Tracing the History of Museums in Egypt from the Ptolemaic Period to the Fall of Mohamed Ali's Dynasty (323 BC - AD 1952)

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Abstract

Establishing museums was an ancient tradition that was only revived at the beginning of the Renaissance period. In the distant past, Egypt was the home of the first institution-termed museum that was founded and very well maintained by the early Ptolemies. In the modern era, its rulers of Mohamed Ali's dynasty sought to accentuate the power of the state by founding various types of museums that were for the most part the first of their kind in the region. Under the monarchy, museum notion witnessed a dramatic change. Such institutions were mostly used as powerful tools to inspire the public in the course of nation building, so as to finally form a distinctive modern Egyptian identity, which is in fact the outcome of long episodes of various successive eras. Besides unfolding the past, museums foster the sense of national allegiance among the public and reflect the modernity of the state of its time; therefore, this article aims to explore the history of the Egyptian museums from ancient to modern times until 1952.

Introduction

The term museum comes from the Greek word Mouseion (Mouseion) meaning the temple or the haunt of the Muses, ¹ the nine daughters of the god Zeus, who presided over arts and sciences; ² and whose mention was as early as the Homeric poems. ³ The ancient meaning of the term is an academic and religious community of scholars, ⁴ that is a religiously toned research institute. Curiously, Horapollo stated that among the interpretations of the "seven letters included within two fingers" (which may apply to the symbol of the ancient Egyptian goddess Seshat) is muse. ⁵ Such symbol was never precisely identified; ⁶ however, the total number of the signs constituting it is nine, which is the number of Muses in Greek mythology. A possible link between Seshat and the Muses, who were both goddesses of knowledge, could be thus proposed.

The concept of Mouseion may be best commenced by the Greek Philosopher Pythagoras in the 6th century BC with a school in Croton in the southern coast of Italy that was called by the inhabitants «the temple of Muses». Then the idea was moved to Athens, which housed two schools in the Classical Period: the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle. In these institutions, the scholars were centered round a shrine of Muses, thus the study of philosophy there was considered as a ritual to the nine goddesses. Worthy of note is that Pythagoras who originated the Mouseion notion was a student of a priest in Egypt.⁸

Knowing that there were places for learning within the precincts of Egyptian temples, the idea of education within a temple, preferably dedicated to the goddesses of knowledge, could have been then transmitted to Pythagoras who applied it in Italy. Intriguingly, Plato also studied in Egypt under priest-scholars. On the other hand, there is no clear indication that Aristotle visited Egypt; however, being Plato's student is enough to confirm the Egyptian influence on him. In all cases, such earlier institutions, i.e. Plato's Academy and Aristotle's School, were never termed Mouseion by early historians despite the fact that they were both institutions of research and learning centered around a shrine for the muses, with the former being specialized mainly in Mathematics and the latter having wide range of subjects embracing almost all areas of interest to humanity; they can be rather regarded as prototypes or forerunners of the global scaled and first-termed Mouseion in the ancient world.

Alexandria: Birthplace of Materializing Museum Notion

Upon seizing control of Egypt, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, needed to be enveloped in a Hellenic mantle so as to legitimize his rule as a successor of Alexander. Within this context, he succeeded in conveying the body of Alexander to be buried in Egypt, moved the capital to the new city founded by Alexander and named after him, and managed in promoting a scholarly activity through the establishment of the celebrated Museum and Library of Alexandria¹⁵ and enticing intellectuals, especially from Greece, to settle in Egypt;¹⁶ thus creating an institution similar to the Lyceum of Alexandrers tutor, Arsitotle, at Athens.¹⁷ It is stated that Demetrius of Phalerum, who was a student of Theophrastus,¹⁸ and whom had been unfairly ousted from Athens, went to Ptolemy Soters court in Alexandria and became among the kings friends,¹⁹ most likely advised Soter to create the museum and library;²⁰ the collection of the latter had been so much enlarged under Ptolemy Philadelphus who had given Demetrius, then the head of the library, a huge sum of money for that purpose.²¹ The Museum was called so since it embraced a shrine for the Muses so as to seek their inspiration.²² Strabo described the museum as being a part of the royal palace in the Bruchium quarter, having

¹ Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, A Lexicon: Abridged from Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 453.

² Charles F. Baker and Rosalie F. Baker III, Ancient Greeks: Creating the Classical Tradition, (Oxford University Press, 1997), 43.

³ William W. Minton, "Homer's Invocations of the Muses: Traditional Patterns," Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association 91 (1960): 292-309; Elisabeth Minchin, "The Poet Appeals to His Muse. Homeric Invocations in the Context of Epic Performance," The Classical Journal 91, no.1 (Oct-Nov.1995): 25-33.

⁴ Andrew Erskine, "Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and Library of Alexandria," Greece and Rome 42, no. 1 (Apr. 1995): 38.

⁵ Alexander Turner Cory, The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous, Book II (London: William Pickering, 1840), 106; George Dyer, Poetics: Or, Series of Poems, and Disquisitions on Poetry II (London: J. Johnson and co. 1812), 3; G. A. Wainwright, "Seshat and the Pharaoh," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 26 (1941): 35, 36 n. 1. However, Capart rejected Horapollo's interpretation, see Jean Capart, "Bulletin critique des religions de l'Egypte 1906 ET 1907," Revue de l'histoire des religions, vol. 59 (1909): 71.

⁶ For analysis and discussion of the symbol, see Dušan Magdolen, "The Development of the Sign of the Ancient Egyptian Goddess Seshat down to the End of the Old Kingdom: Analysis and Interpretation I-II," Asian and African Studies 14, no. 2 (2005): 44-55, 196-227; id., "The Development of the Sign of the Ancient Egyptian Goddess Seshat down to the End of the Old Kingdom: Analysis and Interpretation III," Asian and African Studies 15, no. 1 (2006): 55-72; id., "A New Investigation of the sign of Ancient Egyptian Goddess Seshat," Asian and African Studies 18, no. 2 (2009): 169-89.

⁷ Edouard Schuré, Pythagoras and the Delphic Mysteries (London: William Ride & Son, 1906), 66-7; Alma Stephanie Wittlin, The Museum. Its History and its Tasks in Education (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1949), 1; Thomas K. Simpson, "The Museum as Grove of the Muses," Journal of Museum Education 25, no. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 2000): 29.

⁸ Clement of Alexandria, Stromata 1.15.69.1; Prophyry, Vit. Pyth. 6, 7.

⁹ These were called centers of learning with libraries in temple annexes where a broad range of disciplines were taught, see Dieter Arnold, Lanny Bell, Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad, Gerhard Haeny and Byron E. Shafer, see Temples of Ancient Egypt (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 228. For more details on this topic, Fayza M. Haikal, "Private Collections and Temple Libraries in Ancient Egypt," in What Happened to the Ancient Library of Alexandria?, eds. Mostafa El-Abbadi, Omnia M. Fathalla (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 39-54.

¹⁰ Starbo 17.I.29; Daniel S. Richter, Cosmopolis. Imagining Community in Late Classical Athens and the Early Roman Empire (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 195; William Keith Chambers Guthrie, A History of Greek Philosophy IV. Plato: The Man and his Dialogues. Earlier Period (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 15.

¹¹ It is possible that Aristotle had been to Egypt. Through his writings in Meteorologica (passage 352 b 20), Aristotle gives a detailed description of the Delta and his usage of the verbs suggests that he was the one who did the action. Théophile Obenga and Amon Saba Saakana, Ancient Egypt and Black Africa. A Student's Handbook for the Study of Ancient Egypt in Philosophy, Linguistics, and Gender Relations (London: Karnak House, 1992), 64.

¹² Samuel Henry Butcher, Aristotle. Poetics, Mineola (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1997), iii.

¹³ For instances of the term "Academy" in Classical sources regarding Plato's institution, see Cicero, De Finibus 5.1: "arranging afternoon stroll in the academy and stating the distance from the Dipylon to the entrance of the academy"; Livy, The History of Rome 31. 24. 9: "the gymnasium of the academy". For the term "School" regarding Aristotle's Institution, see Diog. Laert., Lives of Eminent Philosophers 5.2: "Theophrastus of Eresus as the head of the school"; Strabo, Geography 13.1.54: "Aristotle giving his library and leaving his school to Theophrastus".

¹⁴ Henry T. Rowll, "A Home for the Muses," Archaeology 19, no. 2 (April 1966): 79.

¹⁵ Monica Berti and Virgilio Costa, "The Ancient Library of Alexandria. A Model for Classical Scholarship in the Age of Million Book Libraries," CLIR Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Scaife Digital Library, (2009):4–5, https://www.academia.edu/976609/The_Ancient_Library_of_Alexandria._A_Model_for_Classical_Scholarship_in_the_Age_of_Million_Book_Libraries. Despite some accounts attributing the foundation of the Library of Alexandria to Ptolemy Philadelphus, it is most likely that Ptolemy Soter was the founder, cf. Irenaeus, Against Heresies 3. 21. 2.

¹⁶ For the well-known intellectuals under Ptolemy Soter, see Roy MacLeod, The Library of Alexandria. Centre of Learning in the Ancient World, 2nd edition (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2005), 62.

¹⁷ Jeffry Abt, "The Origins of the Public Library," in A Companion to Museum Studies, ed. Sharon Macdonald (UK: Blackwell, 2006): 116.

¹⁸ Diog. Laert. 5.75. He may also have been a student of Aristotle and had activities and literary production in his School. Berti, "The Ancient Library of Alexandria," 6 and n. 22.

¹⁹ Plutarch, De Exilio 601F; William W. Fortenbaugh and Eckart Schutrumpf, ed., Demetrius of Phalerum: Text Translation and Discussion (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers 2000), 79, no. 35.

²⁰ Delfim Leao, "Plutarch on Demetrius of Phalerum: The Intellectual, the Legislator and the Expatriate," Symposion 2017, Vorträge zur Griechischen und Hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (2018): 443.

²¹ Fortenbaugh, Demetrius of Phalerum, 111, no. 58B; Aristeas, The Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates 9-10 (Recognizing the king as Philadelphus can be realized in the following lines [e.g. 41 mentioning Arsinoe as his sister]). Yet, other sources mention that upon the succession of Philadelphus, he detained Demetrius as a prisoner until he died after being bitten by an asp. This was a consequence of Demetrius' advice to Ptolemy Soter to pass on the kingship to his children to Eurydice, See Diog. Laert. 5.78.

²² Macleod, The Library of Alexandria, 62.

a public walk and a place furnished with seats in addition to a large dining hall for the museum scholars. ²³ Such description bears resemblance to the two previously mentioned institutions at Athens in both form and function. ²⁴

In such remote era, museum meant a research center encompassing scholars devoted to the study of arts and sciences; that is it was merely a house for scientific and literary knowledge and was not meant to house a collection of objects. ²⁵ Alexandria Museum, however, «had some objects including statues of thinkers, astronomical and surgical instruments, elephant trunks and animal hides, and a botanical and zoological park». ²⁶ This could have been done only for the purpose of research, but was never meant for public display. Such acquisition of valuable material gives it the validation of being akin to modern museums! ²⁷ The museum and library functioned for nearly 6 centuries when they were finally destroyed. Several accounts had been given in this regard; it is hard to believe a total damage during the Alexandrian War in 48 BC since Strabo used the library in the course of his visit to Egypt between 25-20 BC, during which he had written the description of the Museum. Ammian Marcellinus» account, stating the loss of a greater part of the Royal Quarter which had long been the home for prominent scholars, marks their destruction during the war between Aurelianus and Zenobia (ca. 270-275 AD). ²⁸ Following the fame of Alexandria Museum, other museums were established during the Roman Republic time, ²⁹ e.g. Polybius pointed out to the presence of a museum in Taranto in Southern Italy. ³⁰

Rome: Formulating the Concept of Public Display

Roman individuals> tendency of acquiring private collections increased after their conquests reaching its peak in the Republic last century; the emperors had halls in their palaces used as private museums. But this was discouraged by the generals; Agrippa 31 delivered a speech to the public calling for opening the treasures of the palaces to the public for purposes of education and raising the intellectual awareness; then Julius Caesar forbade private artifact collecting and made all of them state property. 32 Hence, the idea of public display was initiated. The Romans displayed paintings and sculptures, brought from their conquests, in gardens, temples, theatres and baths. In the 2^{nd} century AD, Emperor Hadrian specifically was a pioneer in creating what is called in the modern sense an open-air museum> when he reconstructed a number of landmarks that he had seen during his travels at his villa in Tivoli. 33

From Medieval Age to the Renaissance: Between Absence and Revival of Museums

The Medieval Age is generally characterized by the absence of true museums and the rising of private collections. Throughout the various Islamic periods, the Arabs had the tradition of collecting valuable objects; they had private collections in the palaces of their Caliphs or Sultans and Emirs/Princes (especially Abbasids, Fatimids and Mamluks) for the purposes of showing off and boasting. Moreover, it is very likely that the Fatimids were the first to initiate the concept of specialization in museums/collections; they possessed number of houses, the contents of each house (Dar) were of only one type (for example, Dar Al-Asleḥa [House for Weapons], Dar Al-Seroug (House for Saddles), Dar Al-Tara'f [House for Antiques] ...etc). On the other hand, the Arabs never knew public museums, but rather private small museums. It is nearly about the same time of the fall of the Islamic rule at Al-Andalus in the late 15^{th} century, there emerged a wave of collecting high quality objects by European private

- 30 Polybius, Histories 8.27.1 (the city name 'Tarentines' is mentioned in 8. 24. 1; 8. 25. 2).
- 31 The Roman general, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, was a close friend and son-in-law of Octavius
- 32 Rīflat Mūssā Mūḥammed, Madhal īlā Fan Al-Mātahef (Cairo: Al-Dār Al-Māsrīā Allībnānnīā, 2002), 26
- 33 Alexander, Museums in Motion, 4-5.

individuals³⁴ starting with Italy and France,³⁵ and later on to other European countries, notably England.³⁶ Such connection was absolutely not a coincidence; it is possible that the idea of forming collections, which is the basis of museum concept, was transmitted to Europe, the same way as Arab sciences and cultures, through Spain by France and Italy.³⁷ The way to both countries had been previously opened by the Arabs via Pyrenees Mountains.³⁸ It had been also claimed that what paved the way for such hypothetical theory were the treasures taken from the houses of Granada Muslim Kings, which allegedly formed the nucleus of the European museums.³⁹

The Renaissance witnessed museums revival. At the beginning of that period, the public museum in its modern sense had been originated by the Europeans. They adopted the idea of collections, developed it and maximized its benefit by changing the ownership from private individuals to the public. 40 The earliest example existed in Italy in 1471; that is, the Capitoline Museum, which housed the oldest public art collection in the world. 41 The latter consisted of seven bronze sculptures in the round donated by Pope Sixtus IV to be placed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline Hill, the most sacred site in ancient Rome. 42 It was followed by another similar example at the Vatican with the installation of Laocoön group sculpture by Pope Julius II at the Cortile del Belvedere in 1506. 43 Both modest nuclei of Capitoline and Vatican were then gradually enlarged by later donations. In the late 17th century, Basel opened the first University museum in 1671, followed by the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University in 1683.

In Modern Era, establishing museums spread worldwide widely. In 1750, the Vatican founded several museums. In 1753, the British museum was founded with a collection mainly dedicated to natural science. In USA, the Charleston Museum was established in 1773 with a collection of Natural History materials. In 1793, the Palace of Louvre in Paris was opened to the public that may well be considered as the first great national art museum. He public that may well be considered as the first great national art museum. He public that may be considered as the first great national art museum. This began in German and Swiss museums, whose directors placed the objects in a chronological order in what was called Period Rooms. Of the great museums in USA that had been established in that century in 1870 are the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, at the beginning of the 20th century, the number of museums exceeded 200. Also, a similar number existed in Russia nearly at the same time.

Rediscovering the Distant Past of Egypt and the Necessity for its Safeguarding

Before the decipherment of hieroglyphics, the Westerns knew very little about Egypt through the antiquities that were moved to their countries or the images from the historical places drawn by travelling artists or the more comprehensive work "Description de L'Egypte". However, the effort of several European scholars, particularly Thomas Young and Champollion, decoding the Rosetta Stone, ⁴⁸ unveiled the mystery of such unique civilization, with which the Europeans were fascinated. This raised the awareness of the Egyptians and their rulers about the value of their past and started to take actions to preserve their antiquities, of which the priority was given to extensive collections dating to the Pharaonic Period that was followed by significant measures to establish other homes for the three successive periods of Egypt.

²³ Strabo, Geography 17.1.8.

²⁴ Daniel Heller-Roazen, "Tradition's Destruction: On the Library of Alexandria," October 100, Obsolescence (Spring 2002): 136.

²⁵ Paula Young Lee, "The Musaeum of Alexandria and the Formation of the Muséum in Eighteenth-Century France," The Art Bulletin 79, no. 3 (Sep. 1997): 385-86.

²⁶ Edward P. Alexander and Marry Alexander, Museums in Motion. An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums (Lanham: Altamira Press, 2008) 3

²⁷ Shadia Mahmoud, "The Development of Archaeological and Historical Museums in Egypt during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Imperialism, Nationalism, UNESCO Patronage, and Egyptian Museology Today," (PhD diss., Texas Tech University, 2012), 34-5.

²⁸ Berti, "The Ancient Library of Alexandria," 3; Ammian Marcellinus, Roman History 22.16.15; For more information on the destruction of the Library, see Jean-Yves Empereur, "The Destruction of the Library of Alexandria: An Archaeological Viewpoint," in What Happened to the Ancient Library of Alexandria?, eds., Mostafa El-Abbadi and Omnia M. Fathalla (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008): p. 75-88.

²⁹ Berti, "The Ancient Library of Alexandria," 5.

³⁴ Mühammed 'Abd El-Gani Hässän, "Men Hadäret Al-Isläm. Dor Al-Toḥaf Al- 'arabiya," Al-Risäla 545, (13 Dec. 1943).

³⁵ Alexander, Museums in Motion, 24-5.

³⁶ In the 18th Century, the flood of collecting was transferred to England, in which its stately homes had brought together the finest paintings, sculptures, architectural elements and landscape models. Sporadically, some collectors permitted visitors to view their collection. Alexander, Museums in Motion, 24-7.

³⁷ Ḥāssān, "Men Ḥadāret Al-Islām.

³⁸ Tawfik Sultan Al-Youzbeky, "Al-Ḥadārah Al-ʿarabiya fi Al-Andalus we Āṭāreha fi 'uroba," Adāb Al-Rafedeen 13 (Iraq, 1981): 22; Mariam El-Mir, Al-Andalus bayn Dafatein. ʿala Ḥoṭa Al-Andaluseyeen men Al-Fatḥ īlā Al-Šetat (Alexandria: Ktobia, 2019), 42.

³⁹ Ḥāssān, "Men Ḥadāret Al-Islām"; Peter Wein, Arab Nationalism. The Politics of History and Culture in the Modern Middle East (London, New York: Routledge, 2017), 80.

⁴⁰ Ḥāssān, "Men Ḥadāret Al-Islām," 545.

⁴¹ Lionel Casson, "Il Palazzo dei Conservatori," Archaeology 25, no. 2 (April 1972): 96.

⁴² Casson, "Il Palazzo dei Conservatori," 102; Roger Cushing Aikin, "Romae de Dacia Triumphantis: Roma and Captives at the Capitoline Hill," The Art Bulletin 62, no. 4 (Dec. 1980): 585.

⁴³ John P. O'Neill, The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 57-58.

⁴⁴ Alexander, Museums in Motion, 5-6, 27-9.

⁴⁵ Alexander, Museums in Motion, 9-10.

⁴⁶ Alexander, Museums in Motion, 7; Abt, "The Origins of the Public Museum," 130-31.

⁴⁷ Müḥammed, Madhal īlā Fan Almātaḥef, 38.

⁴⁸ F. LL. Griffith, "The Decipherment of the Hieroglyphs," Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 37 (Dec. 1951): 39.

The Earliest Initiatives to Establish a Museum in Modern Egypt

The initial steps for creating a national museum in Egypt goes back to the reign of Mohamed Ali Pasha (r. 1805-1848), the founder of modern Egypt, when he issued a decree in 1835 prohibiting the exportation of all kinds of antiquities and ordering the establishment of a museum for the exhibition and the preservation of such artifacts. Yusuf Diya Effendi was entrusted to transform this task into a reality under the supervision of Rifa'a El-Tahtawy. Close to the school of Foreign Languages, Diya housed the discovered antiquities in a building constructed by Engineer Yousef Hekekyan in the Ezbekiyeh gardens of Cairo. This museum was either known as the Museum of Sheikh Rifa'a or Al-Antiqakhana. After putting the blame on the Europeans for plundering the antiquities, Mohamed Ali demonstrated his shrewd prowess in the mentioned decree by assuming that the proposed scheme would be in the Europeans' interests and he posited foreigners instead of the locals as the projected visitors of the museum. El-Tahtawy and Diya optimized the museum by enlarging the collection and preserving the artifacts. They also appointed inspectors all over the country to send any discovered antiquities to the museum.

Nevertheless, the decree posed little effect, as the despoliation of the Egyptian antiquities continued by foreign excavators and collectors. Even the British and the French Consuls in Cairo at the time, Henry Salt and Bernardino Drovetti, competed with each other in carrying off antiquities to enrich their museums in Europe. In 1942, Mohamed Ali somberly informed Richard Lepsius, a German Egyptologist and linguist, that his idea of creating a museum had failed, as "the excavations are made without knowledge and energy, the Pasha is cheated by those who work, and no one there takes any interest in a museum..."

It was also reported by Sir John Gardner Wilkinson, an English pioneer Egyptologist, that there was another museum in one of the palaces of Ibrahim Pasha -Mohamed Ali's son. However, by 1841, only a few remnants of this collection had been found like "mass of broken mummies, cases and various fragments." ⁵⁴

Following the deaths of Ibrahim Pasha and Mohamed Ali, the new Viceroy Abbas Helmy I (r. 1848-1854) paid intermittent attention to antiquities, ordering the transfer of the remaining objects of Rifa'a's Museum to the School of Engineering in Boulaq in October 1849. Later, in 1851, it was decided that a small hall used for the storage of food and coats of the employees of the Ministry of Education within the citadel would be a sufficient place to store the objects that had not yet been given away orstolen.⁵⁵

By 1855, the story of Egypt's first indigenous museum came to an end when Abbas Helmy I gifted part of the collection to the Ottoman Sultan Abdul-Aziz and then his successor Said Pasha (r. 1854-1863) presented what was left to Archduke Maximilian of Austria as a souvenir during his official visit to Egypt, believing that the Egyptian antiquities could be used as a perfect diplomaticleverage. ⁵⁶

Despite the failure of such a project, the Egyptian state's initial movement to form a museum during the early years of the nineteenth century illustrates the enlightened visions of Mohamed Ali Pasha and the Egyptian intelligentsia towards the concept of dedicating a building for the exhibition and preservation of the Egyptian antiquities.

Ignoring these abortive initial endeavors of Mohamed Ali and Rifa'a Al-Tahtawi, most of the Egyptologists regarded Mariette

Pasha⁵⁷ as the legitimate founder of Egypt first national museum in 1863.

Due to the tenacious attempts of Egypt viceroys to ban trade in the Egyptian antiquities and because of the growing Anglo-French political and Egyptological rivalry, France worked on having the upper hand on the excavations in Egypt through Mariette. Accordingly, Ferdinand De Lesseps, with Napoleon III's backing, succeeded in convincing Said Pasha in 1858 to create the Egyptian Antiquities Service under the direction of Mariette himself with an annual salary of 18 000 Francs.⁵⁸

Seeking to put obstacles in front of the agents of the different European missions who were justifying their plundering of the Egyptian antiquities on the grounds of Egypt's incompetence of preserving and supervising its own heritage, Mariette persuaded Said Pasha to execute the essential prerequisite of self-establishing an Egyptian national museum.⁵⁹ This museum came to reality in 1863 under the reign of Ismail Pasha (r. 1863-1879), who was looking for representing himself as an enlightened European-style sovereign. Ismail thought of a huge complex with museums for pharaonic, Greek and Islamic antiquities. At the same time, he demonstrated a new perspective of making these museums accessible to the natives to teach them the history of their country, as he believed that pride in Egypt past was crucial for national revival.⁶⁰

Ismail inaugurated Boulaq Museum in the presence of one of Napoleon III's deputies on 16th of October 1863 with a total cost of about 60 000 pounds, funded mainly by the state and partially by Mariette's own money. At that time, Boulaq Museum was appraised as the world's largest museum of antiquities.⁶¹

With the aim of serving the Egyptians interests as advised by Ismail, an Arabic guidebook of the museum was issued. Its contents were addressed to readers of Islamic background. Affirming compatibility between Pharaonic belief and Islamic religion to correct the false image about the ancient Egyptians who were portrayed as being polytheistic, the text began with a bismillah invocation, invoked Prophet Mohamed and declared that this museum was established for the purpose of introducing the Egyptians to the history of their ancestors. It presented the modern Egyptians as the direct descendants of the pharaohs. ⁶² Aiming to crack the European monopoly, Ismail also ordered the construction of the school of the Ancient Egyptian Language to generate Egyptian calibers to work alongside foreigners in the museum. ⁶³

In the wake of Ismail's modernization projects of Cairo, the government let bids in 1873 for the foundation of a great new museum in Gezira. However, the proposed project vanished because of the fiscal crisis that broke out.⁶⁴

Being on the bank of the Nile, Boulaq Museum had flooded in 1878 and was closed until 1880 when it was renovated and reopened to the public. By 1890, the museum could not accommodate the growing collections, a matter that promoted Khedive Tawfik (r. 1879-1892) to hand over Ismail Pasha's palace at Giza as a new place for the Museum.⁶⁵

Under the British occupation and with the displacement of the Museum to the Giza Palace, a new perplexing phase began when relations between the Antiquities Services dominated by the French and the British interests in Egypt were strained. During this period, the Society for Preservation of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt in Britain started to press for more British engagement in the archaeological service as well as the necessity of constructing a new museum building. Accordingly, Lord Cromer, the British Consul and the de facto ruler of Egypt, decided to allocate a budget for the construction of a new museum. Khedive Abbas Helmy II (r. 1892-1914), who ascended to the throne of Egypt after the death of Khedive Tawfik, laid the foundations in April 1897; however, financial constraints delayed the opening. ⁶⁶

⁴⁹ Antoine Khater, Le Regime Juridique de Fouilles et des Antiquites en Egypte (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institute Français d'Archeologie Orientale, 1960), 37-8.

⁵⁰ Rifa'a El-Tahtawy was a student of the first educational mission to France, where he studied ancient languages and culture and influenced by the orientalist Silvestre de Sacy and other Egyptologists. After returning back to Egypt, he was appointed as the director of the School of Foreign Languages by Mohamed Ali. Anouar Louca, Voyageurs et ecrivains egyptiens en France au XIXe siècle, Etudes de littérature étrangère et comparée (Paris: Didier, 1970), 25-7.

⁵¹ Donald Malcolm Reid, Whose Pharaohs? Archeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002), 56; Elliott Colla, Conflicted Antiquities, Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), 116-17.

⁵² Donald Malcolm Reid, "Indigenous Egyptology: The Decolonization of a Profession?," Journal of the American Oriental Society 105, no. 2 (April- June 1985): 234.

⁵³ John Gardner Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes: Being a Description of Egypt; Including the Information Required for Travelers in the Country I (London: John Murray, 1843), 264.

⁵⁴ Wilkinson, Modern Egypt and Thebes, 264.

⁵⁵ Thomas Lebée, "Le musée d'antiquités égyptiennes de Būlāq (1858-1889) Fairs Connaître et Aimer l'Egypte Ancienne au XIX siècle," Memoire d'étude, 1 année de 2 cycle (Mai 2013): 7.

⁵⁶ Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 58; Fayaz Haikal, "Egypt's Past Regenerated by its Own People," in Encounters with Ancient Egypt, Consuming Ancient Egypt, ed. Sally MacDonald and Michael Rice (California: UCL Press, 2003), 123-24.

⁵⁷ August Mariette, a French young archaeologist, was sent to Egypt by the French government in 1850 for the purpose of obtaining some Coptic manuscripts for Louvre Museum. Upon his arrival, he started to work on excavations at Saqqara, succeeding in sending more than 7000 antiquities to Louvre without taking the permission from the Egyptian government. Haikal, "Egypt's Past Regenerated by its Own People," 124; Tim Murray, Milestones in Archaeology: A Chronological Encyclopedia (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2007), 226; Christian Orsenigo, "Turning Points in Egyptian Archaeology 1850-1950," in Egypt and the Pharaohs from the Sand to the library, Pharaonic Egypt in the Archives and Libraries of the Universita degli Studi di Milano, ed. Patrizia Piacentini (Universita degli Studi di Milano, 1923), 117-18.

⁵⁸ Reid, "Indigenous Egyptology," 234.

⁵⁹ Jeanette Greenfield, The Return of Cultural Treasures (London: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 92-3.

⁶⁰ Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 104

⁶¹ It is worth mentioning that Ismail refused to enter the museum and remained in the garden during the opening ceremony, owing to his nauseous feeling about being in a building that had mummies in it. Reid, Whose Pharaohs? 107; Greenfield, The Return of Cultural Treasures, 93.

⁶² Lebée, "Le musée d'antiquités égyptiennes," 47.

⁶³ In 1874, the school was closed due to Mariette's opposition to the hiring of the natives in the Antiquities Service and in the Museum, fearing that the Egyptians would threaten France's monopoly on Egyptian antiquities. Reid, "Indigenous Egyptology," 235.

⁶⁴ Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 135-36

⁶⁵ E. A. Wallis Budge, Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Egyptian Sudan, third edition (London: Thos. Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, E. C, 1911), 422-

⁶⁶ Thomas G. H. James, Excavating in Egypt, The Egypt Exploration Society 1882-1982 (London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 29-30; Reid, Whose Pharaohs? 182-83, 195.

After almost five years, the Egyptian antiquities found its last destination when the new museum (current museum in Al-Tahrir Square) was officially opened on 15th of December 1902 by Khedive Abbas Helmy II, with the attendance of Lord Cromer and other 500 Egyptians and foreign dignitaries. The total cost of construction was estimated to be £E 189 220. It is considered as one of the oldest museums in the world to have a building that was specially constructed for use as a museum rather than being a palace or an old edifice rehabilitated for this purpose. The design that the French architect Marcel Dourgnon devised exuded Western colonial supremacy, by decorating the façade in a neo-classical style with statues of the European Egyptologists worked in the museum and a text written in the Latin Language with which the Europeans often used for the decoration of their monuments. Following the European model, the museum is provided with a library, laboratory and a vast open area for future expansions. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the Egyptians' struggle for autonomous control over their own heritage from the Westerners; however, it is worth mentioning that the Egyptian Museum remained under French control for almost hundred years since the time of the appointment of Mariette Pasha as director of the Antiquities Service by Said Pasha till the overthrow of King Farouk in 1952.

- Museums under Khedival Egypt

In addition to the Egyptian Museum that was established mainly for the antiquities of the Pharaonic period, Khedival Egypt witnessed the foundation of three other archaeological museums, which are the Arab Art Museum, the Graeco-Roman Museum and Coptic Museum; each represents an important era of Egypt's long history. The establishment of these four museums were among many other great projects that Egypt witnessed in the wake of the Khedivial project of forming a modern nation-state. While these four museums were mainly products of European initiative, their establishments were under the auspices of Egypt's rulers.

- Museum of Arab Art (Museum of Islamic Art)

Despite the fact that the Westerns passion for Pharaonic relics preceded their wave of admiration for what was called Arab Art (later termed Islamic Art), attempts to convey images from Islamic Cairo made its debut in the late 18th century through the travelling artists. Louis-François Cassas, the French draftsman, made remarkable sketches of the Mosque of El-Sultan Hassan. In the early 19th century, Pascal-Xavier Coste, the French architect, made impressive drawings of the architecture of Cairo during his stay in Egypt (1817-1827) serving as chief architect of Mohamed Ali; and he concluded by the publication of "Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Caire" in 1837. Also, Emile Prisse De Avenne, French engineer and draftsman, arrived in Egypt in 1827 and stayed for 19 years; he made an excellent survey on Islamic art and architecture materialized in his publication "Leart arabe deaprès les monuments du Kaire, depuis le VIIe siècle jusque à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, Paris, 1877". Such appreciation for Arab art led to the initiative made by the Austro-Hungarian architect August Salzmann in 1869 proposing the foundation of a museum of Arab art in the mosque of Al-Zāher Bibars at Al-Hussayneya district, which was approved by Khedive Ismail; however, it was not carried out during his rule. All In 1874, the former British consul in Egypt, E. T. Rogers proposed

establishing a committee for the preservation of the monuments of Arab art in the Second International Congress of Orientalists held in London, but it did not receive any support neither from Great Britain nor from Egypt. 75 In 1880, the nucleus of the Arab museum finally emerged when Khedive Tawfiq ordered the Ministry of Awqaf to collect the monuments of Arab art found in mosques and archaeological sites dating to the period until the mid-19th century in one place. The task of selecting the place had been assigned to Franz, the Hungarian Head of Technical Section of the Waqf Administration, who chose the eastern Iwan of the Mosque of El-Hakem for this purpose. ⁷⁶ However, the true creation of the museum was in December 1881 with the establishment of the Comité de Conservation de bArt Arabe. 77 The establishment decree was issued when Khedive Tawfik was so desperate being under the siege of Urabis army and consequently was in bad need of any European support that he thought of satisfying the small group of European amateurs of Arab art by this action. In the Comité, he appointed eight Egyptians and three Europeans⁷⁸ with the principal task being to a make an account of the remains from the buildings that should be transferred to the Museum.⁷⁹ When the Eastern Iwan of the Mosque became overloaded with artifacts, Franz moved the place of the museum to a temporary building in the courtyard of the same mosque in 1883, 30 which opened in 1884; yet this location was not quite visible to the tourists.⁸¹ The collections finally settled in the present "handsome" building, upon the request of the Comité, designed in Arabic style at Bab El-Khalq,82 whose foundation stone was laid by Khedive Abbas Helmi II in 1898 and was inaugurated in 1903.83 This new building then was still known as "Museum of Arab Art"; it was renamed "Museum of Islamic Art" in 1952, shortly prior to the revolution.⁸⁴

- The Graeco-Roman Museum

Alexandria, which remained a capital in the ancient times for nearly a millennium, undoubtedly needed a museum symbolizing its identity and displaying its antiquities that were scattered in many places or possessed by private collectors. The concept of creating an entity concerned with studying archaeology can be traced back to 1835 upon establishing the "Oriental Society", which was shortly dissolved in favor of a more effective body-yet still with limited benefit- that is the "Egyptian Society", whose main achievement was creating a library that mostly served the travellers within Alexandria. In 1857, the "Institut Égyptien" was established for the purposes of documentation, research and most importantly for collecting the discovered antiquities⁸⁵ since the first public collection of Graeco-Roman antiquities in Alexandria had been exhibited at Tossitsa⁸⁶ Palace in 1859 under its auspices.⁸⁷ This institute, however, was transferred together with its collection to Cairo in 1878 giving rise to the need of founding a museum to keep the flow of archaeological finds from the city and its hinterlands.⁸⁸ A fruitful discussion that had gathered the British Consul, Sir Charles Cookson, the Italian Archaeologist, Giuseppe Botti together with the Oxford

⁶⁷ Egyptian Gazette, December 17, 1902.

⁶⁸ Egyptian Gazette, January 15, 1902.

⁶⁹ Zahi Hawass, Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum: on Hundred Masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition (Cairo: American University Press, 2002), 28.

⁷⁰ Under the reign of King Farouk, it was reported that the Palace had asked the Ministry of Education in 1949 for the replacement of the plaques that adorned the façade of the museum by the Arabic language that could be easily read instead of the used Latin language aiming at "obliterating the symbol of colonialism from the façade of the museum". However, this order has never been executed. Järīdīt āl Blāġ, April 5, 1949, 4.

⁷¹ In 1924, the Rockefeller American foundation, inspired by James H. Breasted, the first American Egyptologist and a professor at the University of Chicago, offered a great fund of about \$10,000,000 to build a new Egyptian antiquities museum and research institute of Egyptology in Cairo. However, the Egyptian government, under the reign of King Fouad completely refused the proposal, as from an Egyptian nationalist point of view, it would infringe upon the sovereignty of Egypt by giving the authority of directing the museum to an international board consisting of American and European scholars for thirty years during which the Egyptian would be trained to take over. Jeffrey Abt, "Toward a Historian's Laboratory: The Breasted-Rockefeller Museum Projects in Egypt, Palestine and America," Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt 33 (1996): 173-94.

⁷² Reid, "Indigenous Egyptology," 234.

⁷³ Mercedes Volait, "Amateurs français et dynamique patrimoniale : aux origines du Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe," in La France et l'Egypte à l'époque des vice-rois (1805-1882), dir. André Raymond and Daniel Panzac (Cairo: IFAO, 2002), 311.

⁷⁴ Arthur Rhoné, "Coup d'oeil sur l'état présent du Caire ancient et modern", Gazette des Beaux-Arts 25, Année 24 (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882/1): 63-64, 67; [IAbd AlRaḥmān Zaki, Mawso'at Madinat Al-Qāhīra fi Alf 'am, (Cairo: Maktabat Al-Anglo Al-Masriah, 1969), 247; Donald Malcolm Reid, "Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism: The Struggle to Define and Control the Heritage of Arab Art in Egypt," International Journal of Middle East Studies 24, no. 1 (1992): 61; Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 223; Amal Mahfouz Ahmed and Yasser 'Ali Me'bed, "Moronat Al'mara Alislameyya ('emaret Alqarn Altase' 'ašr fi Al-Qāhīra ka-nomodag)," Magalet Al-'emara we Al-Fenoun we Al-'loum Al-Insaneya 7, Arab Association for Islamic Civilization and Art, (October 2016): n. 32.

⁷⁵ Volait, "Amateurs français et dynamique patrimoniale," 320; Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 223.

⁷⁶ Zaki, Mawsoʻat Madinat Al-Qāhīra, 247.

⁷⁷ Jean-Gabriel Leturcq, Inventing Islamic Art (3). The Museum of Arab Art in Cairo, 2014, https://leturcq.wordpress.com/2014/01/25/inventing-islamic-art-3/.

⁷⁸ Reid, "Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism," 61; id., Whose Pharaohs?, 223.

⁷⁹ Comité de Conservation de Monuments de l'Art Arabe, Fasc. 1, exercise 1882-1883, 1892, p. 9, https://www.persee.fr/doc/ccmaa_1110-6824_1892_num_1882_1_7615.

⁸⁰ Max Herz and Stanely Lane-Poole, Catalogue of the National Museum of Arab Art (London: Andesite Press, 1896), x; Zaki, Mawsoʻat Madinat Al-Qāhīra fi Alfʻam, 247.

⁸¹ Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 237.

⁸² Karl Baedeker, Egypt and the Sudan. Handbook for Travellers, 7th edition, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1914), 62.

⁸³ Bernard O'Kane, The Illustrated Guide to the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (Cairo: the American University in Cairo Press, 2012), 9-10.

⁸⁴ The term "Islamic" replaced "Arab" in Cairo University in 1933 when Creswell established a program there termed Islamic Archaeology; despite this overlap occurred when referring to this field, it took nearly 20 years to change the name of the museum, see Donald Malcolm Reid, Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser, (Cairo: the American University in Cairo Press, 2012), 170.

⁸⁵ https://asalex.org/history.html

⁸⁶ It is named after Michalis Tossitsas, a Greek merchant, arrived in Egypt in 1820 and became the first Greek Consul in Alexandria (1833-1854); he left to Greece upon the death of Mohamed Ali. Najat Abdulhaq, Jewish and Greek Communities in Egypt: Entrepreneurship and Business before Nasser (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 70; Pandelis Michalis Glavanis, "Aspects of the Economic and Social History of the Greek Community in Alexandria during the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Hull, 1989), 92-5.

⁸⁷ Kyriakos Savvopoulos and Robert Steven Bianchi, "Alexandrian Sculpture in the Graeco-Roman Museum," Graeco-Roman Museum Series 1. The Alexandria and Mediterranean Research Center, Alexandria (Alexandria: Bibliotheca Alexandrian, 2012): 11.

⁸⁸ G. Botti, Catalogue des monuments exposés au musée Gréco-romain d'Alexandrie (Alexandrie: Imprimerie Generale A. Moures & C. 1900), III.

Educator and Assyriologist who developed interest in Egyptology, Rev. Archibald Henry Sayce. ⁸⁹ The result was founding a modest museum consisting only of five rooms in two floors at Rossetta Street (Al-Hourreya Avenue Now) in a Kevork's Building through the cooperation between Alexandria Municipality and the Egyptian Antiquities Service; ⁹⁰ it was officially inaugurated by Khedive Abbas Helmy II on the 17^{th} of October $1892.^{91}$ Three years later, the current museum building consisting of 10 halls had been established behind Alexandria Municipality through the efforts of its designers, M. M. Dietrich and Leon Stienon, to house the constantly increasing collections; ⁹² its façade was designed in a neo-classical style with six columns and pediment top inscribed with the word MOY Σ EION. ⁹³ It was inaugurated in July 1895 by Khedive Abbas Helmy II in the presence of Mokhtar Pasha Ghazi, the High Ottoman Commissary, and consuls from several countries. Several Alexandrian private collectors donated their collections to the museum such as Antoniadis and Zizinia. ⁹⁴ In 1896, two other halls were added; then it was further enlarged in 1899 to include a total of 16 Halls. In 1904, the number of halls increased to $22.^{95}$

- The Coptic Museum

This Museum was the last of the four main antiquities museums to be established, representing the missing link between the Graeco-Roman period and the Islamic era. The idea of collecting Coptic objects started in the mid-19th century when Mariette was primarily sent by the French government to buy Coptic manuscripts for the Louvre before turning his attention to the excavations in Pharaonic sites, have a spreviously mentioned. In 1880s-1890s, several studies were made on Coptic language and literature; however the earliest work that raised the awareness of Coptic art and architecture was the publication of Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt in 1884 by the Oxford Classicist A. J. Butler. The French Egyptologist and Coptologist, Émile Amélineau, who joined the French Archaeology Mission in Cairo in 1882, was the first to promote for the idea of preserving the scattered Coptic antiquities in a private museum. As a result, the Coptic monuments were put under the control of the Comité de Conservation de bArt Arabe in 1896. In December 1897, the Hungarian architect, Max Herz proposed to the Comité the foundation of a museum for Coptic antiquities after the Patriarch's approval. He Comité commissioned Hussein Fakhry Pasha to start discussions with the Patriarch. In the session of March 1898, Fakhry Pasha informed the Comité that the Patriarch promised to collect the Coptic antiquities in a certain place that was afterwards suggested to be a room at Al-Mu'allaqa Church by Nakhla Al-Baraty Bey¹⁰² (Overseer of the Church); yet it was more like a storage area. At the very beginning of the

Rania Ali Maher, Noha Moustafa Shalaby

20th century, Maspero allocated a room in the Egyptian Museum for Coptic antiquities; 103 this was the first public display for artifacts dating to that era. Under the frame of releasing the Egyptian Museum's Catalogue Général, the volume Koptische Kunst was published in 1904 by Josef Strzygowski. 104 Apart from all the previous efforts, the real birth of the Coptic Museum is linked with Marcus Simaika who is considered the founder. Although he was not specialized in archaeology, excavations or Coptic language and literature, Simaika is entitled "The Father of Coptic Archaeology". 105 He began a career in state railways in 1883, but he soon developed a passion for Coptic antiquities 106 upon reading Butler's Churches of Egypt. 107 In 1906, he got a seat in the Comité, 108 and two years later he managed to convince the Patriarch, Cyril V, to found the Coptic Museum. 109 He made the perfect selection for the museum location in the historical site of the Roman Fortress Babylon, which is surrounded by the oldest churches of Cairo. The museum was inaugurated in 1910. 110 Despite the fact that Simaika was inspired by the Europeans regarding the foundation of the museum, it is worth mentioning that this museum was the only exception for not being under the European hegemony as Simaika was the first Egyptian to found and direct a museum. Another exceptional point is that this museum belonged to a religious community, possessed by the Coptic Patriarchy rather than to the state for about two decades until 1931, 111 yet under King Fouad's regime, it became under the authority of the state since it represents an important episode of the history of Egypt. By that time, the museum was only the building known at present as the Old Wing. In 1947, a larger newwing was inaugurated. 112

- Regional Museums

After a while, when the museums in Cairo became over crowded with antiquities, the idea of establishing regional museums in Egypt was initiated by the Egyptologist Ahmed Pasha Kamal in 1910;¹¹³ and together with Maspero, they urged the local authorities to establish small regional museums to house the discoveries.¹¹⁴ In 1912-13, four museums were established in Assiut, Aswan, Al-Menya and Tanta.

Assiut Museum

It was founded in 1912 by El-Sayed Pasha Khashaba,¹¹⁵ who was the first Egyptian to get permission for archaeological digs under the supervision of Ahmed Pasha Kamal. The museum was a miniature copy of the Egyptian Museum. It existed until the early 1960s and is now replaced by Al-Shaimaa Tower and its surroundings at Al-Mahatta Square.¹¹⁶

Aswan Museum

This museum was founded by the Ministry of Public Works in 1913 in Elephantine Island in the residence of the chief engineer of Aswan Dam, which itself was built in 1902. The building was extended towards the east. It included the antiquities from the

⁸⁹ Archibald Henry Sayce, Reminiscenes (London: Macmillan, 1923), 274-75. For information about Sayce, see Roshunda Lashae Belton, A non-traditional traditionalist: Rev. A. H. Sayce and his intellectual approach to biblical authenticity and biblical history in late-Victorian Britain (PhD diss., Louisiana Tech University, 2007).

⁹⁰ Mervat Seif El-Din, "The Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. Past, Present, and Future," Bibliotheca Alexandrina. Alex Med Newsletter 20 (August-October 2010): 7.

⁹¹ Botti, Catalogue des monuments exposés, VIII.

⁹² Evaristo Breccia, Alexandrea ad Aegyptum. A Guide to the Ancient and Modern Town, and to its Graeco-Roman Museum (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano D'Arti Grafiche, 1922), 121.

⁹³ Jean-Yves Empereur, A Short Guide to the Graeco-Roman Museum. Alexandria (Alexandria: Serapis, 1995), 1.

⁹⁴ Seif El-Din, "The Greco-Roman Museum," 7. Worthy of note is that more than one third of the European population by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century were Greeks, of whom there were three well-known private collectors. One was a physician called Tassos Démétrios Néroutsos (1826–1892), who donated his collection to the Institut Égyptien at Alexandria before being transferred to Cairo. The other two were merchants, of whom the more notable as collector is Sir John Antoniadis (1818–1895). He left his place of origin, Chios, an island in the Aegean Sea and settled in Alexandria in 1833 to establish an estate of his own. He had established his palace and gardens assisted by a Greek architect and two Belgian landscapers who modeled the gardens after that of Versailles dating to the 17th century. Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 149–51.

⁹⁵ Breccia, Alexandrea ad Aegyptum, 121. For six decades since its establishment, the museum's directors were Italians: the first is Giuseppe Botti (1892-1903) who published the first catalogue of the museum in 1893; then came Evaristo Breccia (1903-1931) who made some changes in the exhibition of the collections and published new museum catalogue; the third director was Achille Adriani (1931-1953), whose office had been replaced by a British director during the period of World War II. The museum was closed for renovation in 1984 when more rooms were added (for example, the Numismatic and Jewellery Halls); then since 2005 it was closed for the second time for a total renovation of the building. Seif El-Din, "The Greco-Roman Museum," 7-8; Reid, Whose Pharaobs? 161

 $^{96\} Brian\ Fagan, Archaeologists: Explorers\ of\ the\ Human\ Past\ (New\ York:\ Oxford\ University\ Press,\ 2003),\ 58.$

⁹⁷ Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 268.

⁹⁸ Aziz S. 'Atiya, The Coptic Encyclopedia I (USA: Macmillan Press, 1991), 112.

⁹⁹ Wadi' Hanna, Morshed Al- Māthf Al-Qebti we Kana'es Misr Al-Qadeema we Al-Hesn Al-Romany (Cairo: Al-Matba'a Al-Masriyah El-Ahlia, 1931), 7.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Sheehan, Babylon of Egypt. The Archaeology of Old Cairo and the Origins of the City (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 128.

¹⁰¹ Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. Fasc. 15, exercice 1898, (Cairo, 1900), 4-6.

¹⁰² István Ormos, Max Herz Pasha (1856-1919): His Life and Career, Études Urbaines 6/2, (Cairo: IFAO, 2009): 334, 336.

¹⁰³ Marcus Simaika, Dālīl Al-Mātḥaf Al-Qebti we Aham Al-Kana'es we Al-Adyerah Al-Atareyah I (Cairo: El-Matba'a El-amiriah, 1930), 33; Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 270.

¹⁰⁴ Gawdat Gabra and Marianne Eaton-Krauss, The Illustrated Guide to the Coptic Museum and Churches of Old Cairo (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 2007), 16.

¹⁰⁵ Reid, Contesting Antiquity in Egypt, 204.

¹⁰⁶ Nevine Hancin, Samir Mahfouz Simaika, and Donald Malclom Reid, Marcus Simaika. Father of Coptic Archaeology (Cairo; New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017), 3.

¹⁰⁷ Gabra, The Illustrated Guide to the Coptic Museum, 17.

¹⁰⁸ Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. Fasc. 23, exercice 1906 (1907), III, https://www.persee.fr/collection/ccmaa.

¹⁰⁹ Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 275.

¹¹⁰ Gabra, The Illustrated Guide to the Coptic Museum, 17.

¹¹¹ Dālīl Al-Māthaf Al-Qebti, Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities (Cairo, 1995), 29.

¹¹² Gabra, The Illustrated Guide to the Coptic Museum, 20.

¹¹³ Abd Al-Raḥmān Zaki, Dor Al-Toḥaf fi Misr we Al-Gamʿyat Alʿalmeya (Cairo: Dar Al-Nil Lel-Ṭebaʻah, 1949), 105.

¹¹⁴ Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 204.

¹¹⁵ El-Sayed Pasha Khashaba was referred to as private collector of Antiquities, Secretary-Interpreter in the Antiquities Service, and later a Curator in the Egyptian Museum. Ilona Regulski and Maria Golia, eds., Asyut: Guardian City (London: British Museum, 2018), 10, https://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Asyut%20Guardian%20City.pdf.

¹¹⁶ Sa'd Abd Al- Raḥmān, "Assiout allati la Ta' refounaha," Misr El-Mahrosa (August 11, 2015): no. 12, 15, http://www.misrelmahrosa.gov.eg/NewsD. aspx?id=27198.

early excavations in Elephantine as well as the excavations of Lower Nubia shortly before the construction of the Dam. 117

Al-Menya Museum

The Municipality of El-Menya had taken the decision to establish its own museum in 1913; however, it was opened to the public in March 1919. It consisted of four rooms and a hall including the antiquities found in the course of raising the height of Aswan Damforthefirsttime. 118

Tanta Museum

Also, the Municipality of Tanta, by its turn, had established its local museum in 1913. ¹¹⁹ It was provided by collections from Dar Al-Athār Al-Masreya (The Egyptian Museum) and Dar Al-Athār Al-Arabiya (Museum of Arab Art). ¹²⁰ It was closed in 1932; the ancient Egyptian artifacts were put in storage while the Islamic collection was returned to the Museum of Islamic Art. In 1935, the museum was re-founded as recommended by the Ministry of Public Education. ¹²¹

- Ethnographic Museum(s) of the Khedival Geographical Society 122

Apart from the archaeological museums, Khedival Egypt witnessed the foundation of other types of museums that reflected the cultural discourse of that time. As Khedive Ismail was eager to represent himself as an enlightened ruler and to show that Egypt was following the civilized Western nations, he ordered the foundation of the Egyptian Geographical Society in 1875¹²³ on the occasion of convening the second International Geographical Congress in Paris. Under the reign of Khedive Abbas Helmy II, a museum was set up in a hall inside the Society headquarter in an Italian school in December 1898, ¹²⁴ based on the collection (spears, bows, arrows, and shields) brought by the Egyptian Army upon returning back from the Sudan and by Egyptian travelers and discoverers of the Nile sources (costumes, jewelry, toys, and weapons) from the heart of Africa. After 1898, the Society with its museum moved to a special building in the Ministry of Public Works. As it became prominent once more under the reign of King Fouad, so its Museum, publicly known as the Ethnographic Museum/Museums of the Khedival Geographical Society, was officially inaugurated by the King himself on 3rd of April 1925 on the occasion of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the creation of the EGS. The Museum consists of two floors having two wings; the ground floor is allocated to the Ethnographic Museum/Hall, Africa Hall, and Suez Canal Hall. ¹²⁵ In 1928, the Society enlarged the museum collection through accepting gifts and buying valuable archaeological and geographical artifacts related to the traditions and customs of the urban and rural Egyptians. ¹²⁶

- Irrigation Museum/Museum of Delta Barrages

Egypt also witnessed the foundation of the Irrigation Museum/ Museum of Delta Barrages in 1900 in the middle of the gardens of Qanater Al-Khayriyah on the occasion of the construction of the submerged weirs behind the Delta Barrages, which was a part

Rania Ali Maher, Noha Moustafa Shalaby

of a gigantic project for improving the irrigation system in Egypt under the British occupation.¹²⁷ The idea for this museum was initiated earlier during the reign of Mohamed Ali when he ordered the establishment of a museum to celebrate the foundation of the Delta Barrages. It was only one simple display hall¹²⁸ including the models related to the constructed Barrages. Later on, the museum was provided by models of all the irrigation and drainage works in Egypt and Sudan, as well as three-dimensional geographical maps of some of the country provinces. ¹²⁹

- Geological Museum

As a part of the Egyptian Geological Survey that was established earlier under the rule of Khedive Abbas Helmy II in 1896,¹³⁰ the Geological Museum was established in the gardens of the Ministry of Public Works in downtown Cairo and inaugurated in 1904.¹³¹ The building¹³² consisted of two floors; all of its exhibits had been collected by the teams of the Geological Survey including minerals, rocks, invertebrate and vertebrate fossils.¹³³ Worthy of mention is that the first collection to be displayed in the museum was the Fayum Vertebrate Fossils that is the large horned mammal known as Arsinoitherium Zitteli unearthed in 1898 and was sent to London for identification before returning back for display.¹³⁴ The museum has a library with a large collection exceeding 11.000 books and periodicals including original rare books versions.¹³⁵

- Animal Museum in Giza Zoological Garden

In 1906, after the official inauguration of the first public zoo¹³⁶ in Egypt, a new museum was established in Giza Zoological garden known by "Animal Museum" for entertainment, educational and research purposes. ¹³⁷ In 1920, a special building was particularly allocated within the Zoo for the museum. ¹³⁸ It includes halls for the mammals, skeletons, mummified heads, various kinds of birds, reptiles, aquatic shells, Nile fish, as well as a special section for selling the excess birds and animals that are not required in the Zoo; it also monitors the execution of the law concerned with the immigration of various birds to and from Egypt. ¹³⁹

¹¹⁷ Marianne Eaton-Krauss, Elephantine: The Ancient Town: Official Guidebook of the German Institute of Archaeology (Cairo: German Institute of Archaeology, 1998), 59; Müḥammed, Madhal ila Fan Al-Matāḥef, 131.

¹¹⁸ Zākī, Dor Al-Toḥaf fi Misr, 106; Mūḥammed, Madḥal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 130.

¹¹⁹ Reid, Whose Pharaohs?, 204.

¹²⁰ Zākī, Dor Al-Toḥaf fi Misr, p. 106.

¹²¹ Müḥammed, Madhal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 129.

¹²² The political changes that Egypt witnessed in this era resulted in changing the Society name twice, which became Royal Geographical Society and then Egyptian Geographical Society.

¹²³ On 19th of May 1875, Khedive Ismail founded the Egyptian Geographical Society under the name of the Khedival Geographical Society with the aim of: "Studying all the branches of Geography and exploring the African countries that are completely unknown or little known about them." According to Reid, this Society was established to foster and legitimize the expansion policy of Ismail towards Africa. This Society became popular among the Egyptian intelligentsia and the Europeans, as it played an important role in the cultural revival of the Egyptian society, especially under the reign of Khedive Ismail and King Fouad I. Donald Malcolm Reid, "The Egyptian Geographical Society: From Foreign Layman's Society to Indigenous Professional Association," Poetics Today 14, no. 3, Cultural Process in Muslim and Arab Societies: Modern Period I (Autumn 1993): 539-52.

¹²⁴ The exact date of inauguration of the museum was given as December 12, 1898, see Mūḥammed, Madḥal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 239. However, El-Neḥas mentioned the year of inauguration as 1895, see Maḥmūd El-Nehas, Dālīl Al-Mātḥaf Al-Eɪnoġrafi (Cairo, 1976), 6.

¹²⁵ http://www.standards-ica.com/view_dist_des.php?id=10; "Mabna Al-Gam' ya Al-Gografia. Misr Taḥt Saqf Waḥed", Al-Bayān (April 9, 2010), https://www.albayan.ae/five-senses/2010-04-09-1.236272; "Al-Māthaf Al-Eɪnografie. Bawābet Al'adāt we Al-Taqāleed Al-Masreya", Al-Masry Al-Youm, no. 4965 "Special File" (January 17, 2018), 8, http://www.egyptiangs.com/pages.php?page=1.

¹²⁶ Zākī, Dor Al-Toḥaf fi Misr, 126; El-Nehas, Dalil Al-Māṭḥaf Al-Eṭnoġrafi, 6; Mūḥammed, Madḥal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 239-40.

¹²⁷ Zākī, Mawsoʻat Madinat Al-Qahīra, 245. It is reported the construction of the weirs was totally completed in May 1901, cf. Hanbury Brown, "Irrigation in Egypt under British Direction," Journal of the Royal Society of Arts 56 (March 13, 1908), 421.

¹²⁸ Amal Abd El-Mon'em, "Maraḥel Fatḥ Māthf Al-Ray Bel-Qanater Al-Khayriyah," Sout Al-Umma (July 1, 2017).

¹²⁹ Later on, the museum of the Ministry of Public Works (Wezaret Al-Ašģal Al´emomeyah), which had all the models related to irrigation and irrigation projects, was transferred to the Museum of the Delta Barrages. The old museum witnessed many improvements in its building and contents; it became the only museum of its kind for what it possesses (e.g. models of all irrigation and drainage works in Egypt and the Sudan as well as Aswan Reservoir). The museum was named by the "Museum of Revolution" after 1952. Mūḥammed, Madḥal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 237; Zākī, Mawsoʻat Madinat Al-Qahīra, 245.

¹³⁰ Müḥammed, Madhal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 234.

¹³¹ Zākī Mawso 'at Madinat Al-Qahīra, 243.

¹³² This building, which was designed in Graeco-Roman style by Marcel Dourgnon, the French architect of the Egyptian Museum in Tahrir Square, was torn down in 1982 because of the construction of the Cairo Metro; and the museum contents were moved to the present building near Maadi, "The Egyptian Geological Museum," http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/1256/The-Egyptian-Geological-Museum?lang=en-us (State Information Service [SIS]); Ahmed Yasser, "Geological Museum. Scientific Iconic Mark in Cairo," Sada El-Balad English (August 22, 2019), https://see.news/geological-museum-scientific-iconic-in-

¹³³ Zākī, Dor Al-Tohaf fi Misr, 83.

¹³⁴ Yasser, "Geological Museum"; Zākī, Dor Al-Toḥaf fi Misr, 87 The first museum keeper in 1904 was the British paleontologist Charles William Andrews followed by the American paleontologist and geologist Henry Fairfield Osborn in 1906. For a biography of Williams Andrews, see "Obituary Notices of Fellows Deceased: Charles Williams Andrews- 1866-1924", Proceedings of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Containing Papers of a Biological Character 100, no. 705 (Dec. 10, 1926), i-iii. For a biography of Henry Osborn, see Arthur Smith Woodward, "Henry Fairfield Osborn. 1857-1935," Obituary Notices of Fellows of the Royal Society 2, no. 5 (Dec. 1936): 66-71.

¹³⁵ Zākī, Dor Al-Toḥaf fi Misr, 91.

¹³⁶ Under the reign of Khedive Tawfik in 1890, the Egyptian government expropriated 50 acres of the gardens of Al-Giza Serail to be transformed into a public zoo. The initial collection of the Zoo was brought from the private menagerie of Khedive Ismail in Gezira Palace (Nowadays Marriott Hotel at Zamalek). The remaining animals were moved to new Giza Zoo, which was officially opened to the public in 1891. Zākī, Mawsoʻat Madinat Al-Qahīra, 86.

¹³⁷ Al'Idarat Al-Markazia Li Hadiqat Al-Hayawan, 10; Mūḥammed, Madḥal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 233.

¹³⁸ It is stated that this building was previously used as for education purposes with its collection as a supplement of that of the Zoo. Cairo School of Medicine and Giza Zoo donated specimens to the museum when it started to function that is reported as 1912 (?). William Labuschagne and Sally Walker, "Zoological Gardens of Africa," in Zoo and Aquarium History. Ancient Animal Collections to Zoological Gardens, ed. Vernon N. Kisling (Boca Raton, Florida: CRC Press, 2001), 337.

¹³⁹ Zākī, Mawsoʻat Madinat Al-Qahīra, 245.

Museums under the Monarchy

Realizing the fact that museum was a token of modernity and it had the potential of being a reflection of the country national pride and its scientific and cultural development, King Fouad¹⁴⁰ (r. 1917-1936, Sultan until 1922) sponsored the foundation of several museums throughout Egypt. In the wave of the revolution of 1919 and the British Unliteral Declaration of partial independence in 1922, Egypt had won enough autonomy to challenge the European domination over its cultural institutions. Accordingly, King Fouad tried to retrieve hegemony over the country's heritage from the hands of the foreigners, who had controlled the museum establishment since the time of Mohamed Ali Pasha, by resuming the studies of Egyptology. He also sent number of graduated students abroad to study museology and to be trained in the European museums. ¹⁴¹ On the other hand, he aimed at using the museums as an instrument for securing a place for Mohamed Ali dynasty among the great rulers that reigned Egypt since the dawn of history. So, it can be stated that his reign ushered in a new era for the creation of several new types of museums apart from the classic antiquities museums. King Fouad was called by the "Father of the Egyptian Nationalist Museology" because of the construction of numerous museums under his patronage. ¹⁴² Europeans also identified him by "Maecenas", the famous Roman patron of letters under the reign of Emperor Augustus. ¹⁴³

- Abdeen Palace Museums

Following the European royal palaces practice of having museums within the royal residence like Kensington Palace of London, the magnificent Palace of Versailles of Paris and Wilanów Palace in Poland, ¹⁴⁴ King Fouad gave orders for setting aside some of Abdeen Palace rooms, located on the eastern side in front of Paris gate, for a permanent museum gallery. As Fouad contended that the exhibition of the royal family collection was a symbol of royal authority, therefore, the Palace housed two museums within its walls under his reign: one dedicated for the exhibition of weapons and munitions, and the other one for medals, decorations and precious artifacts. These objects were either inherited among Mohamed Ali's family, or gifts from kings and presidents of the world to the King or bought from international auctions. His successor, King Farouk (r. 1936-1952), provided the museums with many other objects, especially different and precious kinds of weapons, as he was famed as one of the world's greatest collectors of weapons and artifacts. He also augmented it with a library specialized in resources related to warandweapons. ¹⁴⁵

- Museum of Prince Mohamed Ali's Palace

The practice of having a museum within the royal palaces was not only limited to the main palaces of the kings of Egypt, but it extended to the private residence of the princes of the royal family. Among these famous palaces was the Palace of Prince Mohamed Ali in Manial Al-Rhodah Island. In 1938, Prince Mohammed Ali, the younger brother of Khedive Abbas Helmy II and the cousin of King Farouk, commissioned the construction of a special separate building within his great complex to function as a museum for the exhibition and preservation of about 1200 artifacts of his great collection. Located at the southeast side of the palace, this building has an open courtyard in the center that is surrounded by 15 halls, each hall is dedicated for the exhibition of particular collection. To commemorate his name, Prince Mohamed Ali revealed his intention to Prime Minister, Tawfik Nessim, for turning his palace and his newly-added private museum into a museum accessible to the public as well as the garden of the palace into a public park after his death. 146

Rania Ali Maher, Noha Moustafa Shalaby

- Museum of Prince Youssef Kamal's Palace

The magnificent palace of Prince Youssef Kamal, the grandson of Ibrahim Pasha and an enthusiastic patron of arts, in Matariah east of Cairo, ¹⁴⁷ also comprised a museum for the exhibition of his rare artistic collection and mummified animals that hunted by the Prince himself. After the revolution of 1952, this palace was converted into a museum for mummified animals and it is now used as headquarter of the desert research center. ¹⁴⁸

- Agricultural Museum

Besides the tradition of establishing museums within palaces, the Egyptian royal family also used to transform some of the old palaces into museums. The Giza Palace of Khedive Ismail, as previously mentioned, was the first royal palace to be converted into a national museum. Under King Fouad's reign, many palaces were used as museums. The palace of Princess Fatma, King Fouad's sister, which had been donated earlier by herself to Cairo University in the suburb of Dokki is a good example of such museums. When the University erected its own buildings, the palace was given to the Ministry of Agriculture. Being inspired by the Royal Agricultural Museum during his visit to Budapest, King Fouad ordered the conversion of Princess Fatma's Palace into a museum for tracing the long history of agriculture in Egypt from prehistory to modern time. Subsequently, he hired the Hungarian Director of the museum, Alajos Peikert, to construct a similar one in Egypt to be the second of its kind in the world. 149 Before the foundation of this museum, the Khedival Agricultural Society (later Royal Agricultural Society) established a small museum under the name of the Cotton Museum, 150 which became a part of "Fouad I Agricultural Museum" after its opening. Since museums could be used as an instrument for public enlightenment and for making inspiring contributions to the national revival of the state, King Fouad made a declaration to the nation on the occasion of the inauguration of the Agricultural Museum on 26th January 1931, asking the Egyptians with all their different classes to improve Egyptian agriculture. 151 In 1935, a new building with the same architectural style of the palace was added; in 1937, another building was constructed to house a lecture hall, cinema and library was constructed, so it can be said that the museum became an agricultural culture center under the reign of King Farouk. On the 16th of January 1938, the museum was opened to the public only after King Farouk officially inaugurated it on the occasion of the selection of the museum as a venue to host the 18th International Cotton Congress. 152

- Military Museum

In the wave of the construction of national museums in 1930s, the Egyptian government issued a decree for transferring the Military Museum that once occupied the palace of Princess Amina, the mother of Abbas Helmy II, in the suburb of Garden City, to its permanent residence in the haremlik quarter of Mohamed Ali's palace complex in Salah el-Din Citadel after its evacuation by British forces in 1947. ¹⁵³ Unlike the Agriculture Museum, this museum was not the Palace initiative; it was rather the idea of the Egyptian military historian Abd Al-Rahman Zaki when he submitted a memorandum to the Ministry of War in 1929 asking for the creation of a military museum. Despite the great support of the Ministry for such project, it was not executed because of the British opposition to the idea, fearing of arousing national feelings. Instead, they offered Zaki the chance to visit military museums in various European capitals to be acquainted with the new methods employed in this type of museums. In 1936, Zaki revisited the idea by submitting a memorandum to the Palace, asking King Farouk to emulate the European military museums

¹⁴⁰ Prince Fouad was only ten years old when his father, Khedive Ismail, was exiled to Naples, Italy. As he got his education in the military academy in Turin and spent his childhood there, he became under the influence of the Western civilization and the Renaissance art. Ikbal Ali Shah, Fouad, King of Egypt, (London: H. Jenkins, 1936), 26.

¹⁴¹ In 1923, King Fouad ordered the foundation of an Egyptian school for Egyptology as a branch of the Higher Teachers College until it moved to the Egyptian University in 1925. Donald Malcolm Reid, "Nationalizing the Pharaonic Past: Egyptology, Imperialism, and the Egyptian Nationalism, 1922-1952," in Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East, ed. Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, 127-49, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 135-36; Reid, Contesting Antiquity in Egypt, 3.

¹⁴² Wien, Arab Nationalism, 86, 145.

¹⁴³ Reid, Contesting Antiquity in Egypt, 246.

¹⁴⁴ It was a common tradition in the European palaces throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to have a special room for displaying the precious collections of the kings, queens and princes, known by a "Wunderkammer", which means room of wonders. John E. Simmons, Museums: A History, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 72; Patrice Koelsch, Museums (Minnesota: The Creative Company, 2001), 10.

^{145 &#}x27;Atif A. Gunaim, ed., 'Abdeen Palace Museums (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, Ministry of Culture, 1998); Maḥmūd 🛮 bbas Ahmed 🖺 Abd Al-Raḥmān. Al-Qsūr Al-Mikīaa fī Msr, Tāry 🗸 wa Hðāra (Al-Dār Alaʿālmya llnšr wā Al-Twzī 🕽, 2005), 82.

¹⁴⁶ Kwllr Abu Al-Ftwh, Qsr Alāmīr Mūḥammed 'Ali (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002); 'Abd AlRaḥmān, Al-Qsūr Al-Mlkīaa, 152, 55; Manial Palace, http://www.egyptianmuseums.net/ Accessed in: May 2019.

¹⁴⁷ This magnificent palace was constructed by the famous Italian architect Antonio Lasciac for around 13 years from 1908 to 1921.

¹⁴⁸ Ahmed Abu Sīīf, Qsr Al-Aāmīr Yussef Kāmāl, http://www.faroukmisr.net/yoseif_Kamal_palace.htm, accessed in: June 2019; Prince Youssef Kamal: The Art Lover, Egyptian Chronicles, https://egyptchronicles.blogspot.com, accessed in June 2019.

¹⁴⁹ Ḥāssān 🛮 Abd Al-Raḥmān Khātāb, Al-Mātḥaf Al-Zrāllī Kmā llrfth, issue 175 (Cairo: Mājlīs Alīllām Alrīftī, July 2003), 17-8; Fayza Ḥāssān, The Forgotten Museum (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 47; M. H. El-Ġawas, "The Agricultural Museum, Dokki," Museum International 24, no. 3 (January 1972): 174-76.

¹⁵⁰ As Egypt was famed by its high quality of cotton, the Royal Agricultural Society, which was founded with the aim of improving agricultural and irrigation methods in Egypt, created a small cotton museum in 1920 in the old agricultural Serail in Gizera. This museum was initiated by Prince Kamal El-Din Hussein, the President of the Society. In 1926, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Agricultural-Industrial exhibition, this museum was organized by the Entomologist Mr. Walkies and the Director of the Society Fouad Abaza and it received a lot of visitors. The collection was ultimately related to all phases of cotton cultivation, pests, diseases and process of spinning and weaving, shedding lights on the role played by Mohamed Ali and his successors in flourishing the cotton cultivation and trading. Mūḥammed, Madhal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 229.

^{151 &}quot;Al-Barid Al-Adabi: Al-Mathaf AL-Zira'ai Al-Misri," Al-Risāla 238, (24 January 1938); Wien, Arab Nationalism, 99-100.

¹⁵² Khattab, Al-Mathaf AL-Ziraʻai, 17-18; Omnia El Shakry, The Great Social Laboratory: Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt (California: Standard University Press, 2007), 125-26.

¹⁵³ Aḥmed Alālfî, Al-Māthf Al-Hārbī Al-Qumī, Al-Qahīra, Jmhūrīt Māsr Al-□rābīaa, Wzārīt Al-Dīfā□, (1987); Dālīl Almāthf Alhārbī bī lqlā□aa wa □ābdīīn (Cairo: Mātb□ al Tāhrīīr. 1958), 18–20.

with the aim of referring to the grandeur of the ruling dynasty and its army and of bolstering the civilians' bond with the Egyptian army. Being a man of military principles, King Farouk ordered the refurbishment of the three adjoining interconnected palaces known collectively as Al-Haremlik Palace, which was constructed by Mohamed Ali in 1825 on the western side of the citadel, to accommodate this great museum. The main aim of this museum was to glorify the permanence of Egyptian military prowess since the ancient Egyptian history to modern era. The museum did not merely display objects, but illustrated them in a more easily accessible way, reflecting the longevity of the Egyptian military history and inspired by the military spirit of the oldest army in the world. Accordingly, it can be stated that this museum was the most vocally nationalist museum in Egypt during this period. ¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, choosing palaces to house such museums was an indication that these museums were not hailed only for their comprehensive collections, but also for their outstanding architecture.

- House of the Nation (Museum of Saad Zaghloul)

In the time that the concept of transforming certain houses into historic museums became in vogue in the United States and in Europe during the 20^{th} century, the emergence of this type of museum in Egypt coincided with the growth of Egyptian nationalism. In 1927, the Liberal Constitutionalist-Wafd coalition cabinet of Abd al-Khaliq Tharwat issued a decree for the conversion of the private residence of Saad Zaghloul -the icon of the revolution of 1919 and the founder of Wafad Party- into a national museum as a kind of an honor for him. ¹⁵⁵ The main purpose behind this decree was to use this historic house museum, popularly known as the House of the Nation, as a vehicle to stimulate the national spirit by recounting the story of this national prominent figure through displaying his belongings that were kept in their original places and the house itself, which embodied the symbolism of Egypt's struggle for independence. ¹⁵⁶

- Museum of Gayer Anderson

Another example for the private houses that were turned into a museum during this period was the Museum of Gayer Anderson that is located to the southeast corner of the Mosque of Ahmed Ibn Tulun in AL-Sayieda Zeinab. This museum is composed of two old Islamic houses that date back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1935, Major Gayer Anderson, a British physician officer, was authorized by the Egyptian Government to stay in these two houses that were joined together by a bridge at the third-floor level, they became collectively known as Beit al-Kritliyya. Inside the house, Anderson arranged his valuable collection of furniture, faience, carpets and other objects that date back to the ancient Egyptian period, Graeco-Roman, Coptic, and Islamic eras, as well as other artifacts collected by him from the Near East, in a perfect setting to be displayed to the public. However, in 1942, he was forced to return back to his country because of his ill health. So, he decided to bequeath his precious collection to the Egyptian Government. Subsequently, the house with its contents was converted into a museum under his name as a kind of recognition to him and it became accessible to the public under the supervision of the Arab Art Museum in 1945. Also, King Farouk bestowed on Anderson the title of Pasha as a gratitude of his kind bequest to the country.

- Railway Museum

Desiring to show off Egypt's achievements in the field of science and technology and to make them understandable to the public, King Fouad gave orders for the establishment of a railway museum on the occasion that Egypt was celebrating nearly 80 years since the inauguration of its first railway line between Cairo and Alexandria in 1854. King Fouad ordered the completion of the construction of the museum before 1933, the year on which the International Railways Conference would be held in Cairo. Indeed, the museum was opened on 15th of January 1933 to the guests and the members of the conference to be the first of its kind in the region and the second national railway museum in the world after the British one. The museum, which occupies a part of Cairo Railway station, displays hundreds of models of locomotives of every kind, documents, maps of several Egyptian stations and bridges, revealing the evolution of the Egyptian railway. 158

Rania Ali Maher, Noha Moustafa Shalaby

- Postal Museum

As Egypt was the destination spot for International congresses during this period, ¹⁵⁹ King Fouad also seized the opportunity of holding the tenth Universal Postal Conference in Cairo to establish a Postal Museum at the General Post office in 'Attaba Square, Central Cairo. The museum was founded in 1934, but only opened to the public in 1940. The Museum's initial collection consisted of the personal stamp collection of King Fouad as he was an avid collector of postage stamps. The museum was also intended to demonstrate the development of Egypt's postal services since the Pharaonic period, revealing the wider modernization of the state under Mohamed Ali Pasha and his successors. ¹⁶⁰

- Hygiene Museum

Realizing the educational role that museums could play in raising awareness among people and that museum could be used as a method of health education, King Fouad directed the Egyptian government to create a museum concerned by giving hygienic advices to the masses of the people. Accordingly, in 1927, the first Hygiene Museum in the entire region was founded in Cairo under the supervision of the Deutsch Hygiene Museum of Dresden in Germany. It was first located in a small building consisted of two floors in Madbouly street in Abdeen, and then it was transferred to Sakakini Palace. The exhibition illustrated the history and techniques of public health, comprising displays of human anatomy, physiology and pathology. Nowadays, it is located in the Ministry of Health. ¹⁶¹

- Museum of Modern Art

In the wake of the cultural revival project under the auspices of King Fouad, the Egyptian government had played a vital role in developing the modern art movement in the country since the 1920's and had funded exhibitions and purchased works of art from Europe. Therefore, in 1927, King Fouad sponsored the foundation of the first Museum of Modern Art in the region. A committee, under the supervision of the famous Egyptian sculptor Mahmoud Khalil, was formed to obtain a collection of sculptures and paintings of Egyptian and European artists. The initial collection was purchased by Khalil himself together with the Ministry of Education and exhibited in a hall of the Fine Arts Lovers Society in Tigran Pasha Palace in Ibrahim Pasha street (El-Gomhoria Street nowadays). Then, in 1931, the collection was moved with the new artifacts to the rented Palace of Mousiri when the museum was officially opened with the exhibition of 584 pieces of art. The expanding collection was then moved in 1935 to El-Bustan Palace where it was housed until the Second World War. From 1947 to 1983, the museum was moved to different places until it reached its final destination in the current Cairo Opera House in the southern part of Gezira Island.

- Wax Museum

Unlike the public museums that were constructed under the patronage of the Egyptian government during this period, the Wax Museum, established in 1934 by the artist and businessman, Fouad Abd Al-Malik, was a private enterprise for profit. Abd Al-Malik, after studying fine arts in Europe and working for a while in the Wax Museum of Paris (Musée Grévin) where he had the

¹⁵⁴ Dālīl Al-Mātħf Al-Hārbī, 18; Wien, Arab Nationalism, 145-46.

¹⁵⁵ Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, Egypt, Islam and the Arabs: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 188; Reid, Contesting Antiquity, 309.

¹⁵⁶ Nadia Al-Husseini, ed., Nation's House: Saad Zaghloul Museum (Cairo: Ministry of Culture-Sector of Fine Art- The Central Administration of Technical Support for Museums and Exhibitions), 18-22.

¹⁵⁷ Nicholas Warner, Guide to the Gayer-Anderson Museum Cairo (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2003), 3-5.

¹⁵⁸ Abd Al-Raḥmān Zākī, Dālīl Mātḥaf Al-Hīāaa Al-Qūmīaa līskk Hdīīd Māsr (Cairo: Matab' Al-Sikka Al- Hdīīd 1991), 5-6; Kenneth Hudson and Ann Nicholls, Directory of Museums (London: Springer, 1975), 108; Ḥāssān, The Forgotten Museum, 45-6.

¹⁵⁹ Under the sponsorship of Kings Fouad, a lot of conferences was held in Cairo: conference on navigation, aviation, railroads, cotton, statistics, medicine and the World Postal Union. Stamps were issued and sometimes a special museum was created to commemorate each event. Reid, "The Egyptian Geographical Society." 555.

¹⁶⁰ Ḥāssān, The Forgotten Museum, 46-47; Hudson and Nicholls, Directory of Museums, 108.

¹⁶¹ Bruno Gebhard, "Health Education in Germany, Deutsches Hygiene Museum, Dresden, Germany," The American Public Health Association at the Sixty-third Annual Meeting in Pasadena, Calif., (September 3, 1934): 1148-51; Zākī, Mūsūlt Mādīnt Al-Qahīra, 246; Kenneth and Nicholls, Directory of Museums, 108.

¹⁶² Tigran Pasha was the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 1891 and 1893. His Palace in Ibrahim Pasha street was used as the seat of the Society of Art Lovers.

¹⁶³ This palace was the palace of one of the members of the Jewish Italian family of Mousiri, who was famed for the construction of Mousiri Bank in Egypt and played a vital role in the Egyptian economy during the first half of the twentieth century. The Egyptian Economy in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. https://www.faroukmisr.net/farouk_economy.htm accessed in: May 2019.

¹⁶⁴ This Palace was the palace of Prince Fouad (later King) where he spent his youth after returning back to Egypt and it witnessed the first meetings of the League of Arab States.

¹⁶⁵ Jonathan M. Bloom and Shelia S. Blair, ed., Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture, vol. II (USA: Oxford University Press, 2009), 49; Zākī, Mūsūlt Mādīnt Al-Qahīra, 247-48; Exhibition Hall-Cairo Biennale: https://cairobiennale.gov.eg/index.php/exhibition-halls/accessed in July 2019.

chance to learn the craft, returned back to Egypt in 1919 and set up his own exhibition of wax figures in a rented small gallery in Ismailia Square (nowadays Tahrir Square). Later, he founded his museum in Qasr Al-'Aini street near Garden City, and then finally in its present location in Ain Helwan, south of Cairo. Cairo Wax Museum was probably the first of its kind in the region. ¹⁶⁶ Seeking to address the growing trends of nationalist identification at that time, Abd Al-Malik declared that the mission of his museum was not only to show off his works of art, but also to provide evidence for the modernity of the Egyptian nation through depicting the Egyptian history from the earliest time to the present in educational manner. Despite complaint that his museum did not receive a governmental financial support, Abd Al-Malik asserted that he had received moral supports from the royal household (particularly from Crown Prince Farouk and his mother Queen Nazli), prime minister, ministers and high officials, who admired the spectacle of his museum. ¹⁶⁷

- Museum of Education

Within the changes in the nationalist and cultural discourses during this period, the Ministry of Public Education became concerned with educating the youth Egypt's past. Hence, in 1929, museums as an educational instrument, became under the purview of the Ministry of Education instead of the Ministry of Public Works. The Ministry of Education, by its turn, founded its own museum, under the name of the Museum of Education, on the occasion of its centenary in 1937 under the supervision of the Islamic historian Ahmed 'Attia Allah. The schools and various scientific organizations had responded to the call of the museum curators providing the museum with the necessary documents and related objects. The main aims of the museum were to clarify the stages of education in Egypt during the last 100 years, to illustrate the history of education in ancient and modern Egypt, and to shed light on the evolution of education and the use of the advanced teaching methods in Egypt. ¹⁶⁸

- Museum of Fouad I's University

Egypt has known a distinctive type of museums during this period, the university museum, when Fouad I University (Cairo University nowadays) had within its campus a museum to act as a teaching institution for the students of the Institute of Islamic Archaeology at that time. The idea of its establishment was initiated by Professor Zaki Mohamed Hassan, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts in 1943, after Dr. Aly Ibrahim Pasha had bequeathed about 500 pieces of artifacts of carpets, faience, copper, glass, wood, leather and textiles that go back to the Islamic era to the University. As a kind of endorsement to this educational institution, the Committee of the Conservation of Arab Monuments also offered the museum a valuable collection of precious marble stones dating back to the Fatimid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods. 169

- Port Said Museum

In addition to the regional museums that were established during the reign of Khedive Abbas Helmy II, the city of Port Said witnessed the foundation of its regional national museum under the monarchy in 1922. Unlike the early regional museums that were established only with the purpose of housing the discovered antiquities in the province, this museum was established to present the development of Egyptian civilization throughout its historical epochs from the early Pharaonic age to the reign of Khedive Ismail, shedding light on the history of the city, as it was a part of the great project of the Suez Canal. ¹⁷⁰ The museum was officially opened in 1923 in a rented house in Sultan Hussein street overlooking the Suez Canal. ¹⁷¹ Aiming at raising awareness among the masses of the city and attracting local visitors, the museum opened its gate to the public freely on every Tuesday since 1925. From 1927, the museum offered free admission all over the week. In 1947, the museum, being under the supervision of the Antiquities Service like all the other regional museums, exhibited about 735 pieces of artifacts, dating back to the Pharaonic, Graeco-Roman, Coptic, Islamic eras, and Modern Egypt until the end of the reign of Khedive Ismail. ¹⁷²

Rania Ali Maher, Noha Moustafa Shalaby

- Ismailia Museum

Another regional museum was established in Ismailia in 1934. The initiation for creating a museum there dated back earlier to 1861-1863 when a considerable number of antiquities were discovered during the digging of the sweet water canal, Ismailia Canal. In 1880, these artifacts ¹⁷³ were displayed in the Antiquities Square, also known as Ramesses Square or Square Paponot. ¹⁷⁴ Between 1904 and 1914, Jean Clédat, ¹⁷⁵ the Director of Archaeological Excavations, attempted to establish a museum in this place under the auspices of the Compagnie Universalle du Canal Maritime de Suez. ¹⁷⁶ In 1907, the antiquities were moved from Ramesses Square to the old gardens of the Khedive Ismails palace, which was established to receive the monarchs on the occasion of the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869. The garden of the palace was called then the "Garden of Antiquities". ¹⁷⁷ In 1912, when Clédat asked for the permission of the Antiquities Service to transport number of antiquities to Ismailia, Maspero, as director of the Antiquities Services, replied that nothing will be transported until the Compagnie fulfills its promise to establish a museum. ¹⁷⁸ In 1914, several rooms for the small finds were set in a building of the Compagnie located in the Place Champollion -Ismailia's central square- nearby the house of Jean Clédat. In the period from 1914 to 1921, the museum was used for the storage of the furniture of Jean Clédat. In 1928, the museum project was revived by the director of the Compagnie. The Compagnie decided to establish a building replacing the old waterworks to the north of the gardens of Ismails palace. The museum was inaugurated on the 13th of February in 1934, whereas the premises housing the former museum were transformed into two schools earlier in 1930. ¹⁷⁹

- Museum of Egyptian Civilization

The endeavor of King Fouad to repurpose the museums in the direction of Egyptian nationalism was embodied later under the reign of King Farouk in the Museum of Egyptian Civilization, which opened its gates to the public in March 1949. The idea for this museum was developed ten years earlier when King Farouk presented a memorandum to the Royal Agricultural Society that was responsible for the organization of the sixteenth Exhibition for Agriculture and Industry scheduled for 1941. King Farouk, inspired by the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich, had asked for forming a committee to study the idea of establishing a big museum for the Egyptian civilization recording the story of Egypt's continuous and unified history from prehistory to the present. Farouk's memorandum, prepared by his Private Secretary, Hussein Hosny Pasha, drew upon a model of a museum that was relatively different from the traditional Egyptian museums of that time. He aimed at displaying a synthesis of Egypt's history and heritage in a unified and harmonious chronological narrative, challenging the thematic fragmentation of the Egyptian national heritage implied by the four classic museums (Egyptian, Graeco-Roman, Coptic and Arab Art Museums) and by the science and technology museums that had been established under the reign of Abbas Helmy II and Fouad I. 180 The idea to produce a merge of the dispersed Egyptian museums was an attempt to seize control over Egypt heritage from Europeans' hands, who had dominated the main museums for more than a century. Also, it was aimed at promoting an image of Egypt as the product of a longevity old civilization, in which all the Egyptians took part in its glory, representing the Alawiyya Dynasty as

¹⁶⁶ Wien, Arab Nationalism, 104-06; Zākī, Mūsū \square t Mādīnt Al-Qahīra, 246.

¹⁶⁷ Wien, Arab Nationalism, 104.

¹⁶⁸ Zākī, Mūsūlīt Mādīnt Al-Qahīra, 242; Mūḥammed, Madhal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 231.

¹⁶⁹ Zākī Mūḥammed Ḥāssān, Moslem Art in Fouad I University Museum, vol. I (Cairo: Fouad I University, 1950), 12-25; Zaki, Dor El-Toḥaf, 37-9.

¹⁷⁰ The city of Port Said was founded by Said Pasha in 1859 to house the workers of the Suez Canal and it witnessed the great celebration of its inauguration in 1869.

¹⁷¹ After the revolution of 1952, the collection of the Museum was transferred to the Egyptian Museum until Port Said established its new national museum in 1987. Đĩa Al-Dĩn Hāssān Al-Qāðīī, Mūsūlt Tārīīl būrsāllīīd (Cairo: Al-Hīaa Al-Msrīā Al-llāmaa llKttāb, al Jz' al āwl, 1997), 132.

¹⁷² Müḥammed, Madḥal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 125-27; Al-Qāðīī, Mūsūlt Tārīīl Būrsāllīīd, 133.

¹⁷³ For the history of the antiquities that were displayed in Ramesses Square at Ismailia, see Cedric Meurice, "Les musées en plein air d'Ismaïlia (Egypte)," Histoire de l'Art 57, (October 2005): 21-8.

¹⁷⁴ Named after Felix Paponot, the chief engineer of Ismailia Canal. Paponot also stated that the antiquities were transported to this square on the expense of the company, see Felix Paponot, L'Egypte, son avenir agricole et financier. Notes et documents sur la richesse et la fécondité du sol, suivis d'une nouvelle étude sur les irrigations, (Paris: Librairie Poly Technique Baudry ET Cie, Editeure, 1884), 217.

¹⁷⁵ The French Egyptologist and Coptologist, Jean Clédat, arrived in Egypt in 1900 where he joined missions for the Egyptian Antiquities Service, IFAO, the Suez Canal Company as well as the Comité de l'Art Arabe and finally left to France in 1914. S. J. Pierre Du Bourguet, "Jean Cledat," in The Coptic Encyclopedia II, ed. Aziz S. Atiya (USA: Macmillan, 1991), 561. For more details, see Cédric Meurice, Jean Clédat en Égypte et en Nubie (1900-1914), (Cairo: IFAO, 2014).

¹⁷⁶ In view of the absence of a museum, Jean Clédat used to entrust the discoveries to the Service of the domain of the Compagnie Universalle du Canal Maritime de Suez, which manages the findings. Cédric Meurice and Y. Tristant, "Jean Clédat et le site de Béda: données nouvelles sur une découverte protodynastique dans le Sinaï septentrional, "BIFAO 104, (2004): 460.

¹⁷⁷ In 1907, the findings reached its peak, especially after the discovery of the sarcophagus at Tell El-Maskhoutah, and there was no place in the limited square for the exhibits. Cédric Meurice, "Les musées en plein air d'Ismaïlia (Egypte)," Histoire de l'Art 57, (Octobre 2005): 25. For the discovery, see Jean Clédat, "Un couvercle de sarcophage anthropoide de Tell el-Maskhoutah," ASAE 9 (1908): 211-212.

¹⁷⁸ Meurice, "Les musées en plein air d'Ismaïlia," 26

¹⁷⁹ Cedric Meurice, "Les péripéties du Musée d'Ismaīlia," Timsah, Revue de l'Association des anciens residents de la zone du Canal de Suez 59 (Juillet 2005): 29; id., "Les musées en plein air d'Ismaīlia (Egypte)," 27. For a view of selected exhibits of the museum, see http://project-min.de/home/english/ismailia_en.html; Helmut Brandi, "Aus den Museen: Ismailia und sein Archäologisches Museum," Kemet 4 (2006): 52-6.

¹⁸⁰ Mātḥaf Al-Ḥdārā Al-Msrīā (Al-Qahīra: Wzārt Al-MāŪārīf Al-ŪAūmwmīaa, Al-Sārīā Al-kūbrā Bi Al-GamŪaīā Al-ZīrāŪīā Al-Malkīāā, 1949), 4-7.

the continuation of this grandeur after Mohamed Ali, the founder of Modern Egypt, restored the splendor of the country after centuries of deterioration and lethargy under Ottoman regime. ¹⁸¹ Following the general committee meeting, sub-committees were formed from members of the different museums of the country, ¹⁸² including the European directors of the old classic museums and the Egyptian directors of King Fouad's new museums, to deliberate over the themes of the museum exhibits, to review the history and the impact of each era, and to propose topics that the museum should include. These committees were under the supervision of the distinguished modern historian and the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Public Education, Shafiq Ghurbal. Tracking the contextualization that the museum had to follow, it was agreed to divide the museum into several sections, starting by the prehistoric age, then the Pharaonic period that was divided into three thematic subsections narrating the life of the individuals, society and the artistic life in ancient Egypt, then followed by the Graeco-Roman period, Coptic and the Arab Ages. Modern history section was added with four subdivisions: the French Expedition, ¹⁸³ Egyptian expansion into the Sudan, ¹⁸⁴ dynasty of Mohamed Ali until 1917 focusing on the reign of Mohamed Ali and Khedive Ismail; and finally, the climactic hall of King Fouad and Farouk.

Following the new trends in the European museums during this period, panoramic paintings, scaled dioramas, stereoscopic maps and models were used to record the customs, tradition, clothing, agriculture, crafts, communications, and conquests all over Egypt's long history. It was also decided that only skillful and famous Egyptian artists had to be involved in the preparation of the exhibition, aiming at having a real Egyptian spirit in the museum. Accordingly, it can be stated that this museum was the outcome of the efforts of different members of the Egyptian museums that joined together to create a museum that would reflect the distinctive Egyptian identity. However, the outbreak of the Second World War and budgetary concerns delayed the opening of the museum until 10 February 1949 when King Farouk inaugurated it on the occasion of the celebration of his birthday. The news of the inauguration of the museum was covered worldwide linking the museum with the resumption of tourism in Egypt after the Arab-Israeli war of 1948 and designating it as "a museum of life rather than artifacts". The Museum was located in the grand Serail of the Agricultural Society on Southern Gezira, which is now a part of the new Opera House. After the revolution of 1952, the museum was left to crumble and decay, until it was decided by the Egyptian government under the rule of former President Hosni Mubarak to revive the idea by constructing a new museum for the Egyptian civilization under the name of the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization in cooperation with the UNESCO near the ruins of Egypt's old capital. Al-Fustat. 188

Conclusions

Rania Ali Maher, Noha Moustafa Shalaby

Being the earliest and the most advanced civilization in the ancient world, Egypt was the home for nearly all the branches of knowledge and the source of various methods of education, of which learning within temple was most probably transmitted to Italy and then to Greece through the founders of the earliest school-termed institutions where scholars were centered round Muses» shrine, thus reflecting the museum concept. The first museum-termed institution was established in Alexandria during early Ptolemaic Period in Egypt. It was the greatest center of learning in the ancient world, the fame of which - though vanished - is everlasting. The Medieval Age lacked museums and witnessed the rise of private collections possessed by Arabs, and later by Europeans. Peculiarly, with the advent of the Renaissance, the museum notion was revived, but in its modern sense, that is for the purpose of public display - as was originated - in Italy despite starting with a small number of exhibits. This period is distinguished by the return for such institutions by the Europeans; however, it is only from the mid-18th century that establishing museums started to spread all over the world. Egypt was not behind to catch up with that new wave; the tradition of founding museums in Egypt was revived after a long absence of nearly fifteen centuries starting with Al-Antiqakhana at Al-Ezbekiyeh in 1835. From the mid-19th century to the first decade of the 20th century, the largest and major four archaeological museums covering the four successive periods starting with the Pharaonic era were established, in addition to other four museums of different types rather than archaeology, which are Ethnography, Geology, Technology and Zoology. The foundation of these types reflects the advancement of museological thought by that time. The increasing flow of antiquities imposed the necessity of establishing regional museums: four in the second decade of the 19th century and other two added later. Under the monarchy, there occurred a change in museums perspective moving beyond collections and collecting to become a place for forging the Egyptian modern national identity. Museums became a part of the scientific and cultural enlightenment project of the Egyptian Kings. Royal patronage of the museums peaked during this period and new different types of museums were established, either to show off the state's achievements in the field of science and technology or to reassert the Palace supremacy. The glorification of the dynasty of Mohamed Ali was the focal point in the historical narrative of most of these new museums. However, as the ancient Egyptian history was an essential component of modern Egyptian identity, the theme of continuity and unity of the Egyptian civilization from Pharaonic Egypt to the rule of Mohamed Ali's dynasty emerged clearly in the storyline of most of the museums that were established during this period specially under the reign of King Farouk. The museum notion has greatly changed from merely housing objects to have a double function, which is display and learning; thus, for the most part returning back to its ancient conception.

¹⁸¹ Wein, Arab Nationalism, 85-7; Al-Barid al-Adabi: El-Risala, 458, 13 May 1942; Yoav Di-Capua, Gatekeepers of the Arab Past: Historians and History Writing in Twentieth-Century Egypt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 6–10. Mūzkraa līqāmt Nāmūzj Lī Māthf Alhādāraa Al Māsrīaa. https://www.faroukmisr.net/report 141.htm

¹⁸² The committees included foreign and Egyptian historians and experts in museology, among them were: Etienne Drioton, Director of the Antiquities Service; Achille Adriani, Director of the Graeco-Roman Museum; Gaston Wiet, Director of the Arab Art Museum; Labib Abdallah Hassan, Director of the Railway Museum; Abd Al-Rahman Zaki, Director of the Military Museum and Fouad Abd Al-Malik, Director of the Wax Museum. Reid, Contesting Antiquity, 447: Mathaf Al-Hdārā 15-7

¹⁸³ After a long discussion, it was agreed by all the members of the committee that the French expedition deserved a separate section, as it marked a turning point in the history of modern Egypt after breaking the isolation that imposed on the country for almost three centuries under the Ottoman conquest and it paved the way also for the rule of Mohamed Ali and his successors. Wien, Arab Nationalism, 108, 351.

¹⁸⁴ As the Egyptian expansion into the Sudan was among the achievements of the dynasty of Mohamed Ali, it was decided to allocate a section inside the museum for recording the military, economic and scientific missions sent by the Egyptian rulers in various parts of Africa and to illustrate the perpetual historical links between Egypt and Sudan from the earliest times to the present era. Wein, Arab Nationalism, 109-13.

¹⁸⁵ Reid, Contesting Antiquities, 351; Zākī, Mūsūlīt Mādīnt Al-Qahīra, 244-45; Wien, Arab Nationalism, 109; Mātḥaf Al-Ḥdārā, 10.

¹⁸⁶ Wien, Arab Nationalism, 108, 113-14; Müḥammed, Madḥal īlā Fan Al-Matāḥef, 182-84.

¹⁸⁷ New York Times, 10 February 1949, 3; Al-Muqttm, 25 February 1949, 3.

¹⁸⁸ Reid, Contesting Antiquities, 352; Wien, Arab Nationalism, 117.

Classification of Museums in Modern Egypt until 1952					
No.	Name	Location	Reign	Year of Foundation	Туре
1	Museum of Sheikh Rifa'a or Al-Antiqakhana/ Boulaq Museum/ Giza Museum/ Present Egyptian Museum	Ezbekiyeh/ Boulaq/ Palace of Khedive Ismail in Giza/Ismailia Square (nowadays Al-Tahrir Square)	Mohamed Ali Pasha/ Said Pasha/ Khedive Tawfik/Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1835/1858/ 1890/1897	Archaeology
2	Museum of Arab Art (Museum of Islamic Art)	Mosque of El-Hakim/ Bab Al-Khalq, Cairo	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1881/1898	Archaeology
3	Graeco-Roman Museum	Raml Station, Central Alexandria	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1892	Archaeology
4	Ethnographic Museum	Al-Qasr Al-'Ani	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1895	Ethnography
5	Irrigation Museum	Al-Qanater-Al-Khairiyah	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1900	Technology
6	Geological Museum	Athar Al-Nabi, Mʻaadi	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1901	Natural History
7	Animal Museum	Giza Zoological garden	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1906	Natural History
8	Coptic Museum	Old Cairo	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1908	Archaeology
9	Assiut Museum	Assiut	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1912	Regional (Archaeology)
10	Aswan Museum	Aswan	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1913	Regional (Archaeology)
11	Al-Minya Museum	Al-Minya	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1913	Regional (Archaeology)
12	Tanta Museum	Tanta	Khedive Abbas Helmy II	1913	Regional (Archaeology)
13	Cotton Museum	El-Dokki	Sultan Fouad	1920	Natural History
14	Private Museum of Prince Youssef Kamal	Palace of Prince Youssef Kamal in Matariah	Sultan Fouad	1921	Private Museum
15	Port Said Museum	Port Said	King Fouad	1923	Regional (National)
16	Abdeen Museums	Abdeen Palace	King Fouad	N/A	Military and History Museums
17	House of the Nation (Beit El-Umma)	House of Saad Zaghloul in Mounira, Cairo	King Fouad	1927	Historic House
18	Hygiene Museum	Ministry of Public Health in Al-Qasr Al-'Ani	King Fouad	1927	Science
19	Modern Art Museum	Gezira Island	King Fouad	1927	Art
20	Agricultural Museum	Palace of Princess Fatma in Dokki	King Fouad	1931	History
21	Railway Museum	Cairo Railway Station	King Fouad	1933	Technology
22	Postal Museum	Central Post Office- Al-'Attaba, Central Cairo	King Fouad	1934	Technology
23	Wax Museum	Helwan	King Fouad	1934	History
24	Ismailia Museum	Ismailia	King Fouad	1934	Regional (Archaeology)
25	Museum of Education	Ministry of Education, El-Falky St., Cairo	King Farouk	1937	History
26	Private Museum of Prince Mohamed Ali	Palace of Prince Mohamed Ali, Manial Rhodah Island	King Farouk	1938	Private
27	Museum of Fouad I University	Fouad I University (Cairo University	King Farouk	1943	University Museum
28	Gayer Anderson Museum	Beit Al-Kerittliyah in Ahmed Ibn Tulun Square, Sayyida Zeinab, Cairo	King Farouk	1945	Historic House
29	Military Museum	Al-Haramlik quarter of Mohamed Ali's complex in Salah el-Din Citadel	King Farouk	1949	Military
30	Museum of Egyptian Civilization	Gezira Island	King Farouk	1949	Civilization

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Rania Ali Maher, Noha Moustafa Shalaby

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