

American University in Cairo

AUC Knowledge Fountain

Archived Theses and Dissertations

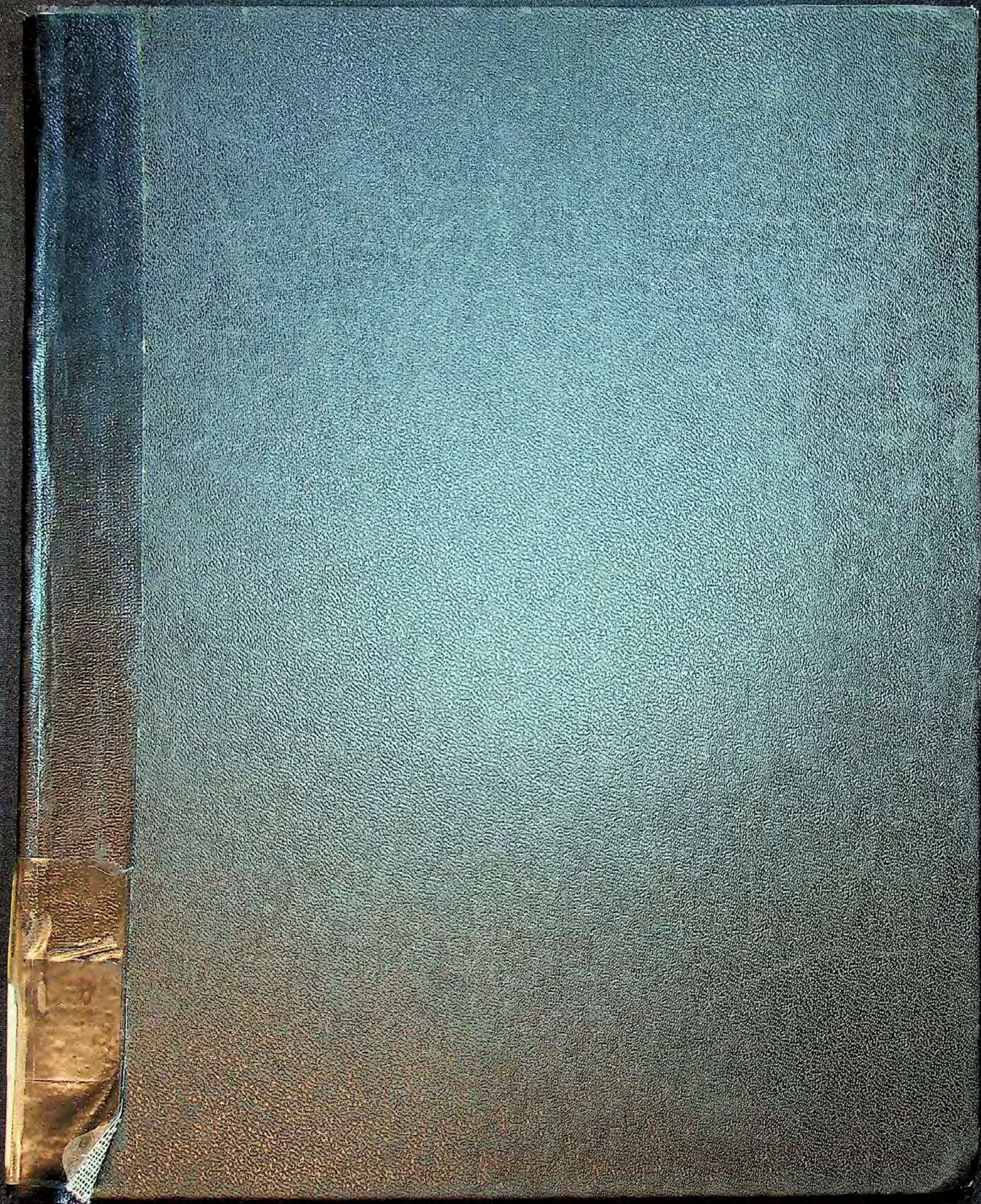
The concept of Ibn Al-Balad

Sawsan Messiri

Follow this and additional works at: https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds



Part of the [Arabic Studies Commons](#), and the [Social and Cultural Anthropology Commons](#)



53

NON-CIRCULATING

al-Mesirii, Sawsan Mahmu
concept of ibn al-balad T
he
Thesis 53

611423077
i 13192917

53

53

THE CONCEPT OF IBN AL-BALAD

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO

THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY-ANTHROPOLOGY

OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

7.0

Thesis
53/70

BY

SAWSAN MAHMOUD EL MESSIRI

APRIL, 1970


This Thesis for the Master of Arts Degree


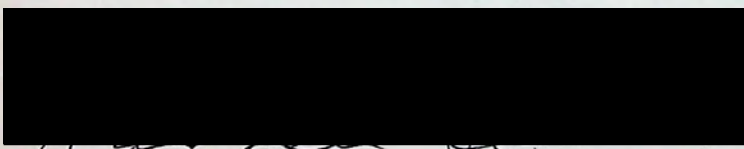
by


SAWSAN MAHMOUD EL-MISSIRI

has been approved

April 30, 1970


Chairman, Supervisory Committee



Reader, Supervisory Committee


head, Major Department

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

There are many individuals to whom the writer would like to express her appreciation for their valuable assistance in the preparation of this thesis. First, I am most grateful to Dr. Laila Shukry El Hamamsy, Director of the Social Research Center, for her invaluable advice and guidance throughout all stages of this research. To Dr. Marsden B. Jones, Professor of Arabic Literature, in the Center for Arabic Studies, goes my deep gratitude for his counsel and guidance in the use of historical sources. I am also greatly appreciative of the continued interest and encouragement given me by Dr. Cynthia Nelson, Chairman of the Sociology-Anthropology Department.

Several others too numerous to name also contributed to the successful completion of this thesis, including my colleagues, key informants and the interviewees, specially Awlād al-balad in ḥarat Khoush Kadm. Finally, I very much appreciate the help given me by Azza Besheer of the Social Research Center for her assistance in interviewing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
ONE	FOREWORD	1
	Statement of the Problem	
	Methods of Data Collection	
	Field Experience	
	Theoretical Framework.....	
TWO	THE CONCEPT OF IBN AL-BALAD IN AL-JABARTI ..	24
	Introduction	
	Ibn al-balad as Distinct From Foreigners ..	
	Awlād al-balad as Distinct From Other Egyptian Groups	
	Who is Ibn al-balad	
	The Connotation of the Expression Baladī..	
THREE	CURRENT CONNOTATION OF THE CONCEPT IBN AL-BALAD	57
	Introduction	
	Ibn al-balad in Reference to a General Collectivity	
	Ibn al-balad in Reference to a Specific Collectivity.....	
	The Metaphorical Usage of the Term	
	Ibn al-balad and Baladī.....	
FOUR	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	119
	APPENDIX I : Guide List	133
	APPENDIX II : Index of Social Groups in "Aja'ib al-Athār fi'l Tarajim wa'l Akhbar of al-Jabartī.....	139
	GLOSSARY	145
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	150

CHAPTER ONE

FOREWORD

I. Statement of the Problem

Those who are raised in the Egyptian culture are aware of the common usage of the term Ibn al-balad. Egyptians often use the expression; or its derivatives Awlād al-balad, Bint al-balad, Baladī, in conversation. The term Awlād al-balad means literally 'children of the country', or 'of the town'; Ibn al-balad means 'son of the country' or 'the town' and Bint al-balad 'daughter of the country' or 'the town'. The word Baladī is a relative adjective and is used to describe an attribute, although it seems to be sometimes used as a synonym to Awlād al-balad.

The term Ibn al-balad conveys in the spoken Arabic several meanings, depending on such factors as the context within which the term is used, the speaker's conception of Ibn al-balad, the speaker's conception of himself. Underlying the numerous usages of the term one finds consistent patterns. These patterns are not fully comprehended in their totality by persons within the culture itself, nor has anyone so far attempted to define or clarify them.

The concept seems at times to denote all Egyptians and sometimes an identified collectivity, i.e. a group, existing in the society and distinguishable from other groups. At other times, it seems to denote persons with certain attributes, behavioral patterns, or values, without any clear indication of group membership.

Research into the concept of Ibn al-balad is of particular significance because it may offer insights into people's conception of the 'real' Egyptian, the "son of the country" it may also reflect basic values of the Egyptian culture and convey something of the Egyptian conception of self and Egyptian identity.

The purpose of this research is to understand the meaning of the concept and to ascertain the patterns of usage associated with it, as well as to study some of the socio-cultural implications which result, from the research.

A Review of Historical, and Literary Sources, and Folklore

In order to ascertain how the concept Ibn al-balad developed, an attempt was made to trace it back through the literary and historical sources. The difficulty encountered was that no references dealt directly with the concept.

al-Jabartī, the famous Egyptian historian, is the only one to

to my knowledge, who has referred to Ibn al-balad to any extent, in his history of Egypt in the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

For later years, the most relevant source is Muhammed al-Muwaylihi's Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham, which give us a lively and real picture of Egyptian society in 1890-1908. Earlier than Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham, E.W. Lane provided us with detailed descriptions of customs and manners of the Egyptians in the period 1825-1849. However, his work pertains more to customs as such, rather than to living individuals or social groups.

Relevant folklore sources were also referred to, such as Sīrat al-Zāhir Baybars, ‘Alī al-Zaba and Sulayman al-Habla. Also examined were the Goha stories, Egyptian proverbs and verse of Bayram el-Tunisi.

Naguib Mahfūz, one of the most outstanding contemporary Egyptian novelists, is known for his vivid description of aspects of life of the Egyptians, particularly of the lower urban classes. His novels were therefore examined, particularly those depicting Ibn al-balad types, such as Zuqaq al-Midaqq, Khan al-Khalīlī, Qasr al-Shawq, Bayn al-Qasrayn, al-Sukkarīya, and Awlād Hāratna. I also reviewed Yahya Haqqi's novel, Qandil Umm Hāshim, since it pertains to the same group of people.

After surveying the literature, I decided to concentrate my analysis on the writings of al-Jabartī for a variety of reasons. First of all he provides one end of the time spectrum with which to compare contemporary usages. Secondly, his work is rich in specific references to Ibn al-balad.

My analysis of the current usage of the term is based upon field research, rather than from literature.

II. Methods of Data Collection

This research has been divided into two phases that are complementary to each other.

1. Content Analysis of al-Jabartī's History

Al-Jabartī's history was studied in detail. Since the book has no table of contents or index, it was necessary to compile an index to the nine parts of all phrases and words dealing with social stratification. This index was of help, subsequently, when locating Awlād al-balad in the total system.

One of the major difficulties in analyzing al-Jabartī's work is the language he uses. It is neither classical Arabic nor current colloquial Arabic of his time, admixed with a number of Turkish terms. Another difficulty is that there is no organization in the subject

matter of the book, so that whatever he has to say about society is scattered through the entire work. Many points are implied or deduceable, rather than specific.

2. Field Research

Intensive interviewing and observation were my main tools in doing my field research, which took me four months to complete. Twenty interviews were undertaken for preliminary investigation of the subject; five were undertaken to pre-test the schedule. Finally, forty intensive interviews were completed. These forty interviewees are by no means a representative sample, since this is an exploratory study which aims at giving preliminary insight and understanding. The forty were selected to represent various socio-economic and other special groups as described later.

A structured schedule was attempted, at first, but I found that it would limit various aspects of the problem; I thus decided to follow an unstructured interview schedule with open-ended questions. Various probes were used to get at the interviewees' detailed conception of Ibn al-balad. Some interviews were recorded verbatim at the time. Others were recorded immediately afterwards, when I felt that writing in front of the informant would affect the situation. Each interview lasted from three to four hours and some of the interviewees were

questioned on more than one occasion.

The forty interviewees were divided into the following:

Key Informants

My key informants were those who specialized in portraying Ibn al-balad through some particular medium such as films, novels, painting, poetry and song. They were mainly asked about their interpretation of the concept, what image they had of Ibn al-balad and what they wanted to convey by this image. The key informants are:

- a) Naguib Mahfūz, the novelist who has presented an image of Awlād al-balad in his novels.
- b) Salah Abou Seif, the film director, who is known for his presentation of Awlād al-balad.
- c) Abdel Moneim Rakha, the artist, who has created the caricature of Ibn al-balad.
- d) Dr. Abdel Hamid Younis, the Professor of Folklore in Cairo University and Director of the Mass Culture Department in the Ministry of Culture.
- e) Ahmed Fuad Nagm, a popular poet, whose poems deal with the theme of Ibn al-balad and is himself considered an Ibn al-balad.

f) Imam Issa, a popular singer and composer in the style of Sayyed Darwish who is also considered to be an Ibn al-balad.

A Small Group Selected to Represent Various Strata of the Society, in Order to Ascertain their Conception of Ibn al-balad

My assumption was that the conception of members of the Egyptian culture of Ibn al-balad varies in relation to their social class. The criteria on which different classes were distinguished is mainly based on socio-economic and educational level. Thus six were selected from the upper class. By upper class I mean those who have university degrees, who are economically well off in the sense that their income is within the higher category of Egyptian society. In this class we have famous doctors, landowners, factory owners, famous lawyers engineers and top-level government officers. Beside these criteria, the reputation of the person as being from an aristocratic family was taken into consideration.

Eight were selected from the middle class. In the middle class come university graduates, as well as average educational levels. Most government officials fall within this category, along with small shop owners such as grocers, electricians and merchants.

The third group was selected from the lower class. Within

this class are those who are not educated, or have a limited amount of education, such as factory workers, artisans, servants, washer-women, a balana¹ etc. ...

Six were selected from American University in Cairo students, who are Egyptians and are typical students of A.U.C. in the sense that their previous schooling was in foreign schools and that they came from a high socio-economic background. Thus, they were added to the upper class group. Five students from the Cairo University were selected as a comparison to those of A.U.C. and were added to the middle class group.

3. A Group of Awlād al-balad as Specified by Others

From the typology of Awlād al-balad as presented by the key informants as well as by the various strata, and from the specific names mentioned by them, a group of ten persons were selected and were intensively interviewed.

Beside these intensive interviews several visits were made to some folk quarters (al-Sayyida Zeynab and al-Husayn) to observe the

1. Balana is the woman who bathes other women and perform depilatory for them.

distinctive features of these quarters as well as the social activities in them. The majority of the group of Awlād al-balad came from these two quarters and I visited them in their homes to interview them.

III. Field Experience

One of the most rewarding aspects of this study was its field experience. Most of my interviewees were extremely cooperative and were interested in the topic and wondered why they had never thought of it. They were usually confused and astonished at the complexity of the term, although they use it very often.

In spite of my knowledge as a member of the Egyptian culture of the group of Egyptians specifically designated as "Awlād al-balad" and in addition to the information I had obtained from literature, there was a great deal to be learned and understood from personal contact. When I came to know members of the specific group of Awlād al-balad, I discovered that they have their own values and etiquette and without a measure of understanding of these, I would never have been able to obtain the responses that were forthcoming. One example of this is language. Although as a member of the culture I use the same language I found that they have a jargon of their own.

To interview them, especially at the beginning, without being

accompanied by a man meant a distortion of the information obtained, since their conception of women of other classes is somewhat negative. Two of them refused completely to be questioned by a woman and I had to explain my schedule to a man who then went and interviewed them.

One major difficulty in going into the field was that the places where Awlād al-balad live have a reputation for being slum areas, where there are many criminals, and frequenting them might have involved personal risk. After going several times to these places, I found out that this notion is what people imagine and does not pertain so much to reality.

IV. Theoretical Framework

Since no attempt had yet been made to investigate any aspect of the concept of Ibn al-balad, I did not wish to start with any assumptions. The objective of this study is to discover the common-sense meanings the members of the culture share and to get at what Schutz calls the subjective interpretation.

"... subjective interpretation of meaning is above all a typification of the common-sense world, the actual way in which men in daily life do interpret their own and each others behavior" (Schutz, 1960:XXXV).

Common-sense meaning starts with what is important to the people

themselves and not what is conceived by the researcher as important. To understand how people of the culture define their situations and the meaning an act has for the actor himself not for the observer. The common-sense level is the experiential form of knowledge of human affairs. Motive, attitude intent and purpose are the basis for understanding overt behavior while the scientific level is concerned with the typification of interpretation found in common-sense and provides a theoretical system suitable for their clarification.

To Schutz the individual's common-sense knowledge of the world is a system of constructs of its typicality.

"Thus, in the natural attitude of daily life we are concerned merely with certain objects standing out over against other objects, and the result of the selecting activity of our mind is to determine which particular characteristics of such an object are individual and which typical ones. More generally, we are merely concerned with some aspects of this particular typified object" (Schutz, 1960:9).

Also implied in Schutz's common-sense category is an intersubjective character. Our knowledge of the world is not unique but rather shared and socialized. In everyday life we proceed from an intersubjective world of culture.

"It is intersubjective because we live in it as men among other, bound to them through common influence and work, understanding others and being understood by them. It is a world of culture because from the outset, the world of everyday life is a universe of significance to us, that is a texture of meaning which we have to interpret in order to find our bearing within it and come to terms with it" (Natanson, 1963:309).

Within the common-sense experience Schutz assumes that there is a mutual understanding between man and his fellow man thus the typification of the other and self is socially derived.

"In defining the role of the other, I am assuming a role myself. In typifying the others behavior I am typifying my own" (Natanson, 1963:318).

On the other hand the meaning of an action is necessarily different for the actor, his partner and the observer who is not involved in such relationship. Thus in common-sense thinking we have to understand the other's action by searching for the meaning the action has for the actor. Thus the postulate of the subjective interpretation "is a principle of constructing course of action types in common-sense experience" (Natanson, 1963:324).

One way of discovering the meaning in the commonsense category is through language which is symbolic.

"We may interpret the prescientific human language as a treasure house of preconstituted types and characteristics each of them carrying along an open horizon of unexplored typical contents" (Schutz, 1950:393).

To arrive at the meaning of linguistic forms is not easy to determine because they are neither fixed nor definite as phonemes and to uncover a pattern of meaning of a language is to get at the social reality of the culture. As Whorf has said:

"We dissect nature (the flow of experience) along lines laid down by our native languages. That categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare every observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds - and this means largely by the linguistic system in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it this way - an agreement (implicit and unstated) that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language" (Beals and Hoijer, 1959:587).

In trying to understand the meaning of the term "Ibn al-balad" it was approached as in the case of another linguistic term; that is, as one that has both a nuclear and a metaphorical meaning. As Beals and Hoijer have clearly stated,

"... Most linguistic forms regardless of the language appear to have two sets of meaning, nuclear and marginal or metaphoric. This may be illustrated by the word head which, in its nuclear sense refers to a part of the body. In its several metaphorical meanings, however, it is used in such phrases as the head of the state, the head of a nail the head of a street, or the head of a glass of beer" (Beals, and Hoijer, 1959:584).

We can say that in some context the term Ibn al-balad has a nuclear meaning, such as when a person says: "So and so is an Ibn al-balad", meaning that so and so belongs to an identifiable collectivity. Just like saying "so and so is an American".

In other contexts the word is used metaphorically, such as: "So and so is very much of an Ibn al-balad", implying that "so and so" behaves in the ways of Ibn al-balad. It is just like saying: "so and so is bourgeois". The complexity of the term Ibn al-balad arises from the fact that its nuclear meaning denotes more than one thing. Consequently, when it is used metaphorically it becomes more complex and vague since it is not clear to whom these characteristics pertain.

Within the nuclear meaning of the concept, Awlād al-balad were viewed in this research as an abstract type not so much in the sense Weber calls 'ideal type', but more in the sense of what

Orin Klapp calls 'social type'. Although ideal types differ from social types in certain aspects, one can find similarity process of formulating them. To Weber:

"An ideal type is formed by the one - sided accentuation of one or more point of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one - sided emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found anywhere in reality" (Weber, 1949:90).

Weber clarified what they are not. To him the ideal type is not a hypothesis, though it could be used in formulating an hypothesis, it is not a law, it is not an ethical imperative. We could have ideal types of prostitutes as well as saints. They are not stereotypes, averages, or abstract concepts (Weber, 1949:89).

Orin Klapp explains the typing process in social types as in the following way:

"A social type is plainly an abstraction. Social types are not, however, logical categories. Unlike scientific and logical categories they are based on practical experience, common sense judgment of situations as lived rather than observed. They result from insight rather than

reasoning. They have the truth of the proverb rather than that of the proposition or hypothesis" (Klapp, 1962:9).

Types could denote certain historical occurrences (as used by Weber), or certain personality types, but the context in which Klapp is using this construct is in relation to collective images; that is, in a sociological context. As Klapp puts it:

We are concerned with a stock of images and symbols as part of a culture, and the way this stock changes, and works in this system" (Klapp, 1962:7).

The major difference between an ideal type and social type as seen in this research is that the ideal type is an analytical construct while the social type is a result of experience. An ideal type is a conceptual formulation, constructed logically by the sociologist or anthropologist as a tool to apprehend reality. Although this mental construct cannot be found anywhere in reality it has to conform to our knowledge of social behavior and of its motivation. By definition, ideal types are not descriptions of actual situation but they are useful for purposes of comparison and measurement. Thus Weber constructed ideal types of individual historical occurrences, such as the construct of modern capitalism. Also he constructed

ideal types of recurrent phenomena such as his three "pure types" of domination and the processes of transformation of one into the other. Thus, to Weber the main purpose which the ideal construct serves is that it furnishes a means by which occurrences can be compared and measured.

As for social types, we find that they are not logically or purposively constructed but rather based on actual experience that is transformed into collective images. Thus, it seems to me that Weber's ideal types are constructed by the scientist for certain analytical purposes while Klapp's social types are there in the minds of people for another purpose, which is to guide their behavior.

"It is a group product and group property, related to the Elementargedanken of Bastian, the crowd ideas of Lebon, and the collective representations of Durkheim. I think of it as a collective norm or role behavior formed and used by the group"
(Klapp, 1962:11).

Although Klapp conceives social types as roles: he makes a distinction between social type and social role.

"Social types are roles which, though informal, have become rather well conceptualized, and on which there is a comparative, high degree of consensus. Second, while many roles are widely allocated and do not "belong" to any particular kind of person, some

get conceptually linked with a particular kind of person. At this point, we may speak of the role consensus as having developed into a social type, that is, a "tightwad" is not only consensual concept of a stingy role, but a kind of person who characteristically acts that way. This stress on the kind of person who acts that way helps also to clarify the distinction of social types from formal roles, which tend to be more abstract and impersonal" (Klapp, 1962:19).

An obvious distinction between Weber's ideal type and Klapp's social type is the context in which each was used. Weber utilized ideal type as a tool to understand social and historical occurrences and not for identifying social grouping, while Klapp is mainly concerned with types of collective roles and Schutz is concerned with the typification of social reality. Klapp's objective in his book Heroes, Villains and Fools, is to survey social types in the popular language, so as to get at the changing character of the American. He came to the conclusion that there is no value consensus in the American culture and thus there is no one model that represent a national character and many of the American types show considerable alienation and a "deterioration" of the hero. Thus, we see that Klapp is concerned directly with groups rather than social or historical occurrences.

In defining ideal type and social type, both Weber and Klapp

stressed the point that they are not stereotypes. Klapp differentiates between a social type and a stereotype.

"Social types promote insight into relations within a system, whereas stereotypes hold people at a distance and portray outside groups in an inaccurate way. Stereotypes emphasize error while social types refer to things with which one is familiar" (Klapp, 1962:16).

Stereotype as a third different kind of conceptualization is defined as

"a fixed impression which conforms very little to the facts it pretends to represent and results from our defining first and observing second" (Maccoby and Hatley, 1958:41).

The reason the differences of the previous three types (ideal type, social type and stereotype) are surveyed is that, although each type is distinctive from the other, all of them pertain in the analysis of the concept "Ibn al-balad", as will be designated later. Furthermore, it seems that there are some common components in the construction of these different types which clarify my perspective in this research.

First of all, implied in the formulation of types, is the element of abstraction. It is an image, whether it is abstracted by the scientist or by the group, or whether it relates more to actuality

(as in social type), or not (as in stereotype).

The second common element among these three types is that they are formulated through the intensification of those aspects which constitute the significance and peculiarity of the phenomena. That is to say, what is irrelevant or contradictory is not included in the type. Whether it is an ideal type, a social type or a stereotype, there is a unity of harmonious elements which compose a whole and which could not exist in actual behavior.

A third common element that I detect in the construct type is that it implies an ideal aspect. By ideal it is not meant an ethical imperative, because idealization could also have negative characteristics.

"The type may describe the way people should be, should not be or simply are predicted to be"
(Klapp, 1962:11).

Thus it is ideal in the sense of being typical.

Thus in this research the main concern is with the element of the common-sense meaning so as to get at the people's own typification of their imagery of who is Ibn al-balad. These images in some contexts, pertain to social types in others to stereotypes. We are not only interested in the various conceptions of Ibn al-balad shared by

collectivities but also what concept of self is expressed by those designated as Ibn al-balad. Although the concept of self has long been a subject for speculation by philosophers, it is only recently that it has become a topic in Anthropology. In Psychology, we have a variety of theories that accord an important role to the self concept (Adler, 1924, Angyal, 1941, Freud 1950, Fromm 1939, Horney 1937).

"In psychological discussion the word "self" has been used in many different ways. Two chief meanings emerge however: the self as subject or agent, and the self as the individual who is known to himself" (Wylie, 1964:1).

This pure psychological angle of personality dynamics is not relevant to the research, since the main concern is with the concept as a culturally constituted variable. Hallowell emphasizes this cultural aspect in the concept of self.

"Whatever the idiosyncrotic content of the self image may be and whatever weight it may be given in psychodynamic analysis, the content of the self image is in part a culturally constituted variable" (Hallowell, 1955:76).

Among the studies discussing this form of the concept of self are those of Dorothy Lee, specifically: "The Conception of the Self among the Wintu Indians", and "View of the Self in Greek Culture" (Lee, 1950).

In the first study, although she is giving a sophisticated conception of self among the Wintu based on linguistic analysis, it is more of a philosophical analysis of how the self is related to the universe. "The relevant universe in each case, whether society, nature the known universe or ultimate reality" (Lee, 1950:1). In depicting the conception of self among the Wintu Indians she was considering it in opposition to that of the American conception of self as a different codification of reality.

"The Wintu conception of self then differs from our own in that it contains the total person and the activities of all its aspects, and in that it fades out gradually and without distinct demarcation... where we see a one way relationship from self to other, an assertion of the self upon the other, the Wintu see a coordinate togetherness, with, at most a stressed point of view" (Lee, 1950:137).

Although she is dealing with a conception of self within the cultural framework, her focus in this study is the cosmological relation of self to the unknown. She constructed this conception from the analysis of the Wintu linguistic forms and structures, as well as recorded mystical material.

The focus of this research however, is different in that the concept of self is discussed in relation to distinctive features and personal characteristics of Awlād al-balad, as they view themselves.

In this respect the angle from which she analyzed the concept of self among the Greeks is more relevant to the present study. She analyzed folksongs to get at how the Greeks view themselves. The Greek image of self "includes that of the body and of the personality: the person" (Lee, 1951:143).

It is with the above theoretical framework of common-sense meaning, social types, stereotypes and conception of self, that the concept of Ibn al-balad is analyzed.

CHAPTER TWO
THE CONCEPT OF IBN AL-BALAD IN AL-JABARTI

Introduction

'Abd al-Rahman al-Jabartī was born in Cairo in 1754 and died in 1825. His father shaikh Hasan al-Jabartī was one of the great 'ulama' (scholars) of his age, learned in the legal sciences and in mathematics. His house was a center at which the scholars of the time gathered.

al-Jabartī, as was the custom, started his education in a Koran school, then continued his studies at al-Azhar where he studied the legal sciences. He was also interested in astronomy, arithmetic and geometry and followed his father in his interest in medicine. Subsequent to the French occupation of Egypt in 1798 he was chosen as a member of the third Diwan by General Menou.

His major work is 'Āja'ib al-āthār fī'l-tarājim wa'l-akhbār. He also wrote Muzhir al-taqdīs bi dhihab dawlat al-Fransīs, which was written after the French occupation of Egypt and Muddat dukhūl al-Fransīs bi Miṣr, the latter still unpublished. In these works he recorded the events of the period.

'Āja'ib al-āthār fī'l-tarājim wa'l-akhbār was written in the year 1801 and was banned until Khedive Tawfīq allowed it to be published in nine sections, in three volumes, in 1888 and 1896.

It was believed that the censorship was due to al-Jabartī's unflattering references to Muhammad ^ḥAlī.

In the introduction to the book he refers to his own methodology in the following terms:

"I have made a record of the events of the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century, in which I have mentioned some incidents briefly whilst others I have related at greater length with more details. Most of these incidents took place during my lifetime and I witnessed or heard of them myself I have put all this material, after arranging it chronologically, on cards and in an orderly manner" (al-Jabartī, 1958:3).

His work is unique in Arabic historiography. It is more than a history; it is, in the depth and detail of its sociological observation, comparable with the best that has been written in any language. As Ayalon puts it:-

"The chronicle is a splendid combination of passionate warmth and scholarly detachment, which is only rarely overcome by any personal or other kind of bias. The reader never loses the feeling of having his finger on the pulse of life and of sharing the true atmosphere of the country and of the period" (Ayalon, 1960:231).

Little escapes his sharp eye--the price of wheat, meat, or butter, the erection of new buildings, public festivals, insurrection and civil strife.

As effectively as Mayhew caught the spirit of the London poor of the nineteenth century, so does al-Jabartī portray, with unique insight and sympathy, the crowded years of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Cairo. —

al-Jabartī has used the term Ibn al-balad and its derivatives in his book 'Ajā'ib al-āthār fī'l-tarājim wa'l akhbār, not less than fifty times. I am making the obvious assumption that the usage of these terms by al-Jabartī reflects their usage in the society of which he was a member and at the time in which he lived. From these numerous references I will try to establish the connotation of the term, as used around the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The derivatives of related expressions of the epithet Ibn al-balad as used by al-Jabartī are: Abnā' al-balad, baladī, al-baladiyīn, Awlād al-balad and Ahl al-balad: In philological terms Ahl al-balad is not necessarily a synonym of Awlād al-balad.¹ In the following passage, however, al-Jabartī is obviously using the two expressions synonymously:

1.

Ibn al-balad means literally "son of the town, or country"; Abnā' al-balad, "sons of the town, or country", Abnā' being the plural of Ibn; baladī is the relative adjective from balad and baladiyīn its sound plural; Awlād al-balad "children of the town, or country". Ahl al-balad means literally "people of the town, or country". I have throughout used the transcribed form of the Arabic for these expressions in preference to a translation.

"Some individuals from amongst them were killed and the soldiers returned. The issue became confused and Ahl al-balad became perplexed with regard to it. Neither of the two parties knew friend from foe. Sometimes the troops fought with Ahl al-balad and similarly Ahl al-balad with them, and sometimes a group of them (the soldiers) fought with those who were in the Citadel. Sometimes these two groups (Awlād al-balad and soldiers) helped each other. If something occurred between the inhabitants of the Rumayla quarter and the soldiers, those in the Citadel would rejoice and incite Awlād al-balad against them. Amongst them also (i.e. the garrison in the Citadel) were those who incited the troops against Awlad al-balad and said to them in their own tongue and also in Arabic: 'Beat the Fallahin'" (al-Jabartī, 1958:633).

For this reason, therefore, I have considered the term "Ahl al-balad as a parallel expression to Awlād al-balad, so far as the references in al-Jabartī are concerned.

I. Ibn al-balad as Distinct from Foreigners

In trying to delineate the connotation attached to Ibn al-balad and its derivatives more clearly, I have paid particular attention to those passages where these expressions are used in contrast, or juxtaposition, to expressions applying to other groups. By dealing, first of all, with groups which appear to be contrastable to Awlād al-balad I hope to be able to isolate some of the positive characteristics of Awlād al-balad themselves.

A. The Distinction Between Awlād al-balad and the Foreign Ruling Elite

The sharpest distinction lies between Awlād al-balad and the ruling elite, composed of the Turkish wālī,¹ the Turkish Qādī (chief judge), the Mamlūks² and the Soldiery.

All of these were considered foreigners, the very antithesis of Awlād al-balad. In several passages we find this distinction between the two groups expressed explicitly, as for example in the following:

"Some of Awlād al-balad came out of curiosity and passed among the soldiers and no one interfered with them. The soldiers would say: We are separate and you are ra'iyā (subject people). You can have no relationship with us'" (al-Jabartī, 1958:515).

The pronoun "we" in this quotation refers to the wālī (Tahir Pāshā) and the soldiers who were revolting against him over their pay. The significance of this sentence is that Awlād al-balad were considered as of a different stock from the wālī and his soldiers - and not simply different but inferior. In this context, the term ra'iyā is being used pejoratively. The following quotation also illustrates the separateness of the ruling class and Awlād al-balad:

1. Governor, the chief representative of Ottoman Sultan to Egypt.

2. A military caste of former slaves whose virtual control of Egypt lasted from 1250 to 1811.

"The blessed Nile reached seventeen Egyptian cubits in height. The barrage was opened on Saturday morning in the presence of the Pāshā, the Qādī, Muhammad 'Alī and the army rank and file... The feast was especially for them, (Pāshā, Qādī, soldiers) and not for Awlād al-balad and others" (al-Jabartī, 1958:604).

Not only does the governing elite appear in al-Jabartī as a group set apart from Awlād al-balad, the ruler, people of position, the members of the administration and the soldiery appear as the privileged element within society and Awlād al-balad as the underprivileged. The governing elite exercised discriminatory prerogatives in regard to them, as we see from the following quotation:

"It was rumored that he (Muhammad 'Alī) issued a decree to the Kāshifs (1) of the provincial districts, north and south, to buy sheep from the country side. This was especially for his own consumption as well as for the rations of the soldiers and for people of special status and the people of the state. What was left after that, in the slaughter houses, fell to Ahl al-balad" (al-Jabartī, 1958:972).

Nor surprisingly, it was the soldiery with whom Awlād al-balad came most into contact from the groups composing the elite; they represented the coercive aspect of the policy of the government and, indeed, exploited Awlād al-balad on their own account, as we can see from al-Jabartī:

1. Freed slaves of the Mamlūk emirs and next to them in the hierarchy (Shaw, 1962:3).

"Some of the troops used to buy sheep and slaughter them, then sell them at a high price. They would give short weight and Ibn al-balad could do nothing to check them" (al-Jabartī, 1958:955).

The exploitation of Awlād al-balad by the soldiers seems to have been more prevalent in times of crisis. al-Jabartī cites other instances of this. Thus when a shortage in soap occurred, the Kātkhuda¹ fixed its price and sent a representative to the soap market to supervise its sale. This representative would only remain for two hours during which only the soldiers crowded in to buy the soap. Later on, the soldiers would sell what they bought, at fixed prices, for a much higher price. Thus Ibn al-balad was obliged to buy from the soldiers at whatever price they set" (al-Jabartī, 1958:949).

Awlād al-balad were also discriminated against under the law, for it seems that a particularistic legal system vis-à-vis the army and themselves existed. al-Jabartī, refers to the difference between Awlād al-balad and the soldiers before the law in the following terms:

"It was announced that the ashrāf (2) should be honoured and respected and their cases should be presented to

1.

An officer of the military corps, lieutenant to the Aga (Shaw, 1962:201).

2.

The ashrāf, or descendants of the Prophet, who from the seventh century onwards occupied a special position of respect in Islamic society. Under their Naqīb, or leader, they frequently occupied privileged position under the law and filled responsible posts, although at the time of al-Jabartī many members of the ashrāf performed lowly jobs. (Levy, 1965: 67), (Lane, 1908:135).

Naqīb al-ashrāf. Also those belonging to the Abwāb (1) that their cases should be presented to their Wujāk (2) but if someone is from Awlād al-balad he has to follow the noble sharī'a" (al-Jabartī, 1958:151).

Shafīq Ghorbal, in commenting on the passage, points out that whereas a thief from al-ashrāf could complain to Naqīb al-ashrāf and a thief from al-Abwāb could present his plea to his own Ūjaq, a thief from Awlād al-balad would be liable to have his hand cut off under the terms of Islamic law (al-Jabartī, 1958:151).

This is a significant observation. The soldiers were themselves Muslims, for the most part, and yet the Sharī'a was being applied to them selectively. These soldiers seem to have retained some of their original codes of behavior and customary law. For example, the Mamlūks according to al-Maqrīzī³ retained their original law and customs and therefore did not resort to the Islamic Sharī'a in regard to their relations with each other. Exceptions were made if the Sultan decided

1. Abwāb: Military barracks on the Janissary corps (Shaw, 1962:218).

2. Ūjaq, plural Ūjaqāt; Active military corps whose members were liable to perform imperial service in return for their wages. There were seven such corps in Egypt at this time (Shaw, 1962:189).

3. al-Maqrīzī (d.1442), the famous Egyptian historian, best known for his monumental topographical work al-Khitat.

to apply the Sharī'a because of a lack, or limitation in their own laws. al-Maqrīzī suggests that most of these laws were derived from Mongol customary law (Wahid, 1950:9). It seems that this practice was still operating in the eighteenth century and that the Mamlūks had their separate code of laws consisting of a mixture of their original customary law and the Islamic Sharī'a. This was presumably the case, too, in relation to the Turks. Their lack of complete adherence to something so central to Islamic belief and practice as the Sharī'a must have been a significant alienating factor in the eyes of Awlād al-balad. Their disregard of even the basic ordinances of Islam is noted by al-Jabartī:

"Katkhuda Bey and Ayyūb Aga ... and the Wālī patrolled the city stopping in central markets such as al-Ghaurīya, al-Jamāliya, Bāb al-Hamzāwī and Bāb Zuwayla and Bāb al-Kharq. Most of their followers were not fasting during Ramadān and making a show of it without consideration or respect for this holy month. They would sit in public places and eat and smoke openly without shame. One of them (the soldiers) would carelessly blow the smoke into the nose of Ibn al-balad thus ridiculing the act of fasting" (al-Jabartī, 1958:922).

This action seems all the more contemptuous, since it was customary in Ramadān that no one be seen eating or smoking publicly; this applied not only to Muslims, but to Christians as well. We know from al-Jabartī that when Napoleon settled in Cairo he ordered the Christians to retain their original practice of not eating, drinking or smoking publicly during Ramadān (al-Jabartī, 1958:297).

The contrast between the piety of Awlād al-balad and their proper observance of the rites of Islam and the impious behavior of the soldiery is being clearly drawn.

al-Jabartī records certain reactions of Awlād al-balad to the ruling elite which throw light on other characteristics and behavioral patterns of the group as a whole. They were certainly not submissive in their reaction to authority as the following passages show:

"A clash occurred between a group of soldiers in Būlāq and Ahl al-balad arising from the destruction of houses. As a result some persons were killed and the people of Būlāq demonstrated against them" (al-Jabartī, 1958:639).

"A clash occurred between the soldiers and Ahl al-balad at Bāb al-Sha'rīya over housing and similarly at Bāb al-Lūq, Būlāq and Old Cairo" (al-Jabartī, 1958:637).

"While one of the Awlād al-balad was going in the direction of al-Khurunfish, he was attacked and killed by some 'Hagū' soldiers living in the house of Shahīn Kāshif. The people of the district rose in revolt and shots were exchanged" (al-Jabartī, 1958:637).

The readiness of Awlād al-balad to revolt was utilized with some measure of success by their local leaders, the 'ulamā', in opposing the rulers. The 'ulamā' in Egypt, at this era, held a special position by virtue of the role they played as guardians of religion. As qādīs, ^{ulamā} scholars, teachers and muftīs they exercised a natural leadership function. This collaboration of Awlād al-balad and the 'ulamā' against the ruling elite is illustrated in the following following passage, one of many in al-Jabartī:

"In the afternoon of this day, Hussein Bey (one of Murād Bey's officers) rode out with his soldiers to al-Husayniya and attacked the house of a person called Ahmad Salim al-Jazzar, head of the Bayyūmī Dervish order ... In the morning a group of the people of al-Husayniya gathered together because of what Hussein Bey had done the previous day and went to al-Azhar (to shaiḫ al-Dardīr) ... He said: 'I am with you' ... He also said to them: 'Tomorrow we will gather the people of the suburbs, the quarters, Bulāq and Old Cairo. I will ride with you and plunder their houses, as they plundered ours. We will either die as martyrs or God will give us victory over them' (al-Jabartī, 1958:136).

Awlād al-balad appear to have been characterized not only by a spirit of rebelliousness in regard to the ruling groups but also by a capacity to ridicule and mock at them, as the following excerpt¹⁰ indicates:

"Salīm Agha called on a party of Qalūnjiya and Ari'ūd and the Syrians to leave without delay. Whoever would be found after three days would deserve what befell him. The Mamluks went about humiliating and disarming whoever they met from them. Some of them met together and went to the Pasha and he sent with them one of the Dulāt (soldiers) who took them down to Bulāq in boats. Awlād al-balad and the children went about ridiculing and whistling at them all along the way" (al-Jabartī, 1958:222).

This tendency to ridicule and mock the ruling groups seems to be a characteristic of Awlād al-balad. Lane refers to it as a typical attribute of the Egyptians:

"The Egyptians are particularly prone to satire; and often display considerable wit in their jeers and jests. Their language affords them great facilities for punning, and

for ambiguous conversation, in which they very frequently indulge. The lower orders sometimes lampoon their rulers in songs and ridicule those enactments of the government by which they themselves suffer....

"A song ... which was composed on the occasion of an increase of the income - tax called "firdeh" began thus: "You who have (nothing on your head but) a libdeh: (1) sell it and pay the firdeh" (Lane, 1908:314).

B. Awlād al-balad as Distinct from other Ethnic Groups

1. Middle Eastern

In Cairo at the turn of the eighteenth century, the ruling body were not the only foreigners. There were other ethnic groups that are identified by al-Jabartī as being distinct from Awlād al-balad.

For example:

"A crowd of ajnās and Awlād al-balad gathered under the arcades and barrages ... where boats and ships carrying people from these groups were moored" (al-Jabartī, 1958:518).

The word ajnās can almost be given the meaning of ethnic groups in this context. The Middle Eastern ethnic groups which he identifies continuously as being distinct from Awlād al-balad, apart from the Turks, are the Moroccans and the Syrians.

1.

The libdeh is a felt cap, which is worn under or instead of the turban, and the man must be very poor who has no other covering than this for his head (Lane, 1908:314).

"al-Sayyid Umar rode out at the head of a group of soldiers from Awlād al-balad and Moroccans" (al-Jabartī, 1958:636).

In another passage the Syrians, Moroccans and other Arabic-speaking groups such as the Sudanese and Yemenis are lumped together alongside the Turks (al-Jabartī, 1958:91).

These Middle Eastern groups would share with Awlād al-balad a common religion and a common language; some would have been resident in Egypt for several generations. One may assume, therefore, that it was country of origin and not country of birth which differentiated them from Awlād al-balad. However, it must be said that even in language and religion there were distinguishing and separating aspects which set them apart from Awlād al-balad and underlined the differences inherent in their ethnic back-grounds.

Firstly, although they spoke Arabic, the Moroccans, Syrians and Yemenis used dialects that were markedly different from that of the ordinary Cairene Egyptians. Secondly, this distinguishing characteristic of dialect would be further emphasized by dress. Indeed, the distinctive dress of each group is referred to obliquely in the passage in al-Jabartī (al-Jabartī, 1958:656).

We know from Lane that outward attire was rigidly conformist within various groups and classes of Cairene society. Coon has also

emphasized the fact that the different ethnic groups in Middle Eastern culture actually tried to emphasize their distinctiveness through dress, rather than diminish it.

"There the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity within each special segment but the greatest possible contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need to identify themselves by some configuration of symbols. If by virtue of their history they possess some racial peculiarity, this they will enhance by special haircuts and the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in a distinctive fashion" (Coon, 1958:153)

The distinction of different groups, as well as sects and family dynasties, by colour of the turban is of early origin. Coon states that it was not only the colour but also the minor features of the turban such as size which counted. "Both the size and the method of winding the turban have special meanings, conservatism, gaiety, and other personality traits, as well as status, in a general way" (Coon, 1958:166).

Not only were they separated in their dress but, surprisingly in view of the uniformity of Muslim learning in their education also. The Muslim groups among them had each a separate educational identity within al-Azhar. As is often mentioned in al-Jabartī, we find that each group had separate riwāq (classes) at al-Azhar. We have the Moroccan riwāq, Syrian riwāq, etc

However, the most important distinguishing factor, more important than dialect or dress, would be the difference in customs, traditions, values and patterns of behavior, which would set each group apart from one another and apart from Awlād al-balad. We sense in al-Jabartī's encomium on the Tunisian shaikh Muhammad Ibn 'Alī a feeling of amazement at the shaikh's assimilation into Egyptian society, as if this was, in fact, something of a phenomenon:

"He was born in Tunisia in the year 1152. He was brought up in the Quranic and scholastic tradition. He came to Egypt in the year 1171 and attended al-Azhar university, joining the classes of the Moroccans (riwāq al-Maghāribā) ... He mixed with gentle and noble Egyptians and took on their characteristics. He read widely in history and literature and also was talented in relating anecdotes. He married and adopted the garb and mannerisms of Awlād al-balad and wrote good poetry" (al-Jabartī, 1958:201).

The distinguishing characteristic of these individual groups would be exaggerated and perpetuated by the fact that each lived in a separate quarter of Cairo. This is reflected in the names given to the various quarters, such as the Turkish Quarter, Christian Quarter, Jewish Quarter, Moroccan Quarter, Frankish¹ Quarters, etc...

1.

By al-Afrang, al-Jabartī always means European Christians. I have translated the word throughout as "Franks".

The expression ḥāra, which in contemporary colloquial means alley, had a completely different connotation at this time. There were some sixty of these ḥārāt, or quarters, in Cairo at the end of the eighteenth century. They were self-contained entities and were "usually closed by doors which were locked at night" (Holt, 1968:110). The ḥāra had a hierarchical system of streets whose central branch (darb) often gave its name to the quarter. In the ḥārat there was a tendency for people of the same craft, or individuals of the same ethnic origin and the same religion, to assemble. Under the shelter of its walls and its doors, guarded by the bawwābin (porters), the ḥārat constituted a homogeneous group, which had its own existence. In 1858 the British consul in Cairo wrote:

"Formerly the Christians were assembled in particular quarters with a certain amount of organization for defence. They are now to a considerable extent scattered, and the protection which they have so long enjoyed had led to the abandonment of all organization" (Holt, 1968:145).

The sense of solidarity of the ḥāra found its most complete and vigorous expression in those ḥārat where the density of population was high and professional and religious institutions most powerful.

2. The Franks

Of the groups referred to by al-Jabartī, the Franks constitute the extreme contrasting type to Awlād al-balad. They are distinctive not only

from Awlād al-balad but also from the Coptic Christians and, one may assume, from the other Middle Eastern Christians also:

"Hasan Pasha asked the Muslim merchants, Franks and Copts for a loan to speed up the preparation for the pilgrimage" (al-Jabartī, 1958:152).

The Franks had their separate quarters, as did any other ethnic group. In terms of nationality the Franks in Egypt consisted of six communities, to judge from the following quotations referring to their consular representation:

"News arrived of an incident at Alexandria involving Turkish soldiers and different nationalities of Franks ... The Franks shot at the soldiers who retaliated by attacking them and fighting them in their own homes. The Franks were in a minority, so the six consuls and their followers went to the shore and wrote a message and sent it to Istambul and to their own countries" (al-Jabartī, 1958:546).

Of these six, the French, British, Italians and Greeks would be the most important.

"At the end of the eighteenth century ¹⁷⁰⁰ there were in Egypt no more than a few hundred Europeans including Greeks. During the rule of Muhammad ^{Alī} the number of Europeans grew to about 10,000 at least half of them Greeks and about 2,000 Italians" (Holt, 1968:151).

The increase in numbers of Europeans and the interaction between them and the indigenous population is reflected in al-Jabartī. We see posed an interesting spectrum of response from wonder at strange customs

and a sense of technical inadequacy, to a nascent antagonism and feeling of moral superiority.

The Franks were skilled in certain crafts that were completely novel to Awlād al-balad, as we can see from the following quotation:

"Different kinds of illuminations, and torches, fire works and rockets ... most of these were manufactured by the Franks" (al-Jabartī, 1958:1004).

"The people removed the decorations which were mostly around houses of the Franks and Armenians; these had excelled in making pictures and statues" (al-Jabartī, 1958:1003).

They tended to specialize in certain professions, particularly those of a scientific nature, such as medicine and engineering.

"Ibrahim Pasha came to Giza and collected the land surveyor and engineers, as well as the Frankish engineers" (al-Jabartī, 1958:1026).

In their work, some of them seemed to have shown a materialistic approach which was noted by the local population. In a vivid description of those who sought medical treatment from the Franks al-Jabartī makes his own personal judgement as to their ethical values:-

"If one of the Frankish doctors was called to cure the rich, he would take money before leaving his house, assessed according to the rank of the patient. Then he would go to the patient, touch him and pretend to have discovered the cause of his illness. He might exaggerate the case as well as the cure in order to increase his fee. He would insist on taking half the payment for treatment in advance and would continue

to charge for each subsequent visit. Also he would make use of their (the Frankish) medicine, which consisted of distilled water from plants, or pommades, and he would make a separate charge for these. This medicine was put in alluring bottles with their (the Frankish) labels ... If God cured the patient he would take the rest of his fees, but if the patient died he would charge his heirs ... and if they protested that the patient had died he would reply: I cannot guarantee his life and it is not the doctors duty to prevent death, or to make life longer" (al-Jabartī, 1958:978).

As foreigners they had interests and pre-occupations which seemed strange to the indigenous inhabitants:

"A group of English Franks headed toward the famous pyramids located on the West bank of Fustat. They were motivated by their interest in the new and the investigation of what is strange, especially old remains, new sights, wall paintings and statues that are found in caves and tombs in the southern region. Some of them tour around the country with this purpose in view; spending a lot of money on equipment" (al-Jabartī, 1958:987).

Under Muhammad ʿAlī, especially, the European foreigners were treated differently from the local inhabitants, al-Jabartī expresses what must have been a widely held opinion when describing the behaviour of European medical quacks who were expelled from the country:

"Had this deed been committed by Muslims they would have been sentenced to death, or impalement" (al-Jabartī, 1958:977).

It seems that the Franks were not only a privileged group but an influential one, so far as the ruling elite were concerned, as the

following story implies:

"When one of the English Franks killed an Albanian the fallahin arrested him and demanded his death from the Kutkhuda.

"Kutkhuda refrained from carrying this out because they (the ruling elite) feared them (the Franks). The Kutkhuda said: 'Until we send for the consuls to decide upon the matter we cannot carry out any decision' (al-Jabartī, 1958:1015).

However, it is interesting to see, reflected in al-Jabartī, signs of a critical attitude toward the European foreigners. The local population not only mistrusted them but were critical of them and felt no inhibiting sense of shortcoming when comparing themselves with them.

II. Awlād al-balad as Distinct from other Egyptian Groups

A. The Fallahin

So far I have concentrated my attention, in the main, upon those groups who seem from al-Jabartī to be separate from Awlād al-balad, hoping thus to throw light upon the conception of Awlād al-balad itself. The common feature of these different groups is that they represent something foreign and non indigenous. Yet, at this point in the analysis, it would seem that this is an over simplification and that the statement needs greater sophistication. In fact, not all Egyptians are, according to references in al-Jabartī, Awlād al-balad. There is a very clear distinction between them and the fallahin as is clear from the following passage:

"The Kāshif responsible for Bāb al-Futūh used to take money from those who passed by. If the passer-by was dressed as a fallah, that is wearing a gubba (1) of wool or a za'būt (2), the Kāshif took all he had, or ten nisf (3) if he was poor. But if he was from Awlād al-balad and of good appearance, or dressed in gūkha (4), even if it were old, he was requested to pay a thousand nisf or else imprisoned" (al-Jabartī, 1958:553).

The passage explicitly refers to the difference in dress between Awlād al-balad and the fallahin. It would seem that their economic status was superior to the fallahin, to judge from the amount of money demanded from each.

B. The Copts

It is significant that al-Jabartī refers to the Christian including the Copts, often in association with foreign groups and sometimes as if they constituted a contrasting group to the Muslims. These associations in al-Jabartī's mind are reflected in such quotations as the following:

-
1. A long outer garment, open at the front.
 2. A brown woolen garment open from the neck nearly to the waist and having wide sleeves. It is mostly worn in winter. It is the custom of the men of lower orders (Lane, 1908:33).
 3. The Egyptian para or nisf fidde, the standard silver coin of Mamlūk and Ottoman Egypt, equalling approximately two and one quarter Ottoman aqces. This ratio changed over the years (Shaw, 1963:88).
 4. An outer garment of wool cloth.

"The lowest among the Christians from the Copts and Syrians, the Turks and the Jews, because they served the French, rose to the point of riding horses and carrying swords. They swaggered around and humiliated the Muslims" (al-Jabartī, 1958:295).

"(When the news came that the French had entered Alexandria), the Amirs of Egypt (Mamlūks) sought the Frank merchants and imprisoned some of them in the Citadel and some in the princes' houses. They proceeded to search the houses of the Franks for weapons or other things. Similarly, they searched the houses of the Syrian Christians, the Copts, the Greeks, the churches and the monasteries for weapons. The populace wanted to kill the Christians and Jews but they were prevented by the authorities" (al-Jabartī, 1958:249).

Not only were the Christians in al-Jabartī's categorization separate from the Muslims; they were distinct from Ahl al-balad also:

"As for Ahl al-balad, none of them went for an outing in boats that night, as was the custom; only the Syrian Christians, Copts, Turks and the local Franks and their wives did so ..." (al-Jabartī, 1958:260).

The association of the indigenous Christians, notably the Copts, with foreign rulers is no new phenomena in the history of Egypt. During the greater part of the period covered by al-Jabartī's chronicle, that is since 1798, their close contact with the foreign elements, and indeed their identification with them, becomes a recurring theme. Their relationship with the foreign rulers is very obvious from the following passage:

"Muhammad 'Alī had no other concern than to collect money and obtain benefits through any means such as confiscation and monopolization. Those who worked along his line became his close attendants while those who contradicted him never had a chance with him. Those among the notables who tried to advise him or contradict him were dismissed and fell into disgrace and were never pardoned.

His court and those around him got to know his manners and characteristics and had to fall in with his policy out of fear for their lives and positions, or from a desire to reach high office. The latter were the more common and consisted mainly of Christian Armenians and their like who were now his entourage and his partners in different speculations. They were consulted in all important decisions and tried to please Muhammad 'Alī and carry out his projects, improve his plans, or draw his attention to possibilities he had overlooked in improving his schemes" (al-Jabartī, 1958:971).

III. Who is Ibn al-Balad

Since he was not a *qallāh* Ibn al-balad was, ipso facto, an urbanite. From al-Jabartī, there is a suggestion that he was an urbanite born and bred:

"They [the Ruznamjī (1) and soldiers] were pursuing *Awlād al-balad* and who had old connections with the villages. A person [Ibn al-balad] would be sitting in his shop and suddenly would find himself surrounded by soldiers and dragged to their leader without knowing his offence. He would ask: "What is my offence"? They would answer him: 'You have to pay your land tax'. "He would say 'what land tax'? They would answer: 'The taxes you have not paid in return for cultivating your land for years'. It amounts to such and such. He would say: 'But I do not know about this. Neither I, or my father, or my grandfather, knew the balad,

1.

Director of the scribes of the Treasury (Shaw, 1962:340).

nor have I seen it all my life'. They would tell him 'Are you not from Shubrā or Minīa?' He would answer. 'This is an old connection which came to me from my uncle or my grandfather! This was no excuse and he would be beaten and imprisoned ... this happened to many shopkeepers, merchants and silk craftsmen' (al-Jabartī, 1958:757).

Not only were Awlād al-balad urbanites but they were also Cairene. Similarly, the phrases Ahl al-balad and Ahl Miṣr are also used in referring to native Cairenes as in the following passage:

"During these days, there was held in Tanta the mawlid of Sīdī Ahmad al-Badawī, which was known as the 'Sharnababiliya Mawlid'. Most of Ahl al-balad hastened to attend. They hired camels and donkeys at high prices, since this mawlid was a seasonal feast for the people of the region and nobody would miss it - either for visiting, or trading, or entertainment, or base indulgence. A large number of people gathered at this mawlid, as well as people from Upper and Lower Egypt. Most of Ahl al-balad went to the mawlid with their loads, which were searched by those stationed at the gates" (al-Jabartī, 1958:663).

It is obvious from this passage that Ahl al-balad were Cairene, as distinct from Upper and Lower Egyptians. The gates clearly refers to the gates of Cairo.

At this point in our analysis then, it can be stated, in positive terms, that Awlād al-balad were indigenous Cairene, urbanite, Muslims. The question must now be raised as to whether any further sub-classification of the group referred to as Awlād al-balad is possible,

on the basis of what we know about the social structure of Cairene society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is erroneous to think of a horizontal stratification of that society according to social class. The three component groups, which most writings on the subject enumerate, of 'ulamā, merchants and urban proletariat were all internally heterogeneous and represent a range of social and economic status. In the following pages, I propose to explore the degree to which the emerging concept of Awlād al-balad is identifiable with each or all of the three component groups.

The 'Ulamā'

The most powerful 'ulamā' were those who occupied an official position in the religious hierarchy such as the Rector of al-Azhar, the muftīs of the four madhhabs and the naqīb al-Ashrāf. Then came the heads of two Sufī orders, shaikh al-Bakri and shaikh al-Sadāt - these shaikhs were descendants of the Prophet and of Abū Bakr. Their titles were hereditary within a family and passed on to which ever member of the family the reigning shaikh chose to appoint. Both were excessively wealthy by virtue of their control of very extensive waqfs (Holt, 1968:268).

The 'ulamā' were the repositories of judicial as well as titular power. For example 'Umar Makram, naqīb al-Ashrāf, was one of the leading religious personalities of the day; he had a body of guards and in his own

person executed the law amongst his followers.

The chief Qādī occupied the highest religious position theoretically but being appointed by the Porte was identified with the Ottomans and was never regarded as one of the local 'ulamā'. In addition to this elite, we have all levels of 'ulamā', right down to the shaikhs of the quarters.

In spite of the fact that the upper stratum of the 'ulamā' formed at certain times an aristocratic elite, frequently working in conjunction with the Ottomans and Mamlūks and enjoying special privileges, the 'ulamā', as a whole, were still considered Awlād al-balad. Most of them came from the people and lived amongst them in the same quarters.

In a period of mass ignorance and superstition, their religious aura buttressed the authority they exercised over the people:-

"Since the people were religious and superstitious, and the 'ulamā' were the representatives of religion, they were believed to possess baraka, (blessing), to be capable of sihr, (magic) or at least as holy men who knew the Qurān, they were worthy of veneration. They were thus held in high esteem and received preferential treatment everywhere" (Holt, 1968:266).

The 'ulamā' were directly linked to the populace through the guilds.

"These guilds had close connections with the 'ulamā' and with the Sufī orders. It was said that some guilds practiced their trade from within the precincts of a mosque. The ijāzā (certificate) given to an apprentices

was couched in religious terms. The 'ulamā' and shaikhs of corporations frequently met, often the latter appealed to the former for assistance. The father of al-Jabartī helped to correct the weights and measures and was himself adept at the art of marble inlay. Many guild members were also members of Sufi orders as were many of the 'ulamā' for al-Azhar from the sixteenth century had become a centre of Sufism" (Holt, 1968:266).

Rulers and ruled formed different ethnic and cultural units and the 'ulamā' acted as intermediaries between them. This role was recognized by the 'ulamā' themselves, as is seen from the words of the Rector of al-Azhar to Ahmad Pāshā the wālī. "We are not the greatest of 'ulamā' but we are there to serve as intermediaries with the rulers" (al-Jabartī, 1958:187).

As an elite, the 'ulamā' were not alienated from the people. On the contrary, their power and authority stemmed directly from the urban population, who always appealed to them when they wished to restrain the ruling authority. In fact, the 'ulamā' constituted a leadership level which was integrated within the group and not superimposed upon it. The most exalted amongst them were accessible to the populace and were identified with it as the following passage illustrates:

"[The people] complained to shaikh Sharqāwī [of the injustice] of Muḥammād Bēy el-Alfī [the Mamlūk]... al-Sharqāwī became angry, gathered the shaikhs at al-Azhar and closed its doors. They also ordered the people to close their shops and markets."

Next day, he rode with a large crowd of the people to the shaikh al-Sadāt's house ... [Ibrahim Bey] sent Ayyūb Bēy the Daftardar to them. He greeted them and stood before them and asked them what they wanted. They said: 'We want justice, release from tyranny, the application of the Sharī'a and the cancelling of newly created taxation' (al-Jabartī, 1958:238).

If the great 'ulamā' performed an intercessionary function, the lesser 'ulamā' were capable of rousing the masses and joining actively in their revolt, as was seen in the incident of shaikh al-Dardir when he stirred up the masses against the Mamlūks which was referred to earlier (See p.

The most important example of the close co-operation between 'ulamā' and the mass of the population is seen in the revolt against Tahīr Pasha, which resulted in the accession of Muḥammād Alī.

Referring to this event, the naqīb al-Ashrāf, 'Umar Makram, expresses himself in the following terms:

"Those in authority are the 'ulamā' and the followers of the Sharī'a and the righteous Sultan, but this is a tyrannical man (Tāhīr Pāshā) and it is the tradition from time immemorial that Ahl al-balad depose the wālī if he be unjust" (al-Jabartī, 1958:630).

The 'ulamā', therefore, can be identified with and as Ahl al-balad and constituted the leadership element amongst them. Their influence was increased because they acted as guardians of religion and interpreters of sharī'a. - the identification of Awlād al-balad with the sharī'a has already been noted.

The Merchants and Artisans

The merchants of Cairo were formed into guilds and corporations that were highly organized and independent of the central authority. On top of the organization there was the shah Bandar, or Chief Representative of the Merchants; then below him came the merchant notables. But there were also poor merchants as the following passage shows:-

"The Arabs plundered the merchant's caravan coming from Suez, consisting of four thousand camel carrying coffee, spices and clothes. Many of the poor amongst the merchants were attacked and plundered and had become completely impoverished" (al-Jabartī, 1968:611).

The role of the shah Bandar of Merchants was an important one, extending far beyond the internal organization of the merchant guilds. This is clear from the biography of al-Sayyid Muḥammād al-Mahrūkī presented by al-Jabartī:

"He was in charge of all the business concerning travel and caravans, all messages received and sent to Hejjaz, all taxes levied upon ship and caravan loads, and all the various aspects of import and export. He was also responsible for all the different tribes; their disputes, their policies and their legal councils. He was also in charge of arbitration in cases concerning merchants, vendors, and local artisans. He was responsible for the Pasha's missions, correspondence, trade, commercial ventures, taxes, and the giving of instructions to soldiers (in the Hijjaz) for the campaign against the Wahhabis" (al-Jabartī, 1958:970).

The social status of the merchants seems to have been one of the highest among the indigenous groups. al-Jabartī describes the house of one of them in the following terms:

"He was one of the notable and famous merchants, as were his ancestors. His well known house at Azbākīya is the house of honour, fame and pride" (al-Jabartī, 1958:70).

Not only did some individual merchants achieve a high status in society but, as a whole the merchant guilds ranked highest amongst all other guilds.

"Their highly respected social position led to their being linked in guild lore with the Prophet Muḥammād, whose trade comprised all former and later branches of occupations, since he was a merchant" (Baer, 1964:38).

It is interesting to observe that in spite of their influence and wealth, merchants were clearly identified by al-Jabartī as Awlād al-balad as we see from the following passages:

"They levied a tax on Ahl al-balad distributing it among artisans and merchants" (al-Jabartī, 1958:545).

In the biography of al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Mahrūqī, shah Bandar of Merchants al-Jabartī describes him as follows:

"His orders were carried out in Egypt, Turkey, the Hijjāz and Syria, and he achieved fame and power as no one else before him from among Awlād al-balad (al-Jabartī, 1958:623)

Thus we can say that the 'ulamā', merchants, artisans, shopkeepers were classified as Awlād al-balad in the time of al-Jabartī.

VI. The Connotation of the Expression 'baladī'

al-Jabartī uses the term 'baladī' with a single connotation. The usage implies what is local as opposed to what is foreign, as we can see from the following quotations:

"He sent with him a soldier to his house in which he found two persons: one Turkish and the other baladī, who were picking up the rest of the plunder" (al-Jabartī, 1958:812).

"Ahmad Āga rode with his soldiers who were with him at Minīa and many people of their like mingled with them, along with others from the Moroccans and the baladī Turks" (al-Jabartī, 1958:720).

"The blessed Nile reached its full height and they announced its celebration as was customary. The baladī Christians from the Copts, Syrians and Turks went forth" (al-Jabartī, 1958:330).

"As for Ahl al-balad not one of them went out for entertainment in the boats, as was customary; only the Syrian Christians, Copts, Turks and baladī Franks" (al-Jabartī, 1958:260).

It is interesting to speculate as to whether phrases such as 'baladī Franks' carried also a reflection of their being less foreign than other Franks, through knowledge of Arabic and of local customs. However, there is no evidence from the text to support the view that it carries any association other than locus.

✓ This analysis of the citations in al-Jabartī which refer to Awlād al-balad enable us to categorize the group, to some extent, as an identifiable collectivity. They are indigenous, Cairene, urbanite, Muslims, as opposed to foreigners of any kind. They have a common language, or dialect, and are closely identified with the observances of the sharī'a in an orthodox manner. They have their own quarters since most social groups were identified with special quarters. They are distinguished by particular forms of dress and show certain attitudes, such as a readiness to assert their rights in relation to authority and a capacity for lampoonery in regard to those in authority over them.

Our knowledge of the attitude of other groups towards Awlād al-balad is limited to that of the ruling elite, who looked upon them with contempt. They refer to them by such terms as rai'yā or fallahin (see page 27 & 28). The wālī, Tahir Pāshā when informed of his deposition uses the same epithet: "I am appointed by the sultan and I will not be deposed by the fallahīn" (al-Jabartī, 1958:626). The usage of 'fallahīn' here, is metaphorical and derogatory and indicative of inferior status.

✓ As for Awlād al-balad's conception of self, we have no evidence as to their conceiving of themselves as inferior to other groups in the society. On the contrary, we find hints as to their sense of superiority, especially as followers of orthodox Islamic tradition.

superiority, especially as followers of orthodox Islamic tradition.

In locating Awlād al-balad in the structure of Cairene society at the end of the eighteenth century - early nineteenth century, we find that they are identifiable with all indigenous classes 'ulamā', merchants, and the artisans. 'Ulamā', merchants and artisans were, as groups, internally heterogenous; but as Awlād al-balad, their homogeneity is derived from a shared origin as to place and a common dialect, religion and socio-cultural tradition-- as opposed to the various foreign elements in Cairene society.

CHAPTER THREE

CURRENT CONNOTATION OF THE CONCEPT IBN AL-BALAD

Introduction

The material presented in this section is the outcome of forty intensive interviews which were undertaken with the intention of reaching a preliminary understanding of the current connotation of the term Ibn al-balad. Though the study is exploratory, yet it has been possible to discover certain patterns of usage in the common parlance of present day Egyptians.

I am going to discuss the term Ibn al-balad first, as it is used to refer to a collectivity and to the characteristics of this collectivity. Subsequently, I will discuss its metaphorical use and the use of the adjective "baladī" which is derived from it.

The analysis has shown that the term is used, first of all, in relation to an identified collectivity representing: a) Egyptians in general or b) specific groups of Egyptians. It was also clear that it was often used metaphorically to characterize persons with attributes, characteristics and values which, in the conception of the users, so that it pertains to either of the two categories.

It was not easy however, to discover all the various distinctions in the meaning of the term, because they are not that clearly, nor neatly, defined in the minds of the people who use it. People are

sometimes vague about the exact application of the term; they sometimes use it to denote one meaning, and are completely unaware of the other and different connotations. Some are aware of the various usages and try to explain them, but the majority use the term automatically, as is the case with all language, without analyzing or being conscious of the different meanings they attach to the word.

I. Ibn al-balad in Reference to a General Collectivity

A. Who are Identified as Ibn al-balad in Reference to Egyptians in General

The common current usage of the epithet Ibn al-balad, has proved to be an extension of the early usage noted in al-Jabartī, which differentiates between Egyptians and foreigners of any nationality. Many respondents indicated that Ibn al-balad is the real Egyptian, not a citizen of another Arab country, not a khawāga (a European or Western foreigner), or any other type of foreigner. This connotation was indicated by a variety of answers such as: "Literally, we are all called Awlād al-balad." The word symbolizes the native Egyptians." "Those who are born from an Egyptian mother, and father." "It denotes, generally, the Egyptian, son of Egypt." "It denotes the Egyptian who is not a foreigner". Thus, the usage of the term in this context is very general, where all Egyptians are conceived as one collectivity vis-à-vis the foreigner. For example, if someone mistakes an Egyptian

for a foreigner, he may be corrected by the remark: "He is Ibn al-balad"; or if one forgets himself and behaves as a foreigner he would be told: "What has happened to you? You are an Ibn al-balad." In this context, it is also used as a form of reproach or reminder to those who seem to deny their Egyptian identity, as in the case of an Egyptian who ignores his mother tongue and speaks only a foreign language. One would say to him: "What is the matter? After all, you are an Ibn al-balad."

This connotation of the word seems to make it synonymous to the term al-Misri, (the Egyptian). Further probing into its meaning, however, shows that it is so only in the sense that Ibn al-balad is always an Egyptian; but not all Egyptians, however, are Awlād al-balad. Egyptian nationality is not sufficient to identify one as an Ibn al-balad. The majority of those interviewed indicated that foreigners who were born and who lived all their lives in Egypt are not Awlād al-balad. Even Egyptians who are known to have foreign ancestry, two or three generations old, are not considered Awlād al-balad.

Hence, the term is used to differentiate between the real Egyptian and those who are not of Egyptian ancestry, as implied in the following answers:

"The word Ibn al-balad symbolizes the real Egyptian who has no foreign blood."

"It refers to the original inhabitants of Egypt."

"It is used to differentiate between the real Egyptian and the intruders from among the invaders and rulers."

Thus a real Egyptian is never a khawāga, European or Western foreigner. Often enough when one asks the meaning of the term Ibn al-balad the answer would be "the one who is not a khawāga."

B. Characteristics and Attributes of Ibn al-Balad in Reference to Egyptians in General

There are certain characteristics and attributes that differentiate a real Egyptian, an Ibn al-balad, from the foreigner or khawāga.

Language

First of all, he speaks Arabic in the pure Egyptian dialect and not what is usually called "broken Arabic." Thus, an obvious and typical characteristic of the real Egyptian is his usage of his mother tongue. If an Egyptian does not master his mother tongue (this happened often enough in the old days as a result of occupation and the emphasis on foreign education), he may be referred to sarcastically as a khawāga.

Sense of Humor

Gaiety and humor mixed with sarcasm and cynicism, plus a sense of living for the moment, are considered typical attributes of the real Egyptian. These character traits were referred to by all interviewees

interviewees in such representative answers as:

"Ibn al-balad is the one who is always gay."

"Ibn al-balad represents the Egyptian spirit. He ridicules everything and does not care for anything. He lives for the present hours."

"Ibn al-balad loves to joke and be jolly."

"Ibn al-balad is a wag or a joker."

Many respondents pointed out that this sense of humor is a form of outlet to all the frustrations the Egyptians passed through from various foreign occupations. This interpretation is rather common among Egyptians. We find Ḥamid^c Ammār, in describing the pattern of the Egyptian personality, referring to joking as a typical characteristic in the following terms:

"The joke became a characteristic of the Egyptian pattern. It seems that the joke is used [by the Egyptian] to satisfy his internal feeling and comfort those who hear it. It also keeps him away from the [serious] subject, and even from reality itself. Hence many of the clever Egyptian jokes act as a release to the political and social frustrations that afflict the people. They also act as an escape from anxieties and hence make life bearable" (Cammār, 1964:83).

This character trait seems to have been outstanding through the ages: various writers and historians have referred to it. al-Maqrīzī, quoting from Abī al-Ṣalat described the Egyptians as follows:

"The Egyptian character is dominated by a desire for sensuous pleasures and recreation as well as gaiety and amiability. These features are more pronounced in their character than they are in any other group I have observed before" (Amīn, 1953:8).

Ahmad Amīn refers to the Egyptian joviality of spirit and their love of joking, to their inclination to live for the moment and to avoid speculating about the consequences. He quotes Ibn Khaldūn as saying when he first came to Egypt: "The Egyptians seem to lack foresight" (Amīn, 1963:8). al-Maqrīzī, in describing the Egyptians took a similar view: "The Egyptians lack foresight. Thus, we do not find them storing food, as it is the custom in other countries. They even buy their food twice a day, in the morning and at night" (Amīn, 1953:8). Ahmad Amīn comments on this statement by saying:

"The fact that they lack foresight allows them to be gay and jolly. If man does not think of the consequences, he will not worry and thus the possibilities for joking are increased" (Amīn, 1953:8).

Ahmad Amīn also observed that, in his day (1900-1950), the most miserable people who lived in the worst conditions and possessed the least money were the most jolly. Thus in baladī coffee-houses, which workers and artisans who have no work frequent, and also in folk circles where misery and poverty prevailed, he found that joking was a very prominent feature of social intercourse and entertainment. He also found that the wag was loved and appreciated. He was missed by

everyone when he was absent and was respected when present. Jokes spread among them from one gathering to another. Some of them investigate the latest joke as they investigate the latest news (Amīn, 1953:9). Ahmad Amīn's observations at the beginning of the 20th Century still seem to hold true today.

Simplicity, Goodness and Patriotism

Another characteristic seem as typical of the real Egyptian is that he is simple and good, as stated by some respondents:

"Ibn al-balad is the simple and the good person."

"Ibn al-balad is the son of the good earth."

Ibn al-balad conceives of himself as being essentially good and believes that this is an attribute that he has acquired as a result of living on the "good earth", an earth that is generous in providing him with his needs and whom he is confident will never fail him. This goodness is, as one respondent commented, "the reflection of the goodness and richness which characterize the soil of our country." In turn, the real Egyptian has to be loyal to his country, love it and remain attached to it. A real Egyptian, as pointed out by many respondents, has to be very patriotic, otherwise he is not identified as a true Ibn-balad. The Egyptian as an Ibn al-balad conceives himself as simple and clear, that is not sophisticated. It is often said in conversation, when one starts to philosophize and uses classical

words: "Say your point in baladī". For example, when a doctor starts to explain to the family the patient's condition and, in his conversation uses medical expressions he is told: "Explain the case again in baladī" meaning, say clearly and simply what you want to say.

Fatalism

The real Egyptian, according to most interviewees, has a "fatalistic" attitude towards life. They described his attitude as one of living from day to day, unheeding of the morrow, because to Ibn al-balad the morrow is unpredictable. Fate can interfere any time and change one's plans hence it is useless to make plans. Perhaps this philosophy is best expressed in the word in Shā' Allah, (If God wills). Not only does he live from day to day but also, as was expressed by some interviewees, he sees that whatever wealth he accumulates in his life is worthless since "no-one takes anything away when he dies." This is a common saying usually told to those who want to plan their lives carefully. Hence, material things are of limited value since they do not count in the after life, but it is rather a man's good action which counts, as the saying goes: "It is none but the good action that remains to be counted for you in the after life."

Generosity and Sharing

Generosity and sharing are two other attributes in the minds of people that are identified as characteristics of a real Egyptian. An expression of generosity is hospitality. Ibn al-balad is very hospitable to his guests and usually insists on keeping his guests till meal times arrive, then serves them food in huge quantities. This generosity is not necessarily related to his income. As pointed out by one informant, an Ibn al-balad would spend the last pound he has on his guests without thinking of the next day.

Sharing is another attribute which is very significant among Awlād al-balad especially in time of crisis. Participating in funerals and weddings, materially as well as emotionally, is a norm of behavior among Awlād al-balad. Sharing, in the context of being sociable, is very basic to them, because unless you visit people, talk to them, ask about them, you are never aware of their affairs and hence are incapable of sharing their misfortunes and their happiness.

II. Ibn al-Balad in Reference to a Specific Collectivity

A narrower meaning of the term Ibn al-balad is associated with a specific identified collectivity which shares common residence, common characteristics, character traits and values. Only four out of the forty respondents conceived of no such collectivity; to them the concept related only to any traditional Egyptians. The majority

indicated the existence of such a group and had a more or less concrete idea about it and its characteristics.

A. The Specific Collectivity, as Identified by the Sample

Awlād al-balad as a Stratum in Society

The majority (22) of respondents indicated that there is a group among the Egyptians that is referred to specifically as Awlād al-balad; the consensus was that this group is urbanite and not rural. A fallah in this sense is not Ibn al-balad. In fact, Cairo is specified as the urban center where they are located. Some, however, did not know if it applied to persons from other urban centers. Some said that it could apply to those in Alexandria but, in that case, they would be different from the Cairenes. They explained that the difference in environment, such as the existence of the sea at Alexandria, gives rise to a different type of Awlād al-balad with different characteristics, such as are found among a community of fishermen.

Within Cairo itself, not only the fallah is excluded from Awlād al-balad; so are other groups such as the Sa'idi (the Upper Egyptian), the Nubian and the Bedouin. Not one of the interviewees indicated that any member of these groups would be identified as an Ibn al-balad. In fact, since only Cairenes are Awlād al-balad, it is understandable that none of these groups, whose place of origin is outside Cairo would be considered Awlād al-balad.

The major distinction between Awlād al-balad and other strata in Cairene society is that between them and what is called the class of Effendiya, (bureaucrats, or white collar workers). More than half of the interviewees pointed out that Ibn al-balad is never a bureaucrat.

That the bureaucrat is not an Ibn-balad can also be deduced from an examination of two distinctive caricatures which have been used in the press to represent the Egyptian. One is of al-Misri Effendi, clad in a suit and a Tarboush and carrying prayer beads; the other is of Ibn al-balad in his galabiya. In explaining the difference between the two, Rakha the caricaturist who originated the caricature of Ibn al-balad, said:

"In the year 1929 the caricature of al-Misri Effendi was born in the magazine Ruz al-Yūssuf. This caricature symbolized the good and submissive person, who is passive and fatalistic and who, in the face of calamity, calls for God's help saying 'Damn those who have done me injustice.' In the year 1941, the chief editor of al Ithnayn magazine held a meeting with the editorial staff of Dār al-Hilāl [The publishing house], in which it was decided that the caricature of 'al-Misri Effendi did not, and should not, symbolize the Egyptian, because it represented the lowest class of government official; that is the effendi class, or petty hureaucrats. They decided that the personality of Ibn al-balad represented a more independent and emancipated personality and one which really represented the Egyptian."

From that date on, all magazines started to draw the Egyptian

as an Ibn-balad dressed in a galabiya, rather than an Effendi in a suit.

The worker level of society is not so sharply differentiated from Awlād al-balad as that of the bureaucrat. Some interviewees (almost half) identified the workers as Awlād al-balad; other sharply denied such an identity, especially if the workers were factory workers. They explained that the effect of industrial work on the worker makes him acquire different characteristics from those of Ibn al-balad. Most of them expressed the belief that industrial workers could not be as independent as Awlād al-balad.

Residence and Style of Life

Though Ibn al-balad has to be a Cairene, yet he does not live in any single place in Cairo. Among the interviewees, however, there was general consensus that Awlād al-balad are found in al-Ahyā' al-sha'bīya (folk quarters), but they differed in what they meant by al-Ahyā' al-sha'bīya. The most significant Ahyā' al-sha'bīya with which Awlād al-balad are associated, are given by respondents as: al-Ḥusayn, al-Sayyida Zaynab, Būlāq, al-Ghawrīya, al-Qal'a, Bāb al-Sha'riya, Khān al-Khālīlī and al-Muskī.

Some of the interviewees especially those from the upper classes, conceived of al-Ahyā' al-sha'bīya as the slums of Cairo. But most of the interviewees pointed out that al-Ahyā' al-sha'bīya are the quarters which are old and traditional. Consequently, we would not find Ibn al-balad in new

sections, such as Zamalek or Garden City, as pointed by many respondents, because these quarters are inhabited by many foreigners and westernized Egyptians and thus represent a different type of person and a way of life which does not pertain to Awlād al-balad. Not only are Awlād al-balad characterized as dwelling in al-Aḥyā' al-sha'bīya, but the inhabitants of al-Aḥyā' al-sha'bīya are equated with Awlād al-balad.

When we say Aḥyā' al-sha'bīya, we have to take into consideration several factors; since the term implies more than its literal meaning, There are folk quarters in all parts of Cairo, such as ^cAbbasiya, the Pyramids, Giza and Dokki, but none of these quarters were specified by interviewees as quarters in which Awlād al-balad reside.

Furthermore, there are people who would be considered Awlād al-balad by any criteria and yet who live outside these quarters. But interviewees' own impression of where the traditional classes live, specifies the old parts of Cairo. We know that most of the quarters mentioned are as old as Cairo itself.

In these quarters there are slums, but we cannot say that al-Aḥyā' al-sha'bīya are slums. The appearance of these quarters has not changed for centuries, some of the buildings and streets are the original ones of Old Cairo. The streets in these quarters are divided into hārat, darb ^cataf and zuqāq which are probably the original divisions.

The ḥāra in which I did some of my interviews, called Hārat Khoush Kadam, exemplifies this point. In reading and analyzing al-Jabartī, I found that in several passages he mentioned the name of this ḥāra in its present day location. This is not an unique example.

These quarters have preserved more than their old architectural features. For example, one still meets the traditional water-carrier, carrying water to the houses. The narrow streets are crowded by carts, drawn by animals as well as by hand. Work is carried on in many of them in the houses, in the traditional way—that is, you find the carpenter, weaver, plumber and tinsmith in the midst of the living units.

A significant feature of these quarters is that there are many baladī coffee - houses in which coffee, tea and shīsha (hookahs) are served. In them, until recently, the professional singer used to recite stories of Arab heroes to the accompaniment of the rabāba (a single-string fiddle).

These old quarters were earlier inhabited by native Egyptians from a variety of classes even upper-classes (as shown in al-Jabartī), possessing a common identity which differentiated them from the rulers and foreigners. Now it seems that certain lower classes only dwell in these quarters and it has been noted by many interviewees that those Egyptians who dwell in these old quarters leave them when they become

rich or educated.

These quarters have their own style of life and customs which affect all their inhabitants. In talking to Awlād al-balad one gets the impression that there exist certain customs and shared beliefs to which all levels and strata of the inhabitants of the quarters adhere. One of these shared beliefs is the influence of saints on their life. An incident cited to me by an Ibn-balad from the quarter of al-Ḥusayn, not only illustrates the effect of saints on their life, but also shows that such beliefs are shared by the poor as well as the rich. One of the common beliefs among dwellers of al-Ḥusayn is that those who pray the early morning in al-Ḥusayn Mosque forty times will be rewarded by fulfilling their desires. Among those who kept to this habit, al-Hag Ḥusayn al-^cAgātī the owner of the famous Kabab shops in al-Ḥusayn, was given as an example. His wealth, which is estimated by the informant as fifty thousand pounds, is considered as a reward for his prayers. al-Hag Ḥusayn al-^cAgātī, in turn, has expressed his gratitude by sticking to the neighbourhood and has never thought of changing his residence.

Another obvious feature of these quarters is the existence of many important saints such as al-Ḥusayn (grandchild of the Prophet) and al-Sayyida Zaynab (sister of al-Ḥusayn and grandchild of the Prophet). In interviewing Awlād al-balad in al-Ḥusayn quarter one gets

the impression that the people there are aware of the sacredness of the place. To them it is full of Baraka (blessing) and goodness. This is often said in a superior manner: "We are beside al-Ḥusayn"; "we are beside the Prophet's house (family)." There is a common feeling in this quarter that, so long as they are beside al-Ḥusayn, no harm will befall them and whenever they find themselves in need they can appeal to him. Naguib Mahfūz expressed this notion of protection in his novel Khān al-Khalīlī, when describing the move of Aḥmad Ākaf's family from Abbasiya to Khān al-Khalīlī during the bombing of Cairo in the World War II, believing that al-Ḥusayn is capable of protecting the quarter against any bombing. The dialogue between Aḥmad Ākif and al-Mu'allam Nūnū:

Aḥmad Ākif: "Thank you Mu'allam!. It is as has been told us often by the wise people that the Ḥusayn quarter is safe."

"Mu'allam Nūnū: 'You believe it and believe it strongly! It is a sacred quarter that is loved, respected and honored for the sake of its owner. You will see in the coming days that you will not be able to leave it, or be separated from it, and a call from within will draw you to it'" (Mahfūz, 1946:44).

Not only are the rich and poor affected by the style of life in these quarters but also the Muslims, the Christians and the Jews. Although the Christians are a minority now, they are not differentiated from the Muslims because they share the same way of life. An Ibn

al-balad gave the example of a Christian in al-Ḥusayn quarter called Iskandar Mīna, who was one of the futūwwat of al-Ḥusayn. The futūwwa is conceived as a special type of Awlād al-balad. (see p.83)

In these quarters, also, we have a high percentage of uneducated people. For example in Bāb al-shar^ciya, the percentage of the educated is only 36%, and the uneducated stands at 58%. While those with higher education are very few. (Al Sā^cātī, 1961:3). However, we find that the educated person, who is brought up in these quarters and chooses to remain in the neighbourhood is considered an Ibn al-balad. An example of this was Bayram al-Tūnisī. He was highly educated and travelled several times to Europe and was one of the greatest exponents of the Egyptian folk ballad; yet he never left his neighbourhood until his recent death.

Awlād al-balad's tastes and mode of life are very local. The food Awlād al-balad prefers is the local food, such as knuckles, tripe mūlūkhiya (a thick soup made from mallow leaves), stuffed vegetables or vine leaves, fūl (black-eyed Egyptian beans) and ta^camiya (croquettes of vegetables and beans fried in oil). The variety of food is not so important as the quantity. They are very particular about the quantity of food served, especially for guests, because serving food in quantity to guests is an expression of hospitality. The traditional manner of

eating is with fingers while sitting around the tabliya (a round table with very short legs, or a low table).

Singing and music are particularly popular among Awlād al-balad. The mawwāl (colloquial ballad) is favored not so much for the music as for the lyric. The mawwāl is usually based on certain local themes, values, or beliefs.

The following behavior patterns exemplify the more traditional and less modern ways of Awlād al-balad. Ibn al-balad, if he falls sick will not take modern medicine but will try first the baladī remedies, such as getting certain plants from the spice merchant, or go to the zar, or pray and make special vows to the saints. Awlād al-balad also visit saints to seek solutions for difficult problems. For example, an informant indicated that in al-Ghawriya there is a shaikh (saint) called Yahya who is a specialist in personal problems. Each Saturday, not less than 300 women visit his tomb for help with problems of marriage, divorce and sterility.

In general Ibn al-balad, is very knowledgeable in tradition, or as mentioned by several respondents he is what we call in folk tongue Asīl (of good stock), meaning that he is a person who knows al-usūl or the traditional etiquette. He acts in each situation in accordance with the Egyptian tradition.

Manners of Dress and Speech

In people's mind there is a concrete image of Ibn al-balad in terms of outside appearance, attire, way of speaking, tone of voice kind of dialect and special vocabulary including the invectives he uses. As many as ten persons gave the famous actor Muḥammad Riḍa in the character of Mu'allam Shatāra.¹ as an example of a typical Ibn al-balad with all his mannerisms of dress and speech.

Ibn al-balad adheres to what is considered the traditional dress. The typical Ibn al-balad attire is a galabiya (long gown) a headdress consisting of a scarf or a shawl wrapped around a small head cover and a walking stick. Ibn al-balad is thought to be very particular about his general appearance - so much so that he is described by many, especially those who are from the sample of Awlād al-balad as a c'a'q (a dandy) and very particular about his cleanliness. As for those interviewees who were from the upper strata, they described him as shabby and dirty. An indispensable feature of his appearance is a moustache.

Ibn al-balad was described by many as having a peculiar manner of speech. The dialect he uses is a special kind of urban colloquial Arabic, that differs from rural dialect as well as from that of other

¹. A very famous T.V. series exhibited in the year 1968.

social stratum in the city. Ibn al-balad has a special style in talking which was described by many respondents in the following terms:

"He speaks a little nasally. He draws out words and lengthens the ends of sentences. He swallows some of the letters, for example he says Wala in place of Wallāhi (By God). His speech is full of puns and words figuratively used. He usually garnishes his speech with proverbs."

Several common expressions were cited to me as unique to Awlād al-balad. Some examples of these expressions are: Bilāqafia (do not get me wrong!); Wa' la Muakhaza (pardon me); Alayya al-na^cma (may God's grace go against me); Alayya al-Talaq (may I be divorced, that is, if what I am saying is not true); Yā mīt misā^d (O hundred evenings); Nahārna ful (our day is roses); when used in greetings, for example, it would have the meaning (You've made our day beautiful as roses etc. that is by meeting you); Yā Gamīl (O beauty) and Mal'ūn Abū'l-Dunya (to hell with the world!).

These phrases, in their usage by Ibn al-balad, might have a nuisance beyond their generic meaning; some of them may possibly be related to a connotation which has become lost. In any case, the phrases have become formalistic interjections.

Ibn al-balad usually calls others who are older than him by certain titles such as father of so-and-so or mother of so-and-so.

As for those who are younger than him, he refers to them as brothers, and those who are very young he calls them boys. He is characterized by many as using the most vulgar invectives publicly. But insults, in many contexts, are used by him in a complimentary way, such as when he wants to praise the cleverness of a person: "He is quite a man, but the son of a whore." Also very harsh insults are not always meant to be so, such as when a mother addresses her son as "Oh, damn you!". Generally, Ibn al-balad is described as pleasant in his speech and prone to talkativeness.

These details of Ibn al-balad's appearance, dress and mannerism of speech are concrete in people's minds. To some especially those in upper classes, these aspects were the main and only criteria by which they identify a person as an Ibn al-balad. It is interesting to note that these aspects, are the ones that are emphasized in mass-media and are exaggerated to the point of ridiculing Awlād al-balad. As one of them put it: "Ibn al-balad is not the stupid and funny fellow we see on the films." The sample of Awlād al-balad themselves did not emphasize these characteristics. They pointed out that Ibn-balad could be dressed in a galabiya or a suit and they gave numerous examples of persons dressed in suits who are regarded as real Awlād al-balad. They objected firmly to their image on T.V. and radio programs as not being representative of them. As one informant

pointed out, such programs generally emphasize the mannerism of speech and dress of Awlād al-balad and exaggerate it and forget completely about their essence. This informant also pointed out that neither the image that Muḥammad Riḍa presents of Awlād al-balad, nor the caricature of Rakha (Ibn al-balad as dressed in galabiya) are representatives of Awlād al-balad. Many of those who considered themselves Awlād al-balad, referred to Naguib Mahfūz's novels as well as Bayron al Tūnisī's ballads as giving a concrete image of Awlād al-balad. They emphasized that the essence of Awlād al-balad as expressed by their values, traditions and customs is the essential element in identifying them.

In interviewing the sample of Awlād al-balad, I noticed that their tone of voice is rather low and with some of them I had a difficulty in hearing what they said.

Class and Wealth

Almost three quarters of the respondents identified Ibn al-balad as of lower middle class income of course, it is difficult to know just what people meant by "middle class." Some conceived of him as very poor and identified him with lowest economic strata in the society and these were from the higher classes. No one identified him as an upper class person, or as the latter is often called, Ibn al-Zawwāt. Ibn al-balad's distinctive characteristic is that he is not an Ibn

al-Zawwāt." All interviewees pointed that Ibn al-Zawwāt could not be considered as Ibn al-balad because he is his opposite.

Those who identified him with the middle classes of society stressed the point that it is these classes that preserve our traditional values more than any other. Once he becomes too rich it is not possible to classify him as an Ibn al-balad, since he will probably change his residence, as well as his way of life, and this in turn will affect his traditional values. As some interviewees pointed out, however, it is not so much the amount of wealth that one possess as what one does with it which identifies one as an Ibn al-balad, or not. For example, a coffee-shop owner, or a butcher, could become very rich but still follow the customs of the group, such as staying in his quarter, helping and cooperating with the neighbourhood, preserving his family relations as well as friendship ties; in short, keeping his identity as an Ibn al-balad. On the other hand, he might move from his own quarter to a new one, forget his origin, despise his old neighbours and friends, try to become assimilated into the new environment and negate his original identity. In such a case he would not any longer be considered Ibn al-balad.

It is interesting to note how the different classes of interviewees identified themselves in relation to Awlād al-balad. No-one

from the upper classes identified themselves with Awlād al-balad, although two of the American University in Cairo female students wished that they could be considered as Banāt al-balad. Members of the upper class were completely removed from the group of Awlād al-balad. They had no personal contact with them, except in relation to their work. Hence, the majority of them, not only did not identify themselves as Awlād al-balad but also denied this identification with an air of superiority and disgust.

Interviewees from the middle class were rather hesitant as to whether they would consider themselves Awlād al-balad or not and only half of them conceived of themselves as Awlād al-balad. But all interviewees of the lower class considered themselves Awlād al-balad and answered firmly: "Of course we are Awlād al-balad." As for the group of Awlād al-balad themselves, they all identified themselves as Awlād al-balad and their common response was :I have the honor to be an Ibn al-balad.

Religion

Ibn al-balad could be a Muslim or a Christian. Twenty-six interviewees pointed out that he could be a Christian or a Muslim, because the element of religion is not decisive in the identification of Awlād al-balad. But for a Christian to be an Ibn al-balad

necessitates that he lives in an environment of Awlād al-balad and adhere to traditional Egyptian customs. Many of those who might be designated as Awlād al-balad gave the names of Christians they knew who conceived of themselves as Awlād al-balad. It was pointed out to me that in baladī quarters, it is not easy to differentiate between Muslims and Christians. Some pointed out that they knew of Christians who used to fast in Ramadān with the Muslim and celebrate certain Muslim feasts.

On the other hand, fourteen respondents insisted that an Ibn-al-balad has to be a Muslim. They justified their conclusion by stating that a Christian displays different character traits from those of Ibn al-balad. It is believed that while Ibn al-balad is adventurous, bold and courageous, the Christians are over cautious, more tactful and a little less courageous.

Education

Education is not in itself essential in classifying a person as Ibn al-balad. This was cited by almost three quarters of the interviewees. The few who conceived of education as a criterion were mainly from the upper classes and they equated Ibn al-balad with the ignorant.

But Awlād al-balad, as a group, are thought of as uneducated in

terms of formal schooling, degrees etc. but highly knowledgeable in the social sense within the context of their everyday life experience. Some of representative answers were:

"Ibn al-balad learns from life; he learns from interacting with different kinds of people. Hence his school is "life".

"The majority of Awlād al-balad are uneducated, but their instinct is very sharp".

"It is not essential that Ibn al-balad be educated. I know a car mechanic who used to speak three languages fluently, without knowing how to read or write, and this man was a real ibn al-balad".

Some explained that education pertains to the modern, western, way of life and educated people adhere more to foreign patterns of behavior. Thus, it is not education in itself that is a differentiating criterion, but rather the change that education brings about. As one respondent said:

"if Ibn al-balad is educated and at the same time adheres to the value of his class, then he is an Ibn al-balad. But if he changes and becomes westernized, then he is no longer an Ibn al-balad."

Social Types and Occupations Associated with Ibn al-balad

Associated with Ibn al-balad are certain social types. The term social types is used here as defined by Orrin E. Klapp:

"Social types are consensual concepts or roles that have not been fully codified and rationalized which help us to find our way about in the social system" (Klapp, 1958:675).

Those types, which are strongly associated in people's minds with Awlād al-balad are the futūwwa (bouncer) the hashshāsh (hashish addict) and the Mu'allam (the coffee house proprietor). These types reflect the image people have of Awlād al-balad. Some of those interviewed considered these types as equivalent to Awlād al-balad. For example, when asked who is Ibn al-balad the response I got from several interviewees was: "Ibn al-balad is the hashshāsh or "He is the futūwwa" or "He is the Mu'allam." Thus, in this context, these types were used as an equivalent to Ibn al-balad.

The futūwwa, as conceived by many interviewees, is a tough person, he is also a bouncer or brawler. He is somebody who is strong and scares others by his strength. Some interviewees remarked that the futūwwa is the person hired to close night clubs or beat up persons. This was mainly the conception of the interviewees from upper strata of society, when identifying Ibn al-balad as the futūwwa. On the other hand, to those who conceived of themselves as Awlād al-balad the futūwwa is the strong man who is specialized in fighting. In each quarter there are certain futūwwat, who are responsible for the protection of the quarter. This does not mean that he goes out of his way to fight

but rather that he is forced to fight when there is no way out, that is he is gada^c meaning he is a real man. He is considered the local leader of the ḥāra; his word is obeyed and he is respected by everybody. He is the one who acts as an arbitrator in his community. If somebody needs money he will give it to him, and if he needs discipline he will straighten him out. Thus, as an Ibn al-balad remarked: "To be a futūwwa necessitates being a man with shahāma and not an outlaw as often presented in films."

The hashshash is always jolly and irresponsible. Most interviewees described Ibn al-balad as the hashshash. The sample of Awlād al-balad themselves also admitted that hashish addiction is widely spread among them, but this does not mean that the hashshash should be equated with Ibn al-balad. They indicated that both the hashshash and the futūwwa could be considered as types of Awlād al-balad, but not necessarily equivalent to them.

The Mu'allam is a title that applies usually to the butcher or the baladī coffee-shop owner. These two jobs are closely associated in the minds of people with Awlād al-balad. Among the interviewees there was hesitation as to whether certain jobs were singular to Awlād al-balad, but when it came to the butcher and the baladī coffee-shop owner, no one (from any class) hesitated. The answer was a butcher or a baladī coffee-shop owner has to be an Ibn al-balad. The image was

so firm in the minds of interviewees that when asked why a butcher should be an Ibn al-balad, they gave no explanation but simply asserted that "he must be an Ibn al-balad." Few explained that these two jobs require contact with many people and also that they require alertness and quickness, qualities identified with the character of Ibn al-balad. This strong association between Awlād al-balad and these two occupations might be due to the effect of mass-media since in films or T.V. programs Ibn al-balad is usually presented either as a butcher or coffee-shop owner. It may even be that these jobs were the ones that natives Egyptians specialized in, as for example, Greeks were specialists in grocery and bakery.

The kind of occupation Ibn al-balad has is not an important as the nature of the job. Almost half the people interviewed indicated that they could do any work, but the majority conceived of them as occupying non-governmental independent work. Many regarded them as being traders and artisans - this is the view of most of those who identified themselves as Awlād al-balad.

B. Characteristics and Attributes of Awlād al-balad is
Reference to Specific Collectivity as Seen by the Sample

Respondents had a more concrete conception of the attributes of Ibn al-balad when the term was discussed in its narrower meaning i.e. when denoting a more specific collectivity of Egyptians. There are certain traits that are singular to Awlād al-balad in this context.

One characteristic of Ibn al-balad in this connection is that he adheres to Egyptian tradition. Some interviewees even equated the term traditional with Awlād al-balad or the baladī people as in the following representative answers:

"Not all Egyptians are Awlād al-balad. They are special kind of people of the old days. They are the baladī people."

"It refers to the person who follows our forefathers way of life."

"It is said about the person whose way of life does not differ from that of the old days."

"Ibn al-balad is one who represents our old Egyptian tradition."

In describing the attribute of conservatism among Awlād al-balad, one sense of being traditional, is not only a characteristic of the collectivity but also a value that should be preserved. This same idea was expressed by Naguib Mahfūz in Khān al-Khalīlī in a dialogue between Ahmad Rāshid, the educated person, and Ahmad ^cAkif the traditionalist, on the subject of al-Husayn quarter. Ahmad Rāshid speaks first:

"This quarter is old Cairo. It's scattered remains arouse sympathy and stir our imagination. But if you look at it logically, you will find nothing except dirtiness. To preserve it you have to sacrifice people. It is worthwhile getting rid of it to give the people a chance to enjoy a happy and healthy life."

Ahmad ^cAkif's answer, which pleased the group of Awlād al-balad who were in the coffee shop was:

"The old is not only dirtiness. it is a memory that can be far superior to any facts of the present. The Cairo that you want to efface is the glorious Fatimid Cairo. How can you ever compare it with the new enslaved Cairo? (Mahfūz, 1946:54)."

Being traditional has value to Awlād al-balad because it preserves their indigenous identity. They prefer what is local and any preference for what is foreign seems to shake their local identity; thus they deny it firmly as is clear in the following dialogue between Mu'allam Nūnū and Mu'allam Zifta on the subject of singing:

"Mu'allam Nūnū: Brothers, Muhammad's nation is still all right. Have you ever heard an Englishman - and they have been among us for half a century - singing 'Yā layl yā ^cAyn'?"

The truth is that those who prefer foreign singing are like those who long for pork."

"Mu'allam Zifta: "Hear the final work: The best that could be heard is Sī Abdou if he sings Yā layl, and Ali Mahmoud when he announces the dawn prayer and Umm Kulthum in her song "Fī ummatī al-hawwā". Any one else is hashīsh mixed with dust" (Mahfūz, 1946:154).

Religiousness

Most interviewees described Awlād al-balad as very religious. They pointed out that they are the ones who go to the mosque nowadays,

and are the ones who are very particular in carrying out the main edicts of Islam: praying, fasting, pilgrimage and alms. It has been also pointed out that they are the ones who retained the values that relate to Islamic tradition. Such Islamic values as generosity, cooperation, helpfulness, charity, sharing and fatalism are prominent among them. Those who identified themselves as Awlād al-balad, as well as the sample of Awlād al-balad, conceived of themselves as religious. As for the rest, they pointed out that Awlād al-balad are more superstitious than religious.

Shahāma

There are various attributes that identify one as an Ibn al-balad in the specific context but the character trait that is considered by all interviewees as the most significant and outstanding is shahāma. This term has no exact equivalent in English but its closest equivalent may be "gallantry", but with a mixture of nobility, audacity, boldness, respectability, generosity, vigor and manliness.

Shahāma also implies helpfulness and readiness to bear responsibility. As a man endowed with shahāma Ibn al-balad is always ready to volunteer help without being asked. A common illustration of this attitude, as cited by many interviewees, is that Ibn al-balad is the one who interferes in settling a quarrel

without knowing the persons who are involved in it. As for those he knows, such as his relatives, friends, or neighbours, he takes to heart their cause even if they are in the wrong. He feels that to have shahāma, he must stand by them and not let them down. As often said in folk tongue: 'he is gadā' meaning that he is manly and has shahāma.

An instance that was cited as an illustration of this attitude is of an Ibn al-balad who was taking the bus to al-Ghawriya and who asked the ticket-collector to stop before the bus station. The ticket-collector refused and a fight started. In this bus there happened to be two persons from the same district as the Ibn al-balad who immediately interfered and joined Ibn al-balad and forced the ticket-collector to stop the bus.

Another illustration of this attitude, cited by many respondents as a common occurrence, is that if somebody asks the way several persons from Awlād al-balad will volunteer to give the information and even go with him all the way to his destination.

To acquire the attribute of shahāma necessitates being bound by certain moral obligations. Most of the moral obligations that identify a person as having shahāma relate to traditional patterns of interaction. Such a person will know what is expected of him in each

situation and hence fulfill his duty. As an Ibn al-balad explained it:

"As Awlād al-balad, if one falls sick in the ḥāra, everyone knows his duty toward the sick person; some will offer help at home, others will take over his work responsibilities, while the least anyone will do is to visit him daily to ask about his health and offer him company".

The asīl person of good stock, will know what is proper in the context of traditional moral obligations. Some of the examples cited as duties in reference to traditional moral obligations are: to be considerate and obedient to your parents, to be considerate toward your neighbors, to respect and obey the old, to be hospitable to visitors, to be loyal and attached to your parents, family neighbors and your country.

For example, it is your duty to help your neighbors and thus you don't wait until they ask your help. It is your duty to offer help without humiliating them. An Ibn al-balad pointed out that, in their neighborhood, when they find one who is in a financial crisis they try to help him indirectly. They suggest to him that he circumcise his son and this gives them the chance to offer him help in the form of nugāt (money gifts) without embarrassing him.

To clarify further the emaning of shahāma here are three situations which might illustrate the meaning of the word in the everyday life of Ibn al-balad.

All those I met in ḥārat Khoush Kadam¹ referring to Maḥmūd al-Labbān as a person who is endowed with real shahāma. Labbān dwells in the ḥāra and his job is to deliver milk to the inhabitants. His income from this job is approximately ten piasters a day, that is three pounds a month. When I met him he was dressed in a galabiya and wooden clogs and since he could not afford to rent a room he was living in the street under the shelter of a few tins and baskets. Maḥmūd al-Labbān had as a hobby the making of statues from cement which cost him nothing. Kamāl al Malākh², a well known journalist, came across the works of Maḥmūd al-Labbān by chance and after examining his statues decided that he was a talented folk artist. He introduced him to the professional art circles. His statues were highly appreciated and he became famous, to the extent that a special exhibition³ was arranged for him. The outcome of the sale of the works came to about one hundred pounds from which he took seventy. Everyone in the district was curious to know what Maḥmūd al-Labbān,

1.

This ḥāra is where I chose most of the persons in the sampe of Awlād al-balād.

2.

The famous art critic.

3.

This exhibition was during the fall 1969 when I was doing my field research.

the homeless and penniless, would do with the seventy pounds. He did not rent a room, nor did he even buy a new galabiya; instead, he gave the whole sum to his neighbor, who was unemployed and had several children. Maḥmūd al-Labbān considered himself in a much better situation than his neighbor as he had a job and had no children. Therefore, he offered the money to his neighbor so that the latter could buy a hand cart on which to sell macaroni and earn a living. I met Maḥmūd al-Labbān four months after his exhibition and after earning fame; he was still living in the street and working as a milk delivery man. But all those I met in the ḥāra talked about this incident as an act of shahāma that comes only from a real Ibn al-balad.

The second illustration was cited to me by al-Shaikh Imām,¹ who is one of the key informants. He pointed out that since he moved to this ḥāra thirty years ago he did not pay a penny for the flat he rented. The owner took no rent because Shaikh Imām was blind and his income was limited. Though now he had become a prosperous folk song composer, the owner of the house refuses to take any money from him. Shaikh Imām describes this act as one of shahāma on the part of the

¹. Nowadays Shaikh Imām is a very fashionable folk song composer who is trying to revive Sayyid Darwīsh's music. He still lives in Ḥārat Khoush Kadam.

neighborhood. On the other hand the inhabitants of this ḥāra think of Shaikh Imām as a real Ibn al-balad who has shahāma because he usually volunteers to celebrate any wedding or festival in the neighborhood without taking any money.

The third illustration of shahāma was cited to me by Fūad Nagm, the folk-song producer, who lives in the same ḥāra as Shaikh Imām. When Fūad Nagm was ill in the hospital, almost everyone in the ḥāra visited him. One of the neighbors used to come walking from al-Ghawriya to the hospital at Al-Manyal, a distance of about 15 Km. because he could not afford the price of the bus-ticket, which is usually one piaster. Not only did he come on foot but on every visit he brought some kind of food as a present, although he could only have paid for it at the expense of his own daily meals.

Fahlawa

Fahlawa is another character trait that was mentioned by most interviewees as distinctive of Awlād al-balad. This is another colloquial term which has no equivalent, either in English nor in classical Arabic. It implies such qualities as sharpness, cleverness and alertness. Fahlawa is the opposite of stupidity. It is related to such folk or popular adjectives as hid'q (keen or clever) mudaqdaq (well experienced) and mudardah (very social and capable of dealing and interacting with any person).

Some interviewees described Fahlawā as a kind of intelligence that springs from experience rather than education. It results from continuous interaction with all sorts of people, hence, a person becomes intelligent to the ways of other people. For example, Ibn al-balad will adapt his way of talking to the person with whom he is interacting. When he speaks to Greeks, old time residents in Egypt, he changes his dialect and imitate them so that they may understand him.

He understands very quickly and learns other languages very easily. One informant pointed out that most of the workers in the butchery shops, groceries and bakeries at Zamalek, where a number of Russians now live, have learned in a very short while to speak Russian.

The Fahlawi has the talent of convincing others with his ideas. As a merchant, such a person is capable of making the customer buy something he did not intend to get. Fahlawā can also mean showing ignorance of things that one is familiar with in order to fool others. Ibn al-bald, as pointed out by one informant, usually practices his fahlawā on those who are not from his group or class, such as Awlād al-Zawwāt or the khawāga.

A counter expression to fahlawā is when your cleverness or quick understanding is a pretence. You either do not understand and

that you do, or understand and pretend that you do not. As the common saying goes: "I am taking it because I want to".

Hāmid ^CAmmār, in his book Fī Bina' al-Bashar assumes that the term fahlawī denotes the culture pattern of the Egyptian personality (^CAmmār, 1964:79). This assumption is too general and his argument is not well substantiated. In this investigation the attribute fahlawa emerges as a characteristic of Awlād al-balad, as a specific group, and does not pertain to Egyptians generally. For example the Fallāh is not considered fahlawī. Apart from this minor disagreement with ^CAmmār, I found that some of the aspects of the term fahlawī, as described by him, are in accordance with the interviewees conception of the fahlawī.

^CAmmār explains that, undoubtedly, the first aspect of fahlawī behavior is the ability to adapt quickly to various situations and ability to understand the most desirable type of behavior demanded by the situation. It is usually said that the fahlawī is the one who can mix with the "red djinn" and at the same time live with the angels of Heaven and earth, meaning that he can interact with any type of person. This he can do at will and without any effort. Thus, the Egyptian because of this quick adaptability is

able to accept new things without confusion, or hesitation. This extraordinary ability in picking and assimilating new elements is clearly shown in many aspects of Egyptian life.

The ability to adapt quickly is characterized by two characteristics first, the flexibility, intelligence and ability to digest and assimilate what is new; second, the ability to hide the inner and true feelings. This notion falls within the context of the common expression "it is just talking", which means that one does not really mean what one says not is one going to be tied to it.

^cAmmār explains this pattern of behavior as the outcome of political conditions in Egypt. It is known that Egypt has been subject to various forms of rules and rulers and the people had to submit to their desires or else face punishment. Consequently, the superficial means of confronting different situations is an essential means of survival in constantly changing and unpredictable conditions (^cAmmār, 1964:81-82).

Masculinity

A major attribute of Ibn al-balad is his masculinity. Many interviewees, both Awlād al-balad and non-Awlād al-balad pointed out that "Ibn al-balad is the person who is very manly", or "the person who is a man". As a man he is very particular about

his masculinity and his behavior, as well as his appearance, usually stress this. For example, he never shaves his moustache, or plucks his eyebrows, or walks in the street arm in arm with a friend, or talks in a soft manner or cries. All such behavior is not expected from an Ibn al-balad, and he would define it as feminine, or even homosexual.

This strong awareness of his manliness is expressed in his relation to others, especially to his wife. Most of the interviewees conceived of Ibn al-balad as some one who has complete authority in his home and who really keeps his wife under his control. The role of the wife is limited to that of a mother and a housekeeper. She should be submissive, obedient, cook well and excel in house-keeping, as well as in comforting her husband. She should not leave the house without his permission, should not look from the window, or receive a stranger in his absence. Her main duty is to follow his orders. She has limited rights from him and all her rights center on the economic aspect. This conception of the relation of Ibn al-balad to his wife coincides with the description of Mu'allam Kirsha's in the novel Ẓuqāq al-Midaqq by Naguib Maḥfūz. When Mu'allam Kirsha's wife quarrelled with him for his immoral behavior, Naguib Maḥfūz described his reaction in the following terms.

"It is very strange that he sees himself (Mu'allam Kirsha) as always being right. He was astonished and saw no reason for her interference or objection. Is it not his right to do what he wants? Is it not her duty to obey and be satisfied as long as her needs are fulfilled and her provision is plentiful" (Maḥfūz, 1947:82).

Ibn al-balad is conceived as a very jealous and tough because these attributes are expressions of masculinity. As a powerful man he prefers a submissive wife. Bint al-balad is conceived as accepting this masculinity of Ibn al-balad. Unless the man is strong and powerful and can control her, she will not respect him, or be submissive to him. Hence a strong man is respected and loved, both in the family circle and in the neighborhood. The importance of Ibn al-balad's masculinity was expressed in the following terms by Mu'allam Kirsha's wife:

"What an impatient man! He spends whole nights outside his house without being bored, yet he gets annoyed from two minutes talk to her. But still he is her man in front of the people and God; he is also the father of all her children. It is strange that with all his mistreatment to her, she cannot despise him or neglect him. He is her man and master. She is never tired of correcting and restraining him whenever he is inclined to immoral behavior. She is even proud of him, proud of his masculinity and his position in the quarter and his strong control over all his colleagues" (Maḥfūz, 1947:81).

As a man, Ibn al-balad is seen as completely responsible for the economical welfare of the family, It is his sole responsibility. He will not permit his wife to work, because this would be a slight upon his masculinity. For example, it is often said to a working woman. "If your husband is a man he would not let you work." As long as Ibn al-balad can support his family, nobody can interfere with him, but if he is no longer able to earn a living his rights over his family become limited.

Among the sample of Awlād al-balad, this concept of the woman is somehow different. They look at women as complementary to men. They describe her as very reliable and even more intelligent than men. As the common saying goes "Intrigues of women exceed those of men." She is very economical and, as one said: "You can give her ten piasters a day and she is capable of feeding the whole family with this small amount. She stands beside her husband in the most critical situations. For example, if he is taken to prison, and this happens very often because of hashshish she acts the role of the man and of the woman and keeps her husband's business very efficiently. Ibn al-balad prefers to marry a Bint al-balad that is from his own strata. This preference is contained in the saying: "She is the woman who lives", meaning that she is the one who understand the group's

pattern of behavior. She is not spoiled and can endure any sort of life for the sake of her husband and children. Awlād al-balad conceive of Bint al-balad as very moral and to be trusted among hundreds of men. On the other hand they look very suspiciously on women from other strata. For example Bint al-Zawwāt is seen as the most matfarnaga, the relative adjective of Ilfrang, meaning foreigners, and the word is usually used to symbolize the Egyptian from foreign attitudes and behavior. The connotation is that she is loose, spoiled, dishonest and a seducer. She is almost equated with an expensive prostitute. Ibn al-balad looks down with contempt and distrust upon her and considers her unworthy of his respect.

A major aspect of this notion of manhood that was pointed out by many interviewees is sexual virility, to be a man is to be sexually strong. Ibn al-balad is seen as being very much concerned about his sexual potency. If he loses it he is no longer considered "a man". The worse insult that can be levelled against an Ibn al-balad is that which relates to his masculinity and virility. The most bitter sarcasm is the one related to a sexually weak man. Most of the jokes center around sex. Sex, to Ibn al-balad, is very basic and several attitudes and behavioral patterns have developed around it.

For example, specific kinds of foods are eaten to strengthen sexual ability such as: eggs, pigeons, farīk, (green wheat) and halāwa tahinā, Naguib Maḥfūz describes the effect of such food in the following terms:

"It is a pan of farīk in which pigeons are put and mixed with the powder of Gawzat el-Tayyib. It is eaten at lunch after which he [al-Sayyid Salīm] drinks a cup of tea every two hours. Thus its effect lasts for two full hours of pure pleasure (Maḥfūz, 1947:73)."

Some of the jokes cited to me, reveal the importance of men being sexually strong, as well as themselves to women. Among themselves women boast of their husband's potency and the number of intercourse they have weekly, as well as to the length of intercourse. Hence Benāt al-balad seeks various means to be sexually attractive. If she is thin she will seek the spice merchant's advice on how to become fat. As mentioned by some interviewees, Ibn al-balad chooses the fat woman as a partner because she is sexually attractive.

Ibn al-balad takes ḥaṣḥish mainly for sexual reasons, not only to force himself but also to make it possible for the man to have slow intercourse. Some say it is because the women are circumcised and cannot respond quickly.

Another expression of the importance of sex can be illustrated

in the sphere of family relations. Usually, it is not easy for a woman to ask for divorce and she has to sustain her demand to the family or in court. One of the reasons that is accepted by everyone, without much debate, as cause for divorce is when she accuses her husband of being "not a man" meaning that he is sexually impotent.

Fatalism

As I have stated before, there are certain characteristics such as generosity, sharing and fatalism, that are not peculiar to Ibn al-balad, but belong to a set of common Arab-Islamic characteristics. However when they are associated with Awlād al-balad they would seem to be accentuated.

Awlād al-balad are described as extremely fatalistic. Ibn al-balad depends on God in all his deeds and actions. Naguib Maḥfūz in his story "Khān al Khalīfī" sums up in the expression "To hell with this world" a complete outlook. This is expressed by Mu'allam Nūnū am Ibn al-balad in the following terms".

"God protect us! It is wiser not to worry!
Leave your cares and laugh! Worship God,
for the world is God's world. What is done
is done by Him and what happens He brings about.
The end is His, so why think over things and
be sad?

To Hell with the world - this cry does not mean cursing or blasphemy, for we can curse it in deed as we do in words? Can we be indifferent and laugh at it when it reduces you to poverty, when it strips you naked, when it makes you miserable and hungry? Believe me, life is like a woman - she turns her back on the one who goes on his knees to her and accepts the one who beats her and curses her. My approach to the world and women is the same. I rely on God first and last. Sometimes things go badly and God does not send things our way. Nobody knows what the children will eat and I do not have the price of a hookah. Yet I just go on singing, cursing, and joking as if the children were my neighbor's children and it is my enemy who is hard up. Then everything goes well - Be happy Nūnū! Thank God Nūnū! Zaynab, go and buy some meat! Run off A'isha and get some melon! Fill your belly, Nūnū, and you children eat up!" (Maḥfūz, 1946:46).

Sense of Humor

Although joking is a typical trait of Egyptians, generally, it is outstanding among Awlād al-balad. As a jolly person, Ibn al-balad is always surrounded by a group with whom he jokes and makes fun of everything, even of himself. Awlād al-balad have a special kind of joking called kafya. For example they would decide upon a specific word, (such as garden or mother-in-law and then two persons or more would enter into a sort of contest of joking, using the kafya as the theme of their jokes. This type of joking depends on persons alertness and quick wittedness in using puns and figurative speech.

Sense of Time

Another character trait that about twelve respondents mentioned is that he never keeps his appointments. They explained this attitude in relation to his conception of time. To an Ibn al-balad, time is not a strict matter of minutes, but is rather more elastic. When they give a date for meeting, they usually say: "We will meet in the morning, or at-noon, or at evening. It does not usually bother any of them if the person comes a few hours earlier, or later. But most of the sample of Awlād al-balad objected to this characteristic. They felt that this attitude is not exclusive to Awlād al-balad and does not characterize them especially.

C. Conception of Self in Relation to Other Social Groups

The conception of Awlād al-balad of themselves sometimes coincided with what others thought of them and in some respects it differed, as we have seen in the previous section. That they are not the khawāga, the effendi, the fallah or the Ibn al-Zawwāt was as clear to them as it was to others. The image Ibn al-balad has of these social types throws light on his own conception of self. Ibn al-balad usually identifies and conceives of himself in opposition to these social types.

Ibn al-balad is not a khawāga, because he is a real Egyptian. The concept khawāga besides its various connotations, is associated with certain feelings and attitudes towards foreigners. Ahmad Amīn defines the term khawaga as follows.

"In the Egyptian tongue the khawāga is an European who is dressed in a suit and a cap whether he is Armenian, Italian, English, or any other European nationality. In Egypt, he is feared and respected and is conceived as being more honest and educated than the natives" (Ahmad Amīn, 1952:20).

This attitude of fear and respect towards the khawāga might have been more emphasized in the past, or among certain sectors of society; among Awlād al-balad there is a somewhat different conception. The common conception of the khawagā among Awlād al-balad is that he is naive, ignorant of the Egyptian way of life, thus, he is credulous and can be easily fooled. He is aloof and detached from the native culture, he has never assimilated it and always retained the culture of his origin. They think that the khawagā thinks of himself as of a different, superior stock. He looks down with contempt upon them and does not wish to be identified as one of them. They see him as an outsider as well as an intruder; hence, he is viewed as of inferior status whilst they are superior, since they are the natives of the country.

As stated previously the fallah is never considered an Ibn al-balad. In fact, Ibn al-balad considers himself superior to the fallah. A common image of the fallah among Awlād al-balad is that his work follows a regular and routine pattern. He stays in one locality; his contact with other types of people are limited and thus his view of the world is narrow. Ibn al-balad on the other hand, because he dwells in the city, interacts with all sorts of people and works at different jobs. Hence, he is much more intelligent than the fallah. In the city, Ibn al-balad is much more at ease than the fallah and more care-free; the city is his home. A famous anecdote tells about the fallah who was fooled into thinking that he had bought the Cairo tramway. Thus, to Ibn al-balad the common conception of the fallah is that he is stupid, slow, submissive, credulous, passive and introverted. Ibn al-balad sees himself as alert, spontaneous, rebellious, intelligent and extroverted.

As in the case of the fallah, Ibn al-balad's conception of the effendi makes him different from himself. The difference arises once more from the nature of their jobs. To most of those who conceived themselves as Awlād al-balad, an effendi is very much tied down by the routine and discipline of his job. He cares about his job because it is the source of his livelihood, and since "his livelihood

is in the hands of others," he is not free. Hence, he has to be diplomatic, submissive and even hypocritical to his superiors for the sake of preserving his job. As for Ibn al-balad, he lives "day by day". He is restless, adventurous and independent; he is inclined more towards independent and non-government employment. He is either the owner of his own business or works at skilled jobs in private concerns. As was often said: "Ibn al-balad likes to be master of himself."

Ibn al-balad, sees himself as more emancipated and less diplomatic and hypocritical than a white collar employee, and as the saying goes "What is in his heart is on his tongue." To Awlād al-balad the bureaucrats are not as virile or tough as themselves. As one Ibn al-balad said: "The government employees, or the class of "effendi", are never called Awlād al-balad, because Ibn al-balad regards them as a class less manly than himself and a supine people Ibn al-balad would call him "Brat-Effendi." (That is, a mere lad giving himself the airs of a man).

The most revealing description of Awlād al-balad comes from their conception of Awlād al-Zawwāt. Awlād al-balad think that Awlād al-Zawwāt regard them as dirty and look down upon them with contempt and disgust.

Hence, Awlād al-Zawwāt do not accept identification as Awlād al-al-balad because to them the latter are inferior. Thus they negate their Egyptian identity. As an Ibn al-balad pointed: "Those who deny their native identity are not worthy of this identity."

Hence Ibn al-balad identify Ibn al-Zawwāt as a foreigner. Ibn al-Zawwāt dresses as a foreigner, in that he dresses in European clothes. He also behaves as foreigners in family and business relation. Whereas Ibn al-Zawwāt interact on the basis of contracts and bills, Ibn al-balad is bound by his word of honor. Ibn al-balad is to be trusted because he is a man who keeps his promise. It is said: "A man is tied by his tongue;" meaning, that if he says he will do something he has to do it. For example, if you ask an Ibn al-balad for a hundred pounds, he will give them to you without a receipt. An Ibn al-balad, who owns a building, rents apartments without a contract. When one of the hirers tried to object, Ibn al-balad said: "A man is tied by his tongue." It seems that Awlād al-balad have more faith in traditional business procedures. An example of an Ibn al-balad who followed this to extremes is Hag Muḥammad al-Fishawī, the owner of the famous cafe "al-Fishawī" at al-Azhar. Although he accumulated great-wealth, he kept it at home, and when a decree was issued discontinuing the one hundred pound

currency notes he had to change 140,000 he had in cash in his house.

To Ibn al-balad, Ibn al-Zawwāt is an idle person whose wealth is inherited and not accumulated by his own effort. He is usually from a rich family who provide him with his needs. Hence, he depends on his parent's money for living whereas Ibn al-balad depends on his own personal efforts. For example, Ibn al-balad starts to earn his living when he is a small lad. He wakes up early while Ibn al-Zawwāt gets up late and does not leave his house before noon and then spends his time in bars, clubs or parties as Westerners do (A loose life is usually identified with Westernization). Ibn al-balad is so occupied in earning his daily bread that he rarely has time for leisure or recreation, apart from going to the coffee-house, or local feasts, and special occasions.

Ibn al-balad conceives of himself as a working man, never as unemployed, or a beggar, or dependent on somebody. As the proverb points it: "He has to eat from the sweat of his brow." As a working man, he is the sole supporter of his family and thus he does not accept financial help from his wife or any person. One can cite evidence as to the importance of earning one's own living among Awlād al-balad by the common saying: "Nothing mar's a man but the

depth of his pocket:" This means that any defect man be forgiven a man except that which pertains to the earning of money. If he does not earn his living he is no more a man and hence cannot be an Ibn al-balad. As for Ibn al-Žawwāt, Awlād al-balad sees him as "fed by his mother." The fact that they say that he is fed by his mother and not by his father degrades him even more and emphasizes his femininity.

Ibn al-balad conceives of Ibn al-Žawwāt as a very cowardly, a weak, loose, person who will not stand up and fight, even with a child from among Awlād al-balad. He is refined and soft in comparison with Awlād al-balad. He is arrogant and pretentious in dress, manners and actions. He is over careful about his outer appearance, the way he speaks, the kind of language he uses etc. ... Ibn al-balad is more outspoken, talks in a relaxed manner, is carefree and simple and behaves in a natural way.

To Awlād al-balad, the simple and unsophisticated way of life seems to be correlated with the traditional patterns of behavior. For example, when an Ibn al-balad is forced to dress in a European suit, for one reason or another, he always complains of discomfort and the moment he reaches home he changes to a galabiya. When a person sitting

at a table arranged in the Western manner with spoons, forks and knives is told. "We are all Awlād al-balad and we can be at ease," it means that if he wishes to eat with his hands he may do so.

To Awlād al-balad Ibn al-Ẓawwāt is coquettish and effeminate in his manners, to the point that he is categorized by them as a homosexual. Thus, at one of Awlād al-balad's intimate gatherings, for example a hashshish session, Ibn al-Ẓawwāt would act naively and be considered a child among men. He is often referred to by Awlād al-balad as "Mimi Bey", mainly concerned with superficialities such as clothes and perfumes. For instance, according to one Ibn al-balad, in war his main grief lies in the fact that imported ties and his favorite perfume are lacking, Ibn al-balad, on the other hand, is concerned with the real issues. Generally, Ibn al-balad believes that the class of Awlād al-Ẓawwāt are the source of corruption and immorality in society.

Awlād al-balad and Awlād al-Ẓawwāt obviously live in different quarters. Awlād al-balad come from traditional quarters such as Būlāq while Awlād al-Ẓawwāt live in the Ifrangi or foreign quarters, such as Zamalek. In these different quarters there exist different

types of relationships. Awlād al-balad conceive of those living in Ifranji quarters as being rather cold, impersonal, distant, calculating and lacking in sociability and helpfulness. Fūād Nagm the folk poet expresses this in the following terms:

The idlers hang out in Zamalek Quarter
And Zamalek quarter's a proper maze
Even to think of going there
Will put your life in danger
That's why if you want to describe their life
You say "Our life isn't like that."
You can see them in the town center
When a boat-like car passes you by,"

Implied in this folk balad is a sense of the great difference between al-aḥyā' al-shābīya and modern quarters such as Zamalek.

It seems that one of the factors which make Awlād al-balad stick to their quarters is that it is part of their identity. They identify themselves with what is local old and traditional because it is part of them and not foreign. Hence, al-aḥyā' al-shābīya assert their identity. It is as if the quarter had a reality of its own that bestows on them certain values and patterns of behavior.

Inhabitants of al-aḥyā' al-shābīya look with contempt upon those who outgrow their own quarters and consider them as betraying their origin and values as the following examples implies:

One informant described how Shaikh Imām, a folk composer who lived in "Ḥārat Khoush Kadam" became very famous in T.V. broadcasts and everyone in the neighborhood expected him to move to another quarters. On the basis of this expectation, they started to attack him. This attitude was expressed by everyone in the "ḥārat" and even the children used to call out to him loudly in the streets and whenever they meet him they would ask him in a sarcastic way when he intended leaving their quarter and going to Zamalek. This social pressure seems to have had such an effect on Shaikh Imām that, when I interviewed him, he was very self-conscious and defensive and expressed a sense of guilt. He explained that he had never thought of leaving the quarter and that to leave one's neighborhood was, in his opinion, a great offence.

This same idea was expressed by Naguib Maḥfūz in the novel Zuqāq al-Midaqq, when El-Sayyid Radwan giving advice to ^cAbbas al-Hilw when the latter had decided to go and work in the Suez Canal with the English: "Be careful in spending your money, and beware of alcoholic liquor and pork. Do not forget that you are from the Midaqq and to the Midaqq you will return" (Maḥfūz, 1947:117).

III. The Metaphorical Usage of the Term Ibn al-balad and Baladī

The terms Ibn al-balad and baladī have a metaphorical as well as a nuclear meaning. Such usages underline either explicitly or implicitly the central position of the foreigner as the catalytic agent in focussing and measuring the self-identity of the collectivity, whether general or specific. It also narrows down the collectivity to the point where a specific group become the protectors and symbol of a set of traditional values and mores.

In its metaphorical usage, the term Ibn al-balad can be applied to anyone, even to a foreigner who exhibits some of the attributes of either the general or specific collectivity as the following responses show: "If the foreigner speaks fluent Arabic, you would call him Ibn al-balad," "If a foreigner is quick-witted, alert and has a sense of humor, I would say he is an Ibn al-balad"; "The foreigner is an Ibn al-balad when he loves this country and hates to leave it;" "I call a foreigner an Ibn al-balad when I find him knowledgeable in local matters."

The relative adjective, baladī, has a wider range of metaphorical usage. It can refer to what is local as opposed to foreign. It can also have a predominantly pejorative connotation and refer to something

which is old fashioned, unattractive, ugly or gauche. For example: "baladī is something flashy and old fashioned;" "baladī is not following the fashion in a western way;" "Anyone who does not have the refinement whether in dress, language, social behavior or tone of voice is called baladī; and so on. Many interviewees used the term baladī in the latter context, especially those from the upper classes.

It is not surprising that those who were regarded both by themselves and others as Awlād al-balad gave it an opposite meaning. To them baladī was something unadulteratedly good and beautiful as in the following examples show: "I use the term baladī to denote beautiful and good things, for example, the baladī meat is much better than the imported meat, the baladī chicken tastes better than the American ones, the baladī flower smells better than the ifranjī flowers." "When I meet a beautiful woman I call her baladī." "Anything that is good and not adulterated is baladī."

To summarize the usage of the epithet Ibn al-balad in its nuclear context, we find that it refers to real Egyptians as opposed to foreigners. Some of the characteristics and attributes that identify a person as real Egyptian are: his pure Egyptian dialect, his sense of humor, his simplicity, goodness and patriotism, his fatalistic attitude,

his generosity and sharing.

A narrower meaning within the nuclear context is when the term refers to a specific collectivity. This collectivity was identified by the majority as the urbanite, Cairene who dwells in al-'ahya al-sha⁶bīya. It is associated with middle and lower middle classes of the society and distinct not only from the upper classes, but also the effendiya and fallahīn. Also certain social types such as the hashshash, the futūwwa and the Mu'allam are associated with this collectivity.

There are certain characteristics and attributes that identify a person as an Ibn al-balad. Some of these characteristics are peculiar to the specific collectivity of Awlād al-balad, such as shahāma, fahlawa, gada⁶na and a high sense of traditionalism. Other attributes are more general yet they also apply to Awlād al-balad and are accentuated among them, such as fatalism, generosity and a sense of humor. Apart from these attributes, there are certain characteristics which distinguish them, such as their mannerism of dress, appearance and speech.

Persons ^{from} ~~form~~ the upper classes conceived of Awlād al-balad as the lowest and poorest strata of the society, occupying domestic jobs

and associated with the types of the futūwwa and the hashshash. They regarded them as vulgar and ignorant groups who dwell in the slum areas and are dressed in galabiya.

Awlād al-balad conceive of themselves as belonging to the middle and lower middle classes of the society. They dwell in al-ʿahya'al-sha^cbīya, which preserve a traditional way of life and symbolize what is old and purely local. They do not conceive of themselves as ignorant because many of them are educated and even those who have no formal education are highly educated in the social sense. Their dress and manner of speech is not to them an essential element in their identity.

It is interesting to note that Ibn al-balad's conception of certain social types in the society underlines the character traits that compose his conception of self. Thus, in positive terms, Ibn al-balad identifies himself as intelligent, alert and spontaneous and someone who cannot easily be fooled. He is extroverted and carefree, as well as simple and unsophisticated.

As a working man he is independent and not submissive to others. As a traditionally-oriented men, he is honorable and trustful. He is extremely aware and proud of his masculinity.

It is obvious from the survey of Ibn al-balad's conception of Ibn al-Zawwāt that he conceives of the latter as a negative and opposite types. It is interesting to speculate as to the reasons for the animus felt by Ibn al-balad for Ibn al-Zawwāt. The simple polarization of Ibn al-balad and foreigner which was seen in al-Jabartī and in the general collectivity, has been replaced by that of Ibn al-balad and Ibn al-Zawwāt in the special collectivity. An extra dimension is added, for Ibn al-Zawwāt symbolizes not only the Westernization of society, but also the modernization of society. The obverse is also true and Ibn al-balad, therefore, becomes the repository and guardian of traditional mores, which are being threatened by the corroding acids of westernization and modernization.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

With all the limitations of the historical data and what it can tell us about the social structure as compared to data called from empirical field research, there are certain useful and interesting conclusions that came out in this research from experimenting with a combination of these two different sources of data.

One outcome of this combination is that an understanding of the meaning and implications of the usage of the term Ibn al-balad in early times clarified many aspects of the implications in the current usage and meaning. Equally important, many passages in the historical references became meaningful and significant after understanding what is implied in the current connotation.

Another outcome is that contrary to many responses that I got from the field interviews and key informants that the concept emerged as a reaction to Westernization or even later as a result of the emergence of the caricature of Rakha in 1942; historical data gave evidence to its usage much earlier than that.

A third interesting finding is that many of the characteristics of Awlād al-balad which are still persisting until now were prevailing

in the nineteenth century.

Before comparing the early meaning with the current one, a summary of the analysis of the citation in al-Jabartī as well as that of the current meaning will be given.

To review in brief the analysis of the citation of al-Jabartī we find that it is divided into two categories: Those who were not identified as Awlād al-balad and those who were identified as Awlād al-balad. The main distinction was between Awlād al-balad and the foreigners. The foreign governing elite who were composed of the Turkish wālī, the Turkish Qadī, the Mamlūks and the soldiery were set apart from Awlād al-balad.

To Cairo at the turn of the eighteenth century, the ruling elite were not the only foreigners. There were other ethnic groups that were identified as distinct from Awlād al-balad, such as the Franks who constituted the extreme contrasting type of Awlād al-balad. There were also Middle Eastern ethnic groups which were identified as distinct from Awlād al-balad such as: the Turks, the Syrians, the Moroccans, the Sudanese and the Yemenis. One may assume that Middle Eastern groups would be less foreign than other ethnic groups since they share with Awlād al-balad a common language and a common religion. Although this was true; however, there were certain separating factors such as dialect, dress, customs, values and patterns of behavior which set them

apart from Awlād al-balad.

Our knowledge of the attitude of these foreign groups toward Awlād al-balad is limited to that of the ruling elite. Apart from their distinctive characteristics that distinguished them from Awlād al-balad, their attitude seems to have alienated them further. Their leadership was superimposed on the natives. They discriminated against and exploited Awlād al-balad to the utmost. They constituted the privileged strata in the society and Awlād al-balad the underprivileged. The ruling elite conceived itself as of superior stock different from the native Egyptians. To them Awlād al-balad were fallahin that is of inferior status. The ruling elite, although Muslims, did not even go through the trouble of learning Arabic. For example, Muḥammad ^cAlī's Arabic was so bad that he used an interpreter Shaikh Abdalla el-Sharqawi (al-Jabartī, 1958:682). Muḥammad ^cAlī was not an exception, all the members of his family spoke Turkish and many of them never learnt to speak Arabic well, King Faruq was the first ruler of the Muḥammad ^cAlī's family at whose court Arabic was spoken (Holt, 1968:14). Thus the ruling elite did not identify themselves with Awlād al-balad and looked down upon them with contempt.

On the other hand, the attitude of Awlād al-balad toward the ruling elite seems to have been antagonistic and rebellious. Awlād al-balad were not submissive to their rulers. Al-Jabartī refers continuously to the clashes between Awlād al-balad and the ruling elite. These clashes varied from minor ones with the soldiery to major revolts such as the one in which Awlād al-balad desposed Tahīr Pāshā and accessed Muḥammad ^cAlī. Awlād al-balad were also characterized by a sense of humor and a tendency to mock and ridicule their ruling elite. Another characteristic of Awlād al-balad in contrast to their foreign Muslim governing elite is that Awlād al-balad were pious and conservative in observing the rites of Islam.

Awlād al-balad had a similar attitude toward the Franks. Although the Franks seem to have been a privileged and an influential group that was feared by the ruling elite, the local population mistrusted them and were critical of their behavior.

Awlād al-balad were not only distinguished from foreign groups but also from some strata of the indigenous groups as in the case of Copts and fallahin. Although religion at this time is a major factor, it is not the only one in distinguishing Awlād al-balad from the Copts. The fact that Christians were continuously acting as allies to foreign rule seems to have separated them more from Awlād al-balad and associated

them with foreign elements, especially the ruling elite.

Since Ibn al-balad was not a fallah, he was ipso facto an urbanite who was dressed differently and exhibited a higher economic status. Thus Awlād al-balad were identified as indigenous, Cairene, urbanite Muslims. This identified collectivity was mainly divided at this time into three segments: the 'ulamā', the merchants, and the rest of the urban population. Both 'ulamā' and merchants were stratified vertically from the very high aristocratic elite who were excessively wealthy and powerful right down to the very poor. In spite of this difference in status and wealth all three constituted a homogenous entity in opposition to foreigners. The 'ulamā' as guardians of religion and interpreters of the sharī'a constituted the local leadership. As leaders they were not alienated from the people. Their power and authority stemmed from the support of the urban populace with whom they usually collaborated to restrain the foreign ruling elite. The collaboration of these three segments proved to be most successful as we have seen in the incident of Tahīr Pāshā and the accession of Muḥammad 'Alī. In this incident the 'ulamā' jointly with the Cairene populace relied mainly on their identity as Ahl al-balad and appealing to Islamic tradition were able to depose the wālī.

Therefore, one can assume that the concept of Ibn al-balad

emerged as a reaction to foreign identity by asserting the local native Egyptian identity and preserving the Egyptian identity through the ages. Hence, we find hints in al-Jabartī as to the sense of superiority of Awlād al-balad over the foreigners especially as followers of orthodox Islamic tradition.

The term Ibn al-balad is used in present times in numerous contexts. In people's minds it denotes a variety of meaning which are not clear cut. For example it denotes Egyptians in general as well as a specific collectivity. This complexity of the concept comes from the fact that it has this dual connotation. The term pertains to real Egyptians or Egyptians with typical Egyptian characteristics. What is typically Egyptian would pertain more to the traditional mode of life as well as its values. Now with modernization, industrialization and the radical changes in the social structure that accompanies such processes not all Egyptians adhere to the traditional mores. Thus these typical characteristics are imagined to exist more among a specific an identified collectivity of Egyptians who are mainly conceived as repository and guardians of traditional mores.

The elements in the typification of Awlād al-balad in reference to a specific collectivity that were conceived as essential and prominent

were: the place of residence and style of life; certain character traits, attributes and values. Neither religion nor education or the type of work were used by people as definite exclusive criteria to define Awlād al-balad (except where some thought of butchery and coffee-shop ownership as typical Awlād al-balad occupations. Awlād al-balad were sharply differentiated from the strata of fallahin and effendiya. The majority categorized Ibn al-balad in the middle and lower middle classes of the society. In peoples minds these classes represent the most traditional strata of the society. Ibn al-balad was also associated with certain social types such as the futūwwa the ḥashshash and the mu'allim.

Thus the common image of Ibn al-balad that exists in the society is that he is a Cairene who dwells in al-ahya'al-sha^hbiya that is old Cairo. His major attributes are those that pertain to and spring from traditional values such as shahama, gada'na, fatalism, generosity and sharing. He possess certain character traits such as fahlawa, alertness intelligence, quick-witedness, independence and extrovertedness that distinguish him from other strata such as bureaucrats and the fallahin. His mannerism of dress and speech as well as his character traits pertain to the traditional Egyptian style.

The only sharp distinction in the conception of Ibn al-balad among the different social classes was between upper classes and the sample of Awlād al-balad. The upper class conception deviates from the majority's conception. This could be explained by the fact that they are removed from Awlād al-balad and had no personal contact. While middle and lower classes have more contact with Awlād al-balad and their conception was similar to the majority's image of Awlād al-balad.

The image the upper classes had was rather stereotypic and negative. Ibn al-balad to them is anyone from the lowest strata of the society who is dressed in a galabiya and talks in a vulgar manner.

It is very strange that till now, it is this negative conception of Awlād al-balad that is portrayed in the mass-media. This conception neither pertains to the majority's image in the society nor to Awlād al-balad's conception of self.

To Awlād al-balad there are certain elements that stand as essential and typical of them as a group. To them living in al-aḥya' al-shābīya or Old Cairo is part of their identity. They conceive themselves as those who adhere to traditional values. Also they agree with the majority's conception that they possess certain character traits that

distinguish them from the strata of bureaucrats and fallahin. They are proud of their masculinity as well as of their traditional values. They conceive of themselves as the real Egyptians who are superior in all respects to any other group. They deny any negative traits as pertaining to their identity since they conceive of themselves as the typification of what is Egyptian and what it typically Egyptian has to be good and superior. To them traditional values and mores make the essence of the type of Awlād al-balad whereas other traits are non-essential and superficial. Thus we find that the image Awlād al-balad have of themselves is colored by the ideal conception of the Egyptian.

For analytical purposes and for the clarification of the concept, the term has been approached in this research as having two sets of meanings, nuclear and metaphorical. In its nuclear meaning, denoting a particular collectivity, Ibn al-balad could be conceived as a social type in the society. Ibn al-balad, as a social type, implies pure Egyptian as opposed to foreigners, or it could be a type of lower class as opposed to the Ibn Zawwāt (upper class). The social type of Awlād al-balad is the image the society has of them, and can also be their own self image. As a social type it is constructed from the collective norm of role behavior formed and used by the group who are in direct

experience with those they denote as *Awlād al-balad*. Thus the type of *Awlād al-balad* could be conceived of as a collective role that is constructed from the group consensus of what is expected of *Awlād al-balad*. Therefore, not only those whose behavior is that of *Awlād al-balad*, but also those who act like them in certain situation, are called *Awlād al-balad*. In certain situations, when an individual's performance tends to incorporate and exemplify the values of *Awlād al-balad* as a social type, he is called *Ibn al-balad*.

Another type which is implied in the nuclear meaning of the term of *Ibn al-balad* is the stereotype. The image we have of *Ibn al-balad* in Egyptian society is not always typical of certain collective roles being played. Some strata in the society who are not in actual contact or have direct knowledge of the specific group designated as *Awlād al-balad* have a stereotyped conception of them and their sub-culture. These stereotyped images include emotional responses to this group as a class and an evaluation of this group's typical traits.

The second use of the term *Ibn al-balad* is in a metaphorical, or symbolic sense. The contexts in which the metaphorical meaning is used pertain to general attributes and characteristics that imply the Egyptian identity as well as the Egyptian conception of self.

Thus anyone who exhibit any of the attributes of either the specific or general collectivity of *Awlād al-balad* is called metaphorically an *Ibn al-balad*.

In comparing the two citations we find that now, and as early as the end of the eighteenth century, the term *Ibn al-balad* and its derivatives were used as an index to differentiate between foreigners and real Egyptians. Hence, we can say that a sense of national awareness existed as early as that era and that the concept *Ibn al-balad* is an important index that assert the Egyptian identity. This early usage of the term *Ibn al-balad* probably emerged from the unique situation of Egypt. Egypt's geographical location made it a center for communication between different parts of the world as well as residence for many foreign groups. Thus native Egyptians were in continuous contact with all kinds of foreign groups long before Westernization. Hence, one can assume that a sense of ethnic identity as conveyed in the concept *Ibn al-balad* might have emerged even earlier than the time of *al-Jabartī*.

In the time of *al-Jabartī* the term *Ibn al-balad* clearly referred to a specifically identified collectivity of indigenous, Cairene urbanite, groups. These specifications is still a part of the identity of *Awlād al-balad* in current time. Although these characteristics are the same in

both eras; the conception of who are identified as indigenous Cairene groups have changed. In early eras all indigenous Cairene (except for the very low stratum who were not originally Cairene as stated earlier) were considered Awlād al-balad whereas in present time the upper strata of the same collectivity became alienated and are no more identified as Awlād al-balad. I believe this difference can be explained by the social changes that have affected the Egyptian society since the end of the eighteenth century. My hypothesis is that earlier in history the term Awlād al-balad was used to differentiate natives from the Egyptians of foreign origin or foreigners who ruled or lived in Egypt. The collectivity of Awlād al-balad in this era, although internally heterogenous, were homogenous in many aspects especially in a solid socio-cultural and Islamic tradition to which all of them adhered. With the gradual Egyptianization of the country, which strangely enough was accompanied by the gradual Westernization of certain strata of urban Egyptian society (usually the upper strata of the society), the term Awlād al-balad began to refer only to the more traditional strata, either a specific class, or people representing traditional values.

Apart from these changes, there is so much in the current conception of Awlād al-balad that represent an extension of earlier ones.

The major item in the conception of Ibn al-balad is that he is traditional. This fact emphasizes the relevance of early eras to present day. Ibn al-balad is now conceived of, as the carrier as well as preserver of the traditions; values and patterns of behavior of the early Awlād al-balad. His occupation in modern times are still mainly those of the time of al-Jabartī for example merchant and craftsman. He is still dressed in the traditional garments. His personal and business interactions are on the basis of the tradition of al-Jabartī's time. He dwells in the same quarters that existed in early times. Thus in many respects, there is no sharp departure between the current conception and the early conception of Ibn al-balad.

Also the concept points to certain typical character traits that prevailed at the time of al-Jabartī and still persist till now. Ibn al-balad is still characterized as a joyfull person. His rebellious nature toward authority is reflected in his independent attitude and his preference of non-governmental jobs so as not to be submissive to authority. His pious attitude is reflected in the characteristic of religiousness.

Finally this thesis should be considered as only an introduction to the "Concept of Ibn al-balad" which has hopefully opened new horizons

for research in this area and raised many questions that need more investigation. One could probe further the Egyptian identity and the typical traits that makes one an Egyptian. In this context the concept Ibn al-balad is a significant index. The changes that took place in the Egyptian identity could be traced historically from literary sources of the time of al-Jabartī until now. Research in this respect was attempted, but due to the limitation of time and the choice to go deeply in to one era (that of al-Jabartī), this issue must be reserved for a separate investigation. Another relevant field of study and analysis would be Egyptian folkloric literature, which would give new insights into the image of Ibn al-balad.

Also in present days the concept Awlād al-balad needs to be more fully investigated especially in relation to the specific collectivity. For example, one can investigate their conception of self as compared to their actual behavior. This approach might necessitate an intensive study of one of old Cairene quarters.

A very interesting extension of the study would be an investigation of Bent al-balad. In this research a lot of data were collected about Bent al-balad but due to time limitation, the present research was limited to Ibn al-balad.

APPENDIX I

Guide List

Basic Information

Name

Sex

Residential district

Religion

Education

Occupation

Social status

Origin

Address

General Questions

1. When you use the term "Ibn al-balad" what do you mean?
2. Who is Ibn al-balad?
3. What are the characteristics of Ibn al-balad?
4. Who is Bent al-balad?
5. What do you mean when you use the term "baladī"?
6. Do you identify yourself as an Ibn al-balad?
7. Where do you classify yourself (social class).
8. What is the source of your conception of Ibn al-balad?

Probes for the General Questions

- When you use the term Ibn al-balad what do you mean?

- a) Egyptians in general
- b) Attributes and characteristics
- c) Specific group

A) Egyptians in general

1. All Egyptians are Awlād al-balad?
2. The foreigner who is born in Egypt and lived all his life in it would be called Ibn al-balad
3. The Egyptian who has a foreign descent (e.g. Turkish) would be called Ibn al-balad
4. The foreigner could never be considered an Ibn al-balad
5. Are all Egyptians who have Egyptian ancestors called Awlād al-balad?
6. Is the Christian an Ibn al-balad?
7. Is the educated an Ibn al-balad?
8. Could Ibn al-Zawwāt be an Ibn al-balad?

B) What are the attributes and characteristics of Ibn al-balad?

1. Attributes of Egyptians generally
 - a. What are these attributes?
2. Egyptian traditions in general
 - a. Everyone who follows the tradition is an Ibn al-balad?

- b. What are these traditions?
- c. What is the group that keeps tradition more than others?
- d. Is this group what we call Awlād al-balad?

3. Attributes of Ibn al-balad as a specific group.
Is there certain attributes that are singular to Awlād al-balad and what are these attributes?

- Shahama

- Fahlawi

- Stupid

- Fatalistic

- Kind

- Masculine

- Faithful

- Generous

- Careless

- Cunning

4. Who is Ibn al-balad?

Is there at present a specific group called "Awlād al-balad?"

- a. Does it apply to people of cities or villages

1. Fallah

2. Urbanite

- Alexandria

- Assiut

- Tanta

- Cairo

3. Does it apply to all those living in Cairo?

- Alexandrian

- Sa'id

- Nubian

- Beduin

- Cairene

b. Does it apply to every Cairene?

1. Is there special districts for Awlād al-balad?
What are these districts?

2. Is there a special type of Job for Awlād al-balad?

- What is it?

- Butcher

- Coffee shop-owner

- Laborer

- Industrial laborer

- Merchants

- Rich merchants
 - Small merchants
 - Artisans
 - Bureaucrats
 - Big bureaucrat
 - Petty bureaucrat
 - Landowner
 - Servants
3. Education of Ibn al-balad
- not educated
 - medium education
 - university education
4. Standard of living
- poor
 - rich
 - medium (mastour)
5. Some people say that Ibn al-balad should have an occupation and knows how to earn money?
Is this true?
6. Does he has ^{ve} a special dress?

7. Does he speak in a special way?

- tone of voice

- jargon he uses

- insults

- motions

8. Do Awlād al-balad have a special artistic taste?

9. Could we call the futuwā an Ibn al-balad?

10. Could we call the ḥashash an Ibn al-balad?

11. Is Ibn al-balad particular about his appointments?

4. Who is Bent al-balad

A. What is meant by the term Bent al-balad?

B. What are the characteristics of Bent al-balad?

C. Mannerism of Bent al-balad

- dress

- appearance

- actions

- way of speaking

D. Values and attributes of Bent al-balad?

E. Her interests

F. Her relation to Ibn al-balad

5. What is meant by the term baladi?

6. Do you consider yourself an Ibn al-balad?

7. What is the source of your conception of Ibn al-balad?

- You are an Ibn al-balad
- Have personal relations with Awlad al-balad
- Have business relation with Awlad al-balad
- From T.V.
- From films
- From reading Arabic books
- From magazines and newspapers
- Do not use the term and have no particular conception of the group of Awlad al-balad
- Do you know the name of any person whom you call an Ibn al-balad?

APPENDIX II

AN INDEX OF THE SOCIAL GROUPS IN 'AGAIB AL-ATHAR FI'L-TARAJIM WA'L-AKHBAR OF AL-JABARTI

The following list of social groups is of help in giving us an idea of the various Cairene groups and would also be useful in understanding the Egyptian social structure in the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Awlād al-balad : 105, 151, 201, 222, 291, 397, 496, 514, 515, 518,
553, 554, 604, 621, 623, 633, 636, 637, 670, 718,
742, 757, 809, 882, 907, 947, 962, 997, 1803.

Abna' al-balad : 902, 952.

Ahl al-balad : 29, 133, 136, 150, 197, 545, 631, 632, 633, 634,
635, 639, 654, 656, 664, 684, 698, 787, 809, 867,
972, 1003, 1022.

Ahl-Misr : 69, 293, 294, 330, 331, 345, 346, 347, 355, 356,
357, 364.

Atrāk (Turks) : 527, 612, 715, 744, 780, 793, 810, 812, 830, 854,
918, 972.

- Arna'ūd : 222, 523, 645, 744, 745, 746, 780, 793, 831,
832, 918.
- Ā'yān (notables): 70, 605, 613.
- Akrād : 966.
- Arman : 983, 951, 971, 1003, 1004.
- 'amma (commeners): 136, 184, 238, 345, 628, 630, 633, 726, 949, 978,
981, 982, 1004.
- Arbāb al-hiraf
(artisan) 150, 310, 494, 498, 613, 649, 718, 744, 890, 981,
970.
- Awbāsh: 137, 300, 345, 527, 918.
- al-Rūm: 23, 184, 186, 508, 531, 567, 718, 782, 826, 843,
992.
- baladī: 150, 745, 812.
- baladiyīn: 257, 260, 330, 344, 349, 393, 524, 530, 720, 918,
970.
- effendiya
(bureaucrats) 668, 768, 804, 814, 824, 858, 859, 901, 913, 1004.

- fallāhīn: 610, 67, 900, 901, 998.
- fakarā': 20, 23, 133, 612.
(the poor)
- Fransiyyin: 283, 286, 296, 287, 346, 347, 351, 366, 370, 371,
372, 373, 377, 519, 540.
- Ghuzz: 649.
- harāfīsh: 300, 918.
- Ibn al-balad: 610, 923, 949, 955.
- Ifrinī (Franks): 152, 260, 540, 546, 599, 612, 977, 987, 1003.
- Inīliz (English): 713, 977, 985, 987, 996, 1003, 1005, 1014, 1015,
1026.
- Ja'īdīyya: 136, 300, 918, 1027.
- Mamalik (Mamlūks): 69, 136, 793, 810, 952, 962.
- Mashayikh
(Shaekhs) 136, 310, 602, 604, 613, 614, 618, 625, 628, 629,
633, 636, 649, 663, 680, 688, 718, 742, 848, 862,
876, 877, 955, 981, 982, 990, 997, 1017.
- Nasārā
(Christians) 188, 287, 296, 330, 366, 367, 370, 371, 372, 373,
392, 393, 395, 494, 639, 715, 782, 802, 832, 843,
864, 891, 900, 913, 918, 920, 921, 949, 951, 971,
983, 992, 996, 1004, 1013, 1022.

- Magā'riba : 22, 184, 349, 497, 514, 718, 720, 811, 826, 918,
(Moroccans) 972.
- mutasabibīn: 118, 139, 184.
(shopkeepers)
- Qubt (Copts) : 366, 367, 370, 371, 372, 373, 392, 395, 494, 682,
718, 748, 786, 802, 804, 899, 916, 983, 1023.
- Qawwasah : 715, 745, 854.
(soldiers)
- Qādī (Judge) 604, 605, 715.
- Shawwām (Syrians): 184, 295, 531, 682, 718, 811, 852, 891, 918, 920,
983.
- Ta'ift al'Askar: 186, 604, 605, 711, 635, 718, 740, 741, 815, 955.
(soldiers)
- Ta'ift al Dulah: 626, 715, 745, 780, 793, 891.
(soldiers)
- Tujjār: 70, 197, 604, 612, 620, 622, 639, 668, 682, 718, 7
734, 744, 811, 891, 970.
- Umarā' al-Misriliyya: 186, 602, 608, 611, 642, 643, 809.
(Egyptian Princes)
- 'Urbān (Arabs): 197, 370, 611, 612, 626, 672, 681.
- 'ulāmā (scholars): 613, 618, 628, 629, 633, 640, 643, 661, 675, 684,
688, 715, 801, 802, 848, 853, 882, 930, 932.

GLOSSARY

'usab : 630, 636.

Yah'ud (Jews): 347, 558.

walī (governor): 197, 605, 646, 897.

al-ḥalabī : People of the town, or country.

ḥalabī : Military detachments of the auxiliary corps.

ḥalabī : The descendants of the Prophet.

ḥalabī : In good stock.

ḥalabī : An alley that is closed at the end.

ḥalabī al-falaq : May I be divorced.

ḥalabī al-ḥalabī : May God's grace go against me.

ḥalabī al-ḥalabī : Outside of low social status.

ḥalabī al-ḥalabī : Folk quarters.

ḥalabī : Dandy.

ḥalabī : Dandy.

GLOSSARY

- Awlād al-balad: Children of the town or country.
- Abnā' al-balad: Sons of town or country.
- Ahl al-balad: People of the town, or country.
- abwāb: Military barracks of the Janissary corps.
- ashrāf: The descendants of the Prophet.
- asīl: Of good stock.
- ataf: An alley that is closed at the end.
- alayya al-Talaq: May I be divorced.
- alayya al-na'ma: May God's grace go against me.
- arbab al-hiraf
al-dāniya: Guilds of low social status.
- al-Ahyā'
al-sha'biya: Folk quarters.
- 'a'q: Dandy.
- ajnās: Races.

baladī:	The relative adjective from balad.
baladiyīn:	Sound plural of baladī.
Bent al-balad:	Daughter of the country.
baraka:	Blessing.
hilakafia:	Without kafia meaning that do not get me wrong.
bawabīn:	Porters.
Dulāt:	Soldiers.
darb:	Central branch of a hara.
el-Misri:	The Egyptian.
effendī:	Bureaucrat.
effendīya:	Plural of effendī.
fallah:	Peasant.
fūl:	Black eyed Egyptian beans.
futūwwa:	Bouncer.
firik:	Green wheat.
galabīya:	Long flowing gown.
gada':	A man.
gubba:	A long outer garment, open at front.
gūkha:	An outer garment of wool cloth.
hashshash:	hashshish addict.

hid'q:	Keen or clever.
hara:	Alley or quarter.
Ibn al-balad:	Son of town, or country.
Ibn al-Zawwāt:	An upper class person.
Ifring:	Franks or European Christians.
ijaza:	Certificate.
In shā'Allah':	If God wills.
kāshifs:	Freed slaves of the Mamluks Amir and next to them in hierarchy.
khatkhuda:	An officer of the military corps, lieutenant to the Aga.
Kafia:	Special kind of joking.
khawāga:	A European or Western foreigner.
libdeh:	A felt cap, which is worn under or instead of the turban.
mal'un abū l-Dunya:	To hell with the world.
matfarnaja:	Relative adjective of Ifrinj.
mulukhiya:	A thick soup made from mellow leaves.
mawal:	Colloquial ballad.
mudaqdaq:	Well experienced.
mudardah:	Very social and capable of dealing and interacting with any persons.
mdhabs:	sects.

mu'allam	Coffee house proprietor.
mamlūks:	A military caste of former slaves whose virtual control of Egypt lasted from 1250 to 1811.
mawlid:	Birth day.
muqat :	money gifts.
nisf:	The Egyptian para or nisf fidde, the standard silver coin of Mamluk and Ottoman Egypt, equalling approximately two and one quarter Ottoman aqces.
nahārna fūl:	Our day is roses.
Ôjaq or wujak:	Active military corps whose members were liable to perform imperial service in return for their wages.
qādī:	Chief judge.
rabāba:	A single string fiddle.
ra'iya:	Subject people.
riwāq:	Classes.
ruznamji:	Director of the scribes of the Treasury.
shaekh:	Saint.
sihr:	Witchcraft.
shīsha:	Hookahs.
shah Bander:	Chief Representative of the merchants.
tabliya:	Low table.

taāmiya:	A food composed of vegetables and beans.
tarbouch:	A red head cover.
tawashih:	Post-classical poems set to music.
'ulāmā:	Scholar.
wāli:	Governor.
wa'la muakhaza:	Pardon me.
wallahi:	By God.
Ya mīt misā;	O a hundred evenings.
Yā Gamil:	O beauty.
Za'but:	A brown woolen garment open from the neck nearly to the waist and having wide sleeves.
zukak:	Alley.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Afaf Loutfi El Sayed,
"The Role of the 'Ulama in Egypt during the Early Nineteenth Century", pp. 264-280 in Holt 1968.
- al-Jabartī, 'Abd al-Rahman, 1958
'Aja'ib al-Athar fi'l Tarajim wa'l Akhbar Matabia al Shaab al Qahira.
First published in 1888.
- al-Muwaylihi, Muhammad, 1964
Hadith Isa Ibn Hisham, al-Dar al-Qawmiya l'ltibaa wal Nashr, al Qahira.
First published 1900.
- al-Saati, Hassan 1961
al-Mash al-Igtima'i; li Da'irat Bab al-Sha'riya, Matba'at Gam'at "Ayn Shams, al-Qahira.
- al-Tunisi, Bayram 1948
Diwan Bayram al-Tunisi, Dar al Kitab al-Arabi, Misr.
- Amin, Ahmad 1953
Qamus al-Adat wa'l Taqalid wal'l Ta'abir al-Misriyya, Matba'at Lagnat al-Ta'lif wa'l Targama, al Qahira.
- Ammar, Hamed 1964
Fi Bina al-Bashar, Community Development Center in the Arab World, Sars al-Layyan.
- Andre Raymond
"Quartiers et Mouvements populaires au Caire au XVIIIeme. pp. 104-116 in Holt 1968.
- Ayalon, D. 1960
'The Historian al-Jabartī and his Background', Bulletin of the School of 'Oriental African Studies XXIII, pp. 217-49
- Beals, L.R. and Hoijer, Harry 1959
An Introduction to Anthropology, the MacMillan Company, N.Y.
- Baer, Gaabriel 1964
Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

- Bugental, S., Zelen, S.L.,
1950 "Investigations into the Self-Concept, I. The W. A. Y. Technique" Journal of Personality, 18, 483-498.
- Coon S. Carleton
1951 Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, Holt Rinehart and Winston, Inc. N.Y.
- Dundes, Alan
1965 The Study of Folklore, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
- Erikson, Erich H.
1959 "The Problem of Identity", Journal of American Psychoanalysis, IV, pp. 56-121.
- Gabriel, Baer
"Social Change in Egypt: 1800-1914" pp. 136-161 in Holt, 1968.
- Gamal El Din El Shayyal,
"Some Aspects of Intellectual and Social Life in Eighteenth-Century Egypt", pp. 177-189 in Holt, 1968.
- Girgis, Fawzi
1958 Dirasat fi Tarikh Misr al Siyasi Mundhu 'l-'Asr al-Mamluki, Matba'at al-Dar al-Misriya, al-Qahira.
- Goffman, Erving
1959 The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Doubleday, Anchor, N.Y.
- Gohar, Muhammad Hassan
Baranik, Muhammad and
il-Atar Muhammad Amin
Sirat al-Zahir Baybara, Dar al-Ma'arif, al Qahira
- Gumperz, John J.
1958 "Dialect Differences and Social Stratification in a North Indian Village", American Anthropologist, 60, pp. 668-682.
- Hallowell, Irving H.
1955 Culture and Experience, University of Pennsylvania Press, U.S.
- Haqqi, Yahya
1954 Qandil Umm Hashim, Dar al-Qahira, al-Ma'arif.
- Hocking, E.W.
1928 The Self Its Body and Freedom, Yale University Press, New Haven.

- Holt, P.M. (Edit.)
1968 Political & Social Change in Modern Egypt,
Oxford University Press; London.
- Horney, K.,
1961 "Symposium on Alienation and the Search
for Identity American Journal of
Psychoanalysis, 21 pp. 117-279.
- Khurshid, Farouq
1967 'Ali al-Zaba, Dar al-Hilal, Al-Qahira.
- Klapp, E. Orrin
1958 "Social Types: Process and Structure
American Sociological Review, 23,
pp. 674-678.
- 1962 Heroes, Villains, and Fools; The Changing
American Character, Prentice Hall, Inc.,
N.J.
- Lane, E.W.
1908 Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,
E.P. Dutton, Co. Inc., N.Y.
- Lee, Dorothy
1959 Freedom and Culture, Englewood Cliffs,
Prentice-Hall, N.J.
- Levy, Reuben
1957 The Social Structure of Islam, Cambridge
University Press, London.
- Maccoby, E.E., Newcomb,
M.T., Hartley, L.E.
1958. Readings in Social Psychology, Rinehart
and Winston, Inc., N.Y.
- Mahfuz, Naguib
1957 'al-Sukkariya, Dar Misr, al-Qahira.
- 1957 Qasr al-'Shawq, Dar Misr, al-Qahira.
- 1962 "Khan al-Khalili", Dar Misr, al-Qahira.
- 1963 Zuqaq al-Midaqq, Dar Misr, al-Qahira.
- 1964 Bayn al-Qasrayn, Dar Misr, al-Qahira.

- Mahfuz, Naguib
1965
Awlad Haratna, Dar Misr, al-Qahira.
- Mead, George H.
1934
Mind, Self and Society, The University of Chicago, Press, U.S.
- Mead, George H.
1964
On Social Psychology, The University of Chicago Press, U.S.
- Mead, Margaret
1964
Continuities in Culture Evolution, Yale University Press, U.S.
- Nada Tomiche
"Notes sur la hierarchie sociale en Egypte a l'epoque de Muhammad 'Ali", pp. 250-263 in Holt, 1968.
- Natanson, Maurice
1963
Philosophy of the Social Sciences, Random House, Inc. N.Y.
- Schutz, Alfred
1967
The Problem of Social Reality, Martinus Nyhoff, the Hague Netherlands.
- 1950
"Language, Language Disturbances and the Texture of Consciousness", Social Research, XVII pp. 365-394.
- Shaw, Stanford Jay
1962
The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798, Princeton University Press, N.J.
- Stanford, Nevitt
1966
Self and Society, Social Change and Individual Development, Atherton Press, N.Y.
- Strauss, Anselm L.
1959
Mirrors and Masks, (The Search for Identity), The Free Press of Geneoe, Illinois.
- Taymour, Ahmad
1956
al-Amthal al-'Amiya, Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabi, al-Qahira.
- Wahida, Soubhi
1950
Fi Usual al-Masa'lat al-Misreya, Matba'at Misr; al-Qahira.

- Weber, Max
1949
The Methodology of the Social Sciences,
Glencoe Press, Illinois.
- Wheelis, A.
1958
The Quest for Identity, Harcourt Brace,
N.Y.
- Wylie, Ruth C.
1961
The Self Concept - A Critical Survey of
Pertinent Research Literature, University
of Nalnaska Press, Lincoln.
- Younis Abd al-Hamid
1956
al-Hilaliya Fi'al-Tarikh wa'l-Adab
al-Sha^cbi, Matb^cat Jami^cat al-Qahira,
al-Qahira.
- 1969
"Ibn al-balad (His personality and manners
in folk tales)", The Magazine of Folk Arts,
9 pp. 1-8 Majallat al-Funn al-Sha^cbiya,
9 pp. 1-8.
- 1958
A Social Study for services in Gamaliya
Quarter; research published by the Social
Research office.
- 1961
Social Studies for services in Old Cairo
Quarter; published by the Social Research
office.
- 1963
A Social Study for Services in Sayyida Zaynab
Quarters; published by the Social Research
office.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
3 8534 00602 7100