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A Tribute to Mme Amira Khattab: Forty Years at ARCE

Djodi Deutsch

Perhaps the greatest treasure discovered by the American Research Center in Egypt since it opened its doors in 1948, was made in September 1966 by Mr. John Dorman, then ARCE Director, when he discovered Madame Amira Khattab, and convinced her to join the ARCE staff.

Madame Amira, as she is known to the hundreds of ARCE fellows and expedition members who have passed through its doors during the past 40 years, has never once regretted her decision to join the center. Even during the turbulent years when relations between the Egyptian and American governments were at a low point and ARCE



Mme. Amira Khattab at work in her office at ARCE.

was left without a director for a full year, Madame Amira was convinced it was “my destiny to be here.”

From an early age, Madame Amira was exposed to foreigners and foreign languages in her parent’s home in Minia, Upper Egypt. Her mother’s best friend and neighbor was Greek, and Madame Amira recalls many an afternoon sitting in their company while they read their fortunes in the coffee grounds and tried new recipes together. When Madame Amira turned school age her father sent her to French language school, and later when she was 12 and her family moved to Cairo, she began

to study in English. By the time she was a young woman in her twenties, Madame Amira spoke five languages and had won a fellowship to study in Italy.

When Madame Amira first visited the ARCE offices she was already employed and she resisted all attempts on the part of ARCE’s director and business manager to lure her away from her job. Times were unstable and she hesitated to leave the security of her employment. Finally, she agreed to meet the director for coffee with the understanding that she would not consider employment. According

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from the director

Dear ARCE Members:

It is with great pleasure that we dedicate this issue of the Bulletin to my dear friend and colleague Mme. Amira Khattab. As you will see in the cover article, Mme. Amira has been an integral part of the ARCE family for 40 years now and we who work with her on a daily basis know just how essential she is to the successful operation of our Cairo offices. I know the entire ARCE membership joins me in offering hearty congratulations to Amira on her 40th Anniversary with ARCE!

Another cause for celebration at ARCE is the recent and much anticipated amendment to our USAID funded Egyptian Antiquities Conservation project which will provide almost \$9 million for ARCE to initiate monitoring, conservation, and training at the Luxor and Karnak Temple complexes over the next 3 years. With the recently completed USAID funded ground-water lowering around these two important and endangered sites, ARCE will be embarking on very important preservation work at these two famous sites.

Turning to other conservation topics, in this issue of the Bulletin we have a report from Dr. Betsy Bryan on the Johns Hopkins team's work at the Mut Temple at Karnak. Another report outlines the documentation activities undertaken by Joan Knudsen (Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, U.C. Berkeley) and Pia Anderson (American University of Sharjah), at the site of El Ahaiwah, located in Sohag. Then, three of our recent fellows, Elaine Sullivan, Fakhri Haghani, and Elisabeth O'Connell, report on their diverse scholarly research topics.



Gerry Scott, along with USAID representatives Richard Rousseau and Seifalla Hassanein, sign USAID/ARCE agreement for conservation at Karnak and Luxor Temples.

ARCE's Antiquity Endowment Fund grants continue to fund exciting activities in conservation, documentation, and training: Janice Kamrin reports on conserving the Journal d'Entrée in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; Nicholas Warner takes us through the new Pharaonic Room at the Gayer-Anderson Museum; and Jere Bacharach discusses his new book *Islamic History through Coins* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2006) which was underwritten, in part, by a grant from the AEF.

The ARCE Atlanta staff has been active this past year in leading member tours to two venues of the touring exhibit from Cairo Tutankhamun and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs. Candy Tate offers us a look at her adventures. And finally, the ARCE Update pages give you a peek into the myriad activities happening in and around our Cairo center, as well as some staff changes in our US offices.

As always, ARCE thanks you, our members, for your continuing support as we explore and protect the wonders of Egypt's cultural heritage together.

Gerry D. Scott, III
Director

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to Madame Amira, by the end of the afternoon he had “won me with his kindness and sincerity,” and they worked together for the next 10 years. During her 40-year career with ARCE, Madame Amira has served as secretary-bookkeeper, executive secretary, assistant director and deputy director. Today she is entirely indispensable to ARCE staff, fellows and expeditions, as she works her magic to secure visas and permissions in the halls of Egyptian government ministries.

Dedication and loyalty are two of the attributes that best describe Madame Amira. She never says no when asked to do something, and tells ARCE fellows, “I am available 24 hours a day, even in the middle of the night, I will be ready to discuss any problem and give advice.” Sharing her thoughts about her long experience with ARCE Madame Amira explained, “I have learned one thing through my experience. If you love a place or its people, you will give anything to return this love, you will do anything.”

“My proudest moment came when I was appointed executive secretary. In the early days of ARCE the director always handled the expeditions and fellowships, getting permissions from the government and taking the responsibility for these two programs on himself. I began to help him and I learned how to do it until he [Mr. Dorman] started trusting me to do it and made me responsible. It was a big job and a big responsibility and he had confidence in me. So when I was trusted with these two programs, I was very proud of myself.”

“I think I have a weakness,” she continued. “I am attached to people and places, and I can’t stay away from people I am attached to. It has been the atmosphere and the quality of the people I have worked with all these years that has kept me here. I can’t imagine myself leaving them.”

And so for now, and for all the imaginable years to come, ARCE fellows and expeditions will have the pleasure to know this incredible woman, whose greatest strengths are her big heart, her sincere devotion and her undying attachment to ARCE. ■



Ms. DEUTSCH is ARCE’s Fellowship In-country Coordinator.

Top: Mme. Amira with granddaughter Resha Abdel Hamid and new great-grandson Maher.
Photo: Kathleen Scott.

Bottom: Amira Khattab in 1966 when she began her career at ARCE.



2006 Report on the Johns Hopkins University Excavations at the Mut Temple

Betsy M. Bryan

DR. BRYAN is the Alexander Badawy Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology and Near Eastern Studies Department Chair at Johns Hopkins University.



1. Gerry Scott and Betsy Bryan at the Mut site where reused blocks are being consolidated.

Photo: Kathleen Scott.

Excavation behind the Sacred Lake

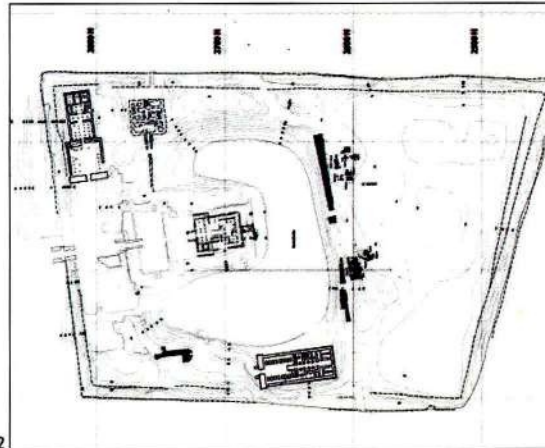
Work at the Mut precinct at Karnak resumed in early January 2006 and focused in two primary areas. Continuing investigations that began in 2001, a series of excavations squares were placed behind the sacred lake connecting up areas explored in earlier seasons. (Fig. 2) A region of New Kingdom work installations that included baking and brewing centers, as well as granaries, had been identified from 2002 to 2004.¹ This year seven squares were placed between round storage buildings found at the east and west behind the lake

in a swatch some seventy meters wide. (Fig. 3) The trenches were also located to the south of a broad mud brick feature from which walls extended both north and south to create work rooms. This wall appears to have been in use from the early 18th Dynasty, and it was modified during the Third Intermediate Period and continued in use during the 25th and 26th Dynasties. Up to now no pottery has been found in this sector that clearly dates later than the 26th Dynasty.

Across four of the seven new 5-meter square trenches, some twenty centimeters below the ground level,

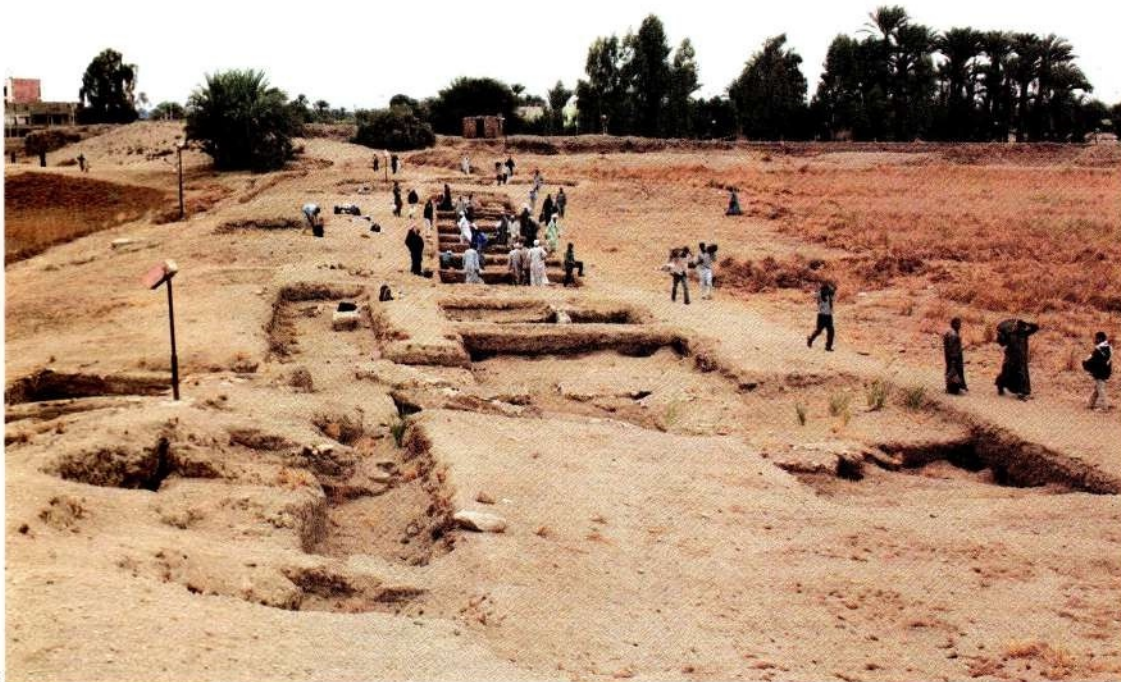
evidence for broad white plastered surfaces appeared. These were underlain by thin layers of sand beneath which were distributions of Late Period pottery. These plastered work surfaces and several beneath them can be dated to the Late Period on the basis of the pottery found both beneath and atop. It appears that the work surfaces were created with fills of sherds and topped by sand. The carefully prepared work areas were frequently destroyed by fires, but large patches of the white plaster were found intact in more than one square. In at least two squares these layers were found to repeat, while the Late Period pottery "pits" stretch across all squares, as well as across the squares further west that were excavated in 2003 and 2004. Only a few walls can so far be associated with the Late Period use of this sector, and we are so far supposing that the granary and bakery areas of the New Kingdom were reused and covered with the prepared work surfaces as described here.

In locations where the later work areas had not disrupted earlier walls, the New Kingdom 18th Dynasty floor levels were found at approximately 70 centimeters below modern floor level, and they



represented some half meter of strata, from late SIP/ early 18 to late 18th or 19th Dynasty. Querns (grinding stones) were common in the squares. This finding is entirely compatible with earlier seasons, where levels 7-11 represented the same period with sealed floors in trench VIII G East 6 (2004). Regular walls here divided up rooms running perpendicular to the large east-west brick feature just to the north. Burn surfaces were frequent in these chambers, and appeared in

2. Precinct of Mut showing areas of excavation by Johns Hopkins expedition, through 2005. Map composed by V. Chauvet and M. Farrar.



3. 2006 Squares running east to west in temple installation area.



4. Granary platform in Square 10. A second granary is located a meter to the north of it but exposed only in northwest and northeast corners of squares 10 and 11.

discernible oval shapes. Such organized burn areas are associated with cooking bread molds in stacks. Beneath these levels the Second Intermediate Period (SIP) was heavily represented, with bread moulds and oval baking fires frequent. Built ovens are not common in the area excavated in 2006. Some fifteen meters east and five meters north ovens were discovered in 2003. The New Kingdom walls appear to be built directly atop the Second Intermediate Period ones. Their foundations sometimes also displaced SIP levels, but the continuity of occupation remains certain.

The installations found during the 2006 season continued to confirm that the round granary buildings, approximately 3 to 4 meters in diameter, were separated by walls that could enclose the round brick platforms.² In two contiguous trenches two of these large round buildings were identified, although the more northern of them was only exposed in the corners of the two squares. (Fig. 4) These two buildings were bounded east and west by north-south running walls. In 2004 a single round building was found surrounded by walls, and the associated pottery was of mid-18th dynasty date. The same architecture may be seen in the numerous modern dome-on-square base buildings, as in, for

example, so-called “sheikh tombs”. Rooms between the round buildings have been found to contain work and baking areas. One square revealed a small room with several 18th Dynasty floors, and the lowest one was strewn with stone tools, suggestive of a storage closet. In two trenches, square brick platforms were excavated that may have supported querns for grinding.³ In both cases the platforms were set against a wall defining the room. One of these platforms was found at an early 18th dynasty level; the other was associated with Second Intermediate Period pottery.

The use pattern shows that work installations existed in the same area from the late Second Intermediate Period through the 18th Dynasty (and perhaps slightly later). A hiatus is suggested by the pottery for the later New Kingdom, but many pits of Late Period pottery cut into the New Kingdom remains. Few new buildings appear to have been built in the later era, but grain processing by the later workers was done utilizing the earlier brick platforms as foundational structures. Although the work this season showed that the region south of the east-west mud brick wall was in common reuse for baking and storage in the 25th/26th dynasties and that this activity frequently

destroyed earlier mud brick buildings or burned them beyond good excavation definition, the granaries and cooking surfaces left in place, together with the partial remains and 18th dynasty pottery intruding in the late period pits, show that the entire region had consisted of alternating round storage granaries and baking or processing areas. Samples of materials found in ovens and in storage jars have been taken, and we will request permission to have identification of flora as well as fauna in laboratories in Cairo.

Restoration work in the Second Court of the Mut Temple

Rebuilding the north-west and west walls⁴

The work by stone mason Franck Burgos and his crew proceeded in the fall of 2005. Through December of 2005 they dismantled and rebuilt the northwestern and western walls of the Second Court. The first two walls were entirely completed before the end of the year.

The process of dismantling and reconstruction undertaken first consisted of the removal of inscribed and structurally sound blocks from the upper part of the surviving wall. This done, the area of decayed stone within the wall was cleared down to surviving, solid foundations. For most of the walls, the foundations themselves, being constantly wet, had survived in good condition, as did a mid section of the west wall. The removed, decayed stone was replaced by a masonry structure of fired brick and white cement. Behind this was placed a sheet of plastic to impede the flow of moisture from adjacent fill. Atop this, the inscribed blocks from the wall were reinstalled in their original positions, including one block that had been dislodged for over a half century. The surface of the new masonry was coated with a neutral brown surface that would harmonize with the surviving wall blocks. The space behind the west wall was also filled with gravel to further impede the flow of moisture.

The reconstruction of the wall brought to light a fragment of a small limestone doorjamb of Thutmose III. With the restoration of the west wall and part of the north wall, it becomes clear that to complete the rehabilitation of the court, the remaining part of

the north wall and the east wall also warrant such work. The repairs thus taken have also exposed the original floor surface of the stone-paved portico that surrounded the court. The court itself was not paved with stone; in 2002 a portion of a thick white plastered surfaced atop a layer of some 25 cm. of sand was found in the northwest portion of the court, just south of the Ptolemaic elevated shrine.

Dismantling and Rebuilding the North wall of the temple platform

Because the north foundation of the Mut Temple was composed of reused (and recarved) 18th dynasty blocks in highly eroded condition due to intermittent contact with ground water, in 2004 we began to remove the most seriously affected stones enclosing a room on the west side of the temple's platform foundation. In excavating the room behind the perimeter stones, we discovered a foundation built and sealed in the reign of Thutmose III and composed of architectural elements of Hatshepsut's reign. These included parts of a limestone gate and column drums identifying a "porch of drunkenness". To continue our work we applied for and received an ARCE EAP grant to dismantle the northern wall of the foundation in order to retrieve and conserve the endangered reused New Kingdom blocks. In addition this grant covered the rebuilding of the west and north-west walls of the Second Court in front of the platform.

During the ARCE grant period (August 2005-December 2006), reused blocks are being consolidated (Fig. 1) and conserved on mastabas built in the Second Court and now also in the First Court (thanks to the cooperation of the Brooklyn Museum Expedition). The limestone blocks found in the sealed Thutmoside foundation have been stabilized and now are being cleaned. From the foundation wall, we have some 60 new decorated blocks of a Thutmoside temple that was first built in the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III and that stood through the New Kingdom up to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The parameters for measuring how long the Thutmoside building stood are derived both from the style and inscriptions of original and recarved blocks. For example, atenist damage and later restoration is found on all of the material. The face of



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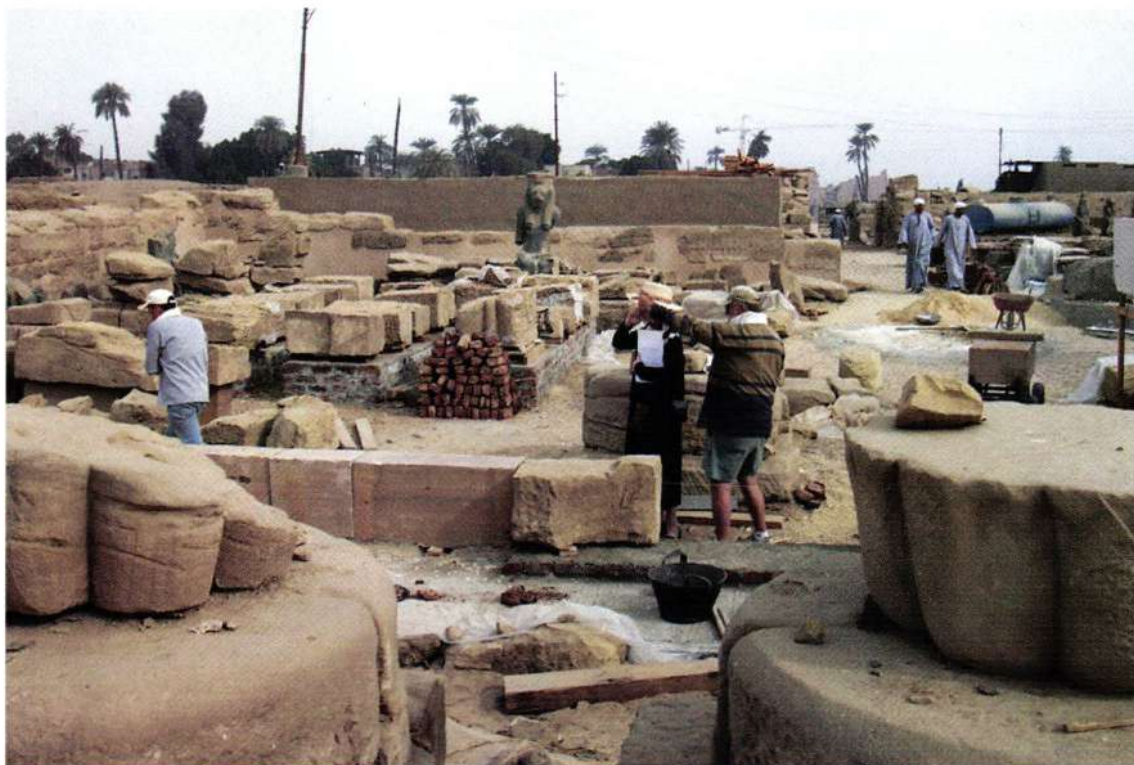


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6. Block from north wall. Thutmose king facing late 18th Dynasty recarved Amunet.

7. Pillar block from north wall with added late 18th Dynasty nome list.

Right: View of the site looking north into the second court.



Mut or other Theban deities is most commonly seen in a late 18th Dynasty style, but Ramesside examples are also evident. In one case the post-Amarna restoration transformed the double crown of Mut into the red one of Amunet. (Fig. 6) Further architectural information is provided by changes to Thutmose blocks. One pillar fragment (Fig. 7) shows a band of nome gods naming Horemheb was added in raised relief beneath the earlier pillar inscription in sunken carving. That the late 18th Dynasty form of the temple placed this face of the pillar in a roofed environment is evident from the switch to raised relief. This is compatible with a reconstruction of the New Kingdom temple that suggests that the Thutmose form was enclosed by outer walls and new porch columns in the second half of the 18th Dynasty, most probably—but not yet demonstrably—in the reign of Amenhotep III. The latest date for the dismantling of the New Kingdom temple is indicated by several blocks of different shape and size and best paralleled in style by the 25th Dynasty.⁵

Hiroko Kariya, Lotfi Hassan, Kent Severson, and the SCA conservator Hakim have done stabilization

work on the newly found blocks, some of which are in very precarious condition due to their contact with the rising and falling ground water level. Most are sufficiently strong eventually to be part of an open-air display, and some will be rebuilt into partial wall scenes and pillars. An area for this display has been identified to the southeast of the temple proper and will be prepared for later transfer of blocks during this summer. From early February to late March, 2006 the north perimeter wall of the temple's platform was dismantled, the blocks retrieved, and then rebuilt with newly quarried sandstone. In the case of well preserved and unscribed ancient blocks, these were replaced in the re-built wall. The numerous inscribed blocks found reused in this wall, probably built in the 25th Dynasty, ca. 700 B.C., were moved to mastabas in the First and Second Courts and have been preliminarily cleaned and protected to allow the process of drying to occur before chemical intervention.

After 14 January 2006, we focused primarily on the stabilization of the decorated sandstone blocks forming the foundation of the northwest corner and the west

half of the north façade of the temple. The badly deteriorated upper courses of the temple façade were removed, revealing an unexpected number of decorated blocks beneath. The sandstone blocks were generally bedded horizontally in their reuse as substructure and most are in relatively sound condition. However, where ground levels bisected blocks for extended periods, salt efflorescence has severely disrupted the cohesion of the material, reducing the sandstone to sand along horizontal bands approximately 15 to 20 cm. wide. There is also horizontal delamination along bedding planes in the stone where salt efflorescence is severe. The blocks are generally saturated with groundwater. The decorated faces of each block were rough cleaned and photographed *in situ*. Where blocks were sound, they were lifted and moved to mastabas, designed to prevent further groundwater infiltration. Decorated faces were re-photographed and then drawn after fine cleaning and consolidated locally with Paraloid acrylic resin in organic solvents to secure surviving pigment. On the mastabas, the blocks will dry slowly in advance of subsequent consolidation with silanes and repair.

Excavation of the Temple Porch behind the Dismantled North Wall: Queen Statue

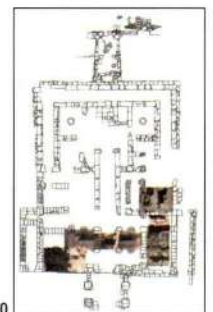
Paralleling the ARCE/EAP grant work, the JHU expedition has cleared inside the perimeter foundation in order to clarify the chronology of the temple's construction. This has resulted in remarkable new material. First, in late January only 20 cm. beneath the modern surface was found a life sized granite statue of Queen Tiy, wife of Amenhotep III, ca. 1391-1352 B.C., with an added inscription on the backpillar dating to the 21st Dynasty. (Figs. 8-9) The nearly complete statue was removed to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and now carries the Journal d'entrée number 99281.⁶

This splendid statue of a queen was discovered during the clearance of debris in the platform extension of the Mut Temple. It was associated with a small amount of Roman pottery and other late debris and therefore may have been part of the last adjustments to the temple's platform foundations. Found lying on its face the statue was first visible only by its back pillar which carries an inscription with the titles of Queen Henuttawy, added there in the Twenty-first Dynasty.

Only when the headdress was uncovered did the repeated name of Amenhotep III become visible. It is intriguing to note that the later queen did not remove or change the name of Amenhotep III, but rather was content to add her text on the rear. Henuttawy, a king's daughter (Ramesses XI?) and queen's daughter (Tentamun), was also mother of the god's wife Maatkare, as well as king's mother (Psusennes I) and greatest of the entertainers of Amun-Re.⁷ The inscription refers to her role as the king's protection in the form of the uraeus—an undoubted association of the queen with Mut herself. It is highly likely that the queen for whom the statue was originally made was likewise identified with the goddess who was both the mistress of the two lands and the lady of fear—Mut.

The queen wears a close fitting dress with a shawl, indicated only by the lack of negative space between the jutting elbow and the body. On her neck is an elaborate necklace of pendant floral elements terminating in a band of *shuty* plumes, no doubt a visual reference to the queen's own crown in its most complete form. A double band of rings is carved above the broad collar, indicating the *shebiu*, or gold award collar. This would be highly unusual for a queen of Amenhotep III and may, by its slight crudeness of carving, have been an addition for Henuttawy. The marguerite flowers on the queen's breasts are, however, original, despite their being surrounded by roughened circles. The likelihood is that both the breast and collar were formerly gilded and the roughened areas facilitated that application.

The queen has the almond shaped and obliquely set eyes so associated with Amenhotep III, and her mouth is the carefully lined and pursed one seen throughout his portraiture as well. Yet the face is less rounded than many of the king's own images, and this emphasizes the strong jaw. Although this stubby chin is the striking facial characteristic of this statue, it is pure "Amenhotep" himself, being a physical feature seen in several of his images (e.g., Louvre A25, MMA 56.138, CMA 52.513). On her head the queen wears the tripartite wig of a goddess, the vulture headdress over it, and a modius, or cylindrical crown at the top. A slot at the back of the crown demonstrates that it was once fitted with the double plumes—most



8. Statue of Queen Tiy found on Mut Temple porch area.

9. Three quarter view of Queen Tiy statue.

10. Plan of Mut Temple with earlier mud brick pylon and 18th Dynasty columns shown beneath present foundations.

probably made of a precious metal. In the center of the queen's brow is a vulture-headed snake, flanked by two cobras wearing the crowns of upper and lower Egypt. The same trio appears on a small glazed steatite figure of Queen Tiy now in the Louvre and on the colossal limestone group in Cairo (JE 33906), and it represents the common representation of Tiy with double uraei, here surrounding the vulture head extending from the vulture headdress. The specific combination we have on this statue is not otherwise known in statuary for Tiy, however, but a strong analogue exists in relief. In the tomb of Userhat (TT 47, Brussels E 2157) Tiy appeared holding the flywhisk and wearing a tripartite wig with the modius and plumes above. There, without the vulture headdress, the double uraei without vulture head spring from her forehead, and she also wears a fillet backed by the Horus falcon. The queen portrays a divine role in both of these images: that of Hathor in the tomb and that of Mut on the statue. The vulture headdress addition would thus seem a highly appropriate addition, since Mut wore the same regalia so regularly. With little doubt, this statue is one of the finest carved of a queen, and its association with Tiy, the great consort of Amenhotep III, is highly likely.

Excavation of the Temple Porch Behind the Dismantled North Wall: Earlier Temple

In February and March work proceeded in the temple and at lower levels, beneath the area where the round columns rest on the temple's porch, we discovered the mud brick pylon (or large gate) of the earlier temple whose existence was implied by the installations we found behind the lake. (Fig. 10) Associated pottery clearly places the gate in the late Second Intermediate Period-early 18th Dynasty. The large mud brick features lie both east and west of the central aisle of the stone temple. The earlier pylon, therefore, though slightly smaller in presently excavated breadth than the Thutmoseid sandstone platform, is on the same orientation as the present temple. The "temple porch" now supporting eight columns bases with the remains of probable lotiform columns, sits atop the mud brick gate remains and apparently consisted of a sandstone pavement that

was later elevated and set with columns. The original mud brick walls of the gate were not demolished, however, when the first pavement (or platform) was created in the Thutmoseid era but were rather incorporated as support structure. The mud brick was mud-mortared into connections with the sandstone platform built to the south of this front "porch" area. These mud mortars, heavy with limestone and sandstone chip, is in clear evidence in many areas where joins of the mud brick to the stone is visible. An additional mud brick wall running east-west from the northeast corner of the porch appears to lie beneath the east side of the north wall that we have been partially dismantling. This wall has not been entirely followed due to the stone construction in the sector. Its relationship to the mud brick gate must, therefore, be further clarified. Likewise the relationship between this mud brick form of the temple and the buried Hatshepsut monuments found in 2004 must be determined.

Deposit of Hatshepsut Columns

In addition, the "porch of drunkenness" referred to in our 2004 report to the SCA⁸ and mentioned on a sandstone column part, is now represented by a minimum of ten columns, rather than the two or possibly four that we believed it to consist of. Indeed, to the west of the temple platform, the temple appears partially to be underlain by the sealed remains of the Hatshepsut-era Mut monuments, as is confirmed by a test trench south of the standing temple wall behind Room West 1. (Fig. 10) In that test trench the column drums of Hatshepsut are beneath a single paving stone and a layer of packed earth with stone chips, at a depth of some 60-70 cm beneath the surface. The soil in which they lie is damp, but the material itself is in good condition, as has been the case with all the columns retrieved so far, most likely due to the sand in which they were packed. (These have been covered and reburied for the present.) These Hatshepsut monuments can be rebuilt in the Second Court allowing future visitors to view an unmarred major structure of the original stone temple.⁹ ■

NOTES

1. Pottery dating can be compared with, eg., Bruce Williams, *New Kingdom Remains from Cemeteries R, V, S, and W at Qustul and Cemetery K at Adindan*, (Chicago, 1992), particularly pottery from Thutmoside tombs R 33, V46, 82, 94, 97, K1, 2, 31, 50, with a chart on pp. 14-21. For "beer jars", see p. 38, most of which are dated between the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III.
2. An excellent senior thesis researching the granaries at Mut and their capacities was completed in 2005 by Kathelene Knight and will soon appear in print in an abridged form. For comparative materials, see most especially the New Kingdom round buildings at Tell el Balamun excavated and published by Jeffrey Spencer. A. J. Spencer, *Excavations at Tell el-Balamun 1995-8* (London, 1999), esp. 60 and 89. As Knight has pointed out, the granary areas were reused and showed evidence of fires as well as later ceramics atop them at both Balamun and Mut.
3. The experimental bread making at Amarna included such platforms. D. Samuel, in B.J. Kemp, et als, *Amarna Reports V*, (London, 1989), especially 255-277. Likewise, L. Pantalocci, "Les chapelles des gouverneurs de l'oasis et leurs dependences (feuilles de l'IFAO à Balat'Ayn Asil, 1985-9)", *BSFE* 114 (Avril 1989), 64-82. J. Jacquet, *Karnak-Nord VII. Le Trésor de Thoutmosis Ier. Installations antérieures ou postérieures au monument. Fascicules I: Texte et Fascicule II: Planches*, (Cairo, 1994).
4. With the assistance of an ARCE/EAP grant.
5. In particular one of the rectangular blocks shows the king wearing the "falcon jacket". This is a well attested element of royal regalia, but it appears in a wide variety of forms. The only exact parallel for the version on the Mut block appears in the chapel of Osiris Hekadjet where it is worn by Shabataka. Although Thutmose III and Hatshepsut both wear the "falcon jacket" (Hatshepsut frequently in relief from the Third level at Deir el Bahri), these are conceived and rendered entirely differently. This dating criterion will be further elaborated in future publications.
6. The find was announced by Dr. Zahi Hawass January 23, 2006. The statue was briefly published in catalogue no. 50, in Gerry D. Scott, III, *American Contributions to Egyptian Archaeology*, Cairo (American Research Center in Egypt) 2006: 50, entry by B. Bryan.
7. For proposed genealogies of Henutowy (identified with the Divine adoratrice of Hathor of the same name), see A. Niwinski, "Problems in the Chronology and Genealogy of the XX1st Dynasty", *JARCE* 16 (1979): 49-68, especially, 50-51 Cf.. E.F. Wente, "Chronology of the Twenty-first Dynasty", *JNES* 26 (1967), 155-176, esp. 160-164,
8. The report is as yet unpublished. The column and porch of drunkenness are briefly discussed in B. Bryan in Catharine Roehrig, R. Dreyfus, and C. A. Keller, eds., *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, (New York and New Haven), 2005.
9. We would like to thank the Supreme Council of Antiquities for its cooperation during this year, in particular Dr. Zahi Hawass, Secretary General of the SCA, Dr. Sabry Abdel-Aziz, Undersecretary, Dr. Mansour Bourroki, Director of Luxor Monuments, Dr. Ibrahim Suleiman, Director of Karnak Monuments, and our inspectors, including particularly Mr. Ahmed Araby, whose superb skills we have been fortunate to benefit from in earlier season as well.

John Dorman

We must report the sad news that John Dorman, former ARCE Director from 1966 to 1975, passed away in 2006.

John Dorman was born in Lebanon, where his father, an American obstetrician, headed the medical faculty at the American University in Beirut. This wasn't entirely a coincidence: John's grandfather, Daniel Bliss, founded that famous university, which is now one of the premier learning centers in the Middle East.

John completed 10 years of elementary and secondary school in his hometown of Beirut. He developed an ear for Arabic at an early age, and later learned to read and speak the language fluently. He finished secondary school at Andover, and went on to graduate from Harvard with both undergraduate and Master's degrees.

Subsequently, John taught English at the Loomis Preparatory School in Connecticut until World War II began, when he joined the military as a Naval officer and was posted in Washington D.C. with naval intelligence. There he met his future wife, Nene, also a Navy officer in intelligence. First, however, John was sent to Cairo, and Nene to Hawaii. After two years, the tides of war brought them back to Washington together and they were married.

After the war and almost on a whim, John took the Foreign Service exam. Shortly thereafter, John and Nene became a Foreign Service family. John's lifelong sensitivity to Arab culture and his grasp of the language made him an ideal candidate for Middle East duty. He served in various embassies throughout that region, including Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya, where he rose to the rank of charge d'affaires, as well as in Ethiopia and Paris.

Eventually, in 1966, John resigned from the Foreign Service. Why? "I had an interesting offer." That offer was the directorship of the American Research Center in Egypt. When John became ARCE Director, ARCE consisted of twelve universities and museums with programs in Egyptology and Islamic studies. John was in charge of the Cairo Center; the other center was in Cambridge, Massachusetts. For nine years, John's steady hand guided the Cairo Center through the turbulent arena of Egyptian politics. In 1977, Anwar El Sadat, then president of Egypt, awarded John the Order of the Republic for outstanding achievement and service.

Retirement eventually took John and Nene to their summer home in Orient, New York. Never one for the easy chair, John became a board member of the Eastern Long Island Hospital (NY), where he received the annual Theodore Roosevelt Award for Outstanding Achievement in 1988. He further served as President of the Oysterponds Historical Society from 1984 to 1987. In recent years John and Nene lived in a retirement community near Greenport, NY where John enjoyed growing Cedars of Lebanon from seed. John and Nene have three grown children and four grandchildren.

In 2004, ARCE honored John for his invaluable contributions to ARCE by presenting him with a Distinguished Service Award at the Annual Meeting in Cambridge Mass.

The El Ahaiwah Project 2005

Joan Knudsen, and Pia Anderson

1. George Reisner's 1900 photograph taken from above the fort, showing the fort, the sheikh's tomb, the Nile at full flood, the canal running parallel to it, and a portion of the excavations next to the canal. (Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of The University of California).



Abstract

In 1900, George Reisner excavated and documented a Late Predynastic and Third Intermediate Period cemetery, a few houses, and a portion of a Third Intermediate Period fort at El Ahaiwah.

In 2004 and 2005, Joan Knudsen (Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, U.C. Berkeley) and Pia Anderson (American University of Sharjah) visited the site to document the changes since Reisner's time, and the locations of landmarks, features and artifacts.

Changes to the site include the re-routing of a canal, which now cuts through the main part of the cemetery, the construction of paved roads and buildings, and the introduction of agriculture, which has impacted the cemetery and house remains. GPS readings were plotted for the fort and other landmarks, as well as for human bone and artifacts churned up during canal and road construction. The presence of Coptic textile fragments indicates a Coptic component not mentioned by Reisner. An

ancient quarry later used as a Coptic installation, was investigated by Pia Anderson.

Introduction

On March 30 and 31, 2005, documentation activities were undertaken by Joan Knudsen and Pia Anderson, at the site of El Ahaiwah, located in Sohag Governate, on the east bank of the Nile, some 22 km south of the city of Akhmim.¹ This season's activities, and those carried out during a brief visit in 2004, constitute the first systematic documentation of the site since George Reisner's work in 1900.

Background

In May of 1900, George Reisner, engaged by Phoebe Hearst for the University of California, was approached by an antiquities official, who reported that a Predynastic cemetery at El Ahaiwah was being plundered, and urged Reisner to begin work there without delay.² During the course of four months,

Reisner conducted extensive excavations in the cemetery, which contained burials of the Late Predynastic and Third Intermediate Periods. He, and his assistant Albert Lythgoe, also uncovered a small number of houses and documented a portion of a Third Intermediate Period fort.

One of the few published mentions of the site appeared in the Egypt Exploration Fund's annual report of 1900 – 1901. This included Reisner's description, in which he laid out the basic elements of the site:

"The cemetery lies on a low sandy plain, separated from the river only by a canal, and commanded on the south side by a mountain spur, around whose base the river flows. On the mountain spur, are the remains of a large fort....The slope of this spur and that part of the plain next to the canal are covered with the remains of a town" (Figs. 1 and 2)

Reisner's documentation of his work includes field notes, a map (Map 1) of the cemeteries, and plans of the houses and a portion of the fort. In addition, Reisner's use of photography to document all phases of his work resulted in a collection of photographs covering the site in general, the houses, the fort, specific tombs, burials, and objects recovered.³ There is, however, no comprehensive site map showing the positions of the cemeteries, fort and houses relative to one another, and it is currently impossible to tie any of the maps and plans into the present landscape.

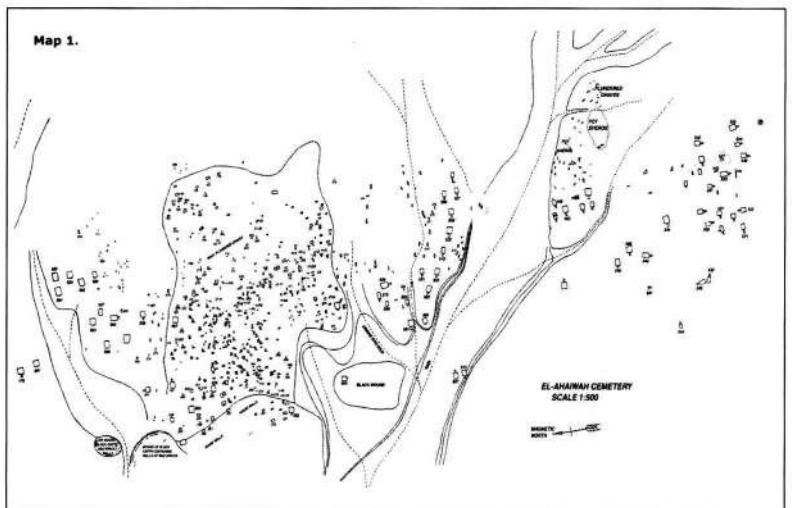
The Work of the 2005 Season

The objectives of the 2005 season were as follows:

- To document changes in the site since Reisner's work in 1900.
- To take GPS readings to enable us to plot the fort and other relevant ancient and modern landmarks, features and artifacts on a 1:50,000 Survey of Egypt topographic map.
- To overlay Reisner's map, of cemetery and house locations, onto the topographic map to produce a comprehensive site map in the present landscape.

Changes to the Site Since 1900

The most striking change to the site, since Reisner's time, has been the rerouting of the Naj' Hammadi ash



Sharqiyah Canal, sometime prior to 1938.⁴ In 1900, as Reisner's report indicated, and his photographs show, the canal flowed past the site, paralleling the Nile. Today, however, the canal curves to the east, cutting through the site, and flows through a tunnel at the southern end of the mountain spur and cliffs. It appears that the rerouted canal cuts through the center of Reisner's main cemetery and has also impacted the houses adjacent to the original canal. A modern highway has been built where portions of the original canal once ran. (Fig. 3)

Changes made to the site since our visit in January of 2004 include the paving of an existing dirt road which runs east from the main highway, curves north, and ends at a bottled gas factory, the addition of a paved road along the east side of the re-routed canal, and the

2. George Reisner's 1900 photograph showing the Nile, the canal, excavated houses at the bottom of the slope, and excavations in the Predynastic cemetery in the distance. (Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of The University of California).

conservation

3. 2005 photograph taken from above the fort, showing a portion of the fort, the sheikh's tomb, the re-routed canal, paved roads, buildings and agriculture.

4. 2005 photograph showing the continuation of the recently paved main road through the site, the new water tower under construction, the bottled gas factory in the distance, and agriculture.

5. Tomb excavated by an inspector from the Akhmim tafitish prior to site selection for the new water tower to the east.

placement of a water tower, now under construction, to the east, along the road to the gas factory. In addition, buildings and agriculture now occupy the areas where most of the remaining sections of the cemeteries were once located, a fact corroborated by local villagers, who have told us that they often find bone and other cultural debris when they plow their fields. (Fig. 4)

GPS Mapping

GPS coordinates were obtained for significant landmarks, features, and for the locations of artifacts found *in situ* throughout the site.⁵ (Map 2) GPS coordinates have been recorded for the following:

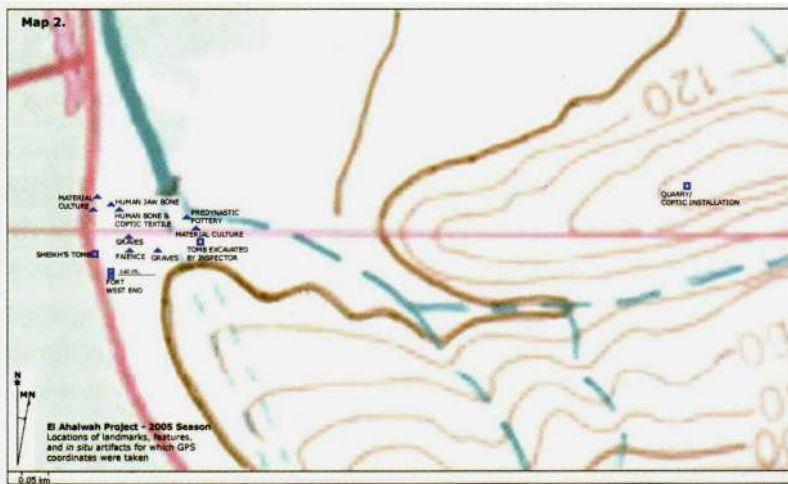
- The tomb of Sheikh Malzouk, a prominent landmark, sits atop the west end of the spur adjacent to the fort. This tomb, although refurbished since Reisner's time, can be seen in his 1900 photograph.⁶

- The Third Intermediate Period fort, which measures approximately 140 m in length,⁷ is sighted east-west along the top of the spur and would have overlooked the Nile in antiquity.⁸

- A tomb, possibly one of Reisner's Third Intermediate Period brick vaulted tombs, was excavated by an inspector from the Akhmim tafitish prior to site selection for the water tower, now under construction farther to the east.⁹ (Fig. 5)

- Other tombs and graves, which are probably represented by the uneven surfaces on the slope below the fort, are very likely some of the brick vaulted tombs and graves indicated by Reisner on his cemetery map.¹⁰ (Fig. 6)

Artifacts found *in situ* on the surface further help document the date, as well as the type and extent of use of the site. These include:



-A human jaw and other human bone, originally from graves, were found along the side of the newly paved road, having been churned up during road construction.¹¹ (Fig. 7)

- Black topped red ware pottery sherds, churned up during road or canal construction, were originally from Predynastic graves.¹² (Fig. 8)

- A faience rim fragment from a shallow bowl is of New Kingdom or later date.¹³ (Fig. 9)

- Coptic Period textile fragments, also churned up during road or canal construction, indicate that there were Coptic Period burials in the area. This is a new discovery; a Coptic Period component at the site was not mentioned by Reisner.¹⁴ (Fig. 10)

In addition, we noted three areas where fragments of pottery, stone and bone, indicated general human habitation and/or funerary use.¹⁵

Quarry and later Coptic installation

We documented an additional area of interest that was

brought to our attention by our inspector, Mr Abdullah Mohammed Ahmed, and was subsequently investigated by him and Pia Anderson. This area is situated to the east of the main site, high on a cliff overlooking the bottled gas factory. It appears to have originally served as a limestone quarry. The most impressive feature is a chamber in the cliff created by the removal of a significant amount of stone. It measures 3.80 m. wide, 6.65 m. deep, and 2.86 m. in height. Adjacent to the chamber, along the cliff face, are a number of blocks in various stages of removal, with quarrying marks clearly visible. (Figs. 11- 14)

Several of Reisner's photographs show that substantial limestone elements were incorporated into the construction of the fort. These include: what appears to be a large lintel, (Fig. 15) a stela with hieratic inscription, (Fig. 16) and casings for the lower gateway. (Fig. 17). This quarry is the most likely source of the limestone used at the fort.

At a later date, the chamber created by the quarrying operations was used for Coptic religious purposes



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6. Fort in the background with the probable remains of tombs in the foreground.

7. Human jaw fragment from construction debris, originally from the cemetery.

8. Black-topped red ware sherd, from construction debris, originally from the Predynastic cemetery.

9. Decorated faience bowl fragment.

10. Coptic Period textile fragment from construction debris, originally from a Coptic Period burial.

conservation

11. Quarry area and chamber, view 1.



12. Quarry area and chamber, view 2.



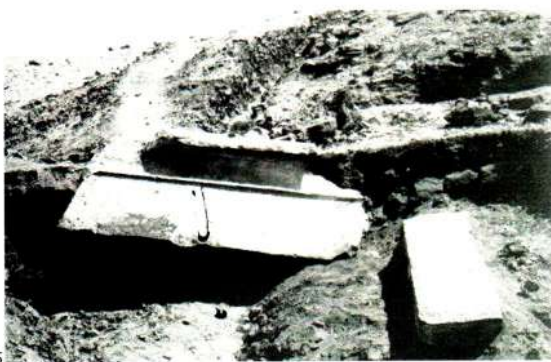
13. Blocks partially removed.



14. Quarrying marks.



15. Reisner's 1900 photograph of, what appears to be a stone lintel and one section of a large stela, at the fort. (Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of The University of California).



16. A close-up view of the two sections of the stela. (Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of The University of California).



17. Reisner's photograph of the east side of the lower gateway, showing the limestone casing. (Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of The University of California).



(Fig. 18). Mud plaster had been applied to the walls, which had then been painted white. Decorations, including a number of Coptic crosses, were added in red and black (Figs. 19 and 20). Coptic Period pottery sherds were also noted on the floor (Fig. 21). Clearly, this area warrants further investigation.

Our final objective, the creation of a comprehensive site map including an overlay of Reisner's cemetery map, will be achieved through the use of GIS software, available at the University of California, Berkeley. Work on this map is on-going.

Conclusions

The site of El Ahaiwah has undergone significant changes since George Reisner's excavations in 1900. The rerouting of the canal, the introduction of agriculture, and subsequent road construction, have all contributed to the destruction of the main part of the cemetery. This is evidenced by comments made by local farmers, and by the presence of human bone, pottery sherds, and Coptic Period textiles in the construction debris.

Likewise, the houses east of the original canal have also been impacted by the rerouted canal and building activities.

Fortunately, it appears that the southern portion of the site has not been as seriously affected. The fort, situated on the mountain spur, though somewhat denuded of stone since Reisner's day, remains, so far, mostly intact, and, as indicated by the position of the tomb excavated by an inspector from the Akhmim taffich, it is probable that at least some of the tombs in Reisner's southern most clusters remain. However, due to their proximity to the road and to the possibility of future construction projects, they should be considered endangered.

In addition, the presence of the quarry, used later as a Coptic religious installation, points to both a possible source of the stone used at the fort, and, a Coptic period component at El Ahaiwah. This likelihood is further strengthened by the documented presence of Coptic textile fragments from the cemetery.

The creation of a topographic map, overlaid with Reisner's cemetery map, and with the locations of landmarks, and features, such as the fort and houses indicated, will allow us to say with more certainty which areas of Reisner's original concession may still be preserved, and which are not. ■



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- 18. Chamber interior.
- 19. Plastered wall with painted decoration.
- 20. Painted Coptic cross.
- 21. Pottery sherds from chamber interior.

NOTES

1. We would like to express our sincere thanks to The Supreme Council of Antiquities, Secretary General Dr. Zahi Hawass, The Permanent Committee and Mr. Magdi ElGhandour for granting us permission to carry out our work. In Akhmim our work was facilitated by Chief Inspector Mr. Gamal Abd-El Nasser Yousef, and by our inspector, Mr. Abdullah Mohammed Ahmed. Many thanks are also due to the staff of the American Research Center in Egypt, especially Mme. Amira Khattab for her encouragement, advice and assistance, and to Mr. Amir Abdel Hamid for facilitating our travel and lodging arrangements in Sohag.
2. George A. Reisner to Phoebe A. Hearst, May 30, 1900, El Ahaiwah near Menshiyet. Phoebe Apperson Hearst Papers, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
3. George A. Reisner, 'Work of the University of California at El Ahaiwah and Naga ed Dér', in F.L. Griffith. *Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report, 1900-1901*, 23. Copies of Reisner's fieldnotes, plans, map of the cemeteries, and photographs are in the archives of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.
4. A 1941, 1:100,000 British Corps of Engineers Map, based on a 1938 Survey of Egypt Map, shows the re-routed canal in Place
5. GPS coordinates have been plotted on a 1991 Egyptian General Survey Authority map which utilizes the Egyptian Red Belt Projection. Consequently, the datum setting for the GPS unit used was Old Egyptian.
6. GPS coordinates: North latitude 26° 25' 59.5" East longitude 31° 9' 35.1"
7. Peter Lacovara, Stephen Quirk, Patricia Podzorski. 'A Third Intermediate Period Fortress at El Ahaiwah', *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), 59
8. GPS coordinates: Northwest corner, North latitude 26° 25' 58.4" East longitude 31° 49' 36.2" Southwest corner, North latitude 26° 25' 58.2" East longitude 31° 49' 36.2"
9. GPS coordinates: North latitude 26° 26' 00.2" East longitude 31° 49' 42.3"
10. GPS coordinates: North latitude 26° 26' 00.5" East longitude 31° 49' 37.4"
11. GPS coordinates: Jaw — North latitude 26° 26' 02.5" East longitude 31° 49' 36.2" Bone — North latitude 26° 26' 02.2" East longitude 31° 49' 36.8"
12. GPS coordinates: North latitude 26° 26' 01.7" East longitude 31° 49' 41.4"
13. GPS coordinates: North latitude 26° 25' 59.7" East longitude 31° 49' 37.5"
14. Found adjacent to human bone fragments noted above.
15. GPS coordinates -Northwestern areas of Material culture North latitude 26° 26' 03.0" East longitude 31° 49' 35.3" North latitude 26° 26' 02.2" East longitude 31° 49' 35.0" Eastern area of Material culture North latitude 26° 26' 01.0" East longitude 31° 49' 42.0"

Book Review

Labib Habachi: The Life and Legacy of an Egyptologist, by Jill Kamil, The American University in Cairo Press
Reviewed by Jason Thompson

This is what used to be called a life and times biography. Its subject, Labib Habachi, was a major figure in mid-twentieth-century Egyptology and achieved a measure of renown with his *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past*, often reprinted and translated into several languages.

To construct her picture of Habachi, the author draws on a wide range of sources including a long personal acquaintance with the subject. Habachi's career is presented not only in narrative, which is interesting enough, but in full context that provides a valuable perspective on the development of *Egyptian* Egyptology and the relationship of the Egyptian Egyptological establishment with the Western one, an important chapter in the history of ideas and cultures.

One is fascinated to read of Habachi's antagonistic relationship with his colleagues, carefully analyzed, and delighted that he could finally prevail. Of course his career spans the momentous years of 1952-6 which so profoundly affected Egyptology as well as many other aspects of Egyptian and international affairs.

This is a timely moment for such a book, following the upgrading of Egyptian Egyptologists in the third edition of *Who Was Who in Egyptology* and the provocative reassessment in Donald Reid's *Whose Pharaohs?* Perhaps it will point the way for more biographical studies and memoirs of figures inside Egyptian Egyptology, a rich literary and historical vein that awaits mining.

Jill Kamil is the heritage editor of Al-Ahram Weekly, Cairo's leading English-language newspaper. Resident in Egypt since 1956, she studied Egyptology under Abdel Moneim Abu Bakr and field archaeology under the guidance of Labib Habachi.

Jason Thompson is the author of the definitive biography of the Egyptologist Sir Gardner Wilkinson.

Fashioning *al-Jism (The Body)*, Refining *al-Nafs (The Self)*: Gender, Modernity, and the Spectacle of Women in Interwar Egypt¹

Fakhri Haghani

Gender and Public Sphere

In mapping out the history of modern Egypt, the period between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries is marked by the notion of women's cultural awakening and their first public political involvement in a nationalist cause, the 1919 Revolution. The rise of the women's press in the 1870s; the emergence of the *Sanayeh* school, the first Egyptian public school for girls, in the 1880s; the discourse of Qasim Amin at the turn of the century connecting education for women with concepts of motherhood, nationalism, and the future generation of the nation; and Hoda Shaarawi's mobilization of women for nationalist causes after World War I were some of the significant factors in producing that history.

Three decades later in the 1940s and 50s, daughters and granddaughters of women of the 1919 revolution were involved in the emergence of another revolutionary movement, that of 1952, leading to a distinctive landmark in the history of women in modern Egypt. Latifa al-Zayat was the general secretary of the National Committee for Students and Workers in 1946.² At first sight, al-Zayat's description of her involvement with the movement suggests a preoccupation with women's roles in the political culture of the 1940s. However, her optimistic futuristic statement also illustrates the emergence of a changed culture and a distinctive language within and through which concepts such as public space, education, self (embodied/envisioned), creativity, body, and change were associated with the process of women's identity formation. She recalled:

I am the daughter of the powerful revolutionary movement that emerged in the second half of the 1940s. It was a movement that was about to uproot the status



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1. Ruz al-Yusuf, the Editor of the Journal, *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 18 (March 3, 1926): Cover page.

quo when the Free Officers' Movement took place on 23 July 1952. I was personally and effectively involved in this revolutionary movement. As an undergraduate, I was one of the three secretaries of the National Committee for Students and Workers, which led the Egyptian people's struggle in 1946. I was out there in the streets, a whole human being, qualified by my intellect, emotions, senses and perception. I was there in the streets, we all were, re-constructing our society. Together we created the melody of the self, moulding our future, freeing the process of its creation. We were filled with an ecstasy equal to that of creativity, as we practiced

*freedom the way it should be practiced.*³

Why and how did this distinctive language and culture emerge in the 1940s and 50s? What role did the inspiration of the 1920s and 30s play in the emergence of such a culture? In 1923, Egypt changed from a colonial to a semi-colonial country, with a constitutional monarchy. The middle class expanded and literacy increased. The number of governmental schools for girls grew, producing more female graduates. With veiling and seclusion in decline, women began to have a more visible presence in public spaces such as streets, public transportation, schools, clubs, societies, charities, entertainment quarters, and regional and international conferences. Women's movements expanded. The number of journals published by women increased, changing both their contents (editorials, letters to editors, art pages) and their styles (the addition of illustrations, for example). The press in general, following Benedict Anderson's theory of "imagined communities," played a vital role in both reflecting and constructing an Egyptian identity as a modern nation.⁴ A decade later, in the 1930s, quarters and streets of Cairo, Alexandria, and many other Egyptian cities became sites for public entertainment—events such as concerts, art exhibits, films, night club dances, and theatrical performances, creating spectacles in the city. Participation of men (and women) across the social spectrum in public life (including reading journals, participating in public lectures, going to movies, night clubs, and concerts) contributed to the proliferation of a national visual culture shared by different social classes.

Women's contributions as writers and artists in the rise and spread of such textual and visual cultures during these two decades were significant. Limitations of space allow me to focus only on the press in this article. I use press, including photographs as well as texts, both as a source and a performance site to comment on theatre, dancing, film, veiling, and women's identity. For this study, I do not use films, music recordings, and theatre performances as my primary source materials. Scholars of Middle Eastern gender and women's studies have produced pioneering works addressing the significance of print culture in the emergence of Egyptian women's nationalist

consciousness. This body of work identifies and introduces the role feminist nationalists played in the 1919 Revolution and its aftermath.⁵ Using various theoretical and disciplinary approaches, it also examined the questions of family, nation, feminism, and production of knowledge about public spheres in Egypt.⁶ Some scholars emphasized print culture and its role in national identity formation.⁷ Most of these studies have concentrated on the late nineteenth and the first two decades of the twentieth century. Recent studies have gone beyond print culture, addressing the questions of oral and visual cultures in Egyptian women's activities.⁸ Beth Baron has recently pointed out the importance of photography as a modern media used by the Egyptian Nationalists in the construction of nation during the 1920s and 30s. Her book, *Egypt as a Woman*, traces the symbolic iconography of woman used by Egyptian artists and nationalists to construct Egypt as a nation.⁹

In this paper, however, I intend to go beyond the iconographic gendered representations of the nation, and concentrate on the role women writers (and artists) played in the emergence of visual culture or what I call the "aesthetic arts" of music, theatre, and cinema. I argue that it was the psychological and physical embodiment of the self as an artist (and as a woman) and the need to fulfill that desire, from a gendered point of view, which motivated these women *to pursue artistic public performances*.

Egyptian women's use of what Jürgen Habermas has termed a "rational communication" system or "rational-critical" discourse played a key role in the creation of a public sphere through which issues of "common concern" were debated.¹⁰ Habermas's concept of a public sphere as a "venue of emancipation, power of reason, political participation, civil society, and democracy" has further been developed by critical narratives which attempted to include such excluded identities as women, workers, non-white racial groups, and religious minorities in that discourse.¹¹ This body of literature helps us to give context to women's roles and their subject positions during the culturally and politically changing period of the interwar Egypt. The women's press and those who dedicated pages or columns of their journals to

al Sayyidat (women) addressed issues concerning women from a gendered point of view. However, the public sphere as a site of performance for constructing identities itself constitutes power and domination, concealing subjugation of undermined identities.¹² This construct helps us to understand how women's narrative discourse and performative embodiments produced gender and its discourse defined as the construction of sexually different productions of social and cultural knowledge.

Modernity, Visibility, and Performance

In Habermas's theory of the public sphere, it is publicness or public opinion, which transforms an individual or a group into an historical agent.¹³ Habermas, however, did not address the central role that visibility, images, and performance play in the creation of historical actors and "a human existence into meaningful political agent."¹⁴ The fields of art history, film studies, and performance or "embodied practices" have contributed enormously in making historians conscious of the significance of the image in historical analysis. The increase in women's presence in public spaces as a practice is an example of visibility and visible performance.¹⁵ Conscious or unconscious performance has been considered as the way to construct identities. Performing spectatorship and being part of the spectacle are both integral to the expression of the "new modes of identity" formation. Scholars in the field of public space, social order, and gender have produced a number of studies on the issue of the double "desire to see and be seen... to express one's sense of social position." Seeing oneself, seeing each other, and being seen by others are part of a performative act through which historical actors have been able to understand their societies and their social order, and interact with them as well.¹⁶

The heterogeneous crowd of avant-garde Egyptian women writers, during the 1920s and 30s, put themselves on display. These women of the press constantly wrote about each other in detail, and displayed visual images of their identities, covering an entire spectrum of their activities. *Al-Mar'a al-Misriyya* and *Ruz al-Yusuf* announced the publication of the Egyptian Feminist Union's new journal



السيدة ليبة احمد والحاجة مريم الكاوية
أمام مسجد الصخرة بالقدس

L'Égyptienne (al-Misriyya).¹⁷ *Al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya* described the mission of the new journal—to elevate women's social and artistic status and also pointed out the photographic portraits of Khedive Abbas Hilmi II's mother and the writer Juliette Adam printed in *L'Égyptienne's* first issue. *Al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya* and *Ruz al-Yusuf* often printed portrait photographs of pioneering women, including Labiba Ahmad and Ruz al-Yusuf, the editors of the journals (Fig. 1). A brief biographical note describing the individual's accomplishments accompanied each illustration.

Al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya published Nabawia Musa's photograph, pointing out her former position as a school inspector of the ministry of education. It then praised Nabawia's bravery and pioneering role as the first woman in the history of the Egyptian courts to defend herself when charges were brought against her.¹⁸ Another story referred to Hoda Shaarawi's visit to the studio of the well known Egyptian sculptor Mahmoud Mokhtar in *Antikkhaneh* street, to purchase a sculpture for LE 200 Egyptian Pounds. Hoda's purchase was referred to as the "sensitivity

2. Labiba Ahmad, the Editor of *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya* Accompanied by her Hajja Friend in Front of the Masjid al-Quds (the Dome of the Rock), *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 8 (November 1930): np.

محضر بنتيجة الاستفتاء العام حول المطربات الثلاث

السيدة منيرة المهدي



فالاولى هي السيدة « فتحية احمد »
والثانية هي « السيدة منيرة المهدي »
السؤال الرابع:

إذا فرضنا أن هؤلاء المطربات الثلاث كن
يغنين في ليلة واحدة و أما كن مختلفة فأيهن تفضل
أن تذهب لبعاءها ؟

عدد الاصوات ١٢٤

نالت السيدة فتحية احمد ٦٣ صوتا

نالت السيدة منيرة المهدي ٤٧ صوتا

نالت الانسة ام كلثوم ١٤ صوتا

فالاولى هي « السيدة فتحية احمد »

والثانية هي « السيدة منيرة المهدي »

وفيا عدا هذا فقد احتسبنا ٤٧ صوتا لآخيا

والسنة عد المحمد حيدر احمد حيدر

فالاولى هي « السيدة فتحية احمد »
والثانية هي « السيدة منيرة المهدي »

السؤال الثاني :

من هي التي يؤثر فيك صوتها أكثر
من سواها ؟

عدد الاصوات — ١٣٢

نالت السيدة فتحية احمد ٩٠ صوتا

نالت الانسة ام كلثوم ٢٣ صوتا

نالت السيدة منيرة المهدي ١٩ صوتا

فالاولى هي « السيدة فتحية احمد »

والثانية هي « الانسة ام كلثوم »

السؤال الثالث :

من هي الاكثر ليلما بفن الغناء ؟

عدد الاصوات — ١٢٩

نالت السيدة فتحية احمد ٩٦ صوتا

نالت السيدة منيرة المهدي ٢٧ صوتا

نالت الانسة ام كلثوم ٦ اصوات

السيدة فتحية احمد



فتابع مد ههشه !

في يوم الخميس ٢٧ مايو سنة ١٩٢٦ الساعة
الخامسة مساء اجتماعنا نحن الموقعين أدناه لفرز الاجوبة
التي وردت الي ادارة مجلة رور اليوسف رداً على
الاستفتاء المنشور في العدد ٢٩ حول السيدات منيرة
المهدي وام كلثوم وفتحية احمد . وبعد الانتهاء من
فرز الاوراق وحصر الاصوات كانت النتيجة كما يلي :

السؤال الاول :

من هي الاجمل صوتا من هؤلاء المطربات الثلاث ؟

عدد الاصوات — ١٤٣

نالت السيدة فتحية احمد ٩٤ صوتا

نالت السيدة منيرة المهدي ٣٠ صوتا

نالت الانسة ام كلثوم ١٩ صوتا



الانسة ام كلثوم

3. Public Announcement of the Result of the Popular Contest between al-Motarat al-Salasa (the Three Artists), Ruz al-Yusuf, 31 (June 2, 1926): 14.

of a beautiful nation" and she was praised for her gesture as being a "true nationalist."¹⁹ *Al-Mihrajan* dedicated a whole page to Hoda Shaarawi's intention to write her life story, which would emphasize women's awakening and such key female and male personalities as Princess Nazli, Bahithat al-Badiya, Rifa'a al-Tahtawi and Qasim Amin. The news itself appeared as a brief biographical page about Hoda's life, from her family's social and political position to her pioneering role in the foundation of the Egyptian

Feminist Union.²⁰

Longer articles also appeared, reporting women's presence at conferences and public events and printing their speeches, such as May Ziada's speech at the 1925 conference on family, and her talk at the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the journal *al-Muqtataf*.²¹ *Al-Mar'a al-Misriyya* published a series of communications between May Ziada and Bahithat al Badiya, as well as a poem dedicated to Badiya by Nabawia Musa.²² The *Akhbar wa Hawadith* page of

al-Mar'a al-Misriyya reported on its annual opening ceremony in 1925, held at Uzbekieh Garden. Nabawia Musa was the keynote speaker, and a group of female school principals attended.²³ *Al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya* printed a letter addressed to its editor Labiba Ahmed from Rose Haddad, the editor of *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal* and sister of Farah Antun. Haddad congratulated *al-Nahda* on its fifth year of publication and praised its message encouraging women's participation in public activities to establish a "connection among women of the East." Haddad thought this connection might strengthen resistance to European efforts to recover war damages from Arab and Eastern countries.

The one page "*risala*" incorporated a photograph of Rose Haddad.²⁴ Photographs of recent female graduates and those who entered professional fields, including *al-Fann (Art)* were often published and their subjects were praised for their accomplishments.²⁵ Photographs of Labiba Ahmad, the editor of *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, were printed on several occasions, from her pose in front of Masjid al-Quds (Dome of the Rock) on her way to Mecca (Fig. 2) to an image of her with Ali Bey Kemal, brother of the nationalist Watani Party figure Mustafa Bey Kemal. The photograph, which also included the image of an orphaned child, was printed on the occasion of the death of Ali Bey Kemal, with a reference to Labiba as the future educator of the girl. *Al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya* also published a two-page article by Ibrahim Abd al Latif Naim on Ahmad's efforts in advancing women's education as well as her morals, strength, and pious nature.²⁶

Fashioning *al-Jism (The Body)*, Refining *al-Nafs (The Self)*

The efforts generated by these women in the press to produce knowledge, in both its literal and visual forms, about activities of other women, reflect their consciousness about society's physical and moral boundaries regarding the status of women and the role women could play in challenging that status in public spaces. Coming from diverse religious, class, and cultural backgrounds, these women performed various forms of subject - positioning. In continuation with pre 1919 writings about women, themes such as *tadbir al-manzil (home management)*, *bab al-tarbiat al-atfal (the education of children)*, *al-zina' wa al-jamal*

al-mar'a (ornament and beauty of women), *al-sihha' (hygiene)*, and *adab al-akhlaqia' (moral etiquette)* still occupied the pages of the day. Departing from the turn of the century's construction of women as wives and mothers, the 1920s and 30s discourse highlighted the importance of the woman as an individual in her public and private wholeness. The significance of facing present *hiyat (life)* as *bahth al-asriya* (a discourse of modernity) emerged within and without the women's circle. "*Al-hiyat* is divided into two spheres," as a writer of *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya* reminds us, "the bodily life and the spiritual life. The bodily life is connected to the survival of *al-jism (the body)*, which moves as long as there is blood in it and will be destroyed when the blood stops circulating. The spiritual life which is the life of *al-nafs (the self)* immortalizes the outcome of the individual's conduct. There is no end to this life because individuals are commemorated by the works their *nafs* do in this world and if they do good works, we should thank them in this world and also remember them after their death."²⁷

Construction of personal identity through the body and the self was also the subject of many debates and discussions of the time. *Al-sikulujiyya (psychology)* is a term, which found its way into many of the writings of the time on *al-nafs* and *al-jism*. The prolific Coptic socialist writer, journalist, and literary critic Salama Musa stands out. In *al-Majalat al-Jidida*, Musa included a number of articles on the subject of psychology in relation to *al-nafs* and *al-jism*. His article on the psychology of Adler rejected Freud's theory of the *zatiyya (essential being)* and replaced it with *quwat al-irada (power of the will)*. He concluded the article with a brief paragraph reminding girls and their parents about the significance of Adler's ideas in their lives.²⁸ "*Al-nafs, al-jism, wa al-moaliyya,*" (*the self, the body, and the cure*), another article which appeared in the 1930s attempted to combine psychology and *din (religion)*, calling them both useful fields for influencing the formation of *al-nafs* in contrast to the ancient practice of healing, which considered medicine as the field of *al-jism (the body)*, and religion as a field for both *al-jism (the body)* and *al-aql (the wisdom)*.²⁹

Psychology, not as a means of studying the Freudian

essentialist nature of human beings, but as a science to analyze objectivist phenomenon, addressed one's place in society based on self-assertion, self-thought, and self-responsibility. An article in *al Sayyidat wa al Rijal* referred to *al nafs al insan* (the individual self), in which mind and character acted as a court of justice where the development of conscience was dependent upon law, the arbitrator, and the enforcement of the law within that court. While the conscience was not supposed to be swayed by emotion a limited contribution from emotion was acknowledged.³⁰

Al-musiqa (music) was not praised solely for its Eastern/Egyptian innovations and "authenticity" but also elevated for its significance as promoter of *al-nafs* (the self) and *al-jism* (the body). Entitled "The effect of music and *al-qana'* (the song) on the mind and the nerve" the author of the article in *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya* pointed out three areas in which the positive effects of music have been noted, *al-jihaz al-asabi* (the nervous system), *al-sha'n al-taqziya* (nutrition), and *amrad al-aqliya* (mental disorders). "The stress and tension produced in post-war European societies," the author claimed, "have made the significance of music essential for the nervous system and several glands of the body."³¹ The writer then tried to illustrate the implication of that theory through an imaginary story: "Once, an American suffered from a mental disorder and a depression. Upon a doctor's advice he traveled to Europe but did not regain his health. One night, he visited *Dar al-Obara* (the Opera House) and watched a program with delightful musical sounds and touching melodies. By the end of the program he felt well. He continued to go to *Dar al-Obara* time and time again. His depression was lessened to the point where it was completely cured."³²

Writing about the impact of music on the elevation of *al-nafs* was not the sole performative act of the authors. These women, with heterogeneous religious, ideological, and social backgrounds stretched the spatiality of their own and their subjects' performative roles beyond the period's acceptable norms for women's presence in public. The pages of *Ruz al-Yusuf* and *al-Fatat* were full of the visual and literal narratives about activities and lives of women artists in the fields of music, theatre, and cinema. The so called

trio—Munira al-Mihdia, Fath'iyya Ahmad, and Um Kulthum—were subjects and objects of constant spectatorship, at one time generating a popularity contest in one journal (Fig. 3).³³ News about women artists who were finally able to open their own salons was top priority, accompanied by illustrations of the artists.³⁴ These photographs often pushed beyond the period's standards of acceptability regarding women's appearance in public (Fig. 4). While dancers and other performance artists found ways to challenge the prevalent gaze of the time, both within the pages of the press and in public—theatres, casinos, and salons—dancing, in general, as a form of aesthetic art and a profession for girls generated contradictory and conflicting debates in the pages of press.

An example of such controversial perspective was an article in *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, quoting *al-Ahram's* report on a dance competition, which took place at a dance club in the Casino of San Stefano in Alexandria. The writer of *al-Nahda* expressed distress about the couples who performed what *al Ahram* had called a "spectacular form of modern dance," blaming the daughters of several pashas for outrageous spending on their dresses.³⁵

The writer of *al-Nahda* argued that there is no such thing as an "indigenous form of modern dance" in Egypt. European influence on aristocratic families in Egypt gave rise to this dance form, passed on to the middle class, through popular education. The author of *al-Nahda* called dance a temptation with a strong negative impact on one's moral self. The writer pointed out the conflict and ultimately divorce between the Napoleon of the East (Mustafa Kemal Pasha or Attaturk) and his wife Latifa Hanim as evidence. "Despite his love for his wife," the author continued, "Mustafa Kamal Pasha divorced her because she refused to support his decision for the sake of justice. He had punished her brother, who had created a scene after an ambassador's wife refused to dance with him at a high official club party." The *al-Nahda* writer claimed that in 1894, an imprisonment and a fine were decreed against a dancer in Egypt, stipulating the 1927 law for any public act disturbing public morals. The article addressed the importance of uprooting such disgrace, which has contaminated the land of Egypt and hoped for the

implementation of the act by the government.³⁶

Before women appeared for the first time in the cinema in 1927, they had performed in theatres, salons, and casinos as dancers and singers. Even after 1927, many women performed in and sometimes combined such fields of performance as music, theatre and cinema. Women's contribution to the emergence of the field of aesthetics as well as their inspiration from this field were part of the process of women's identity formation, in which visual and public presence played a key role. *Al-Fatat*, *Ruz al-Yusuf*, and *al-Mihrajan* all reported news about theatres, playhouses, salons, and representational performances. Pictorial news about Fath'iyya Ahmad, Fatima Rushdi, Aziza Amir, Badiyya Masa'bni, Mari Mansur, and Ruz al-Yusuf appeared in the pages of these journals (Fig. 5). Life stories were included about their marriages, pregnancies, travels, and professional rivalries and accomplishments such as joining a new company or opening their own salons or performance groups. However, these journals also reflected complexities involved in the acceptance of these art forms as appropriate professions for women by society and its people. While *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya* published news about a few women singers and performers,³⁷ its editor Labiba Ahmad criticized women's work in the field of theater in its September issue of 1934. Ahmad indicated that this profession tries to appeal to girls who belong to upper class strata. While she rejected acting and considered it as an immoral profession for women, she showed some tolerance toward playwriting as a quasi-decent profession. However, she believed that as the result of a monopoly by males in this profession, women would not be able to produce remarkable plays since they were held to writing stories only about love and deceit. At the end, she emphasized women's responsibility to uplift the nation's morals.³⁸

The rise of Aziza Amir as the producer of the first native Egyptian film, *Leyla*, in 1927, was a turning point in transforming the definition of the emergence of women in the field of aesthetics from that of *al-fann* (art) into that of *al sana'* (profession). Women performers like Fatima Rushdi, Assia Daghir, and Bahija Hafiz also worked as producers, scriptwriters,



and directors in the 1920s and 30s.³⁹ While articles appeared in *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya* and *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya* on the usefulness of documentary cinema as a means to education, and on the question of whether cinema would take the place of the book in Egyptian culture,⁴⁰ the journal *al-Mihrajan* published a critical article about the lack of women in national cinema. The author argued that, "many clubs have emerged as the result of the people's awareness of the cinema. However, these clubs will have no positive impact on young Egyptian females who are discouraged from entering the world of cinema and participating in this art as a profession, contrary to the way they had participated earlier in other arts such as music and theatre."⁴¹

Writing about body and the emergence of a culture of

4. Illustrated Weekly News about al-Motarabat (the Artists), *al-Fatat*, 1:1 (October 20, 1937): 19.

body performance in women's journals, could obviously not ignore themes such as the nature and means to beauty, fashion, and health.⁴² A debate about the traditional preference for long hair for women and the present trend towards short cuts took place between a reader and the author of *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*. The reader claimed that she did not like the new short-hair-style, but in order to follow the trend she had cut her hair short. In response, the author of *al-Mar'a* suggested that if Egyptian women stop following the present fashion of hairstyle, the trend would soon disappear.⁴³ Illustrations of physical exercises for women, sketches or photographs of fashion of the day, articles on healthy foods accompanied by recipes for natural cosmetics, and the impact of water and air on women's health were all included.⁴⁴ The discourse of *al-hijab* (veiling) and *al-sufur* (unveiling) was a popular one of the period, both in the women's press and in the general press,⁴⁵ but *fi majalis al-sayyidat* "at the women's gathering" page in *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, also published a dialogue among women regarding the subject of *al-tarbush* and *al-birnita*—head coverings for men. In it women addressed not only men who had replaced the *tarbush* with the *birnita* but also Egyptian women who have chosen to wear *al-birnita*. Referring to *al birnita* as an element of economic dependence and cultural slavery to European countries, these women proposed organizing an international conference on fashion in the Middle East, in which both men and women would participate. They praised Iraqis for being able to create a form of *al-birnita* in a different style from that of the Europeans. They raised the question of how one could claim to oppose European colonialism but follow European fashion and customs.⁴⁶ The emergence of *al-Zi al-Misri* (Egyptian fashion) to end the dilemma created by European influences was an alternative proposed by Labiba Ahmed in *al Nahda al Nisa'iyya*.⁴⁷

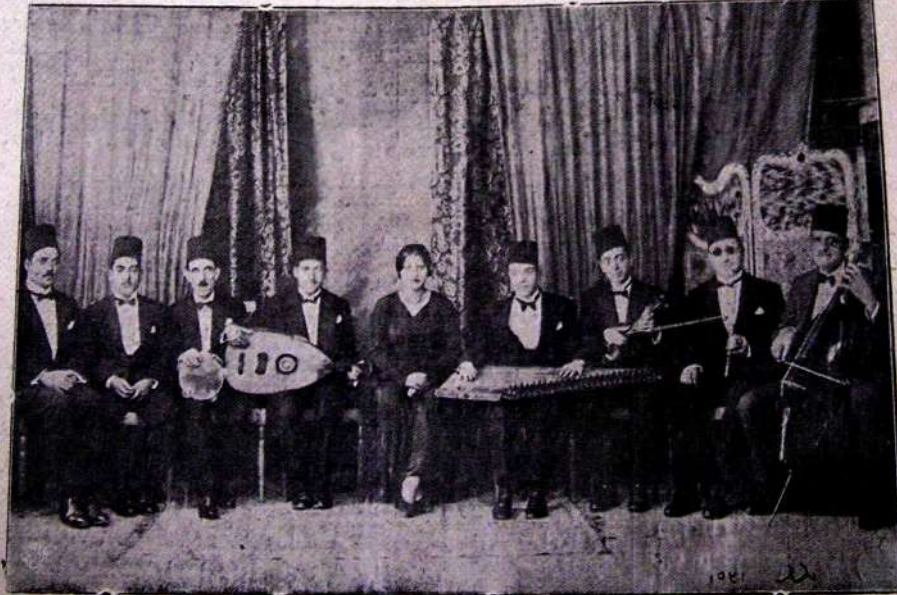
Conclusion

In the 1920s and 30s the art of writing about as well as the spectacle of defining the meaning and purpose of the aesthetic arts, both as an act of body performance in promoting public visibility and the emergence of a profession for women, became important vehicles through which Egyptian women put themselves on

display. While this act of public performance, on the one hand, reflected gender and its heterogeneous class, religious, and cultural formation, the articulation of knowledge about women's appearance in public itself produced gender as a social and cultural category. In the process of "seeing themselves" as whole individuals and in being able to see their societies and to interact with them, women writers and artists of the 1920s and 30s needed to see others and be seen by others. Performing spectatorship and being part of the spectacle were integral to this formation of new identity during the 1920s and 30s. The influence of objective psychology, which produced the concept of individual in its wholeness of *al-nafs* (the self) and *al-jism* (the body), was significant. One writer of *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal* expressed this process poetically when s/he advised readers to look at themselves the way others look at them. Think of themselves in the way the others think of them. "You will not enjoy your 'self' if you always feel a stranger to yourself and try to inhibit every movement of your body which exhorts from your 'self'"⁴⁸ ■

NOTES

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2. Hoda Elsadda and Emad Abou-Ghazi. *Significant Moments in the History of Egyptian Women*. Volume 1 (Cairo: National Council for Women, 2003).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
4. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
5. See Shaarawi, Hoda, *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist, 1870 – 1924*, Margot Badran, trans. (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1987); Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt:*



5. Fath'iyya Ahmad, the Number 1 Artist of Egypt Today, *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 189 (September 28, 1930/1931?): 19.

Culture, Society and the Press (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Margot Badran, *Feminists, Islam, and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

6. Lila Abu-Lughod, ed., *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Lisa Pollard, *Nurturing the Nation: The Family Politics of Modernizing, Colonizing, and Liberating Egypt, 1805 – 1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
7. Marilyn Booth, *May Her Likes Be Multiplied: Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Mona L. Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity, 1863 – 1922* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).
8. Karin van Nieuwkerk, "A Trade Like Any Other": *Female Singers and Dancers in Egypt*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); Virginia Danielson, *The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kulthum, Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Sherifa Zuhur, *Colors of Enchantment: Theater, Dance, Music, and the Visual Arts of the Middle East* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2001).
9. Beth Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).
10. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Spheres: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1989).
11. For critiques of Habermas on essentializing the citizen in terms of gender and

race see Harold Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians," *Journal of Modern History* 72 (March 2000): 153-82; Seyla Benhabib, *Democracy and Difference: Contesting Boundaries of the Political* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996); Jean L. Cohen, "Critical Social Theory and Feminist Critiques: The Debate with Jürgen Habermas" in Johanna Meehan (ed.), *Feminists Read Habermas: Gendering the Subject of Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 57-90; *Public Culture* Special Issue on The Black Public Sphere, 7:1 (Fall 1994); Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere, A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," in Bruce Robbins (ed.), *The Phantom Public Sphere* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), pp. 1-32; Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988).

12. The notion of the public sphere as a site of subjugation addresses the production of power and hierarchies of difference based on inclusion and exclusion. For further readings on this topic see Alev Cinar, "The Public, the Body, and the Nation: Negotiating a Place for Islam in Secular Spaces in Turkey," Paper presented at Cairo Workshop, *Gendering Urban Space in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia*, February 26-27, 2005 American University in Cairo; Joan Landes, "The Public and the Private Sphere, A Feminist Reconsideration" in Johanna Meehan (ed.), *Feminists Read Habermas: Gendering the Subject of Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 91-116; Lauren Berlant, "National Brands/National Body: Imitation of Life" in Bruce Robbins (ed.), *The Phantom Public Sphere* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), pp. 173-208; Craig Calhoun, "Introduction:

- Habermas and the Public Sphere" in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992), pp. 1-48; Michael Warner, "The Mass Public and The Mass Subject" in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), pp. 377-401.
13. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Spheres*.
 14. Alev Cinar, Srirupa Roy, and Maha Yahya have pointed out the "unexplored sites" wherein the public sphere is formed and transformed. They state, "... the public sphere is not only constituted verbally through acts of debate and deliberation but also visually through performative acts and material practices." Outline for Conference on *Secularism, Religious Nationalism, and the State: Visual Practices in the Public Sphere in Comparative Perspective, Theoretical Underpinning and Methodological Basis*, American University in Beirut, April 2005. For further studies on the subject of public sphere as a formation of visual and performative site see Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender Representation and Revolution in Eighteenth Century France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Princeton University Press, 2001). A classical feminist study of the subject is Judith Butler, *Gender Performance: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
 15. Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
 16. I would like to acknowledge Denise Davidson for her enlightening article "Making Society 'Legible': People-Watching in Paris after the Revolution," *French History* 16:30 (2002): 299-322. The paper brought to my attention the concept of "double desire" in a performative act and the notion of "active" denomination of "those on display." Such an argument has been articulated by recent scholars in the field of visual and performative arts, including film studies, in opposition to the earlier studies which considered "being seen" as an act of objectification in particular in reference to women. The term "double desire" refers to simultaneous act of seeing and being seen, being viewers and those on display, and performing spectatorship and being part of the spectacle. See also Susan Buck-Morss, *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989); Eva Lajer-Bucharth, *Necklines: The Art of Jacques Louis David after the Terror* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977).
 17. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 February 1925): 113; *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 1 (12 May 1926): 7.
 18. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 8 (March 1930): 94.
 19. *Ibid.*, 8 (January 1930): 9.
 20. *al-Mihrajan*, 1 (15 December 1937): 74-6.
 21. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 May 1925): 269-70; *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 1 (12 May 1926): 8.
 22. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 8 (15 January 1927): 30-4; *Ibid.*, 6 (15 December 1925): 527.
 23. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 May 1925): 276-79.
 24. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 5 (February 1927): 65.
 25. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 June 1925): 304; *al-Hisan*, 8 (25 January 1933): 1.
 26. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 5 (February 1927): 67; *Ibid.*, 13 (June 1935): 194.
 27. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 3 (15 March 1927): 113-14.
 28. *al-Majalat al-Jididah*, 2 (January 1930): 303-7.
 29. *Ibid.*, 2 (January 1930): 264-6.
 30. *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, 9 (June 1928): 434-40.
 31. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 October 1925): 448.
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 1 (2 June 1926): 14.
 34. *al-Hisan*, 8 (10 May 1933): 1.
 35. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 5 (June 1927): 203.
 36. *Ibid.*: 204-5.
 37. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 5 (June 1927): 225-6; *Ibid.*, 5 (July 1927): 255; *Ibid.*, 5 (December 1927): 435-7; *Ibid.*, 8 (January 1930): 28-9.
 38. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 12 (September 1934): 289-91.
 39. Viola Shafik, *Arab Cinema: History and Cultural Identity* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1998), pp. 13.
 40. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 February 1925): 108; *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 16 (March 1938): 87.
 41. *al-Mihrajan*, 2 (15 March 1939): 65-6.
 42. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 8 (July 1930): 231-3.
 43. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 April 1925): 220.
 44. On physical exercise see *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, 9 (August 1928): 601-5; *Ibid.*, 9 (March 1928): 287-90; on fashion see *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 October 1925): 436-8; *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 5 (November 1927): 379; *Ibid.*, 12 (April 1934): 109-10; *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 December 1925): 549; on food and health see *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, 9 (January 1928): 181-5; *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 8 (15 March 1927): 158-9; on the impact of air and water and recipes for cosmetics see *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, 8 (30 January 1927): 190-2; *Ibid.*, 9 (March 1928): 287-90; *Ibid.*, 9 (August 1928): 601-5.
 45. *al-Mar'a al-Misriyya*, 6 (15 October 1925): 408-9; *Ibid.*, 6 (15 December 1925): 517-8; *Ibid.*, 8 (15 April 1927): 276-8; *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, 9 (May 1928): 424-5; *Ibid.*, 9 (September 1928): 748-51; on men's journals see *al-Sufur*, 8 (2 April 1925): 1-8; *al-Mar'a al-Jidida* 1 (16 October 1924): 42; *al-Balagh al-Usubu'iyya* 9 (December 1927): 22-30.
 46. *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, 7 (March 1926): 246-52; The term *al-tarbush* was used for so called "traditional" men's head cover worn in Egypt and some other Arab countries, while *al-birnita* referred to European style head wear. For additional textual and visual debates on the question of *al-tarbush* and *al-birnita* and a brief history of the definition of *al-tarbush* see *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 1 (16 June 1926): 7; *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, 7 (August 1926): 502-8.
 47. *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya*, 5 (April 1927): 121-2.
 48. *al-Sayyidat wa al-Rijal*, 8 (31 December 1926): 66.

Excavations of Third Intermediate Period Thebes Behind the Temple of Mut, Luxor

Elaine Sullivan

The Johns Hopkins University has been working at the Temple of the Goddess Mut (Luxor) since 2001. The Hopkins team, directed by Dr. Betsy Bryan, has focused their excavations on a variety of areas within and behind the temple, including the temple's interior courts, the New Kingdom enclosure walls behind the Sacred Lake and the production zones around these walls. Beyond this area lies a large swath of open land thought to contain the city and settlement site associated with the temple. This area forms one of the largest sections of the ancient city of Thebes available for excavation.

During Hopkins' 2004-2006 excavation seasons, this project began the exploration of the section of the precinct away from the immediate temple area

and its production zones. After laying out a series of exploratory trenches, an area in the Mut Precinct's far south was chosen as the focus of investigations.

Excavations uncovered the remains of a variety of types of activities and architecture, spanning some 600 years. Most important was the discovery of a large-scale mud brick building, whose main moment of use in evidence was during the late Third Intermediate Period, specifically Dynasty 25 [Photo 1]. This building was composed of a series of substantial and interconnected cross walls, with slighter walls often used for the partitioning of interior space. Exterior long walls on the west and north sides suggest the building may have been

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loosely rectangular in shape, with a series of long and thin storage rooms lining its southern edge [Photo 2]. Interior rooms were square or rectangular, and some included mud brick structural features, possibly storage platforms. Evidence for earlier rooms at the same location suggests that the area may have seen use during the first part of the Third Intermediate Period as well.

Overlying these Third Intermediate Period structures



stood a layer of refuse dated to the Late Period, limited to Dynasty 26-27. This layer of pits and ceramic dumping included a large quantity of thick, hand-made Nile silt ceramics, and it is possible the area behind the Sacred Lake was used for temple-related industry at this time. No layers of Ptolemaic or Coptic materials were identified during the excavations, and it seems likely that this section of the temple complex was not utilized during these times.

Underneath the layers of the Third Intermediate Period structures, Late New Kingdom pottery and a number of interesting architectural features were discovered, including a sandstone cavetto cornice standing on a series of paving stones [photos 3&4], and a collapse of red-painted mud bricks. However, only a limited area was exposed down to these levels, so a broad understanding of this area's use in the New Kingdom will necessitate more excavation.

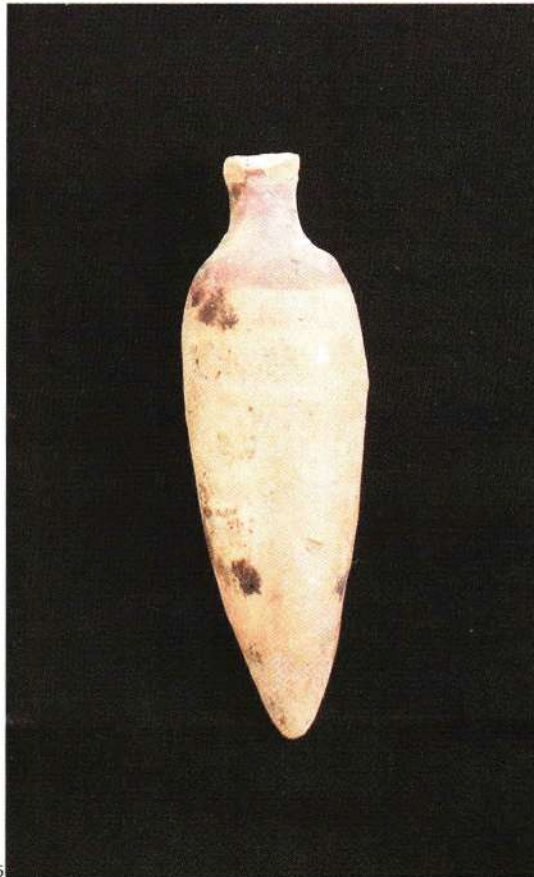
An in-depth study of the ceramic material has been integrated into this project to document the production and consumption activities occurring within and around the Third Intermediate Period mud brick building, as well as before and after its existence in the Late New Kingdom and Late Period. In order to make such an analysis possible, all excavated dirt from each room was sieved, capturing even the smallest sherds. A recording system was developed that labeled each individual diagnostic sherd with a number of increasingly more specific categories, allowing conclusions to be made based on both

highly recognizable sherds, as well as only moderately recognizable sherds. By comparing the types of ceramics present in the various levels of use defined during excavations, changes in function through time have been elucidated, providing us with a better understanding of the evolution of this part of the city [photo 5].

Within the Third Intermediate Period levels, percentages of vessel types present in each room have been recorded in an attempt to comment upon the general purpose of the mud brick complex. The preponderance of the ceramics found in this level were of types used for the storage of liquid and dry goods, as well as types typically used for consumption. The architecture and location of the building suggest it was built by a major organizational entity (i.e. the state or temple) for an administrative purpose, and the ceramics imply that this building may have functioned more specifically as a locus of storage and/or redistribution for consumption.

Because the layout of Pharaonic period Thebes remains only partially understood, questions arise as to what type of occupation should be expected directly behind the Mut Temple. Excavations at the site of Abu el-Gud (Luxor) showed that the city of Thebes spread south past the Mut Precinct during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.¹ An expanded view into non-cultic Thebes would help us both contextualize the information gained about these periods from temple and tomb sources, and better understand the daily workings of administration and domestic life in one of ancient Egypt's most important cities. The general arrangement and differentiation of usage of the entire area around the Mut Temple obviously extends beyond the scope of this small project, but hopefully the study of this one section will add to the discussion of this question, and give us another small insight into the organization of the city of ancient Thebes.

The excavations, as well as the study of the ceramics and small finds, were generously supported by an ARCE dissertation fellowship grant, and the research accomplished will be part of the author's Ph.D. dissertation project at Johns Hopkins



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University. Many thanks go to the Supreme Council of Antiquities for their support and interest, especially the Secretary General Dr. Zahi Hawass. Special assistance was gratefully received from the Director of Karnak, Ibrahim Suleiman, and the then General Director in Luxor, Dr. Huleil Ghali. Thanks go also to the inspectors who facilitated my research daily: Ahmed Araby, Ghada Ibrahim Fouad, Atef Abu el Fadel and Ramadan Ahmed Ali Ahmed. Assistance in Cairo was tirelessly provided by ARCE's Deputy Director for Research and Government Relations, Madame Amira Khattab. ■

NOTES

1 Mohammed El-Saghir, "The E.A.O. Excavations at Abou el-Gud, Luxor," *Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum* 2 (1988): 79-80.

Redefining the Monastic Desert

Elisabeth O'Connell

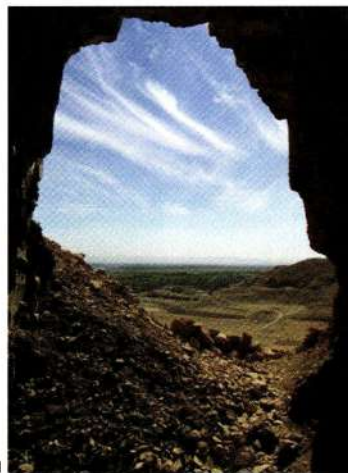
ELISABETH O'CONNELL was the Samuel H. Kress Foundation Fellow at ARCE in 2005-2006 and is a doctoral candidate at the University of California, Berkeley.

1. View towards cultivation and the so-called Monastery of Epiphanius (at right) from TT 310, located above the Temple of Hatshepsut / Monastery of Phoibammon, Deir el-Bahri.

2. Views of the Theban Mountain (Greek: *oros Memnoniōn*; Coptic: *toou n Jéme*).

Central to the historiography of Egyptian monasticism has always been the construction of “the desert.” The received narrative of the “desert fathers” situates these men in distinct isolation from local civic communities, thereby emphasizing their ascetic fortitude. The “desert” as represented especially in literary sources passed down through the manuscript tradition is understood as a site of redemption and salvation, a place evoking the examples of Elijah, John and Baptist and especially Jesus. And yet, archaeological (including papyrological and epigraphical) remains indicate that male and female ascetics might practice their discipline in any number of physical environments: in households in cities and towns, in temples and abandoned towns, in cemeteries, in the outer or inner desert.

My dissertation recognizes ancient Egyptian cemeteries as one widely chosen option for ascetic desert dwelling, not only at the beginning of the movement,¹ but throughout Late Antiquity (ca. 300–800). Despite the fact that the habitation is documented in countless Egyptologists’ archaeological site reports, the practice has been surprisingly under-recognized by scholars of early Christianity. Not only are the disciplinary divides separating Egyptology from patristics



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(early Christian), Classical, and Byzantine studies responsible for rendering the phenomenon nearly invisible in the secondary literature, but so too is the tradition wherein archaeologists separate out texts on papyrus and other materials from their archaeological contexts to be studied by philologists who sometimes have little familiarity with places from which their texts derive. The vocabulary of the desert in Egypt, reflects the topography of the landscape and, in this context, it is crucial to recognize that both Greek *oros* and Coptic *toou* can be translated “mountain” and “desert,” but also “cemetery” and “monastery.”²

Through a confluence of literary, archaeological (including papyrological and epigraphical) sources, I am trying to understand the practical and ideological

implications of the reuse of cemeteries on the desert escarpment in one geographically circumscribed area: Western Thebes. Motivations for (or perhaps explanation of) occupying funerary architecture might be characterized as ideological because, for example, the literary and visual metaphors of the tomb was frequently used to express the ideal of *apatheia* (passionlessness), e.g., “if you do not become dead like those who are in a tomb, you will not be able to grasp [this saying].”³ Given the physical reality of tomb-dwelling, we might wonder if occupying such space contributed to the ascetic ideal of “becoming dead.”⁴ My dissertation research in Egypt, however, was more concerned with establishing the fact of and determining practical motivations for inhabiting funerary architecture in Western Thebes.

Western Thebes

Western Thebes is the location of many of ancient Egypt's most iconic natural and architectural monuments. The Theban promontory [fig. 2] was continuously used for burial throughout Egyptian history. Even monuments that had not been intended originally to house burials became cemeteries in the course of the first millennium BCE. For example, the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri was not originally constructed as a tomb; nevertheless, from ca. 800 BCE to perhaps ca. 300 CE, Egyptians reused the chapels as mass graves, punctured the terraces with burial shafts and pitted them with inhumations. In Late Antiquity, all of the ancient cemeteries were reused for habitation; its residents are usually characterized as monastic. To proceed with the same example, the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri became the site of the *topos* of the holy martyr Phoibammon c. 590 CE [fig. 3].⁵ The Arabic toponyms (e.g., Deir el-Medina, Deir el-Bakhit) within the Theban necropolis will indicate to the alert observer the number of sites identified as monasteries into modern times (Arabic "deir" = English "monastery").

Methodology

Situating archaeological sites in relationship to one another we are able to recover an enormously rich late antique landscape. Since Herbert E. Winlock's survey eighty

years ago⁶ there has been no systematic attempt to synthesize late antique remains of the Theban necropolis. In the interim, scores of missions from dozens of countries have held hundreds of concessions, many of which have uncovered late antique remains. Whereas several sites evidencing late antique occupation have had the benefit of being published as integral units,⁷ more often archaeologists have held tombs as individual concessions. Usually trained Egyptologists, they have tended to be interested especially in the original function of the monuments. As a result, even when there are excellent publications of the tombs and other monuments reused as cemeteries, "intrusive" later material is often only mentioned in passing or relegated to footnotes, sometimes it is not referred at all. As a result, remains are rarely studied in their late antique topographical and

historical contexts.⁸

By collecting data from Egyptologists site reports and plotting late antique remains, even if schematically, we can gain an impression of the large-scale occupation of the Theban necropolis in Late Antiquity. Before arriving in Egypt, I collected evidence of "Coptic" remains recorded in Egyptologists' published excavation reports and compiled a database, which includes fields for a description of burial and occupation; architecture; objects, papyrological texts and graffiti; onomastica; and bibliography. The impression I gained as a result of this preliminary work was that the identification of discrete communities of ascetics by archaeologists, including Winlock, are more or less contingent on the extent of their concessions and not the boundaries of late antique communities, themselves. Nevertheless, due to the variety and



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3. The modern (reconstructed) Temple of Hatshepsut; View of remains of Monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri, EES Carter 15.

4. Ancient tomb entrance at the core of the church of St. Mark the Evangelist, Qurnet Marai; View standing over tomb's entrance, looking over the church of St. Mark the Evangelist, Qurnet Marai to the Ramesseum and cultivation.

wealth of material from Western Thebes, it should be possible to begin to delimit communities and their boundaries (which may have shifted over time) as 1) more sites are excavated carefully *and published* and 2) more papyri are deciphered and interpreted.⁹

Arriving in Egypt, my goals were to locate identified late antique sites; confirm or challenge the attribution of visible remains to the late antique period; document reused monuments and their relationships to one another; to try to understand criteria for the choice of some monuments for late antique habitation over others; confirm or challenge the monastic character of these sites; and to recognize topographical relationships of dwellings to one another and especially to contemporary local towns and the desert roads leading west behind the Theban promontory.

Throughout Western Thebes, residents adapted a variety of kinds of spaces to habitation. For example, several tombs or clusters of tombs underwent a process of centralization and enclosure, until the tombs were overbuilt with structures such as churches, refectories, dwellings, work areas, stables (e.g., Gurnet Marai [fig. 4], Deir el-Bakhit, so-called Monastery of Epiphanius at Shekh abd el-Gurna). Often, however, individual tombs were outfitted as self-sufficient units with more modest alterations: the partitioning of tomb courtyards; installation of pavements, benches and cooking facilities; plastering and painting of

walls, figural and textual *dipinti* and inscriptions; and carving of shelves and lamp niches (e.g., Tomb 1152, MMA 805 / Winlock Cell C) [fig. 5]).

Reuse is characterized by the following features 1) Availability. The monument had to be accessible in Late Antiquity. 2) Space and light. For example, preference was given to large tombs with open entrances and level rather than descending corridors (e.g., large Middle Kingdom tombs of Sheikh abd el-Gurna or Ramesside tombs of Valley or the Kings). 3) Views. Habitations for which extant remains are recorded tend to be at some height in the landscape and are almost always within view of at least one other contemporary settlement.

Topography

It is crucial to consider the relationship of local towns to the ascetic settlements on the Theban Mountain. Documentary papyri from the region clearly demonstrate that ascetics living in the Theban Mountain were involved in every aspect of the social and economic life of such civic communities.

The main exceptions to the trend wherein successive generations of Egyptians reused ancient monuments for burial were the Temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu and the Temple of Seti I, Gurna. These were used as civic settlements throughout the first millennium BCE and into the common era. The late antique town in the temple enclosure of Ramesses III was known as *Jême* in Coptic documents and the *Kastrum of Memnoneia* in Greek documents. It

was inhabited until c. 800 CE, when it seems to have been abandoned [figs. 6 and 7].¹⁰ Based on early European travelers' accounts, the Temple of Seti I seems to have been the earliest location of the modern town Gurna.¹¹ It may have been continually occupied since Late Antiquity, or intermittently reoccupied, and such habitation has made the study of the late antique phase of the town more challenging. The Temple of Seti I also received the early attention of archaeologists, who were eager to "clear" post-pharaonic remains. Nevertheless, DAI excavations have uncovered several large, "wealthy" houses dated to the fifth and sixth centuries and their pottery dated 400-800 CE is well-represented in their publications.¹² Attention to toponyms in papyri from Western Thebes should in time reveal the ancient name of the settlement.

The locations of these two late antique towns at the termini of two desert tracks that extend into the Qena Bend and meet before reaching into Western Desert, to Khargah and beyond, should indicate that the communities of Western Thebes were not necessarily isolated. Instead, as John and Deborah Darnell have demonstrated, such Theban roads reached one of their apexes of activity precisely in Late Antiquity.¹³ Providing military and commercial networks in the late Roman period, these roads (and their way stations) likely provided ascetics with an established means of entering and occupying what was, to some

degree, an already-inhabited desert.

Attention to the larger topographical context of these cemetery-settlements should alert us to the danger of making a circular argument: ascetics live in the desert-cemeteries and so habitation of the desert-cemeteries is ascetic in character. Such recognition should cause us to consider more carefully the attribution of, say, late Roman / early Byzantine ceramic scatters or Coptic graffiti (e.g., painted or incised crosses; names or prayers), to an ascetic population; such remains, especially those located on the routes beginning north and south of the Theban promontory and leading into the desert behind Thebes, deserve particular scrutiny.¹⁴

Papyrology

The content of papyrological and epigraphical texts allow us to people the Theban landscape with named and titled individuals, most of whom were indeed ascetics. In particular,

thousands of excavated texts on papyri, limestone and pottery sherds (ostraca) and other materials record the daily lives of ascetics living in the Theban Mountain and the residents of Jême from the late sixth through eighth centuries CE. Such texts have been edited over the course of the twentieth century and several useful tools were produced to help control the resulting data (e.g., Till's prosopography and Crum's topography).¹⁵ The excavation of new documents together with the study and publication of texts in long-held but little-studied international collections, will make it possible to refine the chronology, prosopography (a collection of biographical sketches), and topography of the region with spectacular results not only for the writing of the late antique history of Egypt, but especially the character of monasticism in the region. For example, we might wonder what the nature of the residence of several

bishops known to have lived in Western Thebes may have been (temporary, permanent, seasonal?), when their sees were located in district capitals to the north and south. Such facts *may* also call into question the characterization of Western Thebes as a relative backwater in Late Antiquity.

The content of papyri should always be understood in relationship to the topography and archaeology of Western Thebes. For example, in our attempts to identify discrete communities of ascetics, we can note that several of the settlements, some for which we know the ancient name, had their own little cemeteries (e.g., *topos* of Mark the Evangelist at Gurnet Marai, the *topos* of Isidoros at Deir el-Medina, so-called Monastery of Epiphanius and so-called Monastery of Cyriacus at Sheikh abd el-Gurna, the *topos* of the holy martyr Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri and so-called Deir el-Bakhit). This fact may indicate they were understood as independent communities in Late Antiquity.



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5. View to the Temple of Hatshepsut / Monastery of Phoibammon, Deir el-Bahri from the entrance of MMA 805 / Winlock "Cell C".

6. Temple of Ramses III / Jême, Medinet Habu with late antique Jêmean houses surviving on top of temple walls. Detail of late antique houses of Jême.

7. Stone architectural elements and inscribed lintels from Jême, Medinet Habu.

Redefining the desert

By recognizing the archaeological context of texts on papyri and reading their contents with this in mind, we may not only recognize a wide spread practice, but also may be able to rewrite the history of Christian monasticism in Egypt. The desert escarpment, the location of ancient cemeteries and late antique monasteries, was one locus of ascetic dwelling frequently overlooked by modern scholars. I have highlighted here some of the practical reasons ascetics may have chosen to live in cemeteries. As ready built shelter and sources of building material, funerary monuments were ideal real estate. Proximity to towns provided access to sustenance and economic viability. Placement at the termini of desert roads meant that the hermits and ascetic communities were not hemmed in by the desert or necessarily isolated. Instead we should imagine the desert as a traversable continuum, extending from the limit of the cultivation to the high desert and beyond.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the Samuel L. Kress Foundation for the funds to undertake dissertation research in Egypt and the American Research Center in Egypt for administering the award. I would also like to express my gratitude to the terrific staff at ARCE's Cairo and Atlanta offices. SCA staff, in particular my inspector Hanan Zoheir Adel, and members of the Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey, DAI and Polish missions made working in Luxor a pleasure. In Cairo, I was especially fortunate to be among a cohort of warm and intellectually stimulating ARCE fellows, research associates and scholars in residence. ■

NOTES

- 1 A. Badawy, "Les premiers établissements chrétiens dans les anciennes tombes d'Égypte," *Publications de l'institut d'études orientales de la bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie* 2 (1953): 67–89.
- 2 Hélène Cadell and Roger Rémondon, "Sens et emplois de *te* *oros* dans les documents papyrologiques," *Revue des études grecques* 80 (1967), 343–349; W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939; reprinted 1990), 440b–441b.
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- 5 M. Krause, "Die Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Phoibammon-Klöstern auf dem thebanischen Westufer," *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 27 (1986), 31–44.
- 6 H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926), 6–24.
- 7 W. Godlewski, *Le monastère de St. Phoibammon* (Warsaw: PWN, Editions scientifiques de Pologne, 1986); G. Burkard, et al., "Die spätantike Klosteranlage Deir el-Bachit in Dra' Abu el-Naga (Oberägypten)" *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 59 (2003), 41–65.
- 8 This is now changing, see recent and forthcoming articles in next note.
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- 10 T. G. Wilfong, *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic town in late antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).
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- 12 K. Mysliwiec, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung im Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna* (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag P. von Zabern, 1987).
- 13 It is fascinating that these two scholars have identified the most traffic on the desert roads coincided with periods of decentralization. J. C. Darnell and D. Darnell, *Theban desert road survey in the Egyptian Western Desert* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2002).
- 14 For example, only two of twelve graffiti recorded by the Darnells on the Farshut and Alamat-Tal Roads record named and titled ascetics.
- 15 W. C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben*. Wien (Vienna: Kommissionsverlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1962); H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes I*

Saving the Journals d'entrée: The Egyptian Museum Register Scanning Project

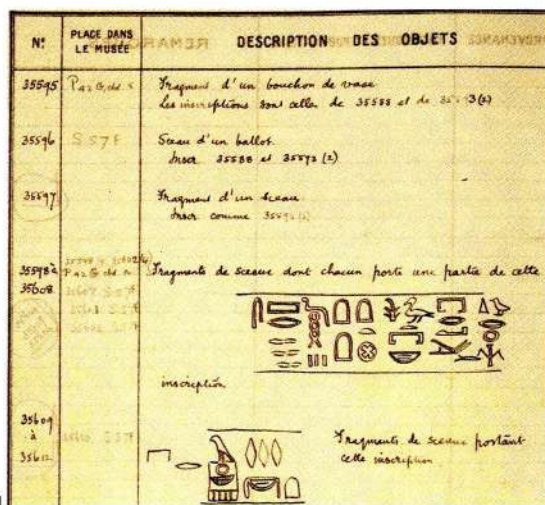
Janice Kamrin

We have successfully completed our Antiquities Endowment Fund (AEF) supported project to digitize and pass on for conservation two of the three sets of handwritten register books at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. It has been a very interesting year, and we have learned a great deal; most importantly, we have accomplished the task we set out to do.

We conceived of this project more than a year and a half ago. I then applied for an AEF grant to digitize the old register books at the Egyptian Museum. This idea grew out of the ongoing project of creating a new database for the museum, a project which has now turned into a full-fledged attempt to develop a modern collections management system by training Egyptian personnel and creating Egypt's first registrar's office, supported by a grant from the Egyptian Antiquities Conservation Program at ARCE. As a first step, it was decided to try and save the information contained in the priceless register books.

These 36 books that make up the Journal d'entre are unique and irreplaceable. They are handwritten, (Fig. 1) and there is only one original of each. They have been handled frequently and carelessly, and when we began the project, most of them were already falling apart. Due to the foresight of Mai Trad, ten of the Journals had been Xeroxed, so that the Xeroxes rather than the originals were being handled on a daily basis. The originals of these had been conserved, although unfortunately, the work was not done well, and much information is now caught in the bindings.

The Egyptian Museum works with three overlapping sets of register books: the Journal d'entrée (the main numbering system used for inventory control since 1858.); the Temporary Register (designed as a temporary holding tank); and the Special Register, a series of volumes in which objects are



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re-registered according to one of seven museum sections (Jewelry and Tutankhamun=Section 1; Old Kingdom=Section 2; Middle Kingdom=Section 3; New Kingdom=Section 4; Late Period and Greco-Roman=Section 5; Papyri and Coins=Section 6; and Coffins and Mummies=Section 7). These systems are complemented by the Catalogue general, a series of published volumes on particular categories of objects. For this project, we focused our efforts on the Journal d'entrée (JE), of which there are 24 volumes, and the 12 volumes that make up the Temporary Register (TR).

All of the JE's had also been microfiched by the Documentation Center at the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA). However, both the Xeroxes and the microfiches are in black and white; since color coding is used in many places in the JE's and TR's, important information was lost. The microfiches also do not provide adequate resolution, and many of the entries are completely illegible.

Our goal was simple: to digitize all of these volumes at high resolution and in full color, so that all

antiquity endowment fund grants

information would be conserved, and to print out the digitized versions so that the originals could be put away for safekeeping. The ARCE AEF committee gave us additional funds for conservation.

We began work in July of 2005. My principal assistants were Stephanie Boucher and Mennat el-Dorry (Fig. 2), who must be given major credit for the success of the project. In addition, we absolutely could not have completed this project without the dedication and hard work of Rania Galal. Dr. Peter Der Manuelian, director of the highly successful Giza Archives Project, was our principal consultant. Artist, graphic designer, and photographer Gustavo Camps also served as an unofficial (but extremely helpful) consultant, and later became our official photographer.

The two choices for digitization were scanning and photography. Only a year ago, cameras with the ability to take high enough resolution photographs for our purposes were prohibitively expensive (and the grant did not pay for equipment). We were fortunate that Dr. Hawass gave us access to an Epson Expression 10000 flatbed scanner, purchased by the Egyptian Mummy Project. Therefore, we chose to begin the project using this technology.

The best candidates for scanning were the Temporary Registers, so we began with those. They are small, and some of them have many pages out of the bindings. This was unfortunate, but did make them easier to work with. Handling the books with great care, we scanned those that could be manipulated safely at 300 dpi, full size, and in color, and saved them as tiffs with LZW compression.

All of the register books are set up as spreads: information about each object begins at the far left and extends over the facing page. We could only scan one page at a time, then it was necessary to join the facing pages together into spreads. We did this using Adobe Photoshop.

During the first months of the project, we scanned 11 books and processed the resulting files into spreads. A number of the curators at the museum helped with this project; we thank them all, especially Azza Abdel Aleem, Gehan Hassan Aly, Heba Adly, and Maha Hefny.

However, it rapidly became clear that scanning the remaining 25 books would be very difficult. These books were significantly larger, and many were in truly

terrible shape. Although we could have managed to scan and process them, the risk to the books themselves was too great; manipulating them to put them on the scanner would have done too much additional damage. Therefore, the digitizing aspect of the project was put on hold while we worked out an alternative methodology.

During this hiatus, we also put our focus on developing strategies for the conservation of the original books and the printing of the newly digitized and processed copies. We also scanned a majority of the Catalogues general (and many thanks to Rania and Heba, who did most of this work), which we are now linking to the database.

On the conservation front, we first consulted with Philip Croom and Mohamed Abu Bakr, experts from the AUC Rare Books Library, who recommended stabilizing the books by dismantling them, digitizing them, then interleaving them with acid-free paper and putting them away in acid-free boxes. The AUC conservators assured us that this was not difficult, and that we could be trained to do this ourselves. We got approval for this process from Dr. Wafaa and Dr. Hawass.

In the meantime, a conservator from Germany, who had expressed interest in restoring the books even before our project began, came to Egypt. In consultation with Dr. Wafaa, a plan was made whereby my team would stabilize the books, and then they would be taken them to Germany to restore them properly. However, this plan fell through, as it was deemed politically impossible to take the original register books out of the museum.

Regardless, we went ahead and began to set the groundwork for the stabilization plan. Menna traded work time for training at AUC, we researched the conservation materials we would need, and after about a month, we were ready to execute this plan. However, the museum decided it would not be appropriate for a non-professional to carry out this task, and so we again did not move forward.

And then, in December of 2005, I was informed that a team from Cairo University had been approved by the SCA to restore the register books. I therefore stopped attempting to contact outside conservators and began meeting with the Cairo University team, led by



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Dr. Wafika Noshi Wahba. We agreed that they would dismantle the books one by one, give them to us to scan, and then take them back for conservation. It became evident that they were very competent and willing to collaborate, but that it might take them a while to get started because of politics and financial issues.

At about the same time, we solved our digitization problem. The alternative had always been photography, and world-class photographer Sandro Vannini came to our rescue. Using his own equipment and volunteering his time, he successfully photographed several of the large register books. Our next lucky break came when Gustavo Camps, who had been giving us sound advice for free on a regular basis, agreed to join the project as its official photographer as soon as we had the conservation issues solved and were ready to continue.

In February of 2006, while we were waiting for the Cairo University team to be ready, a Canadian book conservator named Marie Trottier (Figs. 3, 4) magically appeared in Dr. Wafaa's office asking if she there was anything she could do. Dr. Wafaa sent her to me, and we were back up and running. She was not able to begin work until March, but over the course of five weeks, she dismantled and stabilized 11 register books, and advised us on the best way to address each of the others without dismantling them. Marie also met

numerous times with Dr. Wafika. Although we had hoped to dismantle the previously conserved books, so that we could rescue the information caught in the new bindings, they decided this would do too much damage, so we decided to digitize and store them as is.

As Marie dismantled each of the 11 books, Gustavo photographed them and turned them (Figs. 3, 4) over to us for processing; after these books were finished, he went on to photograph the remaining 12 books. We found that photography was considerably more effective than scanning: although we did not get quite as high resolution, the photographs were more than sufficient, and the work went much faster. Where it took a minimum of two minutes for the scanner to scan a single page, Gustavo could photograph very rapidly, and was mainly constrained only by how rapidly Marie (and then later Stephanie) could carefully change the page. Most importantly, although we were very careful with the scanning, the photography was better for the books.

Marie stored the books she worked on in acid-free boxes generously provided by Mai Trad, and we left them for Dr. Wafika to put into new boxes. Before she left to go back to Canada, Marie also gave us a detailed list of the conservation materials that Dr. Wafika would need to finish the rest of the books, including materials for the new boxes; we ordered these from New York, and passed them on to Dr. Wafika when they arrived.

The last piece of the puzzle was the printing. We had hoped to get a large format color laser printer, but it turned out that we needed a special permit for this.

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N°	PLATEAU LE NUMÉRO	DESCRIPTION DES OBJETS	MATERIE	EMERSONS	PROVENANCE	CANTONNEMENT ET PRODUCTIONS	REMARQUES
2096	100	Fragment d'un bracelet de bronze L'inscription sur cette de 2096 et de 2097		2096			
2097	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (2)		2097			
2098	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (3)		2098			
2099	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (4)		2099			
2100	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (5)		2100			
2101	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (6)		2101			
2102	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (7)		2102			
2103	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (8)		2103			
2104	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (9)		2104			
2105	100	Fragment d'un bracelet Ann. 2096 et 2097 (10)		2105			

the project by Dr. Salima Ikram) Seppi Lehner and Amanda Boehlert.

As soon as we had the first book laid out, we began printing. This was a very time-consuming process, as we were printing high quality and on two sides. It also consumed vast quantities of color ink. But the end result was excellent, and Mr. Fathi's binding gives us, in the end, a professional-looking and, most importantly, usable product. (Fig. 5)

In the meantime, we also continued with a subproject to link lower resolution jpegs of the completed spreads to the new database. Nancy Cameron took the lead on this, assisting me in to set up consistent protocols. The whole team, including our volunteers, linked, and we were assisted in our end game by new recruit Lamia Mohamed Abdel el Khalik (who also did layout and some processing), Nazly Ahmed el Faham, Mariam Awad Alla and volunteer Andrea Nevistic. Iman Abdulfattah also provided assistance at various stages of the project.

As of August 31, 2006, the Egyptian Museum Register Scanning Project has come to a successful end. In the room that will serve as the temporary home of the new registrars, we now have a complete set of newly-printed JE's and TR's. All of the processed spreads have been linked to the database, so it is now possible to look up any object and see its original entry in these books on-screen. All of the original books are now in the capable hands of Dr. Wafika, who is working hard to finish their conservation. We are now moving full-speed ahead on the larger database and collections management projects, and hope to scan the Special Registers so that they too can be linked to the database. Anyone who wishes to volunteer their services should feel free to contact us – the EMRSP project is finished, but we have lots of work left to do!

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to three people in particular. First, my eternal gratitude goes to Dr. Zahi Hawass, who brought me to Egypt and has encouraged me in all of my various endeavors. Second, I wish to thank Dr. Gerry Scott, who has supported me wholehearted from the inception of this project. Finally, my thanks to Dr. Wafaa el-Saddik, who has fully supported and encouraged this project, and entrusted us with the precious register books of the Egyptian Museum. ■

Therefore, ARCE bought an Epson Stylus 1280, which is an excellent ink jet printer able to print full-bleed and large format. The print quality is very good, although not quite as sharp as a laser printer. On the other hand, the ink is waterproof and durable.

We decided to save ink and paper by printing spreads rather than pages. This also means that there can be no confusion about which information belongs to which record, as the object data is on a single page. Adobe Indesign was used for the layout. We decided to print the smallest of the TR's on A4 paper, and the rest on A3. We found good materials locally, a matte finish, mid-weight paper that suited the project well. Taking the sound advice of Dr. Charles Van Siclen (ARCE's Librarian), we hired ARCE's binder, Hassan Fathi, to bind the finished product, using green leather for the JE's and blue leather for the TR's.

Thus by April, we had solved our myriad of problems, and with only a few months left, were ready to move ahead at high speed. Gustavo, with Stephanie as his assistant, photographed three days a week. Menna and I began laying out the books, and we all processed these as rapidly as possible. Rania became the processing expert, able to do up to two books a week by the end of the project! We also had processing help from volunteers Nancy Cameron, Dr. Laurie Flentye, and AUC students (generously steered toward

A New Pharaonic Room at the Gayer-Anderson Museum in Cairo

Nicholas Warner

The Gayer-Anderson Museum in Cairo is the home of an eclectic collection of objects, both ancient and modern, which the founder of the Museum assembled in the early part of the last century. This collection was bequeathed to Egypt upon Major R. G. Gayer-Anderson's death in 1945, and remains on display in the two conjoined Ottoman period courtyard houses that Gayer-Anderson lived in during his last years in Egypt which abut the mosque of Ahmad Ibn Tulun. His museum is a rare and remarkable example of a historic house converted to a museum that still preserves the atmosphere of a private collector's home.

For the past six years, a project to revitalize the Museum has been underway. This has included the construction of new elements such as a conservation workshop, staff offices, and visitor facilities, as well as the restoration of parts of the historic structures such as the *sabil* (water-dispensary) and roof terrace. A further component of the project has been the enhancement of old displays and the creation of new displays drawn from the reserves of the collection (comprising some 40% of the material housed in the Museum) which have hitherto never seen the light of day. Objects from these reserves have been documented and conserved prior to being exhibited in refurbished or new showcases in different rooms of the Museum which are, broadly speaking, themed. Thus, new displays have been created that relate to the architecture and history of the house, the life of the founder, Sufism, and daily life in Ottoman Egypt.

The project has been largely supported to date by contributions from the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Cultural Fund of the Royal Netherlands Embassy, and the Barakat Trust (UK), supplemented by contributions from companies such as British Petroleum, Daimler Chrysler, and Oriental Weavers. ARCE's involvement commenced in 2005 with an AEF project, directed by Dr. Jere Bacharach, to



NICHOLAS WARNER is the Director of the British Mission to the Gayer-Anderson Museum in Cairo. Visitors are welcome to the Museum within the opening hours of 9am to 4pm daily (closed during Friday prayers).

Fragremoval: Theo Gayer-Anderson removes a relief fragment embedded in a wall.
Photo: Nicholas Warner.

document and store the collection of over 1,000 Islamic glass weights in the collection. It has continued in 2006 with a project to document the Pharaonic collection of the Museum and install the most interesting pieces in a new display located in a former storeroom on the top floor of the house.

The bulk of Gayer-Anderson's vast collection of Pharaonic artifacts forms the basis today of the Egyptian collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (UK). Other pieces from his collection can be found in many other museums around the world including the Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts and the Portland Museum in the United States. What was left in Cairo at the time of his death were a number of original pieces, used as ornaments around the house, in addition to replicas such as that of the famous late-period bronze cat now a star attraction of the British Museum. Also



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2. First vitrine showing objects as finally mounted. Photo: Tim Loveless.

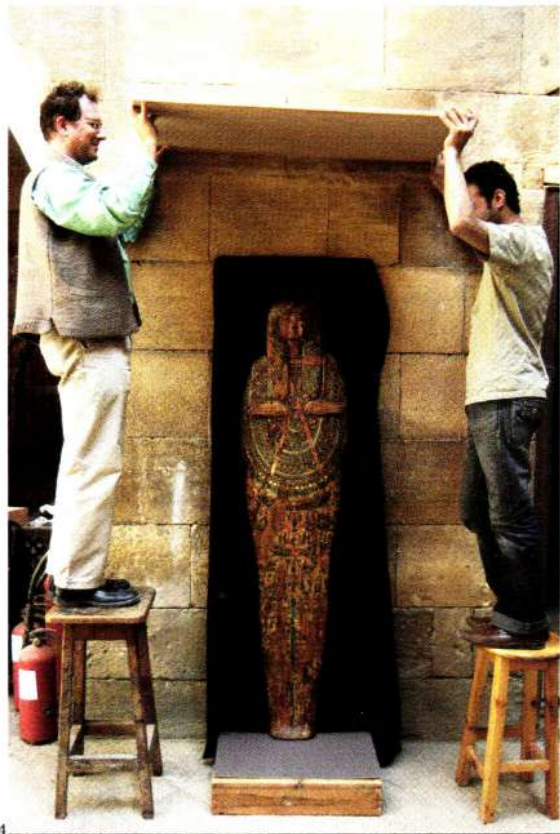


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3. Second vitrine with sculptural and relief fragments as mounted. Photo: TimLoveless.

4. The photography of larger objects required some improvisation. Photo: Tim Loveless.

5. A selection of the stainless steel object mounts prior to installation. Photo: Nicholas Warner.



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left behind was a significant mass of objects that were never registered, that have proved to contain a number of pieces of great interest.

The documentation and cataloguing of the Pharaonic collection has been carried out by Dr. Salima Ikram of the American University in Cairo, with the assistance of students from her Museology class. Pieces of note that are now on display for the first time include a fine post-Amarna period quartzite female torso, a statue fragment inscribed with the name of Nefertiti, and a limestone sunk relief panel from a monument of Amenirdis in Karnak. Other objects that can be seen are a group of limestone offering tables and wall-reliefs (some of which are interesting fakes), figures and limb-fragments from Middle Kingdom boat models, canopics, coffins from the



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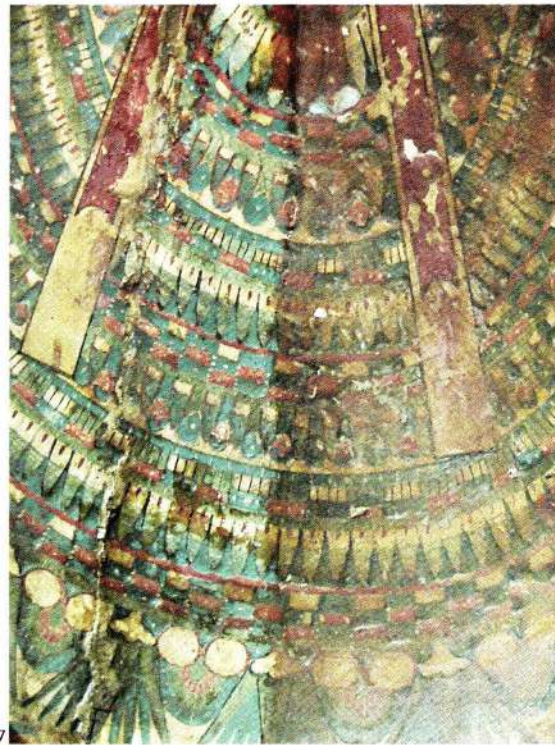
21st/22nd Dynasties, coffin panels from the Ptolemaic Period, Graeco-Roman terracottas, a mummy mask, and some other smaller items. Ikram also devised the labels for the new display. Support for the work was provided by Ahmed Sa'ad, Director of the Museum, with his curatorial team of Mohsen Mahmud Helmy Rashid, Kurram 'Abd al-Hamid Muhammad, Ehab Sedraq Apskharon, Mme. Somaya Muhammad Tawfiq, and Mme. Azza Kamal Muhammad, who also all worked on the registration of a large number of previously unregistered objects.

Conservation and cleaning work on the collection was executed by Bianca Madden (who attended to the flaking and heavily waxed cartonnage coffins as well as other wooden pieces), and Theo Gayer-Anderson (working on stone and terracotta objects) assisted by local conservator Ikrami Gharib. Some of the relief fragments had to be removed from the walls of the storeroom where they had been embedded prior to fine conservation. For Gayer-Anderson there was also the chance to design the display of 155 pieces of different materials and sizes from his grandfather's collection which had never before been exhibited. This he carried out with his usual flair, creating purpose made fittings from stainless steel and wood for the numerous fragments requiring special treatment. Photographic documentation of the cleaned and conserved pieces was carried out by Tim Loveless.

The two large new showcases of the Pharaonic Room with glazed sliding doors above and storage cabinets



below were fabricated from a combination of wood and steel by Mahmud al-Tayyib. He also executed all of the display mounts within them and two separate cases for the cartonnage mummy cases flanking the entrance to the room, which is now framed by a *mashrabiyya* (turned-wood) screen made up from re-used pieces in the collection. Finally, thanks to the generosity of Dr. Barbara Mertz, the new cases were lit with imported LED spotlights which generate no heat and have a long maintenance-free lifespan. ■



6. View from the corridor looking into the new room framed by re-used *mashrabiyya* screens.

7. Cleaning of the 21st Dynasty cartonnage coffins reveals hidden colour.

Photos: Tim Loveless.

Playing with Coins: Examples from tenth-century Egypt

Jere L. Bacharach



Islamic History through Coins (Cairo: AUC Press, 2006) focuses on one historical artifact—coinage—and asks one overarching question—what can we learn about a specific historical place and period - Islamic Ikhshidid Egypt and Palestine, 323 - 358 H./935 - 969 C.E.—from the systematic study of this type of evidence.¹ Coins have been in use in the West since the sixth-century B.C.E. and have been systematically studied since the Renaissance, where Roman and Greek pieces were collected for their artistic value and for reconstructing Greco-Roman history. Most regular Islamic gold coins [dinars] and silver coins [dirhams] do not have the artistic attraction for collectors that Greco-Roman specimens have with their range of human, animal and mythical figures. However, the all-calligraphic coinage of the

1. Sagacewea obverse

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2. Sagacewea reverse



Muslim world usually includes the name of the ruler, the mint where it was struck and a date in the Muslim calendar, three types of information often lacking from other coinage.

One use of Islamic coinage has been to document political and military events not found or clear from other types of historical sources. In the case of Ikhshidid coins, the reverse is true. Among the approximately 1,500 Ikhshidid coins studied, one was minted in the city of Aleppo during the reign of the second Ikhshidid governor Abu'l-Qasim Unujur. The date was difficult to read but since Abu'l-Qasim had control of the city only during part of 336 H., the historical texts established the only possible date for the coin.

Another use of Islamic coinage has been to use the inscriptions as evidence of Sunni and Shi'ite identities by the issuing authorities. In the case of the Ikhshidids, the addition of a short phrase to the standard religious formula referring to Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law and cousin, as the friend of God, has been interpreted by some historians as proof of a shift in the loyalty of the founder of the dynasty Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid from the Sunni Abbasid caliph in Iraq to the Shi'ite Fatimid caliph-imam in Tunisia. By studying a large enough sample of Ikhshidid coins and those of states neighboring the Ikhshidids, it becomes clear that the Ikhshidid coins were imitating the coinage of a rival political power in Aleppo and, in this case, the coinage cannot be used to establish a Shi'ite identity.

Before illustrating some of the new types of information a systematic study of the coinage of a particular political power can document, I want to share

some of my rules about using numismatic evidence. First, when a new type of coinage is minted, that is, a coinage with new designs, images, inscriptions, etc., these new elements have meaning to those who have ordered the coin minted. Second, the highest political authority is ultimately responsible, directly or indirectly, for the new elements or, to put it differently, the mint masters are not going to issue coins with inscriptions, images, designs, which will embarrass the ruler. Third, memory of the meaning of these new elements on the coinage are quickly lost and rarely recorded in the historical sources.

A modern example will illustrate my point. By the end of the 1990s the U.S. Mint under pressure from the US Postal Service and vending machine operators both of whom needed a large denomination coin for giving change for paper money decided that a new U.S. dollar coin was needed. The earlier silver colored quarter-size Susan B. Anthony dollar coin had been a disaster since it looked and felt like a 25-cent piece. The mint decided to issue a gold colored coin with a smooth edge so that it looked and felt different from existing U.S. coins. Who to honor on it was more difficult, but some committee at the U.S. Treasury ultimately picked Sagacewea, the Indian woman who had guided in 1804 the American explorers Lewis and Clark to the Pacific and back.

The accompanying photo [photo 1 – Sagacewea obverse; photo 2 – Sagacewea reverse] shows the obverse [heads] and reverse [tails] of the so-called Sagacewea dollar coin. If you look carefully, you won't find her name on the coin so that unless you had additional information you couldn't identify her. If that was difficult, imagine the problem future historians will have when they notice that there is a baby in a papoose on her shoulder. It turns out that the U.S. Treasury committee liked this design best so Jean-Baptiste, Sagacewea's son, joined her on the coinage. Another example of "lost" knowledge involves the stars, which surround the American eagle on the reverse of the Sagacewea coin. On the Great Seal of the United States [and the back of the U.S. one-dollar bill] the number 13 plays an important role as there are 13 steps on the pyramid, 13 strips on the shield, 13 arrows in the eagle's talon, and, of course, 13 stars above the eagle's head. On

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the Sagacewea coin there are 17 stars! Remember, this is a coin issued in the United States in 2000. Imagine the challenge and fun of reconstructing the meaning of such data for a Muslim dynasty over a thousand years earlier.

One of the conclusions reached in my book is that the part of a name a governor of Egypt used on the regular gold and silver coinage was not arbitrary, but reflected a hierarchy of naming in tenth-century Muslim society. Muhammad ibn Tughj, the founder of the dynasty, was the grandson of a Central Asian Turkish military slave imported into the central lands of the Islamic world. His son, Tughj, had a distinguished military and political career and finally, his son—Muhammad ibn Tughj—became governor of Egypt and established a semi-autonomy rule independent of his nominal sovereign, the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad.

Once in control of Egypt and Palestine, Muhammad ibn Tughj decided that the title governor was not fancy enough for his aspirations, so through bribery and gifts, he was able to get the Abbasid caliph to award him an honorary title. Muhammad ibn Tughj asked to be named “al-Ikhshid,” which as was explained to the caliph, was a pre-Islamic honorific title held by rulers in parts of Central Asia. Having no objection to the gift-laden request nor seeing the title as a challenge to his own authority, the Caliph formally named Muhammad ibn Tughj “al-Ikhshid.” Shortly thereafter, Muhammad ibn Tughj added his honorific title to the coinage under his control in Egypt and Palestine, where previously he had not inscribed any part of his name on the dinars and dirhams. [For those familiar with 19th century Egyptian history, you will note a parallel case where the Ottoman governor of Egypt Ismail Pasha bought from the Ottoman sultan the unique honorific title of Khedive to distinguish himself from other Ottoman governors.]

During his governorship, al-Ikhshid met once with a caliph at which time he was accompanied by his older son and first successor Unujur. The caliph, as a sign of friendship and cordiality called both al-Ikhshid and Unujur by their *kunya* or teknonym, that is, “father of ...,” which may refer to one’s actual child or an epithet or honorific sense of parentage. Unujur was called by the caliph Abu’-l-Qasim. When Unujur became governor he couldn’t use the honorific title

al-Ikhshid, which belonged to his father, but he could use his *kunya* Abu’-l-Qasim and did so inscribing Abu’-l-Qasim son of al-Ikhshid on his dinars and dirhams. In fact, the name Unujur does not appear on any of the regular gold and silver coins issued during his governorship.

When Unujur was succeeded by his brother Ali, the new governor could neither inscribe on his coinage an honorific title nor his *kunya* since he had received neither from an Abbasid caliph. Therefore, only the name “Ali son of al-Ikhshid” was included on his dinars and dirhams. Therefore, a careful analysis of the names inscribed on Ikhshidid coinage indicates that something was going on since each of the first three rulers used a different part of their name on the coinage.. To the best of my knowledge, no medieval source ever discusses the issue, but the coinage demonstrates that there was a hierarchy of naming and that the Ikhshidids followed it.

Islamic coinage can be divided into two categories. Regular gold and silver issues, dinars and dirhams, were expected to follow particular rules, which had a basis in Islamic law or *shari’a*. Copper coins, medallions, and a wide range of struck pieces used for weddings, presentations, and commemorative activities were not restricted in what could be inscribed or illustrated. Medieval sources do not give a particular name to this class of coinage, so I will call them presentation pieces. What was included on the coinage must have had special meaning at the time the specimens were struck, but rarely are there any written texts to tell later generations how contemporaries interpreted them. Once distributed, these pieces of struck metal entered the market as another example of circulating bullion, which was traded by weight. Two examples of the type of data found on presentation pieces follows.

There are a few coins in gold and silver, which include on the obverse an image of a ruler sitting on a throne-like chair. On the reverse there is an image of two young men separated by a palm tree. [Photo 3- human representation obverse; photo 4 – human representation reverse] There are no inscriptions in any language, identifying them, the mint or the date of the coinage. Fortunately, other coins have been found, which link one side of the coinage with an inscribed coin. It is then



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3. Human representation obverse.

4. human representation reverse.

5. Ikhshidid coin with M.

6. Soghdian coin with tamga



possible to postulate that the enthroned figure is that of Muhammad ibn Tughj and the two figures on the reverse are his sons Unujur and Ali. It is even possible to identify a specific Byzantine coin, which must have been the model for this Islamic piece, which was minted in Constantinople some 20 years earlier. Carefully checking historical sources, it can be postulated that the original Byzantine coin was carried to Egypt as part of a large gift given to Muhammad ibn Tughj in 326/938 by the Byzantine Emperor Romanus Lecapenus [919 – 944] who was entering into negotiations with the governor of Egypt over a number of political and economic issues. And that is as far as we can go.

There is not a single word in any source about Muhammad ibn Tughj minting coins with human representation. Obviously, these gold and silver pieces were not subject to the *shari'a* based guidelines for official dinars and dirhams, but they must have been understood by Muhammad ibn Tughj to carry some sort of acceptable meaning because he allowed them to be struck. There must have been some appropriate occasion in which they were distributed. The intended audience could not have been the Byzantine court as they would have seen the pieces as an unflattering imitation of their own gold coins with the image of Christ, the Emperor, and, in this case, his mother. They could not have been for an Abbasid caliph in Baghdad as he could have interpreted the seated ruler as a challenge to his own authority. Finding evidence does not always mean we can explain it.

Another example of a problem created by a presentation piece relates to a small silver coin on which on one side is the name of the Abbasid caliph al-Radi [322 – 29/ 934 – 40] and on the other that it was struck in Egypt [Misr] but without a date. [Photo 5- Ikhshidid coin with M] In the center of side with the name Muhammad is a large M with a handle-like design on the top of the M. Combining the name Muhammad and the name of the caliph, the only person who could be identified with the coin is Muhammad ibn Tughj. It is also possible to establish that the coin was struck early in his governorship before he acquired the honorific title of al-Ikhshid, since it is not inscribed on the coin.

The geometric design has been called a *tamga*, which is a design often associated with a Central Asian tribe or political entity and was probably first used for marking ownership of horses and other animals. It then moved on to mark a clan or tribal belonging and eventually an ethno-political symbol and *sui generis* heraldic emblem among Iranian and Turkic peoples. Again, here was a symbol, which carried meaning, but to whom and what was associated with it was not evident nor was there any reference to this particular symbol or coinage in any textual source. A search of other coinage and art historical sources for similar symbols from the Eastern Mediterranean world including Byzantine lands proved unsuccessful and in the version of the book originally submitted to the AUC Press I was not able to offer an interpretation of it.

In May, 2005 I was lecturing in Tashkent on Islamic power as reflected in certain types of architecture and on the emergence of all calligraphic Islamic coinage in the late seventh-century. After my last lecture, a young man approached me indicating that he was also a scholar of numismatics, but of pre-Islamic Central Asian coinage and, in addition, he was a collector. He took out of his pocket a series of coins he had recently acquired in Tashkent and there was a coin with my *tamga*. [Photo 6 – Soghdian coin with tamga] Almost two hundred years before Muhammad ibn Tughj had struck a coin in Egypt with a particular design, this same design was being used by rulers of Tashkent, Samarqand and parts of the Ferghana Valley as a symbol of their authority. It was not the only *tamga* used by these pre-Islamic political leaders but somehow a visual memory of this particular

one had been carried from Central Asia by Muhammad ibn Tughj's grandfather and transmitted from son to son so that early in his career as governor of Egypt, Muhammad ibn Tughj symbolized his authority by using the same sign.

In researching these Central Asian coins inscribed in Soghdian script, I discovered that many of these local pre-Islamic rulers held the title "Ikshid." Again, there was an immediate connection with the family I was studying based in Egypt. In seeking permission from the Abbasid caliph to carry the title al-Ikshid, Muhammad ibn Tughj was requesting a specific name, which must have carried far more meaning to him than we previously had imagined. Both the *tamga* on the coin and the honorific title prove a stronger tie to a pre-Islamic Central Asian world than we ever imagined. But, once again, we have no information on why Muhammad ibn Tughj issued this presentation piece when he did nor who was the audience who would receive it. Unlike the case of the Sagacewea's 17 stars, which stand for the 17 states making up the United States when Lewis and Clarke headed west, we remain in the dark about the circumstances when most medieval Muslim rulers issued their presentation pieces. ■

NOTES

- 1 This publication was supported by a subsidy from ARCE's Antiquity Endowment Fund, which in turn was funded by USAID. I wish to express my appreciation to ARCE for their financial support.

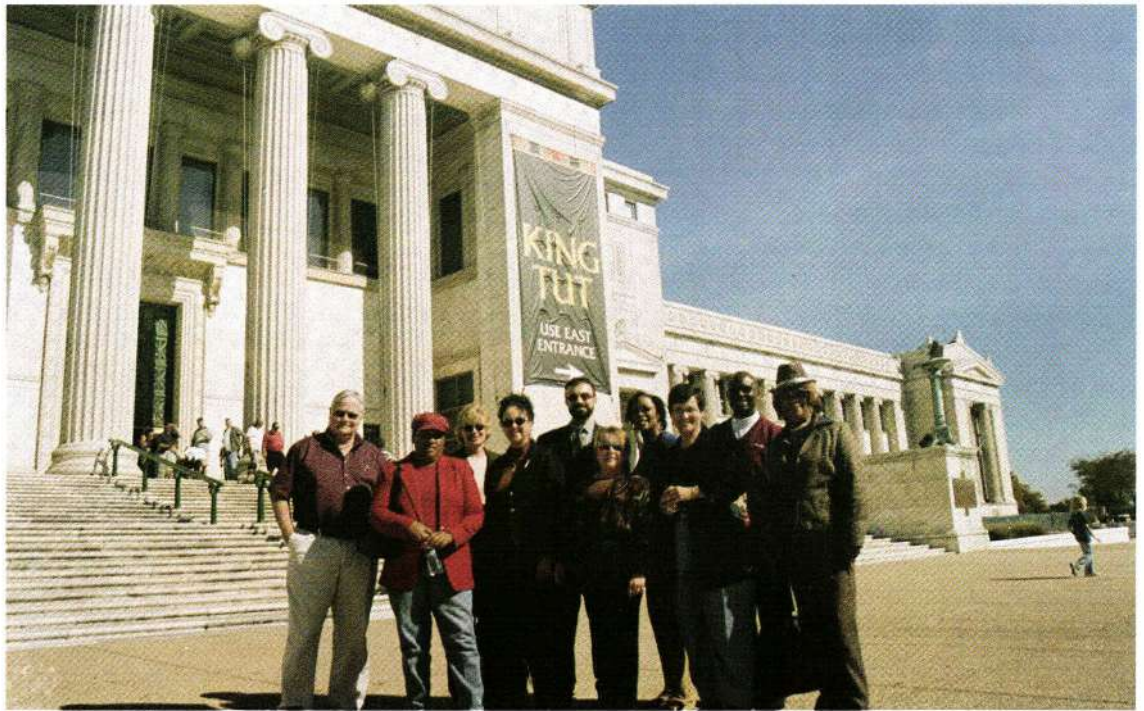
Experiencing Egypt with ARCE in Chicago and Philly

Candy Tate



The ARCE Member Service Office sponsored two trips for members to visit the exhibit "Tutankhamun and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs" in Chicago and in Philadelphia. In the fall, the ARCE Chicago Chapter welcomed a group of excited ARCE Lotus Club members with a breakfast lecture by Dr. Hratch

Papazian, Egyptologist from the University of Chicago. He gave participants an overview of Tut's life and what to expect at the Field Museum. Dr. Emily Teeter, ARCE Chicago President and Dennis Kelly, Vice-President, hosted the group for dinner at the Faculty's Quadrangle Club and a private



viewing of the University of Chicago Oriental Institute's "The Discovery of the Tomb of Tutankhamun: The Harry Burton Photographs" and "The Ancient Near East in the Time of Tutankhamun." The Windy City was extremely kind to its ARCE visitors from October 6 – 8, 2006, as we experienced light-jacket weather [see group photo].

Philadelphia was equally kind when we traveled this spring with another group of ARCE Lotus Club and above members to view Tut at the Franklin Institute. We gathered members from across the country to experience Egypt in Philly from March 2 – 4, 2007. ARCE Pennsylvania President Leslie Warden and Beth Ann Judas, both graduate students in Egyptology at University of Pennsylvania, guided the group through the Penn Museum of Archaeology's exhibition "Amarna, Ancient Egypt's Place in the Sun." Dr. Gay Robins of Emory University, with the support of Brian Winterfeldt's law office, joined the group tour and gave an intriguing evening lecture for the local chapter and general public on the iconography of the Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun. Participants were also treated to a dinner reception in the Upper Egyptian galleries, mixing and mingling with the noted Egyptologist Dr.

David O'Connor. Actress Dana Ivey, and the objects [see group photo]. A Sunday stroll through the Tut exhibit at the Franklin Institute, complete with IMAX film, allowed participants to see first hand what Dr. Robins presented the evening prior.

Member Service Office staffers Diane Springfield and Yorel Dawkins are commended for their assistance with the tour logistics and making these events a success. Group feedback was extremely positive from both the participants and local chapters—the chapters particularly appreciated program and membership assistance, and participants asked, "When's the next ARCE trip?" ■

Chicago Participants

Susan Cottman, Terrance Dixon, Vicki Kaiser, David & Judy Pfaendler, Donna Sessions, Vicki Solia and Dr. Theopia J. Tate

Philadelphia Participants

Drs. Samir and Charhira Gabriel, Dana Ivey, Nicole Mazolla, Pat Mazolla, Dr. Miguel Sanchez, Terressa Tate, Robert & Jewel Williams, Brian Winterfeldt, and Myra Winterfeldt

ARCE News Briefs



Staff Changes

In San Antonio we said goodbye to CFO Mike Allen (photo 1) who has done much to help ARCE during this past year. We are most grateful to Mike for his work in reestablishing the Finance Committee and assisting with their work on ARCE's financial security.

Kathann El Amin (photo 2) is ARCE's new full time CFO. Dina Saad (photo 3) is our new Director of Development.

In the Atlanta Members Service Office, Candy Tate (left) has been joined by new staff members Yorel Dawkins, Membership Officer, and Diane Springfield, Program Administrative Assistant (photo 4.)

In Cairo, Djodi Deutch (photo 5) takes on two new positions as the Fellowship In-Country Coordinator and Editor for ARCE's conservation publications.



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Other activities

ARCE Cairo is frequently called upon to host visiting American dignitaries as they tour USAID funded projects within Egypt. Recently, a delegation of US Congressional staffers visited Luxor. Led by Elizabeth Phillips, staff Director for the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations for the Appropriations Committee, the group was shown ARCE conservation projects at Luxor Temple (photo 6) and the engineering work going on for ground-water-lowering around the temple (photo 7).

This fall, ARCE's 2006 Archaeological Field School was conducted on the Giza Plateau by Dr. Mark Lehner and his staff (photo 8). Over the past 10 years ARCE funded field schools have trained in modern archaeological techniques, about 150 Egyptian inspectors employed by the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA).

Dr. Chahira Kozma, shown here with Gerry Scott (photo 9), presented a fascinating lecture on "Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt" in December at ARCE. Dr. Kozma is with the Dept. of Pediatrics at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, DC. She is also the wife of Dr. Samir Gabriel, president of the ARCE/DC Chapter.

Christmas is celebrated with a family feast at ARCE. Santa (Amer Gad) and Elf Mary (Sadak) presided over the festivities (photo 10).

In February, ARCE Director Gerry Scott was a guest lecturer at the Albright Institute in Jerusalem where he delivered a talk on ARCE's conservation activities. (photo 11) Dr. Sy Gitin, Director of the Albright was, in turn, a guest lecturer in Cairo on March 14 where he spoke at ARCE about his archaeological work on the ancient Philistine site of

Ekron in Israel. (see photo 12)

Dr. Scott also visited ACOR in Amman, Jordan. He and Shari Saunders, ARCE's assistant director, are pictured with ACOR staff members Nisreen Abu al Shaikh, accountant, Dr. Barbara Porter, director, and Christopher Tuttle, assistant director. (photo 13)

Also in February, ARCE hosted a graduation ceremony

and luncheon for the latest class of Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities Inspectors from the Islamic and Coptic sector who have completed a training course in the conservation and maintenance of historic sites. (Photo 14): Mr. Abri Abdel Aziz, Head of the Islamic/Coptic Sector, Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities congratulates the graduating class along with Dr. Gerry Scott, ARCE Director, and May Ibrashy who conducted the training sessions.

On February 21, Professor Dr. Guenter Dreyer, Director of the German Institute in Cairo, spoke at ARCE to a standing room only crowd about his excavations at Saqqara. (Photo 15)



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