol in particular. I now have a respectable collection of books and magazines on Islamic banking and Islamic economics that will be of great help to me as I pursue this topic, which I intend to do for at least another year. My collections of both published and unpublished written sources includes historical studies on the development of Islamic banks, the statutes of the banks with their authoritative

commentaries, secular banking laws, surveys and evaluations of Egyptian banking institutions and credit policies, copies of speeches delivered by various banking officials, technical studies regarding the practical aspects of the operations of Islamic banks, and theoretical treatises on Islamic economics and Islamic banking. In addition to sources dealing with Islamic banking in Egypt, I have some material on Islamic banks in other Middle Eastern countries.

I feel very fortunate to have had the opportunity to have conducted this research on Islamic banking in Egypt. As it happened, the work went smoothly enough from the beginning that I did not need to ask for special assistance from the ARCE staff. However, in the numerous routine minor problems that arose over the three months that I spent in Cairo, the ARCE staff was unfailingly helpful. I would like to thank ARCE both for the fellowship and for the assistance and friendship that I encountered in the ARCE office in Cairo.

Ann E. Mayer  
ARCE Fellow, 1980

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## EGYPT'S ROYAL ARCHIVES, 1922-1952

Students of Egypt's thirty-year experience of constitutional monarchy have shared little in the discovery and exploration of Egyptian archives. Partly responsible is that brand of politics which fuses even the distant past with the present and has kept most of this century's Egyptian state papers from public scrutiny. The study of Egyptian history from 1922 to 1952 is characterized by an enduring reliance upon published materials and the holdings of Great Britain's Public Records Office.

A recent departure from this restrictive records policy is the willingness of Egyptian authorities to open the royal archives of Kings Fu'ād and Fārūq to visiting scholars. I can only venture a tentative account of this collection's origins. In 1922, following the transformation of Egypt from protectorate to independent state under a constitutional monarch, the newly-formed dīwān al-malik established a new repository for documents. The first few files were devoted to King Fu'ād and the metamorphosis of 1922; by the eve of the July 1952 revolution, the collection had grown to incorporate perhaps as many as 8,000 dossiers.

With the overthrow of the monarchy, the royal archives were seized and put at the disposal of the Presidency of the Republic. It is telling that the republican regime chose to withhold the records of the discredited monarchy and avoid their transfer to the National Archives. Renamed Maḥfūzāt Ri'āsat al-Jumhūriyya, the collection was long housed at Qaṣr al-Qubbah; only recently were the documents moved to their present quarters at Qaṣr ʿAbdīn (Qaṣr al-Jumhūriyya). I was told that a handful of Egyptian historians make use of the collection here, but I did not meet any, and the royal archives are not mentioned in accounts of Cairene research facilities. If the current chief archivist's memory is not to be faulted, I was the first non-Egyptian to seek and obtain a permit for research.

This rich and varied collection is unrivaled as a primary source for the events of three transitional decades. Not unlike the Yildiz archives of Abdulhamit II,<sup>1</sup> Egypt's royal collection in-



corporates a variety of materials intended to alert the wary ruler to changing tides. The affairs of the royal family enjoyed priority at the dīwān, reflected in the accumulation of much information on the political and economic fortunes of Egyptian royalty. But hardly less attention was paid to the activities of rivals: the major and minor political parties (the Wafd, Liberal Constitutionalists, Ikhwān, Miṣr al-Fatāt, the Communists and others). Official appointments and the repeated rise and fall of governments were appraised; domestic intelligence provided numerous files on personalities (shakhsiyyāt), both Egyptian and foreign, and on important families. Dossiers treated companies and trade unions; disorders, strikes, assassinations, trials and other singular episodes also warranted extensive investigation. al-Azhar and Islamic affairs at home and abroad drew the regular attention of the dīwān. Economic policy, finance, the development of transportation, industrial capacity, land ownership, and the Suez Canal were all the subjects of dossiers. So, too, were the mixed courts and minority communities (Coptic, Jewish and foreign), and provincial affairs were assessed in intelligence reports from the field. Here were filed the memoranda of the secret police (al-būlīs al-makhsūs) on a wide range of suspect political activities. In addition to the usual correspondence, reports and minutes, many files contain rare pamphlets, handbills and photographs. In sum, there are few aspects of domestic Egyptian affairs for which these archives do not represent an indispensable source.

The significance of the collection does not end here. The Egyptian Foreign Ministry throughout this period forwarded to the royal dīwān copies of most incoming and outgoing dispatches, and the archives shed light on every facet of Egyptian foreign policy. Relations with the European powers (particularly Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy) are the subject of several hundred files of diplomatic correspondence and secret reports. Treaty negotiations (especially with Great Britain) enjoy an obvious prominence. Also documented are Egypt's relations with Middle Eastern states and peoples, and the creation and early activities of the Arab League. I cite but two files as examples of this material:

File 1791: Taqārīr al-sifāra al-misriyya fī London (Memoranda of the Egyptian Embassy in London) subsumes at least 19 subfiles, some running into hundreds of pages.

File 1291: al-mas'ala al-filastīniyya (the Palestine question) includes some 23 subfiles for the years 1937-1952, mostly dispatches from Egypt's consul in Jerusalem and Egyptian representatives in Western and Arab capitals.

A serviceable if rudimentary card index--handwritten in Arabic, alphabetical by topic--provides the key to these materials. All files

are topical and many trace their subjects through several decades so that it is possible to follow protracted developments with relative ease. The beginnings of a system of cross-indexing can be discerned and a more comprehensive index is planned for the future. The director charged with supervision of this collection has authored one of the few Arabic works on the organization and management of archives, and Mahfūzat Ri'āsat al-Jumhūriyya may be counted among Egypt's best organized archival collections.

The procedure for securing permission to use the royal archives was rather vexatious, as is the case with all major Egyptian collections. A personal letter was submitted to the ra'īs dīwān ra'īs al-jumhūriyya; the letter's text was drafted in consultation with the chief archivist, Mr. Abū'l-Futūḥ Ḥāmid Ḥawdah (office phone 911-189). It was my experience that one may see all related documents which predate the 1952 revolution, but if a research topic is rejected as unsuitable, the historian will not be permitted to consult any materials at all. To expand or alter one's research topic in midstream, one must submit a new application.\*

Once admitted, the visiting historian will find a competent staff to assist in the selection and retrieval of files. One should not make excessive demands upon their time. The principal task of those employed here is the management of the Presidency's current records, and they serve the historian as a favor rather than as a duty. Nor are there any facilities for researchers, and not so much as a table is set aside for reading. Perhaps facilities will be improved once historians begin to make use of the collection in some numbers. Those who do will be well rewarded, for no other source speaks to us from this past era with a comparable authority or intimacy.

<sup>1</sup>See S.J. Shaw, "The Yildiz Palace Archives of Abūdlhamit II," Archivum Ottomanicum, iii (1971), 211-37. Perhaps Egyptian authorities will permit the compilation of an equally informative article on the holdings at Ḥabdin.

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\*Subsequent to Martin Kramer's entry into and use of these archives, two ARCE fellows failed to gain admittance despite persistent attempts. We are therefore now under the impression that the Egyptian authorities do not wish to encourage their use by historians  
- Ed.

## ABBAS HILMI II PAPERS

### Introduction

These are the personal papers of Abbas Hilmi II, which were in the possession of his family until 1980 when they were deposited on loan to the University of Durham by the Mohamed Ali Foundation. They are housed with the Sudan Archive in the Oriental Section of the University Library. Abbas Hilmi II, the great-great-great grandson of Mohamed Ali, was born on 14th July 1874 and succeeded his father, Muhammad Taufiq Pasha, as Khedive in 1892. The papers cover the period of Abbas Hilmi II's Khedivate 1892-1914 and extend after his deposition in December 1914 until his death on 21st December 1944 at Geneva.

The papers are arranged in three sections:

#### A. Official, Political and Diplomatic

This section contains correspondence on Egyptian internal affairs - political, social and economic - the British in Egypt and the Sudan, Egypt's relations with Britain, Turkey and the rest of Europe, the Khedive's relations with other royalty and his deposition. The papers reflect Abbas Hilmi II's involvement with the Egyptian nationalist movement and his conflict with British administrators. After 1914 they show his continued interest in Egyptian and European politics.

#### B. Estates, Business Interests, Finances and Property

These files contain correspondence, reports and accounts relating to Abbas Hilmi II's estates, property, business interests and investments. They show his endeavours to improve his estates, and, during his exile, to recover his sequestered property.

#### C. Personal

This section includes letters from Abbas Hilmi II's family and friends, from those in diplomatic circles, representatives of the Churches and authors, concerning personal matters, khedival patronage, and his European travels. Photographs of Abbas Hilmi II are also in-

cluded.

The papers, written in French, Arabic, German, English and Ottoman Turkish comprise some 326 files and about 140 pamphlets. The files mainly consist of correspondence written to Abbas Hilmi II and are arranged and listed chronologically within each section as far as possible. Microfilms of the papers are accessible to bona fide research workers who should make advance application to Keeper of Oriental Books stating the nature of their research, the use to which it will be put and enclosing a letter of recommendation (if appropriate) from their supervisor. Before granting access the University must be satisfied that the documents are needed as a serious and necessary source of information and research workers must sign a written agreement. A list of the Abbas Hilmi II papers is available, price 2 pounds. There is a separate list of the pamphlets. Requests for copies of lists and any further enquiries should be addressed to the Keeper of Oriental Books, University Library, Oriental Section, Elvet Hill, Durham, DH1 3TH, England.

## SALAMAH MUSA AND SOCIAL CRITICISM IN EGYPT

Salamah Musa was a member of that generation which came of age in Egypt during the decade preceding the first world war. He represented the current of thought that tried to develop a secular ideology for Egyptian polity and social relations, and indeed he was among the most radical and uncompromising secularists of the interwar period.

Musa's active career spanned the period 1908-58, and he was the publisher, editor, or staff writer for many of Egypt's most influential publications, including Al-Muqtatif, Al-Hilal, Al-Balagh, Al-Majalah al Jadidah, and Akhbar al-Yowm. He wrote about a wide variety of topics, including Egyptology, women's rights, evolution, eugenics, socialism, applied psychology and the social purpose of literature. In some of these subjects he was competent and instructive, and in others he was a dilettante; in all of them he was controversial. Yet in spite of his salient role in the fierce and occasionally vitriolic debates within the Egyptian intellectual life of the first half of this century, Musa is not well known in Western scholarship other than as an early representative of socialism in the Arab world, and as an advocate of a simpler, more readable vocabulary and syntax for the Arabic language. The literature on him is more extensive in the Arab world, albeit not greatly more helpful, for the treatment of his work has usually been merely a vehicle for advocating a particular point of view within the ongoing polemics of groups with different world views. A considerable body of literature appeared about him during the 1960's, soon after his death; after a hiatus of a decade he is being discussed again, most often by representatives of strident religious trends, who portray him to be the embodiment of all they reject.

Musa was engaged in journalism, but my project focuses upon the fact that he was an intellectual who used journalism as a vehicle to communicate his ideas. My interest is not in how consistent his ideas were, or even how original they were. Rather, I am interested in his career-as-intellectual. His whole career was the exercise of ideas to bring about change, and he wielded those ideas in

the polemical fashion so characteristic of intellectuals who, as he did, trace their heritages from the Sophists. The purpose of his work was to change his society, and I am concerned with what he did to effect that change both in his writings and in his attempts to implement his ideas in concrete ways. I am examining him as a humanist social critic within a society which as yet had not developed a tradition of social criticism upon which he could draw.

My research in Cairo for 1979-80 assumed the form of library research and interviews. I owe a great debt to the staffs of several libraries for their assistance, including those of the national library (Dar al-Kutub), the Arab League, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the Egyptian Institute for Scientific Culture, the American University in Cairo, Al-Ahram, Dar al-Akhbar, and Dar al-Hilal; special thanks is due Father G.C. Anawati, who was of particular help. I interviewed over sixty persons who had known Musa or who were influenced by his writings, or who were in a position to know something about his activities at a given period. The time span that I was able to encompass in this fashion was a pleasant surprise, as I found people who had known Musa at one time or another for the complete period from 1917 until his death in 1958.

My research in Cairo opened up several topics which will be useful to explore for their bearing on the problem of how this particular intellectual worked out his relationship to his culture. One of these is that for several years after 1929 Musa was embroiled in a bitter quarrel with the Syrian-Egyptian families that controlled Egypt's press. Musa interpreted this struggle as part of his nationalist campaign to fight "foreign" control of Egypt's economy, but the rancor of the exchange, and the fact that the "Syrians" were Egyptian residents, made the engagement appear to many contemporaries to be a personal vendetta against Musa's former employers. The episode nevertheless reveals much about the mass media of the period and of its influence on the type of literary culture which developed. Another important discovery was that Musa was on the editorial staff of the primary Coptic newspaper during the period 1942-52, and wrote several provocative, sectarian articles defending the Coptic community and attacking Muslims. His work in this period is a glaring anomaly in the career of a man who sought to transcend such sectarian divisiveness, and demands explanation in terms of the political pressures on Musa as an individual and the growing communal divisions within Egypt at the time.

Other fertile issues include Musa's use of the YMCA as a non-sectarian channel for expression of his political views at a time when he was denied access to the press; and his increasing radicalization after the 1952 revolution, marked by a growing aversion to the European civilization that he had long adored and whose virtues he had proclaimed.

I am developing my study with the information that I gained



from the Cairo research and from other sources, including Musa's fifty-odd books, the writings of the scholars and literati who influenced him, data on the changing cultural and economic face of Egypt in the twentieth century, and theoretical studies of how intellectuals function within their societies. Musa, as a Fabian (he had joined that society while studying in England), was convinced that ideas could indeed change society, and he may have been the first genuine social critic in his country. His work had a hostile reception from every regime up to 1952, and he was the bête noire especially of Ismail Sidqi, but he had a great influence on a generation of intellectuals who to this day express their debt to him for awakening them to the world of critical thought.

I am framing the study by showing how the features of his career fit into the culture of his time. Another task is to analyze the relationship of heterodoxy in the intellectual field to that in the political and social field--that is, to see to what extent, and how, attacks on religious and other traditions were perceived to be attacks on the ruling class itself, which derived its power and legitimacy from the established order. Since any change in conceptual schemes would require a change in social structure, challenges to tradition could not be tolerated. Finally, the apparent clash of ideas--religious vs. secular/scientific--needs to be examined as a struggle for control of education and as a clash of social status between the clergy and a newly established scientific-professional stratum which sought legitimacy by challenging the existence of certain institutions and by seeking to control others.

For this study to succeed it will have to treat two major problems. The first is to make meaningful the intellectual history of twentieth-century Egypt against the background of the country's socio-economic development, and the second is a rigorous analysis of the meaning of secularism in the Egyptian context. Neither of these tasks has been done adequately before; the data and conceptual elements are now available at least to make a beginning in that direction.

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