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*Cover: SCARAB OF AMENOPHIS III. Dynasty XVIII. Glazed steatite. Length 5 cm  
City of Detroit Purchase. Acc. No. 30.373.*

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*This is the third in a series of feature articles on museum collections.*

## EGYPTIAN ART AT THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

The collections of Egyptian Art in Detroit had their beginnings in the last decades of the nineteenth century with the donation of a large accumulation of Near Eastern objects to the then Detroit Museum of Art by Frederick Stearns, a local pharmaceutical manufacturer. Mr. Stearns had travelled in Europe, the Near East and the Far East, and was responsible for the mummies, mummy cases, amulets, scarabs, shawabtis and other artifacts which were to become the basis of the Egyptian collections. Much of what Stearns gave to the museum was of, frankly, tourists' interest but a good proportion of it has remained on display or has been rediscovered in the storage of the present Detroit Institute of Arts.

Serious collecting in the arts of Ancient Egypt began with the directorship of William Valentiner, the well known German art historian who joined the museum staff in the early 1920's. Among his first acquisitions were a fine mummy portrait and a relief fragment from Memphis of the post-Amarna period, then called a "fragment from the tomb of Akhenaten at Tel el Amarna". At the end of that decade Valentiner saw fit to retain Howard Carter as an agent for the museum and through Carter's efforts a major Old Kingdom relief from a Saqqara mastaba entered the collection. Carter was also responsible at that time for the acquisition of a quartzite bust of Dynasty Twelve and an important faience scarab of Amenophis III. At the time of his death, his estate settled accounts with the museum with the gift of two fine Late Period heads and a Hellenistic faience cinerary urn. The relationship of Carter to the Institute of Arts has been examined in an article in JSSEA XI, No. 2, 1981, pp. 65-67.

The depression and the decade of the thirties were times when little was added to the Egyptian collections but the years immediately after the war saw a renewed interest in filling gaps in the representation of Egyptian art. A standing statue of Sebek-em-het, later published as a "Votary of Seth" by W. Kelley Simpson, and dated to the end of Dynasty Twelve or the beginning of Dynasty Thirteen was acquired as was a Dynasty Five relief of a man named Ka-aper, unfortunately not the famous man of the same name in the Cairo Museum--the so-called Sheik el Beled, but still a fine example in relief of the deceased before the funerary table.

The sixties brought a further interest in the augmentation of the ancient collections with the beginning of the expansion of the whole museum. From 1927 to 1965 the material from the Near Eastern and Classical world had been housed in three small

galleries, but with the addition of two new wings opened in 1966 and 1970, Ancient Art was expanded to eleven rooms and areas with considerable space for the display of the collections.

In 1968 the first specialized curator for the newly formed Department of Ancient Art was appointed and a concerted attempt was started to round out the collections by purchase and gift. Notable in the material acquired at that time are a painted coffin wall of Dynasty Eleven from the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavations at Deir el Bahri and a nearly complete chapel wall from the Mastaba of Mery-nesut excavated by the Harvard-Boston expedition at Giza.

The Egyptian collections, as now constituted, include representative objects from all periods in Egyptian history. Pre-dynastic pottery and stone tools came from the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Abadiyeh and from the Stearns collection. Old Kingdom relief includes the chapel wall, the offering relief of Ka-aper, the scene of herdsmen and fishermen acquired for the museum by Carter and a fragment of an offering pile with ducks and geese in relief. A seated statue of a man of Dynasty Five date is the sole example of Old Kingdom sculpture in the round. For the Middle Kingdom, in addition to the painted coffin wall, and a wooden model boat, there are five small statues and a Dynasty Twelve relief of a seated man before his offering table. From the First Intermediate Period there are some fragments of inscriptions from the EEF excavations at Dendera but for the Second Intermediate Period the collection can only show Hyksos scarabs and Tell el Yehudia ware pottery. The sculpture of the New Kingdom is represented by a limestone head and a quartzite bust from Dynasty Eighteen, an especially fine small statuette of a seated scribe from late in the reign of Amenophis III, a Hermopolis relief of the time of Akhenaten depicting one of his daughters, a late Dynasty Eighteen Memphite relief mentioned above, and a relief fragment of Ramesses II offering incense. The decorative arts of the New Kingdom include vessels in stone and bronze and other minor arts.

The collection is especially rich in material from the Third Intermediate Period and the Late Period, with a stela of the former depicting a man before Amun, Ptah and Bast, the two Late Period heads from the Carter collection and a standing statue of Pakhom of Dendera which is well known in Egyptological literature.

The Roman Period is best represented by the mummy portrait which came into the collection in the twenties. Coptic art includes about forty pieces of textile, including several which are well published, as well as a number of examples of Coptic minor arts.

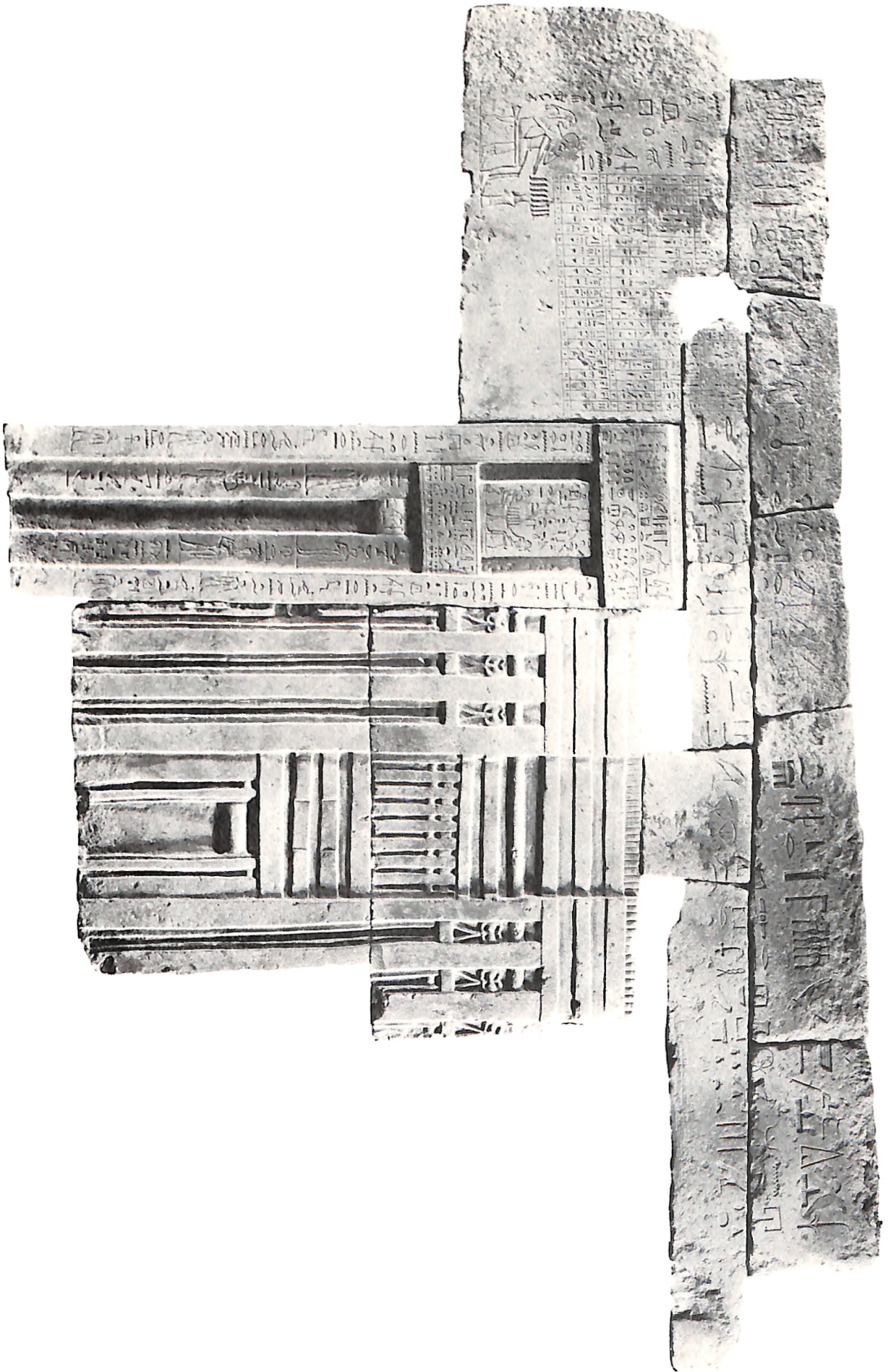
In listing the highlights of the collection, it is difficult to suggest the depth included in what is shown in the galleries and what is maintained in reserves. There are a number

of objects, as in any museum, which cannot be on view but deserve to be seen by students and scholars. These are made available whenever possible by the department to interested individuals. Two publications which describe the collections are:

"The Present State of Egyptian Art in Detroit" in Connoisseur magazine, December, 1970, pp. 265-273.

"Ancient Art in Detroit" in Archaeology magazine, May/June, 1973.

William H. Peck  
Curator of Ancient  
Art  
The Detroit Institute  
of Arts



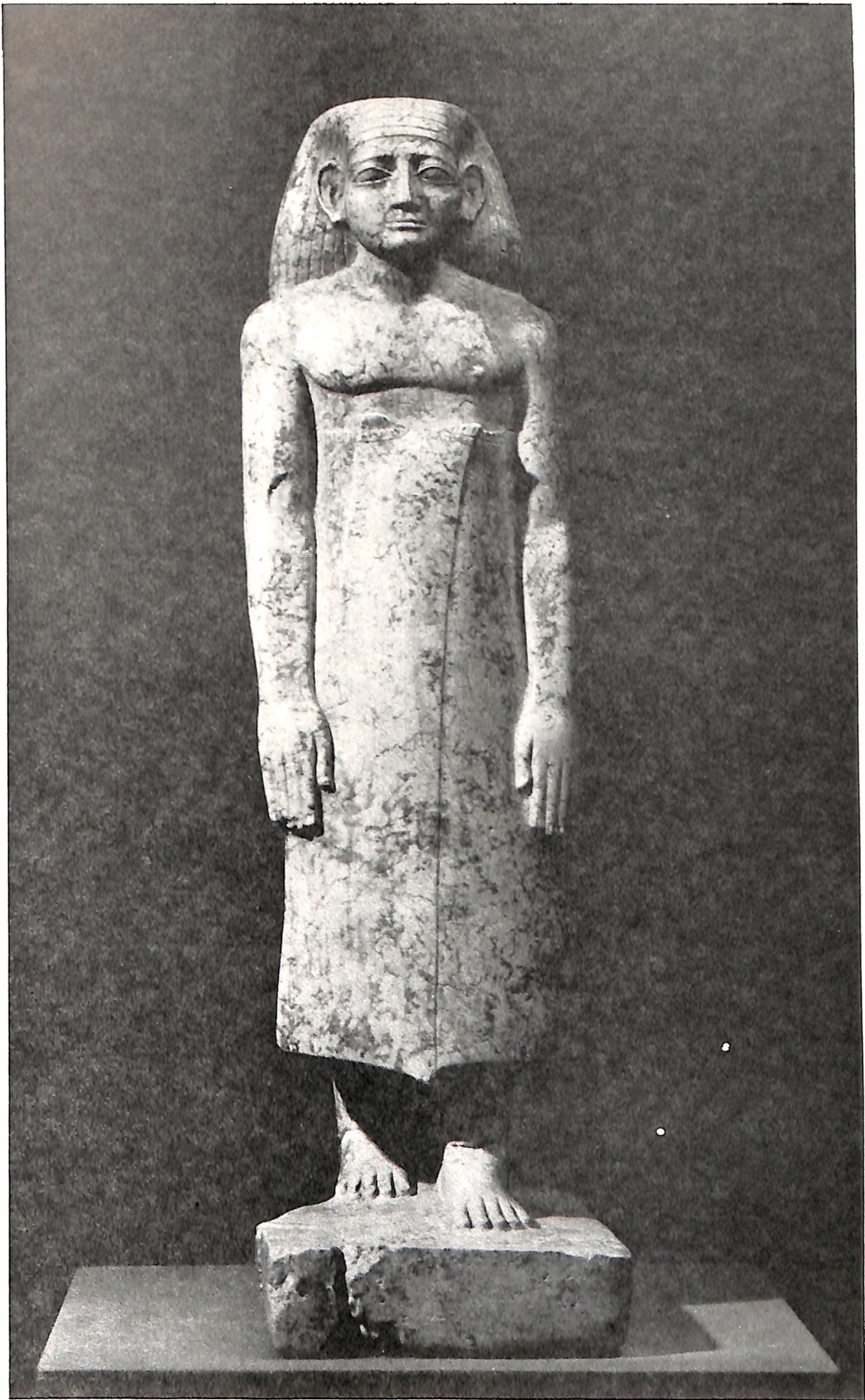
*CHAPEL WALL OF MERY-NESTU. Dynasty V. From tomb G 1301 at Giza. Limestone. Height 1.86 m., width 2.92 m. Founders Society Purchase, gift of the McGregor Fund. Acc. No. 71.292.*





*OFFERING RELIEF OF KA-APER. Dynasty V. From Saqqara. Painted limestone. Height 50.5 cm, width 62 cm. Founders Society Purchase, Hill Fund. Acc. No. 57.58.*





*STATUE OF THE PHYLE LEADER, SEBEK-EM-HET. Late Dynasty XII-Early Dynasty XIII. From Heliopolis. Indurated limestone. Height 48 cm., Founders Society Purchase, Hill Fund. Acc. No. 51.276.*





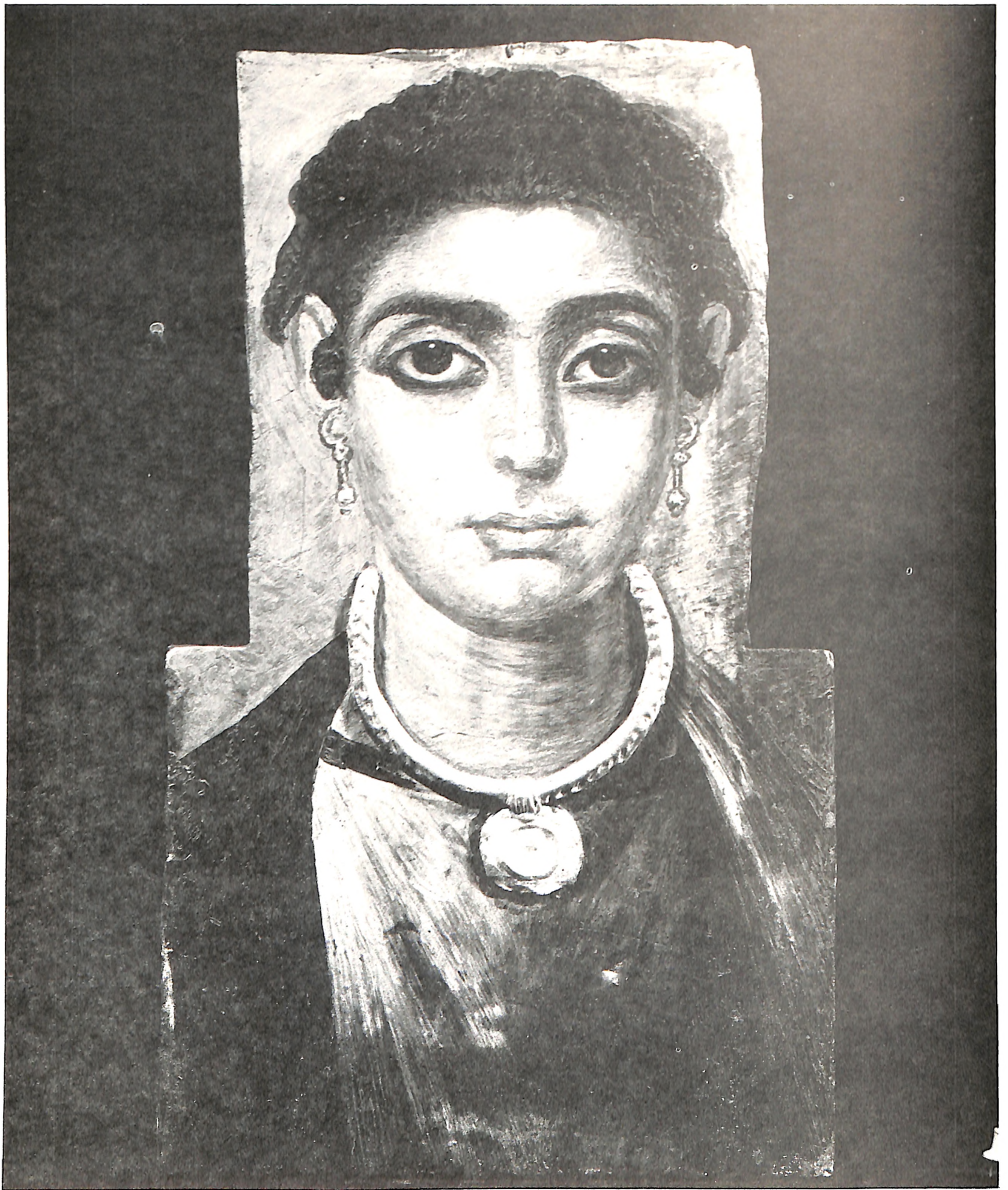
*RELIEF OF FEMALE MOURNERS AND FUNERARY OFFERINGS. Late Dynasty XVIII-Early Dynasty XIX. From Saqqara. Limestone. Height 52.7 cm., width 26.6 cm. City of Detroit Purchase. Acc. No. 24.98.*





*OSIRIPHOROUS STATUE OF HEREFER-NEITH. Dynasty XXVI. Granite. Height 30.5 cm. Founders Society Purchase, Matilda R. Wilson Fund. Acc. No. 73.170.*





*MUMMY PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN. Second century A.D. Encaustic on panel with gilt gesso additions. Height 44.5 cm., width 24.7 cm. Gift of Julius H. Haass. Acc. No. 25.2.*



## CANT AND ARGOT IN CAIRO COLLOQUIAL ARABIC

I first became aware of the phenomenon of 'cant' or 'argot' (the terminology is imprecise and not standardized) in the colloquial Arabic of Cairo in 1973-74, while working on the Arabic Lexicography Project at the American University in Cairo, under the direction of Martin Hinds and El Said Badawi. At that time I was informed of the existence of a number of lexical items which were restricted in both use and comprehensibility to members of certain social groups, mostly of low status, such as thieves, prostitutes, and homosexuals. Fascinating as this material was, it was difficult to collect, for obvious reasons; and it was even more difficult to determine to what extent it might be restricted to very small groups which had agreed upon it as a sort of 'secret language' and thus likely to prove both ad hoc and ephemeral. My interest was further piqued, however, when I discovered from C. E. Bosworth's The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld (1976) that a few of the terms I had heard were to be found in Şaffî al-Dîn al-Ḥillî's (d. c. 1349) Qaṣîda Sâsânîya, as well as the even earlier Qaṣîda Sâsânîya of Abû Dulaf al-Khazrajî (fl. mid-tenth century), among the underworld jargon terms with which both poems are replete. After some further investigations into the (quite meager) scholarly literature on specifically Egyptian argot, I returned to Cairo on an ARCE fellowship for the academic year 1980-81 to conduct research into the contemporary status of this sort of language and to collect as much of the jargon vocabulary currently in use as possible.

On the basis of what information I already had, I had formulated a number of criteria for delimiting the kind of vocabulary I was after, although I could not yet determine how these criteria were in fact related to each other. First, I was interested in words which would be incomprehensible to the vast majority of the inhabitants of Cairo. Second, from this broad category I wished to exclude terms invented by small cliques of friends as private languages, a well-known phenomenon particularly prevalent among young people. I could best weed out this sort of thing by checking to see if the words I collected were known by various individuals not in mutual contact; if, in addition, a word persisted in turning up among individuals unknown to each other but all identifiable as members of a socially definable group, I could with some confidence consider the word as part of an 'argot' of that group. To the extent I was able to find evidence in written sources for the persistence of such words, I had further confirmation of the stability of such argots.

These criteria would, however, restrict me to 'argots' only in the broadest sense of the word, and in particular, would not

exclude the numerous technical argots of various professions. This would still be a vast field, and I was not particularly interested in collecting all the technical terms used by electricians or tarboosh-makers. Thus, I had to consider two other factors in restricting my field of research. First, while I did not want to rule out technical terms altogether, I was mainly concerned with argots that included terms for everyday things, that is, jargon words which were used as deliberate substitutes for standard, readily comprehensible vocabulary. And, related to this, I wanted to concentrate on the use of jargon by speakers consciously motivated by the desire to communicate with members of their group without being understood by outsiders. Such a desire would usually be prompted by practical considerations, but theoretical discussions had also alerted me to the importance of more intangible motivations such as the reinforcement of group solidarity.

As for methodology, I was convinced that the only way to collect this material effectively, with some hope of observing its social context, was to come into contact with speakers of argot and learn it from them, despite the obvious difficulties this entailed. While any written materials dealing with the subject would be of great interest, particularly for investigating the history of the phenomenon, these were sure to be exiguous, first and foremost because these argots are by definition incomprehensible to the general public and would be rarely used by a writer of any sort without glossing. My first task, then, was to find people who used argot.

This proved to be both simpler and more difficult than I had anticipated. As a foreigner, fluent in Egyptian Arabic, I was probably able to move with greater ease through baladi Cairo than many members of the Egyptian elite. Individuals who knew at least some argot were not difficult to find, and my task was further facilitated by the discovery that the most fertile areas for argot were not, as I had expected, among the very lowest strata of society--specifically, thieves and prostitutes--but rather among the more accessible circles of baladi musicians and street entertainers, homosexuals (a particularly interesting group, as its membership cuts across all levels of society, from the lowest to the highest), and goldsmiths and other craftsmen of the Khan al-Khalili and adjacent areas in the old city. The principal unanticipated difficulty which I encountered was that, while appropriate individuals were not so hard to find, getting them actually to talk about their argot was often extremely frustrating, not so much because they wished to keep it secret from me as because I could only meet such people in a thoroughly social context and they quickly became bored with the subject and could not be brought back to it. In a few cases, I was able to arrange formal interviews, for pay, which were extremely productive; but I could only follow this method to a limited extent, particularly because some of my potentially most interesting contacts were, naturally, interested in me only insofar as they could exploit me, and I

was siim/siin. It was this term which I usually employed to explain to people what I was studying, although I had to adjust my speech to the social class of the person I was addressing: many elite speakers are unfamiliar with the term altogether (although it is not itself an argot word), while among those knowing the word there is a remarkably sharp division along class lines in both use and comprehension of its two variants. More educated speakers say siim and are puzzled by siin, while the reverse is the case for the less educated, and particularly those of the latter who live east of Port Said Street. I met only one speaker who recognized both variants--a well-educated silversmith who works in the heart of the Khan al-Khalili. (This split in comprehensibility seems to me to be typical of a general phenomenon of vocabulary distribution in the city, even leaving aside the question of argot; specifically, there seems to be a fairly large vocabulary exclusive to what would be perceived as the 'extremely baladi' portion of the traditional urban population.) A siim (or siin) is the specialized vocabulary of a given group; as with lughā, one hears of siim ilfannaniin, ilmarakbiyya, innashshaliin, etc. Siim also describes the kind of private languages agreed upon by, e.g., secondary-school friends, which I was concerned to weed out of my collecting: 'luhum siim' (but not lughā). And, especially in the area of the Khan al-Khalili, words are sometimes identified simply as belonging to 'luḡt issiin', that is, one of the fully-developed and semi-secret argots.

My collection of words breaks down into a number of more or less differentiated siims (I never heard an Arabic plural for this word). The two most sharply defined, most stable, and certainly oldest of these are the argots of the gold- and silversmiths, and of street musicians and entertainers. The former, most often referred to as siim issaagha, siim ittuggaar (specifically the cloth-merchants of the Hamzawi), or siim khaan ilkhaliili, is based largely, but not entirely, on Hebrew. Besides such terms as yaafit, 'good, rich, in a buying mood, sexy, etc.', it includes a full number system (ḥamishsha, 'five'; shimunya, 'eight'), which, however, diverges from Hebrew where the two languages are too close: kawatriin, 'forty'. As with several other argots, there is a standard high-frequency phrase which is invariably trotted out as an example when the subject arises--in this case, haat iggaft, where the customer is expected to assume that gaft is some specialized tool of the trade, whereas the expression in fact is a warning to the person addressed that he is being indiscreet in front of the customer and should be silent. (Similarly, haat shaay min <sup>c</sup>and abu ya<sup>c</sup>uub means 'don't bring tea'.) Parts of this argot are in use elsewhere in the Middle East as well, as is clear from a comparison with a short list of argot terms among Christian goldsmiths and jewellers in Damascus published by M. Barbot in 1974, which overlaps in part with my Egyptian findings. Gaft does not appear in Barbot's list, but must be quite old, as it is surely related to the jargon verb jaffata, 'to hide', which



occurs three times in Şafî al-Dîn's fourteenth-century poem. Although still very much identified specifically with the saagha, this argot seems to have spread in relatively recent times to other craftsmen and merchants of the Khan al-Khalili, as well as to the drapers of the Hamzawi (who nevertheless have some terms of their own, including the very recent arnab 'one million Egyptian pounds', whose appearance among the post-infitâh nouveau riche has been commented on in the media). I had difficulty in trying to determine to what extent the drapers can be considered to have an argot of their own; but an even more difficult task was to separate out this expanded Khan al-Khalili argot from the distinct, but non-secret, slang of the area, usually identified to me as 'baladi 'awi laakin mis siin'; the true center of the latter seems to be less the Khan than the adjacent quarter of al-Bâṭinîya (locally, ilbaṭliyya), and to overlap in turn with some criminal argot.

The second fully-developed, stable, old argot I found is that of musicians and street entertainers generally, most often identified as siim ilfannaniin, but also as siim il<sup>C</sup>awaalim, bituu<sup>C</sup> ilmalaahi, ilmumassiliin, etc. It is this argot which has to date received the greatest attention in scholarly literature. In particular, P. Kahle published an article in 1926 in which he gave a list of ninety-five argot terms he had learned from a Cairo shadow-play (khiyaal idḡill) artist, and compared them with earlier lists of 'Rotwälsch' or 'gypsy' words compiled by Newbold (1856), von Kremer (1863), and, depending on these two, Littmann (1920). Kahle's list was in fact the starting-point for my own investigations; and although I failed to find any shadow-play artists in Cairo (the art is dying or dead, and the one Karagöz artist I managed to locate professed to be entirely ignorant of the argot, for reasons I do not know), I quickly encountered the argot itself among the musicians who congregate in the coffeehouses of Muhammad Ali Street and the Ḥarat al-<sup>C</sup>Awalim. My major source for this argot was in fact a group of musicians and hangers-on who frequent the Qahwat al-Tigâra in Muhammad Ali. Many--perhaps half--of Kahle's terms seem to be archaic or obsolete now, but I found a correspondingly large number of terms belonging to the same complex which he did not record; some of these he probably knew but omitted because they are obscene, many he simply did not encounter, and a few have probably become established since his collecting. This argot was probably never more specific to shadow-play artists than to traditional entertainers in general, and in its contemporary manifestation seems to be shared by all the various entertainers who perform at moulids, as well as the singers, dancers, and musicians employed for weddings; since the social status of musicians has changed radically in the twentieth century, under Western influence, knowledge, if not use, of the argot goes fairly far up the social scale in musical circles as well. Historically, its connections with the gypsies, and the indubitable Romany etymologies of some of its terms (pointed out by Littmann), probably provide a link between an original Rotwälsch character and its present locus in entertainment circles.

This would be supported by the manifold connections between it and the true Rotwälsch (of beggars and thieves) to be found in the jargon poems of Abū Dulaf and Şafī al-Dīn. Both the latter, for example, have bashbāsha with the meaning 'beard'; Kahle (but not his three predecessors) has bishbāsha, with the same meaning; currently, bishbaash is used to mean 'mustache'. Another example, this one clearly an Arabic word, is Şafī al-Dīn's use of amr as a reflexive, as in shallaftu barghāshāti 'amrī, 'I have damaged my own ears' (shallif still exists, but barghāshāt apparently does not). Kahle defines amrī as either 'ich' or equivalent to ḥandī, and fī amrī as 'bei mir'. I found the word still used this way in the current argot, e.g., ilbarghal illi fi 'amrak shalaf, 'the man next to you is bad (broke, dangerous)'. (This term provides a nice contrast with Khan al-Khalili argot, where the same function is served by the word shall, clearly from Hebrew shel: iddafsh illi fi shallak ashfuur, 'the man next to you is bad'.) Still, the connection with street entertainment, and shadow-plays in particular, has probably always been there, to judge from the (few) occurrences of terms from this argot in the thirteenth-century shadow plays of Ibn Dāniyāl; one example is kaara, 'buttocks, anus', which, while common in contemporary argot, I have found attested in written sources only in Ibn Dāniyāl's Ṭayf al-khayāl and al-Shirbīnī's (seventeenth-century) Hazz al-quhūf. These terms predate the entry of gypsy words into the argot; at a yet later stage, presumably the late nineteenth century, it received an infusion of Italian terms, clearly borrowed from the commedia dell'arte troupes which frequently toured the country at that time. Some of these words have remained essentially undistorted, such as furti, 'hurry up', and saluti, 'leave-taking', while others have been somewhat Arabicized, such as amarooz, fem. amarooza, 'protagonist', from which we find the verb amriz, 'to play the lead'. It should be added that, despite earlier Rotwälsch connections, this argot has minimal overlap with criminal argot in contemporary Cairo.

Derived from a mixture of Khan al-Khalili and entertainers' argots are two important secondary argots, which have developed sufficiently in recent times to merit independent status. These are the siims of the khartiyya and the kawaniin. Khartiyya (sg. kharti) is an argot word, referring to men, usually but not always young, who pick up tourists in the streets of Cairo and profit from them, by means ranging from finding them hotel rooms (for a kickback) to buying them hashish to outright theft. The khartiyya are, naturally, concentrated in two areas, the Khan al-Khalili and neighboring quarters (especially the Ghuriya), and downtown (especially Talaat Harb Street). (I did not have the opportunity to look seriously into the branch operations around the Pyramids and in Luxor, although their siim can be heard in both places; and I do not know what the situation is in Alexandria.) While based mainly on Khan al-Khalili siim, the argot of the khartiyya contains a strong admixture of entertainers' siim, some criminal siim, and other words entirely their own; in

addition, they use a great deal of what I have referred to above as Khan al-Khalili slang. Their language is thus to a large extent a mishmash, yet there seems to be enough uniformity in vocabulary among them for it to merit status as a distinct argot.

In the case of the homosexuals, who call themselves kawaniin (itself, again, an argot word), there is no question that we are dealing with an independent, and highly developed, argot. As the siim ilkhartiyya is basically a variant of the siim issaagha, the siim ikkawaniin is derived from the siim ilfannaniin, again with borrowings from other argots and autonomous additions; but here the development has gone much further. The word kawaniin itself is of uncertain origin; I was repeatedly informed that it came from a term in the siim ilfannaniin meaning 'lies', but my fannaniin informants were unfamiliar with it, and I have found no evidence for it in Kahle's article or other written sources. Whatever its origin, it serves as a good example of how the terminology has been elaborated. Kawaniin is normally a plural, meaning 'homosexuals', but can be used as a singular, as in da kawaniin, 'he's a homosexual', or an abstract, as in biyi<sup>c</sup>milu kawaniin, 'they practice homosexual acts, they have sex'. A rarer singular form is kanuuna, 'a homosexual', and one also hears an abstract form kawnana, 'homosexuality', a verb ikkawnin, 'to participate in a homosexual act', and even an abstract adjective kawaniini ('Caawiz as'alak<sup>c</sup> an akhbaarak ikkawaniniyya'). It should be noted that kawaniin has no synonym in conventional Cairo Arabic, which always distinguishes between passive homosexuals (usually khawalaat) and active homosexuals (bituu<sup>c</sup> Ciyaal), who are assumed to be basically heterosexual; anyone who indulges in both activities is assumed to be primarily a khawal. This distinction is also important in the homosexual community itself, where kawaniin are divided into actives (sg. barghal, from the fannaniin word for 'man') and passives (sg. kudyana, meaning 'woman' in siim ilfannaniin; a synonym for the latter, dinyara, is retained by the kawaniin with its original meaning 'woman'). To indicate specifically that someone practices both roles, one refers to him as dublifaas or dabalfees, which is indicative of the significant proportion of French and English words that have entered the argot in recent times. Other examples of the latter include the intensive keel (keel 'ala, '[I was] so upset!'), from quel, and the fairly common synonym for kawaniin, gee (which has the disadvantage, however, of being widely understood by outsiders [naas 'ameeh]; we also have tiib (huwwa tiibi, 'he's my type'), pl. tibaat or atyaab, and sloo, 'romantic' (keel sloo!), apparently from the distinction in English between fast and slow dancing. While this argot is of course not geographically restricted in the city, there are certain areas where homosexuals tend to congregate, most notably Talaat Harb Street, especially its west side. (The khartiyya have some tendency to concentrate more on the east side of the street, and the interaction between the two groups is rather complex, but has certainly led to some mutual influence between the two argots, particularly in the

case of kawaniin who pick up tourists to have sex for money [biznis, pl. bazaanis].) In general, my impression is that the siim ikkawaniin is the richest and liveliest of the argots used in Cairo today, probably because of the degree to which it is used to reinforce group solidarity rather than simply to protect its speakers from comprehension by outsiders; it is certainly used a great deal even when no outsiders are present.

Compared to the above four argots, my knowledge of criminal argot is considerably less full. This is due in the first instance, obviously, to the comparative difficulty of finding suitable informants and actually acquiring the vocabulary; but I was also repeatedly struck by the apparent lack of stability and relative poverty of the jargon I was able to elicit even from presumably well-informed sources. A case in point is an interview I conducted with a reformed pickpocket (which was one of the few instances where I was permitted to record). This man, now a free-lance chauffeur and a pious Muslim, practiced pickpocketing for twenty-five years, and his memoirs were quite fascinating; yet he was able to provide me with no more than twenty argot terms, and further interviews with a young man recently returned from a stay in a reformatory, and a prison social worker, while confirming most of these terms, barely added to them. Some of these words are clearly of recent origin, such as baghbaghaan, 'transistor radio', and probably tirmisa, 'watch'; others look older, such as bazargi (aliter bizra), 'policeman, detective'. There seems also to be a fair amount of borrowing from other argots: for 'cheese it' we have gaft (from the saagha) and ameeh (from the fannaniin), as well as nishta and nahw, which I have not encountered elsewhere. Most of my informants identified the words they gave me as belonging either generally to 'thieves' argot' (siim ilharamiyya) or specifically to 'pickpockets' argot' (siim innashshaliin); the only other specific rubric I heard was 'conmen's argot' (siim issakka). Except for technical terms specific to the operations (pickpockets' ammin, 'to pat a pocket', or conmen's fardit shughl, 'gold-plated brass necklace'), these all seem to belong to a single argot. It is unfortunate that I was able to obtain only minimal and indirect information from prisons, which are clearly the prime locus for this argot.

Even less satisfactory is the information I was able to obtain on the argot of pimps and prostitutes. Among the words I learned in my preliminary investigations in 1974 were a number said to belong to this category; I have since discovered that the majority of these are proper to siim ilfannaniin (or kawaniin), while the remainder (such as bishlik, 'five piastres') belong to siim ilharamiyya. I was unable while in Cairo to interview an ideal informant, namely, a pimp or madam of advanced age. The prostitutes to whom I talked were without exception entirely ignorant of any argot. The one list of real argot terms I obtained came from my prison social worker, who called it 'pimps' argot' (siim ilmu<sup>c</sup>arraşiiin); of the eight terms he gave me, at



least four (including Calla', 'to obtain [a woman]', and ghayyar izeet, 'to have sex') are too well known to be considered argot--they are simply slang. While there almost certainly exist true argot terms in this area which I failed to find, I strongly suspect that the argot in current use is in fact rather minimal. It is clear to me from my reading, and particularly from a very informative talk given at ARCE on female criminality by Dr. Safiya Muhsin, that the character of prostitution in Egypt has changed radically in the last thirty years. Before 1949, when prostitution was made illegal the center of this activity was the area north of the Ezbekiyya Gardens (ilwasCa, wishsh ilbirka, darb ittīyaab), where there were licensed houses. Women working there must have been in constant contact with each other, and frequently needed to speak in front of customers without being understood by them. I would theorize that they used an argot based, like that of contemporary homosexuals, on the siim ilfannaniin with an admixture of criminal jargon. The contemporary scene is quite different. Organization is much looser, with prostitutes much more likely to be working on their own; many are girls from the countryside who come to Cairo to work as maids, and drift into the profession from there. For these reasons, the argot is probably simply dying. This is, however, an area which deserves more investigation. (Dr. Muhsin kindly provided me with some words she had picked up in her prison work; these, again, are mostly slang, rather than argot, and widely known, e.g., ma'tuura, 'prostitute working for a pimp', which appears in Spiro's colloquial dictionary (1895) with the definition 'prostitute in a brothel'.)

Whether there are other true argots, as I have defined the word, in Cairo is an open question. Moneychangers do use a siim (e.g., sibah, 'Saudi riyals'), but from what I have gleaned this seems to be very limited, ad hoc, and unstandardized. Nile boatmen know a great deal of argot, because of the vast range of people with whom they come in contact and because they often double as hashish sellers and pimps; but they seem to have no proper argot of their own except for boat terms--which constitute a very large technical argot which I did not attempt to collect. Whether the beggars of Cairo still have any significant organization, and with it a significant argot, I cannot say: this question deserves more investigation than I have given it.

Finally, there is the argot of hashish. In the present context, there are two problems with the language of the hashshashiin. First, the use of hashish is so widespread in Cairo that it is difficult to see its vocabulary as restricted in the sense I have proposed here; this is immediately clear from the fact that we find so much more of it in print than of the other argots I have investigated--one need only turn to Naguib Mahfuz's Tharthara fawq al-Nīl to find a whole series of terms, or to Ismail Wali al-Din's al-Bāṭiniya. (The latter's Ḥammām al-Malāṭīlī, however, is one of the few written works I have found

to contain true--criminal and homosexual--argot.) Second, there is a whole series of levels of esotericism within this vocabulary. Since hashish is most often smoked on a gooza, it shares in the standard vocabulary of water pipes, although some smoking terms, such as makhmakh, 'to splutter, hold in a coughing fit in order to retain smoke in the lungs', are probably peculiar to the use of hashish in the pipe. Then there is the terminology of the ghuraz (sg. ghurza), where facilities for smoking are provided by the ghurzagi (usually called simply mi<sup>c</sup>allim); a sawwaa' performs the actual operation of holding the gooza and tending the coals, while naḍurgiyya are posted in surrounding streets to warn of an impending raid; the ghurza will close down temporarily if iggaww<sup>i</sup> wiḥish, that is, if surveillance has been stepped up. Of these terms, only sawwaa' and iggaww<sup>i</sup> wiḥish could be considered in any sense siim. Slightly more esoteric are the terms for grades and kinds of hashish, such as habw, ghubaara, etc.; there seems to be a lack of agreement on the proper order of these terms, although the worst hashish is invariably called gilla, 'manure'. Distinct from these are the actual brand names of the hashish as imported, which turn up in newspaper accounts of arrests of major dealers; these constitute a code rather than an argot, and change frequently. More stable, and more widely known, are the terms for quantities, an irsh being the standard retail unit, four of which make up a wi<sup>i</sup>yya (37 grams). The standard smoking unit is simply a ḥagar, 'stone', this being the regular word for the clay bowl which holds the tobacco and one sliver (imḍa, 'signature') of hashish; speaking in argot, a smoker may propose smoking ta<sup>c</sup>mirteen, literally two of these (but implying many more), or say niṭa'ṭa' <sup>c</sup>ashara, 'let's knock back ten'. Terms of hashish intoxication, besides the standard suṭul and its derivatives, include the adjectives malwuuh, muwanwin, and khalṣaan; these words are closer to slang than to argot. There are, finally, some words with meanings not related to the smoking of hashish, but which were identified to me specifically as luḡt ilḥashshashiin, such as haarish (lit., 'scratching'), with the meaning 'understanding, clued in'; these seem to be true argot terms, but are few in number. The siim of hashish should be distinguished from siim words for hashish: ṣooga to the fannaniin and kawaniin, ḥabashta'aan in the Khan al-Khalili and among the khartiyya. Opium use is much less prevalent than that of hashish in Cairo, and does not seem to have much of an argot; whether the argot term for opium, alif, belongs to the siim ilfannaniin, to a siim il'afyungiyya, or both, is unclear to me. Use of cocaine, these days, is too rare to have a siim, and it remains to be seen whether the developing siim for various pills (barashiim)--one type is called haḍḍar kafanak--will prove more than ephemeral.

Besides my primary objective of collecting argot directly, I also attempted while in Cairo to investigate what written sources might contribute to my project, particularly with regard to the historical background of the argots. Except for obtaining microfilms of the manuscripts of Ibn Dāniyāl's shadow plays

(which have only been partially published) from the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts, this proved to be a process of looking for a needle in a haystack. Several informants suggested that I look at copies of the now defunct humor magazines al-Miṭraqa and al-Ba<sup>c</sup>kūka; I consulted the former at Dār al-Kutub but failed to find any interesting material, and was unable to track down any copies of the latter. My search for early works written in the most baladi form of colloquial Arabic I could find led me to Yūsuf Abū Ḥaggâg's wonderful Mudhakkirât futûwa (1926), already utilized by Sawsan el-Messiri in her monograph Ibn al-Balad; this work taught me a great deal of baladi vocabulary, which was invaluable to me when conversing with many of my informants, but its argot content was negligible. I was able to find two more mudhakkirât works from the same period (the genre was a fad in the late twenties and early thirties), those of a nashshâl and an Carbagî, but both turned out to be written mainly in fushâ and more interesting for their contents than their language. The only work comparable to Abū Ḥaggâg's I could find was Al-Ḥagg Darwish wa-Umm Ismâ<sup>c</sup>îl, published in 1929 by the well-known comic writer Ḥusayn Shafîq al-Miṣrî; although fictional and composed by an educated author, this delightful book also contained a great deal of extremely baladi language which proved useful to me in my investigations--but no argot. Other leads turned into dead ends. Abd al-<sup>c</sup>Âṭî Ḥâmid's Mughâmarât ṣuḥufî fî qâ<sup>c</sup> al-mujtama<sup>c</sup> al-miṣri (1970) mentions a handful of terms from criminal argot; some of these are slang, rather than argot, a few of them I had already found independently, and one or two I do not know from other sources but may be correct. The television play Sayyidatî al-Gamîla, based loosely on My Fair Lady but substituting Ṣudfa the pickpocket for Eliza the flower-girl, has a bit of pickpocket argot which seems to have been simply made up by the authors. The works of Bayram al-Tûnsî provide language of the same sort as that of Abū Ḥaggâg's memoirs; the same is probably true of the early plays of Badî<sup>c</sup> Khayrî-Sayyid Darwish-Nagîb al-Rayḥânî, of which I was unable to obtain copies.

I had originally planned to publish the results of my research in a series of articles, each dealing with a single argot. Now, however, considering the complexity and importance of the interrelationships among them, it seems to me that the best format will be that of a single monograph attempting to deal with the subject as a whole. The core of this work will be a glossary of the argot terms themselves, with full annotations on use, phonetic variation (an important topic I have not touched on here), etymology, etc. In an introductory essay I will discuss the argot phenomenon as a whole, more fully than I have done in this report, and attempt to sketch the sociological background in some detail for each of the argots presented. Quasi-argotic phenomena, including hashish vocabulary (which to my knowledge has not been collected before), the baladi slang of the Khan al-Khalili and al-Bâṭinîya, and various forms of pig Latin, will be dealt with separately, probably in the form of appendices. I hope to be able to return to Cairo for a short

stay and try to solve a few of the remaining problems I have indicated here, but if this should prove impossible I believe my current data is sufficient for publication.

1980-81 ARCE Fellow  
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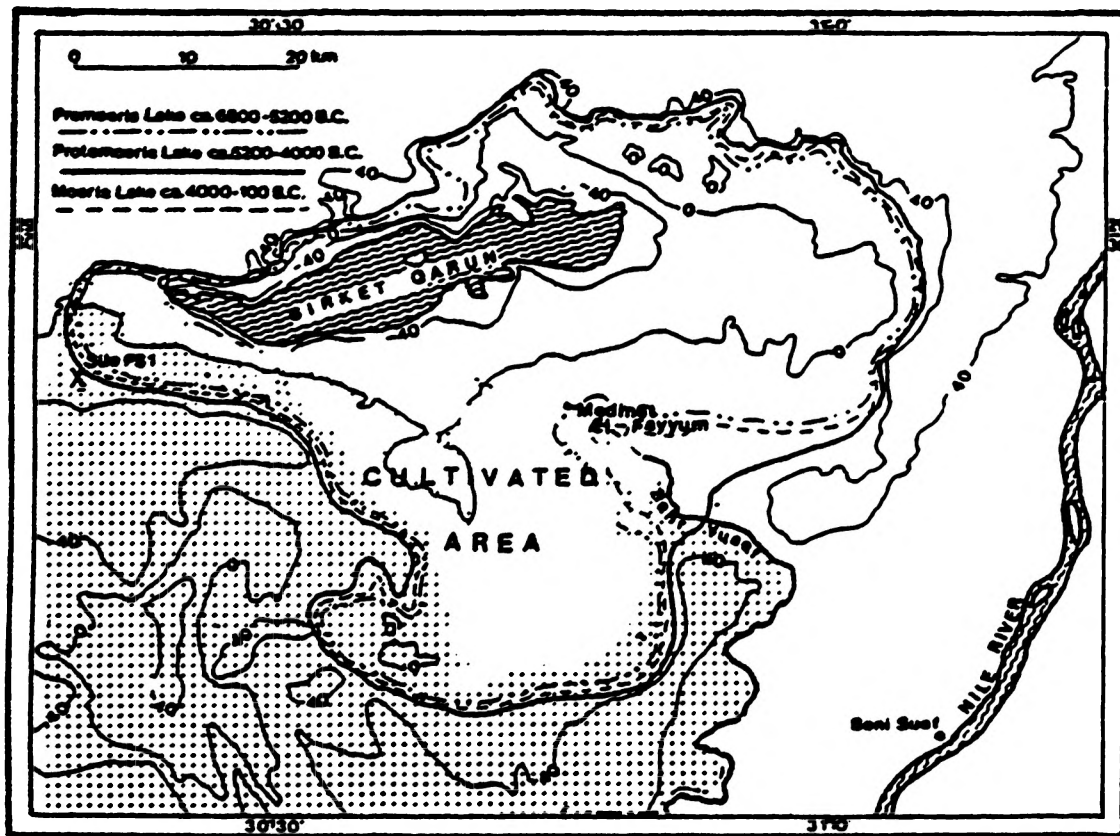


THE FAYYUM ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT:  
PRELIMINARY REPORT  
OF THE  
1981 SEASON

The Fayyum Archaeological Project was designed with the rather ambitious goal of reconstructing and explaining the pre-modern history of human settlement in the whole of Egypt's Fayyum Depression (Figure 1). Research by Sir Flinders Petrie, G. Caton-Thompson and E. Gardner, Fred Wendorf and Romauld Schild, and many other archaeologists has revealed that the Fayyum was one of Egypt's major developmental centers during many ancient periods. It was densely occupied in the Late Paleolithic ("Qarunian", or "epipaleolithic") period, from about 7000 to 5000 B.C., and in the Neolithic period, from about 5000 to 3500 B.C., when the Late Paleolithic hunting and gathering economies were giving way to agriculture based on domestic sheep, goats, cows, wheat, barley, and other species. Although Predynastic and Old Kingdom occupations are known in the Fayyum, it was in the Middle Kingdom (c. 2130-1785 B.C.) that the Fayyum became a major focus of Egyptian culture, with several temples and large settlements. And the peak of pre-industrial settlement in the Fayyum occurred in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (c. 332 B.C.-A.D. 400), when Greek colonists and Roman war veterans settled this area, greatly extended the limits of cultivation, and built scores of large towns. The Fayyum was also one of the most densely occupied areas of early Islamic Egypt, and remains so today.

During all these periods of occupation, the Fayyum was related to other areas of Egypt by complex cultural ties, but in a sense the Fayyum is a bounded cultural unit: all human life there is directly dependent on the lake that fills the deepest part of the Fayyum Depression; and the settlement history of this area is essentially a record of how people have adapted to the resources of the lake and have adapted the lake to their own agricultural needs.

During the 1981 season, which extended from June 4 to December 4, we conducted surveys and excavations in the southwestern quarter of the Fayyum, mainly in areas previously unsurveyed. Our crew consisted of from 10 to 25 members during the course of the 6 months of field work. We lived just across the road from the Ptolemaic site at Qasr Qarun, in a large modern villa whose only fault was an utter lack of water. This grievous defect was efficiently and graciously remedied by



(after Wendert and Schild 1976)

Figure 1: Ancient shorelines of the Fayyum.

His Excellency, Dr. Hamdi Hakim, then governor of the Fayyum, who arranged reliable water deliveries by truck and solved many of our other problems as well.

Our research was supported by generous grants from the Agency for International Development and the United States National Science Foundation, and administered through the American Research Center in Egypt by Dr. James P. Allen.

We focussed our efforts during the 1981 season on 3 large concentrations of sites that represent 3 different time periods: (1) FS-2 (for "Fayyum Survey"-2), a series of hearths, pits, and surface scatters of artifacts of the epipaleolithic, or Qarunian, period; (2) FS-1, a dense scatter of artifacts and bones of the "Fayyum A" period, the supposedly Neolithic era when agriculture is thought to have become the dominant economic system in the Fayyum; and (3) a string of small Predynastic sites, one of which, FS-3, we excavated. In addition, we mapped, collected artifacts from, and conducted various studies of several large Ptolemaic sites in the southwestern Fayyum.

Our work in all of these periods is heavily dependent upon an accurate reconstruction of past climates and lake levels. Professor Fekri Hassan has made extensive geological studies in the Fayyum for our project, and his findings will form a substantial chapter in our final report.

It should be stressed here that what follows is an extremely preliminary report. The statistical analyses on which our final report will be based are only about 40% complete. Our final report will include many other aspects of our project which do not appear here even in preliminary form.

#### SURFACE SAMPLING AT FS-1 AND FS-2

The dominant geological feature of the southern half of the Fayyum Depression is the huge ridge that marks an ancient beach-line of the lake (Figure 1). Standing in many places more than 14 meters above the surrounding plain, this ridge is covered with the rounded pebbles and sorted sediments indicative of its lacustrine origins.

Thinly scattered on the ridge's lower flanks and more densely distributed on either side of it are the lithic artifacts of two distinct periods: on the lake side of the ridge are scores of concentrations of "Qarunian" style artifacts--the backed blades, microliths, and other tools of the epipaleolithic period in the Fayyum (7500 B.C.? to c. 5500 B.C.). On the desert side, to the south and west of the ridge, are numerous dense concentrations of stone tools and animal bones, many of them scattered around ancient hearths and thinly interspersed with pot sherds, grinding stones, and other artifacts, all of which belong to the so-called "Neolithic" Fayyum A period, from about 5000 to about 4000 B.C.

The primary significance of these archaeological sites is that they reflect the cultures of Lower Egypt just prior to and during the establishment of agricultural economies in Egypt. Insufficient data exist to claim that agricultural economies in Egypt first appeared in the Fayyum (there are suggestions of slightly earlier domesticates at Merimde). Nor is the question of absolute priority of great importance. Processes like the replacement of foraging economies by agriculture are broad and complex, and to understand them requires their analysis across large areas and through each of their developmental stages.

We have tried to apply this generalized perspective to our work in the Fayyum. Our goal was to examine the "fit" between the many and varied ideas about how agriculture was established in Egypt and the realities of the archaeological record. We wanted to test the idea, for example, that agriculture was established in Egypt by the introduction of domesticated sheep, goats, cows, wheat, barley, and other species from Southwest Asia. Similarly, we wished to examine the proposition that agriculture began in Egypt by the slow refocussing of activities on domestic animals and crop-raising, with a long period of continued exploitation of fish and undomesticated varieties of plants and animals, as opposed to the possibility that agriculture came to the Fayyum through the sudden migration or invasion of foreign agriculturalists.

In the end, of course, the Fayyum agricultural experience is just one of many around the world, and the importance of each is mainly in their collective significance: they force us to ponder the more general questions of why and how the economic bases and social structures of cultures change.

In the case of the Fayyum, our first priority was to recover a sample of artifacts and other data such that we had an adequate and accurate picture of the archaeological record in question. Once the data had been recovered, it was considered essential that we reconstruct as completely as possible the ancient environments of the Fayyum, in particular the lake levels and the kinds of plants and animals in the region at various times.

These researches were carried out using surveys, topographic mapping, surface collections, and test excavations. The topographic mapping and surface collections of artifacts were accomplished by means of a systematic random sampling design. The density of artifacts in just this (Figure 1) area of the Fayyum alone is far greater than is possible ever to collect and analyze completely; but statistical devices are available which enable one to infer with great reliability almost every aspect of an archaeological record like this with, relatively speaking, only a tiny sample of the whole.



Briefly, a large part of FS-1 and FS-2 was overlain with a grid consisting of contiguous blocks 250 meters in width and 600-800 meters in length. The long dimension of these blocks was oriented perpendicular to the beach ridge separating the two sites (Figure 2). The uneven lengths of the blocks was a result of the varying size of the area between the various beach ridges that bound the distribution of artifacts. Each block was then divided into 50 smaller blocks, or "transects", each 5 meters wide. Five such transects in each block were then randomly selected for artifact collection. Two of the five 5x5 meter squares contained in each 250 meter length of each transect were randomly selected for artifact collection. Tape measures and theodolites were used to locate these collection squares, and once staked and strung, all artifacts and bones within the squares were bagged and labelled.

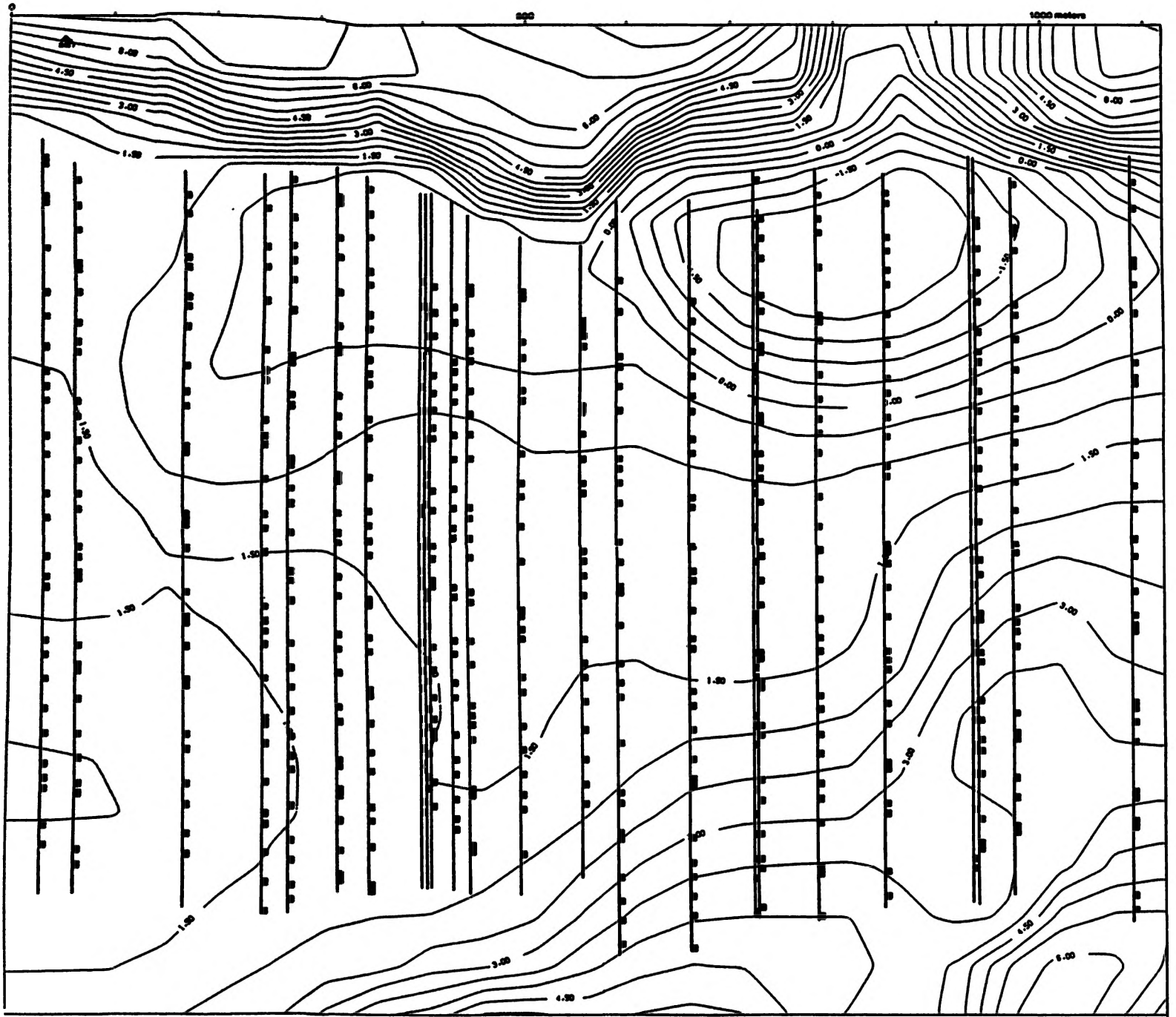
The final sampling scheme produced a distribution of sampling units sufficient to estimate with precision the frequency and spatial arrangements of many artifact classes (Figure 3). At FS-1 a total of 651 5x5 meter squares were collected (equaling 16,275 m<sup>2</sup>) from a research universe totalling 627,000 m<sup>2</sup>-- which is itself only a part of a larger scatter of Neolithic sites in this area.

At FS-2, the Qarunian site, 587 5x5 meter squares were collected, totalling 14,675 m<sup>2</sup>, from a research universe totalling over 700,000 m<sup>2</sup>.

At both FS-1 and FS-2 we also collected 50x50 meter areas with a "finer grain" sampling scheme: part of these areas were collected in 2x2 meter squares, while in other areas the location of every artifact was plotted and the artifact separately numbered and bagged. These intensive samples were taken in areas where the artifacts were found in situ in lacustrine and shore sediments, as opposed to the deflated context of most of the sites. Reconstructions of activities that created these sites will be based on statistical analyses of these collections.

At FS-1 an "opportunistic" sampling program was also applied, in which we walked the entire site, 5 people to a team, 10 meters between individuals, staking the location of all grinding stones, finished stone artifacts, diagnostic pottery sherds, and identifiable and measurable faunal remains. All of these were then separately "shot in" so that their exact locations could be determined, and they were then collected. Test excavations were made at both FS-1 and FS-2, in the form of 2x2 meter squares located within grids and selected on the basis of our assessment of the possibilities of retrieving artifacts in their original sedimentological contexts.

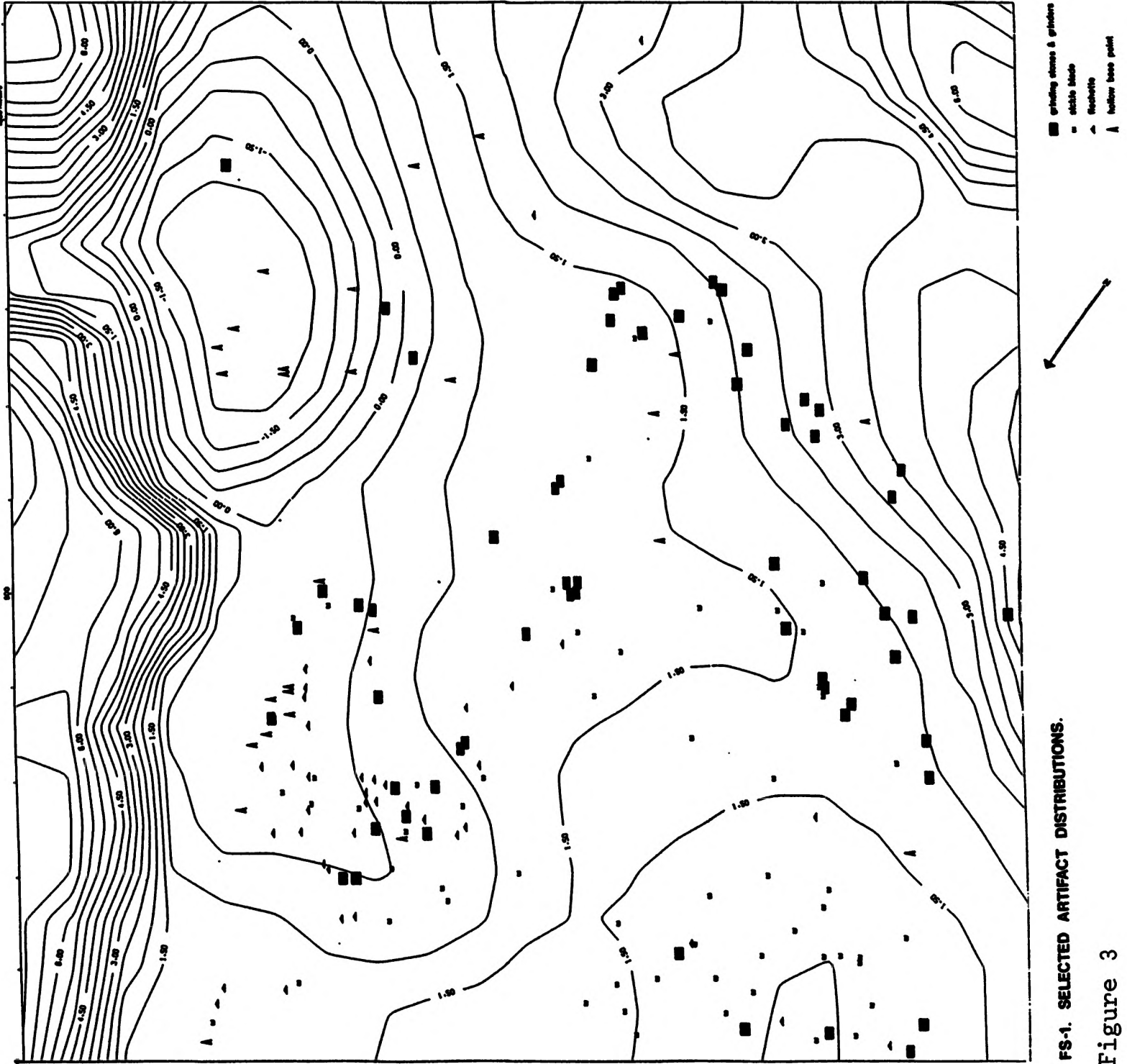
At FS-1 five 2x2 meter squares were excavated, and a relatively sparse assemblage of artifacts and animal remains was recovered.



FAYYUM ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT: SURFACE SAMPLING DESIGN - FS-1



Figure 2



FS-1. SELECTED ARTIFACT DISTRIBUTIONS.

Figure 3

Much of FS-1 had been deflated, but in several large areas lithic tools, animal bones, and hearth-stones were found embedded in diatomaceous and lake sediments, with ash and charcoal associations that suggested these occupations were in their original context. Even in areas where there had been deflation, the surface was littered with animal bones, including tiny fish spines, indicating that deflation had been recent and not severe--else these fragile remains would long since have disappeared.

The pits and other debris of FS-2 were much better preserved in some ways than their counterparts at FS-1. Charcoal samples at FS-2, for example, were much more easily obtained than at FS-1. We excavated nine 2x2 meter squares at FS-2, some to a depth of 1.5 meters. Most of the lithics and bones were in the upper 50 cm.

Neither at FS-1 nor at FS-2 did we find any trace of architecture.

#### ANALYSES OF CULTURAL MATERIALS FROM FS-1 AND FS-2

Much preliminary sorting and cataloging of the lithic artifacts collected during the 1981 season was done during the course of our field work. A simplified morphological/descriptive classification system was established in order to extract the maximum amount of information in a limited time from the over 100,000 lithic artifacts collected from the two sites. A 4-dimensional system of classification was constructed, comprising type of object (flake, retouched, core, hammerstone, etc.), size, amount of cortex present, and type of raw material. All the retouched pieces were individually labelled for later analysis in Seattle. Each category of object was weighed in the aggregate for the collection unit.

Each lithic object was measured in the 4-dimensional scheme and the values recorded on coding forms. This data is being transferred to disc and tape files on the University of Washington's computer system where more detailed analyses are in progress. Eventually, all raw data from each of the sites, including 3-dimensional location of the artifacts, frequencies of all tool types, and frequencies of all environmental remains, such as faunal, botanical, and sedimentological data will be stored on magnetic tape. Information will be recorded, for example, on the total of 19,856 lithic objects recovered from the 651 5x5 meter collection units of FS-1, approximately 79% of which were flakes, and only 4% retouched pieces. Preliminary counts of the Qarunian collection on the Late Paleolithic side show a total of 54,408 lithic tools and debris from an area of 2500 square meters--almost twenty times the density of the Fayyum A Neolithic site.

Once all these forms of information are entered, the computer can then map the distribution in space of virtually any variable of interest--any of the 960 lithic classes, the various



forms of retouched pieces, or the pottery. These can then be correlated with the several different classes of environmental information, such as floral, faunal, or sedimentological data. Using ASPEX, a 3-dimensional program at the University, the topography of each site can be shown visually from any angle or elevation, allowing easier interpretation of relationships between geography and artifact distributions (Figure 4).

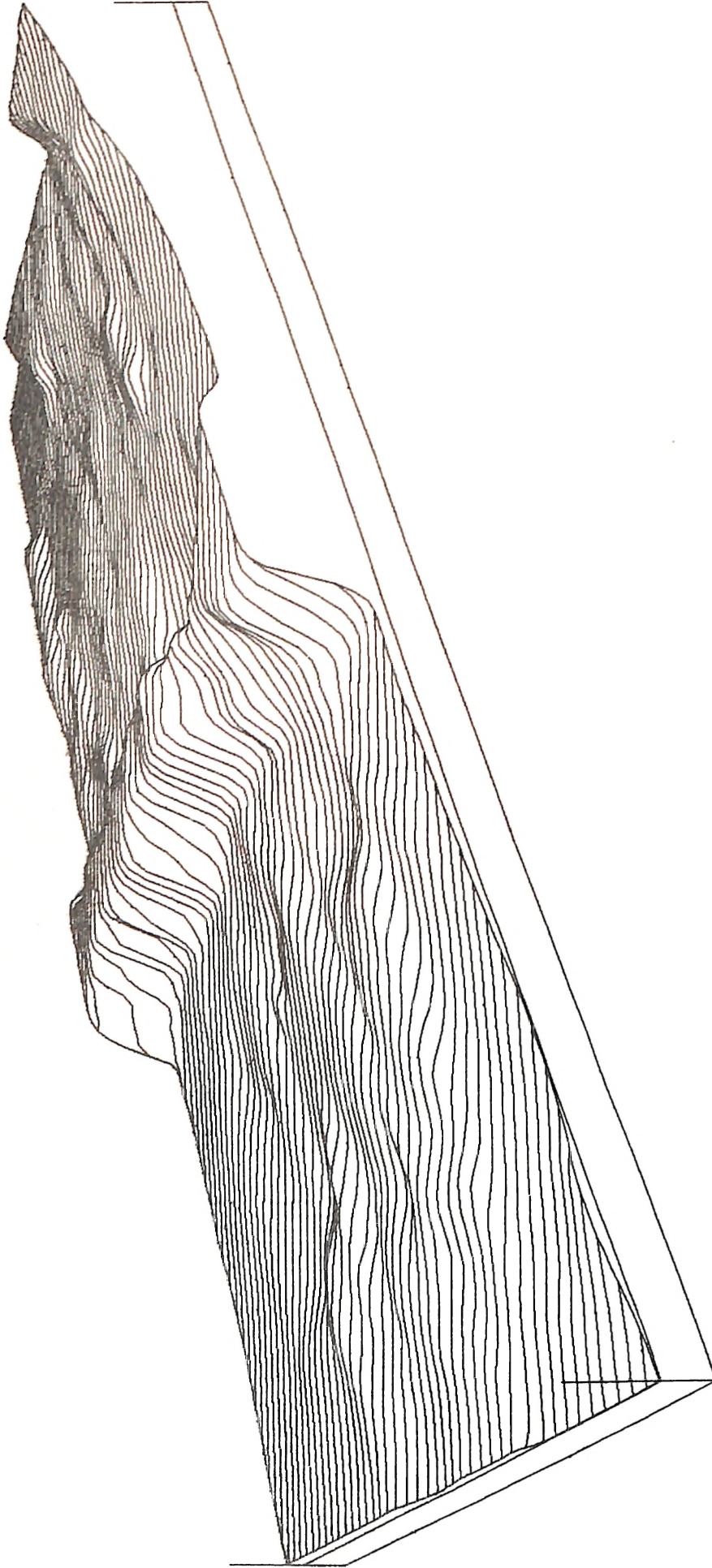
Functional and typological analyses of the lithics will continue for several more months at the University of Washington. Artifacts from the Qarunian site will be classified according to the standard Northeast African typology as used by Tixier, Wendorf and Schild, and others. Because of the dissimilarity of the Fayyum A materials, a separate morphological/manufacture classification will be designed for this assemblage. Additionally, a paradigmatic functional classification will be constructed, which will incorporate the variability found in both the Qarunian and Fayyum A materials. A functional classification, rather than one based on stylistic attributes, will allow statements to be made about the changing relationships between environment, evolution, and cultural adaptation over time in this area of the Fayyum.

Some of the kinds of spatial representations we will be examining are illustrated in Figure 3. Although clear patterning is evident--much of it correlated with topographic position and probably related to proximity to the ancient lake--interpretations of these patterns will require integrating many diverse categories of evidence.

The faunal remains from FS-1 and FS-2 were subjected to a preliminary sorting in the field, and are now being studied more intensively at the University of Michigan (by Richard Redding, with assistance from Steven Goodman on the avian remains). Most of the analysis has been focussed on the mammalian remains, and although fish remains constitute most of the sample, work on them has only just begun.

The mammalian fauna at FS-2 include the Bubal Hartebeest, the Dorcas Gazelle, wild cattle, and a dog-like carnivore. Most numerous are the hartebeest and gazelle. The mammalian fauna from FS-1 represent a much greater range of species, including the Bubal Hartebeest, Dorcas Gazelle, cattle (of undetermined domesticity--perhaps wild), hippopotamus, pig, oryx, addax, and wild ass. There are also bones from a "sheep-like" bovid. Some of these seem to represent domesticated sheep, others to be from the Barbary Sheep, a wild indigenous form that is unrelated to domestic sheep. Additional measurements and other analyses relative to the domestic or non-domestic status of the sheep are in progress.

Smaller mammals at FS-1 include the Cape Hare and a dog-like carnivore. Reptilian remains from FS-1 and FS-2 are dominated by the soft-shelled turtle; although crocodile remains are present in small quantities at FS-1, they are absent at FS-2.



PERSPECTIVE MAP OF FS-1 AND FS-2

Figure 4

Catfish bones are the most frequent fish remains at both FS-1 and FS-2--which is fortunate because catfish pectoral spines can be sectioned and studied to estimate both the age of fish at death and the season. These, in combination with bird remains, should tell us much about the seasons of the year in which these sites were created--answering, to some extent, perhaps, the question of whether or not the people of FS-1 were permanent resident farmers.

One other find at FS-2 deserves mention. At approximately 1.6 meters depth in one excavation we found the complete skeleton of a man, whose height was about 5'6" and whose age at death we estimate at about mid-30's. Although there were absolutely no grave goods, two large stones were found with the body, one on its right knee, the other under its chin, seemingly jammed there between the jaw and one hand. The body was extended on its left side, the head resting on its left hand, with the face and the trunk facing approximately west. The teeth showed extreme wear on the last two molars--not much of a mystery to those of us who ate a sand-covered lunch every day in the Fayyum.

The period to which this skeleton belongs is somewhat uncertain and ultimately not of the greatest importance. As a sample it is not sufficient for us to infer much about the physical anthropology, diet, or "race" of the individual, and inferences about human religion and psychology based on simple burials often tell us more about the investigator than about the burial.

Generally, it seems most probable that this skeleton is of the Qarunian period. It was found below a surface strewn with Qarunian artifacts and there is no evidence of a pit dug through these admittedly thin Qarunian deposits. Unlike the Roman graves found about 10 kilometers east and on the other side of the beach ridge, there is not a single potsherd or coffin board to be found at FS-2. The suggestion of one archaeologist, who saw a slide of the burial, that a dark outline around the body may be the remains of a decomposed coffin, is unlikely for several reasons. At least 5 of our crew worked intently cleaning this burial under every kind of light, and we found no evidence of a sharply defined discoloration around the body. We did establish that the limestone bedrock on which the body rested was dusted with ash and charcoal, possibly accidentally interred with the body, as if a few containers of dirt from the camp site were thrown in before the body. It appeared perhaps more likely that vegetation was laid in the grave and burned before the body was inserted. Perhaps most inconsistent with the coffin suggestion are the well-preserved animal bones found in levels above the body and dated by charcoal associations to about 6000 B.C. (uncorrected, see Table 1). Thus, to accept the coffin idea, we would have to believe that a wooden coffin, fragments of which are perfectly preserved all over the southern Fayyum and for which the area is famous (e.g., the painted funerary portraits



TABLE 1

Some Radiocarbon Dates from FS-1, FS-2, and FS-3

|       |         |       |
|-------|---------|-------|
| FS-1  | 5160 BP | ± 70  |
| FS-2  | 7600 BP | ± 70  |
| FS-2  | 8220 BP | ± 105 |
| FS-2  | 7720 BP | ± 70  |
| FS-3* | 5475 BP | ± 225 |
| FS-3* | 4960 BP | ± 160 |

Note: The asterisked values have large deviation values because the amounts of charcoal were very small; all dates are by Beta Analytic, Inc., based on the Libby half-life of 5568; all dates require correction factors to extrapolate real-time dates; none of these samples were from stratigraphically superimposed levels--all are from hearths.

of the Fayyum), entirely and evenly decomposed to an undistinguishable discoloration, while the skeleton remained intact and animal bones of much greater antiquity and considerable fragility (e.g., thin fish spines) were excellently preserved. Moreover, the apparent wedging of a stone between jaw and hand is atypical of coffin burials--but it does parallel burials in the Levant, where stones have been found placed on the major body joints.

For these reasons, we believe that the skeleton is probably about 6500 years old. If additional skeletons are encountered in these areas in future seasons, we will seek permission to date them radiometrically (even though these techniques are expensive and unreliable when done on human remains).

In any case, the most important faunal remains from our project are the tens of thousands of animal bones, whose condition, exact spatial provenience, and other artifact associations make these samples unique in Egyptian prehistory studies.

### EXCAVATIONS AT FS-3

During our survey of the southwestern portion of the Fayyum Depression, we were able to relocate the Predynastic settlement reported by Caton-Thompson and Gardner in 1934. The site is located just over three kilometers south of the Graeco-Roman site of Philoteris and flanks the southern edge of the great 14-mile shingle bank.

Caton-Thompson and Gardner discovered the site during the final three weeks of their 1928 field season. According to their description the site was "masked by a superficial spread of gravel" and was discovered only because they found four sherds that had washed down its slopes. They described the site as occupying the shelving top of a spur of Middle Paleolithic gravels and as consisting of black powdery sabakh with flint tools and pottery sherds. They also reported that the site was devoid of structures and that the deposit did not exceed 15 inches. They described a total of fifty flint tools which they had grouped into twelve categories, but they did not describe the pottery, saying only that it was not abundant and that it consisted of rough brown-red ware of fairly good hard quality. The few rim and base sherds they did find seemed to place this site well into what would be called the Late Gerzean period, if it were located in Upper Egypt. This conclusion was also substantiated by the lithic materials that they reported. When we relocated the site in late September of 1981, it was no longer covered by the gravel that they described and we were able to conduct a systematic survey in which we marked the surface location of all finished stone tools. Then, using a theodolite equipped with a distomat, we recorded, mapped, and collected all of the diagnostic lithics, ceramics, and bone. We then imposed a metric grid on the entire site and chose four areas for excavation based on a preliminary analysis of the materials collected from the surface.

We were able to allocate only three weeks to excavations at this site, but during that time we were able to excavate 2x2 meter test squares in three of the areas and in the fourth we were able to excavate an 8x8 meter square in contiguous 2x2 meter units. This last unit was placed in the area where the sabakh and the artifacts were most concentrated, while the other three were well dispersed over the remainder of the site. We were also able to relocate Caton-Thompson and Gardner's original trenches and to record them on the base map of the site.

The density of artifacts and bone we found was far greater than that reported by Caton-Thompson and Gardner, but both the lithic and ceramic materials as well as two radiocarbon dates of 4960+/-160 and 5475+/-225 BP (uncorrected) seem to substantiate the dating that they assigned to the site. The rather large standard deviations given with the dates result from the small size of the carbon samples that we were able to obtain. We did not find evidence of permanent structures, and preliminary analyses of the faunal and botanical materials have shown a predominance of wild species, mainly fish, turtle, crocodile, and birds. Crocodile remains are abundant at FS-3, in contrast to their absence at FS-2 and their scarcity at FS-1. Of some interest is the near absence of head parts of the crocodiles at FS-3, perhaps attributable to butchering practices that left the inedible parts at the water's edge. The most common bird remains at FS-3 are from a species of owl (Otus scops) that is now a migrant in Egypt, usually present only for a week in October and a week in April.

The FS-3 mammal remains include the Bubal Hartebeest, Dorcas Gazelle, a few sheep/goat, pig, and cattle, many Cape Hare, and (surprisingly) numerous wild cats (Felis chaus and F. sylvestris?).

As an assemblage of animal remains, FS-3 appears much more of a seasonal hunting and fishing camp than an agricultural village.

The lithic and ceramic materials from both the surface collection and the excavations have been placed into paradigmatically defined classes using both stylistic and functional attributes and have also been identified according to the traditional typologies for this time period. All of this information has been recorded on computer coding forms and is currently being subjected to a variety of computer-aided statistical analyses, frequency plots, and mapping. In general it can be said that the artifact assemblage from this site is very similar to those from other Predynastic sites identified as Late Gerzean, and although the ceramic assemblage consists primarily of utilitarian wares with no indications of the burnished or decorated pottery typical of this period, nearly all of the vessel forms that we found appear in the ceramic assemblages from Ma<sup>c</sup>adi and other so-called Gerzean sites.



In the course of our survey we noted only two more Predynastic sites of approximately the same time period. These were also flanking the beach ridge and were located three (FS-4) and seven (FS-5) kilometers to the east of FS-3; but the deposits were mostly deflated with only a small portion of one of the sites still intact. We were able to conduct systematic surface collections and to map the locations of diagnostic artifacts, as we did at FS-3, but unfortunately we did not have time to excavate the one remaining portion of FS-4.

With the exception of these three sites we were unable to find any other sites from the late Predynastic period within the limits of our concession. The area has been well covered by our systematic survey as well as earlier by Caton-Thompson and Gardner, and the seeming lack of late Predynastic sites is surprising, especially since these three sites seem to be only temporary, seasonally occupied encampments and not permanent settlements. Until now it has been thought that late Predynastic Egyptians were fully sedentary agriculturalists, as is attested by a number of sites in both Upper and Lower Egypt. These discoveries from the Fayyum will hardly challenge that notion, but they do indicate that some sort of seasonal hunting and fishing may still have played an important role in the economies of that time.

#### INFERENCES CONCERNING FS-1, FS-2, AND FS-3

Inferences made on the basis of our analyses to date are suspect, since only a small fraction of the data is analyzed. Yet several surmises seem worth reporting at this time.

- 1) The distribution of artifacts at FS-2 and their faunal and floral associations suggest a typical hunting-foraging economy with no strong suggestions of any incipient animal or plant domestication. Had we only the FS-2 data, there would be no basis for suspecting that agriculture came to the Fayyum by the "pre-adaptation" of the inhabitants to local flora and fauna and the subsequent assimilation of foreign domesticates into a sedentary, quasi-agricultural economy.
- 2) The grinding stones, occasional bones of domesticated animals, and sickle blades found at FS-1 are difficult to reconcile with anything other than a sedentary, agricultural society. But it is remarkable that neither on the more extensively excavated north side of the lake, where Caton-Thompson, and later Wendorf, worked, nor at FS-1 are there indications of permanent houses set in villages. Even with the deflation and duning disturbances of FS-1, at least some of the housefloors, or their reflection in artifact patterning, should have been preserved, if they were common here in the Neolithic period. Instead, there are hundreds of small hearths that seem most likely to

have been short-term, open occupations. Any number of plausible inferences can be made to explain these findings, such as the possibility of communities made up of thatched huts, which were moved frequently as the lake's level changed. Such possibilities can be more rigorously examined once our statistical analyses are complete. But the sites at FS-1 are distinctly different in artifact distributions and architecture from Neolithic communities in such areas as Southwest Asia and Mexico.

- 3) Our geological and archaeological evidence, as well as previous research on the lake's other shores, indicates that Predynastic occupational densities in the Fayyum were surprisingly low, given the relatively high densities in the immediately preceding periods. Why this should be so, we have at present no evidence.

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## REPORT ON THE AZHAR MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The following report on the Azhar Manuscript Library in Cairo is based on my observations during visits to the Library in late August, 1982. The report was commissioned by the Ford Foundation through the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), and was prepared with the cooperation of the administration of the Azhar Library. Thanks are due to Dr. Richard Verdery for initiating negotiations between the ARCE and the Grand Shaykh of the Azhar. It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to His Excellency Shaykh Gad al-Haqq Ali Gad al-Haqq, Grand Shaykh of the Azhar, for his kind permission to visit the Library; to Dr. Muhammad Husam al-Din, Head of the Office of the Grand Shaykh, and Dr. Muhammad Amin, Director of the Library, for their kindness; and to the various officials of the Library for their warm welcome and generous assistance. It was particularly gratifying for me to be remembered by name by the Library custodians from previous visits to the Library during the period when I was resident in Cairo (1972-79). Of all the other individuals I met in Cairo, Mr. Michael Albin, Director of the Cairo office of the U.S. Library of Congress, was the best informed on the subject of the Azhar Library.

The suggestions for developing the Library outlined in this report represent only some ideas which came to me during my recent visits to the Library. They reflect only my individual feelings, though as a researcher and teacher of Arabic and Islamic Studies, I write as one who is genuinely concerned with the promotion of the understanding of Islamic civilization and its history and development. The views expressed here should not be associated with the ARCE or any other institution or organization. Nor does this document constitute a proposal to the Azhar Library by myself or by the ARCE or any other institution or organization.

### 2. SUMMARY HISTORY OF THE AZHAR LIBRARY

The Azhar Mosque had been an important center of Islamic learning since its foundation in the tenth century. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the magnificent library of the academic foundation called Bayt al-hikma was the main center of learning in the city, but there is evidence (recorded in the writings of the Egyptian historian Ibn al-Muyassar) that there was already an important library of manuscripts in the Azhar about the year 1100. The treasures of the Bayt al-hikma, which



included, for example, some five thousand manuscripts on philosophy and the sciences alone, were unfortunately lost almost without a trace; not a single manuscript from that collection is known to me. It seems probable that the Fatimid Shiite library was abolished when Fatimid rule over Egypt came to an end; I am unaware of any references to a major library in the Azhar Mosque during Mamluk times, that is, from the mid-thirteenth to the early sixteenth century.

In Ottoman times until the mid-nineteenth century each quarter (riwaq) of the Mosque possessed its own collection of manuscripts and was directly responsible for them. In 1893 the manuscripts were listed and the grand total was about 18,500. In 1897 these individual collections were amalgamated at the suggestion of the celebrated reformer Muhammad Abdu, although the proposal that they should be transferred to the new state library (which later developed into the Egyptian National Library) was rejected. Thus the Azhar Library was born. Yet the manuscripts when counted numbered only about 7,700. A report by the Librarian of the new Library mentions unique and valuable manuscripts which were listed in 1853 but which by 1897 had disappeared from the collection. (Some of these can now be identified in other libraries by means of their marks of ownership--e.g., waqf al-Azhar.) In the following decades the Library was augmented by gifts of individual manuscripts or entire private collections. In 1933 the Library contained 14,350 manuscripts and had also acquired some 53,000 printed books. At present there are some 34,000 manuscripts and at least twice that number of printed books in the collection. I heard a figure of 200,000 volumes quoted for the entire holdings at the present time.

For more information on the history of the Azhar and its Library the reader is referred to Heyworth-Dunne; Dodge, pp. 168-170; Inan, pp. 297-300; Randall, pp. 226-228; and also Lane, pp. 209-212 for an eye-witness account of scholarly life in the Azhar in the nineteenth century.

### 3. ADMINISTRATION AND BUDGET

The Azhar Library is administered directly by the Office of the Grand Shaykh of the Azhar. The Director of the Library has a staff of about ten officials. I have no information on the Library budget.

Suggestion: The staff of the Library would benefit immensely from visits to other manuscript libraries in Egypt, the Near East, or Europe. Those officials with most to contribute to the future of the Library might be selected for exposure to other libraries with particularly rich collections, active cataloging and conservation programs, and associated display facilities.

#### 4. LOCATION AND VISIBILITY

The main part of the Azhar Library is housed by the principal entrance to the Azhar Mosque near the middle of the north-western wall. There is only one small sign, barely legible, indicating the existence of the Library, and the vast majority of the visitors to the Mosque are probably unaware of its existence. One enters the Library through an entrance-hall which serves as the main reading-room. Here sit the custodians and here are to be found the table and chairs for the readers. Off to the right is a hall which used in the '70's to serve as the office of the Director and which now houses desks for various officials and extra tables and chairs for readers, as well as cases full of manuscripts from one particular private collection. Straight ahead is a larger hall, named the Aqbugha hall, which houses desks for the Director and other officials as well as numerous splendid old bookcases for manuscripts and display-cases for manuscripts of particular interest and importance. Near the western corner of the Mosque is another large hall called the Abbasi hall which houses a comparable collection of cases of manuscripts and some desks for Library staff. The interiors of both the Aqbugha and Abbasi halls are particularly fine examples of medieval Islamic decorative art. There are, I believe, three other storerooms for manuscripts in other parts of the Mosque which I did not visit.

In the field of international scholarship on medieval Arabic manuscripts, the Azhar Library is not thought of as one of the major repositories of source materials. This state of affairs may be attributed to several factors: (1) the lack of availability of the Library catalog outside the Library; (2) the lack of facilities--bibliographical and photographic--within the Library; and (3) the physical difficulties of reaching the Library from the central parts of Cairo.

#### 5. READING FACILITIES

The reading-room is primitive in the extreme. Facilities for readers include no more than chairs, tables, and access to an incomplete copy of the Library catalog. The desks of the Library staff in the reading-room are usually surrounded by a host of people who appear to have no business related to the Library and certainly no conception of the kind of conditions which should prevail in a library. No reference materials are available to readers. The Library is open from 9:00 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., six days a week, if my memory serves me well. There seems to be no problem for any serious reader to consult materials, provided he or she has appropriate identification and a letter of introduction from an institution. For some three years now an inventory has been in progress, and the manuscripts in some of the storerooms are not currently available to readers.

The Azhar Library has but a few visitors who use its resources in a serious fashion. On the occasions when I visited it in 1982 there were no scholars using the Library. In the

'70's, when I was a regular visitor, I never saw more than about five scholars using the Library at any one time. I was informed that the number of visitors to the Library each year was about 20,000 and must assume that most of these came to inspect the exhibition cases.

Suggestion: The reading-room should be moved from the entrance-hall of the Aqbugha hall to the room off that to the right (the former Director's office--see Section 4). The conditions for readers would be immediately improved. Also the security of the manuscript collection would be increased.

Suggestion: The acquisition for the reading-room of a set of basic reference works for Arabic manuscript studies is clearly a desideratum. Top priority should be given to the acquisition of the basic bio-bibliographical works of Hajji Khalifa, Zirikli, and Kahhala, as well as the catalogs of manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library (all in Arabic), and, if possible, also the standard reference works of Brockelmann and Sezgin (in German, with partial translations in Arabic published in Cairo). Some of these may already be available in the stacks. All of the reference works should be kept in the reading-room with unrestricted access to them for all readers.

## 6. REPRODUCTION FACILITIES

At the present time there are no facilities whatsoever for the photographic reproduction of either manuscripts or books in the Azhar Library. The custodians tell visitors that it is "forbidden" to photograph manuscripts, a deplorable policy which should be abandoned not least since it is contrary to the spirit which has dominated the copying of manuscripts in the Azhar over the centuries.

Suggestion: A single photocopying machine could satisfy the needs of the Library. Such a machine would not damage manuscripts when handled by a competent operator. However, for particularly delicate manuscripts photocopying is inappropriate and should be avoided. Perhaps the excellent microfilming facilities of the Egyptian National Library could be made available in such cases. Alternatively, in an optimal situation, the manuscripts should be restored and then photocopied. Clearly a program of microfilming of all important manuscripts is desirable. A certain number of manuscripts were microfilmed by a UNESCO commission in the '60's but I am not aware of the current location of these films (see UNESCO in the bibliography, which I have not been able to consult).

## 7. CONSERVATION

At present there is no conservation program in the Azhar Library. From a superficial examination of several bookcases, the manuscripts in the stacks appear to be in better shape than their counterparts in the Egyptian National Library.



Suggestion: There are surely manuscripts of particular historical or calligraphic interest which require attention, and for these, perhaps by some special arrangement, the facilities of the recently established Conservation Department of the Egyptian National Library could be made available.

## 8. CATALOGS

For the first fifty or so years of the Library's existence only handwritten lists of the manuscripts were available. A catalog of the collection was prepared by the former Librarian Abu l-Wafa' al-Maraghi, a graduate of the School of Librarianship of the University of London. It exists in 5 volumes and 2 supplementary volumes, published between 1946 and 1962. This catalog is arranged by subject matter, according to the standard Islamic subject classification (Qur'an, Qur'an commentaries, Prophetic sayings and related literature, legal texts arranged according to school, historical texts, belles-lettres, and various sciences and pseudo-sciences). The majority of the texts deal with religious topics, but other subjects, such as astronomy, mathematics, and magic, are also well represented. Within the different sections of the catalog the entries are arranged alphabetically by title. Published books are cataloged alongside manuscripts. There are no indexes and no indication is given of the relative importance of the manuscripts. The catalog was published by Azhar Press in a limited edition and copies were sent out to "the libraries of the world". However, I know from personal experience that the catalog is not available in most of the major research libraries. Indeed, only an incomplete copy is available in the reading-room at the present time.

Suggestion: A valuable contribution to Islamic Studies would be the reprinting of the catalog by photo-offset publication, with unrestricted distribution arranged through an international bookdealer. An index of authors should also be prepared and published as a supplement to the catalog. Since the catalogs are already arranged by title, there is no need for a title index. Author indexes would facilitate using the standard modern bibliographical reference works which are arranged by author. The sections of the catalogs dealing with individual subjects should be upgraded by specialists in the individual fields, using the wealth of bibliographic aids available (at least in other libraries in Cairo), with the ultimate aim of identifying anonymous works and works without titles and initiating studies of manuscripts of particular importance to current Islamic Studies.

## 9. DISPLAY AREA

The Library at present has two display cases containing about thirty (?) manuscripts of particular historical interest or special calligraphic merit. Several large and very beautiful Qur'ans are on show, as well as smaller copies of various historical and literary works, including several authors' autograph

copies. Brief descriptions, mainly in Arabic, accompany the exhibits. One of the Library staff can give a conducted tour of the cases in halting English.

Suggestion: Possible Future Extensions to the Present Display Area

Given the richness of the Library holdings and the relative paucity of readers using the Library, as well as the splendid and strategic location of the Library, I would propose a substantial extension of the exhibition area. The average visitor to the Mosque at the present time has (1) only a very limited conception of the thousand years of history which surround him or her, and (2) little or no idea that the books which were written and read and taught by the scholars of the Azhar over the centuries are sitting locked in cupboards in the Mosque Library. The present exhibition could very easily be expanded to present a much more exciting introduction to Islamic literary history than is available at present. As for the question whether a mosque should contain an exhibition area, it is relevant to note that at the present time certain visitors to the Mosque are charged an entrance fee anyway (I paid 50 PT. to enter the Mosque), and also that the function of the Azhar Mosque for over a millennium has been educational as well as spiritual.

Some suggestions for an exhibition are outlined below. If the Library holdings are eventually moved to the new quarters, the Aqbugha and perhaps also the Abbasi halls would make an ideal setting for an exhibition. If the collections are not moved out of the Mosque, then the rooms between the Aqbugha and Abbasi halls could be used for storage and the Aqbugha hall is large enough to house the exhibition.

The first step in setting up the exhibition would be the restoration of the Aqbugha hall and the entrance-hall and proposed new reading-room (see Section 3 above) according to the most modern standards, and in keeping with the distinctive architectural and decorative features of the complex. Here the collaboration of one of the several institutes in Cairo might be requested, because the past ten years have seen an impressive amount of restoration of medieval buildings in Cairo and more such restoration is currently underway. (See Meinecke in the bibliography.)

The second step would be the design of display-cases, which should be conducted by competent scholars in collaboration with museum display experts. Some of the cases which this writer would deem appropriate speak for themselves. Others are here described in slightly more detail. I should be happy to present more suggestions should the need arise. In each case I envision the manuscripts being displayed together with photographs and posters. Clearly, even more could be achieved with a multi-media audio-visual presentation of the available material; such presentations have met with widespread acclaim in numerous museums and exhibitions around the world.

- (1) A display-case of the most beautiful and important copies of the Qur'an in the Azhar collection. Samples of works on Qur'anic commentary (tafsir) and different examples of printed Qur'ans from various parts of the Muslim world could also be included.
- (2) A display-case of manuscripts and printed copies of Prophetic statements (hadith) and biographies of the Prophet, illustrated with maps and photographs of key localities in the Hijaz which featured in His life.
- (3) A display-case featuring the development of the major legal schools in Islam. Manuscripts of the major legal texts could be accompanied by posters describing the lives of the most celebrated legal scholars in Islamic history and maps and charts showing the geographical distribution of the schools over the centuries.
- (4) A display-case illustrating the development of Arabic calligraphy in its different styles and regional forms, relying on carefully documented examples of manuscripts taken from the Azhar collection and posters explaining the styles and forms. Somewhere in the Library there must surely be some old pens and other equipment used by calligraphers and copyists, which would also be of interest.
- (5) A display-case featuring the lives and works of prominent scholars associated with the Azhar. Biographies of such scholars are available, as are manuscripts of their writings. The display could also feature photographs and printed publications of the Shaykhs of the Azhar in the twentieth century. Such a display would do much to illustrate the intellectual potential and international significance of the Azhar over the centuries.
- (6) A display-case featuring the life and works of the great sixteenth-century polymath al-Suyuti. Literally dozens of the works of this prolific scholar are available in manuscript form in the Library, and his autobiography is now recently published. Such literary relics could be displayed alongside photographs of the localities in Cairo with which al-Suyuti was personally involved and charts indicating the chronology of the author's life in the context of contemporary Egyptian history.
- (7) A display-case illustrating the daily routine of the Azhar teachers and students in medieval times. Copies of their standard textbooks, written in the hands of teachers or of students themselves and authorized by their teachers, exist in the hundreds in the Library collection. Lists of the textbooks in different fields that were used about the year 1800 are presented by al-Jabarti (translated in Heyworth-Dunne). A plan of



the Mosque indicating the various riwaqs associated with students from different areas of the Muslim world-- Upper Egypt, the Maghrib, Iraq, Indonesia, etc., would surely arouse the interest of modern visitors.

- (8) A display-case featuring the activities of the astronomers and mathematicians associated with the mosques of Cairo in medieval times and indeed up to the early twentieth century. How many visitors to the Azhar Mosque know that it was one of the leading centers of astronomical activity in the entire Muslim world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, or indeed that Cairo was an important center of astronomy from the tenth century onwards? The present Library houses a splendid sundial of dimensions ca. 2' by 3' constructed in the eighteenth century by a Cairo astronomer, which once adorned a mosque wall, possibly a wall of the Azhar itself. The purpose of this sundial and its intricate markings was to measure time with respect to the times of Muslim prayer, so that the faithful would know the time remaining until the beginning of this or that prayer. Yet this sundial, which is as fine as any surviving from medieval Cairo, is currently hidden from view behind one of the display-cases. Now there exist in the Library manuscripts of treatises on sundial construction written by the astronomers of medieval Cairo over the centuries which explain how the markings are to be engraved on the instruments and outlining the underlying mathematical theory. Furthermore, there are numerous copies of various medieval tables for regulating the times of the five daily prayers and for reckoning time of day by the sun and time of night by the stars which could be used further to document, illustrate, and explain the activities of the muwaqqits or astronomers associated with the major mosques. These tables, studied only recently for the first time, are the predecessors of the modern tables published annually and also presented in almanacs, wall-calendars, and daily newspapers, examples of which could also be displayed. Photographs of other instruments used by these astronomers, such as astrolabes and quadrants, could also be included, and could be prepared from the instruments preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (astrolabes) and the Egyptian National Library (quadrants). The Azhar Library also possesses a nineteenth-century European telescope which could be exhibited alongside some of the first printed Arabic books on modern astronomy, such as are also contained in the Library collection. Finally, manuscripts are available of works by the legal scholars called faradis who specialized in the complicated Islamic laws of inheritance. These manuscripts could be displayed together with charts explaining the basic principles underlying these laws.

- (9) A display-case of documents and photographs illustrating the birth, development, and expansion of the modern Azhar University. Charts showing student enrolments and the expanding faculties and curriculum of the university would be of interest.
- (10) A display-case of twentieth-century Azhar Press publications, showing the contribution of the Press to scholarship and the worldwide dissemination of knowledge about Islam.

## 10. SUMMARY

The Azhar Library houses a rich collection of medieval Islamic manuscripts, most of which are concerned with religious and legal matters. Relatively little advantage is taken of the Library either by the international community of scholars concerned with Islamic Studies or by the hundreds of thousands of visitors who come to the Azhar Mosque each year.

The present Library facilities could be improved by (1) reprinting the catalog of the collection and arranging worldwide distribution through an international dealer; (2) preparing author indexes for the catalogs and lists identifying manuscripts of particular interest or calligraphic merit, as a preliminary step towards a more critical survey of the collection; and (3) rearranging the reading-room facilities to provide more space and more tranquility for readers, as well as more security for the manuscripts, and building up a modest reference library of the standard sources for research on Arabic manuscripts. Other suggestions proposed are the conservation and microfilming of at least those manuscripts of major importance, and the exposure of some of staff to other major libraries outside Egypt.

The collection and the splendid Aqbugha hall in which part of it is housed could with some investment of energy and funds be exploited to present a focus of interest in the Islamic heritage, which would not only continue to serve the scholarly community but could also serve to educate and inspire visitors to the Mosque. If the bulk of the manuscript collection is eventually moved to new facilities elsewhere in the new University complex, the vacated halls of the Mosque would constitute the perfect setting for an exhibition of the highlights of Islamic cultural history. If the collection is not moved to new quarters, space is still readily available in the immediate neighborhood of the present Library to store manuscripts and free the Aqbugha hall for an exhibition area. A number of suggestions have been made as themes for various display-cases to capture the interest of visitors of diverse backgrounds.

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David A. King

## THE 1982 CAMPAIGN AT NAUKRATIS AND ENVIRONS

During the summer of 1982,<sup>1</sup> the Naukratis Project conducted its fourth season of archaeological excavation and survey in a 30 km. area to the north and west of the ancient city of Naukratis (Kom Ge'if) in the western Nile Delta.

Work at Naukratis concentrated again on the South Mound where previous seasons of excavation have produced extensive remains of the Ptolemaic period<sup>2</sup> but nothing of the Archaic Greek architecture claimed to have been found in this area by Petrie. At the conclusion of the 1982 season, ten building phases (or sub-phases) had been identified, a fact which, when combined with the results from core drilling beneath the present water table, appears to support Hogarth's earlier scepticism<sup>3</sup> of Petrie's claims for the nature and date of his "Great Temenos".

Work was also initiated at neighboring Kom Hadid (Fig. 1), located to the east of the lake which fills the depression left by the earlier excavations. Kom Hadid was initially studied by the project during the winter of 1977-78 when it was identified as the site of one of the 8-to-10 foot high "slag heaps" recorded, but evidently not excavated, by Petrie.

In connection with these heaps of slag Petrie mentions "large substructures of red baked Roman brick, some chambers of which show many successive coats of painted frescoes",<sup>4</sup> but no evidence of these were visible during either the general area survey of 1977-78 or the intensive survey of Naukratis and its environs in 1980 and 1981.

In an attempt to identify the source of the tremendous quantity of "slag" on the present surface as well as to clarify Petrie's reference to the frescoed brick chambers, six (4.0 x 4.0 m.) squares (Fig. 1) were opened at Kom Hadid during the 1982 season. When, however, a major mudbrick wall was encountered in Area 76, logistics, and the temporal limitations of the season, forced our work to be concentrated in three areas where a mudbrick wall 1.70 m. wide was excavated to a length of over 9.0 m. (Fig. 2). Finds from loci sealed by the collapse of the wall suggest that a building of which it formed a part was decorated with a pebble mosaic floor and walls decorated with red and grey marble veneer in a technique similar to the Roman opus sectile. Small fragments of wall plaster, some showing several phases of painted decoration, agree with Petrie's report. A small piece of limestone, carved with an "egg and dart" motif, further contributes to our impression of the decoration of the building, while a fragment of a fluted limestone column found



in an upper level of Area 130 might have originally come from this building. It is unfortunate that, because of the level of the ground water, only 8 courses of this wall could be exposed, and that its surface is presently inaccessible through conventional excavation.

In addition to the size and decoration of this building, the importance of that section of ancient Naukratis at Kom Hadid is attested by the presence of imported Greek black-glazed sherds, stamped amphora handles of East Greek origin, faience bowl fragments, lamps and pieces of terracotta figurines and plaques that were found during the excavation of less secure loci.

While some of the Kom Hadid ceramic forms differ, and other known shapes occur more frequently, the assemblage of domestic pottery from Kom Hadid is for the most part comparable to the Ptolemaic material from the South Mound. If Petrie was correct in attributing his "frescoed chambers" to the Roman period, which the presence of opus sectile might indicate, the common tableware would suggest an early date within this period.

Excavation was also continued at both Kom Firin and Kom Dahab, two of the most important sites in the survey area.<sup>5</sup> Since the trials at Kom Firin have already been presented elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> the discussion here will be limited to a description of the recent work at Kom Dahab.<sup>7</sup>

Based on the evidence from both the surface collection made at Kom Dahab in 1980 and the trial excavations of 1981, a magnetometer survey was conducted at one meter intervals over the eastern portion of the site during the 1982 season in an attempt to determine whether or not a kiln was located there. The normal value of the magnetic intensity at Kom Dahab was about 42,980 gamma; but, near the southeast corner of the mound in grid E11 there was a strong anomaly with the maximum value of 43,070 gamma, typical for the strength of an anomaly from a structure.<sup>8</sup> A 2.0 x 2.0 m. test trench was opened centered over the anomaly, and approximately 0.10 m. below the surface a circular line of baked mudbrick forming the inner surface of a kiln wall appeared (Fig. 3). Since the kiln was constructed of unbaked mudbricks, it was difficult to delineate the exterior surface of the wall; but, based on our preliminary investigations, it seems that the kiln should have an interior diameter of approximately 3.10 m. and a wall ca. 0.70 m. thick.<sup>9</sup>

Approximately 0.90 m. below the surface the first partially intact vessels were encountered inside the kiln. These were amphorae of the types found previously, although to date only necks, shoulders and handles have been recovered. We were able to remove only six amphora necks and the necks of four collared jars (Fig. 4) from within, but we hope to continue our work here in the coming 1983 season. Work ceased inside the kiln at 1.19 m. below the surface, while to the south on the exterior we

stopped at 0.90 m. below the surface. From a thick ash layer outside the kiln, we recovered many large amphora fragments along with a number of incurved rims from bowls (Fig. 4).

In an effort to interpret the evidence from the kiln at Kom Dahab, a visit was paid to a modern potters' workshop at Gazayer Isa, near Dilingat. This workshop has been in existence for 150 years and has remained within the same family for the entire time. Inspection of the kilns at the workshop suggested that the ancient example at Kom Dahab was probably constructed in a similar manner: of mudbrick, circular in shape, with a furnace chamber beneath the floor, and an open roof which was covered during firing. The modern kilns are about 4.0 m. in diameter. Although the pottery from Kom Dahab has not been thoroughly studied, it appears that the kiln should date to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman imperial period. It is hoped that further work in 1983, both at Kom Dahab and with the pottery, will provide a more exact date.

William D. E. Coulson  
Albert Leonard, Jr.

#### NOTES

1. The 1982 season was sponsored by a matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, with additional funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Minnesota, and other monies by Carleton College, the College of St. Catherine's, and Gustavus Adolphus College, all within the state of Minnesota, and by the University of Missouri-Columbia.
2. See W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, Jr., Cities of the Delta I, Naukratis (Malibu 1981) 18-44; "Investigations at Naukratis and Environs, 1980 and 1981", AJA 86 (1982) 366-371. These reports contain the appropriate maps, plans, and ceramic profiles for the South Mound.
3. D. G. Hogarth, H. L. Lorimer and C. C. Edgar, "Naukratis, 1903", JHS 25 (1905) 111-112.
4. W. M. F. Petrie, Naukratis I (London 1886) 10.
5. For a map of the survey area, see Coulson and Leonard, AJA 86 (1982) ill. 2.
6. Coulson and Leonard, AJA 86 (1982) 375-380.
7. The work at Kom Dahab was conducted by Professor Nancy Wilkie of Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota. For a map of Kom Dahab, see Coulson and Leonard, Cities of the Delta, Naukratis, fig. 37.

8. M. Aitken, "Magnetic Location", in D. Brothwell and E. Higgs (eds.), Science in Archaeology (London 1969) 692.
9. A group of kilns of the Ptolemaic to early Roman periods has been excavated at Tell el-Fara'in, but none was as large as the kiln at Kom Dahab. Cf. JEA 53 (1967) 149-155; JEA 55 (1969) 23-30.

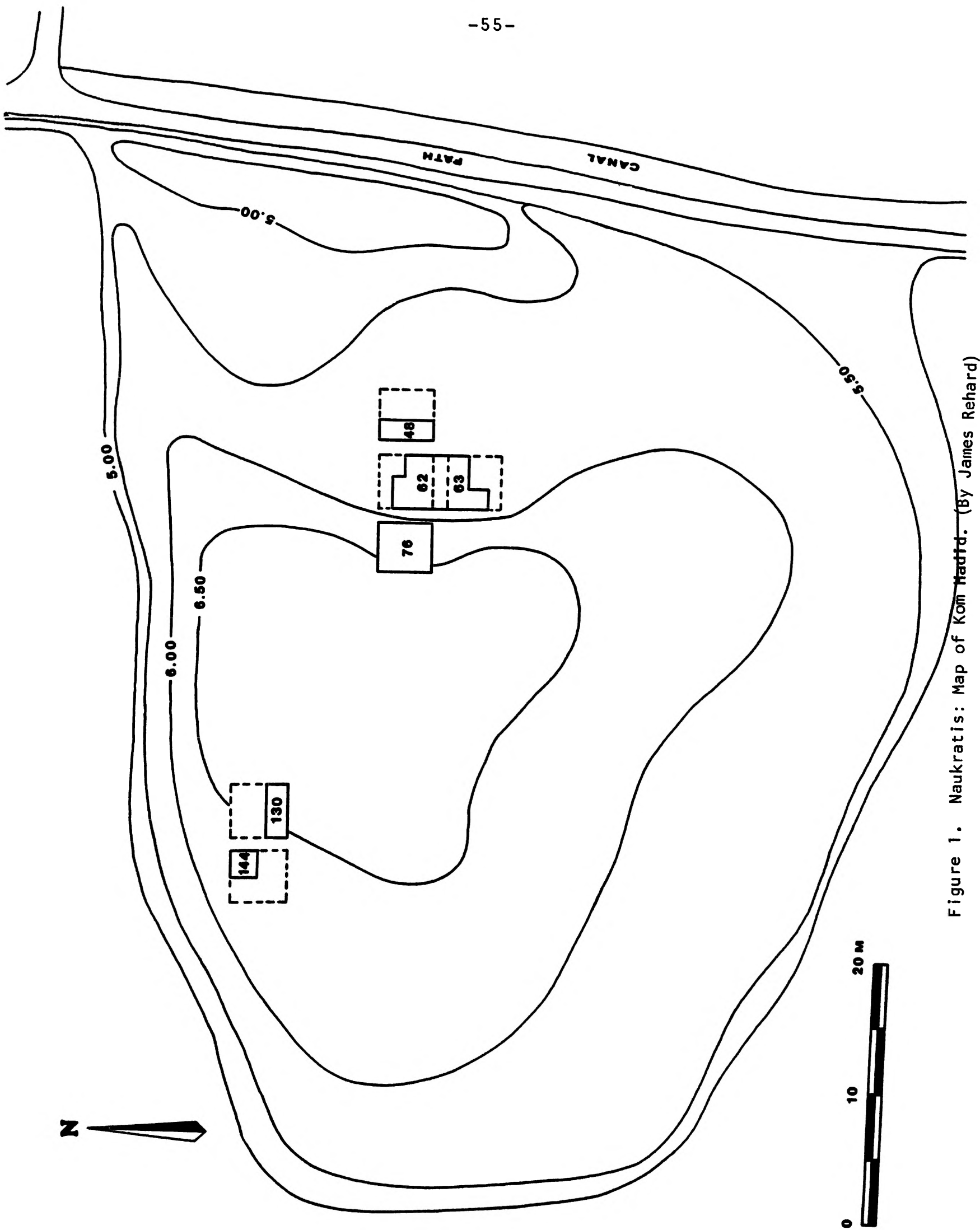


Figure 1. Naukratis: Map of Kom Hadfd. (By James Rehard)





Figure 2. Naukratis: Large mudbrick wall in Areas 48, 62 and 75 of Kom Hadid

**KOM DAHAB 1982**

**E11: KILN**

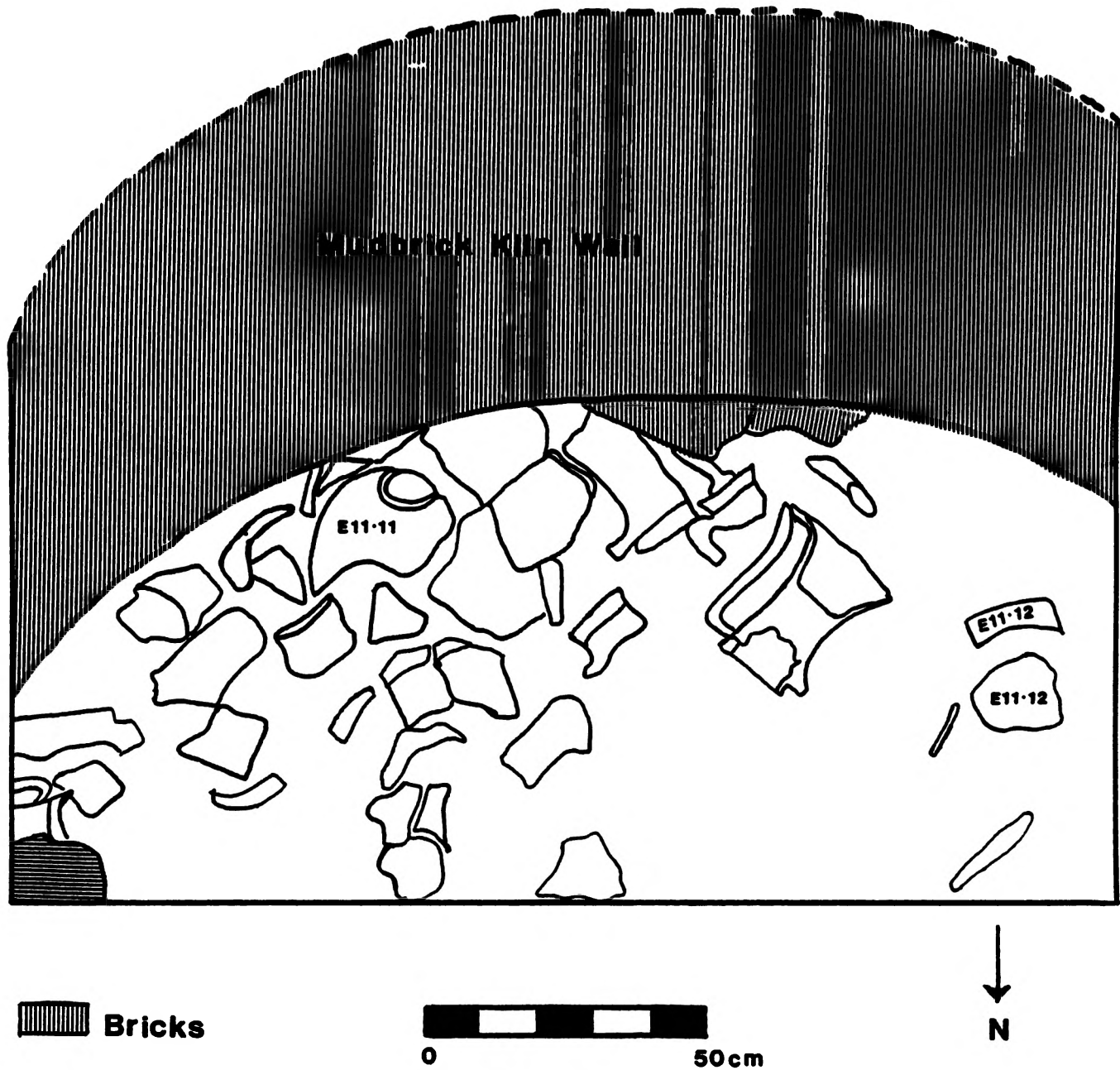


Figure 3. Kom Dahab: Trench E11, plan of kiln as excavated in 1982

KOM DAHAB: E11

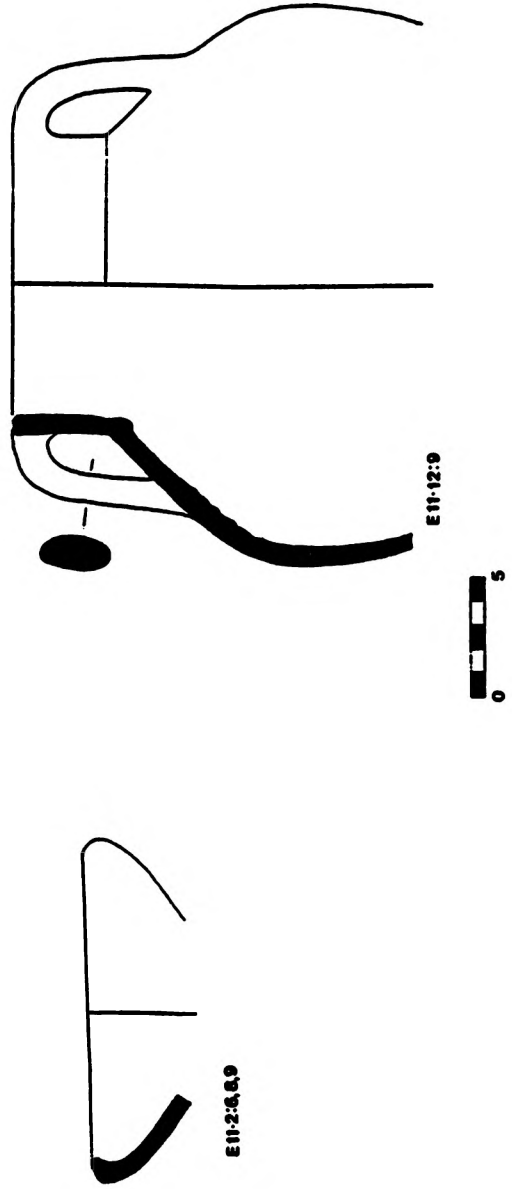
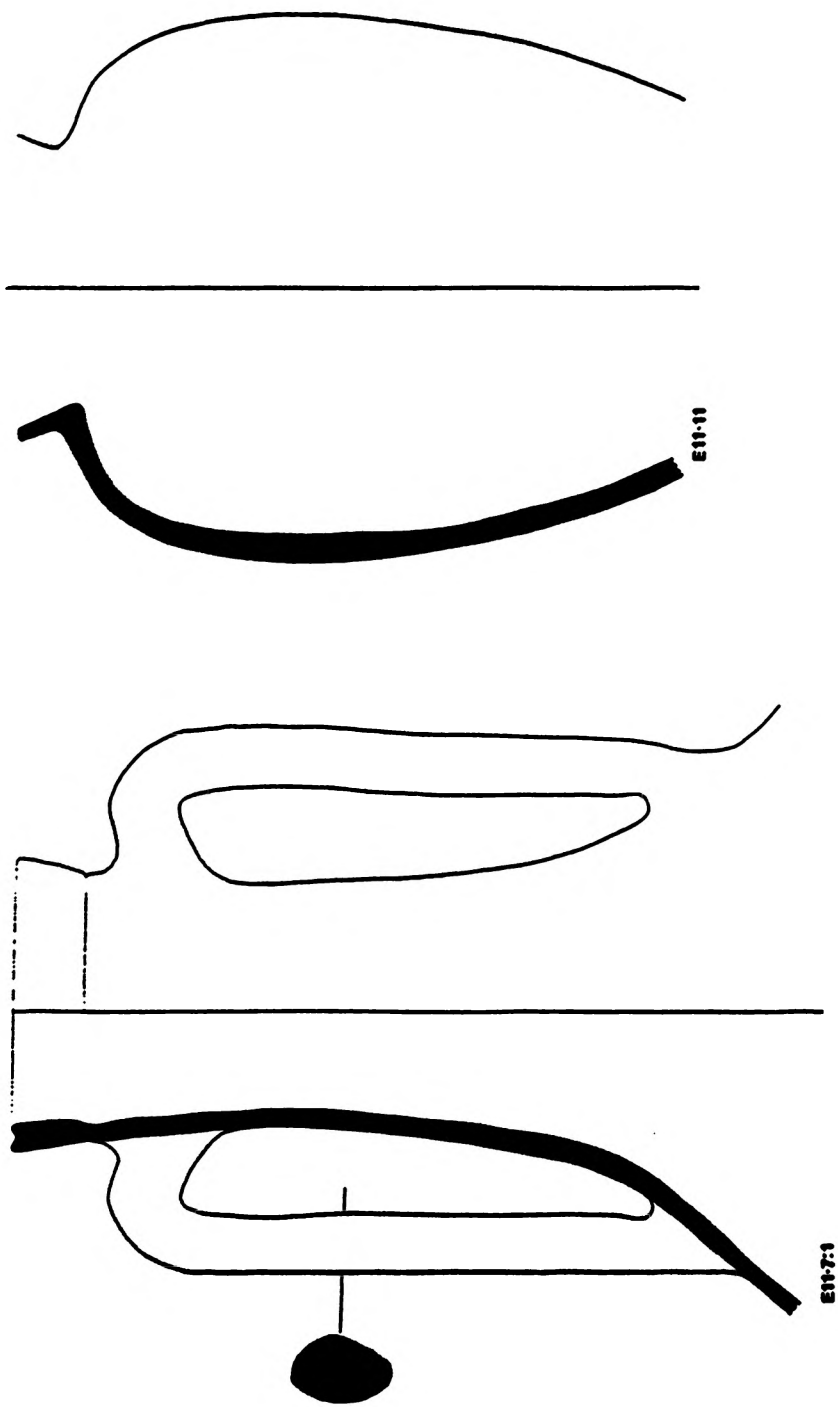


Figure 4. Kom Dahab: Trench E11, vases from kiln

1983 ANNUAL MEETING  
SCHEDULE OF PAPERS

Friday, April 22

9:00 - 12:00 am      Executive Committee Meeting  
9:00 - 12:00 am      Registration, Campus Inn

1:00 - 3:00 pm      MODERN EGYPT (A)

John G. Merriam, *Regime Légitimacy under Egypt's Mubarak*

Thomas W. Miesse, *International Banking and Local Bank Policies in Egypt*

Patrick D. Gaffney, *The Moral and Civil Authority of the Inspector of Mosques in Contemporary Upper Egypt*

1:00 - 3:00 pm      MUSEUMS & COLLECTIONS

John K. McDonald, *John Lowell's Egyptian Trip and One of His Acquisitions*

Susan H. Auth, *Egypt at the Newark Museum*

Earl L. Ertman, *Two Royal Heads from Private Collections*

Peter F. Dorman, *Modern Inscriptions in the Three Princesses' Treasure*

3:30 - 5:30 pm      COPTIC EGYPT

Dr. Marian Robertson, *Modern Coptic Music--A New Tarnīmah*

Fayek M. Ishak, *Revelatory Insights and Afterlife Knowability in the Light of Patristic Studies*

Birger A. Pearson, *The Jewish Community in First-Century Alexandria: Some Topographical and Archaeological Observations*

Randall Stewart, *New and Anomalous Sahidic Biblical Texts*

Kent Brown, *The Project to Microfilm Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts of the Coptic Orthodox Church*

3:30 - 5:30 pm      ROYAL AND PRIVATE MONUMENTS

Edwin C. Brock, *Post-Amarna Royal Sarcophagi*

Gerald E. Kadish, *The Program of the Second Room of the 23rd Dynasty Chapel of Osiris-ḥꜥꜣ-dt in Karnak*



3:30 - 5:30 pm ROYAL AND PRIVATE MONUMENTS (cont'd)

Andrea G. McDowell, *A Recently Rediscovered Ramesside Statue*

Alan R. Schulman, *The Royal Butler Ramesses-sami'on*

5:30 - 6:30 pm ARCE General Membership Meeting

7:00 - 9:00 pm Reception at Kelsey Museum

Saturday, April 23

9:00 - 12:00 am TEXTILES, CORDAGE AND BASKETRY

Nettie K. Adams, *Life in Ottoman Times at Qasr Ibrim: The Evidence from the Textiles*

Malinda Stafford, *Cordage and Rope of Islamic Occupations at Qasr Ibrim, Egyptian Nubia*

Deborah Thompson, *"Miniaturization" as a Design Principle in Late Coptic Wool Textiles of the Islamic Period*

Boyce N. Driskell, *Basketry of the Islamic Occupations at Qasr Ibrim, Egyptian Nubia*

Donald P. Ryan, *The Archaeological Study of Cordage: An Example from el-Hibeh*

Diana Ryesky, *The Textiles from el-Hibeh*

9:00 - 12:00 am TEXTS AND LANGUAGE

Ann M. Roth, *The Organization of Royal Construction Crews of the 4th Dynasty*

Ogden Goelet, *Ceremonial and Religious Features of the Ch*

Edward Bleiberg, *The King's "Privy-Purse" in New Kingdom Egypt*

Edmund S. Meltzer, *The Particle h3 as an Adjectival Predicate*

John L. Foster, *Texts of The Instruction of a Man for His Son at the Oriental Institute*

Virginia L. Davis, *Ancient Egyptian Concepts of Time*

1:00 - 3:00 pm ARABIC LITERATURE AND RELIGION

Suzanne P. Stetkevych, *Archetype and Attribution in Early Arabic Poetry: al-Shanfara and the Iamiyyat al- Arab*

Jaroslav Stetkevych, *Legend, Irony and Koranic Paraphrase: Images of Paradise in Arabic Literature*

Juan E. Campo, *Shrine and Talisman: Symbolic Transformations in Egyptian Pilgrimage Paintings*

1:00 - 3:00 pm ARCHAEOLOGY I: ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

William Y. Adams, *Doubts about the "Lost Pharaohs"*

Jonathan Brookner, *The National Nature of the Archaic Bureaucracy: Dating the Town at Hierakonpolis*

Robyn Gillam, *Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Quseir el-Amarna*

David P. Silverman, *Inscriptions in the Tomb of Hsw the Elder at Kom el Hisn in the Delta*

3:30 - 5:30 pm MODERN EGYPT (B)

Vernon O. Egger, *Intellectuals, Workers and Peasants: The Fabian Socialism of Salamah Musa*

Zachary Lockman, *Nationalists, Princes and Workers: Corporatism and Paternalism in the Egyptian Labor Movement*

Joel Beinin, *The Post-War Communist Movement in Egypt: Notes towards a Preliminary Assessment*

Fred H. Lawson, *Social Origins of Inflation in Contemporary Egypt*

3:30 - 5:30 pm ARCHAEOLOGY II: EXPEDITION REPORTS

Michael A. Hoffman, *Archaeological Research at Hierakonpolis: A Progress Report*

Donald Redford, *New Light on Temple J at Karnak*

W.D.E. Coulson & A. Leonard, Jr., *The 1982 Season at Naukratis*

Anthony J. Mills, *The Dakhleh Oasis Project*

6:30 Cash Bar

8:00 Annual ARCE Members (Subscription) Banquet

Sunday, April 24

8:30 am - ARCE Board of Governors Meeting

9:00 - 12:00 am GENERAL INTEREST; LATE PERIOD

Patrick F. Houlihan, *Quail Trapping in Ancient Egypt*

Dorothea Cole, *Published Research on the Women of Ancient Egypt II: 1955-1970*

Whitney M. Davis, *Egyptian Images: Percept and Concept*

Peter Der Manuelian, *On the Origin and Nature of "Saite Copies"*

Stanley M. Burstein, *Psamtek I and the End of Nubian Domination in*

O. Kimball Armayor, *Herodotus and Naucratis*

## NOTES FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Fund raising has obviously become one of our main pre-occupations. With PL 480 contributions coming to an end, the long and fruitful era of collaboration with the Smithsonian Institution's Foreign Currency Program is rapidly drawing to a close. Until now the ARCE Cairo Center, which at one time or another has provided a home-base for so many, has relied primarily on the generosity of this Smithsonian program. In the future this cannot be the case and all of us, members and institutions, which make up the ARCE will need to provide for it directly either in contributions we offer ourselves or in help we can attract from others.

Fortunately, there are encouraging signs that many care about our presence in Egypt and the work we do there. The LE 50,000 donation of the Chase National Bank last year was an electrifying confirmation of their support and friendship. In this issue we also thank the Egyptian American Bank and the American Express Foundation for generous recent contributions. Other friends have been helpful as well.

As we finished this issue of the NEWSLETTER we received advance word that the National Endowment for the Humanities has selected our application for a \$200,000 challenge grant. Therefore, our most immediate goal is to respond by raising the first match of \$100,000 before the first deadline of July 31, 1983. For that we will need everyone's help.