

Heritage Sites Management
Understanding the Interrelation among Heritage,
Tourism, and Local Community Urban Demands
in Luxor City in Egypt

Von der Fakultät für Architektur, Bauingenieurwesen und Stadtplanung
der Brandenburgischen Technischen Universität Cottbus–Senftenberg
zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Dr.-Ing.

genehmigte Dissertation

vorgelegt von

M.Sc.

Eman Shokry Hesham

aus Giza
Ägypten

Gutachterin: Prof. Inken Baller

Gutachterin: Prof. Dr. Dorit Kluge

Gutachter: Prof. Per Pedersen

Tag der Disputation: 18.09.2020

<https://doi.org/10.26127/BTUOpen-5274>

ABSTRACT

The global regulations and policies of the foundational UNESCO *World Heritage (WH)* are by far unable to solve the management threefold relationship conflicts between Heritage, Tourism activities, and urban needs as integral components of a Heritage site. Besides, fundamental scholars as well have not explored this existing relationship comprehensively. Instead, the conflict is discussed in a twofold manner. So, both existing international regulations and latest literature contributions have failed to understand the obstacles to bring out applicable on-site approaches for Heritage site management.

This research provides a novel lens with which to understand the conflicting demands of Heritage sites management. It does not only delve into bringing forward the predominant reasons for failure particularly for Luxor city in Egypt as an overarching question, but also the long-term impact on Tourism management and society overall from an urban perspective. The key research questions are: (1) how definitions and conceptions of Heritage Value by foundational resources are reflected in the Tourism field; (2) how the Egyptian Heritage protection laws regulate the stated conflict; and (3) focusing on Luxor city, how the history of Tourism, Heritage policies, and urban planning in Egypt, which favoured tourism-oriented projects, impacted the morphology of the city and its urban and social networks.

The investigation of Heritage Value definitions revealed a broad spectrum of views and even contradicting notions. The quandary nature of Value is evident in the Egyptian Heritage protection regulations. Additionally, they are not on the same pace as the international discourse about the complexity of Heritage protection. It viewed Value resources of Luxor city that were destined for tourism-oriented development plans from the Heritage and Tourism points of view to come up with increasing concerns and unsolved plights.

For realistic and sustainable Heritage management, the UNESCO *WH Centre's* insufficient relation to *WH* sites needs local community representatives as an equal third party instead of maintaining it primarily through experts from its *Advisory Bodies* and *State Parties*. Egyptian Heritage protection laws should be reformed to identify the urban context as an integral component of Heritage sites, provide the local communities with technical and financial incentives, and integrate *Historic Urban Landscapes* recommendations. Heritage sites management and urban planning of cities of Heritage Value in Egypt should be restructured to be on the local level, where the power and interest landscape of stakeholders are the most balanced. The regulatory reorganisations that acknowledge the broader urban milieu at the international, national and local levels are a chief factor for sustainable Heritage site management.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die globalen Regelungen und die Politik des UNESCO *Welterbes* sind bei weitem nicht in der Lage, die Beziehungskonflikte zwischen Kulturerbe, touristischen Aktivitäten und städtischen Bedarf als integrale Bestandteile eines Kulturerbes zu lösen. Auch in der Grundlagenforschung sind existierenden Konflikte nicht umfassend untersucht. So haben sowohl die bestehenden globalen Regelungen als auch die jüngsten Literaturbeiträge nicht verstanden, welche Hindernisse es gibt, anwendbare Ansätze für das Management von Kulturerbestätten vor Ort herauszuarbeiten.

Diese Arbeit bietet eine neue Perspektive, um die widersprüchlichen Anforderungen an das Management von Kulturstätten zu verstehen. Sie untersucht nicht nur die vorherrschenden Gründe für das Scheitern insbesondere der Stadt Luxor in Ägypten, sondern auch die langfristigen Auswirkungen auf das Tourismusmanagement und die Gesellschaft aus städtischer Sicht insgesamt. Die wichtigsten Fragen sind: (1) wie sich die Konzepte des Wertes des Kulturerbes durch die grundlegenden Ressourcen im Bereich des Tourismus widerspiegeln; (2) wie die ägyptischen Gesetze zum Schutz des Kulturerbes den Konflikt regeln; und (3) mit dem Fokus auf Luxor, wie die Kulturerbepolitik und die Stadtplanung in Ägypten, die tourismusorientierten Projekte begünstigten und die städtischen und sozialen Netzwerke der Stadt beeinflussten.

Die Untersuchung der Definitionen über den Kulturerbewert ergab ein breites Spektrum von Ansichten und sogar widersprüchlichen Vorstellungen, was sich in den ägyptischen Bestimmungen zum Schutz des Kulturerbes widerspiegelt. Zudem sind sie nicht im gleichen Tempo fortgeschritten, wie der internationale Diskurs über die Komplexität des Denkmalschutzes. Sie betrachtete die Wertressourcen der Luxor, die für tourismusorientierte Entwicklungspläne bestimmt waren, unter dem Gesichtspunkt des Kulturerbes und des Tourismus, um die zunehmenden Besorgnisse und ungelösten Missstände zu erkennen.

Für ein realistisches und nachhaltiges Management des Kulturerbes benötigt das *UNESCO-Welterbezentrum* angesichts seiner unzureichenden Beziehung zu den *Welterbestätten*, Vertreter der lokalen Gemeinschaften als gleichwertige Dritte, anstatt sie in erster Linie mittels Experten seiner *Beratungsgremien* und *Vertragsstaaten* zu begleiten.

Die ägyptischen Kulturerbeschutzgesetze sollten reformiert werden, um den städtischen Kontext als integralen Bestandteil der Kulturstätten zu identifizieren, den lokalen Gemeinschaften technische und finanzielle Anreize zu bieten und Empfehlungen für *historische Stadtlandschaften* zu integrieren. Die Die Verwaltung und die Stadtplanung der

Kulturstädte in Ägypten sollten so umstrukturiert werden, dass sie auf der lokalen Ebene erfolgen, um die die Interessen aller Beteiligten ausgewogensten zu berücksichtigen. Nur ein Regelwerk, das die Milieus auf globaler, nationaler und lokaler Ebene einbezieht, kann ein nachhaltiges Management von Kulturerbestätten bewirken.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful for my supervisors Prof. Em. Inken Baller (Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus Senftenberg BTU) and Prof. Dr. Dorit Kluge (Hochschule für Wirtschaft, Technik und Kultur | HWTK – University of Applied Sciences), who have been available to share their experience and knowledge even in their very packed schedules. This work wouldn't be completed without their precise and detailed comments and encouragement. Without a doubt, I have learnt from them a lot to enhance my critical approach in research. My appreciation also extends to Prof. Dr. Per Pedersen (BTU) for his interest in this research and for being the academic evaluator.

Special thanks to Prof. Dr. Amr el-Halafawy (Cairo University) and Prof. Dr. Ulrike Fauerbach (Ostbayerische Technische Hochschule Regensburg) for their continuous support to formulate my thoughts in the early stage of my research, and the German Archaeological Institute Cairo, Prof. Dr. Stephan Seidlmayer and Dr. Daniel Polz, and Frau Isolde Lehnert for providing me with the archival material such as maps and early guidebooks about Luxor.

It would not have been possible to achieve this doctoral research without the advice, discussions, reflections, and conversations with my best friends Ghada Abdulfattah, Kiara Beaulieu, Lucy Holms-Mchugh, Marion Douglas, Rasha Makhoulf, Rejzka Lipičec, Salma Khamis, and Thu Trang Nguyen.

I would like to thank the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Egyptian Ministry for Higher Education and Scientific Research for awarding me the GERLS research grant for four years (2014-2018). My gratitude as well goes to the Graduate Research School (GRS) and the centre of Equal Opportunities at the Brandenburg University of Technology for awarding me several mobility grants. These opportunities have facilitated great exposure and have deepened my knowledge in my research field.

I would also like to thank Mr. Mahmoud Ramadan, the former director of the Information Centre of Luxor governorate, for his help to get access to data and maps about the city even after his retirement. I appreciate that Mr. Francis Amin and Mr. Marcel Maessen allow me to use their exceptional photos about Luxor from their private photo archive.

Last but not least, I would not have been able to start, endure, and finish this doctoral research without the support of my mother; her love, patience and prayers have given me the power and ambition to finish what I started. It would not have been possible without the warm family support of my sisters Shaimaa and Marwa, brother Khaled, and my beloved nephew Ahmed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Research Argument and Motivation	1
1.2 Problem Statement	2
1.3 Research Goal and Objectives	4
1.4 The State of Research.....	4
1.4.1 On Value Definitions, Heritage, and Collective Memory.....	4
1.4.2 Tourism and Heritage Sites Management.....	6
1.4.3 Heritage Protection Laws in Egypt, and Luxor City.....	9
1.5 Research Questions.....	10
1.6 Research Methodology.....	11
1.7 The Thesis Structure	13
CHAPTER 2: BUILDING CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF HERITAGE, VALUE, AND TOURISM	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2 Conceptual Understandings of the Heritage Values	18
2.2.1 The Foundation of Values and Heritage Values.....	18
2.2.1.1 The Heritage Core Values.....	19
2.2.1.2 World Heritage Values.....	24
2.2.2 Added Values and Threats After Obtaining the World Heritage Title.....	30
2.2.3 Heritage Management.....	31
2.2.4 Stakeholders in Heritage Management	31
2.3 Tourism.....	33
2.3.1 Tourism Offers.....	33
2.3.1.1 The original offers of a destination.....	34
2.3.1.2 The consequent offer of a destination	35
2.3.2 Types of Tourism.....	36
2.3.3 Defining The Economic Contribution of Tourism Industry.....	37
2.3.4 Sustainable Tourism Development.....	39
2.4 Conflicts of Interests.....	42
2.5 Conclusion.....	46
CHAPTER 3: VALUE AND HERITAGE REGULATIONS, AND TOURISM INDUSTRY IN EGYPT	47
3.1 Introduction.....	47
3.2 The Construct of The Egyptian Laws and Guidelines.....	48
3.2.1 The Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983 and its Amendments, Law 03/2010 and Law 91/2018	48
3.2.2 Law 144/2006 on Regulating the Demolition of Non-Dilapidated Buildings	

and Establishments and the Preservation of Architectural Heritage.....	50
3.2.3 The Building Law 119/2008, Section 2 Urban Harmony	51
3.3 The Stakeholder Landscape in the Heritage and Tourism Industry in Egypt.....	54
3.3.1 International Organizations	54
3.3.1.1 The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	54
3.3.1.2 The UNESCO Technical Advisory Bodies	55
3.3.1.3 The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO).....	55
3.3.2 National Bodies.....	56
3.3.2.1 The Ministries.....	56
3.3.2.2 Governorates	60
3.3.2.3 National Organizations.....	60
3.3.2.4 Other Non-institutional Groups.....	62
3.3.3 Conflicting responsibilities and overlapping authorities among national institutions	63
3.4 Overview of Tourism Industry in Egypt	66
3.4.1 The Genesis of the Tourism Industry in Egypt	66
3.4.2 The Evolvement of Tourism Industry.....	67
3.5 The Tourist Offer in Egypt.....	74
3.5.1. Original Resources.....	76
3.5.1.1. Natural Resource.....	76
3.5.1.2. Socio-Cultural Sources.....	77
3.5.1.3. General Infrastructure.....	79
3.5.2. Subsequent Offers.....	81
3.5.2.1. Tourist Infrastructure.....	81
3.5.2.2. Leisure Time Infrastructure.....	81
3.5.2.3. Special Tourist Offers.....	82
3.5.3. The Competitiveness of Egyptian Tourist Destinations.....	83
3.6 Conclusion.....	85

CHAPTER 4: AN INTRODUCTORY INVESTIGATION OF HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF LUXOR CITY	89
4.1 Introduction.....	89
4.2 Ancient and Medieval History of Luxor City.....	89
4.2.1 Thebes, the Raise of one of the foremost centres of Civilizations in Ancient Egypt (2160-660 BC).....	90
4.2.2 Thebes during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (332 BC-400 AD).....	90
4.2.3 Coptic Period (100s-800s AD).....	91
4.2.4 Medieval Time and Islamic Period (800s-1500s AD).....	92
4.3 Recent History of Luxor	93
4.3.1 European Rediscovery (1800-1885 AD).....	93
4.3.2 1885-1900s AD: The Ideology of Development for the New Tourist Town	102
4.4 From the 1900s until now	104

4.4.1. 1900s-1930AD.....	104
4.4.2. 1930-1960s AD.....	112
4.4.3. The 1970s- Now.....	114
4.5 Conclusion	115

CHAPTER 5: THE IDENTIFICATION OF RESOURCES OF VALUE IN LUXOR CITY..... 119

5.1 Introduction.....	119
5.2 Luxor City of Today.....	119
5.2.1 Stakeholder Analysis of Luxor City.....	120
5.2.2 General Land-use and Labour Force in Luxor City.....	122
5.3 Tourism Offer in Luxor City.....	124
5.3.1 Original Values.....	126
5.3.1.1 Natural Values.....	126
5.3.1.2 Historical Material Values	128
• Luxor Temple.....	129
• Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque.....	134
• Karnak Complex.....	137
• The Processional Way.....	139
5.3.1.3 Socio-Cultural Values.....	140
• The Opet Festival during the Ancient Egyptian Time.....	141
• Current Local Celebrations.....	142
• The Craftsmanship.....	143
• Buildings of Religious Values.....	145
• Houses of Influential People in Luxor.....	145
5.3.1.4 General Infrastructure.....	146
• Education.....	146
• Waste Disposal	147
• Communication and transportation.....	148
• The rise of the water table	148
5.3.2 Subsequent Offer	149
5.3.2.1 Tourist Infrastructure	149
• Hotels	149
• Luxor Hotel.....	149
• Winter Palace Hotel.....	149
• Museums.....	150
• Luxor Museum.....	151
• Karnak Open-Air Museum.....	151
• Mummification Museum.....	152
• Guided Tours	152
5.3.2.2 Leisure-time Infrastructure	153
5.3.2.3 Special Tourism Offers.....	153
• General comments.....	153
5.4 Luxor City and the UNESCO WH Site.....	157

5.4.1	UNESCO Selection Criteria.....	158
5.4.2	The Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)	159
5.4.3	State of Conservation Reports (SOC) and the Following UNESCO Decisions.....	160
5.4.4	Conservation issues presented to the World Heritage Committee in 2008.....	162
5.5	Conclusion.....	163

CHAPTER 6: CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR LUXOR CITY..... 165

6.1	Introduction.....	165
6.2	Master Plans for the City of Luxor.....	165
6.2.1	Master Plan of 1979.....	166
6.2.2	General Physical Plan of 1984	169
6.2.3	General Physical Plan of 1993.....	171
6.2.4	Unsolved Problems in Previous Plans of Luxor	172
6.2.5	Comprehensive Development Plan(s) for the City of Luxor (CDCL).....	173
6.2.5.1	The Starting Phase of the CDCL in 1996.....	173
6.2.5.1.1	Sector One: The Structural Plan.....	176
6.2.5.1.2	Sector Two: the Heritage Plan (Abt Associates Inc. 1998)..	177
6.2.5.1.3	Sector Three: the Six (initial) Investment Packages.....	178
6.2.5.2	The Second Phase of the CDCL 1998.....	179
6.2.5.2.1	Investment Project One: Excavation and restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinx (the Processional Way) (Abraham 2002, 393).....	180
6.2.5.2.2	Investment Project Six: Creation of an Open Museum and Heritage District (Abt Associates Inc. 1999, 7).....	182
6.2.5.3	The Third Phase of the DCDL in 2003.....	183
6.2.5.3.1	Karnak Plaza Project.....	186
6.2.5.3.2	Luxor Library, The Heritage Centre.....	189
6.2.5.3.3	Urban Centre for Women.....	189
6.3	The General Urban Condition	191
6.3.1	Urban Growth of Luxor City.....	191
6.3.2	Housing.....	193
6.3.3	Urban Network	193
6.3.4	Social Network	199
6.4	Conclusion.....	200

CHAPTER 7: INTEGRATING AN INCREMENTAL RATIONALE ABOUT VALUE AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN EGYPT..... 201

7.1.	Core Findings	201
7.2.	Evaluation of the Relationship among Heritage and Tourism Sectors and the Local Communities in Luxor City.....	207
7.3.	General Approaches and Outputs for WH Sites in Egypt.....	210
7.4.	Limitations of the Study	214
7.5.	Further Reflections and Research.....	215

LIST OF FIGURES.....	217
LIST OF MAPS.....	220
LIST OF TABLES.....	220
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	221
ANNEXES.....	243
• Principal Dynasties in Ancient Egypt and the Near East until 200 AD.....	243
• Principal Dynasties in Egypt and other regions during the Medieval time and Islamic Period	244
• Cadastral map of Luxor city in 2012 (part 1).....	247
• Cadastral map of Luxor city in 2012 (part 2)	249

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CALTNAT	Centre for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage
CAPMAS	Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics of Egypt
CDCL	Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor
CFEETK	Franco-Egyptian Center for the Study of Karnak Temples
GOPP	General Organisation for Physical Planning of Egypt
HCLC	Higher Council of Luxor City (now Luxor Governorate)
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MHUUC	Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities of Egypt
MSA	Ministry of State of Antiquities of Egypt (now Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities)
OUV	Outstanding Universal Value
SOC	State of Conservation
TDA	Tourism Development Authority of Egypt
UNDP	United Nations Developing Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WH	World Heritage
WHC	World Heritage Centre
WHW	World Heritage Watch

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Argument and Motivation

A topographical map by Prisse d'Avennes 1878, created in his book *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, shows Ancient Thebes in both east and west banks of the River Nile. It carefully depicts the cliffs that embrace the Hatshepsut Temple and different canals that used to cut through the desert on either side of the River Nile. It accentuates, as well, other royal and private tombs and mortuary temples on the west bank, and plans of monuments as old as four millennia in their constructed state on the east bank. Examples are the Karnak Temple Complex, the Luxor Temple, and the Processional Way, with labels of different sites with their Latin names.



UNIVERSITÄTS-
BIBLIOTHEK
HEIDELBERG

<http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/prisse1878atlas1/0006>

© Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg

gefördert durch die
DFG

Map 1.1: Topographical map of Ancient Thebes
Sources: Prisse d'Avennes 1878

What this map completely disregards is the associated domestic structures with these monuments, which gave the meaning behind the existence of all those world-famous constructions. There would be no logic behind having a massive site with a span over seven kilometres wide from east to west without any evidence of a city with its settlements and domestic structures. One would argue that this map would have been more realistic if

D'Avennes indicated the existence of human settlements around these temples. However, it was all about the *discourse* about Luxor¹ at his time. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1998) highlighted the *discourse* concept, which was first used by Foucault (1971) as a field of social acquaintance. They argued that "*the world is not simply 'there' to be talked about; rather, it is through discourse itself that the world is brought into being*" (Ashcroft, Griffins, Tiffin 1998, 62). D'Avennes did not only deliver an indirect message about what he believed to be of historical *Value* in Thebes, but also demonstrated an example of how the authorities considered the site, and how their managing policies reflected the discourse of disdaining domestic structures.

Yet the field of archaeology has changed dramatically in the last few decades, and now acknowledges different layers of archaeological records — not solely the *oldest*. Millet and Masson (2011), and Whitcomb and Johnson (1986) affirmed the fact that Thebes had always been a populous city, with residential buildings, stores and workshops. This information was also established much earlier by archaeologists from the beginning of the twentieth century, such as Weigall (1910).

Hence, since the rediscovery of Thebes as an *archaeological wonder* and a cultural and touristic destination in the late nineteenth century, there has been the conflict over its Values between ancient architectural Values and the current *socio-cultural* Values it provides today. The preservation of the Heritage in the city and the Values of its immediate inheritors remains an unsolved conflict.

Instead of perceiving it as one entity, Luxor has been an excellent example among others such as Giza of how urban and conservation policies consider, as a standard attitude, a Heritage site entity as two separate units; its Heritage of special *Value* as well as it's local inhabitants and their *local* assets. What is questionable how to draw the line between what is of Heritage Value and what is not. Furthermore, definitions of Heritage and Value have been changing, which affects the interpretation of policies to conserve Heritage. For example, new interpretations may recognise newer functions of the city, such as Tourism.

1.2 Problem Statement

The *Value* and *Heritage Value* concepts receive much attention in academia and their definitions have evolved to be more inclusive, not only in the field of Heritage Studies but also in Archaeology and Tourism domains. However, the translation of *Value* concepts into

¹ *Luxor* is the Arabic and official name for the city and governorate, which means palaces. *Thebes* is the ancient name of the archaeological site, and the *Theban Necropolis* is located on the west bank of the River Nile.

management policies and action plans in several cases fail to reflect an equivalent understanding of the same concept.

The notion of *Value* and its realisation are proven to be multi-faceted and controversial, even in the very same field, i.e. Heritage Studies. Moreover, its evolution in the Heritage Studies field has sparked more debates over related concepts such as *Authentic* and *Intrinsic Values*. There is also a lack of awareness about the importance of *Local Values* and strategies dealing with the needs and urban infrastructural demands of local communities living with Heritage sites.

Tourism is a remarkable feature of archaeological and Heritage sites worldwide. Heritage Tourism destinations are a complex entity which, in addition to their economic and market-oriented activities, also perform numerous social and cultural tasks for communities. However, several development plans in Heritage sites, especially *World Heritage (WH)* sites, valorise the Tourism function and even impose it over other activities. This can eventually result in a possible loss of one of its activities, whether touristic, cultural, or economic. The past and present researches have struggled to find equilibrium among Heritage Values and sustainable Tourism development.

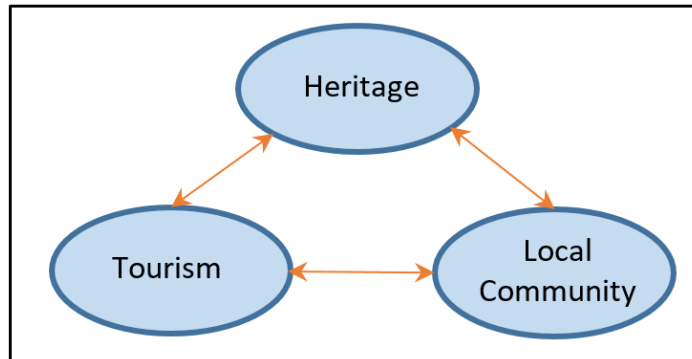


Fig 1.1: The conflict of interest among the Heritage site protection and management, the tourism development, and local community urban upgrade
Source: Researcher

Egypt, in particular, has several Heritage sites from different periods and in different types, *natural, historical, and socio-cultural*. Until 2020, there are six UNESCO *cultural WH sites* and one natural in Egypt. Despite that, there are several *cultural* Heritage sites not (yet) internationally designated as *WH*; numerous of them are existing in lively urban contexts. Unfortunately, urban and Heritage protection laws do not always successfully protect Heritage sites and do not guarantee sustainable solutions.

1.3 Research Goal and Objectives

The goal of this research is a better understanding of *Heritage Value* in an urban context, and the conflict among Heritage, Tourism, and living cities. The objectives are:

- To extrapolate the multidisciplinary nature of *Value* and the particularity merit of Heritage site contexts;
- To increase the knowledge about the necessity of protecting the socio-economic Values of local communities of *historic* sites in Egypt;
- To understand the multi-faceted nature of Luxor city, its history and urban Heritage challenges;
- To show by example, a case study of the impact of traditional urban development approaches on Heritage sites; and
- To show possibilities of how the urban complexity of a Heritage site can be included and developed to concrete implications for Heritage Management practice.

1.4 The State of Research

1.4.1 On Value Definitions, Heritage, and Collective Memory

This research delves into not only various definitions and terms, but also the change of interpretations and understanding of these terms. While *Value* inevitably is an individual — yet even *communal* or *collective* — interpretation of experience and a feeling, based on a judgmental personalised sense of understanding, defining Values of a thing or a site one wants to keep is a conventional attempt to gain consensus about what *Value* is. "*Value is a contested term*" and an act of interpretation, which produces a representation of the place as di Giovine claimed (2009, 13). Wohlleben and Mörsch's book (1988) about Dehio and Riegl's concepts about Value definitions and restoration are reviewed, and also Riegl's (1996; 1903) *Modern Cult of Monuments* discussed by Arrhenius (2003). Furthermore, the updated *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019) is studied and analysed as another primary source of the globally endorsed guidelines for Heritage management.

Spennemann (2006,7) argued that "*individuals project Value onto an object, place, or resource-based on their own needs and desires, shaped by their current social, cultural, and economic circumstances*". Hence, *Value* is needed and granted by a collective subjective decision influenced by nuanced conditions; socio-cultural, religious, political and economic. Therefore, *Value* is found to be hard to define because as said, it is subjective.

As for the realisation of Value on the international level, and after Athens Charter (1931) that introduced the concept of modern conservation and Venice Charter (1964) on setting guidelines for conservation and restoration of historic buildings, the UNESCO *World Heritage* Convention (UNESCO 1972) has worked on deepening the understanding of Value and Heritage. This UN Convention has played a significant role in forming a global understanding of Value by creating further charters and declarations, which demonstrates that UNESCO and its Advisory Bodies are constantly learning institutions. The Nara Charter (1994) on *Authenticity*, setting the term and recommendations on *Historic Urban Landscapes* (HUL) (UNESCO World Heritage Center 2011), and Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 2013) on *Significance* are steps that assert the gradual shift among the aforementioned international institutions to a more profound consideration of *significance* rather than the subjective Value attributes.

Shifting to the *socio-cultural* aspects of recognising Value, Halbwachs coined the term *Collective Memory*². With other pioneers, Halbwachs shifted the narrative on *memory* from an individual to a collective sense, and then to a particular community. This collective mutual feeling strengthens the collective identity from the tangible mutual place and common intangible experiences in their built environment — a spatial framework. According to Halbwachs, *collective memory* is a *local* Value that constitutes the feeling of belonging to a place. Assmann added that the *collective memory* is a community investment and a means of communication, which is carried by objects (or a place according to Halbwachs) (Coser 1992) and also cultural forms to ourselves and other generations³ (Assmann 2008, 110-111; Hayden 1995, 9).

As for Heritage, which embodies different Values in a community, it is argued that not every physical object that survives from the past needs to or should be protected as the first or third fundamentals of Hall and McArthur (1998, 4) contended. The following are the Hall and McArthur (ibid.) five fundamentals upon which the expanded meaning of Heritage could be more clarified:

- *A synonym for any relict physical survival of the past;*
- *The idea of individual and collective memories in terms of non-physical aspects of the past when viewed from the present;*
- *All accumulated cultural and artistic productivity;*
- *The natural environment;*

² Read the edited and translated book about Halbwachs's concept of *Collective memory* by Coser On Collective Memory (1992).

³ Assmann, however, limited the timespan of transmitting the communicative memory which is "*based on fixed points in the past*" to eighty years or three generations due to its informal and dynamic nature (Assmann 2008).

- *A major commercial activity.*

The *Heritage Management*, however, is defined in Orbasli's (Lichfield 1988, 38 quoted in Orbasli 2000, 99) as "*taking conscious decisions, with an eye to the future, about ongoing operations or the use of assets, or both in combination within a structured organisation*". According to Hall and McArthur (1998, 6), Heritage management "*refers to the conscious process by which decisions concerning Heritage policy and practice are made and the manner in which Heritage resources are developed. The field of Heritage management, therefore, encompasses analysis, management and development*". They thought what should have incorporated in the Heritage management is the business management theories, which gives more attention to the human dimension and not only the preservation and protection of the Heritage site as the one priority. The plight of prioritising urban development as a fundamental component, and the sophisticated application of urban upgrading including or parallel to Heritage management plans are, therefore, important topics of research.

Contrarily, the *Heritage Impact Assessments (HIA)* is a tool created by the ICOMOS, recommended by the UNESCO *WH Centre*, and the *Operational Guidelines*, to be applied by the UNESCO *WH State Parties*. However, this tool is designed principally to protect *WH Outstanding Universal Values* from urban development projects — which unquestionably is a vital objective — but it does not guarantee or even concern the integration of the very *WH site* to its urban context. To *HIA*, integration in this sense is better avoided. Hence, international and several national regulations cause segregation and disintegration of Heritage sites from their urban contexts, indirectly impacting community lifestyles.

Furthermore, in Economics, Heritage is considered as "*an economic 'asset', since its protection and management represent 'future economic benefits'*" (Zouain 2000, 13), in this case, different than the Tourism sector point of view. While a Heritage site is considered as a commodity, economics still recognises the uniqueness and scarcity nature of its Values. Hence, it is preferred from an economic point of view "*not to consume it rapidly; better still, should not be consumed at all*", and then its "*extended protection has an economic return known as the 'reward of waiting' or the 'reward of abstinence'*" (ibid., 14).

1.4.2 Tourism and Heritage Sites Management

Generally, Tourism is another aspect and now is an associated explicit phenomenon in almost all of the Heritage sites, since that Heritage management is depending more and more on visitors to "*provide economic, educational and social justifications for their activities*" (Hall and McArthur 1998, 5). Chadwick (1994) defined Tourism as the "*activities of a person outside his*

or her usual environment for less than a specified time and whose main purpose of travel is other than exercise of an activity remunerated from the place visited" (Chadwick 1994, 66). The World Tourism Organization have a prior and similar definition for Tourism as "the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes" (World Tourism Organization 1995, 19 quoted in Khirfan 2014, 5).

Chadwick (ibid.) and Mill and Morrison (1998, 2) agreed that Tourism is an *activity*; interaction with a Heritage site, the attraction that appeals the *tourist market* (di Giovine 2009, 275; Gravari-Barbas, Bourdeau, and Robinson 2015, 2). The UNWTO Secretary-General Pololikashvili demonstrated the importance of Tourism to the host countries and communities as follows:

International travel continues to grow strongly, consolidating the tourism sector as a key driver in economic development. As the third export sector in the world, tourism is essential for job creation and the prosperity of communities around the world. Yet as we continue to grow we must work closer together to ensure this growth benefits every member of every host community, and is in line with the Sustainable Development Goals

(UNWTO 2018).

Freyer (2015) admits that despite its importance, Tourism is only a partial aspect of destination uses, alongside its function as a location (for economic settlement), a habitat (for inhabitants), and an administrative and design unit (for policy and spatial or regional planning), and so on. Freyer's (2015) methodology for analysing *Tourism offers* or *products* is here utilised. *Values* could be the main reason a Heritage site becomes a tourist destination, but that site needs *complements* to be a thriving tourist destination. Freyer (2015, 323) introduces a different paradigm for *Tourism products* or *offers* from the Tourism point of view. In this stance, Fainstein and Judd (1999, 6) stand with Freyer about the commodity nature of Heritage to Tourism: "*Cities are sold just like any other consumer product*", and "*it could be argued that Tourism as a global industry sees the world as its asset*" (Orbasli 2000, 102).

Khirfan (2014, 5), as well, criticises the focus on the demand side, constituted by the tourists, of Tourism in this definition while overlooking its supply-side — or the *Tourism offer* as defined in Freyer's (2015) textbook — which is represented in its *essential economic activity*. Freyer (2015, 320) defines *tourist destinations* as *geographic, picturesque, socio-cultural* or *organisational entities* with attractions that are interesting for tourists, and the central aspect of Tourism is attractions (Mill and Morrison 1992, 202 quoted in Freyer 2015, 320).

However, as aforementioned, the Values are not objective; the interpretation of Values in Tourism is thus also subjective and not neutral. Tour guiding, one of the oldest and leading activities in Tourism is a "*performative representation, a method of teasing out those qualities of the monument and its narrative script that resonates with the particularities of a group*" (di Giovine 2009, 285). Hence, Tourism also prioritises what Values to represent and highlight. Thus, the impacts of the Tourism industry should be more investigated.

The Tourism industry is thought to have significant direct, indirect and induced economic impacts in several countries around the globe (World Travel and Tourism Council 2017, 2). Many studies have been conducted so far that have tried to measure the primary and secondary economic impact of Tourism. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) argues that the indirect contribution of the Tourism industry is more significant than the direct one which is a result of the economic profits from hotels, transportation services, and travel agencies (the *consequent Tourism offer*). The WTTC also defines the direct contribution as the "*total spending within a particular country on Travel & Tourism by residents and non-residents for business and leisure purposes as well as government 'individual' spending - spending by government on Travel & Tourism services directly linked to visitors, such as cultural (eg museums) or recreational (eg national parks)*" (ibid.).

Archer, Cooper and Ruhanen (2005) and others recently juxtaposed the negative impacts of Tourism, on the local communities, the environment and economies, for the sake of solely economic revenues. They also evoked the importance of the "*belated discovery of the relevance of the sustainable development concept to tourism*" (ibid. 2005, 95). "*Tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities*" (United Nations Environment Programme, the World Tourism Organization 2005, 12).

As mentioned, the Tourism impact has been widely studied (inter alia: Archer; Cooper and Ruhanen 2005; Buckley 2017; Fainstein and Judd 1999; Gravari-Barbas, Bourdeau, and Robinson 2015; Khirfan 2014; Orbasli and Woodward 2009). Khirfan (2014, 4) is one of the authors that advocates for the pivotal role of Tourism on the development at national and local levels, and as an instrument of intercultural exchange between peoples. She discussed the complicated relationship between the inscription on the *WH List* which draws the international attention and appreciation of the site and provides the technical and scientific and financial assistance, and the negative impact on the Heritage site and local communities' particularities by the uncontrollable, consecutive "*irreversible negative impacts of Tourism development*" (ibid.).

Freyer's (2015) methodology for analysing Tourism *Angebote* (in English *offers* or *products*) is here utilised. *Values* could be the main reason a Heritage site becomes a tourist destination, but that site needs complements to be a thriving tourist destination.

Three instances focused on the Heritage point of view towards Tourism: Buckley's (2018) that discussed the "*complicated relationship*" between Tourism and *natural* and *cultural* Heritage, Brantom's (2015), which reviewed the "*shared Values*" between sustainable Tourism and *WH*, and Gravari-Barbas, Bourdeau and Robinson's (2015) that argued about the "*coproductio*n" opportunity between Tourism and *WH*. Nogués-Pedregal (2015) and de la Torre (2013) manifested the Tourism impact on the *socio-cultural* nature of Heritage sites. Therefore, the point of conflicting demands among the three components: the local communities and their socio-economic needs, the Heritage site and its protection, and the associated Tourism industry is not yet thoroughly investigated. These three components have been as stated in research studied from single angles rather than comprehensively investigating different perspectives to understand better the particular nature of a Heritage site in an urban context.

1.4.3 Heritage Protection Laws in Egypt, and Luxor city

The research explores the Egyptian Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983 and its Amendments, Law 03/2010 and Law 91/2018, and provides a critical examination of the Egyptian legislations on Heritage sites management. It focuses on how it regulates Heritage sites safeguarding in Egypt in relation to their urban contexts and the rights of local communities. There is no published study on this relationship achieved yet. Other national laws such as Law 144/2006 on Regulating the Demolition of Non-Dilapidated Buildings and Establishments and the Preservation of Architectural Heritage and Building Law 119/2008 concern the preservation of Heritage buildings and are primary resources for the Heritage regulations in Egypt.

The genesis of Tourism in relation to antiquities in Egypt and Luxor city is elaborately manifested by Humphreys (2015) and (2011), and Ried (2015). The tourist booklet (the Tourist Administration 1963) demonstrated the flourishing Tourism industry in Egypt during the 1950s. The World Bank reports (1990), (1979a) (1979b), (1979c), and Richter and Steiner (2008) give an overall impression about the Tourism development policies until the 2000s. However, those of the World Bank gave priority to Tourism over Heritage protection and community development.

There are various archival resources about the history of Luxor, such as Edwards (1890), Bude (1925), Bell (1945), and Baedeker's guidebooks (1929), (1914), (1908), and (1902). The importance of the latter is that it contains maps of the city that can be used for spatial

investigations. Weigall (1910) is vital for what it contains about the ideologies and beliefs of the chief inspector of Luxor and Upper Egypt and how it influenced the Heritage management during this time. Furthermore, other resources study the archaeological findings of the ancient city once existed, such as Sullivan (2008a) and (2008b).

As for the state of the arts about the predominant factors in Luxor city; Kamar (2014) criticised the social impact of the historical development project at “*Luxor Open Air Museum*” area. Gamblin (2007) explored the dispute between local communities and Tourism with particular regard to Luxor. Rashed (1994) investigated the potentials of public participation in Heritage conservation in Luxor. Finally, El Gammal (1985) studied the historical urban district in Luxor. Weeks, Hetherington, and Jones (2006) proposed a Tourism management plan for the Valley of the Kings on the west bank of Luxor. These resources repeatedly perceive the threefold relationship of Local community, Heritage management, and tourist activities from one angle, so that no resource tackles the three predominant aspects of a Heritage site in an urban context comprehensively.

The Decision Reports of the UNESCO *WH Committee* are a vital source to study the interaction between the UNESCO *WH Centre* and the Egyptian authorities, and how impactful are these decisions on the safeguarding of the *WH Property* in Luxor city and its buffer zone. The previous should be reflected in on the urban planning of Luxor city and its master plans in 1979, 1984, 1993, 1996, and the last *Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor (CDCL)* to check if the UNESCO *WH Decisions* were applied.

1.5 Research Questions

This research endeavours to answer the overarching question of: *what* is the means to understand the conflicting demands of the protection of a Heritage site and the local community in its urban context, and the associated Tourism industry in Egypt? Moreover, it attempts to define *what* are the predominant reasons behind the unsuccessful management and development plans for urban districts of Heritage nature? Each chapter investigates a group of questions to establish the actual state from general to specific on the case study, and eventually formulate the research findings.

How are Value and Heritage Value defined? *To what extent* are the understanding(s) of Value outlined in Heritage protection and Tourism accounts theoretically informed? Furthermore, according to these definitions and understandings, *What* are the sources of conflict of interests between the Heritage protection and management, and Tourism fields?

A multi-faceted understanding of different Values of a Heritage site allows conservation and Tourism policies to contribute more effectively to develop goals at the national and local levels. *What* are the related Heritage protection laws in Egypt? Moreover, *how* do these laws correspond to the internationally adopted guidelines as well as to the actual needs? *How* has the Tourism sector in Egypt become prominent? *How* is the institutional landscape in Egypt functional in terms of Heritage protection and in balancing the power dynamics between different stakeholders? And accordingly, *how* are the socio-cultural preferences of local communities regarded and recognised in Heritage management policies in Egypt?

These questioned cannot be answered generically; hence, there is a need for a concrete case study. Therefore, the next group of questions are directed to delve into the case study, Luxor city. *How* has the ancient and the medieval history of Luxor city in Egypt impacted and shaped the city, its image, and morphology since the 1800s until now? *Is* it useful to study the history of a Heritage site with its urban context to prepare a comprehensive management policy?

What are the original and consequent *Tourism offers* in Luxor city? *How* are the offer elements balanced, and *what* is the offer that presupposes improvements? *How* does the Tourism offer impact the labour force statistics, hence, the social lifestyles? Furthermore, *how* could the Heritage and Tourism sector rebalance the socio-economic lifestyle?

From the urban point of view, and according to the international and national visions and policies, *how* have the different official master plans of Luxor city corresponded to the urban growth and needs and the Heritage site protection requirements under the umbrella of the continuous evolution of national and international Heritage management protection guidelines?

1.6 Research Methodology

This research is primarily based on a Single Case Study methodology, which is found best for the research purpose of understanding the rising complex phenomenon of the conflict of interest and demands between Heritage protection and urban development contexts in Egypt. According to Yin (2012), the case study design is one of the most suitable methods when a separation of a phenomenon from its context is not possible. The researcher, thus, determined to choose a Heritage site in Egypt that portrays and compromises the Heritage and urban upgrade convolution perspectives. Despite several sites in Egypt having these attributes, such as Cairo, Giza, and Alexandria; these cities are relatively so big that several economic and social factors would necessitate a larger scale of a research project than this research proposal.

Field observations from 2012 to 2018 shaped the researcher's understanding of the significant issues, gave an insightful impression about the local inhabitants in Luxor city as indispensable stakeholders, and how they have interacted with the development project phases.

Luxor, or Thebes, is known to be a capital for several centuries during the Ancient Egyptian civilisation; however, few researchers studied the development of its town planning during this time. Additionally, despite that Luxor enjoys *cultural* and *natural* attributes, Luxor gives another perspective to this research because it is internationally designated solely for its *cultural* attributes solely, and is actually not a *mixed* site according to UNESCO endorsed attributes. Luxor city, therefore, is a unique and critical case to investigate.

This research focuses on the east bank city of Luxor, where the human rural and urban natures apparently are regarded as complementary to the Heritage site itself. Moreover, Luxor city has suffered so far from the continuous conflict between the inhabitants, Tourism, and the Heritage site. The case study extends from Sayālet Badrān from the east to the River Nile to the west, and from Ter'et Luxor in the north to Al'wamiya to the south. It is worth mentioning that it is not possible to separate the east and west components of the historic urban landscape when describing and analysing the built Heritage Values in Luxor (Chapters Three and Four). Hence, this part of the research is comprehensive and inclusive to both sides of the River Nile in Luxor. Chapter Six of the practical section focuses on the urban development plans in Luxor city on the east bank.

The source of maps of the *Comprehensive Development for the City of Luxor (CDCL)* is the Directorates of Planning and Agriculture at Luxor governorate. The official archival maps are from the Egyptian General Survey Authority. Some statistics are from Luxor Tourist Information Centre, while others are from the Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics (CAPMAS). The archival photographs are from open sources, such as the New York Public Library, the Heidelberg University Library, the Victoria and Albert collection and from the private collection of Marcel Maessen's and Francis Amin's, who generously allowed the researcher to use in this research. The researcher also is allowed officially to use a photo from the newsletter of the Ancient Egyptian Research Associates (AERA). The researcher uses as well maps and illustrations made by one of the private companies, ArchPlan, which took part in the design process of the *CDCL* project. The researcher mainly photographed the rest of the photos used in Chapters Five and Six.

The method of historic map juxtapositioning was used mainly in Chapter Four on historical maps (Baedeker's from the years 1902, 1908, 1914, 1928), and aerial photos (Pillet 1928 and Schwaller de Lubicz 1957). Maps and layouts in Chapter Five are visually analysed using

graphic representations. Whereas, map overlay is used to compare and analyse the growth of the official urban boundaries of Luxor city in Chapter Six. The overlay and area calculations were made using the AutoCAD program.

1.7 The Thesis Structure

The thesis comprises a theoretical preamble, which is divided into two sections. The first section (Chapter Two) critically discusses the definitions of Heritage and Value in an interdisciplinary manner and the conflict of interests that usually arises between Heritage protection and Tourism studies (see figure 1.2). The other section (Chapter Three) is an elaborated prolegomenon that explores the laws that affect the Heritage sites in Egypt. This chapter discusses as well the stakeholder landscape in Egypt, the power relations among them, and analyses Heritage Values in Egypt using the Tourism industry perspective by Freyer (2015). It is intended to give the discussion a rather comprehensive and multidisciplinary point of view than just focusing the debate solely on Heritage protection according to Heritage studies perspective.

In Chapter Three (3.2), the researcher comprehensively tackles the weak points and gaps in the Egyptian legislation regarding the Heritage protection and local community role and position. The investigated and assessed laws are:

- The Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983 and its amendments by law 3/2010 Promulgating the Antiquities' Protection Law and Law 91/2018
- Law 144/2006 on Regulating the Demolition of Non-Dilapidated Buildings and Establishments and the Preservation of Architectural Heritage
- Law 119/2008 the Building Act, with particular regard to section two: Urban Harmony and its related official manual Principles and Guidelines for buildings and Heritage areas of distinctive Value.

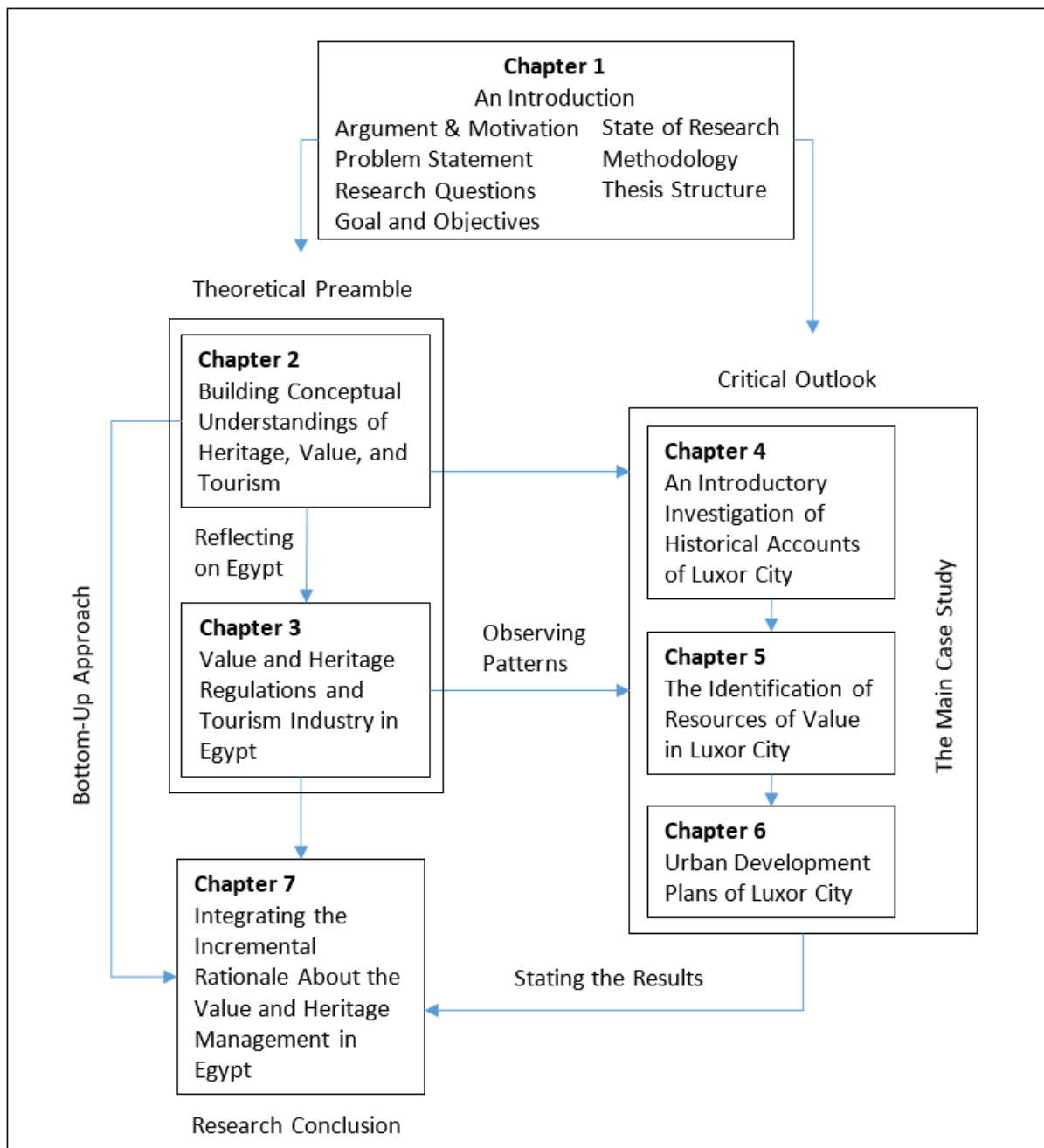


Fig 1.2: The research structure

Source: Researcher

The practical part is divided into three sections in a linear, chronological reporting — or timeline analysis — method. One section (Chapter Four) is dedicated to the discussion of the historical review of the city to the present time and how its ancient history has shaped its recent history and present identity. The history of the city is divided into the ancient and recent history. It is demonstrated in a chronological order starting from the Ancient Egyptian, Theban civilisation until the European rediscovery of Thebes, to the present time.

The practical section focuses on the case study in Egypt, Luxor city. It analyses its historical accounts concerning its Heritage site and evaluates as well its Value relations using pattern

observation and matching (construct internal validity). Historical maps are used as pieces of evidence to reveal temporal changes in the landscape of Luxor city and to visualise the *socio-cultural* Values using underlying graphic representations. Maps of the urban development plans of Luxor city are mainly used to extract the relevant data for the research, such as the urban boundary growth, mapping the social and urban services, studying the street network, and the land-use using map overlay and graphic representations.

Chapter Five investigates different Values in Luxor city; original resources of Value and the *consequent Tourism offer* are critically distinguished. This chapter examines the designation of Luxor as a UNESCO *cultural WH Property* and questions its endorsed attributes, boundaries, and also it suggests the complexity of modification for a realistic inscription and protection.

Proceeding the introduction about the Values and history of the city; the following Chapter Six then discusses and analyses different official development plans that have been prepared for Luxor. It is, however, divided into two sections; the first one discusses the previous master plans that were prepared by national and international bodies. The second section lists the evolvement of the last *Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor (CDCL)* from 1996 until 2010.

So as to evaluate the last development plan of Luxor, the researcher uses the introductory section of Chapter Four and the analytical section of Chapter Five to discuss the Values in Luxor city. The evaluation of the different development plans of Luxor city (Chapter Six) depends on the assessments and decisions the international expert bodies, i.e. the UNESCO and *WH Committee* made in their published reports. It also depends on the impressions of the local community, visitors and archaeologists through journalist document reviews.

The last Chapter (Seven) is a critical construct, which puts together the incremental arguments. It showcases the complexity of the research problem, summarises the answers to the research questions, and give some recommendations and guidelines for the management of the Heritage sites and Tourism activities in urban contexts in Egypt.

CHAPTER 2: BUILDING CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF HERITAGE, VALUE, AND TOURISM

2.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the juxtaposition within heritage Value systems. It considers the conflicting attitudes between Heritage conservation, Heritage Management and Tourism Marketing and Management. This chapter strives to review both streams within heritage Value systems to understand and appreciate the position each plays in the broader heritage system.

It is divided into three sections. In order to delve into this complex topic, the initial section will discuss Value epitomes and its definitions by international organisations such as UNESCO World Heritage and its Advisory Bodies based on fundamental scholars such as Riegl and Dehio. This complex and controversial topic will help to define Value and Heritage Value — so as the associated term *intrinsic*, or *never intrinsic?* — and *wholeness*, *intactness*, *completeness*; and the features of *Integrity* and *Authenticity*. This section will attempt to understand better the Heritage sphere; precisely its background and the development of the global efforts to develop a globally accepted method/ means for the protection and use of World Heritage structures and sites. Among the different elaborately discussed will be international organisations such as UNESCO World Heritage and its Advisory Bodies, legislation such as the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and its last updated *Operational Guidelines*, and recommendations such as the *Historic Urban Landscapes* and the Venice and Burra Charters. These examples are temporally chosen to trace the learning process and evolution of the international institutions and the shifting of their traditional views about Heritage towards more inclusive Heritage management and to tackle the issues that will be reflected later on the case study of this research. The concerns and impact of the World Heritage List and how they are able to manage stakeholder relationships within Heritage management will be highlighted.

The second section delves into Tourism; its definitions, and how the Tourism industry reflects on Heritage Values and examines how Heritage industry Values Tourism input and vice versa. Explicitly, the primary “*attractions*” or “*products*” they manufacture (Freyer 2015), and how the two assemblages, Heritage and Tourism management, view the morals set out. This comparison will be reflected on in the third section of this chapter.

The Egyptian domestic Tourism will not be regarded in this chapter and research; since the international Tourism and the flow of foreign (hard) currency are the main goals for Tourism

development particularly in the case study, Luxor city. Therefore, the focus will be on international Tourism. The characteristics of tourists, their motivations and desires will also not be discussed in this research. One of the most significant features of Tourism is the different levels of economic contribution but also its competitive nature. The factors which determine competitiveness of Heritage sites are classified into economic, administrative, and social. By considering the validity of *Sustainable Tourism Development*, the author will be able to view, compare and evaluate the three concepts; the international World Heritage Values, the conventional *core* definition of Values, and sustainable development Values.

Beyond the ambiguity of Heritage Value to different interest groups, the third and last section elucidates the never-ending discussion about the possible and not-surprising conflicts of interests on different levels between the stakeholders of Heritage and Tourism that are associated with the commodification of Heritage and the inevitable prioritising of a set of Values at the expense of others.

2.2. Conceptual Understandings of the Heritage Values

2.2.1. The Foundation of Values and Heritage Values

The term Value in Heritage context is inevitably based on a judgmental personalised understanding approach. This is the first fundamental. Defining the Value of an object, event or a site is a conventional attempt to gain consensus about the essence of Value. “*Value is a contested term*”, something that is subjective and personal, and as such Value is subject to interpretation (di Giovine 2009, 13). Value is granted by a collective subjective decision influenced by nuanced conditions; socio-cultural, religious, political and economic. Thus, due to its subjective and personal nature, the Value seems challenging to define. Heritage also falls victim to this pitfall, as many factors and experiences will define how the viewer or visitor views or understands *Heritage*. What would be considered a coveted artefact by one person, community or group may be value-less to another, as stated by Hall and McArthur (1998, 4) not every surviving ancient object needs or should be protected.

There is a selective process that happens when an individual or a community consciously decide to value that object in particular for various reasons. The second fundamental quite amends the idea of the selective nature of *collective memory* and how it reflects on the Heritage object. The natural environment is agreed to several groups to be a Heritage in terms of sustainability and nature protection. UNESCO World Heritage has adopted the term *Cultural Landscapes*, which represent the “*combined works of nature and of man*” in its *Operational Guidelines* since 1992 (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019, 83).

The last fundamental tackles the reality of the commercialisation of Heritage which is also debated to be an unavoidable fact (which is discussed later in this chapter and Chapters Three, Four, and Six).

2.2.1.1. The Heritage Core Values

Alois Riegl's (1858-1905) ideas about Value and preservation strategies of monuments are invaluable and a focus of this research. The Western Value system was inspired by his scheme with other scholars such as Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc. His introduction to *age* Value became more important in the discourse on Value because he was one of few who postulated that there is no objective past; he argued that our perception of history was continuously changing. These Western Value system has influenced to a great extent the national Antiquities Protection Laws Egypt to this day (see Chapter Three 3.2).

His ideas and influence are best seen in his two texts that discussed his classic essay the Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Character and its Origin, and his report on an analysis carried out for the sake of protecting the interests of the medieval and modern monuments within the one-time Diocletian's Palace in Split in Croatia. These two documents represent the theoretical principles and their real-world applications. The latter demonstrates a similar case study such as that of the case study discussed in this work, Luxor City; i.e. the options to keep or remove the later structures which happen to exist in a historical context. Riegl's ideas are discussed using Riegl's (1996) translated text and the reflections of these three articles respectively: Riegl's (1903) 'Modern Cult of Monuments' and the Problem of Value by Lamprakos (2011), the Alois Riegl report concerning Diocletian's Palace of 1903 by Ćorić, and Špikić (2011), and the Fragile Monument: on Alois Riegl's modern Cult of Monuments by Arrhenius (2003).

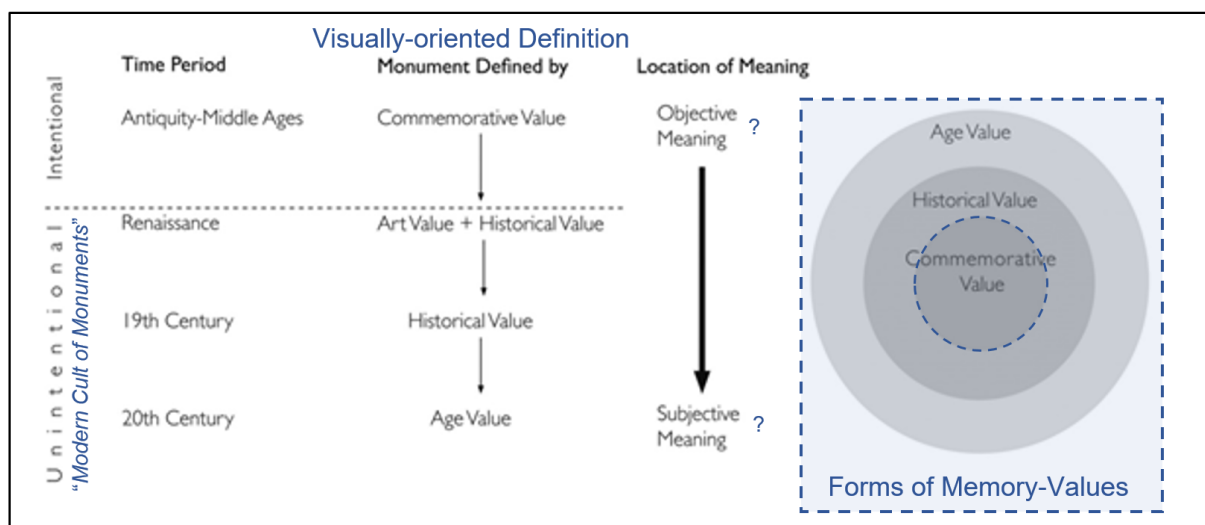


Fig.2.1: The evolutionary scheme of Values according to Riegl
Source: adapted from Lamprakos 2014, 421; Riegl 1996

Alois Riegl critically defined the dimensions of monument preservation in his classic article *The Modern Cult of Monuments* (1996; 1903) and is known for questioning the traditional strategies of art history such as the definition of the *monument* and preserving the structures of antiquity and middle ages exclusively (figure 2.1). Riegl's visual-oriented analysis of Value (see figure 2.1), was backed by his definition of Values as an interchange between a subject (the viewer or the masses), and an object (the monument) (Riegl 1996). In the nineteenth century, Riegl explained the principal preservation techniques were *stylistic restoration*¹ and reconstruction that gave attention solely to monuments of *commemorative* and *historical* Values (ibid., 421). The *commemorative* Value is the *collective memory* a monument bears, and it is intentional by a specific community² (ibid., 420; Coser 1992), while the *historical* Value lays in the presentation of a particular national style, and is unintentional (see figure 2.2). Both *past* Values were dealt with reconstruction and restoration, to keep the monument as *complete* as its original state, without showing any signs of decay. Halbwachs (Coser 1992) also strongly associated the collective remembrance with space and spatial context that are familiar and can restore the past in the present. According to Halbwachs, the stability of space is the reason our collective memories hold scenes and people.

Riegl recognised, on the other hand, the contemporary obsession with modern *artistic* Values, which had power over modern society, which sought ever-*newness* and *completeness*.

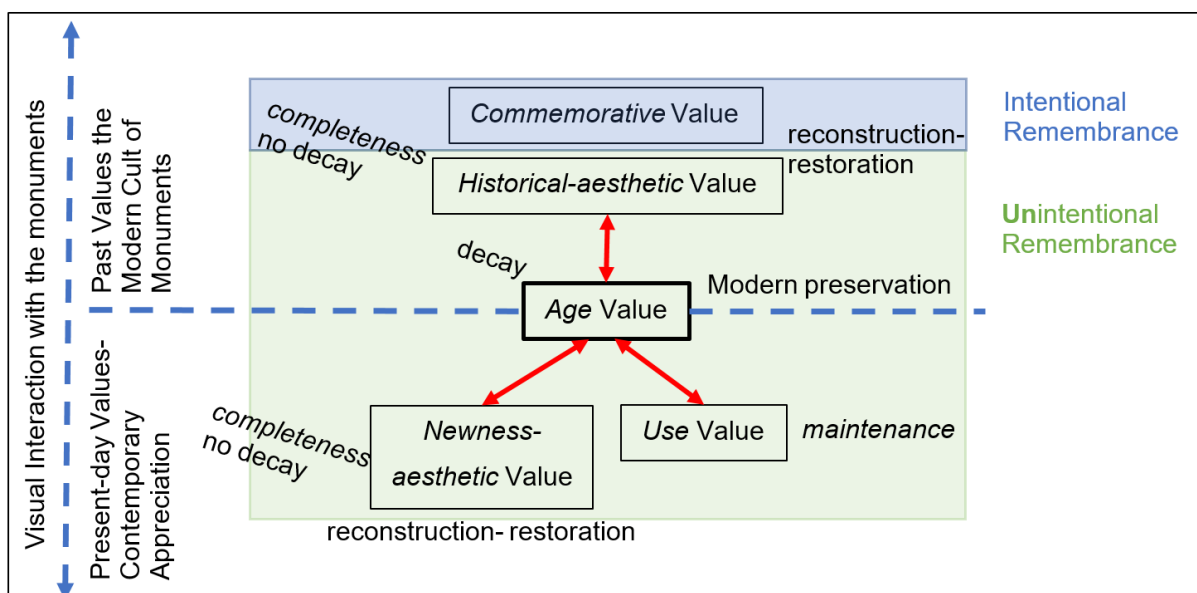


Fig.2.2: Riegl's scheme
 Source: Researcher, adapted from Arrhenius 2003; Riegl 1996

¹ *Stylistic* restoration is the reconstruction of a monument according to its original style and to return to its original condition to appear ageless.

² Despite that Riegl acknowledged the *memory* Values, Halbwachs was one of the pioneers to discuss the *collective memory* of a specific group of people or a community and its spatial aspect (Coser 1992).

To confront *oldness* and *newness* trends represented in present-day and past Values, Riegl coined the *age Value* as the basis of “*modern preservation*” (Arrhenius 2003; Ćorić and Špikić 2011; Riegl 1996). Being the more inclusive and over-arching for *commemorative* and *historical* Values, the *age Value* conceptually accepts and appreciates the process of time and the life-cycle, and displays and celebrates the decay caused by temporal evolution on a monument. That is, not necessarily *historical* or *commemorative* Values which embody and are conditioned by a specific event and time, but a broader and expanding concept which challenged the *stylistic* restoration techniques and brought up for the first time the *modern preservation* (figure 2.1).

Riegl’s ideas reflected another famous British art critic, John Ruskin³ (1819-1900), in two main aspects. The first aspect is that the collective emotional interaction overpowers the individual intellect interests. The second aspect is their belief in preservation as being the best strategy to protect monuments. Both Ruskin and Riegl considered restoration of a monument the deconstructive force that ruins its *authenticity*. They, however, significantly only focus on *material authenticity*.

The Riegl’s ideas, or in general, the canonising of new strategies to value Heritage at the beginning of the twentieth century, stressed on the subjective element of valuing monuments (figure 2.1). However, what has created confusion is Riegl’s quantitative approach towards the *age Value*, which proposes all the sixty-year-old buildings or older to bear *age Value*. Hence, all monuments are equal and deserve, consequently, equal preservation. What has added to the confusion is the practical application of his own principles on the case of Diocletian’s Place in Split in Croatia and his report about the later structures — forming the centre of the town — that visually obstructed the view of the context of ancient buildings (Ćorić and Špikić 2011, 415). Instead of blindly applying the sixty-years old rule, Riegl carefully made compromises by choosing, subjectively, what should have been kept and accepting the demolishing of specific other structures based on his judgments. While Riegl did not tackle Values other than those related to age and art (he was an art historian and museum curator), Riegl was the first to address then *Avant-grade* Value-based preservation in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The following are the Values that most of the literature agrees to be the set that characterises Heritage in general and a Heritage site in particular. It is essential to mention that Western

³ John Ruskin wrote *Seven Lamps of Architecture* in 1849, and *the Stones of Venice* in 1851-53. These books are considered the first to adopt the Heritage preservation instead of restoration. Ruskin inspired Alois Riegl and others.

attitudes have dominated the perception of Value. Therefore, such views have guided the protection strategies internationally, while recently the Western perceptions have expanded to understand, accept, adopt and include other opinions and practices (Burra Charter and Nara Documents on *Authenticity*) as will be discussed in the following section 2.1.2.

Value is emphasised by how strongly a Heritage site emotionally manipulates communities' reflexive memory and feelings. The following mentions are not exclusive, and not all the listed Values could exist in one Heritage site, but it is believed so far that the more visitors that enjoy a site, the more *valuable* it is.

Hall and McArthur (1998, 4) argued as Dehio and Riegl (Wohlleben and Mörsch 1988, 106) that Heritage does not just refer to old buildings. Still, beyond that, Heritage is what forms part of our national identity. As many scholars have clarified, the Heritage Values had been narrowed or limited to the historical and aesthetical ideological associations until the 1990s (Brantom 2015, 239; de la Torre 2013, 157; Wohlleben and Mörsch 1988, 105). The *historical and aesthetic* Values were considered by Petzet (2005, 9) as the *classic Values*. Perhaps this superficiality to realise Values was because that only archaeologists, historians or museologists who could get access to Heritage studies, as Garden (2004, 26) explained. However, by time, with the transformation of the conception, the *socio-cultural* Values have become more regarded with the development of the field, and Heritage has expanded "*in terms of typology and scale*" (de la Torre 2013, 158; Wohlleben and Mörsch 1988, 105) to be more inclusive, and is now being discussed in disciplines such as geography, business and Tourism (Brantom 2015, 239; Garden 2004, 26).

According to Brantom who described the *cultural* Values (Hewison and Holden 2006 quoted in Brantom 2015, 238), *cultural* Values are *intrinsic* (according to the community), *instrumental* (in terms of the benefits of preserving the Heritage Value), and *institutional* (by the management authorities). Whereas de la Torre (2013, 159-160), has a total opposite thought about Heritage Values; she believes that Values are never *intrinsic*, but attributed, explaining that "*Heritage places are Value neutral until they are attributed cultural Value [...] by those who have an interest in a place*". Despite that explicit contradiction in the perception of Heritage between the two scholars, both agree about the subjectivity nature of Value.

As brought up, there is no globally recognised definition of the *socio-cultural* Values that establish the cultural Heritage (de la Torre 2013, 157) — perhaps due to the difficulty to quantify or measure them — even if international organisations such as UNESCO and the World Heritage Convention have tried to set the meaning and criteria to define them. However, for the sake of setting up basics, upon which this research tries to analyse the Values; they

are translated and categorised as *historical*, *aesthetic*, *socio-cultural*, *economic*, and *spiritual/religious*.

The *archaeological* Heritage Value manifests the *historic* Value, which covers the tangible and intangible aspects of the *socio-cultural* Values. The *socio-cultural* Values contain tangible objects, such as *historic* sites and buildings, which are a tangible connection to the past. According to ICOMOS (1990, 12): *historic* sites “constitutes the basic record of past human activities [which are] relating to all manifestations of human activity, [...], together with all the portable cultural material associated with them”. Moreover, intangible manifestations, such as the *aesthetic* Values — when a Heritage asset is aesthetically pleasing, and the *social* Values, which strengthen and enable the social connections and interactions, and promote the sense of identity. The *spiritual* Value is derived from the religious and traditional practices that take place and is completed by this particular Heritage site. The *symbolic* Value is when a community-shared meaning is reflected by a Heritage site (Brantom 2015).

The *economic* Values are divided to *use (market)* Value and *non-use (non-market)* Value. The *economic* Value seems to contradict the morals of Heritage preservation, despite that the Heritage site is unavoidably a “fixed capital that could be income-producing, generating a flow of economic benefits” (Rojas 2012, 145). De la Torre (2013, 161) discusses the relationship between economics as a field that has its own parameters and quantifiable tools to measure Value, which are quite challenging to use on Heritage Values. Moreover, it is most of the time disregarded by the Heritage community as an attribute to a Heritage site⁴. However, and ironically, the *economic* Values do count when it comes to the feasibility for conservation, especially on the national political level; it counts, to the degree it may overcome other Values, even the *classic* ones. The *economic use-Value* of a site is its utility; the direct *use-Value* is the economic profit the Heritage site itself generates, while the indirect *economic use-Value* is the Value the area in proximity to the Heritage sites enjoys because of its close physical connection to the site (Rojas 2012, 145).

Standing with what Giovine (2009, 302) believes in, the Heritage Values eventually are more or less social. They are triggered by one’s continuous emotional interactions with the Heritage site. Despite this fact and its importance, the *social* Values were finally globally recognised as an aspect of the *cultural* Values in the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter in 1992.

⁴ The realisation of the World Heritage Organisation of Sustainable Tourism Development Values, which has an inclusive perception towards the *economic* Values is discussed more in detail in Section 2.3.4.

Most of the literature has been entirely in consensus about the previous set of Heritage Values. However, there are other Values which were not as much discussed (but are nevertheless included in figure 2.7) such as the *educational* and *scientific* Values, recognised by Bruno Frey (an economist), the English Heritage and ICOMOS Australia Burra Charter, the *political* Value by ICOMOS Australia Burra Charter, and the *recreational* Value by the English Heritage, depending on de la Torre's list (2013, 158). The international realisation of Values is then needed to be discussed.

2.2.1.2. World Heritage Values

The awareness about Heritage protection has been created and increased especially after World War II (1939-1945) and the destruction it left behind. There was a collective sense of the importance and urgency to protect the built Heritage that started in Europe. Hence, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945. The UNESCO Constitution came into force immediately in 1946, in which, the primary goals and Values of the establishment of UNESCO were expressed as the result of the destruction of World War II; justice, liberty, peace, and the collective responsibility towards the welfare of humanity (UNESCO 1945).

The international recognition and need for collective global actions towards rescuing monuments mainly happened on two main occasions. The first was when the international community (UNESCO and other almost fifty countries) responded to the urgency to rescue the Nubian monuments that were in danger in the 1960s because of the construction of the High Dam in Aswan and the consecutive vast Nasser Lake that would cover the Nubian lands (Khirfan 2014, 3). The technical and financial international co-operation came to success to relocate the Abu Simbel Temples and others elsewhere safely. The second was in 1966 when Florence city was flooded by Arno river, which destroyed basilicas, artworks and other private properties. This flood is considered the worst natural disaster in the city (Kirchgaessner, 2016). There was an immediate effort to rescue this renaissance city and its art collection in the form of financial support and experts. It is believed that the eagerness to save the city created innovative ways of in-situ conservation. These international co-operation efforts were a result of a new collective awareness of, and responsibility to the shared Heritage. The *world* Heritage was created. Kirchgaessner quoted Kraczyna, who documented the flooding impact with remarkable photographs which were published in the book *the Great Flood of Florence: a Photographic Essay*, "*during the second world war it was the only bridge that was not blown up by the Germans. The Ponte Vecchio had survived the war and people came to see whether it had survived the flood or not. If the bridge survived, Florence would survive*" (ibid.).

In 1965 was the establishment of the International Council for Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) — which became later one of UNESCO Advisory Bodies — as a result of Venice Charter⁵ (Petzet 2004, 7), which was described by Randolph Starn (2002, 2) as the “*canonical text of a modern ‘Heritage boom’*”, and the setting of the Heritage site was first regarded.

The former General Secretary of the ICOMOS Organising Committee Piero Gazzola — who became later the first president of ICOMOS — said in his preface of one of the first publications by ICOMOS, the Monument for the Man, before its official inauguration: “*With the creation of ICOMOS a gap lamented by every nation has been closed and a need which had been felt by every local organisation concerned with conservation satisfied*” (Gazzola 1964).

The previous two successful international collaborations encouraged the UNESCO and the world to officially realise the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972.

The World Heritage List is created to raise awareness and also to provide proper collective technical and sometimes financial assistance to protect those *natural*, *cultural*, or *mixed* sites registered on the list. These sites, have to meet at least one of its ten criteria and follow the Operational Guidelines, and recently express its *Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)* through its attributes, enjoy *integrity* and *authenticity* and be provided by its State Party with a proper management plan to safeguard its site. So far (2019-2020), 193 states have ratified the convention as State Parties, and 1121 Heritage properties have been inscribed, to cover geographically almost all the globe, despite, however, the lack of balanced density.

UNESCO has proven to be a learning institution through its practices since its establishment. The first sites that were registered as to express the World Heritage have shown that the *historical* and *aesthetic* Values were considered — as aforementioned — as the most traditional universally recognised *classic Values* mainly in Europe. The evidence is the earliest designations of World Heritage sites. They were selected according to an object-based approach. They fundamentally represented monuments of *historic* or *aesthetic* Values, for instance, the German Aachen Cathedral (inscribed in 1978), the five ancient Egyptian monument sites: Abu-Mena, Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis, Historic Cairo, Memphis and its Necropolis, and Nubian Monuments, and the French sites: Chartres Cathedral, Mont-Saint-

⁵ Previous European efforts could be traced, that paved the way for Venice Charter in 1964 (adopted at the second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments in 1964). This charter confirms the historicist principles of Athens Charter in 1931 and its acknowledgement of the common Heritage, adopted at the first international conference for restoration in Athens 1931. The previous two charters were the foundation stone for the subsequent establishment of ICOMOS in 1965, and the site-based approach towards the protection of Heritage.

Michel and its Bay, Palace and Park of Versailles, Prehistoric Sites and Decorated Caves of the Vézère Valley, and Vézelay, Church and Hill (inscribed in 1979). One can add more to this observation; the first three inscribed sites in Greece in 1986 and 1987 are Temple of Apollo Epicurius at Bassae, Acropolis, Athens, and Archaeological Site of Delphi, respectively. Afterwards, the interest shifted to Value recognition from other perspectives and other regions.

While the UNESCO inscription demands now *integrated* and *comprehensive management plans*, the inclusion in the World Heritage list does not necessarily provide the “*monitoring and policing of the site*” by the WH Committee. The UNESCO and its bodies cannot control the way a state party manages the site (Keough 2011, 603), a problem which will be discussed in Chapter Six. In general, there are “*arguably as many success stories associated with the World Heritage program as there are failures*” (ibid., 612) — because of the complexities to protect Heritage Values on a global level — which this research is not entitled to discuss elaborately. However, the World Heritage Values are set by the UN merely through UNESCO. The UNESCO Constitution which was written in the same year of its inauguration contains in its preamble a group of fundamentals of the organisation such as the equality, mutual respect, and “*free exchange of ideas and knowledge*” (UNESCO 1945, 2). The constitution, which came into force in 1946, also includes fifteen Articles, out of which, this research focuses on the goals of Article I which are to “[...]contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world” (ibid., 3).

UNESCO defines its mission as to adopt co-operation among state parties to promote these goals. The World Heritage Convention (1972) is an international agreement, which focuses more on the protection of the World Heritage through the setting of the definitions of cultural and *natural* Heritage in its first two Articles. Accordingly, it fostered the state parties to define their Heritage property according to these Articles (UNESCO 1972, 2). The Convention (Article 4) confirms that the:

duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain

(ibid., 3).

Article 5 in the convention focuses more on the actions each state party has to take in order to achieve the objectives stated in Article 4. The first action is “(a) to adopt a general policy

which aims to give the cultural and natural Heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that Heritage into comprehensive planning programmes". To achieve *integrity*, that is a crucial point to be addressed and realised; that is, in the case of no *function* exists already. The Article 5 should also have stressed on the necessity to enable and enforce existing socio-cultural interactions and bonds, and ensure that the "*dynamic functions between [the community and their Heritage] are maintained*" (ICCRUM, ICOMOS, IUCN, UNESCO, and World Heritage Convention 2010, 12); hence, strengthening the integrity of the Heritage site.

The understanding and recognition of integrity have taken time to be realised. At first, the groups of buildings and sites were first introduced by Article 1 in WH Convention as two of three natures of the *cultural* Heritage (UNESCO 1972, 2). The following is the classification of the groups of buildings to the three types took place by the Operational Guidelines (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019, 84): "*towns which are no longer inhabited*", "*historic towns which are still inhabited*", and "*new towns of the twentieth century*". This recognition is considered as an essential step forward to recognising the complexity and the several natures Heritage sites could be.

The definition of the concept of the *Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)* was included in the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention "49. *Outstanding universal Value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity*" (ibid., 20).

While the meaning of *OUV* at first glance seems to espouse noble thoughts and follow the conventional sense, the definition, however, has raised many questions regarding its terminology which has ever been discussed in academia among interested groups, and conservation community. For instance, the term *universal* and *common importance* are not elaborated. Here the equivalent terms from *OUV*'s very definition are put as an alternative to the three terms of *OUV*. Put against each other, the term and the definition appear to be vulnerable subjects to interpretation by both a national authority (or State Party) and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

- **Outstanding:** "*exceptional*";
- **Universal:** "*transcend/common importance*";
- **Value:** "*cultural and/or natural significance*" (ibid.).

The same happens when registering a Heritage property; it needs to meet at least one of the ten criteria and the cases of integrity and authenticity to be eligible to be evaluated to be designated as a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Integrity and *authenticity* are tools to gauge *OUV* in a Heritage site. While integrity concerns both the *cultural* and *natural* World Heritage sites, *authenticity* applies only to *cultural* sites. *Authenticity* conveys the “*message [of Heritage properties] credibly and truthfully*”, it reflects the authentic nature of the Heritage site and its attributes (ICCROM, ICOMOS, IUCN, UNESCO, and World Heritage Convention 2010, 13)⁶. The understanding of *authenticity* was broadened during and after the Nara conference⁷ in Japan in 1994, and it was then agreed that authenticity as an element, differs from one culture to another, which is another feature of how UNESCO proves to be a learning institution.

The Values of *cultural* Heritage sites — or as the term the Operational Guidelines uses, the Heritage *attributes* — should reflect *integrity*, hence, according to the Operational Guidelines, its *OUV* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019, 27). “88. *Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural Heritage and its attributes*” (ibid.). The intactness (or *completeness*) and *wholeness* of a Heritage site are viewed by the researcher to be delicate matters to consider as a tool to measure its *OUV*.

What is meant by *wholeness*, according to the Guidance on the preparation of Retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value for World Heritage Properties (ICCROM, ICOMOS, IUCN, UNESCO, and World Heritage Convention 2010, 11-12), is that a significant part of the site is actually inside its boundary and not beyond it. While *intactness* is that the Heritage site, its *attributes*, and the dynamic functions between them are maintained.

The definition of *intactness* or *completeness* of the *attributes* needs to be discussed and requires further deliberation. The *intactness* and *completeness* are considered as synonyms (ibid.). On the one hand, there is no doubt that the physical existence of the site is of great importance to consider. Nevertheless, at the same time, on the other hand, it is a fact that the Heritage site should not be regarded as a “*static set of objects*” (de la Torre 2013, 157). It should also be seen as an *integral* part of the socio-cultural process, in the sense that it ever evolves and is a part of a broader milieu, in which the Heritage site and its attributes are in

⁶ ICCROM is the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property. It was born in Italy in 1959 after the need for an intergovernmental centre to study and develop restoration methods.

IUCN is the International Union for Conservation of Nature and was founded in 1948 in France for nature conservation.

⁷ This conference was jointly organized by the Japanese government, ICCROM, ICOMOS, and UNESCO.

continuous interaction with their social environment. That is then the *integrity* and *wholeness* qualities that should have been addressed. Communication means change; hence, the change should be managed but not prohibited. Furthermore, in this sense, the *intactness* is thought to be contradicting with *integrity*.

This way of interpretation echoes the definition of *attributes* (ICCROM, ICOMOS, IUCN, UNESCO, and World Heritage Convention 2010, 6), where it, too, requires *physical elements*, while does not necessarily necessitate the “*relationship between physical elements, essence, meaning, and at times related processes*” to be equally evident.

Thus, there is dissension about the *integrity approach* which is not about its wording, but with its registered interpretations that imply the overpower of the physical or inanimate objects to the reality of its meaning to, and interaction with the community.

Moving towards the physical setting, the UNESCO’s General Conference adopted of the Declaration of and Recommendation on the *Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL) at its 36th session in 2011, and it is considered as the first international “*standard-setting instrument*” on the historic environment ever issued by UNESCO (UNESCO 2011). The continuing debates about development pressures on historic urban environments, taking Vienna central train station project⁸ as an essential stimulus (Van Oers 2010, 8), were the reason to shifting traditional views about Heritage management that concerned the historic centres or building ensembles exclusively, and move beyond that to include the urban context in its broader sense. The Declaration (2005) recognised the undeniable importance of the dialogue between the stakeholders and finally has accepted the development dynamics which has been challenging the HUL, even the ones that enjoy the UNESCO invulnerability, which are registered as World Heritage sites.

The following is the definition of the HUL according to Recommendation on the *Historic Urban Landscape*:

8. *The historic urban landscape is the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural Values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of “historic centre” or “ensemble” to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting.*

9. *This wider context includes notably the site’s topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and*

⁸ This controversial project was extensively discussed at the UNESCO Conference (27th session) in 2003, and later resulted in conducting Vienna Memorandum in 2005, which necessitated the regularisation of modern developments at the World Heritage sites and their immediate and extended environments, without compromising the very Values behind their inscription as such.

contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and Values, economic processes and the *intangible dimensions of Heritage* as related to diversity and identity.

10. This definition provides the basis for a comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes within an overall sustainable development framework.

(UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2011, 3).

According to this definition, the HUL acknowledges the *urban Value* and its intangible dimension and adopts an integrated approach that combines socio-economic development and Heritage conservation. While HUL regards urban environments with *historical Values*, it hence brings to the fore the dynamic nature of an urban context, and its specificities and challenges. These challenges include the dynamic change of an urban living historical area and the associated development pressures, and the usually sophisticated power relations between stakeholders.

2.2.2. Added Values and Threats After Obtaining the World Heritage Title

The previously mentioned *core Values* and the recognised World Heritage ones by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee that characterise a Heritage site from a global point of view are accompanied after the UNESCO designation by even more consequent conflicts as follows:

- *Symbolic Value*: when the designated site becomes an acknowledgement and a part of the process of identity and image as a provider, by joining the *World Heritage Club*.
- With reference to the paper edited by Martin and Piatti (2009), there is a significant lack of consent about the zoning of World Heritage sites, its associating terminologies (*core* and *buffer zones*) and different regulations. While they clarified that the definition *core zone* is resented by ICCROM which prefers to use terms such as *property* or *inscribed zone*, more importantly, they rightly argued the consequences of the considerable difference of regulation and protection legislations between these two zones that are usually handled by two different administrations locally. These consequences are the alienation of both the site and its surroundings.
- Interestingly, the *non-use, non-market, existence Value* means that people value and appreciate the existence of a Heritage asset whether they benefit from it directly, indirectly or even not at all. This Value then by logic is more evident in the broader sense geographically. People from different regions or continents would appreciate the existence of a particular culture or a Heritage site elsewhere in a far region and want to pass it to

future generations even if they do not have an opportunity to enjoy it themselves. Thus, the *non-market Value* is more evident in World Heritage sites. The concept of *Outstanding Universal Value* as discussed describes the *common importance* of the *cultural* and/or *natural* significance for all humanity. While this additional Value may attribute to the overall importance and the *universality* of the Heritage site's significance, it contributes to it being then in the *Tourism market* by obtaining the World Heritage designation; the World Heritage *brand* (Di Giovine 2009, 279). In short, a non-use Value of a Heritage site is an important attribute to be considered as a touristic *commodity*, and the "*World Heritage emblem has come to represent [inevitably] a grandiose marketing tool*" (Usborne 2009) out of its non-market Value.

For fear of the misuse of the designation, and as in commercial marketing field, the UNESCO has its own "*trademark laws*" and regulations to use the World Heritage emblem (Di Giovine 2009, 279), which does not affect a WH site as being a touristic commodity and demand.

2.2.3. Heritage Management

Lichtfield and Orbasli (Lichtfield 1988, 38 quoted in Orbasli 2000, 99) defined Heritage management as "*taking conscious decisions, with an eye to the future, about ongoing operations or the use of assets, or both in combination within a structured organization*". According to Hall and McArthur (1998, 6), Heritage management "*refers to the conscious process by which decisions concerning Heritage policy and practice are made and the manner in which Heritage resources are developed. The field of Heritage management, therefore, encompasses analysis, management and development*".

What they rightly agreed upon is that Heritage management is a conscious process of decision-making that should incorporate business management theories that give more attention to the human dimension and not only to the preservation and protection of the Heritage site as the one priority.

2.2.4. Stakeholders in Heritage Management

The spectrum of actors or stakeholders in the Heritage and Tourism industry (figures 2.4 and 2.8) is broad and differs widely from one region and country to another. It also varies according to the nature of Value and its level of recognition, from local, national, and/or international perspectives. Even in the same country and under the same political and administrative system, the map of power and interest among the stakeholders may vary. Generally, they include:

- International Organizations: such as UNESCO and its advisory bodies;
- National authorities: different authorities from the national to local levels such as supreme councils, ministries, governorates or municipalities, national companies, and organisations;
- Professional unions;
- Others: such as special-interest groups, national NGO's and civil societies, local communities and visitors.

Rojas (2012, 152) took a further step in grouping different activities to the responsible stakeholders, as shown in figure 2.3. He focused more on the historic city cores in this research; however, this grouping could give a general idea about the sphere of social interactions.

Spheres of social interaction	Activity
Scientific	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historic research • Ethnographic studies • Archaeological research • Aesthetic studies • Cultural analysis • Anthropological research • Education and training
Cultural groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assessment of the public relations value of urban heritage • Negotiations with owners • Getting incentives from the government • Securing partners for the operation and maintenance of the assets
Grassroots	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community involvement in support of preservation • Participation of nongovernmental organizations and civil society in the decision-making process • Mass media dissemination of the values and benefits of urban heritage preservation • Community stewardship and safeguarding of cultural landscapes and monuments
Market transactions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Purchases of properties for preservation and development • Sales and purchases of preserved and developed space • Rental of commercial and residential property
Institutional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setting up a national heritage institution • Enacting regulation and safeguard policies • Listing of urban heritage sites • Managing land-use and building regulations • Offering fiscal incentives • Providing public-sector leadership • Coordination, sequencing, and determining the scale of interventions • Developing systems of incentives and penalties that apply to stakeholders

Fig.2.3: Activities involved in the evaluation of Heritage sites
Source: Rojas 2012, 152

This list is discussed on the national level in Egypt more elaborately in Chapter Three, and on the local level on Luxor city in Chapter Four.

2.3. Tourism

Mill and Morrison (1998, 2) and Chadwick (1994, 66) agreed that Tourism is an activity; an interaction with a Heritage site, the attraction that appeals the “*tourist market*” (di Giovine 2009, 275; Gravari-Barbas, Bourdeau, and Robinson 2015, 2). The World Tourism Organisation have a prior and similar definition for Tourism as “*the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes*” (World Tourism Organization 1995, 19 quoted in Khirfan 2014, 5). Khirfan (2014, 5) criticises the focus on the demand side — constituted by the tourists — of Tourism in this definition while overlooking its supply-side, which is represented in its important economic activity.

Inevitably, Tourism now is an associated explicit phenomenon in almost all of the Heritage sites, since that Heritage management is depending more and more on visitors to “*provide economic, educational and social justifications for their activities*” (Hall and McArthur 1998, 5).

Since Values are not objective; the interpretation of Values in Tourism is thus also subjective and not neutral. Hence, Tourism also prioritises what Values to represent and highlight.

Freyer’s (2015, 320) definition of tourist destinations constitutes geographic, picturesque, socio-cultural or organisational entities with attractions that are interesting for tourists, and the central aspect of Tourism is attractions (Mill and Morrison 1992, 202 quoted in Freyer 2015, 320). Freyer admits that despite its importance, Tourism is only a partial aspect of destination uses, besides its functions as a location, a habitat, and an administrative and design unit. This research depends mainly on Freyer’s point of view of the Heritage sites, or as called in the Tourism field, *tourist destinations*.

2.3.1. Tourism Offers

Freyer (2015, 323) introduces a different paradigm for (*touristisches Angebot*) or *Tourism products* or *offers* from the Tourism point of view. In this stance, Freyer back Fainstein and Judd (1999, 6) and (Orbasli 2000, 102) regarding the commodity nature of Heritage to Tourism, that “*cities are sold just like any other consumer product*”, and “*it could be argued that Tourism as a global industry sees the world as its asset*” (ibid.).

The first aspect of two is derived from the Values supply, the tourist attractions and are defined as the (*ursprüngliches Angebot*) or *original offer* — the second aspect of the (*abgeleitetes*

Angebot) or *consequent Tourism offer* contains services and facilities that serve Tourism activities.

2.3.1.1. The *original offers* of a destination

Freyer considers in his paradigm (figure 2.5) the *original offers* for Tourism that are not specially designed for Tourism, such as the:

- *natural* offers: landscape, flora and fauna and *natural* Heritage;
- *socio-cultural* offers: monuments, traditions, culture, language; and lastly
- the general infrastructure: urban, political and educational.

In this context, Freyer describes the Heritage Values from a touristic point of view as an *original offer* (*natural* and *socio-economic*) as so-called the economic term *free goods*, and the general infrastructure as public goods (see figure 2.4). *Free goods* is found to mean the *goods* or *products* that have zero costs to produce (Pettinger 2017). It means that they — according to economics — can be used or consumed without causing scarcity; in contrast with the economic good, which is scarce, and its consumption leads to an opportunity cost (ibid.).

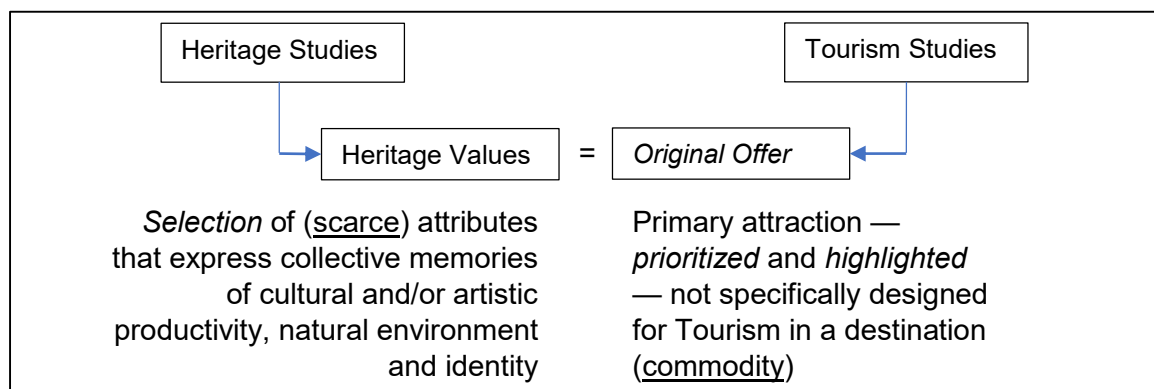


Fig 2.4: The Juxtaposing of the definitions of Heritage Value in Heritage studies and Tourism Perspectives
Source: Researcher, adapted from Freyer 2015

While it is agreed that these offers, *natural*, *socio-cultural* are not usually created by or for Tourism activities, it is still found that calling them as free goods is risky and opposing to the ideology of Heritage Values. Heritage Values (the *natural* and *socio-cultural*), as elaborately discussed before are scarce and in danger, need protection and management programs to maintain them to future generations, hence the need for the international conventions, national and international NGOs, etc. While these existing Values do not charge for their being; the various actions of protection, conservation, promotion and other activities in the Heritage process cost financially and technically and need continuous collective assistance to be kept

protected and managed. It is suggested that it should be considered public goods and not free goods (see figure 2.4).

2.3.1.2. The consequent offer of a destination

It is designed and developed, especially for Tourism activities. These include all private and public facilities for Tourism, tourist infrastructure (in some cases constructing roads and airports for Tourism accessibility), the creation of green spaces and other tourist activities such as sports, events, wellness health resorts and fair-trade facilities. The *accommodation and necessary facilities such as food production for Tourism are considered by Freyeras “tourist suprastructure”* (Kaspar 1996, 68 quoted in 2015, 326). These services are not exclusively for tourists; as the locals can still benefit from them.

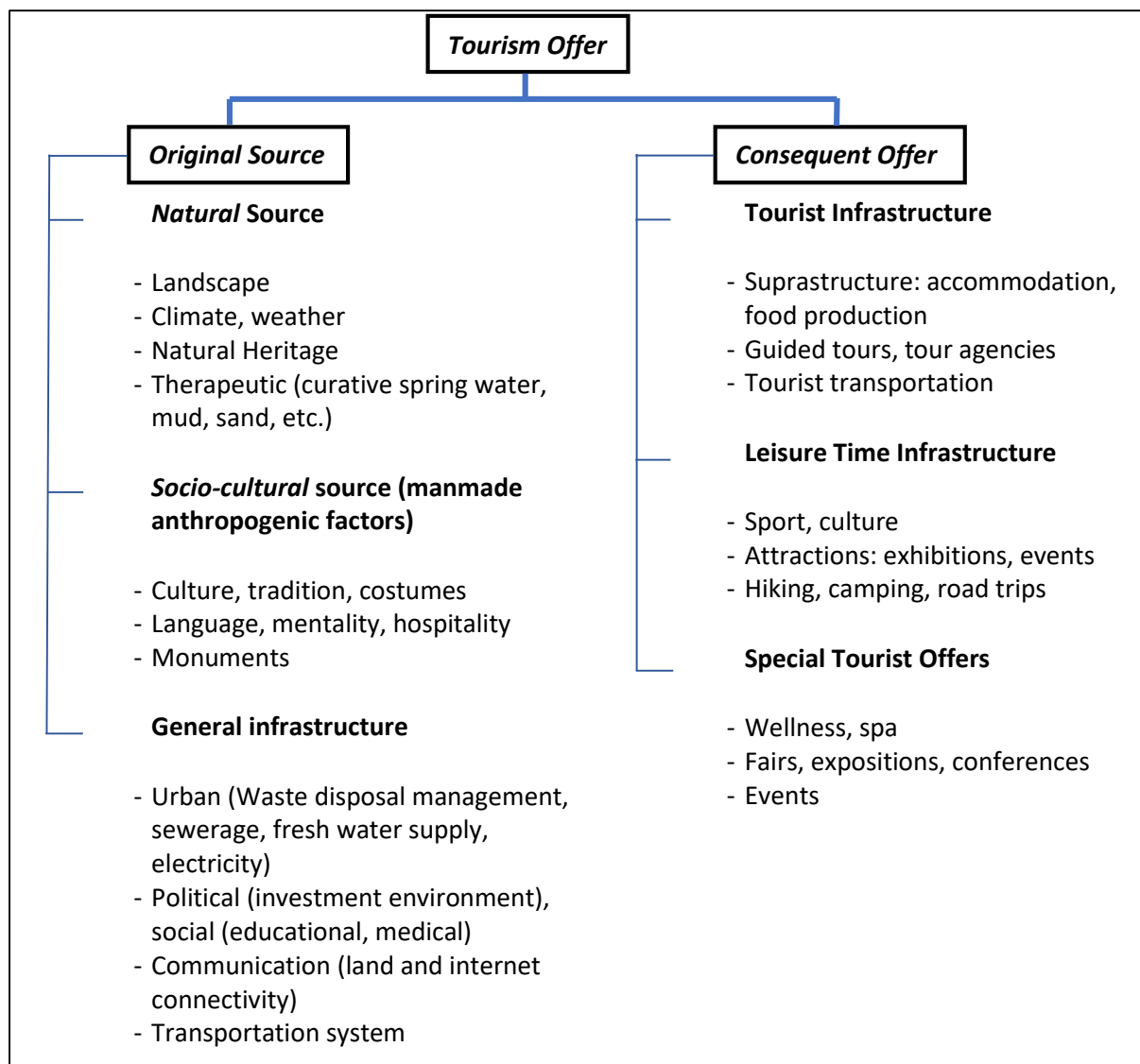


Fig. 2.5: the *Tourism Offer*

Source: Adapted from Freyer 2015, 323

Freyer (2015, 326-27) also introduces another presentation of the supply factors or the *Tourism offers* with reference to (Holloway 1994, 5) that is the three a's; the three a's should be available, and they are dependent on each other in a conventional tourist destination:

- 1- *Attractions*: the *original offer*, the leisure time infrastructure, and special offers;
- 2- *Amenities*: the tourist suprastructure;
- 3- *Access*: the general infrastructure.

2.3.2. Types of Tourism

There are several types of Tourism which differ from one institution and/or commentator to another. Generally, they are not limited to, the following:

- cultural, which concerns the history and culture of a destination;
- religious, for pilgrimage;
- medical or therapeutic, for healing or wellness purposes;
- recreational, or leisure, for sand and beach entertainment and water sports;
- educational, for training and learning (languages as an example);
- convention, for conference or business trips; and
- sports Tourism.

One Tourism destination can offer one or more types of Tourism, according to its available original and established consequent Tourism offers. There is an add-on option, in which a tourist can combine two or more destinations in one trip as a package. For instance, tourists who visit the Red Sea in Egypt for recreation can add Luxor to their journey for a cultural purpose. Others combine Luxor and Aswan for history and culture experience with other destinations in Kenya for a wildlife experience. It depends on the time available and the willingness to pay to travel to more than one destination by the tourist, and the accessibility and proximity among destinations.

Like other industries, "*Tourism is susceptible to cycles, competitions and trends*" (Khirfan 2014, 5), which impact the Heritage sites. There are two types of competitiveness in the context of this chapter; one is the competitiveness among Heritage sites as Tourism assets and destinations, and the competitiveness among tourist companies. Starting with the competitiveness among the destinations, "*even well established destinations are having to continuously better their offer and ensure they are maintaining quality standards*" (Orbasli and Woodward 2009, 323). While Albu (Dragomir 2007, 134 quoted in Albu 2015, 56) focuses more on tourist companies and how to enhance the level of competitiveness in the Tourism

field among such companies, the “*factors influencing competitiveness in Tourism*” (Dragomir 2007) apply as well on the Tourism industry in general, and the factors can be summarised as follows:

- Economic: the economic performance and capital market and allocation of investments to the Tourism sector;
- Administrative: Public: state policies and level of involvement in Tourism activities, and quality of infrastructure and resources, Private: responsibility and innovation of Tourism companies; and
- Social: quality of human resources in Tourism.

It is then argued that half of the factors that influence the competitiveness of the Tourism sector is uncontrolled by it (the public economic performance and administration factors). At the same time, the other controlled factors by the Tourism industry are the innovation and responsibility, and the quality of human resources. The state policies are believed to be not limited to the legislations that address Tourism solely. However, in addition to that, they do dictate the whole package of *original* and *consequent offers* and how to develop and protect them, namely: antiquities, development planning, infrastructure, investments, economics, health, etc. “*Tourism goals should serve broader national development objectives*” (Ibrahim and Wall 2011, 4), therefore, it is the most challenging factor to be controlled to aim for one strategy which is Tourism competitiveness, unless the latter is already one of the state goals.

2.3.3. Defining The Economic Contribution of Tourism Industry

While a Heritage site is considered as a commodity, economics still recognises the uniqueness and scarcity nature of its Values. Hence, it is preferred from an economic point of view “*not to consume it rapidly; better still, should not be consumed at all*”, and then its “*extended protection has an economic return known as the ‘reward of waiting’ or the ‘reward of abstinence’*” (Zouain 2000, 14).

Many studies have been conducted so far that have tried to measure the primary and secondary economic impact of Tourism. The World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) (2017b, 2) argues that generally, the indirect contribution of the Tourism industry is more significant than the direct one which is a result of the economic profits from hotels, transportation services, and travel agencies; i.e. the consequent Tourism offer. Indeed, the indirect economic impact or contribution on Tourism occurs more on the national or state levels, and has a more considerable influence on the national income; as Archer, Cooper and Ruhanen (2005)

argued. However, while the direct contribution of Tourism is much felt on the local levels, as the more revenues take place in the very destination and on its tourist infrastructure.

The indirect contribution is, according to WTTC, the investment and government spending on travel and Tourism, the local purchases of goods and facilities by Tourism infrastructure, and includes the GDP and jobs supported by the travel and Tourism. The induced contribution is supported by the employees' in the Tourism sector and spending. The next figure 2.6 explains more the nuances of the economic contributions.

It is argued though, here, that the total contribution of travel and Tourism to GDP and employment highlights the employment in the Tourism sector, and misses the employment entirely in Heritage sector; the conservators, the site managers, the antiquity inspectors, etc. who involve more in the protection and maintenance of the site, the main attraction.

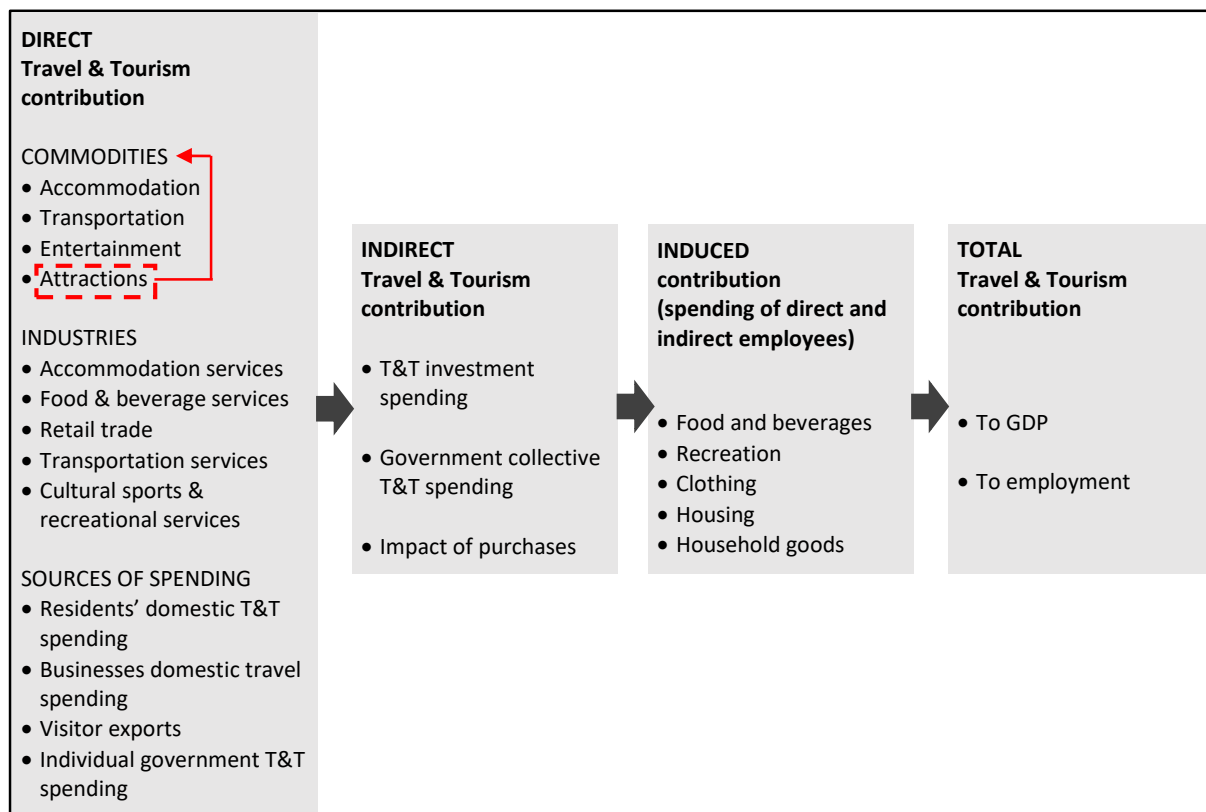


Fig. 2.6: The direct, indirect and induced contributions of Travel and Tourism
Source: World Travel & Tourism Council 2017b, 2

While there are different existing attempts and efforts to calculate the *economic Values* or the contribution of a Heritage site to the economy, it is found to be that there are only a few ways to probably help to understand the Heritage Values from an economic point of view which are still limited in implementation. Zouain (2000, 16-19) tried to formulate equations based on the relationship between the direct *use-Value*, revenues generated by the existence of the site,

and management and maintenance costs. The applicability of the formulations varies from one site to another, gives more credits to sites with more revenues, and Values more sites with no maintenance costs. In the end, the economic contribution of Heritage is simply the returns of Tourism.

2.3.4. Sustainable Tourism Development

Archer, Cooper and Ruhanen (2005) evoked the importance of the “*belated discovery of the relevance of the sustainable development concept to Tourism*” (ibid. 2005, 95) to combat the negative impact of Tourism on the local communities.

Dirk H.R. Spennemann (2006, 16) claimed that “*if Heritage is to have a future, its management has to be sustainable, both economically and socially*”. Hence, he gave regard to two of the “*three pillars of sustainability*” that are often represented; the *social*, the *economic* and the *environmental* (Hansmann, Mieg, and Frischknecht 2012; United Nations Economic and Social Council 2018; United Nations Environment Programme and the World Tourism Organization 2005). The three pillars or principles are also referred to as people, prosperity, and planet (European Commission 2002 quoted in Seghezzeo 2009, 539-540). The World Tourism Organization WTO extracted the guidelines of the three principles to “*guarantee [Tourism] long-term sustainability*” (United Nations Environment Programme, World Tourism Organization 2005, 11-12) as follows:

- 1) *Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in Tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural Heritage and biodiversity.*
- 2) *Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural Heritage and traditional Values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.*
- 3) *Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.*

It is widely known that the concept of Sustainability has raised during the World Commission on Environment and Development WCED in 1987, and the report *our common future* was launched to create and define the widely-quoted term *sustainable development* which “*meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*” (WCED 1987, 8 quoted by United Nations Environment Programme, World Tourism Organization 2005, 539).

Many concepts have raised recently to counter the negative impacts of Tourism; among others, the *eco-tourism*, *soft Tourism*, *ethical Tourism*, and *alternative Tourism* are examples of initiatives for responsible Tourism. Since the latter has been argued to try superficially to solve the complex problems of *mass Tourism* and its deep relationship with Tourism development, *mass Tourism* is not considered as the reason of all negative impacts of Tourism. *Community participation* is a continuously arising concept to empower the local community in the decision-making process.

Figure 2.7 untangles the sustainable Tourism Values extracted by Brantom (2015, 244) and juxtaposing them to Heritage *core* Values and World Heritage Values, in an attempt to read better and understand the different sets of Values and the convergence among them. Brantom collected the sustainable Tourism Values declared by the UNWTO and other ten international Tourism industry groups⁹ in one table, in which she managed to evoke the level of consensus on every Value. Her comparison shows that the *economic* Values (local economic benefits, feasible long-term operations, maintain tourist satisfaction, and poverty alleviation and equity), and institutional Values (policy integration, long-term global view and sustainability, inclusiveness of stakeholders, international collaboration and collective responsibility) gain the most consensus, while the *socio-cultural* Values obtain less popularity among other Values.

On the other hand, Brantom clarified that not all sustainable Tourism Values and principles are of the same interest to the World Heritage agencies, i.e. UNESCO and World Heritage Convention Values. Ironically, the Values that gain the most interest among sustainable Tourism industry groups, which are the *economic* Values mentioned, do not fit with the World Heritage Values. This apparent economic intolerance by the World Heritage agencies reveals the negation of Tourism role in the economic development and the inattention to the pivotal role of economics in Heritage management. In a way to combat this gap between the World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Values, the World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme was established in 2012 by the World Heritage Committee's thirty-sixth session in Russia. This programme finally realises that "*Tourism can be a driver for preservation and conservation of cultural and natural Heritage and a vehicle for sustainable development*" (UNESCO 2012a, 2), asserting the importance of an "*extensive stakeholder consultation process*" (ibid., 1).

⁹ The other ten Tourism industry groups are: Caribbean Alliance for Sustainable Tourism, International Tourism Partnership, Pacific Asia Travel Association, Responsible Travel, Tour Operators for Sustainable Tourism Development, World Travel & Tourism Council, Travel Foundation, Green Globe, Association for Independent Tour Operators, and Visit Britain.

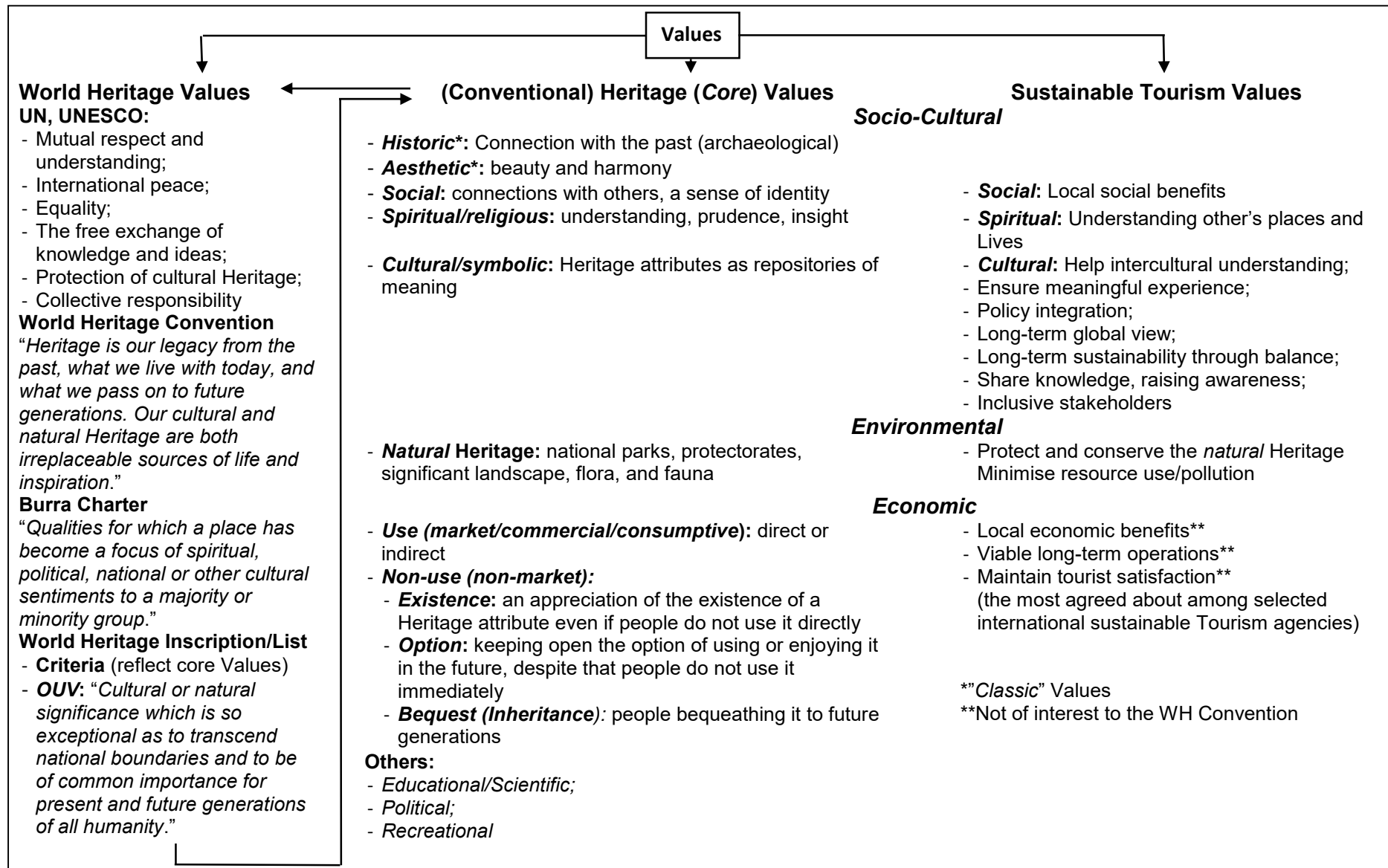


Fig.2.7: The confluence of World Heritage Values, Core Heritage Values, and Sustainable Tourism Values

Source: Researcher, adapted from Australia ICOMOS 2013; Brantom, 2015; ICOMOS 1990, 12; UNESCO N/Ac; UNESCO World Heritage Committee 2008.

While community participation in the Tourism development is widely asserted as an essential means to ensure the sustainability of the Tourism process, some commentators such as Cevat Tosun (2000) argue the practicability and restrictions of the community participation in the Tourism development in the Global South, due to limitations of power dynamics and the “*socio-political, economic and cultural structure*” of those countries (Tosun 2000, 614). Additionally, the required political support to build consensus (United Nations Environment Programme, World Tourism Organization 2005, 11-12) as discussed above, assert the challenge and difficulty to achieve sustainable Tourism.

2.4. Conflicts of Interests

On the one hand, the previous discussion about the Heritage Values and its subjective and complex nature brings about the necessity of accrediting different Values of Heritage from different points of view; albeit the perplexity of the non-existence of a normative method to gauge such Values.

In the Heritage management process, *Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture: Managing the historic urban landscape* which is the result of an international conference on the subject of *World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture*¹⁰, is an example of a new Value to be realised; the *Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL). This memorandum is a sign of changing Values on the global levels; it is the outcome of a conference to discuss the concerns over the increasing pressure of modern developments in historic cities' integrity. The document recognized the need to revise the urban conservation principles and promotes an integrated and interdisciplinary approach to the management of conservation and development.

“*The identification and management of Heritage are dependent on our perceptions and Values*” Hall and McArthur 1998, 5). de la Torre (2013), Rojas (2012) and Hall and McArthur (1998), among others, emphasised the subjectivity of the decision-making process and Heritage management, one of the inputs or variables in the Heritage management process is the decision-makers' preferences of Value. The following figure 2.8 gives an idea of the process and power relationships between different elements in the Heritage management with the influence of Tourism in the back — or front — stage. These preferences are reflected directly on the list of actions on the Heritage area and its surroundings. For instance, when the *historic* Value gains the highest priority among others in a Heritage site, the following action

¹⁰ The World Heritage Committee at its 27th session requested the conference (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2005, 1).

would be the preservation and/or restoration; depending on the state of the site. Sometimes, or most of the times as discussed above, the decision-makers, how are one group of the overall stakeholders in the management process but have the upper hand as they are the party that enjoys the “*long-term commitment*” (Rojas 2012, 152), have conflicting interests, motivations and priorities towards Heritage (de la Torre 2013, 162). Another variable to be put into the sequence of relationship is the aforementioned state policies and the allocation of public resources and investments on financing Heritage management. It is a sequence because all the decisions affect the actual state of the Heritage resource and its surroundings (regardless of the technical and political considerations, and the market process).

On the other hand, the inevitable involvement of Tourism industry in Heritage management elucidates the difficulty that comes up with highlighting and prioritising a set of Values on the cost of others because of particular interests of many sectors; i.e. the Tourism and Heritage management. On the other hand, from the Tourism perspective, the Values of a Heritage site are the reason for the restriction for some “*marketable*” opportunities (Buckley 2017, 4). Orbasli (2000) dedicated a chapter in her book *Tourism in Historic Towns* to highlight the multitude of levels of conflict.

The Tourism impact has been widely studied. Khirfan (2014, 4) is one of the authors that advocate the pivotal role of Tourism in development on the national and local levels, and it is an instrument of intercultural exchange between peoples. She discussed the complicated relationship between the inscription on the World Heritage list, which draws international attention, the appreciation of the site, and provides the technical and scientific and financial assistance. At the same time, more researchers consolidate the negative impact on the Heritage site and local communities’ particularities by the uncontrollable consecutive “*irreversible negative impacts of Tourism development*” (ibid.).

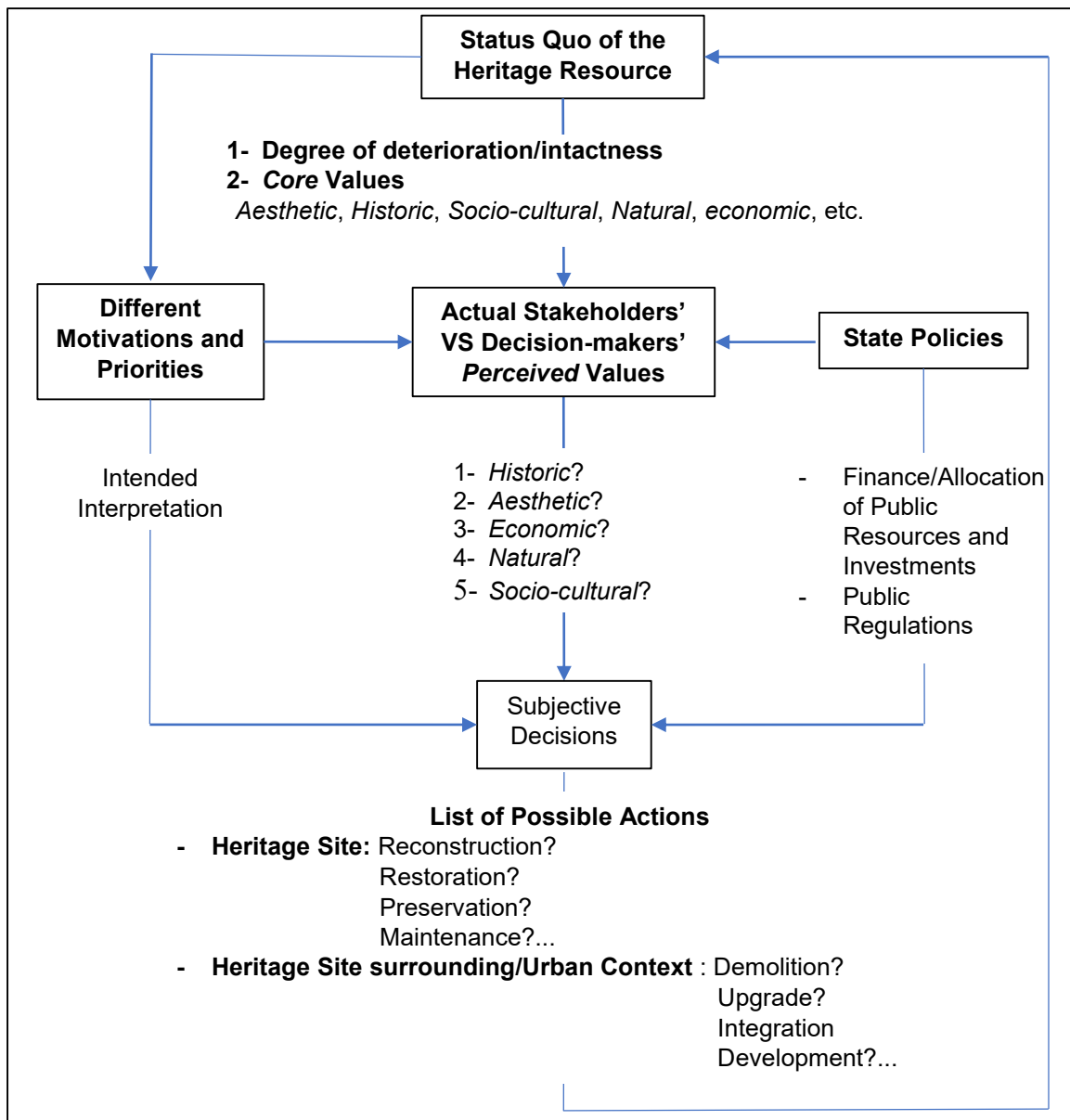


Fig. 2.8: Process and Power Relationships between Different Elements in Heritage Management
Source: Researcher

Orbasli and Woodward (2009, 321) believed that cultural Tourism has the most impact on the local economies over other types of Tourism. Perhaps that is due to the nature of the interaction between the tourists who seek cultural experience with the local communities and who are willing more to experience their local products of food and artefacts.

The Tourism impact is dependable on two aspects according to Archer, Cooper and Ruhanen (2005, 80) that are the characteristics of both the tourists and destinations; the volume and profile of tourists, and the degree of strength of the destination to absorb or contain the Tourism activity and development; its carrying capacity (ibid.).

The socio-cultural impacts, for example, more dominantly when an explicit socio-cultural and economic gap between the tourists and the local community at a destination¹¹ (ibid., 88), could exploit the local community and their Values and then cause a “*staged authenticity*”. However, there are indeed many variables — primary and secondary — that make studying the direct and indirect impacts of Tourism in this chapter out of scope.

Khirfan (2014, 6) discusses the *experience-based* Tourism based on presupposed place-making strategies with “*explicit Value positions*”, and its implications on the planning process with a focus on the urban Heritage landscapes. She conducted four vital generated implication conditions. The last two conditions concern national strategies, particularly in the Global South:

- 1- The high fixed costs for both Heritage conservation and providing Tourism infrastructure;
- 2- Commodifying *cultural attributes* (the *product* description by Fainstein and Judd 1999 and Freyer 2015), which not only subject Values to exploitation but also the leads to the standardisation the tourist market imposes;
- 3- The suppression of distinctive cultural expressions that do not concord with national agendas of Tourism and/or Heritage management;
- 4- The alienation of local communities, which in the long-term, leads to the loss of the significant Values.

Archer, Cooper and Ruhanen (2005) believe that the public regulations could be the solution to reach a balance in one side of the conflict especially when it comes to the fear of gentrification and displacement of the local communities in favour for Tourism facilities and as results of consequent higher land prices. An example of such regulations is given by Orbasli and Woodward (2009, 323); grants by the local authorities to the local inhabitants to help upkeep and maintain their households.

Another level of conflict is one between the very two disciplines, Heritage and Tourism. Each discipline has contradicting structures, objectives, and motivations (Orbasli and Woodward 2009, 322), Heritage managers concern the protection and preservation of the Heritage attributes while Tourism managers want to maximise the economic benefits.

¹¹ This point is discussed further in Chapter Four in detail about Luxor City.

2.5. Conclusions

The discussion about different types of Values from the points of view of the international organisations and scholars in the fields of *cultural* Heritage and Tourism management aims to:

(1) Evoke the lack of consent even among the same field. Among examples mentioned, is the debate about *intrinsicness nature* of *cultural* Heritage Value between Brantom (2015) and de la Torre (2013). Additionally, the brief history of the international recognition of these Values seems to impressively developing from recognising the *historical* and *aesthetic* (the *classic*) Values in the first WH listing in the 1970s and 1980s, from eventually including, shed more light on and celebrate the *socio-cultural*. Whereas the *economic* Values gained the latest admission in 2012.

(2) Draw the attention to the controversial definitions set by WH agencies themselves. For instance, the *intactness* which is an expression of *integrity*, the prerequisite to for a Heritage site to gain the WH title. However, a deeper understanding of *intactness* indorses an opposite sense to *integrity*. Moreover, the *core* and *buffer* zones concept induces segregation not only in protection regulations but also between the Heritage site and the preferences of local inhabitants.

The relatively new HUL approach (2011) acknowledges the dynamic nature of the urban context of a Heritage site. This internationally recommended approach focuses on the locality and the specificity of the Heritage site in an urban context and tackles integrity attribute from a more comprehensive approach, yet, it still needs to be applied in sites such as Luxor city in Egypt.

Tourism perceives Heritage Values as a true *economic asset* and *free goods*; a means to draw investments regardless of their *social* Values and the cost to protect them. Hence, the economic contribution and the consequent competitiveness in the tourist market lead us to the unsurprising conflict between the goals of Heritage management, and Tourism that inevitably exploit Heritage sites and consume them commercially. The concept of *Sustainable Tourism Development* has proven to work these conflicts ostensibly, however, without a practical and applicable solution to the lack of public participation and saleable stereotyping (Khirfan 2014; Echtner and Prasad 2003; Tosun 2000) in the Global South.

CHAPTER 3: VALUE AND HERITAGE REGULATIONS, AND TOURISM INDUSTRY IN EGYPT

3.1. Introduction

Chapter three begins with the analyses of the weakness and strength aspects of the Egyptian laws and guidelines that concern Heritage sites. Accordingly, the nature of the stakeholders; the international agencies, the national authorities, companies and unions, and lastly and most vitally the individual beneficiaries are thoroughly discussed. It shows the possibilities of overlapping and the background of many challenges in Tourism management in Egypt.

This chapter then regards the Tourism industry in Egypt. Starting with its history in a chronological method; it concerns first the genesis of this industry and how it started after Napoleon's expedition and the rediscovery of the Egyptian archaeological sites along the Nile Valley between 1798-1801. These archaeological sites had remained the main attraction for tourists who sought history exploration first and then recreation until the late sixties of the last century. At this time, Tourism became a realised important element in the development strategies, those strategies which have aimed to cover other resources than just the archaeological.

Chapter Three follows to explore how the internal and external events impacted the flow of tourist arrivals. It is essential to mention that the age and gender of the tourists and the length of stay are not regarded here, as this detailed information is not of importance in this chapter, which aims to demonstrate the reflection of the overall flow of tourists and the Tourism industry on the Tourism management and Heritage management. According to Freyer 2015 — and as discussed in Chapter Two (2.3.1) — the *tourist offer* is divided into *original* and *consequent offers* or *resources*. The potentials and weaknesses are discussed to introduce the actual tourist types in Egypt, and how the offer is being utilised and interpreted as functional Tourism types. The competitiveness of Egypt with the international Tourism industry is discussed here for better understanding the weaknesses of its offers in Egypt compared to the world's best scores, according to the World Travel & Tourism Council (2017a).

3.2. The Construct of The Egyptian Laws and Guidelines¹

The following section is a brief study of the laws and guidelines that regards the protection of Heritage in Egypt and demonstrates the issue of Value recognition.² These three laws are the ones responsible for regulating Heritage sites in Egypt. There are other Presidential Decrees, which allocated some management responsibilities. These decrees are discussed further in the discussion (3.3.3 and 3.4.2).

3.2.1. The Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983 and its Amendments, Law 03/2010 and Law 91/2018

Briefly, the first Antiquities Law (14/1912) concerned the Ancient Egyptian antiquities. However, a separate Law 8/1918 was made to “*protect the antiquities from the Arab Era*” (Alwaḳā`e` Almaṣryia 1918), concerned the antiquities for the later periods, the Coptic and Islamic until Mohamed Ali era (1805-1845). These two laws were cancelled and replaced by Law 215 /1951, which regarded the artefacts, constructions and monuments from prehistoric time until Khedive Ismail era (1830-1895) (Alwaḳā`e` Almaṣryia 1951). This law divided the antiquities timespan³ into two parts, the first before the Christ, and the second is the Christian and Coptic antiquities until the Khedive Ismail era.

The Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983 and its amendments are the last in force (Aljarīda Alrasmyia 2018; ibid 2010; ibid 1983). It is divided into four sections. Section 1 concerns the general provisions. Section 2 concerns the “*registration and discovery of antiquities*”, Section 3 set the sanctions, and Section 4 is for the closing provisions.

The Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983 mainly regards all the movable and immovable antiquities since the prehistoric ages till before one-hundred years. This law, according to Article 5 in its first amendment, appoints the then Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) — now the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (as in 2019) — to undertake the full authority not only of the excavation activities but also of the commercial, promotional and touristic ones in the archaeological sites or its proximity (ibid, 2010, 5). Hence, with no regard to the local

¹ Mohamed Ali Pacha issued the first-ever decree in Egypt in 1853 to ban the illegal antiquity trade outside Egypt (Supreme Council of Antiquities). In 1881, Tawfiḳ Pacha issued a decree to establish the Committee for the Preservation of Monuments of Arab Art to create an inventory for and maintain the antiquities that belong to the Coptic and Islamic periods. Only in 1961, the Coptic and Islamic artefacts and monuments gained the same level of importance as the ancient Egyptian, when the committee for the preservation of monuments of Arab art was dissolved and merged into the then-called Antiquities Service.

² A study of the anachronistic antiquity laws until the last and current antiquities law is annexed to this chapter.

³ Tables 8.1 and 8.2 in the Annex illustrate chronologically the ancient and medieval dynasties in Egypt.

authorities and other related stakeholders such as the Ministry of Tourism, the governorate, and the owners. The full power over the archaeological sites is solely in the hands of the Antiquities Authority at the national level.

Although that Article 2 of the said law states that “*any real-estate or chattel of a historical, scientific, religious, artistic, or literal Value may be considered an Antiquity*” (Aljarīda Alrasmyia, 1983, 3), it did not seem to protect the acclaimed assets of Value. The critical condition of a building of Heritage assets, if not older than one hundred years, is not protected by this law. The state passed the Law 144/2006 and Section 2 in the Law 119/2008, which are discussed hereafter. They are dedicated to preserving the buildings of Heritage assets that are not older than one-hundred years.

The original version of Article 4 in 1983 stated that all registered buildings, according to previous decrees, kept their archaeological status according to this law. Accordingly, all occupants must protect such buildings (ibid, 4). However, this law was amended in 2010 with a second paragraph to this article. The addition clarified the possible termination of the lease contracts of the occupants of the historic areas and archaeological sites in case of “*national interest*” if it was not decided to expropriate it (Aljarīda Alrasmyia, 2010, 5). However, this procedure was to be contingent with *finding suitable alternative places* or *paying the occupants fair compensations* (ibid). Despite that, several terms were loose to define — such as *finding*, *suitable*, and *fair* — the decision also was all up to the SCA.

Notwithstanding the weak support of the occupant rights to keep their right to stay in an archaeological building with a condition to maintain it, the new amendment in 2018 eliminated term *suitable*. It means that the occupants could be legally evicted out of an archaeological building — for a national interest that the state adopts — and be moved to another building of the state choice or be given a compensation however the state estimates.

This retraction in the rights of the occupants of archaeological buildings in Article 4 is an example of how the Antiquities law discounts the participatory involvement and inclusiveness for the sake of the common Heritage in urban areas. Living in an archaeological building has become a threat to the occupants and has caused a disconnection between them and their archaeological context. The fear of registration according to this law has become one of the reasons to intentional damages to unregistered buildings, because a damaged unregistered building becomes *Valueless* in this sense to the state, but the land Value at least stays for the occupants to benefit from. According to the previous chapter, the situation caused by this article hits the *Integrity* and *Authenticity* Values of any archaeological and historical context in the core.

Moreover, the law does not give the possibility of participatory approaches with the occupants or the beneficiaries, which guarantee their rights and encourages the sense of inclusiveness and mutual responsibility for the sake of protection of the Heritage sites.

3.2.2. Law 144/2006 on Regulating the Demolition of Non-Dilapidated Buildings and Establishments and the Preservation of Architectural Heritage

Several buildings with Heritage Value suffer a lack of maintenance. This law should have a pivotal role in protecting the tangible Heritage in Egypt, for which Law 117/1983 and its amendments 03/2010 and 91/2018 are not applicable. The definition of buildings that belong to this law comes weak and vague in Article 2. It associated the Outstanding Architectural Value to a historic persona or a national history, or a touristic attraction. That is all. Based on Article 4, the twenty-seven governorates in Egypt were responsible for establishing committees to create a list of buildings and structures based on the previous definition—excluding those that are registered in the previous law—in every governorate. Based on this law, the governorates control the deliberate demolitions of buildings of Value (Re'āsat Aljumhūriya, 2006, 5).

Article 7 states that the state is responsible for the restoration work on a listed building, despite that, it does not indicate if the state is responsible financially to support, maintain, or to restore a listed building that needs intervention (Re'āsat Aljumhūriya, 2006, 8). The authority in this situation evades the responsibility it placed on itself by depending on the Egyptian Constitution of 2014, Article 1, to impose the obligation to the Egyptian citizens to bear the costs of safeguarding the homeland and Article 55 to impose the responsibility to participate as a *national duty*⁴ (State Information Service 2019, 18). Additionally, this law suffers from the absence of defining the regulations and the process to assess the compensation calculations of whose buildings are included in the law and the disbursement to its beneficiaries.

⁴ More on this here (Arabic) <http://gate.ahram.org.eg/News/2115848.aspx> (accessed November 05, 2019)



Fig. 3.1: The right photo (2013) shows decorative features that were deliberately removed as shown in the left photo (2019) in fear of official registration of the building in Cairo

Source: Muhamad Nour 2019

As a result, given that its articles are loosely phrased that led to several violations, many of the listed buildings were demolished as in figure 3.1, this confirms Rojas (2012, 152) thoughts about the listing process that could lead to the opposite effect. Among others, Ola Seif (2017, 45) discussed how incompatible this law is to the urban and Heritage situation in Egypt and how it fails to solve the actual problems, to name some, inspection, maintenance, and cost.

3.2.3 The Building Law 119/2008, Section 2 Urban Harmony

Based on this Law 119/2008, Article 32: *Areas of Outstanding Value* in Section 2, the National Organization for Urban Harmony (Ministry of Culture) sets up the “*rules and conditions of conservation of areas, buildings, and structures of Outstanding Value. The Supreme Council of Urban Planning and Development shall issue a decree with these rules*” (Aljarāda Alrasmyia 2008, 24). The Buildings and Areas of Outstanding Value are defined in Article 27. The definitions are relevantly more elaborated than in Law 144/2006 that this law did not acknowledge much, except for the estimation of the expropriation compensation in Article 35 (ibid, 25).

Buildings of Outstanding Value: [that are not subject to the Antiquities Law no.117 of the year 1983]: [are] buildings and structures of outstanding architectural style that are associated with a specific historic era or an artistic Value that is reflected in the way they were built, their building styles and types, their functions, or associated with a rare craft, or their relation to a historic personality, or associated to important national or religious incidents.

Areas of Outstanding Value: areas that are characterized by the wealth of their features, be it Heritage, architectural, urban, symbolic, aesthetic, or natural Values and that need to be dealt with as a whole in order to conserve them

(ibid, 22).

This law overpowered the previous Law 144/2006, perhaps due to its vagueness and impracticality. The responsibility of making an inventory in each governorate is repeated here under the National Organization for Urban Harmony as a co-ordinator. It is essential to mention that six governorates until 2019 have no list of buildings made. These governorates are Suez, Janūb Saynā', Albeheirah, Martrūh, Alwādi Aljadeed, and Al'uqsur⁵ (Luxor, in which the main case study is located).

Based on Articles 29 and 32, the rules and conditions were formed by the National Organization for Urban Harmony in the manual "*Principles and Guidelines for buildings and Heritage areas of distinctive Value*" (Aljihāz Alqawmy Leltansīq Alḥadāry, 2010). The committees classified those buildings of Value according to three categories A, B, and C. It also contains technical definitions and theoretical background about the importance and means to conserve the buildings and areas of outstanding Value. This manual was put by academics, no law experts or other stakeholders, again, such as the occupants or NGOs, took any part in the making of this manual. It is the reason for considering it as an academic reference rather than a practical guide and an essential legal reference as it should be.

As the Law 117/1983, the National Organisation for Urban Harmony has the authority to expropriate a listed building for the public interest (Article 35) (Aljarīda Alrasmyia 1983).

Article 97 brings out a considerable interdependent scheme for the maintenance and restoration works for residential buildings (Aljarīda Alrasmyia 2008, 52). A public monetary institution is to be established to give loans without interest rates for such works. It is a practical solution to support occupants. However, this monetary institution is not established because the article does not mention when it should perform or under which authority it should be. It is though, a potential approach to reflect on the preservation of Heritage sites.

The following table 3.1 compares Riegl's conceptions towards the regulations needed to protect built Heritage with the Egyptian laws. The reason for this comparison is that Riegl regulations are considered the main foundation of Egyptian Heritage protection laws. Riegl poured full responsibility on the state's shoulders; in his theory, the *care of monuments* is very centralised and comes from the state and specialists in history (Riegl 1996). The Egyptian laws address the protection of Heritage in an authoritative and centralised way but are at the same level vague when it comes to practical and realistic procedures for the management of Heritage buildings and contexts. Riegl's theory for the care of monuments and Egyptian laws

⁵ The full list of the governorates and their registered buildings of Value is here to review (in Arabic): http://urbanharmony.org/ar_cities.asp (accessed March 18, 2020).

disregard the essential role of the local communities as a critical component of a cultural Heritage context for protection and sustainability.

	Riegl's Concept	Egyptian Laws		
	Modern Cult of Monuments	03/2010	144/2006	119/2008
Definition of Value	In terms of age Value, <i>all monuments are equal</i> , hence, it enjoys the right to protection, and the state is responsible for the protection	<i>Article 1</i> The age Value—the classic Value—also is the overarching prerequisite for a building to be registered as antiquity; it must be built before one-hundred years. The state responsibility for protection is not clear.	<i>Article 2</i> One-sentence and weak definition of <i>Outstanding Architectural Style</i> is provided. The tourist attraction is considered a Value for the first time in Egyptian Laws. When it comes to responsibility, this law and its executive regulation indicate that the state responsibility in terms of finance and execution.	<i>Article 27</i> This law ostensibly use the terms of the Operational Guidelines of the <i>World Heritage Convention</i> . However, the content advocates the visually oriented definition of Values of buildings and areas of outstanding Values.
Management	Private buildings are to be registered in a national list and must not be demolished, restored, or sold without the authorisation of the authority in charge	Privately-owned registered buildings are added to the same inventory with the public monuments. Any modification to the building should get permission first.	Buildings of outstanding Values should be listed in each governorate. Any modification to the building should get permission first.	<i>Article 32 "Principles and Guidelines for buildings and Heritage areas of distinctive Value"</i> The buildings are classified into three categories, A, B, and C. Each category requires a level of priority and intervention. Any modification to the building should get permission first.

Tab. 3.1: Comparison between Riegl's perception and the Egyptian Laws in the definition and management of Heritage

Source: Researcher, adapted from Riegl 1996

Riegl also conditioned the monuments to only state-owned buildings (Riegl 1996). The Egyptian laws, thankfully, do not distinguish the ownership status of building as a factor for registration. However, the owners or tenants of privately-owned registered buildings are continuously threatened by eviction for the national interest. The Heritage Value in the Egyptian laws and the relationship with the occupants need to be re-examined.

After discussing and analysing the regulations and guidelines; it is essential to investigate the stakeholders who implement or generally act in the interest and power landscape concerning Heritage sites.

3.3. The Stakeholder Landscape in the Heritage and Tourism Industry in Egypt

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the spectrum of actors or stakeholders in the Heritage and Tourism industry is broad and differs widely from one region to another. Even in the same country and under the same political and administrative system, the map of power and interest among the stakeholders may vary. The following list applies to Egypt, while the list of stakeholders in Luxor city is demonstrated in Chapter Seven.

3.3.1. International Organizations

3.3.1.1. The *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*

It is a *United Nations* agency; and is responsible for internationally coordinating education, science, culture and communication programs. Its goal is to strengthen the ties between nations and societies and mobilises the wider public (UNESCO N/A). The *UNESCO World Heritage Centre (WHC)* is the “*coordinator within UNESCO for all matters related to World Heritage*” (UNESCO World Heritage Centre N/Aa). Hence, the national, international, and non-governmental bodies and individuals have the right to report to the WHC regarding any aspect related to a UNESCO *World Heritage* site.

The World Heritage Convention is a viable international conservation instrument created in 1972. The chief mission of the *World Heritage* Convention is to protect the world's *cultural* and *natural* Heritage of an *Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)*. While the *State Party* claims the statement of OUV, the nomination should be reviewed and approved by the UNESCO *World Heritage Advisory Bodies* and the *Member States*. The management plan of any *WH* site should comply with the *World Heritage* Convention as long as the *State Party* rectifies to the Convention (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019, 104).

3.3.1.2. The UNESCO Technical Advisory Bodies

There are three *Advisory bodies* for UNESCO concerning *World Heritage* sites. An *Advisory Body* provides technical support for the Member States for the *cultural, natural, and mixed World Heritage* sites, such as regular training and “*research, cooperation and advocacy*” (ICCROM 2018).

The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) is an international organisation that concerns cultural and mixed Heritage sites and buildings.

The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is a professional association “*responsible for the evaluation of all nominations of cultural and mixed properties against the basic criterion of ‘outstanding universal Value, and the other criteria as specified in the Convention’*” (ICOMOS 2019). ICOMOS also makes *Advisory Missions* upon request from the *WH* Centre and the Member States and evaluates the State of Conservation of World Cultural and Mixed Heritage sites.

The International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) “*provides governments and institutions at all levels with the impetus to achieve universal goals, including on biodiversity, climate change and sustainable development*” (IUCN 2019). However, because Egypt has only one inscribed *natural World Heritage* site, the role of IUCN in Egypt is limited compared to the role of ICOMOS in the *World Heritage* field.

Because of the nature of these previous intergovernmental bodies, they have limited power over the Heritage sites while they only design the global strategy. Despite that, they form the definitions and procedures state parties should follow in order to obtain and keep the *World Heritage* designation, follow-up the *State of Conservation* in each designated site, and conduct missions to monitor their management.

3.3.1.3. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO)

It is the “*United Nations agency responsible for the promotion of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible Tourism*”. Its publications are considered a vital source of Tourism (World Tourism Organization 2018a). It also made a valuable glossary of Tourism industry definitions and a World Tourism Barometer which traces the international tourist arrivals worldwide.

3.3.2. National Bodies

There are several ministries, supreme councils, higher committees, and national organisations that control the Heritage and Tourism industry in Egypt. Only the most relevant ones are discussed here, while the others are mentioned in the annexes.

3.3.2.1. The Ministries

The Supreme Council of Planning and Urban Development is established according to Law 119/2008 to co-ordinate between the following ministries and entities concerned with urban development and public land use to develop and implement the national strategic plan. The chairman of the council is the Egyptian Prime Minister. Moreover, it approves and then sets the *definition of areas of distinct Value* (including the archaeological sites) according to Law 119/2008. It adopts the standards and criteria in determining these areas, the preserving programs, and the priorities and mechanisms of implementation of these programs. Furthermore, it determines the sources of funding, based on the provision of the Ministry of Culture (Almasry Alyoum 2016; Tadamun 2018). According to the Law 117/1983 and its amendments 3/2010 and 91/2018, this supreme council is entitled to arrange the compensation procedures for constructions in proximity to the archaeological sites to protect the latter and ensure the *aesthetic characteristics* (Aljarīda Alrasmyia, 2018, 18).

However, there is no clear information on how and how-often the co-ordination and communication between the following ministries are done. It is challenging to get published information from direct resources; there is no monthly published newsletter, and no national news are published on official websites. The only available sources of information are the national newspapers.

The Ministry of State of Antiquities (MSA): generally, preserved and protected the Heritage and the Ancient History of Egypt and has the full authority over the supervision and inspection of the archaeological sites and permitting all activities and services (cultural, touristic, recreational, etc.) in it. It was also responsible for all maintenance and restoration activities on monument buildings and archaeological sites it co-ordinated with other ministries such as planning, housing, Tourism, interior, and the governorates, etc. to protect the monuments, museums and historical buildings. It also controlled the archaeological boundaries with their historical context. Hence, it had the right to expropriate land or buildings individually owned with *fair compensation* according to Law 117/1983 and its amendments 3/2010 and 91/2018.

It is worth mentioning that on December 22nd, 2019, the State Ministry of Tourism and the State Ministry of Antiquities merged into one ministry, i.e. the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities. However, there is no official announcement or press release to declare the new responsibilities and structure of the newly established ministry. The research, hence, depends on the data and analysis of the two former ministries.

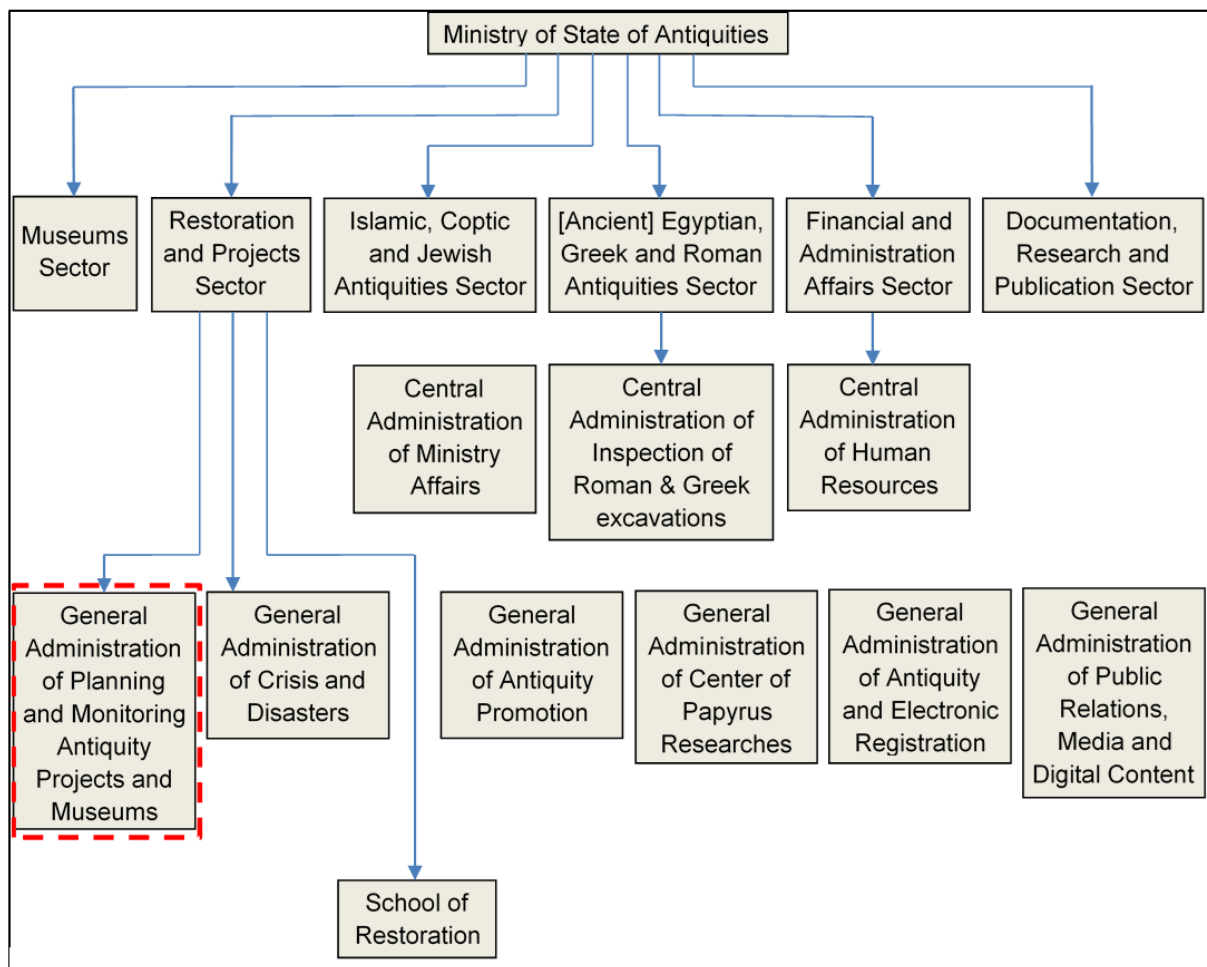


Fig. 3.2: The organisational structure of the Egyptian Ministry of State of Antiquities
Source: Researcher, adapted from Ragab 2015

The State Ministry of Antiquities has the right to withdraw a monument or part of it — as antiquity — from its inventory.

According to the organisational structure of the Ministry of State of Antiquities (see figure 3.2), the Egyptian antiquity is divided chronologically into Ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman Antiquities as one sector, and Islamic, Coptic, and Jewish Antiquities as another sector. Each sector works individually and has its separate permanent committee. By following up their activities, the conflict of having a site that contains Ancient Egyptian, Roman, Coptic and Islamic Antiquities, which fall under both sectors could be understood. In similar cases, one

sector usually takes over responsibility at the ministry. For example, Rosetta has a file at the ministry in preparation to be nominated as a UNESCO *cultural World Heritage* site and “*turn it into an outdoor-museum of Islamic monuments*” (Egypt Today Staff 2018).

This nomination file highlights Rosetta’s *Islamic* monuments, however, overlooks its close connection to the Ancient Egyptian legacy and the Rosetta Stone. It could be because it is Islamic, Coptic and Jewish Antiquities sector was the one in charge at the Ministry of Antiquities to prepare the nomination file. On the other hand, we find that the magnification of Luxor city is derived nationally from its Ancient Egyptian and Ptolemaic monuments. In contrast, its Coptic and Islamic history usually do not compete in importance when it comes with the development plans of the archaeological site as elaborately discussed in the following chapters. These two examples demonstrate the struggle of several antiquity sites that enjoy multi-layers and heterogeneity of different eras, because of the explicit separation nature between these two sectors.

Ministry of Culture is responsible for promoting and protecting the culture of Egypt. It holds national and international cultural events, exhibitions and fairs. Until 2011, the ministry of culture was a principal stakeholder in the Heritage affairs in Egypt. The MSA was previously the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) and was affiliated to the Ministry of Culture before becoming independent in 2011. According to Law 119/2008, the *National Organization for Urban Harmony* that belongs to Ministry of Culture was responsible for forming the rules and conditions in the manual Principles and Guidelines for Buildings and Heritage Areas of Distinctive Value.

Ministry of Tourism was responsible for Tourism policy and for “*establishing a coherent legal and regulatory framework for Tourism development*” (the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2018, 330). According to Law 02/1973 on the *Supervision of the Ministry of Tourism on the Touristic Sites and its Exploitation*, the Ministry of Tourism had to approve all upcoming new urban projects, including in touristic and Heritage sites. The Tourism Development Authority TDA belonged to the Ministry of Tourism; it worked mainly on setting and executing regulations for Tourism projects and investments “*by assisting with the provision of land and facilitating access to loans for developing infrastructure projects*” (World Bank 2006, 36). It is worth mentioning that most of the coastal lands of the Red Sea, and parts of coastal areas in Sinai and the North Coast were allocated to the TDA for Tourism development. It was established according to the Law 7/1991 to pack the previous disjointed responsibilities given to the ministry by Laws 1/1973 and 712/1981 of allocating the tourist areas for development, establishing the services, spatial planning and control industry (Richer and Steiner 2008, 947).

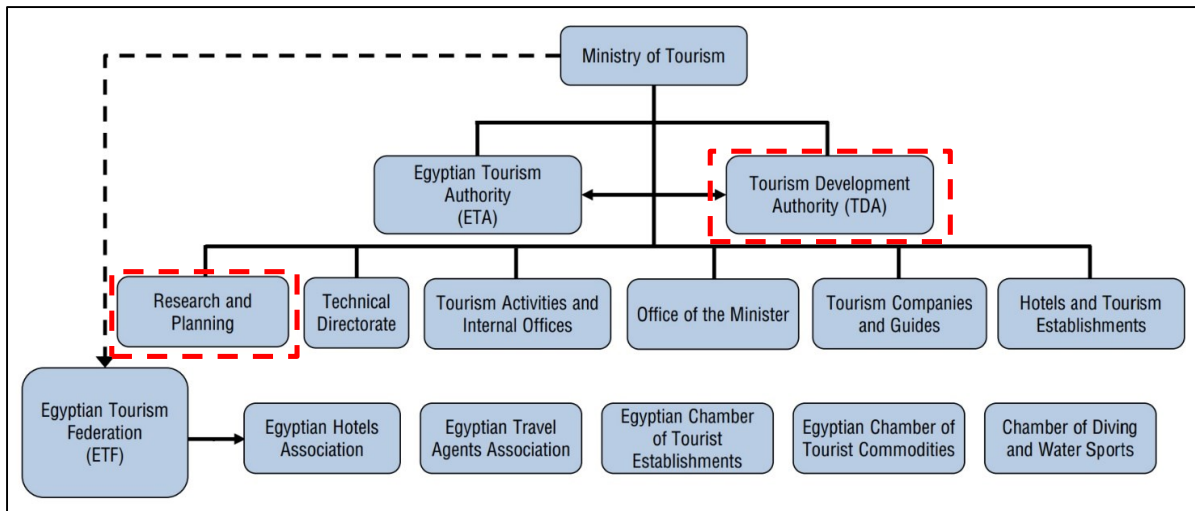


Fig. 3.3: The Organisational Structure of the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism
 Source: The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2014, 360

The previous chart (figure 3.3) shows the relationship between and the hierarchical structure of the Ministry of Tourism and its authorities. One of the vital bodies in the Ministry of Tourism is the Tourism Development Authority TDA, that is also showed in the next chart (figure 3.4).

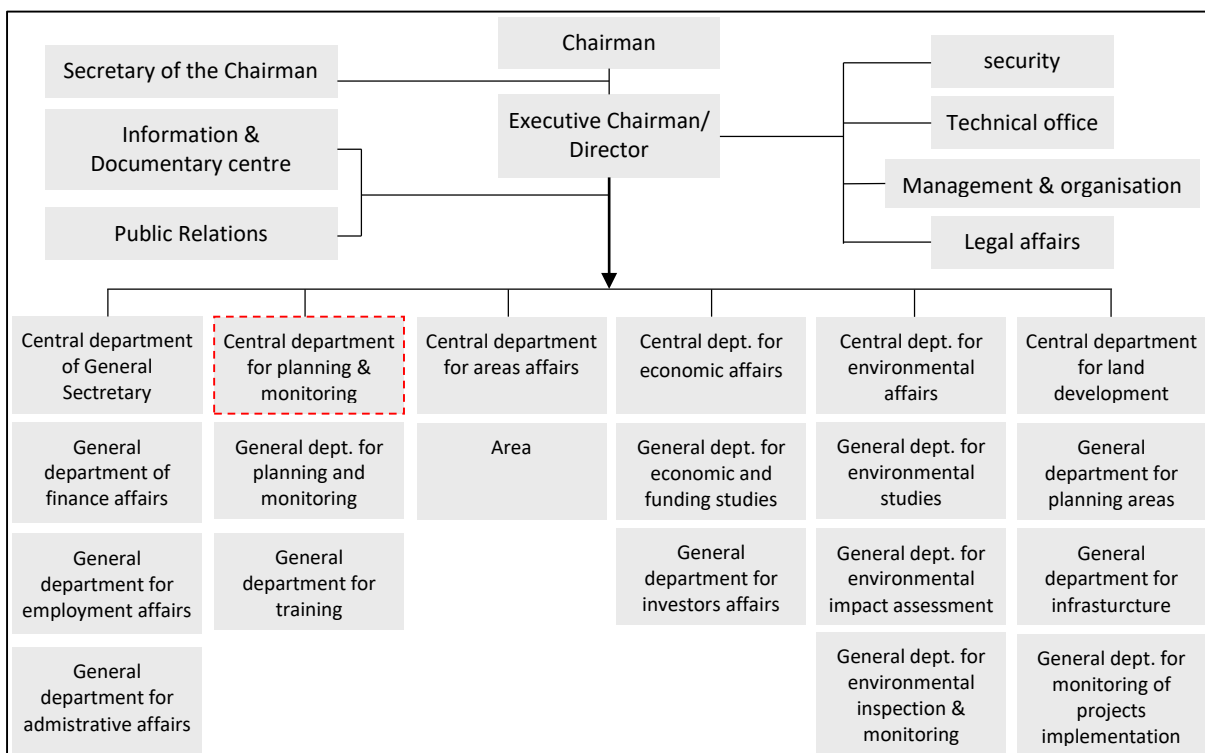


Fig. 3.4: The Organisational Structure of the Tourism Development Authority (TDA)
 Source: World Bank 2006, 37

The previous figures (3.2, 3.3, and 3.4) show the big difference in the structure of the three most relevant bodies in Egypt to Heritage sites, the MSA, The Ministry of Tourism, and the Tourism Development Authority.

On the one hand, the Ministry of Tourism had a *Directorate of Research and Planning*, which was confused with the *Central Department for Planning and Monitoring*, a subdivision at the *Tourism Development Authority Organization*. On the other hand, in the MSA, the *General Administration of Planning and Monitoring Antiquity Projects and Museums* was a subdivision from the *Restoration and Projects* sector. Clear *management* departments in these three bodies to co-ordinate the communication and joint projects were missing according to these structures.

The following ministries have a relative impact on Heritage buildings and sites in Egypt: The *Ministry of Endowment* is in charge of the religious endowments and owns several properties of Heritage Values, hence, has the authority to restore or close antiquity sites and monuments. The *Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development* is in charge of drawing the new urban policies of housing, constructing infrastructure, and the preparation of plans and programs of the urban development. It is also responsible for the supervision of the projects of city urban and rural planning. The *Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform* controls the planning, the management of the national resources, and the continuous monitoring to implement the national programs and projects, and also provides the services.

3.3.2.2. Governorates

The governorates are spatial and administrative subdivisions of the country. They are the implementing agents of the national development plans. Luxor governorate is the twenty-sixth of twenty-seven governorates in Egypt. According to Law 144/2006, the governorates were responsible for creating a list of buildings and structures of Heritage Values in every governorate. Moreover, each governorate classified those buildings according to three levels of Value A, B, and C. According to this law, the governorates control the deliberate demolitions of buildings of distinctive Value. The Values are the architectural and/or *historical significance*, the relevance to national history and/or historical figure, and the touristic attractions (Re'āsāt Aljumhūriya, 2006).

3.3.2.3. National Organizations

The General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) according by Law 119/2008 is the authority responsible for formulating the general policy for sustainable urban development and planning, “*preparing plans and programs for this development at the national, regional and local levels, and reviewing and approving urban plans at the local level within the framework of national and regional objectives and policies*” (General Organization for Physical Planning 2014). As shown in figure 3.5, the GOPP has four General Departments for planning and Urban

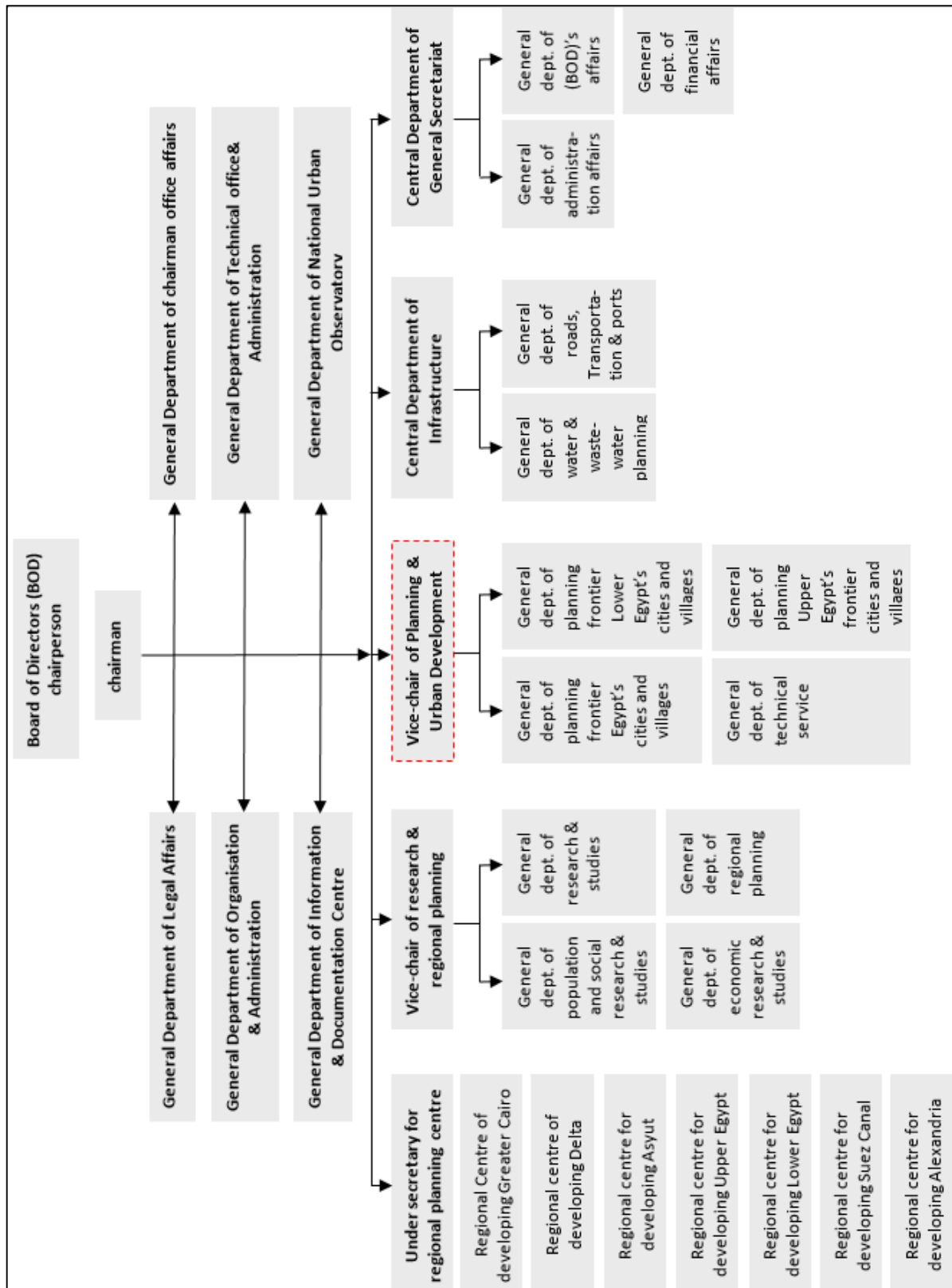


Fig. 3.5: The Organizational Structure of the General Organization for Physical Planning
 Source: General Organisation for Physical Planning 2014, 6

Development, two of which are for the Lower and Upper Egypt's Cities and Villages. Hence, it is responsible for urban encroachment on agricultural lands, and also for putting the urban

boundaries. These elements affect some Heritage sites in Egypt, such as in Luxor. The GOPP was a participant in the working group for agriculture and urban and rural development during the project *Comprehensive Development for the City of Luxor* (CDCL).

There are Professional unions, and state-owned companies are national entities that own and run several Heritage buildings. *The Egyptian Company for Tourism and Hotels EGOTH*⁶ owns several hotels and tourist service buildings. Some of its hotel properties are of Heritage Value such as the Mena House Cairo, the Sofitel Winter Palace in Luxor, and the Sofitel Legend Old Cataract Hotel in Aswan.

3.3.2.4. Other Non-institutional Groups

The Local community is commonly known as a group of people who share the same location and mutual characteristics. Their role in Heritage conservation is highly recognised by the International bodies such as the European Faro Convention. However, as discussed previously in the Egyptian laws, The local communities are challenged with legal eviction for national interest and are perceived as the cause of Heritage deterioration in urban contexts.

Visitors are discussed thoroughly in Chapter Two (Section 2.3). Now Tourism is an associated explicit phenomenon in almost all of the Heritage sites; since Heritage management is depending more and more on visitors to “*provide economic, educational and social justifications for their activities*” (Hall and McArthur 1998, 5).

There are several *National NGOs, Civil Societies and initiatives* concern the Heritage in Egypt, such as Aljam‘iya Al’hliya Lelmuḥafaza ‘la Alturath Almasry (or the civil society for the preservation of the Egyptian Heritage), Assala (or Authenticity), Alturath Alsinawi (or the Sinai Heritage), Jam‘iyat almuḥafaza ‘Ala Alturath Alnubi (or the Preservation of the Nubian Heritage), the Egyptian Society for Folk Traditions⁷, the Egyptian Heritage Rescue Foundation, and Jam‘iyat Muḥibbi Alturath Alqepi (or the Lovers of the Coptic Heritage Society). The activities of the NGO and civil societies in Egypt range from holding workshops to create and execute small conservation projects using grants. One of the leading initiatives is *Athar Lina*, which is run by the NGO *Megawra*⁸. Because of the limitation of funding, these types of initiatives have restricted capacity to hold large-scale restoration projects.

Special-interest groups are Tourism sector representatives and people who are involved in the *consequent* offers of Tourism, such as taxi operators, souvenir and handicrafts business

⁶ Affiliate member of Egypt at the UNWTO

⁷ The Egyptian Society for Folk Traditions is an NGO accredited by the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage.

⁸ More about the initiative Athar Lina here <http://atharlina.com/about/> (accessed November 08, 2019).

owners, property owners, tour operators, small local Tourism industry, scholars in the fields of history, architecture, art, humanities, Tourism, economics, etc.

3.3.3. Conflicting responsibilities and overlapping authorities among national institutions

The national institutional landscape and the suggested map (figure 3.6) of the power and interest among Heritage and Tourism stakeholders in Egypt’s centralised system show the considerable number of bodies that are involved in the decision-making in Heritage and Tourism affairs in Egypt. Referring to figures 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4, it is apparent that there is a “*well-established vertical decision-making structure*” (Orbasli 2000, 101), while cross/horizontal coordination is missing. The national bodies (written in black) dominate the power, whereas the international organisations (in orange) and civil society groups (in blue) have less power and high interest.

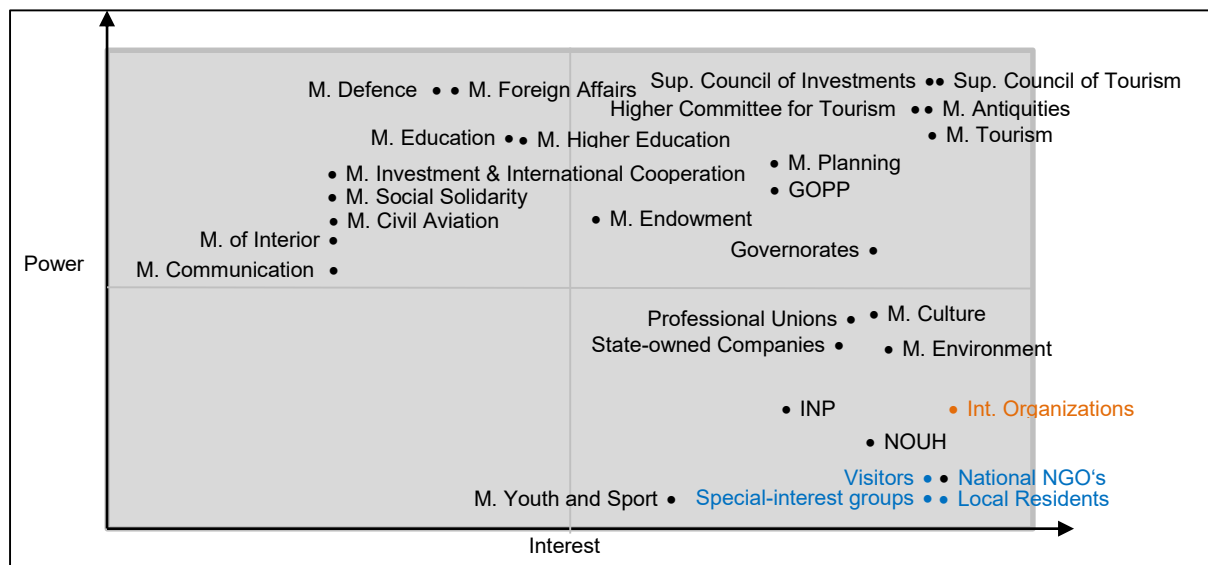


Fig. 3.6: Suggested map of power and interest among Heritage and Tourism stakeholders in Egypt
Source: Researcher

On the one hand, the Ministry of Endowments, for instance, owns a significant part of Egypt’s tangible Heritage, in other words, several public buildings held for charitable purposes, most of which are of *historical, aesthetic, cultural* Values. Since many of them are registered as monuments, the responsibility of repairing and protecting those monuments are torn down between the latter and the MSA, the GOPP, the Ministry of Tourism, and the TDA.

Sometimes more authorities are involved in many different responsibility cases. Article 30 in the amended Law 117/1983 enjoined the MSA with the “*the execution of maintenance and restoration work necessary for all registered antiquities and archaeological sites and area and historical buildings*”. It also enjoined the Ministry of Endowment with “*bear[ing] expenses of*

restoration and conservation of archaeological and historical real-estate affiliated with, and registered to such Ministry and Authority”, these cases have appeared due to lack of regulations that set the responsibilities of each authority towards the public Heritage buildings. The ministries of Education and Higher Education and other ministries own many historical palaces and gardens that once were privately-owned and were nationalised. Many of these properties suffer a lack of maintenance.

Particular regard is given in this chapter to the organisational structure and responsibilities of the Ministry of Tourism and the conflicting responsibilities with other national bodies such as the Supreme Council of Tourism. The latter has the same role, which is the right of giving prior approval of Tourism development projects. The conflict with the Ministry of Tourism and its affiliated authorities such as TDA exceeds to the local authorities, i.e. governorates, more when it comes to economic revenues, and the Ministry of Environment when it comes to environmental protection. The World Bank report (no. 36520) discusses all the challenges and conflicts the Tourism development projects usually face due to the institutional conflict, the different national entities that impact the development process and how it slows it down (World Bank 2006).

As another form of overlapping responsibilities, the amendment Law 91/2018 has two Articles, 29 and 39, that concern and regulate the admission fees to archaeological sites and museums and gives this power to the MSA (Aljarīda Alrasmyia 2018, 21, 22). In contrast, the Ministry of Tourism is the one which co-ordinates activity in *historical* sites according to the prime Ministerial Decree 933/1988.

On the other hand, the institutional bodies such as ministries and supreme councils take almost the full power over the decision-making in Heritage management and Tourism development on the national and local levels at the expense of other groups of interest such as the local residents and visitors.

Considering the power of the State Ministry of Antiquities, the law gives it the right to own historical and archaeological building and sites or at least to be at its disposal for at least fifty years as donations. In other words, the owners of these Heritage properties do not have the right to be compensated by law for their concession. It is the reason that drives many Heritage property owners to neglect their properties, which need financial and technical assistance to be maintained. This financial and technical assistance is not necessarily offered by law, which puts much pressure on the Heritage property owners and puts Heritage properties in Egypt in danger.

All the previous parties with their backgrounds have different interests in Heritage, and as one can estimate, they have different interests and interpretations about what *Heritage* is. There has been almost no efforts to set a broad definition of Heritage and Heritage sites in Egypt among all the stakeholders.

Despite the efforts that were paid to realise the manual “*Principles and Guidelines for buildings and Heritage areas of distinctive Value*” and the good intentions to regulate different activities in Heritage sites, this manual is not binding for neither the state bodies nor the private sectors. It does not tackle the on-ground challenges and complications of the Heritage buildings and sites in Egypt, such as the costly maintenance expenses, the urban pressure, and lack of law enforcement. Hence this manual, as discussed, is unrealistic.

Despite having almost no power against the complexity of the situation of the national management of Heritage sites, the international organisations have a more definite structure and transparent coordination schema when it comes to *World Heritage* sites. The UNESCO Cultural Sector in Egypt has the authority, obviously, after the permission of the involved ministries, to initiate and finance management plans within *World Heritage* sites in Egypt. The ICOMOS as an Advisory Body to UNESCO is the expert consultant for cultural *WH* sites. In this case, the UNESCO Cultural Sector can create a bid for significant conservation or rehabilitation projects.

The most recent and noteworthy bid by the UNESCO Office in Cairo, the Cultural Sector, was for the *Rehabilitation of Five Significant Buildings in the New Gurna Village by the Famous Architect Hassan Fathy*.⁹ This bid was open to national and international bidders which associates quality and experience. This form of projects that are not nationally initiated and financed should have faster and more qualified outputs. The challenges remain, though, after the end of a project, when the responsibility goes back to the state that will be responsible for the maintenance and law enforcement to protect such buildings of Value. Substantially, the international bodies have to consider more the long-term programs in Egypt rather than timely fixed projects to secure sustainable conservation of Heritage sites.

As elaborately deliberated in Chapter Two (Sections 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4), Heritage sites are usually involved in Tourism activities. Thus, the following section (3.4) engages in reflecting the previous discussions on Heritage site regulations and stakeholder analysis on the Tourism industry in Egypt.

⁹This project started in 2010 as *Safeguarding project of Hassan Fathy’s New Gurna Village* and immediately stopped in 2011 due to the political instability in Egypt. However, the bid was announced in February 2019 as *Safeguarding Hassan Fathy Architectural Legacy in New Gurna* .

3.4. Overview of Tourism Industry in Egypt

Tourism is considered one of the biggest foreign currency earners; hence, an essential pillar to the economy in Egypt. Despite the instability of the Tourism industry in Egypt in the last ten years, in 2017, the Tourism contribution to the total economy GDP was 3.3% (World Travel & Tourism Council 2017a, 5). The rise and evolution of the Tourism industry in Egypt and how it has responded to national and international factors are discussed in the following part.

3.4.1. The Genesis of the Tourism Industry in Egypt

As it is elaborately discussed in Chapter Four, focusing on Luxor city, Egypt has quickly become a vital tourist attraction starting from the mid-nineteenth century, soon after and under the influence by Napoleon's expedition in Egypt in 1798-1801, the deciphering of the Ancient Egyptian alphabet inscribed on the Rosetta Stone by Jean-François Champollion¹⁰ in 1822, and the inauguration of Suez Canal in 1869.

The flow of British tourists, however, was first hinted to as early as 1843 AD by the British Consul in Cairo at that time: "*a great many of those who visited tidied up their journal notes, letters, and sketches and had them published, inspiring, in turn, the next wave of travellers*" (Humphreys 2015, 13, 31).

Guidebook industry emerged as a subsequent offer after the demand for guidebooks about Egypt started to grow. The leading British publisher *John Murray and Sons* is considered one of the first to issue a handbook about Egypt in 1840¹¹. After seven years, a complete guidebook titled *Handbook for Travelers in Egypt* was published (Spiro 2007, 02).

As a *consequent* tourist offer, and not as a before-existing, another demand for an Egyptian tour guide appeared: a *Dragoman* (Arabic: Turjumān) who was a local all-purpose guide that had been talked about in many guidebooks and travel books since the middle of the nineteenth century. The job of a dragoman was to translate, plan itineraries, and serve visitors. Dragomans were hired usually through hotels (Humphreys 2015). Humphreys (2015, 112) described the importance of a dragoman to tourists claiming that a dragoman determined most of the experience of the passengers on board of a steamboat. However, most of the guidebooks warned the readers and potential visitors of trusting them, especially when they tended to interpret antiquities (Humphreys 2015, 35; Reid 2015, 151).

¹⁰ Jean-François Champollion was a French scholar and orientalist. He is known primarily as the decipherer of Egyptian hieroglyphs and a founding figure in the field of Egyptology.

¹¹ Only four years after their first guidebook published about Holland and other regions in Europe.

The Tourism flow kept increasing until the winter peak season of 1914, which was considered to be busy and successful. World War I caused a drawback of the flow of international tourists¹². Thomas Cook's (the global travel agency) itinerary had been the most active among Nile cruises until security issues halted sailings between Cairo and Luxor in the 1980s (Humphreys 2015, 17). The Nile cruises are now back. The Nile cruises introduced by Thomas Cook & Son have significantly added a new recreational Value to the visitors rather than the cultural one. Cook once wrote his thoughts: "*My tour to the Nile was a great event in the arrangements of modern travel*" (Humphreys 2015, 25). Guidebooks about Egypt published in Europe and elsewhere, tour guides, steamboats, and Nile itineraries; these are services that have emerged and flourished to fulfil the demand of the tourist hordes, that created a new industry and "*one of the most economic realities*" in Egypt (Nogués-Pedregal 2015, 181).

3.4.2. The Evolvement of Tourism Industry

Tourism has been and still is, affected by politics and external developments and relations. Key world events have undesirably affected the tourist industry since it has started (Saad, 2000).

World War I immediately caused an obstacle to the Tourism industry in Egypt (Humphreys 2015, 135). During the war, Cairo accommodated large numbers of British troops, who compensated and covered economically what regular visitors and tourists would do (ibid, 135). Unlikely, other Egyptian cities such as Luxor and Aswan were saved during World War I as two healing centres. Luxor hosted wounded soldiers in the famous Winter Palace hotel, which had been turned into a hospital (ibid, 139). Soon after the end of the war in 1918, there was national political unrest in 1919, which called for independence from foreign occupancy and caused violence in the streets. Only in January 1921, the steamer service company *Thomas Cook & Son* was finally able to resume their regular schedule service from Cairo to Aswan.

The real boost to bring back the flow of tourists to Egypt was the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamen in 1922 by Howard Carter in the west bank of the River Nile in Luxor, which was a real promotion to the Tourism industry in Egypt, especially to cultural Tourism (Saad 2000). Furthermore, in 1934 and 1935, the annual visitors jumped to 12.500 from only 7.000 or 8.000 before the war, the same year when Egypt established its first tourist authority (Reid 2015; 148, Helmy and Cooper 2002, 519).

After this boost in the industry, the same scenario of the declining number of tourists again happened during World War II. It took a more extended period to recover from this international

¹² The following section (3.4.2) elaborates on the Tourism evolvement.

conflict, especially for the British company Thomas Cook & Son (Humphreys 2015, 153) so that the management decided to sell their fleet in Egypt (Saad 2000).

In the 1960s, in less than twenty years after the end of World War II, the flow of tourists started to come back to Egypt. The Egyptian Tourist Administration stated proudly in its tourist booklet: *“Those who visited the country before 1952 will be amazed at the change and progress which has taken place during the past ten years”* (the Tourist Administration 1963, 6). This time, it was the fear to lose the Nubian monuments in Upper Egypt the main reason to redraw back the attention to Egypt as an attractive tourist destination. The construction of High Dam in Aswan in the 1960s demanded an allocation of one of the biggest artificial lakes in the world — Nasser Lake — over not only the rich fertile land of Nubia but also its ancient monuments among of which are Abu Simbel Temples, which are now one of the six UNESCO *cultural World Heritage* sites in Egypt. It was a thriving international act in 1963 headed by UNESCO and that included several countries to help to dismantle Abu Simbel Temples and other monuments and reinstall them on higher grounds elsewhere to rescue them from being submerged by the lake. That was a big promotional campaign that helped Egypt regain tourists’ interest. Additionally, the construction site of the High Dam became an attraction of itself. *“By the middle of the decade [1960’s], for the first time in perhaps forty years, new Nile fleets were assembled, and new major hotels were built. This was the period of incredible- and to a large extent uncontrollable- growth, which, by the end of the twentieth century, resulted in there being over 250 new cruise boats on the Nile”* (Humphreys 2015, 157).

Apparently, during the 1960s of the last centuries, Egypt tried to promote other Values and not only the *natural* and *historical*. Interestingly, the Helwan observatory¹³ in the suburb of Cairo was mentioned as *“world-famous”* by the National Tourist Administration¹⁴ (1963, 76).

Moreover, not far from the Helwan observatory lay two archaeological sites, Wadi Hof and Wadi Degla, which contain fossils and *“dramatic desert panorama”* and landscape (ibid, 77). Suez Canal cities were also promoted in the same booklet, as being located in the *“crossroads of the world”*, and having excellent summer beaches. *“Today, [Egypt] is acknowledged as a conjunction of vital importance for all sea and air routes. The point where East and West- where the mystery and excitement of the Mid-Orient can be experienced side by side with the familiar enjoyments of Western civilization”* (ibid, 05).

In 1968, the National Law 85/1968 on establishing Tourism chambers and organising its federation was issued. The Tourism sector continued to develop in the 1970s onwards, despite

¹³ This observatory was built in 1903 and is now the National Research Institute of Astronomy and Geophysics. It has been on the UNESCO Tentative List since 2010, among other thirty-three sites in Egypt.

¹⁴ Now the Egyptian Tourist Authority.

the drawbacks of the political conflicts in the region and the *Six-day War* or *October War* between 1967 and 1973 and the consequent first application of the national state of emergency which lasted from 1967 until 1980. Another law 1/1973 was issued in the year 1973 *On Organizing the Hotel and Tourist Buildings*, in which power was given to the Ministry of Tourism to regulate the Tourism industry and the tax incentives for chosen Tourism companies (Richter and Steiner 2008, 947). The same law gave the exclusive power to the ministry to allocate the Tourism areas¹⁵ (ibid). In 1976, Tourism was regarded in the national plans. One of the policies to attract more tourists was in 1975 when Egypt eased the visa process for some European and North American countries and has started to have diplomatic relations by opening embassies in Egypt for countries such as Austria, the Netherlands, Denmark and Finland. Soon in 1977, the number of tourists rose to over one million (Ragab, 2015; El Gammal 1985, 49). In 1978, Egypt created its first national development plan for Tourism with the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ¹⁶), and the Tourism Project (909-EGT) which was identified in 1979 and became active in 1980 (World Bank 1979a). Some national investments were then made in upgrading infrastructure in the touristic destinations in the Nile Valley as the priority, and in Luxor in particular (World Bank 1990, 1).

Until the 1970s, the *historical* and *natural* Values in cities such as Cairo, Luxor and Aswan were the main spots that brought visitors to Egypt. The cultural Tourism was the main attraction of which Egypt depended upon till the 1970s, despite trying to promote other *natural* resources in the 1960s such as Wadī Hof and Wadī Degla.

During the period of the 1970s, there were three *fundamental* laws, in 1971, 1974 and 1977 (Richter and Steiner 2008, 947), in which Egypt encouraged the international investments and granted international investors with tax exemptions and other facilities. These laws — together with the five-year plan 1982-1987 which adopted infrastructural development in the Red Sea and Sinai and eased the privatisation of hotel management — resulted in the establishment of the recreational Tourism industry in the red Sea region for the first time (ibid, Metz 1990).

With the rising international interest in the cultural sites in Egypt, experts and specialists were brought to Egypt to establish new university faculties that focus on Tourism management, namely: the Faculty of Hotels and Tourism management¹⁷ at Helwan University in 1975 and

¹⁵ This is much reflected on the case study, Luxor city and has implications on its development.

¹⁶ Now the GIZ.

¹⁷ The faculty was previously the institute of Tourism, the institute of hotels and the hotel training centre which were established in 1962. They then became higher institutes of Tourism and hotel management in 1968. They later were merged in one faculty after the establishment of Helwan University in 1975.

Faculty of Tourism and Hotels at Alexandria University in 1980. In 1979, five cultural sites were designated as *World Heritage* sites¹⁸ by UNESCO.

It was only in the 1980s when considerable numbers of tourists have started to visit Egypt to explore other destinations — not necessarily *historical* or *cultural* — such as the Red Sea resorts (Sharm Alsheikh and Hurgada) for beach and scuba diving, and the oases in the western desert — Sīwa, Bahāryia, Kharja, etc.— natural scenes and desert activities. These are not new destinations per se, but they had not been yet visited *en masse* as Tourism destinations (Saad 2000). This rise in tourist numbers, which reached 1.800.000 in 1981, according to figure 3.7, was perhaps a result of the previous regulations as the new law for Tourism promotion 124/1981. A presidential Decree 712/1981 had given the Ministry of Tourism more authority for the year 1981 for “*Tourism facilitation, research, development, industry control, Tourism marketing, co-ordination and policy*” over tourist areas, especially along the Red Sea and in Sinai (Richter and Steiner 2008, 947). Since 1982, the Egyptian government has encouraged public and private infrastructural investments along the Red Sea coast and in Sinai, which were previously restricted for development due to the war between Egypt and Israel (ibid). The state made by the five-year plan (1982-1987) in 1982 the regulations more convenient for international companies to operate and manage hotel establishments as well as it freed airline regulations (ibid).

¹⁸ The five Egyptian sites that were designated in 1979 are: (1) Abu Mena, (2) Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis, (3) Historic Cairo, (4) Memphis and its Necropolis- the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur, and (5) Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae.

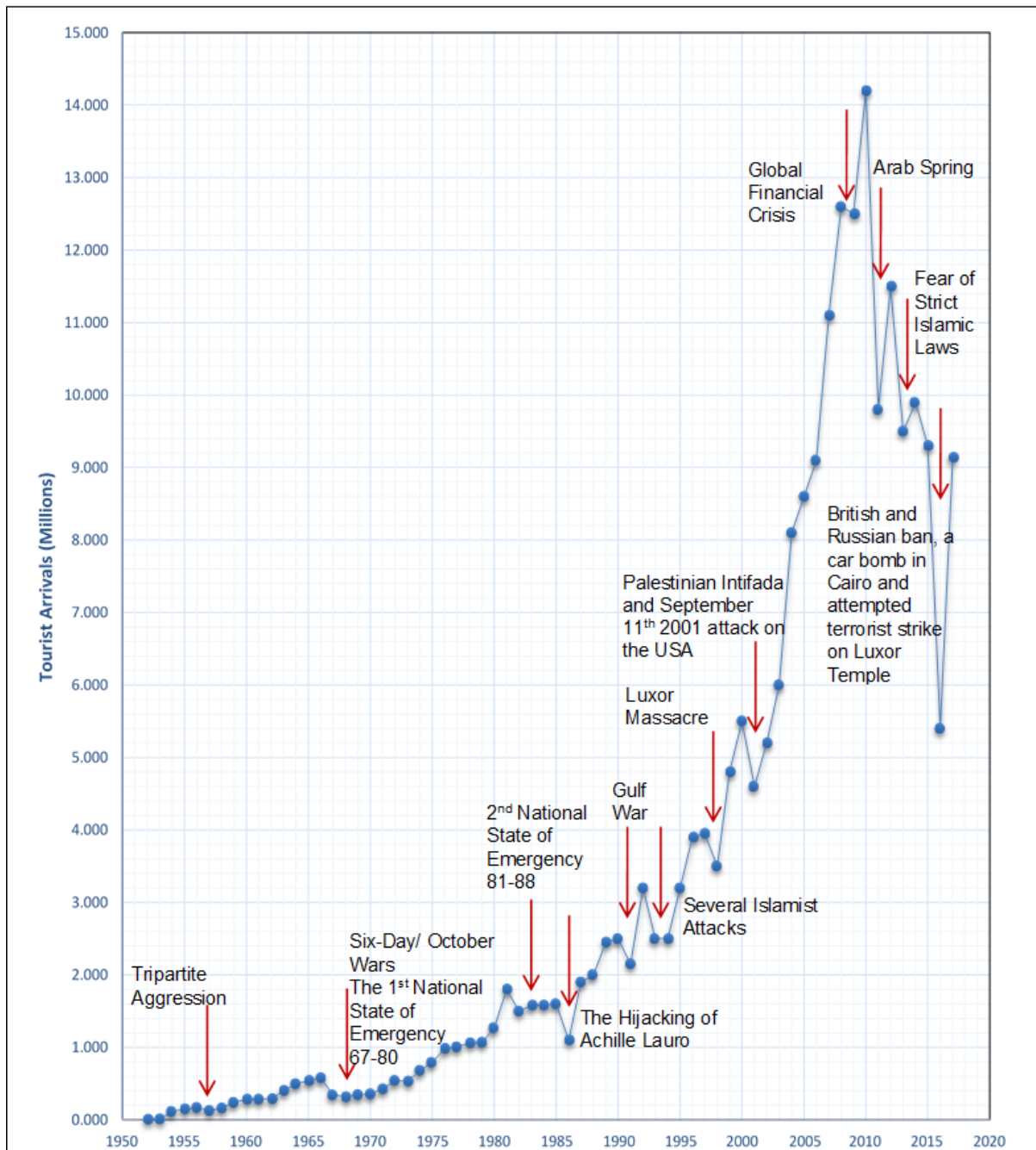


Fig. 3.7. The international Tourist Arrivals in Egypt from 1952 until 2017

Source: Researcher, adapted from CAPMAS 2017, Gamblin 2007, Richter and Steiner 2008

However, a series of attacks against tourists had happened in the 1980s. These attacks and the second application of the national state of emergency from 1981 until 1988 (after the assassination of the Egyptian President Anwar Alsadāt) were the leading cause of the intense instability of several international tourists visiting Egypt as shown in figure 3.7. A report conducted by Reuters listed a detailed history of the attack on tourists and tourist targets in Egypt from 1992 until present (Reuters 2008). The report shows that in 1992, three attacks in Upper Egypt resulted in the death of one tourist and the injury of seven tourists. In 1993, five

bomb attacks resulted in killing one tourist and several Egyptians, and other shots mainly in Cairo and most of all had been declared to be the responsibility of extremist Islamic groups.

The Achille Lauro hijacking took place in Port Said port in Egypt in the same year in October 1985. It caused a sharp decline in the Egyptian cruises in the Mediterranean because of the then-new concerns about international Tourism from one side, and the safety of recreational and business cruises in the other. This incident which was called by the New York Times "*the Two-Day Drama*" (Miler and Special to the New York Times, 1985), resulted in the cancellation of "85% to 95% of the reservations made by American tourists" (Butturini 1986).

In the 1990s, even after the Gulf War in 1991 and several tourist attacks, the international visitor arrivals eventually increased at the rate of around 7%, a higher rate than the international visitor arrivals in the world of 4.6% (Pacific Consultants International, Yachiyo Engineering Co., Ltd 2000, 01).

However, in November 1997, a terroristic attack which is known as Luxor Massacre took place in 1997, when six gunmen shot and killed fifty-eight tourists and four Egyptians in front of Hatshepsut Temple in Luxor, West Bank. This attack resulted in a 60% drop of tourist numbers of cultural purposes less than the previous season, and the hotel occupancy dropped to 18%. However, the Tourism sector had achieved a remarkable rebound in 1999, when nearly 4.5 million tourists visited Egypt compared to 3.7 million in 1997 (GulfInsider 2014).

The regional and international political conflicts, such as the Palestinian *Intifāda* and the 11th September attacks on the USA in 2001, have caused another decline of the flow of tourist to Egypt which did not last for long until the minor decline after the international financial crisis in 2007-2008.

Shortly after the peak of the number of visitors to Egypt in 2010 which reached over fourteen million, the 2011 uprising — internationally known as the *Arab Spring* — and the concurrent conditions of violence were likely to dominate the image of Egypt and overshadow attraction elements, whether *original* sources or *consequent tourist offers*. It resulted in generating an unappealing and even threatening image that repealed Tourism in 2011 and the consecutive years (Nowar 2017). Despite the claims of the then-new Islamic leadership to boost Tourism (Bakr 2013; Ikhwanweb 2013; Kleber 2012), international tourists and tourist operators worried that its administration could enforce strict conservative laws.

It had taken two years for the Tourism sector in Egypt to recover since the British and Russian ban on flights issued in November when a Russian plane exploded after taking off from Sharm Alsheikh airport, and all people on board were killed. Notably, the attempted terrorist strike on

Luxor Temple in June and the car bomb in Cairo in August 2015 were signs of weak security control, (ibid; BMI Research 2017, 7). However, Egypt in 2017 was the world’s second-fastest-growing tourist destination, after witnessing a 51% spike in the international tourist arrival numbers (Haines 2017). That happened after the visitor numbers dropped in 2016 to 42% less compared to 2015.

A quick analysis of the previous figure 3.7 that studies the flow of international tourist arrivals in Egypt from 1952 until 2017 shows as mentioned before that the Tourism in Egypt has been very prone to both local and external political factors that had played a significant role controlling the number of international tourist arrivals (BMI Research 2017, 9). Moreover, the impact has been especially dramatic since 2011 and its following events and political decisions. The quarterly report created and published by Business Monitor International about Tourism in Egypt (ibid, 9) however, suggests that the Tourism industry will slowly regain the growth of the international tourist numbers in the upcoming years.

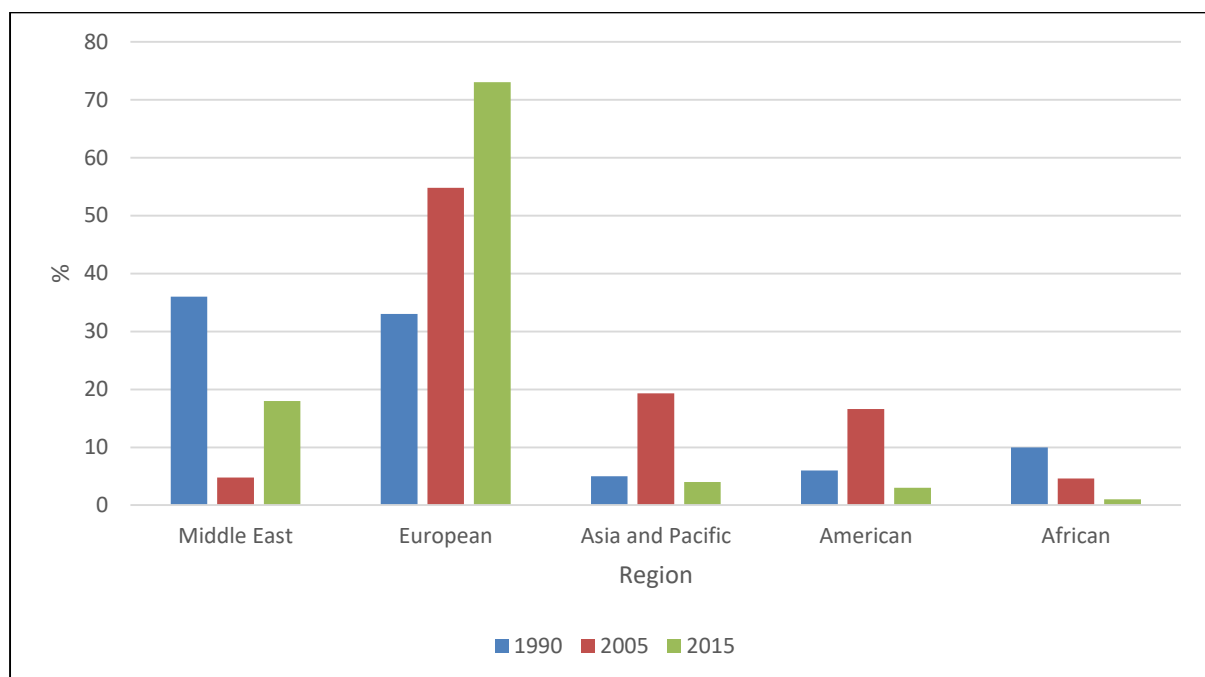


Fig. 3.8: The international tourist arrivals in Egypt in 1990, 2005, and 2015 grouped by regions
 Source: CAPMAS 2018; Ibrahim 2011, 51, CAPMAS 2005

Figure 3.8 shows that the tourists in the year 2015, regardless of the purposes, from Europe form the most prominent group (73%) of international tourists that visit Egypt, the next region is the Arab states with 18%, then Asia 4%, the United States 3%, and lastly Africa 1%. Ten years earlier, in 2005, the distribution among these regions was relatively more balanced; 54.8% of international tourists were Europeans, Asia and the Pacific region were the second with 19.3%, Americans constituted 16.6%, then Africa with 4.4% (Gamblin 2007, 164).

Perhaps the drop of long-haul visitors from Asia and America is due to the fear of security hazards after 2011.¹⁹

3.5. The Tourist Offer in Egypt

Freyer (2015, 321) clarified that Tourism holds only a partial function of a touristic destination besides its primary functions as an economic settlement location, a residential and administrative context. Hence, Tourism cannot be the only pillar or generator of development. However, the tourist destination could function as a service provider, a tour operator and a travel agent — *consequent* tourist offer — which are created especially for Tourism. In this sense, Egypt and other Tourism destinations are a product and producer of Tourism offers.

¹⁹ The latest data available by CAPMAS in 2019 shows the tourist distribution by only three country groups, Arabs 26.8%, Europeans 61.2%, and Americans 4.5% (and others 8%). Hence, the Asia and Pasific African regions are merged.

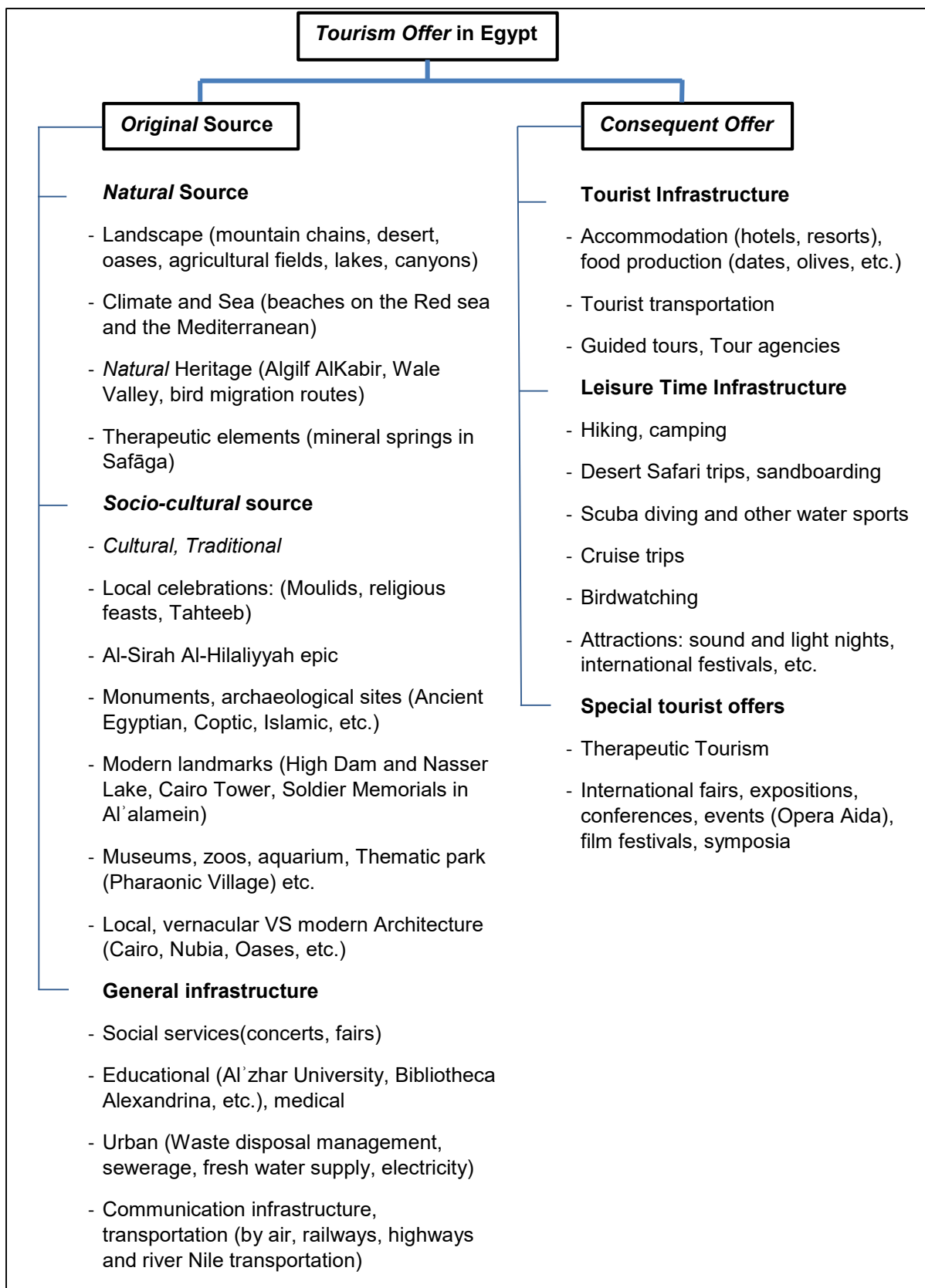


Fig. 3.9: The Tourist Offers in Egypt
 Source: Researcher, adapted from Freyer 2015, 323

Egypt, as already mentioned, has found its way in Tourism as a newly discovered landscape in the late eighteenth century. The previous figure 3.9 gathers the *original resources* and *consequent offers* of Egypt.

3.5.1. *Original Resources*

The original features or *free goods*²⁰ in Egypt that are not necessarily designated solely for Tourism (according to Freyer 2015). The *original* resources are represented in — and not limited to — the following types²¹:

3.5.1.1. *Natural Resource*

Egypt enjoys many landscape sceneries, which vary from the desert areas such as the white and black deserts, the five natural oases (Bahariya, Dakhla, Farafra, Kharga, and Siwa) in the western desert, the lakes (Qarun Lake in Fayoum), the mountain chain along the Red Sea, and about thirty natural reserves (Jabal Elba, Nabaq, Qubbet Alhasna, Ras Muhammad, Saint Catherine, etc.) covering about 14.7% of its area (Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform 2016, 234). They are mainly located along the Red Sea, and in the Sinai Peninsula, Fayoum and near Cairo, such as the Wādi Alḥītān²² AlGifl AlKebīr²³, and Wādi Dejla²⁴, which show the biological diversity in Egypt. The Elba Park natural reserve located on the south-east of Egypt, Wādi Aljīmāl²⁵ national park, and Rass Mohamed protectorate²⁶ and other sites are located in the Sinai Peninsula. Siwa oasis also is considered as a natural reserve because of its faunal Value, many fresh and saltwater springs, and the endangered Slender-horned Gazelle. Egypt also has four bird migration routes, which are set as a tentative *natural World Heritage* site in the Red Sea and Sinai.

These *natural* assets bring the opportunity to create recreational and eco-tourism resorts. It is sunny in Egypt most of the year. The temperature along the Nile Valley is almost constant,

²⁰ Products that do not cost economically to be produced. See Chapter Two (2.1.1 and 2.2.2).

²¹ Some of the *original* resources in Egypt are listed as UNESCO *World Heritage* Sites or in the UNESCO *World Heritage Tentative List*. Until 2019, the UNESCO *WH* sites in Egypt are seven, and the ones on the UNESCO Tentative list are thirty-three. Some of them but not all are mentioned here. The full list is in the following link <https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/eg> (accessed November 08, 2019). There were sixteen sites submitted in 2003, thirteen submitted in 1994, and one in each following years: 2002, 2008, 2010 and 2015.

²² The valley of the whales was designated as a *natural World Heritage site* by UNESCO in 2005. It contains prehistoric fossils of whales.

²³ This sandstone plateau is located on the south-west of Egypt, on the borders with Sudan and Libya and contains the Silica Glass field and the Great Sand Sea. It hosts several wild bird hoards, animal and reptile species that do not exist elsewhere in Egypt due to its isolated nature.

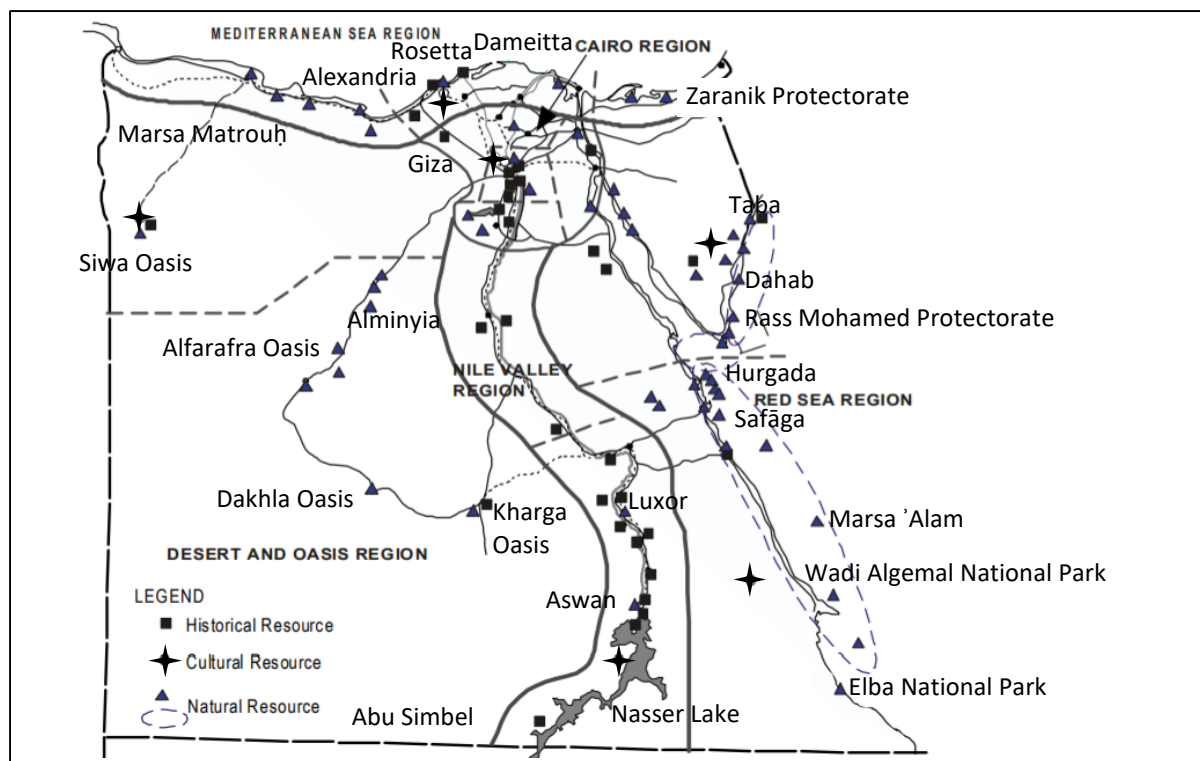
²⁴ It is categorised by IUCN as a Provincial Park and contains geological formations.

²⁵ Wādi Aljīmāl is a national park which contains many fish species and also prehistoric rock drawings.

²⁶ It has one of the most beautiful and diverse coral reefs in the world <http://www.egypt.travel/attractions/ras-mohammed-national-park/> (accessed November 08, 2019).

between 14° to 37° C). Winter season is the primary touristic season for its stable and mild weather in Cairo and Upper Egypt at the *cultural* Heritage sites, and along the Red Sea coast and Sinai for sea and sand beaches.

The following map 3.1 locates, according to the Pacific Consultants International, the *natural resources* which gather the regions along the Red sea, and Sinai where the national parks of Wadi Algemal, Elba, and Rass Mohamed are, and along the Mediterranean from east to west from Zaranik protectorate. The *historical resources* which are the *original cultural* resources spread mainly along the Nile Valley, and the *cultural resources* which exist north to south, in Alexandria, Cairo, Sinai, Wadi Algemal and Nasser Lake.



Map 3.1: The Main Tourism Resources in Egypt
 Source: Pacific Consultants International, Yachiyo Engineering Co., Ltd. 2000, 05

According to map 3.1, the *natural* sites in Egypt seem to cover Egypt land area evenly; while the *cultural* and *historical* resources are concentrated more on the Nile valley.

3.5.1.2. Socio-Cultural Sources

Egypt has several historic centres with vibrant cultures. Culture and traditions within the medieval centre of Cairo interconnect with the nineteenth-century extension, the Khedivial

Cairo of Ali Pasha Mubarak's²⁷ design. Each part has its features and character. The medieval architectural remains in Historic Cairo which have been the capital city of Egypt for over a millennium, represent a significant type that is well preserved in some houses, i.e. Alharrawy Alsehemy, and Alrazzaz. Historic Cairo was inscribed as a UNESCO *World Heritage* site in 1979. The Historic Cairo is well covered by many mosques from different eras, such as Ahmed Ibn Tulun mosque which was built in 876-879 AD, Al Azhar mosque which was built in 970 AD, Qalawun complex which was built in 1280s AD until the Ottoman Period such as Abu-Aldahab and Moḥammad Ali mosques.

Egypt enjoys cultural diversity in several regions such as the (former) cosmopolitan Alexandria and Suez Canal cities, the oases on the western desert and the traditional costumes herein, the vernacular architecture and different language (Amazigh in Sīwa and Nūbi in Aswan and Nubia). There is also the Bedouin culture in Sinai. Moreover, Rosetta on the northern coast, where one of the main two Nile branches meets the Mediterranean, was one of the vital ports with ancient history and still enjoys a rich agricultural hinterland. Egypt also has a vernacular architecture in its oases Sīwa, Farafra, Dakhla and Gharga in the western desert, each with their individual character and identity.

Egypt allocates a complex of Coptic churches in Cairo and in many cities such as St Mercurius which was demolished and rebuilt during 974-979 AD, the Hanging Church which was built during the third century, and the St. Catherine Monastery in Sinai that was inscribed in 2002 as a UNESCO *World Heritage* site. Moreover, according to the New Testament, its land witnessed the Holy Escape of the Holy Family to Egypt. This trip is distinguishable by many traces that were marked by churches and monasteries from Sinai to Upper Egypt.²⁸

The archaeological resources in Egypt spread mainly along the Nile Valley. Tombs and monumental temples from Ancient Egyptian until Ptolemaic Periods. Cultural Tourism is the oldest type of Tourism in Egypt since the European rediscovery in the 1800s of the Egyptian Antiquities and the decoding of the Ancient-Egyptian language alphabet (see Chapter Five).

²⁷ Read more about the urban planner work in extending the medieval Cairo and the design background here <https://cairoobserver.com/post/14185184147/paris-was-never-along-the-nile#notes> (accessed November 08, 2019).

²⁸ "When they had gone, an angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream. 'Get up,' he said, 'take the child and his mother and escape to Egypt' [...] So he got up, took the child and his mother during the night and left for Egypt" (Matthew 2:13-14, New International Version).

Egypt has so far, according to the Ministry State of Antiquities, over two-hundred forty international archaeological missions in all over the country²⁹. These sites vary from the prehistoric, ancient Egyptian, Ptolemaic, Roman, Coptic and Islamic eras.

There are several museums in Egypt, however, many of which are located in Cairo: the Egyptian museum, the agricultural museum, the Coptic and Islamic museums, the geological museum, the railway museum, the museum of Egyptian civilisation, military and police museums, etc. However, the rest of the museums in the country are mostly concerned with ancient tangible artefacts and not the narratives, such as Malawi, Luxor, and Suhāj museums.

Egypt (until 2020) has four UNESCO inscribed Intangible Cultural Heritage elements of Humanity: the Date Palm, Knowledge, Skills, Traditions and Practices (2019), the Traditional Hand Puppetry (2018), the *Taḥteeb* (2016), and *Al-Sirah Al-Hilaliyyah* Epic (2008) (UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage N/A). Date Palm Knowledge spreads over the Arab region and has shaped its identity through traditional activities. The Traditional Hand Puppetry is known locally as *Al-Aragoz*, a sarcastic character which reflects the day-to-day struggles and fights corruption. Therefore, it was inscribed as a collective Heritage among fourteen Arab countries, including Egypt. *Taḥteeb*³⁰ is an ancient and still living martial stick and the festive game mostly performed in Upper Egypt. *Al-Sirah Al-Hilaliyyah* Epic is an oral heroic saga in a musical form and sung with simple string instrument *Rababa* about the migration of Bani Hilal tribe through Egypt probably from Hejaz and Najd (today Saudi Arabia) to North Africa (ibid).

There are several socio-religious celebrations in Egypt, some of which are believed to be inherited from ancient traditions. One example is the Easter or *Sham-Alnasīm*, and its associated exceptional food and family gatherings. *Moulids* are essential festivals in Egypt, when people celebrate the birthday of religious figures, such as *Alḥussain* in Cairo, *Abu Alḥaggag* in Luxor, and *ALSayed Albadawi* in Tanta. People in *moulids* are used to gather and celebrate with unique songs and dances. During religious feasts such as *Alfitr* and *Al'dḥa*, people prepare special food and celebrate in social gatherings.

3.5.1.3. General Infrastructure

Egypt holds several international fairs that range from traditional crafts to medical and political fairs. Egypt also enjoys several recreational services such as shopping malls and concert halls but mainly in big cities such as Cairo and Alexandria. However, Upper Egypt and Delta regions

²⁹ See the Current and Recent Foreign Missions here: http://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/fmr_current_missions_mp.htm

³⁰ *Taḥteeb* is performed by two men with an audience during festivals. While it is non-violent, it tends to make each party show their masculinity, intelligence and quickness. More about *Taḥteeb* art here: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/state/egypt-EG?info=elements-on-the-lists>

suffer a lack of such services. Some cultural events recently start to happen in Luxor beside Opera Aida by Verdi. The annual African Film Festival has been active since 2010 (Luxor African Film Festival N/A).

Al'zhar University is one of the oldest education institutions in the world; it was built during constructing Fatimid Cairo in 971 AD and was officially inaugurated in 979 AD (Al-Azhar University 2017). It attracts not only Egyptian students, but also international students in its many faculty branches that range from applied sciences, humanities, and Islamic studies. Cairo University, one of the oldest education institutions in Egypt, attracts international students, mainly from the Arab and African world for post-graduate studies. It was established in 1908 and has now twenty-seven faculties.

The Urban infrastructure in Egypt suffers from lack of maintenance and management. The waste disposal is a huge problem in Egypt. Every household in Egypt compulsory³¹ pays for the management of waste disposal; hence the problem is related to corruption and lack of management capabilities in the state and local levels.

Most of the rural areas in Egypt do not have access to clean, freshwater; 88% do not have access to freshwater supply compared to only 4% in urban areas that do not get the access to freshwater³² (UNICEF N/A).

Cairo and Sharm Elsheikh airports are the biggest international ones in Egypt. However, Sharm Elsheikh airport mainly serves Tourism in Sinai and the subsequent labour forces, so it is considered as a subsequent significant offer. According to the Airport Authority website, there are twenty-seven airports in Egypt (the Airport Authority, 2019), six of which are international, Cairo, Al'alamian, Burj Al'rab, Mubarak, Sharm Elsheikh, and Sidi Barani airports. There is also a railway system that runs alongside the River Nile to connect Alexandria in the north and Aswan in the south Several private and national bus companies run regional public transportation. The national transportation operational system in Egypt is generally considered inadequate, which affects the tourist flow, and accordingly needs reform for the society and tourists.

³¹ Every household in Egypt pay waste disposal fee, which has been since 2018 included in the monthly electricity bills.

³² More about this issue here <https://www.unicef.org/egypt/water-sanitation-and-hygiene> (accessed on February 11, 2020)

3.5.2. Subsequent Offers

3.5.2.1. Tourist Infrastructure

Egypt has a variety of accommodation modes such as hostels, hotels, resorts, eco-tourism resorts, and floating hotels. The oldest modern hotels³³ in Egypt appeared in Luxor and Cairo in the second half of the nineteenth century.

For transportation; the main touristic hubs such as Cairo, Alexandria, Luxor, Aswan and Sharm Alsheikh have international airports and highways. Except for Sharm Alsheikh in Sinai, they are also linked with railways. River Nile is — despite underutilised — considered a transportation spine from north to south, which is believed to be a leading touristic entertainment of itself by cruise trips.

Tour agencies arrange touristic group transportations and accommodations. The first to initiate this infrastructure in Egypt was Thomas Cook. His company arranged tour packages (boat itineraries) and built one of the well-known five stars hotels in Egypt, the Winter Palace in 1906. Several Egyptian and foreign tour agencies arrange international tourist group visits to touristic sites in Egypt. Tour guides usually are hired by tour agencies or are available at the touristic sites for the visitors. Visitors usually find a tour guide who speaks one of the standard international languages such as English, Russian, French, Chinese, German, Japanese, and/or Spanish.

3.5.2.2. Leisure Time Infrastructure

The relevant mild weather in Egypt allows leisure time Tourism such as recreational or marine resort Tourism along the beaches of the Red Sea coast and in South Sinai, with beautiful scenes of sand and mountains that are the major touristic attractions in Egypt. In 2016, 95.1% of the total tourist arrivals was for recreational purposes. The various sports that are offered in Egypt through tour operators also include sandboarding, hiking, safari and camping trips in the desert destinations in Sinai, along the Red Sea and in the western desert of Egypt. The recreational infrastructure includes scuba diving and other water sports, to enjoy the coral reefs in the Sinai Peninsula. The Nile cruise is one of the significant and traditional tourist activities. The eco-tourism resorts in Sīwa oasis and other areas in Sinai and the Red Sea have become a trend which attracts tourists who require spending time in nature with minimum energy consumption and impact on the *natural* resources.

³³ Egypt used to have a medieval type of hotels called Funduq. They were very common during the Mamluk period (1250-1517). The Funduk hosted the foreigner traders in Egypt, while other building types had a similar function such as Qisarya, Khan, and Wekala.

Many of the Egyptians and tourists enjoy watching migratory birds such as ducks, falcons, swans, seagull, and sandpiper in the nature reserves along the Mediterranean and the Red Sea coasts and several lakes.

3.5.2.3. Special Tourist Offers

Medical or therapeutic Tourism is growing fast recently in Egypt (BMI Research 2017, 8). The Egyptian Cabinet approved setting up the Supreme Committee for Medical Tourism in 2018 to be responsible for preparations for a general plan project for medical Tourism (Egypt Today Staff 2017). Egypt also has cultural festivals such as several annual film festivals in Alexandria, Cairo, Algouna, and Luxor. Several fairs for traditional artefacts are held in Cairo.

Opera Aida by Verdi is one of the cultural events that take place in Luxor. Egypt holds several international scientific conferences and workshops. Besides Cairo, some of them are held in Sharm Alsheikh and a cruise ship from Luxor to Aswan.

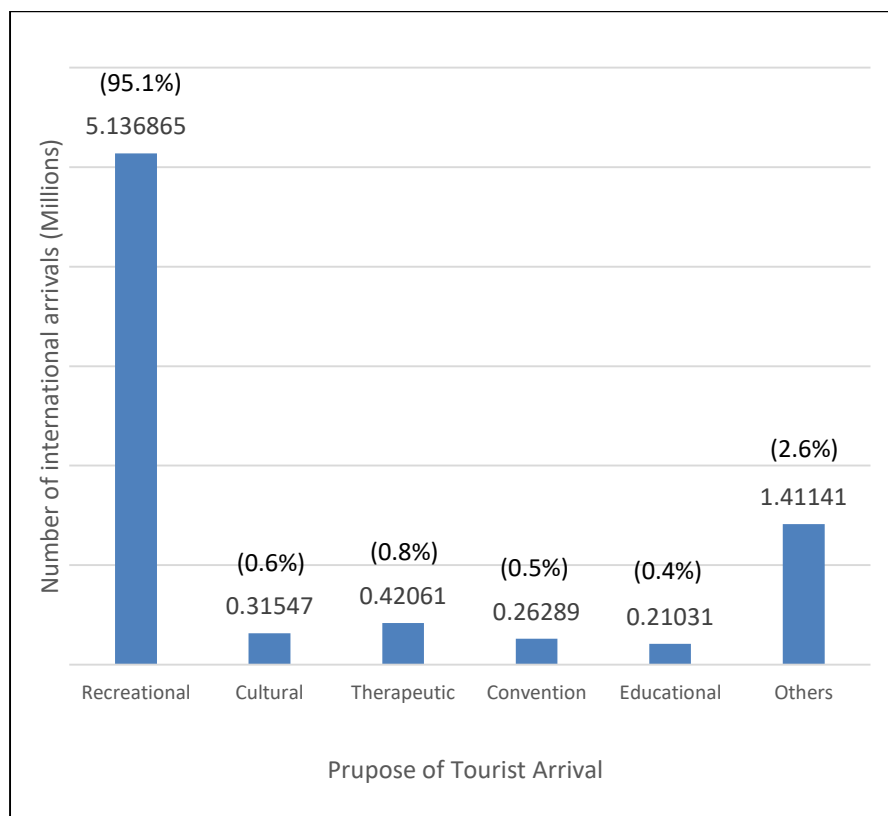


Fig. 3.10: The purpose of arrival for the international tourists in Egypt in 2016
Source: CAPMAS 2018

When we compare the *original* source of Tourism to the size of the *consequent offer* in Egypt, we find flows in the distribution between the *original* and the *consequent*. Figure 3.10 clarifies this huge unbalance between the *original* resources and what they offer, and the actual purpose of tourist arrival in Egypt. It shows that recreational Tourism attracted most of the

tourists in the year 2016, unlike what is known that cultural Tourism is the most traditional and deep-rooted type in Egypt. Cultural resources attract only 0.6% of the total international tourists in 2016, despite all the *cultural offers* mentioned above (CAPMAS 2018). Nonetheless, there are many tourists, and tourist packages tend to combine recreational Tourism in the Red Sea and Sinai resorts with cultural Tourism in Luxor and Aswan, their trips are considered purely and mainly recreational. The trips to the Nile Valley are usually day trips, and their overnight stays and expenditure are not dedicated to the cultural attractions (BMI Research 2017, 23). Other *cultural offers* are overlooked. The local celebrations such as moulids, the zoos and aquariums are less visited by international visitors and barely get promoted by the tourist agencies. Hence, the touristic infrastructure requires considerable improvement.

Medical or therapeutic Tourism is the second most attractive type of Tourism (0.8%) after recreational. The convention or conference Tourism, then the educational or training Tourism take the fourth and fifth positions, respectively (0.5% and 0.4%), which also need improvement. It supposedly can occur in underdeveloped regions with a general functional structure such as Upper Egypt.

3.5.3. The Competitiveness of Egyptian Tourist Destinations

According to the Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index (World Economic Forum 2017) issued by the World Economic Forum, Egypt ranked in the year 2017 the 74th position with an overall score of 3.6 in the overall performance among 136 other countries. In the same year, Spain ranked best in its overall performance index according to the World Economic Forum survey with an overall score of 5.4. According to this index, Egypt's latest overall ranking has gained nine positions ahead compared with its ranking in 2015, even if its score was slightly less (3.5)³⁴.

The *performance index framework* (ibid) is based on four concepts (or sub-indexes):

- (1) *Natural and Cultural Resources*;
- (2) *Infrastructure*;
- (3) *Travel and Tourism Policy and Enabling Conditions*; and
- (4) *Enabling Environment*.

³⁴ The scoring information is based on the *World Economic Forum's Executive Opinion Survey*, and the score is ranged from 1 to 7 (best). Read for more about the methodology to conduct the index: <http://reports.weforum.org/travel-and-Tourism-competitiveness-report-2017/methodology-details/> (accessed February 09, 2018).

The following figure 3.11 shows Egypt's score in the last ten years following the best overall scores of the world (Switzerland and Spain).

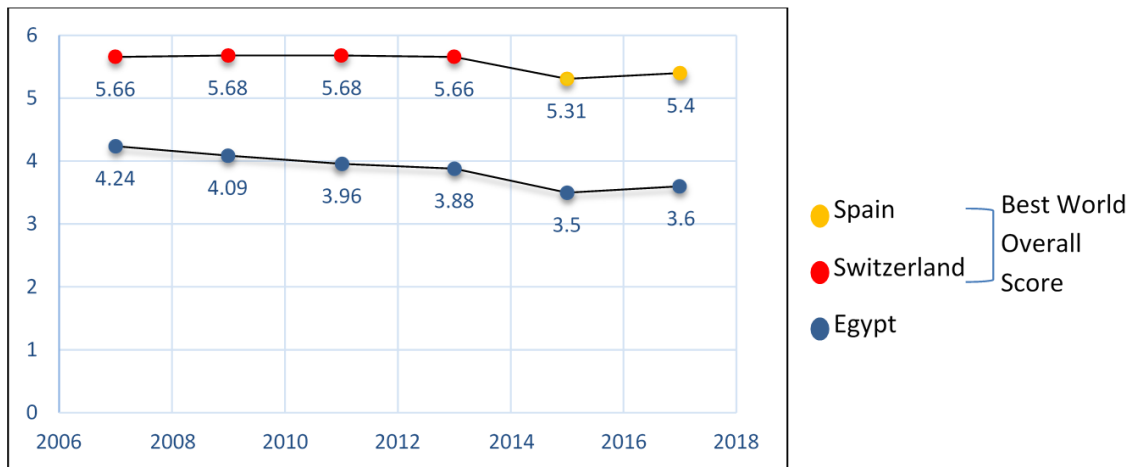


Fig. 3.11: The performance of the overall best world and Egypt scores in Travel and Tourism until 2017
 Source: Blanke and Chiesa 2013; ibid 2011; ibid 2007; Crotti and Marashi 2017; ibid 2015; Schwab 2009

While Switzerland had in the years 2016 and 2018 high scores in *Enabling Environment and Infrastructure* (6.2 and 5.7 respectively), the low scores of its *Natural and Cultural Resources* (3.7 and 2.9 respectively) caused its overall ranking to be the tenth best, and Spain got the best World Overall Score instead. In this case, the *natural* and *cultural* resources of Spain granted the best overall score to Spain.

The following figure 3.12 illustrates the scores and rankings of Egypt's sub-divisions, in comparison with the world best scores. On the one hand, the big difference in sub-index scores between Egypt and the world's according to the last edition lays behind both concepts: *Tourism Service Infrastructure* and *Natural And Cultural Resources*. Furthermore, the pillars *International Openness*³⁵ and safety and security cause a considerable gap and are due to the current political situation and security concerns in Egypt.

³⁵ International openness means air service agreements, the visa requirements, and the number of regional trade agreements in force.

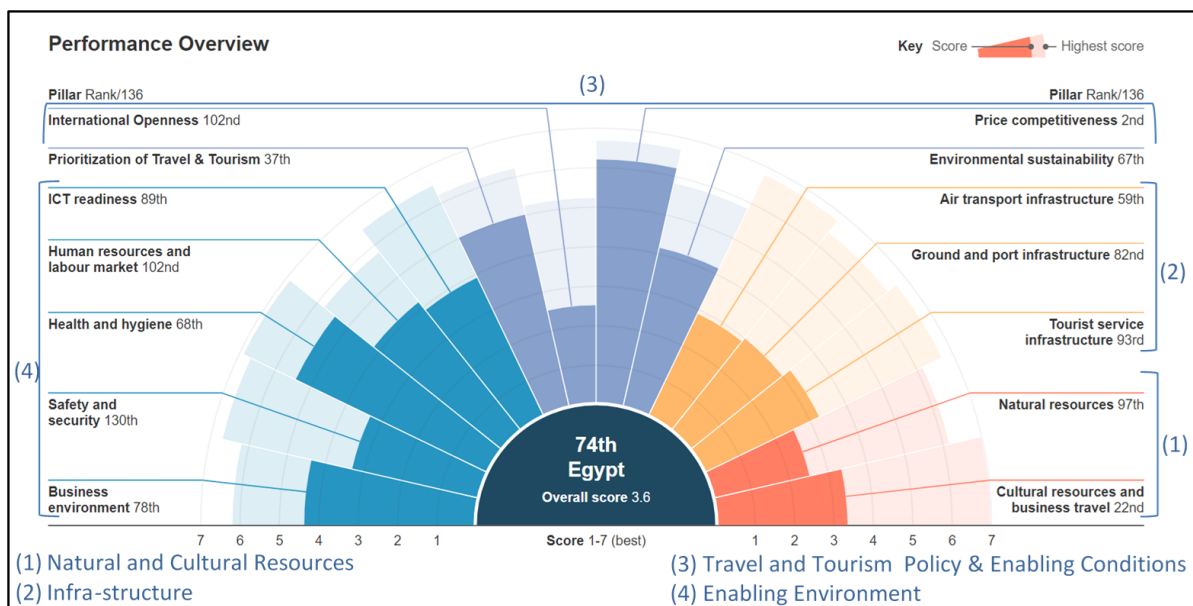


Fig. 3. 12: Egypt performance overview in the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index 2017 edition
Source: Crotti and Marashi 2017

On the other hand, Egypt has offered so far a price-competitive destination as it ranked the second-best with a score of 6.2. The devaluation of the Egyptian Pound in 2016 has had a significant influence on the revival of the Tourism industry in Egypt in comparison with other touristic destinations: Spain, for instance, ranked 98th with score 4.5 among all other 135 countries in this edition.

Substantially, notwithstanding the richness of the *original natural* and *cultural* resources of Egypt, the *subsequent tourist offer* fails to meet the international standards. The general infrastructure needs improvements, as well as a decent road network and transportation, are essential to improve Egypt performance.

3.6. Conclusion

The definition of the areas and buildings of outstanding Value in Egypt seems to ostensibly use the terms of the *Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention*. However, the content advocates the visually oriented definition of Values. The Egyptian Antiquities Protection law considers the age Value as the normative factor for protection. Despite the controversial amendments, this law fails to protect the registered and unregistered archaeological sites because it leads to the disconnection between the occupiers and their Heritage context. The other laws have not shown a strong position compared to the Antiquities Protection law. They, as well, do not give practical methods to live in a Heritage context without being legally prone to eviction. After a decade of issuance, laws 144/2006 and 119/2008, as well, failed to protect the buildings of Value in Egypt that do not fall under the Antiquities

Protection law. However, it is very recommended to activate Article 97 in law 119/2008 to establish a monetary fund to support the maintenance and restoration works with no interest and include the buildings of Value in this scheme.

Moving from the law analyses in Egypt to the investigation of Tourism, a quick breakdown of figure 3.7 shows that Tourism in Egypt has been very prone to internal and external political factors that had played a substantial impact on international tourist arrivals (BMI Research 2017, 8). Besides, this has been increasing since 2011 and its following events and decisions. Accordingly, Egypt is to revise its local priorities which have not to depend solely on Tourism as the primary source of income and encourage and support other local resources. Tourism, as well as Heritage Management, in Egypt, are organised in a very hierarchical, centralised and complex system, with such a lot of stakeholders on the national level as elaborately shown in this chapter, that it seems to be very difficult to achieve an efficient management equilibrium for the Heritage sites on the local level. Obviously, there are no possibilities for local communities for any participation.

Egypt needs to give more attention to its *original natural* and *cultural* resources, not only with sustainable conservation methods but also with providing these sites with adequate general and touristic infrastructures, the aspects that need upgrading. On the one hand, it will provide the safety and security atmosphere a visitor requires in a touristic destination. On the other hand, it will create a better and more practical atmosphere for the yet improving and promising business and convention Tourism.

The State Information Service's definition of the cultural resources in Egypt is limited to tangible *archaeological* and disregards other aspects of Egypt intangible cultural resources, hence limiting the potential international visitors with other cultural interests. According to figure 3.10, there is a considerable imbalance among the different purposes of tourist arrival in Egypt, with a vast majority (95.1%) for recreational beach Tourism compared to the traditional cultural Tourism, tangible and intangible, which attracted only 0.6% of the tourists.

Egypt has a great potential source for eco-tourism. With its various touristic *original* resources, more tourists will enjoy its undisturbed natural various destinations with a sustainable, responsible mode that should conserve the resources.

As indicated, Egypt enjoys many *natural* and *cultural* sites that are undermined and not in the touristic map of Egypt. There are thirty-three *natural* and *cultural* sites on the UNESCO tentative list and most of which are neither represented in the promotional campaigns nor by the state media. For more integrated Tourism products, Egypt has to include these sites as

potential destinations such as natural reserves shown in map 3.1 in its strategy for Tourism development.

There is a substantial gap between the demand for a functional and secure transportation system (BMI Research 2017, 7), hence the stable existence of the parallel, private informal system. All these challenges affect negatively the individual tourists that visit Egypt independently. Moreover, there is a considerable lack of tourist information offices/points in the main stations.

Map 3.1 shows the balanced distribution of the Heritage and *original* Tourism resources in Egypt, but not necessarily the same for the flow of tourists among those sites. The situation of the general infrastructure in Egypt affects the mobility and accessibility directly for the locals and visitors. The authorities, unfortunately, overlook it as an integral *original Tourism offer* in Egypt. Developing and coordinating the flow of the tourists between the recreational destinations on the Red Sea, and the other cultural destinations along the Nile Valley will create or at least improve the balance among these Tourism resources. Perhaps operational diversification methods by combining and integrating different Tourism *offers* or *resources*, such as the Nile cruise with visiting Cairo, Luxor and Aswan which is a successful practical case to be followed with other destinations and *offers*.

Ultimately, sustainable Tourism policies and innovative strategies should be carried out by the different stakeholders to balance the *original tourist offers* and tourist demands.

These several topics; the conflict among national institutions, the imbalance of the *original* Heritage and Tourism resources and the Tourism demands, and achieving at the same time sustainable Tourism could be solved with a precise and consent definition of Heritage and Heritage Sites among stakeholders, and an effective management planning at the national, local and site levels.

CHAPTER 4: AN INTRODUCTORY INVESTIGATION OF HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF LUXOR CITY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is part of the observation of patterns to understand and appreciate the Values regarding this archaeological site as part of a process in Upper Egypt, Luxor. It is associated with a study of the emergence of the *consequent offers*. The aim is to generate an overview of the dynamics of Heritage appreciation, creation of *consequent offers* and their impact on the local community. This chapter starts with a historical review of Luxor area in the east bank of River Nile from ancient history until the present day in three parts, the Ancient Egyptian and Medieval, the Modern until the 1900s, and from 1900s until the current time. This observation is to be juxtaposed to the discussion in the following chapter of the actual Heritage Values — or *original Values* — and the *consequent offers* Luxor city provides.

4.2. Ancient and Medieval History of Luxor City

The historic site of Ancient Thebes stood on both sides of the River Nile. It was named *Uast*, or *Waset* in Hieroglyphic (Budge 1925, 386). The east part of the city, where the temples of Karnak and Luxor are situated has been called in Hieroglyphic Apti, which in Memphitic dialect was pronounced *Thaba*¹, and was distorted in Coptic to *Thebes* (Thompson 2001, 293). The city and its suburbs on both banks of the Nile seem to have been included under this name. The Greeks gave the name *Diospolis* to Thebes, which mainly applied only to the city on the east bank, was dedicated to the worship of the god Amun-Ra. The Greek and Roman called it *Diospolis Magna* (Budge 1925, 386), and the current name of the site is *Luxor*, or in Arabic, *Al' uqsur*, *the Palaces*.

There are two main elements of the ancient city of Thebes which should be seen as a unity (see figure 5.5) (Supreme Council of Antiquities 1991). On the east bank of the River Nile — in which the primary site of interest of this research is located — rose the *gods'* dwellings, the ancient city of Thebes. Today it is marked by two major groups of remains, the Temple Complex at Karnak, Luxor Temple, and the Processional Way that connects both. On the west bank, hills containing the cult of the dead royals, the necropolis of Thebes represented in the

¹ Mariette-Bey argued that Thebes is derived from *Tema*, a way of expressing the city of excellence, which has become *Teba*. (Mariette-Bey 1890, 181).

Valley of the Kings, the Tombs of the Nobles, the Valley of the Queens, Colossi of Memnon, Hatshepsut and Madinet Habu Temples.

4.2.1. Thebes, the Raise of one of the foremost centres of Civilisations in Ancient Egypt (2160-660 BC)

The history of Thebes begins sometime in the third millennium BC as a little town of minor importance (UNESCO Digital Library 1979, 6). At the start of the Old Kingdom, Thebes was merely a small provincial town (Sullivan 2008a, 1). From c. 2160 BC, it raised first as the new capital of the fourth Upper Egyptian Nome and then as the principal city of a union which eventually succeeded in reuniting Upper and Lower Egypt during the Eleventh Dynasty (c. 2040-1991 BC). After the death of Amenhotep III, Egypt entered from wealth and power to a period of turmoil (c.1778 to 1570 BC) and was for some time governed by foreign rulers, i.e. Hyksos (Mansfield-Meade 1945, 28, UNESCO 1979). It was Thebes and its native kings who liberated the country and reunited Egypt once again under the rule of the New Kingdom rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1540-1353 BC).

However, the king Akhenaten (the 1350s-1330s BC) during the Third Intermediate Period abandoned Thebes and built his new capital instead at Tel Al'amarna², now in Minya Governorate (Mansfield-Meade 1945, 28). Thebes was deserted during Akhenaten's reign for less than twenty years. During Tut Ankhamen's reign (c. 1334–c. 1325 BC), Thebes once again became the capital and regained its original position. Thebes was replaced by capital cities in the Lower Egypt such as Tanis (now near to Şan Alḥajar in Sharkya Governorate), and Bubastis (now Tell Baṣṭa) during the Third Intermediate Period came to an end in circa 1070 BC. Therefore, Thebes steadily declined in its importance and wealth as a capital city until 660 BC.

There is very little information about Thebes during the time from 660-332BC, due to its continuous fading in history and the insignificant role it played during this time. However, it is believed that several conquerors from Nineveh from the Levant (c. 600s BC) violated Thebes on both sides of the River Nile and looted its treasures (Feldman 2004, 141).

4.2.2. Thebes during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (332 BC-400 AD)

Alexander the Great occupied Egypt in 332 BC while Memphis, near Giza, was the capital of Ancient Egypt and built Alexandria on the Mediterranean Sea to be the new capital. His brother, Philip Arrhidaeus, who took the throne after Alexander the Great's death, managed

² Read more about Amarna city and Akhenaten here
http://www.amarnaproject.com/pages/amarna_the_place/ (accessed November 13, 2019).

to have a significant visual impact at Karnak; he built the still-existing granite bark shrine for the god Amun (Sullivan 2008a, 12). The Ptolemais had left some other significant remains in Karnak complex³ (Middle Kingdom), and also in Luxor Temple (New Kingdom), where at its rear, a sanctuary dedicated for Alexander the Great was built.

During the Ptolemaic Period (323-30 BC) the townships of Luxor, Karnak and the west bank continued to be neglected and, the siege and looting of Thebes by Ptolemy IX Lathyros (142-81 BC) was the last and highest act of violence ever happened in Thebes (Mariette-Bey 1890, 179). Luxor Temple was severely damaged among other monuments in circa 27 BC by an earthquake (Budge 1925, 393).

The Ptolemais believed that many of their own religious and cultural features partially stemmed from and were influenced by early Egyptian cults and culture (Sullivan 2008a, 15). The Ptolemais joined the worship of the Ancient Egyptian Gods at their temples with a new cult to their ancestors, writing the ruling family directly into traditional Egyptian royal ancestor worship (Sullivan 2008a, 12).

During the Roman time circa 30 BC to 395 AD, Luxor Temple was incorporated within the Roman camp, and remains of the fortress walls and gates still exist as shown in figure 5.12 in Chapter Five (5.3.1.2). Sir Harold Idris Bell added that in 85 AD “*an obstinate rising [of violence] ended with the virtual destruction of Thebes*”, which left the former capital not more than a ruined ghost city (Bell 1945, 61).

4.2.3. Coptic Period (100s-800s AD)

The Copts (the Egyptian Christians), who lived in Luxor before the Arabs conquered Egypt (Alhajjaji 1996, 34), built their houses and churches in the courtyard and other parts inside Luxor Temple; basically, they reused the old deserted holly lands. Remains of several churches, as shown in Chapter Three (3.1.3) are existing in the area around Luxor Temple such as St. Thecla church in front of the west side of the pylon.

Churches and monasteries were built for practising asceticism and worship. Many pieces of evidence and traces from the Coptic and Medieval layers in Luxor were cut by excavations done in the nineteenth-century, which had concentrated the works only to reveal the ancient Egyptian layers. Modern debris covered these upper Medieval layers, which were erased (Whitcomb and Johnson, 1986, 32). Budge described the damage during this period as *fanatical*; smashing and disfiguring statues and reliefs only to reach the oldest evident (Budge 1925, 393). Luxor in the Medieval Time and Islamic Period (800s-1500s AD).

³ This remains are illustrated in the description of Karnak Complex in Chapter Three (3.1.2).

4.2.4. Medieval Time and Islamic Period (800s-1500s AD)

When the Arabs conquered Egypt, they called this site Luxor, after the Great Temple which it partly encircles and it is the most remarkable object that the traveller sees on his arrival if he comes by boat (Thompson 2001, 296). The word *Luxor* in Arabic signifies *palaces* or *mansions*. As Arabic gradually became the primary language in Egypt, Luxor has ever since been called so, and *Thebes* has become the historic name. *Thebes* has been considered as a reference to its monuments and the archaeological area on the east and west bank, hence, its UNESCO WH designation name *Ancient Thebes and its Necropolis*.

Ancient Egyptian culture and its monuments had been of significant interest to the medieval Arab writers of the sixth and the seventh centuries (Alḥajjāji 1996, 19). However, later during the Islamic Period, many Arab historians, geographers and explorers, mentioned Luxor in their books, but their description was short and brief (Alḥajjāji 1996, 19).

In the Fatimid Period (969-1171 AD), the city of Qus became the capital of Upper Egypt, and Luxor administratively was subordinate to Qus. In literature, one of the first *to mention Luxor* was the historian *Alyā`qūbi* — who died in 897 AD- in his book *Alboldan*: “*Luxor is a ruined city and has been replaced [in importance] by Qus [another city in Upper Egypt]*” (Alḥajjāji 1996, 19). During the Fatimid Period, the Egyptians in Upper Egypt gradually changed their language from Coptic to Arabic (Alriety 1996, 236); by this time, the Egyptian Copts started to blend culturally and socially with the Arab tribes which had come to settle in Egypt.

In the Ayyubid Period (1171-1250 AD), Luxor began to reappear slowly in history when some Sufi scholars took Luxor as their place of residence such as Sheikh Abu Alḥajjāj, and later his followers⁴ (ibid., 34). The Moroccan explorer Abu Alḥassan Alharwi — who died in 1214 AD — was impressed by the ancient Egyptian monuments in Luxor, and mentioned in his book *Al`isharāt Ila Ma`refat Alzyarāt* “*Luxor city has monuments, palaces, statues and lion figures like nothing I have ever seen in upper cities or elsewhere*” (ibid., 21). Alḥamawī — who died in 1229 AD — was a geologist and wrote the famous index of the towns and villages in Egypt *Mu`jam Albuldān*. He described Luxor briefly as a “*timeless and old town with palaces*” (Alḥamawī 1866, 338).

In the Mamluk Period (1250-1517 AD), Luxor began to grow, expand, and flourish. Several historians during this period acknowledged Luxor for its agricultural resources and pottery craftsmanship (Alriety 1996, 189). “*Luxor is a city that has farms and palm trees, and it is located by the Nile and has pottery work for drinkware and others*”, said Abulfeda — who died

⁴ The *architectural* and *socio-cultural* Values of the mosque of Abu Alḥajjāj are comprehensively discussed in the Values section.

in 1331AD — in his book *Taqwīm Albuldān* (Alḥajjāji 1996, 22, 35). The Egyptian historian Ibn Duqmāq — who died in 1406 AD — wrote a more comprehensive description of Luxor. Still, it is quite interesting that he did not mention its temples: “Luxor is 16.001 Feddans⁵ and located in the East Bank of the River Nile. [Luxor]⁶ has grabs very delicious and bi, and has a [religious] school where to seek the honourable knowledge. The fine pure white pottery work in these towns, [Luxor], is like no elsewhere in Egypt and, not even close. They have the mausoleum of the ascetic Sidī Sheikh Abu Alḥajjāj, by whom people benefited his blessings and prayers. They have farms, palm trees and pottery which are transported to the rest of the country” (Alḥajjāji 1996, 23).

Ibn Algi ‘ān — who died in 1480 AD — said that Luxor was, at his time, expanded to 16.890 Feddans (circa 71 km²) (Alḥajjāji 1996, 24). Only 216 feddans (c. 0.9 km²) were suitable for agriculture; therefore, the population was low⁷ (ibid.). The agricultural land was used to cultivate wheat and barley⁸, while the major part was covered with palm trees and grabs. Luxor artisans mastered the pottery work in Egypt, but later this skill moved to Qena (ibid., 25, 38).

Luxor also enjoyed in this time a religious, educational verve as families had moved from other cities to Luxor to live amongst those Sufi blessing Sheikhs. The community in Luxor at the Mamluk Period consisted of administrative rulers, religious scholars, traders, artisans and farmers. (ibid., 25, 27). Luxor followed the contemporarily medieval feudal system.

4.3. Recent History of Luxor

4.3.1. European Rediscovery (1800-1885 AD)

The researcher suggests that the population depended on agriculture⁹, which should have been revitalised especially after establishing some sugar factories in the nearby towns like Nag‘ Hammādi in the reign of Muhammad Ali (1805-1849 AD), who undertook many civil agricultural and industrial projects in the early 1800s.

⁵ Feddan is a unit for measuring agricultural land size in Egypt, and one feddan is equal to one acre and 4047 m², hence, Luxor was c. 67.2 km².

⁶ Sometimes Luxor is referred to in the historical references as *Al’uksureen* or the *two Luxors*; most probably the two villages around Luxor and Karnak temples.

⁷ In 1979 area of agricultural land in luxor city was 1818 Feddans (c. 7.5 km²) (El Gammal 1986, 87).

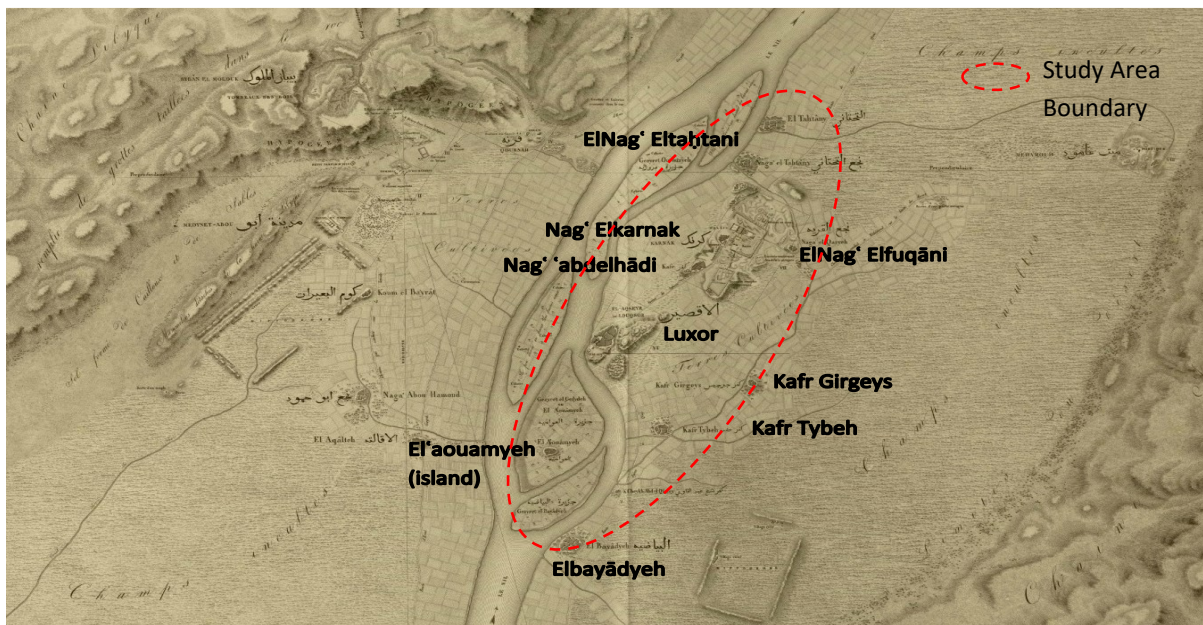
⁸ The same crops Luxor produces as until now, and the sugar cane, which occupies now 57% of the agricultural land (EcoConServe 2005, 74).

⁹ There is no sufficient literature about Luxor in the Ottoman Period in Egypt, before the European attention to Luxor (from the 1500s to 1700s).

Until the late nineteenth century, Luxor rose upon a mound of its structures, demolition, rebuilding and reuse. By the medieval time, the town had already risen several meters above the New Kingdom level in Luxor Temple (AERA 2010).

Napoleon Bonaparte¹⁰ sponsored a scholarly mission to Egypt, known as the Napoleonic Expedition in 1799 AD. Architects, artists and scientists recorded the buildings and inscriptions at Karnak and other sites and collected their work into a multi-volume publication called *Description de l'Égypte*, which stimulated global interest in Egypt and its ancient monuments. They produced one of the first maps of Luxor in 1821.

This map 1 shows not only the remains of Luxor and Karnak Temples but also the human settlements in their context.



Map 4.1: Luxor in 1821 including names of the settlements around the temples
Source: Description de l'Égypte 1827

The River Nile had different stream location throughout time according to flooding seasons, and this indicated position of the Nile in this map had not been permanent. It also had changed after building the Aswan Dam in 1947 AD. The river Nile had later gone in one mainstream, and the islands in this map were whether disappeared or became parts of mainland such as Al'ouamyia.

¹⁰ Napoleon Bonaparte led the French campaign in Egypt from 1798 to 1801 AD.

According to this map, one of the largest domestic settlements was the one around Luxor Temple, the one which created the nucleus of the city. Furthermore, this area around the temple was attractive for both the locals and early archaeologists to live.

Focusing on the Luxor Temple area, the *French House* (see figures 4.1-3) was built partly on top of Luxor Temple with mudbrick and timber. Khedive Mohamed Ali Pacha dedicated it to the engineers who supervised the transportation of the east obelisk of Luxor Temple to Place de la Concorde in Paris¹¹. Edwards claimed in her travel book *a Thousand Miles Up the Nile* that Champollion and Rossellini¹² lived in this French House during their stay in Thebes in 1829 (Edwards 1890, 408).

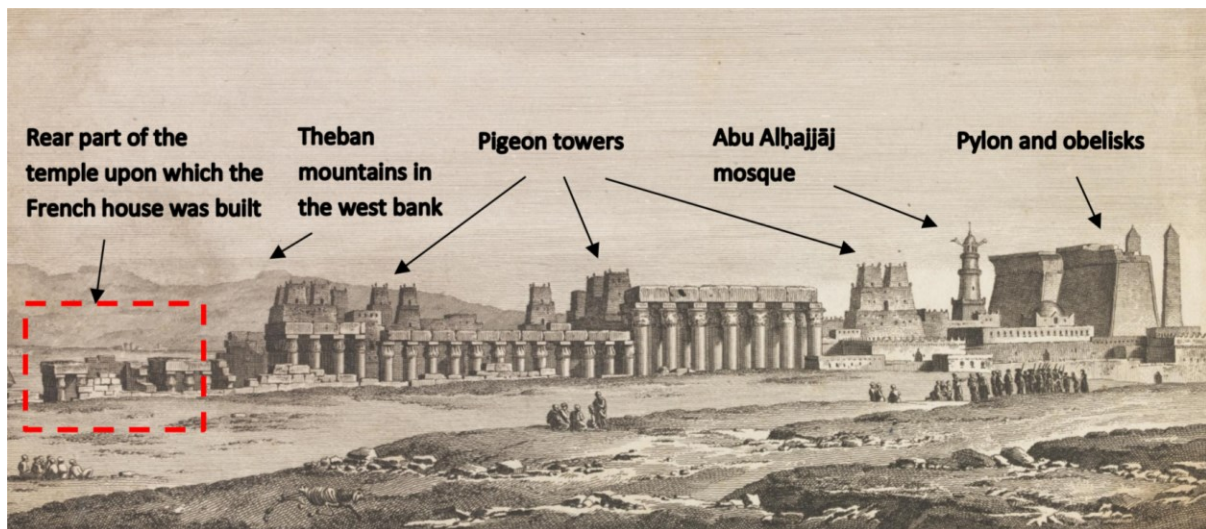


Fig. 4.1: View of Luxor Temple and Luxor's skyline in 1802-9 looking west. Painting by Vivant Denon
Source: Denon N/A

It was demolished in 1885 by Prof. Gaston Maspero¹³ during the clearance work in and around Luxor Temple (Edwards 1890, 409).

Figure 4.1 also shows how the skyline of this area was once dominated by, not only the column crowns, obelisks and massive pylons but also with the domestic pigeon mudbrick towers.

¹¹ The obelisk had left Luxor in late 1831 and had arrived Toulon after two years (Asa'ad 2004, 23).

¹² The French Jean-François Champollion is widely known as the decipherer of Egyptian hieroglyphs on the Rosetta Stone and one of the founders of Egyptology as a science. The Italian Ippolito Rosellini was one of the pioneers in Egyptology. They together made the Franco-Tuscan expedition in Egypt, which results was published in *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia*, one of the earliest and most important references about monuments in Egypt and Nubia.

¹³ Gaston Maspero was a French Egyptologist and the General director of the Service des Antiquités d'Egypte from 1881 to 1886. In 1880 he went to Egypt as head of an archaeological mission commissioned and sent by the French government, which eventually became the Institut français d'archéologie orientale. He organized the demolition of all contemporary buildings from 1885 to 1886.

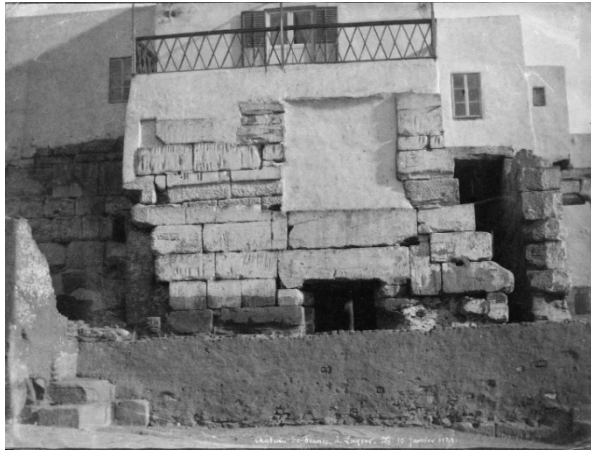


Fig. 4.2: The French House and the ruins of Luxor Temple, by Théodule Deveria in 1859
Source: Maessen private collection



Fig. 4.3: The French House and the ruins of Luxor Temple before 1885
Source: Ali 2011

The year 1869 had several political and cultural events in the modern history of Egypt¹⁴, being the year when the Suez Canal was inaugurated — a momentous occasion not only for trade but also for Tourism (Saad 2000). When Luxor has become under the spotlight as an attractive touristic site due to the tremendous international attention to Egypt, it was described in many travel and guide books¹⁵. Edwards, in her book *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile*, described Luxor as follows: “*Luxor Temple has here formed the nucleus of the village, which still is. Beyond that entrance [the great pylon of Luxor Temple] lay a smoky, filthy, intricate, labyrinth of lanes and passages. Mud hovels, mud pigeon-towers, mud yards and a mud mosque, clustered like wasp’s nests in and about the ruins*” (Edwards 1890, 122). Her account gives an image of what many European travellers would find unpleasing in the context of the temples they wanted to visit. These views would later cause an apparent change in the image of the site.

The following figures (4.4-4.7) give a glimpse of how the city of Luxor, especially around Luxor Temple looked like until the 1880s.

To provide an image of the context of the site, especially around Luxor Temple more than a century ago, Edwards described Luxor in the same book as she saw it for the first time. It then looked different than what a visitor would now encounter, while the main monuments remain the same but reconstructed.

¹⁴ Khedive Ismail of Egypt (1830-1895) built the modern extension of Cairo, which is called the Khedivian Cairo. This North-western part of the capital has wider straight streets and buildings in mostly European style. The old Cairo Opera House was inaugurated in 1896. In the same year, Thomas Cook organized his company’s first trip to Egypt (Humphreys 2015, 67).

¹⁵ Reid (2015, 140) claims that only between 1900 and 1914, “*thirty-one editions of English-language Egyptian guidebooks had poured out, along with fifteen in French, nine in German, and one in Russian*”, whereas only one edition by Macmillan Guides was published between 1915 and 1919.

The white houses of the English, American and Prussian consuls [generally natives], each with its flagstaff and ensign; a background of mud walls and pigeon-towers; a foreground of native boats and painted Dahabeyias lying at anchor-such, as we sweep by, is our first panoramic view of this famous village,

said Edwards in 1890 (122).¹⁶



Fig. 4.4: Luxor Temple in 1850s to 1870s by Francis Frith
Source: Frith N/A



Fig. 4.5: Pylons of Luxor Temple before the clearance of the accumulated mud
Source: Ferri 2008

Another writer, Abney (1876), described the roofs of the houses as they were used as yards for poultry (ibid. 61). The pigeon towers were built beside the houses in a squared shape, plastered in white (Asa'ad 2004, 25) and were a dominant feature in the skyline of Luxor. Figure 4.1 — the pigeon towers and the mosque among stone structures of the temple are visible — gives a general idea of how the village was integrated within the temple structure along the River Nile.

The other rural area around Karnak, however, had fewer inhabitants who were of the humblest class according to Abney, some of whom earned their livelihood by the manufacture of antiquity replicas “of which the stranger should be aware” (Abney 1876, 61). “The past portrayed is surrounded by atmospheric themes of opulence, mysticism, and strangeness. These are places where built structures are characterized as extravagant and exotic, and are surrounded by mysterious legends. By contrast, the people inhabiting these legendary lands are characterized by their enduring, peasant simplicity. But like the ancient structures, the people are relics — unchanged and exotic remnants of another time” (Echtner and Prasad 2003, 669).

Here both Abney and Edwards, among others, juxtaposed the glory of the ancient built monuments to the simple condition of the inhabitants and their constructions. Their

¹⁶ Except for the monuments, all these what had been described do not exist anymore.

descriptions indicated rage, refusal, and disagreement, however, they revealed the curiosity and amazement of the potentials that this site could bring for them. It is what Echtner and Prasad called “*the myth of the unchanged*” in their article the Context of Third World Tourism Marketing (2003) and, according to their theory, impacted the representation of Luxor for the following century. Some passages of Edward’s *a Thousand Miles Up the Nile* are to be discussed; in which in some way Luxor was “*portrayed as the staging points to enter the unchanged Orient beyond*” and have fell, ever since, in the “*oriental cluster*” of interpretation of context (Echtner and Prasad 2003, 666-668).



Fig. 4.6: The village and its pigeon towers behind and in front of the pylons of Luxor Temple looking south
Source: Ferri 2008



Fig. 4.7: Luxor Temple in 1862 looking east. The level of the ground reached the shoulder level of the two statues of Ramases II
Source: abgsedapmalam 2013

The earlier travellers used *Dahabiyas* (figure 4.8). These were “*relatively big, wooden, flat-bottomed houseboats with two poles and large triangular sails*” (Humphreys, 2011, 168). Dahabiyas are still functioning until today, but they are not the main tourist attraction anymore.

John Mason Cook, the son of Thomas Cook¹⁷, was the pioneer in starting the modern Tourism industry in Luxor, the steamer service. The business was launched, and it soon flourished, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 AD (Humphreys 2011, 174).

The starting of regular tourist steamer services, which were “*double-decked affairs of shallow drafts*”, started around 1870 AD by Thomas Cook & Son who advertised them in 1872 AD on the grounds of cost-efficiency. All of Egypt began to open the door to the new tourist industry (Magi 2003, 5). Gradually, additional *consequent Tourism offers* started to appear to serve the first flow of tourists.

¹⁷ The famous travel agent who oversaw the company’s travel business.

It was John Mason Cook who had developed Luxor's riverside esplanade (figure 4.9) and who, according to Budge, transformed the "*dusty village of Luxor into a town suitable for European travellers to live in*" (Budge 1925, 384; Humphreys 2011, 174).

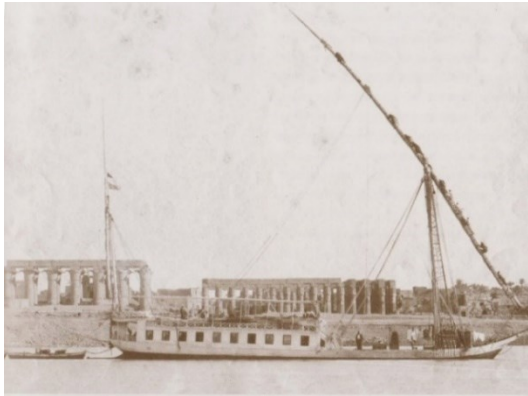


Fig. 4.8: Dahabiya in Luxor c. 1880 by Antonio Beato
Source: Ferri 2008

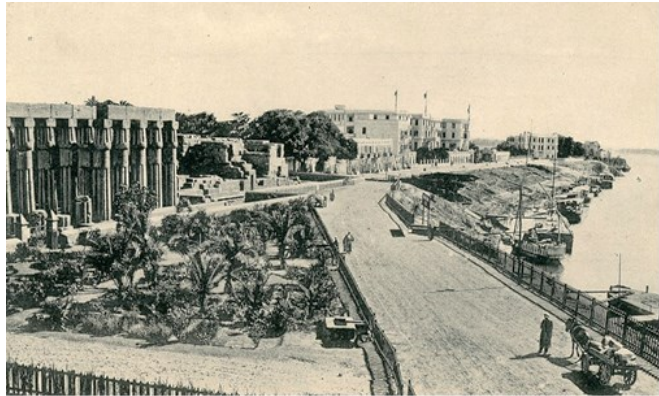


Fig 4.9: First renewal of the cornice road by Thomas Cook, after the inauguration of Winter Palace Hotel
Source: Amin private collection

In just a few years after the appearance of the steamers, Luxor had almost all types of the concurrent consequent tourist infrastructure that were developed to make it even more appealing to visitors. Luxor then had a post office, a telegraph office, an English church and a barbershop (Humphreys 2011, 175).

A voyage that was formerly reserved for only the very richest of travellers by a Dahabiya was then accessible to more clients by using the steamers. British tourists started to come to Upper Egypt in comparatively large numbers.

The shift from sail by Dahabiyas to steam service was fast. The newer method of travelling reduced the time needed to visit Upper Egypt by more than half and worked with more precise schedules (Humphreys 2011, 168). Lucie Duff, an English author who was once based in Luxor, estimated that in any season in the 1860s, seventy to one-hundred-twenty boats were visiting the city, compared to just five or six in the 1830s (ibid. 174). There was another company, the Anglo American Nile Company (Humphreys 2014) that operated a Nile steamer service business from 1896 but only lasted a couple of decades because it could not compete with the Cooks.

However, travelling by a Dahabiya had not disappeared; however, this slower travel method had become even more luxurious (Budge 1925, 384; Humphreys 2011, 168). Thomas Cook & Son quickly realised the potential market for people who did not wish to join the type of tourists attracted by the steamer services (Reid 2015, 138; Saad 2000). The company

maintained a fleet of sailboats that offered the full service and more expensive, but for groups of just three or four people (Humphreys 2011, 175).

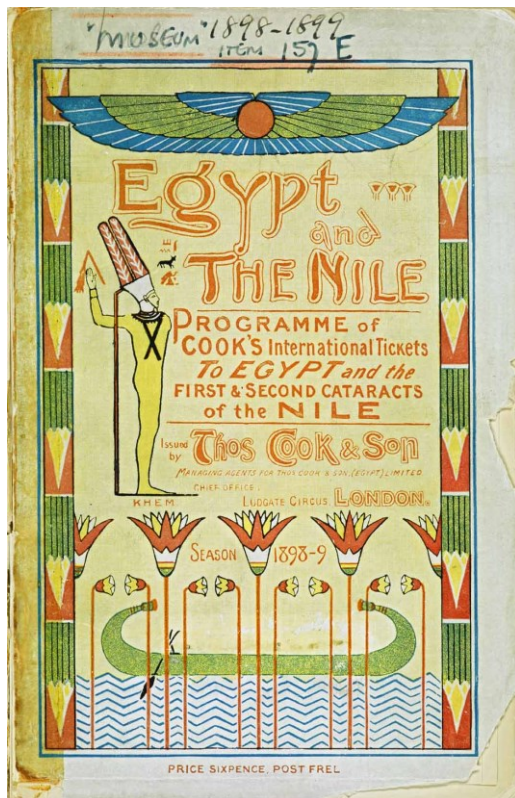


Fig. 4.10: Advertisement for Nile cruises of Thomas Cook & Son for the season 1898-9
Source: Humphreys 2017

More leisure time and tourist infrastructure were established around the Luxor Temple area. Tennis courts, golf yards, sporting clubs, a bar, and “*other necessities of civilised life*” were provided by Thomas Cook & Son (Humphreys 2011, 175).

Figure 4.10 shows advertisement posters with a typical style of ancient Egyptian painting sceneries. These posters, others, and postcards “borrow[ed] only selective [aesthetic and pleasurable] marketable stereotypes” (Echtner and Prasad 2003, 671) that were thought to guarantee the stability of flow of tourists.

In 1877, Thomas Cook & Son built their first hotel in the world, the Luxor Hotel (figure 4.11), which is also Egypt’s oldest surviving hotel¹⁸ (Humphreys 2015, 176). Luxor Hotel gave the tourists the freedom to go up the Nile on one steamer and break their stay in Luxor as long as they wish and returning on another. Visitors numbers were growing faster than one hotel could keep up with, and the Luxor Hotel was joined in a short course by the Karnak Hotel — also owned by Thomas Cook & Son — and other hotels.

¹⁸ Luxor hotel is currently closed.



Fig. 4.11: The Luxor Hotel by Antonio Beato
Source: Ferri 2008



Fig. 4.12: The Savoy Hotel in 1913
Source: Pemberton 2015

In favour of creating and establishing more tourist services and said hotels, Luxor was gradually losing some mudbrick dwellings and other related domestic structures. By the following words, Abney represented the vision for Heritage sites management at this time that many other visitors and writers shared about the city of Luxor. *“Though not advocating despotism, yet surely the khedive might, without injury to the inhabitants, demolish the semi-barbarous dwellings which cling to it and preserve as a monument, sacred to the whole civilized world, a temple, once one of the principal glories of Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt”* (Abney 1876, 58).

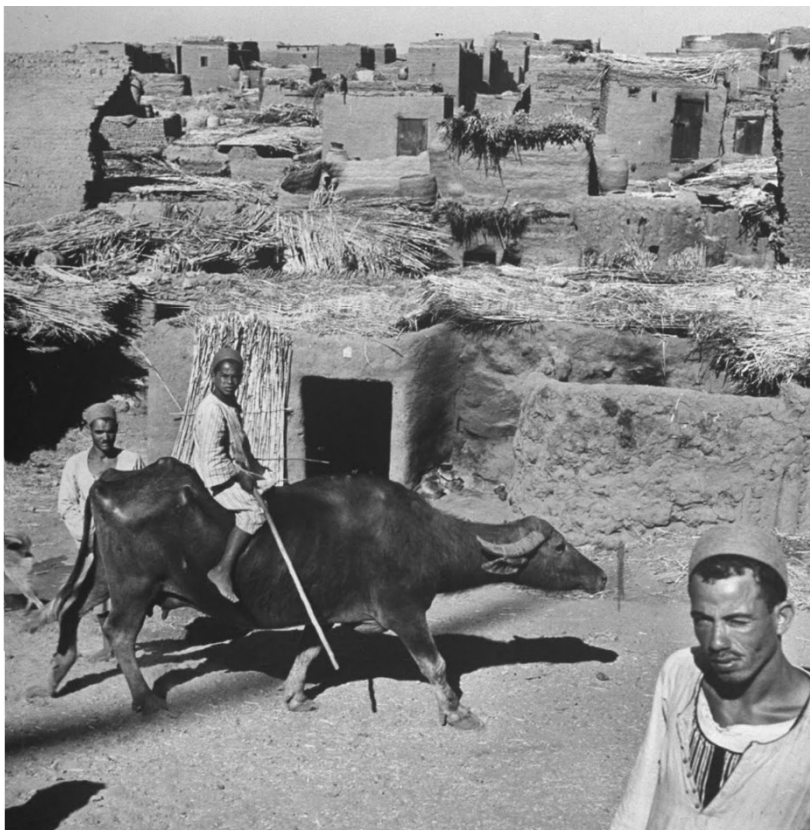


Fig 4.13: Mudbrick dwellings in a village north of Luxor in 1947
Source: Elisofon N/A

Because visitors demanded more discoveries; it was necessary to unearth the hidden treasures of the ancient Egyptian civilisation. Thus, demolishing parts of the old city of less desired landscape features of one-floor mudbrick domestic dwellings was a dominating impact (see figure 4.13).

4.3.2. 1885-1900s AD: The Ideology of Development for the New Tourist Town

By 1885, Luxor was a large village of 3.600 inhabitants, spread out around the temple, and rapidly increasing in both population and prosperity as a consequent impact of the growing industry of Tourism (Humphreys 2011, 174).

The Science magazine in 1885 described the situation in and around Luxor Temple and indirectly blamed the locals of how the city had covered the monument area: *“From century to century accumulating rubbish and mud upon mud, till they have thrown up an artificial hill some forty-eight or fifty feet in height. As the hill rose, the temple necessarily became swallowed up. To sweep away all these barracks, stores, houses, huts, pigeon-towers, stables and refuse-heaps, has been the earnest desire of professor Maspero”* (Science 1885, 371). The excavation of the Luxor Temple had begun by the Egyptologist Prof. Maspero in 1883, who got the authorisation from the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works¹⁹ and continued by M. de Morgan (Budge 1925, 385; Science 1885, 371). The locals — who used to have their households built over and around Luxor Temple ruins — objected at first to sell their houses and being relocated. The work of demolition had started in 1885. After a year of negotiation, the locals and the authorities had a deal: each owner receiving a price for their dwelling and its dependencies with a piece of land elsewhere upon which to rebuild. Some thirty families conceded with approximately eight to ten refusing to leave at any price. The next year, these families finally conceded and joined the previous owners.

The Egyptian government had paid for the compensations, but could not afford the excavation works (Science 1885, 371). A subscription simultaneously started in the Journal des débats and the London Times and the need for financial means were finally settled. The operations were commenced in 1884 (Budge 1925, 392). The excavation work continued in 1893, and since that time it has been possible to visit Luxor Temple and to *“appreciate its beauty and its unity”* as compared to Karnak complex (Habachi 1951, 448). The next figures (4.14 and 4.15), show how the Luxor Temple was embedded in the domestic structures. They also show, to

¹⁹ The Antiquities Service (officially the Service des Antiquités, now the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities) was then concerned with the illicit trade of the Egyptian artefacts rather than the monuments and management of its sites.

the left, the Alsāḥa Alḥajjājia building (refer to figures 4.12 and 4.22), which survived the first wave of demolitions because of its *socio-cultural* relevance to the local community (more information in Chapter Five 5.3.1.2).

In the course of that season, the whole area of the Temple Proper was cleared. Only Mustapha Aga's²⁰ house was left standing on for a while, as he demanded a considerable amount of money to leave. It also was not possible to purchase the right of pulling the Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque down, and it is now, hanging on the courtyard of Luxor Temple, one of the landmarks of Luxor.



Fig 4.14: West obelisk and Luxor town taken from Luxor pylon in 1921 by Pillet
Source: Ali 2011



Fig 4.15: Structures in front of Luxor pylon in 1889, to the left is Alsāḥa Alḥajjājia
Source: Ali 2011

During the excavations, important Roman structures were revealed in the area in front of Luxor Temple, such as remains of a Roman town, a forum, a basilica and two main streets. Unfortunately, these remains have not been highlighted to the visitor of the temple until now; there are no signs to describe the remains of those structures or to give adequate interpretation to which period they belong.

On the other hand, regarding the gradual development of the Tourism industry, some activities took place to upgrade and develop the infrastructure of the ever-growing city. John Mason Cook convinced the local authorities to clean the streets and alleys and to remove the stones which blocked the ways, the "*convenience of which the natives were not slow to perceive*" (Budge 1925, 384). Gradually the streets were widened.

The sacred lake at the Temple of Mut in Karnak complex, which had degenerated into a mere still pool, was filled up, and also a hospital was built thanks to Cook's efforts, to the great

²⁰ Moustapha Aga was the honorary consul of England, Belgium, and Tsarist of Russia. He was also an antiquity dealer. His house was built over the ruins of Luxor Temple and was the last demolished in 1905.

benefit of the community. Hence, he was called as well the “*friend of the poor*”²¹ (Budge 1925, 385). Besides, his efforts to upgrading and creating services for the local community, John Mason Cook also was called by Budge: “*The great organiser of the tourist traffic of Egypt*” (Budge 1925, 385). It was due to his aim to enhance the town situation and its accessibility.

In 1898, the railway arrived with regular service to and from Cairo (Humphreys 2011, 175), which caused the introduction of carriages, and these have brought about a significant improvement in the roads to Karnak and in those which connect the town itself (Budge 1925, 385).

4.4. From the 1900s until now

4.4.1. 1900s-1930AD

In 1906, Tawfiq Pacha Andraus built Almqashqesh Mosque, for which he dedicated a garden (Budge 1925, 386). In 1921, after the building of the mosque was finished, Andraus Pacha allocated some charity buildings “*for the benefit of the deserving destitute of Luxor*”. Also, in 1906, the Winter Palace was started to be built. Some other hotels were constructed as well in the first few years of the twentieth century, such as the Grand Hotel and the Savoy Hotel (see figure 4.12).

It did not take a long time until *mass* Tourism started to appear in Luxor. Not everyone was quite happy with the *civilising* influence in Luxor due to the increasing tourist development (Humphreys 2011, 176). In 1907, the French orientalist and novelist Pierre Loti visited Egypt as a guest of Khedive Abbās Helmi and travelled up the Nile by boat from Cairo to Aswan. He did not appreciate the significant number of tourists he found. He called the mass number of tourists who used steamers as “*Cookis*”, “*Cookites*”, or “*Cookesses*” (ibid.; Reid 2015, 138). He complained that he could not find a place to moor because of the chain of steamers already lining the riverbank. He wrote, “*poor Luxor! [...] How shall I find a quiet place for my Dahabyia, where the functionaries of Messrs Cook will not come to disturb me?*” (Reid 2015, 138).

The following figure 4.16 shows some villagers and their camels who took advantage of the newly-emerged open areas east of Luxor temple to extract fertilisers to use it in agricultural activities, which had been so far the primary economic resource for the community in Luxor.

²¹ Budge book was a Cook’s travel guide and was published by Thomas Cook & Son.



Fig. 4.16: Villagers collecting the fertile soil from the emerged open areas after demolitions east to Luxor Temple in 1910
Source: Amin private collection

Before World War I and approximately six years after the war, and with the growing international interest in unearthing the ruins of Luxor, more parts of the town had to be pulled down, and layers of debris and soil had to be removed. Instead of the mud houses and the rising pigeon towers that conquered the landscape skyline among the visible upper parts of the city beside the obelisks, the pylons and columns of the temple in Luxor, new plain areas around the unearthed ruins appeared. These uncovered areas started to have new usages, but not of domestic nature anymore. These emerged open areas were re-employed as recreational spaces for tourists. Among many historical photos of the site, some show vendors selling souvenirs and cafes of European character such as in figures 4.17 and 4.18, despite the claims that the demolishing of dwellings and houses were for archaeological purposes.

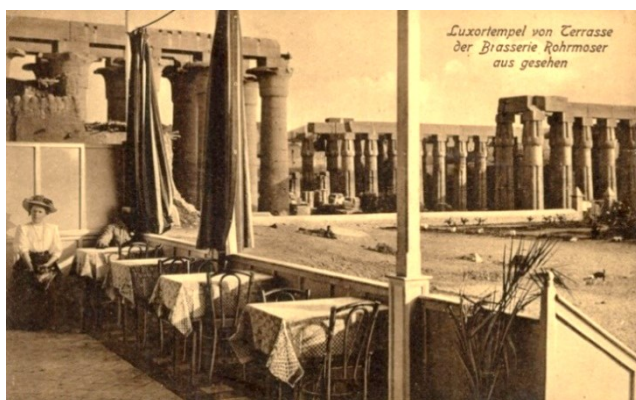


Fig. 4.17: Luxor Temple in 1909 showing Brasserie Rohrmoser
Source: Arkégi N/A



Fig. 4.18: Luxor Temple in 1913 by Peneth Family showing the vendors
Source: Pemberton 2015

“Visitors to Luxor are in the fortunate position of seeing and hearing of the most recent discoveries of Egyptology as soon as they are made” (Budge 1925, 43). This is how Budge in his guidebook described the visitors’ experience. The charm of Luxor was often reinforced by seasonal archaeological discoveries, including notably in 1905 and 1922²² after the discovery of the tombs of Yuya and Tuya and Tutankhamun in the west bank (Humphreys 2011, 177; Reid 2015, 137, 143).

At this time, Luxor was well-known as a place to obtain antiquities (figure 4.19). Widely reported in the international press, the new discoveries strengthened the prototype of Luxor as a “*treasure-filled playground*” (Humphreys 2011, 177), encouraging and attracting ever more visitors of different categories including the “*improvised archaeologists*”, or the antiquity collectors (Magi 2003, 5). Since trading artefacts had been an illegal trade²³, the Antiquities Service of Egypt launched random pinches on local shops. Some officials, such as consuls used their diplomatic exemptions to take part in the antiquities traffic in the black market (Humphreys 2015, 117). “*The Inhabitants of Thebes, though they do a little picturesque agriculture, regard tourists as their real harvest,*” said the author Douglas Sladen²⁴ (Humphreys 2011, 175). Masters of the high-quality imitated artefacts gradually appeared soon after the flow of tourists had hit Luxor. They were faked “*with [a] dexterity which often deceives even the most experienced antiquarian*” (Mariette-Bey 1890, 184).



Fig 4.19: A painting shows the *iconoclasts* in 1890
Source: Life Photo Collection

²² There had been a halt of six years from 1914 to 1920 in the Tourism industry not only in Luxor in particular, but in Egypt in general, which made Cook & Son’s steam service stopped between 1915 and 1921 (Humphreys 2015, 135).

²³ The first decree to ban the informal antiquity transfer outside Egypt was issued by Mohamed Ali Pacha, the then Khedive of Egypt, in 1835.

²⁴ Douglas Sladen was an English author and an academic who wrote several books about Egypt such as *Egypt and the English* in 1908 and *Queer Things about Egypt* in 1911.

It was still necessary to clear all the area around Luxor Temple as well as to discover whether there were buildings or objects which might add to this relative importance of the temple or the ancient town. Habachi²⁵ started his work in 1914, and it took about six years to clear the area between the temple, and the River Nile. The houses in this part, including some consulates, were pulled down and the debris beneath such houses was removed down to the original level of the temple (Habachi 1951, 448).

The direct marketing of Luxor as a destination was designed and spread by promoters mainly Thomas Cook & Son. They were, according to Echtner and Prasad, economically interested in “*sell[ing] a particular brand of fantasy to a First World market*”. The promotional arrangements of the First World Tourism agencies reflected in how the “*dynamic First World contrasted itself with a static, timeless, and unchanging Third World*” (Morgan and Pritchard 1998, 169). Hence, any signs of less *ancientness*, represented in the current local activities and social network were undesired, even to the point of rejection. Thus, the tireless continuous demolitions of the residential buildings in proximity to the monuments, and later the symbolic religious buildings were not necessarily saved. Moreover, the apathy of the agricultural activities — which have not shown any material ancientness compared to monuments — has resulted in a considerable decline in the farmland. During the demolitions, no documentation was done for the findings from periods followed the Roman and Coptic, because again, these were not perceived as valuable.

In the 1920s, the Franco-Egyptian Centre for the Study of the Temples of Karnak (CFEETK) had its efforts to dismantle and rebuild a falling pylon and its foundations, in which they accidentally found re-employed blocks which they then removed carefully and restored in their original structures (Sampsell 2014, 208).

Engelbach described his excavation works and the clearance at Nag' Essabtieh, where he and his team cleared a block of eighteen houses, by also compensating the house owners by pieces of land in payment for their entire properties (Engelbach 1921, 61). Because of the threat of evacuation, the land Value in proximity to the temple dropped considerably.

From the maps published in Baedeker guidebook series in 1902, 1908, 1914 and 1929, one can easily read and analyse how the village was developed during this short period. In the maps of 1902 and 1908, the Nag' Essabtieh district was still existing (mentioned as Zaptieh). In contrast, in 1914, it was partially demolished, and the northern part was replaced by a garden and a graveyard as one form of demonstrating the importance of the tourist demand of more tourist infrastructure. In 1929, the whole area of Nag' Essabtieh was demolished. The

²⁵ Dr. Labib Habachi is one of the pioneer Egyptian Egyptologists (1906-1994).

Almqashqesh Mosque though survived, and the street name which served the northern part was changed from Essabtieh to Almontazah or the Park Street. Some hotels have been opened in the 1920s to the east of this area such as Tiba and Al'a'ilat Hotels to benefit from the garden and the open space. Nevertheless, some other general infrastructures or public goods were built; a court and the residence of the Mayor of Luxor.

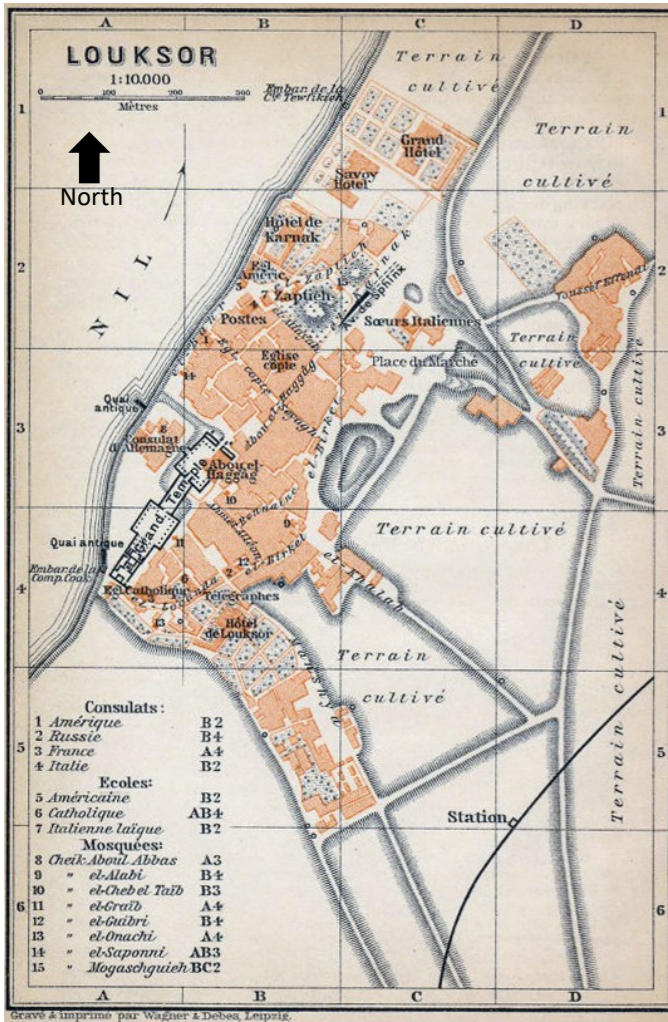
The map (4.2) of the year 1902 shows that the inhabited area was relatively small; the cultivated land was only circa 200 meters away from the Luxor temple, or the heart of the town. Apart from the churches and mosques and three schools²⁶, hotels such as the Grand Hotel, Karnak and Luxor Hotels are significant tourist structures. There were some other services for tourists like a post office and a telegraph office.

Comparing the maps of 1914 and 1929 (maps 4.4 and 4.5), in a range of fifteen years, relatively more defined streets and urban structures are palpable. Two offices of inspectors of Antiquities for Luxor and Qurna, schools for boys' and girls' and another Coptic school, a National Bank and a Telegraph office, were established. Those services were not existing in the previous map in the year 1914 (map 4.4). In 1929, the Al'awamiya Canal was dug around Winter Palace hotel, probably for irrigation purposes for its big garden which expanded to the east. The area on the west of Luxor Temple was wholly cleared from structures like the German consulate and Abu Al'Abbāss Mosque to build a *Roman Forum*.

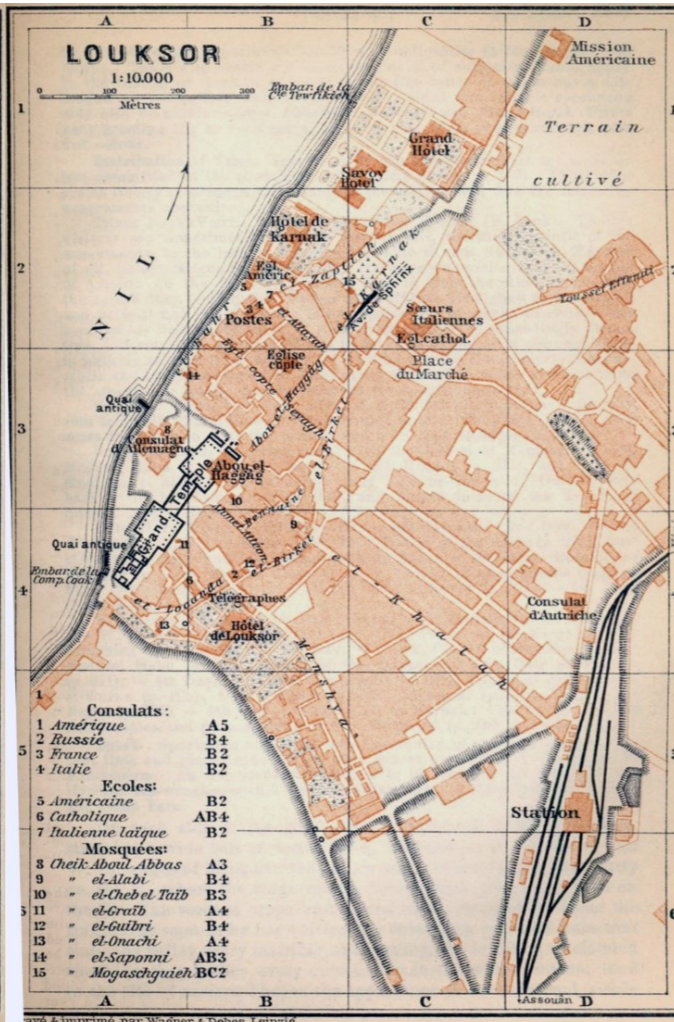
Together with the above-conducted discussion about Baedeker maps from 1902 to 1929, more observations could be made:

- The concentration of the tourist services on the Nile front and the centre during this time emphasised the tourist function of the town.
- There is noticeable decline of the green spaces (or the cultivated land as mentioned on the maps) in favour of the expansion to the city to the east.
- Till the 1950s, the River Nile and the railway tracks were the firmest boundaries of urban growth of the town on the west and east. Later, Luxor expanded mainly to the south, southeast behind the central train station, and the north.

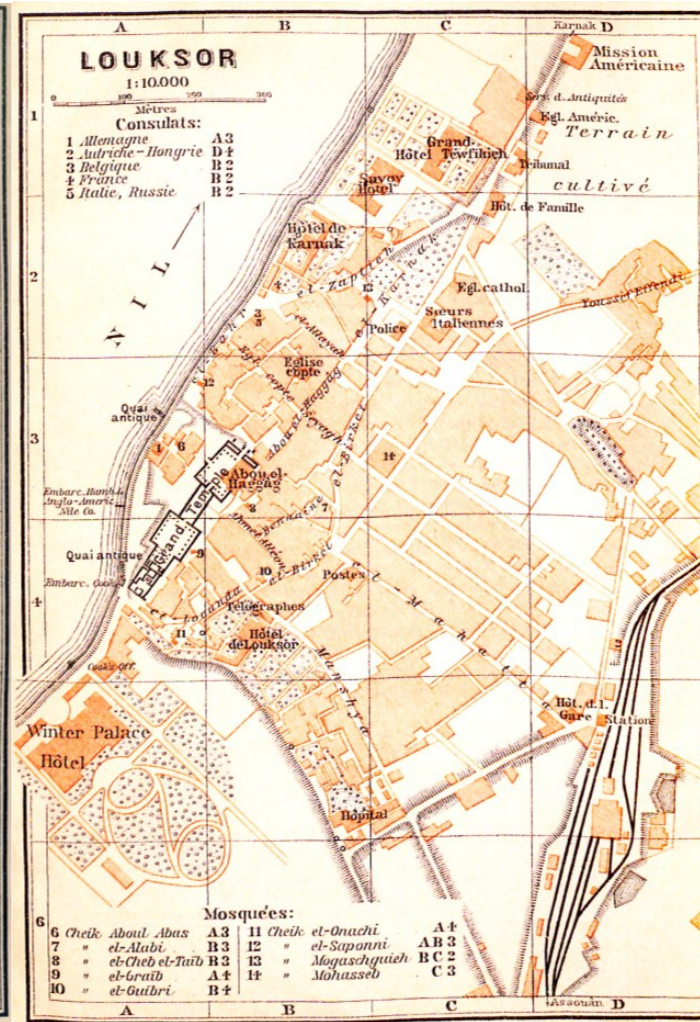
²⁶ The school that was adjacent to the Abu Alḥajjāj mosque, which has been mentioned in many resources but is not located in this map. This school was mainly for religious studies and Quran sciences.



Map 4.2: Luxor city in 1902
Source: Baedeker 1902



Map 4.3: Luxor city in 1908
Source: Baedeker 1908



Map 4.4: Luxor city in 1914
Source: Baedeker 1914



Map 4.5: Luxor city in 1929
Source: Baedeker 1929

Concerning the management of the Heritage in Luxor, the following figure 4.20 is a document written by Arthur Weigall²⁷, the chief inspector of Upper Egypt from 1905 until 1911 that demonstrates the concurrent policy represented in the expropriation of the households for future excavation by the authorities. The Arabic text in the document²⁸ is translated into English by the researcher, and it reads as follows:

*Dear Mister Officer of Luxor Markaz
 Responding to the Markaz's Statement no. 179, one of the annexes attached²⁹ states that we cannot approve to sell the ordinance surplus land** mentioned in that statement; as the [Antiquities] Service requires exchanging with the owners or buying by expropriation [the houses] which are located in front of Luxor Temple in the future, hence it was necessary to write to inform you so,
 Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt A. Weigall
 1st February year [1]908³⁰*

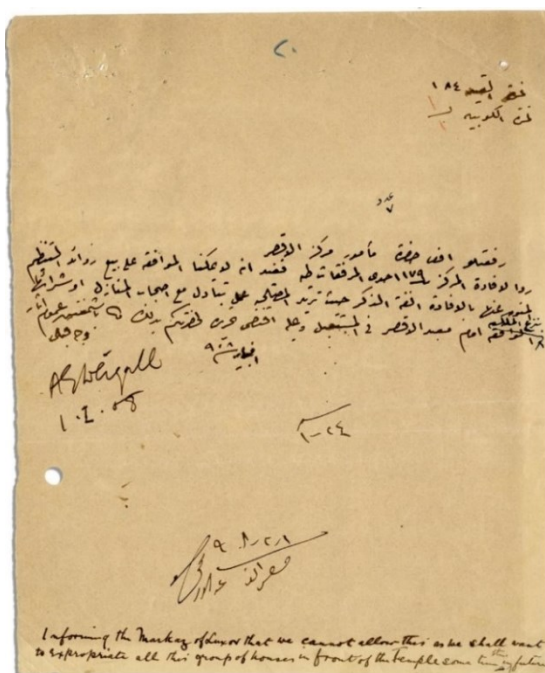


Fig 4.20: Letter from Weigall to the Officer of Luxor subdivision in 1908
 Source: Maessen private collection

²⁷ Weigall earned the position as the chief inspector of Upper Egypt as part of Cromer's (the agent and consul general in Egypt 1883-1907, who had the power over Egypt's finances and governance) disposition to appoint all the significant personnel at Service des Antiquités d'Egypte, or the Antiquities Service to British people instead of French, who however showed some resistance (Thompson 2015, 112). There was a condition to have Prof. Maspero to return back to his position as the General Director of the Antiquities Service, which was to appoint two innovated responsible positions to British, the Chief Inspectors for the Lower and Upper Egypt, which he agreed to do. Hence, Weigall was the second British Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt after Howard Carter. "The chief inspectors were charged with the preservation and conservation of the monuments within their areas, conducting excavations for the Antiquities Services, and supervising concessions" (ibid.).

²⁸ The English text which Weigall wrote as a footnote in English reads: "I [am] informing the Markaz of Luxor that we cannot allow that as we shall want to expropriate all this group of houses in front of the temple some time in the future".

²⁹ Annexes are not available.

³⁰ *Markaz: Rural governing subdivision and most equivalent to District in English.

**Ordinance Surplus Land is unassigned property land, and also planning residuals has the same meaning.

Weigall by his act in 1908 started an official pattern of gradual clearance of the town of Luxor beginning with Luxor temple in the centre in a polar mode until recent years (2010). In Chapter Six, it is evident that demolitions by official orders caused segregation and sense of exclusion among the local inhabitants of Luxor. Despite the sustainable development goals being pushed to the front when discussing the Luxor demolition case now, it is apparent that the pattern is the same since more than a century.

Weigall complained in his book *A Guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt* published in 1910 about Luxor Temple being at this time backed by the town, and about the few houses between it and the river and hoped that “*someday these will disappear*” (Weigall 1910, 60). Whereas, in his description of the history of Thebes, in the same book, he said that the site of Thebes was the “*centre of what must always have been a populous district*” (ibid., 61).

4.4.2. 1930-1960s AD

1930 the state decided to “*beautify*” Luxor (Habachi 1951, 450). The plans involved the expropriation of all houses close to the temple to north and east and the removal of the underlying debris down the level of the temple, following the steps of Weigall. This work was partially carried out by the local municipality under the supervision of the antiquities authorities (ibid.). During the work, many vital objects were found, which were re-employed as foundations of later-built structures. In 1937 it was agreed that the municipality should assist in excavating the ruins not only removing the debris.

Cook’s Nile service remained dominant on the river until all operations were stopped during World War II (Humphreys 2011, 168, Reid 2015, 137). Archaeological survey works were done during this period while the war impacted the flow of Tourism to Luxor. Habachi mentioned that from 1937 to 1945 some important archaeological objects were found, two of which were found during the war period; an offering table and a lid in 1942 and 1945 respectively (Habachi 1951, 450).

In 1951, Habachi expressed in his report that it was needed to pull down the few houses which were still standing and to clear all area east of the temple and about five-hundred meters to the north. It would lead to the finding of some essential objects and buildings. It would make it possible for visitors to see the temple in the “*proper way and to admire the magnificence of its façade and its different parts*” (ibid.).

The aerial view (figure 4.22) shows the cleared area around Luxor Temple in 1957. These buildings are observed to survive the clearance:

1. The Coptic Church;
2. Alsāḥa Alḥajjājia (demolished in 1958);
3. Alḥalabi Mosque to the east of Luxor temple (now destroyed, it was where currently Abu Alḥajjāj Square is located);
4. Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque; and
5. A residential area including the houses of Tawfiq Pacha Andraus and his brother Yassa Andraus. It is worth mentioning here that the buildings have been demolished except for the two Andraus houses³¹. The mound behind them has not been cleared, and it has been considered as the only area that still contains all layers of the city of Luxor and its full archaeological record (Whitcomb and Johnson, 1986, 31).

The reason behind keeping the first four structures, despite the clearance of the site, was their *socio-cultural* Values. They have been all religious buildings or, in the case of Alsāḥa Alḥajjājia, part of a more significant religious complex. Keeping the area around the fifth building was probably due to its proximity to the house of Tawfiq Pacha Andraus, one of the wealthiest and most influential figures in Luxor.



Fig 4.21: Aerial view of Luxor in 1928
Source: Pillet 1928, fig.105



Fig 4.22: Aerial view of Luxor in 1957
Source: Scwhaller de Lubicz 1957

³¹ The house of Tawfiq Pacha Andraus was later demolished in 2007.

In the following years, the inhabited area around Luxor Temple has been gradually cleared to the ancient Egyptian level of the temple (see figures 4.21 and 4.22).

Between 1958 and 1962, the antiquities authorities removed most of the mound on which the old city was constructed to re-construct the ancient Processional Way. By this continuous action, not only the Roman settlement remains were demolished, but also the possible remains of the medieval and early modern periods (AERA 2010).

During the continuous excavation works, stone fragments in Luxor and Karnak Temples that may have contained crucial information were discarded and overlooked. Many of stone fragments were lost because of the clearance of the debris and dumped to the Nile or were re-employed to build and widen the Nile riverside (Sampsell 2014, 207).

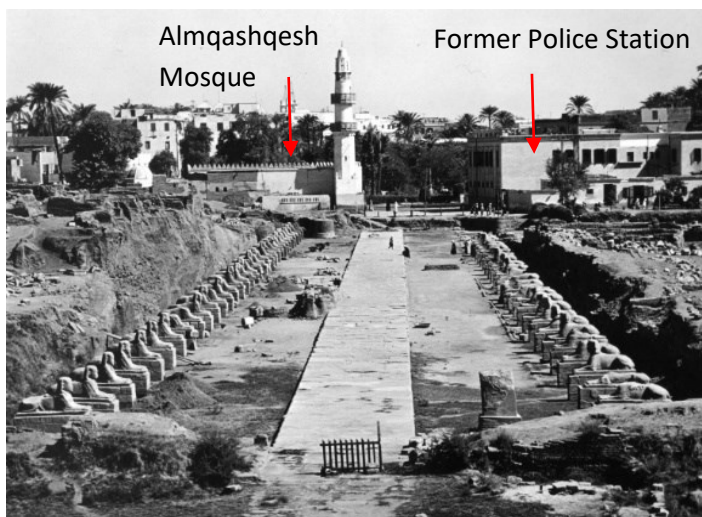


Fig 4.23: The clearance of the area above the Processional Way in front of Luxor Temple in 1964, looking north-east
Source: Maessen private collection

Figure 4.23 shows the excavation of the ancient Processional Way that was interrupted by the Almqashqesh Mosque on the left and the police station on the right. The mosque was demolished during later developments in 2010.

4.4.3. The 1970s- Now

In this period, master plans were started to be prepared for Luxor. However, these master plans are thoroughly discussed in Chapter Six. In the 1980s and after international awareness about the importance of continuous interaction between people and place and how the community shapes the Heritage sites started, many projects and organisations have been dedicated to studying the relations between Heritage sites and its urban and social context and history.

Hence, the purpose of some excavation projects during this period, such as the Chicago Medieval Luxor Project was the examination of the urban history of Luxor (Whitcomb and Johnson, 1986, 31). It was realised that the earlier excavation works in 1949 in the Luxor Temple and the Processional Way in the 1960s by the Egyptian Antiquities Service involved the destruction of the centre of the traditional city of Luxor, a mound of some fifteen meters of archaeological evidence for the history of Luxor after the ancient Egyptian time. However, the only area of the old town which still preserves this archaeological record is the embankment behind the house of Yassa Andraus, near the River Nile. Some artefacts from the late Ptolemaic, early Roman and early Coptic periods, and others from the fifth to thirteenth centuries were found.

Chicago Medieval Luxor project argued that certainly more precise definition of the medieval period is still possible and, in this way, these quite small ditches may make a substantial contribution toward the archaeological history of the town of Luxor.

In Karnak as well, there is not only one type of architecture which are monuments like temples and shrines, but the ancient and medieval settlements at Karnak are evidence of the daily life of the ancient Egyptians. Similar to the Chicago Medieval Luxor project, Millet and Masson (2011) explored in their article Karnak: Settlements the domestic structures in the Ancient Egyptian and later periods in the Karnak area. The settlements have hardly been the focus of research excavations. Hence, the town of ancient Thebes is far from being understood. Settlements in Karnak represent an exciting demonstration to the social classes permitted to live near the sacred buildings. The authors argued that further archaeological investigations are necessary to get a broader picture of the town and the everyday life in Thebes.

4.5. Conclusion

The tangible *cultural* Heritage in Luxor — which has been discovered, excavated, or unearthed through time since the European rediscovery — has acted as the *original* tourist source. The *Cultural* Heritage Concept has been constructed to provide an economic generator for tour operators, travel agencies, gradually, the main one upon which Luxor will depend.

The first flow of tourists was physically and virtually there in Luxor to see the antiquity and imagine the glory of the ancient Egyptian civilisation. Perhaps several travel books and guidebooks such as Baedeker's, Edwards', Budge's, and several others acted like indirect marketing agents to attract more tourists. Moreover, Post-cards and other promotional tourist campaigns and even press contributed unconsciously, or indirectly, to the idea that has limited and flattened the interaction with the site and its narrative to its very ancient monuments, one

side of its tangible Value. Hence, it has resulted in isolating the archaeological site in Luxor from its breathing evolving and growing context, by the name of excavations and restorations. The increasing number of tourists and the continuously increasing reputation of the site resulted in the following growing demand for Tourism-related developments, i.e. accommodation, Nile cruise activities, and constructing urban tourist facilities. Hence, any signs of less ancientness, represented in the current local events and social network were undesired, even to the point of rejection. Evidence was the tireless continuous demolitions of the residential buildings in proximity to the monuments, and later the symbolic religious buildings. Moreover, the apathy of the agricultural activities — which have not shown any material ancientness compared to monuments — has resulted in a considerable decline of the farmlands.

The urban area in Luxor had expanded significantly over the agricultural land. It almost doubled its urban size in six years, as shown in Baedeker maps 1902 and 1908 (map 4.2 and map 4.3). The small villages that once were isolated in the nineteenth century were later part of one town at the beginning of the twentieth century. During the first half of the twentieth century, urban development had been of significant privilege for both the local community and tourists; schools and hospitals, the railway station and cleaning lakes. Tourism had created jobs of new touristic nature, different than what the locals had mastered before: agriculture and pottery.

The policy in managing the Heritage site and the city could be stated to be clearing the city, especially in proximity to the monuments and areas of high archaeological significance. This interpretation is concluded for two main reasons: the first was to reveal the ancient Egyptian architectural remains and the second to create more space for more touristic services. The actual institutional definition of what is Heritage Value was fundamental all the structures that belonged to Ancient Egypt till Late Antiquity Periods. Hence, other newer historical and socio-*cultural* Values, which are acknowledged by Freyer from his point of view from the Tourism sector, are ignored. Only main structures of importance to the local community had survived demolition whether of public or private nature, such as Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque, Almqashqesh mausoleum, the Coptic churches, and the houses of Tawfiq Pacha Andraus and his brother's. All other buildings of residential nature had to be taken down, and locals had to be relocated after compensation elsewhere.

During the demolitions, no documentation was done for pieces of evidence from periods that followed the Roman and Coptic, because again, these were not perceived as essential.

This direct and indirect marketing representation of Luxor which flattened its Values and limited it to only historical and exotic ignored the actualities of Luxor as a living town with its socio-economic and urban needs.

There is another pattern that appeared in the archaeological excavations but only in the 1980s when the direction of archaeological missions has started to move towards the excavations of the medieval history of Luxor and not only its Ancient Egyptian history. However, this pattern, as shown in Chapter Six, is not reflected in the decision-making and is not evident as a valuable element of the history of the city. The demolitions of the inhabitants' buildings overpower in the decision-making process.

CHAPTER 5: THE IDENTIFICATION OF RESOURCES OF VALUE IN LUXOR CITY

5.1 Introduction

In Luxor city; most of the components that create modern Luxor are characterised by multi-layered *original* and *consequent offers*, from *historical, natural*, to general infrastructure. Chapter Five explores the interlink between Luxor Heritage Value resources and the consequent Tourism offer where they cannot be distinguished separately or individually. By understanding the history of the city, one cannot separate the historical material importance of the monuments from its setting formed by the unique natural context, and from the associated *socio-cultural* assets and beliefs; which give eventually Luxor its *integrity*.

This set of offers is formed as a set of Values inspired by Freyer (2015). The third part deliberates the UNESCO *World Heritage (WH)* designation in an attempt to extract its *Outstanding Universal Value*.

5.2 Luxor City of Today

Luxor city (maps 8.1a and 8.1b in the annexes) is located in Upper Egypt along the River Nile. It is located approximately 676 Km by motor vehicles and railway from Cairo, the capital (The Tourist Administration 1963, 33).

Administratively, Luxor was a *Markaz*¹ in Qena Governorate in Upper Egypt, until the Presidential Decree 153/1989, when it became independent as the *Higher Council of Luxor City* (HCLC) in 1989. Later in 2009, another Presidential Decree 378/2009 made Luxor an independent governorate among Egypt's twenty-seven governorates. Luxor city is its capital, and the following neighbouring six rural governing subdivisions, or *Marākez*, belong to Luxor governorate: AlBayiadya, AlQurna, Alzaynyia, Altoūd, Armant, and Esna. The total Luxor governorate area is 1473.91 km², and the area of Luxor city is 44.13 km² (CAPMAS 2017).

Luxor city forms a considerable part of the *WH site Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis* on the east bank².

According to the latest statistics in 2017, the total number of inhabitants of Luxor city is 210.936

¹*Markaz* is Rural governing subdivision of minor importance in the region or governorate compared to the government capital Qena. *Markaz* is most equivalent to *District* in English.

²Map 5.2 illustrates the *WH core* and *buffer zones* of Ancient Thebes and its Necropolis.

inhabitants (CAPMAS 2017). The following figure 5.1. shows the rapid growth of the population starting from the 1970s onwards.

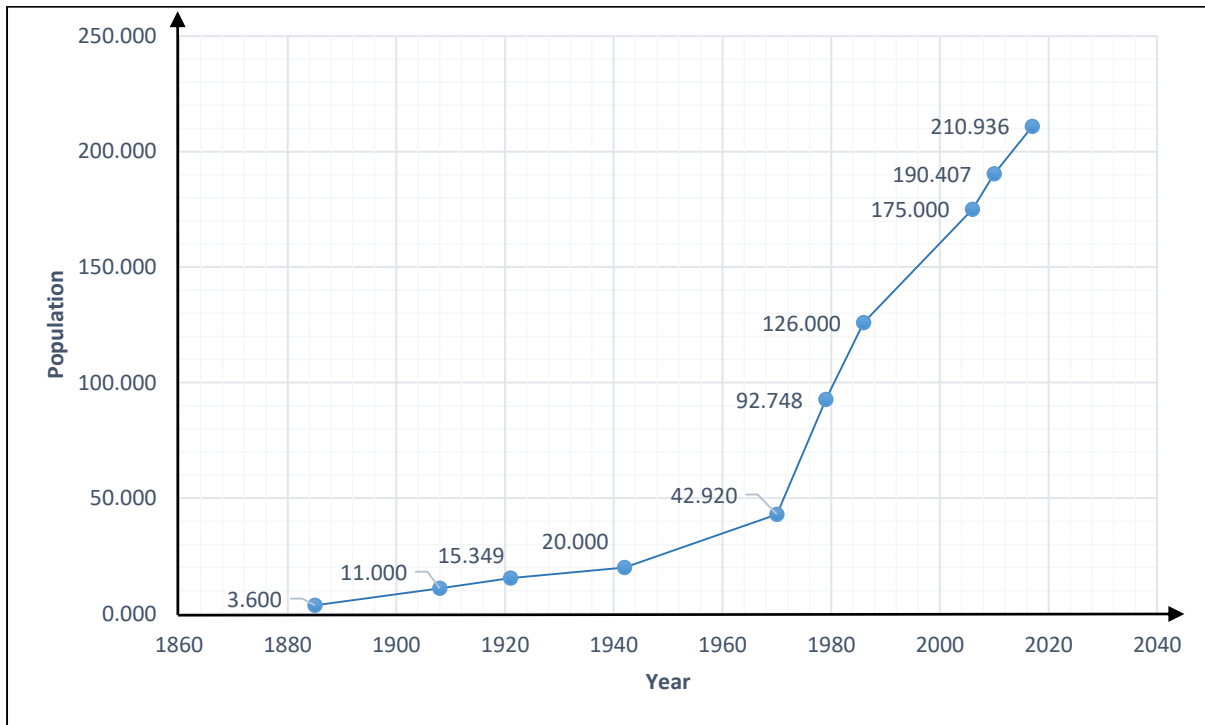


Fig. 5.1: Population growth in Luxor city

Source: Abt. Associates Inc. 1999; Al'Ibiary 2006, 201; Baedeker 1908; Budge 1921, 3; CAPMAS 2017; El Gammal 1985; Gamblin 2007, 57,96; Hamada and Nour 1942; Humphreys 2011; Luxor Governorate Information Centre 2013

It corresponds significantly with the urban upgrading and development plans that started about the same time. The development plans are discussed thoroughly in Chapter Six.

5.2.1 Stakeholder Analysis of Luxor City

The following is the study of the stakeholders that guide the local development with relevant laws and ordinances that control the Heritage management, Tourism, and urban development in Luxor city.

Luxor city follows the same national stakeholder structure, as explained in Chapter Three (3.3.3), figure 3.6, except for minor nuances. The governmental bodies (written in black in figure 5.2) dominate the power, whereas the international organisations (in orange) and civil society groups (in blue) have less power and high interest. The Ministry of Endowment and the state-owned company EGOTH own Luxor Hotel and Winter Palace Hotel, the oldest hotels in Luxor. In Luxor, the international organisations have a relatively more prominent role because of the location of a part of the UNESCO *WH site Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis*

inside the city boundaries. Hence, the UNESCO *WH Centre* and its *Advisory Bodies* review the *State of Conservation (SOC)* Reports that Egypt as a *State Party* provides. Accordingly, the UNESCO *WH Advisory Bodies* and then the *Member States* make the final decision about the SOC. The UNESCO *WH Centre Member States* could request *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA)* reports and further details about future or on-going development projects. They also have the right to express their concern about a threatening situation to the WH property in their final decision.

The Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, of course, has considerable power as a stakeholder in Luxor city, because of the famous archaeological site and monuments that exist in its centre. It controls the excavation works with the governorate and the Heritage site management. The MSA prepares the SOC reports in co-operation with Luxor Governorate, the executive body of the state.

The Ministry of Culture and Luxor Governorate organise cultural events such as the Opera Aida that took place in October 2019, the Luxor International Painting and Luxor International Film Festivals. The National Organization for Urban Harmony, which belongs to the Ministry of Culture, guides the urban development in the city such as on the River Nile embankments and squares.

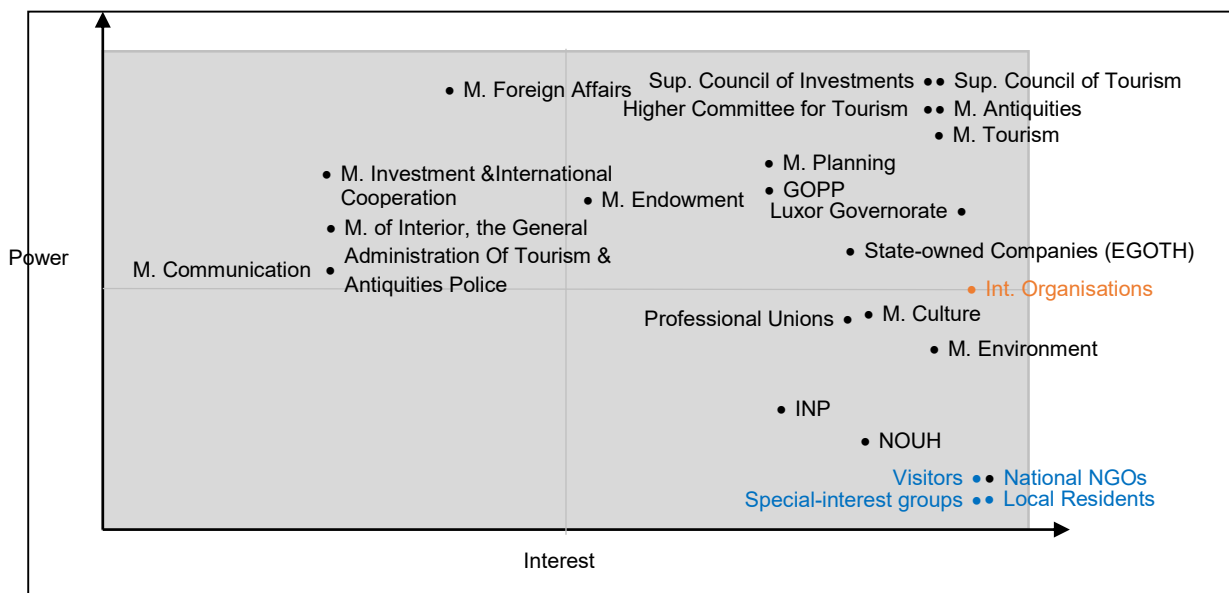


Fig 5.2: Suggested map of power and interest among Heritage and Tourism stakeholders in Luxor City

The following bodies were involved in preparing the latest development plan of Luxor *CDCL* (2004), which is discussed in Chapter Six (6.2.5).

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: representing the Government of Egypt;
- Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development MHUUP: as the government executing agency;
- Higher Council of Luxor City HCLC (now Luxor governorate): as the implementing agent, also responsible for the co-operation and co-ordination with other initiatives at the local and national levels;
- UNDP Egypt Office, as the supporting agency; and
- Abt Associates Inc. and ArchPlan: specialised consulting firms, producing studies, plans, projects, and investment packages.

As a general condition that is discussed in Chapter Three, the residents and the NGOs have relatively low authority compared to the state institutional bodies. The sectors with the highest labour force, namely agriculture, Tourism and Heritage related services in Luxor do not have enough supporting NGOs. Out of the 132 registered NGOs in Luxor, there are no cultural or Heritage affairs (Hesham 2018, 165). Also, The farmers and tourist guides in Luxor are weakly represented, where the agricultural labour and tourist guide forces are represented by only six NGOs (ibid).

Generally, the national bodies have the most powerful position in the stakeholder landscape in Luxor city. There is only one local body that is responsible for implementing the national policies, but not the decision-making, that is Luxor governorate. The civil society groups have the least power decision-making processes compared to national and international bodies. The international institutions in Luxor are mainly UNESCO and its *WH Advisory Bodies*; the national authorities are therefore obliged to a certain extent to refer to the *WH* Convention concerning the *WH* management.

5.2.2 General Land-use and Labour Force in Luxor City

The rapid population growth of urban areas in Luxor has been followed by a continuous significant decline of its agricultural land area. While it was almost 87% of its total area in 1976, it became only 54% in 2010, as shown in the following table 5.1 (Luxor Governorate Information Centre 2013, 2017).

Agricultural and Urban Land areas in Luxor City		The year 1976 (area of total 8.79 km ²)		The year 2010 (area of total 44.13 km ²)		
		Area	Percentage of area	Area	Percentage of area	
Agricultural		7.636	86.86 %	23.68	54%	
Urban	Residential	1.155	13.14%	10.7	24%	46%
	Others			9.42	22%	

Table 5.1: Comparison between the agricultural and urban areas in Luxor city in the years 1976 and 2010
Source: Luxor Governorate Information Centre 2013, El Gammal 1985, 87

The following figure 5.2 shows the percentage of labour force involved in agricultural activities compared to industry and services — Tourism and others — in 1980, 2007, and 2015 respectively. It shows that in slightly more than twenty years, the labour force of Luxor city has dramatically switched from agriculture to services sector, which includes Tourism activities. Despite the decline of Tourism visitor number after 2011, the number of labour force that works in the agricultural sector in 2015 intensely declined again to only 1.16%³ (CES-MED 2017, 33).

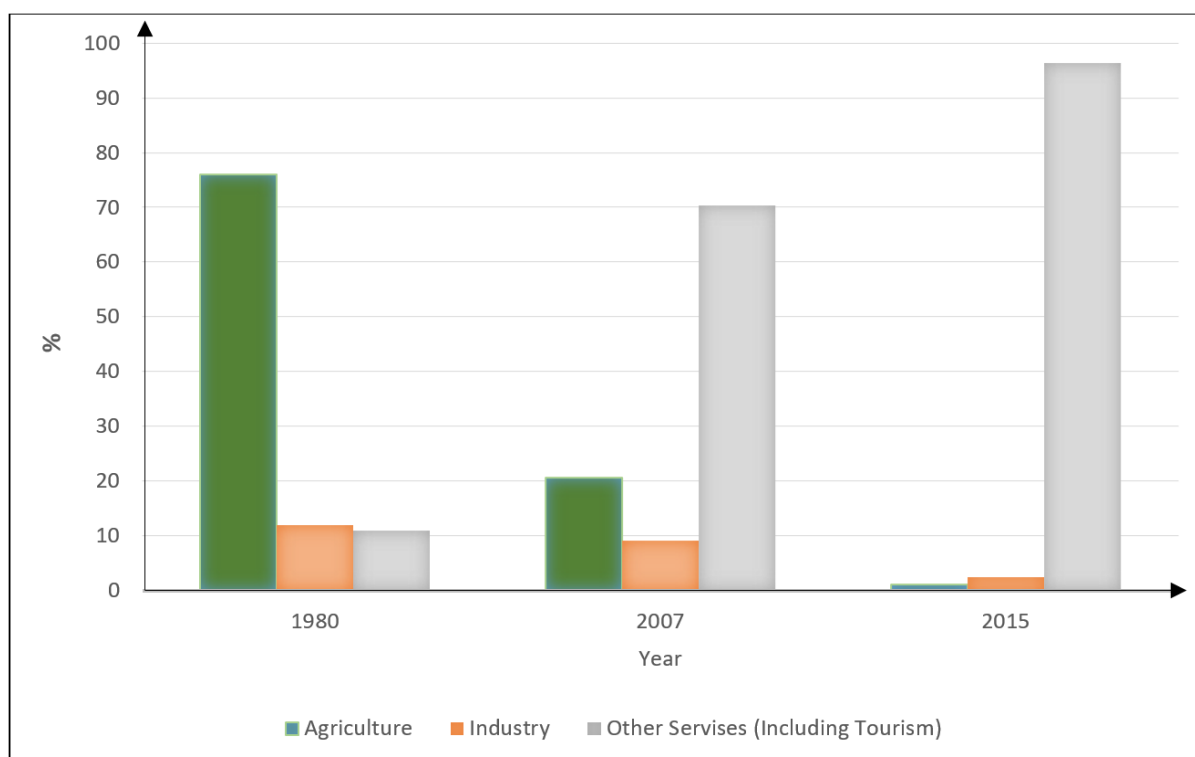


Fig. 5.3: Distribution of total labor force in Luxor city
Source: Cleaner Energy Saving Mediterranean Cities 2017, 33; El Gammal 1985, 97

³ The CES-MED report gave reference to Luxor Labour Force Directorate to these statistics numbers.

It is an alarming indicator of the switch of economic and social nature of the population of Luxor city. Moreover, an unquestionable unemployment problem has come to the surface with a 31.7% official unemployment rate (CAPMAS 2017).

With 31.7% official unemployment rate, one can consider a significant shift to the informal labour market for their income, i.e. as informal guides or street vendors (Näser 2013, 403). Näser discussed the socio-economic status of the local community and how it has affected the Tourism industry⁴ in Luxor over the years. She described (2013, 420) the way a specific social group, i.e. young men who seeks a job opportunity to support themselves financially in the Tourism sector as a “*key economic strategy*” to fulfil their goals that is otherwise very difficult to achieve.

Näser’s article is based on exploring the nature of “*tourist- local sexual relationships*” in the current economic context and how it forms the “*sexual-economic exchanges*” in Luxor while contradicting with the socio-religious Values of the community (Näser 2013, 421). She explains that it has implications on the Tourism sector in Luxor, as it eventually has the reputation of the “*hassle capital of Egypt*” (ibid, 404), or at best, an exotic place which gives another form of cultural experience and related orientalist fantasies (ibid, 413-414).

5.3. Tourism Offer in Luxor City

Likewise, the Heritage Values of the case study, Luxor city, are interpreted in this chapter, according to Freyer’s (2015) *Tourism offer* scheme.

⁴ Luxor was considered the World Tourism Capital for 2016 by the Executive Council of the United Nations World Tourism Organization (Egyptian Streets 2016) <https://egyptianstreets.com/2016/05/13/egypts-luxor-named-world-tourism-city-of-2016/> (accessed March 18, 2020).

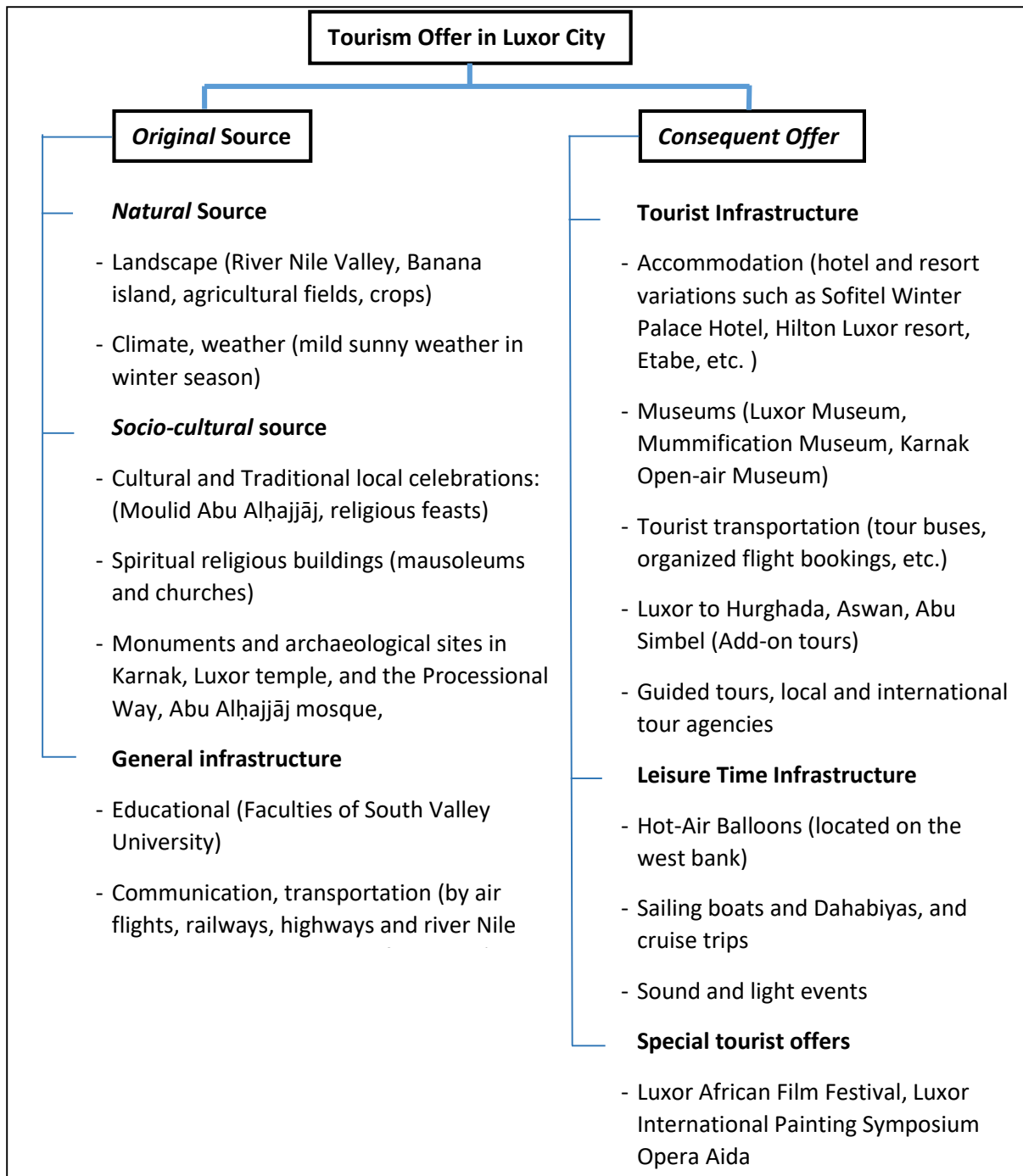


Fig 5.4: The Tourism Offer in Luxor city
 Source: Researcher, adapted from Freyer 2015, 323

The Tourism *offer* is subdivided into original resources and consequent offers. The next discussion concerns these subdivisions in detail.

5.3.1 Original Values

5.3.1.1 Natural Values

The importance of the River Nile to Ancient Thebes as a holy site and a living city has lasted since River Nile is still an integral part of Luxor landscape. The river Nile has affected the shape and the location of the temples, especially on the east bank⁵. It also used to be the artery and main circulation road in Egypt from north to south, hence its *use-Value*, as it was the main access point to Thebes. It has been, and still is, the main link that connects the east and west parts of Ancient Thebes.

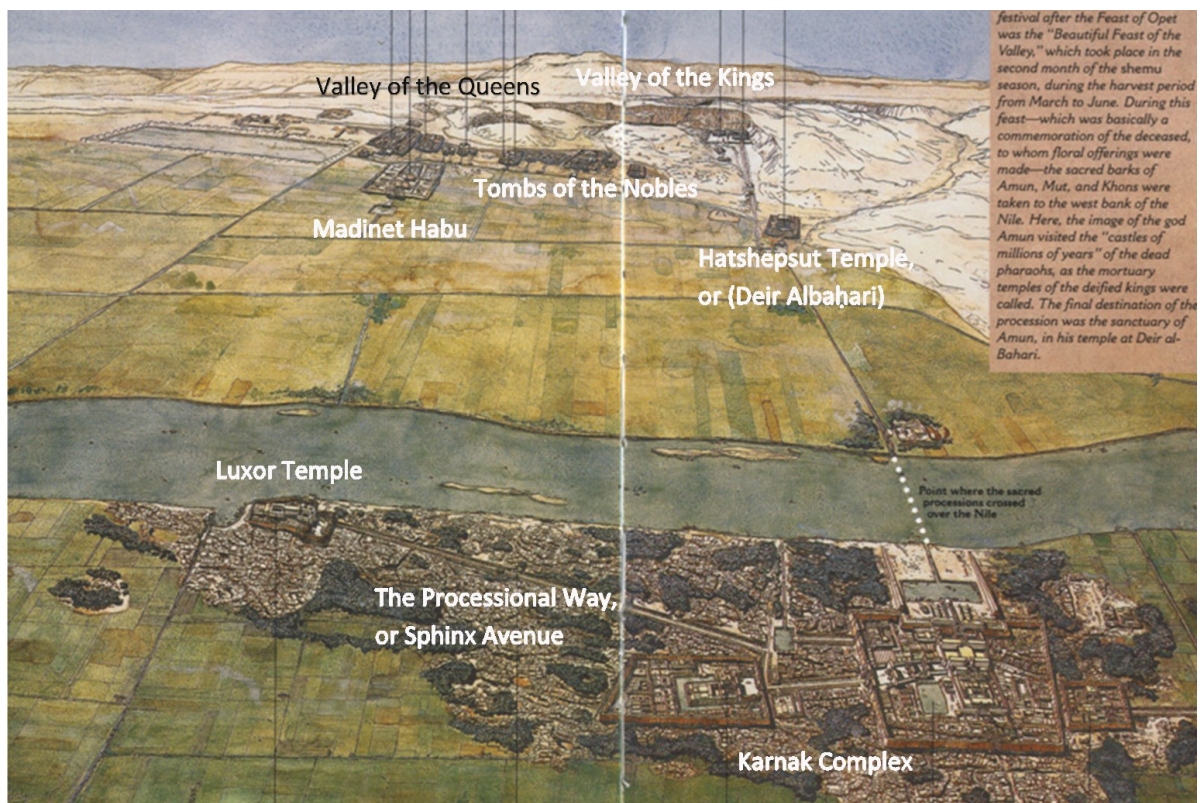


Fig 5.5: Ancient Thebes
Source: Aufrère 1991

The location of the Luxor and Karnak Temples and the Processional Way that links both sites on the east bank represent a complex of cult temples, while the Hatchepsut Temple, Medinet Habu and other temples on the west bank represent mortuary and cult temples (see figure 5.5). There was a concrete visual and religious connection between Karnak Temple on the east bank and Hatshepsut Temple on the west bank as there had been a Procession that once

⁵ Refer to map 4.1. It shows the stream location to the temples, which was different according to the seasonal flooding. The location of the current stream has been constant after building the High Dam in Aswan. Some researchers have discussed the impact of the High Dam on the foundations of the temples. They claim that after the stop of the seasonal flooding, the concentration of salt has been raised which is a direct threat to the construction of the temples.

crossed the river from east to west. This whole setting makes Thebes an exceptional sacred landscape site.

The geography of the Luxor site contributes to the challenge of protecting the monuments. Luxor is bounded by rising desert ground to the east and stony cliffs on the west. The temple sites used to see an annual rise in the level of groundwater beneath during the seasonal flooding. After building the High Dam and because of the excavations in the 1960s, the groundwater levels — mostly fed by increased agricultural and domestic activities — have remained high year-round. It caused exposure of the monuments to changes in humidity, mobilised the salts, and accelerated deterioration (Sampsell 2014, 202; World Bank 1979c, 15).

Modern water availability and pumping have allowed farmers to expand their fields. The land is highly flat with almost no slope from its desert ends toward the Nile or from south to north; therefore the drainage of excess water from the fields and houses goes usually back to the river.

River Nile — the world's longest river (Liu, Lu, Liu, et al. 2009) — has a *natural* Value to Luxor and it is the primary source of freshwater which provides Luxor and the Nile Valley its fertile and arable land. Before building the High Dam in Aswan in the 1960s, the Nile River flooded annually and soaked the dry land on the river's banks in water and fertile soil necessary for cropping. The ancient Egyptians thanked their God Hapi, the god of the Nile, and the "*master of the river bringing vegetation*" and restart their calendar (Hart 1986, 76).⁶ Furthermore, it enjoys high *socio-cultural* Value as it played an essential role in the ancient Egyptian processions, which are, to some extent, living in social and religious celebrations.

Luxor enjoys a mild desert climate with significant temperature differences between day and night. The average annual temperature in winter is 24° and 8°C, while in summer it is warm and reaches 41° and 25°C. The weather is generally stable, dry and sunny most of the year, and has very little exceptional probability of rainfalls that result in floods on the eastern mountains. Luxor governorate's crops are wheat, corn, and sugarcane. The latter consumes a considerable amount of water to grow.

⁶ Since the Nile no longer floods to clean the lakes, they have become highly saline, the high salinity has caused damage to the stones of the temple (World Bank 1979c, 15).

5.3.1.2 Historical Material Values

Karnak and Luxor were two of the most important sites of ancient Thebes (Doumato 1981, 2) that constitute a Historic Urban Landscape. According to official statistics, Luxor was the most visited governorate for its archaeological sites in Egypt in 2013, making 23.6% out of the overall number of visitors to archaeological sites, followed by Giza with 18.7%, Aswan with 14.9% and finally Cairo with 11.6% (Egyptian Cabinet Information and Decision Support Centre 2014, 3). The architectural elements embodied in these temples would be retained and implemented throughout the history of architecture worldwide (see figures 5.6-5.9).

The Ancient Egyptian Architecture inspired the Art Deco style in Luxor, which was fashionable and exotic in Paris at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There was a new line of architectural style; it was named the Egyptian Revival, or on other occasions, the Neo-Egyptian style. The name of the first theatre that was built in Art Deco style is Louxor Palais du Cinéma, which was built in the 1920s. Its architect Henri Zipcy integrated Ancient Egyptian features on the facades and the interior of the cinema hall (Paris Official Website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau 2015). The fascination with the Ancient Egyptian architecture in Luxor did not stop in Europe; there are several examples in Australia, Lebanon, and the USA. The Luxor Hotel and Casino in Las Vegas is named after Luxor in Egypt.



Fig 5.6: Le Louxor Palais du Cinéma in Paris
Source: whereez N/A



Fig 5.7: Reebie Storage Warehouse in Chicago
Source: Powers 2009



Fig 5.8: Grauman's Egyptian theatre in Hollywood
Source: Jones 2011



Fig 5.9: Carreras Cigarette Factory in London
Source: Pitheadgear 2014

Luxor Temple

Before the clearance in the 1880s, it was challenging to trace the plan of Luxor Temple — that was first built during the New Kingdom (1570 - 1544 BC) — the colonnade of “*giant pillars was half-buried in the soil*” (Edwards 1890, 122).

The more obvious examples of these architectural features of Luxor Temple are the cavetto cornice, and a mixture of column styles as well as the use of clerestory level (Doumato 1981, 2). Karnak and Luxor Temples hold a significant Value due to the continuous additions to their structures along with their history according to their *religious, political* and *socio-cultural* importance. The later added structures started to appear as early as the New Kingdom, Late antiquity, Greek, Roman and Coptic till the Islamic Period as shown in Karnak and Luxor plans (figures 5.11, 5.12 and 5.24).



Fig 5.10: The obelisk of Luxor temple standing in Place de la Concorde in Paris
Source: Researcher 2017

The two red granite obelisks well-cut and polished that once stood together preceded the Great Pylon, were not exactly similar to each other in their dimensions (Thompson 2001, 299). One of the obelisks stands now in Place de la Concorde in Paris and is considered as a vital landmark in Paris. It left Luxor in late 1831 and had arrived Toulon after two years (Asa'ad 2004, 23).

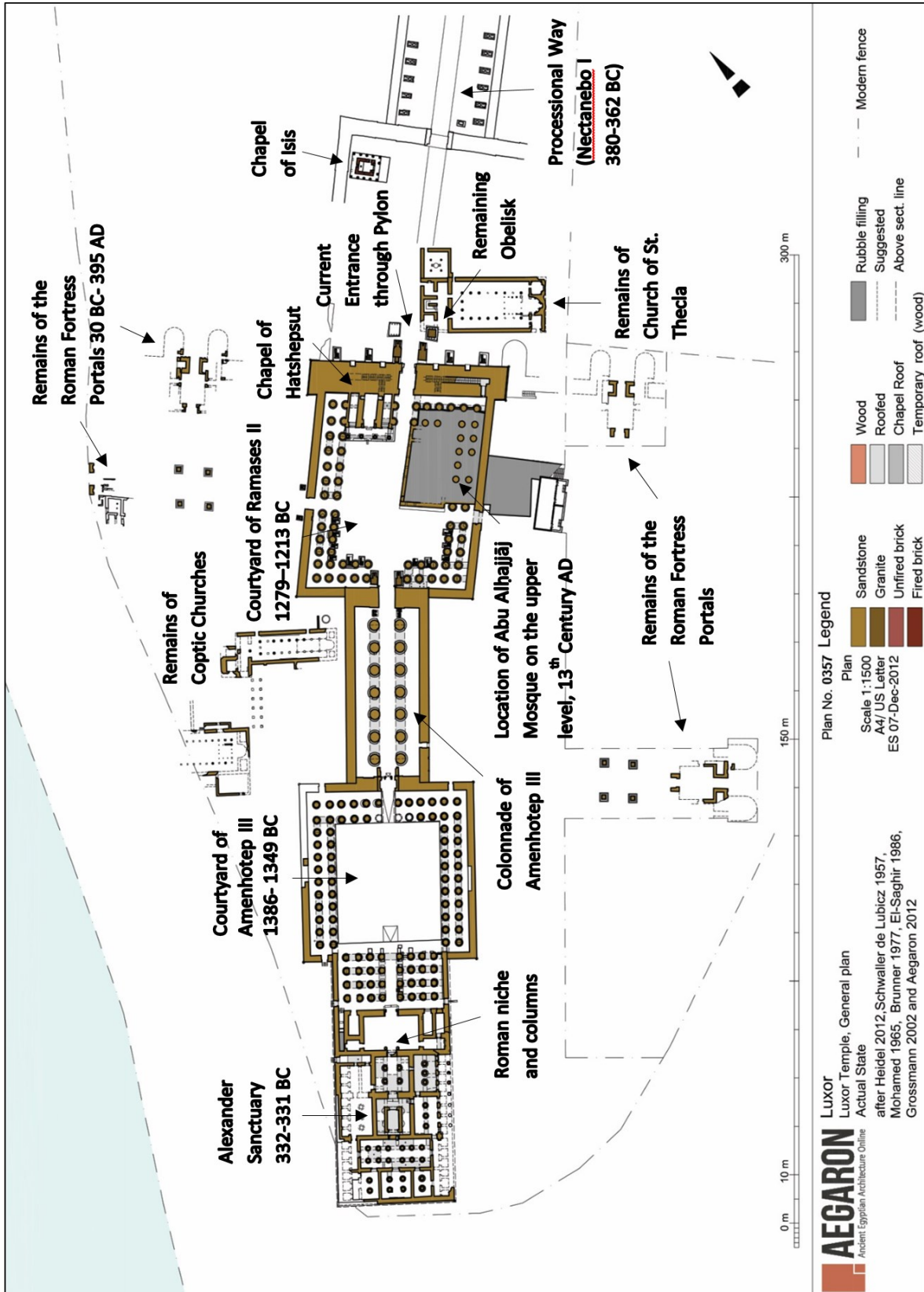


Fig 5.11: Plan of Luxor temple showing its actual state
Source: Researcher, adapted from AEGARON 2012c

The AEGARON⁷ plan in figure 5.11 shows the building phases of Luxor Temple. The complex contains the Great Pylon to the north in front of the processional way, the Great Courtyard of Ramses II is to the south of the pylon, which includes the chapel of Hatshepsut and the Early Christian structure, upon which hangs Abu Alhaggag Mosque. The courtyard leads south to the Colonnade, patio, and hypostyle hall of Amenhotep III. The last courtyard contains Roman fresco scenes, niche and columns. The last part of the temple embraces the Holy of Holies in which Alexander Sanctuary is placed. Most of the construction belongs to the New Kingdom Period mainly, by the kings Amenhotep III and Ramses II. Alexander Sanctuary belongs to the Ptolemaic Period.

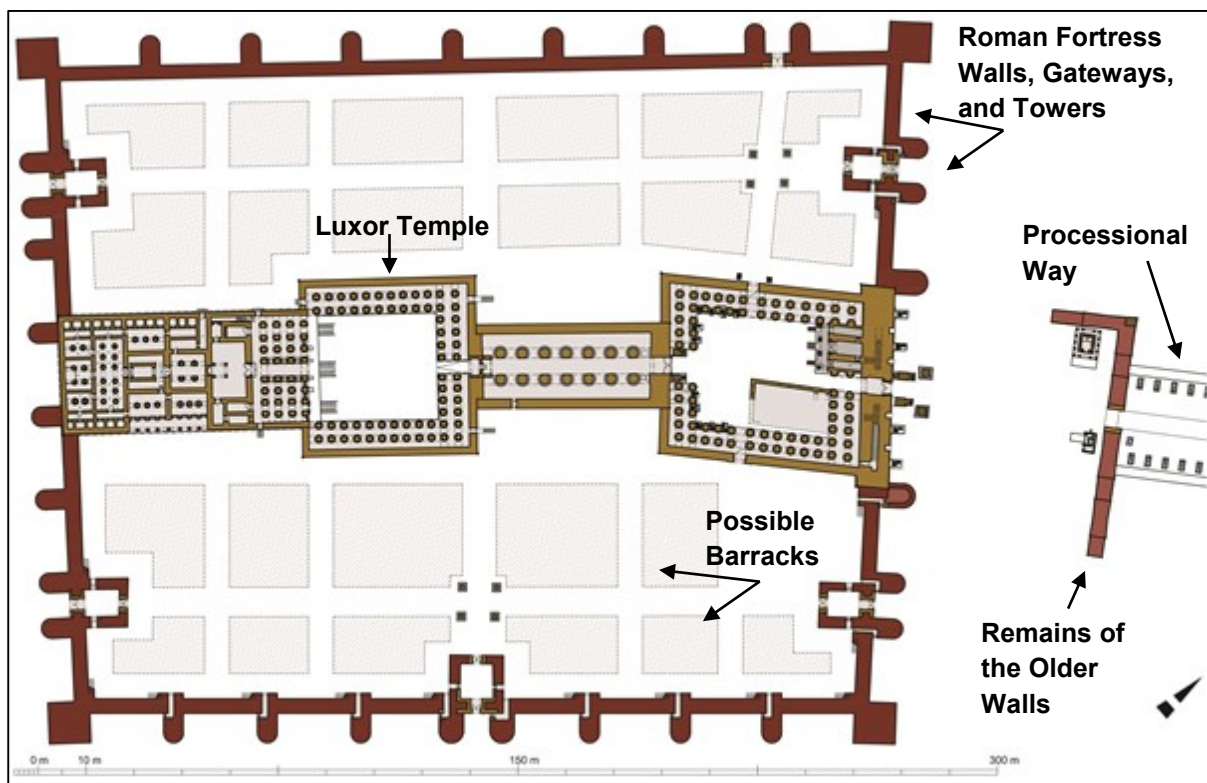


Fig 5.12: Reconstruction of Luxor Temple in the early Roman/Late Antiquity Period
 Source: Researcher, adapter from AEGARON 2012b

Luxor Temple kept its function as a temple of the God Amun-Ra until the Roman and Late Antiquity Periods; it became then a fortress and was surrounded by fired-brick wall, as shown in figure 5.12. There are some other Roman and Late Antiquity additions to the construction of the temple such as a niche and two columns, and Roman Fresco scenes in one of the courts of the temple (figure 5.13). The Luxor Temple was a part of the Roman camp during

⁷ AEGARON, or Ancient Egyptian Architecture Online, is an online repository that provides thirteen architectural plans of Luxor temple available online. Building phases, actual state and reconstruction suggestions are provided on the website:<http://drupaldev.aegaron.ucla.edu/>(accessed on February 10, 2020).

the Roman period. Figure 5.12 shows, among other architectural elements, the old walls of the temple and the Roman walls that replaced the previous ones.



Fig 5.13: Painting of the Roman fresco scenes in Luxor Temple by J. G. Wilkinson c.1850
Source: Flood 2016, 27



Fig 5.14: Remains of churches west of Luxor Temple, looking north
Source: Khamis 2012b



Fig 5.15: An opening in Abu Al-hajjaj Mosque (located in figure 5.17) incorporated in the structure of Luxor Temple
Source: Khamis 2012a

Apparently, Luxor Temple has kept its function as a worship area for over thirty-five centuries until the present day. Remains of some churches from the Coptic Period still exist around the temple, such as St. Thecla church in front of the west side of the pylon. The Abu Al-hajjaj Mosque, which is still functioning, belongs to the Fatimid Period (figure 5.15).⁸

⁸Unfortunately, there is no enough signage in the site to indicate its different layers of history or explanation of the remains.

Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque

Abu Al-ḥajjāj was a devout sheikh, lived in the settlements clustered around Luxor temple and died in 1244-5 AD. He is buried in a shrine next to the mosque built by his son forty years after his death, circa 1286 AD (Thompson 2001, 296; Wickett 2009, 406). However, the mosque represents the only part that manifests all of the history layers of Luxor Temple, and its religious significance of continuous worship sacred space over three-hundred fifty years.

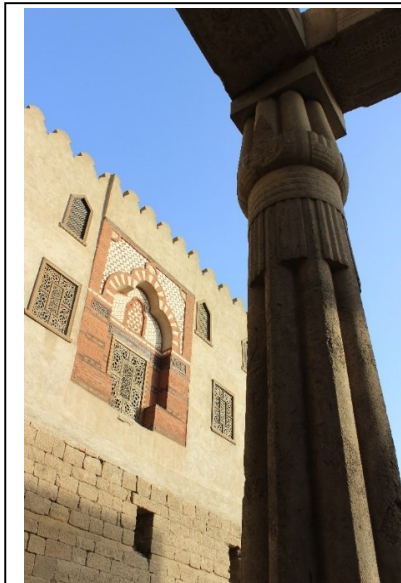


Fig 5.16: View in the Courtyard of Rameses II (New Kingdom) showing a column in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Middle Kingdom) and Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque (13th century)
Source: Researcher 2012

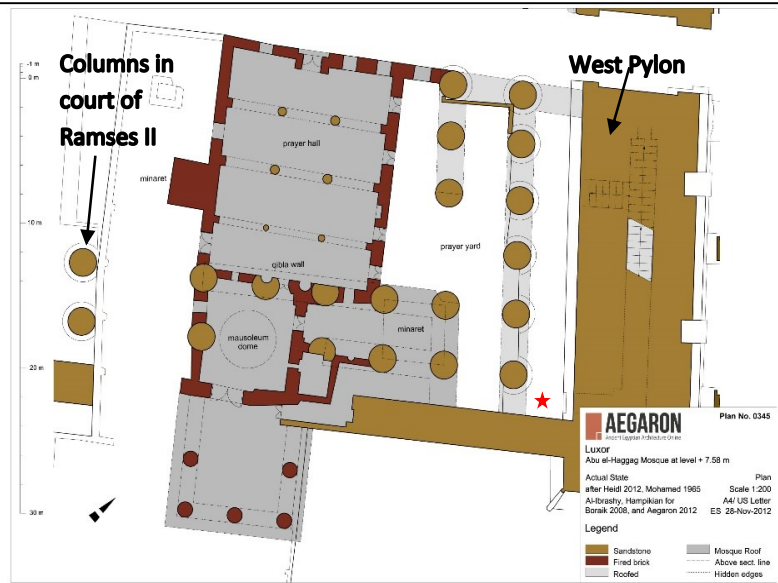


Fig 5.17: Plan of Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque at level + 7.58 m above the court of Rameses II
Source: Researcher, adapted from AEGARON 2012a

The researcher believes that the structure of the mosque respected the temple architectural history. One cannot find any evidence of the Islamic religion outside the walls of the mosque and its area has confined the use of the mosque and mausoleum of Abu Al-ḥajjāj. Some of the actual columns and walls of the Ramesside court have become parts of the mosque structure. The mural paintings and carvings on the walls and drawings on the columns remained but probably were covered earlier due to religious beliefs. Some different materials were used on the surface of walls and columns of the temple, such as earthed-based plaster and modern concrete (Boraik 2008, 126). Hence, the mosque has been another reason to extend the life of the Luxor Temple during the medieval period.

The mosque was part of a complex that used to serve the Luxor community until the eighteenth century. It was once adjoined by the principal school of the town that was called *Alsāḥa Alḥajjājia*, or Al-ḥajjāj Yard (see figure 5.18). It used to hold scientific councils and a place to teach Islamic sciences, besides its social role in receiving visitors to the mosque and providing accommodation for its guests. It was demolished in 1958.⁹



Fig 5.18: View of the pylons of Luxor Temple and *Alsāḥa Alḥajjājia*, before 1958 looking south, in the foreground is the beginning of the Processional Way
Source: Alḥajjājī 2017



Fig 5.19: View of Luxor Temple and Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque looking northeast
Source: Weiss 2004

In the early excavations and clearance at Luxor Temple, the presence of Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque, being a medieval structure, was found to be an encroachment on the Ancient Egyptian temple (Boraik 2008, 123). However, because of its highly religious and social importance to Luxor community, it survived the demolitions and now is under the protection of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

The mosque (figure 5.16 and figure 5.17) was apparently built in the Fatimid Period over the remains of an early Coptic basilica in the court of Ramases II in Luxor Temple. Thus, it levels the medieval height that lies about seven meters above the Ramesside court level (see figure 5.16 and figure 5.17) (Boraik 2008, 125; Whitcomb and Johnson 1986, 31). However, there is not enough research done about the structure of this basilica. The main entrance of the mosque was from the Ramesside courtyard, and it was replaced by a new façade and entrance from the eastern side, hence its suspended presence.

The prayer hall is divided into three aisles by two rows of three columns that are re-used from earlier Roman or Coptic structures, perhaps from the church structure that the mosque was

⁹ According to Abul Jawād Abdul Fattāḥ Alḥajjājī, the formal general director of Coptic and Islamic Antiquities in Luxor who also facilitated the excavation work of the Chicago Medieval Luxor Project in 1985.

built over (Boraik 2008, 125). The following figure 5.22 and figure 5.23 were taken during the restoration of the mosque in 2007 and reveal the re-use of the ancient Egyptian columns in the construction of the mosque.



Fig 5.20: Fatimid minaret of Abu Alḥajjāj and Luxor village from the pylon of Luxor Temple and the city in the background in 1928 looking east
Source: Pillet 1928, fig.119



Fig 5.21: Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque from the Ramesside court before restoration
Source: Researcher 2004



Fig 5.22: Inside Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque during restoration
Source: Boraik 2008, Pl. XVIII



Fig 5.23: Exterior of the restored Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque : the capitals of the Ramesside Portico protruding from the southern wall.
Source: Boraik 2008, Pl. XIX

The existence of both ancient Egyptian architectural elements and the successor medieval ones in integration is described by Boraik (2008, 126) as overwhelming and striking. The mosque was extensively restored during the reign of Khedive Abbas Ḥelmi II (1892-1914 AD) and was renovated after a massive fire in 2007 (Boraik 2008, 124). The latter destruction and restoration work proved the continuity of the tangible and intangible Values of the Luxor Temple. Furthermore, it “*exposed the degree to which the Luxor Temple is a palimpsest of succeeding epochs of architectural, religious, and cultural expression and prompts a more*

profound examination of the phenomenology of ritual, leitmotifs, and performance in Egyptian celebratory tradition” (Wickett 2009, 403).

Despite its relatively small size compared to the temple's, Abu Al-ḥajjāj mosque is considered the link between the archaeological and Heritage site and the local community in their everyday life to this date. The local community pray in the mosque and visit the shrine of Abu Al-ḥajjāj frequently. This interaction between the Heritage asset of the Luxor Temple and the local community, besides its location and history, give the mosque its multi-faceted Value.

The Karnak Complex

The Karnak Complex is almost three Kilometres to the north of Luxor Temple¹⁰. This complex contains many temples and shrines and was known in the ancient times as “*the most select of the places*”, also as “*Yosemite forest of stone*” by Charles Edwin Wilbour¹¹ (Humphreys 2015, 114; Magli 2014, 34). The Theban Temple of the god Amun — the nucleus of the complex — was founded in the Middle Kingdom in the first half of the second millennium BC (Magli 2014, 34; UNESCO 1979, 3). The royals celebrated and immortalised their lives by constructing temples, courtyards and pylons (Doumato 1981, 2). These structures were elaborated with sculpture and relief works depicting significant events such as battles and victories that occurred during a king's reign.

The Gods Amun, Khonso and Mut have been dedicated with three temples in the complex (see figure 5.24). The temple of Amun at Karnak is built from a series of separate structures and features that combine to form one massive building complex. The temple was divided into sections by a series of ten pylons. The first Pylon on the west, which creates the main entrance, is the biggest and the newest to be built, creating an east-west axis, as well as a north-south axis (see figure 5.24) (Sullivan 2008a, 1). Seti I commenced the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak, which is considered as the masterpiece of Egyptian architecture. He erected seventy-eight columns out of one-hundred thirty-four (Mariette-Bey 1890, 178). Amenhotep I expansively rebuilt the Middle Kingdom sanctuary of Amun, parts of which had become in ruins after a sequence of high floods during the Eighteenth Dynasty (1526-1506 BC) (Brand 2010, 03).

¹⁰ See figure 5.24 which represent the latest phase of the Pharaonic activity.

¹¹ Charles Edwin Wilbour was an American journalist and Egyptologist and one of the discoverers of the Elephantine Papyri. His archival collection and library of Egyptology are now in Brooklyn museum.

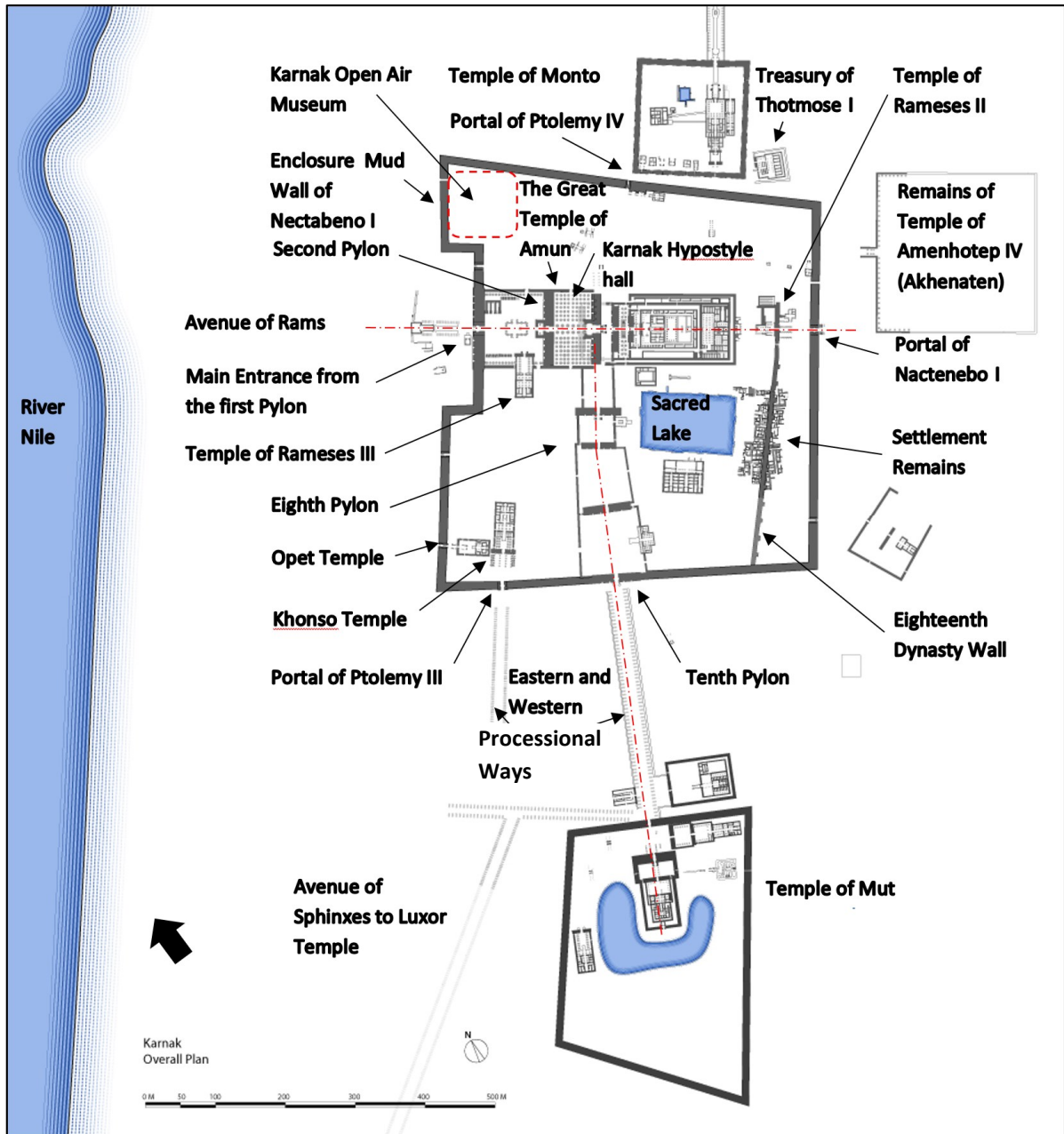


Fig 5.24: The Karnak Complex

Source: Researcher 2017, adapted from UCLA 2008 (Copyright of the Regents of the University of California)

Rameses II completed the hypostyle hall and built the surrounding wall of the temple.¹² The other Gods Mut and Khonso have another two temples. The two Gods are associated with Amun in his character as an eternal god. Mut represents the Goddess mother, while Khonso is the descendent (Mariette-Bey 1890, 178).

¹²Rameses II also constructed a part of Luxor temple including the main courtyard.



Fig 5.25: Portal of Ptolemy III near Khonso temple
Source: Abney 1876



Fig 5.26: Portal of Ptolemy IV on the north of the Enclosure Wall
Source: Weiss 2004

Like Luxor Temple, there are remains of Ptolemaic additions to the Karnak Complex, such as the portals shown in figures 5.25 and 5.26.

The Processional Way (the Avenue of Sphinxes)

The Luxor and Karnak Temples were joined by a 2.7 km long Processional Way paved in stone and flanked by human-headed sphinxes (Magi 2003, 5). Most of the statues of sphinxes that have been brought again to light in recent years are a relatively recent addition (fourth century BC) compared to the temples (Magli 2014, 34). Figure 4.23 in Chapter Four shows the first part to be cleared off the soil in 1964. The Processional Way, however, is much older, and it can be credited to the Hatshepsut reign (ibid).

Known also as the *Sphinx Avenue* or *Tarīq Alkebāsh* in Arabic, the present Processional Way between Khonso Temple at Karnak and Luxor Temple dates back to the reign Nectanebo I (380-362 BC), around a millennium after Luxor Temple was built. Before Nectanebo I, the sphinxes have been usurped, altered and relocated several times by previous kings (Boraik 2010, 45). Nectanebo I proudly inscribed various dedicatory texts on the sphinxes such as: “*I built a beautiful road for [my] father Amun, bordered by walls, planted with trees and decorated with flowers. A road made by the king to his father Amun in order that he does a beautiful sailing [...]. No road more beautiful has ever [been] existed before*” (Boraik 2010, 45).

Magli (2014, 33) discussed the Luxor-Karnak relationship. The orientation of the Processional Way and the later expansions of Luxor Temple were a presentation of sacred landscapes conception. The symbolic relationship between Karnak, as the main *house* of Amun (who is the tangible form of the creative force in nature and hears the prayers), and Luxor Temple, as the main *house* of the creator (or re-creator) God. God is responsible for renovating the *Ka*, which held the life force of the king (Magli 2014, 33; Mariette-Bey 1890, 182; Sullivan 2008b,

2). Public access to temples was generally forbidden so the idea of *circulating the gods'* statues back and forth met the need to have contact with the gods (Sullivan 2008b, 2).

It is worth mentioning that the excavations that were done in 1985-1986 by The Chicago Medieval Luxor Project found that the ready-made stone blocks from Luxor Temple were incorporated in the medieval foundations (Whitcomb and Johnson 1986, 32), which was common during this time. Hence, in the context of the *historic material* Values of Luxor, it consists not only of layers that range in age from early antiquity through medieval, early Christian until modern, but also there is a new and still-need-to-be explored indication of integration of those layers.

5.3.1.3 Socio-Cultural Values

This section regards the intangible *socio-cultural* Values such as the old and current festivals and craftsmanship. It constitutes the structures that impact the socio-cultural life and the collective memory of the locals.

The River Nile does not only have *natural* and *use-Values*, however, but it also holds high *socio-cultural* Value, because it has been an essential element in forming Egypt's civilisation and culture. The annual floods of the Nile resulted in extremely fertile soil in the marshes of the river valley. The Ancient Egyptians were able to develop farming and irrigation systems that had allowed for growing a stable society along the Nile valley. They believed that their well-being and wealth were subject to the annual flooding.

It played a significant role in the ancient Egyptian processions as a vital processional route. During some ancient religious festival such as *Opet*, *Wepet-Renpet* and *Wag*, Egyptians used to move shrines of Gods from east to west or from one temple to another using the course of the Nile (Mark 2017a).

River Nile introduced Egyptians to pottery making that flourished in the Medieval Period in Luxor because of the fertile soil it used to bring during the seasonal flooding.

A trade and expedition route was created through the River Nile with the African region that has started during the Hatshepsut reign as it is evident on the walls of Hatshepsut Temple in the west bank. The expedition to Punt — a land which was situated to the southeast of Egypt now Ethiopia — is described on a colonnade in the Hatshepsut Temple. The expedition to the south was a "*testimony to the wealth of the country under [Hatshepsut's] rule and also her ambition in reviving the traditions and glory of the past*" (Mark 2017b).

The Opet Festival during the Ancient Egyptian Time

Ancient Egyptian festivals were often linked to astronomical phenomena, agricultural seasons and political events (Sullivan 2008b, 1). Like major celebrations that occurred annually, the *Opet festival* took place once a year. It is considered to be one of the unique and vital events that integrated Luxor and Karnak landscape in a religious festival and was performed along a straight Processional Way (Magli 2014, 33).

The festival held national importance and lasted two to four weeks during the summer, the second month of the Nile flood during the inundation season (Magli 2014, 36).

As shown in figure 5.27, the cult statue of the god was placed in a covered wooden litter shaped like a boat-shrines of the Theban triad, Amun, Mut and Khonso. They were taken in a procession from Karnak Temple to the *house* at Luxor Temple along the Processional Way. The boats would sail back to the Khons Temple. The cult images were carried on the shoulders of the priests along the Processional Way, stopping for ceremonies and resting at six bark shrines on the way, as seen on the reliefs in Amenhotep III's colonnade in Luxor Temple and the outer wall of the Temple of Ramses III in the Great Court in Karnak. Depictions of bark processions suggest that a variety of types of people directly participated in the parade (Sullivan 2008b, 1); troops of soldiers, priests, dancers, musicians, and singers are all shown as part of the celebration. Texts and images show that the festival changed significantly over time, both concerning the processional path and to the duration (Sullivan 2008b, 3).

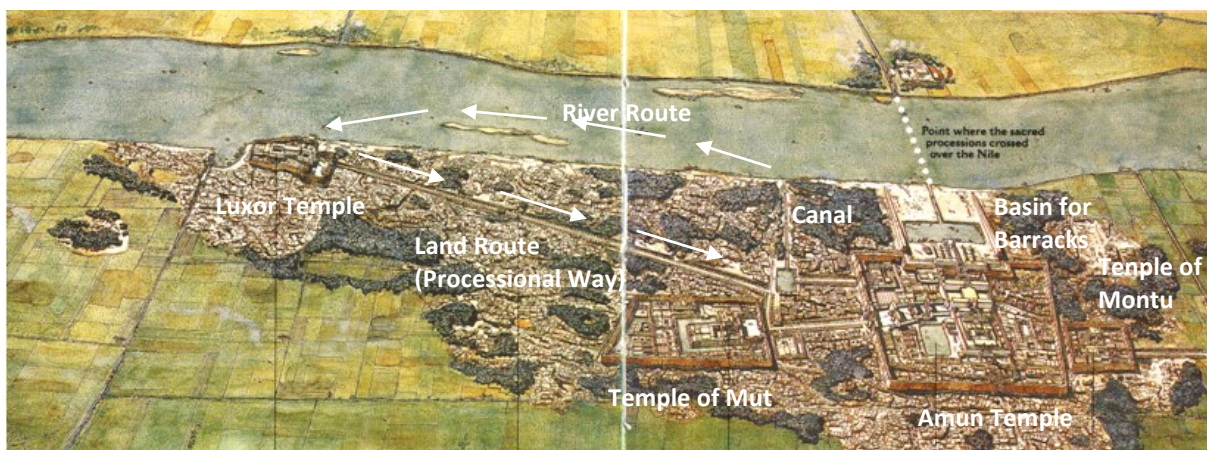


Fig 5.27: The route of the ancient Opet festival between Luxor and Karnak Temples
Source: Researcher, adapted from Aufrère 1991

The ceremony preserved and indorsed the king's power and reign and his close bonds with the God Amun. The king, after all, was the living embodiment of God on earth. For this reason, it appears that the king himself often participated in the festival¹³ (Sullivan 2008b, 1).

Current Local Celebrations

The Moulid of Abu Al-ḥajjāj is the most celebrated event in Luxor (Alḥajjāji, 1996). At *Abu Alḥajjāj moulid* (the rebirth festival of a saint), many people gather and are used to perform *Taḥteeb*, an Egyptian male dance, a festive stick, and fighting martial art. It recently was designated as *intangible cultural Heritage* at UNESCO's General Assembly Meeting 2016, to be the second Egyptian Intangible Cultural Heritage to be inscribed after Al-Sīrah Al-Hilāliyyah Epic in 2008 (Tahtib 2016; UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage 2018).

Moulid of Abu Al-ḥajjāj is a regional event and takes place during the second half of the month of Sha'abān in the Islamic lunar calendar. Being visited by many Upper Egyptians, the significance of this moulid extends far beyond the local community of Luxor. Abu Al-ḥajjāj is believed to spread the teachings of Islam in Luxor and Upper Egypt some eight centuries ago. M. Alḥajjāji, in his book *Al'uḡsur Fel'aṣr Al'islāmi*, or *Luxor in the Islamic Period*, argues the theory of some historians of the sailing boats as a re-production of the ancient ceremony of the Opet festival. He believes that it is improbable because of the considerable time gap between the ancient Egyptian period and the Islamic period. The sailing boat represents, he argues, Abu Alḥajjāj, when he used to visit the other (west) bank of the River Nile to worship God (Alḥajjāji, 1996, 76). However, Some other researchers, such as Wickett, believe there is a loud echo of the ancient Opet festival in this current tradition. She concluded that the use of the mast pole and funerary boats during the Moulid and other aspects “[suggest] a *flagrant reversal of the original*” ceremony, in which “*the annual feast of renewal is no longer performed merely for the king, but for the benefit for all the inhabitants of Luxor and those who honour [Abu Alḥajjāj]*” (Wickett 2009, 426). It is worthwhile to mention that there is no procession-like ceremony is being held in any other Moulids or social or religious events elsewhere in Egypt.

A writer from the thirteenth-century, Al'idfawi¹⁴ (1966, 724), deprecated this ceremony. He claimed that the followers of Abu Alḥajjāj went too far in glorifying him, so the followers invented some prophetic ascension at the night of Sha'abān the fifteenth. Ever since, Al'idfawi complained, this night had been considered a feast, during which, people gather from

¹³ Sullivan's article *Processional Routes and Festivals* discusses comprehensively the Opet Festival and its procession during the reigns of different kings as well as its rituals.

¹⁴Kamāl Aldīn Al'idfawi—born in 1286—was the author of a biography book *Altāli' Alsa'id: Aljāmi' Asmā' Nujabā' Assa'id* about distinguished people in the Upper Egypt during the Mamluk Period (Kamāl Aldīn Al'idfawi 1966).

everywhere bringing musical instruments. He found these actions a heresy and that Abu Alḥajjāj was not responsible for it.

Today this three-day festival attracts thousands of visitors mainly from all Upper Egypt over several days to the streets around the temple. There are other smaller *moulids* around Luxor, such as *Sheikh Mūsa*, *Abu Aljūd*, *Sheikh Ḥāmid*, and *Sheikh Ḥussein*.

The Craftsmanship

According to the architect Max Johann Beiersdorf¹⁵, the technique of constructing the walls surrounding Karnak complex, which has guaranteed the stability of the enclosure structure for the complex, was very successful, so it has survived until the present time. The idea is to construct the mudbricks in sections in the convex and concave system, so each section supports the other (see figure 5.32). The south-west walls of the complex still have the original parts, while the rest of the enclosure wall was restored in the 1950s and 1960s (figure 5.31) by skilful local builders. This technique has survived and was used in residential mudbrick buildings until recent times, as seen in figures 5.28, 5.29, and 5.30.



Fig 5.28: Preparing mud bricks in 1924 in Luxor, by Torsten Lenk
Source: Lenk N/A



Fig 5.29: The French House from the pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak in 1924, by Torsten Lenk
Source: Lenk 2001

¹⁵Max Johann Beiersdorf is an academic staff member at BTU Cottbus-Senftenberg and a co-worker in the research project for the Heliopolis Temple District in Cairo, Egypt. He has several publications in the topic of the undulating mudstone walls of Egypt and some of them are about the walls of Karnak complex.



Fig 5.30: Mudbrick structures in Luxor by Antonio Beato in 1860s
Source: Beato N/A



Fig 5.31: Mudbrick wall and portal of Ptolemy III at Karnak, looking east
Source: Researcher 2012

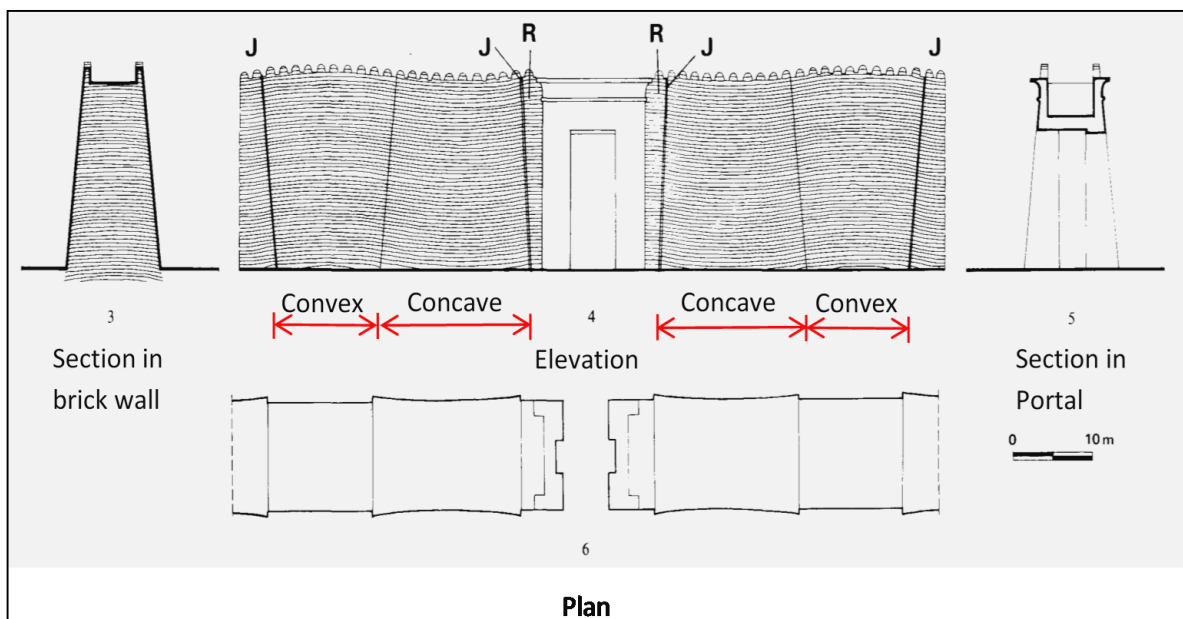


Fig 5.32: The restoration of the Great Enclosure Wall of the Amun Temple on both sides of the Eastern Gate.
Source: Golvin 1993

The restoration in figure 5.32 of the elevation of the Great Enclosure of Amun by Golvin in 1993 illustrates the technique that was used to build the walls and was used later for the restoration. The double segments which constitute this enclosure wall are delimited by oblique joints (J) and are composed of two elements. One is with concave (their curvature is downwards) foundations, and the other is with convex foundations. The door is connected to the end of the neighbouring segments by narrow connecting elements (R). Only the lower part of these Great Walls is now preserved, while the original heights could be restored with regards to the height of Temples of Amun and Monto, and the height of the stone portals (Golvin 1993, 150). To keep balance while constructing the walls, Golvin argued that all the wall segments — concave and convex — and gateways must have been built simultaneously.

Buildings of Religious Values

The existing *St. Mary Coptic Orthodox Church* was rebuilt in 1909. It is one of the most important churches in Luxor. It enjoys high *religious* Value by the Copts of Luxor and contains the remains of two saints.

Ismail Bin Gafar Bin Ali — later called Almqashqesh — was a devout doctor in the Ayyibid period. He studied Islamic sciences and granted his *knowledge* to heal people in pain. Hence, he is called Almqashqesh; who “*heals people’s pain*” (Alşaghîr 2011, 95). Tawfiq Pacha Andraus, the Coptic politician, rebuilt the *mosque and mausoleum* of Almqashqesh after its deterioration and enlarged it to accommodate more worshippers. The mosque and mausoleum became an icon in the social history of Luxor because the local inhabitants used to seek blessings. The mosque was pulled down first, and then the mausoleum (of higher Value to the local community) was pulled down in 2010 during the latest development project. There were several mausoleums in Luxor around Luxor temple. However, there were two mausoleums of high *spiritual* and *religious* Values to the local communities other than Almqashqesh. These were *Alwahshy* and *Almaḥkama*. They also were demolished in 2010.

Houses of Influential People in Luxor

Tawfiq Pacha Andraus the honorary consul of Italy and was the representative of Luxor in the Egyptian parliament for three consecutive periods until he died in 1935. He was known for loving the poor and building a school for the Copts, the Young Muslims Association, the Madamoud and Almqashqesh Mosques (Alşaghîr 2011, 86). He was the brother of Yassa Pacha Andraus, whose house was next to Tawfiq Pacha’s which still stands on the mound between Luxor Temple and the River Nile.

Andraus’ house in Luxor was known as Beyt Al’Umma or the House of the Nation. “*Here, history makers used to gather to talk, plan and to give allegiance for the homeland. This place is a lung of Luxor’s history which [was then] breathing and pulsing*” (As’ad 2004, 251). There is a street that links the central train station with the location where his house existed, and it is named after him until today. In the 1960s, the house became the headquarters of the Secretary of the Socialist Union, and then the National Democratic Party (ibid). The house of Tawfiq Pacha Andraus was demolished in 2009 as part of the latest development planning of Luxor.

The demolition of the Andraus’s house without any documentation is a result of not applying Law 144/2006 in Luxor Governorate, which protects the structures of *architectural* and *cultural*

Values from demolition (check Chapter Three 3.2.2). Several buildings that were built around the same period were lost for the same reason. They did not have any documentation except for a few accidental photographs.

The nineteenth-century house of the French archaeologist Georges Legrain¹⁶ was built in front of the Great Pylon of the Karnak. It was demolished in the late 2000s to develop the *Karnak Plaza Project*.

5.3.1.4 General Infrastructure

Education

There were one-hundred twenty-seven schools in 2010¹⁷: Twenty-eight pre-elementary, forty elementary, twenty-three preparatory, and seven secondary schools (Luxor Governorate Information Centre 2013). Luxor city also has four vocational secondary schools, three secondary technical schools, but no agricultural secondary schools, which are available only in other areas in Luxor governorate: Qurna (two), Esna (two) and Armant (also two). Luxor has five schools for special education and twenty-five pre-university Azharite¹⁸ institutes as well. According to the statistical yearbook for the year 2018, Luxor governorate has twenty-seven students per teacher in primary schools (CAPMAS 2019). This rate is lower in preparatory schools; it is seventeen students per teacher. However, the rate is very high in secondary schools as it reaches one-hundred seventy-seven students per one teacher (ibid). These statistics show that Luxor governorate has an insufficient number of teachers, especially for the secondary level.

Illiteracy percentage is decreasing in Luxor governorate. In 1980 the percentage was 65%, in 2006 it was 27.8%, then in 2016, it declined to 25.9% in 2017 (CAMPAS 2017; Luxor Governorate Information Centre 2017; El Gammal 1985, 39). The latest illiteracy percentage is relatively high, compared to 16.2% in Cairo (CAMPAS 2019). The previous statistics demonstrate the considerable lack of schools and teachers in Luxor city and governorate. Luxor needs building capacity, mainly for the antiquities restoration and agriculture, to protect its original resources.

While Luxor city does not allocate a university under its name, it hosts some faculties that

¹⁶ Georges Legrain was an Egyptologist. He was a student of Gaston Maspero and was famous for discovering statues and artefacts in Karnak Cachette (see the database <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/> (accessed on November 26, 2019).

¹⁷ There is no updated figures available as such for the Luxor city.

¹⁸The Azharite institutes are affiliated to Al Azhar Institution educational system in Egypt.

belong to the South Valley University, which is located in Qena. These faculties are Faculty of Fine Arts, Faculty of Languages, Faculty of Computing and Information and faculty of Antiquities. There is no private university in Luxor governorate.

When it comes to Tourism education in Luxor, there is one high and one middle Institute for Tourism and Hotels in Luxor city. Moreover, for the specialised training in Antiquities, beside the faculty of Antiquities, there is one higher institute for the restoration of antiquities.

Luxor governorate has forty-six quality higher institutes, ten of them are agricultural, twelve are commercial, and twenty-four are industrial higher institutes (CAPMAS 2019).

There are two public libraries in Luxor Governorate, Luxor Library and Heritage Centre in the east bank, and the Theban Mapping Project library in the west bank.

Waste Disposal

According to Cleaner Energy Saving Mediterranean Cities (2017, 54), almost all the waste in Luxor governorate ends up being dumped in landfill sites with no recycling process. Additionally, there is a general lack of a sufficient waste management system in the city, which consequently pushes some inhabitants to dispose of their waste in public areas.



Fig 5.33: A girl throws her household waste over the Processional Way
Source: Researcher, 2012

Figure 5.33 shockingly shows how a young girl was instructed by her mother to throw their household waste on the ancient Processional Way. Not only this action threatens the archaeological site, but also it gives an image of the level of awareness of the local inhabitants and their relationship with their Heritage assets. Moreover, this action does not provide a clean picture of a city that needs to attract Tourism.

Communication and Transportation

There are several means of communication and transport in Luxor. Some are taxis, buses, minibuses, and railways that connect the city to its neighbouring towns and regions. Unlike major cities in Egypt, such as Cairo and Alexandria, there is no public transportation system in Luxor that is administered by the state. The transportation system in Luxor is entirely private. Additionally, Luxor has an international airport.

There is a local regular ferryboat system for commuters to the west bank and one bridge to the south of Luxor. The length of the waterfront of Luxor city is almost seven kilometres. Luxor city is served with only one public ferry next to Luxor Temple. Furthermore, the only bridge that links the east and west banks is located almost nine kilometres south of Luxor Temple. The majority of the locals and visitors use the local ferry or rent motorboats to commute — this distribution and availability of transportation infrastructure.

Although it seems that Luxor city has a sufficient communication and transportation system, it suffers recently from the lack of fluid accessibility between its eastern and western parts. The newly excavated Processional way has cut the city in two sides parallel to the River Nile. There are two bridges¹⁹ to re-link the segregated parts. Still, the daily pedestrian commuters from the east part to the west bank suffer to reach the ferryboat station and now need to have whether a long walk or to use means of transportation to arrive at the ferryboat station.

The Rise of the Watertable

Over the last century, the stones of the foundations and column bases are continuously suffering from the rise of the groundwater table and its salinity "*with the maximum concentrations beneath the temples*" (Ismail, Anderson, and Rogers 2014, 49) due to many reasons, which have caused the need for new and additional preventive and conservation techniques. It causes the deterioration of valuable historical records and threatens its Values,

¹⁹ Refer to map 5.2 to locate the two bridges.

especially in the Karnak complex. Two reasons are the inadequate irrigation network and groundwater management in Luxor.

The World Monuments Fund (2017), directed a three-year grant through the Robert W. Wilson Challenge to Conserve Our Heritage in partnership with the University of Chicago at the American Research Centre in Egypt (ARCE), and the French-Egyptian Centre to help with the urgent maintenance.

5.3.2 Subsequent Offer

5.3.2.1 Tourist Infrastructure

Hotels

There are plenty of hotels and resorts in Luxor in both east and west banks of the River Nile. They cover a wide variety of budgets and fit a broad range of visitors. An example of a famous hotel brand in Luxor is Hilton Luxor Resort & Spa near Karnak. Out of several hotels that are located in Luxor, the following two hotels are chosen by the researcher to enjoy *historical* and *architectural* Values. Hence, they are worth mentioning in the context of *Values*.

Luxor Hotel

Luxor Hotel was built by Thomas Cook & Son, and now is owned by the Egyptian General Company for Tourism and Hotels EGOTH and the Egyptian Endowments Authority. It was built to serve tourists who travelled by steamers and wished to stay in Luxor, Luxor hotel is Egypt's oldest surviving hotel, and was built in 1877 (Humphreys 2011, 177). It was extended several times to accommodate the increasing number of tourists. Guests were describing it as a "*place of delights [for] luxurious lounging*" (ibid, 176). This hotel has been closed for almost two decades for renovation.

Winter Palace Hotel

Opened by Cook & Son in 1907, the Winter Palace (now Sofitel Winter Palace, also owned by EGOTH) is located in the south of Luxor Temple, overlooking the river Nile. Being known for its beautiful European design and decoration elements on its façade and interiors, the Egyptian Gazette described it after its inauguration as: "*the finest and most elaborately-schemed hotel within the land of Egypt*" (Humphreys 2015, 101). It was built by the same Dutch architect Leon Stienon, and the Italian construction company G. Garozzo & Sons, who built the Egyptian museum in Cairo (Cosmopolis 2012).

Royalties and celebrities have visited the Winter Palace and witnessed essential events in Luxor since its inauguration (see figure 5.34). It is where Agatha Christie in 1933 met Howard Carter, the Egyptologist who discovered the intact tomb of Tutankhamen in 1921 (Humphreys 2015, 144). Carter used the hotel's bulletin board to deliver news and information about the newest discoveries (Historic Hotels Worldwide). It was also the winter residence for Egypt's King Farouk, hence, its name, the Winter Palace (Cosmopolis 2012).



Fig 5.34: Winter Palace Hotel in Luxor in 1936
Source: Library of Congress N/A

During World War I, many wounded soldiers were accommodated at the Winter Palace, as it served as a hospital during this time when Tourism in Egypt faced a noticeable decline in the number of visitors (Humphreys 2015, 135; Reid 2015, 140).

In 1975, the hotel was extended by the New Winter Palace, an extension of modern style, which was demolished in 2008 for a new extension with a new design. Nevertheless, this extension has not been built.

Museums

Generally, museums are considered as original cultural resources or *cultural* Heritage assets. However, because all museums in Luxor were built fundamentally to serve the tourists, they are regarded as a *consequent Tourism offer*.

There are three museums in Luxor governorate; all are located in Luxor city. The oldest is the Luxor Museum, which was built in the mid-seventies of the last century. It was part of the first urban and tourist development plan to happen in Luxor.

Luxor Museum

The Egyptian Ministry of Culture commissioned the Egyptian architect Dr. Maḥmoud Alḥakim, to design the museum in 1962 (Reif 1981). It was opened in 1975 and has a collection of artefacts and masterpieces dating from the Old Kingdom until the Islamic Mamluk Period. The museum was renovated in 2004 and now has a new extension and a visitor centre.

Despite containing high-quality artworks found and discovered in Theban Temples and necropolis, the complete artefacts of the Tutankhamen tomb are exhibited at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

Karnak Open-Air Museum

The excavations at Karnak since the end of the nineteenth century have enriched the storage magazines at the site with thousands of objects and decorated block pieces, which have justified the creation of storage. It was then decided to be the so-called *Karnak open-air museum* (figure 5.35), and its first part was opened in 1987²⁰ (Egyptian Antiquities Organization 1986). However, this area is not visitor-friendly because there are neither signages nor orientation.

The Karnak Open-Air museum contains re-erected monuments and reassembled stone pieces that have been dismantled, destructed, or re-used. Among most important sections are the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut, the White Chapel of Sesostris I, and the alabaster chapel of Amenhotep I. Due to continuous excavation and restoration work, the number of buildings that can be seen there is continually increasing.

²⁰Refer to figure 5.24 of Karnak complex for its location.

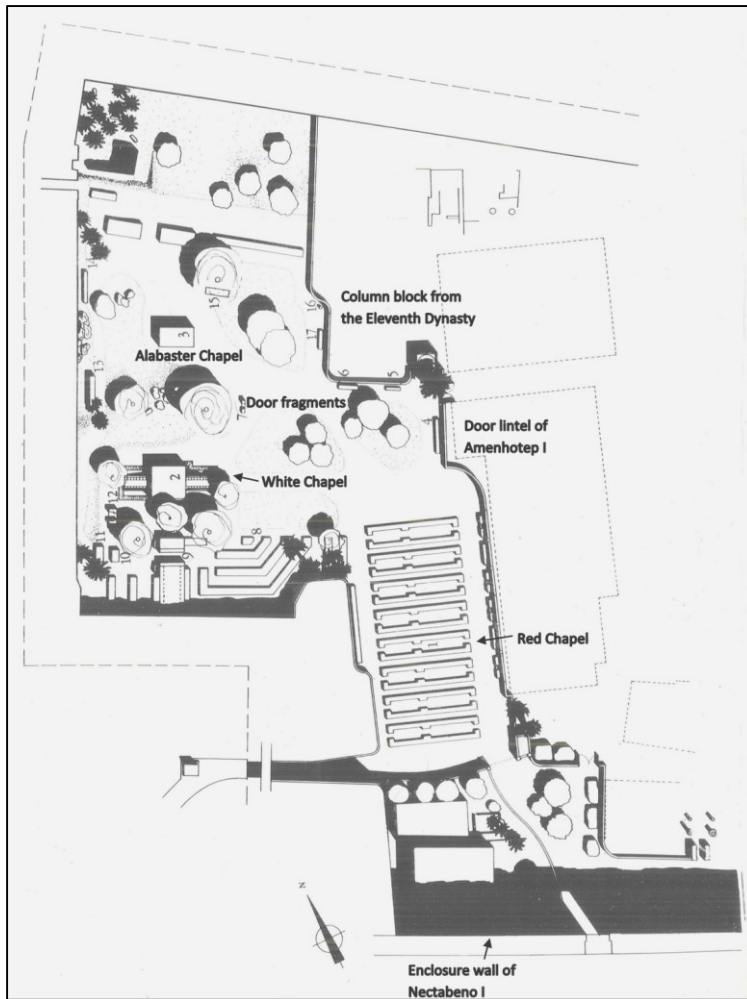


Fig 5.35: Karnak Open-Air Museum and some of its most significant collections
 Source: Egyptian Antiquities Organization 1986

Mummification Museum

Opened to the public in 1997, the Mummification Museum displays the mummification process and the preservation of both human and animal bodies. It also shows different examples of the types of objects traditionally buried with the dead and religious customs related to burial rituals (Supreme Council of Antiquities N/A). The collection is not only from Luxor in particular but from Upper Egypt region in general.

Guided Tours

Usually, the guided tours in Luxor combine the original sources of both archaeological sites on each side of the River Nile. Standard guided tours visit the Valley of the Kings, Valley of the Queens, Temple of Madinet Habu, Ramasseum Temple, tombs of the Nobles, and Hatshepsut Temple on the west bank besides visiting the Luxor and Karnak Temples on the east bank.

Add-on tours take place to and from Hurghada, Sharm Alsheikh, and Abu Simbel using the highway or air flights. Several tour agencies provide one-week cruise tours to and from Aswan.

Generally, the tourist attractions in Luxor city have no proper tourist signage or information boards. Tour agencies depend on guided tours and organised visits to provide information to tourists. Thus, individual tourists and visitors may find it challenging to site-seeing Luxor city without a guidebook and in-advance reading.

5.3.2.2 Leisure-time Infrastructure

There are some leisure time infrastructures in Luxor such as the hot-air balloons, the sailing boats and Dahabiyas, hot-air balloons, cruise trips to and from Aswan, and the sound and light evenings at Luxor and Karnak Temples. Some resorts and hotels in Luxor city offer spa services, such as Hilton Luxor Resort and Spa.

5.3.2.3 Special Tourism Offers

Despite that Luxor International Film Festival and Luxor International Painting Festival seem to be a general infrastructure component, the choice of Luxor to host both festivals was for tourist purposes. The Opera Aida by Giuseppe Verdi took place in October 2019 at Hatshepsut Temple, after more than twenty years of suspension. Egyptian newspapers celebrated the full-occupancy of Luxor hotels after about eight years of low rates because of this art event (Ahram Online 2019; Egyptian Streets 2019; Egypt Independent 2019).

General comments

The *historical material* Value resources in Luxor city seem to overpower the general socio-cultural resources of Freyer (2015). The set of Values of Luxor are interlinked; these multi-layered Values bond the current site with its historical background.

On the one hand, as shown in this analysis of the *original* offers of Luxor city, the *natural* and *socio-cultural* sources are rich with Values on several levels, from architecture, history, festivals, climate and weather. However, the general infrastructure is not on the same level of quality and needs considerable improvements to serve both the local inhabitants and the tourists. The education, transportation and environment sectors need to upgrade their services.

On the other hand, the *Tourism consequent offer* does not seem to benefit from the variety of the *socio-cultural* sources or Values that Luxor city enjoys. The Tourism sector appears to

overlook the intangible Values, such as the local celebrations and tends to focus its promotions on its material history. Thus, many opportunities to grab attention and prioritise intangible *socio-cultural* aspects are lost.

Chapter Four (4.3.1) investigated how first tour agencies in Luxor — Thomas Cook & Son — initiated the efforts to enhance the general infrastructure of the city to make it more comfortable for their guests. It is perhaps one inclusive approach to make tour agencies and hotel and resort companies in Luxor to participate in upgrading the general infrastructure and in raising local awareness campaigns.

The following map (5.1) locates the discussed attributes of Value and indicates if they exist or demolished. It generally indicates the Heritage attributes that are swept away was mainly *socio-cultural*; which the local inhabitants are attached to in the first place. The arable land in Luxor city also is being lost gradually for the sake of urban expansion. Chapter Six discusses thoroughly the urban development plans and how they have affected its different Heritage Values.

As shown in map 5.1, the Value resources in Luxor city are concentrated in the city centre, north to Luxor Temple. Most of the demolished resources (in black) due to Tourism developments are of the *socio-cultural* Values, such as the Grand and Savoy hotels, the house of Tawfiq Pacha Andraus, and Almqashqesh Mosque. Part of the Processional Way, which bears a historical Value and the parts of the *natural* resource of arable land, were demolished because of gradual urban developments. Nonetheless, some parts of the domestic structures of the city were destroyed to unearth and reconstruct the Processional Way.

5.4. Luxor City and the UNESCO WH Site

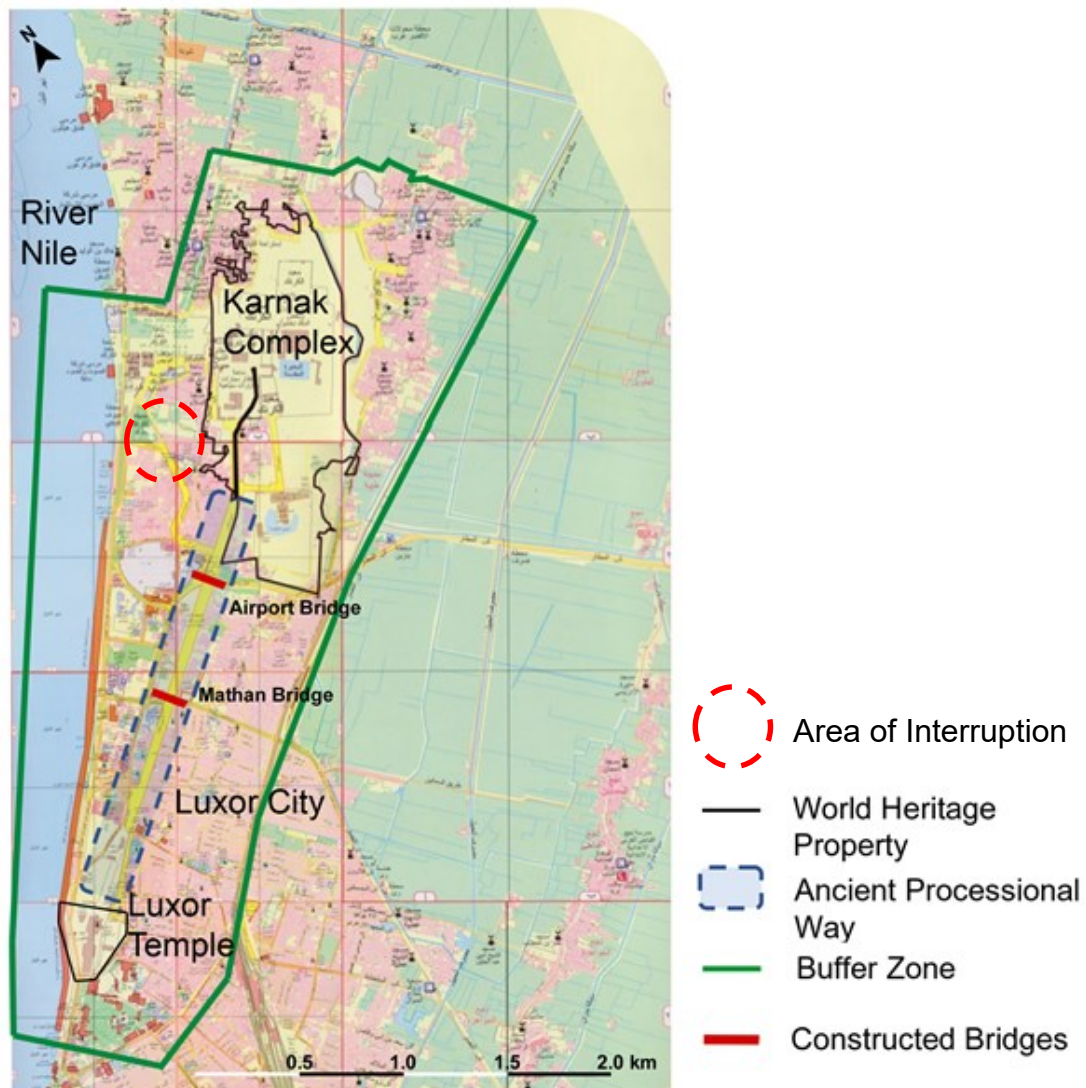
According to the UNESCO Convention on Protection of the World *cultural* and *natural* Heritage, the property of *Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis* was inscribed on the UNESCO WH List in 1979²¹, at the third session of the Committee. In 1979, it was one of five *cultural* WH sites to be inscribed in Egypt.

Map (5.2) shows the WH property and its buffer zone on the east bank of the River Nile²². It shows, as well, the barriers the buffer zone depended upon, which are the River Nile to the west and the railway to the east, while the boundaries from the north and south have been created according to existing streets and edges between the cultivated land and urban areas.

The core zone boundary, however, tries to follow the archaeological traces around the Karnak complex and to exclude the residential areas and public roads, creating a sophisticated edge between the core and buffer zones to be realised and managed. On the other hand, the core zone around Luxor Temple in the south appears to be simpler. It contains the temple and the archaeological area of mainly the Roman findings around it. The processional way has been excluded from the WH property, as it was not excavated at the time of inscription.

²¹*Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis* is now one of six *cultural* WH sites to be inscribed in Egypt. The other inscribed Egyptian sites are: Abu Mena, Historic Cairo, Memphis and its Necropolis, Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae, and *Saint Catherine Area* in Sinai. There is one inscribed Egyptian UNESCO *natural* WH site, which is *Wadi Ah-Hitan*.

²² According to the available maps on the website of UNESCO WH <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/87/> (accessed February 10, 2020).



Map 5.2: The World Heritage property and the Buffer zone of the site *Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis* in Luxor City
 Source: Researcher, adapted from Hesham, 2018

It is worth mentioning that the two core zones in map 5.2 are complementary with the core zone on the west bank of the UNESCO *WH site Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis* and the three core zones together bear three UNESCO selection criteria.

5.4.1 UNESCO Selection Criteria

The ICOMOS recommended that this *WH property* is to be designated based on the three following criteria I, III and VI (ICOMOS, 1979) because the site is able:

- (i) *to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius*
- (iii) *to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared*
- (vi) *to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance*

The justification for the nomination and designation according to the nomination file (ibid) is that the *architectural* Value embodies in the monumental temples in Luxor and Karnak plays the significant role in directly representing criteria I and III. They also express its tangible existence since the Old Kingdom until the Christian Period. The nomination, therefore, focused on the very tangible historical aspects of the *cultural* Heritage property, isolating it from its later and contemporary extension. For instance, the Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque is not considered a part of the UNESCO *cultural WH* property in Luxor, just because it was built after the Christian Period. It has to do with the very early inscription in 1979, when an elaborated definition of *Value* and the *attributes* and *Integrity*, and *Historic Urban Landscape* were not yet recognised by the UNESCO *WH Centre* and its *Advisory Bodies*.²³ Because of the early inscription, there is no clear realisation of the broader context of the *WH site* and its *natural* resources in neither its zoning nor its mentioned *attributes*.

5.4.2 The Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)

While there is no published *Retrospective Statement of Outstanding Universal Value*²⁴ for the *WH site* yet, one can only predict its *OUV* according to the *Operational Guidelines* perspective and the selected criteria.

Together with the magnitude of the River Nile, the historic site in Luxor and its layout — connecting Karnak complex with Luxor Temple with the Processional Way — shaped the Historic Urban Landscape and the integrity to its natural context. Its Authenticity, as well, can be proved through the intact traces of the structures and mural paintings in Luxor and Karnak. The sacred process of the ancient festival Opet, one of the most important festivals in Luxor in ancient times, shapes indirectly the contemporary celebrations and festivals that give Luxor its spirit and character.

According to the previous thorough study of the Heritage Values of Luxor city and the boundary of the *WH Property*, and the researcher's understanding of the *OUV* from the

²³ Please refer to Chapter Two (2.2.1, 2.4) for more clarification.

²⁴ The Statement of *OUV* for the property Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis is still in the review process. However, the latest Reactive Monitoring Mission report (2017) states that the Egyptian Ministry of State of Antiquities (now the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities) “*is coordinating with the stakeholders to complete the Management Plan for the property by the end of 2017*”.

Operational Guidelines (2019, 145), there is a considerable conflict of positions. On the one hand, it might be critical not to include the newly unearthed Processional Way to the boundary of the *WH Property* in the east bank — by a “*Retrospective Inventory*”, so that the Karnak Complex, the Processional Way, and Luxor Temple are all included in one boundary of the WH property. The Processional Way exists now in the buffer zone, which first, contradicts to its unity with both temple sites that it links, and exposes it to much fewer protection measurements. The latter could cause irreversible impacts on the integrity of the site and its context (Hesham 2019, 161). On the other hand, due to the situation of how the Processional Way got cleared and the apparent lack of management of the site, the UNESCO WH Centre most probably will not accept the inclusion of the Processional Way to the WH property. Their acceptance will be an official endorsement for the destruction of the city, the official encouragement for destroying modern urban areas for the sake of unearthing *historical* layers. And finally, yet importantly, it might put the whole WH property in Luxor in the *in Danger List* because of the current car traffic bridges over the Processional Way that have negative impacts on the stones and disturb the visual integrity of the site.

5.4.3 State of Conservation Reports (SOC) and the Following UNESCO Decisions

The first available Decision Report of the UNESCO *Bureau of the WH Committee* (WHC-97/CONF.204/11) regarding the *WH site* in Luxor was made in 1997. This report regarded four *WH sites* in Egypt in one paragraph and asked in in this paragraph “*to implement the recommendations of the experts concerning the ventilation of these monuments, which would ensure the long-term conservation of their mural paintings*” (UNESCO Bureau of the World Heritage Committee 1997, 28). The ventilation recommendation was meant for the tombs on the west bank of Luxor, indeed. The Decisions of the following two Decision reports in 1998 and 2001 also regarded the Gurna village, which was built on the archaeological site in the west bank (UNESCO World Heritage Committee 1998, 52-53; UNESCO Bureau of the World Heritage Committee 2001, 37).

The Decision Report (WHC-06/30.COM/19) in 2006 was the first to comprehensively consider the *WH site* on both east and west banks. It acknowledged the natural threats and the absence of a management plan and Tourism management for the site as a whole for the first time (ibid 2006, 86). With the increasing awareness of the importance of integrated management plans, especially for the *WH sites*, Management Plans have become a primary requirement in any new nomination file, and annual *SOC* reports that are submitted by the *State Parties*. Despite that the report requested an archaeological investigation and details of the design of Karnak

Plaza, the following report (WHC-07/31.COM/24) in 2007 “*regretted*” that this recommendation was not taken into consideration (ibid 2007, 83).

The report of 2007 also regards for the first time the *OUV* of the *WH site* and requested “*to directly integrate commitment to maintaining the OUV of the property within all [development] projects*” (ibid). This Decision report of 2007 managed to force the Egyptian authorities to “*abandon the project of building a landing stage for Tourism cruise boats on the Western Bank of the Nile close to the new bridge [south of Luxor] and to limit all such developments to the Eastern Bank*” (ibid). It was a successful action to limit Tourism activities close to the Heritage site. However, the report was not as refusing regarding the design of the Processional Way; it only requested Egypt to “*call urgently for an international consultation*” (ibid) and not to “*abandon*” the given design. The Decision Report (WHC-08/32.COM/24) in 2008 repeated to show the concerns about the design of the Processional Way without resonating such concerns in detail. Again, both Decision Reports of 2007 and 2008 requested a management plan for the Luxor, Karnak and West Bank parts of the *WH site*. The *WH Committee* noted in the report that Egypt clarified the *WH Property* as “*Retrospective Inventory*” (ibid) and requested a Statement of the *OUV*.

“*The Avenue of Sphinxes*” (ibid) (or the Processional Way) has been kept as an issue of dispute in the Decision Reports of 2009 (WHC-09/33.COM/20) and 2010 (WHC-10/34.COM/20), as well as the demand for a management plan and a draft Statement of the *OUV* (ibid 2010, 106, ibid 2009, 102). Similarly, the Decision Report (WHC-12/36.COM/19) in 2012 came short in addressing issues related to Heritage protection (ibid 2012b, 98). However, this report and the next two (WHC-13/37.COM/20) and (WHC-15/39.COM/19) in 2013 and 2015 respectively requested only technical stabilisation works to be done until the management plan is made and more detailed information about new developments that might impact the integrity of the *WH site* is provided (ibid 2013, 101; ibid 2015, 112). The *WH Committee* requested in the report in 2015 a Heritage Impact Assessments (HIAs) to be applied (ibid 2015, 112). However, there is no unit at the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities responsible for using such a tool so far according to its existing organisational structure (see figures 3.2 and 3.3).

Despite that the Decision Report (WHC/17/41.COM/18) in 2017 addressed more organisational reforms, such as conducting capacity-building workshops, yet, it did not give concrete decisions regarding the ongoing development projects. It only “*noted*”, “*regretted*” and “*requested*” more detailed information about them. Indeed, this report requested a “*comprehensive management plan*” and a “*revised Statement of the OUV*” (ibid 2017, 155).

The last Decision Report (WHC/19/43.COM/18)(ibid 2019, 130-131) addressed notably the following issues:

- The absence of a Comprehensive Management Plan; the possible conflict between conservation requirements and safeguarding of *socio-cultural* character of the local community (UNESCO World Heritage Committee 2008, 4);
- The need to prepare a Tourism Management Plan to control unplanned Tourism development;
- The urgency to make a Heritage Impact Assessments (HIAs) report for any development and restoration projects in the site before execution.

This Decision Report is relatively generic and did neither address certain problems nor comment on a specific challenge. The means of conservation of the newly excavated Processional Way and the restored Sphinxes and their potential exposure to weathering are not tackled. It did neither address either the possibility of the irreversible impact of constructing two metal bridges over the Processional Way nor its role in causing visual distortion and disintegration (See Map 5.2) (Hesham 2018, 165).

Ultimately, none of the decision reports hinted to the Historic Urban Landscape features and ignored its urban Value (see Chapter Two 2.2.1). The decisions merely considered the urban and Tourism developments in the existing buffer zone, referred to their potential negative impact on the WH property, and disregarded the existing urban context as a complementary component of the *WH site*.

One of the reasons behind the repeated request for a “*comprehensive development plan*” since 2006 and the fail of the Egyptian authorities at the ministry is the absence of a local managerial level of *WH sites* in Egypt that is aware of the UNESCO *WH Convention*, its *Operational Guidelines*, and how to apply them on the site at the national and local levels.

5.4.4 Conservation issues presented to the *WH Committee* in 2008

After the Egyptian *State Party* invited a *WH centre* to conduct a *Monitoring Mission* to visit the site by in 2006, this mission had the following main concerns:

- The mission indirectly tackled the issue of transparency of information about the project. It demonstrated that the development plan more or less was about enhancing the image of the city for tourist satisfaction, while not considering the *OUV* of the site as its priority.

The plan, according to the *Mission Statement*, gave a minor consideration to protect the history of the site, upon which it was first inscribed.

- In the background of the latest conservation approaches, the destruction of the buildings around Karnak complex — probably to build the Karnak Plaza²⁵ project — was *unacceptable* and *disrespectful*, as they did not cause a hazard to the Heritage Values of the site. Concerning the new conservation approaches, the structures do not need to fall under the category of *historic* buildings or antiquities to be preserved; as being part of the history of the site, these structures should have been strongly protected.
- As for the structures that were existing along the Processional Way that were demolished to reconstruct to visual relation between Luxor Temple and Karnak, while the *Operational Guidelines* stress that “*in relation to authenticity, the reconstruction of archaeological remains or historic buildings or districts is justifiable only in exceptional circumstances*” (World Heritage Centre 2016, 19). The guideline that was not followed in such a case.
- As for the *Karnak Plaza* project, the mission stated that there had been no consultations before starting implementing this project concerning the demolition of the buildings, the construction of the shopping mall and the visitor welcome centre which followed “*questionable architectural criteria*” (UNESCO World Heritage Committee 2008).

However, in his response towards UNESCO reaction concerning the Karnak Plaza project, Zahi Hawass — the former head of the Supreme Council of Antiquities — claimed that he forwarded a detailed report on the planned project. Afterwards, it got the acceptance “*by all parties concerned*” (El-Aref 2008). It is important to note that the *WH Committee* in its Final Decision Report had politely “*Congratulat[ed] the State Party [Egypt] for its efforts in managing its World Heritage properties*” (UNESCO World Heritage Committee 2008, 92).

5.5. Conclusion

Heritage Values or *original tourist sources* in Luxor city are interlinked and cannot be separated or distinguished individually. Most of the components that create modern Luxor are characterised by multi-layered Values, from *historical*, *natural*, to *socio-cultural*. Some of them such as the tangible *socio-cultural* Values rarely considered as tourist destinations, although they indeed construct part of the collective memory of the locals and shape their belonging to Luxor city. The general infrastructure in Luxor city is in urgent need of improvement. Capacity building and training in Tourism and agriculture fields are very encouraged. Moreover, public transport and waste disposal need institutional reconsideration and revision.

²⁵ It is described and discussed in the following Chapter Six (6.2.5).

After the UNESCO *WH* title, Luxor had to be monitored by the international *WH* bodies. Lately, the *WH Committee* discussed the possible conflict between conservation requirements and safeguarding of the *socio-cultural* character of the local community due to the current development plan. Despite being a *WH site* for forty years, Luxor city has no management plan as expected from UNESCO and the *WH Committee*. This gives a broader vision of the kind of organisation and distribution of responsibilities, the sustainability measurements, and the transparency that the site lacks. The division between core and buffer zones in Luxor, as shown in map 5.2, segregates and separates the Historic Urban Landscape and excludes it from the remaining urban context. It stresses the difference between historical urban fabrics and other later or medieval fabrics, which are considered then as insignificant. It has resulted in the separation and isolation of the so-called open museum, Luxor city.

On the one hand, it is worth mentioning that the Reports of the *WH Committee* are critical, however, generic that they do not necessarily focus on the main and specific problems that need urgent actions. Instead, it acquires reporting and documents which lead most of the times to postpone the activities and concentrate on conducting ostensible and persuasive reports. On the other hand, the response of the *WH Centre* and Committee has not given the impression of real investigation and concern about this specific *WH site*. Despite its efforts to define the challenges of Luxor as a city and part of a *WH site*, it seemed to respond ostensibly, if not negatively, to the formal communications with the Egyptian authorities concerned.

CHAPTER 6: CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR LUXOR CITY

6.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the different master plans that were prepared for the city of Luxor. Not all the master plans of Luxor city are discussed in this research; the proposed by the Ministry of Tourism plan in 1984, for instance, was never implemented. From 1979 till 1997, the Egyptian government commissioned several national and international consulting firms to propose urban development and conservation proposals for Luxor. Despite various unofficial research and studies funded by, among many others, the UNDP, UNESCO, and UN-HABITAT, only three official urban development plans had been prepared in 1984, 1993, and 1997 that got the governmental approval (Shetawy and Deif-Allah 2006, 893).

The first section of the chapter explores the earliest master plans for Luxor in 1979, 1984, and 1993 respectively. It discusses the cons of each plan that eventually had led to the development of other proposals.

The second section discusses the proposal of the year 1997 and the subsequent comprehensive development plans until the most recent one, highlighting the parts that have been implemented so far.

The last section of the chapter attempts to evaluate the latest comprehensive development plans with respect to the impression of the locals', the visitors', and the archaeologists' opinions. Then it gives a conclusion that is based on these different views along with the study of the history and Values of Luxor studied in the previous chapter.

6.2. Master Plans for the City of Luxor

In 1976, the Council of Ministries issued the Decree 134/1976, designating Luxor as a *Tourist Area*, according to Law 02/73 on the Supervision of the Ministry of Tourism on the Touristic Sites and its Exploitation, which states that the Ministry of Tourism must approve all future new urban projects. According to the law, the development of touristic facilities in Luxor would be following the Land Use Plan of Luxor, approved in 1976 by the city of Luxor municipality, the Governorate of Qena (to which Luxor then was subordinated) and the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation (El Gammal 1985, 54). This has resulted in the preparation of the next master plan in 1984 by the Ministry of Tourism displayed next.

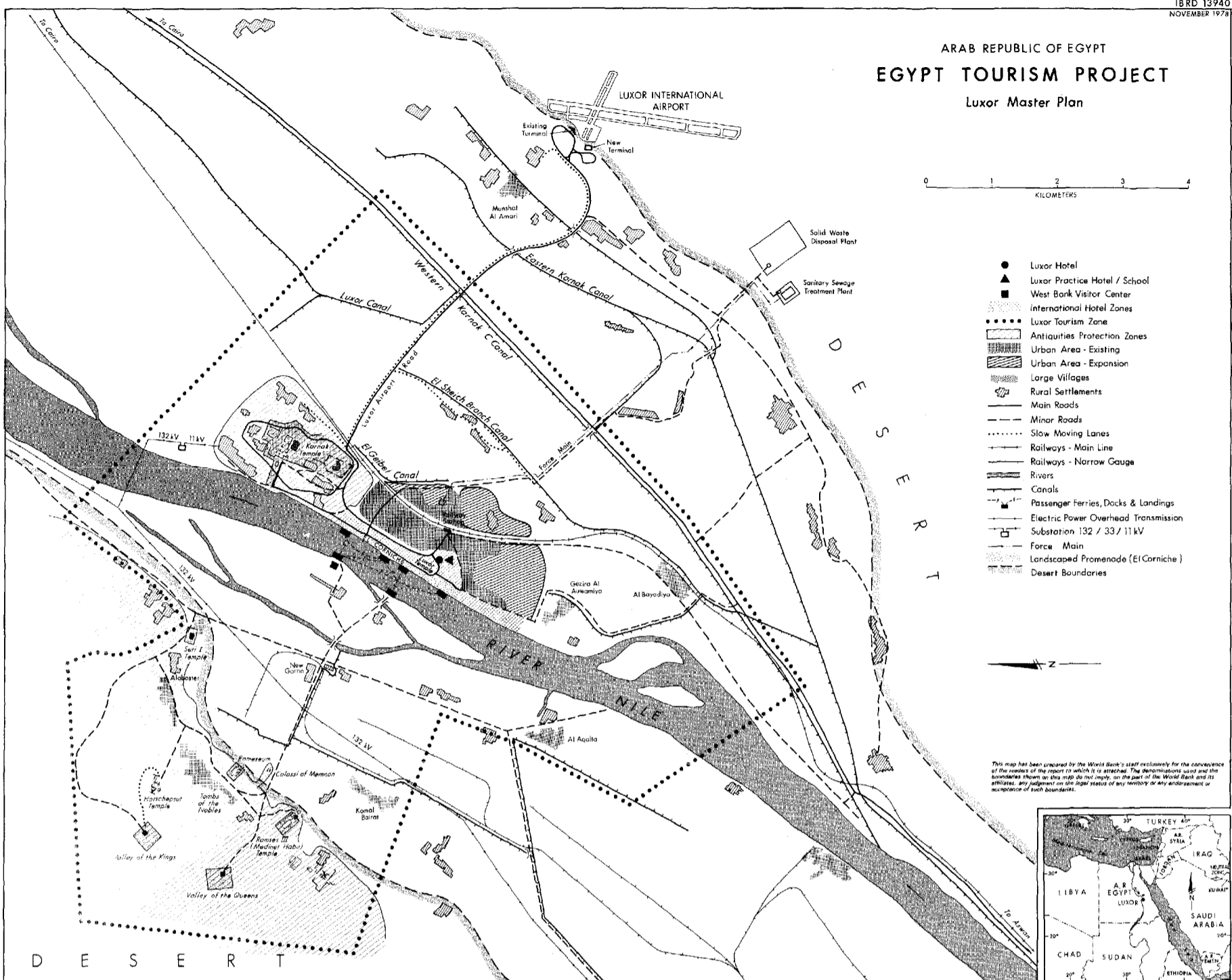
6.2.1. Master Plan of 1979¹

This plan did not focus on the local level; Luxor here was a part of a whole plan of Egypt called the Tourism Project. This proposal was the first master plan to be prepared for Luxor city and was prepared at the same time as the designation in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Prepared by the Tourism Development Authority of the World Bank Egypt office, this plan was published as a part of the Tourism Project in a staff appraisal report in 1979 and became active in 1980. It identified for the first time the *Touristic Zone*, the *Antiquity Protection Zones*, and also the *Touristic Services Zone* such as the international hotels as seen in the following map along the riverside in the east bank. The *Urban Expansion* is identified to the south-east of the city Luxor (World Bank 1979c).

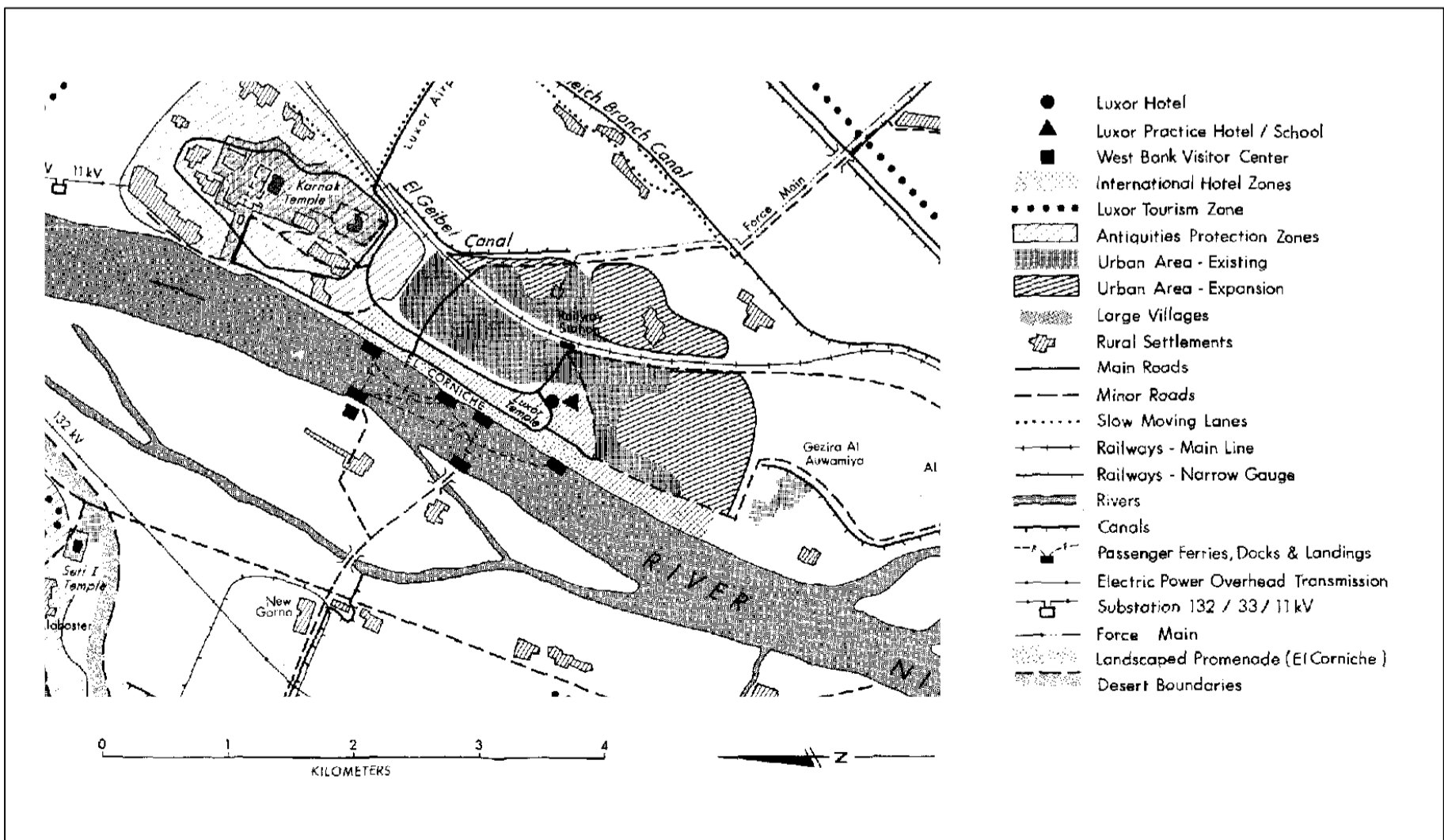
In this plan of Egypt called the Tourism Project, Luxor was merely viewed as a touristic area within the greater map of Egypt. Thus, the local level of development was never considered. According to maps 6.1a and 6.1b, the plan suggested renovating Luxor Hotel; it acknowledged the hotel as a landmark in Luxor, being the first to be built in the city. It also suggested establishing Luxor Hotel Training School and Practice Hotel (*ibid.*, 34), as shown in maps 6.1a and 6.1b. This school is located behind the Luxor hotel in proximity to Luxor Temple.

¹ There was another urban planning draft by the Shankland Cox Partnership also made in 1979. The name of this plan was *Luxor-Ancient Thebes. A Report to UNESCO*. This plan is unpublished.

ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT
EGYPT TOURISM PROJECT
Luxor Master Plan



Map 6.1a: Master Plan of 1979
Source: World Bank, 1979c



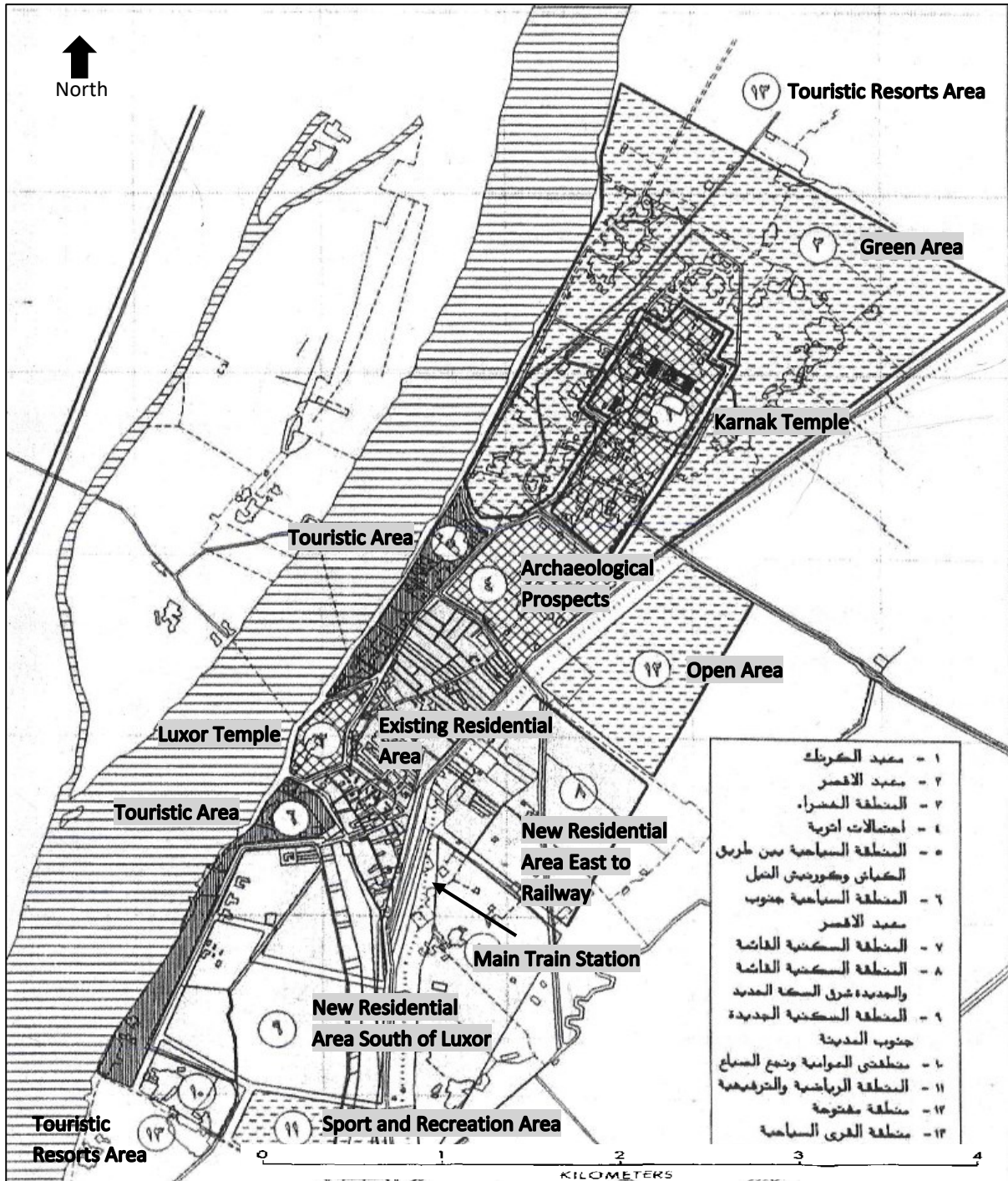
Map 6.1b: Master Plan of 1979 (detail)
Source: World Bank, 1979c

Tourism was introduced as a keystone in organising and re-shaping the cityscape. Despite its ideas for the rehabilitation of Luxor Hotel and the capacity building school, it focused mainly on the improvements of touristic infrastructure facilities in the city to provide the basis for accommodating the expected increase in the number of tourists. However, it marginalised the reality of a growing local community that has had its needs, rights of future visions and actions that address urban infrastructure as well as educational and healthcare issues.

However, this Tourism Project was not fully executed due to its unfeasibility. The World Bank report (1990, iv) explained the failure to implement this plan with the impossibility of the idea that aimed at founding a unit with the role of coordinating among different ministries and authorities with the plan and Luxor, which were marginally involved in the project and its too many components.

6.2.2. General Physical Plan of 1984

The Ministry of Tourism proposed this plan according to Law 02/1973 under the Supervision of the Ministry of Tourism on the Touristic Sites and its Exploitation, to not only conserve the city's antiquities but also to maximise Tourism industry revenues. Kamar (2014a, 111) translated the following statement from the master plan document made by the Ministry of Tourism: *"Luxor city should [be] transform[ed] into an international center, deriving increased benefits from the city's resources at the same time as preserving its antiquities"*.



Map 6.2: General physical plan of 1984

Source: Sa'eed 1995, 191

This master plan (map 6.2) depended on the Antiquities Protection Zone already offered by the previous World Bank plan in 1979. It suggested the demolition of all encroachments on the archaeological sites, and the whole northern area around Karnak Temple to be a green area. Touristic resorts were suggested north and south of the urban boundary on already existing agricultural lands.

This plan was carried out by the Ministry of Tourism and then had to be implemented by the Ministry of Housing. However, since the implementing ministry had different priorities and competing demands, a great conflict about which institution should be responsible for managing and implementing the plan had risen, this master plan partnership was never implemented.

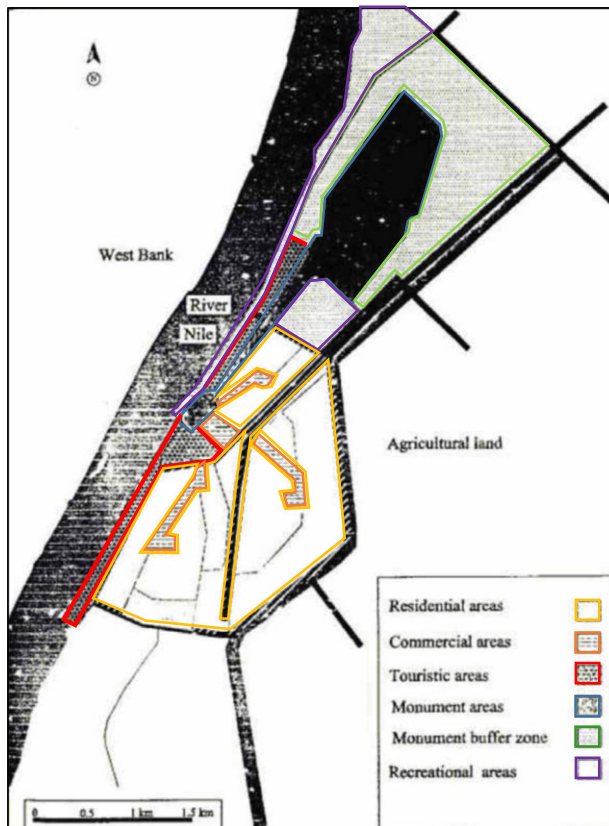
6.2.3. General Physical Plan of 1993

In 1989, the city of Luxor became a Higher Council for Luxor City (HCLC), according to a Presidential Decree 153/1989. This administrative reform required the modification of Luxor boundaries and granting the city an authority given to other independent Egyptian governorates².

With the increasing struggles of the city, from pollution, the rising groundwater table, and the continuous unsolved problems of encroachments on the arable land and the Heritage sites, the Egyptian General Organization for Physical Planning (GOPP) and the Ministry of Housing commissioned APCO — a national private engineering and consulting company — to prepare an updated master plan for the city in 1993. It included a review of the 1984 plan and offered alternatives to the on-going urban growth in Luxor.

Besides the strategy to upgrade the urban state and to protect the Heritage sites from urban growth, the notion and concept of *Open Museum* have appeared as a vision to create the development plans for Luxor and to promote the city as such, an open museum. The 1993 plan suggested alternatives such as *Tiba Aljadida* (New Thebes) for a new urban satellite settlement in the outer region of Luxor. It is located circa 30 kilometres away from the city centre to the northeast and hence, is not existing in the very generic and informative general master plan (map 6.3).

² In 2009 Luxor was later announced as an independent Governorate according to the Presidential Decree 387/2009.



Map 6.3: General physical plan of 1993
 Source: Researcher, adapted from Kamar 2014b, 25

This plan, however, failed to achieve its objectives to control the urban encroachment. It was a generic plan — as its map is — which lacked specific strategic actions to tackle the different issues, such as a strategy for the new excavation works at the archaeological site along the Processional Way, the encroachments on the archaeological sites, and regulating the Nile front and tourist services. The *Tiba Aljadida*, however, was built. Now, after more than two decades, this new satellite town is the Egyptian new city that suffers most vacancy (Shawkat and Hendawy 2016). The reason is the lack of accessibility to this isolated new city and the lack of opportunities.

6.2.4. Unsolved Problems in Previous Plans of Luxor

The first three plans of Luxor represent the enduring ideology of Luxor as a touristic attraction. Hence, they limited its urban potentials and threats to only one layer of treatment that addressed the touristic development and neglected the continuous ever-increasing problems of the urban sprawl on the archaeological sites and agricultural land, let alone the gentrification of inhabitants challenges and its socio-economic consequences.

Despite providing new zoning to define the *Protected Areas* and *Touristic Areas*, the plans suggested unrealistic solutions to the existing complications. The 1979 plan introduced the hotel training school that was not implemented due to lack of institutional organisation. The 1984 plan was prepared by the Ministry of Tourism which could not realise and comprehend

to the city's urban problems and tried to solve them with even more questionable actions, such as expanding more (officially) on Luxor's arable land. The last plan of the year 1993 suggested re-location and expansion of the city through new settlement areas such as Tiba Aljadida, the city though was built later in the year 2000 according to the Presidential Decree 198/2000³ but is not yet fully functional⁴ as the services infrastructure is still under construction.

6.2.5. Comprehensive Development Plan(s) for the City of Luxor (CDCL)

6.2.5.1. The Starting Phase of the CDCL in 1996

This plan and its development and implementation are the most influential to the current situation of Luxor city. It is called the *Comprehensive Development for the City of Luxor* (henceforth *CDCL*) and was launched in 1996 as one of the projects for Tourism investments approved by the *Egyptian Supreme Committee for Investments*. It is a UNDP partnership project between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Housing, the Higher Council of Luxor City (now the Governorate of Luxor), and UNDP Egypt office and UN-HABITAT (Yousry 2004, 2). *Abt Associats Inc.* is an international consulting firm that was commissioned to prepare the *CDCL*. According to Yousry (2004, 2), the role of each party has been as follows:

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: representing the Government of Egypt;
- Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Communities (MHUUC): as the government executing agency;
- Higher Council of Luxor City HCLC (now the Luxor governorate): as the implementing agent, also being responsible for the co-operation and coordination with other initiatives at the local and national levels;
- Abt Associates Inc. and ArchPlan: specialised consulting firms, producing studies, plans, projects, and investment packages.

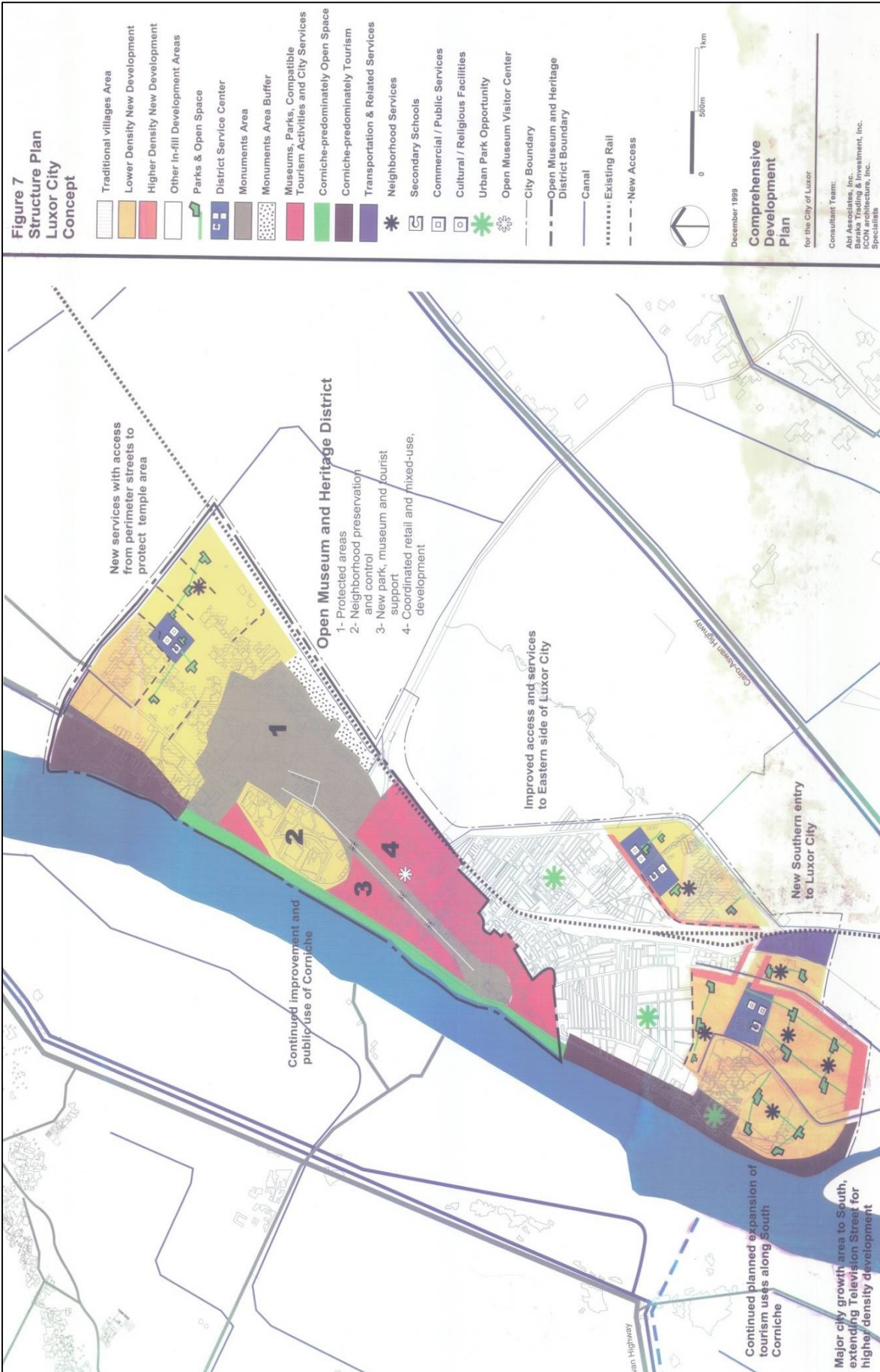
It is asserted that the principal-agent or actor in the management system is not on the local level (Luxor governorate), but it is the national level represented by the MHUUC, which made the contract with the consulting firms (national and international). However, the local government was the co-ordinator and responsible for implementing the project. This particular stakeholder system of 1996 is not different from the previous plans. Nevertheless, *CDCL* confirms the centralised urban management system in Egypt.

³ Visit the New Urban Communities Website for more information about Tiba Aljadida (in Arabic) http://newcities.gov.eg/know_cities/tiba/default.aspx (accessed on November 19, 2019).

⁴ The city is not indicated in the latest census of Luxor in the years 2010 and 2017.

Moreover, this group of stakeholders in this *comprehensive development project* represents the organisational structure in Luxor city that excludes the civil society and NGOs from participating in the decision-making process.

The objective was "*to extend technical assistance to the Higher Council for Luxor City to formulate and implement strategic worldwide support for the implementation of priority projects*" (Deif-Allah 2006, 184 cited from UN-HABITAT 2003). The stated objective gave the HCLC — the only local authority in the stakeholder landscape of the *CDCL* — the leading position but it clearly on the implementation phase and not during the decision-making process. Hence, this objective contradicts with other UNDP programmes such as *Community Empowerment and Participation* and *Empowering Vulnerable Local Communities* that gives priority to empowering and engaging local communities.



Map 6.4: Structure plan in 1999

Source: Luxor Governorate Information Centre 2013

The *Open Museum and Heritage District* area according to the *CDCL* in 1996 (map 6.4) is where the Heritage attributes in Luxor city are concentrated (see map 5.1), particularly, in areas (3) and (4) where a new park and touristic development were planned. Additionally, the whole Rive Nile bank would be reused as open-air and Tourism spaces and the rest of the city was suggested for new parks and development.

The *CDCL* had primary sub-plans or *products*, depending on three development sectors: the *Structural Plan*, the *Heritage Plan*, and six *Investment Projects*. The investment projects were prepared for being funded by private funding and donor agencies (Abt Associates Inc. 1998). The ambitious and investment-oriented plan was to be implemented until 2017⁵, and the city "*will enjoy golf courses, five-star hotels, an IMAX theatre and new roads*", according to the Abt Associations Inc. report.

6.2.5.1.1 Sector One: The Structural Plan

The following items are the stated "*principles of the Structural Plan*" according to the report:

- 1- Conservation of the antiquities, at the same time, meeting the modern needs of the local inhabitants;
- 2- Educational and luxurious services for the local inhabitants will be funded and expanded by the revenue of increasing Tourism;
- 3- To provide resources to manage the increasing population;
- 4- Luxor city will be an Open Museum, which will lead to the restoration of the Processional Way, establishing a touristic area which expands to east and west from the old centre to the Nile, preserving the centre of the city, and relocating the governmental headquarters and commercial activities to New Luxor city, which will be located south of Luxor;
- 5- To establish a touristic area to accommodate the increasing number of tourists on the east bank, far from Luxor city; and
- 6- Reclamation of 80000 Feddans to cultivate high-Value crops, and the development of agricultural industries to serve Upper Egypt.

The structure plan is considered as tourist-oriented and perpetuation to the visions of the previous plans. The first two principles are found to be contradicting with each other. The first principle stated *modern needs of the local inhabitants* as a priority as conservation of the antiquities; nevertheless, the expression of the *modern needs* was not elaborated and

⁵ The *CDCL* was halted since 2011 due to political instability in Egypt. After the change in the Egyptian Cabinet and Presidency, new development projects have surfaced and become prioritised over the *CDCL* project in other regions in Egypt in the short-term.

how those needs to be met or where was not discussed. The second principle opposes with the first one because the second principle indicates that the services for the local inhabitants were dependable on the success of the Tourism services, and these services were not considered in the city's original budget. Whereas, the first principle associates the Heritage conservation and the services for the inhabitants as the priority. The third principle does not specify what resources and its nature, whether they are financial resources, satellite spaces for urban expansion, or regulatory reforms.

The fourth principle suggests direct exclusion of the local inhabitants from using the centre of the city in their every-day life as it used to be; the function of an open-museum is different of how a lively city functions. Relocating governmental and commercial buildings for the sake of Tourism-oriented services is a pure repetition of Weigall's formal decisions (refer to Chapter Four 4.4.1 and 4.4.2). Several land pieces were reclaimed for excavations and archaeology works. Still, there were other parts of land that were cleared from the residential buildings for tourist services, such as cafes with a view on the River Nile and Luxor Temple.

The sixth principle was supposed to be beneficial for Luxor City to maintain one of its socio-economic foundations. Nevertheless, it was not implemented.

In conclusion, these six principles are considered to be set independently of each other, without feasible study on how each principle would reflect on the other. Hence, there is no common ground goal that integrates the principles, neither Heritage conservation nor the needs of the local inhabitants.

6.2.5.1.2 Sector Two: *the Heritage Plan (Abt Associates Inc. 1998)*

It was based on the following principles:

- 1- The protection of the main archaeological sites;
- 2- The interpretation that would define the tools and methods to show its importance to visitors;
- 3- The development would include the enhancement of the condition of the neighbouring sites, to enrich the tourists' experience and to conserve the antiquities;
- 4- Transforming the city centre to an open museum, this would create a historical-integrated site which could accommodate an additional number of tourists. This area now suffers from unplanned development. It is possible to relocate the inhabitants in a neighbouring *pharaonic* city which would serve as a residential city and a tourist attraction;
- 5- The diversity of Tourism activities to enrich the Tourism experience and minimise the pressure on antiquities, by creating recreational, relaxing and waiting areas, and

restaurants and cafes. These activities will provide a happy Tourism experience in Luxor.

There is no apparent difference between the Structural Plan and the Heritage Plan. Nevertheless, the concept of *Open Museum* is evident in both plans, and the Heritage plan focused more on tourist activities and satisfaction.

Unfortunately, there are no clear definitions of terminologies provided, such as an *open museum*, *Pharaonic city*, and happy Tourism experience. Moreover, there are no translation of these visions for Tourism attractions and the re-location of residents on actual maps.

It is questionable whether creating more diverse tourist activities — within the same site as mentioned as a goal in the *Heritage Plan* — would reduce the pressure on the antiquities. On the contrary, these new obtrusive tourist activities would create more pressure on the infrastructure and superstructure of the city and would generate a dispersion of any efforts towards the conservation and protection of the Heritage site and resolving its main touristic and urban problems. On the other hand, the locations of the services offered to the local community, such as the Luxor Library (the Heritage Centre) and the Urban Centre for Women were oddly chosen (see figure 6.9). Their locations are randomly scattered off the city centre.

6.2.5.1.3 Sector Three: *the Six (initial) Investment Packages*

This sector should be implemented to ensure successful outcomes for the comprehensive plan⁶:

- 1- Re-development of Luxor as an *Open Museum*;
- 2- Relocating inhabitants from Old Qurna to *development areas* in the west bank and re-use of two existing villages as an artisan and vernacular villages;
- 3- Development of New Community of New Luxor City;
- 4- Conserving the Pharaonic Tombs;
- 5- Establishment of high-Value agriculture and agro-processing industries; and
- 6- International funds to protect antiquities.

Despite that the second project (Relocating inhabitants from Old Qurna) was cancelled in the adjustment of these six projects in 1998, the Luxor Governorate demolished the Old Qurna village in the west bank in 2007.

⁶ These six investment projects would slightly change in priority and nature shortly after.

The conservation and restoration of the *Pharaonic tombs* in the west bank are a continuous project that joins the efforts of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities and the international excavation and archaeological missions. Hence, this should not have been a separate project; therefore, this could be a valid reason for omitting this project in 1998. Perhaps. As well, the last and sixth project, concerning the international fund did not seem to be a goal very much related to a *Heritage plan*, and that was the reason for omitting it, too.

6.2.5.2. The Second Phase of the CDCL 1998

Some remarks had been made in the evaluation of Phase I on the portfolio of the project in 1998. One significant observation was the recommended investment packages are "*by nature unappealing to the private sector, as they deal with the preservation of cultural heritage which may be of interest of international cultural organisations such as UNESCO*" (Yousry 2004, 26).

One other concern was that the investment packages were not included in the official state plan of the Ministry of International Cooperation as projects of priority. According to Yousry (2004, 26), that was a demand of the international donor agencies, and the projects had never been included in the state plan. Hence, the projects were presented only to the private sector for funding.

In reflection of such remarks, the following investment packages had been settled on:

- 1- Excavation and restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinx (the Processional Way);
- 2- Development of a tourist zone on Alṭōd Plateau (southern of Luxor);
- 3- Creation of a new residential Area (New Luxor City);
- 4- Infrastructure provision for Alṭōd and New Luxor City;
- 5- Development of high-Value agriculture and agro-processing industries; and
- 6- Creation of an *open museum* and *Heritage district*.

The second adjusted package of projects manifested more investment and urban goals. Project one, despite is seemed to be for Heritage restoration and protection, it actually necessitated demolishing Luxor city centre including *historical material* Values to unearth the Processional Way. The following three projects were not implemented; only the government headquarters and several schools were relocated in Al'awamyia south of Luxor. The fifth project aiming at the provision of agro-processing industry opportunities was never implemented as well.

The following discussion focuses on two out of the six investment projects, the first and the last, which are the most attributable to the old city and the Heritage site in Luxor.

6.2.7.1 Investment Project One: *Excavation and restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinx* (the Processional Way) (Abraham 2002, 393)

The main aim of this project was to reveal and renovate fragments of the sphinxes and the roadbed of the Processional Way, which form the centrepiece of *the Open Museum District*. The work included the expropriation of land to a width of 76 meters, the demolition of house units on top of the Processional Way, and the modification of streetscape. Whereas it claimed to focus on increasing the vitality of the city centre (ibid.), this project substantially contradicts its objectives with such gentrification process.

The excavation started later in 2005, according to the Luxor City Council Strategy. The Council was in charge of demolishing and removing the houses and agricultural lands which occupied the upper level of the site. At the same time, the Higher Council of Luxor City executed the excavation mission.

The excavation works along the Processional Way had to be divided into three areas. The first was the part in front of the Great Pylon of Luxor Temple, the second part was the part south to the Karnak area, and the third and last part was the middle part in between. The first and second parts had already excavated areas from previous missions, while the middle part, which was lying underneath the modern city was the most complicated one. This is because it was located where the heart of the city with its urban fabric and different buildings, including public and religious buildings existed.

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 show the Processional Way when it was not fully excavated (2007), and the sphinxes were not reconstructed on their pedestals. Parts of the old city could still be seen, such as the Mqashqesh Mosque (later demolished in 2010), and the old police station in Art Deco style opposite to it (figure 6.2). The current situation in 2017 is shown in figure 6.3. All the area in front of the Luxor Temple and along the west side of the Processional Way has been cleared, except for the mound on which Yassa Andraus Pacha house still stands. The Ma'bad Alkarnak street has been widened, and the sphinxes have been reconstructed on the pedestals.



Fig 6.1 (above): Area in front of Luxor Temple pylons showing Almqashqesh Mosque and the police station, view to the southwest in 2007 during the excavations
Source: AERA 2008, 12

Fig 6.2 (left): Area in front of Luxor Temple pylons, view to the southwest before demolishing the Art Deco police station building

Source: ArchPlan Office (Architect Riham Ebeid) 2013



Fig 6.3: Area in front of Luxor Temple pylons, view to the southwest in 2017 after the demolitions of the area above and west to the Processional Way

Source: Researcher 2017

There have been critical concerns over the Processional Way itself from this project. Some archaeologists believed that heavy-handed work could be damaging antiquities and cut through tens of modern buildings with secondary care from the international organisations "whose money is funnelled into the project" (Dziadosz 2010).



Fig 6.4: View to the west to the Processional Way. The Coptic church appears on the right.

Source: Researcher February 2017

The current situation (figure 6.4) shows a considerable conflict because of the former existence of the church of St. Mary occupying the middle part of the Processional Way. This has made its demolition for the sake of a visual continuity another potential source of dispute in the city.

6.2.7.2 Investment Project Six: *Creation of an Open Museum and Heritage District* (Abt Associates Inc. 1999, 7)

The *open museum* vision had been the most celebrated and affirmed so far since 1984. It was included in the two phases of the *CDCL* as an independent project. The *Heritage District* is the area from the old Bazaar along the river Nile and from Karnak to Luxor (figure 6.9); the area that was not formally planned. While the big hotels would be kept on the riverbank, the main actions in the *Heritage District* included the re-location of the occupiers of the bazaars to a new planned district and some governmental buildings, and re-using the land along the river to make gardens, parks, museums, expansion of the conference hall and areas for art performances and touristic centres. The works also included a visitor centre and the protection and development of the old part of the city.

The area east of the Processional Way was removed, and a new visitor centre, commercial shops and touristic service centre was built.

The objectives of creating an *Open Museum* (Abt Associates Inc. 1999, 7) are:

- 1- Conservation and development of monuments and the surrounding areas;
- 2- Directing huge public and private investments to Luxor *Heritage district*;
- 3- Enhanced living environment to establish a city centre that reflects the ambitions and needs of the current and future inhabitants;
- 4- Local and institutional capacity building to administrate the project of the *Heritage district*; and
- 5- Heritage Protection and its future development plan.

Several challenges appeared because of the lack of technical resolutions in this project. Such challenges are the coordination at the national governmental level, the funding required to implement the plan, the participation of the private sector, the implementation of a long-term scheme, and the implementation of development measures and continuous follow up for the project.

The first objective mentions the development of monuments; this expression shows the incomplete understanding of the development of monuments and the surrounding areas, and

the conservation tracks to be put in such one phrase. As the *Structural Plan* (6.2.5.1.1), the *Open Museum* project and its objectives seem to lack thorough unified vision.

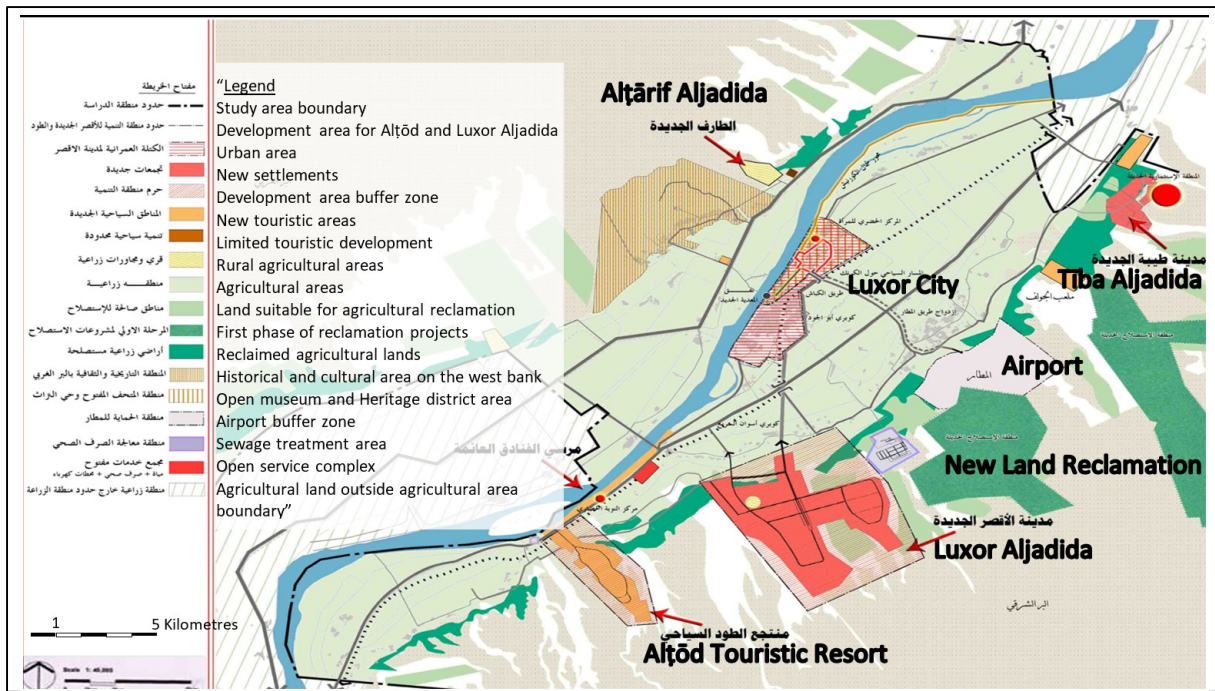
People have been concerned about the whole Luxor to be a museum: "*Nothing in museums but the dead and unbreathable statues that do not beat life [...] 'civilisation' is a protection of the remains of a buried statue, even if the life of peaceful deep-rooted families is torn apart [...] Some governmental bodies were relocated; thus, employees have to commute longer every day*" (Alsaghīr 2011, 120). Alsaghīr demonstrated how he and the local community perceived and felt about the planning policy in Luxor, and how their social lifestyle was a victim of development and protection.

6.2.5.3. The Third Phase of the *DCDL* in 2003

The comprehensive plan had been in a continuous update, especially in the years 2003 and 2004, when it eventually gained official approval and started to be implemented. The Higher Council of Luxor City and the General Organisation for Physical Planning commissioned two Egyptian consultant offices to prepare the comprehensive development plan prepared by Abt Associates Inc., e.i. ArchPlan⁷ and Cube Consultants. The latter was responsible for the *Golden Triangle* and *Luxor Cornice Development* projects. ArchPlan was responsible for the Women Awareness Centre (sometimes it is known as Urban Centre for Women), the Tourist Information Centre, and *Luxor Development and Beautification* projects.

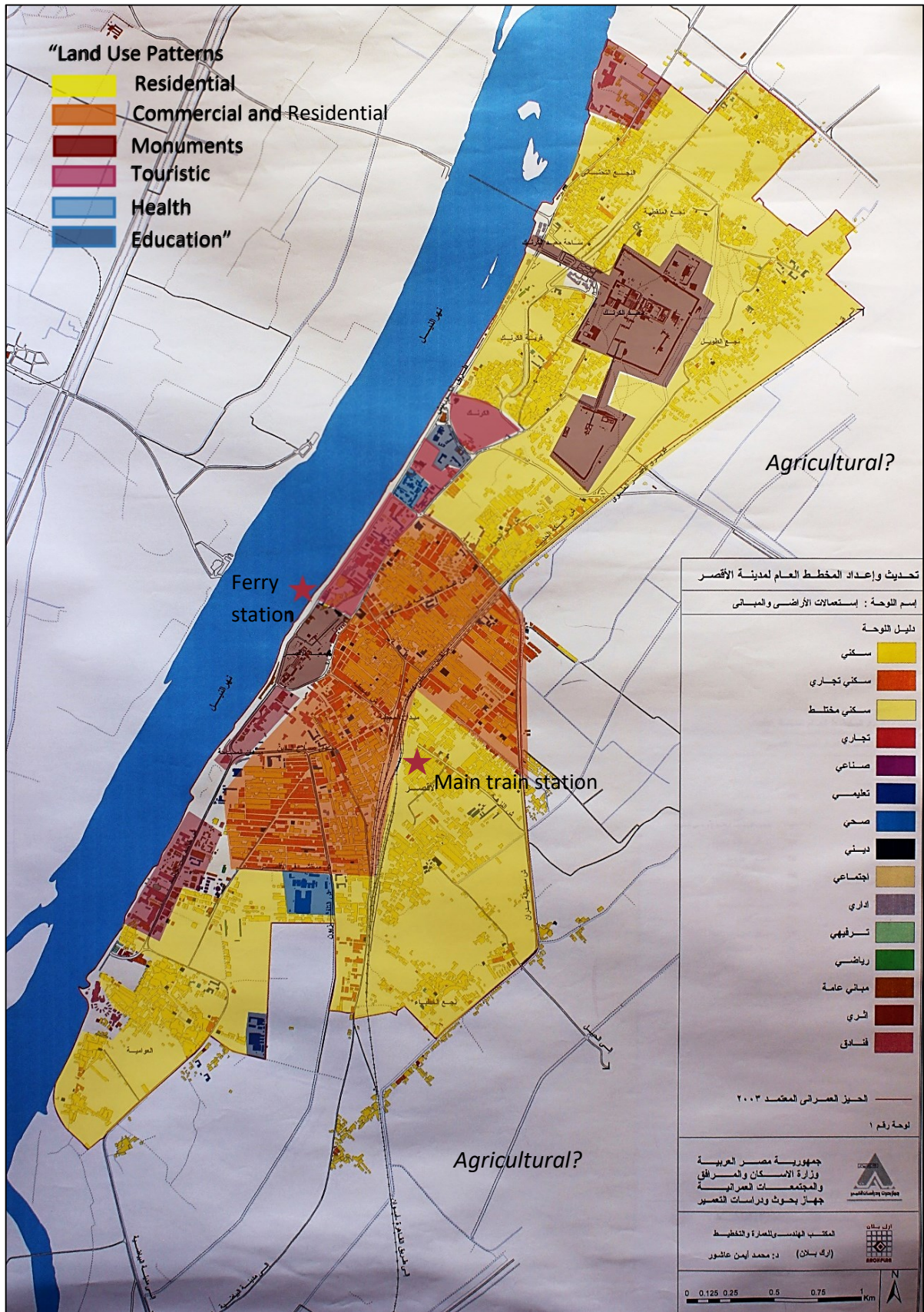
According to the evaluation report of the *CDCL*, there had been factors affecting the project implementation, such as the lack of monitoring, evaluation and reporting (Yousry 2004). The updated master plan of the year 2003 engaged the *comprehensive development* for the region, with development strategies for specific areas and zones (see map 6.5).

⁷ ArchPlan Architects and Planners Consultancy firm won the second prize for the project *CDCL* by the Organisation of Islamic Capitals and Cities in the year 2007.



Until 2004, there has been no real contribution to the generation of new job opportunities or the improvement of services, infrastructure, and housing in urban and rural areas alike. For tourists, service facilities have not been approved, nor the tourist sites were upgraded. Small and medium-scale enterprises had not been involved nor developed throughout the project. The CDCL had not contributed in creating opportunities for small businesses engaged in Tourism handicrafts and provision of related services (Yousry 2004, 22).

The following map 6.6 shows the land-use patterns in Luxor city. The most dominant use is residential, the mixed-use of residential and commercial, the area of the monuments, the tourist area, the educational and health respectively.



Map 6.6: the land use distribution/pattern in Luxor city for the plan of the year 2003
Sources: Researcher, adapted from ArchPlan 2003

The drawback of this land use mapping is that it disintegrated the agricultural area and the supplying canals of Luxor outside its urban boundary as valid land-use patterns that should be taken into consideration in the planning process. This integration leads to unrealistic *comprehensive* planning vision.

6.2.5.3.1 Karnak Plaza Project

Karnak Plaza project is one of the first to be implemented of the CDCL. Samīr Farag, the former head of the Luxor City Council, supported the implementation of this project. It is the area in front of the great first pylon of Karnak in front of the River Nile and opposite to Hatshepsut Temple in the west bank. The idea behind this project was to bring back the visual link between Karnak and Hatshepsut Temples, which had once existed and was prominent during the Opet festival (see figure 5.27 in Chapter Five). This area contained before a group of residential houses, the old Karnak stadium, the French village, some bazaars, and a parking lot. The destruction of the *French Village* included the nineteenth-century house of the archaeologist Legrain and the French mission's dig house — that belonged to Franco-Egyptian Center for the Study of Karnak Temples (CFEETK) — close to the River Nile. It took place during 2007 and 2008. Also, bazaars in proximity to the temple temenos walls have been removed. This space had been transformed into a vast entrance including a visitor welcome centre, a shopping area, restaurant buildings and the CFEETK, which is slightly different in arrangement to what was planned initially by ArchPlan (see figures 6.5 and 6.6).

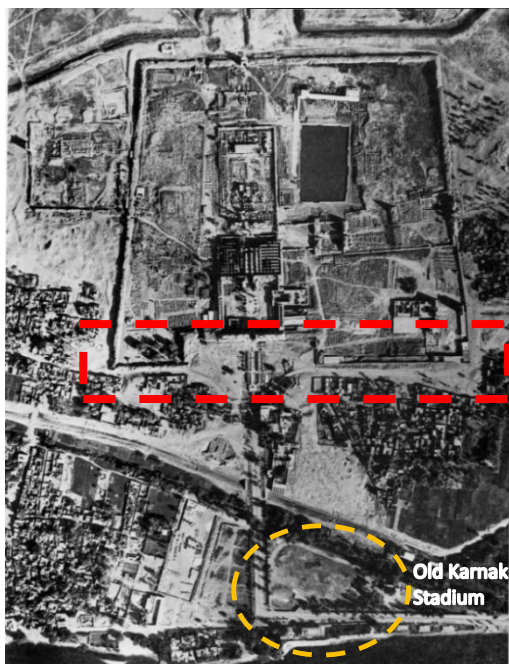


Fig 6.5: Aerial view of Karnak in 1977
Source: Lauffray 1977, Pl. I



Fig 6.6: Karnak Plaza Project in 2007
Source: ArchPlan (Architect Riham Ebeid) 2013

There were several proposals for the Karnak Plaza. Despite that figure 6.6 was the final bid, the implementation became slightly different. The Sportsclub (number 4 on the layout), for instance, was not built. Figures 6.7 and 6.8 show respectively the Karnak Plaza under construction and how it looks like now.



Fig 6.7: Karnak Plaza during construction
Source: ArchPlan Office (Architect Riham Ebeid)
2013



Fig 6.8: The Karnak Plaza looking east
Source: Researcher 2016

Samir Farag expressed his pride and the difficulties to implement the Karnak Plaza: *"Returning the ambiance of the Karnak Temples to their original glory was not an easy task. [...] To implement the project perfectly we had not only to confront the neighboring residents and bazaar owners, who refused to be relocated, but also French archaeologists and UNESCO who opposed the demolishing of Legrain's dig house"* (Al-Aref 2008).

Moreover, according to Al-Aref (2008), the former head of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, Zahi Hawass, described the buildings that had to be removed to create Karnak Plaza as a *mistake*: *"The project had corrected earlier mistakes made in Karnak's modern history. Legrain's house, shops, bazaars and mission dig-houses built on the temple forefront stood over a New Kingdom harbor and canal connecting Karnak to Hatshepsut's Temple on the west bank, and hid that and more of the temple's archaeological evidence"* (ibid.).

Despite the official perception of the social and urban context in proximity to an archaeological site only as a mistake, the execution of the Karnak Plaza project facilitated new archaeological findings. The clearance and excavation works had led archaeologists to re-evaluate the history of the complex. They could unearth a Ptolemaic ritual bath, a large number of bronze coins, a ramp constructed for the 25th Dynasty Pharaoh Taharqa, an ancient quay and the remains of a dam that once protected Karnak from Nile flooding (ibid.).



Fig 6.9: Proposal by ArchPlan indicating different development projects and buildings
Source: ArchPlan Office 2017



Fig 6.10: Alternative one offered by ArchPlan for the reconstruction of the Processional Way
Source: ArchPlan Office (Architect Riham Ebeid) 2013



Fig 6.11: Alternative two offered by ArchPlan for the reconstruction of the Processional Way
Source: ArchPlan Office (Architect Riham Ebeid) 2013



Fig 6.12: Luxor Temple Plaza (Abu Alhajjaj Square)
Source: ArchPlan Office (Architect Riham Ebeid) 2013

The ArchPlan proposal (figure 6.9) of the so-called *Golden Triangle* (see map 6.7), west of the Processional Way, suggested the displacement of the residential buildings and bazaars in this area for the aim to conserve the archaeological site and regenerate the visual atmosphere. Instead, it would establish vast green areas that need irrigation and could be of a significant threat to the archaeological traces. It is worth mentioning that this design disregarded the existence of the only local ferry station that is used by the local commuters (refer to map 6.9).

Moreover, the two alternatives of the Processional Way after the clearance (figures 6.10 and 6.11), besides cutting the city centre in two halves, would distort the visual integrity and continuity the potential visitor would expect to have. It is arguable, however, if visitors would choose to walk down almost three kilometres between Karnak and Luxor Temples. Pedestrian street furniture such as seats and trees for shades obviously cannot be provided along the Processional Way.

Figure 6.12 shows Luxor Temple Plaza, or what is known locally as Abu Alḥajjāj Square. This area used to be a green park (see figure 6.13 in the year 2005), where the locals used to gather and celebrate local social events. This plaza now is not as appealing as it used to be for the locals, because of the lack of shades and greenery in the newly-designed plaza.

6.2.5.3.2 Luxor Library, The Heritage Centre

Luxor Library, Heritage Centre (located in figure 6.9) was part of the protocol signed by the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology and represented by the Centre for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (CULTNAT), and the Higher Council of Luxor city in 2007. According to the development plan, the project aimed at upgrading the technical infrastructure of the Higher Council of Luxor. It contains a Panorama of Culture, an exhibition hall, a 3D hall and a public library.

The Heritage centre has proven to engage with the community. Several art exhibitions and public lectures are being held there. This library and the Theban Mapping Project library are the only public libraries in Luxor now, which cover different fields of knowledge. The only downside about it is its off-centre location.

6.2.5.3.3 Urban Centre for Women

The Urban Centre for Women has become in operation in 2008 (located in figure 6.9). This project in Luxor is intended to provide training and support to unemployed women and particularly single parents. What is questionable about this building is its location, again, away from the city centre, which makes it more convenient only for women from the Karnak neighbourhood.

The plan (map 6.7) shows no significant difference to the previous plans except for adopting the latest official boundaries of the city in 2012. It illustrates the localisation of the suggested projects such as the Heritage Park around Luxor Temple and the touristic residential and services within the existing context.

The comprehensive development plan came to a halt because of the political situation in 2011, the lack of funding and losing political support. The Golden Triangle project was finally not implemented.

6.3. The General Urban Condition

6.3.1. Urban Growth of Luxor City

In map 6.8⁸, the researcher tries to illustrate the changes in urban growth and the urban boundary expansions according to the city planning and different circumstances that have happened. The boundaries are obtained from Luxor available survey maps and Luxor Governorate. The areas for each boundary were calculated in the AutoCAD program.

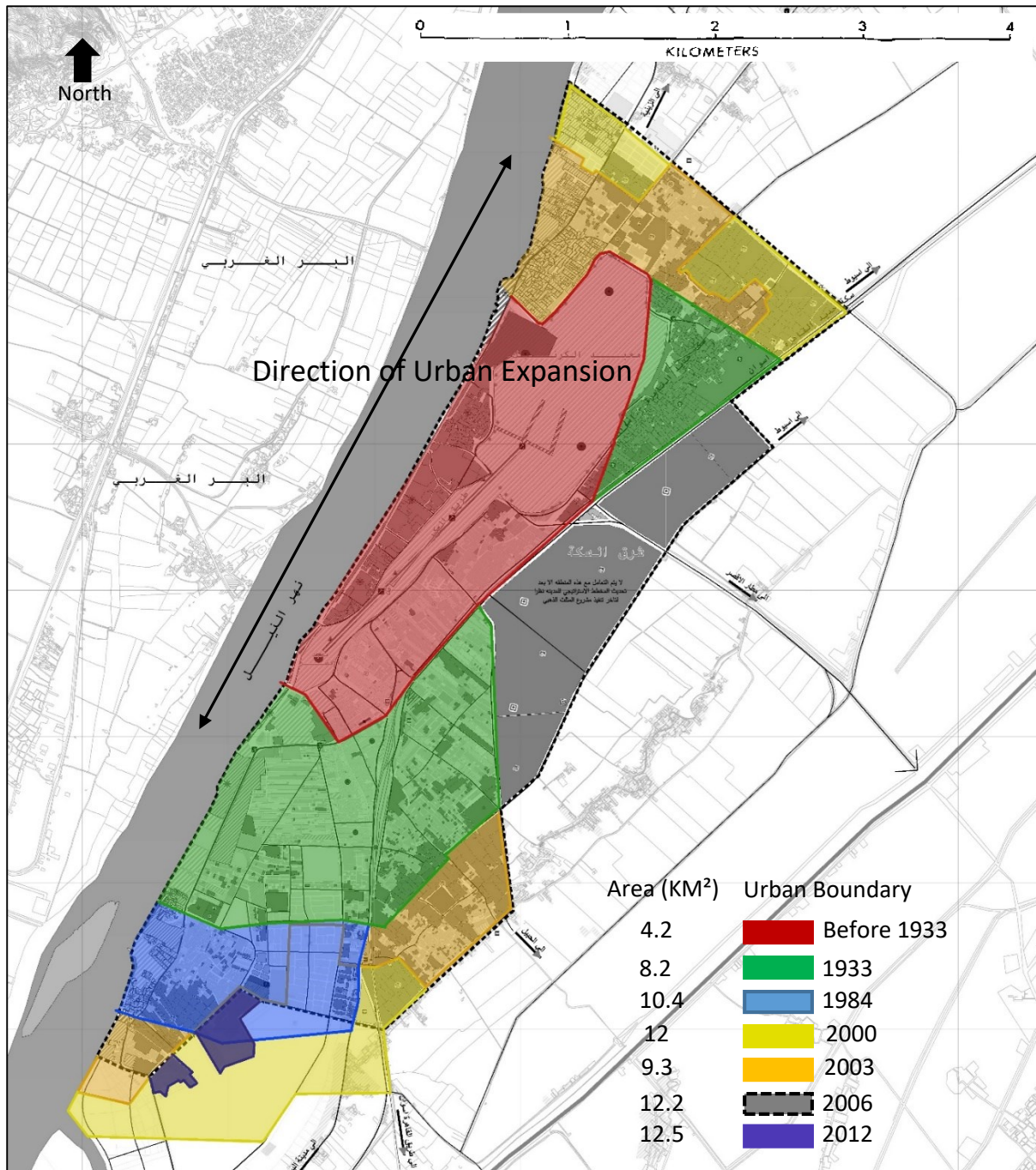
The urban boundary of Luxor had almost doubled from 4.2 km² to 8.2 km² in a comparison between the boundaries of 1933 and before according to the Egyptian Survey Authority map of the year 1954 that shows the boundaries of the year 1933 and the previous boundary. The boundary of 1984 had expanded to 10.4 km² only to the south that introduced a minor expansion, which though was argued because of the expansion on the arable land.⁹

While the plan of the year 2000 has extended to the north and south to be 12 km², the plan of 2003 was much reserved, as the area had declined to be 9.3 km². The boundary size proposed in the year 2000 had been reduced later in 2003 because of the debates about the expanding on fertile agricultural land to the south of the city.

The grey area in the boundary zone of the year 2006 was considered to be the urban expansion area for the relocated families, whose houses were demolished on and around the Processional Way under the project of the *Excavation and Restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinx*. This plan had been altered in 2012, and this part of the plan has not been implemented because it was dependent on the *Golden Triangle* project. Nonetheless, these projects have not been implemented.

⁸ According to the latest general and strategic plan for Luxor, the urban boundary of the year 2012 is planned until the year 2027 (source: The Planning department, Luxor Governorate 2017).

⁹ Although the researcher is convinced that there had been no other boundary from the year 1933 till 1961, there is a possibility of an existing boundary after 1961 and before 1984 because it is uncertain if there is plan or map indicating boundaries in this period.



Map 6.8: The Expansion of urban boundary of Luxor city

Sources: Researcher, adapted from ArchPlan 2003; the Egyptian General Survey Authority 1954; Luxor Governorate, Directorate of Agriculture 2012, ibid. 2016; Luxor Governorate, Planning Department 2015

The expansion of the city in general, and to the south in particular, appears to be altered rather than continued and controlled. That is probably due to the questionable encroachments on the agricultural land. It is also because of lack of proper circumspect planning that guides and administers the urban growth and provides responsible urban expansion alternatives as priorities rather than focusing on the development of touristic areas and services around the city centre.

The linear expansion of the city along the Nile River has reduced its probability to maximise the benefit of the river to the agricultural land. One reliable alternative is to re-think the urban expansion to be in the perpendicular direction of the River Nile, and near to the central train station. This alternative provides sustainable future urban expansion on the desert land and spares the arable land along the River Nile. "*Luxor's history as a tourism destination is replete with appropriations of spaces such as archaeological sites [...] [, where] space and claims to it are continually contested*" (Schmid 2008, 106).

Schmid (2008) evoked the main principle that has governed the strategic urban policies being a touristic destination. These strategies, however, dramatically overlooked the Heritage Values and urban morphology of it as a living city. According to the fields of Tourism and Heritage conservation, this strategy has so far proven to devalue the Heritage components and Tourism *offers*.

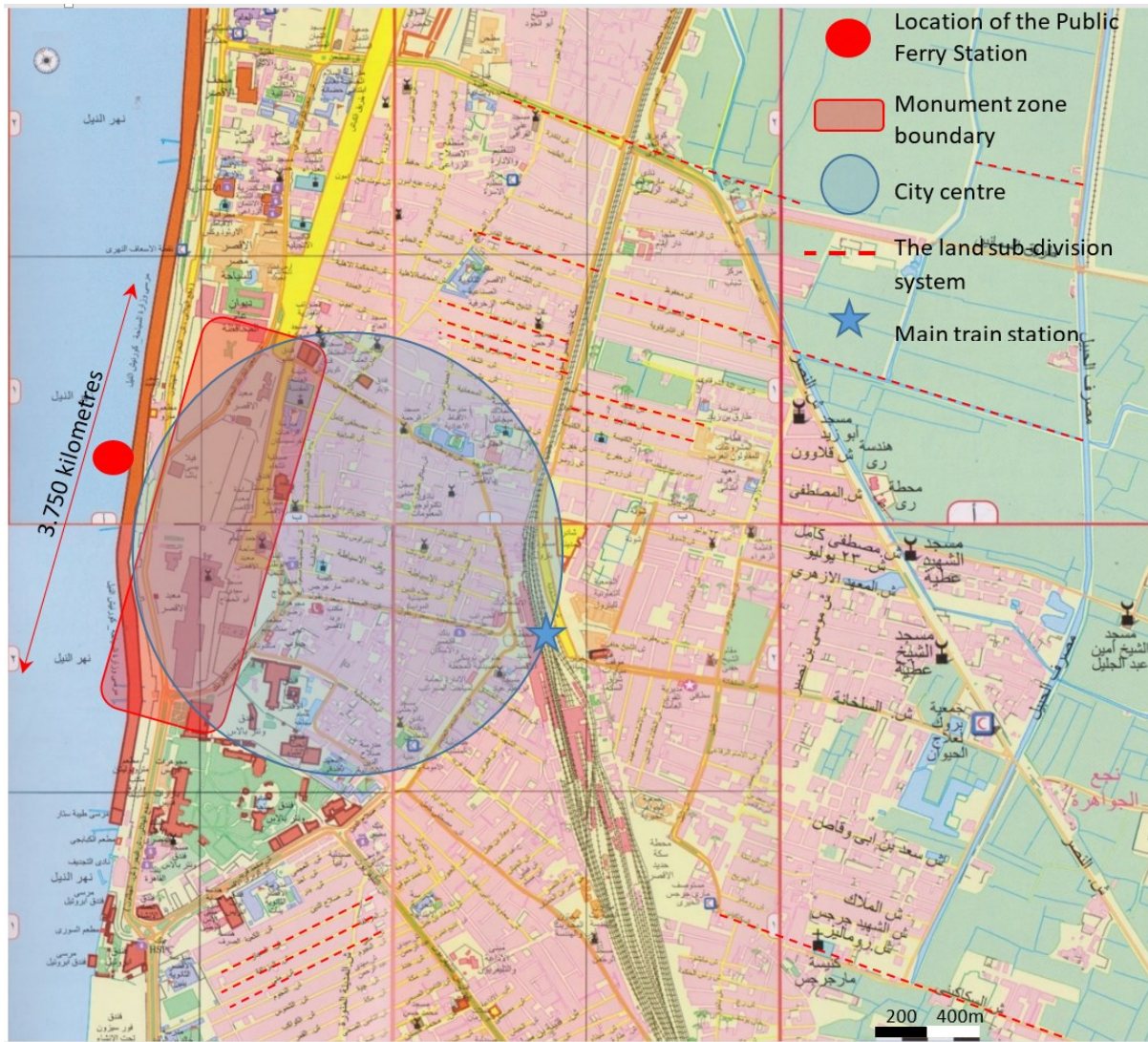
6.3.2. Housing

With the continuous population growth and the following encroachments on the arable land and Heritage sites, until 2010 Luxor city had no single economic housing unit executed by governmental sector, according to statistics from the Luxor Governorate Information Centre (2013). Such an urban housing service would help not only controlling and regulating the urban expansion of the city but also offering affordable housing units for low-income groups.

The formal outlet was to build satellite housing units in the so-called Tība Aljadida nearby Luxor. Since it has not fulfilled the economic and social needs of the inhabitants, it now represents one of the highest vacancies in Egyptian new cities, 86.7% (Shawkat and Hendawy 2016).

6.3.3. Urban Network

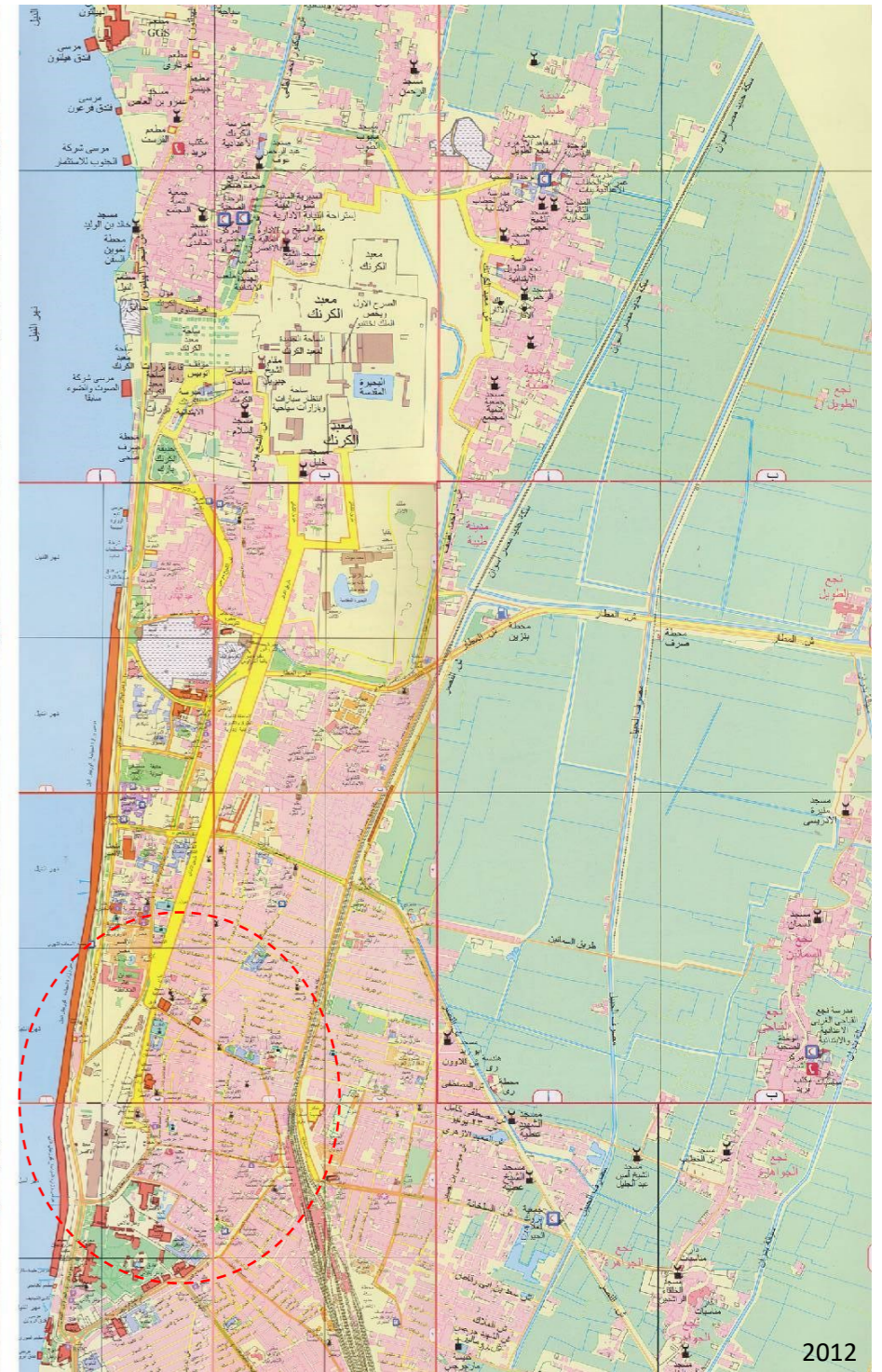
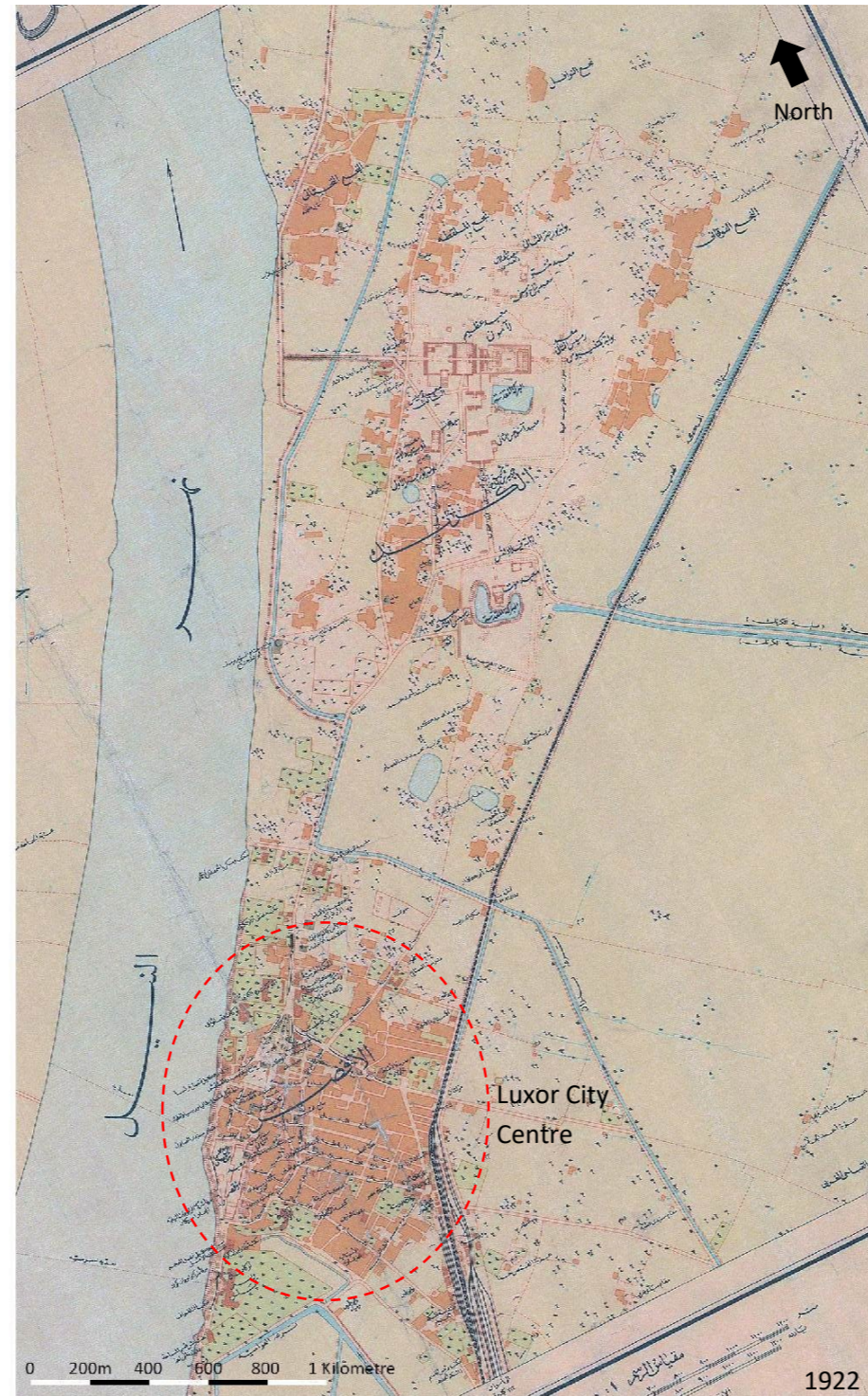
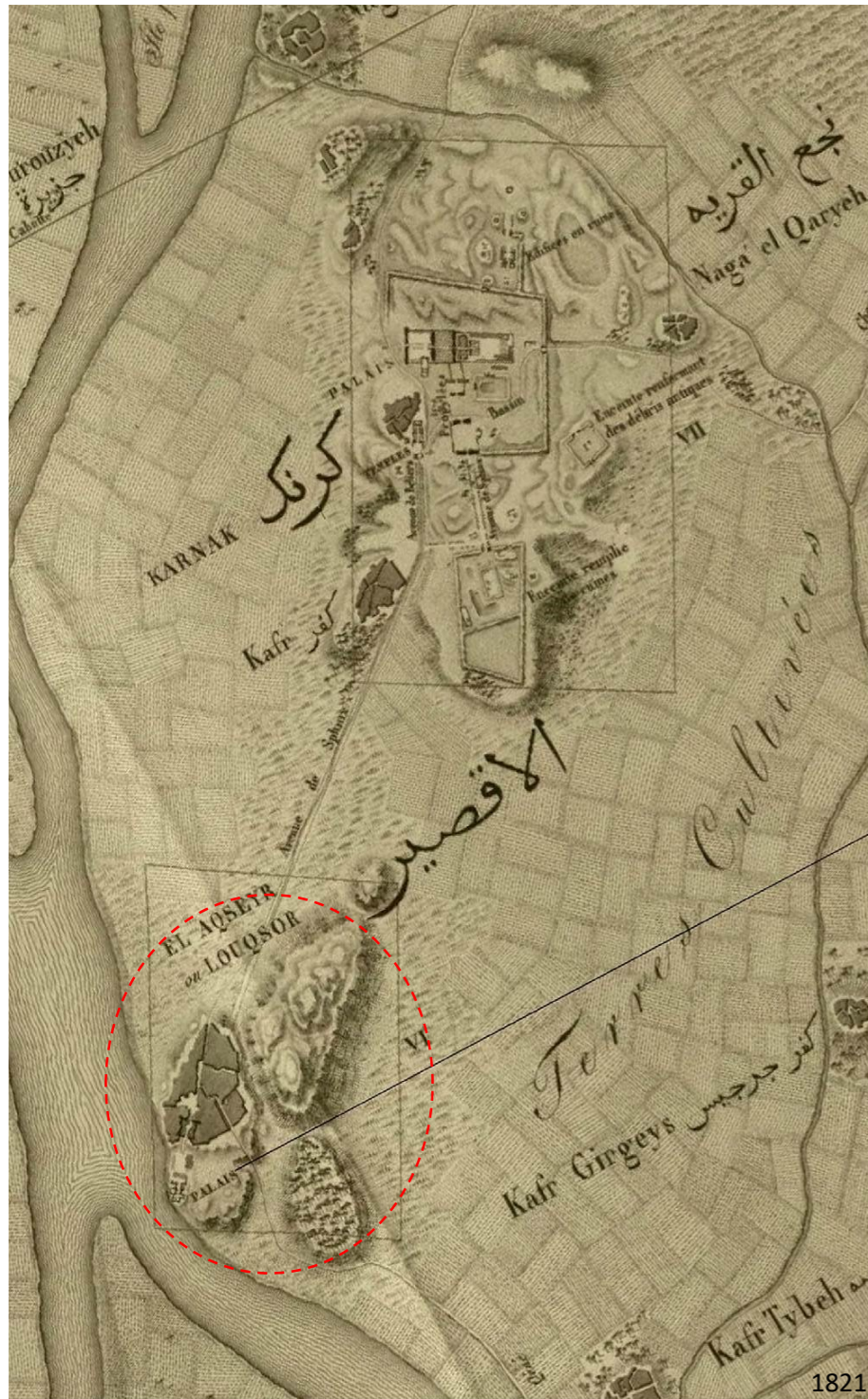
There is a significant problem of road network hierarchy in Luxor city, due to the unplanned urban growth over agricultural land. Map 6.9 traces the agricultural land divisions and subdivisions that have significantly controlled the shape and size of the replacing urban plot. This has created a pattern of long narrow streets that are connected to wide roads. Except for widening main streets such as Maḥata street that links Abu Alḥajjāj square with the railway station, there have been no regulations to control the street network in Luxor in any of the previous plans.



Map 6.9: Street network in Luxor city

Sources: Researcher, adapted from the Alhayi'a Almesriya Al'amma Lelmesaha, Muhafazet Al'uqsur 2012

The group of illustrations (maps 6.10 and figure 6.13) demonstrate a schematic comparative chronological analysis of the expansion state of Luxor City.



Maps 6.10: The urban expansion in Luxor city and the change of location of the River Nile,. Maps from 1821, 1922 and 2012 respectively from left to right. Sources: Alhay'i'a Almesriya Al'amma Lelmesaha, Muhafazet Al'uqsur 2012; the Egyptian Survey Authority 1922; Description de l'Égypte 1827

Maps 6.10 give a longer timespan of development, providing the ability to read the growth of the city in the last 200 years. The intermediate map in 1921 shows clearly the main centre of urban attraction to the south around Luxor Temple. The city later has developed along the river Nile, being the west natural barrier and the railway line as the east barrier. Figure 6.13 shows the different stages of clearance around Luxor Temple in two aerial views for the years 1928 and 1957, and two Google maps for the years 2005 and 2017. The clearance and excavations unearthed the remains of the Roman city, which is visible in the first two aerial views. Parts of the Roman city on the east of Luxor Temple had been later transformed into a public garden before it eventually was covered and has since become the Luxor Temple Plaza in 2009.

The uncontrolled urban expansion and housing conditions have a direct impact on the social lifestyle and social network of the local inhabitants. The social network is briefly investigated based on the impressions of the local inhabitants and the tourists.



Fig 6.13: Aerial views of Luxor temple showing the development of clearance around it and recent landscape work respectively, maps from 1928, 1957, 2005 and 2017 from left to right.

Sources: Google Earth Pro V 7.3.2.5776 2017; *ibid.* 2005; Schwaller de Lubicz 1957; Pillet 1928

The renovation of the Abu Alḥajjāj square area (see figure 6.12 and 6.13) was not in favour of people who used and considered it as the lung of their city. Because of its proximity to the Luxor Temple, it was chosen to make a distance between the locals and the Heritage site by creating this unfriendly *plaza*. This plaza (instead of a park) has shrunk the opportunity for leisure time activities for the locals in the city centre; therefore, it associates with shrinking the opportunity for the visitors to meet the locals.

6.3.4. Social Network

On the one hand, regarding the local community, the following is a selection of quotes translated from Arabic from the book *Madīna La Tadḥak* (a City that does not Smile) by Aḥmad Alṣaghīr (2011 31, 66). "*Luxor is considered now as a piece of Gold. The land beneath Luxor is shaking; agreements are being done rapidly. Everyone in houses, cafes and streets are talking about who is going to leave and be relocated. Streets are getting wider, those who once had their houses in the back streets are now very lucky to enjoy the new location on main streets and then higher prices of their estate. Some agricultural lands are being a wanted target, and its price multiplies tens of times. [...] Brokerage in land and estate in Luxor is now the best way to get rich. [...] They believe in our old Heritage, not in us [...] they think we do not deserve this civilisation or this Heritage*".

The opportunities and the potentials of Luxor as a touristic destination are alleged as a gold mine, as reflected by Alṣaghīr. It is noticeable how the local community feel, revoked, rejected by the state, and disintegrated in the national development projects. Additionally, the local community witnessed, during the demolition of the domestic structures, the change of land Value that typically causes gentrification and the alteration of the social fabric. Ultimately, there was an accompanying shift in the land-use from agricultural and rural to urban due to the increasing land Value.

On the other hand, concerning tourists, Kamil (2008) mentioned some thoughts of a tour agency manager, Peter Allingham, and how his clients interacted with recent development projects. "*Our passengers truly loved the old byways of the old markets [...] [they] tell us that they love interaction with Egyptians [...] These opportunities are diminishing fast. Tourist areas will have a detrimental effect on all concerned, particularly in these times where cross-cultural contact and understanding is so vital*".

Luxor, as a *historical* and *cultural* touristic destination, enjoys the advantage of being located in a city and is not in a distant or isolated field. According to Kamil, this is an extra attraction to the tourists who enjoy communicating with the local community. It is apparent that this perspective of tourist needs was unrecognised or disregarded. The social network in Luxor

city is not solely among the inhabitants, but with the visitors as well. This is how the majority of the labour force in the service sector and mainly in Tourism work. Hence, the gentrification is understood to happen against the local community to access to land and services, physically to the Heritage sites, and to tourists and visitors.

6.4. Conclusion

Since the city's first master plan in 1979, Luxor has been ever viewed as an archaeological site with high *market Value* touristic potentials; thus very little attention has been given to regard the urban side of this Heritage city. The Egyptian authorities have failed to find a balance between the prioritising of both the touristic and social services. This is reflected in the three main official plans in 1984, 1993, and the *CDCL* and its phases, where the authorities have chosen to be in favour of the touristic sector. It is worth mentioning that the Tourism sector, as verified in Chapter Two (2.3.1), has acknowledged the *socio-cultural* sources as an integral part of the tourist *offer* and tourist experience of any tourist destination. However, by investigating the general policies that manage the city of Luxor, a conflict arises from how the Egyptian authorities perceive the touristic destination.

The connectivity has become a major urban challenge inside the city after digging and unearthing the Processional Way. The development project (*CDCL*) failed to solve the transportation and accessibility problems in the city. Moreover, public services such as green parks, schools and recreation areas were not on the list of the proposed projects.

There were no sufficient housing projects to fulfil the housing gap and more importantly, to control the urban expansion direction to move more towards the east of the city, away from its arable agricultural lands to save its agrarian land size from decreasing. Future expanding to the east on the desert area should be the best solution to reduce the urban pressure on the current urban network and lessen the encroachments of the archaeological and Heritage areas.

The master plans and the evolution of the official urban boundary of Luxor city elicit the authorities' vision to maximise the importance of the *consequent offers* over the *original* resources, and segregate the local inhabitants and put their activities as far from the Heritage sites and tourists as possible. This vision has resulted so far in social dissatisfaction, urban deficiencies, and of course, deterioration of the *natural* and *historical* resources of Luxor city.

CHAPTER 7: INTEGRATING AN INCREMENTAL RATIONALE ABOUT VALUE AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN EGYPT

7.1. Core Findings

In order to address the overarching question of this research as to how possibly understand the conflicting demands of the Heritage and Tourism Management and the local community urban demands, the researcher has investigated the points of view of the international organisations and scholars. It has concluded that:

(1) there is a considerable lack of consensus even inside the same discipline about the definitions of Value and Heritage and their attributes. Among the examples mentioned in Chapter Two (2.2.1), is the debated definition of Heritage Value in the Heritage context and whether it is intrinsic or not. Indeed, each group of fundamental scholars from Riegl, Dehio (Arrhenius 2003; Ćorić and Špikić 2011; Lamprakos 2011; Wohlleben and Mörsch 1988) to Brantom (2015), de la Torre (2013), and others, has its grounded hypotheses. In the Heritage context, Value is a selective choice, and its definition and description of its attributes also are judgmental. Additionally, the brief history of the international recognition of Value seems to impressively develop from recognising the *historical* and *aesthetic* (the *classic*) Values introduced by Riegl and Dehio in the first half of the 19th century in the first UNESCO World Heritage (WH) listing in the 1970s and 1980s, to eventually include, shed more light on, and celebrate the *socio-cultural*. Whereas the economic Values gained the latest admission in 2012. The UNESCO and its Advisory Bodies (ICCRUM, ICOMOS, and IUCN) attest to be learning institutions. In the Tourism context, Heritage Value is an economic good at the Tourism market and an attraction to its consuming characteristics (Di Giovine 2009, 275; Gravari-Barbas, Bourdeau, and Robinson 2015, 2; Khirfan 2014, 5). Heritage and Tourism realms are going in different directions owed to different interests.

(2) it is worth drawing the attention to the controversial definitions set by UNESCO WH agencies themselves. For instance, the *intactness*, which is an expression of *integrity*, is a prerequisite for a Heritage site to gain the WH title and the *core* and *buffer* zones. However, according to the *Operational Guidelines* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019, 27), it is argued that *intactness* is indeed opposite to *integrity*, which reflects the dynamic *socio-cultural* process. To combat this equivocation, the Vienna Memorandum came in 2005 to defend the more significant urban milieu and its contemporary architecture component. UNESCO currently recognises the *Cultural Landscapes* (1992) and *Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL)* (2011) as integral components of the UNESCO World Heritage, which confirms not only the

conscious inclusion of nature and urban contexts to the wholeness of cultural Value but also the importance of participation in the World Heritage realm.

(3) Moreover, this research has given an account of the national laws and regulations in Egypt that have not proven to be as learning and developing as the UNESCO *WH* conceptions and regulations. Indeed, the Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983 and its two amendments in 03/2010 and 91/2018, which is the primary law for Heritage protection in Egypt, is rigid in terms of defining "*antiquities*" and its relevant protection policies (Chapter Three 3.2.1). It does not give an account to the roles and rights of the local communities of Heritage sites. The definition of the areas and buildings of *Outstanding Value* in Egypt seems to ostensibly use the terms in the *Operational Guidelines* of the World Heritage Convention. However, the content advocates the visually-oriented definitions of Values. This law is not developed to be comprehensible to the current discourse of Heritage Values definition(s) that are used in the international sphere. It considers the age Value as the normative factor for protection, following the century-old Riegl's outdated ideas. Nonetheless, Riegl introduced complex aspects such as *temporal (newness Values)* and *socio-cultural (intentional and unintentional remembrance)*. However, these introduced aspects never received the same attention in the reception during his time (Chapter Two 2.2.1).

Other laws *on* Regulating the Demolition of Non-Dilapidated Buildings and Establishments and the Preservation of Architectural Heritage 144/2006 and the Building Law 119/2008, Section 2 Urban Harmony (that should complete the heritage protection regulations in Egypt), have not shown a strong position compared to the Antiquities Protection law. They, as well, do not give practical methods for the local inhabitants to live in a Heritage context without being legally prone to eviction. Laws 144/2006 and 119/2008, failed to protect the buildings of Value in Egypt that are not protected under the Antiquities Protection Law. The Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983 and its amendments in 03/2010 and 91/2018 also does not support or safeguard the rights of inhabitants as direct beneficiaries of Heritage assets.

More importantly, the three mentioned laws are not compatible with the HUL declaration in terms of combating the urban pressure on the historic urban environments. On the contrary, these national laws have affirmed the traditional concern about building ensembles and still deny the magnitude of dialogue and participation among different stakeholders as strongly recommended by the *HUL* Declaration.

(4) Egypt in general, and Luxor city in particular, have fallen in the two categories of *Tourism myths* as defined by Echtner and Prasad (2003): the *unchanged* and the *unrestrained*, where Egypt's *natural* and *socio-cultural* recourses that are discussed in Chapters Three to Six have been reduced and narrowed down to the *aesthetic* and *historical*, the *classic* values, that serve

only the traditional recreational and cultural types of Tourism. According to figure 3.10, there is a considerable imbalance among the different purposes of tourist arrival in Egypt, with a vast majority (95.1%) for recreational beach Tourism compared to the cultural Tourism, tangible and intangible, which attracted only 0.6% of the tourists in 2016. Egypt, nevertheless, has a potential source for eco-Tourism. With its various original natural Tourism resources, more tourists will enjoy its undisturbed natural multiple destinations in a sustainable, responsible mode that should conserve such resources elaborately mentioned in Chapter Three (3.5.1).

The conflict among national institutions in Egypt, the imbalance of the original Heritage and Tourism resources and the Tourism demands, and achieving at the same time sustainable Tourism could also be solved with a clear and consent definition of Heritage, Heritage site, and Value among stakeholders, and an effective management plan at the national, local and site levels that account the HUL recommendations.

Luxor city in Upper Egypt is a unique case study for two reasons; the first is its living Heritage nature, and the second is that Heritage Values or original tourist sources in Luxor city are interlinked and cannot be separated or distinguished individually. Most of the components that create modern Luxor are characterised by multi-layered Values, from *historical*, *natural*, to *socio-cultural* (Chapter Five 5.3). The *socio-cultural* Values rarely make a place as a tourist destination. However, they certainly gave a quite early incentive to the development of the establishment of Tourism in Luxor, such as the current local celebrations (Chapter Five 5.3.1).

Luxor city evidently portrays the conflict among Heritage, Tourism, and communities of livable cities in Egypt. It was one of the pioneer tourist destinations in Egypt. The tourists have visited it to see the antiquity and imagine the glory of the ancient Egyptian civilisation. Perhaps the several travel books and guidebooks such as Baedeker's, Edwards', Budge's, and several others acted like indirect marketing agents to attract more tourists. Moreover, Post-cards and other promotional tourist campaigns and even press contributed indirectly, to the idea that has limited the interaction with the site and its narrative to its very ancient Egyptian monuments, which is only one side of its tangible Values. The tangible cultural Heritage in Luxor — which was discovered, excavated, or unearthed through time since the European rediscovery in the 1800s — has acted as an *original Tourism offer* (as the term coined by Freyer 2015). The cultural Heritage concept has been constructed to provide an economic generator for tour operators and travel agencies, and gradually, the main economic generator upon which Luxor has been dependent since that time. Despite that Heritage attributes of Luxor city are elaborately discussed in this research (in Chapter Five 5.3.1), the local civil society representatives are the best to describe, formulate and promote the *Outstanding Universal*

Value (OUV) of particular sites with the decision-makers. An expert cannot and is not entitled to take this responsibility individually.

Hence, the simplification of the complexity of Values has resulted in isolating the archaeological site in Luxor from its breathing evolving and growing context by the name of excavations and restorations. The increasing number of tourists and the continuously increasing reputation of the site by the beginning of the twentieth century resulted in the growing demand for tourism-related developments, i.e. accommodation, Nile cruise activities, and constructing tourist facilities at the expense of the agricultural activities, the primary economic resource until the rediscovery time. Any signs of less ancientness, represented in the current local events and social network and local source of income from agriculture were undesired, even to the point of rejection. The continuous demolition of the residential buildings and other properties of the local inhabitants and religious buildings in proximity to the more fortunate monuments have been the leading strategy to give more room for tourist activities until today (Chapter Four 4.3- 4.4). Moreover, the apathy of the agricultural activities — which have not shown any material *ancientness* compared to monuments — resulted in, and still does, a considerable decline of the farming land.

In contrary, the research has investigated the urban area in Luxor that almost doubled in size in only six years, as shown in Baedeker maps 1902 and 1908 (map 4.2 and map 4.3) due to the facilitation of the urban infrastructure. The small villages that once were isolated in the nineteenth century were later part of one town at the beginning of the twentieth century. At this time, urban development had been of significant privilege for both the local community and tourists; schools and hospitals, the railway station and cleaning lakes. Tourism had created jobs of new touristic nature, different than what the locals had mastered before, i.e. agriculture and pottery making.

Since the 1900s, the policy in managing the Heritage site and the city has been evacuating the city centre, especially in proximity to the monuments and areas of high archaeological significance. This approach is adopted for two main reasons: to reveal the ancient Egyptian architectural remains and to create touristic services. The actual institutional recognition of *Heritage Value* fundamentally has been of all the structures belonged to Ancient Egypt till Late Antiquity Periods. Hence, newer *historical* and *socio-cultural* structures of Value had to disappear. Only main structures of importance to the local community had survived demolition whether of public or private nature, such as Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque, Almqashqesh mausoleum, the Coptic churches, and the houses of Tawfiq Pacha Andraus and his brother's. All other buildings of residential nature had to be taken down, and locals had to be relocated after compensation elsewhere.

Only in the 1980s, the direction of archaeological missions has started to move towards the excavations of the medieval history of Luxor and not only its Ancient Egyptian history. It is another pattern that appeared in the archaeological excavations. However, this pattern, as shown in Chapter Six, was not reflected in the decision-making regarding the archaeological site. The demolitions of the inhabitants' buildings overpower in the decision-making process because the perception of Value has not been changed. During the gradual demolition process and until the 2000s, no documentation had been done for any pieces of evidence or findings from the following Roman and Coptic periods, because, again, these findings were not perceived as essential.

The evidence in this investigation of the history of the random urban development of Luxor city has led to conclude that the Heritage and Tourism activities are the main factors that have shaped the unsolved challenges with the local community. Throughout the urban planning practice on the national level, and since the first master plan in 1979, Luxor has been dealt with as an archaeological site of high touristic potentials. Very little attention has been given regarding the urban aspect of this Heritage site. The Egyptian authorities have failed to find an equilibrium in prioritising the touristic and social services. In the three main official plans in 1984, 1993, and the Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor (CDCL) and its phases, the authorities have proven to be in the tourist favour all along (Chapter Six 6.2).

Although the archaeological site in Luxor city has been a UNESCO *WH* site for forty years, neither a management plan has been therefore prepared nor a final Retrospective Statement of the *OUV* as required by the UNESCO *WH Committee* (Chapter Five 5.4.3). This gives a broader vision of the kind of organisation and distribution of responsibilities, the sustainability measurements, and the transparency that the site lacks. As a holder of the UNESCO World Heritage title (with its name *Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis*) as an archaeological site, Luxor should be more closely monitored by the international World Heritage bodies. Only lately, the UNESCO *WH Committee* discussed the possible conflict between conservation requirements and safeguarding of the socio-cultural character of the local community due to the *Comprehensive Development Plan for the City of Luxor (CDCL)*.

That being said, on the one hand, this research has led to conclude that the reports of the *WH Committee* are generic to the extent that they do not necessarily focus on the specific problems that need urgent actions (Chapter Five 5.3.4). It instead acquires reporting and documents which lead most of the times to postpone the development activities and concentrate on conducting depthless and persuasive reports. On the other hand, the response of the UNESCO *WH Centre* and *Committee* have not given the impression of real and thorough investigations and concerns about this specific *WH* site. The UNESCO *WH*

Committee managed to stop a tourist project near to the *WH* site in Luxor to limit the Tourism activities (Chapter Five 5.4.3). Other than that, and despite its efforts to define the challenges of Luxor as a part of a *WH* site, the international bodies instead have seemed to respond ostensibly, if not negatively, to the formal communications with the Egyptian authorities concerning the urban challenges.

One of the significant justifications for the insufficient role of UNESCO *WH Centre* is that the site is inscribed as an archaeological site, not as a city. Luxor also is not part of the *World Heritage Cities Program*. Hence, the broader sense of the Heritage Value of Luxor is not internationally recognised. Therefore, there should be another functioning method to control how a *State Party* manages a *WH* site besides getting the information from the *State Party*.

The research has provided further evidence that the Tourism sector conceptually acknowledges the *socio-cultural* sources as an integral part of the Tourism *offer* of any tourist destination (Chapter Two 2.3). However, by investigating the general policies of managing Luxor city, the conflict emerges from the perception of the Tourism destination from the Egyptian point of view. The master plans and the evolution of the official urban boundary of Luxor city elicit the authorities vision to maximise the importance of the *Tourism consequent offers* over the original resources. This vision has resulted so far in a social dissatisfaction, as discussed in Chapter Six (6.3.4), urban deficiencies, and of course, deterioration of the *natural* and *historic* resources of Luxor.

The World Bank report highlighted and limited the Heritage assets in Egyptian history until the Coptic Period. The report also defined and emphasised the "*oldest and most important historical and cultural attractions*" (World Bank 1979c, 1) to the temples and tombs of the Pharaonic dynasties over other periods in Luxor: the temples in Luxor and Karnak and the Theban Necropolis in the west bank. Not only this Tourism report from an international body had this perception, but also the ICOMOS evaluation report for the evaluation of the World Heritage Nomination file in the same year did (Chapter Five 5.4.1). The evaluation report addressed the Ancient Egyptian history until the "*first century of Christianity*" (ICOMOS 1979,2). Thus, the definition of Heritage assets in Luxor regarded the period of the history of Luxor until early Christianity that worths world protection and recognition. Not only the definition created a sharp division in the history of Luxor, but also the existing virtual boundary between the UNESCO *WH* property, and the rest of Luxor city stresses the segregation between the historical urban fabrics from the archaeological and the urban context (see map 5.2) concerning the management policies.

The master plans of Luxor disregarded several *socio-cultural* assets and Values that Luxor City enjoyed (Chapter Five 5.3.1). Those master plans concerned and invested in developing

the *consequent Tourism offers*. However, it did not at best give appropriate consideration to its original recourses of Value. Generally, the urban state of Luxor reflects the weak development process and poor urban planning, which have led the city to uncontrollably and informally evolve on both the farmlands and archaeological sites. Moreover, the expansion direction of the development of the urban boundary in Luxor has formed an extra factor in the reduction of the agricultural land area.

The lack of proper urban design manifests by reading the street hierarchy and the proportion of the majority of the land plots. These proportions were suitable for agricultural plots and their irrigation system, but do not provide a proper hierarchical street network in Luxor city. The tourist-oriented design of the Processional Way, which was buried under domestic structures at the city centre, ignored the local demands and caused an extra urban malfunction in the heart of the city (figures 6.9-6.12). The intentionally-made division meant for the tourists to walk between the Luxor and Karnak temples.

This problem is a classic urban issue in Egypt that does not relate to the existence of the Heritage site per se. Still, it indicates the priorities in urban development projects, especially when it comes to the regulations of urban expansion of a livable city.

7.2. Evaluation of the Relationship among Heritage and Tourism Sectors and the Local Communities in Luxor City

The *unchanged* myth stereotype created by Tourism agencies, media and press, is significantly represented and has promoted Luxor the way where the ancient monuments and their legacy overpowered the actuality and the totality of the city. The physical existence of these ancient treasures has un-willingly and slowly perished and silenced the other different components of Heritage Values and the *Tourism offer* over time. The discourse on Luxor city, in Chapters Five and Six, has continued the very same attempt to keep emphasising the imaginary picture of pure components and elements of history in Luxor city that started one and a half centuries ago. Thus, the flattening of the different layers of Values is reflected in the laws concerning protection of heritage and its context, the Tourism and management policies, plans and programs in Luxor city, which produce repeated faulty development projects.

The juxtaposition of the level of interest of the *use* and *non-use* Value in Luxor city for the national and local groups is an alerting sign. Sustainable Tourism aims for long-term global views and is against the consumption of *Tourism offers*, which is not applied in Luxor city, while the Egyptian authorities insist on imposing tourist activities without short or long-term

planning. Another alerting feature is the relatively low interest of the international groups for the *social* and *spiritual* Values in Luxor, which could be inducted from the Decision Reports of the UNESCO *WH Committee* from 1996 to 2019. It gave priority to the protection of Luxor's tangible Heritage. However, it has not regarded the socio-cultural aspects (Chapter Five 5.4).

Despite the *natural* Value that Luxor city enjoys, the international groups of stakeholders put it on the lowest level of interest. The UNESCO *WH* inscription and the *WH Committee* decisions did not address the specificity of the relation between Luxor and its historical development to the River Nile, which is the main natural feature in Luxor. Moreover, These international groups have not shown so far any concerns regarding the arable agricultural lands of Luxor and the impact of its continuous decline. On the national level, the development programs and projects legally endorsed the urban expansion on the arable land along the River Nile to allow new areas for Tourism services instead of extending towards the desert areas to avoid such farmlands (map 6.8). On the local level, the River Nile is considered a transportation link between the east and west banks and Nile cruise ships between Luxor and Aswan, the primary source of the groundwater for irrigation, and a recreational area.

There has been a lack of a primary database of the previous urban actions and the CDCL in Luxor city, which has led to the discontinuity of consecutive master plans. Examples of unsolved existing urban challenges other than the urban networking, transportation after unearthing the Processional Way, and insufficient infrastructure is the accessibility to proper training and education system.

The absence of influential community representatives is a constant challenge in Luxor city. The stakeholder power system has left very little to almost no power for the local inhabitants over their city throughout the decision-making process concerning their urban milieu. Moreover, there was no realistic relocation strategy for the families whose houses and properties were located on the Processional Way. Tiba Aljadida — the officially designed refuge for the relocated families from Luxor city centre and Karnak — is relatively far from the city (fifteen kilometres away from the city and thirty kilometres away from the city centre). It has failed so far to attract people to live in, to the limit that it is considered as one of the most vacant new cities in Egypt with an occupation of only 13.3% of its designed capacity (Shawkat and Hendawy 2016).

The general infrastructure in Luxor city is in urgent need of improvement. Based on their importance economically, local capacity building and training in Tourism and agriculture fields are very encouraged. Moreover, public transport and waste disposal need institutional reconsideration and revision. The information signage and panels in the archaeological sites

are whether missing or insufficient. The Tourism sector is suggested to take part in providing these services.

According to this research, the level of interest to specific Values differs from one group of stakeholders to another. Each group has its motivations and priorities. The level of interest of the international groups in the Heritage site in Luxor city is measured through fundamental policies, programs and projects related to Luxor city that have been investigated in Chapter Five (5.2.1). The level of interest of the national group is estimated according to policies, laws, and development goals in Chapter Six. The level of interest according to the local stakeholder group is measured according to continuous researcher observations from 2012 until 2018.

The international stakeholder groups are found to tend to give higher priority to *historical* and *aesthetic* Values in Luxor city, despite their continuous reforms in the *Operational Guidelines* and upgrading conceptions to include the local *socio-cultural* Values into perspective. Of course, the process of UNESCO *WH* listing aims, above all, to protect the "*legacy from the past*" to "*pass it to the future generations*" (UNESCO World Heritage Center N/Ac). Nonetheless, the definition of the "*legacy*" is the key aspect of the *non-use existence* Value, which is relatively high for these international groups. Indeed, the *market* or *use-Value* for the international stakeholders of Luxor city has never been referred to, hence, the least of interest among such stakeholders.

Furthermore, Tourism Management as an activity seems to be far from UNESCO's *WH* direct responsibilities, although UNESCO usually claims otherwise. Despite the *World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme* that was established in 2012; Tourism has not been referred to in the last updated *Operational Guidelines* (2019), even for once. It is instead considered whether as a "*development pressure*" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019, 103) or as the last out of six economic factors of a secondary topic as Heritage Canals in the *Operational Guidelines* (ibid, 86-87), for instance.

However, the local level of interest for the *market* or *use-Value* in Luxor city tends to be one of the highest. It can be explained by the dependency of the vast majority of the labour force on the Heritage site for their income. Whereas, the *non-use Value* has the least interest. The UNESCO *WH* inscription of Luxor has significantly affected the national policies and plans to maximise the *market* Value as an impact of international recognition. In forty decades, the national policies have been reflected on the local projects and gradually on the local inhabitants, who have switched their primary economic resource from agriculture to other services.

The local inhabitants in Luxor and the region in Upper Egypt do not relate directly to the Heritage site; nevertheless, they do relate to its wider context. For instance, the Value of the religious buildings are a component of their broader historic urban setting; Abu Alḥajjāj Mosque and other buildings of related *social* Values such as the Andraus' house have been respected. These should have been Luxor city landmarks to rebuild and strengthen the collective memory of the local inhabitants. Nevertheless, because these very Values are not on the same level for the national group of stakeholders, several buildings were demolished for urban developments (Chapter Five 5.3.1).

Lastly is the evaluation of the sustainability of the CDCL. The sustainable development project is the sound output of the process of national urban development long-term plans, visions, and goals, with performance monitoring that should be reflected in the national policies, and so forth. In the case of the CDCL; the project was implemented according to an emerging national policy aiming at international investments from the Tourism sector. What happened is that this national policy skipped the necessary steps to secure a sustainable project; without a long-term plan, vision, guidance, and short-term regional plans. Moreover, it was supported by an unrealistic and short-sighted performance assessment. Hence, among other reasons, the CDCL has failed to be a sustainable development project.

7.3. General Approaches and Outputs for WH Sites in Egypt

The results strongly suggest that Egyptian authorities should revise the Heritage and Value definitions, and reflect the updated conceptions on the national regulations and policies for heritage protection. Therefore, they should accordingly catch the international discourse and welcome new conceptions that definitely are meaningful for the Egyptian Heritage, such as the HUL and its recommendations and the UNESCO *WH Operational Guidelines*.

While the planning process begins with the national policies at the macro level, which formulate the guidance and vision for the national and regional plans; the plans on the national and regional level should set up the main objectives for different management programs on the site on the micro-level. The projects should realise the management programs, that should eventually — with all other previous levels — lead to continuous monitoring and feedback for the performance.

The Management Plan is a fundamental component of the Statement of the *OUV*. Heritage management in Egypt is organised in a very hierarchical, centralised and complex system, with such a lot of stakeholders on the national level as elaborately shown in Chapter Three (3.3), that it seems to be very difficult to achieve an efficient management equilibrium for the

Heritage sites on the local level. However, it currently must be prepared at the national level. The stakeholders are the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Ministry of Endowment, Ministry of Housing, Utilities and Urban Development of Investment, the General Organisation for Physical Planning, and the respective governorates. The interest and power landscape between different stakeholders in Egypt is, therefore, unbalanced (Chapter Three 3.3.3). Indeed, there are no possibilities for local communities for any participation, among such several national governmental bodies.

One legitimate and practical solution is to form a permanent *WH* management unit on the local level in Egypt. According to Article 4 in Law 144/2006, each governorate has its committees to create a list of buildings and structures. These already existing committees are considered as a nucleus for Heritage management at the local level. Hence, their role should not stop after creating the list of structures of outstanding Values; they should be given the authority to prepare and implement management plans for buildings and sites without overlooking the essentiality of the local community participation in the process. Moreover, the management plan unit should guarantee the implementation of short and long-term comprehensive plans. It should not be limited to the *WH* property as a whole, but also include a general plan and guidelines for the buffer zone to ensure the conformity of the *WH* site with its broader urban context. These management units should also be responsible for coordinating with relevant institutions and stakeholders and communicating with international organisations such as UNESCO *WH Centre* and its *Advisory Bodies*.

Also concerning the national legislations, it is very recommended to activate Article 97 in the law 119/2008 to establish a monetary fund to support the owners and tenants for the maintenance and restoration works as an incentive, and include the buildings of Value in the scheme of preserving antiquities. The activation of this article should encourage the inhabitants and support them financially to maintain their Heritage structures. Hence, it empowers a vulnerable group of stakeholders and opens the way for it to play its role in Heritage conservation.

The sustainable Tourism and urban development fields are not only protecting and upgrading the *original* resources (*natural*, *socio-cultural*, and the general infrastructure), but also complement the *consequent Tourism offer* of a Heritage site (the tourist infrastructure, the leisure time infrastructure, and the special tourist *offers*). The sustainable Tourism planning process should involve all stakeholders and provide manageable coordination among them, providing that it is to be at the local level.

The research has demonstrated that Egypt enjoys many *natural* and *cultural* resources that are undermined and not on the touristic map (Chapter Three 3.5.1). Egypt needs to give more

attention to such resources, not only with sustainable conservation methods but also with providing these sites with adequate general infrastructure; the very aspects need immediate upgrading. On the one hand, it will provide the safety and security atmosphere a visitor requires in a touristic destination. On the other hand, it will create a better and more practical quality for the proven-to-be promising and improving business and convention Tourism.

There are thirty-three *natural* and *cultural* sites on the UNESCO Tentative List in Egypt, and most of which are not well-represented neither in the promotional campaigns nor by the state media. For more integrated Tourism *products*, Egypt has to include these sites as potential destinations such as natural reserves shown in map 3.1 in its strategy for Tourism development. Map 3.1 shows the allocation of the *original* Tourism resources in Egypt, but not necessarily the same distribution for the flow of tourists among those sites.

The situation of the general infrastructure in Egypt affects the mobility and accessibility directly for both the locals and visitors. The authorities, unfortunately, discount it as an *integral original tourism offer* in Egypt as Freyer suggests (2015). These challenges affect negatively the individual tourists that visit Egypt independently without the tour agencies. Moreover, there is a considerable lack of tourist information offices/points in the main stations. Developing and coordinating the flow of tourists between the recreational destinations on the Red Sea (Hurgada, Safaga, Sharm Alsheikh, etc.), and other cultural destinations along the Nile Valley (Cairo, Giza, Luxor, Minia, etc.) will create or at least improve the balance among these tourist resources. Perhaps operational diversification methods are concrete solutions by combining and integrating different *Tourism offers* or *resources* (add-on tours), such as the Nile cruise with visiting Cairo, Luxor and Aswan. The latter is a successful practical case to be followed with other cultural destinations and *offers*.

Figure 3.7 shows another challenge of the Tourism sector in Egypt. Tourism in Egypt has been very prone to internal and international political factors that have played a substantial impact on international tourist arrivals (BMI Research 2017, 8). Besides, this had been slowly increasing from 2011 until 2016. Accordingly, Egypt authorities are strongly advised to revise its local priorities, which have to not to depend solely on Tourism as the primary source of income but to encourage and support other local resources.

Referring back to the *WH* inscription, at the beginning of this research, the researcher considered that it was rightly demanded if not was urgent to request a *Minor Boundary Modification* according to the *Operational Guidelines* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2019, 42) to include the Processional Way in the *WH* property zone before officially submitting the *Retrospective Statement of the OUV*. Were the *Retrospective Statement of the OUV* already provided, the Advisory Body (i.e. ICOMOS) should have asked for the inclusion of the

Processional Way as a component of the *WH* property. The rationale behind this thought was to protect the Processional Way and to apply the same conservation measures as on the *WH* site.

The researcher was advised to carefully observe the policies of the UN and UNESCO regarding human rights. It is believed that neither the UNESCO *WH Committee, Centre*, nor its *Advisory Bodies* will approve or legitimise the process of unearthing the Processional Way in Luxor city and the associating displacements of the residents; the act which is considered against human rights. In 1948, the UN adopted the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The Geneva Declaration' Human Rights and Cultural Heritage: Committed Cities Working Together' which was adopted by UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2018) as a recent testimony of the recognition of the role of people in Heritage protection and the rights-based approach in Heritage management. However, the Egyptian authorities have not shown any empathy with the needs of the local community in particular in Luxor City. Therefore, the Processional Way eventually will not be a part of the *WH* property and will linger as an example of a failed *WH* site management.

Looking at the role of the UNESCO *WH Centre*, it has to develop a mechanism to empower civil society and independent experts to participate in Heritage management process. Since 2019 The UNESCO *WH Centre* has started to host the *World Heritage Watch*¹ (WHW) civil society Fora for two years at the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris. The location facilitates the assemblage of the members of the *WH Centre* and *Advisory Bodies* with civil society groups. However, not all civil society groups share an equal capacity to visit Paris annually. Hence, capacity building should be directed to technically and financially support the assemblage of the WHW and other NGOs.

Lastly, there are immense efforts to be done by the *WH Centre* to engage the vision of the World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Development program and translate it in the *Operational Guidelines* to bring forward actual steps for State Parties to follow to ensure sustainable Tourism activities in *WH* sites. The *WH* management plan, from the Heritage perspective, and the destination management plan from the Tourism perspective should be integrated in the sustainable development planning process of a *WH* site at the regional and local levels, to ensure the design and implementation of sustainable development projects. Despite there are manuals provided for the *WH* management plan, questionable is their real support. It should necessarily develop and give guidelines on the essential quality to guarantee the protection of

¹ The World Heritage Watch (WHW) is an international NGO which concerns empowering the local communities and indigeneous peoples of World Heritage sites or sites on the UNESCO *WH* Tentative List. The WHW raises funds to hold its annual civil society fora, print annual reports, and support its network members attend.

the Heritage assets. At the same time, it should provide a sustainable environment for the local communities and visitors.

7.4. Limitations of the Study

The researcher faced some challenges, especially in the case study investigation, for which she attempted to find practical solutions. Despite this, the researcher believes her work could be a springboard for deep case study investigations in Egypt concerning their history, policies, and previous and current urban and Heritage projects.

The most significant constraint lies in the lack of adequate historical maps of Luxor city to allow the accurate study of its urban growth. The Egyptian General Survey Authority reproduces maps from the years 1906, 1922, 1967, 1999, and 2012 for Luxor. However, the map of the year 1922 was the adequate one for the study purpose because of its suitable scale (1:20.000) and the definition of several buildings and landmarks. Whereas, the maps of the years 1906 and 1967 are in scales 1:25.000 and 1:50.000 respectively, which makes it challenging to realise the urban tissue and define building blocks. The map of the year 1999 is poorly detailed, and the map of 2012 is accurate and detailed but not complete. It is worth mentioning that obtaining the latter was impossible; the researcher then had to digitally recollect the fourteen segments of this map that were published in a manual guide for the Luxor governorate.

The researcher, therefore, depended on published aerial photographs for the years 1928 and 1957, Baedeker's maps for the years 1902, 1908, 1914 and 1927, and Google Maps for the years 2005 and 2017 to complete a generally accurate impression of the urban growth rate of the city.

During the historical review for the city of Luxor, it turns out that there is a significant gap in research on the history of Luxor during the Byzantine and Coptic periods. However, it is believed that the effort put in collecting data about the history of Luxor city during this time could form a strong basis for future research. Another obstruction is the real population growth rate in Luxor city. The reason behind this challenge is that the statistics in Luxor combined several towns and rural sub-ordinates to Luxor city such as Esna, Armant, and Qurna before Luxor became an independent governorate in 2009. The researcher, thus, depended on previous research projects such as Gamblin's (2007) and El Gammal's (1985), and Budge (1921) and Baedeker (1908) books to get the population statistics.

Lastly, it was challenging to collect official data about the last development plan of the city of Luxor, which went through different phases from 1996 to 2010. Due to the administrative transition from a sub-ordinate city in Qena governorate to an independent city and finally to a governorate; several official documents were lost among various premises. The employees in the Governorate of Luxor (the department of Planning and the Information Centre) have shown transparency and cooperation by providing the data and information available to them. Nonetheless, the individual consultants in this development project who were reached by the researcher did not show the same cooperation level for the provision of the management plans, data and maps. It has resulted in a lack of written official descriptive documents about this development project. Thus, the researcher put effort to get and analyse the project through the maps available and the official evaluation documents.

7.5. Further Reflections and Research

This research has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of the complexity of Heritage management in Egypt. The following further studies suggestions focus more on the social aspect of Heritage conservation and protection.

- The development of social impact methodologies
- The social impacts of Tourism on the local communities. This is an essential aspect to be further studied, but yet has restrictions due to the lack of definitive quantifiable factors
- Although extensive studies have been done about the importance of community empowerment and integration in the Heritage and Tourism planning process, the know-how and application require more scholarly and practical investigations

Because of the ongoing urban developments in Egypt which change the urban space and context (in Cairo, Al' alameen, etc.), further social studies on the collective memories of the Egyptians about their Heritage sites are mandatory. These studies should involve more interactive survey methods with the locals.

Furthermore, the researcher hopes more historical investigations to be done in Egypt not only on Luxor city but other cities in Upper Egypt, which have not had the same scholarly attention as Cairo and Alexandria. The historical investigations are believed to help the decision-makers to understand better and comprehend the actual needs of the present and future societies and Heritage site.

Ultimately, the application of Egyptian laws and regulations of Heritage protection and on the local level should be furtherly investigated, perhaps using a multi-case study approach. It is

recommended to study the possibility of creating a local managerial level for protecting Heritage sites in Egypt.

In conclusion, Egyptian Heritage protection laws should be renewed to integrate the HUL recommendations to reconnect the urban environment of Heritage sites as an integral constituent. Moreover, the regulations should provide local communities with proper technical and financial incentives to enable them to maintain their Heritage assets and actively participate in Heritage management. Heritage sites management and urban planning of cities of Heritage Value in Egypt should be restructured to be on the local level, where the power and interest of stakeholders are the most adjusted. The governing restructurings that recognise the comprehensive urban milieu at the international, national and local levels is a key factor for sustainable Heritage site management. For realistic and sustainable Heritage management, UNESCO *WH Centre's* insufficient relation to WH sites needs local community representatives as an equal third party instead of upholding it mostly through from Advisory Body experts and State Parties.

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1:	The conflict of interest among the Heritage protection and conservation, the tourism development, and local community urban upgrade	3
Fig. 1.2:	The research structure	14
Fig. 2.1:	The evolutionary scheme of Values according to Alois Riegl.....	19
Fig. 2.2:	Alois Riegl's scheme	20
Fig. 2.3:	Activities involved in the evaluation of Heritage sites	32
Fig. 2.4:	The juxtaposing of the definitions of Heritage Value in Heritage studies and Tourism perspectives	34
Fig. 2.5:	The Tourism Offer	35
Fig. 2.6:	The direct, indirect and induced contributions of Travel and Tourism	38
Fig. 2.7:	The confluence of World Heritage Values, Core Heritage Values, and Sustainable Tourism Values	41
Fig. 2.8:	Process and power relationships between different elements in the Heritage management	44
Fig. 3.1:	The right photo (2013) shows decorative features that were deliberately removed as shown in the left photo (2019) in fear of official registration of the building	51
Fig. 3.2:	The Organisational Structure of the Egyptian Ministry of State of Antiquities..	57
Fig. 3.3:	The Organisational Structure of the Egyptian Ministry of Tourism	59
Fig. 3.4:	The Organisational Structure of the Tourism Development Authority (TDA) ..	59
Fig. 3.5:	The Organisational Structure of the General Organization for Physical Planning	61
Fig. 3.6:	Suggested map of power and interest among Heritage and Tourism stakeholders in Egypt	63
Fig. 3.7:	The international Tourist Arrivals in Egypt from 1952 until 2017	71
Fig. 3.8:	The International Tourist Arrivals in Egypt in 1990, 2005, and 2015 grouped by regions.....	73
Fig. 3.9:	The Tourist Offers in Egypt.....	75
Fig. 3.10:	The purpose of arrival for the international tourists in Egypt in 2016.....	82
Fig. 3.11:	The performance of the overall best world and Egypt scores in Travel and Tourism untill 2017	84
Fig. 3.12:	Egypt performance overview in the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index 2017 edition.....	85
Fig. 4.1:	View of Luxor Temple and Luxor's skyline in 1802-9 looking west, painting by Vivant Denon	95
Fig. 4.2:	The French House and the ruins of Luxor Temple, by Théodule Deveria in 1859.....	96
Fig. 4.3:	The French House and the ruins of Luxor Temple before 1885.....	96
Fig. 4.4:	Luxor Temple in 1850s to 1870s by Francis Frith	97
Fig. 4.5:	Pylons of Luxor Temple before the clearance of the accumulated mud.....	97
Fig. 4.6:	The village and its pigeon towers behind and in front of the pylons of Luxor Temple looking south.....	98
Fig. 4.7:	Luxor Temple in 1862 looking east. The level of the ground reached the shoulder level of the two statues of Ramases II.....	98
Fig. 4.8:	Dahabyia in Luxor c. 1880 by Antonio Beato	99
Fig. 4.9:	First renewal of the cornice road by Thomas Cook, after the inauguration of Winter Palace Hotel	99
Fig. 4.10:	Advertisement for Nile cruises of Thomas Cook & Son for the season 1898-9	100
Fig. 4.11:	The Luxor Hotel by Antonio Beato.....	101
Fig. 4.12:	The Savoy Hotel, 1913.....	101
Fig. 4.13:	Mudbrick dwellings in a village north of Luxor in 1947.....	101
Fig. 4.14:	West obelisk and Luxor town taken from Luxor pylon in 1921 by Pillet.....	103
Fig. 4.15:	Structures in front of Luxor pylon in 1889, to the left is Alsāḥa Alḥajjājia	103

Fig. 4.16:	Villagers collecting the fertile soil from the emerged open areas after demolitions east to Luxor Temple in 1910	105
Fig. 4.17:	Luxor Temple in 1909 showing Brasserie Rohrmoser.....	105
Fig. 4.18:	Luxor Temple in 1913 by Peneth Family showing the vendors.....	105
Fig. 4.19:	A painting shows the <i>iconoclasts</i> in 1890	106
Fig. 4.20:	Letter from A. Weigall to the Officer of Luxor subdivision in 1908	111
Fig. 4.21:	Aerial view of Luxor in 1928	113
Fig. 4.22:	Aerial view of Luxor in 1957	113
Fig. 4.23:	The clearance of the area above the Processional Way in front of Luxor Temple in 1964, looking north-east	114
Fig. 5.1:	Population growth in Luxor city.....	120
Fig. 5.2:	Suggested map of power and interest among Heritage and Tourism stakeholders in Egypt	121
Fig. 5.3:	Distribution of total labor force in Luxor city	123
Fig. 5.4:	The Tourism Offer in Luxor city	125
Fig. 5.5:	Ancient Thebes	126
Fig. 5.6:	Le Louxor Palais du Cinéma in Paris	129
Fig. 5.7:	Reebie Storage Warehouse in Chicago	129
Fig. 5.8:	Grauman's Egyptian theatre in Hollywood	129
Fig. 5.9:	Carreras Cigarette Factory in London	129
Fig. 5.10:	The obelisk of Luxor Temple standing in Place de la Concorde in Paris	130
Fig. 5.11:	Plan of Luxor Temple showing its actual state	131
Fig. 5.12:	Reconstruction of Luxor Temple in the early Roman/Late Antiquity Periods respectively	132
Fig. 5.13:	Painting of the Roman fresco scenes in Luxor Temple by J. G. Wilkinson	133
Fig. 5.14:	Remains of churches west of Luxor Temple, looking north	133
Fig. 5.15:	An opening in Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque (located in figure 5.17) incorporated in the structure of Luxor Temple	133
Fig. 5.16:	View in the courtyard of Rameses II (New Kingdom) showing a column in the chapel of Hatshepsut (Middle Kingdom) and Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque (13th century)	134
Fig. 5.17:	Plan of Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque at level +7.58 m above the court of Rameses II	134
Fig. 5.18:	View of the pylons of Luxor Temple and Alsāḥa Al-ḥajjājia, before 1958 looking south, in the foreground is the beginning of the Processional Way.....	135
Fig. 5.19:	View of Luxor Temple and Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque looking northeast	135
Fig. 5.20:	Fatimid minaret of Abu Al-ḥajjāj and Luxor village from the pylon of Luxor Temple and the city in the background in 1928 looking east	136
Fig. 5.21:	Abu Al-ḥajjāj from the Ramesside court before restoration	136
Fig. 5.22:	Inside Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque during restoration	136
Fig. 5.23:	Exterior of the restored Abu Al-ḥajjāj Mosque: the capitals of the Ramesside Portico protruding from the southern wall.	136
Fig. 5.24:	The Karnak Complex	138
Fig. 5.25:	Portal of Ptolemy III near Khonso Temple	139
Fig. 5.26:	Portal of Ptolemy IV on the north of the Enclosure Wall	139
Fig. 5.27:	The route of the ancient Opet festival between Luxor and Karnak Temples ...	141
Fig. 5.28:	Preparing mud bricks in 1924 in Luxor, by Torsten Lenk	143
Fig. 5.29:	The French House from the pylon of the Temple of Amun at Karnak in 1924, by Torsten Lenk	143
Fig. 5.30:	Mudbrick structures in Luxor by Antonio Beato in 1860s.....	144
Fig. 5.31:	Mudbrick wall and portal of Ptolemy III at Karnak, looking east.....	144
Fig. 5.32:	The restoration of the Great Enclosure Wall of the Amun Temple on both sides of the Eastern Gate.....	144
Fig. 5.33:	A girl throws her household waste over the Processional Way.....	147
Fig. 5.34:	Winter Palace Hotel in Luxor in 1936	150

Fig. 5.35:	Karnak Open-Air Museum and some of its most significant collections	152
Fig. 6.1:	Area in front of Luxor Temple pylons showing Al-mqashqesh Mosque and the police station, view to the southwest in 2007 during the excavations	181
Fig. 6.2:	Area in front of Luxor Temple pylons, view to the southwest in before demolishing the Art Deco police station building	181
Fig. 6.3:	Area in front of Luxor Temple pylons, view to the southwest in 2017 after the demolitions of the area above and west to the Processional Way	181
Fig. 6.4:	View to the west to the Processional Way. The Coptic church appears on the right.	181
Fig. 6.5:	Aerial view of Karnak in 1977	186
Fig. 6.6:	Karnak Plaza Project in 2007	186
Fig. 6.7:	Karnak Plaza during construction	187
Fig. 6.8:	The Karnak Plaza looking east	187
Fig. 6.9:	Proposal by ArchPlan indicating different development projects and buildings.....	189
Fig. 6.10:	Alternative one offered by ArchPlan for the reconstruction of the Processional Way	189
Fig. 6.11:	Alternative two offered by ArchPlan for the reconstruction of the Processional Way	189
Fig. 6.12:	Luxor Temple Plaza (Abu Al-ḥajjāj Square)	189
Fig. 6.13:	Aerial views of Luxor Temple showing the development of clearance around it and recent landscape work respectively, maps from 1928, 1957, 2005 and 2017 from left to right.	198

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1.1: Topographical map of Ancient Thebes	1
Map 3.1: The main Tourism resources in Egypt	77
Map 4.1: Luxor in 1821 including names of the settlements around the Temples.....	94
Map 4.2: Luxor city in 1902	109
Map 4.3: Luxor city in 1908	109
Map 4.4: Luxor city in 1914	109
Map 4.5: Luxor city in 1929	109
Map 5.1: Luxor city Value mapping	155
Map 5.2: The World Heritage property and the Buffer zone of the site Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis in Luxor City	158
Map 6.1a: Master Plan of 1979	167
Map 6.1b: Master Plan of 1979 (detail)	167
Map 6.2: General physical plan of 1984.....	170
Map 6.3: General physical plan of 1993.....	172
Map 6.4: Structure plan in 1999	175
Map 6.5: Luxor Comprehensive Development Plan 2030 (2005)	184
Map 6.6: The land use distribution/pattern in Luxor city for the plan of the year 2003.....	185
Map 6.7: The localisation of suggested projects for 2027	190
Map 6.8: The Expansion of Urban Boundary of Luxor city	192
Map 6.9: Street Network in Luxor city	194
Map 6.10: The urban expansion in Luxor city and the change of location of the River Nile, Maps from 1821, 1922 and 2012 respectively from left to right.....	195
Map 8.1a: Cadastral map of Luxor city in 2012 (part 1).....	247
Map 8.1b: Cadastral map of Luxor city in 2012 (part 2)	249

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Comparison between Riegl's perception and the Egyptian Laws in the definition and management of Heritage.....	53
Table 5.1: Comparison between the agricultural and urban areas in Luxor city in the years 1976 and 2010.....	123
Table 8.1: Principal Dynasties in Ancient Egypt and the Near East until 200 AD.....	243
Table 8.2: Principal Dynasties in Egypt and other regions during the Medieval time and Islamic Period	244

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abgsedap Malam. "[The main gates of the Luxor Temple]". Photograph. 1862. The journey of Prince of Wales to the Middle East. 1862. Part 1. www.mforum.cari.com.my. September 10, 2013. <https://mforum.cari.com.my/forum.php?mod=viewthread&action=printable&tid=752870> (accessed August 02, 2017).
- Abney, William de Wiveleslie. *Thebes and its five Greater Temples*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, Rivington, 1876.
- Abraham, G. "The comprehensive development plan for the city of Luxor". In *The Sustainable City II*. Edited by CA Brebbia, JF Martin-Duque, et. al. WIT Press, 2002.
- Abt Associates Inc. "Mashrou' Altanmyia Ashamela Lemadinet Al' uqşur: Almarḥala Althanyia: Mulakhaş Almashru'at Al' Istethmaryia: 1. Zera'et Almaḥaşil 'ālyiat Alḳima wal Şena'āt Alzera'yia 2. Almathāf Almaftouḥ Wa Ḥai Alturathi. Muḳadam Ila Wzaret Al' iskan Wal Marafeḳ Wal Mujtama'aāt Al' omraniya/ Jihāz Albuḥoūth Wal Derasāt". Report. Cambridge: Abt Associates Inc. November 1999.
- , Baraka Trading, and ICON Architecture, et. al. "Mashrou' Altanmyia Ashamela Lemadinet Al' uqşur: Altakrir Alneha' i Lelmarḥala Al' ula; Almulakhas Altanfizi: Muḳadam Ila Wzaret Al' iskan Wal Marafeḳ Wal Mujtama'aāt Al' omraniya / Jihaz Albuḥouth Wal Derasaāt". Report. Cambridge. Abt Associates Inc. January 31, 1998.
- AEGARON: Ancient Egyptian Architecture Online. "Luxor. Abu el-Haggag Mosque at level + 7.58 m". www.drupaldev.aegaron.ucla.edu 2012a. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/dlcontent/aegaron/pdf/21198-zz002k466x-1-master.pdf> (accessed August 05, 2017).
- . "Luxor, Luxor Temple, General Plan. Reconstruction". www.drupaldev.aegaron.ucla.edu 2012b. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/dlcontent/aegaron/pdf/21198-zz002hvvkc-1-master.pdf> (accessed August 05, 2017).
- . "Luxor, Luxor Temple, General Plan. Building Phases of the Actual State". www.drupaldev.aegaron.ucla.edu 2012c. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/dlcontent/aegaron/pdf/21198-zz002hvw65-1-master.pdf> (accessed August 05, 2017).
- AERA. "Empowering the Present, Saving the Past: AERA". In the *Annual Report 2009-2010*. Boston: Ancient Egyptian Research Associates, 2010. http://www.aeraweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/AR_2010.pdf (accessed May 23, 2017).
- . "AERAGRAM". Vol. 9, No.1. Boston: Ancient Egyptian Research Associates, 2008. http://www.aeraweb.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/aeragram9_1.pdf (accessed May 23, 2017).
- Ahram Online. "Art Alert: Cairo Opera Company to stage Verdi's Aida". www.ahramonline.org.eg September 24, 2019. <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/5/33/351462/Arts--Culture/Music/Art-Alert-Cairo-Opera-Company-to-stage-Verdis-Aida.aspx> (accessed on November 16, 2019).
- Airport Authority. "List of All Airports in Egypt". www.airauthority.com 2019. <https://airport-authority.com/browse-EG> (accessed November 05, 2019).

- Albu, Christina Elena. "Tourism: Innovation and Competitivity. The Case of Egypt". In *Journal of Tourism-Studies and Research in Tourism*. Issue 19, (2015): 54-59.
- Al-Azhar University. "Nabtha Ta' rīfiya Bejāme' at Al' zhar". May 09, 2017. www.azahr.edu.eg, (accessed November 5, 2019).
- Alḥajjāji, Abul Jawād Abdul Fattāḥ. "[Alsāḥa Alḥajjājia Bil' Uksur]". Photograph. Private Collection. c. 1958. From *Luxor Area of Islamic and Coptic Antiquities*. <https://www.facebook.com/LuxorAreaOfIslamicAndCopticAntiquities/posts/1037657689702655> (accessed January 16, 2016).
- Alḥajjāji, Moḥammad Abdu. *Al' uḥṣur Fel' aṣr Al' islami*. Second edition. Cairo: Alhay' a Almeṣriya Al' amma Lelketāb: 1996.
- Alḥamawī, Yaḥyā. *Mu' jam Albuldān*. Edited by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Vol. 1. Leibzig: N/A, 1866.
- Alhawily, Anas. "Heliopolis and Egypt's New Urban Communities: Investigating the Design and Management of Smart Growth; the Case of New Aswan". PhD Dissertation, Technical University of Berlin, 2019.
- Alhayi' a Almeṣriya Al' amma Lelmesaḥa, Muḥafazet Al' uḥṣur: *Dalil Khara' et Madinet Al' uḥṣur*. First edition. Giza: Alhayi' a Almeṣriya Al' amma Lelmesaḥa, 2012.
- Ali, Claudia. "Luxor Eastbank: Luxor-Tempel". Photograph. In *Leben-in-Luxor.de*. November 18, 2011. Updated on May 06, 2017. http://www.leben-in-luxor.de/luxor_kultur_tempel_luxortempel.html#quellen (accessed August 16, 2017).
- Al' idfawī, Kamāl Aldīn. *Altāli' Alsa' id: Aljāmi' Asmā' Nujabā' Assa' id*. Edited by Sa' id Moḥammad Ḥassan. Cairo: Aldār Almasryia Lelta' līf Wa Altarjama, 1966.
- Aljarīda Alrasmyia. "Ḳānūn Raḳam 91 Lesanat 2018: Beta' dīl Ba' d Aḥkām Ḳānūn Ḥemāyat Al' āthār". Issue 23 repeated (a). Cairo, Almatābe' Al' mīryia: June 11, 2018.
- . "Ḳānūn Raḳam 3 Lesanat 2010: Beta' dīl Ba' d Aḥkām Ḳānūn Ḥemāyat Al' āthār". Issue 6 repeated. Cairo, Almatābe' Al' mīryia: February 14, 2010.
- . "Ḳānūn Raḳam 119 Lesanat 2008: Be' isdār Qānūn Albinā' ". Issue 19 repeated (a)". Cairo, Almatābe' Al' mīryia: May 11, 2008.
- . "Ḳānūn Raḳam 117 Lesanat 1983 Be' isdār Ḳānūn Ḥemāyat Al' āthār". Issue 32. Cairo, Almatābe' Al' mīryia: August 11, 1983.
- Aljihāz Alqawmy Leltansīq Alḥadāry. *Aldalīl Al' Irshādy: ' Usus Wa Ma' āyir Altansīq Alḥadāry Lelmabāny Walmanāteq Alturāthyia*. First edition. Cairo: Aljihāz Alqawmy Leltansīq Alḥadāry, 2010.
- Almasry Alyoum. "Al' ' la Leltakhtīt Wal Tanmiya Al' omraniya': Aiyin Al mukhatat Al' istratiji?". <http://www.almasryalyoum.com>. August 29, 2016. <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/1001571>, (accessed February 28, 2018).
- Alriety, Mamdouh Abdul Raḥmān. *Door Alqabā' el Al' arabyia Fī Ṣa' eed Miṣr*. Cairo: Maktabet Madbouly, 1996.
- Alṣaghīr, Aḥmad. *Medīna La Tadḥak*. Cairo: Dar Almaṣri Lelnashr Waltawzī' . 2011.

- Al-Shuwekhi, Abdel Razek, "All Inclusive packages are blamed for service quality decline: Mohsen". Daily News Egypt, interview on April 27, 2012.
<http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2017/04/27/inclusive-packages-blamed-service-quality-decline-mohsen/> (Accessed April 27, 2017).
- Alwaḳā' e' Almaṣryia. "Ḳānūn Raḳam Me'atān wa Khamsatu'ashar Lisanat Alf wa Tus'mā'a wa Wawāḥidon wa Khamsīn". 1951. National Law.
<https://manshurat.org/node/13343> (accessed March 18, 2020).
- . "Ḳānūn Raḳam Thamanyia Lisanat Alf wa Tus'mā'a wa Thamānyia'ta'ashar Besha'n Ḥimāyat Aāthar Al'sr Al'arabi". National Law. 1918.
<https://manshurat.org/node/13257> (accessed March 18, 2019).
- Amin, Francis, photo archivist. First renewal of the cornice road by Thomas Cook, after the inauguration of Winter Palace Hotel. Photograph. Unknown photographer. Private collection. (Accessed January 18, 2020).
- . Villagers collecting the fertile soil from the emerged open areas after demolitions east to Luxor Temple. Photograph. 1910. Unknown photographer. Private collection. (Accessed January 18, 2020).
- Archer, Brian, Chris Cooper and Lisa Ruhanen. "The Positive and Negative Impacts of Tourism". In *Global Tourism*. Edited by William F. Theobald. Third Edition. Burlington: Elsevier, (2005): 79-102.
- Archnet. "Public Spaces Development". www.archnet.org 2017.
<https://archnet.org/sites/6576/publications/2087> (accessed August 03, 2017).
- ArchPlan. "Luxor development and beautification". www.archplan-eg.com N/A
<http://www.archplan-eg.com/ReadMoreProject/bkbdmtAGgUc=#prettyPhoto> (accessed June 6, 2017).
- . "Taḥdyth wa l'dād Almkhaṭaṭ Al'ām Lemdynat Al'uḳṣur". 2013. Retrieved from Architect Riham Ebeid, September 15, 2013.
- . "Taḥdyth wa l'dād Almkhaṭaṭ Al'ām Lemdynat Al'uḳṣur". 2003. Retrieved from Luxor Governorate, Planning Department. September 15, 2013.
- Arkéji, Max. "[Le temple de Louxor en 1909, vu de la Brasserie Rohrmoser]". Photograph. L'Egypte D'antan. www.egyptedantan.com. <http://www.egyptedantan.com/egypt.htm> (accessed November 13, 2019).
- Arrhenius, Thordis. "The Fragile Monument: on Alois Riegl's Modern Cult of Monuments". In *Nordisk Arkitekturforskning*. No. 4 (2003): 51-55.
<http://arkitekturforskning.net/na/article/viewFile/296/256> (accessed March 20,20).
- Asa'ad, Fawziya. *Beit Al'uḳṣur Alkabir*. Translated by Mona Qattan. Cairo: Almaglis Al'a'la Lelthakāfa, 2004.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. The second edition. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 1998.
- Assmann, Jan. "Communicative and Cultural Memory". In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter (2008): 109-118.

Aufrère, Sydney H., Jean-Claude Golvin, and Jean-Claude Goyon. *L'Égypte Restituée: Tome 1; Sites et temples de Haute Égypte*. Paris: éditions Errance, 1991.

Australia ICOMOS. "The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance" Burwood: Australia ICOMOS Inc., 2013.
<https://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf> (accessed March 18, 2020).

Avrami, Erica. "Heritage, values, and sustainability". In *Conservation principles, dilemmas and uncomfortable truths*. Edited by Alison Braker and Alison Richmond. Oxford: ELSEVIER (2009): 177-183.

Baedeker, Karl. "Luxor". Map. Scale 1:10000. Leipsic: 1929. In *Egypt and the Sudan: Handbook for travellers*. Eighth remodelled edition. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1929.

———. "Louksur". Map. Scale 1:10000. Leipsic: 1914. In *Egypt and the Sudan: Handbook for travellers*. Seventh remodelled edition. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1914.

———. "Louksur". Map. Scale 1:10000. Leipsic: 1908. In *Egypt and the Sudan*. Sixth remodelled edition. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1908.

———. "Louksur". Map. Scale 1:10000. Leipsic: 1902. In *Egypt; Handbook for travellers*. Fifth edition. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1902.

Bakr, Amena. "Egypt Looking to Boost Tourism, Welcomes Bikinis And Booze". *www.huffingtonpost.com* 2013. https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/05/06/egypt-tourism-boost-welcomes-bikinis-booze_n_3218994.html (accessed March 25, 2018).

Baller, Inken. "Strategies for the Preservation of the Heritage of the Suez Region and Port Said as World Heritage Sites". In *Revitalizing City Districts: Transformation Partnership for Urban Design and Architecture in Historic City Districts*. Edited by Hebatalla Aboufadi, Dalila Elkerdany and Christoph Wessling. The Urban Book Series. Cham: Springer, 2017.

Beato, Antonio, photographer. "[Louxor: vue de ...]". Photograph. Luxor: 1903?. New York Public Library, N/A.
<https://nypl.getarchive.net/media/louxor-vue-de-d7e078> (accessed March 20, 2020).

Bell, H. Idris. *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*. London: Oxford University Press, 1948.

Blanke, Jennifer, Thea Chiesa, ed. "The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2007: Furthering the Process of Economic Development". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2007. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.178.3367&rep=rep1&type=pdf> (accessed March 19, 2020).

———. "The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2011: Beyond the Downturn". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2011.
<http://www3.weforum.org/docs/TTCR11/> (accessed March 19, 2020).

———. "The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2013 Reducing Barriers to Economic Growth and Job Creation". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2013.
http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_TT_Competitiveness_Report_2013.pdf (accessed March 18, 2020).

- BMI Research. "Egypt Tourism Report Q1 2017: Includes 5-Year Forecasts to 2020; Part of BMI's Industry Report & Forecasts Series". London: Business Monitor International Ltd, 2017.
- Boraik, Mansour. "Sphinxes Avenue Excavations: First Report". In *Cahiers de Karnak 13*. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte. (2010): 45-63.
- . "Inside the mosque of Abu El-haggag: Rediscovering Long Lost Parts of Luxor Temple. A Preliminary Report [pl. Xvi–xxi]". In *Memnonia Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la Sauvegarde du Ramesseum*. Vol. XIX (2008): 123-149.
- Brand, Peter. "Reuse and Restoration." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Edited by Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles, 2010.
<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002311q4> (accessed January 21, 2018).
- Brantom, Jane. "World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism: Shared Values?". In *World Heritage, Tourism and Identity: Inscription and Identity*. Edited by Laurent Bourdeau, Maria Gravari-Barbas and Mike Robinson. London: Ashgate, 2015.
- Buckley, Ralf. "Tourism and Natural World Heritage: A Complicated Relationship". In the *Journal of Travel Research*. SAGE Publications (2017): 1-16. DOI: 10.1177/0047287517713723 (accessed March 9, 2018).
- Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallis. *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Egyptian Sūdân*. Fourth Edition. London: Thos. Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus. E.C., Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., LTD, 1925.
- Butturini, Paula. "Terrorism Killing Tourism in Mideast". In *United Press International*. February 2, 1986. Retrieved from www.upi.com.
<https://www.upi.com/Archives/1986/02/02/Terrorism-killing-tourism-in-Mideast/3804507704400/> (accessed March 10, 2018).
- CAPMAS. *Statistical Yearbook: Demography*. Cairo: CAPMAS, 2019.
- . "Waṣf Almu'sher: 'Adad Alsā'ḥeen Almughadereen Men Jumhūryiat Miṣr Al'arabyia". www.capmas.gov.eg 2018.
http://www.capmas.gov.eg/Pages/IndicatorsPage.aspx?page_id=6133&ind_id=2251 (accessed on November 18, 2019).
- . "*Alnashra Alsanawyya Lel'iḥsa'āt Alsyaḥia: 'am 2016*". Reference number 71_21813_2016. Cairo: CAPMAS, 2017.
- . "'Adad Alsā'ḥeen Almughadereen Men Jumhūryiat Miṣr Al'arabyia". Cairo: CAPMAS, 2005.
- . *Statistical Year Book: Arab Republic of Egypt*. Cairo: CAPMAS, 1990.
- . "[Tegelslagnig, Ieran avskiljs. Luxor]". Photograph. Luxor: 1924. Carlotta-Fotografi, N/A, <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-em/web/object/2438792> (accessed August 17, 2017).
- Cass, Jeffrey. "Egypt on Steroids: Luxor Las Vegas and Postmodern Orientalism". In *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance and Place*. Edited by D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren. Oxford, New York: 2004.

- Chadwick, Robin A. "Concepts, definitions and measures used in travel and tourism research". In *Travel, Tourism and Hospitality Research*. Edited by J. R. Brent Richie and Charles R. Goeldner. Second Edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons. (1994): 65-80.
- Cleaner Energy Saving Mediterranean Cities. *Egypt: Governorate of Luxor; Sustainable Energy & Climate Adaptation Plan (SECAP)*. N/A: CES-MED, 2017. https://www.ces-med.eu/sites/default/files/280218_Luxor-Egypt%20SECAP%20Final_revised.pdf (accessed March 20, 2020).
- CNA. "Cyprus, Greece and Egypt discuss Cruise Tourism Cooperation". www.cna.org.cy <http://www.cna.org.cy/WebNews-en.aspx?a=84f5b7b37e604137b7ede6d419e75ef> (Accessed March 10, 2018).
- Cosmopolis. "Sofitel Winter Palace Luxor: Hotel Review, Photos and History". www.cosmopolis.ch 2012. http://www.cosmopolis.ch/travel/luxor/sofitel_winter_palace.htm (accessed August 15, 2017).
- Crotti, Roberto, Tiffany Misrahi, ed. "Travel & Tourism Competitiveness: Paving the Way for a More Sustainable & Inclusive Future". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2017. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_TTCR_2017_web_0401.pdf (accessed March 18, 2020).
- . "The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2015: Growth through Shocks". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2015. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/TT15/WEF_Global_Travel&Tourism_Report_2015.pdf (accessed March 18, 2020).
- Daher, Rami. "Reconceptualizing tourism in the Middle East: Place, heritage, mobility and competitiveness." In *Tourism in the Middle East: Continuity, change and transformation*. Edited by Rami Daher (2007): 1-69.
- De la Torre, Marta. "Values and heritage conservation". In *Heritage & Society* 6. no. 2. (2013): 155-166. DOI: 10.1179/2159032X13Z.00000000011, (accessed March 3, 2018).
- Denon, Dominique Vivant Baron, photographer. "[Voyage dans la Haute et la Basse Égypte]". N/A: Victoria and Albert Collections. 1802-9. [www.collections.vam.ac.uk](http://collections.vam.ac.uk) <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1107244/voyage-dans-la-haute-et-etching-denon-dominique-vivant/> (accessed March 19, 2020).
- Description de l'Égypte; ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française. "[Thèbes. Plan général de la portion de la Vallée du Nil qui comprend les ruines, Volume II, Plate 1]". Map. Vol. 2. Paris : G. I. F. Panckoucke, 1827.
- Di Giovine, Michael A. *The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2009.
- Doumato, Lamia. *The temples of Karnak and Luxor*. Monticello, Ill. : Vance Bibliographies, 1981.
- Dragomir, Laurentiu Constantin. "The Competitivity Factors". In *Revista Tinerilor Economisti*. Vol. 1, issue 7 (2007): 130-136.

- Dziadosz, Alexander. "Bulldozers overhaul Luxor, city of pashas and pharaohs". *www.reuters.com*. April 1, 2010. <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-luxor-egypt-idUKTRE6303Z420100401> (Accessed August 04, 2017).
- Echtner, Charlotte M., Pushkala Prasad. "The Context of Third World Tourism Marketing". In *Annals of Tourism Research*. Vol. 30, No. 3. (2003): 660-682.
- EcoConServe. *Mashrou' Benā' Alḳudrāt Almu'assasia Lenashr Syasāt Alsalama Wa Idraj Albo'd Albi'y Bel'Aḳsur; Magmou'āt Altakhṭīṭ Wal Mutaba'a; Keṭā' Alsyasāt Albi'ya; Ḳawa'ed Albayanāt Wal Khara'et "Dalīl Altawṣīf Alb'y"*. Cairo: EcoConserve Environmental Solutions, 2005.
- Edwards, Amelia B. *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*. Second edition. New York: A. L. Burt, Publisher, 1890.
- Egyptian Antiquities Information System. "[Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis Overlaid on ESA 1:50:000 Topographical Maps]". Map. Scale 1:2500?. Cairo: Egyptian Antiquity Information System, 2007. http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/87/multiple=1&unique_number=93 (accessed March 20, 2020).
- Egyptian Antiquities Organization. *The Open Air Museum at Karnak*. Cairo: The Egyptian Antiquities Organization Press, 1986.
- Egyptian Cabinet Information and Decision Support Centre. "Taqārīr Ma'lumātyia: Miṣr 'Alā Khariṭat Alsiyāḥa Al'ālamyia". Issue 74, December 2014. Cairo: Egyptian Cabinet Information and Decision Support Centre, 2014.
- The Egyptian General Company for Tourism and Hotels. *www.egoth.com.eg* N/A <http://egoth.com.eg/en/about-egoth/> (accessed January 29, 2018).
- Egyptian Streets. "'Opera Aida' to Be Performed at Iconic Hatshepsut Temple". *www.egyptianstreets.com* July 15, 2019. <https://egyptianstreets.com/2019/07/15/opera-aida-to-be-performed-at-iconic-hatshepsut-temple/> (accessed on November 16, 2019).
- The Egyptian Survey Authority. "[Luxor]". Map. Second edition. Scale 1:25.000. Cairo: the Egyptian Survey Authority, 1954.
- . "[Luxor and Karnak]". Map. Tourist print. Scale 1:10.000. Cairo: the Egyptian Survey Authority, 1922.
- Egypt Independent. "After 22 years halt, Opera Aida finally returns to Luxor's Hatshepsut Temple". *www.egyptindependent.com* October 26, 2019. <https://egyptindependent.com/after-22-years-halt-opera-aida-finally-returns-to-luxors-hatshepsut-temple/> (accessed on November 16, 2019).
- . "'This is Egypt' promotional campaign wins best tourism promo video in the Middle East". *www.egyptindependent.com*. September 17, 2017. <http://www.egyptindependent.com/egypt-promotional-campaign-wins-best-tourism-promo-video-middle-east/> (accessed January 26, 2018).
- The Egyptian Tourism Federation. *www.etf.org.eg* Last modified 2012. <http://www.etf.org.eg/index.php> (accessed January 29, 2018).

- The Egyptian Travel Agents Association. Last modified 2018. *www.etaa-egpt.org* N/A
http://www.etaa-egypt.org/about_us_en.aspx (accessed January 29, 2018).
- Egypt Sites. "Luxor Museums". *www.egyptsites.wordpress.com*. February 3, 2009.
<https://egyptsites.wordpress.com/2009/02/03/luxor-museums/> (accessed August 15, 2017).
- Egypt Today Staff. "Cabinet approves setting up Supreme Committee for Medical Tourism".
www.egypttoday.com. December 20, 2017.
<https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/1/37699/Cabinet-approves-setting-up-Supreme-Committee-for-Medical-Tourism> (accessed February 25, 2018).
- . "Restoration of Rosetta city to be included in World Heritage List".
www.egypttoday.com. August 3, 2018.
[https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/4/55243/Restoration-of-Rosetta-city-to-be-included-in-World-Heritage_\(accessed August 31, 2019\)](https://www.egypttoday.com/Article/4/55243/Restoration-of-Rosetta-city-to-be-included-in-World-Heritage_(accessed%20August%2031,%202019)).
- El-Aref, Nevine. "Complex Improvements; The Karnak development project will soon be officially inaugurated by President Hosni Mubarak". In *Al-Ahram Weekly*. Issue No. 918. October 16-22, 2008.
<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2008/918/eg7.htm> (accessed August 02, 2017).
- El Gammal, Maged Hassan. "Upgrading of Urban Historical Districts: A Case Study on Luxor; Egypt". Master's Thesis. Kansas State University. Manhattan: 1985.
- Elisofon, Eliot, photographer. "[Man riding a water buffalo through village north of Luxor]". Photograph. Timelife Photo Collection, 1947. <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/KAEMUCa0rGaHg> (accessed November 13, 2019).
- Engelbach, Reginald. "Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt from April 1920 to March 1921". In *Annales du Service des antiquites de l'Egypte*. (numeros 21 a 30) (1921): 61-76.
- Eurocheapo. "Bungalow Parks in the Netherlands". *www.eurocheapo.com* 2018
<https://www.eurocheapo.com/amsterdam/features/bungalow-parks-amsterdam.html> (accessed January 17, 2018).
- Fagan, Brian. *Archaeologists: Explorers of the Human Past*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Fainstein, Susan S., Dennis R. Judd. "Global Forces, Local Strategies and Urban Tourism". In *The Tourist City*. Edited by Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis R. Judd. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999. <http://ambounds.org/docs/210/GlobalForces.pdf> (accessed March 14, 2018).
- Feldman, Marian H. "Nineveh to Thebes and Back: Art and Politics between Assyria and Egypt in the Seventh Century BCE." In *Iraq* 66:(2004): 141-50. DOI:10.2307/4200569 (accessed March 20, 2020).
- Ferri, Antonio. *Il Fotografo dei Faraoni- Antonio Beato in Egitto 1860-1900*. Bologna: Pendragon, 2008.
- Fletcher, Banister. *Sir Banister Fletcher's a History of Architecture. 1866-1953*. Edited by Dan. Cruickshank. Oxford; Boston: Architectural Press, 1996.

- Flood, Finbarr B. F. "Animal, Vegetal, and Mineral: Ambiguity and Efficacy in the Nishapur Wall Paintings". In *Representations*. Vol. 133, No. 1, Winter (2016):20-58.
DOI: 10.1525/rep.2016.133.1.20.
- Folli, Maria Grazia., ed. *Sustainable Conservation and Urban Regeneration: The Luxor Temple*. Cham: Springer, 2018.
- Foucault, Michel. "Orders of Discourse: Inaugural Lecture delivered at the Collège de France". In *Social Science Information* 10, no. 2 (April 1971): 7–30.
DOI:10.1177/053901847101000201 (accessed March 19, 2020).
- Freyer, Walter. *Tourismus: Einführung in die Fremdenverkehrsökonomie*. 11. Auflage. Berlin, München, Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015.
- Frith, Francis, photographer. "[Luxor. Court of Temple. Government Coru Stores]". Photograph. Luxor: Victoria and Albert Collections, 1850s to 1870s.
www.collections.vam.ac.uk <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O216430/luxor-court-of-temple-government-photograph-frith-francis/> (accessed March 19, 2020).
- Gamblin, Sandrine. "Tourisme International, Etat et sociétés Locales in Egypte : Louxor, un Haut Lieu dispute". PhD Dissertation, The Paris Institute of Political Studies, 2007.
- Garden, Mary-Catherine Elizabeth. "The Heritagescape: Exploring the Phenomenon of the Heritage Site". A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2004.
- Gazzola, Piero. "Preface". In *The monument for the man: Records of the II International Congress of Restoration*. ICOMOS. Venice : Marsilio Editori, 1964.
- General Organisation for Physical Planning. *The National Urban Development Framework: in the Arab Republic of Egypt*. Cairo: General Organisation for Physical Planning, 2014.
- . "Mukhaṭaṭ Altanmiya Ashamela Lemohaḫaḫet Al' uḫṣur." Unpublished presentation, last modified March 03, 2005. Microsoft PowerPoint file.
- Golvin, Jean-Claude, El-Sayed Hegazy. "Essai d'explication de la forme et des caractéristiques générales des grandes enceintes de Karnak." In *Cahiers de Karnak* 9 (1993): 145-60.
- Google Earth Pro V 7.3.2.5776. January 15, 2017. Luxor Temple Area. Aerial view. 25°41'58.16" N 23°38'21.59" E elev 0m eye alt 656 m.
<https://www.google.com/maps/@25.69949,32.63933,1119m/data=!3m1!1e3> (accessed March 21, 2020).
- . April 28, 2005. Luxor Temple Area. Aerial view. 25°41'58.16" N 23°38'21.59" E elev 0m eye alt 656 m. <https://www.google.com/maps/@25.69949,32.63933,1119m/data=!3m1!1e3> (accessed March 21, 2020).
- Gravari-Barbas, Maria, Laurent Bourdeau, Mike Robinson. "World Heritage and Tourism: From Opposition to Co-production". In *World Heritage, Tourism and Identity: Inscription and Identity*. Edited by Laurent Bourdeau, Maria Gravari-Barbas and Mike Robinson. London: Ashgate, 2015.

- GulfInsider. "Tourism - The Demoralized Egyptian Tourist Industry". In *GulfInsider Arabian Magazines*, 2014. https://www.wiso-net.de/document/GUIN__34081111 (accessed August 5, 2017).
- Habachi, Labib. "Clearance of the Area to the East of Luxor Temple and Discovery of some Objects". In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Cairo (1951):447-468.
- Haines, Gavin. "10 surprising destinations where Tourism is Booming in 2017". *www.telegraph.co.uk*. September 27, 2017. <https://bit.ly/2wlrFFS> (accessed February 14, 2018).
- Hall, C. Michael, Simon McArthur. *Integrated Heritage Management: Principles and Practice*. London: The Stationery Office, 1998.
- Ḥamada, Abdel Hadi, Moḥamed Zaki Nour. *Dalil Āthar Al`uḳṣur*. Cairo: Maṭba`et Moḥamed Abdel Majid, 1942.
- Hansmann, Ralph, Harald A. Mieg, and Peter Frischknecht. "Principal sustainability components: empirical analysis of synergies between the three pillars of sustainability". In the *International Journal of Sustainable Development & World*. Vol. 19, issue 5 (2012): 451-459.
DOI: 10.1080/13504509.2012.696220 (accessed March 12, 2012).
- Hart, George. *A dictionary of Egyptian gods and goddesses*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Inc., 1986.
- Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*. Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1995.
- Helmy, Eman, Chris Cooper. "An Assessment of Sustainable Tourism Planning for the Archaeological Heritage: The Case of Egypt". In the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. Vol. 10, issue 6 (2002): 514-535.
DOI: 10.1080/09669580208667185 (accessed February 18, 2018).
- Hesham, Eman Shokry. "Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis: A Reactive Evaluation of the Eastern Part of the World Heritage Property". In *World Heritage Watch Report 2019*. Berlin: World Heritage Watch e.V. (2019): 161-163.
- . "Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis and Luxor City: Threats, Impacts and Possible Solutions". In *World Heritage Watch Report 2018*. Berlin: World Heritage Watch e.V. (2018): 164-166.
- Historic Hotels Worldwide. "Sofitel Winter Palace Luxor". *www.historichotelsworldwide.com* 2020 <https://bit.ly/3daTAc5> (Accessed August 15, 2017).
- Holloway, J. Christopher. *The Business of Tourism*. Fourth edition. London: Pitman Publication, 1994.
- Humphreys, Andrew. "When steam replaced sail on the Nile". Egypt in the Golden Age of Travel. *www.goldenhotelsegypt.com* October 30, 2016.
<http://grandhotelsegypt.com/?p=1963> (accessed March 19, 2020).
- . *On the Nile in the Golden Age of Travel*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015.

- . “Anglo-American Nile Company”. Egypt in the Golden Age of Travel *www.goldenhotelsegypt.com*. March 4, 2014. <http://grandhotelsegypt.com> (accessed May 23, 2017).
- . *Grand Hotels of Egypt in the Golden Age of Travel*. Cairo, New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2011.
- Ibrahim, Mohamed Abbas Mohamed Ali. “The determinants of International Tourism Demand for Egypt: Data Panel Data Evidence”. In *Journal of Economic Significance and Administrative European Sciences*. Issue 30 (2011): 50-58.
- ICCROM. “What is ICCROM”. *www.iccrom.org* 2018. <https://www.iccrom.org/about/overview/what-iccrom> (accessed November 8, 2019).
- ICCROM, ICOMOS, IUCN, UNESCO, and the World Heritage Convention. *Guidance on the preparation of Retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value for World Heritage Properties*. 2010. <https://www.iucn.org/sites/dev/files/import/downloads/whouven.pdf> (accessed March 3, 2018).
- ICOMOS. “The Role of ICOMOS in the World Heritage Convention”. *www.icomos.org* 2019. <https://www.icomos.org/en/what-we-do/image-what-we-do/268-he-role-of-icomos-in-the-world-heritage-convention> (accessed November 08, 2019).
- . “The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994)”. Nara: ICOMOS, 1994. <https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf> (accessed March 13, 2020).
- . “Charter for The Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage”. Lausanne: ICOMOS, 1990. https://www.icomos.org/charters/arch_e.pdf (accessed February 21, 2018).
- . “Nominations of the World Heritage List: Review Sheet; Ancient Thebes- Egypt- °87 Proposed for ICOMOS Bureau Recommendation”. Paris: ICOMOS, 1979. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/87/documents/> (accessed May 08, 2017).
- . “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites”. The IInd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice, 1964. https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf (accessed March 13, 2020).
- Ikhwanweb. “Egyptian Ministry of Tourism Seeks to Assure and Attract Tourists with Novel Initiatives”. *www.ikhwanweb.com* April 28, 2013. <https://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=30887&ref=search.php> (accessed March 3, 2020).
- Ismail, Ahmed, Neil L. Anderson, and J. David Rogers. "Hydrogeophysical investigation at Luxor, southern Egypt". In the *Journal of Environmental & Engineering Geophysics* 10. No. 1 (2005): 35-49.
- IUCN. “About IUCN”. *www.iucncongress2020.org* N/A. <https://www.iucncongress2020.org/about/about-iucn> (accessed November 08, 2019).
- Jones, Jonathan. “Are Hollywood and high art still compatible?”. *www.theguardian.com*. September 20, 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/jonathanjonesblog/2011/sep/20/are-hollywood-high-art-compatible> (accessed November 15, 2019).

- Kamar, Ghada. "The Development of Luxor Open Air Museum and its Social Impacts: An Assessment using Geographic Information Systems". PhD Thesis. Vol. 1. University of Leicester, 2014a.
- . "The Development of Luxor Open Air Museum and its Social Impacts: An Assessment using Geographic Information Systems". PhD Thesis. Vol. 2. University of Leicester, 2014b.
- Kamil, Jill. "The development plan for Luxor". In *Al-Ahram Weekly*. Issue No. 921. November 6-12, 2008. <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2008/921/heritage.htm> (Accessed May 31, 2017).
- Keough, Elizabeth Betsy. "Heritage in Peril: A Critique of UNESCO's World Heritage Program". In *Washington University Global Studies Law Review*. Vol. 10, Issue 3 (2011): 593-615. http://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_globalstudies/vol10/iss3/5 (accessed March 2, 2018).
- Khamis, Salma. An opening in Abu Alḥajjāj mosque incorporated in the structure of Luxor Temple. Photograph. Luxor: AEGARON, 2012a.
- . Remains of churches west of Luxor temple, looking north. Photograph. Luxor: AEGARON, 2012b.
- Khirfan, Luna. *World Heritage, Urban Design and Tourism*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.
- Kirchgaessner, Stephanie. "Florence flood 50 years on: 'The world felt this city had to be saved'". *www.theguardian.com* November 4, 2016. Last modified March 4, 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/04/florence-flood-50-years-on-the-world-felt-this-city-had-to-be-saved> (accessed March 28, 2018).
- Kleber, Viktoria. "Egypt's tourism industry fears for future". *www.dw.com*. July 4, 2012. <http://p.dw.com/p/15R0v> (accessed March 25, 2018).
- Lamprakos, Michele. "Riegl's 'Modern Cult of Monuments' and the Problem of Value". In *Change over Time*. Vol. 4, No. 2 (2011): 418-435. DOI: 10.1353/cot.2014.0011 (accessed April 2, 2018).
- Lauffray, Jean. "Les travaux du Centre Franco- Egyptien t'étude des temples de Karnak de 1972 à 1977" in *Cahiers de Karnak* 6. (1977): 1-65.
- Lenk, Torsten Rickard, photographer. "[Hus från pylonen vid Amons tempel, Karnak]". Photograph. Luxor: 1924. Carlotta-Fotografi, 2001. <http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3911610> (accessed August 17, 2017).
- Lewis Coser, ed. *Maurice Halbwachs: On Collective Memory*. Edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Library of Congress. "[Winter Palace Hotel]". Photograph. Luxor, 1936. www.museumsyndicate.com N/A <http://www.museumsyndicate.com/item.php?item=62463> (accessed August 14, 2017).
- Lichfield, Nathaniel. *Economics in Urban Conservation*. Cambridge: University Press, 1988.

- Life Photo Collection. “[Top Afri(N) Egypt Luxor 16]”. Photograph. Luxor: Timelife, N/A.
<https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/top-afri-n-egypt-luxor-16/IQGo2-u2GzG3ig>
 (accessed March 19, 2020).
- Liu, Shaochuang, P. Lu, D. Liu, P. Jin, W. Wang. "Pinpointing the sources and measuring the lengths of the principal rivers of the world". In *International Journal of Digital Earth*. Vol. 2, No. 1 (2009): 80-87.
- Louxor Egypte. “Temple de Louxor”. *www.louxoregypte.fr* N/A.
<http://www.louxoregypte.fr/album/photos-et-gravures-anciennes/test/> (accessed May 22, 2017).
- Luxor African Film Festival. “ISF”. *www.luxorafricanfilmfestival.com*. N/A.
<http://www.luxorafricanfilmfestival.com/en/WhoAreWe/ISF> (accessed November 05, 2019).
- Luxor Governorate, Directorate of Agriculture. “[The Urban Boundary for the City]”. Map. Scale 1:10.000. Cairo: The General Organisation for Physical Planning, 2006.
 Retrieved June 3, 2017.
- . “[The Suggested Urban Boundary Map for Luxor]”. Map. Scale 1:10.000. Cairo: The General Organisation for Physical Planning, 2012. Retrieved June 3, 2017.
- Luxor Governorate Information Centre. *Aldalīl Al’Iḥṣā`y Almuahad*. Cairo: 2013.
 Retrieved April 3, 2015.
- . *Aldalīl Al’Iḥṣā`y Almuahad*. Cairo: 2017. Retrieved May 30, 2017.
- Luxor Governorate, Planning Department. “[The Suggested Urban Boundary]”. Map. Scale 1:10.000. Cairo: The General Organisation for Physical Planning, 2015.
 Retrieved May 29, 2017.
- . “[The Master and Strategic Plan for the City of Luxor]”. Map. Scale 1:10.000. Cairo: The General Organisation for Physical Planning, 2012. Retrieved May 29, 2017.
- Magi, Giovanna, ed. *Art and History: Luxor; Karnak. The Valley of the Kings*. Translated by Paula Boomsliiter. Florence: Casa Editrice Bonache, 2003.
- Magli, Giulio. “Some Cognitive Aspects of the Luxor-Karnak Relationship” in *Time and Mind*. Vol.7, No.1 (2014): 33-45.
- Maessen, Marcel, photo archivist. The clearance of the area above the Processional Way in front of Luxor temple, looking north-east. Photograph. 1964. Unknown photographer. Private collection. (Accessed June 18, 2017).
- . The French house and the ruins of Luxor Temple, by Théodule Deveria Photograph. 1859. Unknown photographer. Private collection. (Accessed June 18, 2017).
- Mansfield-Meade, N. F. *The latest Pocket Guidebook to Luxor*. Luxor: Gaddis, 1945.
- Mariette-Bey, Auguste. *The Monuments of Upper Egypt*. Translated from Itinéraire de la Haute-Égypte. Translated by Alphonse Mariette. Boston: J. H. Mansfield & J. W. Dearborn, 1890.

- Mark, Joshua J. "Festivals in Ancient Egypt." In *Ancient History Encyclopedia*. Last modified March 17, 2017a. <https://www.ancient.eu/article/1032/> (accessed November 05, 2017).
- . "The Temple of Hatshepsut". In *Ancient History Encyclopedia*. Last modified July 18, 2017b. <https://www.ancient.eu/article/1100/> (accessed November 05, 2017).
- Martin, Oliver and Giovanna Piatti. ed. *World Heritage and Buffer Zones. International Expert Meeting on World Heritage and Buffer Zones Davos, Switzerland 11 –14 March 2008*. World Heritage Paper 25. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2009.
- Metz, Helen Chapin, ed. *Egypt: A Country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1990. <http://countrystudies.us/egypt/101.htm> (accessed March 10, 2018).
- Miller, Judith. "Hijackers Yield Ship in Egypt; Passenger Slain, 400 are Safe; U.S. Assails Deal with Captors". In *The New York Times*. 1985. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/10/10/world/hijackers-yield-ship-egypt-passenger-slain-400-are-safe-us-assails-deal-with.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed March 10, 2018).
- Millet, Marie and Aurélia Masson. "Karnak: Settlements". In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Edited by Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles, 2011. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0027fcnz> (accessed July 27, 2011).
- Mill, R.C. and A.M. Morrison. *The tourism system*. Fourth Edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998.
- Morgan, N., A. Pritchard. *Tourism Promotion and Power: Creating Images, Creating Identities*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 1998.
- Moser, Stephanie, Darren Glazier, James E. Phillips, Lamyia Nasser el Nemr, et.al. "Transforming archaeology through practice: strategies for collaborative archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt". In *World Archaeology*. Vol. 34, issue 2 (2002): 220-248. DOI: 10.1080/0043824022000007071 (accessed March 24, 2018).
- Näser, Claudia. "Landscapes of Desire: Tourists, Touts and Sexual Encounters at the World Heritage Site of Thebes". In *Archeologists: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*. Vol. 9, No. 3 (2013): 398-426.
- Nogués-Pedregal, A. M. "Conclusion: Sociocultural Nature and Context of Tourism". In *Culture and Society in Tourism Contexts*. (2015): 181-208. DOI:10.1108/S1571-5043(2012)0000017011 (accessed August 05, 2017).
- Nour Mohamad, photographer. "[Bel`ms Katbt `n Ḥobby Lelm`mār Alqdym w Wd`t Şwrat Le`ḥad Almbāny Alqdymah Almwjwdah Ḥtā Al`ān Fy `Abdyn wthakart Anh tmE!ntzā` Joz` mnhu]". Photo. Froma Photos, November 18, 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/formaphotos.eg/photos/a.407817359236224/3460329930651603/?type=3&theater> (accessed March 19, 2020).
- Nowar, Nesma. "On the Road to Recovery?". In www.weekly.Ahram.org.eg. Issue 1360, 14 - 20 September 2017. http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/22397.aspx&gws_rd=cr&dcr=0&ei=GSRpWuGgFch5wQKpj5aICw (accessed January 23, 2018).

- Orbasli, Aylin and Simon Woodward. "Tourism and Heritage Conservation". In *The SAGE Handbook of Tourist Studies*. Edited by Tazim Jamal and Mike Robinson. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, Far East Square: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2009.
- Orbasli, Aylin. *Tourists in historic towns: urban conservation and heritage management*. London, New York: E & FN Spon, 2000.
- The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. "OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2018". OECD Publishing, 2018. <https://www.oecd.org/cfe/tourism/2018-Tourism-Trends-Policies-Highlights-ENG.pdf> (accessed March 18, 2020).
- . "OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2014". OECD Publishing, 2014. https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/industry-and-services/oecd-tourism-trends-and-policies-2014_tour-2014-en (accessed March 18, 2020).
- Organization of the World Heritage Cities. "Introduction to the OWHC". *www.ovpm.org* 2018 <https://www.ovpm.org/en/presentation> (accessed March 6, 2018).
- Pacific Consultants International, Yachiyo Engineering Co., Ltd. *The Study on Tourism Development Projects in the Arab Republic of Egypt: Final Report; Volume 1 Summary*. For the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), Tourism Development Authority (TDA)/Ministry of Tourism/Egypt. July 2000. http://open_jicareport.jica.go.jp/pdf/11591336.PDF (accessed February 18, 2018).
- Paris Official Website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau. "Le Louxor - Palais du cinema". 2015. *www.parisinfo.com* <https://en.parisinfo.com/paris-museum-monument/97582/Le-Louxor-Palais-du-cinema> (accessed November 15, 2019).
- Pemberton, Beky. "The world before Instagram: Family's colour photo albums from the early 1900s show dreamy holidays without the crowds (or obsession with selfies)". *The Daily Mail*. November 30, 2015. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel_news/article-3339302/Friedrich-Paneth-s-old-family-holiday-photos-released-Royal-Photographic-Society.html#ixzz4hkU7Xkge (accessed May 22, 2017).
- Pettinger, Tejvan. "Definition of a Free Good". *www.economicshelp.org* 2017. <https://www.economicshelp.org/blog/2844/economics/definition-of-a-free-good/> (accessed March 8, 2018).
- Petzet, Michael. "Introduction". In *The World Heritage List: What is OUV? Defining the Outstanding Universal Value of Cultural World Heritage Properties*. Edited by J. Jokilehto, Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, (2005): 7-10.
- . "*Principles of preservation: An introduction to the International Charters for Conservation and Restoration 40 years after the Venice Charter*". In *International Charters for Conservation and Restoration. Monuments & Sites, I*. München: ICOMOS (2004): 7-29.
- Pillet, Maurice. *Thèbes- Karnak et Luxor, Les villes d'art célèbres*. Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens, 1928.
- Pitheadgear, photographer. "Carreras art deco building Camden London". Photograph. London: Flickr, 2014. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/28709338@N04/33182582481/in/photostream/> (accessed November 15, 2019).

- Powers, Robert, Photographer. "[IMG_3786]". Photograph. Chicago: Flickr, August 29, 2009. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/repowers/4560522106/> (accessed November 15, 2019).
- Prisse d'Avennes, Achille Constant Théodore Émile. Histoire de l'art égyptien/Atlas, 1. Map. 1878. Scale unknown. "Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg". 2010. <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/prisse1878atlas1/0006> (accessed March 13, 2020).
- Ragab, Bassma. "Nanshur Alhaykal Aljadid Lewtharet Al'āthar". www.alborsanews.com October 8, 2015. <https://alborsanews.com/2015/10/08/748887> (accessed February 24, 2018).
- Rashed, Ahmed. "Public participation in the conservation of historical environments: a case study of Luxor City, Egypt". PhD Thesis. University of York: 1994.
- Re'āsāt Aljumhūriya, *Alwaqā'e' Almasryia: Mulḥaq Lejlareeda Alrasmyia*. Cairo: Wezaret Altijārah Wa Alsinā'a. Issue 248. November 4, 2006.
- Reid, Donald Malcolm. *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser*. Cairo: AUC Press, 2015.
- Reif, Rita. "Antiquities: The Little-Known Treasures of Egypt's Luxor Museum of Ancient Art". In *The New York Times*. January 18, 1981. <http://www.nytimes.com/1981/01/18/arts/antiques.html> (accessed August 15, 2017).
- Riegl, Alois. "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development." Translated by Karin Bruckner and Karen Williams. In *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Edited by Nicholas Stanley-Price et al. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute (1996): 69–83.
- . *Der Moderne Denkmalkultus: sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*. Vienna and Leipzig: W. Braumüller, 1903.
- Reuters. "CHRONOLOGY-Violent incidents against tourists in Egypt". www.reuters.com 2008. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idUSLM77281> (accessed November 18, 2019).
- Richter, Thomas, Christian Steiner. "Politics, Economics and Tourism Development in Egypt: Insights into the Sectoral Transformations of a neo-patrimonial Rentier State". In the *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 29, No. 5. (2008): 939-959. DOI: 10.1080/01436590802106080 (accessed March 10, 2018).
- Rojas, Eduardo. "Governance in Historic City Core Regeneration Projects". In *the Economics of Uniqueness: Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development*. Edited by Guido Licciardi, and Rana Amirtahmasebi. Washington: World Bank Publications (2012): 143-180.
- Saad, Rehab. "Travel in the good old days". In *Al-Ahram Weekly*. Issue No. 463, (2000): 6-12. <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/463/tr1.htm> (accessed August 05, 2015).
- Sa'eed, George Fawzi Abdul Malik. "Altnmyah Alsyāḥyah Llmnāṭīk Al'tharyah fy miṣr: Ḥālat Mdīnat A'uḳṣur". Master Dissertation. Cairo University, 1995.
- Sampsell, Bonnie M. *The Geology of Egypt: A Traveller's Handbook*. Cairo: AUC Press, 2014.

- Scheppe, Wolfgang. *Migropolis: Venice/Atlas of a Global Situation*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz: 2009.
- Schmid, Karl Anthony. "Doing Ethnography of Tourist Enclaves: Boundaries, Ironies, and Insights". In *Tourist Studies*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi and Singapore: SAGE Publications (2008): 105-121.
- Schmidt, Leo. *Architectural Conservation: An Introduction*. Westkreuz-Verlag: Berlin, 2008.
- Schwab, Klaus. "The Global Competitiveness Report 2009–2010". Geneva: World Economic Forum, 2009. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GlobalCompetitivenessReport_2009-10.pdf (accessed March 18, 2020).
- Schwaller de Lubicz, R. A. *Le temple de l'homme: Apet du Sud à Louqsor*. Paris: Caractères, 1957.
- Science. "Excavation of the Temple of Luxor". Issue 1425, Vol. VI., No. 142, (1885): 370-371. <http://science.sciencemag.org/content/ns-6/142S/370.2> (accessed September 23, 2016).
- Seghezzi, Lucas. "The Five Dimensions of Sustainability". In *Environmental Politics*. Vol. 18, issue 4. (2009): 539-556. DOI: 10.1080/09644010903063669 (accessed March 12, 2018).
- Seif, Ola. "Egypt ". In *Time Frames: Conservation Policies for Twentieth-Century Architectural Heritage*. Edited by Ugo Carughi, Massimo Visone. London and New York: Routledge (2017): 44-64.
- Shawkat, Yahia, Mennatullah Hendawy. "Myths and Facts of Urban Planning in Egypt". In *The Built Environment Observatory*. www.marsadomran.info. November 20, 2016. http://marsadomran.info/en/policy_analysis/2016/11/501/ (accessed March 17, 2020).
- Shetawy, Ahmed A., and Dina M. A. Deif-Allah. "Restoration of the Avenue of the Sphinxes: Between Government Enforcement and Local Rejection in Luxor, Egypt". In the *Journal of Al Azhar University Engineering Sector*. Vol. 9, No. 3 (2006): 887- 901.
- Spennemann, Dirk H.R. "Gauging Community Values in Historic Preservation". In *CRM: the journal of heritage stewardship*. Vol. 3, Issue No. 2 (2006): 6-20.
- Spiro, Lisa. "Leading Nineteenth Century Publishers of Travel Guidebooks to Egypt". OpenStax-CNX, 2007. <https://cnx.org/exports/3dbd53db-ad5b-42d3-9cf5-6302b741511f@3.pdf/leading-nineteenth-century-publishers-of-travel-guidebooks-to-egypt-3.pdf> (accessed January 22, 2018).
- Starn, Randolph. "Authenticity and Historic Preservation: Towards an Authentic history". In *History of the Human Sciences*. Vol. 15 No. 1. London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: SAGE Publications (2002): 1-16.
- State Information Service. "Supreme Council of Tourism". <http://www.sis.gov.eg>. February 09, 2018. <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Story/107788?lang=en-us> (accessed February 14, 2018).
- . "The Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt". www.sis.gov.eg 2019 <https://www.sis.gov.eg/newvr/theconstitution.pdf> (accessed March 18, 2020).

- Sullivan, Elaine. "Introduction to the Temple of Karnak". In *Digital Karnak*. Los Angeles, 2008a. <http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak> (accessed July 27, 2015).
- . "Processional Routes and Festivals" in *Digital Karnak*, Los Angeles, 2008b <https://studylib.net/doc/8876696/processional-routes-and-festivals> (accessed December 29, 2019).
- Sullivan, Elaine A., Lisa M. Snyder. "Digital Karnak: An Experiment in Publication and Peer Review of Interactive, Three-Dimensional Content". In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 76, No. 4, December (2017):464-482. DOI: 10.1525/jsah.2017.76.4.464 (accessed March 20, 2020).
- Supreme Council of Antiquities. "A Brief History of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA): 1858 to present". www.sca-egypt.org N/A. http://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/sca_history.html (accessed on December 29, 2019).
- . *Restoration Achievements of Luxor Monuments*. Cairo: S.C.A. Press, 1991.
- . "Luxor Museum". www.sca-egypt.org N/A. http://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/MUS_LuxorMuseum.htm (accessed on August 15, 2017).
- . "Mummification Museum". www.sca-egypt.org. N/A. https://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/MUS_Mummification.html (accessed on August 15, 2017).
- Tadamun. Almajlis Al' 'la Lelāthār. www.tadamun.com N/A http://www.tadamun.co/?post_type=gov-entity&p=4809#.WpaH16jwY2y (accessed February 28, 2018).
- Tahtib. "Tahtib inscribed at UNESCO!". www.tahtib.com Last modified December 5, 2016. <http://www.tahtib.com/media%7Carticles%7CTahtib%20inscribed%20at%20UNESCO!> (accessed March 17, 2020).
- Thompson, Jason. *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology; 2: The Golden Age: 1881-1914*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015.
- . *Edward William Lane: Description of Egypt; Notes and views in Egypt and Nubia; made during the years 1825,-26, -27, and -28*. Cairo: American University in Cairo, 2001.
- Tosun, Cevat. "Limits to Community Participation in the Tourism Development Process in Developing Countries". In *Tourism Management*. No. 21 (2000): 613-633.
- The Tourist Administration. *Tourist Information: U.A.R. Egypt*. Cairo: The Tourist Administration, 1963.
- UNESCO Digital Library. "Convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: World Heritage List; Nomination submitted by Egypt; Ancient Thebes and its Necropolis, cc-79/WE/39". UNESCO: 1979. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0003/000378/037811eb.pdf> (accessed December 5, 2016).

- UNESCO. "Proposals Concerning the Desirability of a Standard-Setting Instrument on Historic Urban Landscapes". General Conference. 36 C/23. Paris: UNESCO, August 18, 2011. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002110/211094e.pdf> (accessed March 29, 2018).
- . "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: Adopted by the General Conference at its seventeenth session". Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre. November 16, 1972. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf> (accessed March 2, 2018).
- . "UNESCO Constitution". Paris: UNESCO, 1945. http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/UNESCO_E.PDF (accessed March 2, 2018).
- . "UNESCO in brief - Mission and Mandate". *www.unesco.org* N/A. <https://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco> (accessed November 08, 2019).
- UNESCO Bureau of the World Heritage Committee. "Report of the Rapporteur". The 25th Session (WHC-2001/CONF.205/10). Paris: August 17, 2001.
- . "Report of the Rapporteur". The 21st Session (WHC-97/CONF.204/11). Paris: September 3, 1997.
- UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. "Elements on the Lists". *www.ich.unesco.org* N/A. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/state/egypt-EG?info=elements-on-the-lists> (accessed March 7, 2018).
- UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention". WHC. 16/01. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2019. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/> (accessed November 17, 2019).
- . "Geneva Declaration 'Human Rights and Culture Heritage: Committed Cities Working Together' adopted". *www.whc.unesco.org* 2018. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1808> (accessed March 9th, 2020).
- . "Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape". Paris: UNESCO, November 10, 2011. <https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf> (accessed December 27, 2019).
- . "Mission Report: Thebes and its Necropolis (Egypt) (C87)". 32 COM. Paris: 2008. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/87/documents/> (accessed May 28, 2017).
- . "Vienna Memorandum on "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture: Managing the historic urban landscape" and Decision 29 COM 5D. WHC-05/15.GA/INF.7". Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2005. <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2005/whc05-15ga-inf7e.pdf> (accessed March 6, 2018).
- . "World Heritage Centre". *www.whc.unesco.org* N/Aa. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/world-heritage-centre/> (accessed March 20, 2020).
- UNESCO World Heritage Centre. "The World Heritage Convention". *www.whc.unesco.org* N/Ab. <https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/> (accessed November 08, 2019).
- . "World Heritage". *www.unesco.org* N/Ac. <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/> (accessed February 23, 2018).

UNESCO World Heritage Committee. "Decisions adopted during the 43rd session of the World Heritage Committee" Forty-Third Session (WHC/19/43.COM/18). Baku: 23 July 2019.

———. "Decisions Adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 41st Session". The Forty-First Session (WHC/17/41.COM/18). Krakow: July 12, 2017.

———. "Decisions Adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 39th Session". The Thirty-Ninth Session (WHC-15/39.COM/19). Bonn: July 8, 2015.

———. "Decisions Adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 37th Session". The Thirty-Seventh Session (WHC-13/37.COM/20). Paris: July 5, 2013.

———. "5E: World Heritage Tourism Programme". The Thirty-Sixth Session (WHC-12/36.COM/5E). Saint-Petersburg: May 11, 2012a.

———. "Decisions Adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 36th Session". The Thirty-Sixth Session (WHC-12/36.COM/19). Saint-Petersburg: June 24-July 6, 2012b.

———. "Report of the Decisions Adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 34th Session". The Thirty-Fourth Session (WHC-10/34.COM/20). Brasilia: September 3, 2010.

———. "Report of Decisions". The Thirty-Third Session (WHC-09/33.COM/20). Seville: July 20, 2009.

———. "Decisions Adopted at the 32nd Session of the World Heritage Committee". The Thirty-second Session (WHC-08/32.COM/24Rev). Quebec City: March 31, 2008.

———. "Decisions Adopted at the 31st Session of the World Heritage Committee". The Thirty-first Session (WHC-07/31.COM/24). Kyoto: July 31, 2007.

———. "Decisions Adopted at the 30th Session of the World Heritage Committee". The Thirtieth Session (WHC-06/30.COM/19). Vilnius: August 23, 2006.

———. "Report of the Rapporteur". The Twenty-second Session (WHC-98/CONF.203/5). Kyoto: November 29th, 1998.

UNICEF. "Water, Sanitation and Hygiene". www.unicef.org N/A.
<https://www.unicef.org/egypt/water-sanitation-and-hygiene> (accessed November 05, 2019).

United Nations Economic and Social Council. "Sustainable Development". www.un.org N/A
<https://www.un.org/ecosoc/en/sustainable-development> (accessed March 12, 2018).

United Nations Environment Programme, the World Tourism Organization. *Making Tourism More Sustainable: A Guide for Policy Makers*. New York: United Nations Environment Programme, World Tourism Organization, 2005.

Usborne, Simon. "Is UNESCO damaging the world's treasures?". www.independent.co.uk
<http://www.independent.co.uk/travel/news-and-advice/is-unesco-damaging-the-worlds-treasures-1675637.html> (accessed March 2, 2018).

- Van Oers, Ron. "Managing Cities and the Historic Urban Landscape Initiative – and Introduction". In *Managing Historic Cities*. World Heritage Papers 27. Edited By Ron Van Oers, Sachiko Haraguchi, and UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2010.
- Weeks, Kent, Nigel Hetherington and L. T. Jones. "Tourism and KV". In *The Valley of the Kings, Luxor, Egypt: Site Management Masterplan*. Theban Mapping Project (2006): 71-81.
- Weigall, Arthur E.P. *A guide to the antiquities of Upper Egypt*. London: Methuen & Co., LTD, 1910.
- . "[EP to officer of Luxor subdivision]". Letter. 1908. Private collection of Marcel Maessen.
- Weiss, Walter. *Im Land der Pharaonen: Ägypten in Historischen Fotos von Lehnert und Landrock*. Heidelberg: Palmyra, 2004.
- Whereez. "Luxor: Art and Essay Cinema in Egyptian Architecture". www.whereez.com
<https://whereez.com/en/explore/bonplan/s/luxor-art-and-essay-cinema-in-egyptian-architecture> (accessed November 15, 2019).
- Whitcomb, Donald, Janet Johnson. *The Chicago Medieval Luxor Project, The Oriental Institute, 1985-86*. Edited by Janet H. Johnson. Annual Report 31. (1986):31-34.
- Wickett, Elizabeth. "Archaeological Memory, the Leitmotifs of Ancient Egyptian Festival Tradition, and Cultural Legacy in the Festival Tradition of Luxor: the mulid of Sidi Abu'l Hajjaj al-Uqsori and the Ancient Egyptian "Feast of Opet"". In the *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. The American Research Center in Egypt. Vol. 45 (2009): 403-426.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25735464> (accessed August 11, 2017).
- Wohlleben, Marion, Georg Mörsch. *Georg Dehio, Alois Riegl. Konservieren, nicht Restaurieren: Streitschriften zur Denkmalpflege um 1900*. Braunschweig, Wiesbaden: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn, 1988.
- The World Bank. "Arab Republic of Egypt. Egypt Public Land Management Strategy: Volume II: Background Notes on Access to Public Land by Investment Sector; Industry, Tourism, Agriculture, and Real Estate Development; Draft". Report No. 36520. June 15, 2006.
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/19443/365200v20FIN0E1y0Note0Vol201PUBLIC1.pdf?sequence=1> (accessed February 26, 2018).
- . "Project Completion Report: Arab Republic of Egypt; Tourism Project" (Credit 909-EGT). Report No. 9194. December 21, 1990.
<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/628351468021582804/pdf/multi0page.pdf> (accessed March 17, 2020).
- . "Project Agreement (Tourism Project) Between International Development Association and Egyptian Antiquities Organization". Credit No. 909 EGT. June 13, 1979a. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/418391468233682262/pdf/Credit-0909-Egypt-Tourism-Project-Project-Agreement-2.pdf> (accessed March 18, 2020).

- . “Report and Recommendation of the President of the International Development Association to the Executive Directors on a Proposed Development Credit to the Arab Republic of Egypt for a Tourism Project”. Report no. P-2526-EGT. Vol. 1. World Bank, 1979b. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/685061468023673226/pdf/multi-page.pdf> (accessed May 28, 2017).
- . “Staff Appraisal Report: Arab Republic of Egypt; Tourism Project”. Report No. 2284-EGT. April 26, 1979c. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/531831468026952430/pdf/multi-page.pdf> (accessed March 17, 2020).
- The World Monuments Fund. “Karnak Temple, Seti II Wall: Conservation Project”. www.wmf.org 2017. <https://www.wmf.org/project/karnak-temple-seti-ii-wall-conservation-project> (accessed November 19, 2019).
- World Tourism Organization. “Tourism Expenditure Statistics 1995”. Madrid: World Tourism Organization (1995).
- . “UNWTO World Tourism Barometer”. Issue 16 January 2018a. http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/unwto_barom18_01_january_excerpt_hr.pdf (accessed January 29, 2018).
- . “UNWTO World Tourism Barometer2”. Vol. 16. Advance Release. January 2018b. http://cf.cdn.unwto.org/sites/all/files/pdf/unwto_barom18_01_january_excerpt.pdf (accessed January 29, 2018).
- World Travel and Tourism Council. “Travel & Tourism: Economic Impact 2017: Egypt”. London: World Travel and Tourism Council Limited, 2017a. <https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic-impact-research/countries-2017/egypt2017.pdf> (accessed February 06, 2018).
- . “Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2017: World”. London: World Travel & Tourism Council, 2017b. <https://www.wttc.org/-/media/files/reports/economic-impact-research/regions-2017/world2017.pdf> (accessed March 12, 2018).
- Yousry, Ahmed M. “Comprehensive Development for the City of Luxor: UNDP Project: EGY/96/002; Evaluation Mission Report”. N/A, 2004.
- Yousry, Salma. “Revolutionizing the planning process in Egypt: Decentralizing Powers and Actions”. Paper presented at the Cairo Sustainable Building Conference (SB13-Cairo). Cairo: November 2013. http://www.cpas-egypt.com/pdf/SalmaYosry/Research/SB13_Cairo_ID%20149_130920.pdf (accessed March 20, 2020).
- ZAGATO, Lauso. “The Notion of “Heritage Community” in the Council of Europe’s Faro Convention. Its Impact on the European Legal Framework”. In *Between Imagined Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage*. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press (2015): 141-168.
- Zouain, Geroges S. “World Heritage, Art and Economics: The World Heritage Convention in the light of Economic Theory”. A paper presented at Compression versus Expression: Containing and Explaining the World’s Art Conference, Williamstown: 2000. <http://whc.unesco.org/documents/9539> (accessed March 20, 2020).

Annexe 2. Principal Dynasties in Egypt and other regions during the Medieval time and Islamic Period

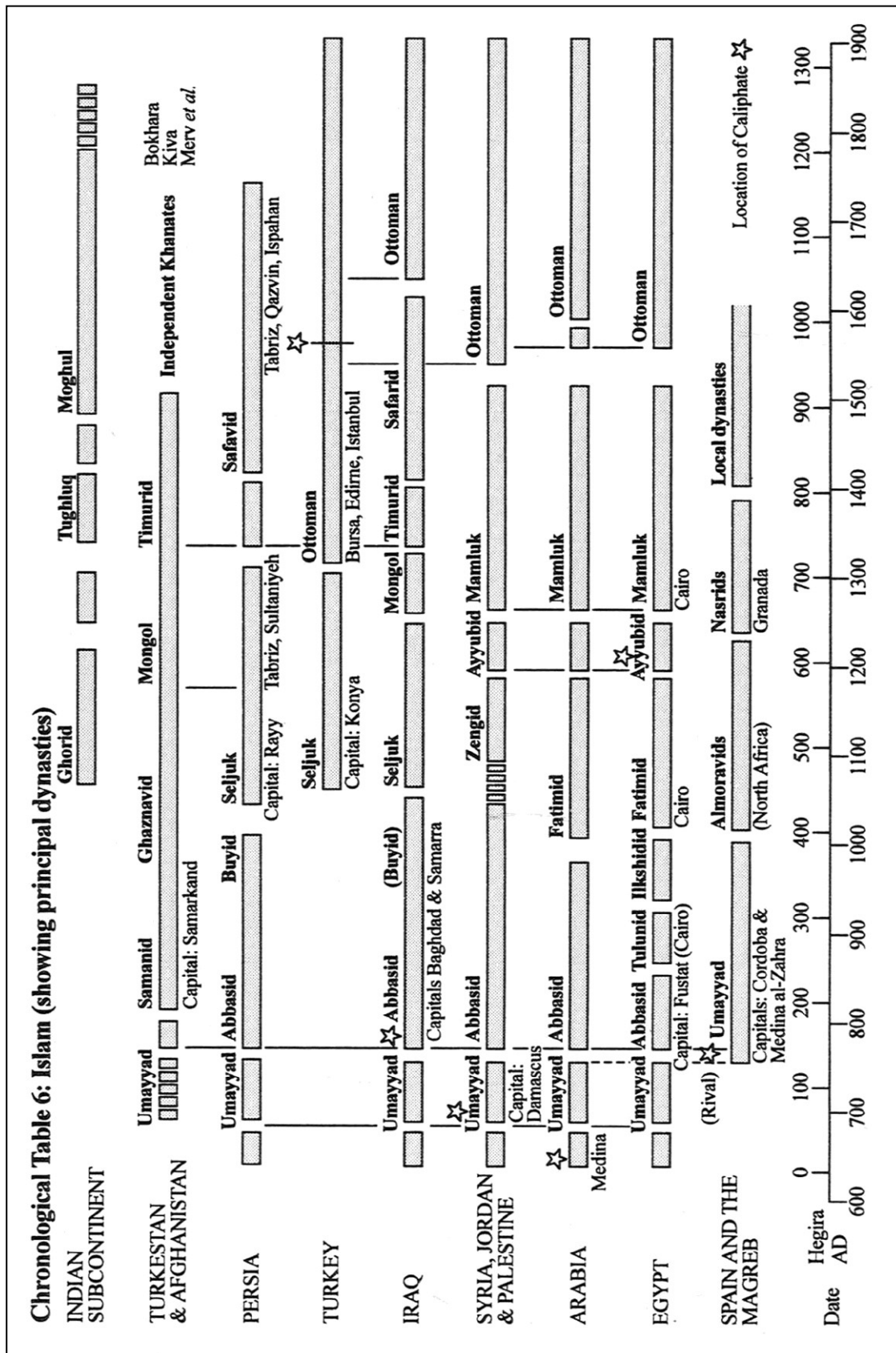


Table 8.2: Principal Dynasties in Egypt and other regions during the Medieval time and Islamic Period
Source: Fletcher 1996, XXXVI

Annexe 3. The former Antiquity Laws in Egypt¹

The following brief study of the laws that regarded the protection of the Egyptian antiquities demonstrates the issue of recognition of the value and importance of the antiquities, and what and how was considered as such until the last and current antiquities law.

The first decree to ban the informal antiquity transfer outside Egypt was issued by Mohamed Ali Pasha, the then Khedive of Egypt, in 1835. According to the same decree, a special magazine for artefacts was built in Ezbakiya Garden in downtown Cairo. Later in 1858, Said Pasha, the then Khedive of Egypt, established the "Service des Antiquités" or Antiquities Service to stop the illegal trade of the Egyptian artefacts, which Auguste Mariette² was its first director. The primary responsibilities of this department were to conduct excavations as well as allowing foreign archaeological missions. This department regarded mainly the antiquities with the ancient Egyptian history and was affiliated to the Ministry of Education until 1960, and afterwards transferred to the Ministry of Culture. From 1971 to 1994 it was renamed as the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation EAO, and from 1994 until 2011 as the Supreme Council of Antiquities SCA. The SCA became an independent Ministry of State of Antiquities (MSA) from 2011 to 2019. Finally, the ministries MSA and ministry of Tourism have merged as the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

It was not until 1881 when the Khedive Tawfiq Pacha of Egypt issued a decree to establish the *Committee for the Preservation of Monuments of Arab Art* (also known in French as Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe). Its responsibility was to create an inventory for and maintain the antiquities that belong to the period after the Greco-Roman until Mohamed Aly period, i.e. the Coptic and Islamic monuments and artefacts. This committee³ had been affiliated to the Ministry of Endowments until 1936. From 1936 until 1961 it was also affiliated to the Ministry of Culture as the Antiquities Service. Only in 1961, the responsibilities and the official recognition for the Coptic and Islamic artefacts and monuments that belong to a later period than the Ancient Egyptian and Greco-Roman with the same level of importance, when the committee for the preservation of monuments of Arab art was dissolved and merged into the then-called Antiquities Service.

¹ This information is extracted from website of the Egyptian former Supreme Council of Antiquities https://www.sca-egypt.org/eng/sca_history.html (accessed March 18, 2020).

² Auguste Mariette (1821-1881) was a French scholar, archaeologist and the first professional Egyptologist (Fagan 2003, 59).

³ Reid (2015) dedicated the second part of his book (of three parts), and particularly Chapter Six to the study of the Islamic art and archaeology in the shadow of Egyptology.

The 144/1912 was the first to concern the Egyptian antiquities. It was issued in 1912, and it was called the *Antiquities Law*. However, a separate Law (8/1918) to "protect the antiquities from the Arab Era", concerned the antiquities for the later periods, the Coptic and Islamic until Mohamed Ali era (1805-1845). The latter seemed to be secondary to the former; since it was not as elaborated (it contained eleven articles, while the former contained twenty-two), and one article followed six of the former's articles literally (the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and fifteenth). In contrast, it did not follow the articles for regularizing the trade of artefacts and transferring them to another country. Ironically the Coptic artefacts and monuments were included in both Laws, but the 1912 Law concerned the abandoned and unused churches and monasteries, whereas the 1918 Law concerned the functional ones.

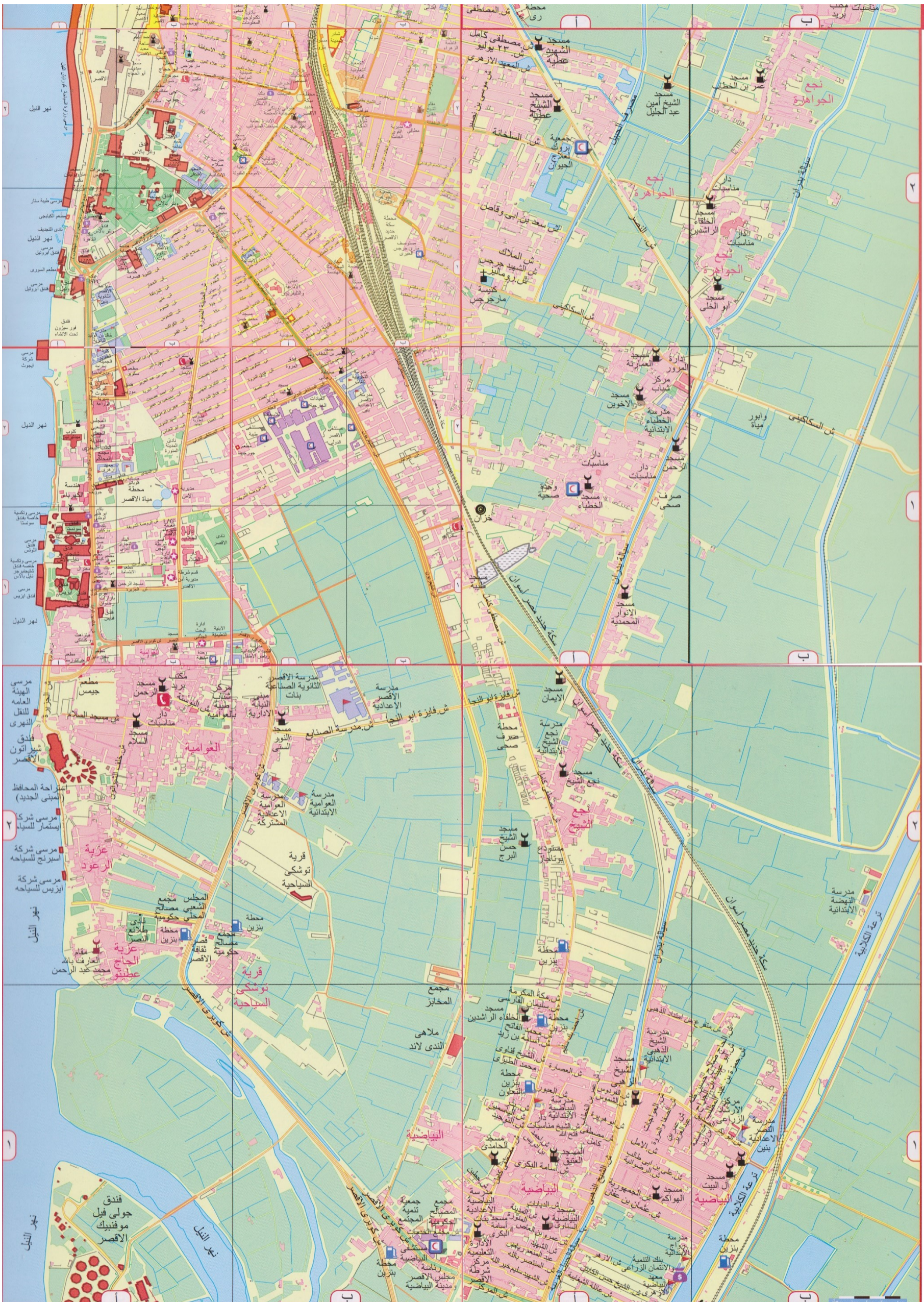
These two laws were cancelled and replaced by Law 215/1951 (*Alwaḳā'e' Almaṣryia* 1951), which regarded the artefacts and constructions and monuments from prehistoric time until Khedive Ismail era (1830-1895). This law divided the antiquities into two parts, the first part was before the Christ, and the second is the Christian and Coptic antiquities until the Khedive Ismail era (*Ḳānoūn Raḳam 215 Lisanat 1951 Leḥimāyat Al'āthar* 1951, 2). This law was replaced by the *Antiquities Protection Law 117/1983* which was amended by Law 03/2010 and Law 91/2018.

Annexe 3. Cadastral Map of Luxor City of the year 2012



Maps 8.1a: Cadastral map of Luxor city in 2012 (part 1)

Sources: Alhayi'a Almesriya Al'amma Lemesaha, Muhafazet Al'ukshur 2012, compiled by the researcher



Maps 8.1b: Cadastral map of Luxor city in 2012 (part 2)

Sources: Alhayi'a Almesriya Al'amma Lemesaha, Muhafazet Al'uqsur 2012 compiled by the researcher

