



## **HERITAGE AND NATIONALISM IN NASSER'S EGYPT**

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The case of Belle Époque Alexandria

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## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION .....	10
Literature Review.....	11
Aim.....	12
Objectives .....	12
Methodologies .....	12
Structure .....	14
1. HERITAGE & NATIONALISM.....	15
Post-colonial contexts.....	19
2. BELLE ÉPOQUE Alexandria.....	23
Muhammad Ali's Alexandria .....	23
A city fit for Europeans.....	26
3. NASSER'S NATIONALISM.....	32
A prelude to Nasserism .....	32
A political and social revolution.....	34
The Nasserite built environment.....	36
Nasserism and Heritage.....	39
Heritage: not a priority.....	40
Nasserism and Belle Époque.....	44
4. ALEXANDRIA.....	52
Nasserite Alexandria .....	52
Post-Nasserite Alexandria .....	68
5. CONCLUSION.....	73
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	78

Appendix A.....	81
Appendix B.....	82
Appendix C.....	83
Appendix D.....	86

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of St. Denis with the positioning of the royal tombs (Left) and a map of the cave of the Bourbons where they were moved (right). Source: "Profanation des tombes de la Basilique Saint-Denis", France, 1793, <a href="https://www.geni.com/documents/view?doc_id=6000000016686554006&amp;graph_node_id=project-11908">https://www.geni.com/documents/view?doc_id=6000000016686554006&amp;graph_node_id=project-11908</a> .....	18
Figure 2. Comparative aerial views of Rome's historic center before and after via dell'Impero. Source: (top) Archivio Cederna, Pianta Topografica della Zona Archeologica Di Roma, stampa fotografica. (bottom) Google Maps .....	19
Figure 3. The impact of the Avenida Central on the city's urban fabric (top) and the Avenida Central in the early twentieth century (bottom). Source: Zeca Brandao, "Urban Planning in Rio de Janeiro: A Critical Review of the Urban Design Practice in the Twentieth Century," <i>City &amp; Time</i> 2, no. 4 (2006): 38.....	21
Figure 4. The demolition of Morro do Castelo. Source: Luciano Ferez, <a href="https://abrilveja.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/morro-do-castelo-desmonte-original.jpeg?quality=70&amp;strip=all&amp;w=620">https://abrilveja.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/morro-do-castelo-desmonte-original.jpeg?quality=70&amp;strip=all&amp;w=620</a> .....	21
Figure 5. Chart showing the increase of the European population in Alexandria, based on Michael Reimer, "Reorganizing Alexandria: The Origins and History of the Conseil de L'Ornato," <i>Journal of Urban History</i> 19, no. 3 (1993): 59.....	24
Figure 6. European population in Alexandria (1897-1927). Source: Robert Ilbert et al., eds., <i>Alexandria 1860-1960: The Brief Life of a Cosmopolitan Community</i> (Alexandria: Harpocrates, 2006), 761. ....	24
Figure 7. Map showing the segregation between the Turkish Town (in blue) and the European quarter (in red), with Charles Muller's 1855 map of Alexandria as a base map. Source: Gustav Jondet, <i>Atlas Historique de la ville et des ports d'Alexandrie</i> , 1921. ....	26
Figure 8. A comparison between a street in the Turkish Town (left) and one in the European quarter (right). Source: (left) Dudley Gordon, "A narrow street in Alexandria, Egypt, circa 1925", Hulton Archive/Getty Image and (right) al-Ahram Weekly,	

<a href="http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Media/NewsMedia/2014/3/12/2014-635302244102987163-298_resized.jpg">http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Media/NewsMedia/2014/3/12/2014-635302244102987163-298_resized.jpg</a> .....	26
Figure 9. Tossizza Palace (top) and later the Bourse (bottom). Source: (top)Mohamed Awad, Italy in Alexandria: Influences on the Built Environment (Alexandria: Alexandria Preservation Trust, 2008),83 and (bottom) by G. Packham, "The stock exchange in Alexandria, Egypt, 1944", Hulton Archive/Getty Images. ....	27
Figure 10. Statue of Muhammad Ali of Egypt in Mansheya square, Alexandria, Egypt in 1910s. Source: <a href="http://www.panoramio.com/photo/13812367">http://www.panoramio.com/photo/13812367</a> .....	27
Figure 11. Midan al-Mansheya before 1882. Source: Mohamed Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory" (Cairo University, 2012), appendix.....	28
Figure 12. The Square in its final shape in the 1860's. Source: Gustav Jondet, Atlas Historique de la ville et des ports d'Alexandrie, 1921, 123.....	28
Figure 13. A map of the buildings destroyed by the bombardment. Source: Gustav Jondet, Atlas Historique de la ville et des ports d'Alexandrie, 1921, 123. ....	29
Figure 14. The square, destroyed by the bombardment. Source: <a href="http://www.levantineheritage.com/alexandria.htm">http://www.levantineheritage.com/alexandria.htm</a> .....	29
Figure 15. The French Gardens. Source: Mohamed Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory" (Cairo University, 2012), 165. ....	30
Figure 16. Khedive Ismail Statue. Source: Dvr Tom Beazley,1940, <a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/88572252@N06/8088272104">https://www.flickr.com/photos/88572252@N06/8088272104</a> . ....	30
Figure 17. Midan al-Mansheya in the 1940s. Source: Mohamed Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory" (Cairo University, 2012), appendix.....	31
Figure 18. Timeline of significant events in the "political and social revolution". ....	35
Figure 19. Aerial view showing the Egyptian Museum and the British Barracks (later Tahrir square), circa 1905. Source: <a href="http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/15018/17/The-battle-for-Tahrir.aspx">http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/15018/17/The-battle-for-Tahrir.aspx</a> .....	37

Figure 20. 1962 photo of Tahrir square. Source: <a href="http://harvardpress.typepad.com/hup_publicity/2011/04/a-history-of-tahrir-square.h">http://harvardpress.typepad.com/hup_publicity/2011/04/a-history-of-tahrir-square.h</a> .....	37
Figure 21. Hilton hotel exterior. Source: Courtesy of Ben W.Smith, <a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/darkwash/3678208913/">https://www.flickr.com/photos/darkwash/3678208913/</a> .....	38
Figure 22. Presidents Nasser and Tito and Conrad Hilton during the opening of the hotel in 1959 inside the hotel's lobby. Source: Rene Burri/Magnum Photos.....	38
Figure 23. Cairo Tower. Source: Arria Belli, 2008, <a href="https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cairo_Tower_by_day.jpg">https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cairo_Tower_by_day.jpg</a> .....	38
Figure 24. Centralization of the heritage sector.....	40
Figure 25. Ramses II statue in front of Cairo train station, 1979. Source: courtesy of Tulipe Noire, <a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/8637723@N05/8349351899">https://www.flickr.com/photos/8637723@N05/8349351899</a> .....	42
Figure 26. United Arab Airlines advertised timetable in 1955, 1960, 1969. Source: <a href="http://www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/ms.htm">http://www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/ms.htm</a> .....	43
Figure 27. 50 piasters, 1952. Source: Courtesy of Tulipe Noire, <a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/8637723@N05/4274673292/">https://www.flickr.com/photos/8637723@N05/4274673292/</a> .....	43
Figure 28. Newspaper clipping showing Nasser's motorcade on the way to Eid prayer. Source: al-Ahram, March 28, 1960, Library of Alexandria Archive. ....	44
Figure 29. "Abdel Nasser orders the repair of all mosques". Source: al-Ahram, March 23, 1960, Library of Alexandria Archive.....	44
Figure 30. Catalogue for the sale of Abdeen Palace collection. Source: Mohamed Awad, Montazah: The Royal Palaces and Gardens (Bibliotheca Alexandria, 2014), 90.....	45
Figure 31. Photo showing the peasant family during their visit to Abdeen Palace. Source: "Selim sits on the throne", <a href="http://lite.almasryalyoum.com/extra/85190/">http://lite.almasryalyoum.com/extra/85190/</a> .....	45
Figure 32. Exterior, and interior of main reception of Haramlek Palace, inaccessible today. Source: Mohamed Awad, Montazah: The Royal Palaces and Gardens (Bibliotheca Alexandria, 2014). ....	46
Figure 33. Private Villa, "Mazloun Building" now the Faculty of Fine Arts. ....	49
Figure 34. Direct and indirect effect of Nasserite legislation and policies on Belle Époque heritage.....	51

Figure 35. Map showing the borders of the study site “The European City”. Source: Google maps and AlexMed.....52

Figure 36. A photo of Alexandria after the 1882 bombardment (left) and a photo of Alexandria after 1952 published side by side in a governmental publication with the caption "Alexandria in the British colonial era and Alexandria by the hands of its sons". Source: Alexandria: Local Governance 1961-1964, 14-15.....53

Figure 37. Governmental publication on the achievements of local governance depicting a beach in Alexandria. Source: Alexandria: Local Governance 1961-1964, cover. ....53

Figure 38. Menasce Synagogue before and after 1956. Source: <http://www.aaha.ch/photos/majestic.htm> (top) <http://www.aaha.ch/photos/synagogue-menasce.htm> (bottom).....54

Figure 39. Nasser, on the balcony of Tossizza Palace before announcing the nationalization of the Suez Canal. Source: al-Ahram Weekly, November 1, 2006. ....54

Figure 40. Khedive Ismail Statue covered. Source: Ahwal Masriyya (Egyptian Statues), no. 37, 2010, 32.....56

Figure 41. The Unknown Naval Soldier today without the statue. Source: courtesy of Eric Bedard, <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/11570937.jpg> .....56

Figure 42. Article in the newspaper calling for the destruction of the statues of the old regime. Source: al-Ahram, "Statues without pedestals and statues that should be destroyed", May 6, 1957.....56

Figure 43. the words "Gamal Abdel Nasser 1956" written on the pedestal of the statue of Muhammad Ali. ....56

Figure 44. the bus terminus in place of the French Gardens. Source: Haag, Vintage Alexandria, 2008, 139.....57

Figure 45. Mansheya square in the 1960s. Source: Dessouki, “The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory”, appendix.....58

Figure 46. Map showing Nasr Road connecting Mansheya Square to the port. Source: Google maps. ....59

Figure 47. Nasr Road Project, (in red) the road intervention, (in green), planned but not implemented, (in grey) the new commercial residential blocks, (in yellow), office buildings, (a) Marine Navigation Company, based on “Nasr Road Planning Project and its outbuildings, (a) Marine Navigation Company, based on “Nasr Road Planning Project and its outbuildings”. Source: AlexMed. ....	60
Figure 48. Examples of the pre-existing surrounding fabric. ....	61
Figure 49. Example of the new fabric. ....	62
Figure 50. Relationship between old and new fabric. ....	62
Figure 51. Uses survey map. ....	63
Figure 52. Conditions survey map. ....	64
Figure 53. building in relatively bad condition. ....	65
Figure 54. 3 floors and cage-like boxes added to the facade of the Alexandria University administrative building (previously the Italian marine hospital- left) to accommodate ACs. Source: (left) Awad, Italy in Alexandria, 209. ....	65
Figure 55. Majestic hotel (privately owned) after demolishing the characteristic domes, adding 2 floors and reconstructing the domes. Source: (left) <a href="http://www.egyptianroyalty.net">www.egyptianroyalty.net</a> .....	66
Figure 56. Palazzo Lutzatto, now the Belquis School. Source: (right) AlexMed .....	66
Figure 57. The governorate building following 2011, now parking. Source: <a href="http://www.nile.eg/">http://www.nile.eg/</a> .....	67
Figure 58. Villa Aghion by August Perret being demolished in 2014, and a sign showing the new project that is to replace it: a commercial and residential complex and a hotel. Source: Save Alex .....	67
Figure 59. Villa (no.3011 in the Heritage list) demolished and replaced by high-rise apartment building. Source: (left) <a href="http://www.urbanharmony.org/">http://www.urbanharmony.org/</a> .....	67
Figure 60. The Socialist Union headquarter burning during the 1977 bread riots and today as a parking. Source: al-Ahram Weekly, <a href="http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/1999/462/1970.htm">http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/1999/462/1970.htm</a> .....	69
Figure 61. Mansheya square in the 2000s. Source: Dessouki, "the interrelationship between urban space and collective memory," appendix.....	69
Figure 62. Abdeen Palace. Source: <a href="http://www.cairo.gov.eg">www.cairo.gov.eg</a> .....	71

Figure 63. Museum of Royal Jewelry, 2014. ....72

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## INTRODUCTION

The Nasserite era is arguably one of the most transformative historic periods in modern Egyptian history, and a plethora of significant events: the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republic, the ouster of the British, as well as a number of radical social and economic reforms. This period also saw the rise of Egyptian nationalism and Pan-Arabism and the establishment of Egypt, as an independent entity and a leading power in the Arab world. During its rule, Nasser's nationalist regime sought to create a new independent identity for Egypt, which has for many years been associated with colonialism and a foreign ruling family. However, like most nationalist regimes, this one used the past to validate and legitimize its rule, which included marginalizing sectors of its heritage, namely that of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in an attempt to create and consolidate new national narratives.

Following the military overthrow of the monarchy, the properties and belongings of the royal family were overtaken by the government "in the name of the people." With the nationalizations measures of 1950s and the Socialist Laws in the 1960s, private businesses and properties were egyptianized, sequestered and/or nationalized and most were transformed into governmental offices and public service institutions. These actions had a severe impact on the economy as well as the built stock built by the royal family and the Egyptian and foreign elites living in Egypt at the time. Today, Egypt is continuously losing its built heritage at an alarming rate, due to many factors and challenges, the origins of some go back to the Nasserite era. Nasser's politics and policies towards this 'Belle Époque' heritage made it irrelevant to national heritage. Interventions on this heritage undertaken at the time could be contributing to its conservation in some cases and its demise in others.

For the purpose of this study, Alexandria was chosen as a case study for a multitude of reasons. First, most of the research done on the city's heritage focusses on the pre-Nasser era (1850-1952) but not much afterwards. Second, although developments and interventions in the built environment during Nasser's rule mostly focussed on Cairo and Alexandria, Cairo's belle époque heritage does not seem to be suffering the damage that Alexandria's heritage

has been subjected to. Additionally, Alexandria's built heritage is mostly made up of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century heritage which makes this damage a more pressing problem.

## Literature Review

Anthony Smith's and Ernest Gellner's works discuss Nationalism in depth, as an ideological movement, as well as the notion of National Identity. The relationship between Nationalism and conservation in the international context is explored in Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge's *A Geography of Heritage* and Miles Glendinning's *The Conservation Movement*.

The literature available on the Nasserite era is mostly concerned with politics, economy and international relations such as Joel Gordon's *Nasser's Blessed Movement*, Kirk Beattie's *Egypt during the Nasser Years*. Despite the fact that this period witnessed major developmental projects all over Egypt, the built environment is rather absent from literature, with few exceptions such as Mohamed El Shahed's *Facades of modernity* and *Revolutionary Modernism*. Both are concerned with the built environment during this transformative period, and provide an overview of the relationship between new architecture and identity following the rise of Egyptian nationalism. However, Cairo is their main focus and Alexandria is only mentioned as a side note. The Nasserite era witnessed a "cultural renaissance" discussed in the memoirs of Tharwat Okasha, including several heritage-related projects such as the Nubia Salvage Project.

When it comes to Belle Époque Alexandria, Mohamed Awad's work is the standard reference on this era, its architects and its heritage. However, their focus is mostly the pre-Nasser period. Literary works of the time such as those of Lawrence Durrell and E.M. Forster and their interpretation by Khaled Fahmy and Hala Halim help shed the light on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Alexandrian society. As to Alexandria during the Nasserite era, in addition to Awad's *the Impact of Economic Change on the Structure and Function of the Building Industry in Egypt (1920-1985)*, governmental publications provide an overview of the different developmental projects undertaken at the time. Mohamed Adel Dessouki's *The Interrelationship between Urban space and collective memory* discussed the effect of this transformative period on collective memory, especially the case study which is Alexandria's

Mansheya Square. Yomna Borg's *Social Contexts and Built Heritage* provides a comprehensive overview on the social, political and economic challenges of heritage conservation in Alexandria today.

Despite the intimate relationship between heritage and nationalism, there is a significant gap in the literature on the relationship between Nasser's Nationalism and heritage. This is especially true in the case of Alexandria, where most references mostly focus on the monarchic period, whereas the Nasserite era is mentioned as an epilogue or an afterthought. This research seeks to address this gap by exploring the official heritage narratives propagated by this nationalist regime, particularly those pertaining to 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century built heritage in Alexandria and how these continue to affect its conservation today.

### **Aim**

The main aim of this study is to investigate how Nasser's nationalist regime used heritage in its attempt to validate its rule and to create a new national identity and how this affected and continues to affect built heritage in Egypt, with a special focus on 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century heritage in the city of Alexandria.

### **Objectives**

1. To contextualize the issue of Egyptian heritage and Nationalism within the international context and understand how heritage in that wider context was affected by modern nationalism.
2. To understand how post-1952 nationalism dealt with the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century heritage and where it fell in the spectrum of other types of Egyptian heritage.
3. To identify the policies and laws issued at the time that affected that heritage.
4. To provide a critical analysis of these policies and their positive and negative implications on the conservation of this heritage in Alexandria today

### **Methodologies**

The troubled relationship between built heritage and nationalism in the international context as well as post-colonial countries will be explored through a literature review of secondary

sources, citing some examples to better understand the impact of this political force on the heritage of the 'other'. This will serve as the theoretical framework on which the analysis of the Egyptian context will be based. To put the research question in its historic and geographical context in Egypt, secondary source research will be undertaken to investigate the historical and socio-political context of the pre-Nasserite era as well as the roots of Egyptian nationalism using academic literature and analysis of literary works.

To understand the new nationalist regime's relationship with heritage, in general, and with Belle Époque heritage, in particular:

1. interviews with selected professionals and academics were conducted to overcome the gap in literature on the impact of Nasser's nationalistic policies on Belle Époque heritage in Egypt, in general, and in Alexandria, in particular, and their implication on its conservation today.
2. Secondary research was undertaken to identify this regime's relationship with the built environment and heritage.
3. A case study in Alexandria was undertaken, consisting of
  - a. Secondary research to understand the changes the city center underwent from the Nasserite era to today.
  - b. A descriptive analysis of the urban-scale intervention which made way for el-Nasr Road and attempt to understand the ideology that guided it using primary resources such as local governmental publications and magazines published at the time.
  - c. Analysis of primary resources such as government publications, newspaper articles from the 1950s and 1960s, and maps.
  - d. A survey of the current conditions and uses of belle Époque heritage in the European city as delimited in the Heritage List, to understand the implications of the policies of the 1950s and 1960s on this heritage today.

## Structure

The first chapter starts by exploring the notion of nationalism and its relationship with heritage. An overview of pre-Nasserite Alexandria, its 'cosmopolitan' society and 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> heritage and how it came to be is provided in the second chapter. The third chapter explores Egyptian nationalism with a focus on the Nasserite era starting with the 1952 coup d'état and the politics of Nasser's regime and then goes on to explore this regime's relationship with the built environment, in general, and built heritage in particular. The case study of Alexandria is the focus of the fourth chapter, where the positive and negative effects of Nasserite policies on Belle Époque heritage are explored. The fifth and final chapter is the conclusion of the research.

# 1. HERITAGE & NATIONALISM

Heritage conservation has always been concerned with “exploiting the past for useful modern purposes”.<sup>1</sup> This is especially true in the case of politics. Throughout history, heritage always played an important role in the validation and legitimation of power structures.<sup>2</sup> In fact, what we consider today as heritage is the result of a highly selective process, or an “authorized heritage discourse”<sup>3</sup>, undertaken by political powers in their attempt to prevail. Although these discourses vary with time and place, they tend to propagate certain narratives, such as a particular interpretation of heritage and its meaning, that, more often than not, relate to notions of “nation and nationhood”.<sup>4</sup> With the aim of depicting a national story,<sup>5</sup> these political powers created, destroyed and interpreted heritage, transforming it into cultural, economic and political capital.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the notion of heritage is highly political and its interpretation is intrinsically biased.<sup>7</sup>

With the emergence of modern nationalism, the production of a collective narrative of the past became a common practice of modernity-seeking state. This was incremental to “the process of making a particular mixture of people into a coherent nation”<sup>8</sup> and built heritage was a key element in it. According to Gellner, “Nationalism ... invents nations where they do not exist—but it does need some pre-existing differentiating marks to work on”.<sup>9</sup> For that

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<sup>1</sup> Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation: Antiquity to Modernity* (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2013), 3.

<sup>2</sup> B. J. Graham, G. J. Ashworth, and J. E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (London; New York: Arnold; Oxford University Press, 2000), 17.

<sup>3</sup> Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), 4. According to Smith, there are other popular discourses which could in some cases oppose the “authorized heritage discourse”. However, the focus of this research is the AHD.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Noha Nasser, “Redefining Heritage and Identity in Conservation,” 2007, [http://ihbc.org.uk/context\\_archive/102/nasser/page.html](http://ihbc.org.uk/context_archive/102/nasser/page.html).

<sup>6</sup> B. J. Graham and Peter Howard, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Ashgate Research Companions (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Co, 2008), 2.

<sup>7</sup> Nasser, “Redefining Heritage and Identity in Conservation.”

<sup>8</sup> Timothy Mitchell, “Making the Nation: The Politics of Heritage in Egypt,” in *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*, ed. Nezar AlSayyad, 2001, 212, <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=676318>.

<sup>9</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969), 168.

reason, the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century saw Nationalism deploy selected parts of the past and its physical manifestations, in a variety of ways, to create, restore or maintain national identity.

Nationalism is a complex notion that is difficult to define. This is mainly because it varies from state to state, since it depends on what each group defines as “nation”, and because it is multi-faceted and includes variable aspects such as ethnicity, language, religion, etc. However, it is often agreed that it encompasses two issues: the delimitation of a geographical territory and of its members, and can be defined as “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining the autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential nation.”<sup>10</sup>

The roots of nationalism in the west have long been debated by scholars. Regardless of its exact origin, it is agreed that the successive revolutions all over Europe and North America between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century played an important role in shaping modern nationalism and that the French revolution was the most significant milestone in the formation of this political force.<sup>11</sup> The French revolution was an important turning point in modern history, not only for Nationalism, but also for modern conservation. From that point onwards, nationalism and heritage conservation developed simultaneously. In fact, nationalism became the most influential driving force of modern conservation.<sup>12</sup> However, their relationship, albeit intimate, was a tumultuous one.<sup>13</sup> This is due to the fact that nationalists have used heritage to support their ideologies and to attain and maintain national identity.<sup>14</sup> According to Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge:

The nation-state required national heritage to consolidate national identification, absorb or neutralize potentially competing heritage of social-cultural groups or

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<sup>10</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity, Ethnonationalism in Comparative Perspective* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 73.

<sup>11</sup> Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage*, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement*, 66.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage*, 12.

regions, combats the claims of other nations upon its territory or people, while furthering claims upon nationals in territories elsewhere.<sup>15</sup>

The process of creating and maintaining national identity consists of establishing narratives, using identity markers such as heritage, language, religion, ethnicity, nationalism and a shared interpretation of the past, that aim to define a certain nation in counter-distinction to “the other”.<sup>16</sup> However, this “recognition of otherness ... may also lead to distrust, avoidance, exclusion and distancing”.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the notion of sameness and, by extension, the notion of otherness are central to the concept of identity.

According to Graham, Ashworth and Turnbridge, the interpretation of heritage inherently entails some form of disinheritance. This is usually done through a selective process that establishes a connection to parts of this heritage and denies and/or marginalizes the rest.<sup>18</sup> This disinheritance tends to happen after significant turning points, where the previous regime is deemed “the other”<sup>19</sup> and its heritage becomes unwanted, calling for a change in the “authorized heritage discourse”.

Early post-revolutionary France is an example of the above-mentioned disinheritance, where state-sanctioned iconoclasm of the symbols of the old regime resulted in nation-wide destruction. For instance, a total of 235 statues were smashed at Strasbourg Cathedral in just three days.<sup>20</sup> In 1793, following a National Convention decree, the tombs of the monarchs in the abbey of St. Denis were desecrated, the monarchs’ remains were removed and thrown in a ditch (Figure 1), and the abbey was declared “purged of the royal race”. However, the tombs were moved, shortly thereafter, to the *Musée des Monuments Français*,<sup>21</sup> and later

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 183.

<sup>16</sup> Graham and Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Neville Douglas, “Political Structures, Social Interaction and Identity Change in Northern Ireland,” in *In Search of Ireland: A Cultural Geography* (Routledge, 2002), 151.

<sup>18</sup> Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage*, 34.

<sup>19</sup> Zeynep Aygen, *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation: Saving the World’s Past*, Routledge Studies in Heritage 3 (New York: Routledge, 2013), 70.

<sup>20</sup> Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement*, 68.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 70.

returned to the abbey, an example of the simultaneous emerging awareness of the value of the *ancien régime* which would eventually prevail in France.

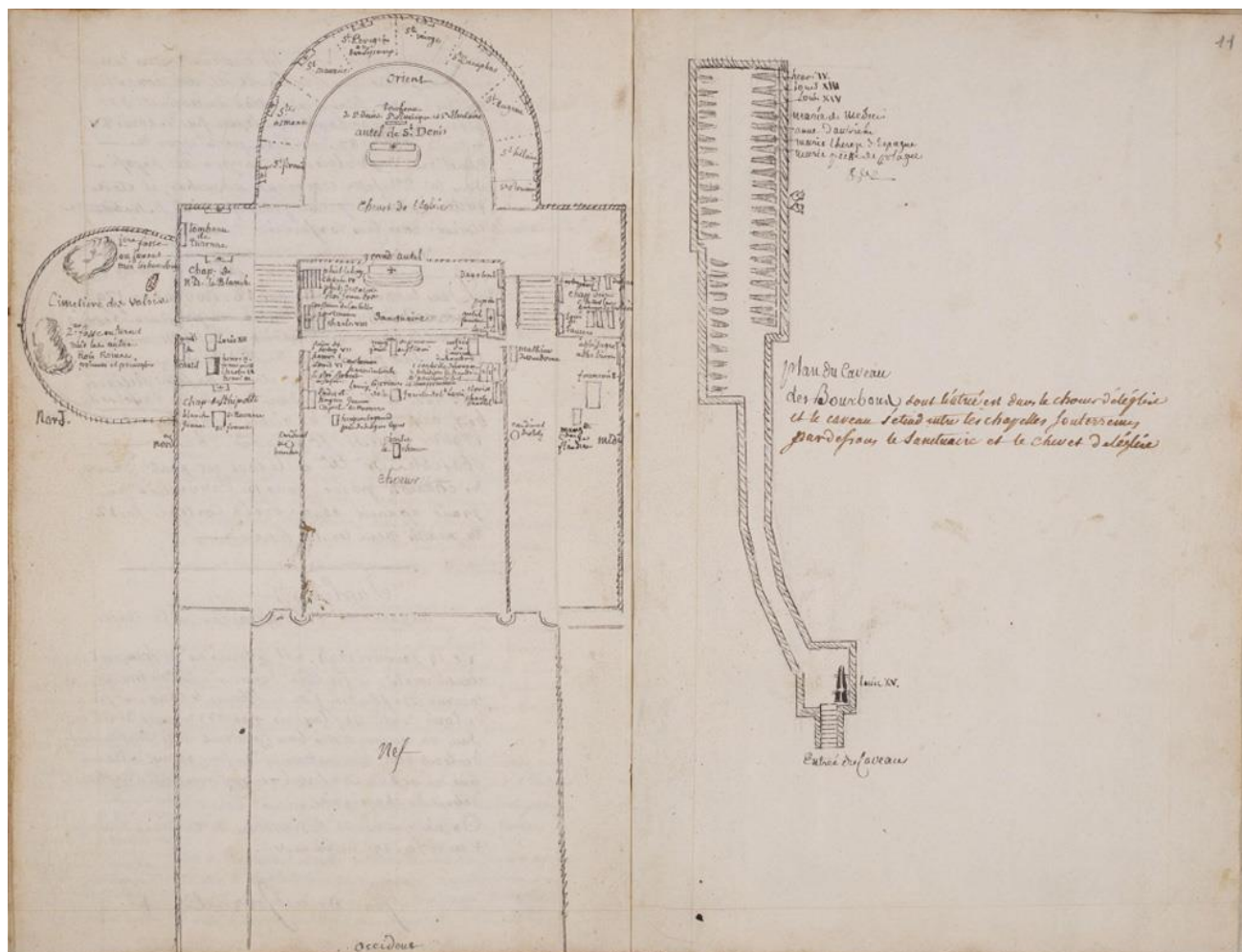


Figure 1. Map of St. Denis with the positioning of the royal tombs (Left) and a map of the cave of the Bourbons where they were moved (right). Source: "Profanation des tombes de la Basilique Saint-Denis", France, 1793, [https://www.geni.com/documents/view?doc\\_id=6000000016686554006&graph\\_node\\_id=project-11908](https://www.geni.com/documents/view?doc_id=6000000016686554006&graph_node_id=project-11908)

In early-twentieth-century Italy, Mussolini's *italianità* and *romanità* and his ambitious plans to make Rome a new wonder of the world entailed the disinheritance of 19<sup>th</sup> century historicism and Baroque, which were deemed decadent at the time.<sup>22</sup> In alignment with this fascist regime's ideology, and in a manner reminiscent of, but significantly more aggressive

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 206.

than the Haussmanization of Paris, historical layers were swept away to put Ancient Rome on display, thus manipulating the narrative to over-emphasize antiquity (Figure 2).<sup>23</sup>



Figure 2. Comparative aerial views of Rome's historic center before and after via dell'Impero. Source: (top) Archivio Cederna, *Pianta Topografica della Zona Archeologica Di Roma, stampa fotografica*. (bottom) Google Maps

### Post-colonial contexts

While the relationship between heritage and nationalism is generally troubled, it is particularly sensitive in the case of colonial heritage and post-colonial nationalism. Most decolonization processes have included some form of suppression or marginalization of colonial heritage. These new postcolonial regimes took control of what the Germans label *Erinnerungslandschaft* or memory landscape. In the quest for a new identity independent from that of the colonizers, streets and squares were renamed and statues were covered or removed. In an attempt to consolidate postcolonial national identity, Lord Delamere's statue in Kenya, was removed in 1963, just before Kenya gained its independence from British

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<sup>23</sup> Ruxandra Stoica, "Ideology of Urban Conservation" (PhD, The University of Edinburgh, 2011), 43.

colonizers. In postcolonial Algiers, in an attempt to obliterate a symbol of French colonial presence, the equestrian statue of the Duke D'Orleans received similar treatment and the square where it stood was renamed La Place des Martyres in honor of those who died in the Algerian War. However, locals still call the square *La Place du Cheval*, which serves to show the complexity of postcolonial collective memory modification.<sup>24</sup>

In the name of modernization and urban growth, colonial heritage was the target of demolitions, modifications and a laissez-faire approach where it was left to crumble. Nationalism in post-colonial contexts was also partly built on introducing new architecture amidst urban renewal than can be labelled as destructive in their quest for modernity.<sup>25</sup> An example of this is the 20<sup>th</sup> century urban renewal of Rio de Janeiro's city center which aimed to obliterate the last remains of colonial urban design. Inspired by Haussman's Paris and striving for a new identity, the Avenida Central (today Rio Branco Avenue) swept away the undesirable mix of slums (colonial era housing)<sup>26</sup> and governmental headquarters to make way for impressive public buildings and squares, in the beaux-arts style (Figure 3).<sup>27</sup> Similarly, the Castle Hill (*Morro do Castelo*) (Figure 4) and the Misericordia District were demolished to make way for the International Exhibition celebrating the first centenary of Brazil's independence.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Sabine Marschall, "The Heritage of Post-Colonial Societies," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Peter Howard and B. J. Graham, Ashgate Research Companions (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub. Co, 2008), 347–49.

<sup>25</sup> Aygen, *International Heritage and Historic Building Conservation*, 107.

<sup>26</sup> Around 3000 colonial era housing tenements and dwellings.

<sup>27</sup> Zeca Brandao, "Urban Planning in Rio de Janeiro: A Critical Review of the Urban Design Practice in the Twentieth Century," *City & Time* 2, no. 4 (2006): 37–38.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 39–40.

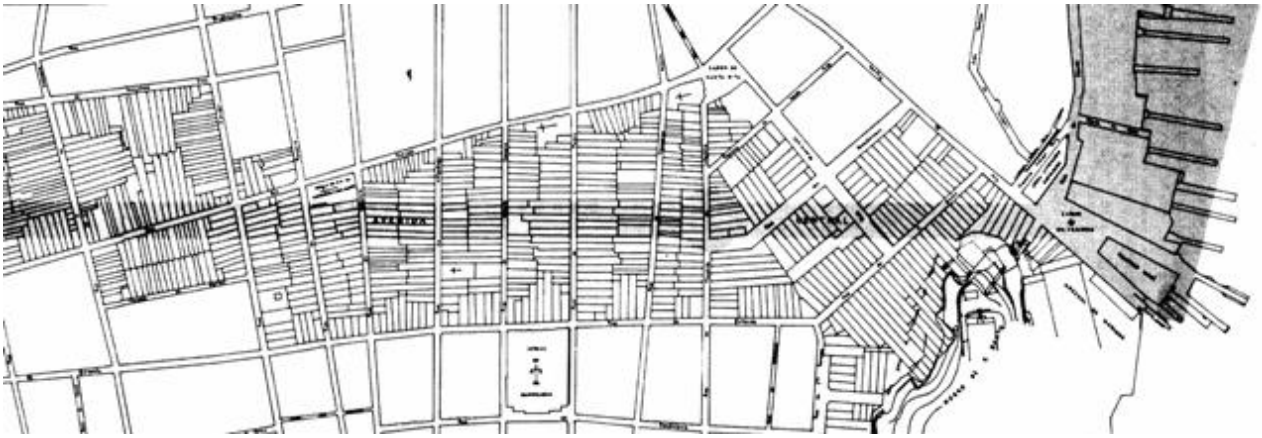


Figure 3. The impact of the Avenida Central on the city's urban fabric (top) and the Avenida Central in the early twentieth century (bottom). Source: Zeca Brandao, "Urban Planning in Rio de Janeiro: A Critical Review of the Urban Design Practice in the Twentieth Century," *City & Time* 2, no. 4 (2006): 38.



Figure 4. The demolition of Morro do Castelo. Source: Luciano Ferez, <https://abrilveja.files.wordpress.com/2016/06/morro-do-castelo-desmonte-original.jpeg?quality=70&strip=all&w=620>.

The actions discussed above undertaken by political structures towards heritage are generally motivated by the desire to change pre-existing conditions or narratives, deemed dissonant with the new official discourses. Identifying the former is essential to understanding the driving forces behind the propagation of the latter. For this reason, and in order to put Nasser's nationalistic narratives in their historical context, the next chapter explores the pre-Nasserite era, with a focus on the Muhammad Aly dynasty and 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Alexandrian society and built heritage.

## 2. BELLE ÉPOQUE ALEXANDRIA

To understand how 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century built heritage came to be in Alexandria, this chapter explores the history of city before Nasser, with a focus on the reign of the Muhammad Ali dynasty (1805-1952). The modernization that this dynasty sought to achieve was synonymous with Europeanization. Trade was geared towards European markets, social life was kindred to that in the most fashionable societies in Europe and the architecture gave Alexandria its unique western Mediterranean character. This era's favoritism towards foreigners and marginalization of natives were the driving force behind the rise of Egyptian nationalism, which later went on to impact the above-mentioned built heritage.

### **Muhammad Ali's Alexandria**

Founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C., Alexandria, with the Mouseion, its library and the Pharos lighthouse, was a cosmopolitan cultural capital and the center of the Hellenistic world. It remained Egypt's capital until the Arab conquest in 641 AD which saw attention shift to a new capital, Fustat.<sup>29</sup> To Lawrence Durrell,<sup>30</sup> this conquest was a sign of the city's impending doom.<sup>31</sup> In the introduction of the 1986 edition of E.M. Forster's *Alexandria: A History and a Guide*, he wrote "with the arrival of Amr and his Arab cavalry the famous resplendent city took a nosedive into oblivion". In the same book, Forster designates Arab rule in Alexandria as "a thousand years of silence".<sup>32</sup> By early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Alexandria had diminished to a neglected small fishing village under Ottoman rule. It was not until the appointment of Muhammad Ali in 1805 as viceroy of Egypt that the city saw light once again.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Mohamed Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory" (Cairo University, 2012), 147.

<sup>30</sup> British Author of the Alexandria Quartet, along with E.M Forster, constitute what has been called the "Alexandria Archive"

<sup>31</sup> Khaled Fahmy, "The Essence of Alexandria pt.1," *Manifesta Journal*, no. 14 (2012): 65.

<sup>32</sup> E. M. Forster, *Alexandria: A History and a Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 58.

<sup>33</sup> Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory," 148.

His ambitious plans to revive the once-great city included the digging of the Mahmoudieh Canal,<sup>34</sup> building a new port and arsenal and the establishment of a new “European Quarter”, to match those in European capitals, as the city’s new center. With the aim of attracting foreign capital and expertise to achieve those ambitious plans, the viceroy granted lands to immigrant communities, as well as

Capitulations.<sup>35</sup> The numerous opportunities available to foreign professionals in Alexandria, in addition to the turmoil plaguing Europe<sup>36</sup> at the time, made the city an attractive destination to many, which was reflected in the significant increase of the European population in Alexandria (Figure 5).

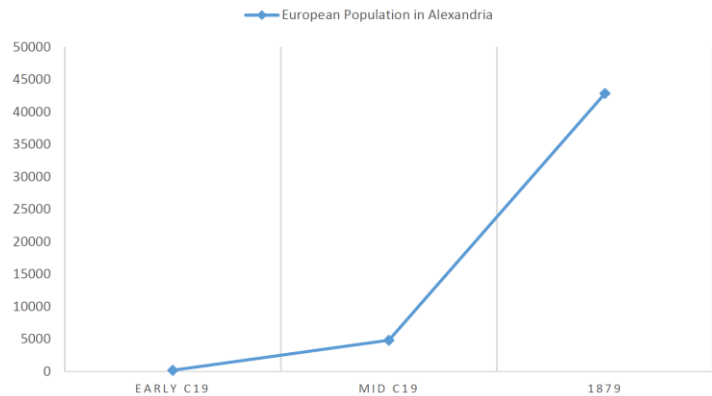


Figure 5. Chart showing the increase of the European population in Alexandria, based on Michael Reimer, “Reorganizing Alexandria: The Origins and History of the Conseil de L’Ornato,” *Journal of Urban History* 19, no. 3 (1993): 59.

The foreign communities that came to settle in the city, at the time, contributed significantly to the city’s economy, social life and built environment. The largest communities were the Greeks (Figure 6), who were mostly merchants and entrepreneurs, whereas the Italians, the second largest community, provided the builders, architects and engineers that built most

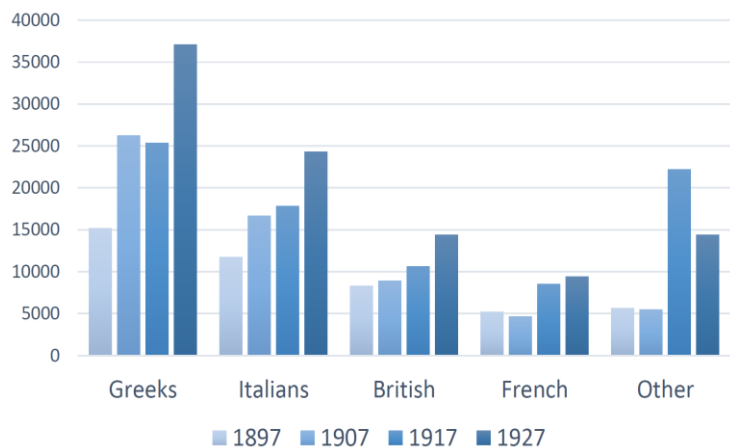


Figure 6. European population in Alexandria (1897-1927). Source: Robert Ilbert et al., eds., *Alexandria 1860-1960: The Brief Life of a Cosmopolitan Community* (Alexandria: Harpocrates, 2006), 761.

<sup>34</sup> A canal connecting the Nile with the Mediterranean which provided water for agriculture.

<sup>35</sup> Michael Haag, *Vintage Alexandria: Photographs of the City, 1860-1960* (Cairo ; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 2.

<sup>36</sup> For example, Italy’s Risorgimento and later fascism and Greece’s rebellion against Ottoman rule.

of the modern city<sup>37</sup> such as Romero who built the Viceroy's palace in Ras Al-Tin, Mancini who planned the new European city center, and other noted engineers and architects.<sup>38</sup> Each Community (Greek, Italian, Armenian, Jewish, etc.) had an elected president and proceeded to build its own hospitals, schools, clubs and organizations.<sup>39</sup>

Multiple accounts speak of Alexandria's unique cosmopolitan character and the peaceful coexistence of the different religions, classes and ethnicities. In *Justine*, Durrell describes it as the city of "five races, five languages, a dozen creeds".<sup>40</sup> However, there was a clear favouritism towards Europeans and an even more pronounced marginalization of native Egyptians or 'Arabs' as they were called at the time,<sup>41</sup> and both their social life and living quarters were completely segregated. In fact, Alexandria had the markers of a colonial city, despite the fact it was not a colony,<sup>42</sup> with a native quarter and a European quarter (Figure 7). While the European quarter boasted wide clean streets and new buildings, the Turkish Town, where Egyptians lived, was described as "dirty" and featured worn old buildings (Figure 8).<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the Europeans were the elites and occupied positions of power, whereas Egyptians, with few exceptions, were mostly of lower social class and from humbler backgrounds. This can be seen clearly in literary works about that period where Egyptians were, more often than not, portrayed as illiterate servants and cooks working for a European family.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, Egyptians also faced discrimination; for example, Egyptian soldiers were not allowed to be promoted beyond a certain rank whereas their foreign counterparts were. In fact, this was the main motivation behind the Urabi revolt.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Haag, *Vintage Alexandria*, 3.

<sup>38</sup> See Mohamed Awad, *Italy in Alexandria: Influences on the Built Environment* (Alexandria: Alexandria Preservation Trust, 2008).

<sup>39</sup> Haag, *Vintage Alexandria*, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Lawrence Durrell, *Justine* (London: Penguins, 1956), 14.

<sup>41</sup> Probably because they spoke Arabic, while French was the Lingua Franca.

<sup>42</sup> Egypt was an independent state under Muhammad Ali's rule nominally part of the Ottoman Empire until 1882, the beginning of British occupation.

<sup>43</sup> Michael Reimer, "Reorganizing Alexandria: The Origins and History of the Conseil de L'Ornato," *Journal of Urban History* 19, no. 3 (1993): 55.

<sup>44</sup> For example, Harry E. Tzalas, *Farewell to Alexandria: Eleven Short Stories* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2003) and André Aciman, *Out of Egypt: A Memoir* (New York: Picador/Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007).

<sup>45</sup> Discussed further in the next chapter.

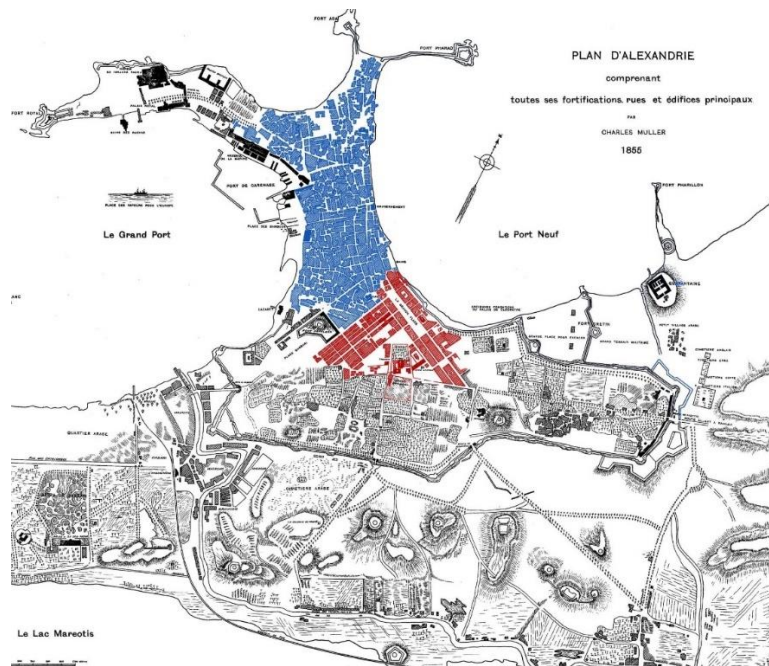


Figure 7. Map showing the segregation between the Turkish Town (in blue) and the European quarter (in red), with Charles Muller's 1855 map of Alexandria as a base map. Source: Gustav Jondet, *Atlas Historique de la ville et des ports d'Alexandrie*, 1921.



Figure 8. A comparison between a street in the Turkish Town (left) and one in the European quarter (right). Source: (left) Dudley Gordon, "A narrow street in Alexandria, Egypt, circa 1925", Hulton Archive/Getty Image and (right) al-Ahram Weekly, [http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Media/NewsMedia/2014/3/12/2014-635302244102987163-298\\_resized.jpg](http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Media/NewsMedia/2014/3/12/2014-635302244102987163-298_resized.jpg).

### A city fit for Europeans

The 29<sup>th</sup> September 1834 marked the foundation of the Conseil de l'Ornato, modelled after those in Italian cities, the first modern street and building commission in the Middle East. This commission, mostly dominated by Europeans, was tasked with laying out and naming streets and establishing and enforcing building regulations.<sup>46</sup> It can be considered part of the colonization process of the city, partly because it turned Alexandria into a "European city", fit for its new European settlers and its work was limited to the European quarter and did

<sup>46</sup> Reimer, "Reorganizing Alexandria," 62.

nothing to improve the Turkish Town. In fact, its interventions in the latter were for the benefit of the former such as the free circulation<sup>47</sup> of traffic.<sup>48</sup> Its chief engineer in the early years was Italian engineer Francesco Mancini, who designed the Place des consuls, the new European city center.<sup>49</sup> La Place des consuls or *Midan AlMansheya* (Mansheya Square), named after the foreign consuls living there, attracted also merchants and financiers. Among the first was Michael Tossizza, the first Greek consul in Alexandria who built his palace, designed by Mancini, on the main axis of the square. This *palazzo* dominated the square for years, was later used as a courthouse<sup>50</sup> and then as the *Bourse* (Figure 9). It was the second largest cotton exchange in the world and the largest in the east. The square was the center of European power and the elites as well as an important commercial hub in the city with *okelles*<sup>51</sup> delineating almost the whole square. It was under Khedive Ismail's rule that statues were first used in Egypt to ascertain political power. In honor of his grandfather, an equestrian statue of Muhammad Ali (Figure 10) by French sculptor Henri Jacquemart was erected in

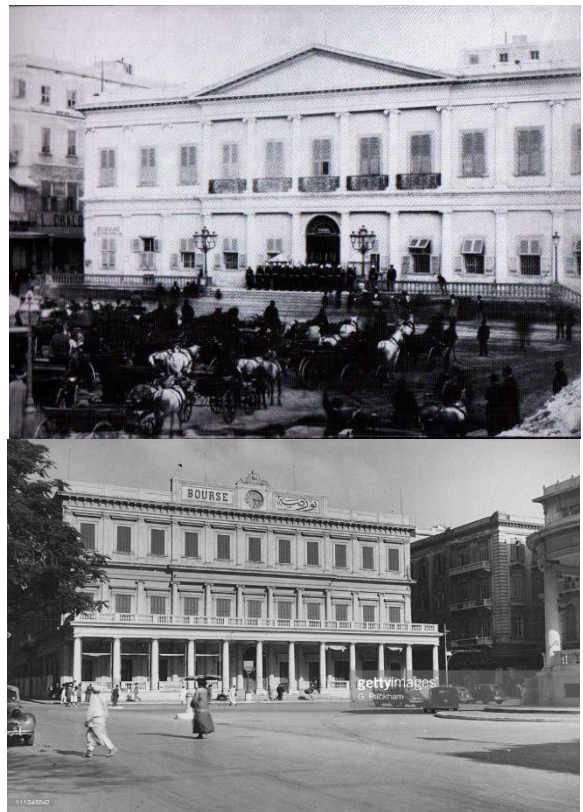


Figure 9. Tossizza Palace (top) and later the Bourse (bottom). Source: (top) Mohamed Awad, *Italy in Alexandria: Influences on the Built Environment* (Alexandria: Alexandria Preservation Trust, 2008), 83 and (bottom) by G. Packham, "The stock exchange in Alexandria, Egypt, 1944", Hulton Archive/Getty Images.

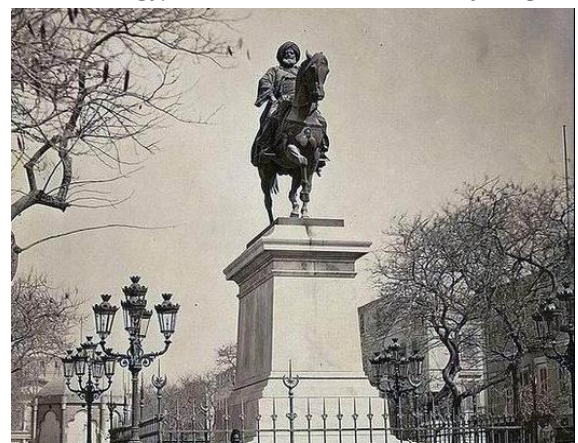


Figure 10. Statue of Muhammad Ali of Egypt in Mansheya square, Alexandria, Egypt in 1910s. Source: <http://www.panoramio.com/photo/13812367>

<sup>47</sup> For example, from and to the European quarter through the Turkish Town.

<sup>48</sup> Reimer, "Reorganizing Alexandria," 71.

<sup>49</sup> Awad, *Italy in Alexandria*, 78.

<sup>50</sup> Sentencing those who participated in the Urabi Revolt.

<sup>51</sup> A building that typically accommodates commercial activities on the ground floor and residential in the upper floors.

the square in 1873.<sup>52</sup> The square was then renamed Muhammad Ali Square (Figure 11- Figure 12).

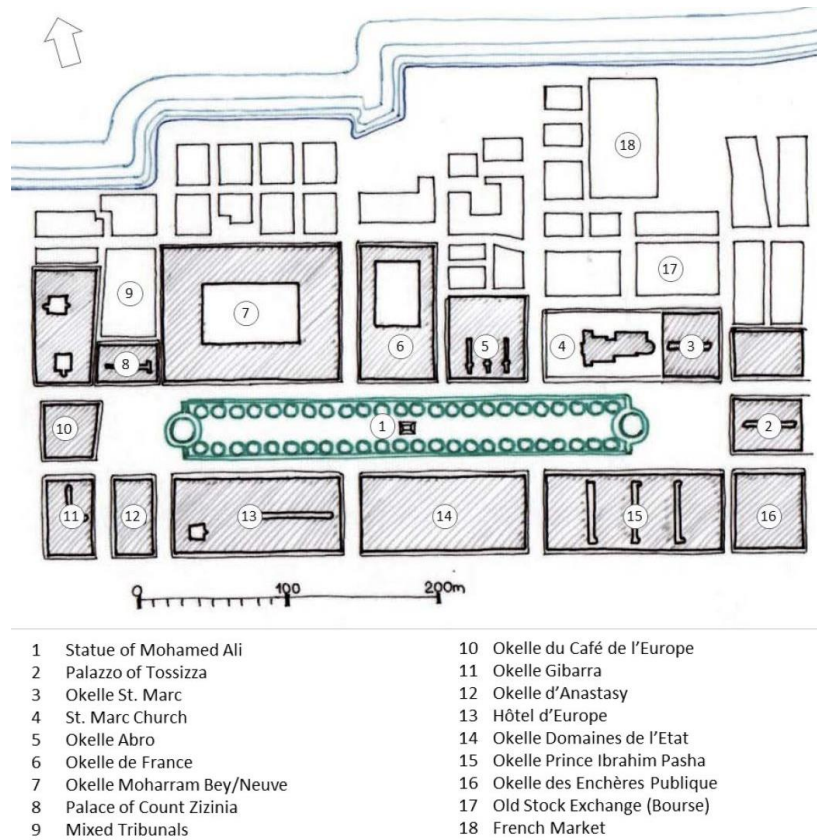


Figure 11. Midan al-Mansheya before 1882. Source: Mohamed Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory" (Cairo University, 2012), appendix.



Figure 12. The Square in its final shape in the 1860's. Source: Gustav Jondet, Atlas Historique de la ville et des ports d'Alexandrie, 1921, 123.

<sup>52</sup> Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory," 160.

Following Urabi's revolt, the British bombarded the square, marking the beginning of their 74 year-occupation of Egypt, and only the Bourse and St. Mark Church were left standing (Figure 13-Figure 14). The Square was quickly rebuilt thanks to grants from the Egyptian government following Mancini's original plan and featured mostly Italian architecture. As the city expanded, a process of "de-gentrification" occurred whereby the elites living on the square started to move east to Rue Rosette (Fouad Street today),

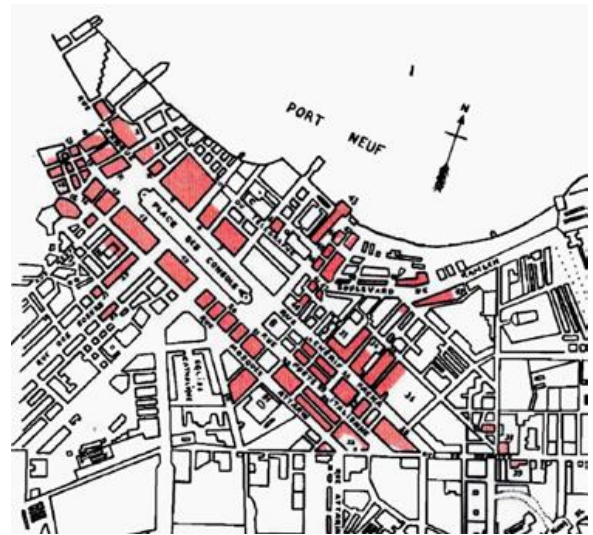


Figure 13. A map of the buildings destroyed by the bombardment. Source: Gustav Jondet, *Atlas Historique de la ville et des ports d'Alexandrie*, 1921, 123.

Muharam Bey and Ramleh establishing new quarters such as the Quartier Tewfikieh.



Figure 14. The square, destroyed by the bombardment. Source: <http://www.levantineheritage.com/alexandria.htm>

In 1890, the Municipality was founded, the first in the country and consisting mostly of Europeans, giving Alexandria a degree of autonomy. It was responsible for urban growth and other major projects in the city such as the Corniche, Alexandria's seaside promenade. These projects were funded through taxes and donations, mostly from the European community. In 1909, a new addition to the square was *La Place des Jardins Français* (French Gardens) inspired by the French corniche (Figure 15). In, 1938, the Italian community gifted

King Farouk a monument with a statue of his grandfather Khedive Ismail, in the French Gardens, looking to the sea, towards Europe (Figure 16).<sup>53</sup> The square, the gardens, the statue and the bourse appeared on postcards of the city and in a way, became associated with the city's identity.

The social and urban landscape of the square, the city and the country as a whole changed gradually with the rise of Egyptian nationalism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This slow change became a dramatic transformation following the events of the 1952 military uprising, marking the end of an era and the beginning of another which would boast anti-western sentiments and strong nationalistic tendencies. However, the true end of 'cosmopolitanism' was probably not until the 1956 nationalization of the Suez Canal, the Tripartite Aggression and the ensuing mass exodus of Europeans from the country.



Figure 15. *The French Gardens*. Source: Mohamed Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory" (Cairo University, 2012), 165.



Figure 16. *Khedive Ismail Statue*. Source: Dvr Tom Beazley, 1940, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/88572252@N06/8088272104>.

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 165–66.

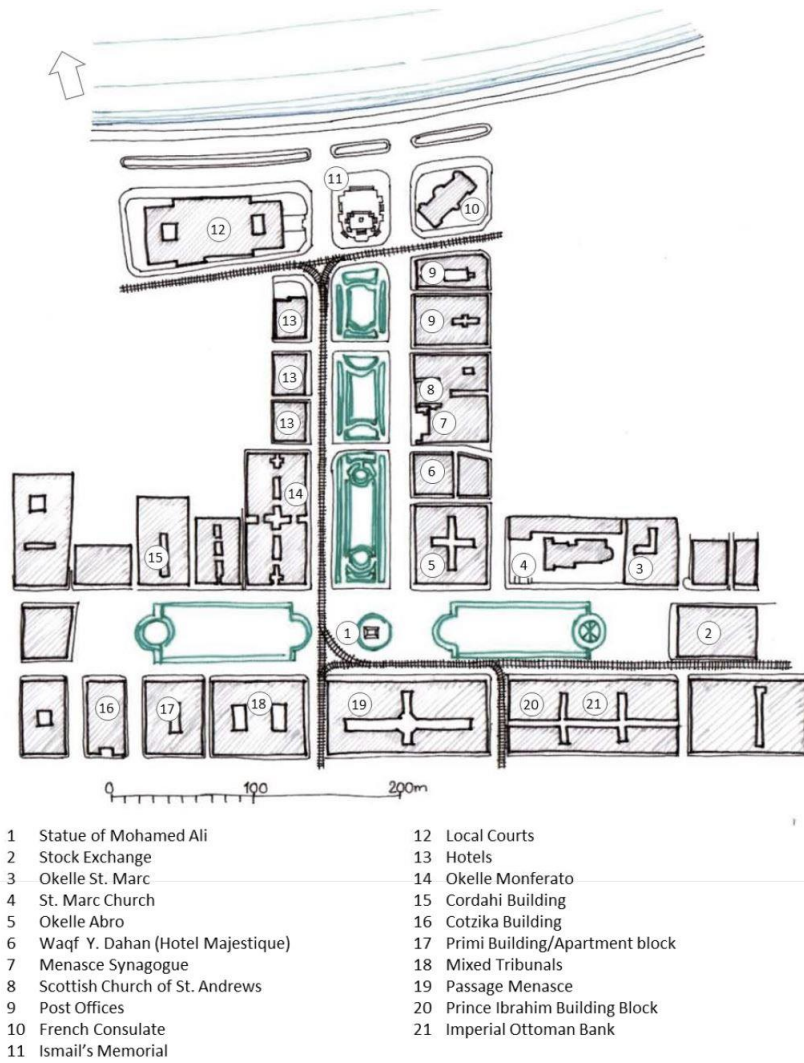


Figure 17. Midan al-Mansheya in the 1940s. Source: Mohamed Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory" (Cairo University, 2012), appendix.

### 3. NASSER'S NATIONALISM

Nasser is considered the founder of Pan-Arab nationalism and though he is one of the most important icons of Egyptian nationalism, the origin of the Egyptian nationalist movement goes back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and features three significant milestones: Urabi's revolt, the 1919 revolution and lastly, and the focus of this chapter, the 1952 military coup that forever changed the Egyptian political scene. Seeking validation, this regime took to the built environment to signal a new 'modern' era and to distance itself from its recent past. However, like most nationalist regimes, this one looked to the past, highlighting some parts and marginalizing others, in an attempt to consolidate the new nationalist narrative.

#### **A prelude to Nasserism**

Like European nationalism, the roots of nationalism in Egypt are debatable, but where European nationalism was concerned with ending the domination of the traditional religious society, modern Egyptian nationalism sought to achieve independence from foreign influence and colonizers. It is often agreed that the roots of Egyptian nationalism go back to Urabi's revolt<sup>54</sup> (1879-1882). With the motto "Egypt for Egyptians", it sought to end the long-established Ottoman, Albanian, Circassian and Mameluke domination of elite positions in both the government and the army,<sup>55</sup> as well as depose the Khedive Tewfik and end the French and British influence over the country's political and economic affairs.<sup>56</sup> In 1882, this revolt culminated in riots in Alexandria, where foreign businesses were attacked and foreign nationals were killed, which, in turn, led to military intervention by the British and the bombardment of the city, marking the beginning of the British occupation of Egypt.<sup>57</sup>

The focus of Egyptian Nationalism in the ensuing years was ending British rule. New nationalist political parties emerged such as *Alhizb AlWatani* (the National Party), under the

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<sup>54</sup> On Urabi's revolt, see Cole, Juan, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Social and Cultural Origins of Egypt's Urabi Movement*, Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999.

<sup>55</sup> Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, *Political Culture and Political Development* (Princeton University Press, 2015), 420.

<sup>56</sup> Alexander J. Motyl, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (San Diego, Calif. ; London: Academic Press, 2001), 138.

<sup>57</sup> Yoav Di-Capua, "Histories of the Modern Middle East," accessed June 15, 2016, [http://laits.utexas.edu/modern\\_me/egypt/2/urabi](http://laits.utexas.edu/modern_me/egypt/2/urabi).

leadership of Mustafa Kamel whose ideology combined Egyptian patriotism and an attachment to the Ottoman empire in his quest to eradicate British presence in Egypt. However, the next most significant milestone for Egyptian Nationalism was not until 1919, following World War I, when the Wafd party led a country-wide revolution against British rule in the wake of the exile of their leader Saad Zaghloul. After three years of political instability, Britain finally issued the unilateral declaration of Egyptian independence in 1922, and while it indeed recognized Egypt as an independent sovereign state with its own parliament, it still maintained British control over:

“(a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt; (b) The defense of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, direct or indirect; (c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities; (d) The Soudan.”<sup>58</sup>

The following thirty years, the major concern was ending British presence and influence over Egypt. The 1936 treaty redefined the terms for British presence giving British troops the right to stay for 20 years to protect their interests in the Suez Canal. It was not until 1952 that the “Free Officers”<sup>59</sup>, spurred by the defeat of Arab troops in the Palestine war in 1948, executed a coup d’état, overthrowing the monarchy in 1953 and establishing the republic and successfully negotiated the evacuation of all British troops from Egypt.

To Nasser, Urabi’s revolt, though unsuccessful, marked the birth of ‘the revolution’. However, Nasser criticized early 20<sup>th</sup> century nationalism because it did not provide any social reforms and as an upper class movement, only catered to the elites and not all Egyptians. The 1952 ‘revolution’ is to Egyptian Nationalism what the French revolution is to European nationalism. Both marked a significant shift in the history of their respective countries and sought to abolish feudalism and permanently eliminate class differences in the quest for an equal united nation.

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<sup>58</sup> Albert P. Blaustein, Jay A. Sigler, and Benjamin R. Beede, eds., *Independence Documents of the World* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y: Oceana Publications, 1977), 204.

<sup>59</sup> A clandestine group of junior military officers led by Gamal Abdel Nasser.

## A political and social revolution

The Nasserite ideology is a clear crystalized concept today, however, this was not the case in the early days of the 1952 uprising, when the Free Officers rushed to execute the coup in fear of arrest without a clear political agenda.<sup>60</sup> The first step the young officers took was announcing the coup's so-called six principles: ending imperialism, ending feudalism, ending capitalist monopoly, establishing social justice, building a powerful national army and establishing a sound democratic system.<sup>61</sup> Nasser later identified two phases of the 'revolution' (Figure 18). He described the early years of the uprising (1952-1961) as a "political revolution", guided by Egyptian nationalism and later Pan-Arabism, that mainly sought to end British rule. He even called it a "revolution of the Bourgeoisie" because, despite the 1952 agrarian reforms, it did not really affect the wealthy capitalists.<sup>62</sup> The political reforms of that first phase aimed at achieving national unity, consolidating power and establishing order.<sup>63</sup> For example, to rectify Egypt's previously divided image, all political parties were banned and replaced by a series of political organizations.<sup>64</sup> Nasser considered 1961 to be the birth of the "socialist revolution". Guided by state socialism, it did what the 1919 revolution failed to do, offering much needed social reform, and saw the issuance of the Socialist Laws in 1961, nationalizing businesses, imposing taxes and limiting ownership of both agricultural lands and industrial institutions.<sup>65</sup> The defeat in the Third Arab-Israeli war in 1967 and Nasser's death in 1970 marked the end of that social revolution, the fall of this regime and its ideology.

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<sup>60</sup> Hamied Ansari, *Egypt, the Stalled Society* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 79.

<sup>61</sup> *The Charter: United Arab Republic* (Cairo: Information Administration, 1958), 5.

<sup>62</sup> "19 October 1961 Cabinet Meeting Minutes," 1961, 7, <http://nasser.bibalex.org/MinistryMeetings/MinistryMeetings.aspx?ID=9&x=5&lang=ar>.

<sup>63</sup> Ali Dessouki, "Ideology and Legitimacy in Egypt: The Search for a 'Hybrid Formula,'" in *Developmentalism and beyond: Society and Politics in Egypt and Turkey*, ed. Ayşe Öncü, Çağlar Keyder, and Saad Eddin Ibrahim (Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo Press, 1994), 79.

<sup>64</sup> The Liberation Rally in 1953, the National Union 1956, the Arab socialist Union 1962.

<sup>65</sup> "19 October 1961 Cabinet Meeting Minutes," 7.

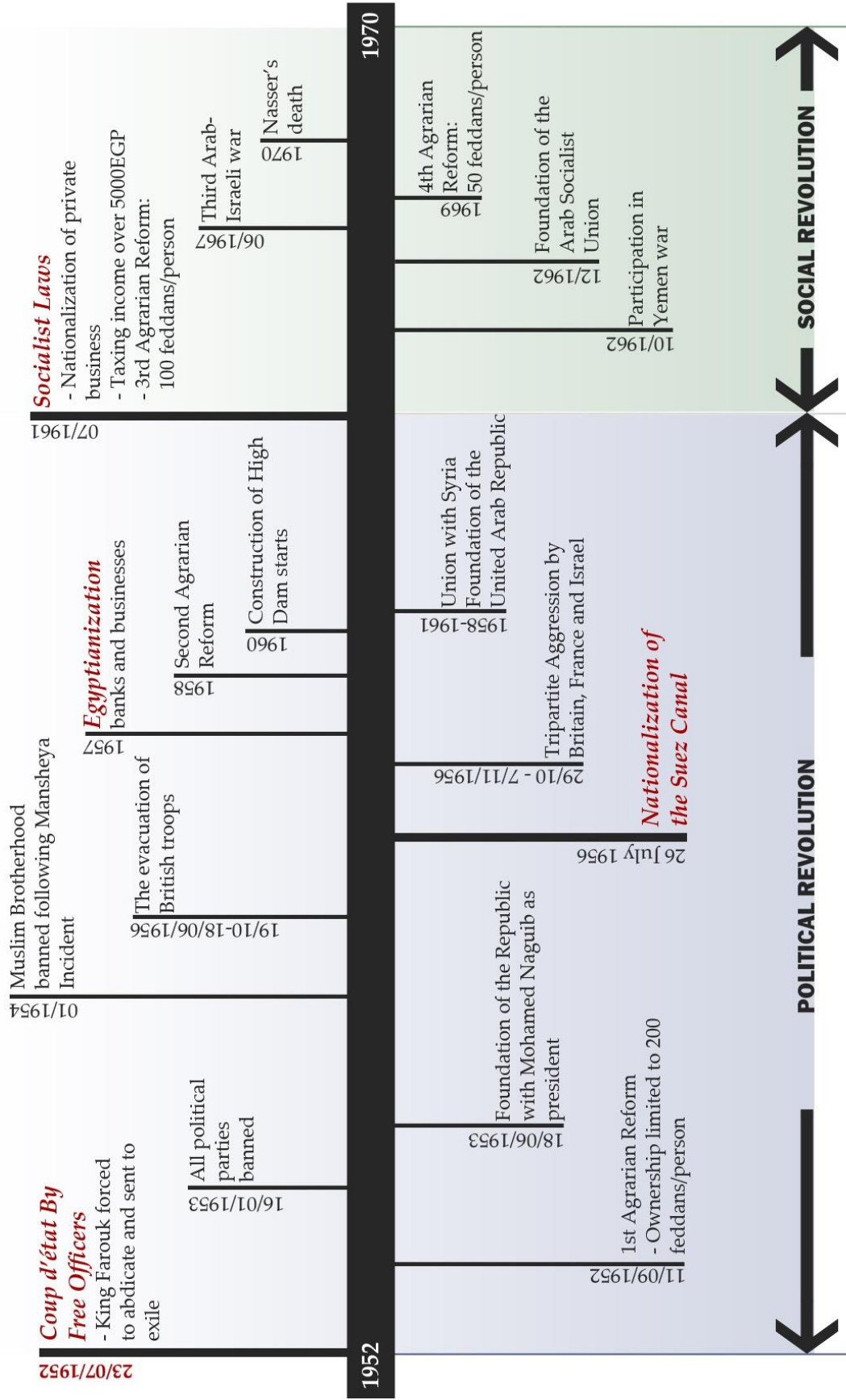


Figure 18. Timeline of significant events in the "political and social revolution".

## The Nasserite built environment

As a visual medium, architecture plays a significant role in processes of nation-building and national identity.<sup>66</sup> In the wake of the coup, Nasser's regime used architecture, not only to respond to pressing development needs, but also to mark the arrival of a new "modern" era. Seeking legitimization as a revolutionary regime, the new government went about transforming urban spaces of symbolic values and initiated comprehensive plans that included new constructions and infrastructure.<sup>67</sup> These plans were mainly concentrated in Cairo and Alexandria, more so than other Egyptian cities and were advertised in the press and in governmental publications.<sup>68</sup>

For his principal seat of power, Nasser chose *Ismailia* square in Cairo (Figure 19) and as part of the new regime's attempt to obliterate the recent past, it was renamed Liberation or *tahrir* square. The square was previously overlooked by the British commissioner's residence, the British army barracks and the Egyptian museum. The former two were demolished, before the revolution, and new buildings were added onto the square: the seat of the Arab League, the Socialist Union headquarters, *AlMogamaa*<sup>69</sup> and the Hilton hotel (Figure 20). While the new international-style buildings symbolized modernity, the Hilton with its fake exterior hieroglyphs (Figure 21), and similarly inspired interior (Figure 22), established a subtle connection to the Ancient Egyptian past.<sup>70</sup> The tower of Cairo, the tallest building in Africa at the time by architect Naoum Chebib and shaped like a pharaonic lotus flower (Figure 23), also served the same subtle purpose.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Mohamed Elshahed, "Revolutionary Modernism? Architecture and the Politics of Transition in Egypt 1936-1967" (PhD, New York University, 2015), 18.

<sup>67</sup> Omnia Elshakry, "Cairo as Capital of Socialist Revolution," in *Papa Sartre*, ed. Ali Badr (Cairo: American Univ. in Cairo Press, 2009), 83–84.

<sup>68</sup> Mohamed Elshahed, "Revolutionary Modernism?," 19.

<sup>69</sup> An administrative complex designed in 1951.

<sup>70</sup> Yasser Elsheshtawy, "City Interrupted: Modernity and Architecture in Nasser's Post-1952 Cairo," *Planning Perspectives* 28, no. 3 (July 2013): 351, doi:10.1080/02665433.2013.739827.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 363.

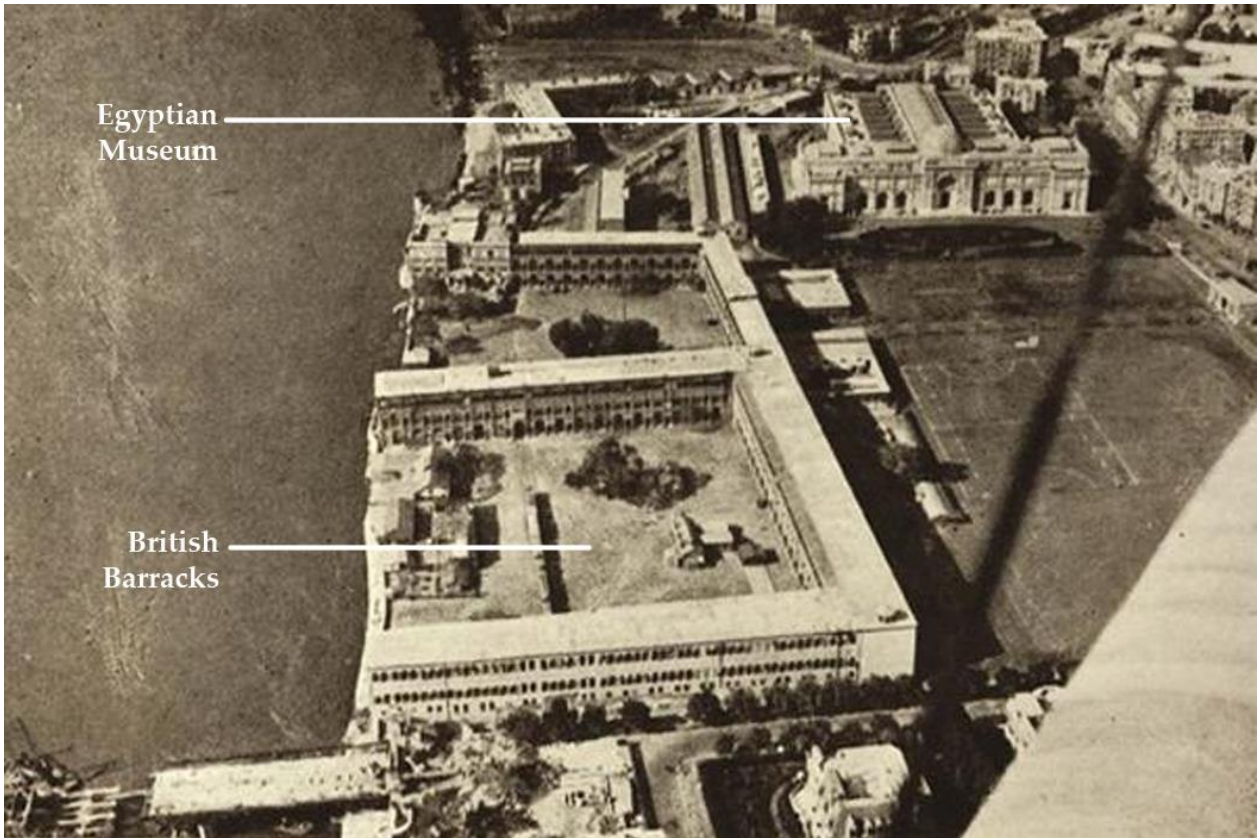


Figure 19. Aerial view showing the Egyptian Museum and the British Barracks (later Tahrir square), circa 1905. Source: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/15018/17/The-battle-for-Tahrir.aspx>



Figure 20. 1962 photo of Tahrir square. Source: [http://harvardpress.typepad.com/hup\\_publicity/2011/04/a-history-of-tahrir-square.h](http://harvardpress.typepad.com/hup_publicity/2011/04/a-history-of-tahrir-square.h)



Figure 21. Hilton hotel exterior. Source: Courtesy of Ben W.Smith, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/darkwash/3678208913/>



Figure 22. Presidents Nasser and Tito and Conrad Hilton during the opening of the hotel in 1959 inside the hotel's lobby. Source: Rene Burri/Magnum Photos.



Figure 23. Cairo Tower. Source: Arria Belli, 2008, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cairo\\_Tower\\_by\\_day.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cairo_Tower_by_day.jpg)

The attention given by this regime to Cairo and the wave of centralization in all sectors of Egyptian life gave it an unrivaled status among Egyptian cities. In fact, 'Cairo' became synonymous with 'Egypt', and is still being used thusly to this day. Furthermore, from the new architecture erected during this era, it is clear that Nasser sought to establish a new 'modern' identity for Egypt, and sought to distance itself from its recent past. However, a few subtle markers reveal that in some cases, this architecture tapped into the past to legitimate the regime that shaped it.

## Nasserism and Heritage

To understand where 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century heritage falls in the spectrum of Egyptian heritage and to put the new regime's disinheritance of it in context, this section attempts to identify which sector of heritage this regime identified with, starting by delimitating its definition of heritage. The notion of "heritage" is quite recent in the Egyptian context. Up until recently, the distinction between "heritage" and "antiquities" did not exist and the latter term was used to refer to all that was deemed worthy of conservation.<sup>72</sup> In his memoirs, Tharwat Okasha, minister of culture during the Nasserite era,<sup>73</sup> identified only 4 categories of heritage in Egypt: Ancient Egyptian, Greco-Roman, Coptic and Islamic.<sup>74</sup> However, this classification neglects 'newer' objects or sites as defined and protected by the antiquities law.

According to law 215/1951, objects, both moveable and immovable, dating from before 1879 (end of Khedive Ismail's rule) were legally protected as antiquities. However, there was the possibility of protecting newer objects "whose conservation, the Council of Ministers has deemed to be of national interest". This law prioritized ancient 'heritage' and as such, the protection of objects or sites from later periods stopped at their designation.<sup>75</sup> Despite the significant number of legal reforms under Nasser's rule, this law was not amended, until the issuance of law 117/1983 (Appendix A).<sup>76</sup> This put the heritage of Alexandria at a disadvantage compared, for example, to that of Cairo. The reconstruction of Alexandria following the 1882 British bombardment not only left this regime with relatively 'new' buildings that conjured a colonial past, but according to this law, Alexandria's Belle Époque heritage did not qualify for protection, leaving it at risk of neglect, modification and demolition, unlike Belle Époque Cairo.

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<sup>72</sup> Interview with Akram ElMagdoub (architect), July 31, 2016.

<sup>73</sup> Okasha held the position twice, from 1958 to 1962 and from 1966 to 1970.

<sup>74</sup> Tharwat Okasha, *My Memoirs in Politics and Culture* (Cairo: Dar Al-Shorouk, 2000), 455.

<sup>75</sup> Dalia Elsorady, "Heritage Conservation in Alexandria, Egypt: Managing Tensions between Ownership and Legislation," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 17, no. 5 (September 2011): 498, doi:10.1080/13527258.2011.577440.

<sup>76</sup> Mercedes Volait, "The Reclaiming of 'Belle Époque' Architecture in Egypt (1989-2010): On the Power of Rhetorics in Heritage-Making," *ABE Journal*, no. 3 (February 2, 2013): 3, doi:10.4000/abe.371.

## Heritage: not a priority

Nasser's priorities were Egypt's modernization and industrialization, which included building thousands of housing units, factories and infrastructure projects, the most significant of which is the High Dam. Heritage, however, was not very high on this regime's agenda. The budgets assigned for these projects compared to heritage budgets are a clear reflection of this; while millions were spent on the former, the yearly budget for the conservation of medieval Cairo in the 1960s was approximately £600.<sup>77</sup> However, the lack of funding was also a result of the huge wave of centralization that all sectors of government were subjected to. This meant that all heritage institutions were merged into one: The Egyptian Antiquities Organization (EAO),<sup>78</sup> which was under the ministry of education before being transferred to the ministry of culture in 1958 (Figure 24).<sup>79</sup>

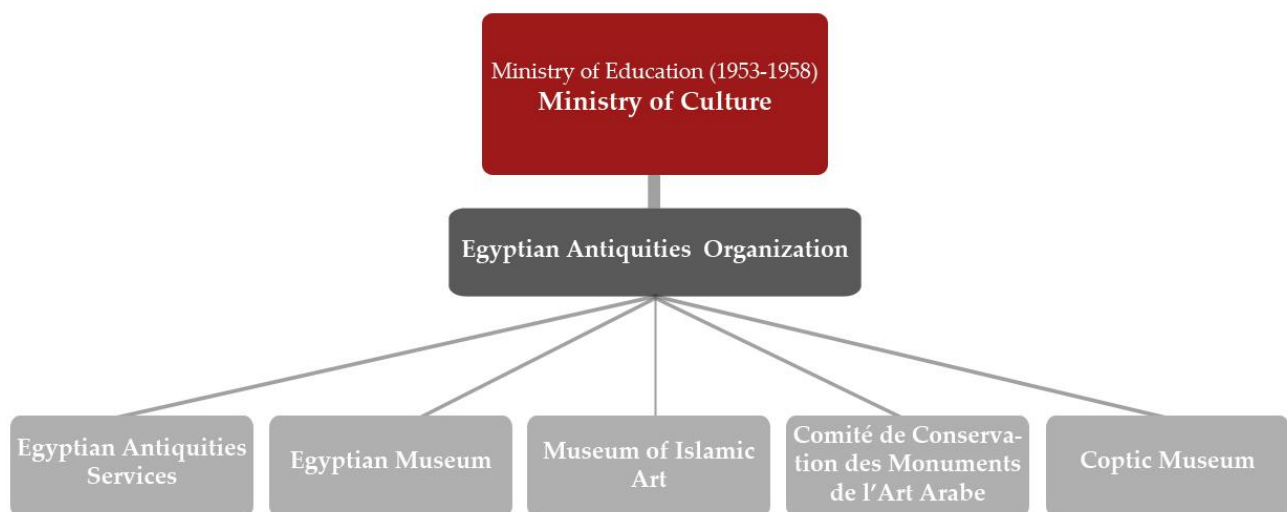


Figure 24. Centralization of the heritage sector.

This is not to say that no heritage projects were undertaken in this period. In fact, the Nasserite era witnessed “a cultural renaissance” that sought to consolidate Egyptian identity, including the revival of folklore, the establishment of cultural institutions such as the conservatoire and the museum of modern art.<sup>80</sup> In terms of built heritage, like most

<sup>77</sup> Max Rodenbeck, *Cairo: The City Victorious* (London: Picador, 1998), 218.

<sup>78</sup> Haysam Nour, “Awqaf and Heritage: Urban Conservation in Historic Muslim Cities” (Politecnico di Milano, 2012), 117.

<sup>79</sup> Okasha, *My Memoirs in Politics and Culture*, 457.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Tarek Waly (Architect, researcher, founder of Tarek Waly Center Architecture & Heritage) July 31, 2016.

nationalist regimes, this one used the past to validate itself and its new national identity. However, unlike Mussolini's Rome, the absence of a heritage program in Nasserite Egypt makes it difficult to discern what part of the past this regime sought to associate itself with. However, it is often agreed that Nasser's regime associated itself with whatever part of the past gave it the most power and contributed the most to the consolidation of the new national identity, and more often than not, this was Ancient Egyptian heritage, a natural inclination since the coup marked the first time, since Ancient Egyptian times that Egypt was ruled by an Egyptian.<sup>81</sup>

Nasser took pride in Ancient Egyptian civilization and how it influenced the surrounding area and was influenced by it "in the way the part interacts with the whole",<sup>82</sup> drawing parallels between Ancient Egypt and its role in the region with modern Egypt and its role in the Arab region. A reflection of this was in 1955, when Nasser ordered the statue of Ramses II to be placed across from the main train station in Cairo, replacing the British camps and making the massive statue the first thing visitors would see upon their arrival to the capital (Figure 25).<sup>83</sup> The most significant example however is the salvage of the Nubia monuments and temples, following the building of the High Dam. Despite financial difficulties, the Egyptian government contributed around 3.5 million EGP towards the salvage of the Abu Simbel temples. Other projects also included the Sound and Light show,<sup>84</sup> initiated in the 1950s and the solar boat museum in Giza.<sup>85</sup>

The image that a government advertises in the international arena is a direct reflection of the national identity it wishes to maintain or create.<sup>86</sup> For the first time since Khedive Ismail's rule, Egyptian antiquities were sent on tours abroad in Europe, the U.S. and Japan.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Mohamed Naguib (1953-1954) followed by Nasser (1954-1970)

<sup>82</sup> *The Charter*, 17.

<sup>83</sup> The statue was moved again in 2006 to protect it from pollution and traffic.

<sup>84</sup> Narration of Ancient Egyptian history with projection on monuments.

<sup>85</sup> Okasha, *My Memoirs in Politics and Culture*, 465.

<sup>86</sup> Nezar AlSayyad, "Neither Homogeneity nor Heterogeneity: Modernism's Struggles in the Muslim World," in *Homogenisation of Representations*, ed. Modjtaba Sadria (Geneva: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 2012), 91.

<sup>87</sup> Okasha, *My Memoirs in Politics and Culture*, 457.

Additionally, Nasser gifted five ancient Egyptian temples to foreign governments to thank the countries who participated in the salvage of the Abu Simbel temples.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, on multiple occasions, Nasser would take state guests to visit ancient Egyptian temples and sites, especially to see the Sound and Light show.<sup>89</sup> Ancient Egyptian symbols also proliferated advertisement (Figure 26), propaganda, stamps and money (Figure 27) replacing those of the monarchy. Despite the government's quest for modernity, a link was established with its ancient heritage.<sup>90</sup>



Figure 25. Ramses II statue in front of Cairo train station, 1979. Source: courtesy of Tulipe Noire, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/8637723@N05/8349351899>

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<sup>88</sup> Dendur to the U.S, Debod to Spain, Taffa to the Netherlands, Ellesiya to Italy, Kalabsha's gate to Germany.

<sup>89</sup> Okasha, *My Memoirs in Politics and Culture*, 460.

<sup>90</sup> Elsheshtawy, "City Interrupted," 351.



Figure 26. United Arab Airlines advertised timetable in 1955, 1960, 1969. Source: <http://www.timetableimages.com/ttimages/ms.htm>



Figure 27. 50 piasters, 1952. Source: Courtesy of Tulipe Noire, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/8637723@N05/4274673292/>.

There is also an argument to be made for the relationship between Nasser's regime and Islamic heritage. As a spiritual source of power, this regime tapped the potential of Islam to strengthen national narratives and national unity. For example, it is telling that Nasser chose El Azhar as his podium to address the nation following the Tripartite Aggression.<sup>91</sup> However, in terms of built heritage, Islamic heritage was one of the most affected sectors of heritage by the centralization as the Waqf system lost its autonomy. This is probably an indirect result of state socialism, which put all matters in the hands of the state without discrimination. However, Rodenbeck argues that Nasser perceived Islamic heritage in Egypt as the work of colonizers and conquerors and that he had no particular appreciation for it.<sup>92</sup> The National Assembly and later, the Socialist Union refused to fund a project proposed by Okasha, consisting of a complete inventory of Islamic monuments, their restoration and raising awareness of their value.<sup>93</sup> An exception to the general disregard for this heritage was the restoration of Al-Hussein mosque, where Nasser performed Eid prayers every year (Figure 28). Nasser also ordered all the mosques restored

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Tarek Waly, July 31, 2016.

<sup>92</sup> Rodenbeck, *Cairo*, 165.

<sup>93</sup> Okasha, *My Memoirs in Politics and Culture*, 456.

(Figure 29),<sup>94</sup> however, there is no record of this happening. In fact, Historic Cairo was left to decay under both Nasser and his successor.<sup>95</sup>



Figure 28. Newspaper clipping showing Nasser’s motorcade on the way to Eid prayer. Source: *al-Ahram*, March 28, 1960, Library of Alexandria Archive.

The identity that this regime sought to create was clearly one of modernity and social justice as can be seen from the new socialist international-style architecture of the time and the developmental projects pursued “in the name of the people”. However, not only did this regime attempt to associate itself with its past, it also sought to distance itself from parts of it.

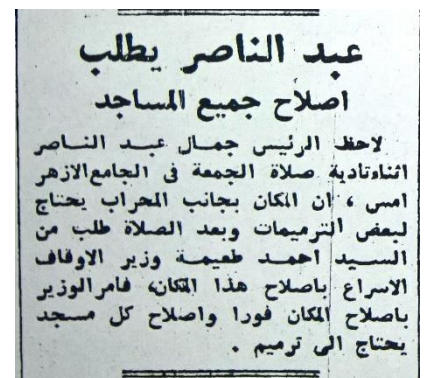


Figure 29. “Abdel Nasser orders the repair of all mosques”. Source: *al-Ahram*, March 23, 1960, Library of Alexandria Archive.

### Nasserism and Belle Époque

When it came to 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century heritage, and as part of the decolonization process, there was a clear attempt at changing the authorized heritage discourse. While what this regime associated itself with, in terms of heritage, might be debatable, it was quite clear that the new identity it sought to create was in counter-distinction to all that related to Egypt’s

<sup>94</sup> “Nasser Orders the Repair of All Mosques,” *al-Ahram*, March 3, 1960, Bibliotheca Alexandrina microfilm collection.

<sup>95</sup> Rodenbeck, *Cairo*, 218.

recent past: a corrupt royal family, a tyrant colonizer and Egyptian and foreign elitism, as is reflected in their actions towards their buildings and heritage.

### *Royal Family estates*

Following the 1952 coup, King Farouk was forced to abdicate his throne, stripped of his Egyptian nationality and sent into exile in Europe. To the new regime, this foreign<sup>96</sup> royal family was disconnected from its subjects' needs, and was deemed unfit to rule. In a series of decrees, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC)<sup>97</sup> 'took back' the estates and properties of the Muhammad Ali Dynasty, "in the name of the people".<sup>98</sup> These included royal palaces and residences, their furniture and all other belongings. Other members of the royal family, not sent to exile, were allowed to keep one home, one car, their clothes and some of their jewelry.<sup>99</sup> Most eventually left Egypt and relinquished their estates to the Egyptian government.

The royal palaces were closed, pending inventory of their contents, a task assigned to the technical office of the RCC.<sup>100</sup> Unlike the French revolution, which opted to keep royal palaces and their contents, converting them to national museums, most of the contents of the



Figure 30. Catalogue for the sale of Abdeen Palace collection. Source: Mohamed Awad, Montazah: The Royal Palaces and Gardens (Bibliotheca Alexandria, 2014), 90.

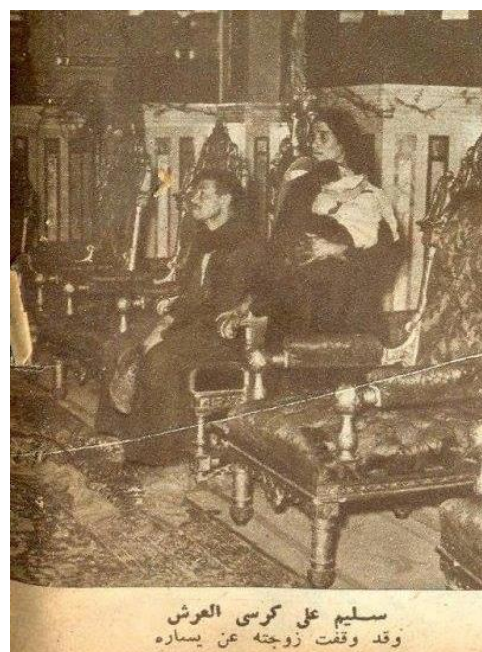


Figure 31. Photo showing the peasant family during their visit to Abdeen Palace. Source: "Selim sits on the throne", <http://lite.almasryalyoum.com/extra/85190/>

<sup>96</sup> Of Albanian descent.

<sup>97</sup> A political body formed by the Free Officers and decided on Egypt's affairs until 1954.

<sup>98</sup> See Library of Alexandria, "Revolutionary Command Council Decrees," online archive, *Site for President Gamal Abdel Nasser*, (2013), <http://nasser.bibalex.org/Decisions/DecisionsAll.aspx?CS=0&x=5&lang=en>.

<sup>99</sup> Mahmoud ElGohary, *Seven Years in the Revolutionary Command Council (Sab' Sanawat fi Magles Keyadet ElThawra)* (Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Library, 1978), 42.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

Egyptian palaces were sold in public auctions, an indication that this regime did not particularly value their aesthetic or historic value but rather their monetary worth and their ability to fill the state's empty coffers. Unlike the French government, these actions clearly show that this regime didn't consider these assets as part of their heritage.

Among the propaganda to celebrate the first anniversary of the revolution, a poor peasant family was invited to tour Abdeen palace, the headquarter of the government and residence of the royal family before the 'revolution' (1872-1952) and one of the most sumptuous palaces in Egypt with 500 suites.<sup>101</sup> In Alexandria, the Haramlek Palace in Montazah was opened to the public as a museum. However, it was not a museum in the modern sense, there was no interpretation or display scenario about this dynasty, its achievements or its fall and demise.<sup>102</sup> The purpose of the propaganda and of granting public access to the Haramlek palace was to highlight the decadence of this family's lifestyle. Not only did this heavily and negatively impact public perception of the royal family, but this was an act of validation that served to justify the actions of the "revolution" in abolishing the corrupt monarchy. To this day, these royal palaces are the property of the government. Most are used as governmental headquarters, presidential headquarters and for the accommodation of state guests. With the exception of the residences reused for cultural or educational purposes, royal estates are mostly inaccessible by the public.

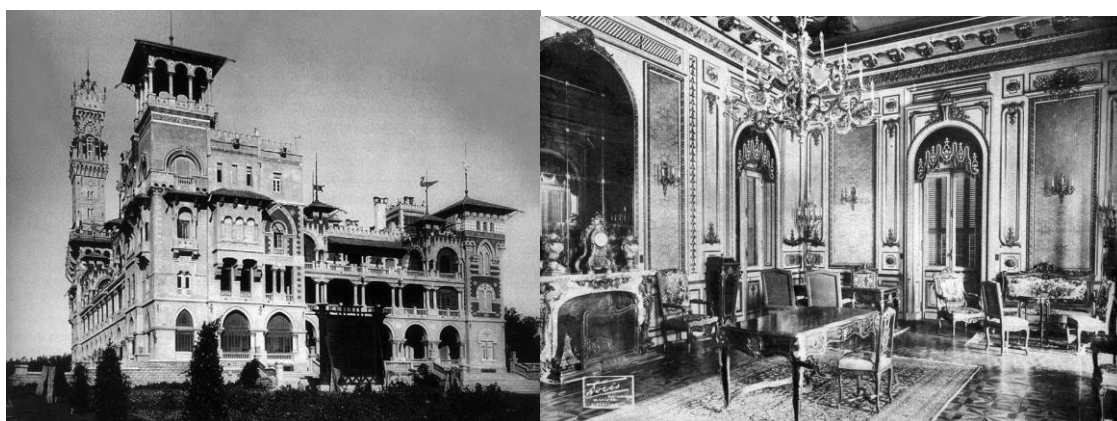


Figure 32. Exterior, and interior of main reception of Haramlek Palace, inaccessible today. Source: Mohamed Awad, *Montazah: The Royal Palaces and Gardens* (Bibliotheca Alexandria, 2014).

<sup>101</sup> Nourhan Moustafa, "The Story of the Peasant That Sat on the Egyptian Throne.," 2016, <http://lite.almazryalyoum.com/extra/85190/>.

<sup>102</sup> Interview with Hussein Shaboury (Interior Designer and Museum Consultant), July 30, 2016.

Up until the revolution, the Muhammad Aly dynasty was considered the founders of Modern Egypt. While this dynasty had set up Egypt as an independent force in the region and contributed significantly to its built environment, during their rule, elitism, feudalism and discrimination against native Egyptians was a common practice. In its attempt to establish a common interpretation of the past, this nationalist regime made this dynasty's achievements irrelevant<sup>103</sup> and highlighted their shortcomings, thus validating their uprising.

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<sup>103</sup> Mohamed Elshahed, "Facades of Modernity: Image, Performance, and Transformation in the Egyptian Metropolis" (Master, MIT, 2007), 58.

### *Properties of the Elites*

Nasser's policies had an impact not only on the political scene but had severe repercussions on the wealthy communities, foreign and Egyptian, living in Egypt at the time. The new regime's policies sought to replace elitism, capitalism and cosmopolitan pluralism with state socialism and nationalism.<sup>104</sup> To Nasser, colonizers had played a significant role in the corruption of the country, and the elite enjoyed undeserved and unjustified privileges. As such, radical steps were taken against the upper class.<sup>105</sup> These consisted of policies targeting the foreign elites issued in the 1950s and policies targeting the Egyptian elites issued during the 1960s, a reflection of the previously mentioned political revolution (1952-1961) and social revolution (1961-1967).

During the 1950s, Egyptianization laws were issued, eliminating foreign<sup>106</sup> ownership of businesses and replacing foreign employees with Egyptians. The most significant transfer of assets, however, occurred following the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the ensuing Tripartite Aggression in 1956, when British, French and Jewish assets were seized by the government, and also following the Congo crisis, when Belgian assets suffered the same fate.<sup>107</sup> With the exception of very few businesses,<sup>108</sup> the assets seized were transferred to the public sector. This totalitarian regime made it difficult for private businesses to flourish and the overwhelming anti-western and anti-elite sentiments coupled with the above-mentioned immense wave of nationalization, sequestration and Egyptianization made it challenging, if not impossible, for foreigners to remain in the country resulting in the so-called mass exodus of Europeans.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Mohamed Awad, "The Impact of Economic Change on the Structure and Function of the Building Industry in Egypt (1920-1985)" (PhD, Alexandria University, 1992), 120.

<sup>105</sup> Ansari, *Egypt, the Stalled Society*, 89.

<sup>106</sup> According to Awad, this also included border-line nationals such as Jews, Armenians and Syro-Lebanese.

<sup>107</sup> Awad, "The Impact of Economic Change on the Structure and Function of the Building Industry in Egypt (1920-1985)," 142.

<sup>108</sup> Some were to transferred to private Egyptian ownership.

<sup>109</sup> Awad, "The Impact of Economic Change on the Structure and Function of the Building Industry in Egypt (1920-1985)," 54.

In July of 1961, the socialist laws were issued, targeting the Egyptian bourgeoisie. These included the nationalization of all banks, insurance companies, and a number of businesses as well as public utilities and public works companies.<sup>110</sup> Shortly thereafter, the sequestration decrees 138/61 and 140/61 were issued affecting approximately 7000 individuals between 1961 and 1966.<sup>111</sup> The total of assets seized amounted to about 100 million EGP, consisting of 122,000 feddans, 7,000 urban properties, 1,000 businesses and over 30 million EGP worth of stocks and bonds. Inspired by the Stalinist method, and as per the principles of the 'revolution', these laws were used by the regime against feudalists and exploitative capitalists that had previously dominated politics and trade under the old regime.<sup>112</sup>

Following this aggressive overtaking of the properties of the upper class, those in building stock form were transformed into governmental offices and public service institutions such as schools, hospitals and clinics in alignment with the new regime's socialist agenda.<sup>113</sup> A villa that used to serve a single elite family would now serve a community or a neighbourhood and in some cases, a whole district. While this mostly assured the survival of these buildings, the lack of maintenance and unsympathetic interventions and additions led to their rapid deterioration (Figure 33).<sup>114</sup>



Figure 33. Private Villa, "Mazloun Building" now the Faculty of Fine Arts.

<sup>110</sup> Ansari, *Egypt, the Stalled Society*, 87.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> Awad, "The Impact of Economic Change on the Structure and Function of the Building Industry in Egypt (1920-1985)," 121.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

Similar and compatible uses that were introduced to the old buildings resulted in a less drastic degradation of these buildings compared to other less sympathetic uses. For example, villas that were adapted for cultural uses such museums or cultural centers fared better than those used as public schools.<sup>115</sup> Additionally, Elshahed<sup>116</sup> and ElMagdoub<sup>117</sup> argue that making these buildings accessible to the public have contributed towards a more positive perception of that heritage, or at least an appreciation for its aesthetic values. According to Tarek Waly, such action can indeed have positive results, however, the lack of interpretation available at these buildings led to a complete unawareness of their historic value.<sup>118</sup>

#### The rent control dilemma

What further complicated the issue were the rent laws imposed in alignment with the government's socialist policies. Described by Shereen Attia as "one of the worst policies passed by the Egyptian government", rent control was applied through a series of laws that spanned 60 years (Appendix B). Although generally attributed to Nasser's regime, those pertaining to Belle Époque heritage go back to the aftermath of World War I.<sup>119</sup> Up until 1996, all rent-regulating laws were vehemently pro-tenant, an attempt made by the Egyptian government to prevent landlords from exploiting tenants. However, over time, these laws not only made for a troubled relationship between landlords and tenants, namely in the housing sector, they also significantly and negatively affected the built stock in the city, including 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century built heritage. To this day, the monthly rent for an apartment in Alexandria's historic center can be as little as 5 EGP. Besides being ill-equipped to care and maintain these historic structures, and further burdened by "frozen rents", landlords see their rundown properties as heavy burdens rather than full of economic potential. As a result,

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<sup>115</sup> Interview with Tarek Waly, July 31, 2016.

<sup>116</sup> Elshahed, "Facades of Modernity," 58.

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Akram ElMagdoub (architect), July 31, 2016.

<sup>118</sup> Interview with Tarek Waly, July 31, 2016.

<sup>119</sup> Shereen Attia, "Rent Control Dilemma Comeback in Egypt's Governance: A Hedonic Approach" (The Economic Research Forum, 2016), 4.

most opt for demolishing them and replacing them with high-rise apartment buildings,<sup>120</sup> a response to the unfulfilled high demand on residential units.

The effect of the bulk of Nasserite policies on Belle Époque heritage can be observed in most Egyptian cities, especially Cairo and in Alexandria, as the two most important cities in Egypt. As such, this regime sought to shift the center of power from Alexandria to Cairo, and in doing so, significantly affected the city. Some of these policies directly affected this heritage: the sequestration of palaces and villas and their adaptive reuse, as well as the centralization of the heritage sector and in some cases indirectly, such as the Egyptianization of businesses and the “Fair Rent” law.

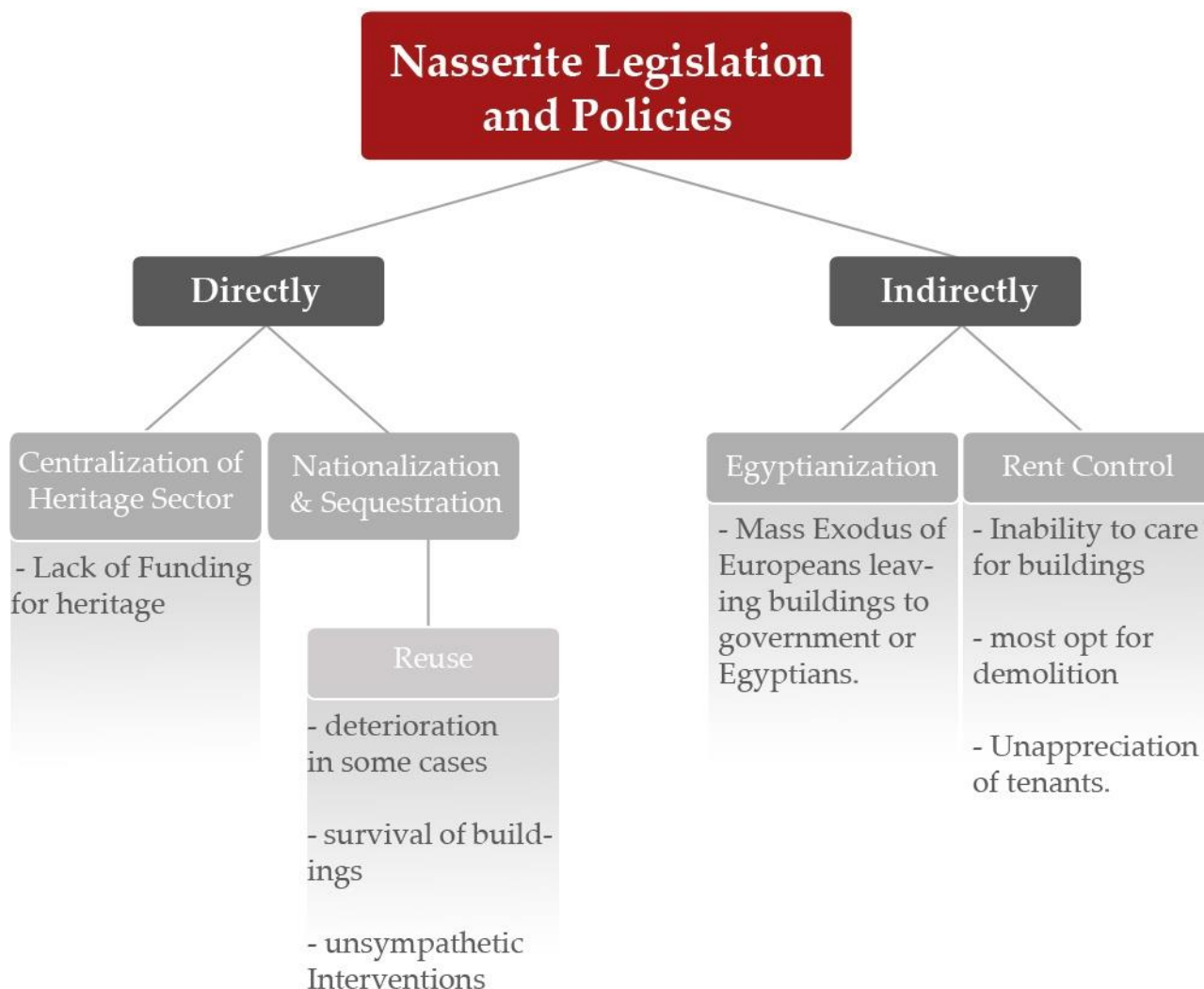


Figure 34. Direct and indirect effect of Nasserite legislation and policies on Belle Époque heritage.

<sup>120</sup> Elsorady, “Heritage Conservation in Alexandria, Egypt,” 498.

## 4. ALEXANDRIA

To further investigate and understand the new military regime's policies towards 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century built heritage in Alexandria, the case study will focus on the European city as delimited in Alexandria's Heritage List (Figure 35). The site was selected because it used to be the center of European power within the city and as such, it is where a significant portion of their buildings is located. The site is also representative<sup>121</sup> of the approach that Nasser nationalist regime opted for when dealing with the buildings the royal family and foreign communities left behind.



Figure 35. Map showing the borders of the study site "The European City". Source: Google maps and AlexMed.

### Nasserite Alexandria

Following the coup, Alexandria witnessed significant development, including new social housing units in poor districts and infrastructure projects.<sup>122</sup> New residential districts had a distinctively different character to the already existing ones, with the apartment block as the new dominant building form,<sup>123</sup> a process which increased the integration of different income groups but resulted in a lack of uniformity in the urban character of the city. Awad considers this to be a reflection of the post-revolutionary climate which sought to create a new urban order of egalitarian pluralism and collectivism.<sup>124</sup> Seeking legitimization, the new regime also

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<sup>121</sup> A representative sample was selected due to time constraints as well as accessibility and security issues.

<sup>122</sup> Alexandria Municipality, *Alexandria Municipality in the Era of the Revolution* (Alexandria, 1959), 6.

<sup>123</sup> As opposed to detached housing or villas.

<sup>124</sup> Awad, "The Impact of Economic Change on the Structure and Function of the Building Industry in Egypt (1920-1985)," 121.

tried to distort narratives by taking credit for ‘pre-revolution’ achievements such as the reconstruction of Alexandria after the bombardment (Figure 36).<sup>125</sup>



Figure 36. A photo of Alexandria after the 1882 bombardment (left) and a photo of Alexandria after 1952 published side by side in a governmental publication with the caption "Alexandria in the British colonial era and Alexandria by the hands of its sons". Source: *Alexandria: Local Governance 1961-1964*, 14-15.

While Cairo was, for centuries by that point, the main seat of government in Egypt, Alexandria as the main port and center of trade was where the Egyptian and European Elite opted to stay and as such, it remained undeniably the center of power. With Cairo as the ‘revolutionary’ seat of power, a regime guided by Arabism and a subtle association with the Ancient Egyptian past, Alexandria found itself in a contestation with Cairo, one where the city, which has long been associated with western Mediterranean culture, would lose by default.<sup>126</sup> It is also worth noting that during the Nasserite era, governmental publications and propaganda reduced Alexandria, the palimpsest carrying markers of several historic eras, to a first-class summer destination as well as an industrial hub, and while its long history was acknowledged, its heritage was not (Figure 37).

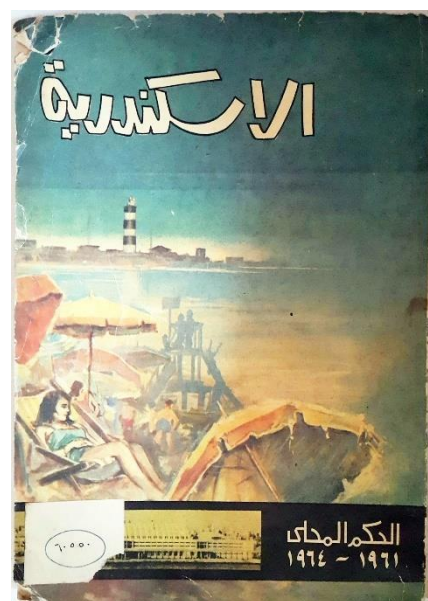


Figure 37. Governmental publication on the achievements of local governance depicting a beach in Alexandria. Source: *Alexandria: Local Governance 1961-1964*, cover.

<sup>125</sup> The reconstruction took place in the 1880s.

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Amro Ali (Middle Eastern Analyst), August 9, 2016.

Since “Sites of memory” are incremental to place identity,<sup>127</sup> like most post-colonial nationalist regimes, steps were taken to modify collective memory and establish new narratives within these sites to consolidate the new national identity. Since it was the center of European power in the city, Nasser chose Muhammad Ali square, namely Palazzo Tossiza, as his seat of power, the headquarter of the socialist union and the stage from which he would address the people of Alexandria every time he visited the city. From the balcony of that building came two of the most important speeches that Nasser ever gave.

The first, commemorating the anniversary of the ‘revolution’ in 1954, saw an attempt on the life of Nasser by a member of the Muslim Brotherhood and became known as “al-Mansheya Incident”. The second came two years later, in a historic speech, also on the anniversary of the revolution in July of 1956, when Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal, and the re-direction of its revenues towards the construction of the High Dam (Figure 39). During the protests condemning the ensuing Tripartite Aggression by Britain, France, and Israel, the Menasce Synagogue was partially damaged (Figure 38).<sup>128</sup> Despite the fact that it was built by and for Egyptian



Figure 39. Nasser, on the balcony of Tossizza Palace before announcing the nationalization of the Suez Canal. Source: *al-Ahram Weekly*, November 1, 2006.



Figure 38. Menasce Synagogue before and after 1956. Source: <http://www.aaha.ch/photos/majestic.htm> (top) <http://www.aaha.ch/photos/synagogue-menasce.htm> (bottom)

<sup>127</sup> Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage*, 35.

<sup>128</sup> Dessouki, “The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory,” 173.

Jews, the synagogue was a symbol of the enemy and its damaging was a result of the 'othering' process this regime set in motion. The Jewish community that has, throughout history, been part of the city's social make up was no longer welcome and whether voluntarily or forcefully, the majority left. It was now clear that the pluralist society characteristic to the city no longer existed.<sup>129</sup>

With the aim of supporting the new national narratives, *damnatio memoriae* was undertaken against all that related to the Muhammad Ali dynasty. The square and the surrounding streets were renamed: La Place Muhammad Ali became Liberation square or *Midan Al-Tahrir*, and Khedive Ismail's statue in the French Gardens was first covered (Figure 40), then removed in 1966 and the monument of *Ismail Il magnifico* was consequently dedicated to the Unknown Naval Soldier (Figure 41).<sup>130</sup> According to local narratives, the statue of Muhammad Ali was covered for a long time, which is plausible considering that Nasser gave his speeches from a balcony that directly overlooked the statue. There were also calls to remove it, but this never happened (Figure 42). However, the copper letters on the pedestal spelling the name of the viceroy were removed<sup>131</sup> and to this day, the pedestal stands on the square without a sign of the name of the statue it bears. The powerful impact on collective memory of such a simple action can be observed today on the square where a member of the public wrote the words "Gamal Abdel Nasser 1956",<sup>132</sup> on the pedestal of the Statue of Muhammad Ali Pasha (Figure 43).

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 173–74.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>131</sup> Mohamed Dessouki, "Alexandria, a History Unsettled by a Weak Memory," *AlDoha Magazine*, n.d., <http://www.aldohamagazine.com/article.aspx?n=425650EC-B456-4F2B-B207-0ABE46803B2C&d=20140951#.V7r9dpgrI2x>.

<sup>132</sup> Probably commemorating the Nationalization speech.

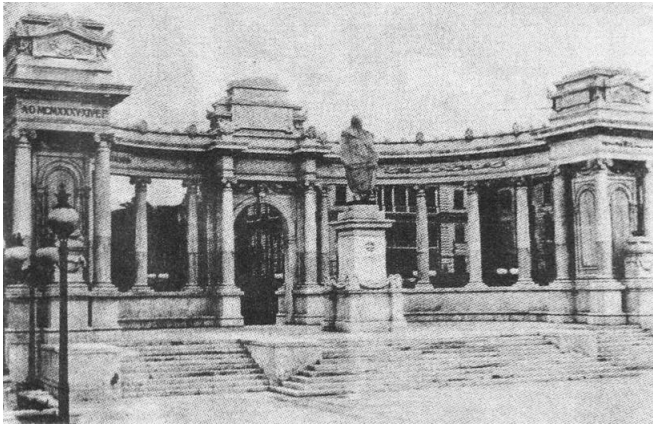


Figure 40. Khedive Ismail Statue covered. Source: *Ahwal Masriyya (Egyptian Statues)*, no. 37, 2010, 32.



Figure 41. The Unknown Naval Soldier today without the statue. Source: courtesy of Eric Bedard, <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/11570937.jpg>



Figure 42. Article in the newspaper calling for the destruction of the statues of the old regime. Source: *al-Ahram*, "Statues without pedestals and statues that should be destroyed", May 6, 1957.

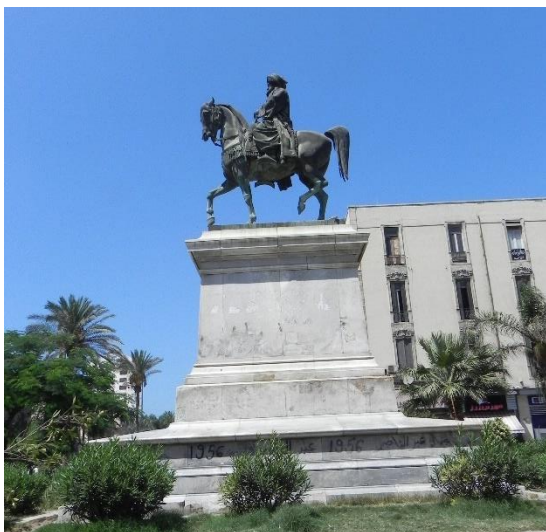


Figure 43. the words "Gamal Abdel Nasser 1956" written on the pedestal of the statue of Muhammad Ali.

As part of this new regime's reinvention of the identity of the square, two drastic interventions were implemented. The first, a project of the municipality in 1957-1958 was to connect the square to the port via the new Nasr Road, which is discussed further below. The second was in 1968 where the governorate replaced the French Gardens with a bus terminus in what Dessouki describes as "one of the most severe actions of obliteration of the square's identity".<sup>133</sup>



Figure 44. the bus terminus in place of the French Gardens. Source: Haag, *Vintage Alexandria*, 2008, 139.

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<sup>133</sup> Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory," 172.

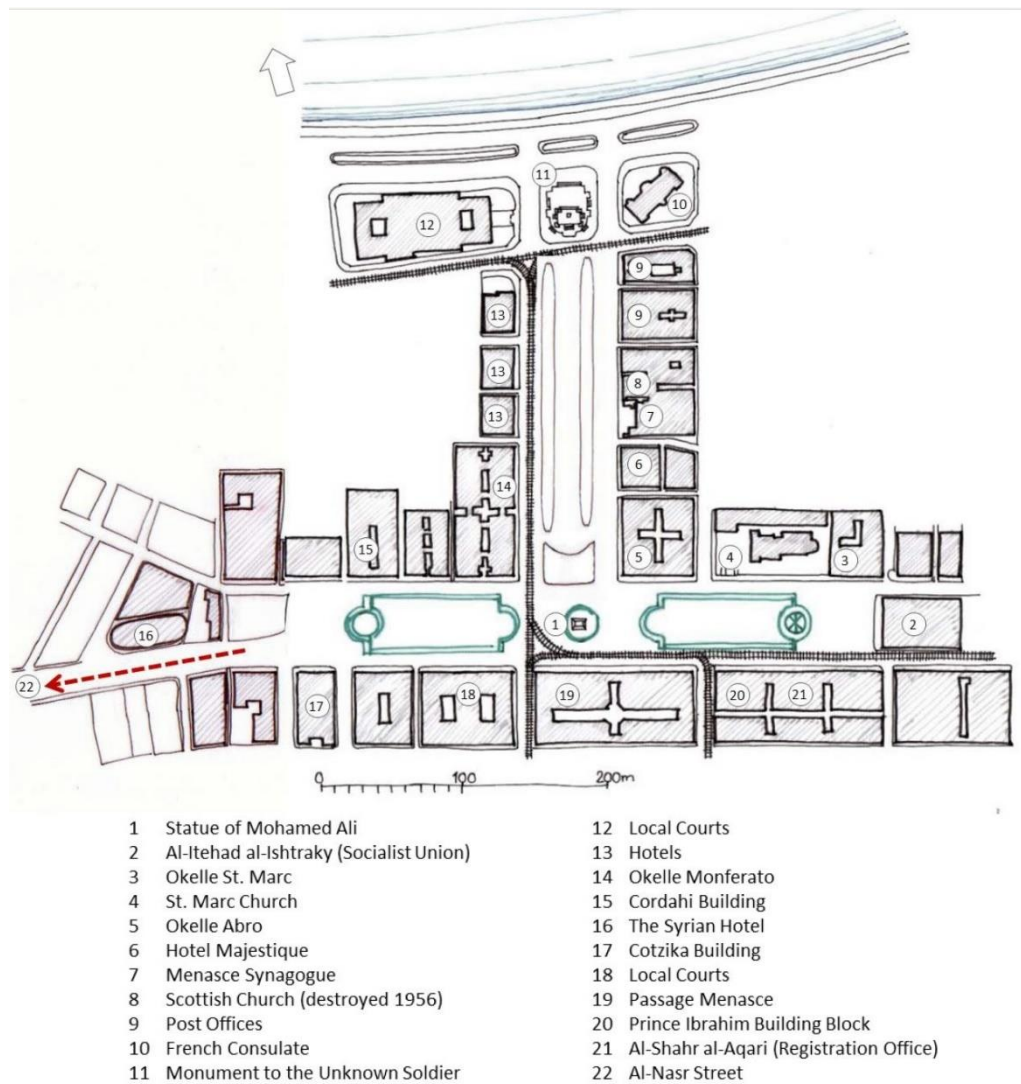


Figure 45. Mansheya square in the 1960s. Source: Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory", appendix.

### Nasr Road

The idea for this project originated in 1929. However, due to financial and political obstacles, this project was not implemented. In the 1950s, the original project was re-invented and the result was the intervention that took place in 1957-8.<sup>134</sup> Described by al-Ahram newspaper as "the greatest road in Alexandria's modern history"<sup>135</sup>, the project consisted of the expropriation and demolition of a 50m<sup>136</sup> wide strip of a 19<sup>th</sup> century residential and commercial neighborhood to make way for Nasr Road, thus connecting Mansheya Square to

<sup>134</sup> Alexandria Municipality, *Alexandria Municipality in the Era of the Revolution*, 48-49.

<sup>135</sup> See Appendix C

<sup>136</sup> 30m for the road itself in addition to 20 m on each side to make way for the new buildings.

the port.<sup>137</sup> Nasr road was considered, at the time, to be of significant touristic value. As such, the ground floor of this development was planned as a touristic market, serving tourists and locals alike, whereas the upper floors were residential. It was designed by Architect Mahmoud Elhakim and commissioned by the General Egyptian Authority for Housing and Development. It consists of a group of 33 residential blocks, accommodating 920 middle-income families (Appendix C).<sup>138</sup>

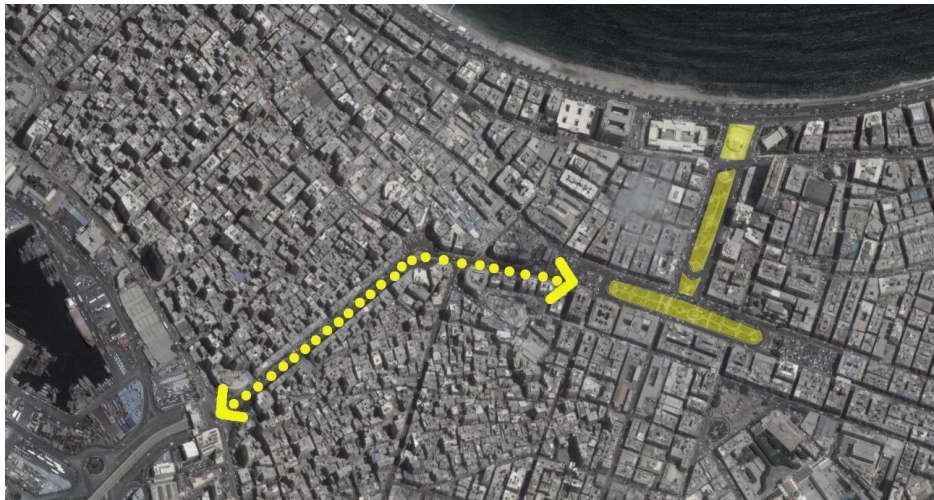


Figure 46. Map showing Nasr Road connecting Mansheya Square to the port. Source: Google maps.

The project was never completed. According to the 1957 plan, Nasr Road was supposed to split into two 10m wide streets. Only the one going into Muhammad Ali Square was implemented, while the other, which was supposed to go all the way to the Corniche, was never built (Figure 47). According to Awad, the project never reached its full potential, due to the political and economic climate at the time. The mass exodus of Europeans, followed by the sequestration of the Egyptian bourgeoisie led to a reduction in business and contributions from the private sector. As such, the project has since been overtaken by small businesses and low-income housing.<sup>139</sup> As part of the scheme and to solve the aggravating problem of street vendors, a new market, *Souk Syria* (Syria Market), was built. It was later renamed Libya Market, both names allude to the Pan-Arabism of the Nasserite era.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> The port was then under renovation and a new marine station was being added.

<sup>138</sup> Mohamed Hammad, *Misr Tabni (Egypt Builds)* (Cairo, 1963), 74–76.

<sup>139</sup> Mohamed Awad, “The Metamorphosis of Mansheya,” in *Alexandrie En Egypte*, ed. Kenneth Brown and Hannah Davis-Taieb, 1996.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

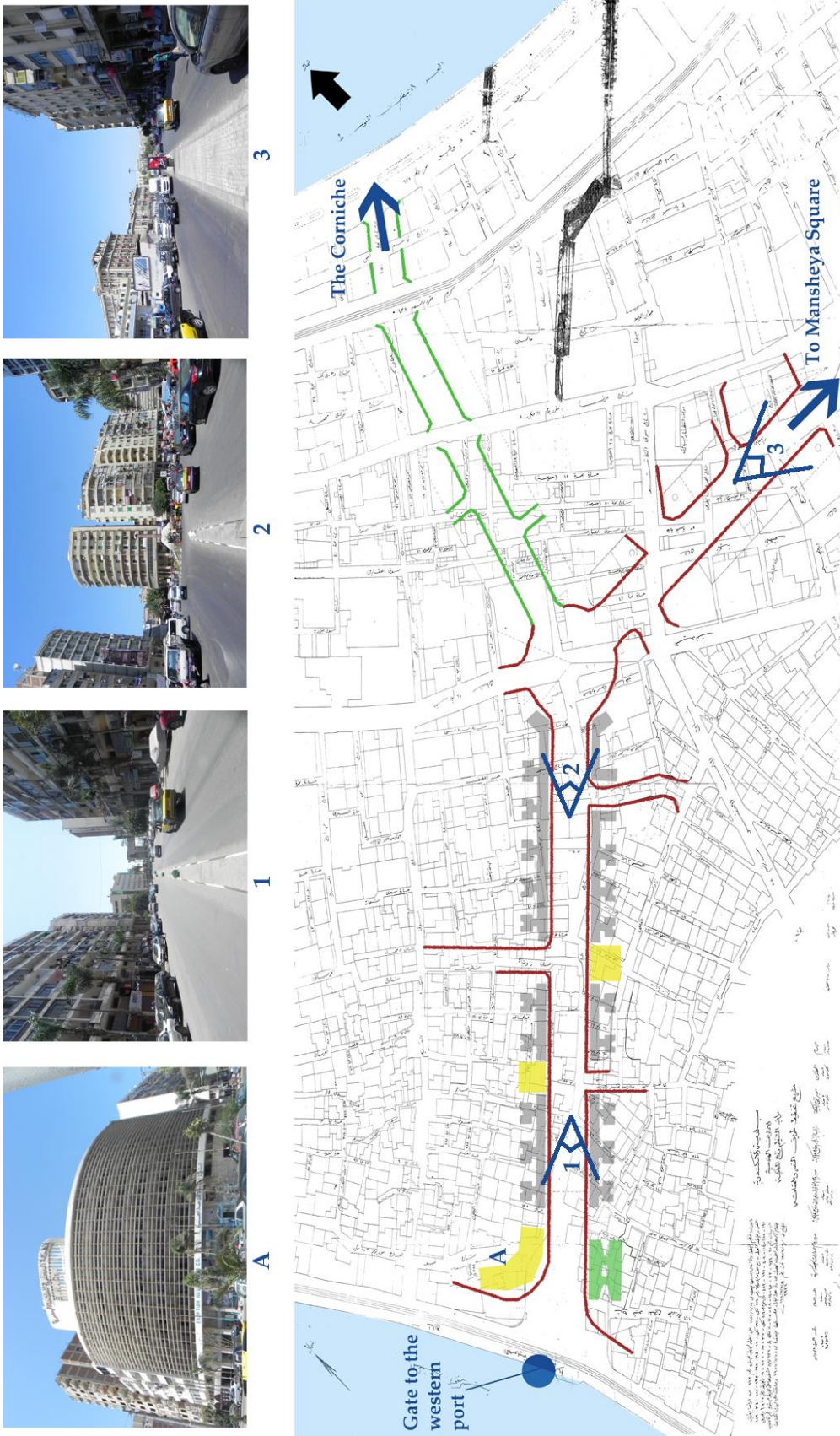


Figure 47. Nasr Road Project, (in red) the road intervention, (in green), planned but not implemented, (in grey) the new commercial residential blocks, (in yellow), office buildings, (a) Marine Navigation Company, based on "Nasr Road Planning Project and its outbuildings, (a) Marine Navigation Company, based on "Nasr Road Planning Project and its outbuildings". Source: AlexMed.

The new road and buildings are alien to the surrounding urban fabric, which is similar to that in the Turkish Town, with a clear contrast in footprint, height, building materials and architectural style (Figure 48-Figure 49). It is as if the new buildings were adhered to whatever remained of the surrounding fabric after the demolition (Figure 50). This intervention clearly shows the lack of awareness and appreciation of the demolished Ottoman heritage, which was not even documented. This can be observed in the words used by a governmental publication to describe the demolished neighborhood saying it was “the dirtiest neighborhood of the city” with old worn buildings that are over 100-150 years old.<sup>141</sup> Nasser’s government is not the only one to blame for that lack of appreciation, since reports of the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l’Art Arabe only inscribed 3 mosques in the whole Turkish quarter.<sup>142</sup> It is also worth noting that Urban Conservation was still not established as a discipline in Egypt and was in its infancy in Europe. As such, there were no specific guiding principles for that sort of intervention on historic fabric. This was simply an attempt at clearing slums in the name of urban renewal just like the Avenida Central in Brazil.



Figure 48. Examples of the pre-existing surrounding fabric.

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<sup>141</sup> Alexandria Municipality, *Alexandria Municipality in the Era of the Revolution*, 50.

<sup>142</sup> See “Comité Bulletins,” online archive, *Islamic Art Network*, accessed August 22, 2016, <http://www.islamic-art.org/comitte/Comite.asp>.



Figure 49. Example of the new fabric.



Figure 50. Relationship between old and new fabric.

### *Adaptive reuse*

To be able to understand the extent of the effect of the new regime's policies on Belle Époque heritage, namely the nationalization and sequestration of the elite's buildings and their ensuing adaptive reuse and how the rent control laws continue to affect Belle Époque heritage today, a field survey (Appendix D), of the uses (Figure 51) and conditions (Figure 52) of the listed buildings in the European quarter, was undertaken and analyzed.

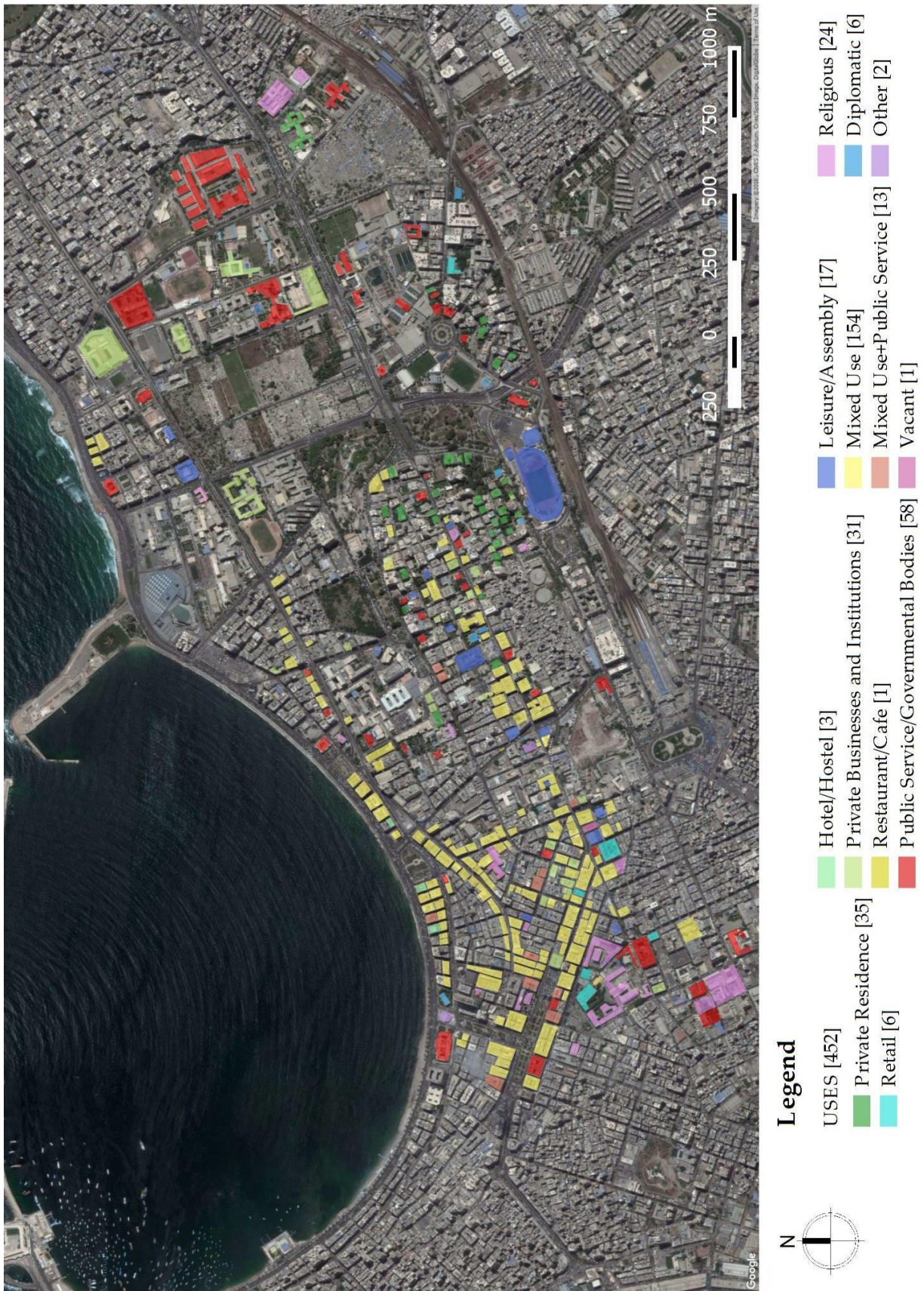


Figure 51. Uses survey map.



**Legend**

- CONDITIONS [452]
- Excellent/Mint [26]
  - Very Good [97]
- Fair/Good [157]
  - Serious/Bad [53]
  - Ruinous [12]
  - Demolished [8]

Figure 52. Conditions survey map.

From the survey, it was found that:

1. The majority of the European quarter's listed buildings are in a relatively bad condition (Figure 53) and are in need of maintenance, which supports the argument against the "Fair Rent" legislation and the subsequent inability of landlords to care for their properties, especially in the case of private residences.



Figure 53. building in relatively bad condition.

2. Although it is often agreed that the sequestered and nationalized properties that were turned into governmental offices and public service uses suffered rapid deterioration due to the lack of maintenance and ill-conceived interventions, the survey shows that these buildings are in a better condition compared to those in private ownership. There was indeed a number of unsympathetic additions and interventions, however, they were not limited to nationalized properties (Figure 54), it seemed to be a prevailing trend (Figure 55) which serves to show that the lack of experience and the inability to care for built heritage is not limited to governmentally owned structures.

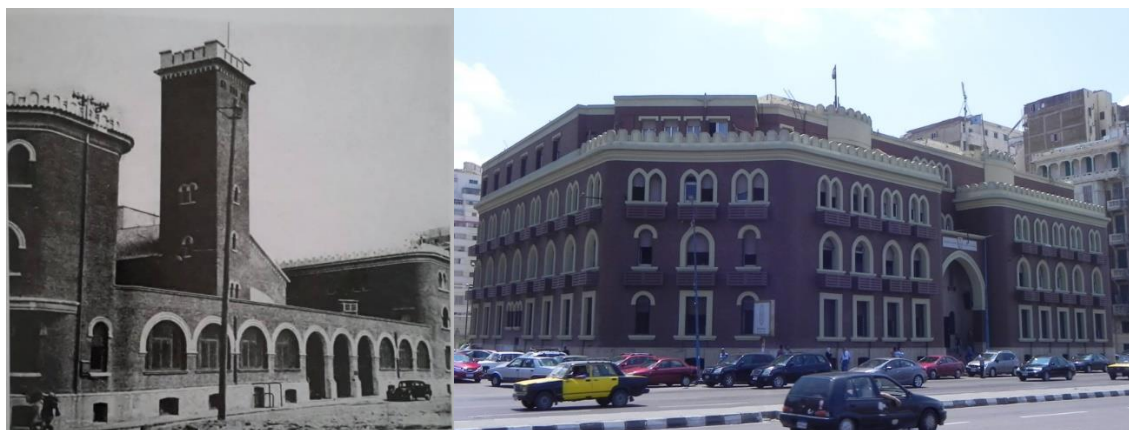


Figure 54. 3 floors and cage-like boxes added to the facade of the Alexandria University administrative building (previously the Italian marine hospital- left) to accommodate ACs. Source: (left) Awad, Italy in Alexandria, 209.



Figure 55. Majestic hotel (privately owned) after demolishing the characteristic domes, adding 2 floors and reconstructing the domes.  
Source: (left) [www.egyptianroyalty.net](http://www.egyptianroyalty.net)

3. Among the buildings used for public service, those reused as schools seemed to be suffering the most. The depletive nature of this specific use coupled with the lack of maintenance have taken a significant toll on these buildings. Since public schools offer free education, these schools do not generate enough income to be directed towards the maintenance of these historic structures.



Figure 56. Palazzo Lutzatto, now the Belquis School. Source: (right) AlexMed<sup>143</sup>

4. With the exception of the governorate building which burned down and collapsed following the events of the 2011 revolution, all the other demolished buildings were,

<sup>143</sup> Interior was inaccessible. Photo obtained from previous survey by AlexMed (2003-2006)

or are to be, replaced by high-rise apartment buildings, a more severe result of the frozen rents.



Figure 57. The governorate building following 2011, now parking. Source: <http://www.nile.eg/>



Figure 58. Villa Aghion by August Perret being demolished in 2014, and a sign showing the new project that is to replace it: a commercial and residential complex and a hotel. Source: Save Alex



Figure 59. Villa (no.3011 in the Heritage list) demolished and replaced by high-rise apartment building. Source: (left) <http://www.urbanharmony.org/>

## Post-Nasserite Alexandria

The rapid development and expansion of the city in the time of Nasser failed to fulfill housing needs and furthermore, it slowed down significantly in the ensuing years, while the population growth rate continued to increase at an alarming rate. State housing could not meet the high demand. In fact, the housing deficit for Egypt was approximately 2 million units by 1975.<sup>144</sup> This, along with the “frozen rents” and post-war economy, put significant pressure on the existing building stock, leading to the formation of slums and the deterioration of the city’s built environment as a whole, including its built heritage.<sup>145</sup>

Mansheya square witnessed the 1977 bread riots against Al-Sadat, Nasser’s successor, and his economic policies during which rioters set fire the Socialist Union building resulting in significant damage to the structure. The government opted not to restore the building, tore it down years later and transformed it into a parking lot named after the demolished building (Figure 60).<sup>146</sup> In 1999, a development scheme of the square was carried out by the government, removing the bus terminus and reestablishing the gardens. However, this scheme subdivided the gardens of both square, affecting the perception of the squares as one urban space and transformed it into a wide vehicular road with a round-about in the middle.<sup>147</sup> Since Nasser’s regime’s attempt to obliterate the identity of the square through new nationalistic narratives, there were no attempts from his successors to restore or reinstate this obliterated memory. To this day, there are no interpretation signs or any indicators about the square’s history, who built it or how it transformed over the years. This contributes to the general lack of awareness of the city’s heritage and history.

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<sup>144</sup> Awad, “The Impact of Economic Change on the Structure and Function of the Building Industry in Egypt (1920-1985),” 125.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Dessouki, “The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory,” 177.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 179.



Figure 60. The Socialist Union headquarter burning during the 1977 bread riots and today as a parking. Source: al-Ahram Weekly, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/1999/462/1970.htm>



- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1 Statue of Mohamed Ali             | 10. Local Courts                            |
| 2 Al-Itehad al-Ishtraky Parking Lot | 11. Hotels                                  |
| 3 Okelle St. Marc                   | 12. Okelle Monferato                        |
| 4 St. Marc Church                   | 13. Cordahi Building                        |
| 5 Majestic Mall                     | 14. The Syrian Hotel                        |
| 6 Menasce Synagogue                 | 15. Cotzika Building                        |
| 7 Sengor University                 | 16. Local Courts                            |
| 8 French Consulate                  | 17. Passage Menasce                         |
| 9 Monument to the Unknown Soldier   | 18. Prince Ibrahim Building Block           |
|                                     | 19. Al-Shahr al-Aqari (Registration Office) |

Figure 61. Mansheya square in the 2000s. Source: Dessouki, "the interrelationship between urban space and collective memory," appendix.

Heritage interpretation is time-specific, and so its meaning can change as circumstances change. The official heritage discourse during Nasser clearly aimed to conceal, forget and disgrace the 'pre-revolution' era. As a result, this regime succeeded in making 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century built heritage in Egypt, for the most part, irrelevant. During the Sadat years, this started to change gradually, as restrictions on discussing the monarchic period and its achievements significantly lessened. In fact, Al-Sadat reinstated the Egyptian passports of some members of the royal family, living abroad at the time.<sup>148</sup> This marked the first time that they were publicly acknowledged as members of the Egyptian nation.

### *The invention of Belle Époque*

The 1992 earthquake, which significantly damaged 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century buildings, was a significant turning point as it spurred campaigns for the conservation of this heritage across Egypt,<sup>149</sup> more so in the capital, where multiple schemes were implemented to restore Khedival Cairo. In addition to this, the publication of several literary works and memoirs starting from the late sixties such as *Miramar, Farewell to Alexandria, out of Egypt* that spoke of the pre-Nasser era as the "golden days" generated a wave nostalgia for that bygone era.<sup>150</sup> While widely debatable, the term Belle Époque in Egypt is often used to refer to Pre-Nasserite times. According to Mercedes Volait, the origin of the label in Egypt was Mostyn's *Egypt's Belle Époque* which, while "coolly received" in western academic circles for its "Imperial nostalgia", was very successful in Egypt. The term has since made its way to the vernacular of the middle and upper class as well as the media. This period became associated with, extravagance and splendor as well as a glamorous royal family. In addition to Khedival Cairo

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<sup>148</sup> Ghada Ghaleb, "Sadat Sends the King an Egyptian Passport," *AlMasry AlYom Light*, 2015.

<sup>149</sup> Galila ElKadi and Dalila ElKerdany, "The Politics of Refurbishing the Downtown Business District," in *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space in the New Globalized Middle East*, ed. Diane Singerman and Paul Amar (American University in Cairo Press, 2009), 9,

<http://cairo.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.5743/cairo/9789774162893.001.0001/upso-9789774162893>.

<sup>150</sup> Dessouki, "The Interrelationship between Urban Space and Collective Memory," 177.

and Heliopolis, Alexandria, with its Mediterranean and cosmopolitan past, became a symbol of that bygone era.<sup>151</sup>

In the late 1980s, Mubarak<sup>152</sup> ordered the restoration of Abdin Palace in Cairo, and the reopening of parts of it to the public as a museum. The palace, which had been closed in 1952 by Nasser who refused to use it as his seat of government, was reopened in the 1998.<sup>153</sup> The preface, written by former president Mubarak, to the museum's booklet explained the philosophy behind the project, emphasizing the importance of the conservation of historic buildings in maintaining the nation's historical memory as well as the importance of the palace and the Khedive who built it for Egypt's modern history.<sup>154</sup> This is considered another turning point for Belle Époque heritage in Egypt.



Figure 62. Abdeen Palace. Source: [www.cairo.gov.eg](http://www.cairo.gov.eg)

In Alexandria, there was an attempt at reviving the city's cosmopolitan narrative or pre-Nasser narratives such as the transformation of the palace of Fatma Al-Zahraa<sup>155</sup> into the Museum of Royal Jewelry and the readoption of the original name of the royal yacht on which King Farouk left Egypt. After it became part of the Egyptian Navy, Nasser had

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<sup>151</sup> Mercedes Volait, "The 'Belle Époque' in Egypt: Registers, Rhetorics and Mechanisms of Heritage Invention," in *The Politics and Practices of Cultural Heritage in the Middle East: Positioning the Material Past in Contemporary Societies*, ed. Rami Daher and Irene Maffi (London: Tauris, 2014), 105–7.

<sup>152</sup> Muhammad Hosny Mubarak, former president of Egypt (1981-2011)

<sup>153</sup> The 1992 earthquake had significantly damaged the palace and as such added to the works of restoration required.

<sup>154</sup> Mercedes Volait, "The 'Belle Époque' in Egypt," 117–18.

<sup>155</sup> Granddaughter of Prince Mustafa Fadil, the brother of the Khedive Ismail.

changed its name from *AlMahrusa* (The Protected) to *Alhorreya* (Liberty).<sup>156</sup> According to Volait, Mubarak's actions towards Belle Époque heritage and narratives are "acts of architectural patronage...[that]relate to a form of dynastic Continuity".<sup>157</sup> Whereas Amro Ali sees these actions as profit-driven endeavors that supported the "political branding" propagated by the government and did little to protect the majority of the city's heritage.<sup>158</sup> Both arguments are supported by the fact that Mubarak mostly cared for the heritage of the royalty, whereas the rest of Belle Époque Alexandria was left to decay.



Figure 63. Museum of Royal Jewelry, 2014.

From the 1980s and onwards, a series of policies and laws (Appendix A), were issued and institutions were established to better protect Egypt's modern heritage. So far, all these attempts have been reactionary, followed top-down approaches, and lacked community participation. They did little to change public perception towards this heritage or to re-instate its obliterated identity and memory, thus failing to establish a connection between the city's inhabitants and its built heritage as can be seen in the condition this heritage is in today.

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<sup>156</sup> Interview with Amro Ali (Middle Eastern Analyst), August 9, 2016.

<sup>157</sup> Mercedes Volait, "The 'Belle Époque' in Egypt," 118.

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Amro Ali (Middle Eastern Analyst), August 9, 2016.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This research set out to explore the troubled relationship between nationalism and built heritage in Nasserite Egypt, identifying how the new military regime used built heritage to legitimate its rule and consolidate the new national identity. To provide some context, the research sought to understand the motivations behind this regime's actions towards heritage, in general, and Belle Époque heritage, in particular, and the heritage narratives that it sought to propagate, particularly in Alexandria. In an attempt to fill the gap in the literature, the research aimed to answer two questions: How did Nasser's nationalist regime use heritage to assert its new national identity? How did this affect, and continue to affect, Belle Époque heritage in Alexandria today?

Heritage has proven to be a powerful political resource that nationalist regimes have used to validate and legitimize their rule and to create and consolidate national identity. This made for a troubled relationship between nationalism and conservation and an especially complicated one in postcolonial contexts, where heritage was subjected to disinheritance. However, this disinheritance is mainly motivated by a dissatisfaction with existing narratives and a desire to change them. In France, seeking to obliterate the tyranny of the old regime, monarchic symbols were destroyed in a quest for unity and equality. Mussolini's dissatisfaction with Italy's previously divided image propelled him to turn to Antiquity, propagating new narratives of power and order. After years under colonial rule, Brazil sought to eradicate its colonial past and create new narratives of a modern independent country.

In the case of Egypt, the existing narratives that nationalism sought to change were those of favoritism towards Europeans and severe discrimination against Egyptians in the case of the Urabi revolt and added to this was British colonial rule in the case of 20<sup>th</sup> century nationalism. While it managed to obtain a degree of independence for Egypt, early 20<sup>th</sup> century nationalism only sought to shift powers from Europeans to the Egyptian upper class and failed to produce any social reforms. It was the 1952 coup d'état that finally managed to change the status quo.

Indeed, 1952 was considered Ground Zero and a clean slate for the Egyptian nation. This was reflected in the modernization, industrialization and developmental projects undertaken at the time, most notably the High Dam. The new modernist architecture erected during this transformative period also supports that quest for modernity. However, this was by no means a futurist regime, quite the opposite in fact, this regime, like most nationalist regimes, had a keen awareness of the past and its potential for validation and legitimation. The difference is that, unlike Mussolini for example, what Nasser sought to associate his modern Egypt with was not a fixed period of the past, it rather varied with his agenda. However, there was a clear favoritism towards Ancient Egypt, its symbols and relics. Another significant difference is the subtlety of this regime's processes of 'sameness' and 'otherness'. Heritage disinheritance under this nationalist regime was subtler than its counterparts in Europe, probably due the absence of a heritage program. There was no state-sanctioned mass-destruction of whatever related to the monarchy, the elite or the British colonizers, but rather a mix of marginalization, willful forgetfulness, and selective obliteration. Two phases can be identified in this regime's disinheritance or process of 'otherness': Nasser's "political revolution" which mainly targeted the royal family, the British and the foreign Elite and his "social revolution" which was directed at the Egyptian Bourgeoisie.

Following 1952, the royal family became *persona non grata* and while their palaces and residences were taken over by the government "in the name of the people", the 'people' never really got the opportunity to see them under Nasser's rule, unlike post-revolutionary France for example where palaces were turned into museums for the public. When it came to the memory to the royal family, the actions taken by this regime were rather contradictory. For the most part, this regime sought to obliterate their memory by changing streets' names and discrediting their achievements. Yet in some cases, like the opening of the Haramlek palace as a 'museum' to the public, their memory was capitalized on and was used as a reminder of a darker past and of the vices and decadence of the monarchs and as such, a source of validation for the new regime. As to the eradication of colonialism, the British were successfully evacuated in 1956 and their memory replaced with that of the new nation as can

be seen in the new buildings replacing those associated with British colonialism in Tahrir square, Nasser's seat of power.

Alexandria represents a peculiar case. As a symbol of western Mediterranean culture, a centre of European power, a reminder of the achievements of the Muhammad Ali dynasty and a city built and developed by the elite, Alexandria symbolized everything Nasser stood against. As such, this new regime turned to Cairo to establish its seat of power and filled the capital with projects that sought to affirm the new national identity. Under Nasser, Cairo became the "city of the revolution", while Alexandria, the palimpsest with markers from all historic eras, was reduced to a "first class summer destination" and an industrial hub and its heritage would be forgotten for years to come.

Under Nasser, Alexandria's European quarter, namely Mansheya square, which used to symbolize the wealth of the vice-regal family and European influence over politics and trade became the regime's local seat of power. With his 2 famous speeches (the Mansheya incident and the nationalization of the canal), Nasser initiated new narratives that overshadowed pre-existing narratives and memories of the square. Steps were also taken to obliterate the memory of the former ruling family from the square such as the toppling of the Khedive Ismail statue, the renaming of the squares, replacing the French gardens with a bus terminus and the Nasr Road project. In the name of urban renewal, a 19<sup>th</sup> century neighborhood, deemed "too dirty and old", was wiped out to make way for el-Nasr road, the regime's most significant intervention in Alexandria, featuring socialist architecture in alignment with the regime's agenda. The new alien fabric's dissonant relationship with the existing ottoman-style fabric is a good representation of this regime's dichotomous relationship with the recent past.

Generally, the demise of Belle Époque heritage is attributed to Nasser 's anti-western sentiments and his socialist policies of sequestration and nationalization, which in their attempt to eradicate class differences, irreversibly damaged these historic structures. However, this was not always the case. The fact that this regime actually chose to reuse Belle Époque buildings, and in many cases, made them accessible to the public has protected them

from demolition as opposed to private residential buildings which are more severely affected by the “fair rents” and as such, have a higher risk of demolition. The field survey conducted over a sample of buildings located in the European city supports this argument. In fact, it showed that while most of the listed buildings were in relatively bad conditions and in need of maintenance, buildings that were nationalized and/or provided services to the public were mostly faring better than private residences. However, some of the new uses introduced by the government, namely educational uses, have had a more severe effect on the state of these buildings.

Following the fall of Nasser’s regime, Alexandria never regained its former status and has since been unable to compete with Cairo. The once-cosmopolitan city found itself entangled in the process of ‘otherness’ this regime initiated against colonial rule, the royal family and the bourgeoisie. However, the waves of nostalgia generated after the damage caused by the 1992 earthquake as well as the publication of several literary works significantly and positively affected Belle Époque heritage and increased awareness of it. A ramification and a direct result of the centralized state established by Nasser and in place to this day is the fact that Cairo’s Belle Époque heritage is receiving more attention and funds towards its conservation and restoration than that in Alexandria.

Today, Alexandria’s Belle Époque heritage is torn between two contradictory narratives. The first is the work of the Nasserite era and is one of disinheritance and the second narrative was initiated under Sadat but crystallized under Mubarak and is one of re-inheritance and nostalgia towards the good old days and seeks to create some form of continuity from the monarchic era. Looking at the condition of Belle Époque heritage in the city, it would seem that the former narrative is prevailing. This is probably due to two reasons. The first is Nasser’s ability to reach and mobilize the masses because he catered to the poor and was perceived as a man of the people, whereas the 1990s nostalgic narratives were elitist in their nature and came mostly from foreign literature by foreign authors and as such, could only reach the educated middle and upper classes and failed completely to address the grassroots.

The second is that while Nasserite legislation may have been right for their time, they had several drawbacks and recent heritage legislation have failed to rectify these.

However, it should be noted that both narratives are rather extreme and rely on the omission of certain truths. The Nasserite narrative is based on highlighting the vices of the colonial era, the royal family and the foreign and Egyptian elite while omitting and discrediting their achievements and contributions towards Alexandria and Egypt. Whereas the narratives that emerged in the 1990s emphasize the country's economic prosperity as well the glamour and splendour of that era, and completely disregard the fact that it was one of marginalization to the natives and of foreign domination.

This research highlighted the dichotomy in the current Belle Époque heritage narratives and how this is negatively affecting this heritage today. In order to assure the survival of Belle Époque heritage, further research should find new ways to establish a connection between all the city's inhabitants, not just a certain class, and built heritage and to rectify the drawbacks of Nasserite narratives (otherness) and legislation (rent law) and capitalize on their advantages (adaptive reuse and public access to listed buildings). In other words, a reconciliation of the contradictory pre-Nasser and post-Nasser narratives is essential.

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# APPENDIX A

## Heritage Legislation in Egypt

*Heritage Legislation in Egypt. Source: Dalia Elsorady, "Heritage conservation in Alexandria," 498-499.*

Timing	Law description and/or conservation initiative	Generation of immediate inferences
1805–1850	During the reign of Mohammed Ali, the protection of antiquities was extremely modest and had little effect.	No clear criteria exist in Egypt, i.e. of historic and artistic merit.
1912: Law 4	This year marked the passage of the first antiquities law, Law 4, defining Ancient Monuments.	No grading and no clear registration.
1951: Law 215	This year marked the passage of the first general legislation in Egypt issued by King Farouk and the Department of Antiquities (Law 215) regulating various types of antiquity dating up to the end of the Khedive Ismail period.	This law was very much in favour of ancient Egyptian monuments. The law was triggered to address the problem of the smuggling of antiquities. The complications of this mission did not enable the Department of Antiquities to address the conservation of the cultural heritage of later periods properly. The management of such resources stopped at registration. Because of low rents, owners prefer to demolish and opt for commercial redevelopment.
The 1950s Rent Laws	These have been enforced since 1952. Rents have dropped so much that landlords known as slum lords cannot maintain their properties.	
1972	The Department of Antiquities (DOA) has interested several European countries in cultural and archaeological institutions in Cairo.	
The establishment of the National Organisation for Urban Harmony in 2001	The National Organisation for Urban Harmony (NOUH) is affiliated to the Egyptian Ministry of Culture. Part of its mission lies in the preservation of the architectural and urban features specific to every area.	The adaptation and rehabilitation philosophy adopted by foreign conservation institutes and some local architects and conservationists offers a long-term solution to the problems of conservation in Egypt. The National Organisation for Urban Harmony in Cairo is a central authority for all Egyptian governorates. It forms another listing re-evaluation committee different from the first local listing committee, and re-evaluates the status of buildings nationwide.
Law 144 in 2006	Conservation legislation was gradually upgraded until the Egyptian Presidency issued Law 144 in 2006, which is the heritage conservation law currently in circulation.	The issuing of the Law was met with problems such as the absence of accountability, legitimacy and community participation. These were reflected in the tensions that consequently appeared between ownership and legislation.
Alexandria local activities		
1. Alexandria Comprehensive Plan	The most important leading heritage conservation trend is referred to in the <i>Comprehensive Plan of Alexandria of 2005</i> (Alexandria Governorate 1983).	Heritage conservation appeared as one of the main axes of planning policy. No national law was issued at that time. Buildings of special styles are now conserved under the protection of the local authorities.
2. 1999: Local Survey	The Alexandria Preservation Trust (1999) updated the 1980s survey and added a number of buildings of distinct styles.	This survey took place after the demolition of many registered buildings after their owners won lawsuits, bypassed the current law and demolished buildings without permission.
3. 2007: Local survey	The listing of buildings in Alexandria was updated for the third time in 2007.	The survey took place after Law 144 was issued.
4. Establishment of <i>El Amanah El Fanniya</i> in 2009	According to Declaration 142 in 2009.	Provision of technical assistance and consultancy to owners of listed buildings in Alexandria.

## APPENDIX B

### Rent control legislation

The first rent control law was passed, in 1924, to increase rent rates by 50%, to then be revoked in 1925 when economic needs no longer dictated it. Following World War II, the law was re-enacted by decree no. 151 for the year 1941 stating that rent values stated in the lease cannot be changed. In 1944, military regulations dictated that rents be set back to the rates of 1941 and three years later, a bill from the Egyptian parliament (121/1947) froze all rents of the units erected before 1944 at their 1941 values.<sup>159</sup>

Following the 1952 military coup, a new law 199/1952 dictated that leases signed between 1944 and 1952 would come under rent control, reducing them a further 15% than the frozen rates set in 1941. During the presidency of Nasser, the government issued another five rent control laws. The first was law no.55/1958, which reduced rent by 20% for leases signed between 1952 and 1958. The second, law no. 168 for the year 1961, reduced rent by 20% for leases signed between 1958 and 1961. In an attempt to rectify previous legislation which lowered rent rates below those listed in the leases, law no.46 of 1962 was issued and stated that rent values (3% of estimated land value + 5% of building construction cost) are to be estimated and set by a special committee. The lack of trained personnel and lengthy delays prevented the proper implementation of this law. Consequently, law 7/1965 restored previous regulations and further reduced rent values for units built between 1944 and 1961 by 20%. These properties' rent had already been reduced in the three previous laws of 1952, 1958 and 1961. Law no. 52 of 1969, amended in 1976, 1977 and 1981, is the basis of today's rent control legislation in Egypt.<sup>160</sup>

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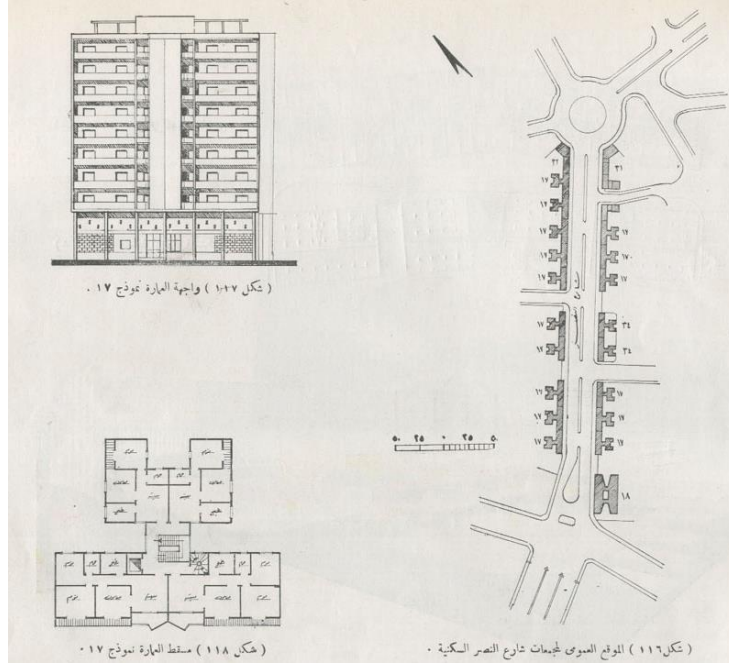
<sup>159</sup> Shereen Attia, "Rent Control Dilemma Comeback in Egypt's Governance: A Hedonic Approach" (The Economic Research Forum, 2016), 4.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

# APPENDIX C

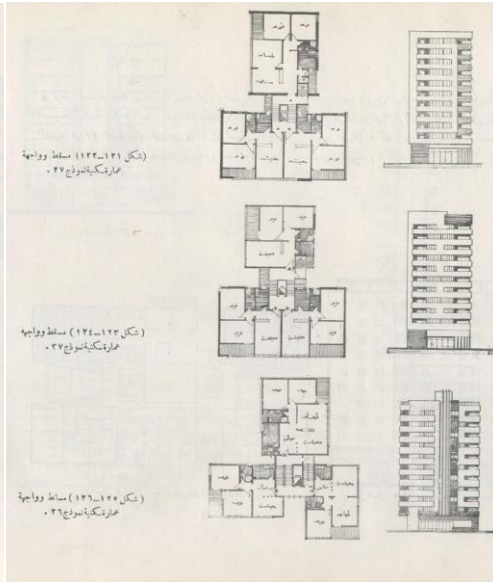
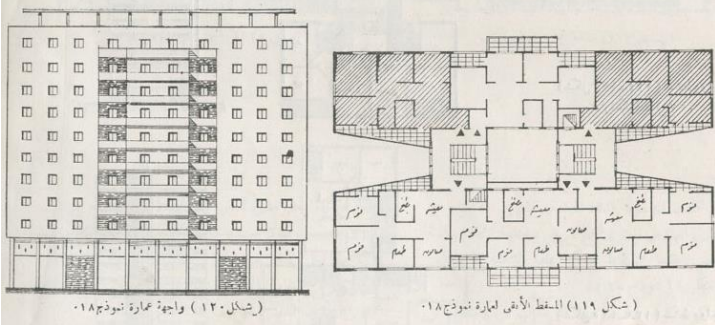
## Nasr Road

The Nasr Road Project in Hammad, Misr Tabni (Egypt Builds), 1963



شارع النصر هو من الشوارع التي لها أهمية سياحية كبيرة ، حيث ، يؤدي إلى مدخل الميناء الرئيسي ، فقد صمم الدور الأرضي كسوق سياحي به مجموعة كبيرة من المحال التجارية لخدمة السائحين وفي نفس الوقت يحدم سكان الحي .

● وقد كلفت المؤسسة المهندس الأستاذ محمود الحكيم بدراسة المجموعة السكنية بشارع النصر بمدينة الاسكندرية ، وتتكون المجموعة من ٢٣ عمارة سكنية نموذجي ١٧ ، ١٨ لسكن ٩٢٠ عائلة من الاسكان المتوسط أي تسع حوالى ٥٠٠ شخصاً ، ولما كان



AlexMed Map of Nasr Road Planning Project, 1957.

## مشروع تقسيم الأراضي بمدينة الإسكندرية



الكود: 4037  
الحى: الجمرك  
إسم الخريطة: مشروع تخطيط طريق النصر وملحقته  
الإسم السابق:  
سنة الإصدار: 1957

٢٦٤

في القمم: من القمم ١٤ شارع مطوية  
في القمم: من القمم ١٠ شارع مطوية  
في القمم: من القمم ١٠ شارع مطوية

# الأهرام

## الاسكندرية

موسى الأبرام سنة ١٩٧٥ ، مسلم وشيخة غنملا  
جرائيل بشارة غنملا ( ١٩١٢ - ١٩٧٢ )  
أسباب الإحتلال ووضحة جرائيل غنملا  
ريضا الجريس ، أحمد الباقون غنملا - مزين موزي  
السنة - ٨٢ - العدد ٢٢٧٥

العدد ١٤ مايو ١٩٧٢  
١٦  
١٦  
24 MAY 1972



ان شملت الإسكندرية في تاريخها الطويل ،  
ما تشهده اليوم من ترميم كبير مسجدا  
لتصالح والتحكيم تناول أهم مساجدها  
وتاريخها وبمراحلها العديدة ... وان هذه  
العمل ما يرحم بجزء منه شهر في وقت  
من ورش الترميم والتجديد ، يعمل فيها العمال  
والمتخصصون كالأجانب ، يعملون في  
عملهم بجد واجتهاد ، تلتزم التمسك قبل  
التمتد ، على انهاء أعمال الترميم ، فان ترميمه  
وتم ترميمه ، وتوسيع من طرق الكورنيش  
من وضع التماسك ، وتوسيع من طرق الكورنيش  
من وضع التماسك ، وتوسيع من طرق الكورنيش  
من وضع التماسك ، وتوسيع من طرق الكورنيش

شاهرا سائل ... تخطيط جديد وتجميل يهدف الى حله البحر حسن التسقيح والتحكم



ميدان التحرير ... ميدان ترميمه وتخطيطه ليتناسب مع حركة الزور فيه وتكسيب المدينة الجمال ...



قرب البحر ... بين ميدان التحرير والميدان الكبير ... أحد طرقات الإسكندرية الجديد ويربط بين البحر



ميدان سائل ... تخطيط جديد وتجميل يهدف الى حله البحر حسن التسقيح والتحكم

# APPENDIX D

## The Field survey

Guidelines given to the volunteers for the survey

### USES

- Retail: anything that can be bought except take away food and drinks
- Public service: police station, library, hospital, school,...
- Private institutions: Business (offices): law firm, private or public company,..
- Leisure/Assembly: cultural center, theatre, cinema,....

### CONDITIONS

- **Mint/ Excellent**
  - Very recently restored (as if new)
  - should be rare
  - ex: Royal Jewelry Museum, Villa Iram
- **Slight wear and tear/ very Good**
  - Recently restored
  - Could use a coat of paint or other minor repairs
  - Ex: Alexandria Centre of Arts.
- **Fair/ Good/OK**
  - In need of repairs (minor cracks,..)
  - Ex: English villa in Mazloun
- **Serious/Bad**
  - In need of urgent repairs (major cracks, missing elements, significant weathering)
  - Ex: Villa Antoniadis, villa Mazloun (faculty of fine arts)
- **Uninhabitable/Ruinous/ very bad**
  - Abandoned
  - Cannot host a function without major intervention
  - Presence of lots of vegetation
  - Significant Standing structure but not inhabitable
  - Building not protected against the elements (ex: missing roof or windows)
  - Ex: Villa Ambron, Kafr Ashry Train station
- **Demolished**
  - Non-existent: replaced by new building or vacant land (cinema rialto)
  - Does not even qualify as a shelter (villa Aghion)