

New Gourna: Re-Exploring a Dying Heritage
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Abstract

Through delving into the rich archives of the renowned Egyptian architect Hassan Fathy as well as consulting contemporary relevant sources, this study thoroughly examines the unique experiment of the construction of the village of New Gourna located on the Western bank of the Nile opposite to the city of Luxor between 1945-1948. It also investigates the historical setting of this project and explores the legacy of Hassan Fathy its planner and founding father. Besides, it highlights the outstanding value of New Gourna as a worthwhile architectural and cultural heritage site currently at stake.

Introduction:

Living on looting antiquities, the Gournis who settled directly above the tombs of the nobles were long stigmatized as grave-robbers. They heavily exhausted the Theban necropolis causing either loss or damage to invaluable part of Egypt's history. Much alarmed with such illegal activities, the Antiquities Services decided to relocate them away from the Theban necropolis and commissioned the architect Hassan Fathy to build a new village for them. In its construction, Fathy revived indigenous building traditions and depended on local materials namely mud-brick. This was meant to preserve the character of the old village and to lower the building costs.

Fathy's approach in New Gourna led eventually to the rise of the so-called sustainable architecture. While making his design, Fathy paid much attention to meet the needs of the Gournis. He was also concerned with climate considerations in addition to economic and social ones. He was in fact building a model village in an attempt to improve the Gournis lives. In spite of his good will, the majority of the Gournis were reluctant to abandon their old grounds and to move to the new village that was never completed.

Over years, this massive project that reflected Fathy's architectural theories had sharply dwindled. This was largely due to the wide neglect it suffered from. Regretfully, most of its buildings are about to collapse thus it needs immediate attention and preservation. This paper attempts to ring an alarm bell so as to save this heritage that now lies on deathbed.

A village embracing the past:

The village of Old Gournas was located within the boundaries of the ancient Theban necropolis on the Western bank of the Nile¹ opposite to the modern city of Luxor.

Its inhabitants had occupied the slopes of the cliffs on the way to Memnonium² (the ruined mortuary temple of Amenhotep III). On the other hand, some of their huts were clustered in the plain to the north of Gournu temple³ built by Seti I.

To be more precise, the Gournis whose number ranged from five to six thousands⁴ by the mid of the 19th century had built their huts directly over the tombs of the Nobles cut on the hills there or at their entrances.⁵

Some of those Gournis used to work as attendants and guides for tourists⁶. Others were engaged in some archeological excavations led by prominent Egyptologists⁷. Thus they gained considerable experience that must have enabled them to conduct illegal excavations on their own in search for antiquities⁸.

No wonder, the majority of them earned their living from selling antiquities⁹. Without the least hesitation, they customarily violated the tombs and sold its contents piecemeal whether to dealers on the black market or to tourists directly. Some travelers reported that Gournis used to rush to tourists offering to sell them all the relics they found: "men and boys all loaded with their ghastly merchandize, some carrying a swathed leg and foot over one arm, others offering a basket full of hands, black and dried up, Others again offered for sale less revolting spoils, such as scarabaei, small porcelain images, necklaces of beads found upon the mummies---"¹⁰

No doubt, taking their residence directly above the tombs caused a fatal and rather irremediable damage to this historical site. Suffice to know that they used the tombs as stores, stables and refuges for people¹¹. Such misuse of these places must have endangered the standing monuments there.

Besides, their fervent search for antiquities had accelerated the partial destruction of the archaeological site. Shocked by the scene, one traveler who visited the village in the 19th century described a violated tomb she was led to where she saw mortal remains scattered everywhere on the floor as a result of snatching the corpses found there : "The ground strewed everywhere with skulls, backbones, limbs torn from their cerements in the search for papyri, scarabaei ---"¹²

Furthermore, some of the illiterate and extremely poor Gournis used mummy cases and clothes they found in the tombs for fuel while others didn't mind remove fragments of tombs walls¹³ to please a tourist as they did with her.

Melting down gold treasures when found and turning them to ingots was

another common practice there that caused the loss of a priceless part of Egyptian history^ε.

At the same time, the Gournis illegal tunneling activities had led occasionally to big discoveries like the discovery of the royal mummy cachet of Al Deir Al Bahry at the hands of the local family of Abd Al Rasul in the seventies of 19th century. This family concealed the news of their discovery and continued to sell individual items from their treasure-trove in Luxor antiquities market secretly. They lived on its proceeds for almost ten years before the authorities could find out about it. All official investigations that had been carried out then failed to extract any piece of information about the discovery from the locals or push them to talk till a dispute erupted among Abd Al Rasul's family members. Only then, one of them decided to disclose the secret of their find and guided the authorities to its place^ο at the heart of the mountain.

On the other hand, the village had attracted a number of prominent Egyptologists who resided there and lived among Gournis to conduct excavations and to decipher inscriptions carved on tombs. Nevertheless, none of those European experts was keen to raise awareness among the Gournis of the value of such antiquities and the need to well-preserve them. On the contrary, some of them did harm the antiquities in as much as the Gournis.

This appeared vividly in the misconduct attributed to Dr. Lepsius the famous archeologist when detached some tablets and inscriptions from Thebes and smashed an entire inscription to carry a part of it home^ν. Equally important, those Europeans were the ones who also introduced the system of forging antiquities to the Gournis^υ which they came to master afterwards.

Much to one's surprise, the Gournis remained very poor in spite of their indulgence in this lucrative antiquities business. This was largely due to the greed of treasure-hunters, excavators and dealers who cheerily exploited them. Since the Gournis couldn't communicate directly with foreign antiquities traders in most cases, they were forced to turn to such dealers to sell their loot. So while the Gournis risked their own lives and safety for their hard-won loot, dealers secured easy-won big profits without taking any risk^ξ. Increasingly alarmed with that explicit plunder of the Theban necropolis, the Egyptian government at last took some security measures to protect the vulnerable site. However, these measures proved insufficient, if not futile, ones as they failed to deter the robbers or check them.

Last Straw

The Gournis continued to live next to the tombs of the Nobles and to use them as depots, stables and habitats^η. At the same time, they continued to strip off the tombs and leak its valuable contents which negatively affected the Theban burial place.^τ As a matter of fact, they paid little heed to the authorities. They had seemingly no qualms about plundering antiquities.

Obviously, they regarded themselves the uncontested heirs to those ancestors by virtue of their settlement in such ancestral place thus dealt with these antiquities as their very inherent right.

In the year 1945, the Gournis overstepped all red lines. They even dared to cut off an entire relief scene from the walls of a registered tomb open to public^{١٢}.

This outright assault and its underlying contempt to the Antiquities Department amounted to an open mockery. It caused embarrassment to the department because of its abysmal failure to safe-guard these treasures. Thus the whole matter was brought to the forefront after arousing a country-wide storm of resentment. In response, the Antiquities Department made its bold face-saving decision to remove the entire village away from this historical site that suffered decades of theft and destruction in the hope to stop further depredations. The department also obtained the consent of the parliament^{١٣} to expropriate the land of the village^{١٤} to ensure their displacement.

At that juncture, the village was formed up of five helmets divided into 900 families while its total population was estimated with 7000 person^{١٥}.

The Gournis Diaspora:

Without waste of time, an official committee was formed to find a new place for building the new village.

The new location of the village was chosen carefully. It was a plot of land that lies at the crossroad of the two main routes leading to the Valley of the Kings, tombs of the nobles and temples located at the Theban necropolis^{١٦}. Besides, it was very close to a small train station^{١٧} which made it accessible. The selected site covered an area of 50 acres. It was among the property of one of the large land holders named Kamel Boules bey. Through compulsory purchase, it was bought from him for this purpose at the price of 300 pound per acre^{١٨}.

The place was chosen mainly for safety reasons. It was situated within a well-guarded hosh^{١٩} protected through a system of dikes from being flooded with the water of the Nile during the inundation season^{٢٠}.

The project sought primarily to evacuate the Theban necropolis from the Gournis so as to put an end to their recurrent assaults on the antiquities and to stop all forms of abuse of this invaluable heritage^{٢١}.

As the estimated costs of this project based on the costs of a similar project erected for housing workers at Imbaba were too high (about one million Egyptian pound), the officials of the Antiquities Department had to find a way to reduce the costs. At that time, the middle-aged French-educated architect Hassan Fathy (Fig. 1) had already conducted some of his earlier architectural experiments (houses for royal society of agriculture and the house for the Red Crescent) that aroused a lot of debate. Being cheap,

convenient and distinguishable, Fathy's early designed houses drew the attention of the head of engineering and excavation office in the Antiquities Department together with the head of restoration office to him. No wonder, they suggested employing Hassan Fathy's progressive approach of mud-brick building, which will be thoroughly discussed later, in the new village and persuaded the head of the Department with it¹⁷. That's how Hassan Fathy was commissioned to undertake this massive project of New Gournah.

A changing society:

Fathy pursued his career at a time when the national question took precedence over any other considerations. Actually, Egypt had witnessed a national awakening in the first half of the twentieth century that was accompanied with the growth of the national movement and the surge of the anti-colonial struggle for independence¹⁸.

This movement had soon gained momentum especially when Egyptians from all walks of life and from across the spectrum joined it. They all directed their energies to force the British troops stationed in Egypt to evacuate their country.

This also led to the rise of a new national discourse where patriotism, identity, independence and nation-building became inextricably intertwined together. The identity debate was a constituent and extremely crucial part of the above mentioned discourse where people rejected all forms of Western hegemony. They sought to depart from colonial fetters through clinging into their own national identity that holds them together. So, the more people became assertive in their demand for independence, the more they intensified their search for a national identity. Gradually, this heated debate over carving a national identity had extended to almost all aspects of life. Architecture was no exception.

Like many of his contemporaries, Fathy was filled with this flaring anti-colonial spirit. He was also much influenced with the prevalent national discourse based mainly on the diligent search for one's identity and self-exploration¹⁹. However, Fathy exhibited a different kind of resistance.

He realized that Egypt had lacked at that critical moment "a coherent architectural identity"²⁰ that could distinguish it. Therefore, he decided to look for indigenous forms of architecture that could solidify their national identity and contribute to its preservation and most of all link Egyptians to their heritage which they dearly cherish. That's how, architecture turned to be a significant means in resisting the rough wave of westernization that Egypt was subject to at the turn of the 20th century and counteracting the effects of colonialism²¹.

In other words, Fathy decided to utilize architecture in order to give people a sense of self-respect and pride tied up with their nationalism. Amidst the thick of such ferment, New Gournia project came to life.

Articulating a new vision:

New Gournia was Fathy's lifelong dream which he was willing to go to great lengths in order to realize it.

In designing this new village, Fathy paid tribute to centuries-old vernacular traditions and living heritage of his society. It seems safe to say that Fathy believed that the loss of traditions would have a detrimental effect on Egyptians as it would blur their identity and cut them off from their glorious past. He even regarded it a "cultural murder" that can't be forgiven.

Accordingly, he tried to restore these traditions including building techniques, materials and forms, in his work in the hope to honor his native culture and withstand colonial vicious attempts to wipe it out as discussed before.

At the other end of the spectrum, Fathy grew with an idealist view of the Egyptian countryside, which he regarded a lost paradise.

After his graduation from the school of poly techniques, Fathy supervised the construction of an elementary public school at the small delta town of Talkha. This was the time when he came to know the countryside at close range.

Actually, he was brought face to face with the bitter reality of the peasants who plunged into wretchedness. There, he saw the low dark and rather dirty huts where peasants lived together with their animals under the same roof. These huts were devoid of all means of comforts and lacked basic amenities. They had neither windows nor latrines while nothing was done over years to ameliorate such woes.

Facts on the ground were extremely shocking for Fathy. Undoubtedly, such early experience was an eye-opening one that radically changed his career ever after.

Since then,, Fathy decided to work to improve the appalling conditions of those poverty-stricken peasants and build for their comfort "simple but adequate houses provided with sanitary facilities and decorated with the excellent local manufactures".

As a result, Fathy directed his attention to the hidden architectural potentials of earthen construction. Actually, he considered the adaptive use of mud-brick to lower the costs of houses while at the same time valorize the humanity of the rural poor peasants. That's how Fathy developed his architectural vision that would later become his road to acclaim.

Furthermore, "The Art and Life" group to which Fathy was affiliated had a prodigious influence on him likewise. This group that was founded by the

prominent artist Hamed Said advocated simplicity, detested all sophisticated forms and called for a return to nature approach. Said who lived with his wife in a tent to be close to soil gave Fathy the chance to implement his ideas on the ground. He entrusted Fathy with building a domed cottage studio for him on the old traditional style at Marg on the edge of Cairo. Fathy did a marvelous job and built for him a studio from earthen materials available there at a very low cost[°]. Such early successful experience must have enhanced Fathy's self-confidence and provided an ample proof for the practicality and applicability of his vision.

A groundbreaking design:

As mentioned before, Fathy adopted at New Gourn a Back- to- mother earth approach (Fig. 2). This approach stemmed from environmental and humanistic concerns[°] while revolved mainly around the theme of unending historical continuity. Besides, it enabled him to build the new village with the minimum possible costs at the urge of the Antiquities Department.

In other words, Fathy chose mud brick to work with because of its availability and adaptability as well[°]. He even viewed it "an economic necessity"[°] and the indispensable solution for mass housing problems in poor developing countries.

Equally important, New Gourn was the platform that Fathy needed to introduce his revolutionary ideas and prove its worthiness. Therefore, Fathy pursued further objectives in this project other than that of the government. He later clarified some of them in his account of New Gourn. He revealed that he was staging a strong comeback for vernacular building traditions to preserve local heritage as well as to invite the Gournis to actively participate in such a process: "My purpose was always to restore to the Gournis their heritage of vigorous locally-inspired building tradition, involving the active cooperation of informed clients and skilled craftsmen"[°]

At the same time, he wished to secure economic independence there. To this end, he fostered the use of local materials in order to attain a high degree of self-sufficiency[°] and encouraged peasants to learn how to build by themselves. This would signal the return to the typical ideal model of the self-sustaining countryside that Fathy had in mind.

In designing New Gourn, Fathy put a number of things into his consideration. His keenness not to disturb the daily life habits of the Gournis or to estrange them lied on top of his priorities. Therefore, he tried hard in his design not to lose the heart and soul of old Gourn and to retain " ... as much as possible of the spirit of the Gournis ..."[°]

In the same vein, he was much considerate to the needs of the Gournis whom he truly wished to help in spite of their explicit hostility towards him. He took upon himself to move that mosaic- like structure with its intricate

patterns of relationships and tightly-knitted institutions to its new place safe and sound and well-guard its dynamics. Most of all he had to uphold its physical qualities and attributes (both natural and human-made ones). In other words, Fathy's prime challenge was to dismantle and reassemble^{١٥} this community successfully in another new place.

For this purpose, Fathy observed carefully the daily routine of the Gournis and their everyday life practices as an essential preliminary step. He also talked to some of their elders to explore their living patterns and learn more about them. Moreover, he studied the social fabric^{١٦} of their institution and how community members interact together. No doubt, the absence of a socio-ethnographic survey of the village^{١٧} had made things more difficult for him. Nevertheless, he accomplished this task that took him a number of months.

In the same vein, Fathy tried to understand the Gournis psyche. He put himself in their shoes imagining them walking in the streets, squares, open courts and looking around them in an attempt to create for them harmonious and rather consistent visual images^{١٨} that would not hurt their sights.

It should be noted that Fathy believed that the building must be in perfect harmony with the milieu where it stands^{١٩}. This was the basis of his design where the hills, the river, the soil, the sun, the winds, the green fields, the flora, the fauna and the man formed its main players while the melodious interplay among them formed the keys to its success.

Furthermore, he utilized some architectural elements borrowed from Old Gournia's heritage like the pigeon towers, the Maziara that holds earthen water jars and the external staircase that goes up to the minaret of the mosque (Fig.3). This was meant to retain a dear souvenir^{٢٠} of the old village and help the Gournis develop a deep connection with their new place.

Besides, he tried to maintain a delicate balance between practical functionality and architectural beauty while planning the houses in order to answer both the physical and spiritual needs of its inhabitants. For this reason, he produced unprecedented amalgamation between Mamluk Cairene style and Nubian construction techniques^{٢١}. This amalgamation epitomized authentic Egyptian architecture consciously used as an identity label at a very traumatic moment when the country was marching towards independence.

To his credit, Fathy's design was remarkably sensitive to climatic problems. Therefore, he resorted to a number of innovative solutions. To reduce the hot temperature during summer time for example, he used mud brick in construction because of its bad conductivity of heat and installed wind catchers to direct the cool air inside the houses. Domed roofs and inner courtyards played the same role through regulating temperature inside the houses. Over and above, the way he oriented the houses and positioned the rooms^{٢٢} to keep them cool in summer and warm in winter was another

testimony of Fathy's acumen which he had seemingly inherited from Ancient Egyptian builders.

Looking into the plan of New Gourni, one can safely say that Fathy had a clear-cut vision for the village's future and endeavored to ensure its sustainability. Fathy's real concern for Gourni's health and well-being appeared likewise in his plan. At the same time, his plan highly respected Gourni's familial ties, strictly guarded their privacy and put their needs up-front.

Fathy divided the new village into four quarters separated by a group of main wide streets serving as traffic routes connecting the complex of public buildings (the khan, the mosque, the theater, the village hall, the two primary schools, the clinic, the marketplace, etc.) and meeting at the central square of the village. They were about 10 meter width. To create a feeling of intimacy, the shaded tree-lined side streets that led to the semi-private squares were much narrower as they were about 6 meter width. They weren't straight ones as usual. In contradiction, they were crooked ones having many corners, bends and turns. This was also a necessary precaution to make sure they wouldn't be used as thoroughfares by strangers causing inconvenience for the residents¹. Such conscious graduation in shades and scales¹ and this bit-by-bit exposure to it were meant to create what one might call architectural "crescendo"¹

Houses were clustered around these semi-private squares. It should be noted here that all the families that lived in the same neighborhood were related together by extended familial ties. Each house was enclosed by a fence and had its own open courtyard to enable its residents to enjoy a very special and "private piece of sky"¹. Communal wells were centered at these semi-private squares so as to "invite neighborly chats"². For the same reason, Fathy made a waiting area near the pumps thus giving women a chance to socialize and entertain themselves with such friendly talks.

It is patently obvious that Fathy designed the public space namely for men, the private space namely for women and family while the semi-public space served as an intermediate zone connecting both spaces. Such a design that rests on ostensible division of spaces leaves no doubt that Fathy inspired it from Medieval Muslim cities³ and that he well-observed the local customs of the Gourni conservative society.

Similarly, Fathy wished to give school children a lovely place where they would feel happy and self-secure. He designed the public elementary schools in an entirely different way than the traditional clumsy design of school buildings adopted by the Egyptian government then. He envisioned the classes as healthy, peaceful and attractive learning environment. For better illumination inside classes, he added to the high windows built in the domes

that topped each class side windows overlooking a small garden full of blooming flowers. The use of stained glass also aimed at amusing the children. To guarantee good ventilation, Fathy built square tower-like structures with large openings facing the north over the rooms to direct cool air inside classes causing a notable drop in temperature^{٧٦}.

In the same context, Fathy was much concerned with the public buildings area at New Gourna so as to serve the Gournis quite well. Some of the buildings were luckily completed while others were never finished due to the sudden stop of work in the wake of the outbreak of cholera in Upper Egypt in 1947 as some scholars suggest.^{٧٧} Among these buildings were the Turkish bath, the Coptic church and the country club. That is to say, Fathy's design sought to develop a well-functioning community at New Gourna that would be a prototype for other villages to follow.

Moreover, Fathy tried to solve some of the Gournis chronic problems through his genius design. Much alarmed with the wide-spread of Bilharzias among people, he designed an artificial lake to give the children a safe pool to swim and enjoy themselves without exposing themselves to the threat of Bilharzias^{٧٨}. He even wrote a play that was performed on the village theatre as part of his educational campaign to promote awareness of this disease among Gournis.

Similarly, he tried to deal with some of the Gournis nagging pains while designing the houses. For example, he separated animal pens from the house proper for sanitary purposes. This was the easiest and shortest way to combat Dysentery that ravaged badly among Gournis children causing a high infant mortality rate there. Introducing latrines to the houses was another radical solution to Gournis problems that resulted from bad sanitation. Fathy's use of old traditional glazed tiles to decorate the surfaces was another innovative solution to facilitate their cleaning and washing. Furthermore, he developed a special scratchy cornice border to impede insects like scorpions from creeping on the walls and reaching the houses. He also planted fruit trees in each house to make sure that its residents would get their needs of vitamins^{٧٩} in their diet.

Besides, Fathy was bent on exploring the talents of the people to bring them to light. Therefore, he gave craftsmen a chance to work freely in order to gain self- confidence. This was manifested in allowing them to make traditional wooden doors like that of the village mosque with patterns of their imagination. These doors consisted of small wooden parts nailed together and were known as Sabra. He also allowed the masons to develop new patterns of claustra for the windows of the market place^{٨٠} without a pre-set design. They didn't let him down. On the contrary, their spontaneous creativity had superseded his expectations. Moreover, he built a school for handicrafts to provide the Gournis with a new source of income other than tomb robbery.

In sum, Fathy in designing New Gournas was in effect triggering change to improve Gournas living standard and instill a sense of pride and communal responsibility among them.

To his credit too, Fathy built New Gournas at a very cheap cost.

The total expenditure was estimated with L.E 74, 120, while the total amount of building accomplished was 19, 301, 90 square meters including a number of public buildings (a mosque, a market, a khan, a theatre, a town hall and two schools). This means that the direct cost was nearly L.E 4 per square meter. It is not surprising that he boasted this fact in his memoirs saying: "Where else have public buildings been erected so cheaply?"¹⁴

As a result, New Gournas was declared a model village and was supposed to be generalized by the Ministry of social affairs across the Egyptian countryside¹⁵.

Hardships:

From the very beginning of the New Gournas project, Fathy faced a lot of hardships that were capable of shattering his morals. Nevertheless, he didn't give up and tried to get over them. The credibility gap between the peasants and the government was probably the heaviest bill which Fathy unfairly footed from the outset of the project.

The villagers had seemingly mistrusted him and suspected his intentions. For them, he was no more than an "agent of the government"¹⁶ hired to drive them out of their houses. Therefore, they didn't welcome his work or well receive it.

Such Gournas' antagonism was far intensified as work progressed. It was led by the Gournas tycoons who conducted illegal excavations and amassed riches from them. They were determined to safe-guard their financial interests that would be harmed in case of their relocation. Therefore, they did their best to foment troubles for Fathy to avoid their transfer.

At a later stage, the rich Gournas tycoons made good use of the strong patriarchal system prevalent there and exploited their authority as heads of families to exert pressures on the villagers so as not to move to the new village. They even hired a lawyer to sue Fathy and tried to galvanize public opinion in their support¹⁷.

The war which they launched against Fathy was soon escalated with their attempt to sabotage his work a number of times. During Fathy's absence in Cairo, they cut the dyke and flooded the new village. ¹⁸Regretfully, the official investigation that was carried out failed to convict them so they went away with their crime.

No wonder, they repeated it again and again which negatively affected the foundations. It also caused lots of cracks¹⁹ which Fathy had to treat urgently to save the day.

At the other end of spectrum, Fathy suffered a lot from red tape, inflexible by-laws as well as excessive bureaucratic measures that hindered decision making process and caused frequent stops or slowdown and delays.

The officials at the Antiquities Department in particular gave him hard time and caused slow work progress as they deliberately delayed buying materials needed and paying the workers' wages. The cut down in the budget of the project was another lethal blow dealt to Fathy. In response, Fathy submitted a detailed report describing many of his grievances to the head of the royal court in the hope that King Farouk would personally interfere to save the project ^{yy}.

To one's surprise, nothing had almost changed after the King himself took personal interest in the project. Nevertheless, Fathy continued to struggle and devoted his energy to get around these problems. Despite the nettle he grasped, he didn't give up.

Apparently, Fathy's far progressive thoughts and revolutionary approach were less understood then. No wonder, the ambitious plan which he drafted was met with fierce opposition. This was best manifested when he offered the village school for crafts to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for free to run and invest it. However, the officials turned down his offer on the ground that he was dictating his will on the Ministry ^{yy}.

Unfortunately, the political sways which Egypt underwent at the late forties draw a veil over this project. The successive short-lived governments had seemingly lost interest in the project that came to a halt. Notwithstanding Fathy's tremendous efforts to hang on, New Gournas project was virtually sentenced to death.

With the outbreak of July revolution in 1952, Fathy mistakenly thought that the new administration would give a new life to his dying project. His big aspirations urged him to submit a memorandum to the new government about New Gournas to gain its support and resume work there. ^{yy} He even tried to align his project with the emerging national discourse adopted by the new regime but in vain.

Obviously, Fathy was classified as a Pro-royalist ^{yy} especially because he was the brother-in-law of Ahmad Hassanin pasha ^{yy} the late Chamberlin of King Farouk. In other words, his aristocratic background didn't work in his favor. He was unfairly excluded from the scene on the ground of his former affiliations.

No doubt Fathy must have felt smitten firstly by red tape and Gournas resistance and eventually by political considerations. As a result, he departed to Greece in a self-imposed exile and joined the Doxiadis organization there. ^{yy}

Not before too long, he returned back to Egypt at a personal request of President Nasser ^{yy} who came to realize the big loss of his immigration.

Nasser soon entrusted Fathy with rebuilding the Egyptian countryside to make use of his exceptional talents. Without waste of time, Fathy built another model village in Baris oasis at the New Valley. Once again, the project stopped for obscure reasons thus experienced the same ill-fate of New Gournia. Ironically, the complex of public buildings that was built there to serve the inhabitants was converted to a state prison instead^{ε^}.

This leaves little doubt that Fathy was crippled by many ambiguous forces. No wonder, he resembled himself to Sisyphus in Greek Mythology who had to "carry the stone uphill, slide down and carry it up again and again"^{ο^}. These mysterious forces soon revealed their true face. They were steel contractors^{τ^} who were not to allow the success of Fathy's experiment. They were afraid it would be repeated elsewhere causing them to lose the big profits which they secured from concrete building. Therefore, they staunchly fought Fathy's approach. At last, Fathy came to this conclusion and realized that "...mud –brick building aroused active hostility among important people there"^{ν^}. Certainly, such latent war was one of the biggest challenges that impaired Fathy's work all along his career.

Critique and controversies:

Although, the project of New Gournia had built up Fathy's fame, it also had invited biting criticism. The reluctance of the Gournis to move there had turned the village into a haunted place or a never-never land. As a result, Fathy's Gournia was regarded as a marker of his abyssal failure provoking a heated debate about the causes of such failure.

Some scholars attributed its failure to Fathy himself. They depicted Fathy as a self-seeker who was totally obsessed with the pursuit of fame which came at the expense of the poor villagers. They also accused Fathy of trying to show off and to display his outstanding architectural skills so as to carve out a worldwide reputation and find a place among celebrated Western architects. They believed that all along his career, Fathy had endeavored to stand on an equal footing with his Western peers. That's why; he set his eyes on the West rather than his local community.^{^^}

The famous Egyptian writer Fathy Ghanim adopted the same view. Therefore, he sympathized with the Gournis who, from his point of view, fell a prey for Fathy's hunger for self-glory. He portrayed Fathy in his controversial novel "Al-Jabal"^{η^} or the mountain as well as in the film^{θ^} which he wrote its script and carried the same name as a self-centered architect who cared only for his success. As a result, his design of New Gournia gave him the international imposing stature he looked for. Yet, it fell short to serve the real needs of the Gournis since he was more concerned with "bolstering his creative ego at the cost of obliterating their identity"^{ι^}

Others attributed the failure to Fathy's domineering attitude with the villagers. They claimed that he treated the villagers as minors who were less capable of making their own choices. Accordingly, he assigned himself as their guardian and gave himself the right to determine what is good for them. In other words, Fathy tried to dictate on them a mode of life they were less familiar with and to change dramatically their own texture. In response, the Gournis rejected Fathy's attempt to redefine their lives in the way he wished for them. They also rejected Fathy's "paternalism"⁷⁹ and its implying sense of authority that restricted their personal freedoms. Thus the project was seen as a blunt manifestation of upper class paternalism.⁷⁹

Others placed the New Gournia project as part of a larger discussion about the autocratic control of large landholders over peasantry's lives and the deep suffering of the landless peasantry who were almost reduced to a servile status. This argument rested on the growing discontent of the peasants during these years because of their ongoing deteriorating conditions. Such resentment was further multiplied in the wake of the outbreak of malaria in the 40s of the twentieth century⁸⁰ and the high death toll which the countryside paid. This crisis in particular brought the issue of the unfair distribution of agrarian land and the cheer exploitation of the peasants at the hands of the large landholders, who remained passive onlookers amidst the crisis, to the forefront.

Consequently, peasants across the Egyptian countryside grew rebellious if not hostile towards the government that failed them and sided with the rich from their point of view. No wonder, the Gournis refused to move to a village built by a tool of this elite government⁸¹ that wished to kick them out of their place.

On the other side, some scholars sharply criticized Fathy's design of New Gournia and stigmatized it as far inappropriate for Gournis lifestyle. They believed that such inappropriateness had discouraged the majority of the Gournis to move to the new village where they would feel outsiders while the few who agreed to move would later remodel the houses⁸² to suit their actual needs (Fig 4).

Those scholars had even questioned the authenticity of Fathy's design that was supposed to follow vernacular building traditions. They regarded his approach as fake and invented tradition⁸³ since he imported it from other localities. Then he combined a number of architectural elements that were developed in a totally different medium to produce a new hybrid. This appeared vividly in the doomed roofs with its building technique which he borrowed from Nubia as well as in the inner courtyards which he inspired from Cairene elite dwellings that date back to Mamluk and Ottoman periods. They claim that these two items in particular didn't appeal to the Gournis who

considered the courtyards a luxury which they couldn't afford because of the limited space of their houses. In the same vein, they hated the domed roofs that were reminiscent of saints' mausoleums⁹ which rendered them reluctant to live under.

At the other end of spectrum, some scholars attributed the failure of the project to Fathy's romantic and rather unrealistic approach⁹. Fathy appeared to be a dreamer who used to put rose-colored glasses. They accused him of paying much attention to aesthetic concerns while overlooking everyday life practicalities. He was sometimes driven by good will rather than by practicality. For example, he didn't provide the houses with running water system¹⁰ and replaced it with communal wells. This was meant to give women an excuse to go out and socialize in a conservative community that put constraints on women's liberty of movement. This was probably the major pitfall of his design from their point of view especially because the absence of water supply system would later become the main complain of the villagers who resided in the new village. Similarly, his public buildings like the theater, khan and gymnasium had drawn harsh criticism likewise. They were seen as extremely odd and rather incompatible with rural traditional patterns of living and social fabric.

Refuting claims:

Many of the charges which the critics held Fathy to blame for either fell out of his hand or were false ones. As for the incompatibility of the design to typical rural patterns of living and the erection of a public buildings complex in a small village,

Fathy wished to find a new source of income for the Gournis other than robbing antiquities. Therefore, he designed the new village to attract tourists and generate revenues from tourism, thus, provide the Gournis with new alternatives. The public buildings were supposed to host many activities closely associated with heritage tourism like folkloric performances, handicrafts exhibitions, contests and championships in traditional stick fencing and the like.¹¹

This was an integral part of his future vision for the economic development of the village. Accordingly, they were not an absurd fantasy as some critics suggested.

Regarding the inappropriateness of the design especially when it comes to the domes that topped the houses, the claim that such domes were closely associated with dead saints in the villagers' collective memory, thus, created a psychological barrier preventing Gournis from dwelling in these houses seemed to be a mere pretext to avoid relocation.

Actually, the Gournis lived for long next to Ancient Egyptians' tombs and in many cases above them. Neighboring the "dead" didn't seem to have bothered them at all or caused them any inconvenience before. Besides, many of them were in practice trained to break into such tombs. Some of them did have the nerves to strip the mummies of the amulets and the jewelry wrapped inside their coffins paying no heed to the sanctity of death. One of the travelers who visited the architectural site reported in her account of the visit that she was led to one of the villagers' huts and she was shocked to see two mummies stored there: " In one of the huts of these poor people our guide pointed out to us a hole in the ceiling through which we distinguished two untouched mummies, (not in cases but merely rolled up in cereclothslying side by side---" ^{٢٠١}

It seems safe to say that it wasn't the scene of the domes that impeded the Gournis from residing in the new village. Rather, it was their unwillingness as treasure-hunters to leave their old hunting grounds and lose their prime source of income.

It should be noted that Fathy used the dome structure in the first place to control temperature inside the newly-built houses. They acted as natural air conditions. Moreover, he resorted to such earthen dome-roofing to reduce the costs of the ceilings. Since both durable timber and steel needed for roofs weren't available in the countryside, they had to be imported at a high price. Therefore, he decided to replace them by another cheap local material that was abundant there while at the same time and through reinforcement would do the same job. Seeking self-sufficiency, Fathy considered using local materials. In fact, Fathy had developed over years a deep-seated convention of the necessity of using the natural materials of the surrounding environment in building. He kept on telling his students to follow this rule and look around them ^{٢٠٢} to extract their building material from the surrounding nature to perfectly-match it. ^{٢٠٣} Equally important, the cost of a domed roof was almost 1/4 of the costs of the two other roofs due to the abundance of mud-brick and straw in the country side. ^{٢٠٤}

Besides, the choice of the dome roofs was functional and served utilitarian purposes since they were anti-fire, resistant to insects and were not affected by termites which spread widely in Upper Egypt ^{٢٠٥}

With respect to the authenticity of the design, Fathy rightly argues that the vaults that distinguished his design had its origin in ancient Egypt. They made their first appearance during the first dynasty ^{٢٠٦}. They were also found in the vicinity of Old Gourni inside the Ramesseum temple that dates back to the reign of Ramsis II of the 19th dynasty ^{٢٠٧}. He also inspired the domes from Nubian houses located in a village to the west of Aswan not very far from Luxor. He even hired Nubian masons to build these domes and vaults and

teach its building technique to a new generation of local masons. Accordingly, it was not fake or invented tradition as some critics believed. On the other side, Fathy believed that the typical traditional domestic architecture provides its residents with serenity and comfort thus meet their physical and spiritual needs³¹. This explains why Fathy had designed Gournas houses in this unique style as he wished to create for them an environment which they can call home³² and not to feel alienated.

Concerning the allegation that Fathy was a self-seeker who was only concerned with building his self-glory, the genuine interest he showed to improve the quality of Gournas life unfound it. This concern motivated him to closely observe their lifestyle and put all their customs and daily life habits into consideration while making his design as discussed before to mitigate the adverse effects of their displacement. Equally important, he tried hard to have the Gournas fairly and properly compensated for losing their original houses. Thus, he turned to Council of State³³ to preserve their legal property rights. In the same vein, he firmly opposed all forms of coercion suggested by the Antiquities Department to force the Gournas to move to the new village like bulldozing³⁴ their old houses.

New Gournas value:

It is widely agreed that the village of New Gournas was the crown jewel of Fathy's

work. It was by all means a pioneering architectural experiment that was designed specifically to " find a reconciliation of the ideals of modern architecture and the conditions of the developing world, in particular those of the very poor"³⁵ as some experts revealed.

There, Fathy employed his community-oriented architectural approach that rested on humanistic values³⁶ cherishing those eternal ties between people and places as well as advocated the use of traditional knowledge and local materials in construction. At the same time, he called for the return to the old triad of owner, architect and craftsman³⁷ to enrich the building experience. Equally important, it played an immensely significant role in restoring peasants' vernacular traditions and safe-guarding local culture³⁸.

Over and above it set the stage for the rise of sustainable architecture and valorized back- to- mother earth approach that encouraged architects across the world to pay tribute to environmental and humanistic concerns³⁹ while planning. It also holds the legacy of Fathy and bespeaks his architectural creativity and talent. No wonder, New Gournas became "an icon of the timeless wisdom of age-old building traditions"⁴⁰

It paved the way for Fathy to rise to forefront and to receive recognitions like the Agha Khan Award for Architecture and the International Union of Architects golden Medal⁹¹¹ while his book "Architecture for the Poor" where he recounted his Gournia experience "...became a standard classroom text and inspired a generation of builders"⁹¹²

In sum, New Gournia is a unique example of humanitarian architecture, if one can call, that flourished at the hands of Fathy.

A heritage in jeopardy:

Over years, New Gournia had sharply dwindled and lost much of its glamour. Those who visited New Gournia recently lamented its current deplorable status especially because of the outspoken aggression on Fathy's original plan that markedly changed its character: "Residents have plugged up the wind catches, drastically increasing the indoor temperature in summer and lowering it in winter. They have covered the courtyards, blocking out the sky. They have crammed concrete into the windows.....squatters took over neglected buildings, demolished the school to farm the land under it and filled the crafts hall with trash...." ⁹¹³ Thus, it became "a sorry epitaph"⁹¹⁴ for Fathy's work.

In addition to the alteration and destruction of the original structures, the collapse of major buildings (Fig. 5) because of lack of maintenance⁹¹⁵ had aggravated the situation.

Much alarmed of this ongoing deterioration, the Unesco launched an initiative to safeguard New Gournia in 2009 and sent a special mission for this purpose. It also formed a scientific committee to investigate the causes of this decline and determine immediate solutions to rescue it. The work of this committee revealed that a myriad of factors had unfortunately contributed to the deterioration and destruction of new Gournia. The rising levels of subterranean water after the construction of Aswan high dam, the lack of adequate sewage and waste water disposal system, as well as accumulations of uncollected sewage⁹¹⁶ lied on top of these causes. They had all negatively affected the foundations of the buildings.

New additions and modifications of buildings mentioned above like (adding upper floors, infilling vaults and arches, removing domes⁹¹⁷) had spoilt Fathy's work and mutilated it. The misuse of some public buildings like the Khan currently used as a parking lot had added its quota to its current ruinous status. Furthermore, the poor and rather sporadic maintenance had accelerated its degeneracy likewise.

On the other hand, the change in the social, economic and cultural conditions of the new generation of residents had rendered most of them discontent with their earthen houses which they regarded old fashioned and outmoded. No wonder, they favored modern concrete structures to Fathy's ones.

Over and above the lack of awareness of the outstanding value of Fathy's pioneering experiment remains a major cause standing behind this deterioration. To one's surprise this applies to high officials in as much as locals. The design of the new building of the town provincial council there (Fig. 6) is a visible evidence of the lack of basic knowledge of Fathy's architectural philosophy implemented at New Gourna. The building sounds extremely odd and largely incompatible with the village's original design. Its façade is built partly of glass and it mixes Pharaonic motives with western ones in a rather heterogeneous manner.

Ironically, Fathy had always criticized the use of glass buildings in hot environments as it increases the temperature inside³¹. This building also reflects the lack of vision and understanding of the vital role of architecture in preserving the identity of a place.

However, it should be noted that the downward course of New Gourna had started earlier. Fathy himself when later visited the village in 1961 had noticed the decline that befell the village and commented on "...its deserted theatre, empty Khan and crafts school, and few houses inhabited by squatters....."³²

Nevertheless, the successive regimes turned a deaf ear for Fathy's calls for help. At a moment of despair, he even suggested to convert the entire village to a touristic attraction to save what was left from it. He presented a memorandum³³ in that regard to the Minister of Tourism in but in vain.

In the meantime, New Gourna was placed on the 2010 World Monuments Watch List for the 100 most endangered sites in the world and awaits a quick action plan to save it.

Conclusion:

After probing into New Gourna files in search for hidden information and untold stories, one can safely say that this project held a very dear part of Hassan Fathy's self. It mirrored his deep understanding of his native culture and his endeavor to well-preserve its centuries-old building traditions. It also revealed his progressive vision to use architecture in upgrading the standard of living in the long forgotten Egyptian countryside which one might call "social engineering". However, a myriad of factors had tragically impeded

the completion of the project and contributed to its abortion. Red tape, narrow limited scope and self-interest lied on top list of such hindrances. Although Fathy continued to swim against tide and to hold on in the hope to realize his goals, he was vanquished at the end of the day while the village of New Gournahad never flourished. Nevertheless, he managed to inspire many generations of architects worldwide and drew their attention to the latent potentials of vernacular architecture.

Nowadays, the village of New Gournahas lost much of its sparkle over years and markedly deteriorated. Its current deplorable condition necessitates immediate action to save it. Ironically, this fading heritage is situated within the boundaries of a World Heritage site and was itself nominated to the World Monuments Watch in 2010.

¹ Nouvelles Annales des voyages, de la géographie et de l'histoire (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1848), 1:76.

² **Bayle St. John, Village life in Egypt: with sketches of the Sâid**, (London: Champan and Hall, 1852),1:293.

³ Ibid, 1:293.

⁴ Ibid, 1:292.

⁵ Ibid, 1:293.

⁶ Ibid, 1:292.

⁷ Lucie Duff Gordon, Lady Duff Gordon's Letters from Egypt(London : R. B. Johnson, 1902), 258.

⁸ St. John, 1:292.

⁹ Nouvelles Annales des voyages, de la géographie et de l'histoire (Paris: Libraire de Gide Fils, 1821), viii: 395.

¹⁰ **Isabella Frances Romer, A pilgrimage to the Temples and Tombs of Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine, 1845-6** (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 293.

¹¹ St. John, 1:292.

¹² Romer, 293.

¹³ Ibid, 292-294

¹⁴ **Hassan Fathy, Architecture for the Poor(Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1989), 16-15**

¹⁵ Dylan Bickerstaffe, "The Royal Cache Revisited" JACF 10 (2006), 9.

¹⁶ St. John,1:287-288

¹⁷ Ibid, 1:293

¹⁸ Fathy, 16

¹⁹ Hassan Fathy, "An Experience for Housing: Gournah." Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6429> Accessed May 18, 2016

²⁰ Report On The New Model Village Of Gournah. Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6538> Accessed May 18, 2016.

²¹ Hassan Fathy, "The New Village of Gournah." Hassan Fathy Archives, Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6451> Accessed May 18, 2016.

²² Report On The New Model Village Of Gournah, op.cit.

²³ Fathy, "The New Village of Gournah."

²⁴ Hassan Fathy, "A Point Of View On Rural Housing In Egypt." Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6434> Accessed May 18, 2016.

^{o1} Memorandum Regarding The Conversion Of Gournia From A Model Village To A Touristic Village. Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6515> Accessed May 18, 2016.

¹¹ Report On The New Model Village Of Gournia, op.cit.

¹² Fathy, Architecture, 17.

¹³ It is an agricultural land irrigated through basin system and kept dry by means of dykes)

¹⁴ Fathy, "The New Village of Gournia", op. cit.

¹⁵ Memorandum Regarding The Model Village Of Gournia And Roof Construction. 10 Nov. 1954. Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6539> Accessed May 12, 2016.

¹⁶ Fathy, Architecture, 17.

¹⁷ Margot Badran, "Feminism in a Nationalist Century", Al-Ahram Weekly, December 30, 1999-January 5, 2000, 1. <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Archive/1999/462/women.htm> Accessed May 18, 2016.

¹⁸ Panayiota I. Pyla, "Hassan Fathy Revisited: Postwar Discourses on Science, Development, and Vernacular Architecture", Journal of Architectural Education, 60, no. 3, (2007):29.

¹⁹ Laila Kamal Marei, "Revival of Mamluk Architecture in the 19th and 20th centuries" (Thesis, American University in Cairo, 2013), 73.

²⁰ Ibid, 38.

²¹ Report On The Schools Of The New Village Of Gournia. 1 June 1955. Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6541> Accessed May 11, 2016.

²² Fathy, Architecture, 19.

²³ Ibid, 25.

²⁴ Ibid, 3.

²⁵ Ibid, 4.

²⁶ Ibid, 62.

²⁷ Report On The Schools Of The New Village Of Gournia, op.cit.

²⁸ Erica Avrami et al. "New Gournia: Conservation And Community" Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review, Vol. 26, No. 1 (FALL 2014), 85.

²⁹ Nobbs-Thiessen, "Contested representations and the building of modern Egypt: The Architecture of Hassan Fathy"(MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2006), 85.

³⁰ Fathy, Architecture, 12.

³¹ Venetia Porter, "Making the most of mud", The Sunday Times, April 24, 1998, 10.

³² Nadia M. ALHasani, "Tradition vs. Modernity: The Quest for a Cultural Identity", Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review Vol. 7, No. 2 (SPRING 1996):36.

³³ Fathy, Architecture, 37.

³⁴ Ibid. 43 .

³⁵ Memorandum Regarding The Model Village Of Gournia And Roof Construction, op.cit.

³⁶ Fathy , Architecture , 42.

³⁷ **James Steele, An Architecture for People: The complete works of Hassan Fathy** (London : Thames and Hudson, 1997), 67

³⁸ Erica Avrami, 85.

³⁹ Fathy, Architecture, 53.

⁴⁰ Steele, 67.

⁴¹ Fathy, "A Point Of View On Rural Housing In Egypt.", 3.

⁵⁶Fathy, Architecture, 42-43.

⁵⁷Nasser Rabbat, What Is Islamic Architecture? in Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum: Architecture in Islamic Arts, eds, Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod, (Geneva: Aga Khan Trust for Culture, 2011), 20-21.

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⁵⁹Report On The New Model Village Of Gournā, op.cit.

⁶⁰Hassan Fathy, "Planning and Building in the Arab Tradition: The Gournā Village Experiment in Egypt." Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6439> Accessed May 11, 2016.

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⁶²Fathy, Architecture, 56.

⁶³Susan Sachs, "Honoring a Visionary If Not His Vision", New York Times, April 4, 2000.

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⁶⁶Nobbs-Thiessen, 15.

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⁷⁰Ibid., 190.

⁷¹Memorandum About The Possibility Of Research For The Project Of The Model Village Of Gournā. Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture, Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6647> Accessed May 11, 2016.

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⁷³Ibid 176

⁷⁴Ibid, 176.

⁷⁵A Memorandum To Dr. Tharwat Okasha Regarding The Model Village Of Gournā. 7 Apr. 1969. Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6572> Accessed May 12, 2016

⁷⁶Correspondences And Memoranda Concerning The Model Village Of Gournā. 29 Apr. 1950. Hassan Fathy Archives. Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6537> Accessed May 12, 2016.

⁷⁷Ibid, 64.

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⁷⁹Pyla, 30.

⁸⁰Ismail Serageldin, Hassan Fathy (Alexandria: Bibliotheca Alexandrina, 2007), 67.

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- ⁵Nobbs-Thiessen, 93
- ⁶Ibid, 88.
- ⁷Ibid, 75-81
- ⁸Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 191.
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- ¹¹Pyla, 28.
- ¹²Steele, 81
- ¹³Ibid, 64.
- ¹⁴Ibid, 76-77
- ¹⁵Romer, 293
- ¹⁶Hassan Fathy: *Aan lel benaa an yaktamel*, op.cit.
- ¹⁷Fathy, "A Point Of View On Rural Housing In Egypt.", op.cit
- ¹⁸Memorandum Regarding The Model Village Of Gourn And Roof Construction, op.cit.
- ¹⁹Report On The Schools Of The New Village Of Gourn, op.cit.
- ²⁰Memorandum About The Possibility Of Research For The Project Of The Model Village Of Gourn, op.cit.
- ²¹Fathy, *Architecture*, 8.
- ²²Il ne suffit pas que Dieu soit avec les pauvres, Directed by Bourhan Alaouei, (l'Institut National de Audiovisuel, 1978) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J6xPJl4jGw4> Accessed May 18, 2016.
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- ²⁸AL Hasani, 36.
- ²⁹Hassan Fathy, "Planning and Building in the Arab Tradition: The Gourn Village Experiment in Egypt." Hassan Fathy Archives, Aga Khan Trust for Culture. Geneva, <http://archnet.org/publications/6439> Accessed May 12, 2016
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- ³¹Pyla, 28.
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- ³⁵Ibid.

^{٣٣١}World Monuments Fund, 39.

^{٤٣١}Ibid, 37, 55.

^{٥٣١}Ibid, 43.

^{٦٣١}Dafater al ayyam: Al Mohandes Hassan Fathy directed by Mahmoud Abu al- Seoud (Jordan studios,1980), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jVM-DYm7CrQ> Accessed May 25, 2016.

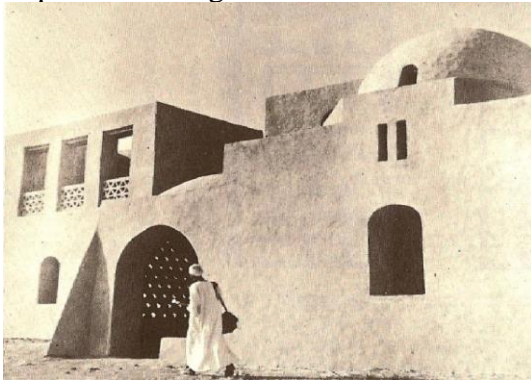
^{٧٣١}Fathy, Architecture, 192.

^{٨٣١} Memorandum Regarding The Conversion Of Gourna From A Model Village To A Touristic Village, op.cit.

New Gourna: Re-Exploring a Dying Heritage



(Fig. 1) Late famous architect Hassan Fathy
<http://archnet.org/authorities/1>



(Fig. 2) Mud-brick buildings at New Gourna
<http://architectureindevelopment.org/project.php?id=30#!prettyPhoto>



(Fig. 3) New Gourna mosque and its external staircase
<http://architectureindevelopment.org/project.php?id=30>



(Fig. 4) Remodeling New Gurna houses
<http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/637/>



(Fig. 5) The partly-destroyed Khan (A heritage in threat)
<http://www.dostor.org/83037>



(Fig. 6) An extremely odd governmental building amidst New Gournia
www.wmf.org