Cultural Exchanges in the Eastern Mediterranean

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Asia Minor, Cyprus and Egypt

Edited by

Stelios Irakleous, Michalis N. Michael
and Athanasios Koutoupas

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PREFACE

The Mediterranean binds us together
I am sending to you through in waves
the voice of my joy and agony.
The ropes that hold in the boats
keep tied inside their knots, words,
of love, of despair, of prayer,
I, direct to the sea.
Withholding in sob,
sunken into her liquid body.
Rocked like feelings
that are here and here are not.
Knots destined to connect people
from one shore to the other.
The Mediterranean binds us together.

'The Voice of the Mediterranean.'[1]
Mona Savvidou-Theodoulou

The movement of people and objects has always stood at the heart of attempts to understand the course and processes of human history. Concerning the Mediterranean, evidence of such movements is particularly abundant, and issues like migration, colonization, and trade have played prominent roles in archaeological, historical, and anthropological discussions. Human mobility in the Mediterranean had captivated the collective imagination for millennia, reaching back at least to the eighth century BC, when Homer's *Odyssey* recounted the ten-year journey of the king of Ithaca across the Mediterranean Sea. Mobility was no longer restricted to kings and seafarers during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Never before had the world experienced movement and emigration on such a large scale. The revolution in transport, which lowered costs, made movement across the continents and seas more effortless and accessible to ever more significant numbers of people.

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[1] Mona Savvidou-Theodoulou, *To Perissevma tis Siopis* [The Surplus of Silence], (Nicosia: 2003), 58.

Recent scholarship on Mediterranean economic and cultural history has emphasized the sea as a medium of 'connectivity' over a highly fragmented space, bringing peoples, goods, languages, and ideas into contact with one another. Not that this implies unity or homogeneity: such communications were often unstable and shifting, violent and conflictual, reinforcing distinct identities along national, religious, ethnic, and linguistic lines, and were inflected by local circumstances. But they nonetheless occasioned an exposure to, engagement with, and accommodation of the practices of others, which left their mark in a variety of ways. The current volume explores these two domains of human experience together and examines their links. It does so by focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean.

The editors are first of all grateful to all the speakers who participated in the International Conference 'People, Cultures, Ideas and Religion within and across empires: Mobility in the Eastern Mediterranean in the axis Asia Minor, Cyprus, Egypt, 19th–20th centuries. Current and New Approaches'. We also wish to thank all the authors who agreed to contribute their expertise and effort to produce this volume due to the conference. We are likewise indebted to our editor at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their support. This endeavour was made possible through the kind bequest of a benefactor who wishes to remain anonymous and to whom we are equally grateful.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

A 'LIQUID CONTINENT'[1] BETWEEN CONTENTION AND CONNECTION? TOWARDS A CONNECTED HISTORY OF MOBILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

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The present volume compiles contributions from the conference 'Peoples, Cultures, Ideas and Religions within and across Empires: Mobility in the Eastern Mediterranean' organized by the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cyprus and the Cyprus Institute in 2021. Throughout that conference and within the edited volume here, the editors have underlined how recent developments in the Eastern Mediterranean conceal a much longer history of the interaction in the region. Moreover, that discussion invites a reconsideration of the richness and depth of the multifaceted cultural exchanges over the 'longue durée'. The editors of this volume have rightly focused on underrepresented aspects of cultural exchanges in the Mediterranean, with Cyprus as a nodal point. In so doing, the volume offers new perspectives on the rich field of cultural exchange and, more broadly, Mediterranean history.

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[1] The title is inspired by Nicholas Woodsworth's *The Liquid Continent: Travels Through Alexandria, Venice and Istanbul* (London: Haus Publishing, 2010). Woodworth's trilogy—originally published in three separate volumes—charts the historic and cultural ties connecting the Mediterranean's great cities: Alexandria, Venice and Istanbul.

Analysis of the cultural agendas in the Levant during the interwar period and the recent historiographical discussions around the Mediterranean[2] from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries suggest an enduring cultural permeability and connectivity across the region. They also put forward the need to re-establish the connections between different grids that national historiographies have sometimes disrupted, proposing a more comprehensive understanding of cultural interactions—in the case of this volume, in and around Cyprus—spanning national historiographies, languages, and disciplinary categories.

Of all Eurasia's major regions, only the Mediterranean is a 'liquid one', in the sense that it is subject to constant interactions and exchanges at different levels across time and space. As much was expressed by Jean Cocteau in a personal and poetic view of the region in the early 1950s.[3] As the present volume suggests, ecclesiastical and cultural policies across the region underscore this very point. Over many centuries, they have proved to be complex and nuanced and have operated at different scales: macro (the state and supranational actors), micro (individuals) and meso (networks and institutions).[4]

The period between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries bore witness to a plethora of cultural and intellectual connections between Arab and non-Arab worlds, as well as the mobility of cultural ideas, increasing literacy and the spread of new media. The latter started in

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[2] See, for example, the third workshop of the DFG-Network "The Modern Mediterranean: Dynamics of a World Region, 1800–2000" hosted in Rome by the German Historical Institute Rome and the Ecole Française de Rome, 18–21 March 2019, titled 'Mediterranean Empires of the Interwar Period', especially the section 'Geopolitics, Biopolitics, Chronopolitics'. See, also, the Special Issue of the *European Review of History* eds. Manuel Borutta and Sakis Gekas, "A Colonial Sea: The Mediterranean, 1798–1956," *European Review of History: Revue europénne d'histoire*, Special Issue, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2012): 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2012.643609 and Maurizio Isabella and Zanou Konstantina, *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016). On cultural entanglement in the region, see Anthony Gorman and Sarah Irving, *Cultural Entanglement in the Pre-Independence Arab World: Arts, Thought and Literature* (London: Bloomsbury, 2020).
[3] Jean Cocteau Museum, "Maalesh, sur les traces de Jean Cocteau en Méditerranée", accessed January 5, 2022, https://www.museecocteaumenton.fr/Maalesh-sur-les-traces-de-Jean-Cocteau-en-Mediterranee.html.
[4] Idir Ouahes, Syria and Lebanon at the Outset of the French Mandate: Workings of Cultural Imperialism (London: I.B. Tauris, 2018).

the Young Turk period (1908–1922) and flourished again after the Second World War. After the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, borders were redrawn entirely. From an administrative point of view, one of the consequences was the establishment of the French and British mandates. As the mandates consolidated, their once fluid borders increasingly solidified, presenting a common cultural outlook.

Consider Palestine, the so-called 'Holy Land', as another nodal point. The many and varied circulations, connections and interactions between Palestine and its European interlocutors are often underemphasized and need further exploration. Beginning in the 1870s, Palestinians migrated overseas in increasingly large numbers to broaden their trading opportunities. Some established themselves in Europe (the centre of Paris welcomed the first oriental church and community around St Julien le Pauvre). Some arrived in Europe planning to leave for the Americas but instead settled and kept strong ties with Palestine. Others did move on, establishing trading outposts as far afield as the Caribbean, while others still returned and re-established themselves in Palestine, challenging their predominantly middle-class communities of origin. Their cultural exchanges with European actors thus evolved across a wide range of settings and oscillated between connection and contention.[5]

Looking back briefly at the historiography of the region, it is necessary to remember that the French concept of the Mediterranean (*Méditerranée*) as a geographically united, [6] historically unique and essentially European space was invented by cartographers, geographers and geologists who accompanied French military expeditions to Egypt (1798–1801), the Peloponnese (1829–31) and Algeria (1839–42). The first

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[5] Ouahes, *Syria and Lebanon*; Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri, eds, *European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christianity in Mandate Palestine: Between Contention and Connection* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021); Karène Sanchez Summerer and Konstantinos Papastathis, "Eastern Christianity in Syria and Palestine and European Cultural Diplomacy (1860–1948)," *Contemporary Levant*, Special Issue, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2021): 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1080/20581831.2021.1898122.

[6] Fernand Braudel, teacher of history and geography in Constantine in Algeria, was the founder of the French school of Mediterranean history. Braudel's conception was a by-product of colonial entanglements in the Mediterranean. See Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 3 Vols. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949); Maurice Aymard, "Fernand Braudel, the Mediterranean and Europe," *Mediterranean Historical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1987): 102–14.

centres for Mediterranean Studies were founded during the interwar period. The most important of these were the *Académie Méditerranéenne* and the *Centre Universitaire Méditerranéen*, directed by Paul Valéry. Meanwhile, 'French Mediterraneans' such as Gabriel Audisio and Albert Camus developed less Eurocentric visions of this region.

Approaches to cultural dynamics in the Levant—particularly their relation to European influence via diplomatic overtures—then increased, encouraging new interest in what has been called 'soft power'. This, in turn, justified studies about cultural and linguistic policies in the history of international relations.[7] Some of these studies underlined the interconnectedness of the communities with other local but also international networks, both in practical and ideological terms, revealing the extent, scope and influence of some of the currently underestimated trans-regional networks.

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The chapters of this volume are a welcome addition to this broad field of Mediterranean study. It emphasizes how analysis of cultural exchanges requires a view across different scales to bring together the many social, cultural, and political aspects of trans-regional engagement. The trans-regional approaches adopted in the volume show how the Mediterranean cultural exchanges of the period reflected dynamics that had to do with 'far away' places and also underscore the importance of language as both a tool and a symbolic identity marker across the communities so connected. The volume, therefore, offers a new attempt to write Cyprus' history into a 'global moment', implying a 'significant adaptation leading to new forms of cooperation or contact'[8] and multidirectional flows. The volume thus tries to respond to the challenge of linking the study of everyday life at the micro-level to macro-scale narratives around cultural exchanges through an '*histoire croisée*'.[9]

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[7] See, for example, Tamara van Kessel, *Foreign Cultural Policy in the Interbellum: The Italian Dante Alighieri Society and the British Council in the Mediterranean* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016); François Chaubet and Laurent Martin, *Histoire des relations culturelles dans le monde contemporain* (Paris: Colin, 2011).

[8] "Global Moments in the Levant", *CMI*, accessed January 5, 2022, www.cmi.no/projects/838-global-moments-in-the-levant.

[9] John-Paul Ghobrial, "Introduction: Seeing the World as a Microhistorian," *Past & Present*, Vol. 242, No. 14 (2019): 1–22. https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz046;

Athanasios Koutoupas addresses the theme of migration in his chapter 'Rebirth of a Cosmopolis: Migration and the Nineteenth-Century Renaissance of Alexandria'. In his chapter, Koutoupas examines the developments caused by the religious and social mobility in the city of Alexandria during the nineteenth century, where, as he notes, 'It's vibrant commercial, political, ecclesiastical, and social life derived much of its energy from the exchange and mixing among its residents' various national identities'. The city's indigenous population, which grew to six figures from a few thousand in just over a century after a long period of stagnation, as a result of the actions undertaken by the government of Muhammad Ali Pasha, was outnumbered in a short period of time. The wave of migrants who flocked to the city included Maghrebi and Levantine Arabs, Greeks, Jews, Turks, and Armenians and ambitious European colonists, primarily the English and Italians and, to a lesser extent, the French, Germans, and Americans. All the aforementioned were seeking to increase their influence in the strategically significant seaport, which was growing rapidly. The city was then divided into quarters based on the inhabitants' ethnic background but nevertheless not rigorously segregated.

There can be no doubt that the Greek community was the most important foreign presence in Egypt. However, it is largely absent in the Greek and Egyptian historical narratives, following the departure *en masse* in the early years of the 1960s. Eftychia Mylona discusses the reasons and motivations of Greeks who stayed in Egypt and explores the new meanings and environments the notion of 'crisis' produced for them. Moreover, she raises the question of what made many of the Greeks stay on an individual level and what 'adjustment' policies were taken on an institutional level for those who remained. Based on archival material and oral accounts, she investigates the opportunities and obstacles Greeks encountered and their impact in shaping notions of belonging and home. An important aspect of Mylona's research is the discussion around the negotiation of belonging and space for the Greeks but also the ways mobility is performed and mediated. In her final discussion, she brings the

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Jan de Vries, "Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano," *Past & Present*, Vol. 242, No. 14 (2019): 23–36, https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gtz043; Caroline Douki and Philippe Minard, "Global History, Connected Histories: A Shift of Historiographical Scale?", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, Vol. 54, No. 4 (2007): 7–21; Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, "Beyond Comparison: *Histoire croisée* and the Challenge of Reflexivity," *History and Theory*, Vol. 45 (February 2006): 3050.

emotions of the Greeks into the discussion while they were performing acts of diasporic belonging.

Matthias Kappler approaches the theme of language contact in the Mediterranean by taking the Arabic lexicon as a point of departure. In his chapter 'Arabic Lexicon in Cypriot Languages between Asia Minor and Egypt: Phonetic, Ethnographical and Literary Approaches', he traces the influence of the Arabic lexicon in Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish in a journey that stretches from Asia Minor to Cyprus and Egypt through the analysis of some terms present in Giorgos Filippou Pieridis' novel. Matthias Kappler underlines the fact that 'language contact occurs under various conditions and in various cultural contexts'. Thus, he analyses some direct Arabic loanwords in Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish from different perspectives. Kappler's analysis follows an ethnographical approach that 'considers a word and its "history" as the history of its cultural context', extending this to the literary context considered fundamental in language contact and language borrowing.

It has been one of the main arguments of Michalis N. Michael that the Monastery of Kykkos in Cyprus took full advantage of the opportunities provided by the Ottoman political and economic framework in the context of emerging capitalism. Exploring the paradox of a monastery becoming the financially strongest entity on the island and arguably one of the strongest in the Orthodox world, Michael examines the possibilities offered to an Orthodox monastery by Ottoman hegemony, which encompassed the Eastern Mediterranean from the sixteenth century onward. It is a fact that it flourished spiritually and financially under an Islamic Ottoman 'world economy'. Michael explains how the gradual establishment of *metochia* (dependencies) in areas outside Cyprus but within the Ottoman world of the Eastern Mediterranean had an impact on the monastery's commercial expansion, but also how the monastery became a source of wealth and a locus of communication between the overseas *metochia* and the monastery.

Pilgrimage always played an important role in the movement of people. The specific type of journey has a spiritual aspect that Theoharis Stavrides does not miss in his discussion. He also underlines the importance of the pilgrimage through his discussion on the pilgrimage to the Holy Land as a central element of the culture of the Christians of Cyprus for centuries. He analyses the presence of Cypriot clerics in the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the network of the Patriarchate's *metochia* on the island, as well as the cultural and material exchanges between the two lands. He relies on documents, letters, and literary works to examine the importance of the pilgrimage in the island's culture during

the Ottoman period. A central part of his discussion is the prefix 'Hadji' in Cypriot names, which was an indication that the person or a recent ancestor had performed the pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

In his chapter, 'The Intellectual Agenda of the Muslim Cypriots in *İrşad*, Their First Magazine', Ahmet Yıkık takes a case study the magazine *İrşad,* and its editor Mehmed Nazım, in an effort to illustrate the introduction to the Cypriot readership of various Western political, social and cultural views. The chapter introduces the main aspects of Muslim society in Cyprus at the time and discusses ideas imported from Asia Minor and distributed to the Cypriot Muslim intelligentsia through *İrşad,* through articles on education, politics, cultural and social topics, literary works, poetry and translations from Western newspapers. The magazine seems to warrant further research since, as the author observes, its fictional and non-fictional articles sewed the first seeds of Turkish nationalism in Cyprus.

Irakleous aims to trace the use of the Turkish language by Christian Orthodox people in Asia Minor in the last decades of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century in their native lands and afterwards in Cyprus, where they arrived as refugees in the 1910s and 1920s. The island was populated at the time by Greek-speaking Orthodox and Turkish-speaking Muslim populations, with the majority of the Christian refugees speaking Turkish. In light of this, Stelios Irakleous brings to light the reasons behind the decline in Turkish language use throughout the twentieth century, to the point that it is now extinct among the Christian communities of the island's south. Through interviews and archival research Irakleous reveals many of the attitudes toward Turkish-speaking Christians and the language in general, from their arrival on the island in the 1920s to today and shows how it quickly ceased to be a practical means of communication for those communities as they settled in their new homes, especially for new generations.

In her contribution, 'The Formation '*nerdeysa + -(I)yor*' in the Verbal System of Cypriot Turkish', Gulshen Sakhatova analyses the formation '*nerdeysa + -(I)yor*', attested in Cypriot Turkish, referring to 'an event which is near to occurring', which consists of the viewpoint aspect marker *-(I)yor* and the lexical unit *nerdeysa* 'nearly, in a short span of time, soon, about to'. By taking primary source material collected in Cyprus, the author 'undertakes explanations for the application from the speaker's point of view on the course of an event and argues that *-(I)yor* in Cypriot Turkish shows different aspectual–temporal references'. Gulshen Sakhatova concludes that data collection with the formation '*nerdeysa + -(I)yor*' in Cypriot Turkish warrants further research that should be

extended to both different Turkish-speaking continua in Cyprus but also those from the mainland.

Christina Roditou concentrates on the work of Apostolos Ververis, a professional Greek photographer who arrived in Cyprus in the summer of 1954, commissioned by the Greek government to capture photographs. In so doing, she explores the promotion of aspects of the island's Hellenic cultural heritage. Based on an extensive photographic archive, Roditou discusses the vision of the island's main stakeholders to raise awareness of Cyprus' Hellenic connections to support Greek Cypriot demands for self-determination. She points out the importance of the extensive collection of photographs that Ververis produced since they constitute a unique instance in the island's history of photography, the aim of which was to shape perceptions of identity. Furthermore, she points out that the archive of Ververis' expedition sheds light on his intention to exploit his time in Cyprus in 1954 to enter the island's tourism market by producing images of a touristic nature. However, she stretches the idea that the digitization of Ververis' reveals deviations from the concept of his expedition and evidence of stylistic influences that contradicted his Hellenocentric style of image-making. Her main aim is to how digitization helps in examining an archive on totally different levels, thus creating opportunities for further research and knowledge dissemination.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

COND   conditional
IMPF   imperfective
LOC   locative
PROG   progressive
PROS   prospective
PAST   past
3S   3rd person singular
TAM   tense/aspect/mood/modality

Rebirth of a Cosmopolis: Migration and the Nineteenth-Century Renaissance of Alexandria

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Abstract

This chapter examines religious and social mobility during the nineteenth century in Alexandria, which has, since its foundation, been a cultural and religious melting pot. The city's comeback in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries came after a long period of stagnation. It was not until Napoleon's Egyptian campaign in the mid-1790s that the languishing township again came alive, kicking off the city's steady development in size and prominence over the following decades. The city's rise to prominence in the nineteenth century was aided by the government of Muhammad Ali Pasha, who opened Alexandria to waves of migrants from all over the Mediterranean basin and beyond. The city's meagre population, which peaked at a few thousand during Napoleonic times, grew to six figures in just over a century. The indigenous population was quickly outnumbered by Maghrebi and Levantine Arabs, Greeks, Jews, Turks, and Armenians who flocked to the city alongside ambitious European colonists, primarily the English and Italians. They were joined by the French, Germans, and even Americans, all seeking to increase their stake in the growing, affluent, and strategically significant seaport. Immigrant settlers divided the city into quarters, which housed people of similar ethnic backgrounds, but these neighbourhoods were not rigorously segregated. Alexandria's vibrant commercial, political, ecclesiastical, and social life derived much of its energy from the exchange and mixing among its residents' various national identities.

Introduction

> The civilizations of Egypt are, roughly speaking, three in number. There is Egypt of the Pharaohs, which still move tourists and popular novelists, but which means nothing to the resident, nothing at all. Then there is Arab Egypt, in which we more or less live and less or more have our being […]. And thirdly, there is Egypt of the Levant—the coastal strip on which since the days of Herodotus, European influences have rained'.[1]

This is how E.M. Forster, an English writer, who spent many years in Alexandria and dedicated two books to the city, described the Alexandrian civilization in 1917. Ismail, Khedive of Egypt—in an aside in his record of one of the inspections of his army—mentions:

> Look at this battalion [...]. There are there Arabs and Copts, Mussulmans and Christians, that march in the same rank. I assure you that not one of them troubles himself about his comrade's religion. Equality between them is complete.[2]

The casual Western and bourgeois observer who consulted Baedeker's *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers* in 1898 found Alexandria depicted as an exciting mixture of 'European life' and 'interesting scenes of Oriental life'.[3] According to one observer in Alexandria at that time, it 'was not at all unnatural, really, to hear Christian chimes [...] nor yet to hear any sound, or voice, or language that the earth knows. In Alexandria, nothing is foreign'.[4] In its alleys, on its docks, everybody was 'babbling and Babelling in their own and everybody else's mother-tongue, buying cotton, selling grain, swapping sugar for coal [...] and bartering the wealth of Egypt'. [5] Under conflicting forces, nineteenth-century Alexandria showed the Egyptian ruler's political intentions as well as the influence of foreign consuls, the leverage of businessmen, and the presence of masses

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[1] Edward Morgan Forster, 1917 article for *The Egyptian Mail*, re-printed in Michael Haag, *An Alexandria Anthology: Travel Writing through the Centuries* (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 2014), 96.

[2] Gabriel Charmes and William Conn, *Five Months at Cairo and in Lower Egypt* (London: British Library-Historical Print Editions, 2011), 161.

[3] Karl Baedeker, *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1898), 12–17.

[4] George Warrington Steevens, *Egypt in 1898* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1898), 174.

[5] Steevens, *Egypt*, 179.

of deracinated local and international migrants.[6]

Alexandria has been imagined as a cosmopolis, an urban environment where peoples and cultures collide, from its fundamental tales to contemporary nostalgia writing. After an initial lull that accompanied the city's re-establishment, Alexandria's cosmopolitan flux fuelled intellectual and cultural growth. By the end of the nineteenth century and the first four decades of the twentieth century, the city had created a vibrant artistic scene. Internationally renowned artists performed there, and Alexandria produced a notable corpus of local literary work. Among the resident writers, the Greek poet Constantine Cavafy, as well as the British authors E. M. Forster and Lawrence Durrell, were notable.

However, before proceeding towards the objective of this chapter, it is thought useful to say a few words about mobility via the lens of migration, which, in the case of Alexandria in the nineteenth century, better fits the purpose of our context.

The Concept of Migration

The term 'migration' describes a person or group's geographic movement. The desire to migrate stems from a prioritized set of values held by certain individuals or groups of migrants, which is not adequately met in their native country. More specifically, people migrate for various reasons, including the desire for economic opportunity, to flee political or religious persecution, or to escape various sorts of exploitation, alienation, or cultural deprivation in their own country. The experience of migration encompasses not just people's physical travel but also their status as migrants within their receiving societies.

Migration theory has been at an impasse for several decades.[7]

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[6] Robert Ilbert, *Alexandrie, 1830–1930: Histoire d'une communauté citadine*, Vol. 2. (Cairo: Institut Français d' Archéologie Orientale, 1996), 157.

[7] Douglas Massey, Joaquín Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino and Edward Taylor, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (1993): 431–466; Joaquín Arango, "Explaining Migration: A Critical View," *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 165 (2000): 283–296; Hein de Haas, "Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2010): 227–264; Ronald Skeldon, "Migration Transitions Revisited: Their Continued Relevance for the Development of Migration Theory," *Population, Space and Place*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (2012): 154–166; Douglas Massey, "The Perils of

The central problem in migration research is the absence of a central body of theory that summarizes, generalizes, and systematizes the accumulated insights of a vast amount of empirical research, which could serve as a common frame of reference within which to examine, interpret, understand, and explain 'facts' and 'findings' from various disciplinary and paradigmatic perspectives. Several ideas have arisen in various social science areas since the late nineteenth century, all aiming to comprehend the forces that drive migration. Following a more general split between 'functionalist' and 'historical–structural' social theory, such early migration theories can be grouped into two primary paradigms. Regardless of their disciplinary origins, theories within each of these two main paradigms share fundamental assumptions about the nature of society and how it should be investigated. For example, neoclassical equilibrium models (from economics), push–pull models and migration systems theories (mainly from geography and demography), and dominant interpretations of migrant network theories (primarily from sociology) can all be placed within the functionalist paradigm of social theory, according to which migration is, by and large, an optimization strategy of individual actors.

Likewise, despite differences in nuance and level of analysis, world-systems theory,[8] dual labour market theory[9] and critical globalization theory[10] all interpret migration as being shaped by structural economic and power inequalities, both within and between societies, and the ways in which migration plays a crucial role in reproducing and sustaining these inequalities. All of these theories fit into the historical–structural paradigm, also known as 'conflict theory', which examines how powerful elites oppress and exploit poor and vulnerable people, how capital seeks to recruit and exploit labour, and how ideology and religion play a key role in justifying exploitation and injustice by making them appear as the natural order of things.

Seeing Twenty-first Century Migration through a Twentieth-century Lens," *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. 68, No. 227–228 (2019): 101–104.

[8] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1974); Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750* (New York and London: Academic Press, 1980).

[9] Michael Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[10] Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).

Transnational,[11] diaspora,[12] and creolization[13] theories, as well as more modern theories focusing on migrants' everyday experiences, perceptions, and identity, can all be placed under the symbolic interactionist approach in social theory. Network theories, migration systems theory,[14] and cumulative causation theory[15] are examples of a fourth, slightly more hybrid, category of meso-level theories that focus on the continuation or 'interior dynamics'[16] of migration. By merging current academic theories (ranging from economics to anthropology) under the conceptual umbrellas of the major paradigms of social theory, we can simplify what may appear to be a somewhat befuddling theoretical complexity.

Two geographic areas and three societies are frequently affected by migration, regardless of the manner or kind of migration or the underlying factors. Out-migration (migration abroad) and in-migration (internal migration) are the areas, with the societies being the society of origin, the host society, and the immigrant group itself.[17] These regions or civilizations are inextricably tied to the phenomenon of migration, which is essentially a form of social mobility involving processes of social transition that lead to social transformation. Migrants may, for example, travel between or between nation-states in order to enhance their socioeconomic prospects. There, the migrant, operating either individually or as part of a collective social unit such as an extended family group, may be viewed as a social force that, through its impact, contributes to social change in the receiving country. As Byrne has commented, 'the migrant family is the microcosm in which the dynamics of personal and group change, of acculturation and identity, and of adjustment to environmental

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[11] Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009).

[12] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1991): 83–99; Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction* (London: University College London Press, 1997).

[13] Robin Cohen, "Creolization and Cultural Globalization: The Soft Sounds of Fugitive Power," *Globalizations*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2007): 369–384.

[14] Akin Mabogunje, "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural–Urban Migration," *Geographical Analysis*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1970): 1–18.

[15] Douglas Massey, "Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration," *Population Index*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (1990): 3–26.

[16] Hein de Haas, "The Internal Dynamics of Migration Processes: A Theoretical Inquiry," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 10 (2010): 1587–1617.

[17] Joseph Velikonja, "25 Years of International Migration Digest and the International Migration Review," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23 (1989): 710.

stress, to a large extent, take place'.[18] From this vantage point, few aspects of migration, both internal and foreign, can be described outside the context of social mobility. From this perspective, it is necessary to comprehend a slew of settlement issues related to migrants' integration and success in receiving societies, such as upward or downward social mobility in terms of geographic, economic, cultural, political, and other socially significant aspects, all of which may be confronted during the migration process.

Because it involves people moving between geographic and social places, migration has a demographic influence. Migration is one of three factors that determine the structure, composition, and distribution of a population, together with mortality and fertility rates. Migration encompasses social, economic, political, and psychological components, unlike fertility and mortality, which have a biological component. Because of the interdependence of migration, fertility and mortality, as well as the quantity of movement, migration can have a long-term impact on a population's demographic composition.

Alexandria's Historical Past

Some cities become destinations even before you know them, before you wander their streets, explore their nooks and crannies, and contemplate their monuments (or what's left of them). Along with the memory of reality, art in all of its forms has a lot to do with this. One of these cities is Alexandria. Lawrence Durrell and his *Alexandria Quartet*, E. M. Forster's travel guides, *Alexandria: A History and Guide* and *Pharos and Pharillon*, Constantine Cavafy's poetic works, and, more recently, Terenci Moix's books devoted to Egypt and, particularly, Alexandria, capture much of that essence.

When discussing Alexandria's mobility, it is impossible to resist discussing the city's history. Alexandria, after all, has been a classic case study in movement since its founding. The Roman conquerors called it Alexandria ad Aegyptum; Greek-speaking travellers and historians of antiquity such as Strabo, Diodorus of Sicily, and others called it Alexandria of Egypt. For their part, the Egyptians gave it the Arabic name Iskanderia, which was derived from its founder, Iskandar el Akbar

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[18] Elisabeth Byrne, "The Migrant Family–Transitions." In *Australia 2000: The Ethnic Impact*, ed. Michael Bowen (Armidale: University of New England, 1977), 248.

(Alexander the Great). Since its establishment, the city has been home to a diverse group of people, resulting in the inevitable collision of various indigenous cultural traditions, mentalities, and ideas.

In contrast to the other Egyptian centres that flourished in antiquity and were located in Upper or Middle Egypt and whose power was held by Egyptian Pharaonic dynasties, Alexandria was built on the Mediterranean shores, on the Nile's entrances, and was ruled by the Macedonian dynasty of Ptolemy, a branch of Alexander the Great's descendants. The Ptolemies devised a cosmopolitan policy by encouraging osmosis across the membranes between Greek and Egyptian cultures. Alexandria rose to prominence as the first metropolis of the known world, amassing vast riches and influence. Simultaneously, excellent ways of storing and synthesizing ancient world knowledge were employed, with its cultivation taking place in specifically constructed museum and library settings.[19]

The Alexandrian civilization flourished during the Roman period, extending to the early Byzantine period when the administrative centre relocated to Constantinople. The capital of the Hellenistic world, Alexandria lost its previous splendour after heated Christian religious disputes, the advent of heresies, the dissociation of the local Coptic church from the Trinitarian doctrine, and the closure of the schools of philosophy.[20]

During the first decades of the Arab caliphate, Alexandria became one of the most important stops for pilgrims who set out for Mecca from Morocco and Arab-controlled Andalusia. The city was ornamented with significant instances of Arabic architecture, such as the famed castle of Mamluk ruler Qait Bey (which survives to the present), and drew well-known sheikhs, such as Abul Abas el-Moursi and Abul Hasan el-Sazli, founders of notable Sufi schools. Later, in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries (as well as later periods), Alexandria was

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[19] Gunther Holbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London: Routledge, 2001); Herwig Maehler, "Alexandria, the Mouseion, and Cultural Identity." In *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk (London: Routledge, 2004), 1–14; Mostafa El-Abbadi, "The Alexandria Library in History." In *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk (London: Routledge, 2004), 167–184; Judith McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt, 300BC–AD700* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 37–74.

[20] Samuel Rubenson, "From School to Patriarchate: Aspects on the Christianization of Alexandria." In *Alexandria: A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot*, eds. George Hinge and Jens Krasilnikoff (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1990), 144–157; McKenzie, *Architecture*, 229–235.

home to numerous nationalities and faiths. There were also Greeks and Copts, as well as dark-skinned Ethiopians and Africans from the interior, in addition to Saracens, Jews, and Franks.

Christians of all denominations were generally allowed in Egypt as long as they followed the country's laws and paid their taxes. Westerners were frequently perplexed by Eastern Christian cults whose languages they were unfamiliar with. The Copts, also known as Jacobites, were referred to as 'Christians of the Girdle' at times. They were also members of the Nestorian, Maronite, Syrian, and Ethiopian churches, as well as Greek Orthodox Christians. There were also many 'renegade Christians' in Egypt at the period, Europeans who had deserted the Latin faith and who, in certain circumstances, held high positions in the sultan's court and had Muslim families.[21]

With a strong Venetian presence in the Eastern Mediterranean, the city-state became the primary point of departure for European pilgrims. Venice had arranged an efficient and profitable travel service for travellers visiting the Holy Land or taking an extended tour of holy sites in Egypt since the Crusades. Pilgrims were led to the church built on the site where, according to legend, St. Mark was executed and buried in Alexandria by guides who also served as interpreters.[22]

Visitors to Alexandria during the medieval period were not particularly interested in antiquities, but a massive, over eighty-foot-tall column outside the city walls did draw attention. It was known to medieval Europeans as Pompey's Pillar because it was dedicated to Diocletian by Polybius, the Egyptian prefect, in 300 AD. Travellers were impressed by the structure's height and huge Corinthian capital, so they tried to understand the four-line Greek dedicatory inscription, which was ten feet above the ground. Others pondered the two 'needles' marked by mysterious signs that it was claimed signified the location of Cleopatra's palace near the bay. One was still standing while the other lay on the ground, smashed.[23]

Though it is difficult to say how much classical literature travellers and pilgrims read, many educated people were becoming acquainted with the works of Greek and Latin authors by the sixteenth century, and many travellers' accounts from the time quote (uncritically)

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[21] Anne Wolff, "Merchants, Pilgrims, Naturalists: Alexandria through European Eyes from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century." In *Alexandria, Real and Imagined,* eds. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk (London; Routledge, 2004), 204.

[22] Wolff, "Merchants, Pilgrims, Naturalists," 204.

[23] Wolff, "Merchants, Pilgrims, Naturalists," 205–206.

descriptions of Alexandria taken from ancient writers. Some European visitors compared the obelisks at Alexandria to those in Rome, which were raised and reconstructed from old ruins in the sixteenth century.[24]

The Muhammed Ali Pasha Era

Alexandria was a tiny fishing community with a few thousand residents during the first three centuries of Ottoman control. Nonetheless, the end of the Ottoman period witnessed the city's resurgence, a real multidimensional déjà vu due to a series of coincidences dating back to its Hellenistic founding. During the initial Ottoman period, the people of the walled medieval city on the mainland had mostly abandoned it in favour of the area adjacent to the harbour along the peninsula's neck. When Napoleon's expedition landed in Alexandria in 1798, they found a stagnating Ottoman port town whose connection to the rest of Egypt was maintained by sea via Rosetta.[25]

        After the Ottoman Sultan Selim III selected the ambitious Turkish-Albanian Pasha Muhammad Ali to be his viceroy in Egypt when the French withdrew after their brief occupation around the turn of the eighteenth century, the fate of Alexandria began to shift. Muhammed Ali, who ruled Egypt from 1805 to 1848, progressively consolidated his control over Egypt, establishing his own governing dynasty that lasted until the mid-twentieth century. Muhammad Ali is credited with the refortification, development, and modernization of Alexandria. As viceroy, he commissioned the construction of the Mahmudiyya canal (completed in 1820), which, despite setbacks and a high human toll, provided the city with an ample and continuous supply of fresh water and

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[24] Giovani Ramusio, *La description dell' Africa di Giovan Lioni Africanus delle Navigation e viaggi* (Venice: Guinti, 1550), 88v, 89r; Pierre Belon, *Voyage en Egypte de Pierre Balon du Mans, 1547* (Cairo: Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Egypte 1, 1970), 94a-b.

[25] One of the results of Napoleon's expedition in Egypt was the massive, multi-volume work *Description de l'Egypte*. See Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Michael Reimer, *Colonial Bridgehead: Government and Society in Alexandria 1807–1882* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 36.

connected it to the Nile valley.[26] During Muhammad Ali's tenure, Alexandria rose to prominence as Egypt's second city, where ruling elites would retreat during the summer months.[27]

Kavala, a city in Macedonia (present-day northern Greece), was Ali's birthplace. He travelled from Greece to Egypt as had Alexander the Great, and he transformed the little village of Iskandariah (Ottoman Alexandria) into a great metropolis, restoring its cosmopolitan nature and function as a major Mediterranean port. As François Levernay, a French traveller, noted:

> In 1790, Alexandria was no more than a poor village of between 5.000 and 6.000 [sic] inhabitants. Mohammed Aly, by lifting the ban which prohibited Christian ships from entering the Old Port, by warmly welcoming the foreigners and generously paying for the many different services these latter rendered to Egypt, saw the growth in this country and, principally, at Alexandria of a large colony coming from all regions of the civilized world and soon the city of the Ptolemy, once fallen into neglect, was to awaken, new, grand and prosperous.[28]

By developing the city's port as a transit hub from which Egyptian cotton was exported, as well as commissioning a train connection to Cairo and the inland, Muhammed Ali reinterpreted Alexandria's position in modern European economic and social life in the early nineteenth century. While never administratively a colony of France or Great Britain like Algeria or India, Egypt was subject to the conditions of 'informal empire'.[29] The growth of modern Alexandria is inextricably linked to the interests of European powers in Egypt. As Reimer writes: 'The city's history [...] dynamically illustrates the complexities and ambiguities of the country's modern orientation toward the West. Alexandria was […] both a bridgehead of European colonialism and a crucible of Egyptian national

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[26] Khaled Fahmy, "Towards a Social History of Modern Alexandria." In *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk (London: Routledge, 2004), 283–284.

[27] Reimer, *Colonial Bridgehead*, 59–60.

[28] François Levernay, "Foreigners Welcomed," re-printed in Michael Haag, *An Alexandria Anthology: Travel Writing through the Centuries* (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 2014), 46.

[29] Juan Ricardo Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's Urabi Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3.