



**HU-BTU First International Conference on
Heritage Conservation and Site Management**
HERITAGE TOURISM: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES
Luxor, 8-11 December 2013

Conference Proceedings

Cairo/Cottbus 2015

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Editorial Note

The First Annual Conference on Heritage Conservation and Site Management organized by Helwan University in Cairo and Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg was held from 8-11 December 2013 in Luxor, Egypt. This conference presented an exceptional opportunity for heritage and tourism researchers, officials, investors and planners to discuss their hopes and concerns regarding the future of heritage and tourism on an international scale. It provided an ideal atmosphere to stimulate new ideas, initiate intense discussions about theories and applications, establish communications and foster collaborations between delegates from different entities. It also enhanced the experience of postgraduate students and young researchers.

The major themes of the conference were:

- Application of heritage policies: plans and reality;
- Heritage education for the future;
- Heritage awareness and local communities;
- Understanding tourist experiences of heritage sites;
- Utilization of tangible and intangible heritage in tourism;
- Regeneration tourism programs based on heritage;
- Interpreting and communicating the values of heritage;
- Utilization of heritage sites for tourist services (accommodation, catering, events, etc.);
- Heritage and modern technology;
- The impact of tourism on cultural and natural heritage;
- Heritage tourism as driver for development;
- Models of tourism management at heritage sites;
- Interpretation of heritage sites;
- Public-private partnerships in tourism at heritage sites; and
- Remarkable figures, sites and incidents in Egyptian heritage.

These themes were approached from a variety of perspectives organized into 11 sessions and 34 articles. Based on the recommendations of the Egyptians and German reviewers, 11 articles were accepted for publication.

The first article by Riham Arram discussed the problems that face Islamic Cairo. Martine Assenatt discussed in the second article the rehabilitation work that should be done on the wall of Diyarbakir. The third article by Eva Battis and Nils Schinker focused on preparing for World Heritage Tourism in Hellerau, Germany. The fourth article by Rania Dinana discussed the importance of increasing the historical attractiveness of the non-utilized historical palaces, using parts of them as hotels and some other parts as museums. This is followed by Mona El-Sayed's article emphasizing that ancient Egyptians excelled in practicing medicine since the dawn of history, referring to some of their medical papyri. The sixth article by Manal Hammad discussed the geographical and historical importance of the New Valley and its oases in Ancient Egypt. The seventh article by Doaa Kandil and Mona Abdel Baddi shed the light on the forgotten museum of the great Egyptian nationalist leader Mustafa Kamel, whose number of visitors sharply diminished in the last decade. The eighth article by Fatma Keshk focused on the documentation of cultural heritage in South Sinai: the case of Beit Hathor. Melanie Muenzner's article analyzed the role of various interpretive techniques to raise awareness of the cultural wealth of Qal'at Al-Bahrain. The tenth article by Ahmed Nabil discussed the reasons for the underutilization of the modern historical palaces in the suburb of Heliopolis in Cairo and why they are not used as an authentic touristic product in Egypt as in so many other countries. Finally, Antoine Perez's article explained the historical background of Amida / Diyarbakir.

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to those who helped in establishing this conference. A special thank go to the Ministry of Tourism, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the National Bank of Egypt and Americana Group for sponsoring this event and for the Governorate of Luxor for hosting the conference and offering logistical facilities. Cordial acknowledgements are due for the outstanding work of the reviewers and the researchers that made this volume possible.

We look forward to seeing you in the next conference!

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LE CAIRE ISLAMIQUE : SITE DU PATRIMOINE MONDIALE : PROBLEMES ET SOLUTIONS

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Abstract

Islamic Cairo, a site of outstanding universal value that represents a unique aesthetic and artistic achievement and a masterpiece of human creative genius, has been listed by the UNESCO as one of World Heritage sites since 1979. Famous for longtime for its historical value and homogenous urban fabric is facing now several threats that are affecting harmfully the authenticity & integrity of its tangible and intangible heritage. This paper presents some examples of the effects of globalization on the heritage of a medieval city and the human interference that might cause the loss of identity of inhabitants. Meanwhile, the author introduces innovative and integral solutions for dealing with this problematic situation the historic city is living in.

Le Caire islamique et le patrimoine mondial Pour ses chefs-d'œuvre architecturaux et son rôle politique et culturel unique joué à l'époque médiévale, l'ancienne capitale baptisé « Caire islamique », a été désigné comme site de patrimoine mondial de l'humanité dès 1979 par l'UNESCO.

Le Caire islamique est l'ancienne dénomination du site du patrimoine mondial connu aujourd'hui sous le nom du « Caire Historique ». Riche en édifices anciens possédant un caractère urbain bien préservé et ayant un caractère authentique rare; Ce bien culturel a été

¹) Docteur en Egyptologie et directeur du département de préservation de patrimoine, Gouvernorat du Caire.

inscrit sur la liste du patrimoine selon les critères I, V, et VI du centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO².

C'est un site immense qui s'étend sur une surface dépassant les 32 kms² et renferme, plusieurs régions. Le bien culturel n'est pas les monuments en-soi, mais c'est la ville toute entière par ses bâtiments de type architectural exceptionnel, ses établissements relatant l'histoire moderne du pays et de grandes personnalités historiques qui y sont vécus, ses rues, ses métiers, ses traditions et son patrimoine intangible; tout cela est inclus dans un tissu urbain homogène et cohérent. Le « Caire Historique » abrite donc des trésors de l'humanité qui méritent d'être préservé surtout qu'elle fait face à plusieurs défis en ce moment.

L'étalement urbain incontrôlé, la réutilisation et la commercialisation des constructions patrimoniales, le développement touristique et son impact négatif sur l'authenticité du patrimoine, toutes ces pratiques inappropriées causées par l'avènement de nouvelles économies et technologies, ainsi que de nouveaux événements politiques menacent gravement le patrimoine de la ville. Cela aura son influence, sans doute, sur l'avenir et l'identité humaine. Il est indispensable alors d'intervenir pour sauver la mémoire collective d'une société, reflété par le patrimoine de sa ville. Cette dégradation rapide a poussé le centre du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO à déclarer plusieurs fois son inquiétude à l'égard de l'état actuel du Site³.

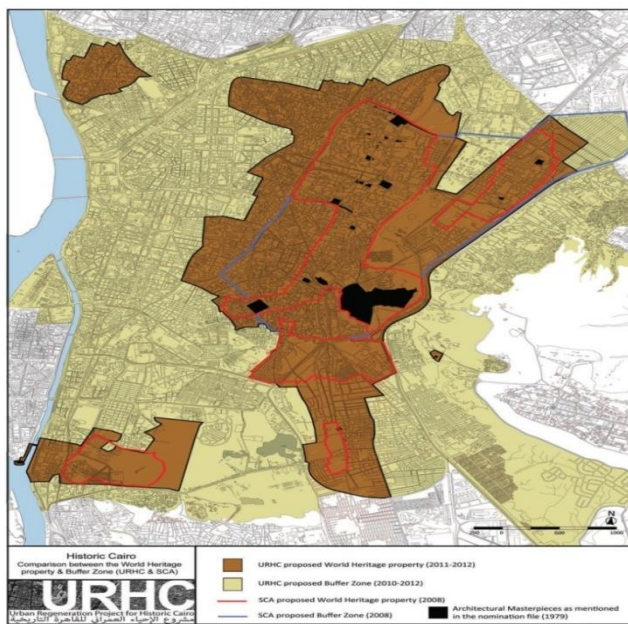
Commençons par **les problèmes administratifs**: un des principaux problèmes c'est les nombreuses autorités surveillant le site : le ministère de l'état pour les affaires d'antiquités (avant c'était le Haut conseil des antiquités HCA), le ministère des biens de mainmorte (Awqaf), le gouvernorat du Caire, l'organisation national pour l'harmonisation urbaine (ONHU),

Cela mène à la diversification des points de vue et de buts et par suite de la perte de beaucoup de temps pour aboutir à une conception globale visant à résoudre les problèmes du site. Comme exemple, il est à noter que depuis la nomination de la ville en 1979, il n'y a aucune

²) *Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo, First Report on The Activities*, (Paris, UNESCO-WHC, 2012), appendice I : l'évaluation de l'ICOMOS sur la nomination de la ville en 26 Octobre 1979, p.XXXVI-XXXVIII; publié également sur internet <http://whc.unesco.org/document/120189>

³) Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, World Heritage Committee, Thirty-sixth session, WHC-UNESCO, Saint Petersburg, 2012, 98-99, n°5 ou veuillez consulter <http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/36COM/> (version anglaise). Voir également : <http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/37COM/> (version anglaise), 102 n°7 où l'UNESCO encourage l'état partie à préparer un plan de gestion pour le bien culturel.

définition approuvée par le gouvernement Egyptien pour les frontières du site du patrimoine mondiale! Plusieurs suggestions ont été proposées à ce propos soit par le Haut Conseil d'Antiquités (HCA), par (ONHU) ou même par l'UNESCO, mais on a finit par des bordures non définies jusqu'au 2014. En 2008, le HCA a indiqué « le Caire Historique » comme site renfermant cinq régions principales⁴. (Voir carte 1). Pourtant certaines régions n'ont pas été incluses dans les bordures proposées par le HCA: le port de Boulaq en est un bon exemple, bien qu'il soit un des sites qui ont été mentionnés dans le dossier de Nomination du site présenté au centre de patrimoine mondiale de l'UNESCO. C'est pour cette raison que l'organisation nationale pour l'harmonisation urbaine (ONHU) a recommandé d'autres amendements sur les bordures du Caire Historique. (Carte 2).



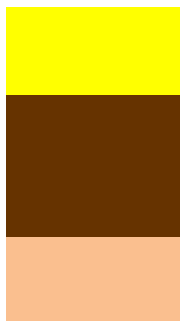
(Carte 1)

Carte indiquant les bordures de la ville indiqués par le HCA et celles suggérés par un projet de l'UNESCO et les zones de protection. Photo d'après *Urban Regeneration for Historic Cairo Project -First Report on The Activities*, Paris, 29.

De même, un autre projet de l'UNESCO "*Urban Regeneration for Historic Cairo*" (URHC) a suggéré en 2012 d'autres frontières pour le Caire historique qui chevauche de façon significative avec «les zones de protection extrême» identifiés par «ONHU », (Carte 1).

⁴) Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo, First Report on the Activities, (Paris, UNESCO-WHC, 2012), 27, 6.1: les régions que le site renferme : Al Fostat, la capitale fatimide avec ses centaines monuments et la citadelle de Saladin, les nécropoles monumentales du Nord et du Sud de la ville, ainsi que celles adjacentes aux portails Nord de la ville.

Outre l'identification des bordures, il est difficile de dire qu'il y ait **une stratégie de préservation précise**, adopté par l'état, pour arrêter cette dégradation rapide de la ville, ni la préservation de son patrimoine⁵.



Zones de protection extrême

Zones de protection du site du patrimoine mondial « Caire Hist »

Zones de protection particulière

(Carte 2)

Indiquant les bordures du site du patrimoine mondial « le Caire Historique » et son zone de protection suggérée par ONHU (Photo d'après le plan admis par L'ONHU - 2013⁶).

D'autres défis menacent la ville : le plus important est **l'étalement urbain non contrôlé** (Photo I). Devenant de plus en plus vigoureux, il dévore ainsi la beauté d'une ville qui a été

5) et cela malgré l'existence des lois égyptiennes qui décrivent le cadre général de la préservation du patrimoine comme la loi 117 de l'année 1983, et son amendement en 2010 et ses règlements législatifs, ainsi que la loi 144 pour l'année 2006 et La loi 119 de l'année 2008 : pour plus de détail: sur ces lois Cf. le site web de l'ONHU http://www.urbanharmony.org/fr/fr_rules.htm

⁶) Remerciements au Dr. Soheir Hawas, le consultant de l'ONHU pour nous fournir le plan.

choisie un jour comme bien culturel pour son tissu urbain homogène et sa morphologie architecturale unique. Faute de sécurité et de surveillance à la suite des événements politiques et de la révolution en 2010, de centaines de violations, d'empiètements et de constructions illégales ont envahi les quartiers patrimoniaux du « Caire Historique », cachant ainsi les beaux minarets de la ville qui constituaient, une ligne d'horizon magnifique et incomparable. La mondialisation croissante a eu sûrement son effet sur les villes anciennes : le remplacement de constructions antiques par d'autres plus modernes, la transformation des anciens métiers et des artisanats typiques en des industries en masse en sont les meilleurs exemples.

Une infrastructure très pauvre, une planification du transport et du trafic inadéquate à une ville antique représentent également des facteurs essentiels de la dégradation du « Caire Historique » (Photo II). De même, certains projets d'aménagement urbains dans les centres historiques menacent de plus en plus, l'authenticité et l'intégrité naturelle et visuelle de la ville historique et de leurs paysages urbains. Une vision et une stratégie intégrale doit être adopté lors de l'aménagement de la ville⁷.



(Photo I)

⁷) Le Caire Historique fait partie d'un pourcentage de 39% des sites du patrimoine mondial culturel menacé: Cf. R. Van Oers, *Gérer les villes et initiative sur le paysage urbain historique*, *World Heritage Papers* 27(Paris : UNESCO-WHC, 2010), 135, n°5.

Photo d'après l'auteur en 2012 : Un grand immeuble adjacent à la mosquée de l'*Imam Al Shafei*, l'une des plus beaux mausolées de l'ère médiévale, gâche aujourd'hui, la beauté de son haut minaret vu de loin.

Les problèmes économiques et sociaux des régions patrimoniaux restent aussi un des grands défis du site du « Caire Historique » : la baisse des revenus des habitants, surtout avec la globalisation rapide durant la deuxième moitié du siècle, a causé la disparition de plusieurs métiers desquels dépendait la vie des habitants.

Les ateliers d'artisanats, au sein de la ville antique, ont été remplacés par des boutiques vendant des produits importées. Le développement touristique avait pareillement un certain impact négatif sur l'authenticité du patrimoine.



Photo II

Photo de la rue Al Moezz en 2011 représentant la modestie de l'infrastructure, des utilités et biens publics (Photo d'après l'administration du « Caire Historique » - Ministère de l'état pour les affaires d'antiquités)⁸.

De même, Le manque de conscience des habitants de sites patrimoniaux de l'importance historique et économique de leurs régions est une des raisons importantes de dégradation. Ces habitants représentent une partie prenante essentielle de processus de développement et de

⁸) Remerciements à Mr. Mohamed A.Aziz le directeur de l'administration pour fournir les photos.

préservation des sites historiques. Leur exclusion pour longtemps du système de réforme a été la cause de la détérioration rapide de leurs quartiers.

L'amélioration de leurs niveaux de vie et leur intégration dans la responsabilité de la protection de ce patrimoine est indispensable pour une préservation durable de la ville. Un habitant d'un site antique doit être bénéficiant de ses biens, par suite il deviendra son gardien et son protecteur. Leur participation dans le choix de l'avenir de leurs quartiers et dans la planification pour son développement est la clé de l'évolution de ceux-ci. Introduire des activités qui ne leur conviennent pas déforme le site, et corrompt son authenticité.

Pour eux, ces lieux sont une partie de leur identité et de leur mémoire collective. Détruire un endroit, c'est détruire l'identité de ses habitants. Le changement d'un lieu bouleversera l'identité de ses habitants et causera plus de division dans la société. L'identité des personnes est importante. Nous devons y attribuer de l'attention, la défendre et la transmettre aux générations suivantes.

Le patrimoine intangible lié à un endroit est également une partie de son identité qu'il faut préserver. « Le Caire Historique », avec sa grande mosquée- université Al Azhar, a demeuré pour des siècles un centre culturel et politique pour le monde musulman. C'est dans les quartiers entourant qu'on célébrait les fêtes religieuses comme la naissance du prophète où on avait l'habitude de la célébrer depuis l'époque fatimide, avec des chansons religieuses et la lecture du coran et où on mangeait le dessert sucré façonné en forme de belles poupées pour les filles et en forme d'un cavalier sur son cheval pour garçons. Cette fête a complètement changé, aujourd'hui sa célébration se limite à quelques genres de desserts et une poupée importée de Chine portant des robes européennes. **Le théâtre, la musique, les traditions locales, les chants traditionnels : ce patrimoine intangible des habitants des quartiers patrimoniaux pour autant qu'il ait survécu, est exposé aux attaques d'une mondialisation considérable, mue par la technologie moderne. De plus en plus, « le Caire Historique » perd son caractère unique. Lancer des études de documentation du patrimoine intangible du bien culturel est primordial.**

Il est à prendre en considération que les villes sont des organismes dynamiques. Il n'y a pas une seule ville «historique» dans le monde qui a conservé son caractère «original». Le but de

préservation n'est pas de conserver la ville à son état antique, ni de copier ou de reproduire littérairement la forme extérieure de structures traditionnelles. Pour sauver « le Caire Historique », et préserver son paysage urbain, il est nécessaire de construire des alliances stratégiques et dynamiques entre les différents acteurs de la scène urbaine, surtout entre les autorités locales qui gèrent la ville, les promoteurs et entrepreneurs qui y opèrent et les habitants qui sont des propriétaires de ce patrimoine.

D'autre part, Il n'est pas à oublier, les grands dégâts **suite aux événements politiques** : à la suite des événements de 25 Janvier 2011, plusieurs pratiques inadéquates ont été observées : citons toujours la rue *Al Moezz* au centre du Caire Historique comme exemple: La destruction des barrières de la rue permettant ainsi la circulation de voitures dans un quartier englobant une dizaine de monuments datant de l'époque médiévale et menaçant, par cette mobilité continue, l'état des monument, La destruction des kiosques de sécurité, Le vol et la destruction des lampes et des équipements d'éclairage, les empiètements partout en sont les meilleurs témoins (Photo III).

Dans le cadre de ces divers défis, certaines recommandations sont suggérées :

- Tout d'abord, il faut définir une idée, un projet de ville, avant que de quelconques méthodes de planification urbaines et outils techniques ne puissent apporter une valeur ajoutée.

« Ce projet de ville » doit être un projet national dans lequel contribuent tous ministères, organisations gouvernementales, ONG et personnes concernées :

Le ministère de Tourisme est concerné par la promotion de ce patrimoine et attirer l'attention du monde vers la valeur exceptionnel du « Caire Historique » autant que site de patrimoine mondial. La gestion touristique “approprié” d'un site de patrimoine mondiale soutiendra à la fois le développement économique de la ville et la préservation de son patrimoine. Un site déserté et non visitée, sera vite négligé et ruiné. C'est en conséquence que le centre de patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO a crée le nouveau programme de tourisme durable⁹.

⁹) Pour plus d'info sur ce programme veuillez consulter: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tourism/> *World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme*. La mission de ce dernier est de faciliter la gestion et le développement de tourisme durable dans les sites de patrimoine mondial, à travers le développement de connaissance, de la capacité et de la participation balancée de toute partie concernée. Adopter une stratégie de tourisme durable dans un site de patrimoine mondial aidera à renforcer un environnement propice en préconisant des politiques, cadres



Photo III Photo d'après l'administration du « Caire historique » - Ministère de l'état pour les affaires d'antiquités.

Le ministère de l'état pour les affaires d'antiquités est concerné, de son côté, par la protection des monuments, sa restauration et l'application de mesures nécessaires de conservation.

Le gouvernorat du Caire est responsable de diriger une stratégie de préservation et mener un programme de surveillance des travaux de construction et de démolition dans la ville antique. Il est également responsable de lancer de nouveaux plans pour le trafic et les problèmes de la pollution de l'environnement dans « le Caire Historique ».

Il est recommandé également que le ministère d'enseignement introduise le concept de *site de patrimoine mondial* dans les programmes d'enseignements pour les enfants. Faire connaître aux jeunes leur patrimoine, est essentiel pour garder leur identité et par suite celle du pays. Le ministère de médias est responsable à son tour de lancer des campagnes de sensibilisation

et outils d'appui à celui-ci comme un véhicule important pour la protection et la gestion du patrimoine culturel et naturel de valeur universelle exceptionnelle.

pour la protection du « Caire Historique », comme ville antique faisant partie du patrimoine culturel du pays d'un part, et comme ressource de revenue nationale d'autre part.

Il est actuellement admis que la conservation du patrimoine historique est bénéfique pour l'économie. Plusieurs projets¹⁰ et expériences entreprises dans divers pays prouvent que les ressources historiques et culturelles d'une ville peuvent conférer une valeur ajoutée à l'économie.

- Pour tout ce qui précède, **un cadre institutionnel**¹¹ est indispensable. Ce cadre dirigé, probablement, par le premier ministre, doit imposer tout ministère à faire son rôle et s'assurer de l'application des politiques générales admises par les ministres. (Voir cadre suggéré schéma 1).

Plusieurs autres ministères sont invités à rejoindre ce plan de gestion, comme celui de la culture et celui du logement, chacun dans son domaine. La contribution du secteur privé représenté par des investisseurs, des banques est également nécessaire. Faciliter et encourager l'introduction de nouveaux systèmes d'investissements dans les sites historiques, tout en respectant les codes de préservation, est recommandé. D'autre part, le rôle des ONG est, dans certains cas, aussi important que le rôle gouvernemental : ce qui a été prouvé par plusieurs expériences réussies au cours des dix dernières années au Caire. Certaines ont lancé plusieurs initiatives pour la sensibilisation des habitants des quartiers historiques. Leur intervention dans la scène a encouragé les gens à contribuer par leurs idées sur leurs besoins, et même parfois par leurs moyens, dans le système de réforme.

En fait, sans les habitants des quartiers historiques du bien culturel, la durabilité de tout plan d'aménagement urbain est menacée¹².

¹⁰) J. Soule, *Urbanisation et conservation culturelle- Aperçu des politiques et outils appliqués aux états –unis, gérer les villes historiques, World Heritage Papers 27* (Paris : UNESCO-WHC, 2010), 202.

¹¹) Ce cadre institutionnel a été suggéré et étudié d'après des divers discussions entre le centre de patrimoine mondial –UNESCO et le gouvernorat du Caire.

¹²) Certaines campagnes ont été lancées par l'URHC en coopération avec le gouvernement égyptien, plusieurs activités et cours ont été faites pendant lesquelles les habitants, surtout les enfants, ont participé à apprendre l'histoire de quelques monuments du quartier, leur importance économique et touristique, ainsi que l'importance de ce patrimoine pour leur identités.

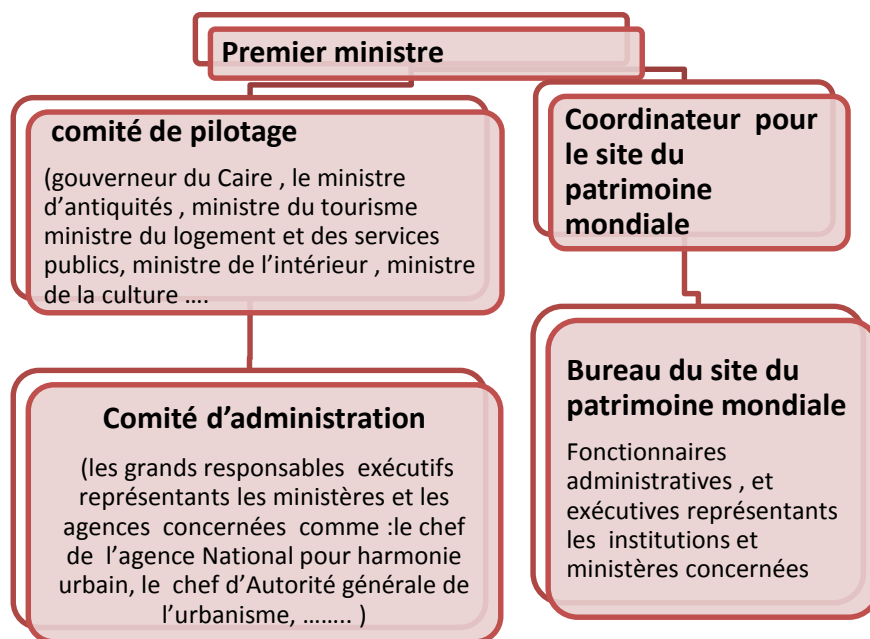


Schéma I

Un bon exemple dans ce contexte a été réalisé dans « le Caire Historique » depuis des années : Celui de l'association culturel de l'Agakhan au quartier *Al Darb Al Ahmar*. En 1998, Cette organisation internationale non-profitable a lancé un programme de développement de logement tout en coopération avec le gouvernement égyptien et la communauté locale.

Cette dernière, malgré ses modestes moyens, a contribué, par une partie de financement à la réhabilitation, la reconstruction et même la stylisation de leurs maisons¹³.

¹³) D. K. Shehayeb, *Cairo a city in Transition, Cities and Citizens series, Building the Urban Divide* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo, 2011), 160-1. A travers 11 ans, ce projet a prouvé l'efficacité de l'intégration de

Finalement, de **changements législatifs importants** doivent s'impliquer dans les lois égyptiennes permettant l'investissement contrôlé et bien surveillé du patrimoine, surtout que ce dernier fait maintenant partie essentielle de la nouvelle constitution du pays¹⁴.

Il n'est pas à nier que des différentes tentatives par les autorités gouvernementales et locales, ainsi que par plusieurs de la part de divers ONG ont été prises durant les dix dernières années : mais le problème a été toujours le manque de coordination et le non durabilité des opérations ou des projets.

Gérer un site de patrimoine nécessite toute attention et toute coopération de toute partie concernant : aucun ne peut être complètement responsable de la gestion.

Le résultat de l'opération de garder le patrimoine doit garantir les objectifs de la protection du patrimoine à long terme. Le but de préserver l'identité d'un peuple mérite plus de collaboration et plus d'effort. Transmettre cette culture aux générations suivantes est une mission et un devoir national auquel tout égyptien doit y participer.

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la population locale dans tout projet de développement urbaine : une croissance remarquable dans la participation financière des habitants dans le processus de l'opération de la réhabilitation du quartier a été observée. Commencé par un pourcentage de 8% au début du projet, en 2009, le pourcentage a augmenté à 50%.

¹⁴⁾ La Constitution Egyptienne 2013: où l'état indique sa responsabilité envers la protection et la préservation de tout patrimoine culturel et naturel: troisième chapitre, n°49-50.: <http://dostour.eg/>

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FROM HISTORIC REHABILITATION TO HERITAGE ISSUE II. DEVELOPMENT AND REHABILITATION OF THE CITY CENTER OF DIYARBAKIR

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Abstract

Located 70 meters above the Tigris, on the volcanic plateau of Karacadag and exclusively built out of black volcanic stone, Diyarbakir is the historical metropolis of Upper Mesopotamia and the conservatory of its successive cultures.

Since the 1990s, the historical city centre of Diyarbakir (158 hectares enclosed by spectacular roman walls) has lived through a very strong demographic pressure. Whereas the total population of the city was estimated at 274 000 inhabitants in 1980, the 2012 census registered more than one million and a half dwellers. The arrival of an impoverished population in the city centre resulted in the departure of a wealthier population, this in turn leading to the deterioration of traditional buildings thereupon used as foundations for illegal constructions, as well as it entailed a “verticalization” of the historical city. The *geçekondu* encroached upon the walls.

Therefore public authorities have had to face the swift degradation of the city centre and its historical buildings. Announced in 1988, the first “*Kentsel Sit Alanı*” » (urban plan) continues today within the framework of the demand to the UNESCO that the city be classified as World Heritage. This urban plan was backed by a proactive rehabilitation policy targeting the city centre, the redevelopment of several main roads, the enhancing of the city walls, the restoration of a certain number of historical or traditional buildings, as well as the creation of pedestrian areas and open green spaces. These steps combined with the dynamism unleashed by the UNESCO project have fostered the development of historical research on the city. An inventory of items and buildings to be protected has been compiled.

It is in this context that the AMIDA project (its name taken from the ancient name of the city) that we represent was set up. It brings together a multidisciplinary team mainly composed of historians, architects, specialists of stone and related crafts and urban planners.

The aim is to pursue the study of heritage assets and notably the study of the walls by resorting to efficient techniques such as ortho-photography and 3D photography, thus producing reliable images acting as a first measure of protection and as a visual testimony of the assets before the rehabilitation takes place. In parallel, we will set up a Geographic Information System (GIS) that will register the heritage data and to which we will add the new information compiled by our team. This GIS will organize the records that we make of the town, may they be literary, archaeological, photographic or architectural. This work will enable public authorities to anticipate urban policies affecting the heart of the city in the present context of demographic exacerbation. Conceived as a multilingual tool, it will be a significant means of communication and diffusion of knowledge. The AMIDA project has inspired new and fruitful cooperation between partners and in a relatively short period of time (2 years) has led to an original study and a substantial synthesis, thus providing a dynamic impetus and laying solid foundations for the development of future research in Diyarbakır, as well as for the development of cultural tourism and for the constitution of the UNESCO classification file of the site.

From historic rehabilitation to patrimonialization

The city of Diyarbakır is now the cultural and economic capital of Eastern Turkey. The city's rich Byzantine past is completed with all subsequent enrichments that this major town in Upper Mesopotamia, which has never ceased to be occupied, attracted throughout its history. Diyarbakır has initiated a registration process to the UNESCO¹⁵ for the historic city center and city walls as well as for the Hevsel Gardens: both sites were accepted by the Ministry of Tourism and Culture on the national list of sites. Though today both sites have been entered in a process of heritage, this paper will deal essentially with the city walls. We want to show how it was possible for the city of Diyarbakır to move from a situation where these impressive walls were neglected and hence suffered serious damage, to a situation where they

¹⁵ Soyukaya, Nevin, (ed.), *Diyarbakır Fortress and Hevsel Gardens Cultural Landscape Nomination for Inscription on The World Heritage List*, (Major Council of Diyarbakır, unpublished, 2014).

have become an almost enshrined element of the city. In this case rehabilitation and patrimonialization went hand in hand. This approach has encouraged scientific studies of the site, notably by extending the fields of investigation to the historical and natural environment of the monument.



1) Location after the author.

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Indeed, from the moment the city walls stopped being perceived as a militarily useful architecture and until they were regarded as a major heritage object, they underwent periods of peril.



2) Photo kindly provided by the town council of Diyarbakır

In the 30s, it was said that the air inside the walls was toxic and plans were made to destroy them, resulting in some parts of the walls being dynamited. A tenacious tradition credits Albert Gabriel, one of the co-founders of the French Institute of Anatolian Studies and the first archaeologist in Western Europe to give an exhaustive description of the walls of Diyarbakır¹⁶, to have made a miraculous intervention to save the walls. It seems that the project was also abandoned due to the immensity of the task.

This Roman-Byzantine monument imposes colossal dimensions: the city walls are 5.5 km long, their height varies between 8 and 12 meters, and the walls count 82 towers. Nowadays, it still fulfills a role as a barrier¹⁷ in the city. The walls clearly delineate the historical center and the ancient monuments, impose crossing points and have also gained a new existence by being used for specific activities. These activities range from the hosting of public offices to informal squatting of the towers by the younger population of the city, which is variously appreciated.

¹⁶ Gabriel, Albert, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale* (Paris : de Boccard :1940).

¹⁷ Pérouse, Jean-François, « La muraille terrestre d'Istanbul ou l'impossible mémoire urbaine », *Rives nord-méditerranéennes*, 16 (2003) : 27-44. [Online], 16 (2003) posted November 15, 2005, accessed April 8, 2014 URL: <http://rives.revues.org/434>.

It also constitutes the highlight of the tourist circuit of the city. This impressive edifice has always been the subject of admiration in the numerous travelers' tales, as well as being depicted in war tales as a nightmare by those who tried to siege the city¹⁸. Because it has never ceased to be used as a defense tool, it experienced poliorcetic modifications and enhancements until the VIIth/XIIIth century, when the use of gunpowder spread¹⁹, making it a conservatory of *ars militiae* for the entire Middle East. Until recently it has represented a refuge for the inhabitants of the region.



3) Photo provided by the town council of Diyarbakır

Thus, in the 90s, the conflict between the Turkish state and the Kurdish population resulted in the destruction of thousands of villages in eastern Turkey²⁰. More than the effects of the use of dynamite in the 30s, the influx of thousands of refugees in the 90s put tremendous pressure on the walls. Just like the entire city center, the monument was deeply affected by this unprecedented and sudden increase of population. The district went from 274,000 inhabitants

¹⁸ Korkusuz, Şefik, *Seyahatnamelerde Diyarbakır* (Istanbul : Kent Yayınları : 2003).

¹⁹ Lorain, Thomas, *L'architecture militaire de Diyarbakır entre les Xe et XIIIe siècles : entre nécessité défensive et ostentation* », (Thèse de III^{ème} cycle, EPHE, 2 vol., Paris : unpublished : 2011)

²⁰ Bozarslan, Hamit, *La question kurde. Etats et minorités au Moyen-Orient* (Paris : Presses de ScPo :1997) : 160

in the 1980 to 460 000 in the 1990, to 685 000 in 2000, reaching 799,000 in 2008 and now totalizing more than a million and a half inhabitants (1 570 943) according to the 2012 census. The growth of the Ben-U-Sen²¹ area is a relevant example of this situation. The photographs show the major transformation of this area between the beginning and the end of the last century. They reveal the situation of suffocation that the walls of Diyarbakır suffer, and basically, the vertical integration of the historical center. The shantytowns were backed against the walls; the walls were both a perfect plan of poses to establish these informal settlements and also a reservoir of material.



4) Photo provided by the town council of Diyarbakır

In 2000, a first application of classification of the walls was filed, and accepted at a national level. In 2004, the new municipality of Diyarbakır, with Osman Baydemir at its head,

²¹On the issue of resettlement of populations and the integration of shantytowns in urban projects, see <http://ateliers.org/ben-u-sen-quartier-illegal>, last accessed April 7, 2014, and Boudou, Arnaud, *Diyarbakır; d'une ville en crise vers une ville durable*, *Coopération décentralisée Municipalité Métropolitaine de Diyarbakır/Ville de Rennes*, Cahier n°1(Rennes : Mairie de Rennes :2000).

not only made the rehabilitation of the wall a priority of urban policy but also took the initiative to extend the classification, including this time the Hevsel Gardens.



5) Photo provided by the town council of Diyarbakır

The steps taken to rehabilitate the walls led the way to the enhancement of the historical city center. In Diyarbakir, as elsewhere, the toughest challenge facing the restoration of the walls is and has been the overlapping fields of competence between the different levels of power. If the mayor has leeway to restore and develop the area around the monument, the wall itself remains the property of the State that holds the right to carry out restorations. The state also retains the usage right of the wall²².

The figures show the steps taken by the municipality to rehabilitate the city walls: the green stripe shows the first area that was reformed and turned into a green space; the red stripe shows the area where work is currently in progress.

²²On this issue, see Boucly, Julien, *Conflits de patrimonialisation à Diyarbakır, Politiques étatiques et municipales à l'épreuve d'une procédure d'inscription sur la liste du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO*, (Mémoire de Master 2, EHESS, Paris : unpublished : 2014).



6) Picture provided by the town council of Diyarbakır

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The process of historic rehabilitation was beneficial for research. Local institutions set up a series of international scientific events to mobilize resources and help shed some light on the history of the wall and city. The city of Diyarbakır, in turn, hand in hand with the archaeological museum, participated in a research program Envi-Med/Mistrals CNRS/MAE. This program called AMIDA (Archaeology, Measuring Innovation, Development, Anatolia) gathered new partnerships and is supported by the French Institute of Anatolian Studies.

One of the objectives was to gather an important amount of documentation by bringing together literary sources, and so filling the information vacuum about the Roman-Byzantine city in the period covering the construction of the monument. Indeed, the gathering of a corpus of ancient texts and the attempts to reconstruct the ancient topography of the site have revealed the importance of the Roman city hitherto known only for its walls, which themselves had not been an object of research²³. All the gathered documentation should find its place in a new museum, currently being built.

Besides developing a map of the sensitive areas of the city that allows authorities- particularly the planning department- to get a better idea of ancient and buried topography, the

²³ Relevant publications are reported in the article by Antoine Pérez in this volume.

program focuses, of course, on the study of the wall²⁴. One of the main focuses of the AMIDA project is to conduct a general study of the monument, insisting on aspects that have been studied very little, or even not at all²⁵. Thus its colossal dimensions had required an early reflection on the appropriate techniques to be used. Given the size of the monument, it quickly became apparent that digital data acquisition would be the best technique²⁶. In this way the photogrammetry²⁷ techniques achieve not only a digital backup of the wall of Diyarbakır, but also a "digital mapping" on which further studies whether architectural, historical epigraphic etc²⁸ will be recorded. This technique of architectural survey provides reliable information about an object of study by recording, measuring and interpreting photographic images. So, with the exclusive use of photography, it is possible to get different results such as those of the 2D refunds (orthophotography): these images are geometrically adjusted to eliminate all perspective distortions, so that each point of the image can be overlaid on documents such as plans, sections and elevations. These images, while remaining comparable after adjustments to a conventional survey, provide accurate metric information and allow to obtain all the visual elements of the wall such as the materials used, damage occurred, alteration of materials, etc. Using these results, the implementation of a virtual database must be carried out, in which each element or group of elements constituting the wall is geo-referenced in a Geographic Information System (GIS). It will handle information as numerous as the question of the distribution of materials or architectural vocabulary used. The photographic database also supports the development of hypotheses of historical reconstructions based on 3D models, and thus allows all approaches of restoration, consolidation or development of the

²⁴ Note also of course the completion by the government of a map of the historical monuments of the city *Diyarbakır kültür envanteri*, 2 cilt, Diyarbakır valılığı il kültür ve turizm müdürlüğü, Müze, without date. http://www.diyarbakirmuzesi.gov.tr/UserFiles/481992cilt_1.pdf, last accessed April 13, 2014.

²⁵ Assénat, Martine, and Pérez, Antoine, "Diyarbakır Surları : bir Kronoloji Önerisi", *Uluslararası Diyarbakır surları sempozyumu*, Nevin Soyukaya (ed.), 19-20 Nisan 2012, Diyarbakır, juillet 2012, Université du Dicle, p. 53-65. (Les murailles de Diyarbakır, propositions chronologiques).

²⁶ An acquisition protocol was developed by the laboratory UMR 3495 CNRS/MCC (Marseille), director Livio de Luca.

²⁷ The term "photogrammetric survey" is simplified here. One must understand "short-range photogrammetry", which includes all projects whose images were taken in the vicinity of the object of study, whether from ground level, underwater or even from devices (balloon, kite, drone), and not "aerial photogrammetry."

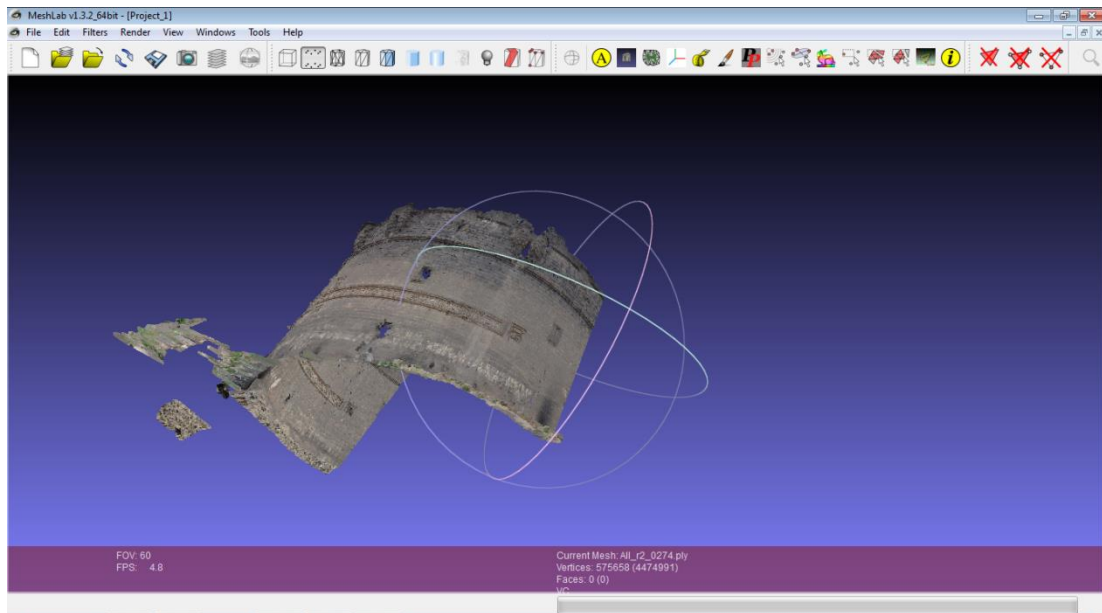
²⁸ Assénat, Martine, and Vincitore, Mauro, « La Muraille de Diyarbakır : La photogrammétrie comme vecteur de patrimonialisation », POSTER, (Dating IRPCAS - MARSEILLE 2013 October 16-18, 2013) – publication CD-ROM, and M. Assénat et al., «Amida. Diyarbakır between Past and Present : new Technologies, new Archives of Heritage/Urban Landscape», 18 eme Congrès de l'ICOMOS, Florence, Italie, 14 Nov 2014, article on line and POSTER

site's heritage value. The same tool can be used to locate precisely the zones of the wall where notable alterations of the stone have occurred²⁹.

²⁹Under the program AMIDA, this aspect is supported by Philippe Bromblet for CICRP (Centre Interdisciplinaire de Conservation et de Restauration du Patrimoine), Marseille.



7) Photo AMIDA by Mauro Vincetore



8) Photo AMIDA by Martine Assénat and Nicolas Nony

With such a complex object and difficult environment, the wall of Diyarbakır is a privileged place to test these methods of acquisition. Although photogrammetry has considerably progressed, it is still used on relatively small scales. Indeed, attempts of recording such an impressive element are very few. Consequently, as well as obtaining a documentation of the current state of the walls of Diyarbakır, the aim is also to set up a methodology of acquisition on such a scale.

In the same vein of broadening the fields of understanding and rehabilitation of the wall, another essential part of the area of the monument - that has until now not been an object of research - will be taken on board, namely the quarries that provided the necessary material for the construction of the wall. Most of these quarries are located at the base of the wall, the basaltic cliffs were used as gauge and are, as such, a constituent part of the monument. Taking these quarries into account leads to an investigation on the history of the construction of the site. This approach allows us to travel back in time to the moment when the monument was being built and to consider the impact it had on the economy and society of the city as well as on its natural environment. This enables us to emphasize all the natural elements that were used for the construction of the wall, such as the wood of the riparian Tigris for scaffolding, or the gravel and sand of the river. In turn, all this allows attracting the attention of the public administration on the importance of the environment in the understanding of the site and the

necessity of its protection. The program involves a specialist in stone carving both stonemason and researcher, capable of making the connection between what we can know of ancient techniques of implementation of the stone, from its extraction to its employment in architecture, and the current teams working on the restoration of the wall³⁰.

³⁰See for example the following publications : Bessac, Jean-Claude, « Le basalte de Syrie du Sud ; quelques repères techniques, économiques et chronologiques », in *La Syrie du Sud du néolithique à l'antiquité tardive. Recherches récentes*, ed. M. Al-Maqdissi, F. Braemer and J.-M. Dentzer, Hauran V.vol. 1, BAH 191 (Beyrouth : 2010), 413-423 or « Observations sur la construction monumentale dans le Nord-Ouest de la République d'Arménie », *Syria* 88 (2011) : 379-415.

Conclusion

Whatever the outcome of the classification process of UNESCO may be, this work initiated a favorable dynamic for the development of a research, the fundamental results of which were called upon to write the narratives of the items proposed as heritage. In return, the impact of these researches is far from insignificant since their orientation also draws the attention of the public administration on a less spectacular heritage, and often more fragile, that therefore benefits from more systematic investigation. Indeed, implementing a systematic multidisciplinary approach to research necessarily brings about a different view of the object to be visited, by extracting it from the historical and touristic isolation in which the process of heritage tends to freeze it, and, by giving it back a pulse, it links it to History in the process of being invented.



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PREPARING FOR WORLD HERITAGE TOURISM IN HELLERAU, GERMANY

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Abstract

The paper shares insights into the steps a citizens' initiative is taking to get ready for the reception of future tourists in Hellerau while preparing the nomination of the early 20th century reform settlement for World Heritage. The urban, landscape and built features testify to the founders' reform aspirations for societal innovation, aesthetic awareness, social justice and a healthy lifestyle. Making the heritage expressions accessible to visitors, while protecting the privacy of the residents when tourism increases, is one of the main tasks of the future site management. Particularly the residential realm of the settlement, foremost a network of shared pathways accessing the private gardens, can be integrated into a comprehensive presentation concept only with the goodwill and cooperation of the local residents.

Keywords

Sustainable tourism; tourism management; World Heritage site management; historic urban settlement; life reform movement; land reform movement; garden city; Hellerau; community involvement.

Introduction

In this paper, the early 20th century reform settlement Hellerau close to Dresden serves as a case study and example for sustainable tourism management in a residential heritage site.

Hellerau is today probably most famous as the first German garden city³¹ and for its theatre hall, the Festspielhaus (figure 1), which constitutes the birth cradle of modern dance and other innovations in the realm of the modern theatre. Although the historic settlement has many exciting aspects to talk about, particularly with regards to its influence on the evolution of modern architecture, sustainable town planning, as well as theatre and dance, this paper focuses mostly on one particular aspect: a semipublic network of footpaths (figures 2 and 3), so called service alleys, which is particularly vulnerable to tourism. Set among the recessed garden realm of the residential quarters, the back alleys allow local residents and visitors to access the more private areas of the settlement. They convey important aspects of the cultural significance of the site, with regards to its social reform ambitions.

Providing meaningful insights into the inhabited realm of the settlement requires the goodwill and cooperation of the inhabitants, whose privacy has to be protected at the same time. Hence, the pathway system and the garden realm constitute a particular challenge in the context of the nomination of Hellerau for UNESCO World Heritage.

³¹ The garden city movement was initiated by Ebenezer Howard in the United Kingdom. In his book of 1898 „To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform“, he describes his alternative ideas for a healthy living environment outside of the inhospitable industrialized cities. Garden cities were intended to be planned, self-contained communities for a maximum of 32,000 people. According to Howard’s concept, garden cities consist of proportionate areas for residences, industry, open and recreational spaces, public parks and large agricultural greenbelts surrounding the planned settlement, which thus combines the benefits of city and countryside. Howard’s notions very importantly include affordable housing for the working class based on a cooperative ownership scheme. Howard first realized his ideal in Letchworth Garden City (1904). Based on that experience, he then founded Welwyn Garden City in 1919.

Hellerau’s claims of being the first garden city in Germany were already controversially discussed during its founding years (Gartenstadt-Gesellschaft Hellerau m.b.H. (Ed.). *Einiges über die erste deutsche Gartenstadt Hellerau bei Dresden. Ein Führer*, Hellerau 1909). Comparable settlements such as Marga and the Margarethenhöhe were built approximately at the same time as Hellerau (start of construction 1907 and 1909). However, both constitute strict industrial settlements and were not organized as cooperatives, which was one of the key characteristics of Howard’s self-sustaining garden cities. Hellerau, on the contrary, was not a pure industrial settlement and was based on a cooperative financing model with communal landownership. It is therefore considered the German garden city which comes closest to the concept developed by Ebenezer Howard.



Figure 1: Hellerau's iconic theatre building, the Festspielhaus, by Heinrich Tessenow, photo © Battis



Figures 2 and 3: Back alleys in the quarters of row-houses and villas, photos © Battis

Since 2011, a local citizens' association – the Förderverein Weltkulturerbe Hellerau e.V. – is joining hands in order to bring the site onto the UNESCO World Heritage List as an outstanding German testimony to the manifold reform ambitions that emerged in many industrialized countries in the early 20th century. The IHM - Institute for Heritage Management in Cottbus, which is linked to the Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg, has been commissioned by the association to prepare the nomination documents including the site management plan under the lead of Dr. Britta Rudolff. The central topic of the nomination is the complex and wholesome reform agenda of Hellerau. The settlement was planned and partly built in the first decade of the 20th century at a time when the industrialization had dramatically deteriorated the living conditions in cities, including in Germany. In founding Hellerau, a grand reform experiment was initiated which aimed at finding ways to have people live happier and in harmony with each other and with nature. They hoped not only to provide people with a healthier, cleaner and more beautiful living environment but to improve society as a whole based on societal innovation, social justice, a natural lifestyle and aesthetic awareness. In all of these realms Hellerau provided important impulses which spread out to the world and were taken further throughout the 20th century. The experiment Hellerau was short lived, because the First World War brought a sudden end to the reforms. Most of the reforms could not be revived during the following decades that lead to the Second World War. Nevertheless, the reform ambitions of the early 20th century including innovative ideas for sustainable urban design and building construction, organic gardening and nutrition, fitness, social responsibility and life-work-balance remain of utmost importance to today's societies. Hellerau provides testimony to all of them.



Figure 4: The private gardens of Am Schänkenberg viewed from the back alley, photo © Battis

Historical background and site description

The founders of Hellerau were philanthropic, visionary and expert at the same time. In 1905/06 the initiator Karl Schmidt, was looking for a place to build a new factory building for his expanding furniture company - the German Workshops, along with a settlement in which everything was to be healthier and more beautiful and certainly different than in the overcrowded industrialized cities which had turned intolerable to live in particularly for the growing working class. The settlement was to provide an alternative to the anonymous life in the overcrowded cities. The larger goal was to fight the ills brought about by the industrialization of the 19th and 20th centuries with a view to creating a better society.

Karl Schmidt found the ideal land for the endeavor among the picturesque woods and agricultural lands of the so called Heller Mountains only six kilometers north of the city centre of Dresden. Here, the foundation stone of the reform settlement with its factory building was laid in 1909, following years of preparation and planning.

In founding Hellerau, Karl Schmidt teamed up with some of the best German reform architects of the time, Richard Riemerschmid and Hermann Muthesius, who were later joined by other architects, among whom Heinrich Tessenow stands out as the most innovative. Karl Schmidt was furthermore supported by the cosmopolite visionary Wolf Dohrn and the liberal politician and economist Friedrich Naumann among many other philanthropic middle- and upper class representatives. Karl Schmidt and his partners drew from various reform streams of their time that aimed to restore harmony to society in response to the change caused by the industrialization.

The reform streams that are summarized under the title life reform movement³² included:

- the housing reform³³, concerned with finding appropriate and affordable housing solutions particularly for the working classes and emerging middle class;

32 Kerbs, Diethart (Ed.). *Handbuch der deutschen Reformbewegungen 1880-1933* (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1998) for example; Buchholz, Kai (Ed.). *Die Lebensreform: Entwürfe zur Neugestaltung von Kunst und Leben* (Darmstadt: Häußler, 2001).

33 Muthesius, Hermann. *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung* (München: Bruckmann, 1918) for example; Harlander, Tilman. *Villa und Eigenheim. Suburbaner Städtebau in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2001).

- the English garden city movement³⁴ and its German counterparts including the land reform movement - all striving for sustainable town planning;
- a design reform movement that emerged from the English arts and crafts movement and aimed at overcoming historicism in the making of the living environment ranging from the urban scale to architecture, crafts and product design³⁵;
- reform pedagogy³⁶ aiming at the innovation of the educational system in favor of happier, more responsible and more productive human beings, and including the emerging eurhythmics, which were seen as a tool to restore harmony between body and soul;
- the vegetarian, anti-alcoholism and clothing reform movements all aiming at a healthier personal lifestyle;
- theatre reform as a motor for societal innovation and moral refinement;
- the provision of safer and healthier working conditions particularly in factories;
- as well as the empowerment of women and youth.

The founding vision of Hellerau included all these aspects for a better life and a new society. Its founders and first inhabitants carried out practical experiments and research in all of these fields of the life reform movement. This is the reason why the French author Paul Claudel called Hellerau a “laboratory of a new humanity”.³⁷

As a first step, the founders and their partners established the so-called garden city association of Hellerau which bought the chosen 132 hectares agricultural land from local farmers. In order to be able to put into practice the urban, architectural and social reform agenda common landownership was indispensable. The creation of communal property was supposed to prevent land speculation and allow for charitable housing concepts. Land reform was thus an important component among the manifold reform ambitions with which the founders of Hellerau hoped to establish a better humanity.

34 Hartmann, Kristiana. *Deutsche Gartenstadtbewegung: Kulturpolitik und Gesellschaftsreform* (München: Moos, 1976).

35 Nerdinger, Winfried (Ed.). *100 Jahre Deutscher Werkbund 1907-2007* (München: Prestel, 2007).

36 Keim, Wolfgang and Schwerdt, Ulrich. *Handbuch der Reformpädagogik in Deutschland 1880-1933* (Frankfurt: Lang, 2013) for example; Nitschke, Thomas. *Die Gartenstadt Hellerau als pädagogische Provinz* (Dresden: Hellerau, 2003).

37 „Laboratoire d’une humanité nouvelle“, Paul Claudel in: *Nouvelle Revue Française*, March 1914. Also printed in: *Sonderheft Berichte der Dalcroze Schule* 1, no. 6/1914, p. 28.

Richard Riemerschmid, who designed the land use plan (figure 5), put the charitable land ownership scheme to practice and drew up new communal parcels. He divided the topographically diverse area into different parts, and assigned each of the main architects residential quarters to be consistently designed. Until today, the settlement consists of an industrial district in the south, a district for small attached row houses in the east and an area for individual villas in the south-west. Richard Riemerschmid also foresaw an area for recreation and cultural activities. The remaining area was reserved for future settlement growth.

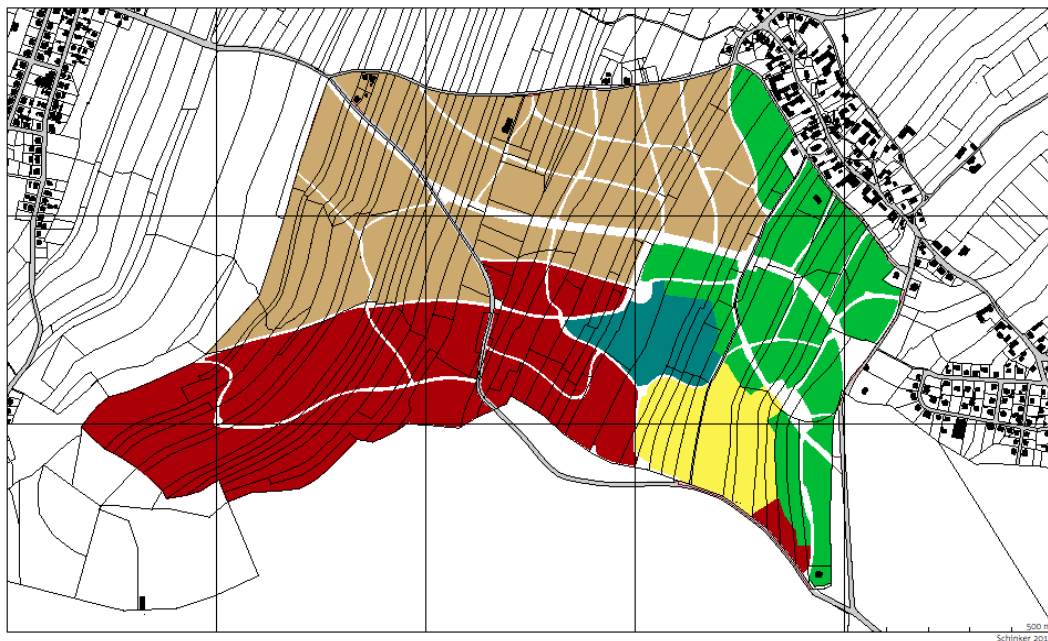


Figure 5: The historic land use plan of Hellerau (individual villas (red), small attached row houses (green), industrial district (yellow), area for recreation (petrol), area for future building activities (brown)), drawing © Schinker

Riemerschmid took a very contextual approach in designing the land use plan. The hierarchical street network of main thoroughfares and narrow residential lanes is carefully woven into the topography, as is the settlement into the landscape. For the construction of the row houses at low cost for the lower and middle class he created large communal parcels on an open, formerly agriculturally used land. Its rich soil was fit for growing fruits and vegetables. The row houses were all fitted with a private garden in order to offer the inhabitants the basis for a healthy nutrition and economic relief. Most gardens were also fitted with small stables for live stock breeding. Although the gardens were private, the fences and hedges separating them were of such low height, that visually and functionally the communal

character of the ensemble of buildings and gardens prevailed. Riemerschmid integrated existing fruit trees and former agricultural pathways when laying out the gardens and the expanded network of service alleys. The service alleys were shared by the residents to access and maintain the gardens. In addition to this functional aspect, the pathways were an important instrument in the social reform agenda. The architects intended the shared pathways as a catalyst for the construction of a sense of community and identity in the new settlement. Therefore fences and hedges had to be of low height, in order to allow for communication between the inhabitants and for visual appreciation of the architectural ensemble of buildings and gardens (figure 6). As places of public encounter and social exchange, the entrances to the pathways were carefully designed and often equipped with street furniture including benches and pergolas (figure 7). Furthermore, the complex network of pedestrian ways extends across the settlement and connects different parts and functions within Hellerau. The map in figure 11 shows the historical spread of the service alleys which is almost identical with the current situation. The model of Hellerau, displayed during an international town planning exhibition in 1910 in the cities Berlin and London (figure 9), shows the area Riemerschmid designed himself. Apart from the factory building, the market square, and the vegetarian restaurant building at the entrance to the residential lane Am grünen Zipfel it shows the fenced gardens and service alleys.



Figure 6: Ensemble of buildings and gardens designed by Richard Riemerschmid, photo © Battis



Figure 7: Historic photograph of an entrance space to the back-alleys, photo © Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen, Bildsammlung, H41

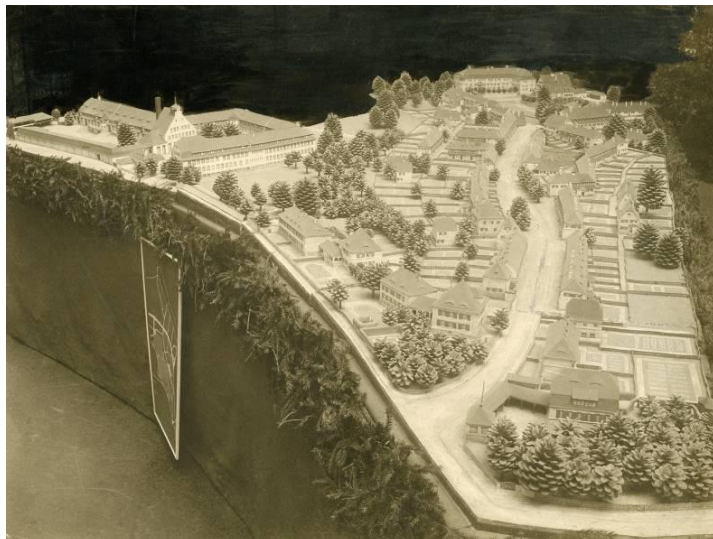


Figure 8: Exhibition model of Hellerau 1910, photo © Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen, Bildsammlung, HReg565



Figure 9: The border stone indicates the property division along the middle line, photo © Battis



Figure 10: Am Gräbchen - the gardens and their former back alley have been merged, photo © Battis

In addition to their original practical, social and aesthetic function, the pathways can today be interpreted as a testimony to the land reform movement which was an important facet of the reform agenda. Communal landownership was a prerequisite for the creation of the urban ensemble and allowed reducing construction costs in order to cater for the lower income groups. To the same end, communal landownership was supposed to hold rents at a low rate through the prevention of land speculation. However, due to financial crises, the land of the settlement was soon privatized and communal landownership does no longer prevail. The pathway system however still visibly reminds of the formerly shared land ownership. The shared use is preserved.

Originally a building cooperative was responsible for the maintenance of the pathway system, including the provision of standardized fences and flooring of compacted soil. However, the settlement's parcels, including most of the service alleys, were quickly privatized in the 1920s. Most back-alleys have been divided, in terms of land ownership, along their middle line (figure 9). Since, the private owners are responsible for the upkeep. Nevertheless, almost all service alleys are preserved until today. Only in one single place, the former pathway has been integrated into the garden land (figure 10). Granite blocks still indicate the former location of the pathway. Most back-alleys are still used communally as was originally intended.

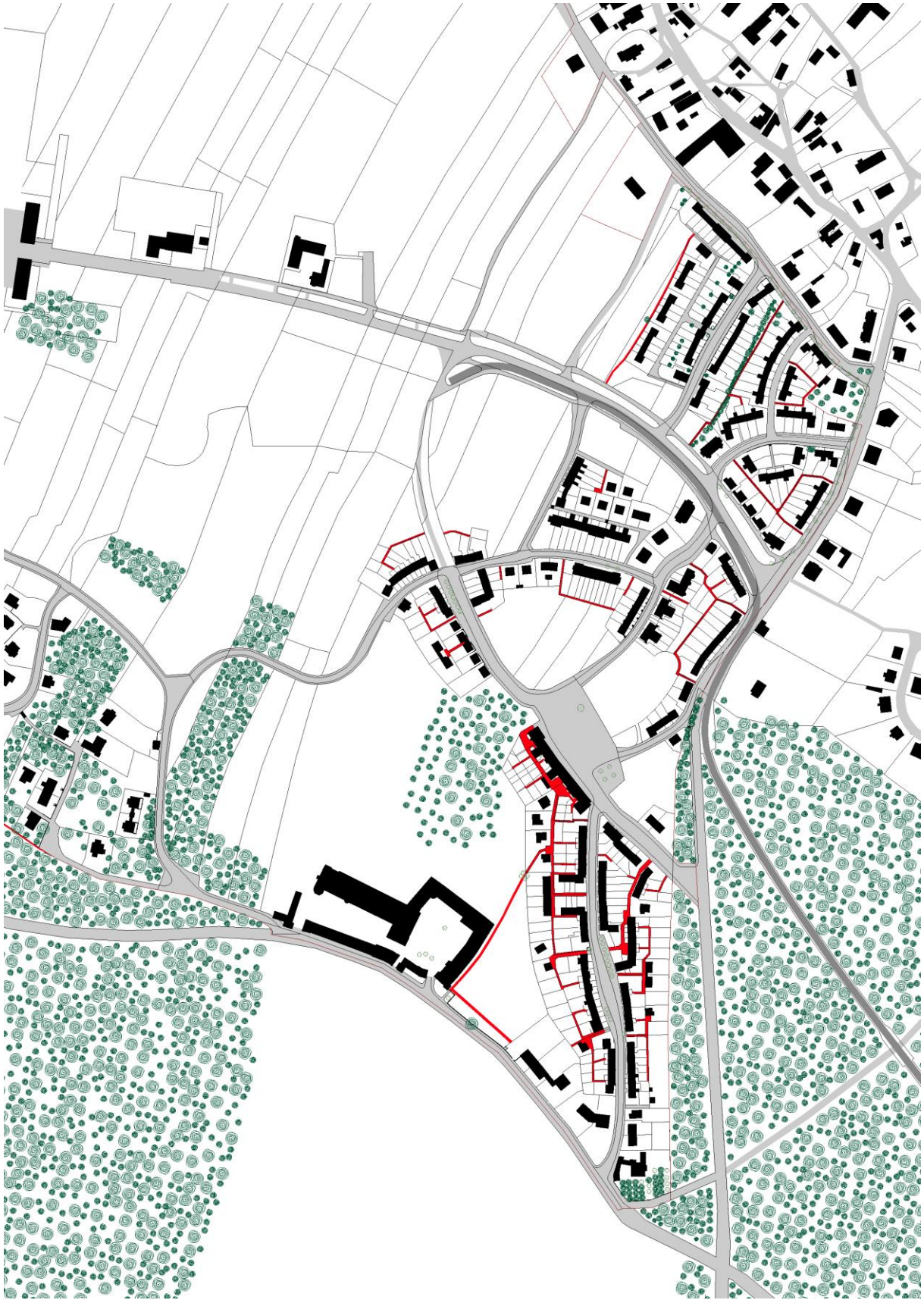


Figure 11: Distribution of back alleys in 1914, drawing © Schinker

Most pathways furthermore remain accessible to public. In fact the permeability of the network has increased since the founding years of the settlement. This is, because originally the architects placed gates at the entrances to the semiprivate garden realm. Probably they also meant to protect the crops and life-stock in the gardens from wild animals of the surrounding woods. Given the poor durability of wooden elements, none of the original gates, fences or furniture in the public realm is preserved and few were replaced. Today, only few gates discourage visitors to access the garden realm. However, signage, chains and bollards take up that function in a number of places. They serve the inhabitants to protect their privacy, given that the gardens are extended living areas of the rather small residential units. In other cases, visitors are not necessarily discouraged to enter the pathways but informed of their own risk in doing so. This serves to prevent insurance claims particularly during the winter months when pathways can be slippery.

However, many residents install screens to protect parts of their gardens from public view, as shown in figure 13, or even grow high hedges along their borders (figure 13). In such cases, fences and hedges no longer constitute a mere “symbolic divisions”, as Hermann Muthesius described their original function.³⁸ Such elements can significantly disturb the communal appearance and function of the urban ensemble and hinder the communication of its cultural value. An issue in this regard is also the fact, that the fences are today installed privately with only limited influence of the heritage authorities on their design. Each of the founding architects had given special attention to the standard design of fences within the individual residential quarters. Richard Riemerschmid mostly used plain halves of round bollards. Hermann Muthesius and Heinrich Tessenow preferred variants of white varnished square timber (figure 14). Today, mismatching, individually designed fences disturb the sense of communal aesthetics in a number of places. In addition, the incongruent design and lacking maintenance of the pathways’ flooring is of concern regarding the state of conservation. Lastly, the way many gardens are today designed and planted with locally untypical vegetation is not in line with the original design intentions of contextuality and visual unity. Few gardens are today used for the growing of fruits and vegetables or for animal breeding.

All of these aspects will have to be considered in the future tourism management of the site and its presentation.

38 German original: „denn er dient nur als sinnbildlicher Abschluß“. Muthesius, Hermann: *Kleinhaus und Kleinsiedlung*, München 1920, S. 172.



Figure 12: Private seating areas within the gardens are often screened from view, photo © Battis

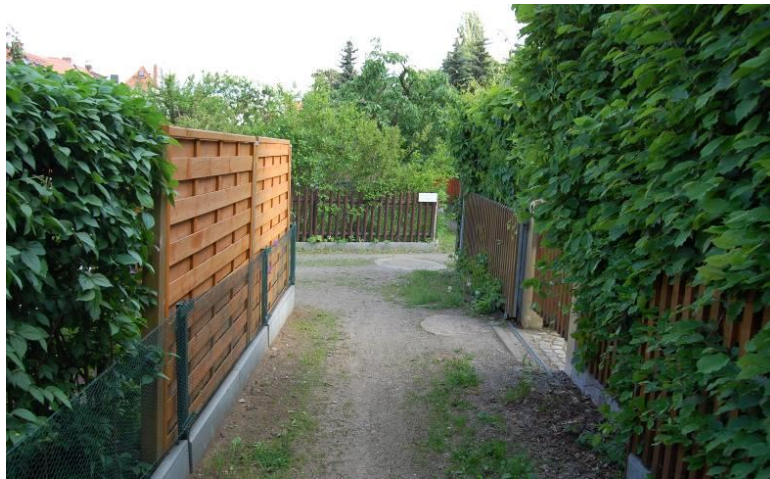


Figure 13: High fences and hedges significantly impair the appearance of the ensemble, photo © Battis



Figure 14: Fence design in the alley Am Dorffrieden, photo © Battis

Tourism management

During its founding years between 1909 and 1914 Hellerau was a visitor magnet, when an international avant-garde of artists and intellectuals came to witness the extraordinary social experiment. Particularly the festivals of the rhythm school of the Swiss music pedagogue Émile Jaques-Dalcroze – set within the extraordinary theatre building by Heinrich Tessenow - attracted many guests before World War One. At present, visitor numbers in Hellerau are moderate. However, touristic interest is currently increasing due to the media coverage of the nomination process and the centenary of European garden cities. Visitations are expected to rise further following a World Heritage inscription.

The World Heritage nomination is a private, local initiative that grew out of the rich civilian community life that characterizes Hellerau and out of the community's pride of the local heritage. The nomination is being prepared by an association that includes representatives of the local residents' association, the successor company of the historic German Workshops and members of the cultural institution operating the theatre hall. The government authorities are not the initiator of the nomination in the case of Hellerau but merely partners. The IHM – Institute for Heritage Management was hired to provide the required expertise including the preparation of a management plan which is to assure the advisory bodies of UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee that the site will in the future not be impacted by an increase of tourism. The management plan shall also serve a future site manager to coordinate and support the wide array of activities which the local actors are taking and planning to expand on in the future.

In nominating Hellerau for UNESCO World Heritage, the garden realm with its pathway network holds potentials and challenges at the same time. On the one hand, the site has to meet the requirements of the Convention for the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage. This includes an appropriate protection and management of the site and its Outstanding Universal Value, which is to be specified within the site management plan. At the same time it is of fundamental importance to consider the interests and concerns of the settlement's inhabitants. Appropriate management also requires communicating all facets of the complex cultural significance of the site to both visitors and the local community.

The **cultural significance** of the Hellerau is only partly self-explanatory. The ambitions for sustainable urban planning, including the garden city concept is still legible in the urban configuration. The aesthetic innovations of the housing reform are revealed in the built fabric and attractive streetscapes. The settlement's renowned contemporary dance theatre, the Festspielhaus, which is today operated by the European Center of the Contemporary Arts HELLERAU, exemplarily shares its legacy with its guests through a wide array of cultural activities and performances. Also the German Workshops Hellerau GmbH, the successor enterprise of the founding furniture company which still produces in Hellerau, regularly open their doors for exhibitions and concerts to visitors of the site. However, the significance of the garden realm is at present insufficiently communicated.

A number of tour maps are available and local guides take visitors around. A route suggested within a map provided by the city's public transportation company, for example, includes only few service alleys.³⁹ Nevertheless, visitors can access the majority of the semiprivate pathways and get glimpses of Hellerau's garden realm. Once a year, the local community holds a garden festival called the Day of the Open Gardens, during which the public is invited into private gardens.⁴⁰

However, the pathway system and garden realm **lacks interpretation facilities**. Although most gardens are no longer primarily used to grow vegetables or fruits, as was their initial purpose, they still testify to the early reform ambitions for a healthier life, closer to nature. Less easily legible is the intention of the founders, to foster a communal lifestyle, which was originally clearly articulated in the overall design of the ensemble. Today the communal design is impacted in places by individually designed interventions including visual barriers that serve the purpose to protect private areas from public view. Least obvious is the pathways' significance as a testimony of the land reform. Land reform played an important role in the formation of Hellerau and is best testified to in the system of back-alleys.⁴¹ As it remains in communal use and care despite private ownership, the pathway system is today a visible relict of the original communal and cooperative basis of Hellerau. This layer of

³⁹ Refer to „Streifzug 3: Hellerau – Erste deutsche Gartenstadt“: <https://www.dvb.de/de/Freizeit-Tourismus/Ausflugstipps/Streifzug-3-Gartens-00578/> (31.1.2014).

⁴⁰ Refer to the event's program on the citizens' association website“: <http://www.hellerau-buergerverein.de/index.php/aktuelles/veranstaltungsbeitraege/101-impressionen-von-den-offenen-gaerten-2013>

⁴¹ Nils M. Schinker „Die Gartenstadt Hellerau 1909-1945. Stadtbaukunst, Kleinwohnungsbau. Sozial- und Bodenreform“, Dresden 2013. This newest publication on Hellerau analyzes the emergence and historical development of Hellerau and provides in-depth information about the charitable goals of the land reform movement and its spatial testimony in the site.

meaning in the pathway system does at present not feature in the communication of the settlement's cultural significance. At present, explanatory signage has only been installed on residential houses of prominent former inhabitants of the settlement. Even the inhabitants of Hellerau might not be fully aware of the pathways' complex cultural significance. Providing **interpretive signage** at strategic places along the pathway system will be an important aspect of future tourism management. However, it is only one measure within a complex endeavor. There are plans to expand on the existing exhibition facilities available in the several key locations throughout the site. The local tour guide services are to be coordinated and enriched with yet underrepresented themes relevant to the site's cultural significance. A very important measure to be developed in cooperation with a large number of local stakeholders and the local authorities is the provision of sufficient decentralized parking spaces – car parking being a delicate issue in the historic settlement that was not laid out to accommodate significant vehicular traffic. At present, one of the main worries of the local residents in relation to the nomination is that increased tourism might worsen the parking situation within the narrow lanes of the residential area.



Figure 15: A group of visitors at the entrance to the lane Am grünen Zipfel, photo © Battis



Figure 16: Gates and signage discourage from entering the dead-end pathway, photo © Battis

Most importantly, a **visitor guidance system** has to be devised in a participatory manner with all local stakeholders, foremost the residents. Since the gardens and even most pathways are privately owned, the goodwill of the local residents is essential for keeping the garden realm accessible and well preserved. It is in the residents' hands to decide whether the pathway system will remain publicly accessible in the future or not. It is highly desirable that visitors will have a chance to access the garden realm in order to be able to gain an impression of the entire range of reform ambitions which Hellerau stands for. However, the privacy of the residents has to be protected at the same time, for the community's sake and for the protection of the site. Should the pathway network in the future be accessible but at the same time aligned with high screens and hedges, the communal design of the urban ensemble would be harmed and make a visit to the garden realm pointless for tourists. In order to mediate this risk, the vulnerability and carrying capacities of the different sections of the pathway system should be assessed in cooperation with the local residents. In areas, where residents might feel disturbed by visitors, the latter should be discouraged to enter using signage, physical barriers or more subtle means such as awareness raising. Conflicts between tourists and the local community as well as detrimental effects to the state of conservation of the site should be prevented through such preparatory measures.

Another important field of action is the dissemination of information about the cultural significance of the garden realm and about its appropriate conservation. At present, the landscape of private gardens is more heavily modified than the streetscapes, where monument protection regulations control interventions by the inhabitants more strictly. Given that the local heritage authorities have much less influence on the design of private interventions

within the semiprivate garden realm, awareness raising among the inhabitants for design issues is essential. In fact, the local community wishes for design guidance that complies with the intentions of Hellerau's founders and accommodates the needs of its present day inhabitants. Local private actors, in cooperation with the local heritage authorities, have joined hands in order to develop a flyer that will provide the local owners and residents with information on how to appropriately design and maintain their gardens and thus contribute to the preservation and communication of the cultural significance of the site. Public garden design workshops that take place occasionally are to be more often repeated. Historic photographs and documents, such as lists of plants used, serve as a basis for restoring the visual, functional and ecological characteristics of the garden realm without intending to reconstruct exact garden configurations. Design guidance should include aspects such as: heights, material and detailing of fences; types and heights of ecologically and aesthetically appropriate hedges; choice of locally typical plants and trees and their configuration and maintenance; the choice of façade greenery for residential units; the choice of floor surfaces for service alleys and gardens; as well as appropriate garden furniture including canopies and pergolas. Events like the Day of the Open Gardens should be used to promote best practice in garden and pathway design. A design guidance flyer should also include information as to where technical or financial support might be obtained for the conservation of gardens and pathways. At present, the initiators of the nomination process are using every opportunity to promote support for the initiative. They seek participation of the widest possible range of people. The chosen media channels include websites of the various local civilian associations, street festivals, public lectures and discussions, exhibitions, news paper articles, flyers and posters.



Figure 17: Information about the World Heritage nomination was distributed to citizens during a street festival, photo © Battis

One of the local associations has recently been able to raise sufficient public and private funds to restore a building that is closely linked to the social reform agenda embodied in the garden realm: the support association of the Waldschänke – the former vegetarian restaurant of Hellerau and site of initial negotiations for the foundation of the settlement – restored the building and established it as a community centre.



Figure 18: A reconstructed bench marking the entrance to a back alley during installation works, photo © Battis

In 2013, another citizens' association (Figure 19) has been able to reconstruct the original configuration of a typical entrance point to the network of service alleys on a residential street. The land was donated for the project by the owners of the adjacent residential unit. The bench was built according to the historic predecessor and a tree, that was no longer in place next to it, was replanted in the original location. Today, the spot invites residents and visitors to linger and socialize as was the initial intention of the founders of Hellerau.

Conclusion

Among the array of these important initiatives it is most crucial to develop a visitor guidance system in a participatory manner with all concerned residents. It should include well chosen

parts of the network of back alleys, in order to contribute to the interpretation and preservation of this particularly vulnerable part of the settlement.

Hopefully, and with careful planning, the pride which currently motivates the local community to nominate the settlement for World Heritage will last and help to find ways for keeping the garden realm of Hellerau open to visitors.

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UTILIZING HISTORICAL PALACES AS FIVE STAR HOTELS

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Abstract

Cultural attractions play an important role in tourism and hospitality, as well as invite large numbers of tourists interested in heritage. Moreover, cultural heritage tourism has positive social and economic impacts.

Despite the fact that Egypt is famous for its large number of heritage sites, including historical palaces which mainly dated back to the last two centuries, most of these historical palaces are not utilized as tourist attractions. Only very few of them were converted into fine tourist hotels such as, Marriott Cairo Hotel & Omar Khayyam Casino in Cairo, Mena House Hotel in Giza and El Salamlek Palace Hotel in Alexandria.

The main objective of this research is to increase the awareness of the importance of utilizing or converting the unutilized historical palaces into five star hotels in order to appeal to a different market segment. This distinct market is always concerned and seeks those elite heritage hotels with historical backgrounds rather than choosing the ultra-hypermodern hotels with different exotic architectural designs that are seen worldwide nowadays.

Keywords

Heritage, Heritage Hotels, Historical Palaces, Historical Background, Market Segments, Architectural Designs

Introduction

Tourism and hospitality activities are developing at a faster rate than any other industries with a significant challenge ahead. Heritage tourism has developed very rapidly over the few past decades. Richards (1996) defined heritage as a gamut inclusive of ancient monuments, the

built urban settings, multiple features of the natural environment, and numerous facets of living culture and the arts.

Besides, Howard (2003) explained that heritage is “anything that someone wishes to conserve or collect and pass on to future generations”. Moreover, the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States (2004) defined heritage tourism as “travelling to experience the places, artifacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past”, also “heritage tourism can include cultural, historic and natural resources.” Misiura (2006:135) defined heritage as a collection of ancient monuments and he stated that “There is no doubt that the number of heritage attractions worldwide and the number of people visiting them have grown dramatically in recent years”.

To date, literature on heritage hotels is meager, but a recent research conducted by two researchers in the Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Management, Helwan University, Maher and Belal (2012:1) mentioned to the culture that the Palace of Baron Empain represents a unique architectural style and the legends that it evokes, so as to promote untraditional types of tourism like dark, film-induced, and haunted house tourism. This palace is located in Heliopolis, a suburb of Cairo. It has sadly been allowed to fall into ruin. Its unique architectural style with pure Hindu influences attracts the attention of anyone passing by this deserted mansion that is located on one of the most used motor-highways in Cairo. It looks like an ancient Indian temple in the middle of Islamic Cairo. The palace with its peculiar style has become a subject of many rumors and tales which can provide different experiences matching different tourist motives.

Heritage Hotels

The heritage hotel concept serves as an important mechanism to facilitate preservation and restoration of unique buildings. Also, heritage hotels are now a part of the “International Hotels Environment Initiative” which aims to address some of the sustainability inspired issues such as eco-efficiency, cultural management, eco labels, and best practice guidelines (Chang 1997). The same author added that because of their economic value, heritage hotels have captured the interest of both the private and public sectors. Additionally, they have

garnered the support of the local community because of their rich heritage and cultural values. Heritage hotels as a tourism commodity have many uses such as:

- Being used as a tool to promote civic pride, local identity, and cultural capital;
- Helping bridge the gap between locals and tourists by projecting an “attractive image for investors, tourists, and local residents”.

The concept of heritage hotels was introduced with a view to convert the old palaces, castles, forts and residences built prior to 1950 into accommodation units as these traditional structures reflect the ambience and life style of the bygone era and are immensely popular with the tourists. The scheme is aimed at ensuring that such properties, landmarks of heritage, are not lost due to decay but because financially viable properties providing additional room capacity for the tourists. The heritage hotels could be sub-classified into heritage. This category covers hotels in residences, hunting, lodges, castles, forts and palaces (Dharmaraj 2007).

There are many examples of unique heritage hotels and resorts worldwide, such as: Cliveden (Buckinghamshire, UK), Culloden House Hotel (Scotland, UK), Hozenji Hotel (Kanazawa City, Japan), Imperial Hotel (New Delhi, India) and Sheraton Wild Horse Pass Resort (Arizona, USA).

The following are short notes about the first three properties.

Cliveden (Buckinghamshire, UK)

According to Misiura (2006:96) Cliveden is a hotel in the Buckinghamshire countryside that comes under several umbrella brands of hotels, notably the Grand Heritage collection, which is international. This particular brand targets the general public, especially business/ corporate market, the Wedding and other social occasion market ‘club’ members. This building was established in 1666, since then, three Dukes, an Earl, the Astors and Frederick, Prince of Wales have all owned and lived at Cliveden. Because of its proximity to Windsor, Queen Victoria visited no less than eight times – she was not amused when in 1893 it was bought by William Waldorf Astor, America’s richest citizen, who gave it to his son and daughter-in-law in 1905. It became famous for its social events, which included guests such as Charlie Chaplin, Winston Churchill, President Roosevelt and George Bernard Shaw. It is a remarkable stately home of astonishing grandeur and with many stories to tell.

Culloden House Hotel (Scotland, UK)

Culloden House Hotel was originally a Jacobean castle. The entire site is of great historic importance in Scotland. Culloden House used to be considered as a lodging and battle headquarter to Bonnie Prince Charlie (a well-known Scottish hero) prior to the historic battle on Culloden Moor in 1746. The hotel interior features a comfortable living room with Adam plasterwork, several magnificent fine antiques, and a huge open fire. The hotel property offers a range of facilities including forty acres of parkland, twenty eight bedrooms, the Garden Pavilion, and four luxury suites (Culloden House 2009).

Hozenji Hotel (Kanazawa City, Japan)

Hozenji Hotel is a temple hotel located in Kanazawa city in Japan. The temple was built in the seventeenth century. Today, it offers lodging facilities to visitors. The mission of the temple hotel is to provide a unique experience to visitors. The hotel operates on non-profit principles and the purpose is to break even (Chhabra 2010:139).

Methodology

Since this research is concerned with heritage hotels and the possibility of converting or utilizing more unutilized historical palaces as five star hotels, it was necessary to interview some managers and marketing responsible officials in some heritage hotels in order to learn about many issues concerning this unique type of hotels. It was also reasonable to conduct interviews with ten of tourism and hospitality experts in the field of heritage hotels in order to state their opinions about the conversion or utilization of historical palaces as fine tourist hotels. Finally, the concerned heritage hotels' websites and brochures were investigated. The websites of the investigated heritage hotels as well as their brochures were examined to state whether the historical backgrounds were seen, revealed and obvious to everyone or not.

The Heritage Hotels Managers' Interview

A semi-structured interview was conducted with a number of managers or resident managers as well as with the marketing responsible officials in the following heritage hotels in Egypt.

- Marriott Cairo Hotel & Omar Khayyam Casino (Cairo)

- Mena House Hotel (Giza)
- Sofitel Legend Old Cataract Aswan (Aswan)
- Sofitel Winter Palace Luxor (Luxor)

The interview is divided into four sections. The first section of the interview includes two questions that dealt with staff awareness about the historical backgrounds of their hotels. Besides, the way and the time in which they were usually informed by their management about this issue. The second section consists of five questions concerned with the different ways and tools used and through which the investigated heritage hotels conveyed and communicated their historical backgrounds with their guests. The third section includes four questions inquiring about the nationalities and ages of the hotels' guests in addition to their awareness in regards to the heritage concept. Finally, the last section consists of two questions asking the interviewees about their personal opinions about the investigated issue.

The Tourism and Hospitality Experts' Personal Interview

A semi-structured interview was conducted with ten of tourism and hospitality experts in the field of heritage hotels in order to know their opinions about the conversion or utilization of historical palaces as five star hotels in Egypt. The interview focused on the possibility of converting the old palaces into tourist lodging establishments, the advantages or disadvantages correlated with this issue and the potential market segment interested in such lodging properties. Also, the conducted interview was concerned with the obstacles facing the use of heritage palaces in the hospitality activity. Furthermore, the interviewees were requested to state their opinions about other historical palaces that could be utilized in the tourism and hospitality activity.

Hotels' Websites and Brochures Investigation

A survey was carried out on the investigated heritage hotels' websites and brochures with the aim of examining whether the historical backgrounds of the hotels were clearly seen, revealed and obvious to everyone.

Results and Discussion

It is not surprising that Humphreys (2011) wrote in the preface of his book "Grand Hotels of Egypt: In the Golden Age of Travel" the following:

“From the earliest resthouses serving travelers on the Overland Route between Britain and India to the grand Edwardian palaces on the Nile that made Egypt the exotic alternative to wintering on the Riviera, the hotels of Alexandria, Cairo, Luxor, and Aswan were always about far more than just bed and board. As bridgeheads for African exploration, neutral territories for conducting diplomacy, headquarters for armies, providers of home comforts for writers, painters, scholars, and archaeologists in the field, and social hubs for an international jetsetting elite, more of importance happened in Egypt’s hotels than in almost any other setting. It was through the hotels that visitors from the West - the earliest adventurers, then the travelers and, finally, the tourists - experienced the Orient”.

The present research focused the light on some Egyptian grand historic hotels and the possibility of utilizing old palaces that have historical backgrounds as tourist lodging establishments. In this respect, certain heritage hotels in Cairo, Giza, Luxor and Aswan were considered to state the extent of reflecting the heritage aspect on the hotels’ operations, websites as well as their brochures. A number of hotel managers and hospitality experts were interviewed. Also, the websites and brochures of the concerned hotels were investigated.

The following summarizes the obtained results.

The Heritage Hotels Managers’ Interview

The First Section

Question 1

The aim of this question was to see how the interviewees perceived the fact of having their staff aware of the historical background of their hotels. All interviewees stressed on such awareness. They stated that this awareness is not only important for employees who are in direct contact with the guests, but also to other employees, since such attribute is important for any personnel working in a tourist establishment. The staff aware with the heritage background of the hotel and its surroundings could be considered as a competitive advantage as compared with other neighborhood properties.

Question 2

The aim of this question was to know the different ways by which the heritage hotel staff was informed and taught about the historical background of the hotels in which they work. Orientation upon recruitment was mentioned by all interviewees. This orientation is a very important way in order to have all staff members understand the distinct nature of the product-service mix they offer to their guests and how their hotels are different from others. Moreover, one of the interviewees mentioned that the history of the hotel is one of the topics that they discuss in the interval departments' briefings. Another manager said that the historical background of his hotel is displayed in the staff cafeteria and corridors as a reminder for employees. Also, one of the interviewees noted that the staff is always keen and eager to learn about the historical background of the hotel on their own, for example by visiting the hotel's page on social media or reviewing the hotels' advertising booklets.

The Second Section

Question 3

All interviewees responded to this question by saying that all their staff is usually available, ready and actually answers all their guests' questions and queries about the historical background of their hotels. The interviewee of Mena House mentioned that the management organizes a historic daily tour of the hotel to which they invite resident guests to join and learn more about the history of the hotel. The same trend is applied in Cataract and Winter Palace but upon request, and this orientation trip is not restricted for the in-house guests but, also it is allowed for externals. It is usually the marketing department who is in charge of such tours. But, in some cases it is left for a member from the front office, guest relations or even the food and beverage staff to handle.

Question 4

The purpose of this question was to know whether these hotels organize special events such as festivals, receptions, carnivals, etc..., in which the hotels' staff mingles with the hotels' guests to make them aware of the hotels' historical background or not. The response from all interviewees was that the organization of the above mentioned special events is not applied.

However, Marriott Hotel rarely arranges special reception for its guests by staff in historical dressing. In Cataract and Winter Palace, upon arrival the guests are handed a press kit in English, French or any other language requested by the guest with all information about the historical background of the hotel. Then the guests get informed as well about the historic orientation tour held at the hotel to join.

Question 5

This question aimed at knowing the available items in the heritage hotels that reflect their historical backgrounds. Two interviewees (namely from Cataract and Winter Palace) said that their staff uniform reflect the historical background of their hotels. While the other interviewees explained the reason for which they don't use this special type of historic uniform that it is not practical for all staff especially for the service staff, but they make it only available in special events like special dinners.

Old original furniture and décor has been kept and preserved in some parts of the hotels such as in some suits, in banquet rooms, on floor corridors. There are also some replica furniture in some other suits and rooms. Photos, pictures and original paintings are also scattered all around the hotels. Antiques like chimneys, clocks, carpets are also available. All interviewees said that they have menus in some of their restaurants that have special designs and colors like gold that reflects the historical background of the place. None of the interviewees mentioned the use of giveaways that reflect the past history.

Question 6

The aim of this question was to know whether the historical backgrounds of the investigated heritage hotels were clearly obvious to everyone on the hotels' websites and brochures or not. All interviewees ensured that their hotels' historical backgrounds are clearly expressed on their websites as well as on their brochures. It should be mentioned that this is confirmed by author's observation as reported later. In addition, the interviewees assured their permanent availability and presence to give any further data about the history of their lodging properties to any guest, whether in-house guests or outside guests.

Question 7

The purpose of this question was to know whether the investigated hotels usually consider the heritage element as their only main marketing tool. Three interviewees said that they use the

historical background as the main marketing tool for their hotels, since this is what makes them different from other competitors. This is done because the hotels' staff believes that there is a specific market segment that always searches for this unique type of hotels. On the other hand, the fourth interviewee stated that heritage is considered just one of their many marketing tools.

The Third Section

Question 8

As mentioned in the answer of the previous question that there is a specific market segment that search this type of hotels not only as an accommodation but more as a destination. The interviewees stated that these guests come to heritage hotels to see the places where the historical characters such as presidents of different countries, writers, actors, etc.... used to stay. They like to see their rooms, where they used to sit, eat, etc.... . On the other hand, there are other guests who come to the hotel for business or leisure purposes.

Question 9

All interviewees assured that the majority of the guests know the historical background of their hotels before coming. On the other hand, very few guests come to find themselves in one of the heritage hotels.

Question 10

The answer to this question revealed that most of the guests who come from England, USA, France, Belgium, Germany, Japan, Spain, Italy, Scandinavia, Latin America, China and India are interested in staying in heritage hotels.

Question 11

All interviewees stated that the majority of their guests are of old age category i.e., over fifty years. They referred that this phenomena is on the basis that old or aged guests are interested in heritage than the youth. Also, some interviewees related this trend by explaining that the elders are almost capable to stay in such expensive hotels.

The Fourth Section

Question 12

All interviewees agreed that the available number of heritage hotels in a country rich in history like Egypt is not acceptable at all, since there is a lot of palaces that can still be converted to tourist establishments.

Question 13

All interviewees agreed with the concept of this research which is that it is advisable that more and more palaces could be converted and utilized as five star hotels.

The Tourism and Hospitality Experts' Personal Interview

As previously mentioned, it was reasonable to conduct interviews with ten of tourism and hospitality experts in the field of heritage hotels. The obtained results could be presented as follows:

Question 1

All experts agreed with and were very much concerned, convinced and enthusiastic about the idea of the research. They stated that historical palaces could be used in a variety of ways such as museums, arranging cultural events and traditional festivals. But, they assured that to achieve the sustainability of historical palaces is to utilize them as tourist hotels. They believe that from the hotels' point of view, that preserving the historical feature of the building, design, furniture and colors as heritage hotels would be an attractive factor for their guests. At the same time, this gives the hotel a competitive advantage among the region.

Question 2

All experts stated that the utilization of historical palaces as tourist hotels is a big advantage to the whole destination, since this will allow special stay required by a rich market segment ready to pay for living during their journey in historical ambiance. No disadvantages have been mentioned by respondents.

Question 3

Through this question it was indicated that the heritage feature of the surrounding in general and hotel in particular is the main factor attracting the guests. Since guests come with the purpose of seeing antiques, furniture, rooms, suits, restaurants, lounges, corners, etc.... in which the historical characters used to sit. Characters like presidents of different countries, writers, authors, actors, etc.... .

Question 4

The experts stated that there are few barriers that might encounter the utilization of historical palaces as tourist hotels. Their comments could be summarized in the following:

- The use of a number of historical palaces as governmental buildings, educational institutes such as schools and colleges, commercial and economic establishments such as banks.
- The poor condition of the surrounding environment of some of the historical palaces.
- The structural, electromechanical and architectural limitations to convert the historical palaces into hotels.
- The location of the palaces in remote or crowded areas might make them unappealing to some guests.
- A lack of awareness about the importance of utilizing the historical palaces as tourist hotels to preserve them and sometimes there is local society resistance towards converting historical palaces into hotels.
- Poor compensation to be paid to the owners of some historical palaces.

Question 5

Experts stated that there are many historical palaces distributed in the country that could be utilized as tourist hotels. In this respect, the majority of the interviewees mentioned that the priority is for Greater Cairo, Luxor and Alexandria's palaces to be converted as tourist establishments. They also mentioned the possibility of using some historical palaces that serve as governmental or educational establishments. The previously mentioned palaces are rich in history and have distinct locations which make them convenient to be utilized as five star hotels. They proposed Mohammed Ali Shubra Palace (Cairo), Baron Empain Palace (Cairo) and Antoniades Palace (Alexandria) for immediate utilization as five star heritage hotels.

Hotels' Websites and Brochures Investigation

The investigation of the websites and brochures of the concerned heritage hotels revealed certain points. They are summarized in the following:

Investigated Heritage Hotels' Websites

The websites of the four hotels were examined. Marriott Hotel Cairo & Omar Khayyam Casino has a whole page on its website with the title of "History of the Palace". On this page, one can find the history of the hotel as well as a photo gallery showing the palace in the old days as well as the available antiques. The page is comprehensive and has enough data that anyone interested could find easily.

Also, Mena House Hotel has a full page entitled "History" on which one can find all the required data about the history of the hotel as well as stating the historical events that took place in the hotel. In addition, there is also a photo gallery displaying several photos of the hotel in the old days.

In order to visit the website of Sofitel Legend Old Cataract Aswan and Sofitel Winter Palace Luxor, one should search through the name of the brand which is "Legend". "Legend" is a brand of Sofitel Hotels, specialized in managing the old hotels that were built hundred years ago. By visiting the Sofitel Legend Old Cataract Aswan, one can find a page carrying three main titles; "A legendary place", "A legendary story" and "Legendary people". As it is clear from the previously mentioned three titles that the website gives a comprehensive description of the history of the hotel as well as mentioning the names of the historical figures that stayed in the hotel.

Finally, comes Sofitel Winter Palace Luxor. By looking at its website through searching the Sofitel's "Legend" brand, one can find a brief description of the history of the hotel that might need more details to be added.

Investigated Heritage Hotels' Brochures

Besides, the websites of the hotels, their brochures were considered. The brochure of Marriott Hotel Cairo & Omar Khayyam Casino reveals obviously the historical background of the hotel and make it available for everyone interested in it. On the other hand, Mena House Hotel didn't have a printed brochure. Also, there is a book entitled "Secrets of a Legendary

Hotel, The Mena House Treasury”. This book is available at the hotel for everyone interested in the history of the hotel to buy.

By looking at the brochures of Sofitel Legend Old Cataract Aswan and Sofitel Winter Palace Luxor, one can find a presentation of the historical backgrounds of the two hotels that belong to the same hotel management company. These brochures are also available for all interested guests.

Conclusion

Heritage attractions are available in both purpose-built buildings as well as in period buildings in which many museums and galleries can be found in the present.

In a country rich in history like Egypt, all heritage sites must be utilized as tourist attractions. While historical palaces that have diverse historical backgrounds must be either converted or utilized as five star hotels in order to attract a well-established rich marketing segment that is fascinated with this unique type of hotels.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are based on the findings and discussion of the results in this research:

- Spreading and deepening heritage awareness among responsible authorities and people.
- Heritage hotels should organize events such as festivals, carnivals and receptions in which the staff should be dressed like old days and mingles with guests in order to give them more information about the value and the historical background of their hotels.
- Every heritage hotel should have a booklet or brochure that tells the history of the hotel. Whereas such tools should be available to every guest interested in the history of the place without fees.
- The above mentioned information tools should not only be available at hotels but, also in tourism fairs, exhibitions, etc... in order to be used as marketing tools for the corresponding hotels.
- There are many palaces to be utilized as historical or heritage hotels such as, Mohammed Ali Shubra Palace (Cairo), Baron Empain Palace (Cairo) and Antoniadis Palace (Alexandria).

- The historical backgrounds of the heritage hotels should be clearly expressed in details on their websites. In addition, a reasonable number of the hotels' old photos should be displayed.
- Increasing the awareness of hoteliers about the benefits of historical palaces, this could be achieved through forums and symposia organized by the Ministry of Tourism or the Egyptian Hotel Association. This would help the hotels to pay reasonable compensations for the owners.
- Care should be given to improve the surroundings of such palaces by the official authorities.
- Heritage should always be a permanent topic on the media for public awareness.

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ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MEDICINE STILL IN PRACTICE

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Abstract

The ancient Egyptians have excelled in practicing medicine since the dawn of history. There are many medical applications that survived the millennia and are noted to be utilized till our present times. Our main resources about the ancient Egyptian medicine are undoubtedly the Medical Papyri e.g. Ebers, Edwin Smith and Hearst. They comprise an outstanding collection of prescriptions or recipes of suggested treatment for different ailments utilizing natural remedies as main ingredients as well as a variety of surgical procedures practiced back in the day.

Looking into our day-to-day life, we are amazed to notice a substantial amount of those natural recipes or even some of the ancient surgical procedures are still followed till our present time.

Keywords:

Ancient Egypt, Medicine, Medical Papyri, Prescriptions, Surgery, Herbal Remedies, Pharmacopeia, Prosthetics

The article:

Medical prescriptions and surgical procedures inscribed on Medical Papyri give the modern researcher a clue on how ancient Egyptian physicians practiced medicine. Other valuable sources are examined such as human remains including skeletons, mummies or individual

bones. Mural reliefs also provide some knowledge on how some medical procedures were performed.

I. Surgical Procedures

1. Male Circumcision

Male circumcision is an age-old surgical procedure. Circumcision, as nowadays still performed, is a surgical procedure that removes the foreskin (the loose tissue) covering the glans (rounded tip) of the penis.⁴² We have two scenes showing the procedure while in practice; one is a relief on the east thickness of the doorway to the tomb of Ankhamhor, vizier and overseer of the works of king Teti (6th dyn.) at Saqqara.⁴³ (Fig. 1) The other relief show traces of a much more damaged similar scene from the inner northern wall of the Temple of Khons-pa-ghered at the Precinct of Mut, Karnak – reign of Amenhotep III (18th dyn.)⁴⁴. (Fig. 2) However, not all males were circumcised. Mummies of Ahmose and Amenhotep I (18th dyn.) show no evidence of circumcision⁴⁵. In contrast, Elliot Smith remarked that, of the bodies in the prehistoric cemetery at Naga ed-Deir (Hearst Expedition), he observed that all men were circumcised⁴⁶.

Male circumcision is still practiced in Egypt for all social levels. The only difference is in the procedure itself, as it is practiced by certified physicians for the medium and higher social classes, while lower social classes resort to what is known as “Health Barber”.

⁴² http://www.medicinenet.com/circumcision_the_surgical_procedure/article.htm. Accessed May 22nd, 2014.

⁴³ Badawy, A., *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara*, (California: University of California Publications 1978), 11 – 57.

⁴⁴ Wilkinson, R. H, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*, (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 164.

⁴⁵ Harris, J. E, and Weeks, K. R., *X-raying the Pharaohs*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 126-130

⁴⁶ Smith, G.E., ‘The most ancient splints’, *British Medical Journal* 1 (1908), 732-4.



Figure 1 Circumcision - Tomb of Ankhamhor, Saqqara.

After Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhamhor at Saqqara* (California: University of California Publications, 1978), 11 – 57.



Figure 2. Circumcision, Precinct of Mut, Karnak.

http://www.osirisnet.net/monument/temple_mout/e_temple_mout.htm

2-Trepanation/Trephining

Trephining is probably one of the earliest operations performed by man on the vault of the skull. It comprised the removal of a rectangle or disc of bone. Several procedures had been described. Four saw cuts can be made, followed by breaking out the contained square of bone. Alternatively, a circular area can be removed by twisting a sharp convex blade of metal or flint⁴⁷. The presence of holes in the skull of some of the New kingdom kings e.g. Rameses IV and Rameses V (19th dyn.) were interpreted by some scholars that skull trephine was practiced by ancient Egyptians to relieve increased intracranial tension as a result of brain hemorrhage, while others deny it.⁴⁸ (Fig. 3) Some examples had been recited as possible cases of trephine: A skull kept at the Museum of Anatomy, Kasr El-Eini, Faculty of Medicine (Cairo) display a circular hole located in the frontal bone. The edges of the hole had healed perfectly during ancient times which supports the assumption of a surgical trephine performed some time before death. A similar example showing perfect healing belongs to a child also kept at the Museum of Anatomy. A third skull has a circular hole with a fissure running into it. It had been suggested that this fissure could have either been the reason for the trephine or the result of the operation. On the other hand, some skulls thought to be the site of trephine operations were proved to be the result of symmetrical resorption of the parietals due to old age.⁴⁹

Until quite recently, trephining has still been employed by folk doctors in Africa, without anaesthesia.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Gross, C. G., 'Trepanation from the Paleolithic to the Internet', <https://www.princeton.edu/~cggross/trepanation.pdf>. Accessed May 22, 2014.

⁴⁸ Nunn, J. F, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 168-9.

⁴⁹ Ebeid, N., *Egyptian Medicine in the Days of the Pharaohs*, (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1999), 121.

⁵⁰ Nunn, J. F, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 168-9.

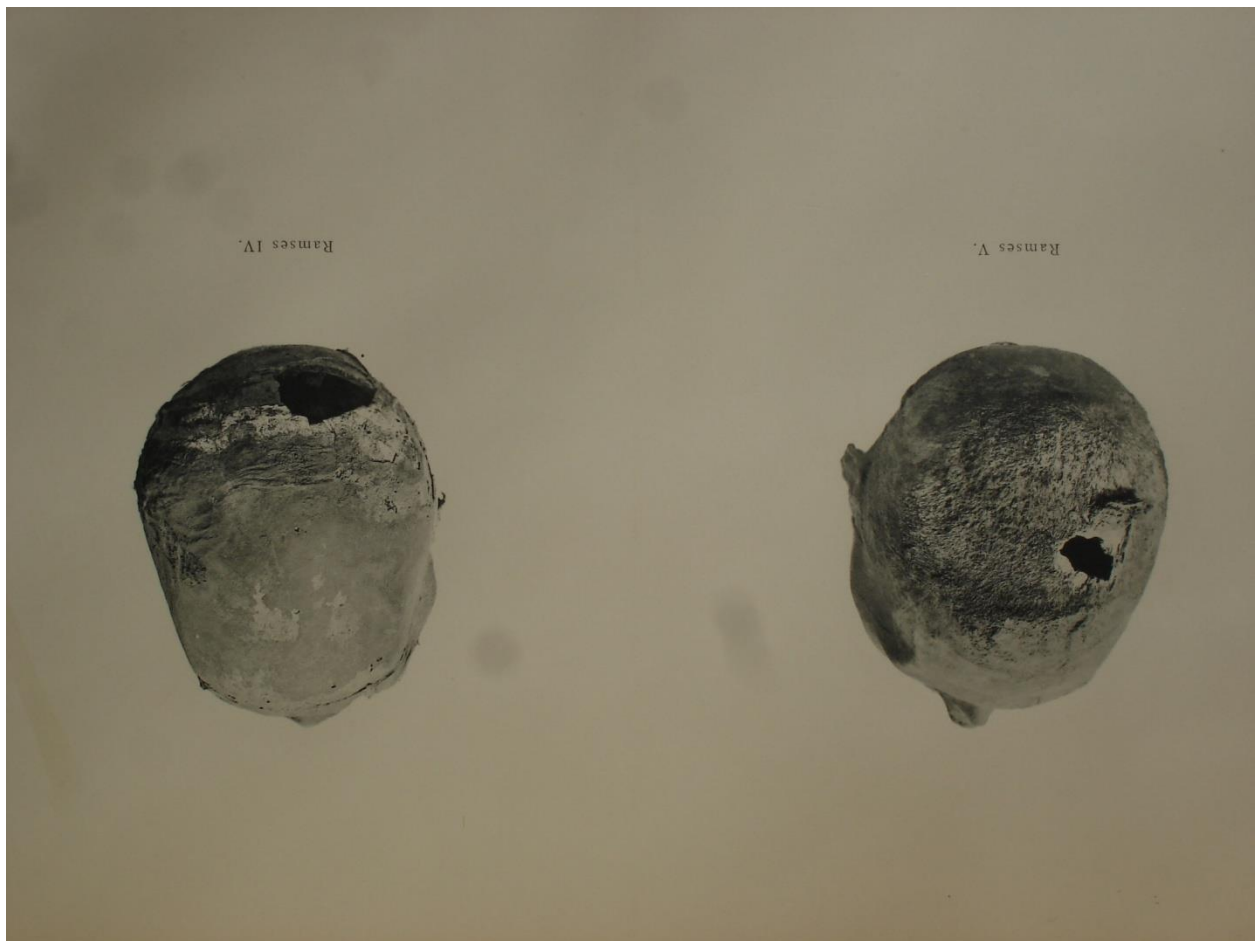


Figure 3 Holes in the skulls of Ramesses IV and Ramesses V.

After Smith E., *The Royal Mummies, Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptienne du Musée du Caire*, (Cairo: IFAO, 1912), 68

Sutures/Stitching

Ancient Egyptian physicians have used sutures to close wounds. Archaeological records show that Egyptians used linen and animal sinew/tendon to close wounds. They also used linen as bandages. As recorded in the Edwin Smith Surgical papyrus, the treatment for a gashed shoulder makes the first reference to sutures: *“Thou shouldst draw together for him his gash with stitching. Thou shouldst bind it with fresh meat the first day. If thou findest that wound open and its stitching loose thou shouldst draw together for him the gash with two strips of*

linen.' From other references it is learned that the linen strips were coated with an adhesive mixture of honey and flour thereby creating the original skin closure strips.⁵¹ (Fig. 4)



Figure 4 Linen sutures of an embalming incision.

After Ikram, S. and Dodson, A., *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt. Equipping the Dead for Eternity*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 128 fig. 135.

2. Hemostatic agents

The ancient Egyptians used topical applications of meat as a haemostatic agent⁵². This procedure is recorded in about thirteen of the forty-eight cases in the Edwin Smith surgical Papyrus.⁵³ This could be compared with modern haemostatic agents such as tissue factor, topical fibrinogen & thrombin.

II. Surgical Instruments

⁵¹ McKenzie, D, 'The History of Sutures', *Medical History*, Apr 1973, 17(2): 158–168.

⁵² Nunn, J. F, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 171.

⁵³ Breasted, J.H., *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

A scene from the Ptolemaic temple of Kom-Ombo has raised much debate. Many scholars have approved the fact that it represents a set of surgical equipment especially that some of them look like our modern scalpels, forceps and dissectors, while others suggest that they are of non-medical use.⁵⁴ (Fig. 5) There are existing examples of similar instruments displayed in various museums all over the world e.g. the Egyptian Museum and the Louvre.⁵⁵



Figure 5. Surgical Equipment - Temple of Kom Ombo.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian_medical_papyri

III. Corrective Procedures

1. Splints

Splints made out of wood were discovered in rock-cut tombs of the 5th dynasty. They were applied padded with linen bandages. A splint is applied to radius & ulna (which are the bones of the upper arm) in a mummy of one of the tomb workers at Giza. Evidence of amputated limbs was recovered from mummies dating back to the Old Kingdom. Ancient Egyptians probably amputated limbs as a means of saving lives. We have records of two cases from two different social classes. It is the case of an adult male official with amputated right tibia and

⁵⁴ Nunn, J. F, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 163-4.

⁵⁵ Jean, R-A., *La Chirurgie en Égypte Ancienne. À propos des instruments médico-chirurgicaux métalliques égyptiens conservés au musée du Louvre*, Cybèle éditions, (Paris: Librairie Cybèle 2012).

fibula (which are the two bones of the leg). (Fig. 6) Also there is the case of a worker with an amputated left ulna and radius (which are the two bones of the fore-arm). The distal ends of all amputated bones were well-healed; suggesting that they lived long enough after the amputation was done.⁵⁶ (Fig. 7) The pattern of healing in both individuals, from the two different social classes, suggests that medical care was equally introduced to them.



Figure 6 Amputated right tibia and fibula (which are the two bones of the leg) of an adult male official.

After Zaki, M. E. et al, 'Limb amputation in ancient Egyptians from Old Kingdom', *Journal of Applied Sciences Research* 6 (8), (2010), 913-7.

⁵⁶ Zaki, M. E. et al, 'Limb amputation in Ancient Egyptians from Old Kingdom', *Journal of Applied Sciences Research* 6 (8), 2010, 913-7.



Figure 7 amputated left ulna and radius (which are the two bones of the fore-arm) of a worker.

After Zaki, M. E. et al, ‘Limb amputation in ancient Egyptians from Old Kingdom’, *Journal of Applied Sciences Research* 6 (8), (2010), 913-7.

2. Prosthetics:

References to prosthetics go back as far as 950 BC. Now archaeologists have found tangible evidence in the form of prosthetic toes. Cartonnage toe British Museum EA 29996 better known as the “Greville Chester toe” and a wooden toe, very similar in form to the cartonnage one, had recently been discovered in position by a mission of the Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut on an intrusive mummy recovered from Theban tomb TT 95 at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna dating back to around 950 – 750 BC.⁵⁷ (Fig. 8)

⁵⁷ Reeves, N., ‘New Light on Ancient Egyptian Prosthetic Medicine’, *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities. A Tribute to T.G.H. James*, (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 73-7.



Figure 8. Wooden Toe.

After Reeves, N., 'New Light on Ancient Egyptian Prosthetic Medicine', *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities. A Tribute to T.G.H. James*, (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 73-7.

3. Reduction of dislocated shoulders:

Case thirty-six of the Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, "A broken upper arm," deals with the diagnosis, reduction, and bandaging of a fracture of the humerus. The prognosis of the injury is considered to be favorable. Reduction by traction is recommended: "Then you lay him out, with something folded between his shoulder blades. You have to pull his arms to lengthen his upper arms, until that break falls into its place". The same procedure of reduction is recommended for

fractures of the clavicle. After reduction, the fractured humerus is bandaged with two strips of cloth with alum.⁵⁸ The bandage is changed every day and honey is applied until recovery. Findings of fractured forearms with splints in situ⁵⁹ and postmortem splinting may serve to illustrate the bandaging and splinting technique recommended in The Edwin Smith Papyrus.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Brorson, S., 'Management of Fractures of the Humerus in Ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. An Historical Review', *Clinical Orthopedics and Related Research* (2009) 467, 1907–1914.

⁵⁹ Smith, G. E., 'The most ancient splints', *British Medical Journal* 1 (1908), 732–734.

⁶⁰ Brorson, S., 'Management of Fractures of the Humerus in Ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. An Historical Review', *Clinical Orthopedics and Related Research* (2009) 467, 1907–1914.

A scene from the tomb of Ipuy, who was the sculptor of Rameses II, at Deir el Medineh, shows the procedure of reduction of a dislocated shoulder, which closely resembles the first stage of Kocher's method for the same procedure.⁶¹ (Fig. 9)



Figure 9. Reduction of a dislocated shoulder from the tomb of Ipuy, Deir El-Medineh.

After Davies, N. de G., *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, MMA V (New York: MMA V, 1927), Pl XXXVIII

IV. Childbirth:

Ancient Egyptian women gave birth either on four birthing bricks or later on wooden birthing stools, very similar to modern ones. The birth hieroglyph “**msi**” suggests that the vertex presentation (baby's head first during child-birth) was regarded as normal⁶². Ancient midwives/ obstetricians used a special bi-forked blade/knife known as the “**psS-kf**” meaning “the divided” for separating the new-born from his mother by cutting the umbilical cord. This knife is better known for performing the “Opening of the Mouth Ritual”.⁶³

⁶¹ Hussein, M. K., ‘Kocher's method is 3,000 years old’, *The Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery* 50 b(3), (Aug 1968), 669-671.

⁶² Nunn, J. F, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 194.

⁶³ Roth, A. M., ‘The psS-kf and the “opening of the mouth” ceremony: a ritual of birth and rebirth’. *JEA* 78, (1992), 113-47.

V. Pharmacopeia (Natural Remedies)⁶⁴:

1. Honey:

The ancient Egyptians used honey when applying dressings to wounds as natural antiseptic.⁶⁵ Nowadays, honey is increasingly used to treat burns and many surgeons utilize it to facilitate the healing process of wounds⁶⁶. It is also renowned for its ability to stimulate the secretion of infection-fighting white blood cells. There is also evidence that honey actually contains substantial amounts of hydrogen peroxide which can kill bacteria⁶⁷.

2. Mouldy Bread:

While bread formed the staple of the ancient Egyptian diet, ancient Egyptian physicians used mouldy bread as antibiotic⁶⁸, thousands of years before Fleming discovered penicillin⁶⁹.

3. Willow:

An ancient recipe used willow to treat toothache and bark of the willow tree formed the basis of modern aspirin. The Ebers papyrus, verifies that the ancient Egyptians were also aware of the antipyretic property of willow leaves and used them to treat various inflammatory disorders. According to the papyrus, when a “*wound is inflamed...[there is] a concentration of heat; the lips of that wound are reddened and that man is hot in consequence...then you must make cooling substances for him to draw the heat out...leaves of the willow.*” Hippocrates, almost certainly influenced by Egyptian medical

⁶⁴ For more information about herbal treatments in ancient Egypt refer to Manniche, L., *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989): [Pomegranate 139-140; figs 102; castor oil 142; cumin 96-97; coriander 94; celery 74; radish, garlic, onions 71].

⁶⁵ Nunn, J. F, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 148.

⁶⁶ Phuapradit, W. and Saropala, N., ‘Topical Application of Honey in Treatment of Abdominal Wound Disruption’, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology* 32 (4), (November 1992), 381-4.

⁶⁷ Molan, P. C., ‘Honey as a topical antibacterial agent for treatment of infected wounds’, <http://www.worldwidewounds.com/2001/november/Molan/honey-as-topical-agent.html>. Accessed on May, 22nd 2014.

⁶⁸ Antimicrobial resistance learning site, Pharmacology, <http://amrls.cvm.msu.edu/pharmacology/historical-perspectives/ancient-times>. Accessed on May 22nd, 2014..

⁶⁹ The Discovery and Development of Penicillin 1928 – 1945, The Alexander Fleming Laboratory Museum, (London 1999).

doctrine, recommended the use of extracts of willow bark to alleviate the pain of childbirth and to reduce fever.⁷⁰

4. Mint:

Mint was used to treat gastric ailments⁷¹ as it is still used till our present day⁷².

5. Pomegranate:

It was used to treat infestations of parasitic worms, and modern scientists have found that the high tannin content of this fruit actually does paralyze worms, known to Ancient Egyptian medicine as the 'snakes of the digestive system'. A recipe in the Ebers Medical papyrus (no 50) goes as follows: "To kill roundworm: root of pomegranate 5 ro, water 10 ro; remains in the dew overnight and is taken for one day".⁷³

6. Beer:

A popular ancient Egyptian drink was "Beer". It also acted as a vehicle (together with other liquids like water, milk and wine) for numerous medications⁷⁴, mostly in prescriptions for treating urinary tract infections, in the same way it is used nowadays.

7. Liver:

Innovatively, ancient Egyptian doctors cured Night-Blindness by feeding the patient powdered liver, rich in Vitamin A. A prescription from the Kahun Gynaecological Papyrus (Kahun No 1) recommends 'raw liver' to be taken by mouth: for a woman who cannot see. Another recipe from the Ebers Papyrus (Ebers 351) suggests local application of cooked liver for a case of *sharu*-blindness.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Mackowiack, P. A., 'Brief History of Antipyretic Therapy', *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 31 (suppl. 5), (2000), 154 – 6.

⁷¹ Patrick, E. M., 'Ancient Egyptian herbal wines', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 106 (18), (May 5, 2009), 7361 - 6
<http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2678600/>. Accessed on October 1st, 2014.

⁷² Peyman, M. et al, 'Pharmacological and therapeutic effects of *Mentha Longifolia* L. and its main constituent, menthol', *Ancient Science of Life* 33 (2), (Oct-Dec 2013), 131 - 8

⁷³ Manniche, L., *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 139-140.

⁷⁴ Nunn, J. F, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 140.

⁷⁵ Nunn, J. F, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 150.

8. Castor oil and colocynth:

Prescriptions for laxatives of castor oil and colocynth and bulk laxatives of figs and bran are also recorded. For example: Prescription No 202 from the Ebers papyrus goes as follows: *“Make a beverage for a patient suffering from constipation: figs 1/8; milk 1/16; notched sycamore fig; leave it over night in sweet beer 10 ro. Strain, give it to him to drink very often, and he will soon get well”*.⁷⁶

Another recipe from the Ebers Papyrus (Ebers 25) describes: *“A remedy to empty the bowels and to treat pain in the belly of the patient: fruit of the castor-oil plant are chewed and swallowed with beer so that whatever is in the belly comes out”*.⁷⁷

9. Hyoscyamus:

Colic was treated with hyoscyamus, which is still used today⁷⁸.

10. Cumin and Corriander:

Cumin⁷⁹ and coriander⁸⁰ were used as intestinal carminatives.

11. Celery and Saffron:

Celery⁸¹ and saffron were used for rheumatism, which are currently topics of pharmaceutical research.

12. Radish, Garlic and Onions:

The ancient Egyptians made sure that laborers were fed a diet rich in radish, garlic and onion⁸², which modern researchers have found to be extremely rich in Raphanin, Allicin

⁷⁶ Manniche, L., *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 102.

⁷⁷ Manniche, L., *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 142.

⁷⁸ <http://www.middleeasthealthmag.com/cgi-bin/index.cgi?http://www.middleeasthealthmag.com/jul2007/worldupdate.htm>. Accessed on May 22nd, 2014.

⁷⁹ Manniche, L., *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 96-7.

⁸⁰ Manniche, L., *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 94.

⁸¹ Manniche, L., *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 74.

and Allistatin. These powerful natural antibiotics would certainly help to prevent outbreaks of disease in the often-crowded conditions of the work camps. Onion, garlic and radish still constitute a major portion of our modern Egyptians' diet.

13. Acacia and Colocynth:

The combination and fermentation of acacia and colocynth would produce lactic acid anhydride, which is employed in contraceptive jellies in the United States and United Kingdom.⁸³

Conclusions

Many ancient Egyptian medical procedures had survived the millennia despite the numerous civilizations and dynasties that invaded and ruled Egypt during the lengthy interim period between the end of the Pharaonic Period and the establishment of modern Egypt. These procedures are somehow still practiced not only in modern Egypt but in many parts around the globe. For example, male circumcision is still practiced in Egypt for all social levels. The only difference is in the procedure itself, as it is practiced by certified physicians for the

⁸² Manniche, L., *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 71.

⁸³ Riddle, J. M., *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance*, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992), 70.

medium and higher social classes, while lower social classes resort to what is known as “Health Barber”. Until quite recently, trephining has still been employed by folk doctors in Africa. Earliest examples of splints and prosthetics date back to ancient Egypt. Apparently, the famous Kocher’s method for shoulder dislocation has its origins from Thebes. Last but not least, the majority of the natural remedies (Pharmacopeia) can be traced back to the ancient Egyptians.

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THE NEW VALLEY: AN UNUTILISED HERITAGE

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Abstract

While the New Valley harnesses great potentials, and should only be placed among the most important of touristic destinations of Egypt, it is unfortunately neglected into oblivion among many other unutilized treasures that Egypt has long kept in store. This Article is a study that focuses on revealing these great potentials and is concluded by some recommendations on how to best utilize such a gift the Egypt has been blessed with.

INTRODUCTION

The New Valley Governorate, also known as “El Wadi Al Gadid”, is the largest in size among the twenty-seven governorates of Egypt, occupying around 43.6% of the total area of the country. It lies in the western part of the country occupying 67% of the area of the western dessert. It extends to the north as far as Marsa Matrouh, to the south as far as North Sudan and to the west as far as Libya: A series of wind-eroded depressions in the Libyan Desert containing springs and wells, sand dunes, small mountains and palm trees.

The three main depressions are El Kharga, El Dakhla and Farafra where the temperature may reach very high degrees but yet the low humidity and the northern winds make it feel cooler than similar high temperature- humid areas⁸⁴

With a total population of 219,615 persons,⁸⁵ the New Valley dates back to as early as Paleolithic and Neolithic times; to the prehistoric and early dynastic eras extending all the

* I would like to thank my Professor, Prof.Dr. Negem, for his help and support throughout this study.

⁸⁴ Negm, Maged F. , *A Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley and their Importance for Tourism*, an unpublished thesis (Tourism Guidance), Helwan University, (Cairo, 1988) ,7.

⁸⁵ State Information Services, 2014.

way until the Islamic period⁸⁶; The fact that made the New Valley in possession of a considerable amount of monuments that date back to different historical epochs.

In order to appreciate the beauty and richness of the New Valley, we will need to elaborate more on each of the key Oases and all the qualities that make this place a sacred haven out of this world

EL KHARGA OASIS

The Oasis Itself:

About 200 km, to the west of the Nile valley, El Kharga Oasis, being the largest in the Libyan Desert, is the capital of the New Valley. It's the southernmost of all five western Oasis⁸⁷. It is in a depression of about 160 km long and from 20km to 80km wide. Its name, El Kharga means the "Outer one" to distinguish it from el Dakhla oasis which means the "Inner one"⁸⁸ and located further to the west. Its population is over 100,000 nowadays and its native people (of el Kharga) are related to the Beja ethnic group, who have their own language and yet Arabic is their dominant tongue.

El Kharga is the most modernized of Egypt's western oases, and that is clearly demonstrated in the modern town of Kharga, which is equipped with all modern facilities. The main source of income in the oasis is cultivating dates, cereals, rice and vegetables, among other agricultural products, that are distributed to markets in the Nile Valley

Although the oasis gets little rain, water is obtained from wells dug into the porous sandstone, which occupies much of the desert area. Kharga's main craft is basket and mat weaving from the leaves and fibers of the palm trees⁸⁹, a simple yet artistic practice that gives the place a huge character

⁸⁶ Redford, Donald, "The Oases in Egyptian History to classical Times, Part I- 2100 BC", *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 7 (1976), 7-10; LÄ I, 907-8.

⁸⁷ These Oasis are mainly Siwa, Bahariya, Farafrah, Dakhla and Kharga.

⁸⁸ Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Vol. 1, ed. Helck Wolfgang, Otto Eberhard (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 908

⁸⁹ Vivian, Cassandra, *The Western Dessert of Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000) 54; Negm, A *Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 15-17.



Fig. 1. An overview of el Kharga Oasis with the temple of Hibis, after www.en.wikipedia.org.

The Historical Background:

El Kharga exhibits the perfect harmony between ancient and modern; since its history goes back to the lower Paleolithic stage of Man's cultural development, due to the implements that were found around the mound springs of the depression floor resembling those discovered in Tabun in Palestine.⁹⁰ The oasis, that was known as the 'Southern Oasis' by the ancient Egyptians, was mentioned in ancient Egyptian texts as *wHA.t rsy.t*⁹¹ until the Roman Period. This district was not any less important than any of the provincial towns in ancient Egypt, during the Old Kingdom, as it was mentioned in the autobiography⁹² of Herkhouf⁹³ of the Sixth Dynasty. Text stated that he followed the oasis route on his third expedition to reach Yam; probably located in the elephantine region. This route was identified as *Darb-el- Arbain* nowadays which passed through Kharga connecting Middle Egypt and Sudan.⁹⁴ It was a trading route used for the transport of different commodities such as gold, ivory, plants and animals. Also the importance of the oasis during the Old Kingdom has been confirmed by the existence of stelae and mastabas of governors.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Hayes, William, "Kharga Oasis in Prehistory," *American Journal of Archaeology* 57, 2 (1953), 117-119.

⁹¹ Giddy, Lisa, *Egyptian Oases, Bahariya, Dakhla, Farafra and Kharga During Pharaonic Times*, (Warminster, 1987) 39.

⁹² Lichtheim, Miriam, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, I* (London: University of California Press, 1975), 23.

⁹³ Herkhouf was a high official during the reigns of Merenra and Pepi II. This text is inscribed on the façade of his tomb at Aswan.

⁹⁴ *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 908.

⁹⁵ Caton- Thompson, Gertrude, *Kharga Oasis In PreHistory*, (London, 1952), 45.

During the Middle Kingdom, El Kharga oasis was considered to be part of Upper Egypt, as its name was mentioned in several inscriptions of officials of King Senusert I, stating that the king sent his soldiers to secure the land of the Oasis.⁹⁶ However, very little monuments were discovered in the oasis dating back to the Middle Kingdom.

During the New Kingdom, the Oases became divided into two groups: the Northern group, which comprises Baharya and El-Farafra, and the Southern group, which include El Kharga and El Dakhla.

The kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty paid a lot of attention to the southern group, which was attached to the Thinite nome, during the reign of King Tuthmosis III, and became under the authority of its Nomarch.⁹⁷ Thus the people of the Oasis were no longer regarded as foreigners, the fact that had been confirmed from their scenes in the Theban necropolis, which represented them in the same manner as the Egyptians.⁹⁸ During the Nineteenth Dynasty, the oasis flourished and together with the other oasis, and according to the mineral lists of the Luxor temple, became an important district that provided Egypt with different types of minerals and stones. Moreover, some inscriptions clearly mention that a temple for god Amun Ra, dating back to this dynasty, was built at El Kharga.⁹⁹ During the Twentieth Dynasty, great attention was given to the oasis, especially after Ramesses III, defeated the Libyans and the Sea who managed to occupy the oases. As result of this, aggression wells were dug and vineyards were planted to provide wine offerings for god Amun Ra in Thebes.¹⁰⁰

During the Late Period, El Kharga Oasis was attached to the Theban region and became under the authority of its Nomarch.¹⁰¹ Moreover, it was used as an exile during the political troubles of the Twenty First Dynasty.¹⁰²

Also, kings of the Twenty Second Dynasty paid a lot of attention to the prosperity of the Oasis, but it wasn't until the Twenty Fifth Dynasty that a temple for the triad of Thebes was

⁹⁶ Fischer, Henry, "A God and General of the Oasis on a stela of the Late Middle Kingdom," *Journal of the Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957); 223-235.

⁹⁷ Negm, A *Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 35.

⁹⁸ Fakhry, Ahmed, *The Egyptian Dessert Baharya Oasis I* (Cairo: Government Press, 1942), 14-5.

⁹⁹ *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 908.

¹⁰⁰ Negm, A *Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 36.

¹⁰¹ Fakhry, *Baharya Oasis*, 18.

¹⁰² Breasted James Henry, *Ancient Records of Egypt IV* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1906), 316-8.

built. Nectanebo II, the last Egyptian pharaoh, enlarged this temple, known as the Temple of Hibis, which is considered nowadays to be a principal tourist attraction.¹⁰³

During the Greco- Roman era, the early Ptolemys paid great attention to the oasis, however it was neglected and its importance decreased during the end of the Ptolemaic era. Moreover, the oasis reached its golden age during the Roman Empire when new towns were built at El Kharga and garrisons were stationed to control the trading routes. Also a new irrigation system was introduced. It should be noted that most of the remaining monuments in the oasis date back to the Roman period, among these are the Temples of Dush, and Qaser el Zayan.

El Kharga occupied an important position during the Coptic era as the number of Christians in the Oasis increased rapidly which pushed the Patriarch of Alexandria to appoint a bishop there. The most famous monument of this era is the Cemetery of Baqawat which contains 263 tombs. In the Seventh Century, Islam found its way into the oasis and new Islamic villages like Qasr el Dakhla and mosques were built.

Touristic Attractions:

El Kharga is famous for its many historical sites and touristic attractions, which mainly date back to the Greco-Roman and Coptic eras .The most famous of these are;

A) Gebel el-Teir

These are Limestone Mountains situated to the north of el Kharga town. They are rich in both pictographs and graffiti inscribed on the faces of rocks and boulders. They are located in two main sites. The first site, is the nearest to the town and it shows pictographs, which date back to as early as the Prehistoric and early Dynastic periods,¹⁰⁴ depicting some animals such as dogs, cows, giraffes and goats.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, they also represent a man holding a shield, a hunter followed by his dog, a man dancing and another holding a stick.¹⁰⁶ As for the second site, which is situated 150m north of the first site, it is inscribed by graffiti, written by ancient travelers who used this route that connected el Kharga to the Nile valley.¹⁰⁷ These were

¹⁰³ Beadnell Hugh, *An Egyptian Oasis*, (London, 1906), 92.

¹⁰⁴ Fakhry, *Baharya Oasis*, 3-4.

¹⁰⁵ Winkler Hans, *Rock Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt II*, (London, 1939), 9.

¹⁰⁶ Fakhry, Ahmed, "The Rock Inscriptions of Gabal El-Teir at Kharga oasis," *Annales Du Service des Antiquités de l' Egypte* 51(1951), 401.

¹⁰⁷ Negm, A *Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 43.

written in Demotic, Greek, Coptic and Arabic.¹⁰⁸ Some of these texts measured more than seventy meters in length.¹⁰⁹



Fig. 2, Pictographs from Gebel el Teir, after www.wikitravel.org.

B) Temple of Hibis

Hibis, is the Greek name for the ancient Egyptian town Hebet which means “Town of the Plough.” It was the capital of the oasis and the residence of the governor of el Kharga.¹¹⁰ It lies in the valley between the foothills of Gebels al-Teir and Nadura. However, very little is known about this ancient town nowadays. In the center of the town stood the Temple of Amun-Re, which is the best-preserved temple in the Western Desert. It was begun by Apries during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, continued by his successor Amasis II, and completed by Darius I in 522 B.C.¹¹¹ Today the temple is located within a palm grove in front of what was once the sacred lake. The temple was mainly dedicated to the triad of Thebes whose cult center was popular in that area. Nevertheless, other deities like Seth, Min and Osiris were also worshiped there.¹¹²

The Hibis temple¹¹³ is oriented along an east-west axis and originally had a lake and boat quay along its eastern side. The lake probably allowed access to the temple for festival

¹⁰⁸ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 165

¹⁰⁹ Fakhry, “*Gabal El-Teir*”, 413.

¹¹⁰ Negm, *A Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 69.

¹¹¹ Vivian, *The Western Deserts of Egypt*, 76-7.

¹¹² Sauneron Serge, “Quelques Sanctuaires Egyptiens Des Oasis De Dakhla Et De Khargeh”, *Cahiers D'Histoire Egyptienne* VII (1955), 283.

¹¹³ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphics, Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, VII. Nubia, *The Desert and Outside Egypt*, (Griffith 1995), 277-89.

purposes. It consists of a pylon, open court, pillared hall and sanctuary. Today the first thing a visitor encounters at the temple is the outer Roman gate that contains several Greek inscriptions. The most important one is the decree that was made by the Roman governor, Tiberius Julius Alexander during the second year of the reign of Emperor Galba (69AD). The decree outlines the raising of taxes, the state of Kharga's economy and the oasis' system of administration. After the outer gate is a sphinx avenue, then a Ptolemaic or middle gate, which dates back to the reign of Ptolemy II. The right side of the gate is destroyed, while the left side shows no decoration on its outer side except for graffiti. However, its inner thickness shows an offering scene depicting an unknown King making offerings to the triad of Thebes. Then a Persian inner gate that dates to the reign of King Darius I. The Persian gate is decorated by an offering scene made by Darius to the Triad of Thebes and Rahorakhty. It is followed by an open court, which dates to the Thirtieth Dynasty; reigns of Nectanbeo I and II. The court bears inscriptions and offering scenes dedicated to different gods and goddesses.



Fig.3, The Temple of Hibis, after www.etltravel.com.

The open court leads to the Hypostyle hall that contains 12 pillars from the reign of Achoris (Twenty-ninth Dynasty). At the back of this pillared hall is a smaller rectangular room with four columns that leads to the sanctuary. Inside the sanctuary is a small open court supported by four pillars. Surrounding this court is a series of small rooms, which would have been used for storage of the implements used in the daily temple ritual. The sanctuary of the temple is the oldest and most important part and is decorated with 569 different gods and goddesses. On the northern wall of the sanctuary are the gods and goddesses of Lower Egypt, while the deities of Upper Egypt are depicted on the southern wall. The western wall has a group of deities from Thebes and Heliopolis, including Osiris, Isis and Horus, as well as the Theban triad of Amun, Mut and Khonsu to which the temple is dedicated. A small chapel on the roof

is also dedicated to the god Osiris and to the southwest side of the temple is a mamisi, or birth room.¹¹⁴

C) Temple of Dush

This temple is situated at the present village of Dush¹¹⁵, one hundred kilometers to the south of el Kharga and about twenty kilometers south of Baris; the second town of the oasis. This village was the capital of el Kharga during the Roman Empire, which was probably abandoned in the fifth century. Moreover, the ancient Egyptians called it Kwsh, which was later known as Kysis by the Greeks. The temple is built of sandstone and it dates back to the early Roman Empire. It was built during the rule of Domitian and Trajan (1st century) and decorated during the rule of Hadrian. It was dedicated for the worship of Serapis and Isis, however, other deities like Amun, Mut and Nekhbet were also worshipped there. The temple consists of two pylons, an open court, a hypostyle hall, an outer and an inner sanctuary.¹¹⁶

The first pylon measures around seven meters and it is decorated by a five horizontal lines of Greek inscriptions from the reign of Trajan, dedicated to Serapis and Isis. As for the second pylon, it is smaller in size and it shows no decoration. It leads to the façade of the temple which consists of two wings, each decorated with five registers representing Hadrian, standing and making offerings to different deities, on the left wing these are; Serapis, Isis, Horus, Nekhbet and Mut, while the right wing is badly damaged. The interior of the temple consists of an open court which is badly damaged and it leads to a hypostyle hall with four plain unfinished columns and undecorated walls. The back wall of the hypostyle hall contains three doors; the central door leads to the outer sanctuary. Its walls are decorated with scenes showing Hadrian prostrating before the figures of Serapis, Isis and Horus. As for the inner sanctuary, it is the inner part of the temple. It is decorated with a scene depicting Domitian before Osiris. As for the exterior walls of the inner sanctuary, the left wall shows a representation of Hadrian offering incense to Horus and a sistra to Isis, while the right wall shows Hadrian offering wine to Amun and Isis.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Winlock Herbert, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis III*, (New York, 1953), 71; Negm, *A Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 69-75.

¹¹⁵ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography VII*², 294.

¹¹⁶ Vivian, *The Western Deserts*, 77-9

¹¹⁷ Sauneron, *Quelques Sanctuaries*, 156-57.



Figs.4 and 5, Temple of Dush, after, www.memphistours.com.

D) Cemetery of el-Bagawat

About three kilometers from the centre of el-Kharga and one kilometer north of the Temple of Hibis, occupying the lower slopes of Gebel el-Teir,¹¹⁸ lies el-Bagawat¹¹⁹ cemetery, which is a predominately Christian necropolis used as early as the second century through the sixth or seventh century A.D. It is considered one of the earliest and best preserved Christian cemeteries, which provides us with information about early Christian burial practices in Egypt. The cemetery consists of a large number of domed mud brick mausoleums and underground galleries dating back to the 4th century AD, which were built over the site of an el Kharga before the introduction of Christianity.¹²⁰ The Necropolis contains 263 domed tomb- chapels, dating from the 4th through 6th centuries, AD. They are made out of mud bricks. Also, there are 120 Nestorian chapels where the dead could be worshipped. In general, many of the chapels were undecorated and consisted simply of a single chamber with a dome built over a burial shaft, while others were much elaborate and contained plastered walls with painted biblical scenes in a strange mixture of styles. Many Arabic graffiti dating from the 9th century to the present day can also be seen in some of the chapels, including some by Turkish soldiers thought to be garrisoned at Bagawat in the late 18th century.¹²¹ Despite the fact, that many of these chapels suffered some damage and are in a bad state of preservation, yet two of the decorated ones named ‘Chapel of the Exodus’ and ‘Chapel of Peace’ are in an excellent

¹¹⁸ Fakhry Ahmed, *The Necropolis of Bagawat in Kharga oasis*, (Cairo, Government Press, 1951), 9.

¹¹⁹ The word Bagawat is probably a corrupted version of the Arabic word “Qabawat,” which means domes, as most of the chapels in the cemetery are domed shape.

¹²⁰ .Negm, *A Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 46.

¹²¹ Fakhry, *Necropolis of Bagawat*, 1-2.

state of preservation . In the center of the cemetery, there is a church dating back to the 11th century AD and it is regarded as one of the oldest churches in Egypt.



Fig.6, ‘The Cemetery of Bagawat,’ after www.trekearth.com

a) Chapel of the Exodus:

It is a small chapel that dates back to the second part of the fourth century A.D. It is considered one of the earliest chapels in the cemetery and it is named the ‘Chapel of Exodus’, because of the Exodus scenes occupying most of its paintings. It consists of a single squared room with a domed roof and a burial shaft. The center of the dome from inside is decorated by vine leaves while its whole circle represents Exodus scenes showing illustrations from the Old Testament; Adam and Eve, Moses leading the Israelites through the Sinai desert in the Exodus while the pharaoh and his armies are chasing them, Noah’s ark, Daniel in the lion’s den, Jonah and the whale and several other biblical episodes.¹²²

b) Chapel of Peace :

It is very similar to the ‘Chapel of the Exodus’, but dates back to a much later date; the fifth or sixth centuries AD. It was given its name after Ahmed Fakhry due to the existence of the symbol of peace among its paintings. The interior of its dome depicts; Daniel and the lions, the symbol of peace, sacrifice of Isaac, Adam and Eve, the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary and others, each identified in Greek and the Arch of Noah. The interior walls are also painted with many Byzantine frescoes of grape vines, peacocks, allegorical figures and inscriptions.¹²³

¹²² Fakhry, *Necropolis of Bagawat*, 39; Wilkinson Charles, “Early Christian Paintings in the Oasis of Kharga” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* xxiii (1928), 30.

¹²³ Fakhry, *Necropolis of Bagawat* , 64-5.



Fig.7, The Chapels of Exodus and Peace, after www.metmuseum.org.

EL DAKHLA OASIS

The Oasis Itself:

El Dakhla Oasis, the “inner one” is situated to the west of el Kharga. It measures approximately eighty kilometers from east to west and Twenty five kilometers from north to south.¹²⁴ Although smaller than Kharga Oasis, Dakhla is a highly-populated region of over 80,000 inhabitants nowadays. EL Dakhla Oasis consists of several settlements, along a string of sub-oases. These settlements are mainly Mut, El-Masara, Al-Qasr, Qalamoun, together with several other smaller villages. These communities have identities that are separate from each other; Qalamoun for example has inhabitants whose origins can be traced to the Ottomans.¹²⁵ Today there are 16 modern villages in Dakhla with increasing agricultural and industrial areas. Growing, drying and packing of fruit remain one of the region’s main industries, along with its crafts of pottery, rug-making, basket ware, jewelry and wood-working. El Dakhla is famous for its hot and cold springs, which are known to have therapeutic effects.¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 10.

¹²⁵ Lexikon der Ägyptologie, I, 977.

¹²⁶ Vivian, *The Western Deserts*, 113-4; Churcher Charles and Mills, *Reports From the Survey of the Dakhla Oasis Western Desert of Egypt 1977-1987*, (Oxbow, 1999), 1.



Fig.8, Overview of Dakhla Oasis, after di.wikipedia.com.

Historical Background:

El Dakhla was mentioned in the ancient Egyptian texts as knmt¹²⁷, which was in use at least since the 18th dynasty, to refer to both oases el Dakhla and el Kharga. However, Giddy refers to it using the name sA- wHAt.¹²⁸ Just like el Kharga, el Dakhla has been inhabited since Prehistoric times as flint and bone tools have been found, dating from the Neolithic era. Dakhla seems to have been of great importance during the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, with its capital at a site called Ain Asil, near Balat, at the eastern side of oasis.¹²⁹ It was a large settlement with a palace, administrative buildings and a nearby necropolis at Qila el-Daba, dating back to the sixth Dynasty. However, this wasn't the only necropolis in the area as another has been found at Amhada dating back to the First Intermediate Period and is regarded as one of the largest archaeological areas in the oasis which was later covered by a large Roman city.¹³⁰

During the New Kingdom its capital was moved to Mut, further to the west, which remains the main city of Dakhla nowadays. The old city of Mut, the consort of Amun, is now in ruins except for some of its dark twisted alleyways and ancient wooden doors, as well as the ancient

¹²⁷ Fakhry Ahmed, *The Oases of Egypt II, Bahriyah and Farafra Oases* (Cairo, 1974), 159; .Negm, *A Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 24.

¹²⁸ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 166; Bard Kathryn, *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, (New York, 1999), 220-22.

¹²⁹ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 166; Mills, *Reports From the Survey of the Dakhla Oasis*, 174.

¹³⁰ Vivian, *The Western Deserts*, 110.

pharaonic temple area of the town, known as Mut el-Kharab, 'Mut the Ruined', which is located at the south-west of the modern city and dates back to the New Kingdom era.¹³¹

During the Greco-Roman empire, the oasis flourished and reached its peak and several towns were erected. This explains why most of the remaining monuments in the oasis date back to the Roman period, for example; the Temple of Deir el Haggat and the tombs of el Mizawaqah. During the Coptic era, the Christians occupied abandoned Roman sites, and there are ruins of Coptic churches and communities that have been dated as late as the seventh century A.D.

When Islam spread in the oasis Islamic villages and mosques were built throughout the oasis. An example of which is Qasr Dakhla, a medieval Islamic village that dates back to the Ayubid era built over Roman foundations, on the northern edge of the oasis. This village is believed to be one of the oldest continuously inhabited villages in Dakhla Oasis.¹³²

Touristic Attractions:

El Dakhla is famous for its many Touristic attractions, which mainly date back to the Roman, Coptic and Islamic eras. The most famous of these monuments are;

A) Qila el-Dab'a

Qila el-Dab'a, the necropolis associated with the Old Kingdom settlement at Ain Asil, is located about 1.5km to the west of the ancient town. The site was investigated in 1970s by Egyptian archaeologist Ahmad Fakhry who uncovered four large mud brick mastabas probably belonging to governors of the oasis. Since 1977 the IFAO have been excavating at Qila el-Dab'a and they have found at least seven mastabas, including one containing the mummy of the ruler of the VI Dynasty.¹³³

The mastabas were constructed from mud bricks and dressed with slabs of limestone. They had niched façades like others of the Old Kingdom and a funerary stela at the entrance. Inside the tombs there are a number of rooms, antechambers and burial chambers with barrel-vaulted roofs. The first to be identified was the tomb of the governor Medunefer who served during the reign of Pepi II and which contained funerary equipments including jewelry. Other

¹³¹ Lexikon der Ägyptologie, I, 976-9.

¹³² .Negm, *A Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 42.

¹³³ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 174.

governors who built mastabas at Qila el-Dab'a include Khentika, also from the reign of Pepi II and Ima-Pepi, whose later tomb shows an improvement in construction techniques.¹³⁴

B) Qaret El Muzawaka

The Arabic name el-Muzzawaka means 'The Decorated Hill', is part of the Amhada cemeteries, in fact it is six Km south west of el Qaser village¹³⁵. It consists of a series of small stone hills in which over 300 tombs were cut. These tombs are mainly Roman, dating back to the first and second centuries AD. Many of the tombs are still unexcavated, however many have been well plundered for any artifacts of value. Despite the fact that many of these tombs are undecorated, however simple inscriptions have been found in some of the tombs, providing information about the spiritual beliefs and customs of the Roman inhabitants of Dakhla. As for those, which received decoration, they will represent mixed iconography,¹³⁶ the tomb of Petosiris,¹³⁷ is the best example of these tombs for its outstanding colorful decorations.



Fig.9, El Muzzawaka tombs cut around the hill, after lexicorient.com

Tomb of Petosiris

The tomb belongs to Petosiris, the Governor of the Dakhla oasis during the first century A.D. It dates back to the early part of the second century A.D. The tomb consists of two chambers,

¹³⁴ Lexikon der Ägyptologie, I, 978.

¹³⁵ Negm, A Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley, 115; Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography VII², 298.

¹³⁶ Winlocks Herbert, "Ed Dakhla Oasis", Metropolitan Museum of Art 5, 1936, 35; Moursi, "Qaret El-Muzawwaqa," Denkmaler aus der oase Dachla Aus Dem Nachlass Von Ahmed Fakhry, (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1982), 70.

¹³⁷ Lexikon der Ägyptologie, I, 979

parallel to one another. The entrance on the southern side leads to the first chamber. The owner is portrayed on the northern wall of this chamber as a large figure wearing a long pink Roman-style tunic and he is surrounded by representations of traditional ancient Egyptian religious symbols and hieroglyphic text. Also in this room, there is a judgment scene, which depicts the weighing of the deceased's heart before Osiris. As for the inner chamber, its western wall depicts Isis while providing libation to the BA bird of Petosiris. The scenes resemble the New Kingdom funerary art. Moreover, the ceiling of each room is decorated by elaborate zodiac scenes, which are unique in their types and are arranged clockwise painted with figures of birds and different animals.¹³⁸

Petosiris was closed to the public as the ceilings were in a state of collapse. It is not known whether restoration has yet been undertaken.



Fig. 10, Judgment Scene from the Tomb of Petosiris, after lexicorient.com.

C) El Qasr

The Islamic town, el-Qasr, meaning the Ayubids probably founded 'the Fortress' around the end of the 12th century AD, over the remains of an earlier Roman Period settlement. Qasr, is one of the oldest continuously inhabited and best preserved settlement in the oases. During this time the fortified town is thought to have been the capital of the oasis, constructed in a defensive position against invaders from the south and west. Its narrow covered streets were divided into quarters, which were to be closed off at night by barred gates. Also the town had a three-story mud brick minaret rising 21m above the mosque of Nasr el-Din, erected during

¹³⁸ Winlocks, *Ed Dakhla Oasis*, 36.

the Ayyubid Period. Attached to the mosque is a madrasa where the scriptures were once taught to young boys. The town still has around 700 inhabitants¹³⁹

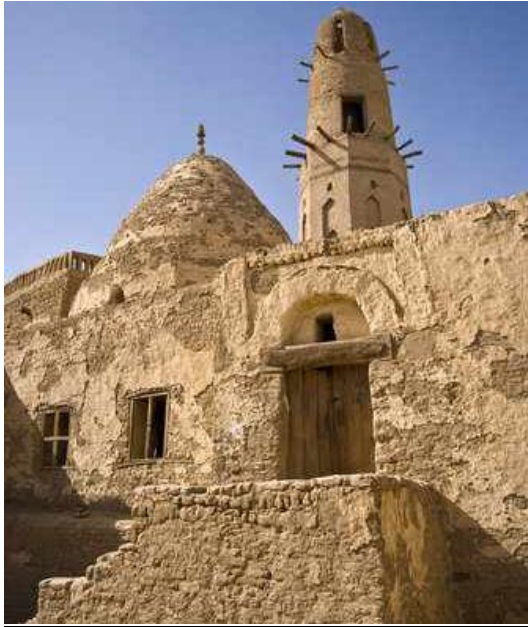


Fig. 11, Mosque of Nasr el-Din, after www.flickr.com

D) El Balat Region

The modern village of Balat is situated in the eastern side of el Dakhla and has spread beyond the older fortified town. This Islamic town was built during the Mamaluke and Turkish eras. Inside the walls of this once busy town, are old houses, built according to Islamic architecture, consisted of two or three stories with mud brick walls plastered and painted in pink or ochre. Bread ovens and storage containers can still be seen on the roofs of some of these houses. The streets of this old village are roofed to provide additional protection for its inhabitants.¹⁴⁰ Excavations are undertaken in this area to reveal an Old Kingdom necropolis and an associated settlement from the same period at the old town of Ain Asil.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Vivian, *The Western Deserts*, 136.

¹⁴⁰ Negm, *A Study of Some of the Egyptian Monuments in the New Valley*, 113.

¹⁴¹ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 184.

EL FARAFRA OASIS

The Oasis Itself:

El Farafrā Oasis is the largest depression in the western dessert situated in the middle between Bahariya and Dakhla oases.¹⁴² It is the least populated of all the oases with very little economic importance.¹⁴³ The Farafrānis have more Lybian and Arab blood than the inhabitants of other oasis.¹⁴⁴ Its capital is Qasr el Farafrā.¹⁴⁵ It's history dates back to ancient Egyptian times as its name tA-iHt was mentioned in the ancient Egyptian texts, as dynasty¹⁴⁶. It means the "Land of the Cow," as it was probably connected to goddess Hathor.¹⁴⁷ Its name was mentioned in the Luxor Temple among other locations which manufactured minerals and dates from the reign of Ramesses II. Farafrā was of strategic importance as it formed Egypt's defense against attacks from the west. Records show that Ramesses II built fortresses along this western frontier.¹⁴⁸ However, no monuments are found in Farafrā dating back to the Pharaonic times, as the only monuments in the area are prehistoric remains as well as monuments dating back to the Roman Empire and to later times.¹⁴⁹ Most of the ancient sites in Farafrā are insignificant when compared to those in other oasis, as the remains of ancient monuments were probably destroyed. Farafrā is not only known for its important wells and springs but also for its magnificent white dessert, located 45 km north of the town of Farafrā. The desert has a white, creamy color and has massive chalk rock formations that have been created as a result of occasional sandstorm in the area. These deserts are suitable for safari, hunting and ecotourism.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴² Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt*, 157.

¹⁴³ Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt*, 161.

¹⁴⁴ Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt*, 165; Cassandra, *The Western Deserts*, 153.

¹⁴⁵ Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Vol. II, ed. Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977), 113.

¹⁴⁶ Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 47.

¹⁴⁷ Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt*, 157.

¹⁴⁸ Vivian, *The Western Deserts*, 147.

¹⁴⁹ Fakhry, *The Oases of Egypt*, 165.

¹⁵⁰ Vivian, *The Western Deserts*, 159.



Fig.12 and 13, The White Dessert of el Farafra, after www.wilgoto.com.

NATURAL ASSETS OF THE NEW VALLEY

Apart from its dry climate, which helps to reduce temperature in summer, the New Valley enjoys a beautiful weather from December till March making it an almost year round destination with the whole area surrounded by natural desert with moving sand dunes, mountains and beautiful scenery and plenty of attractions that appeal to different tastes and interests.

The New valley is also suitable for health tourism, as it possesses around 163 natural hot and cold springs that are suitable for curing diseases such as gastroenteritis, rheumatism and sensitivity. Also, naturally heated sand dunes can be used for curing diseases by burying the whole body in the sand.



Fig. 16, Cold Springs, after exploreegypt.wordexpress.com

CONCLUSION

The New valley is endowed with all the elements that should make it an important tourist destination, suitable for both groups and individuals; however it is not yet recognized as one. Many historical sites of the New Valley have been subject to vandalism and attack by antiquities thieves and robbers, as many of these sites are largely un-documented. Recently, the American University in Cairo together with the University of Cambridge started a project that includes locating, mapping and planning the archaeological sites of Egypt's Western Desert, hoping to protect its abandoned heritage

The New valley is desperately in need of governmental and nongovernmental co-operations, to collaborate in a comprehensive restoration, conservation and reconstruction program that should guarantee promoting and developing it into an important tourist attraction, included in the tours scheduled by major companies and visited by tourists from all over the world. This program, which should cover first class attractions such as temples, chapels, museums, hotels and destinations, has to be in line with all what ensures a genuine, modern and at the same time unique tourism experience worthy of such an epic place and its ancient history.

Local experiences and expertise should be invited to address a wide array of facilities and complementary services such as restaurants, workshops and schools.

Monitoring is be a key ingredient to maintain and ensure up-to-level expectations, in core as well as in secondary industries, the factor that will contribute as well as create new opportunities for craftsmanship and labor, that are derived from all sorts of natural and abundant resources e.g. agricultural (olives, apricots and dates) and industrial (pottery, weaving and wood works).

Expanding hotels capacity, facilities and hospitality based services will not only add to the architecture and construction wealth of the place but will help create a wider and more affordable range of accommodation options, and at the same time, will allow many complementary services to flourish. This should all be done while keeping the environment intact and preserving the New valley's unique character, natural charm and beauty.

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MUSTAFA KAMEL MUSEUM: THE REVIVAL OF A HERITAGE IN NEGLECT

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Abstract

This paper sheds light on the forgotten museum of the great Egyptian nationalist leader Mustafa Kamel in an attempt to explore its untold history and diagnose the causes of its notable decline over years. It also seeks to revive the long-neglected museum through devising promotional strategies that could place the museum in the cultural and heritage tourism market and turn it to an attractive destination drawing on the legacy of Mustafa Kamel. To examine the museum and assess its status, the researchers adopted an observational approach, studied the museum in its natural setting and conducted in-depth interviews with its curators together with the officials in charge of the national museums department.

The study revealed that the shift in Egypt's political map in the last six decades caused the utter negligence of the museum that gradually fell out of favor. It also revealed the pressing need to develop a set of agreed upon core standards for national museums in Egypt as they are currently non-existent. Such standards, if well-defined and rightly implemented, would revolutionize the overall performance of these museums and improve the social service which they ultimately render. The study also put much emphasis on the urge to re-define the museum's role and make the necessary adjustments in its light. By this way, it could address

multiple audiences of all ranges and move beyond the conventional and rather repellent mold within which it was entrapped.

Introduction

The great national leader Mustafa Kamel (1874-1908) is one of Egypt's iconic figures well-remembered for his fierce struggle against the British occupation and his unyielding endeavors to gain independence. In commemoration of a towering figure of Mustafa Kamel's status, a mausoleum and a museum were built in his honor at the 50s of the late century. His remains were transferred there after having a second state funeral in 1953 while the museum itself was opened to public in 1956. Three other prominent Egyptian figures: the national leader Muhammad Farid, the famous historian Abdel-Rahman Al-Rafie and the well-placed politician Fathi Radwan were all buried next to him thus forming unrivaled national pantheon.

Nevertheless, the museum had tragically dwindled over years and lost much of its splendor and its visitors as well till it became an entirely abandoned one. The ongoing decline of Mustafa Kamel museum together with its inability to carry out the role tied with had urged the researchers to undertake this study in the first place.

The main objective of this paper is to bring to light the museum of Mustafa Kamel and unveil its history. It argues that Mustafa Kamel museum is a largely marginalized museum in spite of its cardinal importance to modern Egyptian history narrative. Therefore, it seeks to determine the prime causes of the museum's declining state that keeps it at odds as well as the most effective and rather convenient ways to revive it. It also argues that the decadence of such a national museum and the like raises country-wide serious concerns. Since such national museums constitute an integral part of Egypt's cultural heritage and serve as ports of entry to its past, their unacceptable wane not only affects the national memory but also poses a direct threat to the perpetuation of one's national identity.

As very little information is known about the museum of Mustafa Kamel, the paper addresses this gap in knowledge through dipping into the museum's unknown history and unearthing its hidden story. Actually, with the exception of Di-Capua single article about the mausoleum of Mustafa Kamel which the museum houses together with few paragraphs about the mausoleum found in some of Al-Rafie's works as well as a mild reference to the museum itself in some contemporary newspapers, there is not much available literature about the museum or any previous researches whatsoever to consult. Suffice to say that the fifty eight-

year-old museum itself doesn't have an official catalogue to refer to. Being one of the first studies undertaken in this fertile area, this paper contributes to the historiography of this national museum of Mustafa Kamel and deepens our understanding of its original role and how it could be further developed in future. More importantly, it doesn't only call for an urgent re-appraisal and revival of similar national museums but also provides researchers to come with a guiding framework and tools to help them in this regard. Thus it paves the way for further investigation in the topic of Egyptian national museums.

The study firstly provides an overview of literature about the legacy of Mustafa Kamel, the conditions that surrounded the establishment of the museum, the prominent figures who were closely associated with it as well as the vicissitudes which it came to suffer as time lapsed. Then the study proceeds with expounding upon the method employed which involved a preliminary exploratory survey, data collection through field observations and in-depth interviews, use of a benchmarking tool for assessment and data analysis to come up with results.

On the discussion part that follows, the limitations of the research are highlighted. Also the challenges which the museum faces in the meantime are presented and lengthily discussed. Finally, in the conclusions, all findings are reviewed and implications for stakeholders are suggested.

The legacy of Mustafa Kamel

Bent on uprooting the legacy of imperialism in Egypt, the great national leader Mustafa Kamel devoted his entire life to realize this end¹⁵¹ and was even prepared to die for it as he repeatedly declared¹⁵². Therefore, he launched the honorable struggle for independence in Egypt at the closing decades of the 19th century and the opening decade of the 20th century. With much determination, he unfailingly led this struggle till his last breath. No wonder, he was regarded as the actual "founding father" of the national movement in Egypt and the one who gave the greatest impetus to it. To his credit, this movement which he led rapidly grew after his death, gained momentum over years and culminated in securing Egypt's full independence many decades later.

¹⁵¹ 'Alī Fahmī Kāmil, *Muṣṭafā Kāmil Bāshā fī 34 rabī'an: sīratuhu wa-a'māluhu min khuṭab wa-aḥādūth wa-rasā'il siyāsīyah wa-'umrānīyah* (Miṣr: Maṭba'at al-Liwā', 1908-1910), 9:186.

¹⁵² Muṣṭafā Kamel, "Editorial," *al-Liwā'*, January 2, 1900, 1.

Kamel's strife to develop grass root activism among Egyptians through utilizing his brilliant oratory and his writing skills had awakened the entire community and revived its breath. That is how; he raised the national consciousness of the mass population and stirred their public sentiments. No wonder, his striking ability to outreach his countrymen and to rally "*All classes of society, from prince to pauper (who) thronged to hear him speak*"¹⁵³ had grabbed the attention of his foreign observers who watched carefully the rise of the national movement at his hands.

In fact, all along his relatively short but well-spent life, Kamel challenged the British occupation and openly exposed its evils worldwide. Therefore, he ardently toured Europe to plea the Egyptian cause and mobilize public opinion in support. There, he published countless articles in European journals, held meetings with influential figures and gave fiery speeches in many capitals (Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin and Budapest)¹⁵⁴ Such fearless stands had earned him international acclaim likewise. It comes as a little surprise that he inspired other leaders worldwide like Gandhi who wrote a number of articles in his praise and was impressed by his non-violent civil resistance approach¹⁵⁵ which he himself came to adopt in a later stage.

Being first in the hearts of his people then, the sudden death of this great national leader on the 10th of February 1908 had shocked Egyptians and caused them much grief. For them, Kamel was an epitome of patriotism which he lit its torch and kindled its glowing spirit. No wonder, Egyptians of all walks of life bitterly mourned him. Immediately and without waiting for an official statement, they declared the day of his burial (11th of February 1908) a day of national mourning paying no heed to the British occupation authorities. School students for example outrightly defied the orders of Mr. Dunlop the British advisor of Ministry of education who refused to grant them a leave that day to join the funeral¹⁵⁶. With the early hours of that morning, tens of thousands of Egyptians men and women soon poured into the streets of Cairo to take part in his mass funeral¹⁵⁷ and to give him a proper send off. Clearly, they felt much indebted to him not only as the reviver of the national movement in

³ Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Government of India), *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (New Delhi: Publication Division, 1958-1994), 8: 167.

⁴ Kāmil, *Mustafā Kāmil Bāshā*, 3: 150-166; 9:132-142.

¹⁵⁵ Anil Nauriya, "Soundings in Kindred Struggles: The Egyptian Voice in Gandhi" (Lecture, Jamia's Premchand Archives & Literary Centre, Jamia Millia Islamia University, New Delhi, March 22, 2011), 44.

⁶ Fathī Radyān, *Mustafa Kāmil* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1974), 273-274.

¹⁵⁷ Daoud Barakat, "Hawl al-Na'sh," *al-Ahram*, February 12, 1908, 1; "Janazat Mustafa Kāmil Basha," *al-Jareedah*, February 12, 1908, 1; "Wafat ṣaḥib al-Liwā," *al-Hilal*, March 1, 1908, 322-323.

Egypt in the wake of the British occupation but also as its standard bearer as he was always described¹⁵⁸

Due acclaim:

To commemorate Kamel's big contributions to the national movement, all classes of the Egyptian society contributed to erect a statue for him. Significantly, it was the famous intellectual Ahmad Lutfi Al-Sayyid who started this public fund raising campaign on the pages of his journal "*al-Jareedah*"¹⁵⁹ where he used to criticize Kamel due to the marked differences in their ideologies.

A special committee headed by the famous poet Ismail Pasha Sabry was formed for this purpose in 1908. On behalf of this committee, his long-life companion Muhammad Farid commissioned the French sculptor Mr. Savin to carve such a statue in Paris. The statue was finished and shipped to Egypt in 1914 yet it wasn't erected in a public square as planned for it. It was kept instead locked in Mustafa Kamel's school for almost twenty four years.¹⁶⁰

Torn between the Wafd and the National parties:

It seems that the British occupation authorities had worked behind the scenes to impede the erection of his statue in a public square. They had nagging fears that it would become a constant reminder of the national struggle for independence and a source of inspiration for later generations. The limited independence that was granted to Egypt in 1922 didn't change the situation. On the other side, the heated rivalry between the national party which Kamel had earlier founded and the emerging *Wafd* party that dominated the political scene since its establishment in the wake of WWI had apparently hindered this project likewise. Such rivalry had its origin in Zaghlul's memoirs written earlier in 1908 (long before founding the *Wafd* party) There, Zaghlul explicitly attacked Kamel after his death using extremely offensive words. This strange attitude revealed his latent jealousy of Kamel's popularity which he believed unjustifiable¹⁶¹. Evidently, this rivalry continued to linger

⁸ His description as the "*ṣaḥīb al- Liwā*" or the "standard –bearer" conveyed a double meaning simultaneously; it referred to him as the founder of the journal "*al- Liwā*" or the "Standard" which he used as a platform to spread national awareness and to express his views and at the same time it referred to him as the one who carried the banner of the national movement and was at its vanguard.

⁹ Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, "Temthal **Mustafa Kāmil** Basha: Temthal al-Waṭaniyyah," *al-Jareedah*, February 13, 1908, 1.

¹⁰ 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfi'i, *Mustafa Kāmil: bā'aith al-ḥarakah al-waṭaniyyah* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1984), 296-298.

¹⁶¹ Sa'd Zaghlūl, *Mudhakkirāt Sa'd Zaghlūl* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Misrīyah al-Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1987), 1:383-392.

therefore the *Wafd* leaders were reluctant to cooperate with the members of the national party. Using all means at their disposal, they tried hard to push the nationalists out of cadre and to marginalize them. It did not stem out of void but it was probably due to the marked difference in their political visions and approaches. So while the former welcomed negotiations with the British side to secure independence, the latter rejected all forms of negotiations till Egypt gain its full independence. Accordingly, the *Wafd* had earnestly tried to monopolize the national movement and to distance the National party from participation in the national struggle the way they did in 1921. They fomented troubles for the delegation of the national party to prevent them from travelling to Luzanne to plea the Egyptian demands in the international conference held there by all means at their disposal¹⁶²

As a result, they were less willing to recognize Kamel's major role in the national movement or to allow the erection of his statue in a public square when they rose to power. That's how the project was interrupted once again at their hands.

The ongoing rivalry was further intensified with signing the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of alliance and friendship in 1936. The national party fiercely opposed this treaty¹⁶³ and regarded it a continued albeit disguised occupation. However, the tension that soon erupted between the young King Farouk and the leader of the *Wafd* party Al Nahhas pasha had worked in favor of the imprisoned statue. Bent on teasing Al Nahhas and infuriating his party, King Farouk decided in 1938¹⁶⁴ to set free the long imprisoned statue of Kamel and to erect it at "Swars" square downtown after changing its name to Mustafa Kamel's square.

In response, the *Wafd* government ordered the pedestal of the statue to be carved of stones of a very poor quality rather than of durable granite to well-suit the statue. In 1940, King Farouk himself and Ali pasha Maher the premiere of Egypt then attended the public ceremony held on the occasion of unveiling the statue on 14th of May 1940 in the absence of any representative of the *Wafd* party whose members chose to boycott this event.¹⁶⁵

This pitfall provides ample proof that the statue was deliberately kept indoors and away of public sights out of political rivalry and contention for power. Such salient fact can

¹⁶² 'Abd al-Rahmān Fahmī, *Mudhakkirāt 'Abd al-Rahmān Fahmī : yawmīyāt Miṣr al-siyāsīyah* (Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1988), 2: 239.

¹⁶³ 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, *Mudhakkirāt, 1889-1951* (Cairo: Mu'assasat Akhbār al-Yawm, 1989), 122.

¹⁶⁴ Yoav Di-Capua, "Embodiment of the Revolutionary Spirit: The Mustafa Kamil Mausoleum in Cairo," *History and Memory* 13, no.1 (2001): 99.

¹⁶⁵ 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi'ī, *Fī a'qāb al-thawrah al-Miṣrīyah : thawrat sanat 1919* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1989), 3:85.

be understood from the poem composed by the famous Lebanese poet Khalil Mutran on this occasion. He wondered in his poem why they were afraid of the statue which they intentionally kept away of the sights that longed for it.¹⁶⁶ Clearly, it was the spiritual power emanating from Kamel's memory which they were trying to evade.

Nevertheless, many of Mustafa Kamel's disciples like the famous historian Abd Al Rahman Al Rafie regarded such recognition still insufficient. The construction of a grand pharaonic- like mausoleum for Saad Zaghlul had ostensibly aroused the jealousy of the members of the national party. They regarded this state recognition granted to Zaghlul an outright aggression on the memory of Kamel who set in motion the national struggle and kindled its flame long before Zaghlul thus provided all his successors with a blue print to follow. Accordingly, the great historian and parliamentarian Abd Al Rahman Al Rafie who highly revered Kamel, suggested in the Senate on the 10th of May in 1944 the construction of a memorial for Mustafa Kamel to keep his memory alive. The suggestion was much welcomed by the Minister of public works at that time Osman Pasha Muharram who assured the attendees that all the necessary funds were already available within the budget of his ministry¹⁶⁷.

A dream comes true:

All necessary measures were soon taken by the ministry of public services to realize this dream. It was engineer Ahmad Khaled who made the design of this mausoleum¹⁶⁸ while it was engineer Imam Zakariyya Isa who later carried it out.¹⁶⁹ It seems safe to say that the design was inspired from the surviving standing monuments that shape the skyline of the Mamluk cemetery located nearby the place chosen for the mausoleum. No wonder, the mausoleum was built on the neo-Mamluk style¹⁷⁰ to well-fit the surrounding area and to revive that unique style of Mamluk funerary architecture.

¹⁶⁶ al-Rāfi'ī, *Mustafā Kāmil*, 302.

¹⁶⁷ al-Rāfi'ī, *Mustafā Kāmil*, 314-317.

¹⁶⁸ Foundation plaque of Mustafa Kamel museum.

¹⁶⁹ Samy Yaqoub, "Mustafa Kamil bayna darihihi al-qadim wa al-jadid," *al-Balagh*, February 11, 1953, 3.

¹⁷⁰ Caroline Williams, *Islamic monuments in Cairo: The practical guide* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2008), 76.

It should be noted here that Cairo had witnessed a revival of the Neo-Mamluk style at the turn of the 20th century. The neo-Mamluk style was argued as the chosen style of Egyptian nationalism.¹⁷¹

It seems that its strong comeback was some sort of national resistance to counter foreign penetration and to retain indigenous identity and culture. The design had clearly combined aesthetics and convenience aspects.

The mausoleum covered an area of 5000 meters where the building itself constitutes no more than one fifth of this area (1000 meters). The total cost of construction was subsequently augmented from 25000 to 31545 LE. due to a sudden change in the original plan. After already digging the foundations of the drum-domed mausoleum at Salah Al Din Square at the foot of the citadel, the former King Farouk objected to its site for fear that it might after its completion eclipse the panoramic view of the Clock tower and the Jawhara palace built inside the citadel by his forefathers. That's how, the original plan was abandoned regardless to the foundations that were laid down before and work was interrupted. At last, the plan was modified and the mausoleum was moved 500 meter further to the south at Farouk's directive¹⁷².

It took them almost one and half year to finish work on it. Actually work had started on 20th of December 1947 and was finally completed on 11th of July 1949. Nevertheless, the transfer of Kamel's remains to his new burial was indefinitely delayed because of the pre-mentioned competition among the two parties' affiliations. It was quite clear, that the Wafd had set itself apart from Kamel's legacy lest it should worsen their relations with the British side while continually carrying out negotiations with them. This might have negatively affected their future plans or halted them.

As years passed, the mounting partisan rivalry continued and escalated. In the same manner, a film featuring Kamel's life carrying the name of "Mustafa Kamil: Martyr of nationalism" (*shahid al-wataniyya*) written by Fathi Radwan, and directed by Ahmad Badrakhan in 1951 was banned by Al Nahhas government for the very same reason¹⁷³.

¹⁷¹ Laila Kamal Marei, "Revival of Mamluk Architecture in the 19th and 20th centuries" (Thesis, American University in Cairo, 2013), 3.

¹⁷² Yaqoub, "Mustafa Kamil bayna darihihi," 3.

¹⁷³ Joel Gordon, "Film, Fame, and Public Memory: Egyptian Biopics from Mustafa Kamil to Nasser 56," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31, no.1 (1999): 65.

It was only released in November 1952, four months after the Free Officers movement.¹⁷⁴ One can safely say, that all sincere attempts to erect memorial for Kamel had always stuck in a bottle-neck either because of British outright repression or intense jealousies among the political parties¹⁷⁵.

A turn in the course

The outbreak of July revolution in 1952 marked the dawn of a new era bringing a radical change to the Egyptian society. At the early days of their new regime, the Free Officers were in dying search for a political identity to designate them together with an ideological framework to work within so as to appeal to the broader masses and secure a firm footing. They also realized their dire need for some "*political relevancy*"¹⁷⁶ with the past and that "*patterns of continuity were unavoidable*"¹⁷⁷ Otherwise, they will sound odd or far alienated from the average people.

In other words, they were looking for a Raison d'etre and "a solid founding myth"¹⁷⁸ to construct an alluring image and present themselves in a consistent manner conforming to such image. In short, the creation and maintenance of that community's self-image was indispensable for the perpetuation of their new rule. Accordingly, they adopted and propagated a historical master-narrative; a revolutionary one representing themselves as a constituent part of this narrative.¹⁷⁹

By this way, they would be seen as a continuum rather than a dichotomy. This was the time when they utilized history to serve their political ends.¹⁸⁰

This was also the time when Al-Rafie historical books rose to stardom with their blessings. No wonder, they chose to commemorate certain iconic figures in particular like Kamel and Farid whose patriotism were set for exemplary. This was meant to provide a line of continuity with those great national leaders and depict themselves as their extension. They also portrayed themselves as the heirs, the trustees of their legacy as well as the gate keepers

¹⁷⁴ Gordon, "Film," 65.

¹⁷⁵ Vernon Egger, review of *Commemorating the Nation: Collective Memory, Public Commemoration, and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Egypt* by I. Gershoni and J. Jankowski, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 2, May, 2006, 321.

¹⁷⁶ Yoav Di-Capua, "Jabarti of the 20th Century: The National Epic of Abd Al-Rahman Al-Rafie and Other Egyptian Histories," *Int. Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004): 436.

¹⁷⁷ Di-Capua, "Embodiment of the Revolutionary Spirit," 86.

¹⁷⁸ Di-Capua, "Embodiment of the Revolutionary Spirit," 88.

¹⁷⁹ Di-Capua, "Embodiment of the Revolutionary Spirit," 88-89.

¹⁸⁰ Di-Capua, "Jabarti of the 20th Century," 444.

of the nation's glorious past in entirety. That's how they could develop a popular base of the masses and appeal to their aspirations. Thus they aligned themselves with some members of the national party and the Young Egypt movement to make use of their former political experience which they ostensibly lacked. It should be noted here that it was Fathi Radwan who skillfully articulated their revolutionary discourse. At first he was appointed a minister of state in 1952¹⁸¹ then minister of national guidance¹⁸². From day one, he realized the importance of propaganda in consolidating their regime and advocating a real change in the society therefore he established the ministry of National guidance.¹⁸³

Being a great admirer of Kamel and Farid, Radwan had no doubt stood behind their public commemoration at the beginning of their reign.

On the 11th of February 1953, the remains of Mustafa Kamel were transferred from his original tomb to his newly-constructed mausoleum in a grand unprecedented public ceremony led by General Muhammad Naguib himself together with Colonel Nasser and other free officers like Abd Al Latif Al Baghdady in addition to Fathi Radwan. Naguib delivered a fiery speech on this occasion. He put much emphasis in this speech that Kamel represented the public will of Egyptians while his main concern was to liberate them from colonial fetters. Therefore, he provoked a storm of rage against the British policies in Egypt in the aftermath of Dinshway incident for the sake of a number of unknown peasants of a very humble origin. No wonder, they came *"in the name of the country, in the name of honor, in the name of human dignity, in the name of the memories of the forefathers and the welfare of the descendants and in the name of all such things, they came to thank him."*¹⁸⁴

A reunion at last:

In the same manner, the relics of his life-long companion Muhammad Farid who succeeded him in steering the national movement after his death were carried likewise to this mausoleum in a big ceremony six months later on 15th of November 1953. Naguib led the procession to do justice to the memory of Farid and the like that was deliberately shrouded into mist at colonial hands. Naguib said in his speech: *"When the officers of the army revolted against corruption, they looked around them in search for a role model to provide for the*

¹⁸¹A royal decree issued by the council of guardianship no. 10 for year 1952 on September 7, 1952.

¹⁸²Presidential decree issued on June 19, 1956.

¹⁸³Mustafa 'Abdel-Ghani, "Of Generals and People", *al-Ahram Weekly*, 24 July 2002, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2002/595/sc101.htm>, accessed April 28, 2014.

¹⁸⁴"Naql Rufat Mustafa Kamel", *al-Ahram*, February 12, 1953, 1-3.

*nation. At this conjuncture, Farid appeared to them".*¹⁸⁵ In other words, they felt grateful to Farid because of the big sacrifices he made for his country. That's how Farid came to rest next to Kamel after all these long years.

The museum's lay out:

The museum consists of two main galleries; one of them houses the collection of Mustafa Kamel while the other exhibits the collections of Farid, Al-Rafie and Radwan. Just beneath the lightly-carved graceful dome of the mausoleum, raised above a cylindrical section nearly one third of its height, the tomb of Kamil lies at the heart of the main central hall while a giant brass chandelier hangs down from the ceiling to enlighten the place. Another tomb intended for the interment of Kamel's long-life companion Muhammad Farid was added next to Kamel's tomb.

Making the best use of the available space, the architect decided to add an extra third tomb without prior planning. It was intended for the burial of Urabi's remains¹⁸⁶.

However, this idea was later deserted most probably because of the political crisis of March 1954 and its consequences. It was the great historian Al-Rafie who would be buried there after his death in December 1966. The prominent politician and activist Fathi Radwan was buried there likewise at his death in 1988. One might wonder why particularly these two figures were closely associated with the museum and were later given a permit to be buried there?

The great national historian Al-Rafie was one of the devoted disciples of Mustafa Kamel who regarded him as his god father and his first mentor from whom he learnt the meaning of patriotism¹⁸⁷. He met Kamel at his early youth at the headquarters of *Al-liwaa* in 1906 and get to know him at close range afterwards. Foreseeing his brilliance and highly appreciating his zeal, Kamel offered to send Al-Rafie to France to study journalism there at his own expense. However, this project was interrupted with the death of Kamel in 1908. As a fervent member of the National party, it was Al-Rafie as mentioned before the one who called for the foundation of Kamel's memorial and produced a biography of Kamel to record his

¹⁸⁵"Naql Rufat Muhammad Farid Ela Giwar Mustafa Kamel", *al-Ahram*, November 16, 1953, 1-3.

¹⁸⁶"Al Iste'dad ledafn Mustafa Kamel wa darihah al gadid", *al-Balagh*, February 10, 1953, 2.

¹⁸⁷al-Rāfi'ī, *Mudhakkirātī*, 16.

history and voice his ideas. Before his death, Al-Rafie expressed one last wish to be buried next to his venerated mentor and his wish was fulfilled on 4th of December 1966¹⁸⁸.

In the same manner, Radwan was much obsessed with Kamel whom he staunchly endeavored to follow his footsteps. It seems that Radwan was influenced by his mother who was an ardent supporter of Mustafa Kamel. She instilled in him a deep respect to Kamel's memory since his early childhood. Furthermore, she had her young son read all the old issues of "*al-Liwā*" edited by Kamel himself which she treasured in her private library. No wonder, Radwan grew saturated with Kamel's ideas and impressed with his patriotism. He much admired Kamel's long march for liberty depending primarily on his soul force and his deep-seated belief in his just cause. That's why Kamel emerged as Radwan's role model whom he tried to emulate all along his life and chose to be buried next to him after his death. This was best manifested when he later championed some of Kamel's ideals through co-founding the "Young Egypt" movement¹⁸⁹ in the early 30th. After a while, he joined the national party founded by Kamel. Then he, among others, split from the stagnant old national party and formed the New National party in 1944. It was an attempt to put Kamel's ideals into practice in a way that adequately fits their changing society. He also edited "*al-Liwā' al-Jadid*"¹⁹⁰ or the new standard in the same year. It was modeled after Kamel's original journal "*al-Liwā*" just before the outbreak of July revolution. Besides, he wrote a film script about Kamel to celebrate his unrivaled contributions and a book on him¹⁹¹ to discuss his ideology and strategies.

In fact, it was Radwan himself who suggested the foundation of a museum to host Kamel's collection in the first place and obtained the consent of the Revolution command Council. He was also the one who announced its establishment to public on the occasion of the transfer of Kamel's remains to his new mausoleum. Radwan declared then that a small museum devoted to Kamel will be erected next to the tomb. One of its two galleries would host his personal belongings while the other would be used as a library comprising his entire works.¹⁹² According to the museum's senior curator, Radwan was the one who personally

¹⁸⁸ Di-Capua, "Jabarti of the 20th Century," 445.

¹⁸⁹ Ali Shalaby, *Misr al-Fatah wa Dorha fi al-Siyasah al-Masriyyah 1933-1941* (Cairo: Al-Hay'ah al-Misriyyah al-Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2010), 73-77.

¹⁹⁰ The permit granted to Fathi Radwan for publishing the journal of *Al-liwaa Al-Jadid* with the financial grantee of the Minister of Interior Muhammad Hafez Ramadan on October 16, 1944.

¹⁹¹ Fathi Radwan, *Mustafa Kamel* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1974).

¹⁹² "Al Iste'dad le dafn Mustafa Kamel", 2.

collected most of the museum's contents and continued to support the museum till his death in October 1988.

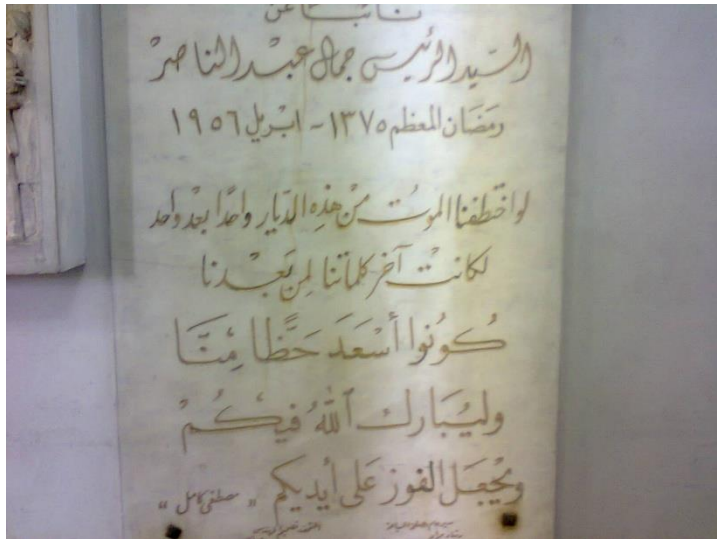
Ironically, there was always a political and ideological dispute between Al-Rafie and Radwan. As a result, Al- Rafie had once sued Radwan when he formed the new national party but the case was eventually dropped due to the dissolution of political parties in 1953.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, their ideas had considerably overlapped only when it came to Mustafa Kamel and his eminent status. No wonder, both of them craved desperately to share Kamel his burial.



Mustafa Kamel museum

<http://www.shorouknews.com/news/view.aspx?cdate=24082012&id=c075cde8-f642-4f76-877c-5313755f2cc1>

¹⁹³ Abd al-Rahmān al-Rāfi‘ī, *Thawrat 23 Yūliyah sanat 1952: tāriḫunā al-qawmī fī sab‘ sanawāt, 1952-1959* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1989), 67.



The museum's foundation marble panel ©D. Kandil and M. Abd Al-Badie

A special collection:

Among the valuable acquisitions of the museum are the hand-written letters of Mustafa Kamel, his books, his photos at different stages of his life, his decorations, medals of honor, his ceremonial suit, his sword, his study room, his walking stick, his bust statue, the eulogies composed by the laureate poet Ahmad Shawky and the Nile poet Hafiz Ibrahim at his death as well as the photos of the Denshway's gallows set there for implementing the verdicts of its court. It also includes a number of oil paintings that dates back to the time of the inauguration of the museum in 1956. They were all painted by prominent modern Egyptian painters like Hosny Al Bannany depicting the British bombardment of Alexandria in 1882, the Denshway incident in 1906, as well as Kamel at his death bed and others. The second gallery houses some of personal belongings of the other three leaders (a bust statue of Muhammad Farid, the personal library of Al-Rafie, the desk of Radwan and photos of some Egyptian pioneer figures)¹⁹⁴

Diverging paths:

Having firmly established itself, the newly-born regime at that time lost interest in the past and paid more attention to documenting its present's achievement. As a result, the memory of Kamel and Farid experienced gradual obliteration. Simultaneously, Al-Rafie fell out of favor by the late 1950s due to the shift in the political agenda. It seems that his purely

¹⁹⁴Mustafa Kamel Museum Official Records.

Egyptian nationalist message wasn't compatible with Nasser's new ideology focusing on pan-Arabism and Arab nationalism instead.¹⁹⁵

At the same time, a rupture took place between Nasser and Radwan causing Radwan to leave his office¹⁹⁶. As the museum of Kamel was directly interconnected and interrelated with these two persons in particular since they were the ones who gave it the kiss of life, the decline of their career and their eventual retreat to shade had negatively affected it. That's how the museum was left behind.

In other words, the downward course of the museum had started few years after its opening.¹⁹⁷ It sharply dwindled till it sank into oblivion. Currently, the museum is administered directly by Ministry of Culture through its Fine Arts sector.

Former Renovations

After long years of utter neglect, the museum was renovated in 2001 at a total budget of 70,000 L.E. A special committee formed of members of the engineering department examined the museum's status. They wrote down their report and submitted a technical proposal. Two renovation plans were finally approved by the chairman of the National Center of Fine Arts at that time Dr. Ahmad Nawwar on 12th of January 2001. The first plan was an urgent one that included repairing the outer wall of the museum, providing a new light system both inside and outside the museum, painting the façade, polishing the marble floor, trimming the trees of the garden as well as the renewal of its irrigation system. New showcases were added display, Kamel's letters, medals of honors and ceremonial costume. 3 raised wooden platforms were erected for placing the desks of Kamel, Al-Rafie and Radwan. A considerable number of items were repaired including 40 Photos, 38 letters, 6 paintings at the maintenance and repair center of the Ministry of Culture. The second plan was a future plan intended to be carried out later when they get the necessary funds. It included improving modes of display as well as some other aspects to change the exhibition display.¹⁹⁸ This suggested plan was never carried out so far. After the completion of the first plan, the museum was re-opened on 8th of

¹⁹⁵Di-Capua, "Jabarti of the 20th Century," 445.

¹⁹⁶Mustafa 'Abdel-Ghani, "Of Generals and People".

¹⁹⁷Di-Capua, "Embodiment of the Revolutionary Spirit," 105.

¹⁹⁸Mustafa Kamel Museum Dossier preserved at Fine Art Sector.

February 2001 in a big ceremony attended by the Minister of Culture then Dr. Farouk Hosny.¹⁹⁹

A lethal blow

What added fuel to fire that the museum was plundered in the course of January revolution. On the 28th of Jan. 2011(the so-called Friday of Rage), a number of vagabonds broke into the museum and pillaged almost all its contents while damaged the rest.²⁰⁰ The total lost items were about 152 pieces of the exhibits, 94 pieces stolen from the museum's depots, 2 catalogues and 182 books.

An oil painting on fabrics that dates back to 1956 representing the grand welcome given to Kamel by the people of Alexandria at his return from Europe was found torn in the garden of the museum.

Most of the looted items were sold in the streets which dealt a destructive blow to a dear part of national history. That's how the museum became an empty museum and was forced to temporarily close its doors to visitors. After a long search journey, a sizable number of the looted items were restored back. According to head of National center for Fine arts, they were about 269 pieces²⁰¹. This number increased afterwards. According to the museum records, the number of retrieved items till now are (99 exhibits as well as 180 books). Actually, the police of Tourism and antiquities in collaboration with the military forces had made big efforts to retrieve the items back. Some individuals had also contributed to such retrieval. One of them for example bought some of the stolen items (9 rare books of the museum's collection) from a street vendor and handed them immediately to authorities²⁰² showing a high sense of responsibility towards their past.

The retrieved items were taken to the repair administration. Among the successfully but rather miraculously repaired items were the abovementioned torn painting of the famous

¹⁹⁹Renovation panel at Mustafa Kamel Museum.

²⁰⁰Records of Al-Khalifa Police station, January 28, 2011.

²⁰¹Farouq Gowidah, "Ma Baqy Min Mathaf Mustafa Kamel", *al-Ahram*, February 18, 2012, <http://www.digital.ahram.org.eg/articles.aspx?Serial=804375&eid=1145>, accessed April 29, 2014.

²⁰¹Taha 'Ali, "Sianet Lawha Min Moqtanyat Mathaf Mustafa Kamel", *al- Sharq al- Awsat*, 15 Jan. 20

²⁰²Ibrahim Ahmad, "Mwatan Yossallem 9 Kotub Naderah Min Masroqat Mathaf Mustafa Kamel", *al-Youm al-Sabe'*, May 1, 2013, <http://www.youm7.com/News.asp?NewsID=1044221>, accessed April 29, 2014.

painter Hosny Al Bannany together with the bust plaster statue of Mustafa Kamel that was found in a very poor condition.²⁰³



The museum's door after being stripped of its copper decorations in the wake of the robbery. © D. Kandil and M. Abd Al-Badie



A current empty museum © D. Kandil and M. Abd Al-Badie



The museum's sign after being removed away and stored in the garden © D. Kandil and M. Abd Al-Badie

²⁰³Taha 'Ali, "Sianet Lawha Min Moqtanyat Mathaf Mustafa Kamel", *al- Sharq al- Awsat*, 15 Jan. 2012, <http://www.aawsat.com/details.asp?section=54&article=659032&issueno>, accessed April 30, 2014.

Methodology

As mentioned before, the current deplorable status of Mustafa Kamel national museum which constitutes an integral part of Egypt's priceless heritage set alarm bells about its future uncertainties and foregrounds a number of concerns for exploration. Such downward spiral of the museum had spurred the researchers to thoroughly examine it and to get inside view of reality. This formed the take off point of this paper aiming to highlight the heritage value of the place and to revive it.

In the early phase of the research, and as a preliminary exploratory step, the researchers carried out a survey to measure the awareness level of the museum among stakeholders. The steps and results of the survey will be explained in details in the following section of discussion.

To perform this research, the researchers employed direct observational method to examine the museum in its natural setting at close range in order to assess its actual status as well as the potentials of reviving it.

Taking into account the scarcity of data available about the museum, the researchers adopted this approach to enable them "gather preliminary data"²⁰⁴ and get "background information"²⁰⁵ indispensable for formulating their basic argument.

At the same time, the researchers' insistence to obtain "first-hand "²⁰⁶ comprehensive knowledge that are rich in its details, accuracy and subtlety as they might hold key to understanding the topic studied, led them also to use field observation method.

Prior to the series of visits paid to the museum, the researchers followed a line of investigation that involved a thorough descriptive analysis of the history of the museum and its characteristic features resting primarily on the available contemporary sources. Also, it was deemed necessary to contact persons in charge of the museum to get the permit needed. This entailed holding a number of meetings with two senior curators in the museum and four governmental officials at the national museums department in the ministry of culture including director of the museums and exhibition administration as well as the director of the national museums. This initial contact had helped the researchers to gain access to the place

²⁰⁴Samir Tayie, *Research Methods and Writing Research Proposals* (Cairo University: Center for Advancement of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Engineering Sciences, 2005), 85.

²⁰⁵Tayie, *Research Methods*, 88.

²⁰⁶Stephen L. J. Smith, *Practical Tourism Research* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 52.

which is still closed in the meantime and enabled them to draw up a picture of its internal situation.

In-depth interviews were then conducted with the museum's nine curators inside the museum to take a close look at the museum and gain insights into its current situation from people closely involved with it and whom one can call resource persons. Such interviews helped the researchers to deeply explore the topic under study and provided them with richer data than offered by structured questionnaires²⁰⁷.

The interviews questions were guided by the Accreditation Scheme for Museums and Galleries in the United Kingdom which frame the requirements that museums must meet to gain accreditation (*Accreditation Scheme for Museums and Galleries in the United Kingdom, February 2013.*). Due to the absence of any Egyptian standards for national museums, a disappointing fact that was confirmed by the head of the department of National museums as well as the lack of any self-study undertaken by the museum throughout its life-span, the authors were obliged to look for some other alternative sources to provide guidelines for assessing the museum pros and cons. The adopted standards define good practices and quality standards that assist in guiding museums to be the best they can for current and future users. It is should be noted that the research is not concerned with grading the museum in accordance with each of those standards set for national museums. Rather, it seeks to identify different aspects to which attention should be directed for further development and to enhance performance and develop effectual marketing and promotional policies. In short, the aforementioned standards were used as an appropriate tool to guide observations meant to assess the overall museum's performance and to detect areas of deficiency.

In fact, the researchers had first consulted three different sets of international professional standards to choose one of them to serve as a benchmark tool for assessing the museum's performance. They consulted those of the American Alliance of Museums (AAM)²⁰⁸, International Council of Museums (ICOM)²⁰⁹ and The Accreditation Scheme for Museums and Galleries in the United Kingdom²¹⁰. After long thought, they made their decision to work

²⁰⁷ Smith, *Practical*, 109-110.

²⁰⁸ [http:// name.aam.org/about/who-we-are](http://name.aam.org/about/who-we-are). Accessed September 30, 2014.

²⁰⁹ <http://icom.museum/professional-standards/standards-guideline>. Accessed September 30, 2014.

²¹⁰ <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/>. Accessed September 30, 2014.

on the standards of the third set for two reasons. Firstly, they were the latest and most recently updated ones (February 2013) among them at the time of conducting the research.

Secondly, The Accreditation Scheme for and Galleries in the United Kingdom classified museums into five groups according to their nature and gave special guidance to each group separately. Among these groups were national museums which perfectly suit the research needs since it is particularly concerned with the national museum of Mustafa Kamel. Besides, they have a lot of specifications which the researchers found increasingly helpful for them than the other two sets. That's why they preferred this set.

The Accreditation Scheme includes three parts: 1- organizational health. 2- Collections. 3- Users and their experiences.

This third part of the scheme discusses three main requirements namely: good quality services and development; user focus experience; and effective and engaging learning experiences. Each main requirement is broken down into separate items as shown in the following discussion.

Believing that the third part was of cardinal importance for the purpose of the research as it offers diverse features and valued dimensions that could be used to enable museums to attract and engage more visitors, the researchers much counted on it in the first stage of the research. This was meant to extract implications that might help national museums to rethink of their role, recalculate their potentials and revise the ways in which they present themselves. Therefore, the researchers focused their attention on the third section and decided to postpone the investigation of the "Organizational health" and the "Collections" to a later albeit separate stage. They came to believe that triggering a major change in these two sections is less likely to occur at the present time as they are largely governed with state development policies that have more pressing priorities and restricted with limited financial resources together with red tape. However, as the researchers went on with the research, they found out that investigating these two sections is imperative and rather inevitable to rightly assess the museum's performance and to cover all dimensions of the larger picture. Therefore, they decided to investigate the other two likewise and present them in the discussion altogether instead of devoting a separate study for them. Accordingly, the third section will precede the first two in the discussion as it was investigated earlier. It should be noted here that the nature of the third section differs remarkably from that of the first two. So while in the former each prime requirement is broken down into sub-items to facilitate its investigation and evaluation, the

latter seems to be broader in scope and rather comprehensive. As a result, the prime requirements of a considerable number of standards are mainly outlined without breaking down into sub items unlike the third section.

While investigating the standards of the first two sections, the researchers were compelled to pass by some standards and not to focus lens on them. This limitation had basically stemmed from the non-availability of a quite deal of information indispensable for assessment in some cases or inaccessibility of it in others. In some other cases, the available data was either fragmented or insufficient to build on. This was largely due to some worn-out regulatory restraints or the considerably reserved answers of some respondents especially when it comes to dates and financial aspects.

In the same context, the researchers noticed the non-applicability of some of the standards of these two sections on Egyptian national museums that have their own specificity and distinctiveness. For example, all the collections of national museums are all state property. They belong to state and there are no private owners of national museums. Similarly, the building of any Egyptian national museum is also owned by the state and doesn't belong to individuals and so forth. Such non-applicability of some standards impeded the wholesale adoption in Egyptian national museums. Moreover, it dictated on the researchers to be put aside a number of standards while dealing with these two sections in particular.

The research was conducted over a relatively long period from June 2013 to October 2014. The field study was carried out on two stages. The first stage started in November 2013 and ended in February 2014 in which the researchers investigated the museum status according to the third section of the Accreditation Scheme. The second stage in which the researchers went on further investigation of museum's current situation with respect to the first and second sections started in September 2014 and ended up in October 2014. It was much easier to carry as the researchers had already amassed a good deal of knowledge and established former contact with the respondents.

The data were collected through face to face interviews. The participants' views were then organized into themes and categories according to the pre-mentioned standards for ease of analysis.

Then the collected data were analyzed to formulate theory and review the findings.

Discussion

The museum of Mustafa Kamel is a typical national museum maintained by the state. Although, the museum has all potentials that can make of it a prospect attraction, it is currently an entirely deserted place that awaits rejuvenation.

To study the museum, the researchers carried out an exploratory survey as a first step to measure the degree of awareness of the museum among stakeholders.

Two questions were directed to 80 undergraduate students and 21 post graduate students enrolled in the Faculty of Tourism and Hotel Management -Helwan University (which is considered the oldest Tourism Faculty in Egypt and the Arab world) The sample was selected randomly from Tour- Guidance department and Tourism Studies department, as potential tour guides and tour operators who supposed to be fully aware of the museum's value. The same questions were directed likewise to a sample of 33 faculty and staff working in the Faculty. With the exception of one student enrolled in the Tour-Guidance department who lives in the vicinity of the museum, none of them had ever heard of the museum before or knew its location. Three other questions were directed to a random sample of 15 tour-guides and 12 tour-operators. Only two tour-guides were aware of it but none had ever accompanied tourists there while none of the tour-operators had ever included the museum in any program. The results of the above mentioned survey proved consistent with the main argument of the researchers that the museum of Mustafa Kamel is a heritage in neglect.

The meetings held with the officials responsible for the museum as well as the curators were very insightful for researchers and provided them with detailed information. It should be noted that some of the officials which the researchers first met to get the necessary permits, wondered with much surprise why the Mustafa Kamel museum was particularly selected to conduct a research on it. They even recommended other museums that are in a far better status to study. Undoubtedly, such surprise indicated that they don't properly weight the museum or give it the attention it really deserves. It also reflected the deteriorating status of the museum which they had implicitly recognized when suggested others.

Then the researchers paid a number of visits to the museum. One of the researchers couldn't help there but to recall a past experience with the museum. She had visited it before in 1984 and re-visited it after its renovation in 2008. In her second visit, she noticed that

nothing had almost changed. The course of visit remained intact. The methods of display and presentation of its contents were still outmoded and rather boring while the curators were not well-trained. Although, one of them provided guidance, yet he said nothing of any real significance that might grab one's attention or spark interest for further investigation. There were no visitors at all around that's why the staff working there seemed to be much surprised on seeing her as if uncommon or rather infrequent scene for them. In short, the researcher's past experiences were both unpleasant ones. This time, the researchers visited the place with a different perspective, yet, comparison was inevitable.

Section Three: Users and their experiences

‘Accredited museums are welcoming and accessible. They exhibit collections and have a planned approach to identifying and providing a good-quality service for a broad range of users.’

3.1 Good-quality services and development:

The museum must offer and develop good-quality, stimulating services for users and potential users, in order to get the best out of its collections, resources and local area.

3.1.1 The museum must understand who its users are.

According to the curators of Mustafa Kamel museum, its typical users before closure were mainly school and university students and to a lesser extent, a relatively small number of researchers. They mentioned that its non-users are local masses and tourists who are usually unaware of the museum. Some of the curators consider that lack of promotional activities the main reason beyond the absence of tourists' visits. In that respect it worth to note that museums sometime overlook marketing their products and services instead of putting it on top of their agenda.²¹¹

This clearly manifested in Mustafa Kamel museum's case as it didn't initiate any steps to identify its users and determine their needs other than registering the data of the visitors. They didn't organize museum panels or focus groups, distribute questionnaires or produce statistics in this concern, in the words of one curator:

²¹¹ Ruth Rentschler and Audrey Gilmore, “Museums: Discovering Services Marketing,” *International Journal of Arts Management*, 15 (1) (2002): 65.

....we only register visitors' data concerning visitor's name, identification card number, address, occupation, visitor's nationality and visit's duration. However, we do not produce certain statistics.

3.1.2 The museum must evaluate and analyze information to assess user's needs.

There are not any specific methods employed to analyze the available data of visitors or to consult with them with respect to services provided and how they meet users' needs, as some curators mention:

....we just take notice of the pre-mentioned information about visitors, but we do not return back to it again for further investigation or evaluation.

3.1.3 The museum must devise plans to broaden its range of users.

The museum had recently made some efforts to increase the number of visitors and attract non-users by organizing annual workshops during summer vacation which target children aging 6-18 years as one senior curator demonstrates:

....these workshops offer various activities including Arabic calligraphy courses, carving, pottery, and painting courses. The duration of these workshops is usually forty five days.

The museum's administration also used to send invitations to nearby schools at the beginning of each academic year to encourage school principals and teachers to arrange visits to the museum. This is consistent with new trends adopted by museums to increase audience diversity through attracting organized school classes. Therefore, many museums report working with local schools to develop museum based programs linked to school curricula.²¹²

Certainly, if such efforts initiated by Mustafa Kamel museum are to be further continued in future, they will give the museum a thrust forward. It will enable the museum to assume a vital role in making culture accessible to ordinary masses²¹³. By this way, it could act as a cultural facilitator and educator of an immense weight.²¹⁴

However, these efforts have to be placed within a well-structured framework. Indeed, the good will of the museum's administration is quite noticeable, nonetheless, the researchers

²¹²Smithsonian Institution, "Increasing Museum Visitation by under Represented Audiences", June (2001), 16.

²¹³Marcello Carrozzino and Massimo Bergamasco, "Beyond Virtual Museums: Experiencing immersive virtual reality in real museums," *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 11 (2010): 451.

²¹⁴Elisabetta Cova, "Negotiating the Past in the Present: Italian Prehistory, Civic museums, and Curatorial practice in EMILIA-ROMAGNA, Italy," *European Journal of Archaeology* 13 (3) (2010): 285.

noticed the full absence of a well-defined specific plan in the meantime for revitalization or for audience development. Moreover, there is no fixed date set for re-opening the museum. Some of the answers of the officials sounded vague and rather unspecific particularly in this regard like:

.....in the nearest convenienceit all depends on budget.....

3.1.4 The museum must have a culture of customer care with arrangements in place to make sure all users are treated with courtesy and care.

Although the curators seemed to be very friendly and helpful, the researches noticed that the museum didn't draft a customer charter that clearly states the standards of good customer service it should provide for its users. The researchers get to know through interviews that the museum had neither set such definite standards of quality service nor made certain arrangements to serve disabled users and users with additional needs. Consequently, it didn't devise a plan for handling complaints or training a special staff for customer care.

There is only one telephone number posted in the museum's brochure. As the museum doesn't have its own website, the website and the e-mail posted in the brochure refer to the Fine art sector to which the museum belongs. At the same time, there is no indication whatsoever to opening hours, seasonal events, access information, hotline and e-mail address specified for queries.

3.1.5 The museum takes account for users' needs guided by a policy statement setting out a commitment to give everyone access to collections and associated information

Before closure, the museum didn't have a clear-cut access policy which covers physical, intellectual, social, geographical and cultural access. Likewise, the museum does not address the different needs of users and potential users.

The museum does not provide interpretation of museum's collections and associated information, in the words of one curator:

.....the foreign visitors are coming usually in very few numbers and in such case they are usually accompanied with a tour guide who usually translates the curator's speech, even the museum's brochure is written only in Arabic language.

It worth to mention that the museum's virtual tour which is available at the Fine Art sector's website is offered without interpretation to languages other than Arabic language. At

a time where current museums are taking the advantage of new technology to best “communicate and promote” ²¹⁵its collection, Mustafa Kamel's museum appeared to be lagging behind at this point specifically.

3.1.6 The museum must respond to tourism and local priorities where appropriate

The researchers tried to figure out if there are any efforts direct towards attracting international tourists. In this concern, both the officials of the National museums department together with the curators stated that the Ministry of tourism and the Official Tourism Authority which is considered the official body responsible for promoting the Egyptian destination requested from the Fine Art sector the regular submission of lists of Egyptian museums and their unique collections to include them in their promotional activities as new attractions. However, there is no clear cooperation in this regard. According to curators, all tourists who visited the museum came usually by coincidence rather than by prior planning. Needless to say that acknowledging the importance of heritage tourism is a first step to ensure unceasing cooperation between the two bodies.

On the other hand, the museum seeks to work -but on a limited scale- with local partners, for example, researchers and university students who are conducting researches on Mustafa Kamel and provide them with the necessary information. It is believed that establishing liaisons between museums and individual schools, local education authorities, and institutions responsible for the training of teachers has large benefits for all parties. ²¹⁶

The museum used to contact journalists, authors, directors and actors and invite them to participate in the annual anniversary celebration of Mustafa Kamel. It goes without saying that many museums outside Egypt benefit greatly from such liaisons with the local community in raising funds and developing new revenues streams. However, it's totally different in Egypt. Concerning the funds which museums could receive, it is worth to mention here that it is illegal for a national museum in Egypt -as head of national museums department illustrated - to receive any funds or donations or to have sponsors. Undoubtedly, the lack of funds and insufficient budget form the main stumbling block. No wonder, the museum still awaits its turn in a long waiting list since it is only one among seven other national museums.

²¹⁵Carrozzino and Bergamasco, “Beyond Virtual Museums,” 453.

²¹⁶Mary Jane Calderon, “Museums and Communication,” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 18 (2) (1990): 138.

As the ministry couldn't throw its lot to one museum and ignore the others, development plans seem to be at arrears.

The modern concept of museums provided by The Museum Association at UK defines "museums enable people to explore collections for inspiration, learning and enjoyment".²¹⁷ In response, numerous museums worldwide are trying in the meantime to make necessary adjustments to realize this end. No wonder, they are increasingly adopting more entertaining approaches to comply with the new trend of "edutainment". This term that had recently made its appearance was tailored to satisfy visitors in the first place. It refers to mixing education with fun. By this way museums could meet their visitors' needs and grant them a pleasant experience.²¹⁸ Accordingly, the theme mentioned below was of great importance for the researchers to help revive the museum in order to become a visitor-oriented museum.

3.2 User-focused experience: The museum must provide a welcoming, accessible environment, and appropriate services and facilities.

3.2.1 The museum must have adequate and accessible facilities to meet the needs of the expected number of users or provide information about nearby facilities

Before the robbery, the museum was open all the year around, five days a week. It used to close its doors at weekends (2 days Friday and Saturday) and national holidays. This was inconvenient for many visitors as they were all working days. On the other hand, all collections were accessible to all visitors with the exception of those preserved in depots.

We should also point out that some of the contents still suffer damage since the loot in 2001 like the door of the elegant portal that was stripped of its decorative brass patterns, the tomb's marble that was partially broken and the glass of the chandelier that was broken likewise. Other damaged items were successfully repaired in the laboratories of the ministry yet none of them are now on display since the museum is still closed.

Through observation and interviews, it was clear that there were no sufficient facilities available at the museum. However, the museum is located too close to some famous sightseeing namely: The Citadel, Sultan Hassan Mosque, Refai Mosque, Mahmoudia Mosque where facilities could be offered.

²¹⁷Ruth Rentschler, Anne - Marie Hede and Tabitha R. White, "Museum Pricing: Challenges to Theory Development and Practice," *International Journal of Non profit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 12 (2007): 163.

²¹⁸Deepak Chhabra, "Positioning Museums on an Authenticity Continuum," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35 (2) (2008): 429.

Such proximity to the citadel (five minutes' walk from its back door) is a big advantage that can be well invested if the museum targeted the same profile tourist who had interest in history and culture. In this case, a new course of visit for the citadel could be suggested so as to be concluded with visiting the museum. This new course would help the tourist get an overview of Egypt' medieval, modern and contemporary history where the museum would represent the last phase of this historical cycle.

The outdoor space of museum is entirely neglected. Though, it has a sizable museum's garden, it is entirely unexploited. It has no sun shades, no benches or any place where visitors can have a rest or have some refreshments. In short, it lacks those facilities that remarkably affect the overall comfort of its visitors.

3.2.2 The museum must have appropriate signs and directions inside and outside the building

On making their decision to explore the museum, the researchers conducted recently a series of visits for the museum. They had much difficulty to reach the place. None of the locals whom they met at its neighborhood knew anything about the museum or could rightly direct them with the exception of an elderly woman (about 70 years) who knew of the memorial and spoke highly of Mustafa Kamel yet she didn't know its actual place. To one's surprise, the researchers noticed the presence of a big sign stored in the backyard of the museum.

The curators explained this total absence of any way finding signs:

....there were two signs outside the museum's building to guide potential visitors to the museum's location particularly those who are visiting The Citadel. Unfortunately, after the museum had been stolen, we took off these signs to save them from theft.

3.2.3 The museum must communicate effectively with users and potential users through a range of accessible marketing and promotional activities

There are limited marketing and promotional activities designed for the museum. The marketing and promotional materials available are: a brochure illustrating the most important exhibits, annual invitations sent to schools and a virtual tour of the museum available at the Fine Art sector's website. As mentioned before, the museum doesn't have an independent website at a time there is a growing use of social media in promoting museums and notifying

the public about museum's future exhibitions and events thus targets the online community and helps in creating groups of interest of a museum.²¹⁹

To be more precise, current museums seek to attract new type of visitors namely "remote users" from whom a considerable part tend to switch to actual visitors to the museum.²²⁰ Such possibility of augmenting the museum visitation capacity via the internet is an option that the museum's administration had seemed underestimated.

Since modern museums are regarded the keepers of national culture and heritage, they must stimulate the interest of their visitors to convey to them their message. The below-mentioned theme is primarily concerned with this particular aspect which the researchers paid much attention to it.

3.3 Effective learning experiences: Learning is a core purpose for museums. They use collections and associated information for exhibitions and learning opportunities.

3.3.1 The museum must exhibit the collections using a variety of interpretative methods

The museum rely mainly on a printed brochure, live interpretation throughout the curator's speech, out dated slides show performed on a very primitive projector, online resource represented in the virtual tour of the museum as well as special events as the centennial of Mustafa Kamel which was organized in 2008.

3.3.2 The museum provides access to the collections and associated information for research purposes and other forms of engagement.

Before the robbery, the museum's entire permanent collection was on display, the curators stated:

....we provide information regarding the museum's collections to visitors specifically school groups and researchers through allowing researchers using materials in the museum's library, taking photos of exhibits, and providing online access to collections through the virtual visit of the museum.

In this regard it should be noted that some of the museum's documents that could be remarkably insightful to researcher were either inaccessible or hard to locate. None of the

²¹⁹Jenny Kidd, "Enacting Engagement Online: Framing Social Media Use for the Museum," *Information Technology & People*, 24 (1) (2011): 67-69.

²²⁰Luigi Scrofani and Luca Ruggiero, "Museum Networks in the Mediterranean Area: Real and Virtual Opportunities," *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, 145 (2013): 576.

staff working in the national museums department including its director knew where such documents were preserved. In spite of their readiness to cooperate with the researchers, they failed to rightly guide them where to find the rest of the historical documents related to the museum. This was the major hindrance the researchers came to face while conducting the research and constituted one of its limitations.

In the same manner, the museum would be able to attract new generation of visitors who prefer using technology all along, through the use of information and communication technology applications inside the museum like other museums elsewhere.²²¹

3.3.3 The museum provides effective and stimulating learning and discovery experiences focused on the collections.

The museum's main role in stimulating learning is limited to encouraging school visits and providing university students and researchers with necessary information. It also organizes an annual event on the anniversary of Mustafa Kamel. However, the museum doesn't organize regular temporary exhibitions nor offer special courses and other cultural activities like lectures, workshops, plays and the like. In sum, the museum's administration has to pay more attention for stimulating "learning" in its broadest sense, since it is the main objective of visiting museums.²²²

Field observations revealed that the museum lacked the drawing force and the spirit that could enliven the place and attract visitors that's why it remained abandoned.

Section One: Organizational Health

1.1 Clear statement of the purpose: 'The museum must be guided by a statement of purpose that defines why the museum exists and who it is for.'

According to the general guidance for this requirement *the museum's statement of purpose will typically be located within its governance document.*

The museum doesn't have a clear statement of purpose that highlights its scope, defines its raison d'être, outlines its core functions. On the other side, the researchers tried

²²¹ Myunghwa Kang and Ulrike Gretzel, "Perceptions of Museum Podcast Tours: Effects of Consumer Innovativeness, Internet Familiarity and Podcasting Affinity on Performance Expectancies," *Tourism Management Perspectives* 4 (2012): 155.

²²² Myriam Jansen-Verbeke and Johan Van Rekom, "Scanning Museum Visitors: Urban Tourism Marketing," *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23 (2) (1996): 367.

hard to see the foundation document of the museum (supposedly the governance document) in which the main purpose of its establishment might have been stated but in vain. None of the respondents know exactly where to locate it or could guide the researchers where to find it. Whenever the researchers inquired about this particular point, the respondents seemed to be much surprised as if less familiar with it. The researchers also noticed the absence of any inspiring and well-crafted mission and vision written statements to clarify the museum's role and purpose for its staff and to convey them to its visitors. The researchers believe that the absence of such a key element of administrative success negatively affects the staff's understanding of the value of their work that would make them passionately committed to it and enhance their self-esteem.

1.2 Acceptable constitution for governing body: ‘The museum must be a long-term organisation that exists to benefit the public and protect collections. It must have an appropriate and acceptable constitution for the governing body.’

The museum meets the requirement of this standard as it is a long-term organization that dates back to the mid of the last century. Since its establishment, the museum has always aimed to benefit the public and protect the collections which it holds in trust. However, the degree of its success in carrying out such a role varied widely from time to time due to shifting realities and variables.

Indeed the museum didn't develop its own constitution over years, yet it abides by the generally accepted constitution adopted by all Egyptian national museums and it is affiliated with a properly constituted body (Fine Arts Sector of the Ministry of Culture). In other words, it works within a clear-cut legal framework. It should be noted that the museum also abides by international protocols related to museum practice.

To meet this requirement accredited museums must be clear regarding their governing body. In some circumstances governance is complicated and multiple organisations are involved in a partnership.

As for the governing body, the museum is run directly by the Fine Arts Sector in the Ministry of Culture. The museum did not develop any partnership with multiple organizations so it does not suffer any conflict of jurisdictions.

It is noteworthy to say that the museum's subordination to the Fine Arts Sector had apparently relegated the museum's status to a secondary one as most attention is given to art museums which came at the expense of national ones.

In compliance with this requirement *it is possible that the name of the governing body and the name of the museum may not be the same; however, the names that are used should be clear within the governance, policy, planning documents and in advocacy and marketing materials. The name provided for the governing body should be the same as that on the governing document.*

The names of the museum and the governing body aren't the same. The official name of the museum is Mustafa Kamel Museum while the name of the governing body is the Fine Arts Sectors. Both names appear together in the museum's brochure, in the official website of the Fine Arts Sector as well as in the paperwork of the museum and its correspondences.

1.3 Appropriate management arrangements: 'The museum must be an effective organization that is well managed and able to provide evidence of the following:

1.3.1 That it has a satisfactory management structure, from the governing body to the user

The museum seems to be an effective organization that is well managed. It has a satisfactory well-defined management structure that assumes the overall responsibility of the museum and is headed by the general manager of the museum.

1.3.2 That it has formally approved any authorities or responsibilities that the governing body has delegated to sub-committees, members of staff or volunteers

The governing body (Fine Arts Sector in our case) has delegated to members of staff some authorities. As one official explained:

....The museum's curators are totally responsible for daily museum operations like handling complaints, making arrangements for large groups of visitors in co-ordination with police of Tourism and antiquities, making decisions with respect to visits program, forthcoming events and like.....

That's to say they are given full authority to make decisions concerning day-to-day management needs.

One of the curators referred to a decision the staff of the museum made on the spot in the wake of the museum's robbery when they removed the way-finding sign of the museum and stored in the garden for safety reasons.

1.3.3 That the management structure makes sure there is appropriate professional input into decision making and policy development

Interviewed Officials stressed their eagerness to get professional input:

.....We developed a board of trustees consisting of university professors, activists, journalists and some prominent figures interested in heritage and history. It is supposed to convene monthly. However, it is not activated at the present time.

1.3.4 That succession procedures are sufficient to ensure business continuity and accountability

Although, the museum doesn't have a succession plan, officials confirmed that succession procedures are sufficient to ensure business continuity and accountability.

1.3.5 The person or organisation that has powers to approve documents such as the forward plan and policies on managing collections.

It is the head of the Fine Arts Sector that has the power to approve documents such as the forward plan and policies on managing collections.

1.4 Effective forward planning: 'The museum must plan effectively for long-term success and to make sure it can adapt in a changing environment in order to survive. Its approved forward plans must include or cover the following:

1.4.1 The museum's statement of purpose

The museum doesn't have a clear statement of purpose. Accordingly, it isn't included in its forward plans. This constitutes a major handicap since any forward successful plan must reflect the museum's Statement of Purpose and must be designed to achieve it.

1.4.2 A review of the previous forward plan

Such review if existed isn't publicly available

1.4.3 An analysis of the environment in which it exists

Apparently, the museum lacks an accurate analysis of the operating environment in which it exists. no SWOT analysis (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, threats) was carried

out recently to see where it is really standing. In this concern, Paal Mork stressed that a museum's success is attributed to a set of internal and external factors. These factors are usually examined in the so-called "SWOT" analysis meant to identify the limitations and possibilities both inside the organization and in the world around which are essential for its strategic planning process²²³

Furthermore, the museum is nearly unknown for the residents who live in its vicinity. To find their way to the museum, the researchers asked a considerable number of those residents and none was able to rightly guide them to the museum. This also indicates the limited social services which the museum renders to the local community. In this regard, one of the curators stated:

....we only organize summer courses in Arabic calligraphy for children...Apart from this; the museum offers no other activities for the residents of the surrounding neighborhood.....

1.4.4 Consultation and an analysis of views

The museum does not seek consultation from any specialized organization or independent house of experience.

1.4.5 Its key aims

Concerning the museum's current forward plans key aims, officials pointed out that:

.....as restoration of damaged collections has been completed successfully, the museum forward plan will be primarily concerned with enhancing the museum performance.

1.4.6 The specific objectives beneath each key aim

There is not any accessible information about these specific objectives for assessment

1.4.7 How it will achieve its objectives

Officials illustrated that:

.....we signed protocols with ministry of education and ministry of tourism to carry out activities that aim to raise awareness among tour guides as well as school students and organize regular visits to national museums to popularize them.....

²²³ Paal Mork, "Marketing" in *Running a Museum: a Practical Handbook* (Paris: ICOM, 2004), 164-165.

1.4.8 A resource plan showing the people and money available to meet its objectives

The museum's funding depends on one source only which is the state. Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Planning are the two official bodies that determine the museum budget. There is no income generated by the museum from selling tickets as the museum offers free admission to its visitors. The museum as a non-profitable governmental organization is also prohibited by the law from conducting fund raising campaigns and isn't allowed to receive donations. Although, all the respondents agreed that the museum's budget is a very limited one, none of them mentioned its estimated amount.

Since neither the resource plan nor the forward plan are publicly available and weren't accessible to researchers, they couldn't tell whether it is detailed or not and how it deals with the risk of a budget cut or reduction.

1.4.9 The date the plan will be reviewed

Officials specified no dates for reviewing the plan.

1.5 Secure occupancy of all premises containing collections: 'The terms under which the museum occupies the buildings or sites must be long-term (usually at least 12 months) and be sufficient to keep the collections secure and allow effective forward planning.

There is secure occupancy of the building that houses the collection as both the land and the building belong to the state.

1.6 Demonstration of financial basis: The museum must be able to show that it is financially stable and that it meets the relevant financial regulations or standards and the requirements of its constitution. The museum must have enough funds available, and collections must not be used as security for a loan.

As mentioned before, the museum does not have enough funds. It also doesn't have reserve fund or reserve policy. Therefore, its budget is liable to fluctuate from one year to another.

In the words of one of the officials:

.....resources allocated for museum are by all means insufficient...

On the other hand, the museum isn't permitted to use collections as security for raising loans.

1.7 Appropriate workforce, in numbers and experience, for the museum's responsibilities and plans: The museum must have an appropriate workforce to run it effectively. It must have effective employment procedures and roles in place to meet its responsibilities. The museum must have:

1.7.1 An appropriate workforce

The museum's workforce is somehow inappropriate since museums work requires special skills while a sizable number of the recruited staff according to one of the officials is not specialized either in museology or history. The majority of them are not recruited through appropriate selection processes.

1.7.2 Clear agreements for each member of the workforce, setting out their roles and responsibilities

There is no well-defined job description given to newly-recruited staff to determine their tasks and their responsibilities.

According to this requirement all volunteers must likewise have clear agreements with the museum they are volunteering for setting out the nature of the relationship between them and the museum and what the volunteer can expect from the museum, and vice versa.

Since the museum of Mustafa Kamel is a nearly deserted museum, Cairene residents are less familiar with it. Accordingly, there are not many volunteers who are willing to offer help or give hand to the staff there.

1.7.3 Formal induction procedures for new recruits to ensure that all members of the workforce have basic information about the museum and understand their role in it.'

Concerning the formal induction for new recruits to learn more about the museum and understand its mission, senior curators in museum mentioned that:

.....We hold orientation lectures for newly-recruited curators which include highlighting the museum's significance, location and administrative structure, describing its collections and giving, a brief historical overview of each of the national figures associated with the museum. These lectures are held over a period of three months period prepare the new curators to undertake their core activities in interpreting the museum's collections to visitors effectively.....

However, the induction process seems to be incomplete as it doesn't include the distribution of copies of the museum's policies among the newly recruits or manuals and other similar references material. More importantly, they must be fully aware of the values which they communicate to their audience.

1.7.4 Appropriate development opportunities for its workforce

Regarding *training and development opportunities provided for the workforce and whether they are sufficient for the size of the organization and the workforce museum*, curators stated that:

.....national museums department in Ministry of culture sends to the museum once or twice a year a list of the courses offered for national museums curators (usually in certain fields for example: maintenance of collections, management, and others) ...and each museum has to nominate the curators who are interested in attending these courses.

That is to say staff training is conducted occasionally and it isn't mandatory as it is largely at will. It doesn't follow a systematic policy and doesn't cover all aspects of museum operations. Such areas are increasingly needed to ensure the professional development of the working staff. This might be consistent with Aaron Sheon's study that one major factor inhibiting museum development has been the shortage of highly trained personnel²²⁴.

It is noteworthy to say that training can also take other forms like arranging visits to accredited and celebrated museums all over the world, membership in specialized societies and access to academic journals, databases and other sources of information.

1.8 Access to professional advice and input to policy development and decision making: The museum's governing body must have access to advice and guidance from a museum professional. If the museum does not employ a museum professional, it must have a written agreement between itself and a museum mentor.

In this concern, officials declared:

.....we do not have a museum mentor who provides advice directly to the governing body. Nevertheless we are going to activate the board of trustees in the near future which

²²⁴ Aaron Sheon, "Museums and Cultural Resources Utilization," *Journal of Developing Areas* 3 (1969): 542.

includes experts to provide professional advice for the governing body and help make necessary decisions to support museum's excellence.

1.9 Clear, workable emergency plan: The museum must be able to respond effectively to emergency or disaster situations. It must have an emergency plan, relating to all buildings that house collections and services, which includes or refers to:

1.9.1 Arrangements for the workforce, visitors and collections

1.9.2 Risk assessments of threats

1.9.3 Information about how emergency plans are authorised, maintained, communicated, tested and made available to the workforce and emergency services

1.9.4 Evidence of how the museum works with the emergency services, and of any other relevant emergency plans

1.9.5 An effective procedure for reviewing the emergency plan

Till very recently, the museum didn't have an emergency plan. It lacked alarms (smoke alarms and burglar alarms), emergency exits, enough fire-extinguishers, and the like. In short, Safety measures taken in the past proved insufficient as the museum was entirely robbed on the 28th of January 2011. However, as officials illustrated, they are trying hard to rectify this matter. They are working now in creating alarm system and fire system and most of all an emergency plan to overcome the former deficiency in security procedures and deal with any emergency when reopening the museum.

1.10 organizational approach to environmental sustainability: The museum must be environmentally conscious. Its approach to minimising waste and reducing its effect on the environment is a matter for the governing body. The museum must be guided by a policy statement about its approach to environmental sustainability, and that policy statement must be appropriate to its statement of purpose.

The museum didn't develop an organizational approach to sustainability. Nor did it devise a fixed plan in the meantime for managing its facilities with special consideration for the sustainability of natural resources (like saving energy, conserving water, reducing wastes, planting trees.....etc.)

However, with very few visitors, the museum has no negative impact on environmental sustainability. Besides, the working staff seems to be fully aware of this priority. The

researchers noticed during their series of visits to the place that the staff was keen to switch off the electric appliances together with power points as long as they were not in use.

Section two: Collections

2.1 Satisfactory arrangements for the ownership of collections: The museum must take responsibility for all the collections it manages. It must be able to provide information on the size of the collections and the proportion of the collections owned by and on loan to it. Any risks relating to collections on loan to the museum should be dealt with through forward planning.

The museum assumes overall responsibility for all the collections it has. All information on the size of the collections and its proportions is available at the museum as well as its governing body (Fine Arts Sector). There isn't any collections on loan as this is against the museum's rules.

2.2 Collection development policy: 'The museum must have an approved policy for developing collections (also known as an acquisition and disposal policy).'

Although the museum doesn't have a publicly available written policy for collection development yet some of the constituent items of this policy already exist on the ground.

The above mentioned approved policy must include:

2.2.1 Statement of purpose

There is no clear statement of purpose for any of the museum's operations.

2.2.2 Overview of current collections

The museum has overviews of its current collections. It should be noted that nearly the entire collection was stolen in 2011. Tremendous efforts were made to retrieve the stolen items. 90% of the items were successively retrieved afterwards while 10% are still missing.

2.2.3 Future themes and collecting

There are no future ambitious plans for developing the collections. However, there is a personal initiative led by one of the museum's senior curators who is in close contact with Al-Rafie and Radwan's families to persuade them dedicate more items of their personal belongings (photos, letters, books...etc.) to the museum.

2.2.4 Themes and priorities for rationalisation and disposal

There are no themes for disposal of any of the items.

2.2.5 Information on the legal framework for acquisition and disposal

Concerning the legal framework, it is derived from The Act number 117 of year 1983 amended by law no. 3 of 2010. The museum also abides by international protocols relating to such moveable heritage.

2.3 Documentation policy: The museum must be guided by a documentation policy statement. This may be part of a wider collections information policy.

Although the museum has no policy statement in this regard, the curators are carrying out documentation procedures in a habitual and rather canonical way. It goes in line with the wider collections information policy. It aims in the first place to strengthen the security of the collections.

The documentation policy of the museum is in proportion to the resources available as they have limited funds allocated for documentation collection. Documentation records are not computerized and paper records are not in a good state of preservation. There is no security copy of the records. There is no electronic system applied in documentation. That's why the procedures taken in this respect fell short to extend access to collection information.

Overall, the museum seems to maintain the minimum professional standards in documentation procedures and collection information.

2.4 Care and conservation policy: The museum must have an approved policy statement to guide its approach to collections care and conservation.

General guidance on this requirement indicates that *Caring for the collections is a fundamental duty for all museums. Policies for the care of the collection should be based on a combination of preventative and remedial conservation, both designed to ensure long-term preservation*

Policy for caring of objects combines both preventive and remedial conservation. Remedial conservation has proved extremely successful. It is carried out through the repair and restoration department in the ministry of culture. They did a very good job with restoring the damaged objects that were looted and retrieved back to the museum like the famous painting on fabrics that dates back to 1956 representing the grand welcome given to Kamel by the people of Alexandria at his return from Europe that was found torn in the garden.

Similarly, they managed to restore the bust statue of Mustafa Kamel that was partially broken to almost its original state.

As for preventive conservation, senior curators mentioned that:

..... curators are trained on collections conservation whereas each curator is responsible for specific objects and he/she is in charge of maintaining and cleaning them. Objects are to be cleaned on a daily/weekly/monthly basis according to their nature. If objects were subject to any damage or in a vulnerable condition, the curator in charge will have to write a report illustrating the status of the object. The museum administration will in turn send it to national museums department which in turn will send it to the restoration department.

In the second phase the object has to be transferred accompanied by the police of tourism and antiquities together with one curator to be restored at the repair ateliers. After restoration, it should be returned back to the museum in the same manner.

General guidance on this requirement points out as well that *the museum should receive regular advice from a conservator or collection care adviser, or other appropriately qualified/experienced person on the museum's approach to collection care activities. Remedial conservation work should be carried out by or under the supervision of a conservator.*

Museum does not receive regular advice from commissioned conservators or collection care advisers and neither does it hire private conservators. Restoration takes place in the restoration and repair department that belongs to the Fine Arts Sector which has its own conservators.

2.5 Collections management: 'The museum must have plans to improve its collections documentation and documentation systems.'

There is no current plan to improve its collections documentation. Nevertheless, some officials revealed their intentions to devise a new future plan that applies a digitalization system for documentation in the nearest convenience

2.6 Care and conservation plan: ‘The museum must have plans to help deliver improvements to collections care and conservation in line with the collections care and conservation policy.

According to general guidance on this requirement *the plan should include planned action relating to the following elements.*

1.Collections condition overview.

2.Environmental monitoring.

3.Environmental control.

4.Provision of suitable building.

5.Housekeeping to reduce the likelihood of pest infestation and damage to material from mould or from abrasive or acidic particles, by careful cleaning of collections and the areas in which they are housed.

The Museum has periodic collections condition overview and takes immediate planned actions to maintain sensitive and vulnerable items.

The museum doesn't take actions regarding environmental monitoring like *collecting environmental data (spot measures of temperature and humidity or light levels)*. It takes some measures that maintain a certain degree of environmental control like housing most of the collections in glass cases or in wardrobes to protect them from dust and direct sun light, controlling light levels in the museum's halls and closing doors at times to protect the objects from pollutants that could badly harm them.

In the same context, the museum has building inspections to ensure that it is suitable for the display and storage of the collection. The building was inspected and partially renovated in 2001 and was last inspected in the aftermath of its robbery. The researchers noticed that the building is massive, solid, well-constructed and in good shape. It has good ventilation because of its pretty high ceiling. In sum, it fits for the purpose of housing the collections. The place is regularly cleaned according to fixed schedules to combat pests and vermin that could negatively affect the collection.

2.7 Collection management procedures

Documentation procedures: the primary SPECTRUM procedures must be in place in the form of a documentation procedural manual that is available for inspection on request.

Regarding general guidance on this requirement *the primary SPECTRUM procedures are:*

- *Object entry.*
- *Accession register.*
- *Security copy of accession register.*
- *Location and movement control.*
- *Marking and/or labeling.*
- *Cataloguing.*
- *Object exit.*

Museums with an electronic security copy of the accession register must evidence appropriate digital security with auditable change logs.

By default, the primary SPECTRUM procedures are implemented to a large extent regardless to the fact that the museum doesn't use SPECTRUM standards. All objects are fully documented at its entry. They are registered in accession register, indexed, labeled, photographed and suitably-positioned.

In this regard, curators indicated that:

.....two copies of museum record should be available both in museum and in national museums department. Museum registers describe each item in details and attach a photo of the item. The museum also keeps records for object exit in case of being taken for repair. Unfortunately, there is not an electronic copy available of the museum registers.

Needless to say that the absence of an electronic security copy of the accession registers is very risky since paper registers are liable to get damaged or lost under any emergency situation.

2.8 Expert assessment of security arrangements: the museum must obtain expert security advice for stored and exhibited collections at least every five years, and earlier if needed. It must plan to act on the advice over time.'

The museum does not obtain expert security advice for its stored and exhibited collections or discuss security arrangements with such experts. However, it worth to mention that the officials of the governing body are re-considering this matter and placing it on top of their agenda especially after the loot of museum in 2011. Officials illustrated that this deficiency will be remedied in their forward planning of the museum.

Conclusion and Implications:

Since they hold the invaluable cultural capital of the Egyptian society, national museums are supposed to play an eminent role in shaping public consciousness as well as constructing the national identity and defending its boundaries. Unfortunately, the national museum of Mustafa Kamil fell short to effectively play such a role for almost six successive decades.

After a long line of investigation, one can safely say that the marked shift in Egypt's political map at the end of the 50th of the last century which was accompanied with the downfall of some remarkable figures like Al-Rafie and Radwan who were heavy supporters of Mustafa Kamel museum, proved of ominous results for it. That's to say both factors were held responsible for its ongoing decline and its wretched status.

Despite the fact that, the museum had undergone a renovation process at the turn of the 21st century, it failed to bring a whole sea change to its status. It only brought a very limited change at a snail's pace as it remained a desolate museum lacking attractiveness. Things were to worsen after the loot of the museum in 2011 causing its temporary closure.

The study revealed the dire need to develop professional standards for Egyptian national museums to improve their performance. These standards must be in line with the international standards for museums and at the same time in consistent with the available resources on the ground.

It also revealed that some of the museum's practices meet the requirements of the discussed standards yet the museum doesn't operate within well-formulated written policies to ensure their proper implementation. It also lacks systematic strategies and ambitious future planning that could remarkably develop its role.

The major challenge which the museum now faces is how to dispel the wide-held stereotype of museums as dull and rather boring places reserved to intelligentsia. It has to bring history to all and to appeal to a more general public. Through stimulating the interest of its visitors and offering them memorable experience, the museum could regain its former publicity and augment its viability on the long run.

Therefore, any forthcoming development plan aiming to revive the museum has to be centered on two pivotal axes of major significance.

The first axis is the dire need to rethink of the museum's role in community and re-define it in order to widely expand its educational and social role. This could only be achieved through developing a program of rehabilitation of the museum with the aim to transform it into a flourishing multi-disciplinary cultural institution. This entails providing educational and research facilities like (library facilities, archives, depositories, conference room, cinema hall, theatre) for academia, independent researchers and students to promote academic scholarship. In the same vein, establishing a research center inside the museum to trace the evolution of Egyptian political discourse from Mustafa Kamel to present could serve the same purpose likewise.

In the same context, modernizing modes of display inside the museum like offering audiovisual presentations, using touch screen tables and preparing a catalogue of all the exhibits, would enrich its visitors' historical experience and promote lifelong learning among them. Furthermore, it would help them develop a deep and better understanding of the past. Producing a documentary on Mustafa Kamel's life and national struggle to be featured as part of the tour inside the museum could be greatly effective in this regard.

At the same time, the museum should endeavor to fill the vacuum where school history courses fell short to fill. On the other hand, the study of the museum itself together with other national museums should be included in undergraduate courses for students enrolled in faculties of Tourism across Egypt.

Providing an advanced training for the staff at hands of experts is a rather indispensable step which the museum has to take in the nearest convenience. It will make a big difference and will definitely enhance their performance so as to meet visitors' expectations. The suggested training has to cover areas like presentation and public speaking skills, documentation methods, photography, and the like.

To understand the needs of its visitors, the museum has to produce annual statistics illustrating visitor's profile and design surveys which evaluate visitor's satisfaction on a regular basis and use such results for further development.

To foster successful partnership with the local community, the museum should invite the local community to take active part in developing the museum and preserving its heritage.

The second axis has to be concerned with promoting the museum and advertising it. In this regard, the museum administration could carry out intensive promotional activities (distributing leaflets and brochures among tourists visiting the citadel and the nearby historical mosques printed in various languages.) to promote the museum.

It can also make use of Salah Al Din public garden located next to it in arranging promotional campaigns there. In the same manner, it has to establish contact with tour operators inside and outside Egypt who are organizing vacations to Egypt for cultural tourists to include the museum in the tour itinerary especially because the museum has no entrance fees to be added to the cost of the program.

Making extensive use of visual technologies and interactive technologies and social media to spark the interest of remote users in addition to constructing an independent website and official page for the museum providing visitor information (location of museum, opening hours, how to reach the museum, entrance fees...) to enable tourists to arrange their planned visits in advance would also bear its sweet fruit in the nearest future.

Developing a program of raising awareness of the importance of the place would be of particular significance. Needless to say that sponsoring a series of lectures about Kamel's and his peers for both public and specialized audience as well as creating Mustafa Kamel's Society would enable the museum reclaim its befitting status.

Through extending opening hours, improving its physical environment and providing ancillary services, the museum could create a new group of users like families, elderly and visitors with special needs. Constructing way finding signs would help visitors find their way easily to the museum. Planting shade trees in the entire area between the Citadel and the museum would allow tourists to go from Citadel to the museum on foot thus increase visitation. In short, efforts should be directed towards two main aspects as mentioned before: re-featuring the museum as well as well-propagating it.

Furthermore, the museum should take appropriate measures to guarantee the safety and security of its valuable collections and protect it from potential risk, damage or loss. Therefore, an emergency plan must be developed without loss of time. At the same time, all members of the working staff should be aware of it and trained to put it into effect.

To conclude, in a land of an immensely rich and diverse history like Egypt, preserving its heritage and reviving its grandeur is becoming more and more a national commitment and an urging need.

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**DOCUMENTATION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN SOUTH
SINAI:
THE CASE OF BEIT HATHOR**

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Abstract

Thanks to a team of Cultural Heritage Experts, Archaeologists, Anthropologists, GIS specialists, photographers and multimedia specialists; CULTNAT (Center for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage, affiliated to Bibliotheca Alexandrina) ²²⁵worked for four years (2007-2011) on a project entitled “*the Documentation of the Cultural Heritage of the Bedouin of South Sinai*” that has essentially took place in the area of Serabit el-Khadim which possesses unique wealth of ancient Egyptian remains.

This project has been carried out through an EU fund, supervised by the South Sinai Regional Development Program (SSRDP)²²⁶ which was implemented in 2006 and aimed to the development of the South Sinai region through the improvement of the living conditions of the inhabitants. This target was being achieved by the progress of its economy together with trials for keeping the sustainability of all its resources (social, cultural and natural).

In the course of four years of work, the project worked on three parallel axes: Documentation of the archaeological heritage of Serabit-El Khadim, Capacity Building through the use of cultural heritage and the implementation of Serabit el-Khadim visitor center "Beit Hathor". This paper aims to present a summary of the project's activities together with its principle results and to give sights from the contact with the local community of Serabit el-Khadim.

²²⁵ <http://cultnat.org/General/Cultnat.aspx#>

²²⁶ More about the SSRDP: http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/egypt/projects/list_of_projects/5717_en.htm

Introduction

CULTNAT worked for four years (2007-2011) on a project entitled “*the Documentation of the Cultural Heritage of the Bedouin of South Sinai*”. This project aimed to present a model for Cultural Resource Management (CRM) of the cultural heritage of South Sinai by means of the survey, documentation, preservation, and management of the archaeological area of Serabit el-Khadim, mainly with and for the local inhabitants²²⁷.

This project has been carried out through an EU fund, supervised by the South Sinai Regional Development Program (SSRDP), executed in the field in South Sinai managed by the Center for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage of Egypt (CULTNAT).

Bearing the traces of intensive mining activity of Ancient Egypt, Serabit el-Khadim is an archaeological site of unique interest as it still preserves the remains of the largest ancient Egyptian temple in the Sinai Peninsula. Discovered in the late 18th century (1762) by a European traveler²²⁸ and being the focus of archaeological research since the early 20th century until the 1990s; the place has rarely been known to the general public and hence it was only visited by few visitors groups from time to time. Besides scholarly monographs, the temple’s history was also kept in the memory of the local inhabitants still living in the actual village of Serabit, located some hundreds of meters away from the temple. Generations of old and young “Serabitians” were and still the main tour guides for the visitors aiming to see the temple of Hathor.

The project’s activities included the documentation of the archaeological heritage and social history of Serabit el-Khadim and its surrounding area, data collection for Serabit el-Khadim visitors’ center (Beit Hathor) and capacity building sessions for the local inhabitants including adults (men & women) and also kids. These sessions aimed at raising the value of tour guiding explanations given by the local guides to the temple’s visitors, letting the kids appreciate the indispensability of their local heritage that is a main income source for them and last but not least improving the quality of the handicrafts made by Serabiti women to be able to compete with the famous St. Cathernie’s local crafts. Nevertheless, these sessions

²²⁷ Monica Hanna, F.atma Keshk & Sara Abou Bakr, “The Documentation of the Cultural Heritage of the Bedouin of South Sinai: A Pilot Study in Serabit el Khadim,” in *History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert*, ed. Hans Barnard & Kim Duistermaat (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2012), 359.

²²⁸Gregory Mumford, “Serabit el Khadim,” in *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of ancient Egypt*, ed. Kathryn A. Bard (London & New York: Routledge Publications, 1999), 722.

were absolutely a mutual exchange of knowledge between the project team and the local community. Throughout four years of work and back and forth journeys from Cairo to South Sinai, the project could deliver for the first time a regional map-flyer (Figure 1) of the main archaeological spots to visit in and around Serabit el-Khadim. In addition, considerable data (texts, articles and photos) was collected in order to be exhibited in “*Beit Hathor*”, visitor center of Serabit el-Khadim, the main and principal deliverable of the project.

Archaeological Heritage of the Serabit Region

Despite the presence of tens of archaeological sites in this region; these spots have not often been put on the touristic route of the average visitors of the South Sinai desert. Many of these spots were seen and documented by travelers since the 19th century such as A. Ricci 1828, R. Lepsius 1845 and others²²⁹. As for archaeological documentation of the ancient Egyptian remains of South Sinai, “*Inscriptions of Sinai*” by A. Gardiner & T.E. Peet²³⁰ still the oldest comprehensive reference listing a huge number of the miners’ inscriptions in Serabit el-Khadim, Wadi Maghara and other sites²³¹. Serabit al-Khadim (29°N 02’ / 33°E 28’) is c the most imposing Ancient Egyptian site of South Sinai²³², as it preserves abundant evidence of Ancient Egypt. It is the largest site of exploitation of turquoise, copper and malachite in the Sinai²³³. The site still keep various pieces of remains that all together build the elements of a complete story of ancient mining by following the ancient itinerary marked by the resting stops up to the mines, the graffiti of the workers, the inscriptions of the expeditions' chiefs as well as the temple and the ancient mines²³⁴.

Moreover, Serabit el-Khadim is located in an area of South Sinai that preserves other spots with ancient Egyptian evidence of mining activity such as Wadi Maghara, Bir Nasb, and other

²²⁹ Hanna, Keshk & Abou Bakr, “The Documentation of the Cultural Heritage of the Bedouin of South Sinai”, 360.

²³⁰ Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1955).

²³¹ Hanna, Keshk & Abou Bakr, “The Documentation of the Cultural Heritage of the Bedouin of South Sinai”, 360.

²³² Richard Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2005), 339

²³³ Dominique Valbelle and Charles Bonnet, *Le Sanctuaire d'Hathor Maîtresse de la Turquoise a Sérabit el-Khadim* (Paris : Picard, 1996), 46

²³⁴ Hanna, Keshk & Abou Bakr, “The Documentation of the Cultural Heritage of the Bedouin of South Sinai”, 361.

sites²³⁵. Many of these spots were visited and documented by travelers since the 19th century such as A. Ricci 128, R. Lepsius 1845 and others²³⁶. The ancient mining sites of South Sinai have also been explored along the way of the extensive archaeological career of W.M.F. Petrie at the dawn of the 20th century; he later on published his documentation on these sites in his famous volume *"Researchers in Sinai"*²³⁷.

Nevertheless, during the years of Israeli occupation in Sinai, some Israeli archaeologists like B. Rothenberg, I. Beit-Arieh and R. Givon did some archaeological documentation for some of the ancient sites in South Sinai; among them was Serabit el khadim, Wadi Maghara and other sites²³⁸.

Since 2001, the work of Pierre Tallet in Ayn Sokhna and South Sinai is adding considerable information to the knowledge of ancient Egyptian mining activities in Sinai²³⁹. In 2008, a research team from the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology and the Sorbonne University succeeded in discovering the site of Wadi El Jarf at 100 km south of Ayn Sokhna. Wadi-El Jarf was attested to be one of the harbors used as early as the reign of the King snofrou and King Khufu in the fourth dynasty (c.a. 2620-2550 BC) in order that the mining expeditions can reach Sinai by crossing the sea²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Pierre Tallet, "Notes sur La Zone Minière du Sud Sinai au Nouvel Empire," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 103 (2003): 459-486.

²³⁶ Valbelle and Bonnet, *Le Sanctuaire d'Hathor*, 19.

²³⁷ W.M.F. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (London: John Murray, 1906).

²³⁸ Mumford, "Serabit el-Khadim", 722.

²³⁹ Mahmoud Abdel Razek et al., "The Pharaonic Site of Ayn - Soukhna in the Gulf of Suez 2001-2009 Progress Report" In *The Red Sea in Pharaonic Times Recent Discoveries along the Red Sea*, ed. Pierre Tallet (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale Press, 2012), 3-20.

²⁴⁰ Pierre Tallet & Gregory Marouard, "The harbor of Khufu on the Red Sea Coast at Wadi Al Jarf Egypt," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 77 (2014): 4.

Based on previous experiences and studies related to the role of cultural heritage in development²⁴¹, the project team strongly believed in the use of heritage as a development tool. Some scholars have already discussed the theme of development through heritage such as M. Seymour who has stressed on the important role of cultural heritage in sustainable development especially in what relates cultural heritage to cultural identity and education²⁴². Hence, the project's main objectives were principally to work on three parallel and complementary axes:

- (1) **Documentation of archaeological heritage:** The main goal of documentation was to document and highlight the significance of the cultural and archaeological heritage of Serabit el-Khadim and the surrounding ancient sites. Hereafter, all the data collected throughout four years was used to produce the flyers, maps and website of the visitor center of Beit Hathor.
- (2) **Capacity Building through cultural heritage:** Capacity building sessions took place along the period of the project for the local inhabitants. Through the enhancement of the already existing links between the contemporary local inhabitants and their archaeological heritage, team members have prepared a special syllabus for the capacity building sessions given to adults and children of Serabit el-Khadim.
- (3) **Beit Hathor:** As Serabit el-Khadim area possesses an archaeological heritage that is not enough known to the general public; the implementation of a visitor center aimed at raising public awareness of this region of South Sinai was crucial.

The economic development of Serabit el-Khadim is strongly linked to the empowerment of its cultural heritage role²⁴³. Thus, all of the activities of the projects have engaged members of the inhabitants of Serabit el Khadim throughout four years of work and until present in the management of Beit Hathor. Quoting F. Hassan: *"That heritage is first of all a social*

²⁴¹Fekri Hassan. "Heritage for Development: Concepts and Strategic Approaches" in *Cultural Heritage and Development in the Arab World*, ed. Fekri Hassan et al. (Alexandria: Library of Alexandria, 2008): 12-94; Michael Seymour, "Cultural Heritage Management and Development in Egypt." In *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage*, in *Managing Egypt's Cultural Heritage. Discourses on Heritage Management Series No. 1*, ed. Fekri Hassan et al. (London: The Egyptian Cultural Heritage Organization Publications, 2009); Stephanie Moser et al. "Transforming archaeology through practice: strategies for collaborative archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir," *World Archaeology* 34 (2002): 220-248.

²⁴²Seymour, "Cultural Heritage Management," 95.

²⁴³ Hanna, Keshk & Abou Bakr, "The Documentation of the Cultural Heritage of the Bedouin of South Sinai", 368.

*construct; defined, protected, conserved, and mobilized by social groups for a common good*²⁴⁴”.

Documentation of Archaeological Heritage

The documentation carried out during the project included many aspects of the cultural heritage of the Serabit el-Khadim region and its people. The main objectives of the documentation work were: the use of the collected data in the visibility action products such as the regional map-flyers, informative panels for the visitor center and as well the educational material used during our sessions with the local community. The first steps of documentation started some months before the first mission trip to South Sinai by an initial research in the basic publications dealing with the ancient Egyptian antiquities of that region. On the first visit to these sites; the team could verify some of the documented ancient Egyptian inscriptions and antiquities; take notes and deliver its own description including the team's own observations on-site. Such descriptions were the basis of the data published in the flyers, panels and website of Beit Hathor.

In addition to the tangible cultural heritage of Serabit; the team also documented many aspects of the intangible cultural heritage of this community. Local crafts, daily routine of men & women, traditional dresses, food and festivities were all included in the academic publications delivered by the team members. Throughout four years of the project (2007-2011), the team members had precious opportunities to present some glimpses of the project's work together with some of the research done on the archaeological sites of the Serabit region through some contributions in important scientific meetings, conferences and publications in the period between 2008 and 2012²⁴⁵.

²⁴⁴ Fekri Hassan, “Heritage for Development: Concepts and Strategic Approaches” in *Cultural Heritage and Development in the Arab World*, ed. Fekri Hassan et al. (Alexandria: Library of Alexandria), 50.

²⁴⁵ Listed in the references list.



Figure (1) checking the ancient Egyptian inscriptions around the mines of Serabit el-Khadim
©CULTNAT

Capacity Building through Cultural Heritage

Since the key stone element of the project is a significant monument like the temple of Serabit el-Khadim; it should be noted here that a main approach in the application of the project's activities has referred to central concepts of public and community archaeology calling for the engagement of local communities in the archaeological work (Seymour 2009, 101; Chikciture and Pwiti 2008, 467). Therefore, capacity building sessions were very important to establish with members of the Serabit community as one of other ways to engage them in the project's work.

1. **Men:** since many of the young men at Serabit el-Khadim inherited the profession of their fathers and ancestors and work as local guides for the tourists coming to visit the temple of Hathor at Serabit; it was crucial to consolidate their knowledge with referenced data about their own region. Therefore, a special syllabus was developed by the project's team for these sessions mainly aiming at raising historical, geographical and archaeological awareness of Serabit el-Khadim region and South Sinai as well. The attendees of these sessions were recognized as certified local guides by the project.



Figure (2) Sessions for the local community of Serabit ©CULTNAT



Figure (3) Sessions for the local community of Serabit ©CULTNAT

2. Women training: Most of the women in Serabit el Khadim like in many other Credit here goes to a talented crafts artists from the society of Fansina for Bedouin Crafts in South Sinai; the team could provide to some skilled women of Serabit training especially designed to teach them provide a better quality crafts with a higher level of finishing.



Figure (4) Crafts produced by the women of Serabit ©CULTNAT

3. Children:

One of the most interesting and enjoyable experiences for most of the project's team members was preparing and teaching the educational activities for the kids of Serabit who were extremely interactive with the instructors. Thanks to the purity and charm of their natural environment far away from the pollution and crowd of big cities; the kids of South Sinai possess a high level of absorption for most of the info. The activities included hieroglyphic sessions, crafts, drawing and simplified geography and astronomy classes.



Figure (5) Sessions for the children of Serabit ©CULTNAT



Figure (6) Sessions for the children of Serabit ©CULTNAT

Beit Hathor

“Beit Hathor” or the house of Hathor was from the initial phase of the projects meant to be its main deliverable as thought by the project’s team members since 2007. The reason behind the name is, Hathor the famous ancient Egyptian deity and the lady of turquoise as called by the mining expeditions coming to the Sinai since the Old Kingdom Period. Other than the site museum at St. Katherine Monastery, South Sinai has rarely witnessed places especially devoted to raising awareness of its archaeological heritage.

Hence, the implementation of a visitor center serving the archeological sites of the Serabit region was an indispensable mandate. It was then a valuable opportunity for the project to set a first model of a visitor center for a significant archaeological site such as Serabit el-Khadim. The plan for the design and content of Beit Hathor has been thought of since the early phase of the project in 2007/2008.

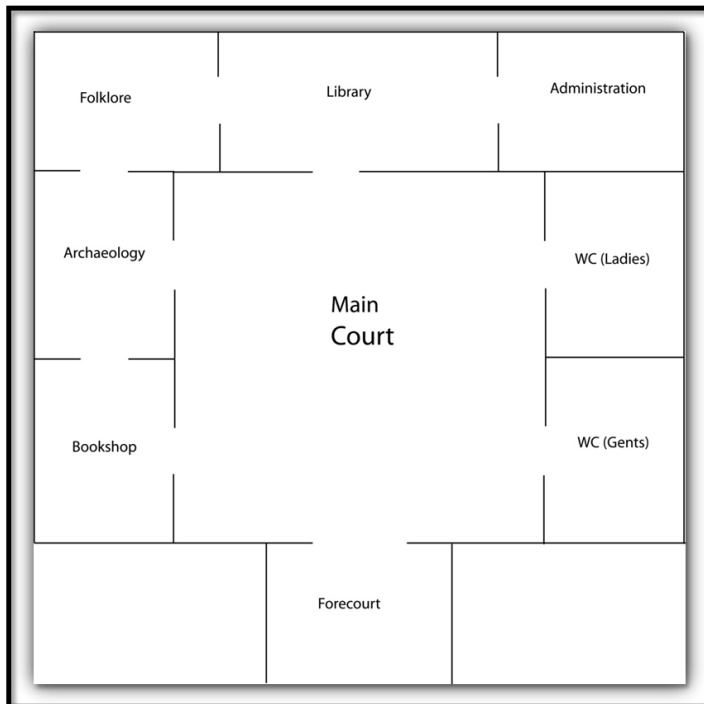


Figure (7) First floor plan done by the project’s team for Beit Hathor in 2007 ©CULTNAT

It is located on the shore of the Red Sea at the city of Abou Zneima; on the highway of (Cairo/Sharm El Sheikh). The major mission of Beit Hathor is to present reliable information about Serabit el-Khadim’s archaeology and cultural heritage to a wider public passing through the auto route. Beside the informative panels designed especially for Beit Hathor halls about its archaeology and cultural heritage; the visitor center is supposed to assist tourists interested

to visit Serabit elKhadim region in organizing their trip with details about the accommodation, suitable clothing and other logistic issues. More importantly, the two main administrative responsible of Beit Hathor are from the Bedouins of Serabit. Final preparations of the building are already taking place since December 2013 as it is planned to be opened to the public during the year 2015.



Figure (8) Buildings of Beit Hathor in 2012 ©CULTNAT

The project of "*the documentation of the cultural heritage of the Bedouin of South Sinai (2007-2011)*" was a pilot study principally aiming at highlighting and documenting the wealthy cultural heritage of a very significant desert region such as Serabit el Khadim in the heart of the Sinai Peninsula. The documentation of such an invaluable heritage gave the team members a challenging experience thanks to a heritage of a special nature that has not yet been fully registered and studied. Through the performance of various activities, the project could as well present a model of the importance of cultural heritage in the social and economic development of regions possessing rich inheritance. The engagement of the local community in the work of the project showed the indispensability of empowering the link between archaeological sites and the inhabitants living in its surroundings; they are the closest group to such sites and hence the people who should be occupied the most with its preservation and sustainability. The economic development of Serabit el-Khadim is strongly connected to the empowerment of its cultural heritage role (Hanna, Keshk & Abou Bakr 2012: 368).

As for Beit Hathor, it aims to play the role of a linking chain between the local communities to the archaeological heritage of the Serabit region from one side. From the other side it aims get this heritage known to a wider audience who is expected to visit the center and make use of the facilities of the visitor center once it is inaugurated.

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QAL'AT AL-BAHRAIN. USING INTERPRETIVE TECHNIQUES TO RAISE AWARENESS – A CASE STUDY

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Abstract

Both tourists and the local community frequent the World Heritage Site of Qal'at al-Bahrain in growing numbers. Yet, surveys show that most visitors are unaware of the site's extensive history, dimension of its fragile material remains, or its World Heritage status. Accordingly, the site is misunderstood and treated without needed caution, which could prove detrimental to the site's longevity. Implementation of an adequate interpretation strategy, including both direct and indirect measures is a prerequisite to communicate the site's importance and need for protection. This study presents an analysis of a variety of interpretive techniques that can help raise awareness amongst visitors of heritage sites.

Keywords: archaeology, awareness raising, Bahrain, conservation, Dilmun, interpretation, presentation, tourism, underwater archaeology, World Heritage.

Introduction

The history of the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Qal'at al-Bahrain: Ancient Harbour and Capital of Dilmun extends over a period of more than 4000 years and is displayed in its multifaceted assets. An extensive archaeological tell, underwater archaeological remains and agricultural landscape bear witness to the site's splendid past.

Since its inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2005²⁴⁶, the site witnessed a constant rise in visitor numbers²⁴⁷. International tourists as well as locals increasingly frequent the site. The site's coveted setting attracts the local community to enjoy a variety of leisure activities in addition to traditional fishery and agriculture. Until today, only a few interpretive

²⁴⁶ UNESCO 2014.

²⁴⁷ Kingdom of Bahrain 2013.

methods have been employed on site, as previous management guidelines intended not to disturb its visual integrity²⁴⁸. However, considering that the site's remains are fragile, inadequate understanding of Qal'at al-Bahrain's cultural significance can result in unsuitable behaviour and potential imperilment of the property. The implementation of a comprehensive interpretation strategy on-site helps counteract the misunderstanding and mistreatment of the site and its various heritage assets. Direct and indirect measures aim to connect visitors emotionally to the site and to raise awareness of its value and need for preservation.

Various subjects are tackled including routing, accessibility, informative signage, lighting, marketing, and events. Albeit these subjects are examined according to the particular needs of the site of Qal'at al-Bahrain, they provide a general overview of a variety of interpretive techniques that can help raise understanding and appreciation of heritage sites in general.

Historical Background

The history of Qal'at al-Bahrain Site dates back to the late 3rd millennium BCE, when the Dilmun civilization grew in prosperity and established its capital at the northern coast of Bahrain. During this time Qal'at al-Bahrain became one of the most important trade hubs in the region. Thanks to its strategic position in the middle of the Arabian Gulf it became the centre of the maritime trade network between Mesopotamia, Dilmun, the Indus Valley, and the Land of Magan which is today Oman. Among the goods that were traded in the Gulf network are: copper, carnelian, lapis lazuli, coral, pearls, turtle shells, ivory, antimony, and timber. Most of the products in Dilmun had to be imported, however, pearls, turtle shells, and dates were native local trade goods²⁴⁹.

The site of Qal'at al-Bahrain displays some of the earliest traces of the island's history. It is the only site in Bahrain with an almost continuous stratigraphy that showcases the unique archaeological account of more than 4000 years of alternating history in the Gulf. The archaeological stratigraphy of Qal'at al-Bahrain differentiates the remains of as many as six distinct cities which together cover a time span from 2300 BCE until the 20th century CE. The layers can be assigned to the Early Dilmun period (2200 – 1800 BCE), the Middle Dilmun period (1450 – 1300 BCE), the Late Dilmun period (1000 – 450 BCE), the Tylos period of

²⁴⁸ Kingdom of Bahrain 2004.

²⁴⁹ Curtis E. Larsen 1983, 40.

Hellenistic influence (250 BCE – 250 CE), to the Islamic period, which are usually divided into the Middle Islamic Age (13th – 16th century CE) and recent Islamic times (18th – 20th century CE)²⁵⁰.

The site's unique history is presented by three components – the archaeological tell, the underwater archaeological remains, and the agricultural landscape surrounding the tell. Together they form an entity that throughout the ages constituted not only the Dilmun capital but also its main port and the island's administrative centre.

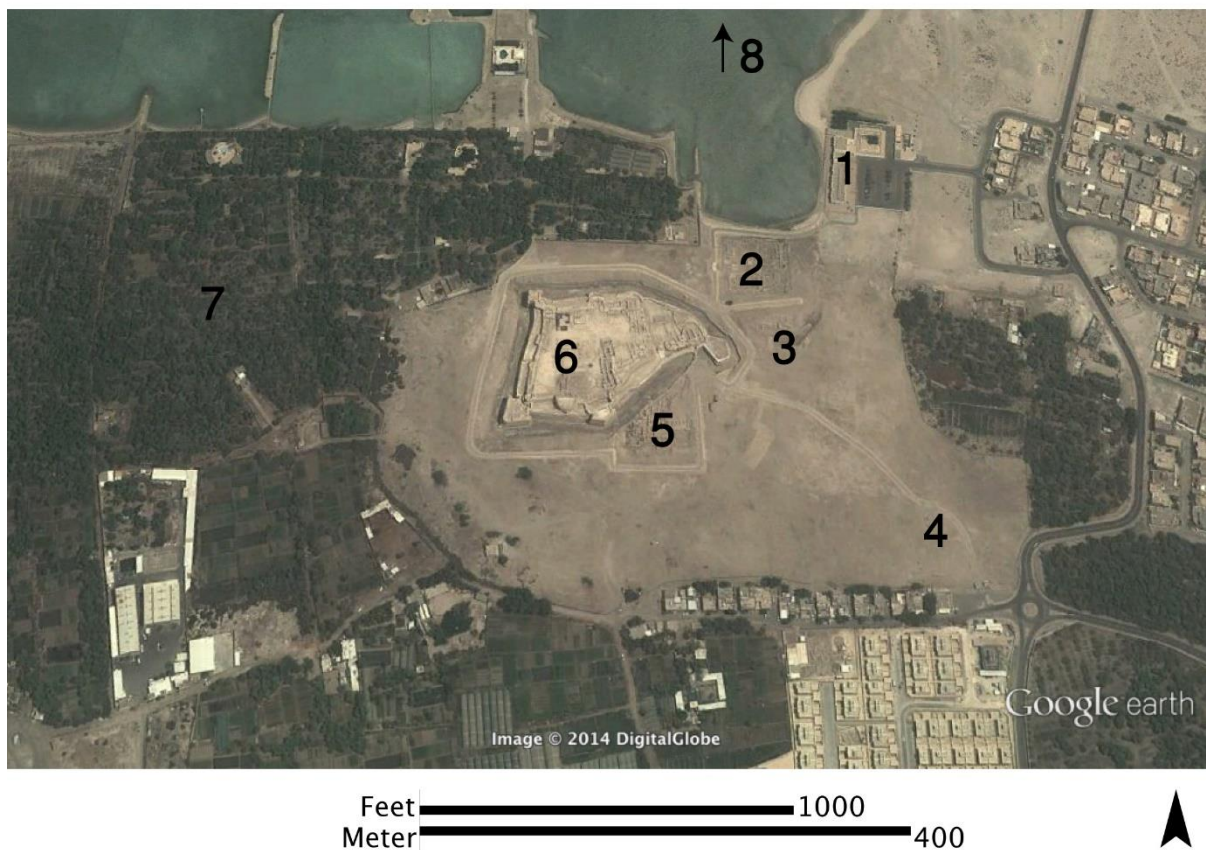


Fig. 1 Satellite view of the site of Qal'at al-Bahrain²⁵¹. 1 Site Museum, 2 Coastal Fortress, 3 Dilmun City Wall, 4 South-East Section, 5 Central Excavation Area, 6 Hormuzi-Portuguese Fort, 7 Palm groves and gardens, 8 Ancient access channel and sea tower (not in the picture)

The archaeological tell extends to 17.5 hectares of which about 15% is excavated to date, leaving ample possibilities for future researchers. The Danish expedition was the first to start excavations in 1954. They mainly focussed on an area that is known as the Central Excavation Area where the excavation reached the Early Dilmun layers. It is due to these pioneers that the world got its first proof of the existence of the Dilmun civilization. The

²⁵⁰ Monique Kervran, Fredrik Hiebert, and Axelle Rougeulle 2005, 413-418.

²⁵¹ Google Earth 2014.

Central Excavation Area possesses a complex accumulation of different archaeological structures among which are the remains of a Dilmun temple, a Kassite palace, and an Islamic period caravanserai complex.

Parts of the Early Dilmun city wall are excavated and can be admired by visitors. Its main purpose was to protect the prosperous capital of Dilmun which is believed to have had a population of approximately 4,000 inhabitants²⁵². The remains of the so-called Coastal Fortress are located adjacent to the shore. The rectangular structure is characterized by the curved outline of several towers and numerous interior walls indicating living quarters and courtyards that once housed the garrison. Excavated Tylos and Islamic archaeological remains suggest that the Coastal Fortress was built around 350 CE then abandoned after a period of only 200 years, only to be restored and re-occupied 800 years later. A fairly new excavated area is the South-Eastern Section that comprises the remains of an Islamic period settlement and a mosque. However, the most visually dominant feature and eponym of the site is a fort that was built in two construction phases by the Prince of Hormuz in the 16th century. Later, after the Portuguese conquered Bahrain in 1559, the fort was extended with bastions and an elevated tower²⁵³. Although the fort is commonly referred to as the Portuguese fort, the more accurate nomenclature is Hormuzi-Portuguese fort. Today, wide parts of the complex are reconstructed on the basis of the remains found in the 1980s. Only few original features are preserved, along them some isolated walls and the keep.

²⁵² Kervran, Hiebert, and Rougeulle 2005, 413-418.

²⁵³ Kervran, Hiebert, and Rougeulle 2005, 352-360.



Fig. 2 Central Excavation Area, looking south (20 February 2013 © M. Münzner)

The sea-front location might have been the prevalent factor for the flourishing of trade and prosperity of the Dilmun capital. The busy harbour that was once located at the city's shore was a dazzling place to trade goods and also a point of interaction between the sea and the island. It was a place of encounter, where traders, merchants, and captains who came from all over the Arabian Gulf or even further would meet. However, the shallow coral reef which occupied the northern coast hampered shipping activities, allowing access only through a sea channel, stretching from the sub-tidal zone to a distance of approximately 1.85 kilometres offshore. The entrance to the channel was marked by a sea tower. It is presumed that the sea tower had an indicative purpose²⁵⁴. The channel and the sea tower were crucial harbour structures that ensured the passage of authorized boats. Today, the sea channel is silted with sand and sediments that have accumulated over the centuries. It can however be assumed that remains of ships and their ancient cargo are buried beneath the layers of sediments.

The palm groves and agricultural fields surrounding the archaeological tell form the third and last component conveying Outstanding Universal Value. The agricultural landscape, with its coastal setting, appears to have been the natural environment of the settlement since the 3rd

²⁵⁴ Kervran, Hiebert, and Rougeulle 2005, 211.

millennium BCE²⁵⁵. Throughout antiquity Bahrain was famous for its lush vegetation, sustained from natural sweet water springs, and mentioned in several Sumerian narratives²⁵⁶. The products and methods of planting and irrigation did not change over time. Dates, which are still cultivated in these days, had been a desired trading good and were exported to Mesopotamia and other places²⁵⁷. Almost all historical strata reveal the so-called *madbasa*, an architectural element to produce date syrup, proving the importance of dates throughout the ages. Putting aside their historical value, the farms and palm groves constitute an important visual backdrop for the archaeological assets of Qal'at al-Bahrain.



Fig. 3 Pathway inside the garden area (21 February 2013 © M. Münzner)

Status quo of the site

Since the site's inscription on the World Heritage List in 2005²⁵⁸, major efforts have been made to provide the site with adequate infrastructure and visitor facilities. The main achievement has been the construction of the visitor centre which was inaugurated in 2008. It comprises a museum with a comprehensive exhibition that showcases the four-millennia-long

²⁵⁵ Pierre Lombard and Margareta Tengberg 2001.

²⁵⁶ Béatrice André-Salvini 2000, 32.

²⁵⁷ Curtis E. Larsen 1983, 40.

²⁵⁸ UNESCO 2014.

history of the site, exhibiting numerous valuable artefacts from on-site excavations, as well as maps, photographs, info boards and computer installations. In addition, the visitor centre houses a coffee shop, sanitary facilities, prayer rooms, a souvenir shop, a lecture hall, accommodation for archaeologists, and parking spaces. The centre does not only provide for basic visitor needs, but constitutes a gateway from the modern outside world into the ancient site of Qal'at al-Bahrain. And indeed, when entering the site through the main entrance one is overwhelmed by the peaceful *mélange* of ancient remains surrounded by the blue buzzing sea and hundreds of palm trees waving in the breeze.

After entering the site a pathway leads visitors along the coast to the first excavated attraction, the Coastal Fortress, and further up the tell, passing the Dilmun city wall, to the Central Excavation Area and the entrance to the Hormuzi-Portuguese fort. Unfortunately, most of the visitors overlook the city wall and the Central Excavation Area, the only two heritage assets that are related to the Dilmun era. In most cases visitors enter the Hormuzi-Portuguese fort directly, as it is visually the most striking structure. The fort's interior is quite extensive and hides several rooms that invite to be discovered. Having explored the fort, most visitors tend to finish their site visit and return to the visitor centre, completely neglecting the Central Excavation Area, the Islamic period structures in the south-eastern area of the tell, as well as the garden area. Without adequate interpretation, they presume to have visited the most significant asset – the Hormuzi-Portuguese fort – and do not expect other places to be of the same or even greater relevance.



Fig. 4 Coastal Fortress and Hormuzi-Portuguese Fort in the background (19 February 2013 © M. Münzner)

The site itself has never been subject to interpretation measures; there are neither information panels nor auxiliary signage. The original idea was to avoid disturbances to the visual integrity of the site and to keep its archaeological nativeness. Consequently, visitors depend on the information provided in the museum or the audio guide. The free audio guide is however not promoted appropriately and, as a result, mostly neglected. The museum faces similar problems; most visitors tend to frequent only the site and ignore the museum. But even if people study the museum carefully, it can be assumed that once on-site they would not be able to recall all the information they had just absorbed.



Fig. 5 Group of pupils returning to the site museum after visiting Qal'at al-Bahrain (12 March 2013 © M. Münzner)

That the great majority of visitors is convinced that the site is about the fort only is also reflected in some reviews left by visitors on TripAdvisor, one of the world's largest travel websites. Alexander from Samara, for instance, found the site a "Great example of Portug[uese] architecture. Big complex and a nice place to take photos! [...]"²⁵⁹. Yet another visitor stated the following: "As I have been to many castles all over the world, so maybe I have found this one not very attractive. But still it is a good choice to explore if you are in Bahrain. [...]"²⁶⁰. Not only internationals but also locals have a wrong perception as can be seen by the statement of Zainab from Bahrain. She says "Bahrain Fort & its museum is a place you must visit if you're spending a vacation in Bahrain as it shows the rich history of the country when it was under the Portuguese domination. The fort isn't big, but it [is] definitely worth a visit [...]"²⁶¹. It can be noted that although the perception of the site's age and historic importance is false, there is a general appreciation among most visitors. Yet, the site does not leave a strong impression on all guests, as the fort, compared to other fortified structures in the world, is relatively simple. And in fact, the fort is just the tip of the impressive 4000-year-long history of Qal'at al-Bahrain. Moreover, locals have little emotional connection to the

²⁵⁹ TripAdvisor 2013.

²⁶⁰ TripAdvisor 2013.

²⁶¹ TripAdvisor 2013.

site. Qal'at al-Bahrain is often simply referred to as 'Portuguese fort', leaving the notion that the site reflects a period of foreign occupation only.

Unawareness of the importance and fragility of the archaeological remains, both exposed and still hidden in the ground have led to behaviour that negatively impacts the site. Unauthorized vehicular access is one of the main issues, despite the existence of designated pathways cars often drive over the sensitive unexcavated areas and come very close to some of the exposed remains. Not only do the vehicles cause vibrations which have an adverse impact on the underground archaeological stratigraphy, they can also potentially damage the historic fabric of the excavated archaeological remains. "Thus, vehicular access poses a serious threat to the authenticity and integrity of the archaeological components of this World Heritage Site"²⁶². Another similar yet less obtrusive factor are horse riders who regularly frequent the property. Although of a smaller scale, their impact causes damage to the underground stratigraphy and excavated areas if trespassed.



Fig. 6 Horsemen galloping over the archaeological tell (27 February 2013 © M. Münzner)

²⁶² Kingdom of Bahrain and Think Heritage 2013, booklet 3, 33.

The capacity of interpretive techniques

A higher level of knowledge about the fragility and value of the heritage assets helps raise awareness and boost appreciation among locals and international visitors. Interpretive techniques can help in achieving this goal by conveying indirect and direct messages. In either case they aim to connect people emotionally and intellectually to the resource. In the following, six distinct subjects are introduced and examined in terms of the applicability of interpretive techniques and their possible outcome. Routing, accessibility, informative signage, lighting, marketing, and events are among the targeted categories.

Routing

Visitor routing is one of the most basic interpretive techniques since walkways define where visitors are allowed to go and, by doing so, set focus on certain assets. Any routing naturally starts with the access point. In Qal'at al-Bahrain, the visitor centre functions as the main entrance gate. Its location was well chosen not only because the building is situated on reclaimed land and does not disturb the archaeological remains hidden in the ground but also because it lets modern sightseers follow in the ancient visitors' footsteps. Some millennia ago visitors had no other option but to reach Bahrain by boat. Today, visitors start their tour at the very same spot. Besides the main visitor entrance, Qal'at al-Bahrain possesses two more entrances that are located in the south of the site. While the south-eastern gate is permanently closed, the second one remains open most of the time and is often accidentally used by tourists. In order to ensure the success of interpretive routing, additional access points should be permanently closed to unauthorised persons. An overview map should ideally be placed at the main entrance, displaying all the World Heritage Site's components including the archaeological, underwater archaeological, and agricultural heritage assets.

Currently, the site is lacking any directional arrow or akin orientation guidance. Following the pathways is the only directional guidance visitors can rely on. However, people do not follow pathways if they are not certain where they are leading to, in particular when they assume that they have already seen the main attraction. It is therefore strongly recommended to establish directional arrows in crucial locations. The entrance to the fort will remain the pivotal point. In its vicinity signs should be installed indicating the Central Excavation Area, the Islamic period remains in the South-East Section, and the pathway that leads into the gardens.

Access

Most visitors are driven by natural curiosity and want to discover the site at close range. However, not all heritage assets allow access. Underwater archaeological remains, for instance, are naturally difficult to approach. Other archaeological remains might be too fragile and inaccessible. To allow or prohibit access should hence be deliberated carefully in between interpretation and conservation experts. The accessibility of an asset sets yet a new focus, as visitors will often only appreciate what they have seen themselves. Since the only accessible structure on-site is the Hormuzi-Portuguese fort, the previously discussed wrong perception of visitors is not surprising.



Fig. 7 Inside the Dilmun temple, Central Excavation Area (19 February 2013 © M. Münzner)

The Central Excavation Area is the ‘history book’ of the site of Qal’at al-Bahrain as it is the only excavated area where all historical layers occur, from the Early Dilmun era until the Islamic period. The site was first excavated by the Danish expedition in the 1950s, a time when excavation methods slightly differed from today’s rather careful approach. The Central Excavation Area is left with unstable, almost vertical excavation slopes that are several meters deep. Natural erosion causes material to slide off. The 4000-years-old archaeological remains are fragile and have never undergone conservation or consolidation work. The high level of fragility seems to contradict the idea of allowing access. Yet, the French Archaeological Mission, which has been engaged in the site’s investigations since the 1980s developed an

excavation concept that would allow future visitation. At the same time, the concept provides for the consolidation of the archaeological remains. The concept foresees a step-like approach which allows visitors to experience the historical layers as archaeologists do, beginning from the latest Islamic layers, further down to the Tylos and Late Dilmun period remains, until the Early and Middle Dilmun period layers are reached. Visitors will be able to literally step back in time. An additional advantage is that it will be possible to relate the archaeological remains more easily to the respective time period, starting with an Islamic caravanserai structure, and ending in a Dilmun period street that directly leads to the Dilmun temple. Preparing the site for visitors involves widening the excavation area and gradating in a step-like form the currently vertical excavation slopes. By doing so, valuable information could be secured that otherwise would fall victim to erosion. Access should be restricted to small, guided groups due to the fact that the archaeological structures will remain fragile and sensitive to disturbances. However, the possibility to access the Central Excavation Area, to walk along a Dilmun period street and stand inside a four millennia old temple with its impressive several meters high walls and columns will set a totally new focus for any site visit.

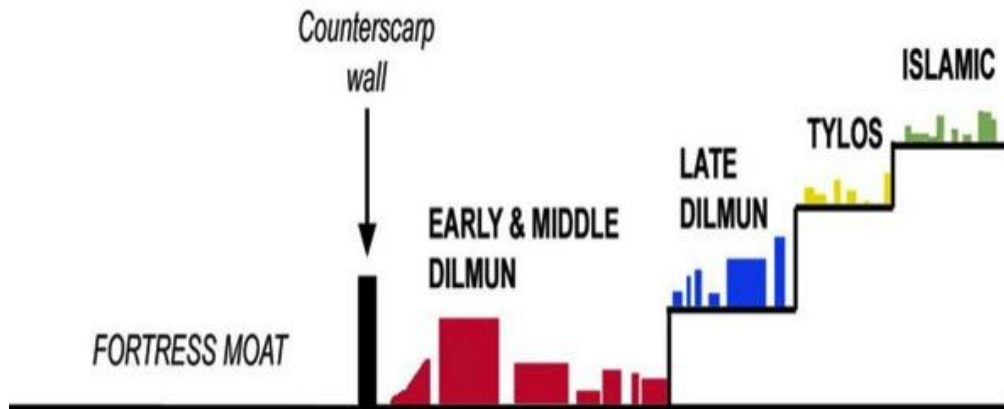


Fig. 8 Envisaged presentation of the Central Excavation Area²⁶³

The gardens and palm groves surrounding the archaeological tell are an integral component of Qal'at al-Bahrain, displaying its original setting. Although a pathway leads from the tell into the gardens and then further onto the shore, very few visitors take notice of it. The gardens and farms are private and can currently be admired only from the outside. It has been considered to partially allow access and provide visitors with the opportunity to experience

²⁶³ Kingdom of Bahrain and Think Heritage 2013, booklet 5, 20.

this natural idyll. The trees also provide a pleasant environment for various species of birds and butterflies. The sound of water flowing in the irrigation channels usually accompanies a visit to the gardens. Flora and fauna, as well as irrigation techniques have remained the same since many millennia. Visitor access should, of course, be limited to the main pathways in order not to destroy the vegetation.

Due to their natural environment the underwater archaeological remains are more challenging to access. The remains of the sea tower are located 1.8 kilometres offshore; the ancient sea channel starts at about 500 metres off the coast and continues further into the sea. The foreshore of Qal'at al-Bahrain is very shallow and allows access on foot to the maritime heritage remains during low tide. It can be assumed that not every interested visitor is as adventurous. While the distance from the ancient capital is quite far, the newly reclaimed Nurana Island provides better visitation possibilities. The island reaches the remains of the sea tower to a distance of only 100 meters. The outline and entrance to the sea channel can be identified easily. Hence, Nurana Island provides the perfect location for a satellite visitor point that would allow interested people to experience the maritime heritage component of Qal'at al-Bahrain: Ancient Harbour and Capital of Dilmun.



Fig. 9 Ancient access channel and remains of the sea tower, viewed from Nurana Island (21 February 2013 © M. Münzner)

Informative Signage

Information panels might be the most apparent method when implementing interpretation measures. It is obviously the most direct way to communicate information, but is also used as an ideal tool to communicate a message. The amount of information given as well as the details provided on particular topics set the visitor focus. Consequently, the amount of information offered on boards should ideally be in proportion with the importance of the heritage components. This might not always be feasible. In the case of Qal'at al-Bahrain for instance the Hormuzi-Portuguese fort is not only the most extensive heritage asset displaying several interesting details, but also the only accessible place. And although the other archaeological areas possess numerous details worth explaining, the physical distance does not allow visitors to visually examine them. As a consequence the majority of informative signage would most likely be provided in the Hormuzi-Portuguese fort. However, the information should, where adequate, also refer to the more ancient history. A good example might be the *madbasa*, an architectural element to produce date juice, which was found throughout all historical layers.

The descriptions provided on information panels should follow some simple guidelines. As a golden rule texts should be as long as necessary but as short as possible. Experience shows that extensive texts tend to overwhelm visitors. As the great majority of people are interested individuals but without professional background in archaeology or history, the language used for the panels should be descriptive and comprehensive. Photos, maps, and sketches additionally appeal to the visitors' senses.

Storytelling techniques can further enhance visitor experience. Stories that focus on the audience's emotion will leave longer lasting impressions than plain scientific information. Suitable agents are characters, scenes, or other visual examples that visitors can relate to. A Dilmun merchant, for instance, who is dealing with the acquisition of permits from the palace, the delay of the shipment from Mesopotamia, or complaining customers, shows several similarities with today's life. In certain cases, it is worth to consider another point of view. Some stories for instance might receive a fascinating twist when told through the eyes of a child.

Lighting

Lighting is a powerful yet indirect instrument of awareness-raising. Especially when considering that the site is highly frequented during and after sunset owing to the better and more endurable climate conditions. At the moment, only the Hormuzi-Portuguese fort and the

visitor centre are lit during night. All other archaeological areas remain in darkness and therefore unrecognized. Illumination of the Central Excavation Area, the Coastal Fortress, and the Dilmun city wall would emphasize their historical importance to Qal'at al-Bahrain site. Of course, any kind of lighting should be implemented according to safety and conservation requirements of archaeological sites and with the least intrusive technology possible. The garden areas should be refrained from lighting in order not to disturb flora and fauna. Illumination of the sea tower remains could be considered but keeping in mind the high tide which submerges the ancient remains twice a day.

Marketing

Marketing is generally known as a means of communicating the value of a certain product to current or future customers. This makes it one of the most important strategies to raise awareness. At the moment, however, all marketing tools in use, including brochures as well as online sources, illustrate the World Heritage Site of Qal'at al-Bahrain with pictures of the fort but nothing else. Other, historically richer archaeological areas, as well as the agricultural landscape, and the maritime heritage are not represented. If the site is advertised and depicted with the fort as the only attraction, the people's perception will remain inaccurate. Marketing means should hence represent the multi-faceted heritage components and provide people with a better idea of the value of the site.

Events

Workshops and lectures can help interpret and understand heritage sites, and to increase knowledge about their significance. Events should focus on the various heritage assets and their inherent history. Archaeologists and other professionals can provide unique insight into their work and their research results. Workshops could provide interactive and hands-on experiences for both adults and children. Pottery making based on ancient models, cuneiform tablet writing, a tour into the gardens, learning about traditional agricultural methods, perhaps even including planting of palm trees, are only some examples that could be used to redirect the focus from the fort and its related younger history towards the Dilmun period as well as other archaeological areas, the gardens, and the maritime heritage.

Conclusion

Resultant from the lack of interpretation and information the site of Qal'at al-Bahrain is widely misunderstood as being solely the location of a fort that was built when Bahrain was

under Portuguese occupation in the 16th century. In fact, the site's history reaches back in time more than four millennia and it comprises various heritage assets, among them several excavated structures such as parts of the city wall, a palace, a temple, as well as an agricultural landscape surrounding the tell, and underwater archaeological heritage remains.

Diverse interpretive techniques can assist to shift the focus from the fort to historically more significant site components. The development of an easy and historically logical routing with a precisely defined starting point would lead visitors to the main attractions. Additional directional signage should be applied to ensure that visitors are aware of the possibility to visit all important assets. Accessibility or, where not possible, visibility should be provided to all relevant areas or structures since visitors value more what they can admire with their own eyes. Information panels would contribute significantly to the understanding of the site. The usage of storytelling techniques as well as illustrations including maps, sketches or photos helps to better connect the site's history with the visitors. Lighting should emphasize the most relevant heritage components, instead of just highlighting one. With a discreet yet accentuating lighting concept Dilmun and Tylos archaeological remains could be set into focus. Informative material should correspond with the site's most important as opposed to visually most striking features; the marketing strategy should promote the value of the site in all its facets. Events are yet another means to communicate the sites general significance or highlight certain parts of it.

Interpretation techniques, if implemented appropriately, bring meaning to the resource, enhance visitor appreciation and promote a better understanding of the site in general. An enhanced visitor experience may also result in longer stays, repeated visits and a better reputation of the site. Furthermore, it enables communities to better understand their heritage, as a result individuals may identify with lost values inherent in their culture. Only if people are aware of the value and the uniqueness of the site they will treat it with the needed respect and by doing so assist in its long-term preservation.

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FORGOTTEN HERITAGE: MODERN HISTORICAL PALACES OF CAIRO

AN APPLIED STUDY ON THE CITY OF HELIOPOLIS

A research based on a Master Thesis in the fulfillment of a Master degree in Heritage
Management in the *Sorbonne Pantheon 1- Paris* and the *French University in Egypt*

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Abstract

Cairo is an important historic city, witnessed different great events through history, and become a city of renaissance with the renowned treasures of the ancestors. Though the city has various touristic characteristics, and different attractive points, the historical palaces scattered in its suburbs are still a touristic prospect needs consideration, and underutilized in tourism.

This study investigates answers for the reasons behind the underutilization of these historical palaces in a frame of an applied case study which is the city of Heliopolis. Two methods of study are used; a theoretical approach to our hypotheses, and a field study based on surveys and interviews.

Causes of this problem correlate with, in the first place: Awareness; whether it exists or not. On the other hand, we examine other important reasons; Legislation and lack of laws and protective measures, Bureaucracy and the cooperation between the different authorities in the Egyptian government, and the effectiveness and efficiency of the existing marketing strategies.

Our field study indicates that we do not suffer from an awareness problems. However, we do encounter a lack of laws and legislation. Moreover, we need to provide more protective measures and regulations for saving heritage and encouraging its development. Bureaucracy widely affects the performance of the government in making use of such palaces in tourism. However, our results deduce that our marketing strategies need reforming plans, more efficient market research tools, and new innovative approaches.

Introduction

A- Research Objectives

This study takes a part of the historical capital Cairo, which is a city called "Heliopolis" as the scope of the study to reveal the reasons behind the underutilization of Cairo Palaces, and the prospects of the small city of Heliopolis as part of Cairo.

B- Research Problem

Heliopolis, in particular, contains many renowned palaces, which witnessed glory of the Egyptian history. The problem in this research aims at giving an answer to the question: Why these Palaces are suffering from underutilization, and why we are losing a potential touristic prospect?

C- Hypotheses

The research is conducted in hypothesized frame; the researcher introduces it in the following questions:

Awareness: Common People, Professionals, and Decision makers. We can present it in the following question

C- Does the local community enjoy a basic awareness about the heritage?

Legislation: antiquities law and its efficiency, and the governmental legislation

D- Do we suffer a lack of laws and legislation in the field of heritage? Or do we have a problem with our laws?

Bureaucracy: Cooperation between governmental authorities, and the routine and its effect on investment and the Heritagisation process.

E- Do we suffer bureaucracy in our regime? Does the organization's bureaucracy is a reason for underutilization?

Marketing: Its scope, basics, tools, and innovations.

F- Do we have Marketing for Egyptian heritage Palaces? Or we suffer a problem in this regard?

G- What is the recommended method to exploit this type of heritage? And how we can do this?

D- Methodology

1- Primary Sources (Surveys and Interviews)

Questionnaires and interviews are considered the main tools of primary information in this research. Common or public questionnaires are given to a random sample include; students, old aged, men, women, housewives, and even illiterate people (Orally). These questionnaires were introduced as: paper-based questionnaire and computer-based electronic form. A number of questionnaires is introduced to the heritage and tourism professionals, who; work in tourism or heritage, study tourism or heritage, teach, or relate to them. Moreover, specially prepared questionnaires are given to the marketers and Tour Agents Operators: who set the marketing strategies, edit it, and execute it.

The last category of these are the Decision Makers: the researcher interviewed 4 decision makers from the Ministry of Tourism and the Egyptian Tourist Authority, one from the Ministry of Antiquity, a professor from Brussels, who was responsible for proposing the opening of the Baron palace, the Belgian ambassador in Egypt; for his limpid connection to the Baron Palace, and the Regional-President of the UNWTO *Amr Abdul Ghafar*.

The answers of these questionnaires are analyzed; first in a qualitative method, in order to get clear reasons for palace underutilization, and second in a quantitative method, in search for overall statistics reveal the reasons of palace underdevelopment. Moreover, charts, tables, and illustrative drawings are provided to ensure lucid results for the reader.

2- Secondary Sources (theoretical approaches)

Previous studies, in regard to palaces, are few: The palaces in Egypt are discussed from either; historical or architectural approaches, or both of them, but scarcely from a touristic approach.

Legislative regulations and our law of antiquities are discussed in a theoretical approach. The researcher exposes the Bureaucracy definitions and tries to match it to the current status in the Egyptian government to enable the reader to understand the impact of such problem on exploiting our palaces in tourism. The researcher tries to introduce it in a theoretical approach: illustrating its definition, history, tools, and types before exposing the point as a problem in this research.

E- Research Findings

The researchers aims to give a final conclusion for the reasons of underutilization of these Palaces as an authentic touristic product with final recommendations to be applied in the

future. This process is conducted through analyzing historical data, previous studies if available, and questionnaires to obtain summarized answers to each problem.

I- Theoretical Approach, Definitions, and Insights

This research tends to be more touristic rather than any other aspect. Marketing aspects is a focal point in this research, in both a theoretical or practical approaches.

Cultural Heritage Value & Experience

Keeping the value, or saving the value of heritage is a very important process, the key for this is to understand the types of values we have for a certain monument as an example. Values of heritage could be divided into Interpretative value,²⁶⁴ which in case of our palaces is represented in the knowledge the visitor gets from his visit to the place, and the enrichment of historical, and social context the visitor acquires from his visit, it's in another meaning the educative experience the visitor gains from his visit.

The second one is called the Associative value,²⁶⁵ this could be simply represented in the story of the palaces, who lived here, how they acted, what they have contributed to the society; the palaces can tell the people about the different epochs of the history of Egypt, what was the role the owners played, and what contributions achieved.

The third one is the Integrity of Landscape,²⁶⁶ the surviving evidence of materials for what was experienced in the aforementioned two values, the survival of the landscape, and the intactness of the furniture. The authenticity one can experience in the palaces has a power to express both the tangible and the intangible sides of the palaces, and shed the light on the political and social aspects of the past society lived in them.

In relation to tourism and sustainability the *United Nation's* handbook for making the tourism more sustainable provided areas of interest the governments should pay attention to in order to ensure sustainability in tourism. These areas started in the first place with tourism overall development and ended with keeping good international relations with the source countries-destination relationships. Moreover, this support, development, long strategized planning,

²⁶⁴ Nantawan Muangyai, "Cultural Landscapes and Management Plan for Cultural and Historical Tourism in Palaces Dating from King Rama IV's Reign" Published PhD diss.,(2008): 109.

²⁶⁵ Muangyai, "Cultural Landscapes and Management Plan for Cultural and Historical Tourism in Palaces Dating from King Rama IV's Reign" 110.

²⁶⁶ Muangyai, "Cultural Landscapes and Management Plan for Cultural and Historical Tourism in Palaces Dating from King Rama IV's Reign" 110.

political support, and technical support, the governments should keep in mind the sustainability and ensure its implementation in each step.²⁶⁷

There is a consequent result to this development process governments conduct in tourism; one of the important results is the development of the local communities and its involvement in tourism.

Laws

Radwan introduces a good review for the law protecting the Egyptian antiquities giving the evidence that most part of our heritage, in this case are the palaces, are considered as antiquities. Egypt has a wide variety of treasures all over the country, something described as the mission impossible to protect it. Moreover, *Radwan* believes the unlawful excavation is the main threat to the Egyptian Heritage.²⁶⁸ Thus, in this case, we can also add to *Radwan* the threats of the Egyptian heritage represented in the lack of strict legislation to protect the Egyptian Heritage.

Hassan thinks that we should apply strong punishment on those who violate the Heritage or miss-use it, we have to provide a very strong measures to be implemented for the protection of Heritage, however he indicated the importance of education and public engagement campaigns to increase awareness, and we should follow a new legal approach combined with social analysis for the reasons lead to such misuse.²⁶⁹

In Egypt Article 5, law 117 of 1983 nominates the Supreme Council of Antiquities now with the supervision of all the antiquities with all its different types: Museums, or any other Historic Site, or even any newly discovered antique or a monument. After the issuing of this law all the trade of antiquities was banned. This law provides protection for the monuments, but it does not provide a method or an article to show how to run it, though it nominates the government represented in the SCA now, but evidence show that this is not enough for these solid historic buildings. The researcher believes that the strong governing law of protection

²⁶⁷ Muangyai, "Cultural Landscapes and Management Plan for Cultural and Historical Tourism in Palaces Dating from King Rama IV's Reign" 117: United Nation Environment Program (UNEP). "Making Tourism More Sustainable: a Guide for Policy Makers" United Nations Environment Program: Division of Technology, Industry and Economics, (August 2005): 2. Accessed August 12th, 2013 www.unep.com.

²⁶⁸ Mosaad Radwan, "Effective Management of the Egyptian Antiquities" Working Paper Presented in KAPA Korean Association for Public Administration & APAF Asian Public Administration Forum Annual Meeting, University of Incheon, Korea, (October 2009): 10.

²⁶⁹ Fekri Hassan, *Strategic Approach to Egypt's cultural Heritage* (Cairo: CULTNAT,2001): 1.

for a certain monument, should state who is responsible for it, and how to save it, not only to order the saving as a solid order.

The history of heritage law in Egypt and in Africa is connected to the colonial history of the continent and its countries. The French speaking countries had direct effect of the French law than the English Speaking countries which has less, so in case of Egypt we were once under the rule of the French, but the short period did not leave clear stamp as the English occupation has left.

In Egypt, and For so long time the Egyptian antiquities were a point of interest to every visitor to the country, in its initial phase, the Egyptology as a science brought a wide interest in the Egyptian civilization and the aim of every visitor was to take what is a good memory from this land. Given that this antiques formed a part of the cultural heritage of the Egyptian society in particular and the world in general, there was a due need for decreeing a protective measures for it, and the first one to recommend in this theme was August Mariette, who wrote a memorandum to Mohamed Ali Pasha asking for the amendment a law to prohibit the transferring of the Egyptian monuments abroad.²⁷⁰

Since sustainability between the different aspects of heritage is important in part of legislation and it is its main target, we should provide harmony between the international, domestic and customary law. ²⁷¹Usually the local communities in a country fill the gap between the international and local or domestic laws, the international law usually fails to satisfy the local communities need for the social and environmental protection and thus there should be a synchronize between them.²⁷²

The world heritage convention put a responsibility on the governments for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage, moreover, in articles 4 and 5 it puts also a responsibility on the use and management of these sites and not only closing them.

Egypt took an initiation when president Nasser had his remarkable quote which considered as the flame for the saving of the cultural heritage not only in Egypt but also all over the world,

²⁷⁰ Ahmed Nabil, "*Egypt: Heritage in Law*", a Paper submitted in Master Course, Unpublished, UFE & Pantheon Sorbonne, Cairo, (February 2013): 1.

²⁷¹ Albert Mumma, & Webber. Nodoro, & George. Abungu, "*Cultural Heritage and the Law Protecting Immovable Heritage in English-Speaking Countries of Sub-Saharan Africa*", ICCROM Conservation Studies, Vol. 8, (2009): 2. accessed June 5th, 2013, www.iccrom.org.

²⁷² Philippe Sands, "*The Environment, Community, and International law*" Harvard International Law Journal, vol. 30, no. 2, (1989): 393.

when he said that the Heritage, then represented in the sunken temples behind the High Dam, is not the property of Egypt alone, but of all the humanity and that we should cooperate to saving it.

The government recently started to pay more attention to saving, registering, and providing scholar accessibility to heritage; we built around 35 warehouses equipped and protected for the preservation of heritage, we started a national level campaign led by the CULTNAT²⁷³ for the documentation of the Egyptian heritage based on the work of well-trained youth specialized in various heritage fields.

Governmental Bureaucracy

The Bureaucracy is described as follow " *the word 'bureaucracy' conjures up an image of a mass of office workers buried in mounds of paper and tied to a set of petty rules*".²⁷⁴

Since the word itself means a group of people in work, or those workers who doing official responsibilities following some rules or orders, this meaning is not the problem. In Egypt we are suffering from a very complex bureaucratic system consists of overdue number of workers, and a congested system in the government which causes a dilemma in relation to funds: the Egyptian governments in burdened with heavy responsibilities causes lack of funds in all aspects. It was very challenging all over the past years for the government to carry out civil projects; no citizen all over the world, in any other country is asked to waive his essential needs for a project of heritage: in Egypt we suffer from an estimated amount of about 50% poverty among the inhabitants, means that every single pound should be directed to the civil projects: Water system, Sewage, Healthcare...etc.

The decision is also sometimes a political or for security matters: we should issue a decree or a law to evacuate any Heritage Palace whether it is a school, governmental office, ministerial headquarter or a military barrack, we should move on forward to save what is remaining for the posterity.

Privatization and Partnership

²⁷³ www.cultnat.org

²⁷⁴ Brian Martin, *Bereaucracy*, (London: Freedom Press 1984): 4.

Italy as example suffers since 1980 from insufficient funds of heritage preservation, and from the high maintenance costs of the state owned properties; this led to the privatization, which is applied shortly after this time around 1990s when the world famous museums of Italy were privatized.²⁷⁵ Benedikter Believes that Italy carries a burden because of the variety and mass treasures of heritage they have. He indicates that the attempt of Italy to stop paying money for heritage and depending on other institutions to do this enabled both the government and these institutions to achieve profit.²⁷⁶

The researcher exposes this case study to indicate the economic and social effect of privatization on the coherence of the state and its parts. Because this example is seen very similar in its proposed reasons to the Egyptian case now, and the reader might now go to one of the opinions himself: Governmental supervision, Partnership, or Privatization, something the next chapter will answer to.

Marketing

Satisfying any market can take many forms, but the most important of this is how to add a value, which brings experience, and which is if provided through accumulating the needed services, would certainly bring stratification. Marketing in Heritage could be understood from another concept, this concept views the success in a different point apart from achieving profit: maybe it is represented in the integration of the local community of the area, or the conservation of the monumental site, or its preservation, however there is a point which calls for achieving a small portion of profit to enable the project to survive and grow.²⁷⁷

According the UNESCO convention of 1970, many governments adopted new methods of marketing in their strategies: UK parliament passed a law in 2003 under the name of "*The Dealing in Cultural Objects*"; many conventions were signed later on following the 1970 convention for the protection of the Intangible cultural heritage.

²⁷⁵ Benedikter Roland, "*Privatisation of Italian Cultural Heritage*." International Journal of Heritage Studies 10, no. 4 (September 2004): 370.

²⁷⁶ Benedikter Roland, "*Privatisation of Italian Cultural Heritage*.",(September 2004): 371.

²⁷⁷ Shashi Misiura, *Heritage Marketing*,(Cornwall: Routledge) 2006: 2.

Heritage tourism become one of the biggest sectors globally, and it is keeping on growing every day, it is very important now for living of poorer communities, and it is providing huge amount of revenues to countries. In Egypt Tourism operates around 4 million working in the sector in a direct way, and around double the number in an indirect way, and in Egypt tourism Generates revenue, according to estimates of 2010, 12.5 Billion \$, estimated on arrival of around 14.7 Million Tourist, spending around 147.4 Million night, with a direct contact with operation of around 1860 travel agency and estimated provision of direct jobs for Tourist Guides of around 16847 Tourist Guide. Based on many sources, the MOT in Egypt provided this latest statistics, which I put in the hand of the reader to show the importance of the Tourism Sector to Egypt in this case

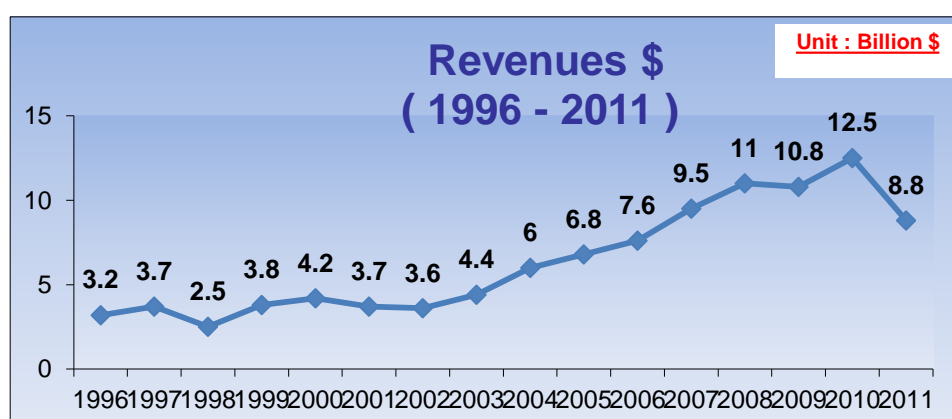


Figure 10: The Revenue from Tourism in Egypt between 1996-2011

After: Ministry of Tourism 2011: Tourism in Figures

The *Niche Market*, this market which is available all over the year, and is not connected to seasons. New Trends in tourism are now numerous and various, and marketers started to exploit every single Heritage site to achieve benefit: one of this examples is the Ford factory in USA, which now organizes a tour in cooperation with the Henry Ford historic company: they set up a visitor center, with screens, theaters, and high observatory deck, all are to allow for the watching of exciting environment and playing a film called " *the Art of Manufacturing*".²⁷⁸ Heritage from the point of view of many might be sold through an intimate connection to Heritage-related work: the Drama of a film like for example "Nasser 56" or "Sadat" offers to the young generation the insight into a period they did not survive: then their memory of the events and history of this period later on will be mirrored in the minds of these

²⁷⁸ Shashi Misiura, *Heritage Marketing*, (Cornwall: Routledge) 2006: 8.

young people as an image, so when there is a recognition of a certain event or action of history happened in this period he or she will recover back the image or the minded-picture stored from the artistic work or the film.

Selling heritage in many countries depends on this point: in an interview with *Magdy Selim*, from the *ETA* in Egypt he believed that we should put the scope from the palaces to attract new types of tourism, he informed that we should follow the steps of *Turkey* for example in allowing the filming in such heritage sites in order to achieve future potential demand on it, I personally go for the same opinion since such work usually is stored in the minds and form an internal desire to go once to see the site or the area.

The Technology nowadays become a very important tool, for example reaching the teenagers and young people become very easy through the Internet, virtual tours of a lot of museums become very important trend in this regard, and the websites of many museums and some palaces all over the world provide complete profile on 3D for the monument or the site.

Apart from the current political situations the history of other sites close in its features to palaces, like the Islamic Houses in old Cairo is achieving a good success; these houses were introduced to the market recently and were exploited after a good management plan distinguished with variety of activities and professionalism in advertising and conducting the needed marketing research.

Market research methods and ways are various, it is important the selection process of which point fits for Egypt; the marketers of the Cairo Islamic Houses, from their work in market research, they found out that the priority should be given to the young and youth who are forming 70% of the visitors. They used surveys consisted of questionnaires and interviews as it is the most important component of this process, according to *Mokhtar Kasabany* the responsible for the management of these houses, they were able to set their activities and type of culture speech to this segmentation.

II- Introduction to Palaces in This Study

The Moslem's ruled Cairo since its foundation. In 1517 Egypt fell into the hands of the Ottomans, who transferred the renaissance from Cairo to Istanbul. When Mohamed Ali pasha arrived to Egypt as a ruler in 1801 he paid great attention to Egypt and wanted to turn it to be an equivalent to Europe.²⁷⁹The *Aluyyide* family conducted great projects and set up new architecture, most of which now remains as a witness to the old glory of the City, the *Aluyyide* Family was dethroned.²⁸⁰

The *Aluyyide* dynasty founded many palaces to be used as a seat for the government, or a residence of the royal family and its members or for some of the high ranked people who contributed to the services or the improvement of the city. These palaces are considered an unique piece of art, they were built by contemporary architects who either lived in Egypt during that time or were fetched to accomplish its building, one of them is Antonio Lasciac the Italian Architect who lived in Egypt between 1856-1946 and was promoted to be responsible for the Khedival Palaces of Egypt.²⁸¹

In Egypt historic palaces suffer decay: they are owned by private owners, whether after buying it from the legal inheritors or owned by the inheritors themselves, who in most cases start to search for profit; due to immigration reasons or financial issues. What concerns here is, the palaces, which are in most cases demolished either by a new owner, who in most cases is an investor and has no heritage awareness tendency, or is not concerned about what type of the palace is: the famous palace of *Medhat Yeken* Pasha, that once stood at the Garden City suburb in Cairo, is one of the examples of demolishing heritage,²⁸²and the Giza Palace of *Mahmoud Sami El-Baroudi* which is another example. Others Palaces are confiscated by the government and turned to be governmental headquarters for ministries: the ministry of Exterior affairs which occupies the 19th century palace of Kamal Al-Din,²⁸³ and the 19th century *Zaafarana* Palace, which is now the headquarter of the *Ain Shams* university, is under the authority of the Ministry of Higher Education.

²⁷⁹ Eisa Shehata, *Cairo*. Cairo: Family Press, 1999: 45.

²⁸⁰ Veronica Williams, and Stocks. Peter, *Egypt: Blue Guide*. 3rd ed. London: C Black, 1993: 83.

²⁸¹ Tino Mommy, "From Gorizia to the Ottoman Empire- Architect Antonio Lasciac", in: New York Times (October 2006): accessed July 3, 2013 www.nytimes.com.

²⁸² Samir Raafat, *Cairo, the glory years: who built what, when, why and for whom* (Alexandria: Harpocrates Publishing 2003): 6

²⁸³ Gihan Shahin "A constructive streak" *Al Ahram Weekly*,383, (July 1998): 1-2 accessed July 25th, 2013 www.weekly.ahram.org.

Our study refers, in some cases, to the occupancy of certain palaces by governmental authorities: a ministry, a school or governmental public office. we have a lot of palaces are used after confiscation, apart from the presidential palaces, , and were first confiscated and then turned to military headquarters; the Tahra Palace, for example, was used as a main operational center for the 6th of October war, which is from a point of view a normal person, is a witness of a historical event, but in eyes of a heritage professional is a disaster. And the Baron palace was once occupied by the military forces during the triple violence against Egypt.

The Egyptian government executed new measures to save such historical palaces; the government represented in the ministry of tourism conducts a campaign to conserve and protect the historical palaces, and historical hotels because they are under the authority of the *Egyptian Company of Tourism and Hotels*. Moreover, the government aims to market them; under a nomination of "*The series of historical Hotels in Egypt*". This action is an important, but late step from the Egyptian authorities to save these hotels.



Figure 11: Map Shows the location of the 4 palaces inside the black circle

© Google Maps

The Baron Palace

This is the most spectacular palace in the city of Heliopolis, and for long time the palace was uninhabited. Baron Empian was a genius economist and industrial man. He was an Egyptologist.²⁸⁴ He arrived Egypt at 1904 and in 1906 Baron founded a new company in Egypt under the name of "Cairo Electric Railways and Heliopolis Oases Company". He started the buildings of the new City Heliopolis (the city of the Sun). He chose the old traditional architectural style of the Islamic period as the architectural theme of the new city.²⁸⁵

The palace situates, over the old "*Avenue du Palais*" which is now called the *Auroba* Street, as a solid structure with a style mixing between the Asian and the Latin American architectural style. It stands as one of the most beautiful palaces of Cairo built.²⁸⁶

This tower-like palace is the most dominant building nowadays in the area of Heliopolis; it gives the feeling of the traditional old heritage of the city. The architectural style of the palace is an imitation of a Hindu temple which Baron himself had visited in India. Other theoretical opinions say it was an imitation



Figure 12: Baron Palace, Cairo

© Google Engine

²⁸⁴ Anne Van Loo, and Marie-Cécile. Bruwier, *Héliopolis*, Brussels: Fonds Mercator, 2010: 210.

²⁸⁵ Lesley Lababidi, *Cairo's Street Stories Exploring the City's Statues, Squares, Bridges, Gardens, and Sidewalk Cafés*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008. 71.

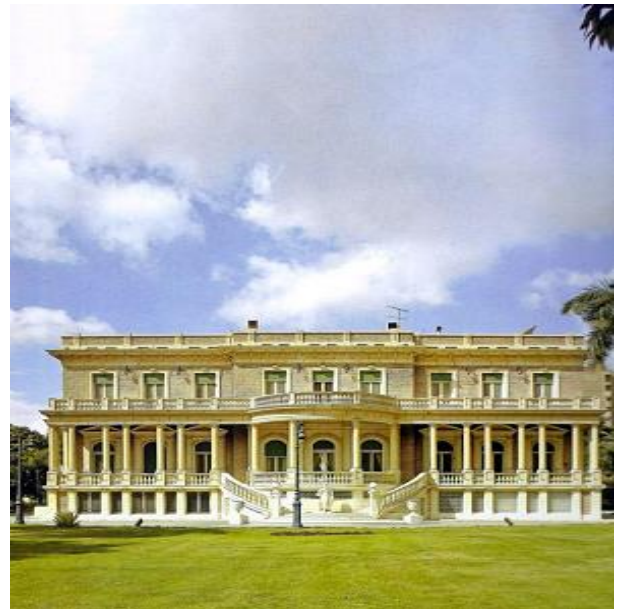
²⁸⁶ William Cook, "Surrounded by Barbed Wire and Shrouded in Superstition: The Crumbling Egyptian Palace of Tragic Belgian Millionaire Who Raised a City from the Desert." Mail Online. (September 2012). accessed July 1, 2014. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk>.

of a temple called Angkor Wat in Cambodia.²⁸⁷ The decoration of the palace, whether on the exterior or the interior, is dominated by heads of elephants which are the symbol of wisdom, animals.²⁸⁸

The Military forces occupied the palace during the tripartite Aggression; this caused a lot of damage for the palace interior, a lot of artifacts taken away, some of the mosaics stolen, and the parquet floor damaged.²⁸⁹ In 2005 the Egyptian government purchased the Palace and compensated the original owners with very large plots of land on the outskirts of Cairo.²⁹⁰ The death of six maid servants of the palace one after another in various accidents made the stories mysterious, in addition to the death of Madame *Mourier* the head of the servants of the palace in the elevator; her head said to be found in the elevator.²⁹¹

The Tahra Palace

The palace lies in an area very near to the Qubbah Palace. The palace was built for a princess called *Amina* who was a daughter of *Ismail* the Khedive of Egypt, and she was the mother for a son called *Mohamed Taher Pasha*.²⁹²



²⁸⁷ Rania Maher, and Mayada Belal, "*Baron Palace: Innovative ideas to Accommodate Untraditional Types of Tourism*", in: JAAUTH Journal of Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality (June, 2012): 7. Fateen. Bizzari, "*The Baron's Palace: Fables, Legends and Controversies*" Tour Egypt. June 2, 2011. Accessed June 24, 2013. www.touregypt.net.

²⁸⁸ Rania Maher, and Mayada Belal, "*Baron Palace: Innovative ideas to Accommodate Untraditional Types of Tourism*", (June, 2012): 7.

²⁸⁹ Rania Maher, and Mayada. Belal, "*Baron Palace: Innovative ideas to Accommodate Untraditional Types of Tourism*", in: JAAUTH Journal of Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality (June, 2012): 7.

²⁹⁰ Samir Raafat, *Cairo, the glory years: who built what, when, why and for whom* (Alexandria: Harpocrates Publishing 2003): 20.

²⁹¹ Rania Maher, and Mayada. Belal, "*Baron Palace: Innovative ideas to Accommodate Untraditional Types of Tourism*", in: JAAUTH Journal of Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality (June, 2012): 9.

²⁹² Samir Raafat, *Cairo, the glory years: who built what, when, why and for whom* (Alexandria: Harpocrates Publishing 2003): 20.

He sponsored together with Prince Youssef Kamal travels for count *Almazy* into the western desert which was manifested in the Hollywood film called *The English Patient*.²⁹³

In 1996, one of the grand daughters of King Farouk claimed that the palace is their own

Figure 13: Tahra Palace Cairo

© Google Engine

property, since their mother Farida has bought it. According to and an old manuscript from Ahram Newspaper published on 3rd March 1939, Farida bought the palace from Taher pasha with 40,000 LE, but the palace is kept in hands of the government till now.²⁹⁴

The palace passed by many developments and important events throughout its history which may help us in marketing it nowadays to attract certain segments of tourists; it was turned to be the Headquarter for the operations of the war in 1973; they turned it into military barrack and covered the mirrors and walls with the maps of Sinai: something we can invest as a Dark Tourism destination. It was visited by the Saudi Arabia King Seoud Ibn Abdul Aziz twice, one of them is when he attended the deal between the President Nasser and President Naguib.

This Palace is built on the Italian design called the *Italianate Palazzo*.²⁹⁵ It is full of different pieces of furniture either bought, or transferred by King Farouk from ancestors buildings; the famous throne of Mohamed Ali Pasha was transferred from his palace in Shubra to this palace, and a Billiard golden table was also brought from the Shubra palace; was originally a gift sent by the King of France to Mohamed Ali Pasha, and he brought also a Piano inlaid with Ivory from one of the palace of his ancestor Khedive Ismail.

The Most spectacular piece in the palace is the Clock covering large portion of the walls of the Salon; it was modeled after the Clock of Strasburg, and decorated with small statues and motifs; King Farouk brought it to the palace from on the old palaces as it was kept there in poor condition.

²⁹³ Samir Raafat, *Cairo, the glory years: who built what, when, why and for whom* (Alexandria: Harpocrates Publishing 2003): 20.

²⁹⁴ Samir Raafat, *Cairo, the glory years: who built what, when, why and for whom* (Alexandria: Harpocrates Publishing 2003): 23.

²⁹⁵ Shari Sunbul, *Qaṣr Al-Ṭāhirah: Al-Tahra Palace : A Gem in a Majestic Garden*. Alexandria: Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2009: 18.

The Palace of Prince Youssef Kamal

It is one of the beautiful pieces of architecture work for the famous architect Antonio Lasciac. This beautiful palace situates in a near area to the Tahra Palace in the Mataria Subrub. Prince Kamal was fond of arts, and he is the founder of the Famous School of Fine Arts in Egypt,²⁹⁶ in 1908 he decided the building of his palace carrying the mixture of architectural features combining between the European and Eastern Islamic style. It took Lasciac around 13 years to finish up the building of this palace.²⁹⁷



Figure 14: Palace of Prince Youssef Kamal

© www.Flickr.com

This palace was turned to be a museum of mummified animals after the military revolution. The palace architectural style dates back to the renaissance period. It is very near to the Tahra Palace, Qubba Palace, Presidential Palace, and the Baron palace. And we can make use of this to draw a map; later will be indicated, of a touristic itinerary relying on these palaces in one package.

The Qubba Palace

This is one of the ancient palaces of Egypt; it was built by Khedive Ismail to be the royal residence of Egypt, and was



²⁹⁶ Shirley Johnston, and Shari. Sunbul, *Egyptian Palaces and Villas: Pashas, Khedives, and Kings*. Cairo: AUC Press, 2006. 30.

²⁹⁷ Amr Aboseif, "The Palace of Prince Youssef Kamal", Farouk Misr, (2008): accessed July 25th, 2013 www.faroukmisr.net.

Figure 15: Qubba Palace

used all over the Egyptian history for the reception of the formal delegations and visitors who are coming to Egypt.

The palace witnessed important political events; it was from this palace that King Farouk addressed the Egyptian People over the Radio waves announcing the death of his father; it witnessed the beginning of the funeral of the ex-president of Egypt Nasser.

The palace has a lot of artifacts and treasures, and it is full of antiques and stamps collection of the King. In addition to a collection of jewelry and watches: were gifts presented to king Farouk, but this staff was sold in an auction in England around 1954.²⁹⁸ The palace now is the third most important presidential palace in Egypt, and it is not opened for visitors.

²⁹⁸ Samir Raafat, *Cairo, the glory years: who built what, when, why and for whom* (Alexandria: Harpocrates Publishing 2003): 25.

III- Analyzing and Answering

One of the concerns of this research was to know the opinion of the common people, local community, and to test their awareness of heritage, in addition to the professionals who are related to tourism, archeology and heritage through their work or study, all of those were given questionnaire or interviewed to be able to judge and answer the question of how far our awareness is in terms of heritage in general and palaces in particular, in order to know if the problem is in the palaces, or the strategies, education or in us!

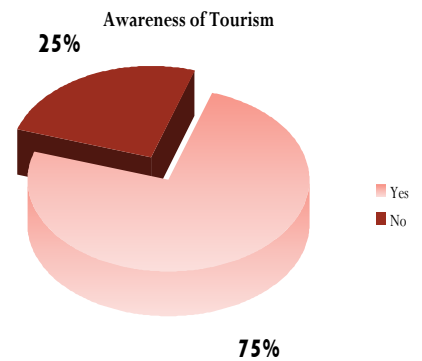


Figure 16: Awareness of Tourism

It was not astonishing when the result comes positive; after checking the results of around 80 questioners of different categories, over 75% of them have enough knowledge of tourism, moreover, separated questions of the Palaces and awareness about it, show around 70% of knowledge about the palaces, and enthusiasms for opening it or reusing it in Tourism, Moreover, most of them introduced ideas for it and give their opinions about the problems facing the opening of these palaces.

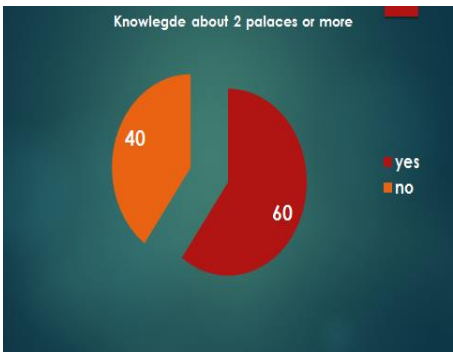


Figure 17: Knowledge about Palaces

We examined the number of visitors to the various touristic sites:

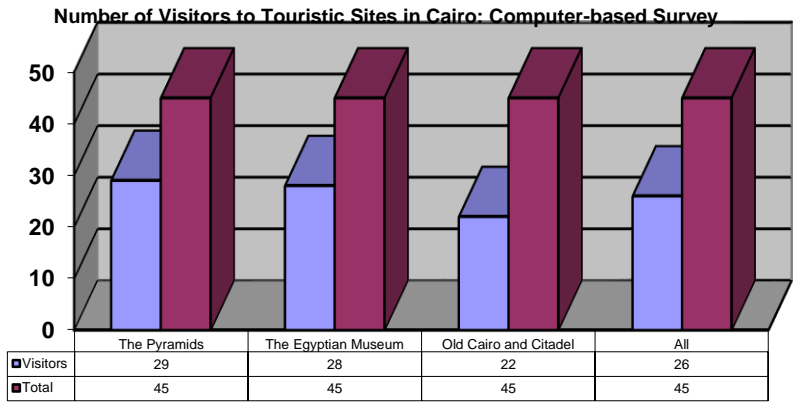
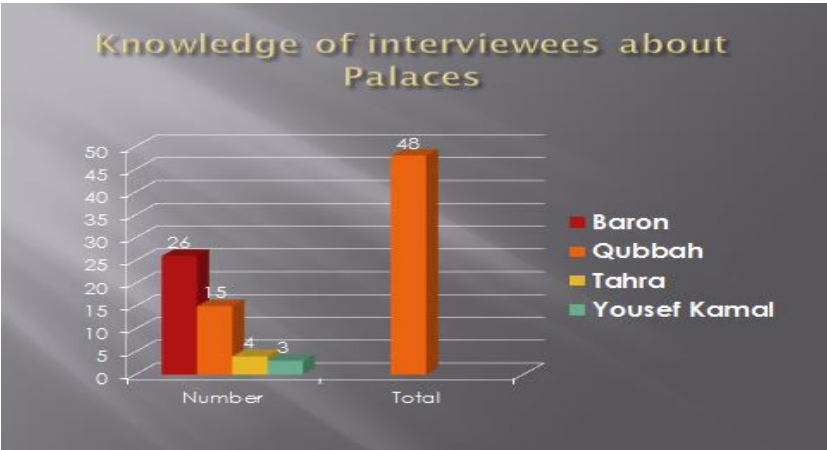


Figure 18: Visitors to touristic sites

A randomly selected collection of names of some famous places in Cairo like the Giza Pyramids, Saqqara, The Egyptian Museum, and the Citadel, were introduced in the forum, and asked whether they have been to one of these places or another sites, the



answer is that; they saw these places, and others like Luxor and Aswan. While around 50% give an indication that they visited more than 6 places from the given names in the questionnaires.

In terms of legislation and law, I went through the articles of the Egyptian law of antiquities and the law of investment since it has relation to tourism, I asked the stakeholders and I tried to acquire the answer from some of the professionals who dealt with law terms in the field of heritage to be able to judge the role of the law in this problem.

The current legislation in law 3/2010:

- 1- The current Antiquities law ignores the word Heritage. Only the word antiques is mentioned
- 2- All the articles of this law specify the responsible authority, but do not specify ways to control, maintain or manage.
- 3- No reference to the tasks of management, such as training of professional staff, or provision of the basics of site management plans.

We admit from the results we have that 95% believe that we have legislation problem, and 99.5% believe that laws play very important role in making use of palaces, some

went to recommend the issuing of decrees for protection, some others believe we need to put strict rules and laws to prevent the usage of these palaces as governmental institutions or headquarters, which is in most cases one of the biggest problems we are facing.

Other opinions call for the enclosing of regulations in a legislative frame for maintenance and cleanness of such palaces. Other opinions see that changing the punishment of misuse or violating palace or heritage from paying fines only to imprisonment.

The decision makers have various points of view; while most of them agree that we have a legislation problem, the Touristic consultant of the Ministry of Tourism, for example, believes that we suffer a legislation problem: he did not indicate what is the problem specifically, but he referred to palaces as the only Touristic product

in some countries while it is neglected totally in Egypt. He assures that one of the main problems facing heritage in general and palaces in particular in Egypt is a lack of legislation.

Our results also demonstrates that around 88.5% of the opinions go for partnership between the government and the Private sector, those who went for this opinions clarify their feedback and the reasons behind their choice: the first of these is the funds and the ability of the private sector to secure funds and to help the government in running the palaces.

On the other hand, the government provides a set the rules and supervision ensuring viability of the projects, and accessibility to all various categories. Others believe that this method proved success in Egypt; many projects conducted in the country in partnership succeeded. Some believe that the private sector plays an important role to ensure the success of these projects; the private sector aims to achieve a small portion

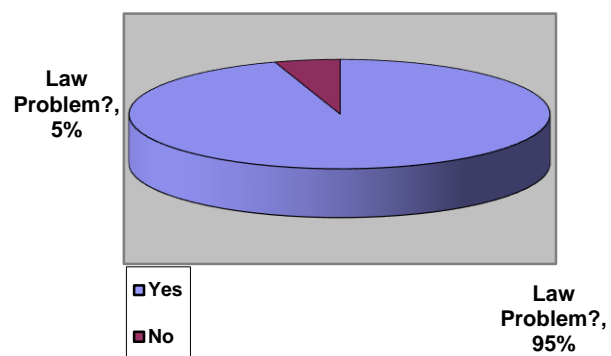


Figure 19: Law Problem Percentage

of profit, and if it is just left to the government, which, in most cases, has no tendency to achieve profit, it would be left to decay and projects will fail.

Different opinions think that the government suffers lack of trained and qualified personnel to run the steer, and they need qualified workforce of the private sector; which ensures competitive chances and preset criteria to choose his workforce. By this, strong and competitive staff is going to be hired for the management of the heritage sites. While we have around 15% of the opinions go for the Solid Governmental supervision over the palaces. Those who go for this side: see that the government is the only responsible authority to run the palaces which are owned by the government and is a possession of every Egyptian citizen.

The rest 3.5 % of the opinions believe that we have to give the chance to the private sector; we have been relying on the government and it show lack of professionalism, thus, it is time to rely on the private sector who usually ensures feasibility of any project, and targets to success before carrying out any project.

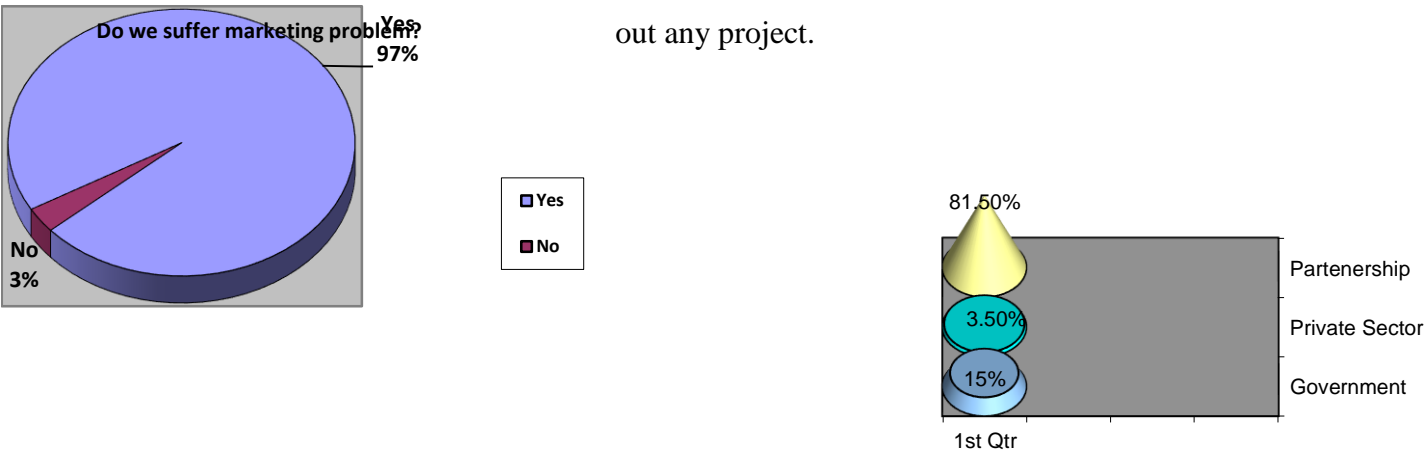


Figure12: Partnership between Government and Private Sector

Figure 13: Marketing Problem?

There are opinions proposed the setting of a new authority to be responsible for the palaces, to be independent in its administration system, and to be attached to the Ministry of Antiquities or the Egyptian Cabinet. We come to understand, from law specialists, that there is no easy way for the government to cooperate with private sector in running the Heritage in Egypt, and this was little allowed in the last edit of

the law of Antiquities of 2010. The outcome of this part demonstrate to the reader that; partnership between the Egyptian government represented in its different authorities is a must, moreover, this distinguishes with a good chances of success; based on old history of cooperation and the current surveys conducted.

Our surveys include a clear question to the interviewee whether we have a marketing problem in regard to our historical palaces or not. The answer is that 97% say yes we suffer a marketing problem, while only 3% said no.

We used the Baron palace as a case study to enhance our results in relation to the marketing problem and it shows the following;-

Which Palace we start with opening first?
Two Palaces from Heliopolis, where chosen among all other famous palaces

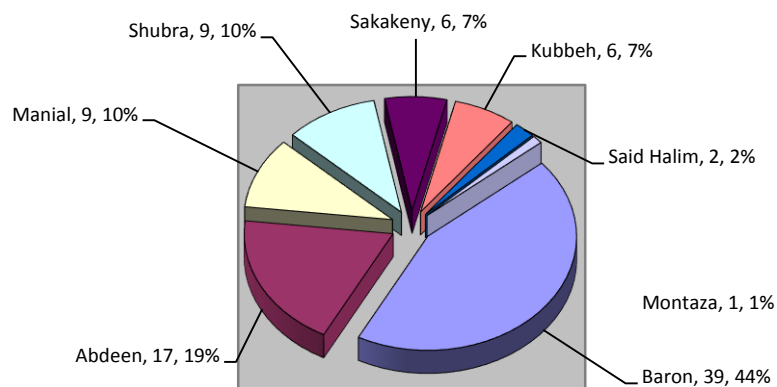


Figure 20: Which Palace we start with opening first?

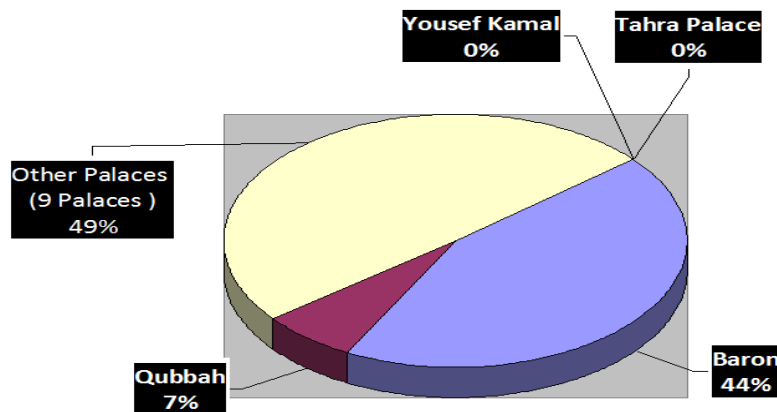


Figure 21: More clarification for figure 14

After the researcher got these answers, he wanted to obtain a point of view to help the authorities later on in their plans, from where we start? Indeed as introduced in the first chapter, we have a lot of treasures, we have a lot to save and a lot to open, we need to work together, and for this reason he introduced to names of 7 of the most famous palaces we have in Cairo to the interviewee, and asked if he knows about any of them, what does he or she recommend for us to start with if we are working to open palaces for visitors and the answers will be given in the next chart:

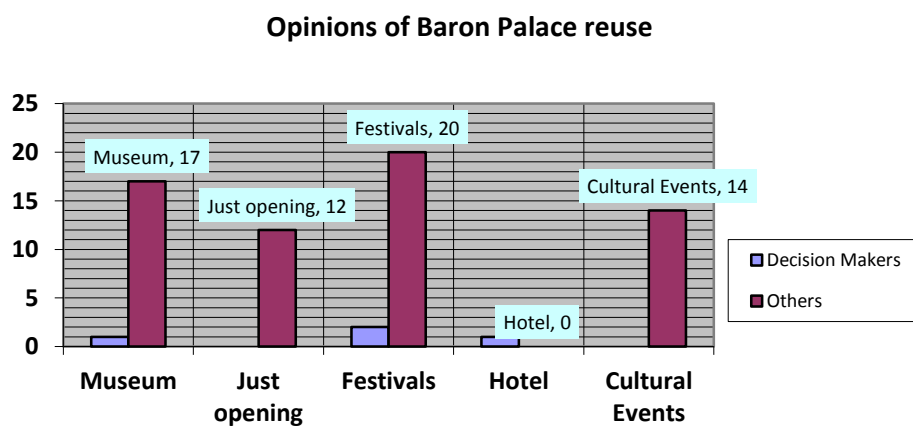
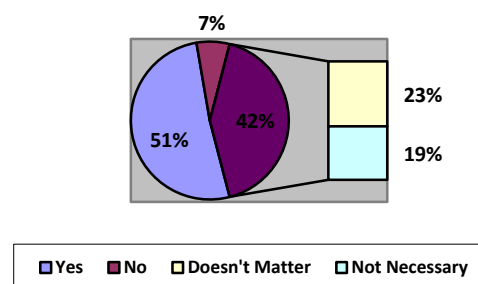


Figure 22: Reuse of Palaces

When we check in the questions if only the general and most celebrated attraction of the Egyptian in Egypt: the Cafes would be the same inside a historical palace, he puts a question for this: asking the feedback if we provide cafes, and restaurants in a historical palace, would this be visited by them? The answer was "Yes" to most of the interviewees, but still we received a big number refusing the idea to be his main attractive point, some also refused it because it has bad effect on the palaces according to their opinion. The next chart clarifies the final results.



Our interviews with the marketers indicates apparent interest in opening palaces in tourism; they show that ticket price, distance, touristic demand, and availability of time are the main reasons that affect adding palaces to the itinerary.

Figure 23: If we provide Cafes and Restaurants to the Palace, are you going to visit it?

All our results show, to a question whether providing a café or restaurant in a palace is a good idea or not, that it is not. And all of the answers go for providing cultural activities in the palace rather than providing recreational one. The survey of marketing; answers numerous debates and questions; in order to provide the reader with a nature of the problems we face, and the future steps we need to carry out in the near future as well.

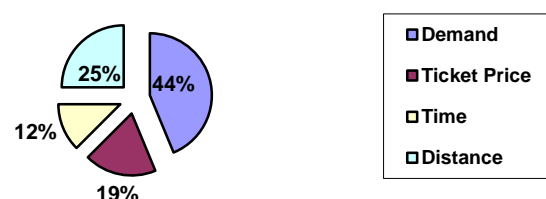


Figure 24: Tourism Demand

Summary

Our palaces suffer neglect; the law of confiscation of 1952 revolution has a negative impact on palace; numerous palaces are turned to be military headquarter; other are closed and under the protection of the Armed forces. Most of the palaces are closed for known or unknown reason. The Egyptian authority represented in the Ministry of Antiquity suffers lack of funds; moreover, the Egyptian law does not allow the chance for partnership with the private sector.

Domestic Tourism in Egypt can play a major contribution to the tourism industry, it will certainly increase nights and visits, and demand. It attracts new tourism segments, and introduces new type of tourism. This is in addition the international tourism, in order to achieve a total increase in the Economic GDP of Egypt.

Initial insights into history of palaces and its sites show that we have potential touristic prospects; they are not consumed or used; most of the palace this study refers to has potential prospect to be used in tourism and achieve a benefit in tourism, and for the social will: example of these palaces are numerous:

Baron palace is certainly good investment in case we think of; a palace, a Heliopolis park, a Dark tourism attraction or conference venue. It is accessible, renowned, and witnessed a long history. This study indicates there is a will to consume it; it's clear that we have an intention of cooperation and financial projects to open it.

Tahra palace is a good example as well; it could be added to the topic, and be used as dark tourism attraction, moreover, we can connect it in one package with the nearby Palace of Baron, and Prince Yousef Kamal in order sell them in one package. These palaces are in Heliopolis and lie in very near area to the Airport; the Ministry of Tourism in Egypt, recently, aims to take a good portion of around 600,000 transit tourist a year in Cairo Airport, this is one of the good chances to do short, fast, and rich itinerary for a traveller who stays for example no more than 6 or 8 hours.

The Kubbah palace witnessed various historical events, and distinguishes with many features between the Egyptian palaces. This palace is a presidential palace; it is ready

with its services and security to be used in tourism, and could be used as a dark tourism destination.

Our results indicate that the public awareness exists; our surveys show positive response from the interviewee in all the questions related to awareness. Those who work in field of Tourism and Heritage, and the others of have no relation to tourism or heritage by profession or study. This percentage passes 95% of positive knowledge about palaces, which gives indication to another problem apart from public awareness.

We examined another point that is the legislation affair; the results show that we have a problem in law; we do not have strong antiquities law: Law 3/ 2010 keeps all the authority in hands of the Ministry of Antiquities, and sets the punishment provided in articles 40:43, and it is not enough for protecting heritage. We should put strict and stronger penalties on thieves and smugglers. The current Antiquities law ignores the word *Heritage*; all over the articles of the law, only word antiques was mentioned, the intangible Heritage is not material to be preserved. Most of this laws' articles specify the responsible authority, but not methods of control, besides, the articles gives no importance to management, or sites management, or a personnel to manage archeological zones; and every unprofessional can tamper with any site as a consequence of lack of both management and a qualified personnel.

There are not any framed lines for a certain authority or a main responsible authority, which should be in this case the Supreme Council of Antiquities, to train, to provide, or to hire professional staff for the management of these sites, and to introduce basics for better management plans for these sites. The law number 3/2010 concentrates mainly on the long lasted trend of Egyptian History which are the antiques, some of its articles may serve for the protection of few components of the Egyptian heritage, but the future legislator should understand the nature of diversity of the Egyptian heritage, in order to provide us with a "Law of Egyptian Heritage"; where all the articles set the main three points in here as aforementioned; what to save? Who saves it? How? And we have a problem of what the law offers of choices to the governmental authority, which is running the palaces now, to cooperate with any imported idea or private sector in regard to making better use of heritage.

Results can indicate that making use or not of Palaces in tourism have 95% believe that we have legislation problem, and 99.5% believe that laws play very important role in making use of palaces, some recommend the issuing of decrees for protection, some others believe that we need to put strict rules and laws to prevent the usage of these palaces as governmental institutions or headquarters, which is in most cases one of the negative problems we face.

The results of our survey try to answer the question of the Bureaucracy in the government and the cooperation between the different stakeholders. The answer demonstrates that we have a fruitful cooperation between the different ministries responsible for the Heritage. The decision maker opinion indicates a 50 to 50% in their opinion of who takes over the palaces. Our results demonstrate that around 88.5% of the opinions go for partnership between the government and the Private sector. We have around 15% of the opinions go for the Solid Governmental supervision over the palaces. The rest 3.5 % of the opinions believe that we have to give the chance to the private sector.

Different opinions think that the government suffers lack of trained and qualified personnel to run the steer, and they need qualified workforce of the private sector; which ensures competitive chances and preset criteria to choose his workforce. By this, strong and competitive staff is going to be hired for the management of the heritage sites.

The outcome of this point demonstrate to the reader that; partnership between the Egyptian government represented in its different authorities is a must, moreover, this distinguishes with a good chances of success; based on old history of cooperation and the current surveys conducted. Answers could not give clear view of who takes over palaces, but gave indication that there should be cooperation with the private sector in order to secure funds for the projects, although the idea of privatization was introduced during the interviews, and is widely applied outside Egypt in many touristic countries like in Italy, but still it is far from application in Egypt according to this study.

In an answer to question whether we have marketing problems or not, the answer was 97% we have problems in marketing; we need to adopt a professional marketing plan for these palaces.

It is clear from the results that cultural and recreational tourism plays the most part of interest to the people, which is very important to the marketers while they plan their strategies of marketing; something means that providing recreational activities should be more important while opening palaces than the cultural one to the visitors, otherwise, concentrating on one type of activities only will have a partially negative outcome.

There is a questions inquires about the type of activities attract the visitor the most, in case we open a palace; the case of question is the Baron Palace. And the answer options include an equal prospect between; either to turn it into a museum, to hold festivals and celebrations inside it, or just to open it. The results show that most of opinions go for festivals and celebration, and cultural events, while only the decision makers see that we may have the option to turn it into a hotel for tourists

Our interviews with the marketers indicates apparent interest in opening palaces in tourism; they show that ticket price, distance, touristic demand, and availability of time are the main reasons that affect adding palaces to the itinerary. All our results show, to a question whether providing a café or restaurant in a palace is a good idea or not, that it is not. And all of the answers go for providing cultural activities in the palace rather than providing recreational one.

Since Heritage tourism become one of the biggest sectors now globally, and it is keeping on growing every day, it is very important now for living of poorer communities, and it is providing huge amount of revenues to countries, in Egypt Tourism operates around 4 million working in the sector in a direct way, and around double the number in an indirect way, and in Egypt tourism Generates revenue, according to estimates of 2010, 12.5 Billion \$, estimated on arrival of around 14.7 Million Tourist, spending around 147.4 Million night, with a direct contact with operation of around 1860 travel agency and estimated provision of direct jobs for Tourist Guides of around 16847 Tourist Guide, we have inquired the opinions which palace to be opened first to tourists, and the answer was Baron Palace, and Abdin

Palace respectively, so this can give a clear initial step to the decision makers where to start and with what and how to, and this is one of the targets of this study. If we aim to achieve good marketing plans, we should consider the opinions of the potential visitors to the site in which activity to conduct, and what is the most attracting to the visitor.

The researcher provides numerous suggestions and recommendations that should put into consideration by the authorities. We can provide the palaces with different attracting activities; wedding celebration, conference facility, and the school trips are always good ideas.

We have to start using extensively the latest technology in order to increase the demand, and to ensure a satisfactory experience of the visitor; we have to offer inclusive websites, and use the latest innovative tools. The government can depend on new innovations in marketing the palace; it can provide membership for palaces with annual fees, and offers facilities for film producers and advertises makers. The authorities should maintain sustainability during the development and planning phase in tourism; this point should include integration for the local communities. The palaces should contain the latest interpretation tools; signs, Guides, printed materials, audio-visual devices, and visitor centers. The responsible authority should pay attention to conservation and secure the needed funds for this process.

The marketers, tour agents, and tour operators should work on introducing new itineraries to the guest; they should try to be innovative in setting new touristic itineraries include palaces and include new activities. Moreover, they have to try cooperating with the government in maintaining sustainability in various touristic projects; electricity generating is a good example.

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FROM HISTORIC REDISCOVERY TO THE QUESTION OF HERITAGE:

AMIDA/DIYARBAKIR (TURKEY) IN ANTIQUITY

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Abstract

Diyarbakır, ancient Amida, has long suffered from a deficit in historiographic analysis that has had the effect of minimizing both its importance and its role in ancient history. Until recently, it was believed that the city was founded at a relatively late date, under the emperor Constantius II (337–361), at the same time as its imposing fortification wall, one of the largest ancient ramparts in the world still standing today. The monumental character of this work has, somewhat paradoxically, obliterated the previous existence of the city, considered merely “anecdotal” despite its mention in ancient texts dating to as early as the Neo-Assyrian period, or the beginning of the first millennium BCE. The recent discovery of a large Romano-Italic theater, probably dating to the high Roman Empire, has gone some way toward lifting the veil from this obscured past. This discovery has motivated the reconsideration of historical sources from numerous literary traditions--Greek, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Persian, and Arab. Furthermore, it has allowed for the reconsideration of the centuries-old history and status of a city that was not only a regional capital under the Assyrian empire, but a Hellenistic and Seleucid royal foundation, as well as, beginning in the rule of the Severans in the III^d century A.D., an important *civitas* at the eastern frontier of the Roman empire.

The privileged position of Amida throughout the long term, at the borders of the Greco-Roman and Iranian cultural spheres and at the crossroads of numerous civilizations, provides the foundation of our argument for the city's nomination to World Heritage status. Its monumental fortification wall, nonetheless, remains an essential piece of Amida's impressive historical dossier.

Introduction

Beginning with an ancient reference to *Amedi* in the royal records of the Assyrians, in the early first millennium B.C.E.²⁹⁹, the city of Amida has endured throughout history, weathering the rise and fall of dozens of empires.³⁰⁰ The name itself survived into the fourth century A.D., appearing, more than twelve centuries after its first attestation, in the writings of the last great pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus (Ammianus Marcellinus, XVIII). Such persistence is a testament to the unique character of the city, which experienced each of the cultures, languages and religions that shaped this region of the world.



Fig. 1 Location of Amida/Diyarbakir (map: Uwe Dederling).

Amida's geographic location provides one explanation for this exceptional longevity. Amida sits at the far northern limit of the Neolithic "Fertile Crescent," on the upper course of the Tigris, where the northern Mesopotamian plateau meets the Taurus mountain range (Fig. 1). Already in the Early Bronze Age, Amida's location at the fringes of the great Sumerian city-states made it a point of encounter between Semitic and Indo-European civilizations. Much later, in the classical period, the city was at the heart of a centuries-long confrontation between the two great rivals of the

²⁹⁹ A. Kirk Grayson, trans., *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods* =RIMA 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 220.

³⁰⁰ Martine Assénat and Antoine Pérez, "Amida Restituta", in *Et in Aegypto, et ad Aegyptum*, Recueil d'Etudes dédiées à J. C. Grenier, ed. A. Gasse, Fr. Servajean, Chr. Thiers, *CENiM* (2012) : 7–52.

ancient world: the empires of the Persians – Parthian, then Sassanid – and of the Romans, later the Byzantines³⁰¹. For this reason, the city was often the object of conflict between the two powers, passing back and forth between Iranian and Roman imperial domination (fig. 2).

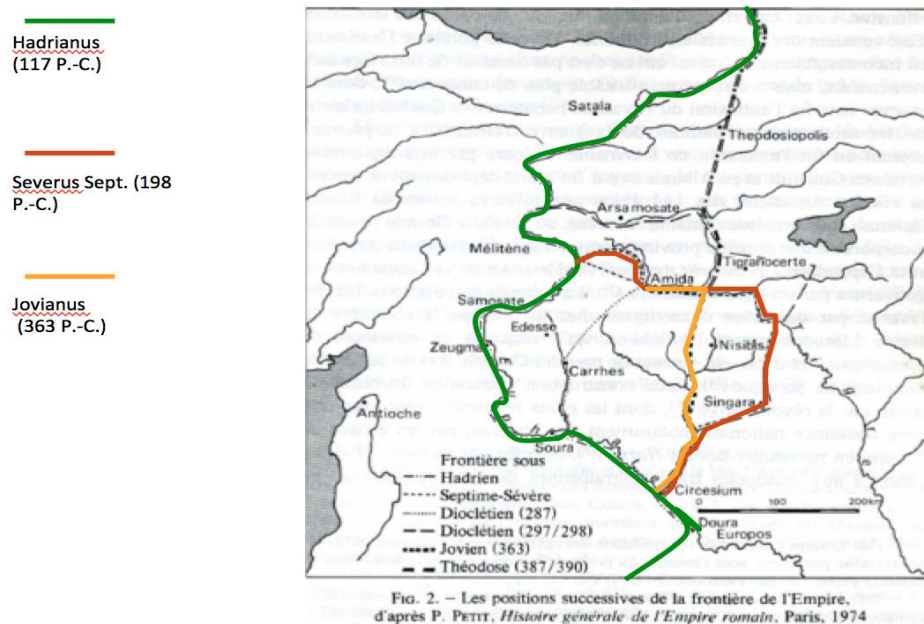


Fig. 2 Amida, *ad fines persarum*

The history of the city cannot be easily traced. Amida presents a challenge to historians and archaeologists alike, due to two rather unusual circumstances:

- Although Amida's impressive city wall is one of the best-preserved ancient fortification systems visible today (fig. 3), it encloses what is for the most part an otherwise empty city: none of the monuments or traces that usually feature in an ancient metropolis can be seen today *intra muros*, in the Ottoman old town (fig. 4 ; fig. 5). The topography of the late antique city, erstwhile capital of the Roman province of *Mesopotamia*, is in fact completely unknown to us. Six kilometers of fortification wall, 85 towers—and no surviving monuments within! The lack of large-

³⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

scale archaeological work at Diyarbakır doubtless contributes to this problem, as do the limited number of historic references to the city and, more generally, the undervaluation of this body of literature. Therefore, the city that the Diyarbakır municipal authorities have chosen to propose as a UNESCO World Heritage site in the early 2000s, while enclosed by an exceptional fortification wall, is otherwise more or less an unknown.



Fig. 3 The city walls (early twentieth century)

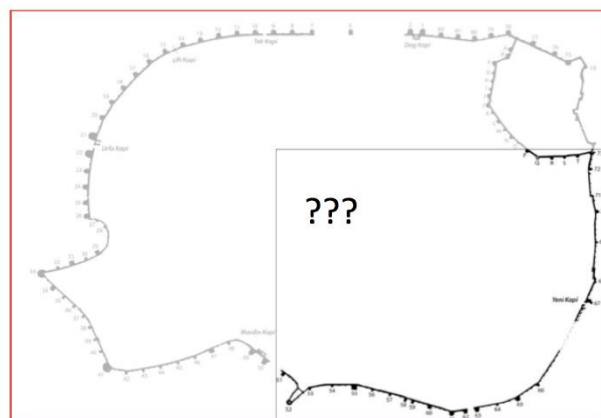


Fig. 4 An « empty » wall



Fig. 5 Diyarbakir (1939): aerial view

- The second circumstance is strictly an historical peculiarity: Amida seems, quite simply, to have no history. Or at least, no history that predates the creation of the colossal fortification wall. Rather, the city seems to emerge *ex nihilo* in 359 A.D., with its mention in a fragment of an anthology of late Latin literature: the last great pagan historian of antiquity, Ammianus Marcellinus, recounts the spectacular siege to which the Sassanid king Shapur II subjected Amida in 359 A.D., during the reign of the Roman emperor Constantius II.³⁰² According to Ammianus, the construction of the city's rampart can be attributed to this emperor, second son of Constantine the Great; Constantius II reportedly also named the city after himself, when he was still Caesar, in 337 A.D.³⁰³ He conferred the rank of *civitas* on the modestly-sized town—raising it from the anonymity of its earlier existence, where it went unmentioned by

³⁰² *History*, XIX, 1–9. The passage is one of the high points of the *Res Gestae*. It is nevertheless based on technical notes, a relation of events recorded by Ammian in his capacity as *protector domesticus* of the *Magister Militum per Orientem*, Ursicinus, one of the generals-in-chief of the imperial army.

³⁰³ XVIII, 9, 1: “This city was formerly very small; but Constantius, still Caesar at the time (Caesar etiam tum), because he wished to guarantee the local population a secure refuge, surrounded it with towers and strong walls, and made another stronghold at Antoninopolis (Tella) at the same time; and by establishing an armory there for siege artillery, he made it a terror to the enemy and wished to give it his name (suoque nomine voluit appellari).”

any source of any sort. Several years later, Amida became the sole metropolis of Byzantine *Mesopotamia* only thanks to a series of unexpected circumstances, most notably the capture of the previous provincial capital, Nisibis, by the Persians, in 363 A.D.³⁰⁴.

Soon thereafter, the city rapidly became, along with Antioch and Edessa, one of the three major *metropoleis* of the Byzantine East.

A dazzling tale, then, unfolding in less than two centuries: a major city, as its imposing fortification can attest, but a city without a known past, thrust brutally onto the historical stage at the end of the classical period.

This paradox, however, is only a perceived one—which is excellent news for those who wish the city to achieve the status of World Heritage site.

A close examination of the existing topography of the old city, along with a new reading of the literary sources, allows us to overcome the aforementioned obstacles. The literary sources are far from silent where the topography and monuments of ancient Amida are concerned; on the contrary, they confer a prestigious past on Constantius' city. Its restored historic breadth and depth are the foundation for, and more than justify, Amida's candidacy on UNESCO's World Heritage List.

³⁰⁴ Zosimus, *New History*, III, XXXIV, 1; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV, 9, 1–6; also Malalas, 336–337 in the Bonn ed., and the *Chronicon Paschale*, 554 in the Bonn ed.

From *Amedi* to *Amida*

The name *Amida* first appears in Assyrian royal annals in the beginning of the first millennium BCE, in the form *Amed(i)*. The site of the original city is at the highest possible point topographically, where the modern quarter of *Içkale* is located³⁰⁵: there, at the city's apex, dominating the Tigris river valley, excavations have uncovered ancient remains dating to the Bronze and Early Iron Ages. An earlier, but already formidable, city wall encircled the mound formed by the royal city of *Amedi* (fig. 6), which was the capital of the independent Aramaean kingdom of *Bit Zamani* as early as the XIIIth century BCE³⁰⁶. According to the Assyrian annals, the city was besieged by the king Assurnasirpal II before its integration into the Neo-Assyrian empire;³⁰⁷ it became the seat of a provincial governor—the northernmost of the empire—at the beginning of the first millennium BCE³⁰⁸. Cuneiform texts record the names of at least a dozen governors, through the beginning of the VIIth century BCE³⁰⁹. The name *Amedi* disappears thereafter from historical texts for nearly twelve centuries, until it reappears in the writings of Ammianus Marcellinus in its classical form, *Amida*.

³⁰⁵ *Içkale* means in Turkish “domestic castle”. This fortress is located north-east of the old town (fig. 6).

³⁰⁶ See J. Szuchman, “Bit Zamani and Assyria,” *Syria* 86 (2009): 55–65. The name *Amed-i* means, in Semitic languages, “that which is upright, or stands” (...); this seemingly implies the city's sturdiness, power, and perhaps therefore already the importance of its fortification walls (cf. E. Lipinski, *The Aramaeans. Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (Louvain: *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 2000), 153 with note 123).

³⁰⁷ Cf. Grayson, *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia*, 220: “I took the live soldiers (and) the heads to the city *Amedu*, his royal city (*ilanu*), (and) built a pile of heads before his gate. I impaled the live soldiers on stakes around about his city. I fought my way inside his gate (and) cut down his orchards...”

³⁰⁸ Jean Jacques Glassner, trans., *Chroniques Mesopotamiennes* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004), 164, 169.

³⁰⁹ *Ibidem*.

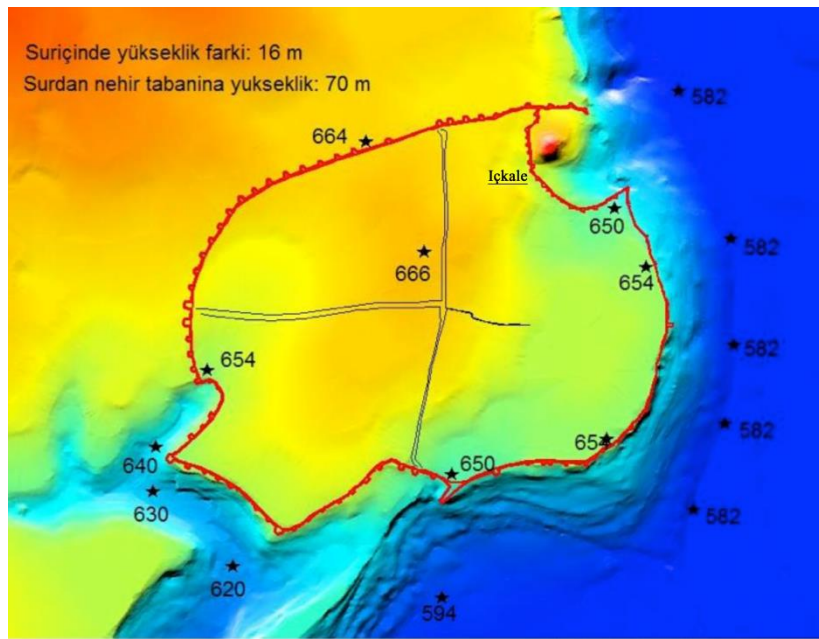


Fig. 6. *Içkale* : the primitive tell

The fall of Assyria apparently did not signal Amida's destruction, even if ancient sources tell us little more about it. In the middle of the VIth century BCE the city was incorporated into the Achaemenid Empire, under Cyrus the Great. Beginning in the reign of Darius I, the Royal Road linked Persia with the Aegean Sea and the northern reaches of Armenia; Amida's unique situation at the convergence of routes leading from Mesopotamia, Iran, and points east, into the heart of Anatolia via the Taurus mountain passes, made it a major stopping-point on that road. The additional advantage of Amida's proximity to Armenia goes a long way toward explaining the city's later geopolitical importance, in the context of the centuries-long confrontation between the Iranian and Greco-Roman worlds. For centuries, the city would constitute a strategic pawn, alternately occupied by the two powers, until the Arab Conquest, in the VIIth century of the Christian era, definitively settled the question of its political affiliation.

The Hellenistic period plunged Amida into the Classical Greek cultural sphere at the end of the IVth century. Although we do not know its precise status within Alexander's short-lived empire, it is certain that the city was integrated into the Seleucid kingdom under its first dynast, the Diadochus Seleucus I. When the satraps of the region seceded, in the early II^d century BCE, the city fell briefly into the

Armenian sphere—it was then part of the kingdom of Sophene—but quickly returned to the Seleucids: numerous indications exist to suggest that Amida was a royal foundation under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, in 165–164 BCE. It is probably at this time that the ancient city first attained the status of Greek *polis*, under the name *Epiphaneia* of the Tigris (*Epifaneia... kata Tigre*). This is according to the account of the Byzantine lexicographer Stephanus of Byzantium, as a late Syriac chronicle, the so-called Chronicle of Zuqnin, confirms³¹⁰.

After a period of uncertainty, marked notably by a second Armenian interlude in the 1st century BCE, Amida returned to Roman control—though it was frequently disturbed by periods of Persian occupation.

Urban Topography

Topographic study of the old city confirms this historic reconstruction: it permits us to discern two successive urban plans within the late antique walls (fig. 7; fig. 8). It is highly likely that the red city is the Byzantine city of Constantius II and his successors³¹¹. The green city, more or less of the same size, is evidently earlier than the red Byzantine city. As we shall see, it demonstrates an urban planning impulse attributable to the High Roman Empire at the very latest, if not to the Hellenistic period.

³¹⁰ Martine Assénat and Antoine Pérez, “*Epifaneia... kata Tigre*: une fondation hellénistique à Amida?,” *Anatolia Antiqua* 21 (2013): 159–166.

³¹¹ Assénat and Pérez, “Amida Restituta,” 10–13.



Fig. 7 The two cities

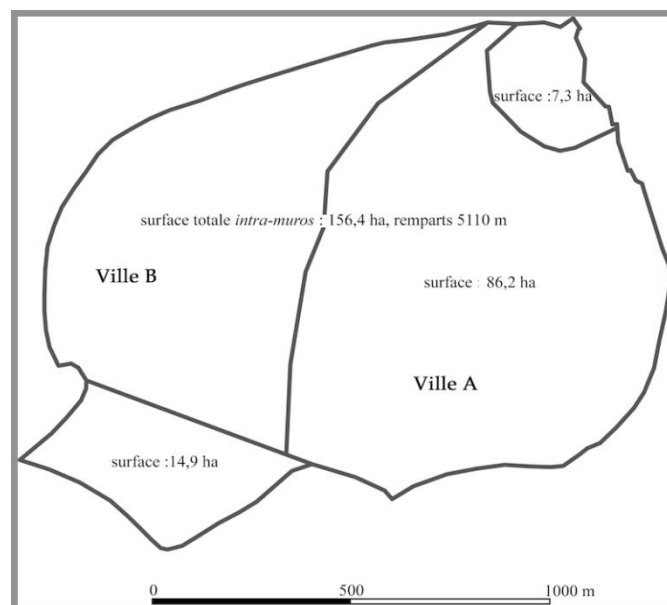


Fig. 8 The two cities (surface)

Several textual references, found in the writings of Syriac chroniclers, describe classical monuments which help us to document the Roman and Byzantine evolution of the city. We will refer here to a few significant examples.

The tetrapylon (fig. 9)

The tetrapylon is first mentioned by Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene in the VIth century³¹², then in the Chronicle of Zuqnin, or Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahre³¹³ and finally by Michael the Syrian³¹⁴. It still stood in the city center during the reign of Justinian³¹⁵. A certain Cyrus, Jacobite priest of L'Gin (a town neighboring Amida), was martyred in the tetrapylon of Amida by the order of the terrible Bar Kaili, Chalcedonian bishop of the city. The Chronicle of Zuqnin indicates that “he made this priest stand (in the tetrapylon) and they stacked up wood around him on all sides, they lit it on fire and burned him, while the city watched, moaned and cried out at this vision of heartbreak and horror...”³¹⁶.

The location of this tetrapylon was surely related to the major axes of the city at the time of Constantius II, but also to those of the previous city; it therefore served as a formal link between the two³¹⁷. The didactic character of the execution (of Cyrus), meant as it was to serve as an example, implies that the tetrapylon was a central place, a *locus* within the city (“while the city watched”)³¹⁸. In the same period, Pseudo-Zachariah, in the manner of Evagrius Scholasticus, recorded a public execution in the Great Tetrapylon of Alexandria³¹⁹.

³¹² F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, trans., *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mytilene* (London: Methuen & Co., 1899), 296. This unique reference is found in the introduction to Book X: it mentions there a certain Cyrus, priest of the locality of L'gin, “(...) who was burned alive in the tetrapylon of Amida.” The affair apparently constituted Chapter Three of the work, now sadly lost.

³¹³ Michel Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-mahre. Chronicle*, Part III (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996), 35.

³¹⁴ J. –B. Chabot, trans., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, VII, 4 (reprint Brussels, T II, 1963), 231.

³¹⁵ It should be noted that Mühlenbrock does not include this monument in his general catalogue. Cf. J. Mühlenbrock, *Tetrapylon. Zur geschichte des viertorigen Bogenmonumentes in der Römischen Architektur* (Münster: Scriptorium, 2003).

³¹⁶ Witakowski, *Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-mahre*, 35.

³¹⁷ For the function of tetrapyle arches, especially in this sense, see J. Mühlenbrock (*op. cit.*).

³¹⁸ The public character of the edifice makes it the customary location for the execution of those condemned to death: Michael the Syrian also refers to it as the site of torture for common law transgressors (*op. cit.* Chabot, 1963, 231).

³¹⁹ E. W. Brooks, ed. and trans., *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta* (Paris: CSCO 83, *Script. Syr.* 38, 1919), 119. – Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.*, II, 8. On the contrary, in Alexandria, it is the Chalcedonian bishop who was hanged in the tetrapylon.

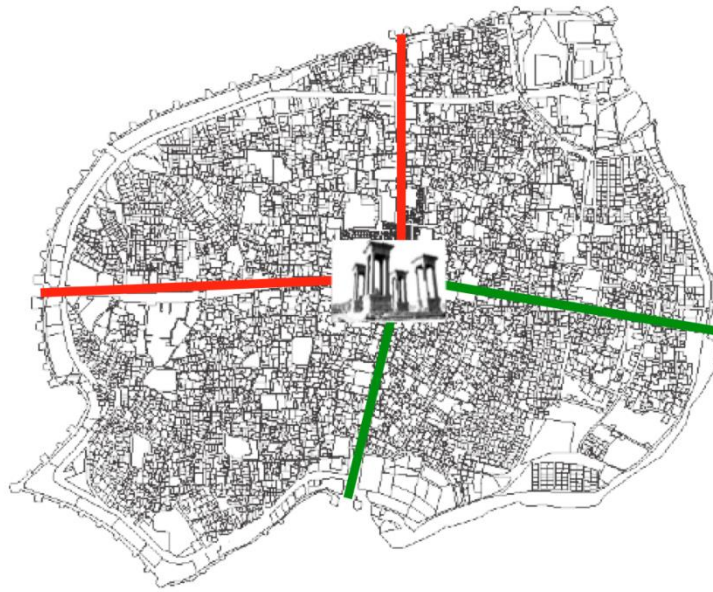


Fig. 9 The tetrapylon

The tetrapylon, so placed, would have had a similar optical effect to that used so effectively at Bosra and Palmyra. There, the tetrapylon structured and harmonized the changes in orientation of roads: at Amida, it united the slightly diverging directions of the major axes of the two cities, the old green city and the new red one, which converged at the city center. We imagine, therefore, a tetrapylon constructed in the central square of the city, where these two systems of ancient urbanism came together. The need to harmonize the two cities both geometrically and aesthetically must have arisen at the time of the city's expansion under Constantius II and his successors. The monumental edifice was probably constructed then, although we cannot totally discount the possibility of a Severan origin for the monument: in that case, the tetrapylon would have been enlarged and reoriented in the IVth century.

Porticos...

The presence of a four-way arch implies that the city streets were likely also porticoed, as was the case in all eastern cities, like Antioch, Palmyra, Apamea in

Syria, or Antioch in Egypt, founded by the emperor Hadrian³²⁰. The rapid pace at which modern construction work in Diyarbakır has turned up dozens of columns and capitals along the major urban axes of the ancient city provides further evidence for the existence of these urban routes; the inventory of these architectural membra is underway. While perhaps not the equal of the “porticos of Antioch,” when juxtaposed with the triumphal arch of Mardin, these paths summon up the image of a city organized following late Imperial canons—or perhaps earlier ones, if we attribute the framework of the green city to a period that predates the Byzantines.

A Forum, a basilica, an early Christian church (fig. 10)

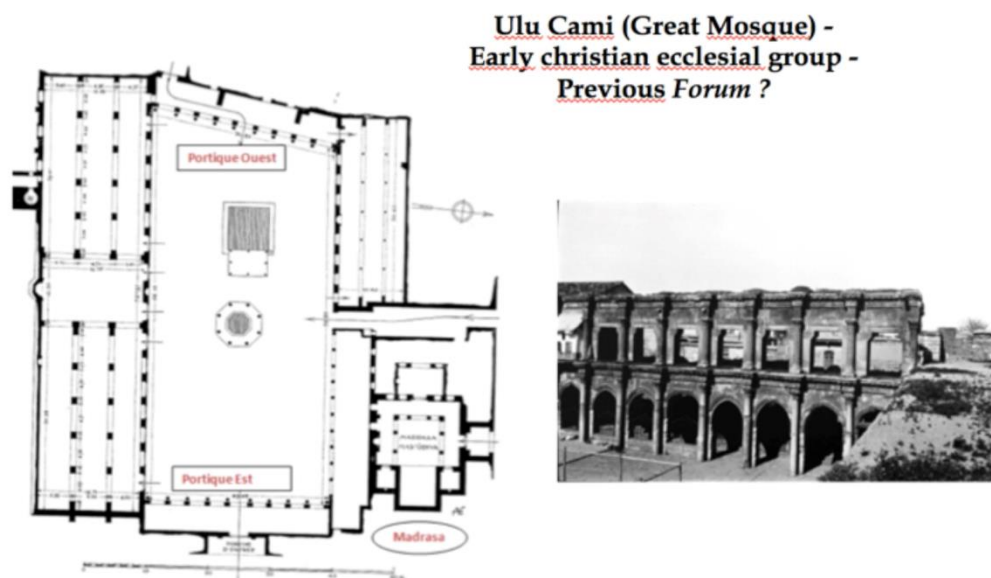


Fig. 10 *Ulu Cami* (Great Mosque). Early christian ecclesial group – previous *Forum* ?

Thus situated, the four-way arch lies adjacent to the early Byzantine *forum* as well as the “great church” (cathedral) constructed by the emperor Heraklius in 629 (Dionysos of Tell Mahré, the Anonymous Chronicler of Zuqnin)³²¹. We have

³²⁰ These covered walkways adorned all major streets of major cities of the Orient from the Hellenistic period. For example, Bernadette Cabouret, “Sous les portiques d’Antioche,” *Syria* 76 (1999): 127-150.

³²¹ Giuseppe Simone Assemani, ed., *Dionysos of Tell Mahré* (Roma, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, *Dionysos Patriarcha* 102, 1728) : “*Heraclius Imperator majorem Amidæ ecclesiam aedificari jubet.*” - Also the

suggested that this church was located in the area now occupied by the Great Mosque (*Ulu Cami*) and its outbuildings, the latter probably founded atop the monumental framework of the early Byzantine episcopal complex (fig. 10). The tripartite plan of the existing madrasa could therefore have been derived from that of an earlier baptistery or a *martyrium*.

We would like to consider here the hypothesis that a still earlier, classical-period basilica, existed on this site. The western portico of the present mosque courtyard would then be the last remaining trace of its existence: this portico – or façade – with its remarkably coherent architectural elaboration, which could date to the Severan period – would have lined the west side of the classical and Byzantine-period *forum*³²² (fig. 11). It should also be noted that the orientation of this façade is aligned with the ancient, green city's orientation (fig. 10). The courtyard of the existing Great Mosque, then, would have been part of the ancient public space of the *forum*; the total extent of the forum would also have included the area of the modern-day Grand Bazaar, adjacent to the *Ulu Cami* (fig. 12). By way of comparison, the configuration of the Great Mosque of Damascus, in Syria, offers a very similar case: the mosque was built within the ancient *temenos* of the great temple of Jupiter, following which, an early Christian church preceded the mosque on the site. It is perhaps not insignificant, from this perspective, that the architectural plan of the Great Mosque of Damascus greatly influenced that of the *Ulu Cami* of Diyarbakır.

Already in the classical period, then—perhaps beginning as early as the high Roman Empire, and perpetuating into the Byzantine period—the *forum* would have occupied this spot, at the crossroads of the cardinal axes of the city, and with a monumental entrance dominated by the tetrapylon.

Anonymous Chronicler of Zuqin: J. -B. Chabot, ed., *Incerti auctoris chronicon pseudo-Dyonisianum vulgo dictum*, vol. I (Leuven: CSCO 104, 1933), 258-259.

³²² Martine Assénat and Antoine Pérez, "Un Forum à Amida," *Anatolia Antiqua* 21 (2013): 135–158.



Fig. 11 The western facade of the courtyard of the Great Mosque



Fig. 12 The area of the « grand Bazaar » and the Great Mosque

Baths...

In addition to this classic monumental apparatus, several authors attest to the presence of bath complexes. Both Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene and the Chronicle of Zuqnin underscore the importance of public baths at Amida; according to pseudo-Joshua, the Persian king Kawad himself used the baths, after his conquest of the city in 502. He was purportedly so pleased by them that he went on to replicate the model throughout his empire ³²³.

A tetrapylon, porticos, thermal establishments, a *forum* that later became the site of an early Christian episcopal complex, itself replaced by a Muslim religious center: with these monuments, we can begin to trace the outlines of a great city.

... and a theater

To conclude, however, we must leave pride of place to the last edifice mentioned in the sources: its presence more than any other fixes the history of Amida in the long term.

- The *kunegion* (Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, the Anonymous Chronicler of Zuqnin) or *stadion* (Michael the Syrian). This monument is the most poignant indication of the city's antiquity: it is a theater that we have identified through photo-interpretation (fig. 13).

³²³ F. R. Trombley and J. W. Watt, trans, *The Cronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 91.



Fig. 13 The theater district (aerial view and interpretation)

Pseudo-Joshua, originally from Edessa, composed his *Chronicle* under the reign of Anastasias, in the very first years of the VIth century, and therefore only a few years after the events that he recounts took place.³²⁴ He had probably seen the monument he calls a *kunegion* with his own eyes—unlike Michael (12th c.) who could only have read about it, as the *stadion* he mentions had very likely disappeared by his time. The relevant episode regards the imprisonment of the notables of Amida in the *kunegion* of the city during the occupation of Amida by the Persians, in 502–503.

Joshua the Stylite reports:

³²⁴ The book entitled “A history of the time of affliction at Edessa and Amida and throughout all Mesopotamia” and incorporated into the chronicle of the Anonymous Chronicler of Zuqnin (VIIIth century), was composed before 507, by a chronicler who had experienced the recorded events. According to Andrew Palmer, this may have been Stratonikus, a deacon of the cathedral of Edessa (A. Palmer, “Who wrote the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite?,” in *Lingua restituta orientalis: Festgabe für Julius Assfalg*, eds. R. Schulz and M. Görg (Wiesbaden, 1990: 272–284).

*“The Persians, fearing that the population of Amida would hand the city over to the Romans, locked all of the men present in the city in the Kunegion”*³²⁵.

According to Michael the Syrian:

*“Around ten thousand men, the notables of the city and the people, were taken, locked up and guarded in the stadium (sic). (...) When the Persians saw this, they released the survivors: they left the stadium, as the dead leave their tombs...”*³²⁶.

We do not hesitate to associate this monument with the theater.

Michael the Syrian’s use of the term *stadion* poses no difficulty: this generic term is often used, in the Greek-speaking parts of the empire, to designate a theater or place of entertainment – a Latin author would have employed the term *circenses*.

As for the word used by Pseudo-Joshua, the *Kunegion* or “hunting place,” it refers to the building in which, during the later years of the Empire, *venationes* would have taken place. These were the spectacles showcasing wild animals that, with the influence of the Christian emperors, came to replace gladiatorial combat. Both theaters and amphitheaters could be used for such events, though theaters came to be preferred, as they were more numerous in the cities of the Roman East.

This particular edifice is located on flat terrain, and so cannot have backed onto or been hollowed out of a slope: rather, it must have been entirely constructed, and is therefore of Romano-Italic type. This building style was more prevalent in Syria than in the other provinces of Asia Minor. The building in question would have been very large, though no precise measurement can currently be made as we cannot accurately estimate the number of rows in the *cavea*.

Geophysical prospection undertaken with geologists from the University of Izmir in the summer of 2012 revealed the presence of a radiating wall to the northwest of the anomaly, deeply buried (as much as 10 m.), which seems to be related to the architectural structure of the *cavea* (fig. 14 ; fig. 15). If we limit ourselves to those shapes visible in the photograph, the stage wall of the building would already measure an impressive 110 meters. Such dimensions are comparable to those of the theater of

³²⁵Trombley and Watt, *The Cronicle of Pseudo-Joshua*, 61–62.

³²⁶ J.-B. Chabot, trans., *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, IX, 8, (Bruxelles, reprint, 1963), 260.

Apamea, in Syria—the largest edifice of this kind currently known in the Roman East, with a *cavea* of 145 m.—and to those of the theater of Sparta.

If we are indeed correct and the building in question is a theater, its presence has important topographic and historic implications. A theater, or even an amphitheater, can only have been built at Amida during the High Empire: the last securely dated theater in the Roman East was built by Philip the Arab at Philippopolis in the 250s A.D., as part of the city's elevation in status to the rank of Roman colony.³²⁷ As far as Amida is concerned, the Severan period is the most likely, since we know that the city was then part of the second province of *Mesopotamia* (198–248) (if we dismiss the rather implausible suggestion of Trajan's first, short-lived province)³²⁸. The presence of such a monument at Amida attests, if not to a prodigious and regular euergetism, then at least to a solidly organized civic community—and therefore implies the existence of a Roman *civitas* far earlier than the Byzantine period, and a full century before Constantius gave his name to Amida. This is one further reason to attribute the construction of the green city to the Imperial period – the middle, rather than the late, Imperial period – as a few, rare scholars had suggested, but for which until now no direct physical proof existed³²⁹.

³²⁷ See E. Frezouls, “Recherches sur les théâtres de l’Orient syrien,” *Syria* 36, 3–4, (1959) : 222. No theater in the Roman world, including in the west, is currently understood to have been built later (cf. P. Gros, *L’architecture romaine du début du IIIe s. av. J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire* I. *Les monuments publics* (Paris: Picard, 1996), 301–302). This would suggest therefore a date of construction for our building in the first third of the III^d century.

³²⁸ *CIL*, X (Antium), 8291: the province of “*Cappadocia, Greater and Lesser Armenia*” was abandoned in 117 A.D., or two years after its creation.

³²⁹ For example, Michael A. Speidel envisions Roman colonial status for the city in the IIIrd century. Cf. “Ein Bollwerk für Syrien. Septimius Severus und die Provinzordnung Nordmesopotamiens im dritten Jahrhundert,” *Chiron* 37 (2007): 414–417.

Conclusion

Capital of an Aramaean kingdom; stronghold of an Assyrian province; Hellenistic *polis*; *civitas* of the High Roman Empire; thrust into the geopolitical limelight under the Tetrarchs, perched on the Roman-Persian frontier: by the time Constantius II ordered the construction of its massive fortification in the mid-IVth century, Amida was already an ancient and important city. Its fortunes reached their *acme* in the following period, when the city was known as one of the three most renowned, alongside Antioch and Edessa, of the Byzantine East. It played a role of prime importance both in the political sphere and in the domains of religion and culture. Amida was a cradle of Syriac Christian literature – several of the great Universal Chronicles were composed there – and of an original architectural style that wedded classical Roman influences with loans from Iran. The city's influence radiated far beyond the frontiers of the Byzantine state: the Persians borrowed the technique and use of thermal baths from Amida, and spread the practice throughout Iran.

All of the classical cultures of ancient East and West, without exception, mingled together in the shadow of Amida's great walls. At the waning of the antique world, ancient forms of Kurdish, Syriac, Armenian, Persian, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and finally Arabic, could be heard spoken in Amida.

Over the course of many centuries and with the help of many cultures, Amida/Diyarbakir was a veritable laboratory of civilizations. This great diversity, more than anything else, justifies, in our eyes, its inclusion on UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites.

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